“Esprit de Corps”

An Administrative History of Southwestern National Monuments, 1923-1957



Linnéa Caproni Hallam, PhD
Nathan Hallam, PhD
~
Hallam Historical Consulting, LLC
2026

April 2026

PREPARED BY:

Hallam Historical Consulting, LLC
National Council on Public History

RECOMMENDED BY:

ANGELA SIRNA Digitally signed by ANGELA SIRNA
Date: 2026.04.28 08:21:27 -06'00'

Angela Sirna
Lead Historian, Park History Program
National Park Service Regional Office
Serving Regions 6, 7, and 8

APPROVED BY:

STEPHANIE RODEFFER Digitally signed by STEPHANIE RODEFFER
Date: 2026.04.28 07:33:34 -07'00'

Stephanie Rodeffer
Museum Services Program Manager
National Park Service Regional Office
Serving Regions 6, 7, and 8
Western Archeological and Conservation Center

To Edna Townsley Pinkley, the model Honorary Custodian Without Pay

...there from the beginning

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ACRONYMS 9
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 10
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 11
A Local Man In Touch With Local Conditions 13
Scope of the Study 14
Literature Background 17
Natural and Cultural Setting: The Southwest 18
National Monuments and the Antiquities Act 20
CHAPTER 2: FRANK PINKLEY AND THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, 1901-1918 24
Frank Pinkley, Custodian of Casa Grande Ruin Reservation, 1901-1914 25
Frank Pinkley's Broader Vision 29
Pinkley Stands Down 33
A Bureau for National Parks 38
Stephen Mather, Horace Albright, and Isabelle Story 38
Frank Pinkley Returns 41
"Let Us Get Down to Doing Something" 44
Funding the National Monuments 44
"No. 1 Man": Expanding Pinkley's Domain, 1918-1919 47
CHAPTER 3: ON THE ROAD TO SUPERINTENDENT, 1919-1923 52
Northern Matters: Defining Pinkley's Sphere 53
Selecting Custodians 57
Business vs. Service Kind of Custodian 60
Spouse-as-Custodian: Lucy Nelson vs. Edna Pinkley 62
"Miscellaneous, Assorted Monuments" 66
External Funding for Monuments 68
On the Road to Becoming Superintendent: Pinkley's Field Inspections, 1921-1923 69
Summer 1920: Montezuma Castle, Petrified Forest, and El Morro 70

Summer 1921: Demaray's visit, Chaco Canyon archeology, and Montezuma Castle's custodian 75
Summer 1922: California missions, Chaco Culture timeline, and The "Epitaph" 77
An Assistant for Pinkley: George Boundey, 1923 79
A Friend in Congress 85
We Want to Call Him Supervisor Pinkley 87
CHAPTER 4: ESTABLISHING SOUTHWESTERN NATIONAL MONUMENTS, 1924-1926 93
Enforcing Monthly Reports 94
Summer Inspections 98
Frank Pinkley's 1924 Southwestern Monument Circulars 100
Circular #1: Essential Custodian Duties 101
Circular #2: Policing and Protecting National Monuments 105
Circular #3: Receiving Visitors at National Monuments 110
Circular #4: The Physical Development of National Monuments and the Appropriations Process 114
Low Appropriations and Personnel Shortages 121
Staffing the Headquarters at Casa Grande 124
Repairing Monuments 125
Publicizing the Monuments 129
CHAPTER 5: DEFENDING SOUTHWESTERN NATIONAL MONUMENTS, 1927-1928 .. 132
"Monument Robbers" 134
The Bandelier Question 138
Shaping Some Museum Policies 140
Pinkley's Winter 1927-28 Circulars 146
Circular #1: Distinctions Between Parks and Monuments 147
Circular #2: U.S. Forest Service and War Department Monuments 148
Circular #3: Pinkley's 'Temporary Monuments' Idea 150
Circular #4: The Appropriations Process and How to Spend Money 153
Circular #5: A Response to the Washington Office 159
Circular #6: The Legal Basis of Parks and Monuments 163

Circular #7: Using Business Principles to Justify Higher Appropriations for Monuments 165
A Surprise on Capitol Hill 172
CHAPTER 6: INVESTING IN SOUTHWESTERN NATIONAL MONUMENTS, 1929-1933 174
Thomas Vint's Tour of the Southwestern Monuments 175
Gains and Losses: Hiring Custodians and Staff 178
Martin Evenstad, Chief Clerk 180
Hilding Palmer, Supervisor of Construction 180
Losing Edna 181
Museums at Southwestern National Monuments 184
Engaging the Washington Office 188
A Growing Casa Grande Ruins Headquarters 190
Frank Fish, Hurst Julian, and Alfred Peterson: Casa Grande Ruins Rangers 190
Bob Rose: Assistant Park Naturalist 192
Frank Pinkley Goes to Washington 192
Developing a Team Spirit 196
"Honorary Custodian Without Pay": Gay Rogers and the Southwestern National Monuments Wives 199
Verne Chatelain's Trip to Santa Fe—and Suggestions of a Move 203
Bob Rose and His Museum Ideas 206
The Epitaph—and Tension 208
Carl Russell's Tour, and More Tension 211
The Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report 216
CHAPTER 7: A NEW DEAL FOR SOUTHWESTERN NATIONAL MONUMENTS, 1934-1937 219
Work Relief Programs at Southwestern National Monuments 220
Administrative Growth 222
Hugh Miller, Chief Clerk 223
Adding Clerks 225
"General Field Men" 229
Dale King, Junior Park Naturalist 230

Louis Caywood and Charlie Steen, Casa Grande Ruins Rangers to Junior Park Naturalists 230
Natt Dodge 235
The Roving Ranger and Relief Ranger 235
The Ever-Expanding Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report 243
Taurian Sessions and Pinkley's Ruminations: To 'Talk Ruins' and Other 'Real Hot Material' 246
The "Great Seal" 247
Station Boss Broadcasting 249
The "Branch of Education" and the CCC 249
Collaborations with Western Museum Laboratories 252
The CCC at Bandelier, Chiricahua, and Other Southwestern Monuments 256
Ruins Stabilization and Southwestern National Monuments 259
Early Stabilization 261
The Indian CCC Mobile Unit 263
CHAPTER 8: FULFILLING A DREAM, 1938-1942 268
Regionalization: Creation of Region III in Santa Fe, 1938 270
Southwestern National Monuments Office Divisions 271
Branch of Accounting 272
Branch of Maintenance 274
Branch of Research and Information 277
Southwestern Monuments Association (SWMA) 280
Self-Guiding Nature Trails 284
"Red Letter Day": Custodians' School of Instruction, February 14, 1940 289
Planning the Custodians' School 289
Pinkley's Last Act: "He died at the top with his boots on" 292
The Show Must Go On: Finishing What Pinkley Started 300
Final Tributes to Pinkley: "More than an individual–he was something of an institution" 304
Southwestern National Monuments after Pinkley 308
Hugh Miller Takes Over 312
Wives of the "The Round Table" 320
War at the Door 324

CHAPTER 9: CLOSURES: THE SANTA FE AND GLOBE YEARS, 1942-1957 327
Transferred to Santa Fe, 1942: Secrecy and Protests 328
Arizona Protests 331
Making the Move 332
Wartime Administration: Operating at a Minimum Basis 335
Staff Reassignments 335
Emergency Repairs, Visitor Self-Service, and Crash-course Personnel Training 339
"Woman Power" and The Case of Mrs. Sallie Brewer 349
Resurrecting Southwestern National Monuments, 1947-1952 356
A Diminished "Esprit de Corps" 357
Restaffing the Southwestern Monuments 358
New Superintendent, New Headquarters 364
The Branch Preservation Laboratory at Gila Pueblo 376
Final Closure of Southwestern National Monuments, 1957 377
EPILOGUE: THE SOUTHWESTERN NATIONAL MONUMENTS LEGACY 382
Administrative Vestiges of Southwestern National Monuments 385
Preserving the Writings and Records of Southwestern National Monuments 387
Contemporary Remembrances of Southwestern National Monuments, 1958-1974 390
Next Steps 393
APPENDIX A: BIO FILES WITH PHOTOS 395
Arnberger, Les 396
Boundey, George 401
Brewer, Jim 410
Caywood, Louis 418
Budlong, Betty 420
Clarke, Jesse 428
Cook, Gay 432
Davis, John 440
Dodge, Natt 447
Evenstad, Martin 455

Faris, Johnwill 457
Gastellum, Luis 464
Griffin, Gus 471
Jackson, Betty Morris 476
Jackson, Martin 486
Julian, Hurst 495
King, Dale 500
McClain, Jamesie 508
Miller, Hugh 512
Nelson, William 519
Palmer, Hilding 524
Pierce, Sallie 528
Reed, Erik 542
Richert, Roland S. 549
Richey, Chuck 558
Rogers, Ed 561
Rose, Bob 569
Rudy, George 576
Seagoe, Francis 579
Smith, Doc 581
Soule, Parke 585
Steen, Charlie 588
Supernaugh, Bill 598
Tovrea, Howard 603
Townsley, Edna 612
Vivian, Gordon 627
Vogt, Evon 632
BIBLIOGRAPHY 638

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CCC: Civilian Conservation Corps

CWA: Civil Works Administration

DOI: Department of the Interior

ECW: Emergency Conservation Work

GLO: General Land Office

HCWP: Honorary Custodian(s) Without Pay

HFCA: Harpers Ferry Center Archives

NARA: National Archives and Records Administration

NPS: National Park Service

SWMA: Southwestern/Southwest Monuments Association

SWNM: Southwestern National Monuments

SWRO: Southwest Regional Office [Region III, 1937-1962]

PWA: Public Works Administration

WACC: Western Archeological and Conservation Center

WML: Western Museum Laboratories

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study came together through the assistance of many. In particular, the authors would like to acknowledge Stephanie Rowe (NCPH) and Angela Sirna (NPS), our NCPH-NPS Cooperative Agreement project coordinators, for their confidence in our work and patience with us as we made this study happen. To the many reviewers of our rough drafts, thank you for your time and invaluable feedback.

We appreciate the staff at the Western Archeological and Conservation Center in Tucson, Arizona, particularly Tef Rodeffer, Khaleel Saba, and Veronica Furlong, for their flexibility, assistance, and feedback as we collected core research material and shaped it into this study. A special shout out to Veronica for her attention to detail and quick responses and turnarounds. Our appreciation also extends to Nancy Russell, Jessica Scott, and Eleanore Kohorn, archivists of the NPS History Collection at Harpers Ferry Center Archives in Charles Town, West Virginia. They devoted many hours to gathering material, scanning, and answering our questions during our research trip at their facility and afterwards.

Additionally, several NPS personnel from various parks and monuments responded quickly to our random questions. In some instances, they helped hunt down obscure information or photos that we found cited during our research.

We owe a special thank you to the Boundey, Cook, and Steen families for showing enthusiasm for the project and giving permission for us to use photographs of their loved ones.

Finally, the southwestern monuments that visitors see today would not be the same without the initiative, creativity, and sacrifice of the men and women of the old Southwestern National Monuments outfit. They have our utmost respect and appreciation.

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

The idea did not spring up overnight. No group sat down around a table and said: 'Go to! We will now have a Southwestern Monuments District and it shall be thus and so big and it shall have a Superintendent and an Assistant Superintendent and three office clerks and two stenographers and four technicians, all in a special set of offices...and they shall constitute the Southwestern Monuments Headquarters.' That would have been lovely, no doubt...The trouble was that we had a group of monuments down here and we didn't have any men to speak of or any money to speak of or anything else to do anything with so we just started from zero, and, being at the bottom, the only way we could go was up.

~Frank Pinkley, July 1936



Figure 1. Southwestern National Monuments headquarters staff in 1934. Photo by C. P. Russell. Source: NPS History Collection.

On a cloudy afternoon in February 1919, a party of fifty-eight tourists from eastern states arrived at the Santa Fe depot in Adamana, Arizona. They expected to visit Petrified Forest National Monument, a northern Arizona badlands that contained the world's greatest collection of petrified wood. Petrified Forest's custodian, William Nelson, operated a hotel at Adamana and offered chauffeured automobile tours of the monument. But on this day, Nelson turned the party away. Heavy winter rains made the entrance road a mess and Nelson knew the interior roads fared no better. "The roads within the monument are at present impassable," Nelson wrote to National Park Service director Stephen Mather at the agency's Washington D.C. office. "As nothing short of air-planes could have transported them there, they had to leave, very much disappointed, without accomplishing their purpose." Another party planned to visit later in the week. They too, Nelson wrote, will "meet with the same disappointment."[1]

Nelson's letter arrived at a hectic time at the Washington office, as Mather and his colleagues made final preparations for bringing Grand Canyon and Lafayette (Acadia) national parks into the agency. But the incident at Petrified Forest caught Mather's attention. For a fledgling agency, the National Park Service could not afford to disappoint a party of fifty-eight eastern tourists in northern Arizona. "It is very unfortunate that this condition exists and that it is necessary to turn away tourists," Mather replied to Nelson. "I have arranged to have Mr. Pinkley, our Custodian at Casa Grande and general supervisor over Arizona monuments, visit the Petrified Forest within the next ten days and lay out plans for the improvement of the road."[2]

Reports of other problems at Arizona national monuments landed on Mather's desk that month. At Tumacácori, an eighteenth-century Jesuit mission, damaged walls required urgent repairs. At Montezuma Castle, an 800-year-old Sinagua cliff dwelling, the sudden departure of custodian O. F. Hicks left the fragile site unsupervised. Mather again turned to Pinkley, the custodian at Casa Grande National Monuments. "I have in mind a plan," Mather wrote to his assistant director, Horace Albright, "to have Custodian Pinkley supervise both projects [at Petrified Forest and Tumacácori] and at the same time have him look over the very unsatisfactory situation as regards Montezuma Castle."[3] In his internal NPS correspondence, Mather described Pinkley as his "general supervisor over Arizona monuments." No such position existed in the National Park Service. But with nearly two decades of experience living and working at Casa Grande, Pinkley was the one who Mather called upon to handle problems in the Southwest that neither he nor his colleagues had the time or ability to address from nearly 2,000 miles away in Washington.

---

[1] Nelson to Mather, February 6, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[2] Mather to Nelson, February 21, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[3] Nelson to Mather, February 15, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

A Local Man In Touch With Local Conditions

Four years later, in October 1923, Stephen Mather promoted Frank Pinkley to the position of superintendent of a new NPS administrative group, Southwestern National Monuments. From his home at Casa Grande, Pinkley became responsible for supervising custodians and rangers at fifteen national monuments scattered across Arizona, New Mexico, southeastern Utah, and southwestern Colorado. "The change," Pinkley wrote, "was made with the idea of unifying the monument work and passing the problems from the various monuments up to a local man who would be in touch with the local conditions, thus relieving the already overcrowded Washington office of some work which could be better understood and more economically handled from a field headquarters."[4] No precedent existed for Pinkley's superintendency. Fourteen years before the establishment of NPS regional offices, Pinkley's Southwestern National Monuments unit became the first instance of an NPS field office overseeing multiple park units.[5] The Washington office employed engineers, landscape architects, and educational specialists in San Francisco and Berkeley who went from park to park building roads, planning new facilities, and designing museum exhibits; Mather also instructed his Yellowstone superintendent to make routine inspections of western parks during winter months. But no superintendent besides Pinkley had administrative authority over multiple park units at once.

Elsewhere in the federal government and in the business world, middle management entered its heyday. Fifteen years earlier, the Department of Agriculture, seeking to "decentralize decisionmaking from Washington D.C.," established six U.S. Forest Service district offices in western cities, handing day-to-day managerial responsibility of national forests over to managers "more familiar with local and region-wide problems."[6] Similarly, many 1920s American business entities experimented with the "M-form," or multidivisional form, of business organization. In M-form organizations, regional offices handled "one major line of products or set of services over a wide geographical area."[7] Authority

---

[4] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1924, and the Travel Season, 1924* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), 148.

[5] Russ Olsen, *Administrative History: Organizational Structures of the National Park Service, 1917 to 1985* (Washington: National Park Service, 1985). The NPS in 1937 established its first four regional offices in Richmond, Omaha, San Francisco, and Santa Fe, fourteen years after creating the position for Superintendent of Southwestern Monuments.

[6] Gerald W. William, *The USDA Forest Service—The First Century* (rev. ed., 2005), 26.

[7] Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the Industrial Enterprise* (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1961), 2. The turn toward multidivisional or decentralized business organizations during the 1920s came on the heels of a century of structural changes in American business, as traditional single-unit enterprises (small firms and cottage industries where owners personally oversaw the production of goods and services) became consolidated within modern multi-unit "big business" enterprises. In the traditional enterprise, the "invisible hand" of the local marketplace guided the decisions of single-unit producers. In the modern business enterprise, the "visible hand" of division managers guided the firm's decisions to meet consumer demand in multiple markets scattered throughout the country. The ability to produce enormous quantities of goods to meet nationwide demand rested on new industrial, communication, and transportation technologies that greatly increased capacities for producing, coordinating, and delivering goods and services. The rise of federal bureaucracies such as the U.S. Forest Service and the National Park Service exerting authority over multiple localities at once can be seen as a contemporaneous development. See Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand:*

flowed from a corporate headquarters to regional offices. Headquarters personnel handled strategic planning and provided regional managers with personnel, facilities, and other resources necessary for accomplishing organizational objectives. Stephen Mather similarly expected Pinkley to relieve the National Park Service's Washington office of its day-to-day managerial responsibilities of southwestern national monuments but also administer the monuments in a manner that fulfilled the National Park Service's overall objectives of conservation and public enjoyment.[8]

Frank Pinkley seized upon his superintendency with great energy and enthusiasm. His ambitions for improving southwestern monuments far exceeded whatever Mather and his colleagues had in mind for the National Park Service's archeological sites and scientific wonders in Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado. A lifelong student of southwestern archeology, history, and geology, and a true believer in the public enjoyment mission of the National Park Service, Frank Pinkley insisted that Congress increase the agency's national monuments appropriations to provide the monuments with facilities and personnel comparable to those found at national parks. That rarely occurred. But Pinkley overcame chronically low funding, in part, by instilling a sense of camaraderie and can-do improvisational spirit among his "outfit" of monument custodians, rangers, and headquarters staff to give substance to the *esprit de corps* motto he adopted for Southwestern National Monuments.

Scope of the Study

This Administrative History of Southwestern National Monuments discusses an early NPS field office that administered national monuments in southwestern states from 1923 to 1942 and then again from 1950 to 1957. At its peak, Southwestern National Monuments administered more than thirty monuments in Arizona, New Mexico, southeastern Utah, and southwestern Colorado. Frank Pinkley, the long-time custodian of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, served as Southwestern National Monuments superintendent from 1923 until his death in 1940. In 1942, when the office moved to Santa Fe, New Mexico, its activities and resources became subsumed within the NPS Region III office. In 1950, the National Park Service reinstated the position of Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments. In 1952, a reactivated Southwestern National Monuments office left Santa Fe and established new headquarters at Gila Pueblo in Globe, Arizona. Southwestern National Monuments remained at Globe until 1957, when a system-wide reorganization of the National Park Service, preparing for Mission 66, prompted its permanent closure. During the organization's operational years, the Southwestern National Monuments "outfit"—the superintendent, headquarters staff, monument custodians and rangers, and the wives of all the men on the payroll, a

---

The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977), 6-12.

[8] Prior to arriving in Washington, D.C. in 1915, Mather had a successful career in the borax industry, first with the Pacific Coast Borax Company where he helped to popularize the "Twenty Mule Team" brand of borax, then as co-founder and chief executive of the Thorkildsen-Mather Borax Company (later renamed Sterling Borax). See Robert Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), 22-41.

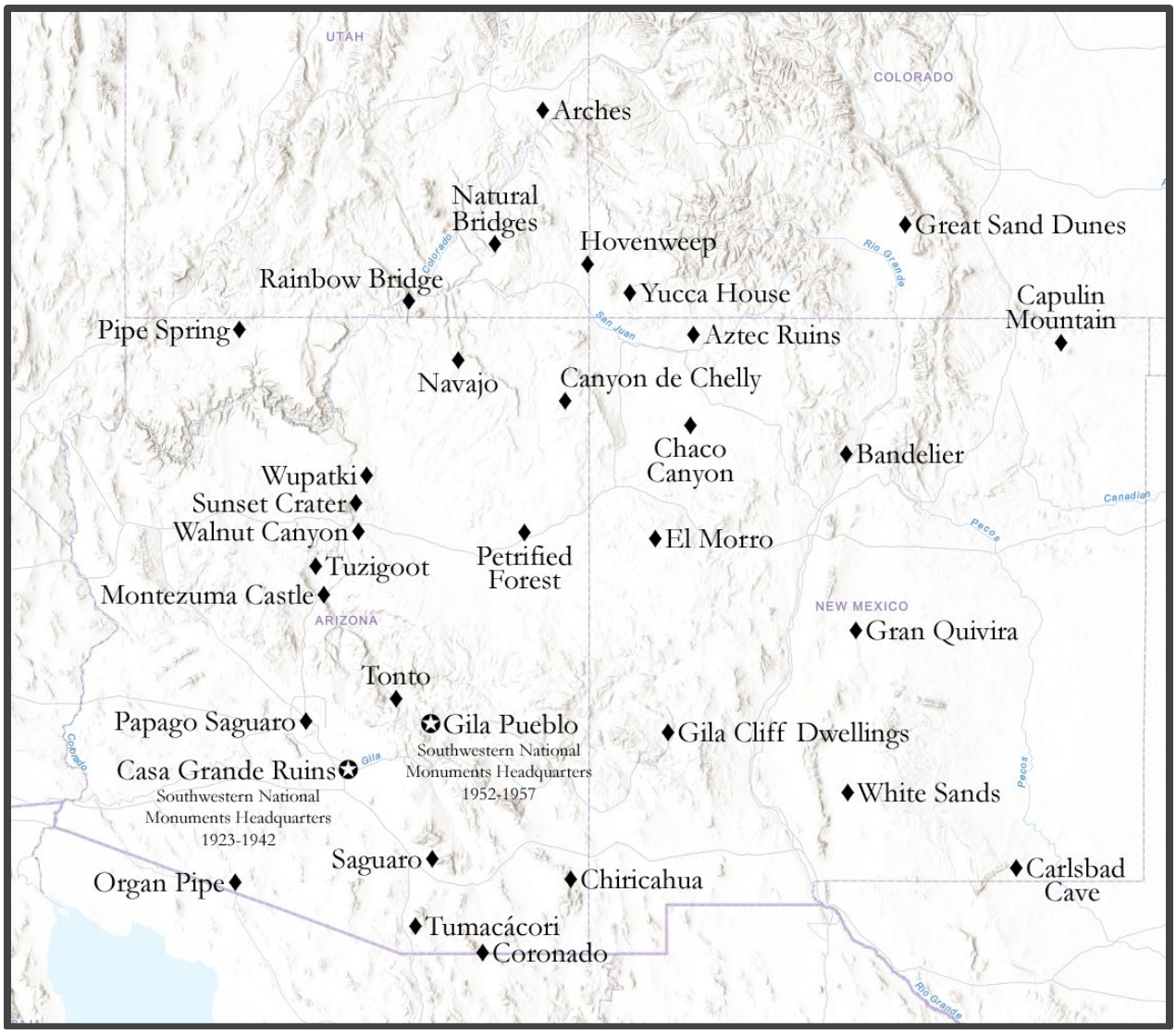


Figure 2. Map showing locations of all national monuments administered by Southwestern National Monuments during all or part of the study period, 1923-1957.

group of women known as "Honorary Custodians Without Pay"—maintained a heightened sense of duty that allowed the group to thrive despite miniscule appropriations: together they worked to protect and preserve southwestern antiquities for the enjoyment of future generations. Lacking museums, comfort stations, and other modern facilities, the early southwestern national monuments drew strength from the expertise of their custodians and rangers. As regional specialists, Frank "Boss" Pinkley and the men and women that comprised his "outfit" greeted visitors with a firm grasp on southwestern archeology, history, biology, and geology. As a group, Southwestern National Monuments earned high praise for the quality of service its field personnel provided monument visitors and for the level of attention they gave to the monuments themselves, which required constant vigilance against erosion and vandalism.

Closed in 1957, Southwestern National Monuments casts a long, if distant, shadow over the national monuments it administered. Some, like Casa Grande Ruins, Montezuma Castle, and Aztec Ruins, remain national monuments; others, such as Petrified Forest, White Sands, and Arches, have become national parks through acts of Congress. All trace their administrative histories back to the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters located at Casa Grande Ruins, where Pinkley and his team of naturalists and clerks provided administrative direction and acted as mediator between the monument custodians and the Washington office in the decades before the development of NPS regional offices. One cannot fully know the histories of multiple southwestern park areas without understanding the role that Southwestern National Monuments played in their early development.

Without Southwestern National Monuments, many of the region's archeological monuments might have succumbed to vandalism and erosion. Excavated during the late 1910s and early 1920s by archeologists working under Antiquities Acts permits, Chaco Canyon, Aztec Ruins, Wupatki, and other southwestern archeological sites faced sudden exposure to wind, rain, and snow, all of which played havoc with centuries-old mortar. Many archeologists working under grants provided by eastern museums gathered artifacts but then ended their excavations without addressing the structural integrity of sites they unearthed. Reinforcement efforts, later called "ruins stabilization," developed by Frank Pinkley and his custodians, with labor furnished by Navajo workers, saved the sites from certain collapse. Southwestern National Monuments also coordinated police protection of the archeological monuments to guard against looting, graffitiing, and other forms of vandalism. The Washington office, located thousands of miles to the east and preoccupied with the development of national parks, offered little support for southwestern monuments prior to the establishment of Pinkley's superintendency in 1923. In a hypothetical past without Southwestern National Monuments, the region's archeological national monuments would have almost certainly languished through the 1920s and 1930s with little attention from the agency.

This administrative history tracks the story of Frank Pinkley's early career, providing a frame of reference for his emergence as a crucial NPS figure in the Southwest. It traces the slow, incremental pace at which Southwestern National Monuments, under Pinkley's guidance, with assistance from key figures in Washington and San Francisco, oversaw the 1920s physical development of southwestern monuments during the early history of the National Park Service under director Stephen Mather and his staff. During the early 1930s, an emboldened Washington office under direction of Horace Albright moved to rein in Pinkley's autonomy, but everything suddenly changed during the 1934 fiscal year, as a surge of New Deal emergency work programs thrust Southwestern National Monuments (and the entire National Park Service) into project managerial roles for the Civilian Conservation Corps and other relief agencies. The story crescendos in 1940 when Frank Pinkley achieved a career-long goal of assembling his entire outfit of custodians and rangers and their wives at Casa Grande Ruins for a week-long custodian's field school. Pinkley passed away during the school after giving its opening address. Hugh Miller, and then Chuck Richey, took up the reins, supervising Southwestern National Monuments in Pinkley's absence and navigating its relationship with the new

NPS Region III office in Santa Fe. The final chapter chronicles the consolidation of Southwestern National Monuments with Region III during World War II and discusses its brief revival in the 1950s as an independent field office headquartered at Gila Pueblo in Globe, Arizona. The narrative concludes by profiling key Southwestern National Monuments personnel—headquarters staff, custodians, rangers, and their wives—in a series of biographical sketches (Bio Files) included as an appendix. Besides restoring to memory forgotten aspects of Southwestern National Monuments, this administrative history seeks to provide current administrators of parks and monuments once grouped within Southwestern National Monuments with a basis for understanding the unique managerial history of their units.

Literature Background

Hal Rothman's 1985 dissertation and subsequent book, *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (1989), along with several journal articles authored by Rothman during the late 1980s, offer the first scholarly accounts of Southwestern National Monuments.[9] More recently, Will Moore's excellent *Southwestern National Monuments: Frank Pinkley and the Rise of the National Park System* (2025) provides an overview of the monuments that Pinkley and his outfit administered.[10] Besides these and other published histories, this study draws from RG 79, Records of the National Park Service collections housed at National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) branches at College Park and San Bruno. The College Park branch houses the bulk of the NPS central office files, while the San Bruno branch holds the records of the NPS Field Headquarters, a San Francisco-based architectural and engineering office that drew up plans for buildings and landscapes at many southwestern monuments. The San Bruno branch also stores the records of the NPS Western Museum Laboratories, a Berkeley-based NPS educational division that assisted Southwestern National Monuments naturalists with museum exhibit planning during the 1930s.

---

[9] Rothman argues that Congress and early National Park Service leaders dismissed national monuments as second-class sites; national parks formed the "crown jewels" of the NPS system while the national monuments, by contrast, languished as the agency's "lesser stones" but made incremental progress in the Southwest due in large part to Frank Pinkley's imaginative and energetic leadership. See Hal Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), later republished as *America's National Monuments: The Politics of Preservation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994). See also: Hal Rothman, "Conflict on the Pajarito: Frank Pinkley, the Forest Service, and the Bandelier Controversy, 1925-32," *Journal of Forest History* 29, No. 2 (April 1985): 68-77; Hal Rothman, "Forged by One Man's Will: Frank Pinkley and the Administration of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1923-1932," *The Public Historian* 8, No. 2 (Spring 1986): 83-100; Hal Rothman, "Second-Class Sites: National Monuments and the Growth of the National Park System," *Environmental Review* 10, No. 1 (Spring 1986): 44-56; Hal K. Rothman, "'A Regular Ding-Dong Fight': Agency Culture and Evolution in the NPS-USFS Dispute, 1916-1937," *Western Historical Quarterly* 20, No. 2 (May 1989): 141-161.

[10] Will Moore, *Southwestern National Monuments: Frank Pinkley and the Rise of the National Park System* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2025). Other scholarship includes Dietmar Schneider-Hector, *Sundipped Memories of Frank Pinkley* (Hillsboro, NM: Percha Creek Press, 2003), later republished as *Frank Pinkley and the Southwestern National Monuments, 1923-1957: The Clouds Are Rolling By* (Hillsboro, NM: Percha Creek Press, 2021) and *Frank Pinkley: The Boss on the Lone Post* (Hillsboro, NM: Percha Creek Press, 2021).

The NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center (WACC) in Tucson, Arizona holds the core records for this administrative history: the Southwestern National Monuments administrative records collection (ARG 10), the personal files of Frank Pinkley (ARG 34), the Southwestern National Monuments monthly reports and historic photographs, the Ruins Stabilization Unit records, and the central and associated files of the Southwest Regional Office in Santa Fe, where former (and future) Southwestern National Monuments personnel were stationed between 1942 and 1952.[11] Lastly, the "NPS History Collection" at the NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives in Charles Town, West Virginia, holds a variety of materials relevant to Southwestern National Monuments, including oral histories, personnel files, photographs, some Western Museum Laboratories records, and other ephemera.

For this administrative history, an emphasis on biographical stories adds a genealogical touch to remind readers that "administration" involves people as much as policy. Southwestern National Monuments personnel anchor the study. Boss Pinkley's "outfit" consisted of a tight-knit group whose members reminisced later in life about how the organization shaped their careers. Obituaries and short biographical profiles published in newspapers offer clues about the lives of men and women affiliated with Southwestern National Monuments, as do a smattering of memoirs and surviving copies of written correspondence. Key sources include oral histories of NPS personnel recorded during the latter half of the twentieth century and genealogical material from online databases such as Ancestry and FamilySearch. Genealogical databases also provided the opportunity to connect with descendants of Southwestern National Monuments personnel. In a few instances, family members shared rare photographs and anecdotes; with their permission, these are included in the study.

Natural and Cultural Setting: The Southwest

The "Southwest," the National Park Service told visitors in 1937, "is a land of color, of amazing distance, of the romance of vanished civilizations, and of living cultures closely related to prehistory and vastly differing from the habits and mode of life of the Anglo-Saxon and of the white man generally."[12] The National Park Service no longer endorses this characterization: but it reminds us of earlier mentalities that shaped perceptions of the Southwest and its national monuments during the period of this administrative history. The designation, *Southwestern National Monuments,* also implies a frame of reference. There is no "southwest" without a "northeast." The Southwest, as Don Fowler reminds us, is a geographically and culturally subjective concept, an idea invented by northeastern Americans and burnished by early travel writers, ethnographers, archeologists, and museum curators who made the people and cultures of Arizona and New Mexico seem exotic and vaguely ancient. "Southwest," Fowler observes, "implies a directional orientation vis-à-vis an assumed geographical

[11] A variety of online library collections and digital databases hold Southwestern National Monuments publications and records; *Internet Archive* provides copies of most of the 1930s and 1940s volumes of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report.

[12] National Park Service, "Southwestern National Monuments" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937).

center…a *point of view…as seen* from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C."[13] Others have described the region from their own points of view. First-generation Hispanics, whose ancestors migrated from Sonora and other Mexican states, knew the "Southwest" as the "North." For others, the "Southwest" might be *Nihikéyah* (Navajo), *Hopitutskwa* (Hopi), or one of the many southwestern indigenous words for "homeland."[14]

Geographically, the American Southwest includes all of Arizona, New Mexico, southern Utah and southwestern Colorado, along with portions of southern California, southern Nevada, and western Texas. South of the U.S.-Mexico border, it also includes northern portions of the Mexican states of Baja California, Sonora, and Chihuahua. Physiographically the Southwest consists of two major provinces: the Colorado Plateau, a northern high desert region drained by the Colorado River and its tributaries through steep-sided canyons, and the Basin-and-Range, a southern low desert region marked by flat alluvial basins broken by elongate mountain ranges. A mountainous section that includes the Central Arizona Highlands, Mogollon Rim, and White Mountains forms a transition zone between the Colorado Plateau and Basin and Range. From these mountains flow the Little Colorado River, which cuts a deep and narrow canyon through the Colorado Plateau to the Colorado River, and the Gila River and its tributaries, the Salt and Verde, which converge in the northern Sonoran Desert in the Phoenix metropolitan area. East of the Colorado Plateau, the Sangre de Cristo range divides the Southwest from the Great Plains. From its headwaters in the Sangre de Cristo, the Rio Grande flows south through New Mexico to El Paso, Texas, where it forms the U.S.-Mexico border.[15]

Aridity is the Southwest's common environmental denominator. Annual precipitation varies from 3 to 20 inches in the Basin and Range deserts and 10 to 35 inches in the Colorado Plateau. Over time, fluctuations between wet periods and droughts caused by short- and long-term climate change shaped the region's distribution of plants, animals, and human settlements.[16] Pre-contact southwestern groups established settlements near freshwater sources, particularly where mountain streams drained into alluvial basins. Archeologists identify four major pre-contact southwestern cultures: Ancestral Puebloan, Sinagua, Mogollon, and Ancestral Sonoran Desert People. Ancestral Puebloan, Sinagua, and Mogollon groups occupied northwestern New Mexico, northern Arizona, southeastern Utah, and southwestern Colorado. Their descendants include the Hopi of northern Arizona and the Zuni of

---

[13] Don D. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), viii-ix.

[14] Lloyd L. Lee, *Nihikéyah: Navajo Homeland* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2023); Wesley Bernardini, et. al., eds., *Becoming Hopi: A History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2021).

[15] Steven J. Phillips and Patricia Wentworth Comus, eds., *A Natural History of the Sonoran Desert* (Tucson and Berkeley: Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum Press and University of California Press, 2000).

[16] Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 1-3; National Park Service, "Climate Change in the Southwest—Introduction and Current Climate," 2017, www.nps.gov/articles/climate-change-in-the-southwest-introduction.htm (accessed November 27, 2025).

New Mexico. The Ancestral Sonoran Desert people occupied the low desert Basin and Range province of Arizona and southwestern New Mexico. Their descendants include O'odham groups who live along the Salt and Gila rivers (Akimel O'odham) and the Santa Cruz River (Tohono O'odham); early Spanish explorers called them the Maricopa, Pima, and Papago, names Americans adopted in the 1840s. Ancestral Puebloan groups of the Southwest were, for the most part, agricultural. They developed irrigation systems, cultivated desert lands, built masonry villages, established trade networks, produced art, participated in sports, and lived settled lives.[17] When environmental circumstances forced them to abandon settlements, they left behind abundant evidence of their material culture. In the nineteenth century, the remnants of their settlements, called "antiquities," became objects of curiosity, excavation, study, and preservation by American ethnographers and archeologists. After 1906, many prominent southwestern antiquities became national monuments; after 1923 they became the basis of Southwestern National Monuments.

National Monuments and the Antiquities Act

Late-nineteenth-century New England preservationists, responding to reports of vandalism and artifact trafficking at southwestern archeological sites, were among the earliest proponents for protecting and preserving what they called the "magnificent ruins" of Arizona and New Mexico. In 1882, the New England Historic Genealogical Society petitioned Congress for sweeping federal protection of archeological sites on unclaimed public lands in the Southwest—but the petition died in committee.[18] In 1889, the New Englanders adjusted their tactics and asked Congress to reserve just one archeological site: the Casa Grande Ruin near Florence, Arizona. Congress consented. In 1892, the Casa Grande Ruin Reservation became a first-of-its-kind government archeological reservation, marking a major step forward for the American antiquities-preservation movement. The 1891 General Land Revision Act, also known as the Forest Reserve Act, presented a new model for creating multiple government reservations; the Act authorized the President of the United States to create forest reserves by executive proclamation, without congressional approval.[19] Between 1900 and 1905, Congress

---

[17] When the first Hispanic settlers arrived in the Southwest, they also encountered Apachean-speaking groups who anthropologists believe had only recently arrived from the north. These include the Navajo of northern Arizona and northern New Mexico; the Western Apache of the Central Arizona Highlands, Mogollon Rim, and White Mountains; and the Mescalero-Chiricahua Apache of southern New Mexico. Contacts with Pueblo groups and the Spanish led Apachean-speaking groups to take up sheepherding, weaving, and part-time farming. See Fowler, 2-6.

[18] "Beginnings of Public Interest in American Indian Antiquities," https://www.nps.gov/articles/lee-story-beginnings.htm (accessed November 27, 2025).

[19] The forest-reserve clause was a last-minute rider attached to the General Land Revision Act of 1891, allowing the Executive Office to create forest reserves without congressional approval. By 1901, the Executive branch had created forty-one forest reserves on a total forty-eight million acres. A year later, during his first term as president, avid conservationist President "Teddy" Roosevelt set aside an additional fifteen million acres with the creation of thirteen new forest reserves. Ronald F. Lee, "The Origins of the Antiquities Act" *in* David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley, eds., *The Antiquities Act: A Century of American Archaeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 27.

looked at several variations of an antiquities protection bill modeled after the Forest Reserve Act. All failed. Opponents balked at empowering the President to establish reservations of potentially unlimited size, while others wondered which federal agency might handle the work of preserving, protecting, and monitoring excavations at multiple government reservations. Meanwhile, southwestern newspapers published accounts of artifact pilfering at numerous archeological sites.[20]

In January 1906, Rep. John F. Lacey of Iowa introduced a successful antiquities bill. It passed the House and Senate with only minor revisions.[21] The final antiquities bill contained four sections. The first section addressed the protection of archeological sites. Anyone who might "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" faced stiff fines and possible imprisonment. The second section outlined executive authority and introduced the term *national monuments*. The President had authority "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." To placate concerned members of Congress, the Act limited the size of national monuments "to the smallest area compatible with proper care and management of the objects to be protected," but placed no actual restrictions on the size of protected objects.[22] Similarly, the phrase "objects of historic or scientific interest" was vaguely subjective. A national monument could, in theory, be anything the President found scientifically interesting.[23] The third and fourth sections authorized federal agencies that managed national monuments to establish their own enforcement rules and issue permits for conducting excavations and other scientific studies at national monuments; the law also held that permit holders could carry away artifacts so long as they exhibited "the gatherings" at reputable museums or educational institutions.[24]

On June 8, 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt signed into law the "Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities." Within six months, Roosevelt proclaimed four national monuments: Devils Tower in Wyoming, El Morro in New Mexico, Montezuma Castle in Arizona, and Petrified Forest in

---

[20] "Preservation of Historic and Prehistoric Ruins, Etc.: Hearing before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Lands of the United States Senate," 58th Cong. 2d Session, 4 (1904) (statement of Dr. Francis W. Kelsey).

[21] Thompson, "Hewett and the Politics of Archaeology" *in* Harmon, et al, *The Antiquities Act* (2006), 43.

[22] Lee, *The Story of the Antiquities Act: Chapter 6* (http://www.nps.gov/archeology/pubs/lee/Lee_CH6.htm).

[23] Years later, a colleague stated that Lacey directly shaped the language of the Antiquities Act to include "scientific interest" to guarantee that Arizona's Petrified Forest—his pet monument—would be permanently set aside and protected. See: Conard, "John F. Lacey: Conservation's Public Servant" *in* Harmon, et al, *The Antiquities Act* (2006), 60-61.

[24] "American Antiquities Act of 1906," www.nps.gov/articles/lee-story-appa.htm (accessed November 24, 2025); Hewett, "Preservation of American Antiquities," 113-114.

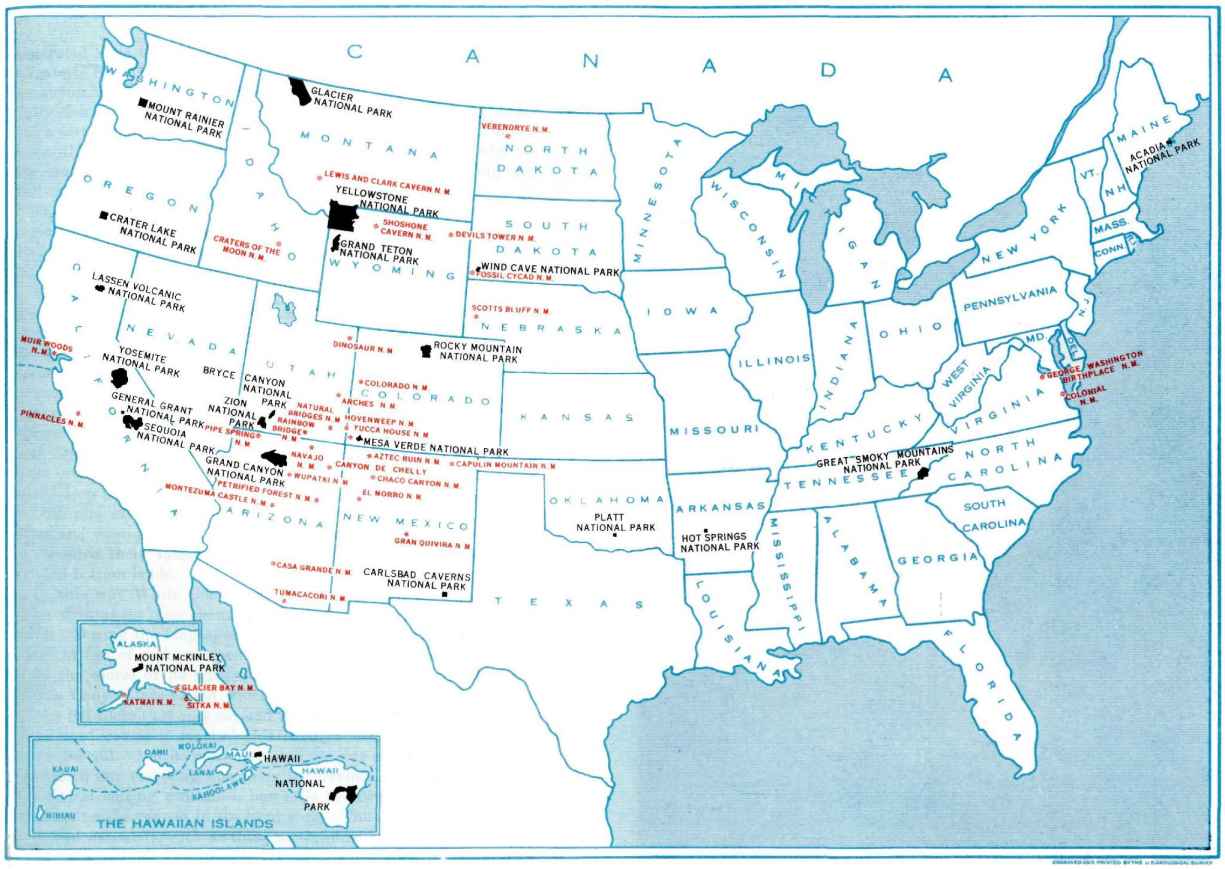


Figure 3. 1930 NPS map with the agency's thirty-two national monuments in red. Southwestern National Monuments administered eighteen in Arizona, New Mexico, southeastern Utah, and southwestern Colorado. Source: National Park Service, *Glimpses of Our National Monuments*.

Arizona. Chaco Canyon and Gila Cliff Dwellings, both in New Mexico, Cinder Cone and Lassen Peak both in California, and Tonto in Arizona followed in 1907. All but Devils Tower, Cinder Cone, and Lassen Peak became eventually administered by Southwestern National Monuments. The Antiquities Act established a legal basis for preserving a wide array of resources, not just archeological sites.[25] By 1930, the federal government administered sixty-four national monuments spread across twenty-six states. They included numerous archeological and historic sites, geological and volcanic landmarks, caves, forests, fossil beds, and numerous battlefields.[26] Five of the nation's twenty-three national parks in 1930—Acadia in Maine, Carlsbad Caverns in New Mexico, Grand Canyon in Arizona, Lassen Volcanic in California, and Zion in Utah—started out as national monuments before later becoming national parks through acts of Congress.[27] Western states, west of the Mississippi River, claimed forty-nine national monuments in 1930; eastern states claimed fifteen, most of them

[25] "Introduction: the Importance of the Antiquities Act" *in* Harmon, et al, *The Antiquities Act* (2006), 7.

[26] *Glimpses of Our National Monuments* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930), i-iii.

[27] More than thirty of the current sixty-three national parks in the United States began as national monuments.

historic forts and battlefields. Arizona had the most national monuments of any state—eleven, followed by New Mexico with seven, Utah with six, and Colorado and California with five apiece. The National Park Service, through the Department of the Interior, administered thirty-two national monuments in 1930; the Department of Agriculture and the War Department administered sixteen apiece.[28] Southwestern National Monuments administered eighteen national monuments in 1930. In the 120 years since passage of the Antiquities Act, U.S. presidents have used their authority under the Antiquities Act to proclaim more than 150 national monuments.[29]

Whether cultural, geological, botanical, or all the above, the single most distinguishing characteristic of the national monuments for the Southwestern National Monuments personnel who administered them in 1923-1957 was *remoteness*. Frank Pinkley, who began his custodianship of Casa Grande Ruins in 1901, described his position as a "lone post." It was located in a desolate, unirrigated expanse of the Casa Grande Valley, nearly ten miles from Florence—the nearest town—and twenty miles from the closest Southern Pacific railroad depot in the town of Casa Grande.[30] The moniker stuck and southwestern monuments became known as "lone posts."[31] Pinkley, during the early years of his superintendency, often wrote about the "old feeling of isolation" felt by custodians.[32] Overcoming that sense of isolation through regular correspondence and annual inspections became a key aspect of his job as superintendent. Nobody understood the challenges faced by the southwestern national monument custodians better than Pinkley. By 1923 he already had twenty years of service at Casa Grande under his belt.

---

[28] *Glimpses of Our National Monuments* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930), i-iii.

[29] As of 2026, the current number of national monuments stands at 138. Only presidents Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, and George H. W. Bush failed to proclaim new national monuments.

[30] The area around Casa Grande Ruins remained unirrigated until 1925, when Coolidge Dam and the San Carlos Indian Irrigation Project brought irrigation water to the area, giving rise to farms and the nearby town of Coolidge.

[31] Many remained lone posts until the 1930s, when state highway agencies built paved surface roads to several monuments to promote tourism. "State and County agencies," wrote Pinkley in 1934, "are improving the roads leading to the Southwest's wonder spots, making these places accessible where once they were isolated and comparatively unknown." *Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1934* (Casa Grande Ruins: Southwestern National Monuments, 1934), 14.

[32] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1924, and the Travel Season, 1924* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), 148.

CHAPTER 2:

FRANK PINKLEY AND THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, 1901-1918

Mr. Pinkley resumes the work with much satisfaction as during his former administration the Ruins were handled as a side issue by the general land office and received little attention, but of late all national parks and monuments…have been gathered into the National Park Service Bureau.

~*Casa Grande Dispatch,* April 5, 1918

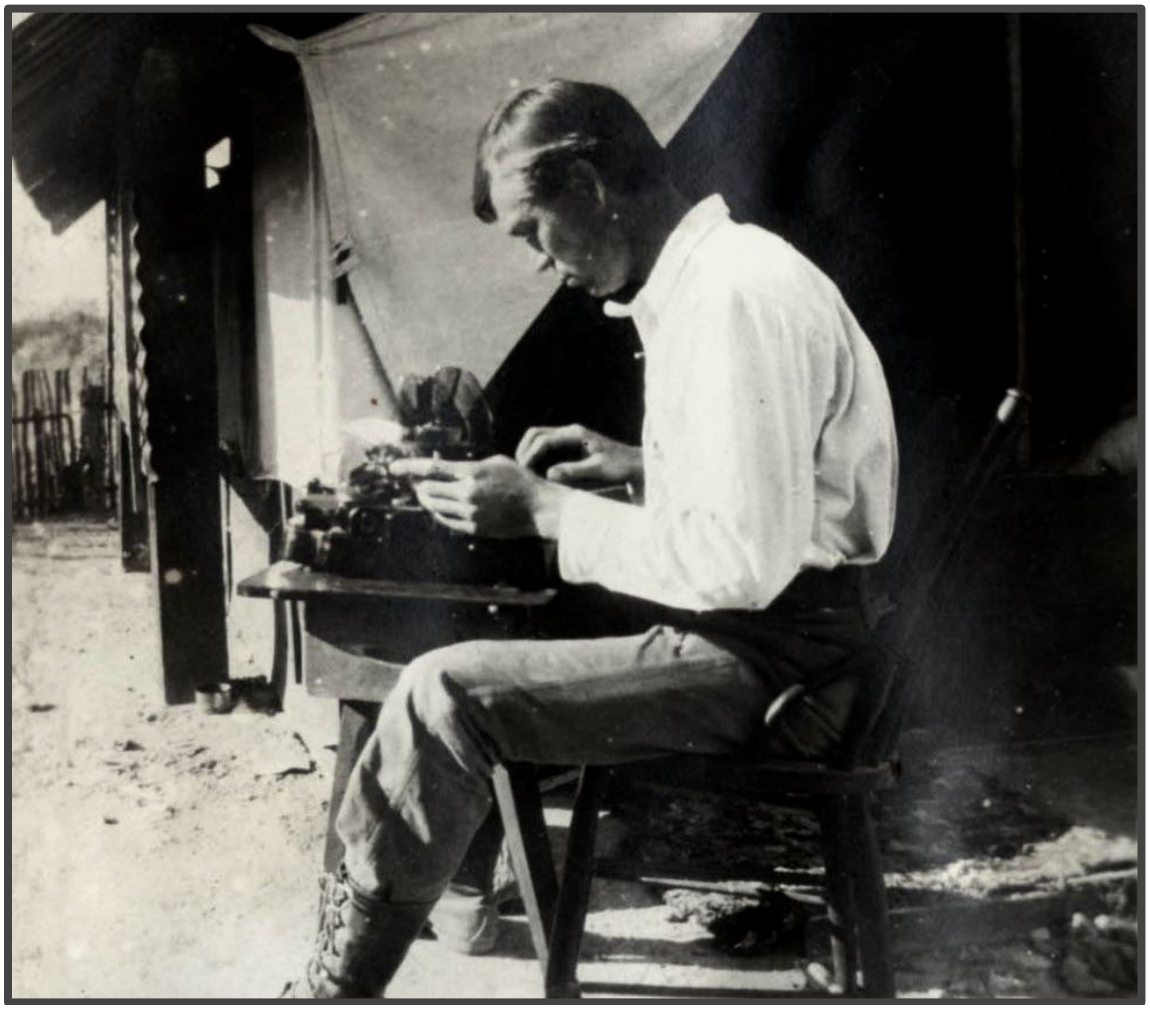


Figure 4. Frank Pinkley, Custodian of Casa Grande Ruin Reservation, typing up his monthly reports, circa 1906-1909. Source: WACC (ARG 34)

The story of Southwestern National Monuments begins with Frank Pinkley. The longtime custodian of Casa Grande Ruins, Pinkley's journey toward Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments lasted more than two decades. The first leg began on December 12, 1901—the day he entered on duty as the inaugural resident custodian of Casa Grande Ruin Reservation. It ended in 1914 when he resigned his position. During this period, Casa Grande possessed neither the title nor classification of "national monument." In 1889, the U.S. Congress protected "Casa Grande Ruin" in a bill that included protection of "abandoned military reservations." Yet in all but name, Casa Grande served as the prototype "national monument" before the national monuments category existed.[33] It was the first archeological site set aside by the federal government for preservation purposes, nearly twenty years before the Antiquities Act. Likewise, Frank Pinkley served as the prototype national monument custodian—and the lessons he learned supervising Casa Grande, year after year, out in the deserts west of Florence, Arizona, would later shape his vision for Southwestern National Monuments. The General Land Office's choice of twenty-year-old Pinkley as its first permanent custodian of Casa Grande Ruin Reservation was unorthodox. He was new to Arizona, lacked government work experience—or any administrative experience, for that matter—and possessed no background in archeology. What he did have was a well-placed relative in the General Land Office who offered him the job when he desperately needed it.

Frank Pinkley, Custodian of Casa Grande Ruin Reservation, 1901-1914

Frank Pinkley was born on May 27, 1881, in Livingston County, Missouri, the only child of Samuel Pinkley (1849-1922) and Nancy Graham (1860-1940).[34] During his earliest years, Pinkley lived on his parents' farm in Spring Hill, a rural community a few miles northwest of Chillicothe, the nearest town and county seat. Samuel Pinkley—often infirm—homeschooled his son on the family farm for a few years until Frank was old enough to walk the country roads unescorted to the rural school two miles distant. Later, when his family moved into Chillicothe, Frank Pinkley attended school in town. After high school graduation, Frank apprenticed for a Chillicothe town jeweler as a silversmith, earning one to two dollars a week. Two years into the job, he contracted a mild case of tuberculosis, and his doctor prescribed six months of respite in the arid climate of the Southwest—a common prescription at the

[33] Casa Grande Ruin Reservation was referred to, alternatively, as Casa Grande Reserve, Casa Grande Ruins, even Casa Grande National Park, though it was never a national park. Locals simply called it, "The Ruins." It became Casa Grande National Monument in 1918 when it transferred from General Land Office-administration over to the National Park Service.

[34] Frank Pinkley's birthday is often cited as May 23 due to misinformation on his death certificate. Pinkley gave May 27 on his World War I draft registration and May 27 is also noted as his birthday in a May 27, 1923, diary entry by Georgia Boundey, who lived at Casa Grande from 1922-1927; on that date she entered: "Frank Pinkley's birthday." See: William J. Boundey, ed., "Notes on the Casa Grande Ruins: As recorded by George and Georgia Boundey," unpublished copyrighted manuscript (1988), 12. It does not appear that Pinkley had a middle name. Various writers over time have inserted a middle initial— 'A' , 'D' , 'E' , 'J'—but Pinkley did not sign his name with an initial nor did he include a middle name in any personal records (military draft, etc.). If he had a middle initial, it was likely 'A', given that Frank and Edna named their first child, a stillborn son, Fred Arthur Pinkley.

time.[35] The tubercular diagnosis saved Frank Pinkley from a trade he disliked "like the devil hates holy water." It also set him on the path toward his future National Park Service career.[36]

Nineteen-year-old Frank Pinkley arrived at Phoenix, Arizona Territory, in early September 1900. He enjoyed breakfast at a Chinese restaurant on Washington Street before spending a few days exploring the unfamiliar desert city. Then he started his prescription: recouping at an isolated "desert camp" northeast of town. Pinkley may have lodged in a tubercular tent city, or he may have lived with relatives.[37] After a quick recovery of just a few months, Pinkley and his cousin leased a ranch near Phoenix for a dairy-farming experiment—by all accounts a short-lived gig. By the fall of 1901, Pinkley was on the hunt for other work.[38] At this point Pinkley's uncle, a land commissioner for the General Land Office (GLO), recommended Pinkley for the full-time custodian position at Casa Grande Ruin Reservation.[39] Since 1889, Casa Grande had remained under the nominal custodianship of the ministers of the First Presbyterian Church of Florence—the nearest town, eight miles east. They were Rev. Isaac T. Whittemore (in charge, 1889-1899), Rev. Herman B. Mayo (in charge, 1899-1901), and Rev. B. C. Meeker (in charge, Nov-Dec 1901). The minister-custodians did not live on site, nor did they receive financial compensation to protect the site. Their service was charitable. They inspected Casa Grande as time permitted, usually during their mobile preaching circuit through Pinal County. Sometimes they held church picnics at Casa Grande Ruin, or even religious services.

---

[35] Health seekers sought out the arid climate of the Southwest to cure respiratory illnesses beginning in the 1870s. By 1900, Phoenix and Tucson hosted multiple sanitariums and desert camps—often called tent cities—on their urban peripheries. It was later thought that Vitamin D absorbed through the skin from direct sun exposure aided recovery more than the climatic aridity. See: Robert G. Frank, Jr., "Tuberculosis and Medicine in the Era of Health Seekers: Introduction to the Second Printing" of John E. Baur, *The Health Seekers of Southern California, 1870-1900* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1957; reprint, 2010), xix.

[36] Frank Pinkley, "Ruminations," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1939, 481. For more biographical background on Pinkley, see both Chapter 5 and the Epilogue of Linnéa K.E. Caproni, *Becoming "America's Pompeii": A Historic Resource Study of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument*, Colorado Plateau Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit, project no. J8610100003/ASU-59 (2017).

[37] In 1888, Pinkley's maternal uncle and granduncle, George D. Graham and Alfred H. Graham, respectively, emigrated from Chillicothe to Phoenix. George died in Phoenix two years later (of tuberculosis). Alfred and his family homesteaded northeast of town. Later, Pinkley's widowed grandfather, James G. Graham, retired from operating the Graham Mills in Missouri and moved permanently to Arizona. Initially, he lived with his brother Alfred. The July 1900 federal census shows James Graham residing with Alfred's family in rural northeast Phoenix just two months before Pinkley's arrival. The Grahams' rural residence may have been the "desert camp" that Pinkley described moving to in the autumn of 1900.

[38] "Livingston," *Chariton Courier*, August 30, 1901, 3.

[39] Pinkley never named this uncle in any autobiographical writings. In 1901, the commissioner of the General Land Office was Binger Hermann, but genealogical research has not connected him to Pinkley's family tree. Perhaps the relation was Hugh Hiram Price, GLO Surveyor General of Arizona at the time. Price's wife was Lydie Blakeley Graham of Pennsylvania. Given his wife's maiden surname of "Graham," Price may have been a shirttail relation on Pinkley's maternal Graham branch—though genealogical research has not confirmed this either. Alternatively, the 'uncle' was Pinkley's cousin once-removed: his father's cousin James W. Graham (son of Alfred H. Graham), who served as Deputy County Recorder in Phoenix from at least January 1901 through 1903, and may have exerted influence in the General Land Office.

Rev. Meeker had served as Casa Grande's nominal custodian for only a month when the General Land Office appointed Frank Pinkley to the position of full-time resident custodian.[40] Pinkley's instructions from the GLO were to live on-site and protect the ruins from anyone who might encroach upon the site or vandalize it. Preferably, the GLO thought Pinkley should live within the ancient Great House structure known as the "Casa Grande." He also had permission to build accommodations at his own expense. Predictably, the roofless ruin—a 550-year-old caliche-block structure—proved entirely inadequate as living quarters. Unable to construct a custodian's house on his annual salary of $900, Pinkley spent his first Christmas at Casa Grande building a tent-house a few hundred yards north of the Great House. Curious neighbors reported to the *Florence Tribune* that a young man from Phoenix had set up camp at "the Ruins," as it was known locally. They heard he was the new custodian, but they had yet to learn his name.[41] Pinkley quickly became known. The locals welcomed him into the social life and civic affairs of the rural Casa Grande Valley. Pinkley, in turn, hosted his new friends at Casa Grande, encouraging their use of the reservation for picnics, meetings, and community events.

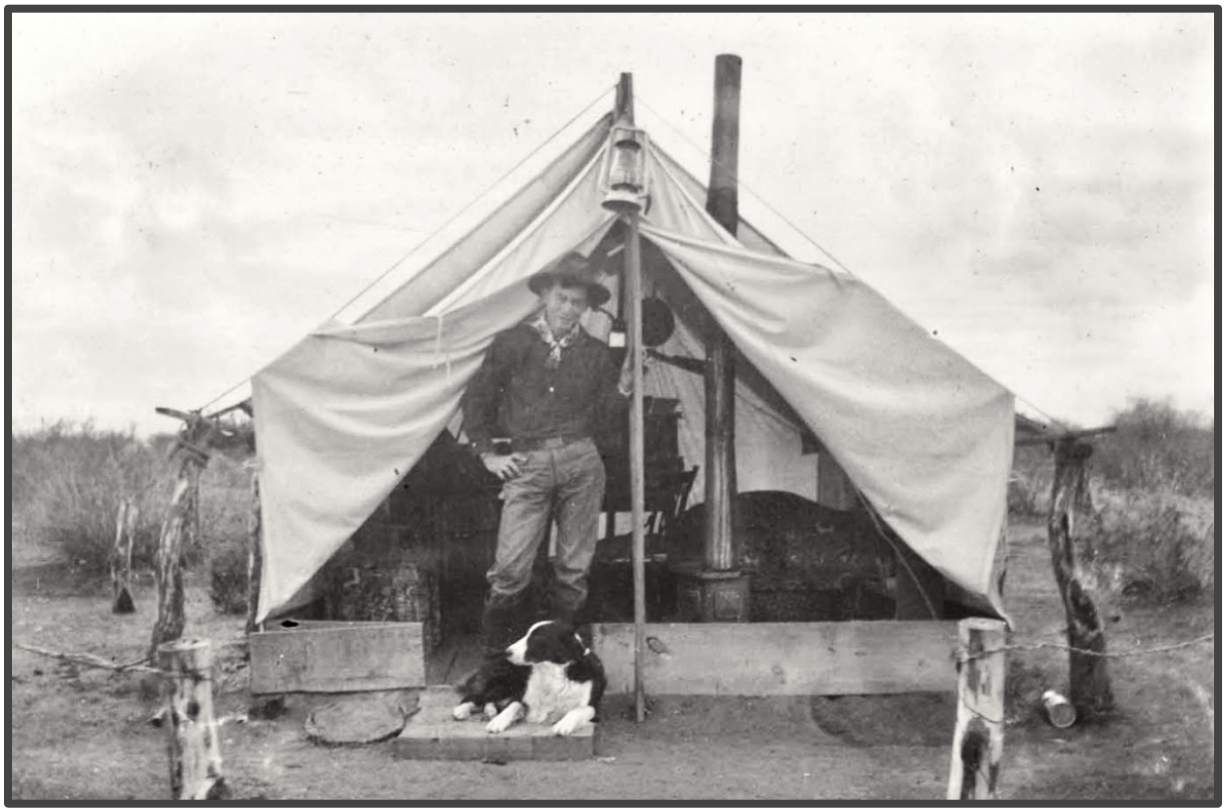


Figure 5. Frank Pinkley in front of his original tent at Casa Grande Ruin Reservation, circa 1903-1905. Source: WACC

[40] For notice of Meeker's formal custodial appointment by the Secretary of the Interior in November 1901, see: *The Florence Tribune*, Nov. 16, 1901, 3.

[41] *The Florence Tribune*, Dec. 28, 1901, 3.



Figure 6. Interior of the Pinkley trading post, Pinkley & Son (est. 1903), at Blackwater, n.d. Photo desc. gives circa 1904 or 1909. Frank Pinkley's father, Samuel Pinkley, store operator, standing behind the counter. Source: WACC (00687)

In 1902, Frank Pinkley's parents, Samuel and Nancy Pinkley, left Missouri and moved to Arizona to be near their son. Initially, they lived with him at Casa Grande. Together they developed a rapport with the local Pima (Akimel O'odham) community located on the nearby Gila River Indian Reservation. This led to a business arrangement with the tribe. In 1903-04, the Pinkleys established a trading post near Blackwater, the closest Pima village to Casa Grande Ruin.[42] Frank Pinkley helped operate it, to supplement his meager income as Casa Grande's custodian. In addition to general merchandise, the trading post—called Pinkley & Son—stocked consigned Piman goods such as pottery and baskets as well as bulk grain grown and harvested in Gila River Indian Reservation fields. In 1907, Samuel Pinkley successfully applied to establish a post office in the Blackwater store; he served as its postmaster until his death in 1922, when Nancy Pinkley took over.[43]

[42] Some sources suggest that the site of the Pinkley & Son Trading Post may have been closer to Sacaton, while others suggest it may have been located on the same site as the "Blackwater Trading Post," which was established much later and owned by the Ellis family. The Ellis' former trading-post building—located about four miles west of Casa Grande Ruins—is still extant and the land recently (Dec. 2022) transferred into trust status for the Gila River Indian Reservation. See: "Ceremony Celebrates Blackwater Trading Post Returning to GRIC Control," *Gila River Indian News*, February 3, 2023.

[43] "A New Postoffice," *Arizona Republican*, June 7, 1907, 6. See also: Linnéa K. E. Caproni, *Becoming "America's Pompeii": A Historic Resource Study of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, 1539-1918* (2013), 184.

While operating the Blackwater store, Frank Pinkley met his future wife, Lucy Edna Townsley. In summer 1903, Edna—a schoolteacher and recent graduate of the University of South Dakota—traveled to Arizona to assist her father, Samuel S. Townsley, during his one-year teaching assignment at the Indian-agency day school at Blackwater.[44] Edna helped teach at the school, earning a small salary from the Office of Indian Affairs as her father's "housekeeper."[45] At some point, her path crossed with Frank Pinkley's, probably at the Blackwater store. By the time her father's teaching position ended in January 1904, she and Pinkley were courting. When her father returned to South Dakota, Edna remained behind in Arizona for another six months or so before returning to South Dakota [Bio File: Townsley, Edna].[46] Two years later, on the morning of October 3, 1906, Edna and Frank were married in an intimate early-morning ceremony at the Townsley family home in Vermillion, South Dakota. The newlyweds' honeymoon consisted of the train ride back to Arizona the same day. The Bureau of American Ethnology had scheduled its first season of excavations at Casa Grande, beginning October 24. The Pinkleys needed to prepare.

Frank Pinkley's Broader Vision

From the start, Frank Pinkley tackled the daily tasks of custodian with a personal touch and initiative that set a high standard for future southwestern monuments. Pinkley provided high-quality visitor service, including informative personal guided tours no matter the time of day or night. Second to visitor contact, he devoted considerable energy to his monthly reports and other official correspondence he directed to the General Land Office, and then later to the National Park Service. The reports carried a rare personal tone and uncommon amount of detail, signature qualities that later reappeared in his Southwestern National Monuments monthly reports. A detail-oriented person, Pinkley thoroughly assessed Casa Grande's condition and based his appropriation requests on an exhaustive list of preservation and administrative needs. His requests were routinely denied, but Pinkley doggedly re-submitted them. In the absence of appropriations, Pinkley used personal funds to accomplish tasks that he considered necessary, such as constructing an adobe custodian's house in 1910 with $350 from his savings. During the early years of his custodianship, Pinkley on three occasions received heightened funding for Casa Grande. In 1903, Congress authorized $2,000 for the construction of a protective shelter roof over the Great House, a campaign initiated by Pinkley's Presbyterian predecessors. Then in 1906-07, Casa Grande received $3,000 for extensive Bureau of

---

[44] The location of the Blackwater Day School was the same as the current Blackwater Community School (3652 Blackwater School Rd, Coolidge, AZ).

[45] Samuel Townsley's one-year teaching commitment at Blackwater spanned January 1903 to January 1904. Department of Interior reports listed his appointment start date as Jan. 26, 1903. Edna's "housekeeper" appointment commenced on Sept. 1, 1903. Samuel earned $72 a month, and Edna $30. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1903-04, Vol. II, Part I: Indian Services* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 678.

[46] Edna earned an Arizona territorial teaching certificate in June 1904 and planned to teach in the Florence school district in 1904-05, but, for whatever reason, she secured a teaching position in Hartley, Iowa, where her brother lived, instead. Samuel Townsley returned to Arizona a few more times to teach students in the rural Ruins District: 1912-1913, 1914-1915 and 1920-1921 (the school was located at Casa Grande Ruins until 1915).

Ethnology archeological excavations and repairs under the direction of archeologist J. Walter Fewkes, followed by an additional $3,000 for a second season of excavations in 1907-08.[47]

In his spare time, Frank Pinkley learned as much as he could about Casa Grande, the Gila River, and the greater archeological landscape of Arizona. He studied available literature and synthesized his developing knowledge into interpretive talks for Casa Grande visitors and local civic groups. He also conducted fieldwork in search of anything archeological that might shed light on the history of the Ancestral Sonoran Desert people associated with Casa Grande. In 1904-05, Pinkley encountered a cluster of cultural sites that possessed features like Casa Grande such as platform and elliptical mounds. These sites lay about three, five, and eight miles northeast of Casa Grande Ruin Reservation and seemed to correspond with descriptions of the area recorded in historical journals and reports over the past three hundred years. Pinkley reported his findings in Casa Grande's 1905 and 1906 annual reports to the Department of the Interior and asked for Congress to reserve the sites and place them under his custodial charge.[48] Two of the areas were unavailable for reservation, but on May 9, 1906, the Interior withdrew the third site and named Pinkley as its custodian.[49] On paper this added another 320 acres to Pinkley's official jurisdiction but in practice proved only a nominal gesture; it carried no administrative funding or formal responsibilities. For several years, Pinkley continued to recommend protection of the other two sites without success.

Undeterred, Frank Pinkley continued to pursue a broader administrative role in protecting Arizona's archeological landscape. In his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906, Pinkley called attention to "groups of ruins" in the Gila Valley, the Verde Valley, and the Black Mesa Forest Reserve. He suggested protecting and preserving the sites and offered his services as a kind of regional custodian. In this way, he reasoned, his "range of usefulness" to the Department of the Interior would broaden.[50] Pinkley explained that he could conduct annual inspections of the areas on a small per

---

[47] See: J. Walter Fewkes, "Excavations at Casa Grande, Arizona, in 1906-07," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 50 (Oct. 1907): 290-293; J. W. Fewkes, "Casa Grande, Arizona," *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912): 25-179.

[48] "Casa Grande Ruin," *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1905* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 195. Long before archeologists confirmed it, Frank Pinkley proposed that the large elliptical, or oval-shaped, archeological features at Casa Grande, Adamsville, and Escalante-Poston Butte had likely served as ceremonial ballcourts. At the time, the prevailing theory explained these features as reservoirs. See: Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, November 1, 1918, and December 2, 1918, in "Historic Monthly Reports, 1918-1926," Casa Grande National Monument Central Files Collection, Assembled (WACC ACC 1271), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

[49] The so-called Poston Butte Ruin. See: Pinkley to Richards, June 14, 1906, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "205, Instructions and Orders, 1906-1938" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD; *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 228; and A. Berle Clemensen, *A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve, 1892-1992: Administrative History, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona* (Denver: National Park Service, 1992), 56-59.

[50] He had likely learned about these groups of ruins in Edgar L. Hewett's widely-distributed *Circular* (1904), an important inventory of historic and cultural sites in the Southwest that included a section on Gila Basin archeological areas—

annum appropriation, enough to cover his travel expenses and the costs to post signs warning against vandalism. During field inspections, he reasoned, his father, Samuel Pinkley, could guard Casa Grande Ruin and handle its general administration.[51] The scheme never materialized but it predicted Pinkley's future role as the superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments.

As the years progressed, Frank Pinkley became increasingly discouraged by the lack of interest paid to his administrative vision. After the excitement of the 1906-08 Fewkes excavations, he requested $2,000 to establish a government museum—a branch of the federal Smithsonian Institution—at Casa Grande Ruin, to display material collected from Fewkes's expedition as well as specimens from future expeditions. He repeated this petition for several years with no success, despite Fewkes's support for the idea. Instead, Casa Grande's artifacts remained at the Smithsonian museum in Washington, D.C. The only relevant archeological material Pinkley could show visitors remained the artifacts he had personally found or acquired over the years.

Though small, Frank Pinkley's embryonic collection provided sufficient material for an exhibit displayed on homemade shelves inside Casa Grande's newly-roofed Great House structure.[52] At other times, Pinkley displayed the collection in his residence, a small two-room adobe house that he and Edna built in 1910 while expecting the arrival of their daughter, Nancy Margaret (1910-1979).[53] Like the museum building, appropriations for Casa Grande's other administrative needs—interpretive material for visitors, construction of administration and personnel buildings, general repairs, and repairs of exposed archeological walls—did not materialize.[54] Gradually, Pinkley's monthly reports to the General Land Office lost their usual detail and agreeable tone and became perfunctory single-page missives, containing little news of note except Pinkley's repetitive statement that he had nothing to relay since Casa Grande lacked funds.[55]

---

including the districts of interest to Pinkley—along with recommendations for their protection. This document played a key role in the events leading up to the 1906 Antiquities Act. See: Edgar L. Hewett, *Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest and Their Preservation* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904): 9-12.

[51] Clemensen, *A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve, 1892-1992* (1992), 59.

[52] Ralph H. Lewis, *Museum Curatorship in the National Parks, 1904-1982* (Washington, D.C.: NPS Curatorial Services Division, 1993), 12-13; and Clemensen (1992), 56.

[53] Nancy Margaret was their second-born. The Pinkleys welcomed son Fred Arthur in 1907, but he either died at birth or was born stillborn.

[54] In 1913, Pinkley finally received funds to produce a 31-page informational pamphlet on Casa Grande for visitors.

[55] Clemensen (1992), 59.



Figure 7. Frank Pinkley holding his daughter Nancy Margaret in front of the iron-roofed Casa Grande Ruin, circa 1910-11. Source: WACC

Pinkley Stands Down

The government's unwillingness to invest in Casa Grande Ruin led Pinkley to explore different opportunities in Arizona. After 1910, he became more invested in his family's trading-post businesses. He expanded Pinkley & Son by purchasing the former Haynes general store, located near Sacaton Flats. He renamed it "The Four Mile Post" and operated it into the 1920s.[56] Sometime before 1914, Pinkley added a third business interest—management, or possibly co-ownership, of the Northline Trading Post at the northwestern edge of the Gila River Indian Reservation near Chandler.[57] As a merchant, Pinkley developed a fiscal creativity and restraint that shaped his administration of Casa Grande Ruin Reservation and beyond.[58]Locally, Frank Pinkley actively participated in fraternal organizations, county transportation boards, and Casa Grande Valley irrigation associations. He co-founded the Casa Grande Valley Water Users Association in 1911, and served as director for a couple years, working hard to secure congressional approval for a Gila River diversion dam at Sacaton.[59] By 1914, locals considered Pinkley "one of the brightest and probably the best posted men in the valley on water questions."[60] Not surprisingly, Pinkley turned to a career in politics. In summer 1914, not long after the Pinkleys welcomed the birth of their third and final child, son Addison Boyd (1914-1944), Frank Pinkley decided to run on the Democratic ticket for a seat in the Lower House of the 2nd Arizona State Legislature. The decision followed on the heels of the General Land Office's denial of a funding request to repair Casa Grande's deteriorating Great House.

As soon as Frank Pinkley entered politics, unsupportive newspaper editors began attacking him in print. They criticized his vague platform on relevant current issues compared to his preoccupation

---

[56] The Haynes store, which became Pinkley's Four Mile Post, was owned and operated by Felix Grundy Haynes, son of Wm. Haynes (d: 1900). The following newspaper article described the location of the Haynes store as four miles east of Sacaton, at Sacaton Flats, a few miles from Blackwater: *Arizona Daily Star*, May 31, 1910, 7. Today there is a short road just off the AZ-87 called "Four Mile Post Road." This is likely the site of Pinkley's Four Mile Post. According to newspaper reports, wood from an old Four Mile Post building was removed in 1943 and used to build a classroom addition to the Sacaton Baptist Church. Then in 1950, the main building at Four Mile Post—described as "a three-room frame building at the junction of Sacaton and Coolidge Roads (Four Mile Post)"—was listed for sale on the condition it would be removed within sixty days. See: *Casa Grande Dispatch*, April 9, 1943, 2; *Casa Grande Dispatch*, July 27, 1950, 6.

[57] Located at the boundary of the Gila River Reservation in Section 34, Township 2S, Range 5E, "1-½ miles west of Casa Grande-Phoenix road by way of Sacaton." See: John S. Brown, "Routes to Desert Watering Places in the Salton Sea Region, California," *USGS Water-Supply Paper 490-A* (Washington: GPO, 1920): 425. It is unclear exactly when Pinkley bought, or purchased interest in, The Northline Trading Post (aka, The North Line Trading Post) or when he may have sold it. From 1913-1915, M. O. Kimbrough and George H. Tockey managed the store: "Local News," *Parker Post*, November 29, 1913, 4; "New Manager Lesueur Store," *Arizona Republican*, July 19, 1914, 24; "Moves to Chandler," *Arizona Republican*, November 17, 1915, 13; "Chandler Men Show Up All O.K.," *Casa Grande Valley Dispatch and Casa Grande Times*, August 20, 1915, 1.

[58] Pinkley, "Ruminations: On the Seventh Star by the Boss," *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports* (Dec. 1939), 481.

[59] Caproni, *Becoming "America's Pompeii"* (2013), 229.

[60] "Our Famous Valley of the Casa Grande," *Casa Grande Bulletin*, September 11, 1913.

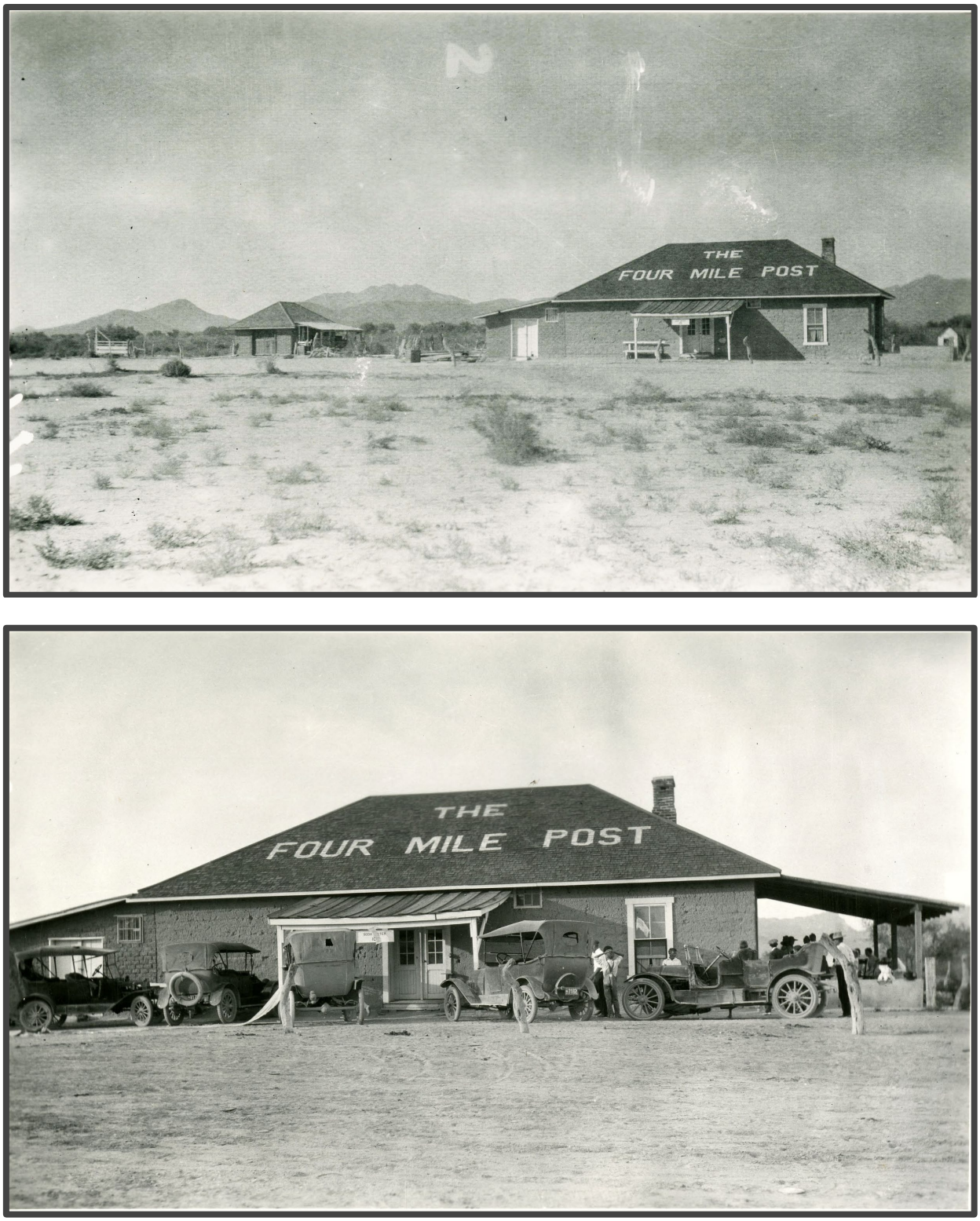


Figure 8. Frank Pinkley's second trading post, "Four Mile Post," established in 1910 in the former Haynes General Store near Sacaton Flats, n.d. Source: WACC (00040 and 00490)

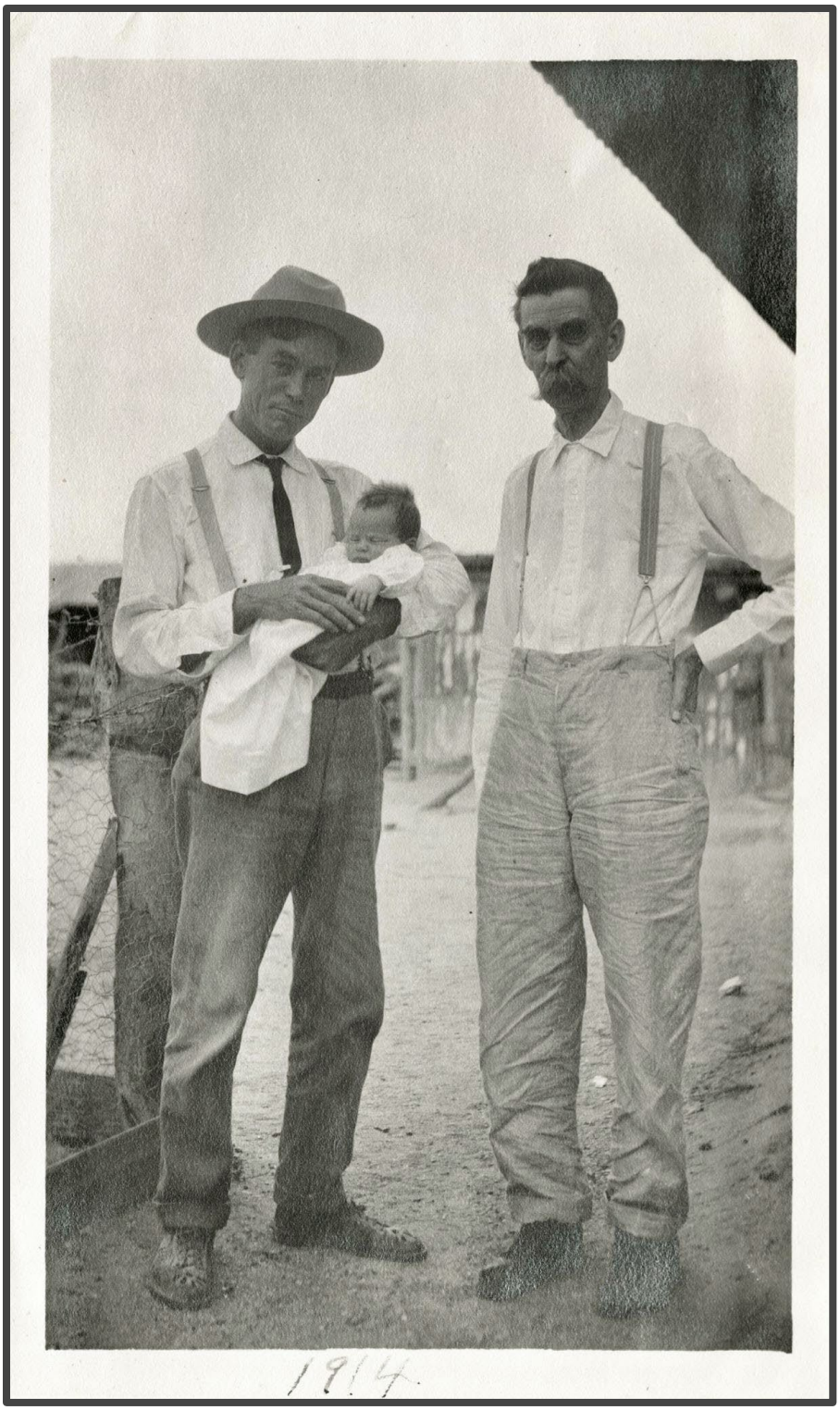


Figure 9. Three generations of Pinkley men, summer 1914: (l to r) Frank Pinkley (holding newborn son Addison) and his father Samuel Pinkley. Source: Mabel K. Richardson Collection, Digital Library of South Dakota, University of South Dakota.

with antiquity manifested in his alleged 1,000-volume library on archeology and related subjects.[61] Nevertheless, Pinkley won the nomination on September 4 in Democrat-controlled Pinal County, all but guaranteeing him a seat in the State Legislature ahead of the November general election.[62] In early October, however, the losing nominee, Alexander Barker, challenged Pinkley's nomination on the grounds that Pinkley, as custodian of Casa Grande Ruin, was constitutionally ineligible to represent Pinal County in the Legislature. Barker argued that it was illegal for an elected official to hold an office of profit or trust at the time of election or during legislative sessions.[63] Concerned with the appearance of conflicting interest, Pinkley appealed to the Secretary of the Interior for a temporary leave of absence from the custodianship of Casa Grande Ruin. He recommended Edna for his job instead:

> I ask that my wife, Edna T. Pinkley, be appointed in my place as Custodian of the Casa Grande Ruin. I will continue to reside at the Ruin with the exception of sixty days through January and February next, and I will be able to carry out the wishes of the majority of the people of this district and to fulfill the duties of this office without the technical conflict which might otherwise occur.[64]

Pinkley faced public criticism for positioning his wife as his successor—in his critics' eyes, a nepotic move to remain technically eligible for election.[65] But Edna's standalone qualifications were stellar. She had served by Pinkley's side as nominal co-custodian since 1906, often holding down the fort whenever Frank was absent. She was the prototype national monuments spouse, the original Honorary Custodian Without Pay before that venerable title even existed—except in this case Edna was actually paid. The Department of the Interior appointed her to the paid custodianship for about eight months while Pinkley served an arduous legislative session that extended deep into the summer.[66] Shortly after the sessions closed, Pinkley's maternal grandfather, James G. Graham, who lived off-and-on at Casa Grande Ruin since 1907, died at their home. Exhausted and grieving, Frank and Edna

---

[61] "Severe Criticism: Pinkley's Letter," *Casa Grande Valley Dispatch and Casa Grande Times*, September 4, 1914, 1.

[62] "Hunt and Smith are Nominated: Pinkley Wins for House and MacMillan for State Senate," *Casa Grande Valley Dispatch and Casa Grande Times*, September 4, 1914, 9.

[63] "Barker to Contest Choice of Pinkley," *Tucson Citizen*, October 5, 1914, 8. Barker ultimately lost the contest. Judge William F. Cooper of Pima County—substituting in the Pinal County Superior Court for Judge J. E. O' Connor—ruled in late October that Arizona's legal system had no provision whereby a nomination for the legislature could be contested. See: "No Law in Arizona for Contesting Nomination," *Tombstone Weekly Epitaph*, November 1, 1914, 2.

[64] Frank Pinkley to the Secretary of the Interior, October 22, 1914, property of the National Archives and Records Administration, digital image available online at Harpers Ferry Center (https://www.nps.gov/media/photo/gallery-item.htm?id=397217e0-5f83-4f1f-b04c-dc7ee6e2a3d7&gid=0B5AD1EF-7A16-4BAF-A6A5-715694750AA1; accessed February 8, 2024).

[65] "Week's Resume of the Doings at the Capital," *Prescott Weekly Journal-Miner*, June 23, 1915, 5.

[66] Pinkley was instrumental in passing Prohibition, securing authorization for the Legislature to produce and publish Farish's *History of Arizona*, and securing a power line from Sacaton to Florence to furnish light for the city. Pinkley was also accused of being a Gov. Hunt yeoman for garnering support for Hunt's anti-capital punishment measures at the Florence state prison.



Figure 10. Portrait of Frank Pinkley ca1914-1915. Same photograph submitted to the 1915 Arizona Blue Book for Pinkley's official portrait as an Arizona state legislator. Source: Mabel K. Richardson Collection, Digital Library of South Dakota, University of South Dakota

permanently resigned the Casa Grande custodianship; by December they had packed up and left.[67] The General Land Office hired Col. James P. Bates and his wife as their replacement.

A Bureau for National Parks

In 1915, while Frank Pinkley debated issues of prohibition, capital punishment, and land policies in Arizona, proponents for the creation of a national-parks bureau made significant progress in Washington, D.C. Serious discussions on how to develop their vision into a central agency to administer national parks and monuments began around 1910; by 1914, the idea for a national-parks bureau had the public's general support.[68] Now it just needed a bill that could pass Congress. Legislators presented increasing evidence that the national parks would generate both economic and emotional dividends—a good reason to create a competent supervisory bureau. In special committees and hearings, Congress debated terminology, definitions, and potential policies. But the government really grappled with how the disparate parks, monuments, and other reservations would be administered together under such a bureau, and whether the Interior could—or should—extend administrative oversight to the parks and monuments managed at the time by other departments (Agriculture, War, etc.). Eventually, it became clear that *the effort* to establish a national-parks bureau needed competent administration as much as the parks.

Several individuals energized and managed the final drive to create a bureau for national parks.[69] J. Horace McFarland of the American Civic Association spearheaded discussions and was in the thick of the planning. Landscape architect and urban planner Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. served as a consultant on the administrative design of a national-parks bureau. He corresponded back and forth for many years with McFarland and other supporters, providing his feedback on the various manifestations of proposed legislation and its language. And it was Olmsted who finally called for a sound manager of them all, somebody who could marshal the chaos with "proper businesslike machinery"—preferably, a man of "really large caliber, of executive ability [...and with] the instincts of a gentleman," and who knew the American West, where most of the national parks were situated.[70]

Stephen Mather, Horace Albright, and Isabelle Story

Chicago businessman and millionaire Stephen Tyng Mather (1867-1930) fit the profile in Olmsted's wanted ad.[71] A Berkeley graduate in journalism (1887), Mather started his career modestly as a *New*

---

[67] The resignation was noted in *The Benson Signal*, December 11, 1915, 3.

[68] Robin W. Winks, "The National Park Service Act of 1916: A Contradictory Mandate," *Denver Law Review*, 74, no.3 (Jan. 1997): 585; Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, 3rd edition, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 105.

[69] Winks, "The National Park Service Act of 1916" (https://npshistory.com/publications/winks.htm).

[70] Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1997), 31.

[71] Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, 31.

York Sun reporter. Six years later, now married and thinking about starting a family, Mather left journalism and joined his father's company—the Pacific Coast Borax Company—as its advertising manager in New York City. Mather prospered in the competitive borax sales industry. He proved to be an aggressive businessman with a knack for marketing and publicity, including designing the company's famous 20-mule-team borax branding logo that became a household name.[72] Eventually, Mather transferred to the company's Chicago office as advertising manager. He left Pacific Coast Borax in 1903 and partnered with former co-worker Thomas Thorkildsen to create the Thorkildsen-Mather Borax Mining Co. (later renamed Sterling Borax). Within a decade, Mather accumulated enough wealth from the business that he retired from an active role in the company.

An outdoorsy fellow and member of the Sierra Club, Mather supported conservation, traveled extensively, and was an avid mountaineer. In 1914, on a mountain-climbing trip through Sequoia and Yosemite, he encountered substandard park conditions and visitor facilities. Dismayed, he wrote to the Department of the Interior with criticism for its poor management of the national parks. Assistant Secretary Franklin K. Lane—Mather's friend from their Berkeley college days—told him if it bothered him that much then he should run the national parks himself.[73] Before year's end, Mather did just that. He left Chicago and, by January 1915, joined the national-parks bureau campaign as Lane's special assistant in Washington, D.C. He was forty-six years old. In Washington and across the country, Mather worked diligently to promote and secure legislation for a national-parks bureau. As a charismatic and successful business owner, he offered credible ideas for the economic potential of a well-run American national park system. And he loved to share his big vision with other influencers. In his pursuit of a national-parks bureau, Mather hosted events—at his own expense—in the form of extravagant dinner parties and epic mountain treks and camping trips in the national parks.[74]

On the flipside, Mather disliked "red tape." Keeping track of bureaucratic minutiae bored him. Perhaps his greatest quality, therefore, was his intuition for selecting good managers to handle the details. When he first joined the Interior, Mather met Horace Marden Albright, Esq. (1890-1987) and immediately recognized the young lawyer's organizational abilities. Albright, a Berkeley alumnus and recent Georgetown Law student of modest background and no money, was concluding a one-year term as Lane's secretary at the time.[75] Mather charmed Albright away from his plan to practice mining

---

[72] John Clayton, "Stephen Mather and the Founding of the National Park Service: 100 Years of Brand, Strategy and Self-Less Service," *Magic Magazine*, July 25, 2016.

[73] "Recipient Biography: Stephen Tyng Mather" (https://aapra.org/Awards/Pugsley-Medal/Recipient-Biography/Id/10).

[74] Horace M. Albright and Marian Albright Schenck, *Creating the National Park Service: The Missing Years* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 280.

[75] Horace M. Albright was a native of Bishop, California, located in rural Owens Valley. He attended Berkeley while working hard to pay his own board and expenses. He studied mining law and after graduation in 1912 he traveled to D.C. as the "confidential clerk" to Adolph Miller, a Berkeley professor accompanying Franklin K. Lane, newly appointed Secretary of the Interior, to the capital. In Washington, Albright attended Georgetown Law School while serving as Miller's clerk. He graduated from Georgetown on June 16, 1914.

law in San Francisco and instead swiped him for his right-hand man in the national-parks bureau battle. Subsequently, Albright handled most of the Washington politicking and legislative legwork for Mather. Later, Albright admitted that he had fast-forwarded the official establishment of the national-parks bureau by slipping "The Organic Act" document onto the President's desk for his signature the same day as its final congressional approval, August 25, 1916. He also credited himself as the ghost writer behind the National Park Service policy-defining statement of 1918.[76]

From the start, the Mather-Albright relationship functioned like Batman and Robin—an oddly dynamic duo that just worked.[77] As Albright framed it, he and Mather made "quite a combination" because,

> [Mr. Mather] was an experienced public relations man, created instant rapport with strangers, had a personality that radiated poise, friendliness, and charm, [and] could talk easily with anyone he met, confidently instilling perfect strangers with his enthusiasm. [...Whereas Albright] was knowledgeable about Washington, the Interior Department, and the Congress, was quite good at detail and administrative work, which [Mather] obviously hated, could help with legal problems, and above all, was loyal and conscientious.

Albright was also young. "At twenty-four years old," he later recalled, "I was as healthy as an ox, able to work half the night as well as Sundays and holidays for [Mather]."[78] In contrast, Mather suffered from poor health. In particular, he struggled with a bipolar mental condition that manifested as debilitating breakdowns after periods of high stress. He suffered one of those breakdowns in January 1917 just as the new National Park Service was organizing. The episode proved so severe that when the Interior formalized the NPS appointments in May 1917 and officially named Mather as the agency's first director, Mather had already been under psychiatric care at a Pennsylvania sanitarium for five months. With Mather indisposed, Albright—the Assistant Director of the NPS—stepped in as Acting Director. He served as the 'secret' head of the new bureau for the first couple years of its operation while Mather discreetly recovered.[79]

---

[76] Horace M. Albright and Marian Albright Schenck, *Creating the National Park Service: The Missing Years* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 275.

[77] Tony Pattiz, "Meet the Real Life Batman & Robin of the National Parks (Unmasking Included)," August 3, 2023, *More Than Just Parks* (https://morethanjustparks.com/stephen-mather-horace-albright/).

[78] Albright and Schenck, 39-40

[79] Mather's treatment included the care of specialist Dr. Weisenburg from the Eastern Pennsylvania State Institution for the Feeble-Minded and Epileptic. But Mather's recovery took place, for the most part, at a remote facility in Devon, away from prying eyes. Albright handled the tasks of director until at least November 1917, when Mather suddenly showed up at the new Department of the Interior building and attempted to resume his normal activities. Albright recalled that, "On the surface, we all deferred to him and gave the impression to the public that he was completely back to normal, but we carefully screened his mail, his phone calls, and everyone who wished to see him. I also made sure Weisenburg's instructions were carried out to the letter: 'Let him come to the office and play director but you keep all problems away from him and

Mather served as figurehead of the new National Park Service, and Albright the invisible captain. Both relied on Isabelle Florence Story (1888-1970) as the rudder responsible for organizing the directors' administrative affairs and steering the early public narrative of the Park Service. Story served the agency as a member of the executive staff from the bureau's creation in 1916 through its inaugural decade and beyond. A woman in the rare position of government leadership, she stood "shoulder to shoulder with Horace Albright and other NPS giants during the founding years."[80] From 1917 to 1919 Isabelle Story served as Albright's secretary, helping him run the National Park Service during Mather's long medical absences. She edited and penned official correspondence, the annual NPS reports, the agency's internal news bulletin, and, eventually, most of the press releases and articles—effectively publicizing the work of the Service to the American people. By the early 1920s, Story had risen to NPS Assistant Editor. In this capacity she received authorization to travel often to park units to learn about their history, resources, and activities, including an inaugural trip to the Southwest in 1932 to meet with Frank Pinkley and tour the southwestern monuments.[81]

Frank Pinkley Returns

At its creation in 1916, the National Park Service inherited twenty-one national monuments from the General Land Office (GLO), eleven of them located in the Southwest. Unofficially, the National Park Service also gained Casa Grande. The GLO, a sister agency of the NPS within the Department of the Interior, basically washed its hands of Casa Grande's administration after 1916; but it still held the purse strings. This left Casa Grande suspended awkwardly between a lackadaisical predecessor agency and a willing but unofficial successor. The custodian of Casa Grande Ruin Reservation, Col. James P. Bates regularly submitted estimates for improvements—a new well, replacement of the rusting 1903 great-house shelter roof, a visitor register, a boundary fence, and, especially, an automobile—but these were routinely denied or ignored by the GLO.[82] For its 1919 fiscal year estimates, the GLO submitted

---

you do all the work.' In view of that, Lane, with Mather's consent, kept me in the position of acting director." Albright and Schenck, *Creating the National Park Service*, 261. See also: Scott Einberger, "The Triumph of Manic Mather: A Tale of Bipolar Disorder From the Annals of American History.," *Psychology Today* (Jan. 10, 2021, https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/the-guest-room/201803/the-triumph-manic-mather; accessed Feb. 13, 2024).

[80] Mary Marucca, "Isabelle Story, 1888-1970," *in* Barry Mackintosh, ed., *The First 75 Years: Preserving Our Past for the Future* (Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1990).

[81] Horace M. Albright, "Isabelle Story: Talented Writer-Editor," *Courier* 4, no. 12 (Dec 1981): 22; National Park Service, "Isabelle Florence Story: Washington Office, 1916-1962," NPS Women Cartes de Visite Collection, NPS History Collection (https://npshistory.com/brochures/trading-cards/women/isabelle-story.pdf).

[82] Clemensen, *A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve, 1892-1992* (1992), https://npshistory.com/publications/cagr/adhi/chap3.htm. See also: Caproni, *Becoming "America's Pompeii"* (2013), 229, 231-232.

no requests for Casa Grande's expenses besides Bates's salary. "It's like pulling teeth to get aid from the GLO," Frank W. Griffith, NPS Chief Clerk, noted.[83]

Desperate for income, Col. Bates turned to pilfering from Casa Grande Ruin Reservation. The news reached Albright's desk when a "Mrs. A.E. Bolyard," of Pasadena, California, and recent visitor at Casa Grande, accused Bates of theft: "I learned from the people living about there," she angrily reported to Washington in fall 1917, that "he sells many things from the collection at the ruin. [...] To have these relics destroyed is like slaughter. Hoping that this may cause an investigation before it is to[sic] late."[84] Albright tested the allegations through an undercover agent who "purchased" a metate from the unsuspecting custodian-thief, compelling the National Park Service to request Bates's resignation.[85] Mather reached out to Frank Pinkley soon after, asking him to resume the Casa Grande custodianship. The solicitation proved timely; Pinkley lost his reelection to the Arizona Legislature in November. He promptly accepted the custodial appointment at the same $900 annual salary he had earned previously from the GLO, this time with the understanding that the National Park Service would give him a raise after a year's probation. Pinkley viewed an appointment with the new agency as a real chance "to accomplish something" and "to work up to something better."[86]

Frank Pinkley resumed the custodianship of Casa Grande Ruin Reservation on April 1, 1918. In his first correspondence with the NPS Washington office, he laid out his administrative ideas. These included requests for a museum and for material to establish an official library at Casa Grande. Pinkley hoped that by providing scholars access to Casa Grande he might reduce instances of illegal digging and looting.[87] The first donation to Casa Grande's library included multiple volumes pledged by J. Walter Fewkes, by then the Smithsonian's new Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology.[88] Fewkes asked that

---

[83] Mather to Hayden, November 21, 1917, and Griffith to [unknown], no date, both in RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[84] Bolyard to the Smithsonian Institution, November 12, 1917, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[85] Bates resigned in March with his last day to be no later than April 1, 1918. For mention of the undercover metate sale, see: Pinkley to Mather, April 22, 1918, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[86] Mather first wrote to Pinkley about the Casa Grande custodianship on January 16, 1918. Albright was still in the 'secret' Acting Director role at the time, and the decision to contact Pinkley was likely Albright's. On February 26, Chief Clerk/Acting Assistant Director Griffith followed up with Pinkley about the position. Pinkley mentioned the dates of the correspondence in his Mar. 4, 1918, letter to Mather. Pinkley to Mather, March 4, 1918, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[87] Denise D. Meringolo, *Museums, Monuments, and National Parks: Toward a New Genealogy of Public History* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 67-68.

[88] In a letter dated April 8, Pinkley approached Albright about material for a library. Albright, in turn, discussed the idea with Fewkes—at the time Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology—and Fewkes loved the idea. He planned to collect and donate

his donation serve as the beginning of an official government museum at Casa Grande to house the nascent library and also to exhibit artifacts and other historical material such as "reproductions of old maps, pictures, and photographs of the ruin from the time of its discovery."[89]

Feeling optimistic about his new position and the attention he received from Mather, Albright, and Fewkes, Frank Pinkley naively began sending itemized lists of needs to the NPS Washington office on a near-weekly basis.[90] These included requests for specialized equipment such as a U.S. Weather Bureau weather station for ruins-erosion studies.[91] Pinkley asked for too much at once. His requests prompted Albright to dispatch a frank letter to Pinkley reminding him that the agency had no funds available:

> The National Park Service and the General Land office are both without a cent of money that can be expended on the Casa Grande Ruin during the current fiscal year. The National Park Service never did have any money that could be expended in this reservation and after several conferences in the General Land Office, I am convinced that every available fund that this Bureau might have diverted to use at the Casa Grande ruins has been expended.

---

copies of out-of-print BOE reports as well as additional publications and documents from his personal library, and forward other books from time to time as they became available. See Albright to Pinkley, April 13, 1918, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[89] Fewkes to Albright, June 11, 1918, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[90] Improvements requests included: to repair floors and the ramada, pipe in water, and construct an addition to the custodian's house [to fit his family of four plus a governess]; to install a public drinking fountain; and to purchase and mount about seventy-five metal road signs directing motor tourists from Phoenix, Tucson, Casa Grande and Florence. Pinkley's estimates for all these items were conservative; he would reuse materials wherever able, and do most of the labor himself, with some hired indigenous labor. As for the custodian's house, he included it in the budgeted improvements because he had used his own money to build it in 1910-1914 and never been reimbursed for the costs. The state of Arizona had approved a reimbursement of $350 when he left to serve in the Legislature, but he had not received that money. Pinkley to Mather, April 20 and April 23, 1918, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[91] During Pinkley's former tenure, the Weather Bureau established a cooperative climatological station at Casa Grande that gave Pinkley eight years of data. After Pinkley's resignation, the weather station—consisting of an official shelter with thermometers and rain gauge—was discontinued and removed after a windstorm in 1916 knocked over the station and broke the thermometers. In asking for its reinstallation in 1918, Pinkley tacked on a request for an anemometer, to be used for determining how wind patterns affected ruins deterioration: "My idea when I first got this station established was to get a comprehensive idea over a long period of time of the rainfall, wind direction and wind velocity so that we might get some data pointing toward the rate of erosion on walls of ruins of this character in this climate." His request was denied due to wartime budget restrictions. Pinkley to Mather, April 8, 1918, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

Albright blamed Casa Grande Ruin's lack of official national monument status. By law, it belonged to the General Land Office, which neglected it and assumed the National Park Service would take over its management. But, being neither a national park nor a national monument, Casa Grande had no entitlement to funding from the National Park Service. "The jurisdiction of this reservation," Albright explained, was assigned to "the National Park Service by order of the Secretary because it logically belongs to this Bureau. Nevertheless, as a matter of law the reservation belongs to the General Land Office." Albright offered two solutions: 1) they could wait until the following year to submit estimates for an appropriation for Casa Grande and hope for the desired outcome, or 2) he could investigate the legality of changing the reservation's official status to a national monument. Albright emphasized that if the President could expedite and declare it a national monument, they could divert unallocated funds to Casa Grande from the current national monument appropriation. To ease the decision, Albright directed Pinkley to "pages 4 and 5 of the Annual Report of the National Park Service for 1917," to the definitions distinguishing national monuments from national parks. He clarified that Casa Grande Ruin would not rank higher or lower within the Service as a monument versus a park. Pinkley replied: "Simply declare us a Monument and let us get down to doing something."[92]

"Let Us Get Down to Doing Something"

Two months later, August 3, 1918, Casa Grande Ruin Reservation became Casa Grande National Monument. The new status changed little at first. The National Park Service, preoccupied with developing its portfolio of large national parks, showed comparatively low attention to the smaller national monuments. Mather demonstrated "little interest in historical areas," thinking they held "poor scenic value" and that scenery, not ruins, would sustain the new agency. "Mather," as Albright later recalled, "considered [the national monuments] beyond the pale, sort of nuisances for which we were legally responsible."[93] The oversized *National Parks Portfolio* publication that Mather privately financed in 1915-1916, for example, featured only the national parks and, even then, only those with the most spectacular scenery.[94] Just one national monument made the publication—the Grand Canyon, a national monument awaiting an act of Congress to become a national park.

Funding the National Monuments

During its early years, the National Park Service, like the rest of the Interior Department, obtained funding through the annual Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, a sprawling bill that funded many disparate federal agencies. The appropriations process began each spring when agency personnel

---

[92] Albright to Pinkley, June 7, 1918, and Pinkley to Mather, June 15, 1918, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[93] Horace M. Albright and Marian Albright Schenck, *Creating the National Park Service: The Missing Years* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 281; Richard West Sellars, "Historic Preservation in the National Park System and the 1916 National Park Service Act, Part I," July 30, 2012, National Parks Traveler.org.

[94] Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 91.

established objectives for the succeeding fiscal year. After projecting costs, called "estimates," agency leaders passed along the numbers to the Department of the Treasury to become collated along with tens of thousands of other government estimates into a single document called the Book of Estimates of Appropriations.[95] On Capitol Hill, members of the House appropriations committee divided the Book of Estimates into eight sections. Each section became the purview of an appropriations subcommittee whose members authored appropriation bills to fund agencies included in their section of the Book. Four members of the House appropriations subcommittee sat on the Sundry Civil subcommittee, which reviewed Interior Department estimates. The laborious process involved weeks of congressional hearings, where Interior Department leaders justified their estimates to members of the Sundry Civil subcommittees. Members of subcommittees had authority to reject or amend estimates as they pleased. Once authored, appropriations bills went to the House floor for a vote, then onto the Senate, which had its own sets of subcommittees.

Despite great discoveries of scientific interest in the Southwest, an attitude of indifference toward national monuments prevailed among members of the Sundry Civil subcommittee. The Antiquities Act of 1906 established strict consequences for anyone guilty of damaging national monuments: a $500 fine, 90 days in jail, or both.[96] The House, however, failed to provide the Interior, Agriculture, and War departments sufficient funding to enforce the law.[97] Between 1907 and 1915, the Interior Department annually requested $5,000 for the protection of its national monuments. Each year, members of the Sundry Civil subcommittee refused the appropriation outright.[98] One problem involved the reshuffling of Sundry Civil subcommittee members. No one at the Interior Department knew who to lobby in favor of national monuments, as new subcommittee chairs appeared every two years with each new Congress.[99] Likewise, few House members seemed concerned with the status of

---

[95] Contemporary scholars denounced the Book of Estimates of Appropriations as "an index of unharmonized activity programs" characterized by "incoherence." See Fritz Morstein Marx, "The Bureau of the Budget: Its Overview and Present Role, I" *The American Political Science Review* 39, no. 4 (August 1945): 655-659.

[96] "American Antiquities Act of 1906" (https://www.nps.gov/articles/lee-story-appa.htm).

[97] In 1917, the Interior Department (through the National Park Service) administered 21 national monuments, the Department of Agriculture (through the U.S. Forest Service) administered 11, and the War Department administered 2. See National Park Service, *General Information Regarding the National Monuments* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917).

[98] In its 1913 annual report, the Department of Interior observed that "an estimate in the sum of $5,000 for protection of these monuments was submitted last year, but no appropriation was made, and a similar estimate will again be submitted to Congress, not so much for the purpose of preserving by restoration the objects reserved in the national monuments as to prevent the removal of valuable relics and vandalism." *Reports of the Department of the Interior For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1913, Administrative Reports in 2 Volumes*, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), 94.

[99] During the agency's early years, the Sundry Civil subcommittee received a new chair every two years. John J. Fitzgerald, a Democrat from New York, chaired the subcommittee in 1916 and 1917; Swagar Sherley, a Democrat from Kentucky, served as Chair in 1918 and 1919; James W. Good, a Republican from Iowa, served as Chair in 1920 and 1921. Good, according to Fritz Marx, "deserves the largest share of credit for making the Budget and Accounting Act what it came to be," an effort to coordinate the appropriations process within the executive branch. Marx, 657.

archeological sites in faraway Arizona and New Mexico; still fewer imagined them as popular tourist sites requiring modern visitor facilities. Strong memories of the 1906 Antiquities Act also lingered. Some members of Congress remained ideologically opposed to conservation; many regretted ceding to the President the authority to proclaim national monuments, national forests, and other government reservations. Still others, including the irascible Rep. John J. Fitzgerald of New York, the Sundry Civil subcommittee chair from 1916 to 1918, harbored a mean-spirited disdain for southwestern archeological monuments and took pleasure in denying them funding.[100]

In March 1916, Stephen Mather, in his new role as assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, stepped in to persuade Congress to establish a national monuments budget item in the Interior Department appropriation.[101] For Mather, who famously preferred "scenic" national parks to "cultural" national monuments, it was a rare display of genuine concern for the protection of southwestern archeological sites. At the 1917 Civil Sundry Appropriation Bill hearing, he admonished Congress for refusing to fund national monuments. "There has never been an appropriation for the protection of these national monuments," he scolded members of the subcommittee, "and I feel that we should have some little protection of the monuments themselves…an appropriation for the repair of these monuments which have been allowed to go to rack and ruin."[102] Congress backed off. After a decade of refusing to fund the Interior Department's national monuments, the 1917 Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill included a new budget item, *Protection of the national monuments*. Congress assigned it $3,500. It was a meager sum that did little to materially protect the monuments, but it established a crucial basis for future appropriations allotted to Southwestern National Monuments.

The Park Service received $5,000 to spend on national monuments for fiscal year 1918. Navajo National Monument consumed the bulk of the national monuments appropriation the first year, expending $3,000 for the excavation and partial-restoration of Betatakin Ruin under archeologist Neil

---

[100] Horace Albright characterized Fitzgerald as "the original penny pincher, suspicious of any new monetary proposal and ruthless in questioning witnesses." See Horace M. Albright and Marian Albright Schenck, *Creating the National Park Service: The Missing Years* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 43. In 1916, the National Park Service submitted a $10,000 estimate for protecting national monuments during the 1918 fiscal year, a 186% increase over the $3,500 Mather secured the previous year. "We have got to have the money to keep these monuments up," Albright told the subcommittee. "Why?" asked Fitzgerald. "You never had any [money] before this year, and they were getting along all right." The monuments were not getting along all right, Albright countered. "They were not accessible, not being visited, and many of them were deteriorating." Cynically, Fitzgerald observed how it seemed southwestern archeologists discovered new cliff dwellings "every day" and promptly slashed the national monuments estimate in half. See *Sundry Civil Bill, 1918*, 64th Cong., 2nd sess., 1917, 903.

[101] Hal Rothman erroneously believes that Stephen Mather, Horace Albright, and other NPS administrators possessed "little first-hand knowledge of the monuments," and had "neither the time nor the inclination" to care for them. Preoccupied with national parks, NPS administrators "did not believe that promoting prehistoric sites would help to develop the system" and dismissed the monuments as "peripheral oddities" and "second-class sites." See Hal Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 91, 119.

[102] *Sundry Civil Bill, 1917*, 64th Cong., 1st sess., 1916, Part 1, 852-853.

M. Judd. Three other southwestern national monuments received the remaining funds that year: El Morro—for the construction of a fence at the base of Inscription Rock, structural work on its natural spring, and for building footbridges and a log visitor shelter; Montezuma Castle—for a general renovation of the Castle fortification; and Petrified Forest—for steel reinforcement of the famous petrified "Natural Bridge" tree trunk.[103] No other southwestern national monument received funding before the close of the 1918 fiscal year.

At the start of 1919 fiscal year on July 1, 1918, the NPS once again received $5,000 for the administration of its national monuments—only half of its estimated need. Anticipating the reclassification of Casa Grande Ruin from military reservation to national monument, Mather asked Frank Pinkley to submit a line-item budget for spending about $400 on improvements. Pinkley's conservative plan prioritized essential repairs to Casa Grande's Great House, directional road signs, and a remodel of the custodian's house—which he had built with his own money in 1910-1914.[104] As usual, Pinkley's low estimates detailed how he would make up the difference by using scrap materials, his own labor, et cetera. Ultimately, the NPS allotted $500 for use at Casa Grande during the 1919 fiscal year to cover the projects Pinkley proposed plus a little extra for the monument's general maintenance fund.[105]

"No. 1 Man": Expanding Pinkley's Domain, 1918-1919

In the summer of 1918, Stephen Mather sent Frank Pinkley a copy of Yellowstone National Park's monthly report as a model to use when drafting his own Casa Grande monthly reports. Pinkley enjoyed reading it. He nudged Mather to circulate the national parks' monthly reports among all superintendents and custodians. Park activities featured in the agency's annual reports, he reasoned, were already old news at the time of publication, whereas the monthlies offered fresh news.[106] Six months later, Mather launched the inaugural issue of the National Park Service *News*, an internal bulletin published monthly to keep personnel at the individual parks abreast of activities in the field and to keep them in touch with each other. Mather's first issue of the *News* came out in April 1919. It

---

[103] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1917, and the Travel Season, 1917* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917), 87-90.

[104] Pinkley prioritized the stabilization of disintegrating walls with 'cement' coatings. As $400 would not nearly cover all the walls that needed repairs, he downgraded the plan to focus on the removal of vegetation and fallen debris in the areas excavated back in 1906-1908, the installation of drainage in the ground of the prehistoric rooms and plazas, cement-coating repairs to just the most vulnerable areas, and the purchase of tools and lumber.

[105] The anticipated cost breakdown included 1) clearing debris from the excavated areas and doing minor repairs of exposed cultural features—$250; 2) installing directional signs to the monument on the local roads and highways—$50, 3) repairing and improving the custodian's house—$70, 4) purchasing reading material on archeology and history—$30, and 5) $100 for the general fund.

[106] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, September 28, 1918, and Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, October 1, 1918, both in Historic Monthly Reports: 1918-1926, Casa Grande National Monument Central Files Collection, Assembled (WACC ACC 1271), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

announced that Frank Pinkley, "Custodian for several national monuments in the Southwest," had completed an investigation of the sixteenth-century mission church at Tumacácori Mission National Monument and was already overseeing its preservation. Pinkley, the report added, would also supervise road improvements at Petrified Forest National Monument. For those aware of Pinkley's position as custodian of Casa Grande National Monument, the news that he was also overseeing activities at other Arizona national monuments likely came as a surprise.

Since his first tenure as Casa Grande's custodian, Frank Pinkley had expressed interest in taking on a greater administrative role in the Southwest. Unlike the General Land Office in 1901-1914, the National Park Service happily agreed to expand Pinkley's role after reinstating him as custodian at Casa Grande in spring 1918. Perhaps Pinkley suggested the idea or perhaps the Washington office approached Pinkley. However it unfolded, in June 1918 Stephen Mather looked to Pinkley when the National Park Service needed someone in the field to inspect and come up with a restoration plan for Tumacácori Mission National Monument—the agency's latest acquisition. Tumacácori had transferred from the U.S. Forest Service to the NPS just a month earlier. The Mission needed urgent repairs and restoration.[107] Over the years Tumacácori had passed through myriad caretakers who failed to properly protect and repair the mission. In the 1918 NPS annual report, Mather announced that "the preliminary work of preservation will begin as soon as practicable under the direction of Mr. Frank Pinkley."[108]

By September 1918, Frank Pinkley had the agency's authorization to travel to Tumacácori for an initial inspection.[109] Delayed by a caved-in well at Casa Grande and a second wave of Spanish Influenza, he did not inspect the mission until December.[110] Driving south in a borrowed car, Pinkley went first to San Xavier del Bac, a church located twelve miles south of Tucson, to pick up Father Nicholas Perschal, a mission specialist. Perschal and Pinkley together inspected the Tumacácori

---

[107] The mission had been embroiled in the Baca Float No. 3 land-ownership controversy for a decade, and in 1914 the monument transferred back into private ownership. The owners of the Tumacácori Mission portion of Baca Float No. 3 deeded the site to the United States on Dec. 8, 1917, and it formally transferred into the NPS in May 1918. See: Steven Christopher Baker and Joan M. Zenzen, "Tumacácori National Historical Park: An Administrative History" (2014).

[108] Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for...1918*, 89-90; Pinkley to Mather, July 4, 1918, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[109] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, October 1, 1918, folder "Historic Monthly Reports: 1918-1926," Casa Grande National Monument Central Files Collection, Assembled (ACC 1271), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[110] There were three major outbreaks of the Spanish Influenza in Arizona in 1918-1920: spring 1918, fall 1918-winter 1919, and winter 1920. During this period, total estimated fatalities from the virus were 0.8% of the population. Strict quarantines went into place in Tucson and southern Arizona's border towns, forcing Pinkley to delay the Tumacácori inspection. See: Sushma Dahal, et al, "Excess Mortality Patterns During 1918-1921 Influenza Pandemic in the State of Arizona, USA," *Ann Epidemiol* 28, no. 5 (May 2018): 273-280. See also: Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, December 2, 1918, folder "Historic Monthly Reports: 1918-1926," Casa Grande National Monument Central Files Collection, Assembled (ACC 1271), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

mission, the cemetery, and many outlying buildings. As expected, they found evidence of vandalism—the "brainless kind" like graffiti, but also the more serious treasure-hunting type, including holes bored in floors and walls and upturned graves. In general, Pinkley and Perschal found the mission in better condition than expected for its age and overall neglect. Pinkley made hasty descriptions and measurements of the mission's ground plan and attempted some photography, thwarted by clouds and no tripod.[111]

In his follow-up report to Mather, Pinkley outlined repairs needed and emphasized the need for a resident custodian at Tumacácori to check vandalism. Alternatively, he suggested that he might provide some custodial oversight. "Give me a car," he implored, "and let me have a sort of general oversight of the Tumacacori" and of "the Papago Saguaro Monument over near Phoenix." As custodian of Casa Grande, he "could not give [Tumacácori and Papago-Saguaro] close supervision, but [he] could stir up more local interest." Papago-Saguaro National Monument, famous for its saguaro cacti and red rock formations, had lacked a custodian since establishment in 1914. Since Pinkley traveled often to Phoenix for civic activities, he wagered he "could make a three day trip to Tumacacori and a three day trip to the Papago Saguaro Monument about every five or six weeks." He implored Mather to not consider him "forward in making an offer of this kind." He was merely "looking forward to [the scheduled] raise in salary" and trying his best to be worth the money.[112]

Pinkley likely envisioned dual custodianship of Tumacácori and Casa Grande as a 'baby step' toward greater responsibility in the Southwest. Certainly Albright, acting on Mather's behalf, imagined Pinkley in a larger role. On December 9, before Pinkley made his Tumacácori trip, Albright initiated Pinkley's official appointment as part-time custodian of Tumacácori, effective December 30, 1918. The appointment excluded a financial bonus; his salary would remain the same.[113] Pinkley handled his new responsibility with diligence. Nearly every month, he traveled to Tumacácori to inspect conditions and to arrange for mission restoration work.[114] In early January, he oversaw the mission's first agency inspection by landscape engineer Charles P. Punchard and the official NPS photographer Herbert W. Gleason.[115] Pinkley gave them tours of Casa Grande, followed by a side trip to Phoenix.

---

[111] Pinkley's list of priority items were to 1) underpin the southwest corner of the bell tower; 2) install a cement floor in the Baptistry room, 3) repair the entrance arch to match the extant original segment, 4) repair the east wall of the Sacristy, and 5) underpin the yard wall of the cemetery. See: Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, December 17, 1918, Tumacácori National Historical Park Archeological and Stabilization Records, Box 1: 1899-1934 (ACC TUMA-00270), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

[112] Pinkley to Mather, December 17, 1918.

[113] Horace M. Albright to Frank Pinkley, December 9, 1918, Box 1, Series 1: 1899-1934, Tumacácori National Historical Park Archeological and Stabilization Records (ACC 00270), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

[114] To complete the restoration and repairs of Tumacácori, Pinkley contracted with A.S. Noon of the border town of Nogales.

[115] A few months later, Gleason was appointed Inspector of the Interior Department, though he retained his official photographer status.

During the trip, Gleason took measure of Pinkley and reported to Washington that Casa Grande's custodian was the agency's "no. 1 man, [and…] exceedingly practical."[116]

[116] As quoted and cited in Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 121 fn 2 [Herbert W. Gleason to Stephen T. Mather, 11 January 1919, NA, RG 79, Series 6, Grand Canyon, file 12-5].

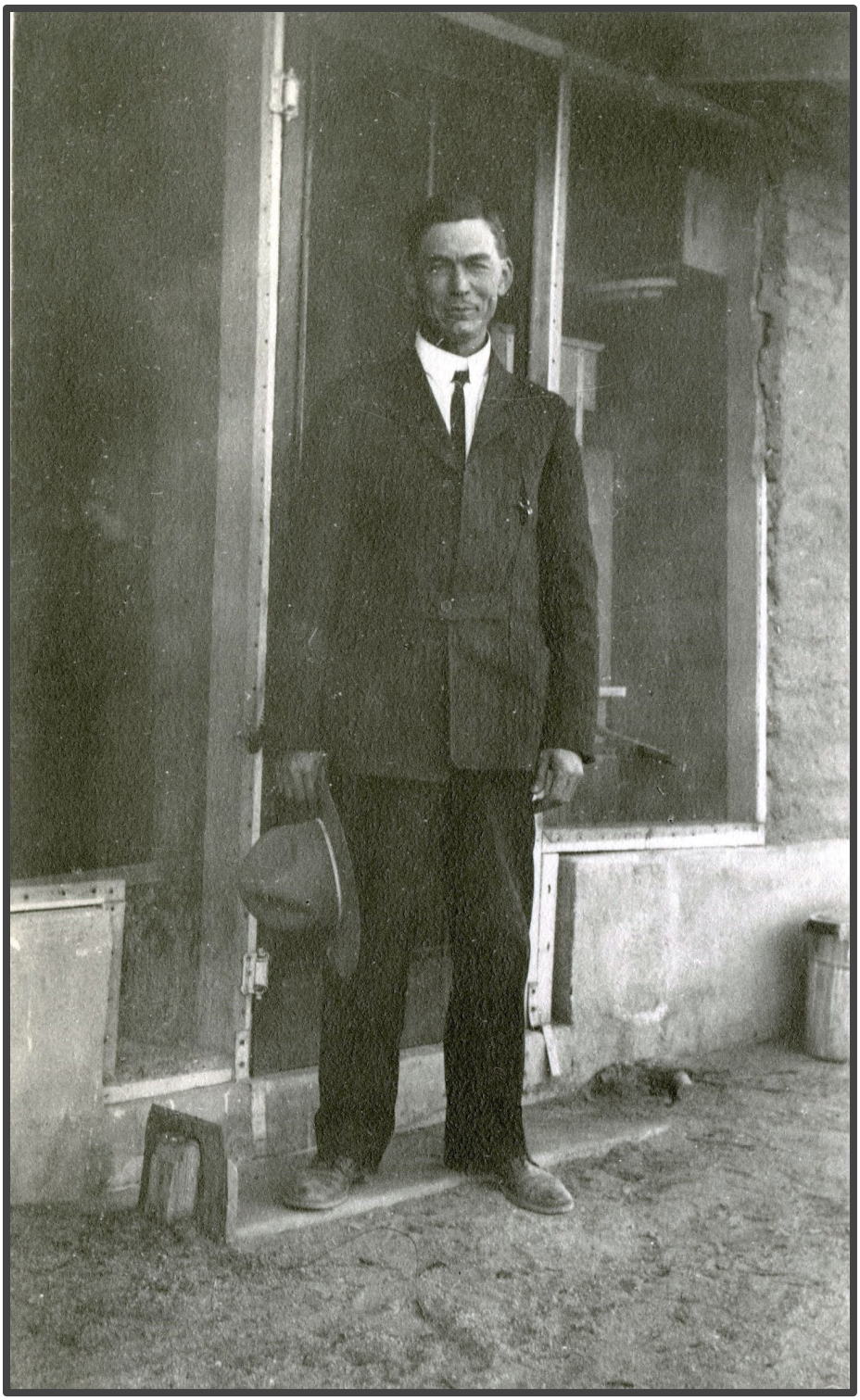


Figure 11. Frank Pinkley, Custodian of Casa Grande National Monument, n.d. WACC (02485A)

CHAPTER 3:

ON THE ROAD TO SUPERINTENDENT, 1919-1923

We expect to enlarge your sphere of activities as more money becomes available, and larger opportunities for research and restoration work open. You are the one man in the Service that we can depend upon for archaeological and historical work.[117]

~Horace Albright to Frank Pinkley, 1919



Figure 12. Frank Pinkley and family in their government-issued 1918 Model T Ford light truck at Casa Grande National Monument, early 1920s. Source: WACC

[117] Horace M. Albright to Frank Pinkley, May 29, 1919, folder "Grand Canyon Correspondence: 1918-1957," Box 43, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

Leading into the 1920s, the National Park Service increasingly relied on Frank Pinkley, Custodian of Casa Grande National Monument, to address whatever field matters arose in the Southwest. The region held most of the agency's national monuments; it also contained a national park—Mesa Verde—and two monuments about to become national parks—Grand Canyon and Zion.[118] Director Stephen Mather envisioned the Southwest as a "network of park areas" connected by good roads. In this interconnected park-to-park highway circuit, he imagined the smaller areas—the national monuments—serving as educational rest stops for auto tourists.[119] But for the scheme to work, Mather needed someone in the Southwest to provide the Washington office with field information and supervision as needed. Grand Canyon, for example, presented crucial questions that required immediate answers. In February 1919, Mather thought "a member of the Service [should] go up there and look it over from a national park standpoint."[120] Months earlier he had called on Pinkley to supervise the preservation of Tumacácori Mission in southern Arizona; now he asked Pinkley to head up north to handle the Grand Canyon inspection. This arrangement, with Pinkley serving as an on-call field agent for the National Park Service from 1919-1923, set the stage for the creation of a permanent field office to administer national monuments in the Southwest.

Northern Matters: Defining Pinkley's Sphere

The road to Frank Pinkley's appointment as Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments began with the agency discovering Pinkley's value in the field and defining his sphere. This involved addressing some urgent northern matters at Grand Canyon—a U.S. Forest Service monument—and Petrified Forest. The 65th U.S. Congress authorized the creation of Grand Canyon National Park on February 26, 1919. The National Park Service anticipated that the monument's reclassification would take several months.[121] Meanwhile, Mather needed Park Service personnel to inspect the Grand Canyon's general layout of facilities, trails, et cetera, and to make development suggestions. More importantly, Mather needed someone to gauge the operational relationships of various independent South Rim concessionaires, as well as their collective attitude toward the Fred Harvey Company, headquartered at the El Tovar Hotel.[122]

---

[118] Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 120.

[119] Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 98. Mather was an avid automobilist and member of several auto & touring clubs. While he had been almost single handedly responsible for bringing the railroad companies on as partners of the NPS during its creation, he recognized that automobile travel was the future.

[120] Pinkley to Punchard, February 14, 1919, RG 79, Classified Files, 1925-36, file "Landscape Division, Southwestern National Monuments, 1924-27" (box 56), NARA, College Park, MD.

[121] *National Park Service News*, no. 1 (April 1919): 1-2.

[122] Stephen T. Mather to Frank Pinkley, February 20, 1919, folder "Grand Canyon Correspondence: 1918-1957," Box 43, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

Besides Frank Pinkley, the only NPS personnel in Arizona were a handful of national monument custodians who, unlike Pinkley, were nominal custodians—most of them local ranchers who provided occasional supervision of their respective monuments in exchange for $10-12 a year. To subsist, these nominal custodians had other occupations or business interests that occupied the bulk of their time; the National Park Service rarely heard from them. Pinkley was the only permanent, full-time NPS employee available to assist Mather at the Grand Canyon. "Will you, therefore," Mather implored Pinkley, "arrange to go to the Canyon as soon as you conveniently can and let me have a report of conditions as you note them, together with suggestions regarding the administration of the new park?"[123] It was a big ask of Frank Pinkley. He already had charge of two national monuments, and Mather compounded his Grand Canyon request with an additional entreaty: would Pinkley tack on a trip to the Petrified Forest to inspect the road situation there? Unfailingly disposed, Pinkley replied in the affirmative, agreeing to make the trip to both Grand Canyon and Petrified Forest immediately. In return, Pinkley asked that, amid the hubbub of northern matters, Mather not forget to allocate funds for the Tumacácori Mission: "It is a sort of pet of mine now," he admitted, "and I have promised the folks who take an interest in it that they were going to get action from our Service."[124] In return, Mather authorized Pinkley to sign an agreement with his selected Nogales, Arizona, contractor to expend $400 for the initial Tumacácori Mission repairs.[125]

With his southern matters cared for, Pinkley departed for the Grand Canyon on February 21. During his inspection he studied the culture of the South Rim and the internal factions among concessionaires. He assessed the development situation, looking over the roads and trails to determine where the NPS should prioritize new construction once it took over Grand Canyon's administration from the Forest Service. Pinkley detailed all his findings and recommendations in a thorough seven-page report to Mather on March 3. The report included suggestions for what an initial administrative office at the park should include: a "superintendent, clerk, stenographer, and ranger" plus outpost rangers located at strategic points that Pinkley demarcated on a map.[126] Leaving the Canyon, Pinkley

---

[123] Stephen T. Mather to Frank Pinkley, January 31, 1919, folder "Grand Canyon Correspondence: 1918-1957," Box 43, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[124] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, February 19, 1919, folder "Grand Canyon Correspondence: 1918-1957," Box 43, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[125] Stephen T. Mather to Frank Pinkley, February 20, 1919, folder "1899-1934," Box 1, Tumacácori National Historical Park Archeological and Stabilization Records (ACC TUMA-00270), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[126] In his report, Pinkley recommended "Mr. Wylder" for the superintendency, noting that Wylder was one of a handful of applicants for the position. Pinkley also remarked that everyone there assumed that he was applying for the position and was perhaps already earmarked for it since Mather had selected him for the inspection. Pinkley disclosed that he did not wish to apply. Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, March 3, 1919, folder "Grand Canyon Correspondence: 1918-1957," Box 43, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

traveled to Petrified Forest National Monument to meet with its nominal custodian and assess the condition of the monument's unpaved roads.

Since its 1906 designation, Petrified Forest's custodians were also the owners of the Forest Hotel and Livery business in Adamana—a small railroad town located near the northwest corner of the monument where the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railway Co. had a station stop. Adamana served as the entry to Petrified Forest. Each successive owner of the Forest Hotel served as the monument's custodian for the nominal salary of $10-12 a year. In 1918, William H. Nelson (1881-1963) purchased the Forest Hotel and became the custodian of Petrified Forest, now under National Park Service administration [Bio File: Nelson, William]. Renamed the Adamana Hotel and Auto Livery, Nelson's hotel offered lodging, dining, and a souvenir shop. At the hotel, railroad travelers booked one of Nelson's chauffeured auto tours of Petrified Forest, which provided views of the monument's hard-to-find petroglyphs and iconic petrified features.

By February 1919, Nelson's auto tours of the Petrified Forest became difficult for him to provide. Dire travel conditions within the monument—roads so muddy that they were impassable—forced him to turn customers away.[127] In a letter to Mather, Nelson asked for a solution to this problem. The Petrified Forest—made popular by public figures such as John Muir—had record numbers of visitors every year. Visitor numbers ranked high in Mather's book. Discouraged by what he called an "unfortunate" road situation, Mather replied to Nelson that he had instructed "Mr. Pinkley, our Custodian at Casa Grande and general supervisor over Arizona monuments," to visit Nelson and lay out a road-improvement plan to be completed at once. Separately to Pinkley, Mather admitted that it was "a matter of great regret" that the road conditions compelled tourists to "give up their trips to the Petrified Forest," and he authorized a $1,000 emergency allotment to use toward whatever road improvements Pinkley and Nelson deemed necessary.[128]

Pinkley's inspections at Grand Canyon and Petrified Forest masked another aim. Mather secretly considered Pinkley for the position of superintendent of the new Grand Canyon National Park. During Pinkley's inspection, Mather entrusted a friend to secretly check out Pinkley's suitability for superintendent; the friend returned a favorable report.[129] When Pinkley heard the rumor, he wrote to

---

[127] Nelson to Mather, February 6, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[128] Mather to Pinkley, February 20, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.
In an earlier letter to Albright, Mather had disclosed that there was $5,000 remaining in the National Monuments appropriation that fiscal year and that he thought $400-$1,000 could go toward Tumacácori, $3,000 for the Petrified Forest, and some to the Montezuma Castle once he could get Pinkley there for an inspection of needs. Mather to Albright, February 15, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[129] Hal Rothman believed that the 'friend' was noted writer Irving Brant. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts,* 121.

Mather admitting only mild interest but stating his willingness to transfer up north if it meant "the good of the Service would be promoted."[130] As Mather's lieutenant, Horace Albright penned a response to Pinkley that denied the rumor, or at least attempted to frame it as groundless. Albright had provided cover for Mather's spontaneity for a couple years and become adroit at resolving issues:

> I do not think he had in mind sending you to the Grand Canyon, as the executive officer there. It will be a number of years before we can undertake any archaeological work [there]...
>
> On the other hand, we need your services in strictly archaeological work in the Southwest. We expect to enlarge your sphere of activities as more money becomes available, and larger opportunities for research and restoration work open. You are the one man in the Service that we can depend upon for archaeological and historical work, and as this branch of our activities is bound to grow more and more important, you will find it more to your own advantage to devote yourself to this part of the National Park Service field, rather than to undertake a strenuous pioneering job like the one at the Grand Canyon...[131]

In his response, Albright demonstrated that he understood Frank Pinkley's intrinsic value to the National Park Service. His letter also presented the agency's first real attempt to clarify Pinkley's role as their so-called "no. 1 man." In official correspondence, Mather had referred to Pinkley as the "General Supervisor over Arizona Monuments," but Albright defined Pinkley's office as "archaeological," specifically in the "Southwest." Pinkley's administrative sphere would expand, as he wished it to, but strictly within the southwestern national monument category; the scenic parks were off the table. A rough outline of Pinkley's future role as a superintendent of southwestern monuments began taking shape.

In 1920 Mather continued to expand Pinkley's list of responsibilities. He tasked Pinkley with continued supervision of the Tumacácori Mission restoration and the Petrified Forest roadwork and

---

[130] Pinkley to Mather, May 23, 1919, folder "Grand Canyon Correspondence: 1918-1957," Box 43, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[131] Horace M. Albright to Frank Pinkley, May 29, 1919, folder "Grand Canyon Correspondence: 1918-1957," Box 43, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ. In his auto-biography, Albright claimed that Pinkley had confided his desire for more oversight of the national monuments while camping during an inspection trip of southwestern national monuments in summer 1918. Albright recalled that he downvoted Pinkley for the Grand Canyon superintendency because of Pinkley's wish. But Albright's memory does not mesh with the date of his letter, May 29, 1918, as quoted above. Plus, Albright did not make a southwestern monuments inspection trip until the 1920s, long after a superintendent had been chosen for the Grand Canyon. See: Albright and Schenk, *Creating the National Park Service*, 284.

added inspections of Montezuma Castle National Monument.[132] In correspondence with Albright, Mather suggested that Pinkley investigate the stalled preservation work at Montezuma Castle:

> I have in mind a plan to have Custodian Pinkley supervise both [Petrified Forest and Tumacácori] projects and at the same time have him look over the very unsatisfactory situation as regards the Montezuma Castle, as Custodian Hicks has resigned, and Mr. Alston D. Morris[sic], who looked after the castle is leaving the vicinity for the summer.... Please wire me upon receipt of this letter.[133]

Montezuma Castle National Monument (est. 1906) in central Arizona received allotments in fiscal years 1917 and 1918 to cover ruins repairs and restoration. But inconsistent custodial care delayed the work. In 1917, the agency contracted Alston D. Morse—a local Verde Valley man—to handle the work and serve as the monument's part-time custodian, but then Morse went off to fight in World War I. In 1918, the National Park Service hired O. F. Hicks, Deputy State Game Warden, as Morse's substitute. Hicks proved inconsistent and too ambitious. Within a month of entering on custodial duty, Hicks asked Mather to appoint him as custodian of all national parks and monuments in Arizona and New Mexico.[134] Unimpressed, or perhaps already viewing Frank Pinkley in that role, the National Park Service reached out again to Morse, imploring him to take up the custodianship of Montezuma Castle when he returned from military service. Morse declined and instead recommended local homesteader Martin L. Jackson.[135] Meanwhile, Hicks moved on without notice, abandoning his post.[136] With neither a custodian at the helm nor a projected completion date for the Montezuma Castle's repairs, Mather once again asked Pinkley to step in and handle the situation.

Selecting Custodians

Mather authorized Pinkley to visit Montezuma Castle National Monument in July 1919 at the start of the 1920 fiscal year. The start date corresponded with Pinkley's salary raise from $900 to $1200. Mather also asked Pinkley to head back to Petrified Forest to check in on Nelson's roadwork progress. Pinkley hoped to coordinate the inspections with the itinerary of NPS draftsman Arthur E. Demaray, who planned to visit the Petrified Forest as part of his western parks tour. But delayed passage of the

---

[132] Pinkley continued to assist in and monitor the restoration work at Tumacácori, making trips down about every six weeks. He also revisited the Petrified Forest in June 1918 to supervise the roadwork.

[133] Mather to Albright, February 15, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[134] O.F. Hicks to Stephen Mather, November 9, 1918, 3, folder "016: Early Stabilization Efforts," Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[135] Alston D. Morse to Horace M Albright, January 27, 1919, folder "016: Early Stabilization Efforts," Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[136] Joe V. Prochaska to Stephen T. Mather, January 29, 1919, folder "Correspondence: 1919-1954," Box 46, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

1920 Sundry Civil Appropriations Bill—the federal funding source for the Department of the Interior—detained Pinkley at Casa Grande until late summer, and Demaray visited the Petrified Forest alone.[137]

Frank Pinkley headed north on August 30, 1919. It had been ten years since he had seen Montezuma Castle. This time, he made the journey by automobile, in a Model T Ford light truck that the National Park Service purchased for Pinkley's general use. On its inaugural trip, the Ford traversed several steep and rocky sections of the Grand Canyon-Nogales Highway—the only north-south road across Arizona—including the infamous Black Canyon grade.[138] Pinkley drove the Ford to Montezuma Castle and to Flagstaff, tacking on side trips to the ruins at Montezuma's Well and Walnut Canyon. He clocked a total of 621 miles on forty-two-and-a-half gallons of gasoline.[139] At Montezuma Castle, Pinkley inspected the monument with Mather's three main concerns in mind: condition of the ruins, custodial prospects, and accessibility. He sketched a map showing roads and trails, as well as proposed additions, prioritizing the construction of an upper trail so visitors could still reach the monument during periods of high water on Beaver Creek.[140] But in his report, Pinkley considered the lack of a custodian the most urgent need. He regretted that the National Park Service could not afford a full-time resident caretaker but thought the nominal salary of $10 a month might work for "some person

---

[137] Demaray visited the Petrified Forest in early August 1919. He reported to the Washington office: "the new sections of road built by Mr. Nelson are probably as well located as possible without a survey being made and are on higher ground than the sections abandoned, which gives them better natural drainage. [...and] in good condition having stood the recent heavy rain." They would need dragging and reploughing after heavy rains, but he thought a small annual allotment would cover that cost. Demaray recommended another new road "to connect the First and Second Forests with the Third Forest and with the Holbrook-St. Johns state Highway" at the southwest corner of the monument. He also noted the monument lacked an entrance gate or sign, or any indication at all that one had entered the monument. He thought that a gateway built with colorful petrified wood would "make a dignified and appropriate approach." His report included a colored sketch example. The most crucial future development, Demaray reported, would be bridges built across the Rio Puerco and Dry Creek—"two difficult stream crossings" that were impassable during high water. See: Demaray to Mather, August 15, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[138] Mark E. Pry and Fred Andersen, "Arizona Transportation History," prepared for the Arizona Department of Transportation, final report no. FHWA-AZ-11-660 (Dec. 2011), 38.

[139] At the time Montezuma's Well was located on private land about eight miles upstream from Montezuma Castle. It possessed both natural and cultural interest, with ancient habitations built into caves overhanging a deep natural pool. The owners had discussed selling it to the Forest Service, and in that scenario Pinkley thought the Forest Service might cooperate with the National Park Service and administer the Well as a national monument. In his trip report to Washington, Pinkley noted that the negotiations were "not far enough along" to "warrant a detailed report on its value." Pinkley also spent a half day at Walnut Canyon, still a Forest Service monument. He found evidence of vandalism in its cliffside ruins and chafed at the site's lack of interpretation. "This should be a monument under our national Park Service," he urged, "and I hope to see the day we may take charge of it. A museum building should be built and some of the artifacts and evidence of the people should be shown to visitors." Pinkley to Mather, September 16, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[140] Pinkley's sketch map located in Demaray to Cammerer, November 28, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.



Figure 13. Frank Pinkley in his official National Park Service vehicle—a 1918 Model T Ford light truck, provided for his use by the National Park Service. Circa 1919, before he had outfitted it for long camping trips. Source: WACC (001203)

who [was] interested enough in the monument" and who also lived close enough to not care about the token pay. He narrowed the candidate pool to local homesteaders W. James Sullivan and Martin L. Jackson.

W. J. Sullivan served on the Yavapai County board of supervisors and lived near the monument. Since visitors had to traverse his property to reach the monument, he proposed to offer a produce stand and shady camping area for visitors on his property; he also promised to dig a well for their use at no cost to the National Park Service. He agreed to the $10 monthly compensation but with a caveat: in exchange he asked for permission to run an irrigation ditch and flume across the monument to water his homestead. The other candidate—Martin L. Jackson—also homesteaded nearby, about a mile south of Montezuma Castle. Jackson was a house painter by trade and a general handyman. He possessed "a very good [local] reputation" and Pinkley considered him well-spoken and interesting. Jackson also agreed to the nominal $10 annual salary but emphasized that, whether selected as custodian or not, he would like the chance to work on the trail construction and other monument improvements. Pinkley concluded that the best scenario involved both candidates: Sullivan as nominal custodian—he was

well-connected locally and he offered free visitor services on his own property—and Jackson as the contractor to handle repairs and other monument projects.[141]

From Montezuma Castle, Pinkley headed north to Flagstaff. He left his truck in an auto shop and took the train to Adamana to avoid muddy roads. At the Petrified Forest, Pinkley inspected custodian Nelson's roadwork and observed several issues. First, Pinkley struggled to see how and where Nelson had expended the emergency allotment of $1,000. Nelson relocated and graded several stretches of road, but Pinkley rated the overall condition of the roads as subpar:

> On behalf of Mr. Nelson, it is fair to say his material was not good, being soft, sandy stuff, and they have had some unusual storms...I think he did the best he could with the money, but his labor cost was high. I think too the work must have been rather hastily done.[142]

Nevertheless, Pinkley concluded that Nelson had improved the monument's former road situation; Nelson would not need another allotment the following year.

Business vs. Service Kind of Custodian

Pinkley had mixed feelings about William Nelson. Nelson was an ideal standalone custodian: dedicated to the monument, passionate about his guided visitor talks, and knowledgeable about the geological history of the Petrified Forest—which visitors appreciated. Perhaps, Pinkley reported, if the Service paid Nelson enough to commit himself full-time to the custodianship, then Nelson would be worth the investment. But Nelson the businessman presented a problem. As owner and operator of the only hotel and tour business in Adamana, Pinkley thought that Nelson and his wife Lucy made choices that benefited their bottom line above visitor satisfaction.[143] Pinkley reported that William and Lucy Nelson despised automobile tourists, because railroad travelers stayed longer, spent more money at their hotel and livery, and were—in the Nelsons' opinion—a higher-caliber visitor than motorists. Consequently, Nelson made no attempt to publicize the monument to entities beyond the railroad. To Pinkley, this was a major oversight. By focusing on rail passengers in Adamana, Nelson missed the opportunity to advertise the monument to the large numbers of motorists driving between Grand Canyon, Flagstaff, and Holbrook along northern Arizona's two major highways.[144] In short, Nelson

---

[141] Pinkley to Mather, September 16, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[142] Pinkley to Mather, September 16, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[143] The Raymond-Whitcomb tour group, for example, removed the Petrified Forest from its itinerary after Nelson failed to notify them of muddy and impassable conditions at the monument so that they would, allegedly, travel to Adamana anyway and make purchases at the Nelsons' hotel restaurant and gift shop.

[144] Two branches of the transcontinental National Old Trails (Ocean-to-Ocean) highway entered northern Arizona and converged at Holbrook. The upper branch entered at Gallup and loosely followed the Santa Fe railroad route. The lower

was failing to help the National Park Service achieve its vision for an interconnected park-to-park highway circuit. It boiled down, Pinkley thought, to Nelson not being a "Service" kind of custodian. He loved his monument but lacked team spirit and could not "see things from the viewpoint of the National Park Service." Nelson stressed "all three words of the [agency's] title equally," while Pinkley and Mather emphasized "the 'Service' part of it."[145]

Pinkley returned to Petrified Forest in November 1919 enroute to the National Park Service superintendents conference in Denver. This time, he inspected the various petrified landscapes located near the monument but outside its boundaries—the Blue Forest, five miles southeast of Adamana, and the Painted Desert, about twelve miles northerly—as well as a site of "pre-historic ruins about two miles southeast of Adamana." In his November monthly report, Pinkley urged the NPS to consider reserving these areas as soon as possible. The Painted Desert deserved principal attention, he thought, due to a local oil boom; one company already had a drilling rig set up just west of the site. "If oil is found," Pinkley warned, "it will not be thirty days until this painted desert will be spotted with oil derricks and practically ruined from a monument standpoint." Pinkley recommended adding the Blue Forest—with its caches of petrified animal bones—to the national monument boundaries but thought the Painted Desert should be set aside as a separate national monument, and soon. "If [the Painted Desert] is ever to be reserved now is the time. Its administration will cost nothing as it can be put under Mr. Nelson's charge."[146]

Back in Washington, Arthur Demaray read Pinkley's two reports from September and November and synthesized the contents for Arno Cammerer, the new acting director in place of Horace Albright.[147] Demaray agreed with most of Pinkley's recommendations about expanding Petrified Forest's

---

entered Arizona near St. John. After the two branches converged at Holbrook, the road headed westward to Flagstaff and then on to California. In 1926 the western portion of the National Old Trails Road—including the section through northern Arizona—became U.S. Route 66. See: Jean Fulton, "Addendum to Petrified Forest National Park Roads & Bridges," HAER No. AZ-58: Written Historical and Descriptive Data, Historic American Engineering Record (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2000), 13.

[145] Pinkley to Mather, September 16, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[146] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, December 1, 1919, folder "Historic Monthly Reports, 1918-1926," Casa Grande National Monument Central Files Collection, Assembled (WACC ACC 1271), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[147] Albright was appointed Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park in July 1919—by his own acknowledgement, a maneuver to get out of D.C. and away from Mather's intense demands. Albright maintained an assistive and mentoring role to Mather as Assistant Field Director, including drafting the NPS annual reports from his Yellowstone office. He read Pinkley's reports and urged particular attention to Pinkley's recommendation to fold the Blue Forest into the Petrified Forest and set aside the Painted Desert as its own monument. He suggested that the NPS consult with Herbert Gleason about the feasibility of reserving the Painted Desert. See: Albright to Cammerer, December 10, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

boundaries, but thought they should get rid of Nelson.[148] Neither action could be enacted at the time.[149] Pinkley's thoroughness and his instinct for National Park Service priorities curried his favor with the Washington office. Acting Director Cammerer quickly turned into one of Pinkley's most vocal cheerleaders. He called Pinkley's work "splendid," noting he had not "missed a single thing of interest to [the NPS] office."[150] Cammerer made sure Mather traveled with a copy of Pinkley's report during the director's spring 1920 western trip.[151]

Pinkley later realized that by recommending Sullivan as the custodian for Montezuma Castle—because of his local connections and the visitor bonuses he offered—Pinkley had, in essence, selected another William Nelson. Like Nelson, Sullivan the businessman prioritized his private business affairs over the best interests of the National Park Service and its visitors. Martin Jackson had no business incentive for serving as custodian; his core interest lay in the protection of the monument. He had not tendered any stipulations if offered the custodianship but rather offered to arrange for its improvements and repairs even if it excluded the custodianship. Ultimately, Sullivan would fail as custodian and Jackson would succeed. As superintendent after 1923, Pinkley would draw upon this experience to look for "Service" qualities when hand-picking custodians.

Spouse-as-Custodian: Lucy Nelson vs. Edna Pinkley

Pinkley also learned to critically evaluate spouses of prospective custodians. At Petrified Forest, William Nelson's wife, Lucy, did not share her husband's passion for the monument.[152] William Nelson inherited the custodianship when he purchased the Adamana hotel in 1918. Lucy Nelson had

---

[148] Demaray departed from Pinkley a bit. He thought the Santa Fe Railroad should just "buy out Nelson's place and put in a Harvey house," and then "build a bridge across the Puerco River [to] maintain adequate transportation service." If that happened, he wagered, "the Petrified Forest Monument would become one of the most popular tourist stops on the transcontinental trip." See: Demaray to Cammerer, November 28, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[149] The NPS discovered that the AT&SF Railway held patents on large sections within both areas proposed for withdrawal. Cammerer to Pinkley, May 12, 1920, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[150] Cammerer to Pinkley, December 29, 1919, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[151] Cammerer to Mather, March 22, 1920, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[152] The Nelsons' 1918 marriage certificate gives Lucy's full maiden name as Lucy Hildegard Gottert. She sometimes signed her first name as "Lucha." She gave her age as 26 on the marriage license. A 1914 immigration record has a 29-year-old Lucy Hildegard Gottert of Germany entering the United States from England, occupation registered as "governess." This is probably the same Lucy. Petrified Forest historian George Lubick described her as a former governess of Rudolph Spreckles[sic]' children. The 1918 San Diego city directory confirms this, listing Lucy as governess for Claus Spreckels. Both Rudolph and Claus were the adult children of "Sugar King," Adolph Claus Spreckels (1828-1908). See: San Diego Directory Co., *San Diego City and County Directory, 1918* (San Diego: San Diego Directory Co., 1918), 995, entry for Lucy Gotterd.



Figure 14. Frank and Edna Pinkley both served as custodians of Casa Grande National Monument, n.d. Source: Richardson Collection, University of South Dakota.

every right to prefer their business venture—the hotel, livery tours, and concessions operations—above the underpaid work of a national monument custodian. Unfortunately, this meant she resented the automobile tourists—the "auto trash," as she called them—that showed up in ever increasing numbers and spent less money than railroad travelers; sometimes she even denied them service.[153] From Pinkley's perspective, Lucy Nelson represented what to avoid when selecting a custodian, even at the part-time nominal level. Administration of isolated southwestern national monuments required all hands on deck—and that included wives. The records do not clarify whether Pinkley met Sullivan's spouse or Jackson's wife, Ada, during his 1919 conversations about Montezuma Castle's custodianship. But over time, Pinkley learned that meeting and vetting spouses was as crucial as interviewing the prospective custodians themselves. The ideal "monument man"—the "Service" kind

[153] George B. Lubick, *Petrified Forest National Park: A Wilderness Bound in Time* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 86.

of custodian—had an invested wife. Sometimes Pinkley hired a custodian not for his own merit, exclusively, but because "his wife was a good monument 'man.'"[154]

Casa Grande National Monument had the prototype spouse-as-custodian. Edna Townsley Pinkley prioritized monument needs and worked hard alongside her husband to meet them. She manned the site during Pinkley's absences—a role that included entertaining and guiding visitors. She also helped excavate artifacts. Edna even served as the official paid custodian while Frank played politician in 1914-1915. An educated woman and former schoolteacher, she authored informational pamphlets on Casa Grande and submitted descriptive articles about national monuments to Arizona newspapers and periodicals.[155] When Frank was away from his typewriter, Edna also penned the monthly monument reports and special reports, including narrative-style accounts of the Pinkley family's summer inspections, all of which delighted the Washington office. She occasionally dispatched petitions to Washington for additional funding or salary raises for the underpaid monument custodians.[156] She usually slipped these types of requests into newsy correspondence addressed to Mather or other Washington office personnel. Her letters, described as "round robin" letters—were generally well-received and often forwarded to relevant parties.[157]

From the start, Edna Townsley Pinkley held no reservations in letting the National Park Service know the extent and value of her role as Pinkley's custodial partner. On August 27, 1919, for example, Edna wrote directly to Mather at Yosemite, asking him to purchase a collection of cultural objects for the Casa Grande museum. She discovered the collection in Long Beach, California, while convalescing from a mysterious chronic illness. "My dear Mr. Mather," she wrote, "I trust you understand and [will] overlook the informality of my addressing you directly, but I am as much interested in our Service as Mr. Pinkley is—and almost as much of an expert in prehistoric artifacts."[158] Edna was naturally interested in antiquities and always remained on the lookout for ways to improve Casa Grande's administration, even when she vacationed. In this instance, Edna spied the collection in a curio shop along the Long Beach boardwalk. She believed they were associated with ancestral cultures of the Sonoran Desert and that the provenance of the collection could be traced back to a known Phoenix collector.[159] Shop owner H.A. McGee offered Edna the whole collection, appraised at $335,

---

[154] Natt N. Dodge, transcript of Oral History Interview of Natt N. Dodge by S. Herbert Evison, December 11, 1962, with changes and corrections added by Dodge on April 13, 1964, 25, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[155] A list of Edna's publications is appended to her bio file at the end of this study.

[156] Edna was instrumental in getting the salary of Gran Quivira's custodian, Doc Smith, raised from $12 a year to $240 in 1924. See the bio file of William H. Smith.

[157] Pinkley to Demaray, August 27, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, file "National Monuments: Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-1932" (Box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.

[158] Pinkley to Mather, August 27, 1919, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "620-46 Museums, 1919-34" (box 573), NARA, College Park, MD.

[159] Edna never named the Phoenix curio collector whom she believed had originally curated the collection.

for the discounted price of $225. “Undoubtedly,” Edna emphasized to Mather, “the collection should be at the Casa Grande Ruins—and equally beyond a doubt it will be lost as a collection if we don’t take it.” She begged his prompt reply and signed her title as “Ex officio deputy Custodian, Casa Grande National Monument.” After dispatching the letter, Edna returned home. Mather approved the purchase of the collection a couple months later.[160]

In correspondence with Frank Pinkley, Stephen Mather disclosed that Edna’s initiative in identifying the McGee archeological collection inspired him to renew the “museum matter” at Casa Grande. Pinkley and Mather already had in hand Punchard’s museum plan from January 1919. For funding, Mather thought they could perhaps get Rep. Carl Hayden to secure “subscriptions” from the state of Arizona to fund a museum building for the monument, or perhaps they could identify “some wealthy



Figure 15. Edna Townsley Pinkley, self-titled “Ex officio deputy Custodian, Casa Grande National Monument,” pictured with the monument’s official vehicle, a 1918 Model T Ford light truck, which she nicknamed, “The Regulator.” Source: WACC (00506)

[160] Mather authorized purchase of the McGee collection after conferring with his friend Edward Ayer, a naturalist and prestigious Americana book collector located in Chicago. In the end, the Pinkleys secured the collection for $210, since, in the meantime, the shop owner sold off part of the collection—some Yuman and Guadalajaran objects and a set of arrowheads included in the original inventory that Edna provided to Mather. See related correspondence in RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file “0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27” (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

Arizona man" to put up the money for its construction. "We just received $1,500.00 from a Denver man to build a gateway into the Rocky Mountain National Park," Mather mentioned, "and we may be able to find an 'angel' for this museum" as well.[161] Pinkley noted that a monument visitor had promised to donate his collection of Arizona archeological materials as soon as Casa Grande had an official museum building. He thought it likely that "many other Arizona citizens" would do the same.[162] But when no angel swept in to cover the costs of a museum building, Pinkley continued to house the monument's makeshift museum in the custodian's residence.

"Miscellaneous, Assorted Monuments"

When Casa Grande Ruin Reservation became Casa Grande National Monument in August 1918, Frank Pinkley imagined the National Park Service supporting the nation's first archeological reserve with the same energy and enthusiasm that it invested in its national parks. But the Washington office did not deliver. In fact, as Pinkley soon recognized, the agency, taking cues from its director, Stephen Mather, seemed to treat all its archeological monuments, not just Casa Grande, with an overall attitude of indifference. In the fall of 1919, Pinkley attended his first NPS superintendents conference, held in Denver. The 1919 conference proved invaluable for Pinkley. For the first time, he became "acquainted with the men of the Service" and, in turn, they became acquainted with Pinkley's work as custodian of Casa Grande. But the big takeaway for Pinkley was how little the "park men" knew about the national monument category. Pinkley discovered that he had general knowledge of the national parks and their individual "park problems" but the agency's park superintendents and its Washington office administrators knew little to nothing about the national monuments. Pinkley also observed that the agency worked to promote each individual national park but reduced the national monuments into "one folder marked 'Miscellaneous, Assorted monuments'."[163]

Travel itineraries of the National Park Service's early leaders seemed to underscore the agency's indifference toward national monuments. Through 1919, the agency's third year, Mather had yet to visit Casa Grande National Monument or any national monuments in the Southwest, except the former Grand Canyon National Monument—which possessed the kind of scenic qualities that Mather valued. In the spring of 1920, Mather again excluded the southwestern monuments from his annual western parks trip. His assistant director, Arno Cammerer, attempted to schedule a monuments tour when he headed west, but failed to make it work. Even then, Cammerer's proposal

---

[161] Mather to Pinkley, October 16, 1919, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[162] Pinkley did not name the potential donor, just that "he" had claimed that both the state and county had asked for the collection multiple times but that he [the visitor] preferred that it go to a federal government agency where it might receive better curation. Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, November 1, 1919, Historic Monthly Reports: 1918-1926, Casa Grande National Monument Central Files Collection, Assembled (WACC ACC 1271), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[163] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, November 1, 1919, Historic Monthly Reports: 1918-1926, Casa Grande National Monument Central Files Collection, Assembled (WACC ACC 1271), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

for a tour of southwestern monuments had only extended as far south as the Petrified Forest, which the National Park Service viewed as an extension of Grand Canyon National Park.[164]

Pinkley wondered how he could expect Congress to fund the monuments when the National Park Service cared so little. In correspondence with Mather, Pinkley repeatedly urged the director to visit southwestern monuments. He argued that if the Washington officials toured even a single southwestern monument with Pinkley, they would at once understand their needs and take their new knowledge about monuments straight to Congress. Pinkley noted that he and the other scattered national monument custodians received "the finest backing in the world" from the Washington office but not enough firsthand attention, not even of Pinkley's work at Casa Grande:

> You are not to be censured if you consider the Casa Grande as one of an assorted lot of ruins scattered through the south-west states, for you have never been down here. I am anxious to know how my ruins will strike an office man who has been handling the administration end for some time without experiencing the sight-seeing end.

"If I could [just] get you down here and talk ruins to you on my own ground," Pinkley concluded, "there would be a much more personal interest on your part" in the national monuments, and this interest would reflect in greater congressional appropriations.[165]

The Washington office's lack of interest in the national monuments—caused in part by Mather's refusal to see the monuments for himself and study their needs—negatively affected the agency's national monuments appropriation. A discouraging moment came in December 1920. That fall, the National Park Service submitted a $27,000 estimate for the protection of national monuments during the 1922 fiscal year, an ambitious 338% increase over the $8,000 it received for monuments the previous year. At the appropriations hearing on Capitol Hill, Mather struggled to justify the increase. "Well," he began, awkwardly, "we have some repair items which, perhaps, we ought to follow up at the Montezuma Castle, an old cliff dwelling...and we ought to spend a few hundred dollars in the repair of the old Tumacacori Mission House." Sensing the subcommittee's skepticism, Mather stammered. "Of course," he continued, "this area down in Arizona and New Mexico is very interesting and historic, tied up as it is with our early history. I think we should have at least $15,000." Unmoved, the subcommittee chair, Rep. James W. Good of Iowa, asked Mather if the "matter of the national monuments" could not "go over for some time."[166] It would have to; Congress assigned only $12,500 to the protection of national monuments for the 1922 fiscal year, less than half the Interior Department's estimate. On the floor of the House, Rep. Carl Hayden of Arizona attempted to amend

---

[164] Cammerer to Pinkley, March 22, 1920, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[165] Pinkley to Mather, March 20, 1920, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[166] *Sundry Civil Bill, 1922*, Part 2, 66th Cong., 3rd sess., 1920, 1993-1994.

the bill to provide additional funding, but the motion failed. In the press, Hayden condemned his House colleagues as "hard hearted" toward national monuments.[167]

External Funding for Monuments

While Pinkley waited for Washington's interest in the monuments to pique, the monuments received considerable attention from cultural institutions such as the National Geographic Society, the American Museum of Natural History, the Smithsonian Institution, and others. None of these institutions needed coaxing to visit and invest in the southwestern monuments. Section 3 of the Antiquities Act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to permit "reputable museums, universities, colleges, or other recognized scientific or educational institutions" to conduct "examinations, excavations, and gatherings" at national monuments, provided that the objects they gathered, including artifacts, were saved "for permanent preservation in public museums." Despite the red tape, the under-explored national monuments of the Southwest promised a good return on institutional investments.

The institutional focus centered on Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, the setting of a series of amateur and institutional excavations in the late nineteenth century that prompted President Theodore Roosevelt to protect Chaco's archeological sites as Chaco Canyon National Monument in 1907. After its designation, institutions were required to secure permits for any excavations they conducted. In 1920, the Interior issued an Antiquities Act permit to the National Geographic Society to make a survey of archeological sites along Chaco Wash. Dr. Neil Judd of the Smithsonian Institution led the effort. Judd subsequently conducted several seasons of excavations at Pueblo Bonito, Pueblo del Arroyo, Pueblo Alto, and Pueblo Blanco. His work confirmed the incredible size of Pueblo Bonito, revealing approximately 800 rooms and 32 kivas. Grateful NPS administrators marveled at how Judd's team "brought to view ruined dwellings which are considered the finest examples of prehistoric architectural skill extant in the United States."[168] Judd's team also unearthed numerous artifacts, including a 1,000-year-old necklace containing over 2,500 turquoise beads that went on display at the National Geographic Society's museum. Between 1920 and 1927, the National Geographic Society spent more than $100,000 on its Chaco Canyon excavations, a figure that approached the sum of all congressional appropriations made for national monuments during the same period.[169]

---

[167] "Federal Aid for Arizona: Congressman Carl Hayden Makes Plea for Our National Monuments," *The Border Vidette*, January 29, 1921.

[168] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1926, and the Travel Season, 1926* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1925), 56.

[169] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1920 and the Travel Season, 1920* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), 157; *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1925 and the Travel Season, 1925* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925), 9-10.

Fifty miles to the north, at Aztec Ruins, the American Museum of Natural History sponsored a multi-year $34,000 excavation led by archeologist Earl Morris.[170] Most of the excavation's initial funding came from financier J. P. Morgan, who committed $2,000 to get the project underway in 1916. Archer Huntington, heir to the Southern Pacific Railroad fortune, funded the remainder of the project through 1921. In 1919, the American Museum, through a fund established by Huntington, acquired the Aztec Ruins site for $3,000 and donated it to the federal government. President Warren Harding proclaimed it a national monument and turned it over to the National Park Service in January 1923. Earl Morris became appointed custodian, and the American Museum of Natural History covered the costs of his salary. For its contributions, the American Museum acquired a collection of more than 5,000 artifacts from Aztec Ruins including many fine specimens of pottery, exotic ceramics, and basketry that went on exhibit in the museum's Southwest Hall.[171]

Other sources of external funding for southwestern national monuments came from state governments and state-based private societies and research centers. The State of Arizona, for example, provided the National Park Service $1,000 via the Arizona Historical Society for repairs at Tumacácori Mission under Frank Pinkley's supervision in 1923. That same year, students from the School of American Research in Santa Fe cleared rubble from Gran Quivira's San Buenaventura Church and excavated nearby mounds and kivas under the direction of archeologist Edgar Lee Hewett; the work continued through 1927.

On the Road to Becoming Superintendent: Pinkley's Field Inspections, 1921-1923

Through the early 1920s, Frank Pinkley continued inviting Washington office personnel to the Southwest. He insisted that a personal, informed perspective would help administrators justify heightened monuments estimates to skeptical members of Congress. Perhaps Pinkley also hoped that a meeting in the field might lead to clarification of his official position. Pinkley still lacked a formal appointment for the general oversight he gave the various national monuments in the Southwest. He had become an indispensable NPS field agent. Mather and the other directors continued to call on him to handle national monument issues in the Southwest on an as-need basis, and with each new fiscal year the Washington office added new monuments for Pinkley to inspect and generally oversee. The greater workload usually corresponded with a slight salary bump, authorized at the start of the fiscal year, July 1.[172]

---

[170] Many speculate that Morris provided the inspiration for Geroge Lucas' Indiana Jones character.

[171] Lister and Lister, *Aztec Ruins National Monument: Administrative History of an Archeological Preserve*, 61, 237, 285.

[172] During the 1921 fiscal year (July 1, 1920 to June 30, 1921) Pinkley earned $1,320 as custodian of both Casa Grande and Tumacácori—not counting his travel to inspect other monuments. For comparison, the salary of the Superintendent of Grand Canyon National Park was $3,000 during the same period. See: Cammerer to Harvey, April 6, 1921, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, General Employment, file "252, Employment, General, 1918-22 (4 files)" (box 110), NARA, College Park, MD.

The pattern showed the agency's deepening reliance on Frank Pinkley as a trusted field agent. Gradually the southwestern national monuments became his exclusive bailiwick. Beginning in July 1921, the Washington office authorized Pinkley to make summer inspections of national monuments in Arizona and New Mexico. For Mather and his colleagues, Pinkley's inspections yielded valuable field information that helped justify monument needs at annual appropriations hearings. Just as importantly, Pinkley's summer inspection reports also served to unify, in their minds, the disparate national monuments of the Southwest as a definite category. With each passing year, the region's "miscellaneous, assorted" monuments came to be viewed as a logical grouping, setting the stage for Southwestern National Monuments.

Summer 1920: Montezuma Castle, Petrified Forest, and El Morro

Pinkley set aside most of the month of August 1920 for his first monument inspection tour. His wife Edna and their children, Nancy Margaret and Addison, joined him on the road, traveling in the 1918 Model T light truck provided for his use in 1919. By now Pinkley had modified the truck for road trips and camping. An "interesting contraption," it boasted homemade built-ins: "wooden cupboards, pull-out drawers, sliding shelves and hinged camp table." Edna jokingly called their weighed down vehicle unfit for the Indianapolis 500 and gave it the name "Regulator," because it was "the car all others go by."[173] Later on, it earned the nickname, "The Baby." The family slept two in the truck, another two by tent. At Montezuma Castle, Edna and the children explored the area while Pinkley resolved the custodian crisis.

Montezuma Castle had been under Pinkley's general supervision for the past year while the National Park Service waited to appoint James Sullivan as custodian, pending legal advice on running Sullivan's private irrigation ditch across the monument boundaries. In a meeting with both Sullivan and Martin Jackson, Pinkley presented the National Park Service's updated proposition: Sullivan could serve as custodian at $10 a month without the privilege of the ditch, or he could serve "without compensation" in exchange for the ditch—by applying the value of the custodian's salary toward the permit fees for the ditch.[174] In either scenario, the National Park Service would allow Sullivan to supplement his income by selling refreshments and farm produce to visitors at the proposed new parking area. His required custodial duties, in turn, would involve weekly monument inspections and reports. Sullivan agreed to apply his salary toward the ditch permit, except that he asked for the equivalent of $12 monthly rather than $10. His appointment became effective October 20.

---

[173] Earl Jackson, "Introduction to 'Boss' Pinkley's RUMINATIONS," folder "Frank Pinkley," Box 01406, Series XIV: Papers and Working Files of NPS Employees, Assembled Historic Records of the National Park Service (HFCA 1645), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[174] Arno B. Cammerer to Frank Pinkley, July 17, 1920, and Arno B. Cammerer to W. J. Sullivan, October 9, 1920, folder "Early Supervision, Repairs, 1917-1921," Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.



Figure 16. The Pinkley "rolling home"—a 1918 Model T Ford light truck modified for camping on long road trips. (top) Pinkley family camping at unknown location, n.d. (bottom) Camping at Tumacácori National Monument, August 1920, Nancy Margaret, Addison, and Edna pictured. Source: WACC (02622 and 02213)

The National Park Service agreed that Martin Jackson should handle monument repairs and improvements—cutting upper and lower trails and installing a drainage trench on the mesa above the castle. Jackson eagerly began the work, starting on August 16 at the rate of $5.00 a day until he reached the maximum $180 allotted for the project.[175] Pinkley assessed Martin Jackson's progress a couple weeks later and was pleased. Jackson had shown initiative and modified the work plan in ways that made sense. In building the trail, for example, he shifted the line of it whenever he found a better grade or a better view of the Castle, and, in doing so, discovered a previously hidden archeological site. It was "a very low mound of rocks," Pinkley reported, but appeared to be "a disintegrated rock walled building" that may have served as "a place of defense at the head of the ancient trail."[176] By following his innate judgment and taking initiative, Jackson inadvertently cut a trail that closely followed the ancient path; Pinkley thought this demonstrated Jackson's value to the agency.[177]

The Pinkley family returned to Casa Grande National Monument on August 31.[178] In his trip report, Pinkley noted that he would not submit vouchers for the trip; he and his family had made an outing of the trip, so only "the man who had looked after the Ruins" during their absence would need reimbursement.[179] Perhaps Pinkley viewed this concession as a way to raise his profile in Washington. A month later he asked for official, permanent oversight of all southwestern national monuments. "I don't know if you want me to keep in touch with affairs [at Montezuma Castle] or not, but I would be pleased if you do. In effect let me act as a sort of supervisor of monuments as it were, for I know the situation locally well enough to be valuable to you."[180] The National Park Service did not react. Pinkley retained his title as custodian of Casa Grande and Tumacácori national monuments. Nevertheless, Pinkley continued to keep the Washington directors apprised on progress and concerns in the southwestern field on an as-needed basis.

During this time, NPS assistant director Arno Cammerer became one of Frank Pinkley's biggest supporters in the Washington office. Cammerer considered Pinkley's field intelligence insightful and invaluable; he read Pinkley's reports "with the greatest interest and pleasure." What they lacked in

---

[175] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, September 10, 1920, folder "Early Supervision, Repairs, 1917-1921," Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

[176] Later designated "Castle A."

[177] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, September 10, 1920, folder "Early Supervision, Repairs, 1917-1921," Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

[178] The Pinkleys headed to the Grand Canyon after the initial meeting at the Montezuma Castle with Sullivan and Jackson. The trip north was an unauthorized "vacation" that became a longer stay than intended, when Pinkley agreed to serve as a substitute ranger for eight days. The incident caused some tension with the NPS, in that neither the 'vacation' nor his temporary employment had received prior approval.

[179] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, September 10, 1920, folder "Early Supervision, Repairs, 1917-1921," Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

[180] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, October 30, 1920, folder "Early Supervision, Repairs, 1917-1921," Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

prosaic data, such as visitor statistics, they made up for with their "true Pinkley style" of "earnest thought and research."[181] In particular, Cammerer thought Pinkley's latest update on Petrified Forest stood as "one of the best items" for justifying to Congress the need for ranger service at the monument. During his August 1920 summer inspections, Pinkley discovered that the theft of petrified wood was higher than agency calculations. On any given day during the tourist season, automobile tourists absconded with 1,000-2,000 pounds of petrified wood from the Rainbow Forest. At other times, county engineers took away petrified wood for road projects such as culverts.[182] It was just the kind of local intelligence that the Washington office needed as they prepared for appropriations hearings on Capitol Hill. Thoroughly pleased, Cammerer recommended that the agency transfer Pinkley to the custodianship of Petrified Forest, making William Nelson a "public operator" and installing a ranger-in-charge at Casa Grande to free up Pinkley.[183] The gesture revealed the agency's indifference toward Casa Grande but at the same time demonstrated its growing regard and trust in Pinkley—enough to place him in charge of a monument increasingly viewed as a national park.[184]

Not surprisingly, Cammerer became the first Washington office administrator to visit Pinkley in the Southwest. In late January 1921, the NPS allotted $100 for Frank Pinkley to escort Cammerer on an inspection of several southwestern monuments in early March. The trip only included Petrified Forest and El Morro. Pinkley met Cammerer and his wife, Ida, at Adamana and gave them a tour of the Petrified Forest. From Adamana, they traveled by train to Gallup, New Mexico, to inspect El Morro National Monument—Pinkley's first visit to the fabled Spanish-era landmark. They met up with the monument's part-time custodian, Evon Z. Vogt, Sr., at his ranch in Ramah, about forty miles southeast of Gallup. Vogt watched over the monument for $20 a month [Bio File: Vogt, Evon]. He, along with his wife and two youngest children, accompanied Cammerer and Pinkley to El Morro, where they discussed options for preserving historic inscriptions on "Inscription Rock," including the erasure of modern inscriptions, and a plan for improving the monument's natural spring.[185] Pinkley did not have official oversight of El Morro, and the NPS did not expect a report. But Pinkley nevertheless submitted his recommendations that the agency open the "ruins on top of the [El Morro]

---

[181] Cammerer to Pinkley, September 26, 1920, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, National Monuments, file "Tumacacori, 1915-23 (parts 2-4 and loose papers)" (box 338), NARA, College Park, MD.

[182] Pinkley to Mather, October 5, 1920, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[183] Cammerer to Mather, October 13, 1920, and Cammerer to Demaray, November 10, 1920, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[184] Cammerer to Pinkley, October 13, 1920, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[185] Samples of the sandstone from El Morro had been sent a year earlier to Washington, where conservationists had been conducting extensive experiments with a transparent paraffin substance to coat the inscriptions as a weather barrier. See: "Protection for Historic Rock to be Provided," *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, March 9, 1921, 5.

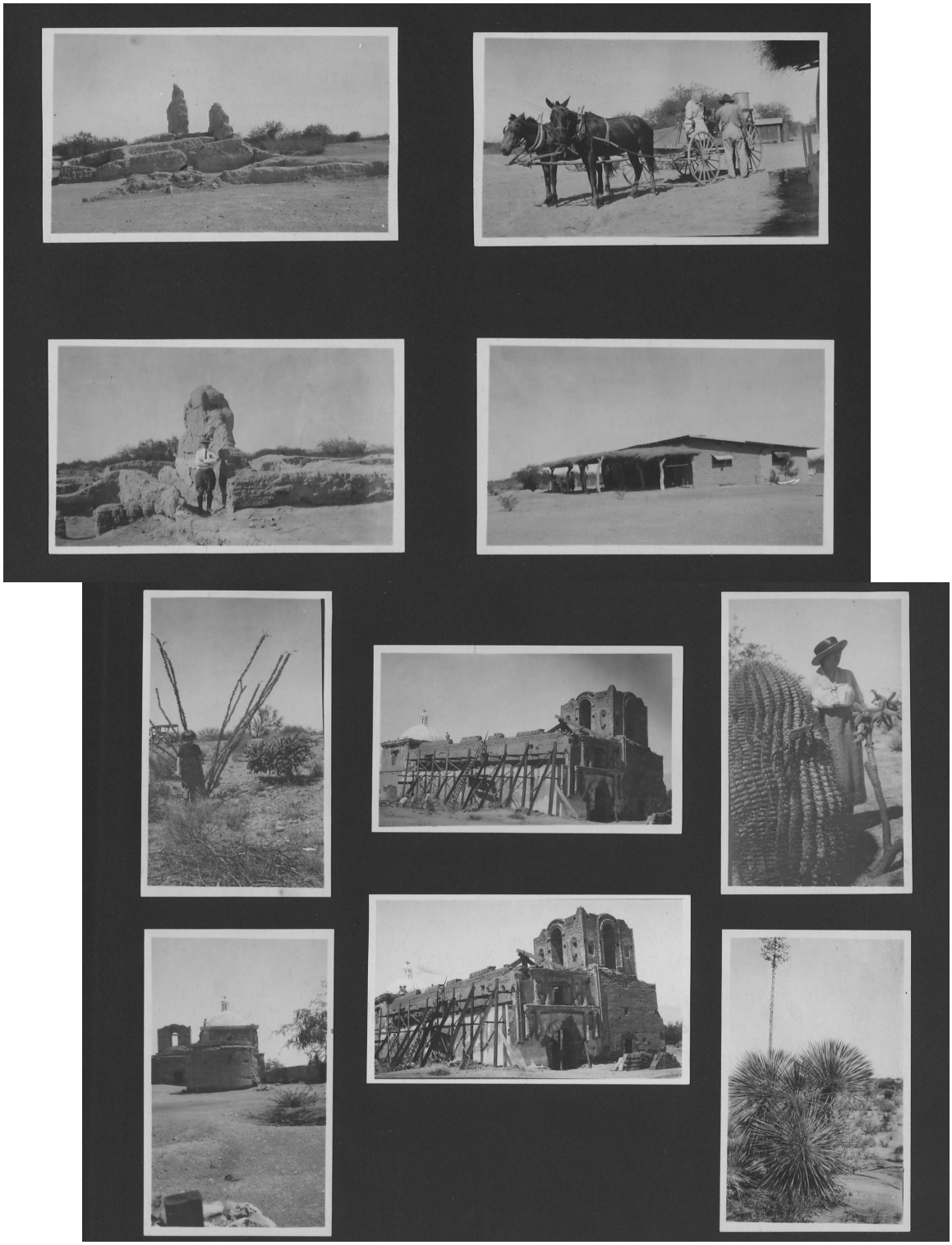


Figure 17. Scrapbook pages from the Demaray family tour of (top) Casa Grande Ruins and (bottom) Tumacácori Mission with Frank Pinkley in summer 1921. Source: American Heritage Center (UWY)

cliff" or risk losing the full educational potential of the monument.[186] As always, Pinkley approached inspections with an expansive view, keeping visitor education and future development in mind. Cammerer, on the other hand, thought the big takeaway of the whole trip involved a general lack of signage—"warning, guiding, and boundary signs"—and he agreed to send whatever signs Pinkley needed in both English and Spanish. During the trip, Cammerer and Pinkley also discussed the cost of an administration building at Casa Grande, which Cammerer agreed could be added to the 1922 estimates if less than $1,500.[187]

Summer 1921: Demaray's visit, Chaco Canyon archeology, and Montezuma Castle's custodian

As the 1922 fiscal year got underway in July 1921, Frank Pinkley hit the road again on his annual summer inspections tour. This time he was accompanied by Arthur Demaray from the Washington office. The National Park Service had just promoted Demaray to the position of NPS Chief Editor, and he and his wife, Alfrida, and their seven-year-old daughter, Elise, were on a western tour to assess publicity needs at parks and monuments. From July 5-8, 1921, they trailed Pinkley around Casa Grande and followed him south to inspect the Tumacácori restoration work.[188] Shortly after Demaray's visit, Pinkley received instructions from Cammerer to "proceed to the Chaco Canyon for two or three days as the Service's confidential representative on the ground." This inspection, made July 14-19, 1921, brought the number of southwestern national monuments under Pinkley's regular and occasional oversight to five.

The objective of Pinkley's inaugural Chaco Canyon inspection involved investigating archeologist Edgar Hewett's complaints against the Judd expedition, which included the "blowing of dust from the digging in the Pueblo Bonito so as to make the Wetherill Homestead absolutely uninhabitable." Pinkley's report to Washington explained the situation. The National Geographic Society had recently committed $75,000 for excavations at the Pueblo Bonito and Pueblo del Arroyo sites under the direction of Neil M. Judd, Curator of American Archaeology at the Smithsonian National Museum. But Hewett, Director of the School of American Research and Judd's one-time mentor, already had a multi-year permit to excavate anywhere in Chaco Canyon. Hewett started work at Chetro Ketl and Casa Rinconada, with plans to excavate other sites in Chaco in 1922. He resented National Geographic's competition and regularly attacked Judd's archeological methods—namely, that Judd worked both Zuni and Navajo laborers together, which Hewett argued would "inevitably lead to conflict and murder." The National Park Service hoped Hewett could be swayed to leave Chaco

---

[186] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, March 9, 1921, folder "Reports, 1919-1952," Box 52, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[187] Cammerer to Pinkley, April 8, 1921, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, file "302 Appropriations and Estimates, National Monuments, 1917-27 (2 files)" (Box 117), NARA, College Park, MD.

[188] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, August 1, 1921, folder "Historic Monthly Reports, 1918-1926," Casa Grande National Monument Central Files Collection, Assembled (WACC ACC 1271), WACC, Tucson, Arizona. Photographs from Demaray's visit located in Demaray's Papers at the American Heritage Center: digitalcollections.uwyo.edu/luna/servlet/detail/uwydbuwy~157~157~3360138~293108:Brown-leather- scrapbook

Canyon with the offer of an exclusive permit to excavate sites at the lesser-known Gran Quivira National Monument. The agency asked Pinkley to investigate Hewett's accusations against Judd and to find common ground with the disgruntled archeologist.[189] Ultimately, Pinkley approved of Judd's operations in Chaco, and found most of Hewett's complaints unfounded.[190] He met with Hewett, who, in turn, took a liking to Pinkley and eventually moved his team to Gran Quivira.[191]

Around the same time, the National Park Service's arrangement with custodian James Sullivan of Montezuma Castle dissolved. The Washington office had grown increasingly concerned about the visual impact of the flume and ditch that Sullivan intended to run across the monument grounds. Additionally, Sullivan neglected to report weekly per the terms of his contract. During his inspection, Pinkley discovered that Sullivan was frequently absent from the area, off working on county road projects.[192] Ultimately, Mather decided to cancel construction of Sullivan's ditch and flume, and Pinkley recommended that the National Park Service also void Sullivan's appointment and give Martin Jackson the job instead.[193] The agency did not act. A few months later, Pinkley learned that Sullivan had deserted his homestead and moved to Prescott.[194] Once again, Pinkley recommended that the National Park Service install Martin Jackson as custodian of Montezuma Castle. This time, Cammerer responded with an appointment letter for Jackson, adding that Pinkley would serve as Jackson's liaison with the agency:

> You should also report to the Service through Mr. Pinkley, as our representative, on the condition, needs, and general information regarding the monument on the last day of every month. [... And] as Mr. Pinkley has charge of several monuments under our jurisdiction and control, and understands our policies and desires, it is to be

---

[189] Arno B. Cammerer to Frank Pinkley, July 8, 1921, folder 18 "Official Correspondence, 1921," Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (ARG 34), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[190] In Thoreau, New Mexico, Pinkley met up with "Mr. Staples," a trading-post operator who acted as "Mr. Judd's forwarding agent." Staples provided details on the excavations and the relationships between "the boys, both Indians and whites," strongly denying the rumor of cultural clashes at the work sites. Staples spoke highly of Judd's work and the camp setup at Chaco but disliked Hewett. Pinkley lodged at the Harvey Hotel with Ben Harvey and his wife. Harvey escorted Pinkley out to Chaco to spend the day with Judd and see the archeological camp at Pueblo Bonito for himself. See: Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, July 20, 1921, folder 18 "Official Correspondence, 1921," Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (ARG 34), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[191] Hal Rothman, *Bandelier National Monument: An Administrative History* (1988), digital edition (https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/band/adhi/adhi2b.htm).

[192] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, January 2, 1921, folder "Early Supervision, Repairs, 1917-1921," Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

[193] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, July 21, 1921, folder "Early Supervision, Repairs, 1917-1921," Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[194] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, October 18, 1921, folder "Early Supervision, Repairs, 1917-1921," Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

> understood that any time he comes to the Montezuma Castle National Monument his suggestions and instructions are to be carried out.[195]

Pinkley mailed his first instructions to Jackson in November. The National Park Service, he explained, expected Jackson to make weekly inspections, handle general maintenance, and submit official reports. Pinkley expected more. Those regular duties were mere "leg work," he explained to Jackson:

> [You should also] carry the Castle around in the back of your mind and study its problems during your spare moments. If you are really interested this way in the monument, you will be worth many times ten dollars a month to the Service and you will get some good work done up there in the next few years.[196]

Pinkley's instructions reflected his approach to the Casa Grande custodianship, developed over the previous twenty years. Though new to the National Park Service, Jackson took Pinkley's words to heart and emulated Pinkley's methods from the moment he entered on duty December 16, 1921 [Bio File: Jackson, Martin]. Pinkley, still nominally the custodian of Casa Grande Ruins and Tumacácori, had now demonstrated all the qualities of a superintendent of southwestern monuments: making summer inspections for the Washington office, handling field issues as they arose, offering recommendations for future monument development, and providing junior custodians with mentorship.

Summer 1922: California missions, Chaco Culture timeline, and The "Epitaph"

Pinkley's summer 1922 inspections tour deviated a bit from his usual southwestern circuit. He and his family spent the month of July in California—an NPS-authorized trip to visit and research the state's famous string of Franciscan missions as part of the ongoing Tumacácori Mission restoration project research.[197] Mid-trip, Pinkley received news of a promotion—a salary bump to $1440.[198] The Pinkleys

---

[195] Arno B. Cammerer to Martin L. Jackson, October 28, 1921, folder "Early Supervision, Repairs, 1917-1921," Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[196] Protas, *A Past Preserved in Stone*, 88. Quote from Frank Pinkley to Martin Jackson, November 16, 1921, in Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[197] This was a comparison project. Two years earlier Pinkley had explored the Kino missions of northern Mexico in mid-November 1920. He hoped to compare and use his findings from both the Kino and Serra mission trips to further hone the historical accuracy of the Tumacácori mission restoration project. Writing to Mather from San Fernando, California, in mid-July, Pinkley admitted that he was "soaking mission history and construction in at every pore," and expected the trip "to pay big returns" in future Tumacácori work. He was also having a little fun, testing tour guides at each mission and finding that they had "single track minds," and that he could easily wreck their canned speeches and train of thought with an unexpected question. "We had better catch one and put him in our Park service Museum as a beautiful example of 'how not to do it'," he joked. Pinkley to Mather, July 12, 1922, Cammerer to Pinkley, June 28, 1922, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35 Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA College Park, MD.

[198] Pinkley to Mather, July 12, 1922, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35 Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA College Park, MD.

returned in late July. Early September saw Pinkley on the road to Chaco Canyon, where the National Park Service asked him to represent the agency at a National Geographic Society meeting of archeologists and other scientists—including University of Arizona dendrochronologist Andrew E. Douglass—to discuss tree-ring dating and the Chaco cultural timeline.[199]

The application of tree-ring dating to archeological work—also called dendro-archeology—was a nascent field of study led by Douglass. Its parent discipline, dendrochronology, grew from a contemporary effort to understand epochal climate change and to apply climate-science methods to long-range climate forecasting. As early as 1915, Douglass, under the direction of Dr. Clark Wissler of the American Museum, established that tree-ring dating of archeological timber specimens could help periodize southwestern archeological sites and fine-tune the region's broad cultural timeline. Working closely with archeologist Earl Morris at Aztec Ruins, Douglass and his team ran tests in 1920 on core samples that Morris extracted from the monument's Puebloan wooden beams. Douglass and his dendro-archeology team also ran similar tests on samples of Chacoan wood beams removed from the monument in the 1890s; they concluded that at least two Chacoan pueblos pre-dated Aztec Ruins by fifty years or so. Tree-ring dating also shed light on construction phases, such as how long pueblo construction had likely taken—at Chaco, mere decades rather than the hundreds of years previously estimated—and in what sequence (i.e., constructing from east side of pueblo to west side).[200]

Under Pinkley's supervision, Douglass collected new tree-ring material at Pueblo Bonito in September 1922 during the symposium led by Judd and the National Geographic Society. The agency permitted partnerships with scientists such as Douglass in instances when scientific research furthered knowledge of park areas. In Douglass' case, dendro-archeological samples collected from Aztec, Chaco, and other prehistoric sites in the Southwest would help establish an "ancient tree ring calendar" that agency naturalists and museum designers could consult to improve the chronological interpretation of the archeological national monuments and parks.[201]

After the 1922 Chaco meeting with Judd and Douglass, Pinkley traveled to Petrified Forest to confer with Custodian Nelson about his new appointment. The National Park Service had just promoted Nelson from part-time, non-resident custodian to permanent resident custodian with a full-time salary. To avoid a conflict of interest, Nelson leased out his hotel and concessions business in Adamana and moved onto the monument, fixing up an old resthouse in the Second Forest as a custodian's residence. Pinkley was not impressed with Nelson's general ideas for the monument's development, particularly his plan to preference new development (ranger stations, roads, and monument

---

[199] Cammerer to Nelson, August 19, 1922, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, file "National Monuments: Petrified Forest, 1916-1927 (parts 6-9)" (box 336), NARA, College Park, MD.

[200] Prof. A. E. Douglass, "Some Aspects of the Use of the Annual Rings of Trees in Climatic Study," from *The Smithsonian Report for 1922* (Washington: GPO, 1924), 237.

[201] A.E. Douglass, "Dating Pueblo Bonito and Other Ruins of the Southwest," *National Geographic Society Technical Papers: Pueblo Bonito Series, No.1* (1935), 16.

headquarters) in the northern sections of the monument, where visitors from Adamana (and the Nelsons' hotel and livery business) generally entered the monument. Pinkley thought a better arrangement would involve Nelson living in the First Forest near Adamana during the winter when railroad traffic was highest and then moving to the ranger cabin in the southwest section of the monument during the summer, when automobile traffic from the highway reached its peak—around 25,000 visitors. But Nelson still resented automobile tourists and prioritized the railroad traffic, which entered the Forest at Adamana. "I am afraid he hasn't changed his viewpoint," Pinkley reported to Mather.[202]

Summer inspections over, Pinkley settled back into his work at Casa Grande National Monument, making the occasional trips south to inspect Tumacácori and one longer road trip to Yosemite to attend the annual NPS superintendents conference.[203] Once again, the director's gathering with the park superintendents fostered little discussion on national monuments—so little that Pinkley decided to react. Back at Casa Grande, he composed and mimeographed a four-page circular dubbed "The Epitaph" that featured profiles of national monuments and descriptions of recent monument activities. He sent a sample typescript with cover letter to Cammerer, asking for his opinion and permission to issue The Epitaph as a periodical for occasional distribution to park superintendents and monument custodians. Cammerer thought the idea unwise. It might catch on too well, he suggested, and some of the custodians and superintendents—two in particular—might copy the idea with "greatest gusto," though not nearly so well. Cammerer advised sending it as a one-time memento and personal courtesy just "to the superintendents who were at the conference."[204] The Epitaph stands out as Pinkley's earliest attempt at a circular report covering southwestern monuments activity. The effort also showed Pinkley taking a major step toward asserting himself as a superintendent of southwestern monuments. All he lacked in the fall of 1922 was the formal title.

An Assistant for Pinkley: George Boundey, 1923

In January 1923, a curious "bungalow on wheels" arrived at Casa Grande National Monument. Its driver, George L. Boundey of Modesto, California, had traveled to Arizona with his wife, Georgia, and the couple's cat, Snoopy. While stopped over in Phoenix, the Boundeys drove out to see the fabled Casa Grande Ruin and to take one of Pinkley's popular guided tours. Pinkley and George Boundey hit it off. Pinkley asked the couple if they would care to park their rig in the campground behind the

---

[202] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, September 16, 1922, folder "Reports, 1919-1952," Box 52, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[203] "News from Mexico and Santa Cruz," *Tucson Citizen*, October 22, 1922, 15 (https://www.newspapers.com/article/tucson-citizen/171422597/).

[204] Pinkley to Cammerer, November 28, 1922, and Cammerer to Pinkley, December 5, 1922, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35 Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA College Park, MD.



Figure 18. George Boundey and his wife Georgia, camping with their custom house-car, mid-1920s. Probably at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. Source: Boundey family private collection, used with permission.

museum and stay for the winter. The house-car, dubbed "Old Henry," was equipped with several housekeeping features including a sink and running water—a souped-up edition of Pinkley's modified Model T contraption. In exchange for free parking and use of the monument's facilities, the Boundeys agreed to help around the monument. George Boundey possessed an avocational interest in archeology and photography. In addition to general volunteer duties at Casa Grande, he enthusiastically conducted minor excavations and photographic surveys at Casa Grande and the surrounding area or wherever else Pinkley assigned him. Ultimately, the Boundeys' winter stay lasted four years. Boundey became Pinkley's 'right-hand man' during the 1920s, a period when low appropriations precluded hiring permanent staff. Boundey's availability at Casa Grande made it possible for Pinkley to take on a larger managerial role in the Southwest while keeping Casa Grande open for visitors [Bio File: Boundey, George].

In May 1923, Frank Pinkley began compiling a joint monthly report for the custodians of the monuments for which he had general oversight. He asked custodians Nelson (Petrified Forest), Vogt (El Morro), and Jackson (Montezuma Castle) to "slip in an extra sheet" of their monthly reports to the director so they could "swap that copy around among [themselves]." Normally, Pinkley forwarded the custodians' monthly reports to the director without producing a carbon copy for his files. In the new scheme, an extra copy of each custodian's report stayed back with Pinkley, to be forwarded and read by each participating custodian. "My idea," he told Stephen Mather, "was that we would find these reports from the various parts of our districts here in the southwest very interesting, and I have not been disappointed."[205] This report-sharing scheme represented the genesis of the Southwestern National Monument *Monthly Report*, Pinkley's practice of editing, collating, and redistributing monthly reports from each of the monuments under his supervision.

In July 1923, the agency increased Pinkley's compensation to $1,500 to cover "the Casa Grande Custodianship, with its manifold duties."[206] Those duties increased substantially. After a month at Tumacácori supervising restoration work, Pinkley embarked on his most extensive summer inspection tour to date. With Geroge and Georgina Boundey available to keep watch over Casa Grande, Frank, Edna, Nancy Margaret, and Addison remained on the road for approximately three months, split into three trips: Gran Quivira and Petrified Forest (July), Montezuma Castle (August), and Chaco Canyon and El Morro (September). Edna recounted the July and August portion in a lighthearted trip report titled, "Four in a Flivver."[207] She described how the family further modified their Ford "Regulator" for

[205] Pinkley to Mather, June 26, 1923, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[206] Arno B. Cammerer to Frank Pinkley, June 21, 1923, Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (ARG 34), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[207] Edna Townsley Pinkley, "Four in a Flivver," typescript, n.d., RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

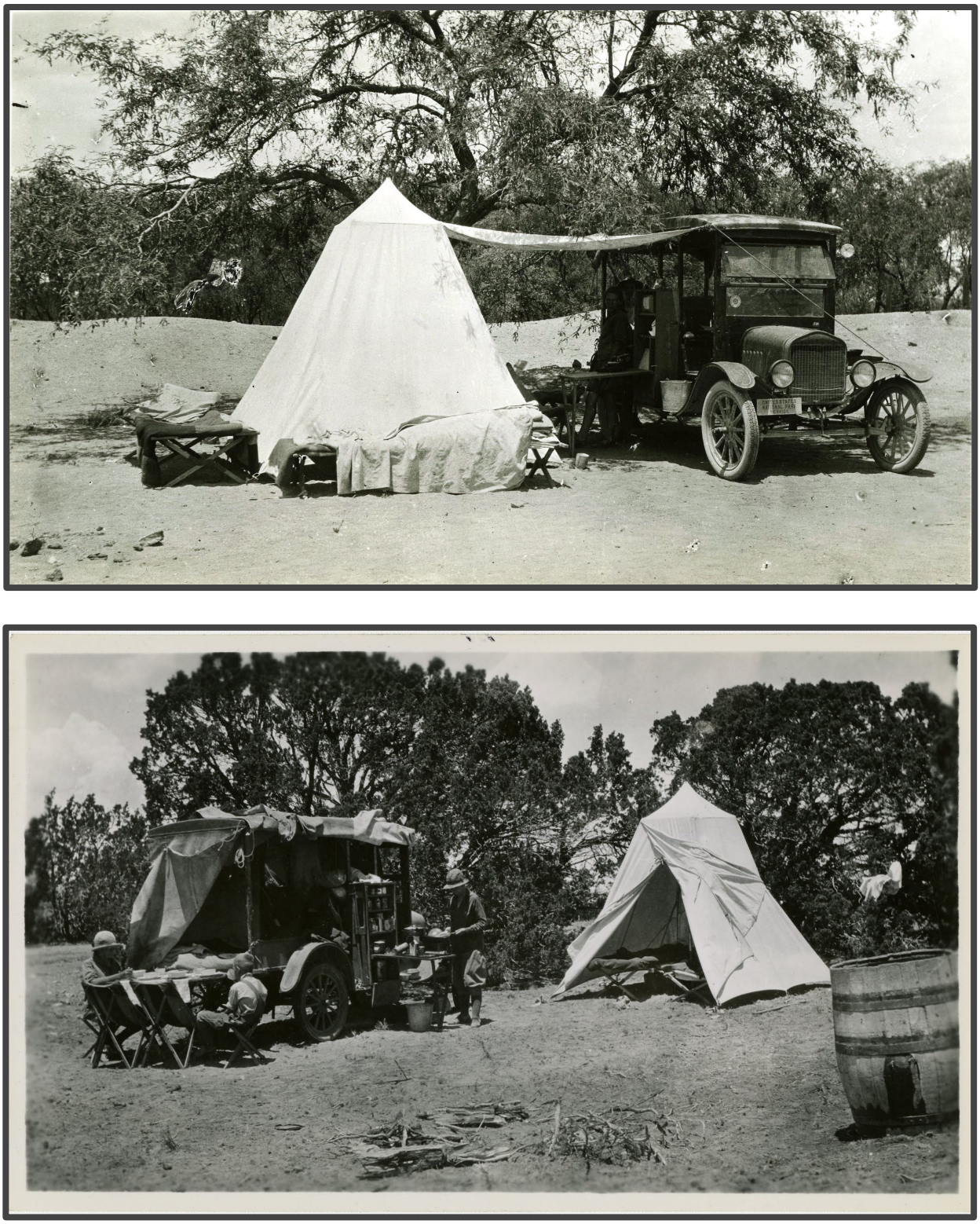


Figure 19. The Pinkley family spent the summer of 1923 on the road. Pictured at (top) Tumacácori and (bottom) Gran Quivira. Images show the modified Ford truck with its fold-out kitchen. Source: WACC (02619 and 03045)

remote living and work. It now boasted "a cupboard on one side, forming the kitchen, and a duplicate on the other for the office"—design ideas perhaps inspired by the Boundeys' 'bungalow on wheels'.

Their first stop was Gran Quivira National Monument—the historic San Buenaventura mission complex in northern New Mexico—where they camped in a stand of cedar trees that grew next to the mission ruins.[208] This was Pinkley's first official inspection of the monument. Edgar Hewett's School of American Archeology excavations were underway. By the time Pinkley arrived, Hewett and his team had already excavated twenty rooms in the Salinas Culture pueblo located within the monument boundaries.[209] Pinkley and his family spent the bulk of their time cleaning out debris from the historic mission rooms and restoring deteriorated walls. Pinkley also helped construct a boundary fence to enclose 400 acres of the monument.[210] They headed next to the Petrified Forest. For a few days they explored different sections of the monument, observing road conditions and assessing the ranger situation; they also toured Nelson's small makeshift museum. Continuing west, the family visited Walnut Canyon—an unofficial visit, just to explore it—then on to Montezuma Castle, where Pinkley spent a few weeks helping custodian Martin Jackson with repairs.

The family camped at the Jackson ranch until late August. During this period, Pinkley assisted Jackson and four hired Apache laborers with repairs of the Castle, underpinning the front façade, partially restoring walls and floors, and cleaning out debris from all rooms.[211] The façade work, which they called mudslinging, was dangerous. It required them to dangle from ropes attached to the bluff above the site. But through the dangerous work, Pinkley and Jackson formed a lasting bond, the beginning of a lifelong friendship and the first of several seasons working side by side to stabilize southwestern archeological sites.[212] In a preliminary report to Mather on August 12, Pinkley praised Martin Jackson and his wife, Ada, as embodiments of the National Park Service "spirit" that involved going above and beyond the basic requirements of the job:

> I must speak here of the fine Park Service spirit which I find in Mr. Jackson. This is the first time I have had a chance to really become acquainted with him, my former visits amounting to nothing more than an hour or two's talk, and I am more than pleased to

---

[208] William J. Boundey, ed., "Notes on the Casa Grande Ruins: As recorded by George and Georgia Boundey," unpublished copyrighted manuscript (1988), 15.

[209] Boundey, ed., "Notes on the Casa Grande Ruins," 15.

[210] Ibid; "Minutes of Work Done on the Gran Quivira National Park from the Year of 1923 to the Year of 1929," Intermountain Cultural Resource Center Library, National Park Service.

[211] Martin L. Jackson, "Montezuma Castle National Monument: Annual Report," 179.

[212] In her diary entry for September 20, 1923, Georgia Boundey described the work Pinkley and Jackson had done over the summer: "At Montezuma [Castle] Mr. P and Jack Nelson[sic] did a lot of dangerous work in repairing walls. The castle [is] overhung by a sheer cliff, the cliff having been worn away. [The ruins] can only be reached by ladders. Only a push would have wrecked it [probably the wall they were repairing] and killed the workers." See: Boundey, ed., "Notes on the Casa Grande Ruins," 15.

> find how interested he is in his monument and not only in his own but in all the other southwest monuments. And the same thing goes for Mrs. Jackson. When he is away at work, as he has to be at times, for getting a homestead under way takes quite an investment and they have to raise additional capital by his work at his trade, she goes to the Castle regularly, talks to the visitors she finds there, makes out the reports, and everything goes on as though he were on the ground himself.[213]

While Jackson and Pinkley slung mud, Edna and the children swam in the Verde River, fished in Beaver Creek, and every day checked on the stabilization progress. At Montezuma Castle, nine-year-old Addison Pinkley helped guide visitors and gave interpretive talks.[214] Edna did a little digging in the nearby caves, looking for artifacts and relics that the Jacksons could display in a makeshift museum at their ranch house; she found a grinding mill, a complete basket, and an infant burial.[215] The Pinkley family left Montezuma Castle on August 23, and returned to Casa Grande the following day. The Ford had clocked 2700 miles.

In August, the editor of the NPS *Bulletin* reported that Frank Pinkley had "his hands full" as custodian of Casa Grande and Tumacácori and with all the work required to keep "in pretty close contact with happenings in all monuments in the Southwest."[216] Pinkley, the editor added, accomplished much on little money. His work with Jackson at Montezuma Castle offered a case in point. "Although only a small fund was available for this purpose, much was accomplished in repairing walls, floors, doors, windows, etc., in this important cliff dwelling."[217] Pinkley still had more summer ahead of him. On September 1, he headed to New Mexico to inspect Chaco Canyon and El Morro. At Chaco, Pinkley met Chester A. "Gus" Griffin, who had moved with his family into the old Wetherill trading post building at Pueblo Bonito earlier that year. Pinkley assessed Griffin's interest in serving as Chaco's part-time custodian. In December, the NPS appointed Griffin to the position [Bio File: Griffin, Gus]. Over at El Morro, custodian Vogt finished expending his $175 allotment to install a bridge, entry gate, signage, and trail work. Pinkley, "as representative of the Service," headed over to El Morro with instructions from Mather and Cammerer to inspect Vogt's improvements; they wanted to know if the value of the work matched the money spent.[218]

---

[213] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, August 12, 1923, folder "Jackson Years," Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[214] Martin L. Jackson and Mrs. Ada Jackson to Stephen T. Mather, September 15, 1923, folder "Correspondence, 1919-1955," Box 46, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[215] Pinkley, "Four in a Flivver," n.d., folder "Jackson Years," Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[216] National Park Service, *Bulletin* 1, no. 19 (August 1923): 9.

[217] National Park Service, *Bulletin* 1, no. 20 (October 1923): 9.

[218] Cammerer to Pinkley, July 20, 1923, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35 Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA College Park, MD.

A Friend in Congress

Frank Pinkley and his part-time custodians learned to maximize every dollar, as funds allotted to southwestern monuments remained exceedingly scarce through the early 1920s. But in 1921, a major development in Washington D.C. signaled a new era for Interior Department appropriations. Under the Budget and Accounting Act, signed into law in June 1921, the process by which Congress made appropriations to federal agencies changed dramatically. The Act created a new office—the Bureau of the Budget—tasked with collecting agency estimates, assessing Treasury revenues, and preparing appropriations bills for Congress that balanced expenditures with revenues. Away went the gargantuan Sundry Civil Appropriations Bill extracted from the Book of Estimates of Appropriations. In its place, the Bureau of the Budget prepared leaner cabinet-level department appropriations bills for Congress to review and revise. This meant the Interior Department would have its own appropriations bill. More crucially, the Interior Department would also receive its own House appropriations bill subcommittee. Out went the "hard hearted" Sundry Civil Appropriations Bill subcommittee that bedeviled Mather and his colleagues for years; in came the new Interior Department Appropriations Bill subcommittee chaired by Rep. Louis C. Cramton, a Republican progressive from Michigan.

Cramton's decade-long chairmanship of the Interior Department subcommittee marked a significant reversal of fortunes for the National Park Service and for southwestern national monuments. Unlike his predecessors on the Civil Sundry subcommittee, Cramton took time to study the Interior Department's agencies and range of activities. A conservationist at heart, Cramton quickly became "a staunch friend" of the National Park Service who did "more than anyone in Congress" to promote the agency's development during its early years.[219] Though not as celebrated by historians as Stephen Mather or Horace Albright, Louis Cramton deserves equal credit for establishing the agency's footing during its formative years. Albright in 1932 praised Cramton for "building the financial structure of the national-park system that will rank in importance second only to the great achievements of Stephen T. Mather in developing the fundamental organization and policy programs of the bureau."[220] Mather himself called Cramton "the godfather of the national parks."[221]

---

[219] John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), 276, 321. More recent histories of the National Park Service fail to acknowledge the critical role Cramton played in the development of the National Park Service during its formative years; Rothman similarly fails to credit Cramton for legitimizing the national monuments by elevating their annual appropriations.

[220] *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1932, and the Travel Season, 1932* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932) 7.

[221] *Michigan: A Centennial History of the State and its People* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1939), 214. Conrad Wirth, who went to work for the National Park Service in 1931, described Louis Cramton as "perhaps as much of a Park Service man as he was a member of Congress." "Representative Cramton," he recalled, "was almost like one of the Park Service family. He was a very good friend of Director Albright's and was included in many of the Park Service social gatherings." Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 30.

Cramton was also the godfather of southwestern national monuments. During his ten years as chair of the Interior Department subcommittee, Cramton never failed to approve the National Park Service's estimates for national monuments, and on three occasions he exercised his Article I, Section 7 powers to revise the Interior Department Appropriations Bill and provide *additional* funding for monuments beyond amounts suggested by the Bureau of the Budget.[222] It all began in March 1923 with a fateful meeting between Louis Cramton and Frank Pinkley at Casa Grande Ruins. While inspecting dam and reservoir projects in central Arizona with Rep. Carl Hayden, Cramton and his wife, Fame, made a quick detour to visit the monument. Touring the Great House with Pinkley, Cramton saw first-hand all that went into protecting and stabilizing a 600-year-old caliche building in the Sonoran Desert.[223] Cramton liked what he saw. Arriving at Grand Canyon the following day, Cramton told Horace Albright that he intended to revise the 1925 Interior Department Appropriations Bill to make more money available for Pinkley to protect other southwestern archeological monuments. An excited Horace Albright relayed the good news to the Washington office:

> I wish to make it a matter of record that Chairman Cramton of the Sub-Committee of the Appropriations Committee, having to do with Interior Department appropriations, told me at Grand Canyon that he was very deeply impressed with the work being done at Casa Grande by Custodian Pinkley and that he felt that while we had Mr. Pinkley in our Service and available for big public work of a very constructive nature, we could reasonably expect consideration of a proposed increase of $2000 or thereabouts in our National Monuments appropriation, the additional money to be expended in our southwestern monuments under Custodian Pinkley.
>
> I might say also that it was very evident that both Messrs. Cramton and Hayden were very deeply impressed with Mr. Pinkley's enthusiasm and personality.[224]

In a personal note to Pinkley, Albright conveyed his gratitude for "the splendid" and "fine piece of work" in showing Cramton all the "National Monument needs and the particular requirements of Casa Grande."[225] Arno Cammerer in the Washington office echoed Albright's enthusiasm. "Chairman Cramton," Cammerer wrote to Pinkley, "was very much impressed with the work that you have done and are doing at Casa Grande, and stated that we might reasonably expect consideration of a proposed

[222] Article I, Section 7 of the Constitution observes that "All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives."

[223] "Michigan Man Will Inspect Valley While Staying Here," *Arizona Republican*, March 26, 1923.

[224] Albright to Pinkley, May 2, 1923, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[225] Albright to Mather, May 2, 1923, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

increase…in our monument appropriation, this money to be expended in our southwestern monuments under you."[226]

For the 1925 fiscal year, Cramton increased the national monuments appropriation from $12,500 to $15,750 and created a new $5,000 budget item specifically dedicated for "repairs to existing ruins to prevent disintegration by elements."[227] It was the best thing to happen for southwestern monuments since Mather first persuaded Congress to fund the monuments in 1916. For seven years, members of the Civil Sundry Bill subcommittee scoffed at protecting southwestern monuments. But now, with Rep. Louis Cramton as the Interior Department subcommittee chair, the national monuments had a friend in Congress. "If this progressive program of repair is carried forward a few years," Mather enthused, "most of the existing monument ruins can be placed in condition to withstand the elements for many years, thus saving them for posterity."[228] Mather imagined using the $5,000 "along such lines as underpinning and bracing walls, capping walls with cement, opening drainage lines, repairing and reinforcing roofs," and building "fencing for protection against loose stock" at Casa Grande, Tumacácori, Montezuma Castle, Gran Quivira, Chaco Canyon, and Aztec Ruins, all "under the personal supervision" of Frank Pinkley.[229] Cramton's new budget item, "repairs to existing ruins to prevent disintegration by elements," remained a fixture in national monuments appropriations through the remainder of the decade.[230] Cramton's surprise budget item also raised Pinkley's profile in the Washington office, setting the stage for his long-awaited promotion and the creation of a new administrative unit to oversee national monuments Arizona, New Mexico, southern Utah, and southern Colorado.

We Want to Call Him Supervisor Pinkley

By the fall of 1923, NPS administrators in the Washington office openly acknowledged that Frank Pinkley, custodian of Casa Grande and Tumacácori, unofficially supervised the agency's southwestern national monuments. Press releases published that fall described Pinkley as having "charge of the Tumacácori and the Montezuma Castle National Monuments" and exercising "general oversight over

---

[226] Arno Cammerer to Frank Pinkley, May 8, 1923, RG 79 Records of the National Park Service, Box 117, General Records, Central Classified Files, 1907-1949, 302 Appropriations and Estimates, June 30, 1917, to September 27, 1924.

[227] House Committee on Appropriations, *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1925: Hearing Before Subcommittee on Appropriations*, 68th Cong., 1st sess., 1924, 677.

[228] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1924, and the Travel Season 1924* (Washington: Government Printing Office), 21.

[229] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1925, and the Travel Season 1925* (Washington: Government Printing Office), 48.

[230] The budget item, "repairs to existing ruins to prevent disintegration by elements," later became "1290: Miscellaneous Repairs." It appeared annually in the Interior Department Appropriation Bill through the 1929 fiscal year, when Congress began providing salaries for full-time, permanent custodians at southwestern monuments.

Chaco Canyon and the petrified forest of Arizona."[231] Similarly, the agency's 1923 annual report praised Pinkley for his "indefatigable efforts" at Casa Grande even as "practically all of his time was taken up in looking after some half dozen monuments in the southwest."[232] All that remained was a formal promotion. A September 1923 letter sent to the Washington office by Martin Jackson, custodian at Montezuma Castle, and his wife Ada, may have worked in Pinkley's favor. Everyone in the agency, Jackson wrote, already viewed Pinkley as the dean of the southwestern monument custodians. His decades of experience earned him that distinction, and the Washington office would be wise to provide Pinkley with more time for advising younger custodians rather than leading guided tours of the Great House at Casa Grande.[233]

> I wish to suggest that Mr. Pinkley be made Supervisor of all the monuments of the South West that they may all have more of his time and derive more benefit from his knowledge, ability and conscientious work. I think he is too big a man to be tied so much of the time to one monument when the Service needs him at all of them. You could not find anywhere a man so well fitted and so badly needed as is Pinkley for the supervision of the National Monuments. They need his interest, his talent and his pep.
>
> As it is, I suppose he really has the responsibility and has the needs of every one of them at heart, but it seems to me he is seriously handicapped by the lack of authority and he could do his work more efficiently with a freer rein.
>
> Probably my opinion will not carry much weight, but I am suggesting this in all sincerity, as my idea for the betterment of the Service and as a boost for Mr. Frank Pinkley, Custodian of Casa Grande and Tumacácori National Monuments, a man who always speaks a good word for the other fellow but never takes due

---

[231] "Park Superintendents Will Consider Leading Problems in Yellowstone Conference," *Visalia Daily Times*, October 22, 1923.

[232] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1923, and the Travel Season, 1923* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), 39, 81.

[233] Martin L. Jackson and Mrs. Ada Jackson to Stephen T. Mather, September 15, 1923, folder "Correspondence, 1919-1955," Box 46, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

credit for himself.

We want to call him Supervisor Pinkley.

My wife joins me in signing this as I believe
would all who know Pinkley, had they the opportunity.

Cordially yours,

Martin L. Jackson
Mrs. Ada Jackson

Jackson's opinion may have carried more weight than he realized. In the coming weeks, Mather made plans to surprise Pinkley with a promotion at the October 1923 superintendents conference at Yellowstone National Park. Pinkley, though not officially a superintendent, had faithfully attended the agency's annual conferences since 1919. At Yellowstone, Pinkley planned to deliver an illustrated lecture on the national monuments and moderate a session on "The Future of the National Park Service."[234] In the weeks leading up to the conference, Horace Albright messaged Pinkley asking if Edna would accompany him to Yellowstone. Pinkley replied that he would attend "alone."[235] He departed Casa Grande on October 3, pausing in northern Arizona to inspect Pipe Spring and tour the Kaibab Plateau. Following his departure, Edna Pinkley received a telegram from Stephen Mather. "Hope you can arrange [to] attend Yellowstone Conference with Mr. Pinkley. Will be personally responsible your expenses." Edna jumped at the invitation. "Gratefully accept offer," she replied, "will meet Frank at Salt Lake City."[236] She departed Casa Grande on October 10. More than a week later, Frank and Edna arrived together at the Mammoth Hotel in Yellowstone. Three days of socializing, sightseeing, and executive sessions followed.[237]

A formal announcement of Pinkley's promotion came at the end of the conference, on the morning of Sunday, October 28, with Arno Cammerer presiding.

---

[234] Cammerer to Pinkley, October 8, 1923, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-1939, file "Conventions and Conferences, Superintendents, 1919-25 (parts 15-18)" (box 357), NARA, College Park, MD.

[235] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, November 5, 1923 [October 1923], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[236] Mather to Pinkley, telegram October 6, 1923, and Pinkley to Mather, October 10, 1923, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-1939, file "Conventions and Conferences, Superintendents, 1919-25 (parts 15-18)" (box 357), NARA, College Park, MD.

[237] Horace M. Albright to Stephen T. Mather, "Conference News: Circular of Information," appended to monthly report, November 6, 1923.

> Mr. Cammerer announced the designation by Director Mather of Frank Pinkley as Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments and spoke of the wonderful spirit shown by Mr. Pinkley, and the whole Pinkley family, who work day and night for the good of the Service. He said they all treat the public as friends, bringing the problems of the Service to the attention of visitors in such a way as to interest them and enlist their aid for the parks and monuments. The Service is particularly proud of the Pinkleys down in the Southwest.[238]

With that, Southwestern National Monuments was born. Frank and Edna returned from the Yellowstone conference on November 3, laden with souvenirs for their children. In her diary that night, Georgia Boundey recorded the exciting news about the promotion: "Mr. Pinkley has been made Southwestern National Monuments Superintendent. He has worked and studied a long time, and we are so pleased he got it."[239] Organizationally, nothing like Pinkley's new position existed in the National Park Service. Other superintendents administered single park units; no one oversaw multiple units scattered across a wide region. Some monument custodians, like John Needham at Muir Woods, reported directly to the Washington office. But now the custodians of southwestern monuments would report directly to Pinkley at his Casa Grande "headquarters."

---

[238] "Designation of Frank Pinkley as Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments," *Minutes of the Seventh National Park Conference Held in Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, October 22-28, 1923*, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, General Files, file "Conventions and Conferences, Superintendents, Minutes, 7th Conference, 1923 (2 copies)" (box 357), NARA, College Park, MD. For effective date of appointment, see Mather to Pinkley, December 8, 1923, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[239] Boundey, ed., "Notes on the Casa Grande," 17.

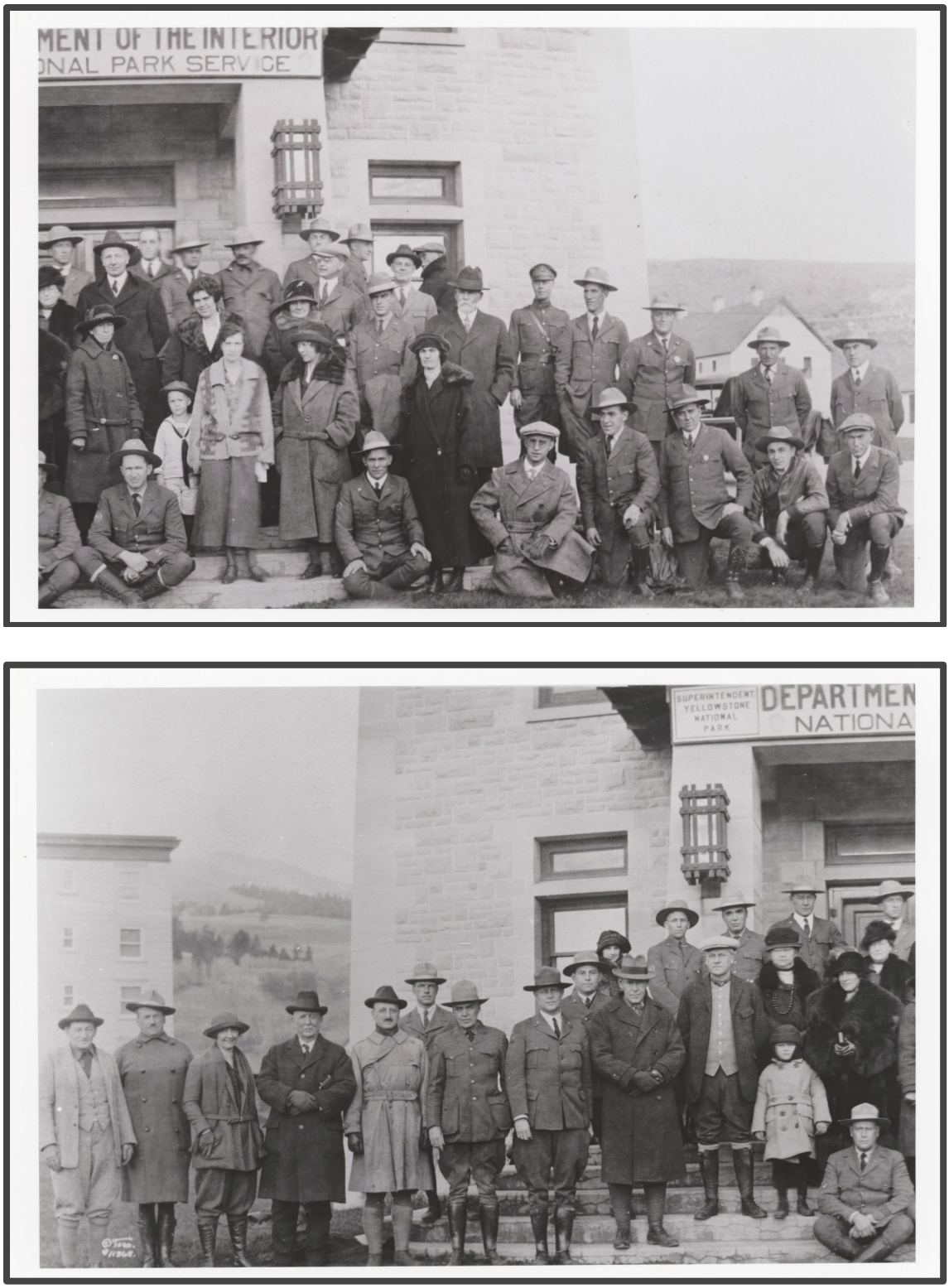


Figure 20. Split group photo of the 1923 NPS Superintendents Conference at Yellowstone, where Frank Pinkley became "Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments." (top photo) Edna Pinkley shown on far left in a heavy coat and Frank Pinkley shown on far-right kneeling. Source: NPS History Collection



PINKLEY IS NAMED AS CUSTODIAN FOR U. S. NATIONAL MONUMENTS

Gallup, N. M., Nov. 20.—Word has been received here of the appointment of Mr. Frank Pinkley of Florence, Arizona, as superintendent of the Southwestern National Monuments. Previously Mr. Pinkley has been custodian of the National Monuments known as the Casa Grande and Tubacacori and as such has been a full time man. His many years of experience peculiarly fits him to be in supervision of all the National Monuments in the Southwestern states. He is very well versed in both the archaeological and historical background of the country and is an enthusiast in the preservation and protection of these interesting areas of the National Park service. In addition he is a comeptent business man and experienced in construction work.

As superintendent of the Southwestern Monuments, Mr. Pinkley will aid the custodians of Petrified Forest, Pueblo Bonito, Gran Quivera, El Morro, Montezuma Castle, the recently created Carlsbad Cave and other National Monuments. The custodians of all the Monuments are part time men serving for no salary at all or for very nominal ones. Superintendent Pinkley will make regular trips of inspection and will be able to secure more attention from the National Park Service which of necessity must concentrate largely upon the supervision of the National Parks such as the Grand Canyon, Yellowstone, Yosemite, Crater Lake and others which are now being visited by millions of nature loving Americans as well as thousands from over seas.

Albuquerque Journal, November 21, 1923

Los Angeles Times, November 10, 1923

PINKLEY WINS PROMOTION

[EXCLUSIVE DISPATCH]

CASA GRANDE (Ariz.) Nov. 9. Frank Pinkley, for years superintendent at the Casa Grande ruins, has been promoted to be superintendent of southwestern national monuments. Mr. Pinkley also has been in charge of the work of reconstruction on the famous Tumacacori Spanish mission, south of Tucson, and lately has been rebuilding a part of the great cliff ruin near Camp Verde, known as "Montezuma's Castle."

Casa Grande Ruins Chief Is Promoted

Frank Pinkley, who for a number of years has been superintendent of the Casa Grande ruins near Casa Grande, has been promoted to the position of superintendent of Southwestern monuments, according to a letter received by Governor Hunt from Stephen T. Mather, director of the national park service of the bureau of interior. The promotion was made at a recent conference of superintendents and executives of the park service held in the Yellowstone National Park.

The new office was conferred upon Mr. Pinkley, Director Mather states in his letter to the governor, in recognition of the faithful service which the superintendent of the Casa Grande ruins has rendered in caring for that national monument. As superintendent of the Southwestern monuments, Mr. Pinkley will have charge of all of the national monuments in Arizona of which there are a large number.

Arizona Republic, November 6, 1923

Figure 21. Newspaper clippings about Frank Pinkley's promotion to Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments. Source: Newspapers.com

CHAPTER 4:

ESTABLISHING SOUTHWESTERN NATIONAL MONUMENTS, 1924-1926

In 1924 the Southwestern National Monuments Office was created with Mr. Pinkley as Superintendent, but it was really a paper organization rather than an actuality. His staff was still practically a dream and his funds consisted of little more than figments of a nightmare.[240]

~Dale King, 1944

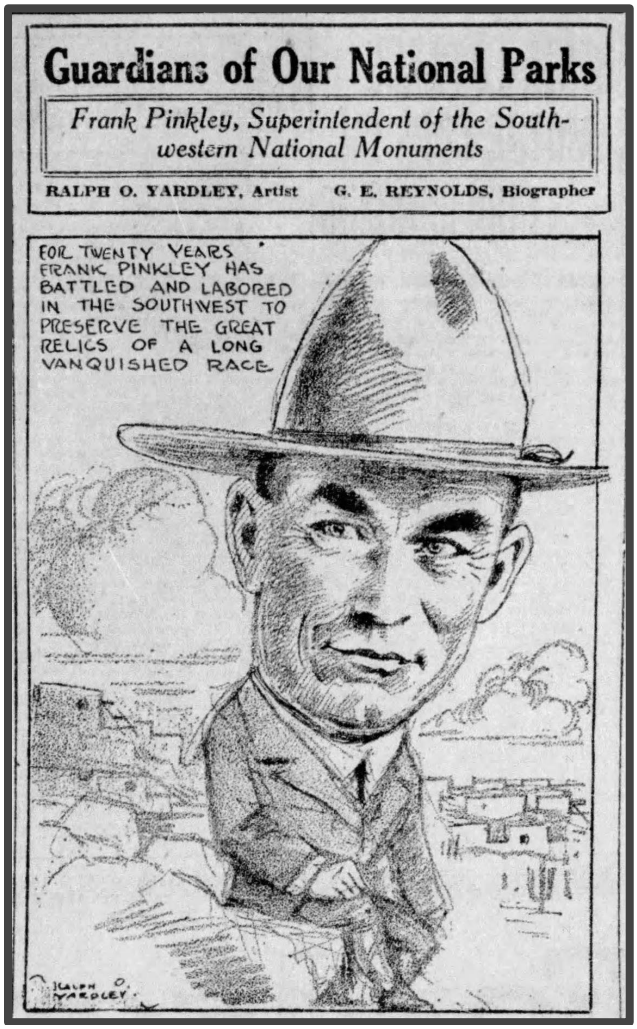


Figure 22. Caricature of Frank Pinkley by political cartoonist Ralph Yardley, Stockton Record, March 15, 1924.

[240] Dale King, "Introduction" to Dale S. King, ed., *Arizona's National Monuments* (Santa Fe: Southwestern Monuments Association, 1945), v.

Southwestern National Monuments, Fiscal Years 1924-1926

Aztec Ruins · Capulin Mountain · Carlsbad Cave · Casa Grande · Chaco Canyon · El Morro
Gran Quivira · Hovenweep · Montezuma Castle · Natural Bridges · Navajo · Papago Saguaro
Petrified Forest · Pipe Spring · Rainbow Bridge · Tumacácori · Yucca House

Wupatki (added 1925)

As the superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, Frank Pinkley became the administrative bridge between the monument custodians in the field and agency leaders in the Washington office. He had already handled numerous administrative tasks since returning to Casa Grande as custodian in 1918. But now as superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments he had fuller authority to shape the monuments as he saw fit. In the fall of 1924, following his first summer inspections tour as superintendent, Pinkley collected his thoughts and authored a series of circulars, or longform letters, delivered to all Southwestern National Monuments custodians. Drawn from two decades of experience in the field, Pinkley's fall 1924 circulars provided a set of best practices and addressed a range of issues and opportunities shared by all southwestern custodians. Pinkley kept his typewriter moving for the remainder of the decade, penning numerous longform letters to his custodians and to his colleagues in the Washington office explaining his ideas for the Southwestern National Monuments group.[241] Summer inspections and longform letters were just about all that Frank Pinkley could afford during the early years of his superintendency. Constrained by chronically low national monument appropriations, Pinkley looked forward to the day when he could build housing, museums, and comfort stations on monument grounds, hire full-time custodians, and assemble a support staff of clerks and naturalists to help administer the Southwestern National Monuments group from Casa Grande. But all of that had to wait. Pinkley, during the early years of his superintendency, devoted only half his time to his duties as superintendent; his custodianships of Casa Grande and Tumacácori occupied the other half. Despite these constraints, Pinkley—with crucial assistance from his wife, Edna, who accompanied him on his field inspections, authored promotional materials, and frequently leant a hand as a typist—made the most of his limited resources. His first order of business involved persuading his part-time custodians to submit their monument monthly reports.

Enforcing Monthly Reports

By 1923, the National Park Service knew quite little about the seventeen southwestern national monuments it administered. Much of what the Washington office did know came by way of Pinkley or from archeologists who conducted excavations on monument grounds under Antiquities Act permits; far less came from the agency's own part-time custodians, many of whom cavalierly ignored

[241] Many appear reproduced in this study in chapters 4 and 5.

their government obligations to provide the Washington office with monthly and annual reports. Most drew nominal paychecks of one dollar per month; others earned a bit more. But all made their livelihoods on nearby ranches, leaving little time for patrolling monument grounds, documenting vandalism and deterioration, or developing plans for repairs and improvements. In 1923, only three part-time southwestern custodians—Martin Jackson at Montezuma Castle ($120 per annum), Evon Vogt at El Morro ($384 per annum), and J.E. McClain at Papago-Saguaro ($12 per annum)—bothered to submit annual reports. William Nelson ($1,500 per annum), appointed the full-time custodian at Petrified Forest in 1922, faithfully submitted his annual report, as did Frank Pinkley for Casa Grande and Tumacácori. But the agency's nominal custodians at Aztec Ruins, Capulin Mountain, Carlsbad Cave, Chaco Canyon, Gran Quivira, Natural Bridges, and Navajo submitted nothing. Hovenweep, Pipe Spring, Rainbow Bridge, and Yucca House had no custodians at all.[242]

With little correspondence from the monuments, the National Park Service dared not request budget increases. Heightened estimates for monuments required data from the field demonstrating material needs for protection and development, along with a plan showing how custodians intended to put the money to work; no data and no plan meant no increases. It became Frank Pinkley's job to get his part-time custodians in the field to engage with the Washington office. Pinkley viewed the problem as an ingrained southwestern attitude of indifference toward authority figures in Washington D.C. Part-time monument custodians, he told Stephen Mather, possessed "real interest in the monuments" but did not "want to bother with an official report." Pinkley believed that he could persuade them to make the effort. His upcoming summer inspection tour, he promised, would give him the chance to "get around and make personal contact."[243] Most of the southwestern custodians had never received a visitor from the National Park Service; a face-to-face talk with the superintendent might lead to more regular correspondence. In the meantime, Pinkley issued a letter to all the custodians of the southwestern monuments outlining his expectations for monthly reports.[244]

> To all Custodians of Southwestern Monuments,
>
> Some of you have been very good about getting out a regular monthly report to me about the 25th covering the operations of your monument during the preceding Month.

---

[242] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1923, and the Travel Season, 1923* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), 98, 178-182.

[243] Pinkley to Mather, June 14, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Part 4), 1924-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[244] Pinkley to all Custodians of Southwestern Monuments, June 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Part 4), 1924-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

Some of you have not.

This may be due to your dread of writing an official report, thinking you have to go through a lot of form and ceremony. Such an idea is very far from the facts.

If I dropped in with you on the 25th, we would sit down together and talk things over and you would tell me in a very informal way what had happened since my last visit and what you wanted to do, what kind of weather was prevalent, how the roads were, how many visitors you had had, why there was an increase or decrease, how the local business situation was, and so on.

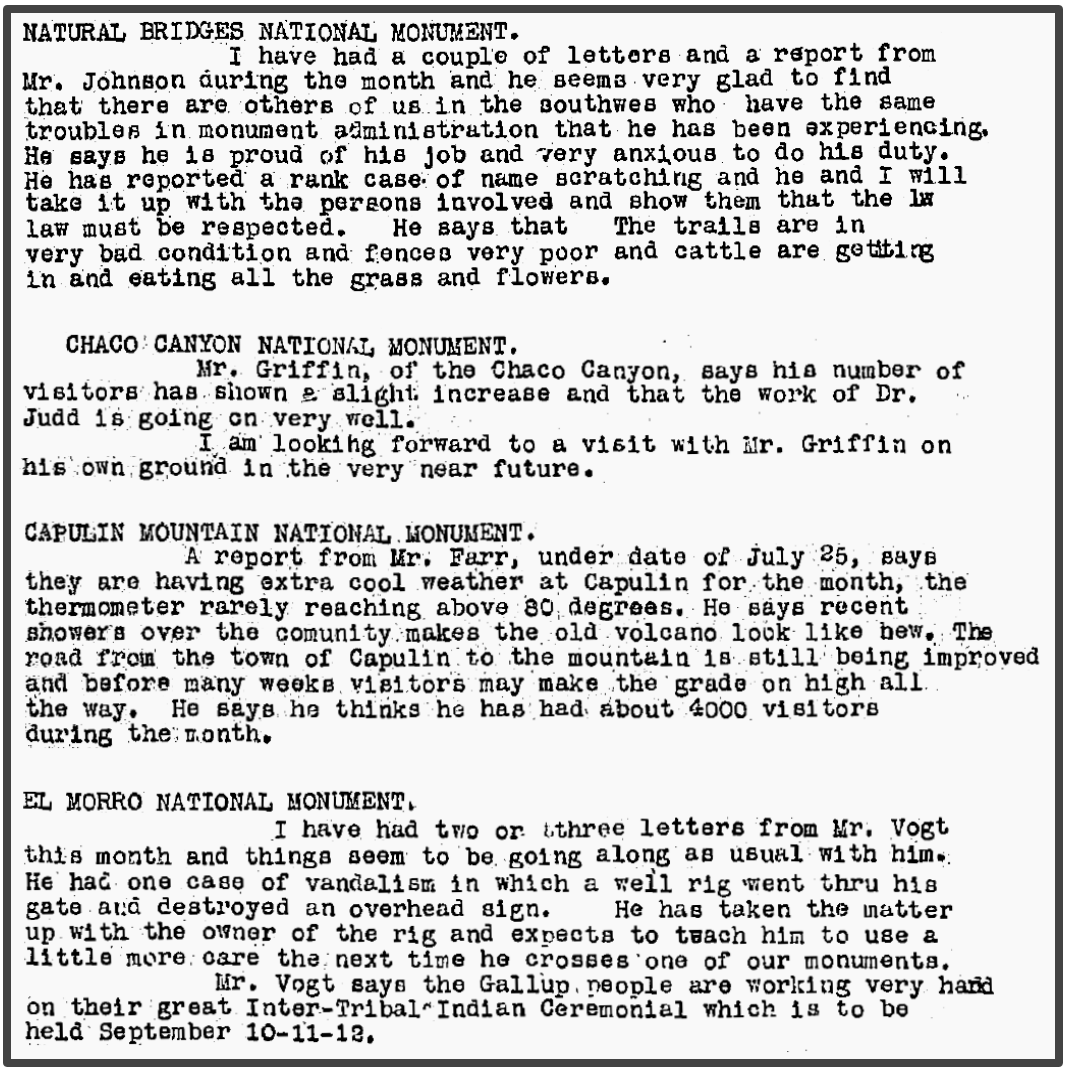
Now that is just what I want you to do with your pen and ink or your pencil or your typewriter. You have been getting copies of my reports to Mr. Mather for the past several months, and know whether or not it is interesting to you to hear what the rest of the fellows are doing. It would be just as interesting to them to hear what you are doing, so turn yourself loose and return the compliment.

If your monument isn't worth reporting on there is something wrong either with you or with your monument. I have found every monument I have so far visited packed full of interest. I am sure that a report of some kind can be written about any monument every month. The Service is willing to furnish the paper and envelopes. No stamps are needed. Can't you supply the pep and the half hour needed to tell the other fellows what is going on in your part of the state?

Mail it on or before the 26th.

Cordially yours,

With that nudge, most of the custodians began faithfully submitting their monthly reports to Casa Grande. At the end of each month, Pinkley, often with an assist from Edna, compiled the reports into a single Southwestern National Monuments monthly report addressed to the Washington office.



NATURAL BRIDGES NATIONAL MONUMENT.
I have had a couple of letters and a report from Mr. Johnson during the month and he seems very glad to find that there are others of us in the southwes who have the same troubles in monument administration that he has been experiencing. He says he is proud of his job and very anxious to do his duty. He has reported a rank case of name scratching and he and I will take it up with the persons involved and show them that the lw law must be respected. He says that The trails are in very bad condition and fences very poor and cattle are getting in and eating all the grass and flowers.

CHACO CANYON NATIONAL MONUMENT.
Mr. Griffin, of the Chaco Canyon, says his number of visitors has shown a slight increase and that the work of Dr. Judd is going on very well.
I am looking forward to a visit with Mr. Griffin on his own ground in the very near future.

CAPULIN MOUNTAIN NATIONAL MONUMENT.
A report from Mr. Farr, under date of July 25, says they are having extra cool weather at Capulin for the month, the thermometer rarely reaching above 80 degrees. He says recent showers over the comunity makes the old volcano look like new. The road from the town of Capulin to the mountain is still being improved and before many weeks visitors may make the grade on high all the way. He says he thinks he has had about 4000 visitors during the month.

EL MORRO NATIONAL MONUMENT.
I have had two or three letters from Mr. Vogt this month and things seem to be going along as usual with him. He had one case of vandalism in which a well rig went thru his gate and destroyed an overhead sign. He has taken the matter up with the owner of the rig and expects to teach him to use a little more care the next time he crosses one of our monuments.
Mr. Vogt says the Gallup people are working very hard on their great Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial which is to be held September 10-11-12.

Figure 23. Excerpt from Frank Pinkley's July 1924 monthly report to the Washington office.

Pinkley also distributed copies of collated monthly reports back to the custodians. Reading about the success and failures of their colleagues, he hoped, would create a sense of camaraderie. The Washington office was pleased. Arthur Demaray, NPS administrative assistant, found Pinkley's May 1924 monthly report so insightful that he forwarded a copy to Rep. Louis C. Cramton on Capitol Hill. "Frank Pinkley's monthly report," Demaray told Cramton, "gives such a clear picture of conditions in these monuments...Pinkley is one of the finest men that it has been my privilege to know and he certainly has his heart and soul in his work."[245] As a show of confidence in Pinkley, the Washington office enlarged the Southwestern National Monuments group in the fall of 1924, adding

[245] Arthur Demarary to Louis Cramton, June 6, 1924, folder 15 "Official Correspondence, 1919-1924," Box 2, Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (ARG 34), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

Yucca House and Hovenweep in southwestern Colorado.[246] Stephen Mather thought Pinkley's monthly reports might help the agency justify higher appropriations. "This is very good material," he told Pinkley, "and will help us in defending our budget."[247] Mather also set aside space in the National Park Service's 1924 annual report to praise Pinkley's efforts. "Having a local superintendent," he wrote, "has greatly simplified the handling of monument affairs in the Southwest and has relieved this office of much detail work."[248] Later in the year, Mather, who had never visited a southwestern national monument, journeyed to southern Arizona with his wife, Jane, to express his gratitude in person and make inspections of Casa Grande, Tumacácori, and Papago-Saguaro.[249]

Summer Inspections

July 1, 1924, marked the beginning of the 1925 fiscal year. It also signaled the start of Frank Pinkley's first inspections as superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments—and his first equipped with the new $5,000 budget item dedicated to repairing southwestern archeological sites. Pinkley's itinerary matched his previous inspection tours. As in previous years, Frank Pinkley loaded up his Ford Model T and hit the road with Edna and their children, Nancy Margaret and Addison. When it came to spending the new $5,000 budget item, Pinkley did not control allotments; the Washington office determined which monuments received funding and how much.[250] But Pinkley had the final say over how monument custodians spent their allotments.

At Casa Grande, the Washington office allotted $1,300. Pinkley used it to hire laborers from the Gila River Indian Reservation to underpin the base of the Great House's caliche walls. Tumacácori received $500. Pinkley used it to procure a supply of adobe bricks to keep on hand for future repairs. At Montezuma Castle, Pinkley and Martin Jackson contracted with Yavapai-Apache laborers to dig a well. Together they also resumed their "mudslinging" efforts from the previous year. Edna Pinkley, for her part, took on many of Frank Pinkley's Southwestern National Monument administrative duties while the family moved from one monument to the next. Edna authored multiple monthly reports, reasoning that since Frank busied himself "laying rock with one hand and talking to visitors with the other it [did

---

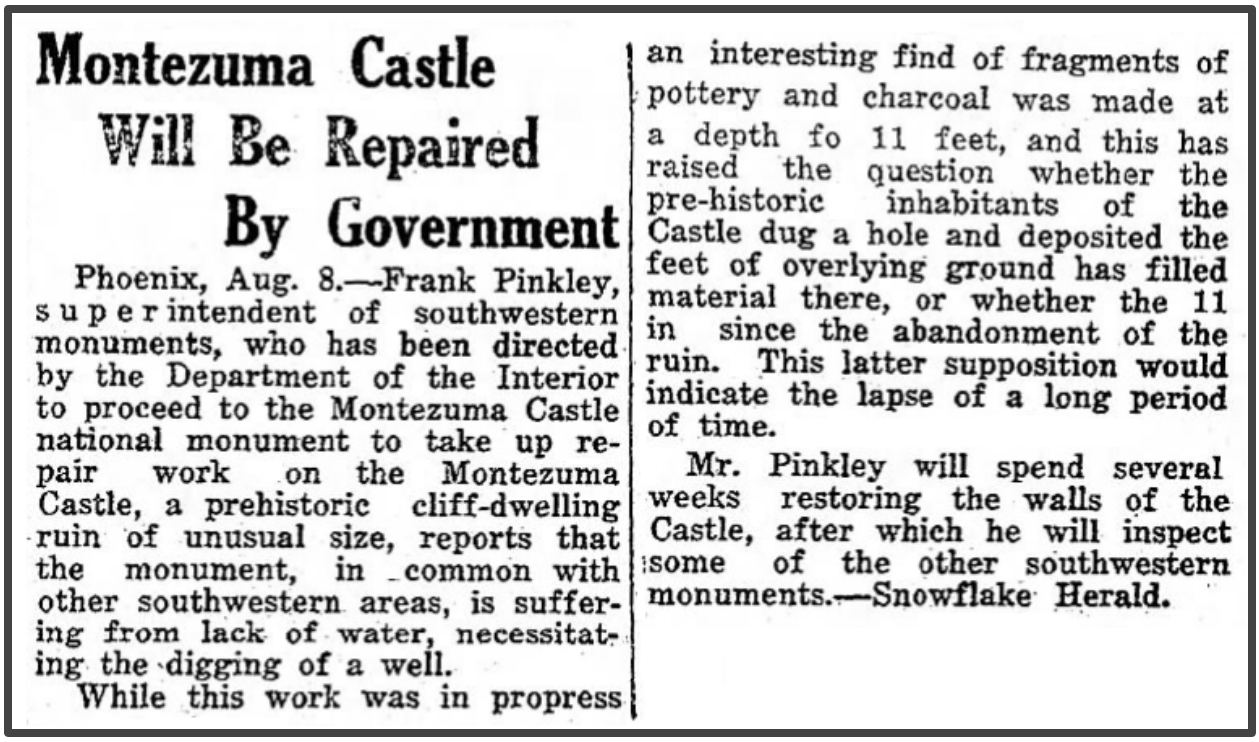
[246] Cammerer to Nusbaum, November 13, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Part 4), 1924-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[247] Mather to Pinkley, October 3, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, file "National Monuments, Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-32" (box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.

[248] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1924, and the Travel Season, 1924* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), 65.

[249] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, May 1, 1924 [April 1924], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[250] When setting allotments for southwestern monuments, the agency's leaders customarily asked Pinkley for recommendations; Pinkley's monthly reports also informed the agency's decisions. Cammerer to Pinkley, February 18, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, file "National Monuments: Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-1932" (Box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.



Montezuma Castle Will Be Repaired By Government

Phoenix, Aug. 8.—Frank Pinkley, superintendent of southwestern monuments, who has been directed by the Department of the Interior to proceed to the Montezuma Castle national monument to take up repair work on the Montezuma Castle, a prehistoric cliff-dwelling ruin of unusual size, reports that the monument, in common with other southwestern areas, is suffering from lack of water, necessitating the digging of a well.

While this work was in propress an interesting find of fragments of pottery and charcoal was made at a depth fo 11 feet, and this has raised the question whether the pre-historic inhabitants of the Castle dug a hole and deposited the feet of overlying ground has filled material there, or whether the 11 in since the abandonment of the ruin. This latter supposition would indicate the lapse of a long period of time.

Mr. Pinkley will spend several weeks restoring the walls of the Castle, after which he will inspect some of the other southwestern monuments.—Snowflake Herald.

Figure 24. Williams News, August 22, 1924.

not] leave many hours in the twentyfour for desk work."[251] "Often," Dale King later observed, Pinkley "paid his own travel expenses" and "once or twice he went without salary at the end of the fiscal year in order to accomplish some badly needed repair or travel."[252] As he had for years, Pinkley used his inspections to roll up his sleeves and, with assistance from his part-time custodians and local laborers, accomplish urgent repairs and maintenance, sometimes remaining on site for weeks at a time. It was his habit "to draw up plans in the winter time, map out work to be done at each monument, and make out a definite [work] schedule" for the upcoming summer.[253] The summer season also aligned with the off-season at the Casa Grande, making it easier for Pinkley to leave George Boundey in charge of the monument during its hottest and quietest months.

Pinkley gave his most trusted part-time custodians freer reign over how to spend their portions of the $5,000 budget item for repairs. At El Morro, Evon Vogt used his allotment to improve trails. Under custodian "Doc" Smith's supervision, Edgar Hewett and his School of American Archaeology students used Gran Quivira's allotment to continue clearing debris from the monument's seventeenth-

[251] Edna T. Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, June 1, 1925 [May 1925], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[252] King, *Arizona's National Monuments*, v.

[253] William J. Boundey, ed., "Notes on the Casa Grande Ruins: As recorded by George and Georgia Boundey," unpublished copyrighted manuscript (1988), 19.



Figure 25. Early 1920s interior of Supt. Frank Pinkley's office at Southwestern National Monuments headquarters, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. Source: WACC (03995)

century mission. At Aztec Ruins, Earl Morris obtained a supply of concrete, which he used to cap the site's adobe walls and improve its surface drainage. Impressed with the results at Aztec Ruins, Pinkley offered Morris high praise for "the use of coloring matter in cement in the repair and restoration work."[254] Months later, Pinkley used Chaco Canyon's $1,500 allotment to obtain a supply of concrete and reproduce Morris' methods of capping and repairing walls unearthed by Neil Judd's team.[255] For decades thereafter, the techniques developed by Earl Morris at Aztec Ruins became the standard stabilization technique for southwestern archeological sites.

Frank Pinkley's 1924 Southwestern Monument Circulars

Pinkley returned from his 1924 summer inspections with a sharper perspective on the monuments under his supervision. To achieve lasting repairs of archeological sites, the group would need more

[254] Pinkley to Mather, November 1, 1924 [October 1924], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[255] Pinkley to Mather, September 27, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, file "National Monuments: Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-1932" (Box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.

than $5,000 annually. But just as urgently, Pinkley's team of part-time custodians needed a clearer set of instructions on how to more effectively manage their monuments—and for this the National Park Service needed no special budget item. Making liberal use of his typewriter, Pinkley spent much of the fall of 1924 at Casa Grande working on a series of longform letters called circulars addressed to each of his custodians. Written in a warm but authoritative tone, Pinkley's 1924 circulars distilled two decades of experience at Casa Grande into a set of best practices. In a note to Mather, Pinkley acknowledged that he had a larger project in mind: "After I get a number of them out of my system, I have a dim idea I may go back and work them over into a sort of 'Manual for Custodians' if there seems to be meat enough in them to serve that aim."[256] Later in life, Pinkley still spoke of his longstanding desire to "get out a book...by which a new custodian can become thoroughly familiar with all the details of his position" but lamented he had "simply never been able to find the time to do it."[257] His circulars authored in 1924 and 1927, written at the outset of his superintendency, came close.

Circular #1: Essential Custodian Duties

Pinkley's first circular to southwestern monument custodians, written in September 1924, outlined essential custodian duties.[258] The custodian's first duty, he declared, involved knowing and articulating the definition of a national monument. This meant acquiring a conversational familiarity with the language of the 1906 Antiquities Act and the 1916 National Park Service Organic Act. Pinkley also expected his custodians to know why Bandelier, Gila Cliff Dwellings, and other southwestern archeological monuments fell under the authority of the U.S. Forest Service and not the National Park Service.

> <u>WHAT DOES A CUSTODIAN?</u>
>
> I once heard Dr. Fewkes tell a story which illustrates the danger of misunderstanding so well that I am going to repeat it. It has to do with a Frenchman who, newly arrived in this country and not fully understanding our language, came to an American with the question:
>
> "What does ze paller bear?"
>
> "What do you mean?" asked the American.

[256] Pinkley to Mather, November 4, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Part 4), 1924-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[257] "Pinkley Addresses Fellow Workers Just Before Death," *Coolidge Examiner*, February 22, 1940.

[258] "What Does a Custodian?" RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Part 4), 1924-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

"What does ze paller bear?"

"Do you mean 'What are the customs and habits of the polar bear'?"

"Ah, Zat is it; What does ze paller bear?"

"Oh, I don't know," said the American, "But mostly I guess he just sits around on a cake of ice and ears raw Fish."

"I will not accept," cried the Frenchman, "I will not accept, I have been asked to be ze paller bear at a funeral."

Simply a case of misunderstanding, you see.

Now we don't want any such misunderstandings as this concerning the duties of a custodian in the south-western national monuments, and it is my intention from time to time to call to your attention what are and what are not some of the duties of a custodian. I don't want to seem dictatorial; it just occurs to me that if I place my twenty years of experience at your disposal I may save you some of the mistakes I have made, and the better service we...
[illegible]
visitors and the better will it be for all parties concerned.

In the first place, what is a national monument? This is a question which will be put to you consistently in your work as a custodian and you should be able to answer it.

Turn to page 197 of the report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1923. Section 2 of An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities, reads as follows: "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 limit of which in all cases shall be confined to the smallest areas compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected....."

This gives us a clear cut definition of what a national monument is: it is a historic landmark, a historic or prehistoric structure, or an object of historic or scientific interest, which the President has reserved by a proclamation. For your benefit I am attaching a table of the southwestern national monuments, giving the monuments in their alphabetical order and showing under which one of the above classifications they fall.

Historic	Prehistoric	Geologic
	Aztec	
		Capulin Mountain
		Carlsbad Cavern
	Casa Grande	
	Chaco Canyon	
El Morro	El Morro	
Gran Quivira	Gran Quivira	
	Montezuma Castle	
		Natural Bridges
	Navajo	
		Petrified Forest
Pipe Spring		
		Rainbow Bridge
Tumacácori		

Papago Saguaro is not classified

You will see from this that four of our monuments have historic interest, five of them have a scientific or geologic interest and seven of them have a prehistoric interest with one unclassified. Two of our monuments bridge from the prehistoric over into the historic periods, and yet it was

one of these, which is tied to us by a double bond, which a prominent man recently declared had no business under our Service but should be given to some historic society! This shows you what a hazy idea the general public has about what constitutes a national monument.

It is one of your duties as a good custodian to be able to give a comprehensive definition of what constitutes a national monument.

The Act for the preservation of American Antitiquities was approved June 8, 1906. The Act to establish a National Park Service was not approved until August 25, 1916. In this interval of ten years the President was proclaiming national monuments, and, there being no centralized authority to handle them, they were administered by the Department of the Government which happened to have jurisdiction over the particular part of the public domain out of which the monument might be carved. If it were a forest reserve, the Agriculture Department, through the Forest Service, would administer the monument. If it were on the public domain the Interior Department would administer it, and so on.

In the Act to Establish a National Park Service, copy of which you will find on page 196 of the report above cited, the following is given in Section 1 as the duty of the national park Service. "The service thus established shall promote and regulate the use of the Federal areas known as national parks, monuments, and reservations hereinafter specified by such means and measures as conform to the fundamental purpose of the said parks, monuments, and reservations, which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historical objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner nd by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

Section 2 goes on and defines what the Director shall direct. "That the director shall, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, have the supervision,

management, and control of the several national parks and national monuments which are now under the jurisdiction of the Department of the interior, and of the Hot Springs Reservation in the State of Arkansas, and of such other national parks and reservations of like character as may be hereafter created by Congress: PROVIDED, That in the supervision, management and control of national monuments contiguous to national forests the Secretary of Agriculture may cooperate with said National Park Service to such extent as may be requested by the Secretary of the Interior."

That is why the Bandelier and Gila Cliff Dwellings national monuments in New Mexico and the Tonto and Walnut Canyon national monuments in Arizona are not under our National Park Service. They fall on forest reserves and are administered by the Secretary of Agriculture through the Forest Service. Remember this because visitors will ask you about these Department of Agriculture monuments thinking they are under our Service and you don't want to appear ignorant.

If you have followed me this far you know what a national monument is and why all the national monuments in the southwest are not under our charge.

File this where you can look it over once in a while and we will add another chapter to it shortly.

Circular #2: Policing and Protecting National Monuments

Pinkley's second circular to southwestern monument custodians, written in early October 1924, outlined how custodians should protect their national monuments.[259] Custodians, Pinkley clarified, had authority to make arrests should they encounter visitors carving marks into ruins, carrying away souvenirs, or committing other forms of vandalism on government grounds. Littering, logging, and grazing also constituted violations. But the greatest threats to the monuments involved wind, rain, and snow leading to wildfire, impassable roads, and deterioration of freestanding archeological sites. Low congressional appropriations meant Pinkley had few resources to pass along to custodians. Planning, along with clearly articulated needs written in monthly and annual reports, offered the best hope for

[259] "Why Wear a Badge?" RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

higher appropriations. The Washington office loved it. "Your second general letter to the custodians," Arthur Demaray wrote to Pinkley, "is fine, as was the first one which came in... I know these letters are a big help to the custodians, and I hope you will keep them up."[260]

WHY WEAR A BADGE ?

A coy young miss drifted up to me in the Casa Grande a few days ago, eyed me up and down, and then turned to her escort with, "Oh look dearie, he wears a badge," turning to me, "What's it for, mister?" Perhaps my explanation may be of some value to you in your work as custodian of your particular monument. It is the evidence of your authority against vandalism, but it goes farther than that, it signified that you are directly responsible for the care and protection of the property under your charge and it is your duty to see it safeguarded to the best of your ability against malefactors and the elements (which are themselves, when not controlled, the worst of our enemies.)

Of course, this makes your duty to an extent police work, and in extreme cases you have the power to arrest on your reservation, but only when you are positive that vandalism has been committed. Hearsay evidence alone is not sufficient, however, to base charges on.

As an evidence of your authority you should wear your badge at all times on the reservation. In case you are without one write me and I will ask the Washington office to send it to you.

Among the more serious forms of vandalism you must combat are the NAME SCRATCHER and the SOUVENIR HUNTER. Name scratching is a problem at all the prehistoric and historic monuments. In some cases, as at El Morro, the name can be erased without difficulty or serious injury, but elsewhere, where the name is cut into the plaster walls, it is a very serious affair. I think it would be wise to obliterate the date attached to the name at once when you find a case of this kind, and then try to locate the culprit by further action. My idea, gained from a lengthy experience with this sort of thing, is that one case of name scratching will lead to another, so that when visitors see a name with a recent date attached they think the ban has been lifted and

[260] Demaray to Pinkley, October 29, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

promptly put their name down also. So, even with the loss of a little more plaster, I think it would be wise to erase the name at once. You may take direct action against the offender if you wish, or you may report it to me with all the circumstances, and I will take the matter up with him. In either event include it in your monthly report so we may keep an account of the amount of vandalism that is done, whether it is on the increase or decrease, and whether it is greater at some monuments than others.

The SOUVENIR HUNTER is just about as much a pest as the name scratcher. He comes to the monuments with a fixed desire to carry away something as evience of his visit and is perfectly willing to tear down, knock off or pull up any or all of the Government property in order to get his sample. If you can get to these people and stop them before the vandalism has been committed a good stiff talk will sometimes make converts of them then and they will see the senselessness of their procedure. Explain that it is our intention to hold the monument in its present state of prefection for future generations to enjoy, and that while the particular piece or formation they want to carry away might not be missed, if we allowed every idiot who came along to carry away anything that happened to take his fancy the entire monument would be carried off in a hundred years or so. Ask them if they think it is fair to the other fellow?

The minor forms of vandalism are TRASH LEAVING, WOOD CUTTING, AND CATTLE GRAZING. You have full authority to stop trash leaving on your monument. Ninety-nine percent of it is due to thoughtlessness and carelessness and a few words to a picnic or camping party, asking them to dispose of their trash will bring a willing response; remind them that a janitor and custodian are not the same and that they must clean up after themselves. We had one party at Casa Grande last summer, while I was away, who refused to clean up his camp ground, saying it was the duty of the man in charge., Mr. Boundey told him he would not argue the question, but that if he didn't clean up while he was here he would when we had him brought back from Los Angeles; he could take his choice. He decided to clean up. Of course, when you find the camp dirty and the party gone, as is frequently the case when the custodian is only a part time man, you will be expected to dispose of the trash and make the spot presentable for the next party.

Casa Grande, Chaco Canyon, Capulin and El Morro occur to me as monuments having more or less trouble with WOOD CUTTERS and CATTLE GRAZING, although nothing serious has happened at any of them.

Campers may use dead or down wood but it is your duty to prevent them cutting live wood or the hauling away of any timber whatever.

Remember, that while you have the law behind you, you must never be rough if you can avoid it. Never give an order without an explanation and a reason. Try and make the visitor see and agree with your point of view so that he will go out and convert some other visitor at some other monument. One of the compliments I am proudest of was paid me behind my back by a party I had ordered off my reservation. In telling a neighbor about it he said I have certainly treated him like a gentleman and that he had no kick to make. All but a few visitors are fair and want to do what is reasonable. They just don't think what their actions amount to of multiplied to a million. As soon as you show them they are encroaching on the other fellow's liberty and happiness by their vandalism, they are glad to take your suggestion and stop it. Always try to give more information than orders. Leave the impression that you are there to help the visitors enjoy your monument. After all is said and done the police part of the custodian's work is only incidental. The main job is to interest the visitor and send him away with an intelligent appreciation of your monument, but this part of the work will be treated at greater length later.

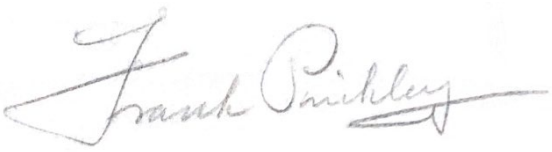
In addition to the protection against the human element, it is the duty of the custodian to protect his monument against the NATURAL ELEMENTS. This is rather hard to outline because it is a divided responsibility. You can only protect your monument as you get funds to do so and if you get no funds your work along this line must be small indeed. I am thinking now of such hazards as FIRE, ROAD NEEDS, and DISINTEGRATION BY WEATHER. In some monuments like Gran Quivira and El Morro we have a hazard in a camp fire getting loose and burning over the monument, doing more or less damage to trees. This is not great except at certain seasons and can be made less by the use of fire prevention signs. The matter of ROADS does not bother us so much inside the monument boundaries although it is a big problem in the Petrified Forest and will become a problem in some of the other monuments later; but our principal difficulty now is getting good roads to some of our monument boundaries, like Chaco Canyon, Gran Quivira, Navajo National, and trails to Natural Bridges and Rainbow Bridge. The road to Capulin is passable but it could be made better. The present road to Carlsbad Cavern is bad in one spot especially but there is no need to spend much money on that because the final road will be

elsewhere. While such roads as these are off our monuments, and we cannot spend Federal appropriations on them from the monuments funds, even granted we had it to spend, it is nevertheless part of your duty to study your local conditions and see if you can get any aid from the local authorities. Mr. Farr is getting some aid on the road from Capulin to the monument. Mr. Jackson got a road built in on the monument at Montezuma Castle. Mr. Smith has pulled a state highway four miles out of line past the Gran Quivira. Mr. McLain had some road work donated at the Pago Saguaro. Local authorities have built and are maintaining good roads to Casa Grande and Tumacácori. As a general thing you can put it down that the policy of the Park Service is not to spend much money on good roads until we can connect up with an equally good or better one at the monument boundary.

To protect against disintegration is a prime matter in all our historic and prehistoric monuments. This should have the constant consideration of each custodian of a monument in one of these classes. I know it will be irritating to you to have me tell you you must study your monument with a view to getting the greatest amount of protection for the least money when we have practically no money for this purpose, but if it will do you any good I may tell you that just today I was looking over my scheme for protection for Casa Grande which was filled with the Washington office in 1919 and on which not a dollar has been expended yet. I used to think that we needed a lot of money before we could do anything. I find that by plugging along with a little money we are gradually going to get our southwestern monuments in a fair state of protection. In two or three years we will have the Montezuma Castle and Tumacácori caught up to where we can breathe freely and hold them with a little upkeep from time to time. El Morro is almost safe now. Only one slab of rock there is bothering us in the matter of protection against the elements. Gran Quivira and Pipe Springs need a lot of work but our outstanding problems are at Chaco Canyon, Casa Grande and Navajo National Monuments. These will take years to bring into anything like a complete state of protection. So study your monument and plan what you will do with your protection money when you get it. You must work out a scheme showing which walls need work worst and weather at the top, side or bottom, which walls can wait, do you need drainage and what is the plan. Take these details up with me at any time you feel like it and let us plan a campaign of getting action to fit your particular needs and to run over the next two or three years. Such a scheme will give you a great deal better chance of getting money from the Appropriations Committee than to just go blindly in and say we have a

lot of protection to do and we need a lot of money. Remember that we must see ahead in getting appropriations. I have to put in the estimates next spring for the money we are to get in July 1926. The money we begin using next July was estimated last year and I cannot change those estimates although the money has not yet been appropriated. This means that you had better write me in detail this winter what you want and all the detail of why you want it and what you are going to do with it when you get it.

I have tried in this letter to cover some of the custodian's duties dealing with the protection of his monument from vandalism and from the natural elements. Next time I want to talk about how you can develop your monument.



Circular #3: Receiving Visitors at National Monuments

Pinkley's third circular to the southwestern monument custodians, written in early November 1924, dealt with how custodians should receive visitors.[261] The letter captured a sterner side of Pinkley. Custodians, he wrote, should meet visitors' intellectual needs. Lacking funds, custodians could not accomplish big things like building roads or facilities all on their own—but they could educate their visitors about the historic and scientific significance of their monuments. Above all, Pinkley sought a high standard of service. In the not-so-distant future, he promised, higher congressional appropriations would lead to enhanced visitor facilities such as museums. But the basics of visitor engagement involved a high standard of personal service engrained in his custodians.

In the two former letters of this series we have dealt with the protection phase of your work as a custodian.

In this letter we mean to deal with the development of your work.

By the development of a monument we mean in general the use of all methods of publicity which tend to bring your monument to the general knowledge of the people and cause them to visit it; to the

[261] Untitled, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

planning and construction of roads, bridges, trails, buildings and such other constructive features as will aid the visitor in the proper and more complete enjoyment of his visit.

The very best advertisement we can send out from our monuments is a satisfied visitor.

We are getting now to the very meat of these letters for to satisfy the visitor is the first as well as the most important duty of a custodian. You may not be able to build roads; you may not be able to plan buildings; you may not be able to give public speeches, or write brilliant articles on your monument; and you will still hold your job because the Service can dig up other men to do these things for you; but if you can't get your monument across to the average visitor and send him away wiser and more interested than when he came, then the day is surely coming when you and the Park Service are going to part company.

I am speaking now of the average visitor who has been under my observation some twenty-odd years and with whose lines of thought and action I am familiar.

Some of you will think that this line of talk is not going to touch you because you are only a part time custodian. Get that out of your mind. Whenever you step on your monument you are the host there on behalf of the United States Government, and the Government has a right to demand that you treat its guests with courtesy and respect and give them all the information and aid to the enjoyment of your monument you can. It is perfectly true that if you do this you will be giving a lot more than you are paid for, but the full time men are giving more than they are being paid for too, so you are no exception to the rule. A clock puncher who figures he must be careful not to do more than the dollar's worth he is getting paid is of no use at all in this game and the sooner he gets out of it the better it will be all round.

This doesn't mean I expect the $12 a year man to give us $1,200 worth of time and energy. No one could expect that. All that we expect is for you to have about $12,000 worth of Park Service spirit and give us as much time and energy as you can afford to. If you have the Park Service spirit all other things will come right in the end; if you haven't you are being overpaid at $12 per year and in justice to yourself

and the Service you ought to quit. I think you have it and I am going to talk from now on with that belief; if you haven't, I can no more tell you how to get the Park Service spirit than you can tell an eighteen year old boy how to fall in love.

As a custodian you will meet all kinds of people from all over the country and you should remember that the one unvarying rule to play in meeting them is one of courtesy. The person who is scattering bolts and nuts across the continent from his four-wheels-and-no-breaks car is entitled to just as pleasant receptions as the visitor who comes in a Pierce Arrow straight eight.

The time and information a visitor requires depends not on what he comes in or what he wears, but on the size of his mind. I long ago quit trying to put a gallon of information into a pint size mind, but on the other hand it would be little short of a crime to stingily dole out a pint only of information to a thirsty mind which could absorb a gallon. Of course you will be limited by circumstances in some cases. There are only so many hours in a day and when the visitors get too thick you are going to have to spread yourself around and give everyone the best service you can although no one can get perfect service.

Remember that it is no great crime for the visitor to be ignorant of your monument and it doesn't indicate a dull mind. One of the interesting games we play at the Casa Grande is with the visitor who says as he gets out of his car: "Is this all there is to it?" The game is to make him an enthusiastic booster for the monument before he leaves and we rarely lose. Mr. Nelson at the Petrified forest has the same sort of game with the fellow who comes in plum disappointed because the petrified forest is not standing up with the branches and the twigs on the trees. Mr. Nelson can make the petrifaction of wood so interesting that such a visitor invariably goes away boosting and ever after looks down on those poor Mutts who expect a forest to stand through the cataclysms of nature those trees have gone through.

Mr. McIlvain never has to argue or explain to any of his visitors after he gets them into Carlsbad cavern. Only a blind man could be disappointed at the first sight of those wonders, but when we get Carlsbad organized and running under proper supervision, we will have to satisfy a very real demand for information as to how Carlsbad Cavern was formed and how long it took.

None of our historic and prehistoric monuments can get across to the visitor without a liberal use of information, and this is true also of several of our geologic monuments like the Forest and Cavern. This means that we must look forward to fulltime men at these monuments with such a number of rangers as conditions demand, before we will be running with proper efficiency. When that time comes the police duty of watching the visitor to prevent vandalism will fall into its proper secondary place and the explanation and information end of the work will be the main duty of the custodian and his rangers. Then will our museums and stereopticons come into their own. I like to look into the future and see a museum at each of our historic and prehistoric monuments like the ones we now have started at Casa Grande and the Forest, where the visitor can get an adequate idea of what has gone on at the monument in the past as well as take a superficial view of what it looks like in the present. And in those days we will have five or ten visitors where we now have only one and they will all enjoy the illustrated lectures we will be able to give them just as Mr Nelson's visitors now enjoy his evening lectures given free to those who will camp for the night and listen to them. And you have no idea until you have experienced it, how eager people are for information of this kind. I have seen the Old Man and the Old Woman and four or five kids in the darkest stages of travel grime drive in and pitch camp and rush through a hasty supper and sit up until 9:30 or 10:00 o'clock absorbed by the pictures and description of the forestation of the Petrified Forest. There is no question about the value of such service and I wish we could render it at several of our other southwestern monuments. The time will come when we can.

Remember that we must aim toward some sort of standardized service. What you say and do and the way you act with visitors does not stand alone. It reflects credit or discredit on the whole National Park Service and is compared by the visitor with the service rendered at other monuments and Parks. To get an idea of the ideal in this line, just compare the average hit or miss hotel service in a dozen western towns with the Fred Harvey service in a dozen of the same kind of towns. No one asks what kind of service he is going to get if you tell him there is a Harvey House in the next town. He KNOWS the service will be top notch because it is Harvey service. Now that is the kind of service that we are going to build up among the monuments just as fast as Congress lets us have the money. When visitors for a thousand miles each way stick a pin in the map where your monument shows and say: "Here's a National Monument. Let's stop there for they are always interesting and we always get that same Park Service treatment and have such a pleasant time."

then our work will be approaching perfection and not before.

And above all, hold fast to the saving grace of humor, for without humor your work in the National Park Service will be very, very hard. It is this sense of humor you will have to draw on when the hundred and seventy-fifth visitor for the day asks you if you don't get terribly lonesome way out like this in the country with nobody to talk to; and when the dull witted visitor can't catch the idea that years of study have made you a highly specialized man in your particular line of work, and thinks he is perfectly competent to upset all your conclusions and draw up a new set of much better ones in the thirty minutes he has to spend with you. If you can laugh in these cases, you have a chance for salvation. Learn to laugh.



Circular #4: The Physical Development of National Monuments and the Appropriations Process

A fourth circular, mailed on November 18, dealt with the "physical development" of southwestern national monuments.[262] Echoing the message from his second circular, Pinkley asked his custodians to prioritize protection over development: to stabilize their ruins and build fences before working on visitor facilities. Monument development, Pinkley stressed, happened incrementally and might take years to accomplish. It hinged on consistent communication with the Washington office through the superintendent at Casa Grande. In his candid, straightforward, and gently humorous tone, Pinkley described the congressional appropriations process set forward by the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921, which established the Bureau of the Budget. Appropriations, Pinkley observed, began with agency estimates, and agency estimates began with perceptive custodians in the field knowing what their monuments needed and providing facts to support those needs.

Blackwater Arizona
November 18, 1924.

To the Southwestern Custodians:

In our last letter we dealt with the development of your monument from the standpoint of the visitor.

In this letter I want to deal more with what I

[262] Pinkley to the Southwest Custodians, November 18, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, file "National Monuments, Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-32" (box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.

may call the physical development of your monument.

In the first place you must study your monument and know its needs. Then decide in what order these needs should be supplied, and, having once decided, don't switch around from time to time asking for something else. I mention this because it is the policy of the Washington office to back us fellows up just as far as they can, and nothing is more discouraging to them than to have a man ask for a fence this year and just about the time they work things around and get the fence in sight, have him say he doesn't want the fence but needs a trail. Then by the time they get behind him on the trail proposition he is out of that notion and wants some signs. Put yourself in their place and see if you wouldn't say: 'This fellow doesn't know what he wants, so what is the use of trying to help him.'

Now some of us want a whole lot of things for our monument and we want them all at once and the world is coming to an end if we don't get them. We can't understand why the rest of the United States doesn't see the needs of our monument as badly as we do. You see I know all about this feeling because I've had it many times.

Coming right down to the case cards, you may never get all you want and it is a cinch you can't get but a part of it this year and next year and the year after that. These are cold facts and we might just as well look them right in the eye and arrange our affairs accordingly.

The thing to do, then, is to decide what the most important thing is to be secured for our monument and then stay with that until we get it; then go after the next most important thing, and so on.

With two thirds of our southwestern monuments, the most vital need is protection and we should take care of that first. It would be foolish for us to ask Congress for a lot of money with which to build a fine road in one of our prehistoric monuments, while the walls of the ruin are in great danger of being lost through lack of repair funds. Why

build fine roads for visitors to get into the Petrified Forest if we don't expect to put on enough rangers to keep visitors from stealing the Forest and carrying it away piecemeal? Why build a tunnel into Carlsbad Cavern so 40,000 people per year can go into that wonderful place, unless we can put on enough rangers to prevent vandalism?

Think this over and study your monument with a view to its best protection.

After protection comes the development which will give the visitors the greatest pleasure and comfort. Here is where we come to roads and bridges and trails and fences and comfort stations and parking places and so on. List these wants after protection.

I wish you would think over all the various problems of protection and development concerning your particular monument and then sit down and give me the result of your thoughts on paper. This will give us some sort of program to get to work on. We may not agree at first as to where the greatest necessity lies and we may both learn a lot in working out a final agreement. I must not only know what you want, but I must know why you want it. I can't go before the Washington office and say: 'Mr. Jones wants a fence on his monument this year' and when they say: 'Why does he want a fence more than that trail he wanted last year and didn't get?' have to reply: 'I don't know."

If you don't bring up these needs with me and give us a chance to work out a program looking forward to the development of your monument, who is going to be to blame if your wants don't get the consideration and get into the estimates and if the Washington office doesn't have the facts to fight for the estimates when they go before the Bureau of the Budget and before the Appropriation Committee?

Why it will be your fault.

You may be under the impression that all we have

to do is to go up to Washington and grab all the money we can get hold of and then decide how we are going to spend it. That is very far from the real state of affairs.

What really happens is as follows: Next April Mr. Mather will ask me to put in my estimates for the money needed to run the southwestern monuments from July 1, 1926 to July 1, 1927. I have to know 15 months before we can spend a dollar of it, what I am going to do with every dollar I ask for. And we have to show good reason for wanting it or Mr. Mather will refuse to carry the estimate before the Bureau of the Budget, for he can't afford to take anything in there which he cannot defend. You see the Bureau of the Budget is in a sense the defender of the Treasury. It has to cut and fit the expenses of the Government so it will fall within the Government income, and in doing this it has to have a heart just about as soft as one of Bill Nelson's petrified logs. The only way you can get a hearing with the Bureau of the Budget is with cold, hard facts and plenty of them. You have to show them that the Government business or the Government's property is going to suffer if you don't get this money you are asking for to take care of that business or property, and if you can't show them this they promptly cut that part of your estimates out, and when they cut it out it is gone for good that year, you can't slip it back later on.

So we must back our estimates with reasons.

Now along in the Fall, before Congress meets, the Bureau of the Budget calls each Bureau head before it to justify his estimates. When our turn comes, Mr. Mather, or some one for him, goes over with all the estimates from each park and from our southwestern monuments and tries to convince them of the absolute need of every dollar we have included in our estimates. It is complementary to our Service that we get cut about as little as any bureau appearing before the Bureau of the Budget. But we <u>do</u> get cut. The Bureau of the Budget, in looking over the total income of the Government, may decide that this is an off year and expenses have to be cut no matter how bad the need. Then they may say we can't have

any new buildings, or new roads, or new construction in the way of fences and trails. They may admit the need on the arguments we present, but stand pat on the statement that they are not going to ask Congress to raise the extra money. This is good business and while it may hurt us, we must admit that it is the proper way to run the Government just as it is the proper way to run our private affairs. A careful man doesn't run his expenses up and then scratch around for the money to meet them. He figures out his income and then makes his expenses fall within it. If he can't see his way to buy a new suit of clothes under this plan, he just makes the old ones wear a little longer. So it is with a careful Government.

Eventually we get our estimates, in a more or less cut up condition, past the Bureau of the Budget. In other words they put their o.k. on as little as they think we can get along with. Then when Congress sits, we have to take these amounts which have been approved by the Bureau of the Budget, before the Appropriation Committee and convince them that we need this much money to carry on our work for the next year. Here again we may get another cut, for the Committee may think the Bureau of the Budget has been too liberal with us, or they may have different ideas about where the work of our Service should be expended and where it should be cut down.

The Committee then reports the Appropriations Bill containing our items along with a thousand or so others, out before the House and it is passed, sometimes being trimmed here and there on the floor of the House. It is then passed by the senate and signed by the President, when it becomes a law. This generally happens toward the end of the session, which this year will be in March. As soon as the bill is signed we know how much money we are going to have for the year following the next July 1, and we begin cutting over our needs to fit the appropriation Congress has made.

I am telling you all this so you can see that the Government isn't run in such a haphazard manner as many folks suppose, but we are a small part of a great business organi-

zation and to get action we must use business methods. Call it red tape if you want to, but it is the proper shade of red tape and leads away from waste and carelessness with public funds and toward care and economy. And we must conform to these methods because if we don't good business demands that some other fellow who will conform to them will be wearing our badge and we will be on the outside looking in.

What I wish you would do would be to sit down and write me a long letter taking up the various angles of your monument and discussing its needs and the methods of meeting them. You are on the ground and you ought to know your monument better than anybody else in the United States. I am here to help you and between us we ought to work out plans to bring your monument up to its proper place before the general public. Those custodians who have met me know that they needn't be very formal in their letters; put down what you want to say as though we were together and you were talking it out. If I can't figure out what you mean I can write and ask you. We are all working together for the good of the Service, and unless you are working with us you are the broken link which spoils the use of the chain.

I think in my next letter I will deal a bit with this idea of all working together – Team Work.

Cordially yours,

Frank Pinkley

Superintendent Southwestern Monuments

Whether Pinkley completed his final circular about teamwork remains unknown; no record of the letter exists. But by the end of 1924, Pinkley's custodians had a good handle on their superintendent's vision for the Southwestern National Monuments group. Others became familiar with Pinkley's vision as copies of the circulars made their way through the agency. W. B. Lewis, superintendent of Yosemite, so admired Pinkley's letters that he distributed copies to his staff. "There sure is a lot of good material in these letters," Lewis told Stephen Mather in November 1924, "so good, in fact, that I am passing

them around among the rangers here in order that they might have an opportunity to read them."[263] The Washington office was pleased. In early November, after mailing out his third circular, Pinkley wrote to Arno Cammerer, NPS assistant director, to express some misgivings about his tone. "You don't think I overdo the personal touch in my letters to the other custodians do you?" he asked Cammerer. "I am so anxious to keep away from anything like cold formality that I sometimes wonder if I swing a little too much to the opposite side."[264] Cammerer wanted nothing of it. "You have a gift in your letter writing that few people have," he told Pinkley, "and besides that you have a personal way in your contact with your associates that makes them feel that you are a helpful associate and co-laborer rather than a fault-finding, critical boss. You just keep on with your letter writing the way your spirit dictates and your pen moves."[265]



Figure 26. In October 1924 Stephen Mather and friends surprised Superintendent Pinkley with the gift of a new Dodge touring car. Pinkley family pictured with their new ride at Casa Grande, circa 1925-26. Source: WACC (00846)

[263] Lewis to Mather, November 25, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, file "National Monuments: Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-1932" (Box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.

[264] Pinkley to Cammerer, November 6, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[265] Cammerer to Pinkley, November 13, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

Low Appropriations and Personnel Shortages

Pinkley's pen continued moving through the 1920s, but increasingly it took on a frustrated tone as low national monument appropriations prevented the NPS from stationing full-time custodians on monument grounds. Residential facilities presented the biggest obstacle to hiring full-time personnel. Stationing employees and their families at remote national monuments obliged the agency to build housing and drill groundwater wells on monument grounds; many custodians and rangers also needed government trucks. All of that led to heavy upfront costs that greatly exceeded the amount needed for salaries. But without making that investment, the National Park Service risked losing talented part-time custodians, many of whom needed full-time salaries to remain active with the agency. Edna Pinkley, in an August 1924 letter to the Washington office, expressed her fears that Gran Quivira's talented new part-time custodian, William H. "Doc" Smith, might leave the agency without a promotion [Bio File: Smith, Doc]. "We are a little afraid we will lose him," Edna told acting director Arthur Demaray, "as he is not making much of a living and a dollar a month does not help much in keeping the wolf away." The national monuments and national parks, she insisted, deserved equal funding on a visitor-per-visitor basis—then the agency would be able to build housing and hire full-time custodians and rangers at all the national monuments. "I wish all the Park Service Office could make the trip we have this summer," Edna told Demaray. "Then after that I would take Congress around and we would get the next year, instead of approximately seven cents per visitor, something nearer the Park's approximate dollar per visitor."[266] Frank Pinkley was a bit more straightforward with his correspondence. "You might make a note," he told Stephen Mather in 1925, "to show the Bureau of the Budget and the Appropriation Committee that the Monuments are under-financed."[267]

Frank Pinkley, for his part, worried about vandalism. Montezuma Castle, he reminded the Washington office, "had more visitors [during the 1924 fiscal year] than Mesa Verde, Sully's Hill or Zion National Parks that year. And this at a cost of less than $600 as against $43,000 for Mesa Verde!" Despite heavy visitors, Montezuma Castle did not have a full-time custodian stationed on site to guard against visitors who might wish to scratch their name on ancient walls or carry home some kind of souvenir. Why bother establishing a penalty for vandalism, Pinkley asked rhetorically, without stationing full-time custodians on the grounds to maintain order? It would be, he argued, "as ridiculous as for a city to pass its ordinances and not put on a police force to enforce them."[268] Much to Pinkley's disappointment, the national monuments appropriation for the 1926 fiscal year, approved in the fall of 1924, included only an additional $1,628 for salaries and wages—enough to provide some

---

[266] Edna Pinkley to Arthur Demaray, August 27, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, file "National Monuments, Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-32" (box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.

[267] Quoted in Sallie Van Valkenburgh Harris, "The Casa Grande of Arizona as a Landmark on the Desert, a Government Reservation, and a National Monument," *Kiva* 27, no. 3 (February 1962): 22.

[268] Frank Pinkey to Stephen Mather, October 5, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, file "National Monuments, Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-32" (box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.



Figure 27. Entrance to Gran Quivira National Monument, showing Supt. Frank Pinkley's 1924 Dodge car passing through with an unidentified driver (custodian Smith?). Circa 1925. Photograph by Frank Pinkley. Source: WACC (00090)

of the part-time custodians with small increases but not enough to support new full-time custodians.[269] In his 1925 annual report to the Washington office, Pinkley strenuously reiterated the need for full-time, salaried custodians stationed on monument grounds to deter vandalism, make repairs of ruins, and provide visitors with personal guided service. Even Casa Grande and Petrified Forest, with their full-time custodians, required rangers to assist with the growing numbers of visitors. No southwestern monument, Pinkley argued, possessed adequate full-time personnel:

> Chaco Canyon: "By all means we should have a full paid man in charge of this monument..."
>
> Hovenweep: "Owing to a lack of funds we have no custodian and have never done any repair work at this monument..."
>
> Montezuma Castle: "Mr. Jackson is paid a nominal salary and is rendering excellent service, but it is absolutely imperative, if we wish to preserve this ruin, to put a full paid man in charge..."

[269] *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1926*, 68th Cong., 2nd sess., 1924, 656.

> Navajo: "a great increase of visitors is to be expected in the next two or three years, and protection in the way of a summer custodian should be planned for by 1928. Mr. Wetherill is receiving only a nominal salary and can not afford to give the time that will be needed for protection when the number of visitors increases..."
>
> Petrified Forest: "Mr. Nelson has spent a very busy year guarding his monument against the vandal and souvenir hunter. We have not had funds enough to furnish him with complete ranger service and he has been overworked most of the time...Mr. Nelson's greatest need is additional ranger service..."
>
> Pipe Spring: "has no custodian, due to a lack of funds..."
>
> Casa Grande: "Visitors have come in increased numbers and have taken more of our time. Two of us have been trying to give the same service here that is given in Mesa Verde National Park to a smaller number of visitors by six or seven employees."[270]

The need for full-time personnel corresponded with a surge of post-World War I visitors taking advantage of improved roads in the Southwest. Traveling to southwestern national monuments was never easier. Between 1924 and 1928, the estimated total number of visitors who annually arrived at southwestern monuments more than tripled from 96,374 to 306,301.[271] With each passing year they increasingly arrived in automobiles. Although the Washington office kept no statistics for the number of vehicles entering southwestern monuments (owing to the lack of full-time custodians stationed on monument grounds to count cars), it did record the number of vehicles that entered southwestern national parks: Grand Canyon, Zion, and Mesa Verde. Between 1924 and 1928, the number of cars entering the southwestern parks nearly tripled from 16,848 to 44,651. In 1925 alone, the number increased by 55%.[272] In his 1926 annual report, Pinkley celebrated a banner year as far as visitor counts. But the Southwestern National Monuments group, he noted, continued operating "under the usual handicap of a totally inadequate force of men to receive visitors and explain the hundreds of interesting points." By Pinkley's count, seventeen southwestern national monuments cumulatively received more annual visitors than either Yellowstone or Yosemite. But only two full-time custodians and a dozen part-time custodians handled all the work of receiving visitors and protecting the monuments. "Think," he exclaimed, "of trying to run Yellowstone National Park on that basis!"[273]

---

[270] Frank Pinkley, "The Southwestern Monuments," 1925, *National Park Service Electronic Library & Archive* (http://npshistory.com/newsletters/sw_mon_rpt/annual-report_1925.pdf : accessed March 26, 2024).

[271] *Extract From the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, Fiscal Year 1928, Relating to the National Park Service* (Washington: Government Printing Office), 26.

[272] *Extract From the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, Fiscal Year 1928, Relating to the National Park Service* (Washington: Government Printing Office), 26.

[273] Frank Pinkley, "The Southwestern Monuments," 1, https://npshistory.com/newsletters/sw_mon_rpt/annual-report_1927.pdf (accessed June 19, 2025).

Staffing the Headquarters at Casa Grande

Closer to home, the lack of full-time personnel at Casa Grande wore Pinkley thin. Dividing his time between his superintendency and his custodian duties at Casa Grande and Tumacácori, Pinkley worked long hours and needed help, especially with paperwork. Out of necessity, Edna Pinkley stepped in. Working without pay, Edna guided tours, typed up reports and correspondence, and prepared magazine articles and booklets on southwestern monuments; she also accompanied Frank on his annual summer inspections and lent a hand in the field as needed. In a March 1924 letter to the Washington office, she humorously signed her name as "Edna T. Pinkley, Office Assistant, Museum Attendant, Information Bureau, Basket Salesman, Housekeeper, Nurse and Cook to the Superintendent of Southwestern Monuments."[274] In the fall of 1924, Frank Pinkley surreptitiously drew from the national monuments appropriation to hire a local medical student named John Huffman to work as a Southwestern National Monuments clerk.[275] Huffman spent much of the fall season typing up copies of Pinkley's circulars to custodians, but the Washington office, upon receiving receipts of Huffman's paycheck, nixed the unauthorized hire.[276] During this period, George and Georgia Boundey kept their vehicle parked on Casa Grande's grounds and provided part-time assistance in return. Beginning February 1924, Pinkley started paying George Boundey $50 per month as an out-of-pocket expense. Then in July 1924, at the onset of the 1925 fiscal year, the NPS officially appointed Boundey to the position of full-time ranger, ensuring the monument remained staffed while Pinkley set off on his first inspection tour as superintendent.[277]

In 1925, Pinkley and the Washington office staff persuaded the Bureau of the Budget and Congress to create a new ranger position at Casa Grande for the 1927 fiscal year.[278] Francis A. Seagoe, the teenage son of a local Coolidge rancher came on board in March 1927. Segoe became familiar enough with the monument to lead visitors on tours before Pinkley departed on his summer 1927 inspection tour [Bio File: Seagoe, Francis]. Though he resigned in February 1928, Seagoe remained in Coolidge for several years and worked for Pinkley on a temporary basis as needed. Pinkley temporarily filled Seagoe's vacant ranger position with another family friend, Sam Freeman, while he scrambled to find a new permanent ranger.[279] Effective May 1, 1928, Pinkley replaced Freeman with Hilding F. Palmer, a

---

[274] Pinkley to Demaray, March 5, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[275] Pinkley to Mather, October 10, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[276] Arno Cammerer to Frank Pinkley, February 7, 1925, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "205, Instructions and Orders, 1906-1938" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[277] Boundey, ed., "Notes on the Casa Grande Ruins," diary entry for 2-1-1924, 18; Clemensen, *Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona*, 70.

[278] *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1927*, 69th Cong., 1st sess., 894.

[279] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1928, 2. Freeman was the nephew of Pinkley's old friend, Addison Baptylde Freeman, a Philadelphian who had wintered with the Pinkleys many years earlier while recouping from

newcomer to Arizona. Palmer left Illinois in the fall of 1927 to winter with family in Florence, Arizona, where he met Pinkley and agreed to join the monument staff.[280] Palmer's wife, Daisy, joined him in Arizona later in 1928 [Bio File: Palmer, Hilding].

In 1926, Pinkley and the Washington office once again made a convincing case for creating a new full-time position at Casa Grande: a clerk for the Southwestern National Monuments office, the same position Pinkley had attempted to assign to John Huffman in the fall of 1924. The position marked the first full-time NPS position officially assigned to Southwestern National Monuments. Arno Cammerer spoke in favor of the new position in November 1926 at the 1928 fiscal year appropriation bill hearings. "The superintendent," Cammerer told Congress, "has a large amount of clerical work in connection with his supervision of seventeen monuments in the Southwest. At the present time he has no clerk and as he is necessarily absent from his headquarters a good deal of the time supervising work done in other monuments, he is under a great handicap in attending to the clerical and administrative work which piles up in his absence."[281] The appropriations subcommittee offered no objections.

The job of Southwestern National Monuments clerk went to George Watson Rudy, a young Phoenix sales professional. Rudy and his wife, Marie, arrived at Casa Grande in October 1927. The couple took up residence in an embarrassingly modest dwelling on the grounds of Casa Grande; Stephen Mather later described the residence as a "mere shack." Pinkley kept Rudy busy handling a steady stream of paperwork. Rudy also oversaw the implementation of the National Park Service's new standardized bookkeeping system.[282] Pinkley also trained Rudy to guide visitors through Casa Grande and assist Francis Seagoe and Hilding Palmer with miscellaneous ranger duties as needed. Notably, George Rudy also lent a hand at other Arizona monuments. In December 1928, he traveled to Montezuma Castle to review a proposed interpretive handbook developed by Martin Jackson [Bio File: Rudy, George].[283]

Repairing Monuments

Besides needing higher appropriations to hire full-time custodians and provide housing, Pinkley desperately needed Congress to fund repairs at southwestern archeological monuments. The excavation work done by Neil Judd at Chaco Canyon, Earl Morris at Aztec Ruins, and Edgar Hewitt at Gran

---

tuberculosis. Like his father, Sam Freeman had a suspected case of tb. In the winter of 1927-28, he, too, wintered with the Pinkleys at Casa Grande, staying in a tent-house and paying board to the Rudys.

[280] When Seagoe resigned as ranger in early 1928, and moved into Coolidge, a young man named Sam Freeman temporarily covered Seagoe's duties while Pinkley scrambled to get a ranger from the Civil Service list. Sam Freeman was the nephew of Pinkley's old friend, Addison Baptylde Freeman, a Philadelphian who had wintered with the Pinkleys many years earlier while recouping from tuberculosis. In the winter of 1927-28, Sam Freeman stayed in a tent-house at the Casa Grande Ruins, paying board to the Rudys for his meals. This arrangement was intended to relieve Edna Pinkley, who was too sick to handle the extra work of Freeman's room and board. See "Coolidge," *Arizona Republic*, February 16, 1928.

[281] *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1928* 69th Cong., 2nd sess., 1008.

[282] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1928, 2.

[283] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, December 1927, Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.



Figure 28. Southwestern National Monuments headquarters staff in 1928: (left to right) George Rudy, clerk; Frank Pinkley, superintendent; Hilding Palmer, ranger (also custodian, Chaco). Source: WACC (02655)

Quivira stimulated much public interest in southwestern archeological monuments during the 1920s. But the sites, unearthed from desert sands that insulated the sites from wind, rain, and snow for centuries, faced a crisis of exposure. Rain and snow from above and drainage from below threatened their structural integrity. Without aggressive treatment the sites might not remain standing for more than a generation or two of visitors to enjoy. Budget item no. 1290, a continuation of the 1925 fiscal year increase for archeological repairs established by Rep. Louis Cramton, annually provided $5,000 for "special and miscellaneous" repairs at archeological monuments. Stephen Mather excitedly informed readers of the 1924 NPS Annual Report that the $5,000 figure meant that "most of the existing monument ruins can be placed in condition to withstand the elements for many years, thus saving them for posterity."[284] Frank Pinkley knew better. Pinkley and his custodians performed much of the repair and restoration work themselves during Pinkley's summer inspections; the $5,000 paid for materials but left nothing for local crews that might accomplish a more thorough job.

In a September 1924 letter, Pinkley asked Mather to make a stronger case for further budget increases in support of monument repairs and restorations.[285]

> I wish, in defending these estimates before the Bureau of the Budget and the Appropriations Committee, you would make the point clear that these prehistoric and historic ruins which we are trying to protect and save for future generations are not simply duplicates one of the other. We could not lose one of them without suffering a serious loss and being severely censured by the future historian and student. It might also be argued that they pay well from a financial standpoint because about a quarter of a million people visited one or more of the national monuments this year and thousands of them would have gone abroad and spent their money if we had not had these attractions to keep them in their own country.
>
> Also, it would be well to be quite frank with the Bureau and the Committee in saying that we cannot catch up with this protection work for several years. These ruins have been disintegrating for several hundred,

[284] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1924, and the Travel Season 1924* (Washington: Government Printing Office), 21.

[285] Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, September 27, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, file "National Monuments, Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-32" (box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.

and in some cases for a thousand or more years, and you cannot stop that disintegration and repair the ravages of time in a month or two and with a few hundred dollars. We have to look forward in doing our work this year to a further appropriation next year, and so place our work that we can follow it up next year to the best advantage. In other words each year's work is not always, and in the nature of the case cannot always be a unit in itself, but is only a part of a whole which may be spread over several years."

Cordially yours,

(Sgd.) Frank Pinkley
Sup't Southwestern Monuments

Pinkley also disliked the practice of appointing temporary custodians from the directors of archeological expeditions working at southwestern monuments under Antiquities Act permits. In January 1923, Earl Morris, director of the American Museum of Natural History's Aztec Ruins excavation, became appointed custodian of Aztec Ruins; the American Museum furnished his salary.[286] Similarly, in 1924, Dr. Willis T. Lee of the United States Geological Survey became appointed temporary custodian of Carlsbad Cave while leading the cavern's speleological survey with funds provided by the National Geographic Society.[287] The arrangements provided Aztec Ruins and Carlsbad Cave with temporary supervision at no cost to the federal government. But neither offered long-term solutions. In his 1925 annual report, Pinkley implored the Washington office to "get the salary and assume this obligation" for a full-time custodian at Aztec Ruins. "Untold damage could be done by vandals in a few weeks should the American Museum decide to discontinue its allotment for a salary and we are not prepared to take it up."[288] That exact scenario passed in 1926, when the

---

[286] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1923, and the Travel Season, 1923* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), 44-45. Earl Morris did not stick around for long at Aztec Ruin. He took extended leaves of absence in the summers of 1924 and 1925 to supervise excavations at Chichen Itza in Mexico. Philip T. Hudson, a local man who assisted Morris' excavation at Aztec Ruin, performed custodian duties in 1924; Otha O. Owens, a local farmer, took over for Hudson in 1925 and remained through 1926. See Ronald H. Lister and Florence C. Lister, *Aztec Ruins National Monument: Administrative History of an Archeological Preserve* (1990); digital edition (http://www.npshistory.com/publications/azru/adhi.pdf : accessed March 26, 2024).

[287] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1924, and the Travel Season, 1924* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), 149.

[288] Frank Pinkley, *Southwestern Monuments Annual Report, 1925*, 1 (http://npshistory.com/newsletters/sw_mon_rpt/annual-report_ 1925.pdf (accessed March 26, 2024).

American Museum suddenly ended Morris' salaried custodian position at Aztec Ruins, effective January 1, 1927. Caught off guard, the Washington office scrambled to arrange for a replacement. With the 1928 appropriations bill already on the books, the agency had to wait eighteen months for the start of the 1929 fiscal year before it could create a full-time custodian position at Aztec Ruins. The solution came at the expense of Casa Grande. Instead of leaving Aztec Ruins unsupervised, the agency chose to transfer Pinkley's longtime ranger, George Boundey, and his full-time salary, to Aztec Ruins and appoint him custodian.[289] At Casa Grande, Francis Seagoe, the ranger hired in March 1927 to support George Boundey, became Boundey's replacement.

Publicizing the Monuments

Through the 1920s, the National Park Service maintained a public relations division at its Washington office, but little of its resources went toward publicizing southwestern monuments.[290] Characteristically, Frank and Edna Pinkley took on the task of publicizing the monuments themselves during the 1920s despite no budget item in the monuments appropriation to support the work. In Phoenix, Tucson, and countless small Arizona towns, Frank Pinkley delivered presentations to audiences ranging from elected officials and business leaders to fraternal organizations and scout troops. He once traveled as far as Los Angeles to deliver a lecture entitled "The National Monuments of the Southwest" at the Southwest Museum. After 1925, Pinkley made a habit of bringing along a spectacular cache of Puebloan turquoise mosaics, pendants, and beads styled in the shape of a thunderbird unearthed by George Boundey and assistant John Huffman at Casa Grande; the exhibit captured the attention of audiences young and old. Pinkley also frequently gave talks to college students who arrived at Casa Grande on field trips from the University of Arizona and from Tempe Normal School. Reporting this activity to Mather, Pinkley expressed his desire to see all the monuments become "used as classrooms for work in history, archaeology, geology and so forth."[291]

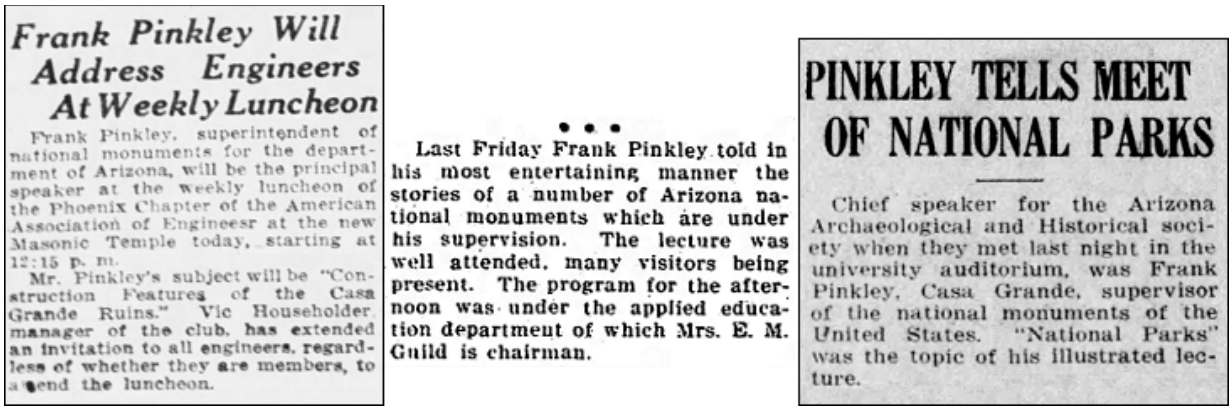
Edna Pinkley devoted considerable time and energy to publicizing southwestern national monuments. A graduate of the University of South Dakota and former schoolteacher, Edna was a gifted writer and speaker. At schools, women's clubs, and Eastern Star chapters across central and southern Arizona she delivered monument talks and lectures; Edna also frequently submitted monument-related editorials and feature stories to Arizona newspapers. A lengthy 1925 piece published in the *Casa Grande Valley Dispatch* recounted her family's summer inspection tour and profiled each of the monuments

---

[289] Lister and Lister, *Aztec Ruins National Monument: Administrative History of an Archeological Preserve*, 86-87.

[290] The exception was "Glimpses of Our National Monuments," first issued in 1917 as a follow-up to Robert Sterling yard's "Glimpses of Our National Parks" and subsequently revised in 1926 and 1929 with a final 1930 soft-cloth bound edition produced by NPS editor Isabelle F. Story.

[291] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, November 1, 1924 [October 1924], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ; Edna T. Pinkley on behalf of Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, January 1, 1926 [December 1925], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.



Frank Pinkley Will Address Engineers At Weekly Luncheon

Frank Pinkley, superintendent of national monuments for the department of Arizona, will be the principal speaker at the weekly luncheon of the Phoenix Chapter of the American Association of Engineesr at the new Masonic Temple today, starting at 12:15 p. m.

Mr. Pinkley's subject will be "Construction Features of the Casa Grande Ruins." Vic Householder, manager of the club, has extended an invitation to all engineers, regardless of whether they are members, to attend the luncheon.

• • •

Last Friday Frank Pinkley told in his most entertaining manner the stories of a number of Arizona national monuments which are under his supervision. The lecture was well attended, many visitors being present. The program for the afternoon was under the applied education department of which Mrs. E. M. Guild is chairman.

PINKLEY TELLS MEET OF NATIONAL PARKS

Chief speaker for the Arizona Archaeological and Historical society when they met last night in the university auditorium, was Frank Pinkley, Casa Grande, supervisor of the national monuments of the United States. "National Parks" was the topic of his illustrated lecture.

Figure 29. Frank Pinkley often handled Southwestern National Monuments publicity himself. (Left) Arizona Republic, March 4, 1926; (middle) Casa Grande Dispatch, December 25, 1925; (right) Arizona Daily Star, April 20, 1926.

visited.[292] In 1924, Edna wrote to the Washington office to discuss the possibility of publishing booklets about the monuments. She and Frank, she told Stephen Mather, received "calls every day at the Ruins for something of the sort."[293] In 1926, Edna completed the first booklet in the series, *Casa Grande: The Greatest Valley Pueblo of Arizon*a, published by the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society. Later in the year, she published "Preserving American Antiquities," an article in *American Forests and Forest Life*, that took readers on a tour of all eighteen southwestern national monuments; a follow-up article published in 1928 profiled Montezuma Castle.

For Frank Pinkley, educating visitors also meant having a custodian on hand to greet visitors and lead monument tours. On his April 1924 tour of southwestern monuments, Stephen Mather observed the high quality of guided service at Casa Grande. "At the Casa Grande National Monument," Mather told his NPS colleagues, "the visitor is taken on a personally conducted tour of the ruin by the custodian, who explains the life and history of the old inhabitants as indicated by the Great House itself and the artifacts found in the land adjacent to the ruin. I should like to see this nature-guide service extended to every national park and several national monuments as soon as practicable."[294] Again in his 1926 annual report, Mather offered high praise for the form of "nature-guide service" practiced by Frank and Edna, noting it had become "particularly popular with visitors" wherever implemented in the park system. "There has been no more popular and enthusiastic service of this kind," he wrote, "than in the Casa Grande National Monument, where Superintendent and Mrs. Pinkley have given every ounce of energy and loyalty to this work.[295]

---

[292] "Visit S. W. National Monuments with Mrs. Frank Pinkley," *Casa Grande Dispatch*, September 4, 1925.

[293] Pinkley to Demaray, March 6, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Part 4), 1924-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[294] *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1924* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), 10.

[295] National Park Service, "Nature Guiding," *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1926, and the Travel Season, 1926* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926), 10.



Figure 30. Edna Pinkley produced a variety of Southwestern National Monuments promotional materials in the 1920s.

CHAPTER 5:

DEFENDING SOUTHWESTERN NATIONAL MONUMENTS, 1927-1928

...there is now an impression that the national monuments are a bunch of picked-over parks and the small, worthless parks have been left in the monument class in the process.[296]

~ Frank Pinkley, 1929



Figure 31. Stills from a film of Frank Pinkley (left) and John Wetherill (right) unveiling Raymond Armsby's Nasja Begay plaque at Rainbow Bridge, 1927. Source: The Huntington Library

[296] Pinkley to Oastler, November 6, 1929, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, file "National Monuments: Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-1932" (Box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.

Southwestern National Monuments, Fiscal Years 1927-1928

Aztec Ruins · Capulin Mountain · Casa Grande · Chaco Canyon · El Morro · Gran Quivira
Hovenweep · Montezuma Castle · Natural Bridges · Navajo · Papago Saguaro · Petrified Forest
Pipe Spring · Rainbow Bridge · Tumacácori · Yucca House · Wupatki

Carlsbad Cave (removed 1928)

In October 1923, the same month Frank Pinkley began his superintendency of Southwestern National Monuments, President Calvin Coolidge proclaimed Carlsbad Cave a national monument.[297] Carlsbad Cave had advantages that other southwestern monuments lacked. By virtue of its proximity to Carlsbad, New Mexico, the cave had a group of motivated civic leaders who eagerly promoted it as a tourist destination and devoted local resources to its development. Carlsbad Cave also charged two dollars per adult for admission and collected franchise fees from concessionaires who sold food and souvenirs to visitors; no other southwestern monument generated its own revenue. The Washington office discovered it had little trouble persuading the Bureau of the Budget and Congress to make special appropriations for improvements at a monument that sent money back to the U.S. Treasury. Lastly, Dr. Willis Lee, the geologist who led the National Geographic Society's survey of Carlsbad Cave, insisted that the monument ranked among the finest limestone caverns in the world; that too captured Washington office's attention. Political tailwinds seemed to favor Carlsbad Cave becoming a national park.[298] Frank Pinkley was incensed. Carlsbad Cave's boosters, he believed, wanted to remove the cave from Southwestern National Monuments, which drew from the national monuments appropriation, only to capture a larger appropriation as a national park. "The Carlsbad Cavern is a National Monument and should remain so," Pinkley fumed to Stephen Mather in September 1924. "Its status would never be questioned if we could get more money for it as a Monument than as a Park." Carlsbad Cave's speleological wonders and popularity with tourists, Pinkley believed, elevated the entire Southwestern National Monuments group; removing it confirmed the second-class status of Southwestern National Monuments. "This is," he told Mather, " a matter of putting a Monument in the Park class to increase its appropriation and to the great detriment of the other Monuments which will be looked upon as a lot of left-overs."[299] During the early years of his superintendency, Pinkley contended with numerous efforts to separate monuments from the Southwestern National Monuments group. Instances at Carlsbad Cave, Petrified Forest, Bandelier, and elsewhere prompted him to spend much time and energy defending the national monuments idea and clarifying his vision for Southwestern National Monuments.

---

[297] Original name. It was renamed Carlsbad *Caverns* when it became a national park.

[298] Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 134-135.

[299] Pinkley to Mather, September 25, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, file "National Monuments, Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-32" (box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.

"Monument Robbers"

During the 1920s, Frank Pinkley contended with multiple threats to the organizational integrity of Southwestern National Monuments. During the spring of 1924, he discovered that civic leaders in Holbrook, Arizona, like their contemporaries in Carlsbad, hoped that Petrified Forest National Monument might become a national park and receive its own higher-level appropriation. During his summer 1924 inspection tour, Pinkley paused at Holbrook to "explain the error" of their idea.[300] Also in 1924, Pinkley received a visit at Casa Grande from G. M. Willard, the Arizona state game warden. Willard imagined Papago-Saguaro National Monument in Phoenix as a state wildlife refuge for deer, antelope, and "specimens of every form of animal life to be found in the southwest."[301] State officials also imagined a state fish hatchery and Arizona National Guard rifle range at Papago-Saguaro. Willard wanted the federal government to abolish Papago-Saguaro National Monument and deed it to the State of Arizona. Much to Pinkley's disappointment, the Washington office seemed to support the idea. "It is my hope," Stephen Mather wrote in the 1927 NPS annual report, "that as the State park movement develops, it may be possible for the States to take over some of the existing national monuments and operate them as State parks.[302] His words marked a low point in the Washington office's overall commitment to Southwestern National Monuments.

In September 1924, Evon Z. Vogt, Sr., custodian of El Morro, wrote to Frank Pinkley informing him that Dr. Willis Lee of the National Geographic Society visited El Morro from Carlsbad Cave and recommended that a local historical society take over El Morro from the National Park Service. Vogt, one of Pinkley's most dedicated part-time custodians, wanted to know what Pinkley thought of the idea. Pinkley responded to Vogt with harsh words for Lee and other "monument robbers" who betrayed the principles of the Antiquities Act and sought to make national parks and state parks out of southwestern monuments:[303]

> Dear E.Z.:
>
> I have your letter of the 18th telling
> me that you are going to rest up from the rush and labor
> of the [Gallup] Ceremonial by taking a trip with the family over
> to the Mesa Verde and for me to make up a report for you
> at the end of the month. Go ahead and have a good time;
> I can work up something for El Morro at the end of the

[300] Pinkley to Mather, September 6, 1924, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1924, 2.

[301] "Arizona Zoo Planned for Saguaro Park," *Coconino Sun*, April 18, 1924.

[302] *Extract From the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, Fiscal Year 1927, Relating to the National Park Service* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1927), 16.

[303] Pinkley to Vogt, September 25, 1924, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, file "National Monuments, Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-32" (box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.

month and you have been so busy this summer that I don't blame you for wanting a little vacation.

You say that Dr. Lee advised you to try to get some historical society to take hold of El Morro; that he thinks it does not properly belong to the Park Service, but should have the attention and backing of some strong historical society; and you ask me what I think about it.

What I think is better expressed with the shift key up among the exclamation points and asterisks. Some day when I get caught up with a lot of back work, I think I will whittle out a verbal paddle and stick a lot of sharp adjectives in it and go out and spank some of these fellows who are constantly trying to rob the monuments.

If you look up the basic act under which the National Monuments are made, you will see that the reason for making a National Monument out of anything is its historic, prehistoric, or geologic interest. For one or more of these reasons we set aside the various points of interest in the United States so that the whole people may own and enjoy them forever after.

And then here comes a man who says that El Morro, which, mark you, falls under two of the above designations for it has both historic and prehistoric interest, does not properly belong to the Park Service, meaning I suppose that it is not fit material for a National Monument, and should be turned over to some strong historical society. I wish he would sit down and try to define a National Monument so as to exclude El Morro. It would be an interesting definition to say the least.

E. Z., I have been stung by these Monument robbers until I am sore. And every last time if you can make them come clean, it reduces itself to a matter of money. If we could get $50,000 a year to support

El Morro as a Monument, would any one be claiming it was not of Monument status but ought to be turned over to some Society or some individual for administration?

When you get down to the case cards it is always a matter of turning a Monument into a Park or into something else, so as to increase its appropriation.

And when you propose leaving these reservations in the Monument and educate Congress into appropriating for them as Monuments, the man you are talking to throws up his hands and says "Oh, you can't do that, Congress never appropriates enough to handle the Monuments and never will." Suppose Mr. Mather had thrown up his hands in 1916 and said "No one appreciates the National Parks and I'll never be able to do anything with them so I suggest they be donated to some good, strong society which will be interested and take care of them."

We have Monuments and we have Parks and there ought to be a definite line between them, so that when a Monument is once created its biased friends cannot dress it up a little and bob its hair and run it over into the Park crowd simply because there is more feed in the Park trough. Congress is never going to get enthusiastic over a lot of picked-over Monuments, and unless we can stop this talk of transferring the Carlsbad Cavern and the Petrified Forest and the Casa Grande Ruin and the Chaco Canyon into the Park class, we are never going to get adequate appropriations for the National Monuments. When Congress realizes that the Monuments are a class quite to themselves and are not little Parks but just as interesting and just as important as the Parks, we will begin getting enough money to handle them properly. And until that time comes, you and I and all of us in the Monument work will just have to keep a level head and do the very best we can on the money Congress gives us and try to hold the Monuments together so that future generations will say that those first custodians were pretty far-sighted fellows to hold the Monuments

together until as a class they stood shoulder to shoulder with the Parks.

Now as to getting the attention and backing of some good strong historical society. There is no objection in the world to doing that and let El Morro remain a National Monument. Look how the National Geographic Society has backed the Chaco Canyon and the Carlsbad Cavern. Look how the Arizona Historical Society has furnished some funds for my work at Tumacacori. And these people didn't ask for a deed to the place before they spent their money.

If you can get a Historical Society to back El Morro, close with them at once, but don't propose to give them the Monument to get them interested.

I am against that.

Cordially yours,

(Sgd.) Frank Pinkley,
Sup't Southwestern Monuments.

Nothing came of Willis Lee's idea for turning over El Morro to a historical society. But Pinkley watched helplessly as Carlsbad Cave raced toward national park status. At the Senate subcommittee hearings for the 1925 Interior Department Appropriations Bill, Senator Andrieus Jones of New Mexico relayed a letter received from Gilbert Grosvenor, president of the National Geographic Society. "The president of the geographic society," Jones told the Senate subcommittee, "strongly urges that we run a tunnel in, about 400 feet, as they have estimated it, and he states that it would cost about $10,000 to do that. It strikes me that this thing ought to be done, and done at once."[304] At Jones' urging, the subcommittee amended the 1925 national monuments appropriation to include an extra $5,000 dedicated solely to Carlsbad Cave; the Senate sent the bill back to the House, where it passed with no objections. The following year, for the 1926 fiscal year, the Senate again amended the national monuments appropriation, increasing Carlsbad Cave's funding a whopping $25,000, enough to finish the entrance tunnel and develop lighting, water, and sanitation utilities, footpaths through

[304] A tunnel was needed to provide safe entrance into the cave, replacing a rope, pulley, and bucket system that dropped visitors in through a mining shaft. *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1925*, 68th Cong., 1st sess., 1924, 19.

the cave, and housing for rangers.[305] The Carlsbad Chamber of Commerce chipped in an additional $1,600 to build a stairwell leading from the old mining shaft, and the New Mexico state highway commission graded a $16,000 road from the town of Carlsbad to the monument's entrance. No southwestern national monument had ever enjoyed such rapid development of visitor facilities.

In the fall of 1925, the Washington office arranged for a restructuring of the Interior Department Appropriations Bill, making Carlsbad Cave's allotment a separate appropriation, splitting it from the national monuments appropriation. For the 1927 fiscal year, the cave received full-time rangers and a full-time custodian.[306] In 1928, the Washington office formally removed Carlsbad Cave from the Southwestern National Monuments group and promoted its custodian, Thomas Boles, to superintendent. Finally, in August 1930, President Herbert Hoover signed into law Carlsbad Caverns National Park—and that same year, Congress voted to remove Papago-Saguaro from the National Park Service system and give it over to the state of Arizona.

The Bandelier Question

In the spring of 1927, as Carlsbad Cave's future as a national monument wavered, Pinkley turned his attention to northern New Mexico and made moves to prevent Bandelier National Monument from becoming a national park of its own. Located in the Santa Fe National Forest, twenty miles west of Santa Fe, Bandelier was one of four archeological monuments administered by the U.S. Forest Service.[307] Its distinctive cliff dwellings, carved into volcanic tuff walls in Frijoles Canyon, caught the attention of southwestern archeologists early on. By 1923, the National Park Service eyed the monument and its surrounding Pajarito Plateau as a potential national park called "Cliff Cities." The area possessed less than spectacular scenery. But it was advantageously located within a single-day round-trip drive of Santa Fe, an emergent southwestern tourist destination. New Mexico officials, Santa Fe civic boosters, and southwestern archeologists all agreed on the proposed park's merits. The Washington office also had the support of Rep. Henry W. Temple of Pennsylvania, head of the congressional Coordinating Commission on National Parks and Forests. In December 1923, Rep. John Morrow of New Mexico wrote to Herbert Work, the Secretary of the Interior, about Bandelier. "This appears to be one of the most important monuments in the United States," Morrow told Work. "In fact, it should be a park and under park supervision."[308]

---

[305] House of Representatives, *Conference Report (To accompany H. R. 1120)*, 68th Cong., 2nd sess., 1925, 7.

[306] *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1927*, 69th Cong., 1st sess., 1925, 896-897.

[307] The others were Gila Cliff Dwellings, Walnut Canyon, and Tonto. Under what Pinkley called a "gentlemen's agreement," the nation's land managing agencies—the Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture, the National Park Service in the Department of the Interior, and the War Department—administered national monuments proclaimed on agency lands.

[308] Morrow, like many others, seems to not have realized that Bandelier National Monument remained under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of Agriculture through the Forest Service. Morrow to Work, December 19, 1923, RG

Pinkley was outraged and accused his colleagues in the Washington office of "trying to force good monument material over into the wrong classification."[309] The Cliff Cities National Park idea, he told anyone who would listen, raised thorny questions about distinctions between national parks and national monuments. Some national parks, such as Grand Canyon and Zion, started out as national monuments. But Grand Canyon and Zion, by virtue of their sublime scenery, easily met the Yellowstone standard of "pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people." Bandelier, as an archeological site, better met the 1906 Antiquities Act definition of an "object of scientific interest." The Organic Act of 1916, written a decade later, included language of its own that distinguished parks from monuments. Parks conserved "scenery" while monuments conserved "natural and historic objects."[310] Pinkley knew the law and expected his colleagues in Washington to respect distinctions between parks and monuments. Monuments, he insisted, offered lessons in history, anthropology, geology, or some other scientific discipline. They were, as Edna Pinkley observed, "by the very nature of their creation, educational in character and as such are administered."[311]

Foresters who managed the Santa Fe National Forest for the U.S. Forest Service also objected to the creation of Cliff Cities National Park—but for their own reasons. The Pajarito Plateau, they argued, lacked the spectacular scenery of a national park. The plateau offered higher value to American taxpayers as productive timberlands and grazing lands. As a compromise, the Forest Service offered to transfer the smaller Bandelier National Monument and other nearby archeological sites in the Santa Fe National Forest to the National Park Service but keep the greater Pajarito Plateau open to loggers and ranchers. The Washington office, insisting on a large national park in northern New Mexico akin to Mesa Verde in southwestern Colorado, demanded the entire plateau. Neither agency appeared willing to budge.[312]

In April 1927, the Washington office sent Frank Pinkley to Bandelier on a reconnaissance trip. The agency, not understanding the extent of Pinkley's opposition to Cliff Cities National Park, expected a favorable report. Pinkley had other ideas. He had long opposed the Forest Service's management of its four archeological monuments, believing only the National Park Service could adequately protect and interpret southwestern archeological sites. But Pinkley loathed even more the prospect of another

---

79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, file "National Monuments, Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-32" (box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.

[309] Pinkley to Oastler, November 6, 1929, carbon-copied in Pinkley to Mather, November 7, 1929, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General file "National Monuments, Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-32" (box 565) NARA, College Park, MD

[310] National Park Service, "Quick History of the National Park Service," National Park Service Electronic Library & Archives (https://www.nps.gov/articles/quick-nps- history.htm : accessed July 11, 2025).

[311] Edna T. Pinkley, unpublished manuscript, circa 1924.

[312] Hal Rothman, "Conflict on the Pajarito: Frank Pinkley, the Forest Service, and the Bandelier Controversy, 1925-32," *Journal of Forest History* 29, no. 2 (April 1985): 68-77.

major grouping of archeological sites, like Mesa Verde, falling into the national park category. "I would rather see them left as a monument under [the Forest] Service than be transferred to ours as a park," Pinkley told his superiors in the Washington office. Bandelier, he explained, did not merit national park status considering that its most noteworthy features—cliff dwellings, kivas, and rock art—met the Antiquities Act definition of a national monument. "Boiled down," he concluded, "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 park, not in any number, kind or quantity; they make a monument."[313]

Pinkley's report stung Horace Albright, the National Park Service's main proponent for Cliff Cities National Park. Albright requested that Jesse Nusbaum, superintendent at Mesa Verde, offer a second opinion; Nusbaum refused. Lacking internal agency consensus, the National Park Service shelved the Cliff Cities National Park idea. In 1931, Albright, now the Director of the National Park Service, sent Roger Toll, his field assistant, to Bandelier for another look. Toll's report echoed Pinkley's 1927 findings. Bandelier, Toll wrote, would "make a splendid addition to the archaeological national monuments." The U.S. Forest Service, in 1931, remained willing to surrender its archeological sites but still "did not wish to lose any more area from the Santa Fe National Forest than was necessary for the protection of ruins." Toll advised Albright to accept the offer. The Forest Service, alarmed by a rapid increase in the number of tourists arriving in Frijoles Canyon, sweetened the deal by offering hundreds of additional acres of cleared timberlands. The National Park Service took possession of Bandelier National Monument in February 1932 and, much to Pinkley's satisfaction, assigned it to Southwestern National Monuments.[314]

Shaping Some Museum Policies

Defending national monuments also meant defending the 1906 Antiquities Act, which allowed reputable institutions to conduct excavations on national monument grounds and exhibit artifacts in distant museums. In February 1927, a Southwest Museum crew led by Harold Gladwin arrived at Casa Grande with an Antiquities Permit to begin a late-winter excavation of middens near compounds A and B. Building upon the 1880s work of Frank Cushing at Casa Grande, Gladwin sought to "absorb all available information at the very center of the Lower Gila culture." He received a warm welcome from Frank Pinkley. Lacking the resources to perform large excavations of his own or to tackle anthropological problems, Pinkley eagerly awaited the Southwest Museum crew's findings. "Pinkley," observed Gladwin, "is delighted over the prospect of being able to use us to assist in solving his problems."[315] The Southwest Museum sponsored the expedition; all of it was made possible by an endowment funded by the late Dr. Norman Bridge of Los Angeles.[316]

---

[313] Rothman, "Conflict on the Pajarito," 75.

[314] Ibid, 76.

[315] Harold S. Gladwin, "Our First Expedition," *California Southland*, April 1927, 19.

[316] Bridge was a Los Angeles physician who amassed a fortune in the Southern California oil business; major beneficiaries of his philanthropy included the Southwest Museum and the California Institute of Technology (Caltech).

Five weeks into the expedition, Gladwin's team unearthed a three-gallon red olla containing human remains, the first known instance of a funerary object recovered at Casa Grande. Over the following weeks, twenty-six more ollas emerged from Casa Grande's middens. Frank Pinkley was ecstatic. "I have been sitting on these eggs here for twenty-four years, and now you men come along and hatch them," he told Gladwin. "It's great!" James A. B. Scherer, director of the Southwest Museum, arrived to observe the discovery for himself. It was the Southwest Museum's policy, Scherer reminded his colleagues, to "put mere looting under ban" and "to leave a substantial part of the evidence from which new conclusions may be drawn right on the field of its finding." That meant leaving artifacts at Casa Grande; it also meant placing some of the objects on display locally. Scherer promised to dedicate "a room in the federal museum at Casa Grande...devoted to Southwest Museum exhibits." But not everything would remain in Arizona. "I am," Scherer confessed, "taking back with me one quite irresistible exhibit, namely, that beautiful burial urn."[317]

The olla's removal caused a small scandal locally. Katherine McRae, a local woman and organizer of the Arizona Pageant, a theatrical performance staged annually at Casa Grande during the late 1920s, publicly accused Scherer of absconding with the "spoils" of the excavation. She notified Arizona Governor George W. P. Hunt, who threatened to enforce a new state law that required out-of-state excavators to leave 50% of their archeological findings in Arizona. Scherer, from his office at the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, brushed off the scandal as "a trifle absurd" and reminded his critics that the museum left behind all but one artifact at Casa Grande. "We have not only not removed the fruits of our excavations," he told reporters, "but have publicly stated our policy to be one of nonspoilation."[318] The quarrel, which played out in the Los Angeles and Phoenix newspapers, generated enough attention to alarm the Washington office. "I should think Pinkley would object seriously to these artifacts being removed," a perplexed Stephen Mather wrote to Horace Albright. Albright approached Pinkley for an explanation.[319] Edna Pinkley, in charge of Casa Grande while Frank was away on an inspection trip when Scherer left for Los Angeles with the olla, decided to set the record straight in the *Arizona Republic*. An admirer of the Southwest Museum's scientific approach to the Casa Grande excavations, Edna made a spirited defense of Harold Gladwin and his team of excavators. "They have," she told readers, "the full approval and cooperation of the National Park Service and of Mr. Pinkley, superintendent of the Southwestern National Monuments.

> The party has been at work here for several weeks and their permit from the Department of the Interior will expire this week. During that time only one relic from the ruins has been taken out of the state. It is a small vase, taken to the Los Angeles

---

[317] James A. B. Scherer, "The Southwest Museum, First Expedition 1927—Lower Gila Basin, Arizona," *California Southland*, April 1927, 19.

[318] "Charges of Despoiling Ruins Denied," *Los Angeles Times*, April 17, 1927; "Looting of the Ruins of Casa Grande," *Arizona Republic*, April 17, 1927.

[319] Horace Albright to Frank Pinkley, April 3, 1927, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "740-02.2, Relics, 1927" (box 573), NARA, College Park, MD.

> museum for display, and it is to be returned. When you consider that the Southwest Museum has spent some $20,000 of its own money exploring the ruins and developing them, it is preposterous to accuse it of filching or stealing, just on the basis of that one little urn.
>
> The State of Arizona provides no fund for developing the ruins, nor does the federal government. The government depends solely on such agencies as the museum for research work, and the work done at Casa Grande has already been of inestimable scientific and archeological value.
>
> All the relics uncovered and studied are carefully preserved and guarded, and anyone who cares to come to Casa Grande may see them. Harold Gladwin, head of the expedition from the Southwest Museum, made the statement to Mr. Pinkley that he was not interested in obtaining specimens for his museum, but is interested in scientific results, and that whatever is done in the matter of excavation must be done with Mr. Pinkley's approval. He said further that except for a small representative collection for the Southwest Museum, all objects found were to be left in Arizona. Mr. Gladwin has more than lived up to this agreement; only one jar has been taken to Los Angeles.
>
> Before any excavations were made Mr. Gladwin talked to representatives of the Arizona Museum and of the University of Arizona, volunteering to leave all the relics in this state and getting the hearty endorsement of his plans from those two organizations.
>
> The work of the expedition...done here is comparable in value to that being done in northern New Mexico by the National Geographic Society, and I absolutely deny for the expedition any charge of looting or filching.
>
> If anything is due the expedition workers I think it is an apology. They had hoped to get their permit renewed from the Department of the Interior, but if the people of Arizona are going to raise a big kick about them of course they can only withdraw entirely.[320]

Edna's editorial, which headlined Section Two of a Tuesday edition of the *Arizona Republic*, quieted the controversy. Neither Katherine McRae nor Governor Hunt pursued the matter any further. "The recent little uprising," a bemused Pinkley wrote to Mather, "seems to have blown over."[321]

---

[320] "Mrs. Pinkley Denies Los Angeles Museum Stealing Arizona Relics," *Arizona Republic*, April 19, 1927.

[321] Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, May 7, 1927, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "740-02.2, Relics, 1927" (box 573), NARA, College Park, MD.

For Pinkley, the Southwest Museum incident signaled an opportunity to clarify his positions on excavations, artifacts, and the potential for establishing museums on southwestern monument grounds. Pinkley's views echoed Scherer's excavation principles: to allow some artifacts to be carried off under Antiquities Act permits while leaving the bulk on site to form the basis of monument collections. Museums on monument grounds would, Pinkley insisted, nicely complement personal guided service with uniformed personnel on hand to interpret artifacts for visitors in a conversational manner—and considering the inadequacy of the national monuments appropriation, partnerships with external cultural institutions remained imperative. Neither the people of Arizona nor the Washington office should begrudge institutions that invested in southwestern national monuments. The many artifacts recovered from Casa Grande by Gladwin's crew, Pinkley reminded Albright, produced a wealth of new anthropological data to support better theories about Ancestral Sonoran Desert People culture in the Gila basin. Pinkley now had better information to show his visitors. Letting go of a few artifacts for display in out-of-state museums was a fair trade. "My policy in the matter of excavations at the monuments in my district," he told Albright, "is pretty well settled and I am fairly sure of my ground."[322]

> It needs only a casual reading of the basic law under which the national monuments are proclaimed to see that it was very clear in the mind of Congress that excavations were to be conducted by reputable museums in the prehistoric monuments and that "The gatherings shall be made for permanent preservation in public museums", and Congress was not thinking about any museums which we might afterward start when that phrase was written into the law; it was thinking about public museums which were then in existence. This settles any argument about the right of a reputable museum to excavate and take away material from any of our prehistoric monuments. Just as it is clear in my mind that we must not refuse to let an expedition work in one of our monuments, so is it clear that we must not refuse to let them take away a part of the material. Only a very few museums are in such a position as to become research museums pure and simple; able to spend a hundred thousand dollars and take nothing back to their buildings but a printed report to show the people who are backing them what they have been doing. The museum must have something concrete in the way of collections which they can put on display.
>
> Should we refuse to allow museums to work in our pre-

[322] Pinkley to Albright, April 6, 1927, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "740-02.2, Relics, 1927" (box 573), NARA, College Park, MD.

historic monuments, or allow them to work and then refuse to allow them to take away part of their material, we would bring a storm of protest down upon our heads, and I think it would be to a certain extent justified.

But the fact that I am willing for the museum to excavate and to take material away, does not mean that I am willing for them to take all the material away. Some of it should be left here on the ground where future visitors can get the additional benefit of seeing it close to the point of origin. Therefore I am in favor of any future expeditions which may work at our monuments leaving part of their material at the monument. The amount that should be left with us should not be made an arbitrary percentage of the total; it should be decided according to the needs of the individual case.

The Arizona Legislature has just passed a law to the effect that 50% of all finds must be left in the State with some reputable museum. The law is intended to cover material found on our monuments and the public domain in general. There is grave doubt in my mind whether or not the law will hold if it is contested.

What we want at our prehistoric and historic national monuments is what I think of to myself as a 'working museum'. We don't want case after case of duplicate material nor do we want an indefinitely large collection. We want a compact collection which will illustrate a cross section of the life of the period and the degree of culture to which the people had attained. Beyond that I am willing to let the rest of the material go out to other museums where it will be put on display and act as a feeder in sending us visitors.

Remember that the run of visitors at our monuments do not stay but a few hours and a too large museum would tend to confuse them. I am also of the opinion that a collection of prehistoric artifacts which is simply labeled and put on display will lose at least half its value. A personal explanation and an interchange of ideas is the only way of getting such things across to the average visitor who comes to us. This means that the larger museum will simply use up more men to show the visitor duplicate material.

The case at Mesa Verde is not exactly comparable with my work in the monuments. Nusbaum and his men do their own excavating in the off season of the year. Put Nusbaum and one other man in charge of Mesa Verde, keep the park open the year round, run 29,000 visitors through it instead of the 11,356 it had last year, take Nusbaum away five months to cover a four thousand mile trail to a dozen other jobs, leaving one man in charge, and see how much research work would be done granting that the money could be found to finance it.

Nusbaum is spending about $1,000 per year on his work looking to the solution of the problems of the Mesa Verde culture.

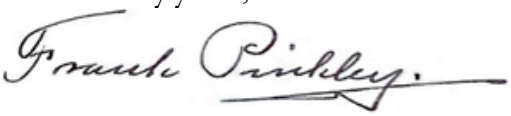
Mr. Gladwin of the Southwest Museum is preparing to spend $20,000 per year over a period of five years in the solution of the problems of my Casa Grande culture and in tracing the contacts out into the surrounding cultures. He is right in the class with Neil Judd's National Geographic Society expedition which has spent over $100,000 at our Chaco Canyon National Monument. These problems at several of my monuments are not going to be solved by pecking at them with a few hundred dollars a year and a few months time, and the importance of their solution must not be dimmed nor the work held up by quarrelling over whether 25% or 33% or 50% or any other per cent of the pots and stone tools, which are after all nothing but the letters composing the words of the story, and only valuable because of the things we can read through them, are housed in a mud house at Casa Grande or in a stone house in Los Angeles.

I am going to get as much museum material as I want out of this work, and as a matter of fact, I will probably be putting up a howl for a real museum building to house my increased collection in the next year or so, but the finding of museum material is a very secondary part of Mr. Gladwin's plans. Working out the problems of where this culture came from, how long they were here, where they went to and why, is the real reason he has taken to the field with this expedition. You would say I was dreaming if I tried to describe to you the tower of interest I can build on this monument with these bricks of facts he is going to make for us.

Dr. Scherer is trying to build up the Southwest Museum

as fast as possible and is strong on publicity. The press releases
which he turned loose after a visit to the expedition here in the
field are so lurid they are humorous. This clipping which came to
you is only a weak solution of what he got in the Los Angeles papers.
Mr. Gladwin was very much vexed and Mrs. Pinkley and I got many hearty
laughs out of it. But the publicity end of it is just so much froth.
Underneath all that is Mr. Gladwin who is heart and soul in his work
and who is backed by an endowment fund which will see him through.
I cannot pay him a higher compliment than to say he grades right
along with Neil Judd and A. V. Kidder and finer men don't grow in
the southwestern archaeological field.

Cordially yours,



Superintendent Southwestern Monuments.

Frank and Edna's public support for Harold Gladwin's work elevated the couple's profile in the world of southwestern archeology. Though he never received formal training as an archeologist, Frank Pinkley held a respected position within the profession. In August 1927, he accepted an invitation to attend the first Pecos Conference, a symposium to discuss underlying problems in southwestern archeology. Dr. Alfred V. Kidder organized the conference and held it at his field camp near Pecos Pueblo, east of Santa Fe. The attendees included the "Who's Who" of the field—the so-called "Southwesternists"—plus some of their spouses, children, and students. Pinkley requested an unpaid leave of absence to attend but the Washington office granted him paid leave and covered his expenses. At the conference, Pinkley led a discussion on the challenges of conducting archeological work on public lands, outlining the threat of unauthorized excavations and the value of relationships between field workers and National Park Service personnel.[323]

Pinkley's Winter 1927-28 Circulars

In December 1927, six months after the Bandelier controversy and the Gladwin Expedition at Casa Grande, Pinkley returned to his typewriter to author a series of circulars addressed to his Southwestern National Monuments custodians. "The idea with these circular letters," Pinkley told Arno Cammerer in the Washington office, "is to try to build up a knowledge of Service ideas, ideals [and] an esprit de Corps among the boys with the possibility that after we get enough letters out to cover the ground somewhat we can go back over them and reedit them into some form of instruction book or

[323] Richard B. Woodbury, "Looking Back at the Pecos Conference," *Kiva* 48, no. 4 (Summer 1983): 258.

manual."[324] The book never materialized, but Pinkley's 1920s circulars, combined with his 1930s Ruminations (see Chapter 7), came close to fulfilling his vision of an instruction manual.

Circular #1: Distinctions Between Parks and Monuments

With his first letter, mailed in December 1927, Pinkley sought to further clarify distinctions between national parks and national monuments, a theme he discussed ad nauseam during the Bandelier controversy which consumed much of his attention the previous spring. Pinkley likely wrote the letter as much for his readers in the Washington office as for his custodians in the field.[325]

TO THE SOUTHWESTERN CUSTODIANS

There is a general misconception, not only on the part of the general public with whom we deal from year to year in increasing numbers, but among the members of our own service, as to the difference between National Parks and National Monuments.

To correct this wrong impression among our own men and so put them in a position to pass on the correct idea to the general public, I intend to write one or more general letters outlining what seems to me to be the ideals of the National Monuments and various policies connected with their reservation and administration.

A general impression prevails that our Government, in making its reservations, picks out the best and makes parts of them, and throws the rest into a discard called "Monuments", nothing could be farther from the facts.

The essential differences between parks and monuments is that Congress alone can reserve a park and the president alone can reserve a monument. Since Congress decides on the value or need of each park separately, there is no need of a general parks act, definitely explaining what may and what may not be reserved so we have no accurate definitions to what is or is not a national park.

However, due to the fact that Congress in 1906 decided to delegate to the President the power to reserve National Monuments, we have in that act a definite statement of what constitutes a National Monument: "The President of the United States is authorized, in his discretion,

[324] Pinkley to Cammerer, December 27, 1927, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[325] Pinkley to the Southwestern Custodians, December 7, 1927, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "205, Instructions and Orders, 1906-1938" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

to declare by public proclamation historic land marks, historic and pre-historic 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." Here you see we have a very definite statement of what constitutes a National Monument.

Aside from historic and pre-historic structures and objects of historic or scientific interest, which should always be reserved as monuments, what is left for Congress to reserve as Parks? The answer is "Scenery."

As a working definition, then let us say that parks are reserved for their scenic value. This will not be quite accurate because Hot Springs and Platt will at once occur to you as exceptions, but it will serve as a working statement.

The points to remember then in this letter are:

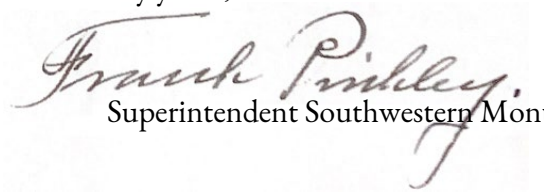
1 Monuments are reserved by a Presidential Proclamation.

2 Parks are reserved by Special act of Congress.

3 Things of historic, pre-historic or scientific interest should be reserved as monuments.

4 Scenery should be reserved as a park.

Cordially yours,



Superintendent Southwestern Monuments.

Circular #2: U.S. Forest Service and War Department Monuments

A week later, Pinkley authored a follow-up letter further clarifying distinctions between national monuments administered by the National Park Service and those administered by the Department of Agriculture through the U.S. Forest Service and by the War Department.[326]

[326] Pinkley to the Southwestern Custodians, December 13, 1927, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

In 1927 there were 32 National Monuments administered by the National Park Service under the Department of the Interior, 15 administered by the Department of Agriculture, and 10 by the War Department.

Do you know why these 57 National Monuments are thus scattered through three departments for administration?

The basic act, under which the National Monuments are proclaimed by the President, was passed by Congress in 1906. At that time there was of course no National Park Service, for it was not formed until 1916, so there was no especial bureau under which the proposed National Monuments could be placed when the President should proclaim them. After some discussion of the matter it was decided to leave the proposed monuments, when they should be made, under that Department of the Government which should be made. Thus if the Monument happened to be cut from land which belonged to the War Department, it would fall under the War Department for administration. If it happened to be cut from a forest reserve it would fall under the Department of Agriculture. If it happened to be cut from Indian Reservation or the public domain, it would fall under the Department of the Interior.

The reason for scattering the monuments through several departments seems to have been two-fold. First, the department having original jurisdiction seems to have been anxious to keep control of the new reservation and did not want some other branch to interfere with its operation. Second, no one seemed to think it was necessary to form a new bureau especially to take care of the monuments.

In theory, this scattering of the monuments looked all right, but in practice it has been faulty. It would have been much better to have set them all aside under one head who could then have developed a special staff of men trained in the work of protection, upkeep and repair and the results would have been very much better.

In 1916 the National Park Service was formed and the act provides that "the Director shall, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, have the supervision, management and control of the several National Parks and National Monuments which on August 25, 1916, were under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, etc". From this it would appear that Congress was following the general agreement of 1906 and expected the monuments to remain scattered through several departments.

Now that the National Park Service has a special organization of men to handle National Monuments, who are well trained in that line of work, the logical thing to do would be to gather all the monuments under the one bureau which is organized to take care of them. I think some time this will be done.

The purpose of this letter is accomplished if it explains to you so you can explain to your visitors why the National Monuments are scattered under the Department of War, Agriculture, and the Interior.

Cordially yours,



Superintendent Southwestern Monuments

The Washington office responded with cautious support for Pinkley's first two circulars. "I think this memorandum will be very helpful to the various Custodians," Arno Cammerer observed, "and the Service is particularly pleased that you have gone into such a detailed explanation." But Cammerer also gently pushed back against the second circular, noting that the Department of Agriculture administered their own national monuments because "rangers patrolling forest reserves" efficiently patrolled national monuments located within the same forest reserves "without additional expense."[327] Pinkley thanked Cammerer for the feedback and promised to use his response as the basis for a future letter.

Circular #3: Pinkley's 'Temporary Monuments' Idea

In the meantime, Pinkley had other topics in mind. He had watched in recent years as the proliferation of automobiles and the development of paved highways led to increasing numbers of visitors at southwestern monuments. During the early 1920s, many of the monuments became Bonafide tourist attractions—something the authors of the 1906 Antiquities Act never imagined. Pinkley hoped the National Park Service might use the powers of the Antiquities Act to provide police protection for "temporary" national monuments under excavation, while continuing to develop facilities for visitors at the most popular sites.[328]

In this, the third letter of this series, I want to discuss some of the possibilities of the National Monument system.

The idea behind the passage of the National Monuments Act, when it was passed in 1906, is pretty clearly shown in the various committee hearings

[327] Cammerer to Pinkley, December 16, 1927, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[328] Pinkley to Custodians of the Southwestern Monuments, n.d. [December 1927], RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

which were held at that time and is reflected in the act itself. This idea was not that the monuments would be visited by hundreds of thousands of people each year and that an organization must be built up which could receive these Visitors and explain the details of the monument to them. Such a multitude of visitors could not be foreseen in the days of the horse drawn vehicle.

Through the hearings and through the act itself runs the idea of police protection: simply guarding the monument against the pot-hunting vandal, the name scratcher, the souvenir hunter and the trash leaver. The custodian of the monument was to be simply a policeman who could see that only properly authorized parties would be allowed to gather museum collections and remove them from the monument to museums located in the centers of population where the laymen could see them.

This is why it was thought that any man in any Department could make a competent custodian: it was only a watchman's job, so why draw all the monuments into one Bureau and try to develop super-watchmen?

The automobile is a factor which has entered the problem since that day and has entirely upset the original calculations regarding some of the National Monuments. Instead of occasional parties of scientific men, we have hundreds of thousands of interested laymen coming each year in the field to visit the monuments. Instead of a simple watchman or custodian must be a competent expert on his particular monument who can receive his thousands of visitors per year and send them away with an adequate knowledge of the history or archaeology or geology of his monument. This requires now a number of experts among the monuments and as the years pass and the number of monuments and the number visitors increase it will require more and better custodians.

We should plan to develop these men as the needs arise right in our own Service, for we know better than anyone what these needs are and what they will be.

There is, however, and always will be a certain type of National Monument which must be reserved under the original idea of police protection only. Some pre-historic sites in the southwest are important from the research standpoint only. The lay visitor would be disappointed in what he would find and should not be directed to such monuments. Yet they should be reserved and protected until research expenditures could work the site under the best possible conditions. This is a branch of our monument work which has not yet been recognized by our own service.

The idea is abroad in our Service that monuments are like parks in that they should be spectacular points for the public to visit and should be chosen from the angle of "Once a monument always a monument." I do not agree with this idea and would like to enlarge our vision to the point of admitting that we have now

and will add from time to time an increasing number of 'Temporary monuments'.

Let me point out some of the advantages of this idea in the archaeological work of the southwest. Suppose an expedition leader in making a comparative study of the pottery of a certain district should stumble on a site showing long occupation but having no spectacular walls. Let the site be upon an Indian Reservation and fairly near a National Monument where hundreds of automobile tourists will visit the work as soon as the expedition gets started.

Under present conditions this site would not be made a National Monument because it would not be considered of importance from the visitors standpoint. Permission to work would have to be obtained through the Office of the Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Nusbaum as Archaeologist for the Interior Department could pass on the permit and it would be issued with instructions to the Indian Service to check the work as the site would be on their reservation.

The chances are ten to one that the Indian Service officials would not know or care anything about the work, would consider it out of their line and would only give it such casual attention as repeated demands from Mr. Nusbaum might force. Visitors hearing of the new work would come in numbers, to the great disgust of the expedition leader who must herd them out of his trenches and quarters, stop their pot-hunting and souvenir stealing and use up valuable time explaining to the more interested ones what he is trying to do. Altogether he is a very harassed man.

Now suppose this situation should arise with our plan of temporary monuments, working. The expedition leader, upon finding his promising site would ask for a permit through the office of the Secretary of the Interior. Instead of handling such an operation through the Indian Bureau, where it has no business in the world, we would simply reserve the site by a proclamation as a National Monument and thus put it under a branch of the Government Service which deals with ruins and is sympathetic with archaeological work. Instead of bothering with the expedition as little as possible we would keep the work as much as possible. If visitors became numerous we could detail one of our men to go to the site and take charge of the visitors giving them our standard type of service, explaining the operations which were going forward thus increasing the value of the trip to the visitor and relieving the over burdened expedition of a very distasteful job. When the work was closed, if the monument had not been developed to the point of being worthy of preservation, the proclamation could be lifted and the land could fall back to its previous status of Indian Reservation Land.

All this plan needs to put it into operation is the additional power given to the President to lift the proclamation on lands which we do not wish to hold. The President has this power regarding forest reservations and I

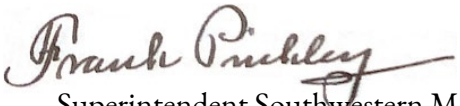
see no reason why he should not have it regarding National Monuments.

These research monuments or 'Laboratory monuments' or 'Temporary monuments', call them what you will, will one day form a material part of our service for they compose a field which we alone can cover properly and deliver good service. I brought this idea up at the pec Conference in August, where practically all the archaeologists working in the southwest were present and they were agreed as to the value the proposed service would be to them.

The person who will be hardest to convince on this idea will be the Park Service man who thinks of monuments in terms of parks: who is inclined to think of monuments as show places only and who does not realize that parks and monuments are two entirely different types of reservations.

Give the President power to release monuments as well as proclaim them and you put the Park Service in the position of first assistant to every expedition and museum which may want to work on geological, archaeological or historical problems located any place on the public domain in the United States, except the public domain covered by the Forest Reserves and it will not be ten years before public domain will force such problems from the Forest Reserves under our Service either for total administration or cooperative administration.

Cordially yours,



Superintendent Southwestern Monuments.

Circular #4: The Appropriations Process and How to Spend Money

Pinkley's next letter, sent in late December, provided his custodians with a review of the congressional appropriations process: from the creation of budget estimates to the Bureau of the Budget's review, to House appropriations subcommittee hearings, to the Director's allotments. All of it reiterated and expanded on themes Pinkley addressed in his fourth 1924 circular. Both letters survive as excellent overviews of how national monuments (and national parks) received funding during the early years of the National Park Service. [329]

TO THE CUSTODIANS OF SOUTHWESTERN MONUMENTS

[329] Pinkley to the Custodians of Southwestern Monuments, December 30, 1927, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

This is a good time of the year to go into financial matters connected with the southwestern monuments and one or two recent occurrences in the Service lead me to believe some explanations might be in order.

The average man among us has a very hazy idea of where the Government money comes from, how we get it. I have met men in our Service who thought we went out into the field and spent money just about as we wanted to and in such quantities as we deemed necessary and then asked the Treasury Department to cheerfully foot the bill.

Now the United States Government operates the biggest business in the world and, with its thousands upon thousands of employees, if it didn't have a pretty complete system of checks and balances, the waste of funds would be so enormous that even the richest nation in the world would be likely to go into bankruptcy.

Let us look a little into how we are going to get our money to operate in future years as our Service grows larger and the demands on it grow heavier.

The fiscal year, or year on which the Government figures its income and outgo, does not begin with the first of January and close with the 31st of December. It begins with the first of July and closes with the 30th of next June. This Government year is numbered by the month in which it closes. Thus while we are now in the fall of 1927, we speak of it as the fiscal year 1928 because the present fiscal year ends on June 30, 1928.

Our money for the present fiscal year has been appropriated by Congress, approved by the President and allotted by the Director of the National Park Service and you were notified before July 1, 1927 how much money you would have available for the present year. You can spend that much <u>if you need to do so</u>, and <u>no more</u>, before June 30, 1928.

For the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1928 and ending June 30, 1929, the estimates of how much money we would have to use were made up last spring and will be hammered through the various stages this fall to be put before the Congress which meets in December.

As much of these estimates as they see fit to allow us will be appropriated before the session of Congress ends and, after approval by the President and allotment to the various purposes for which it was asked, by the Director will become available after July 1, 1928.

This means that the amount of funds you will use during the present fiscal year and the coming fiscal year up to June 30, 1929 have been either appropriated or estimated and you and I have nothing further to say about them.

The only thing we have anything to say about now, is the money we want to spend between July 1, 1929 and June 30, 1930.

Pin your mind on that! Congress, the President and the Director have decided and told us the maximum amount we can spend before June 30, 1927; I have already

asked the Director and he is now about to ask Congress for the maximum amount we want to use between July 1, 1928 and June 30, 1929, so you and I have nothing more to say about these two years.

We can only talk now about what you want to do between July 1, 1929 and June 30, 1930.

You will begin to get the idea now, maybe, that this Uncle Sam of ours wants to know what we are going to do and exactly when his money is going before he turns it over to us.

Let us now follow through the procedure of obtaining this money.

The President, through the Bureau of the Budget, will report to Congress in December, the total amount of money he expects as the income of the year July 1, 1928 to June 30, 1929. Then he will lay before Congress through the report of the Bureau of the Budget the proposed distribution of this money among the many Government Departments and Bureaus. Neither of these total amounts will be wild guesses. They will have had thousands of hours of expert study put on them. Remember, we are talking about money which cannot be spent until after July 1, 1928, yet nearly a year ago the President, through the Bureau of the Budget, told the Secretary of the Interior, along with the Secretaries of the other departments, that he must put in his estimates for the operation of his Department for the fiscal year ending in June 30, 1929 and that the estimated cost must be kept within such and such amount.

Pin your mind on that!

The Secretary of the Interior cannot turn himself loose and ask for any total he wants but must confine his total estimate for the cost of operating his Department for the year to a certain given sum, decided upon by the Bureau of the Budget.

The Secretary in turn calls upon the heads of the nine Bureaus which forms the Department and tells the head of each Bureau, the Director of our National Park Service among them, the maximum amount he may estimate for as his share of the Interior Department estimates.

The Director, as soon as he finds out what limits his total estimate must fall under, divides it up among the parks and our monuments and writes each Superintendent that he must put in his estimates for the operation of his park or his monuments for the year under consideration and his total estimates must fall under a certain sum.

The superintendent worries and figures and racks his poor brains, getting the most important items within the total amount allotted to him and leaving out those items he thinks can wait until the next year when according to his rosy imagination he will not be so hard pressed and can work in a few luxaries —but that wonderful time never comes.

Now you might suppose that with all this care of limiting the estimates all the way down the line, nothing would be shaved off of them, once we made them up, but if you do suppose that, you are entirely wrong.

When the superintendents make up their estimates, being sure to keep within the total limits set for them, and every item of these estimates must be set forth in detail and justified by facts, the lists are sent in to the Director's office.

Then the Bureau of the Budget, which is, in effect, the President himself calls a man over from the Director's office and goes over the list of estimates for our Service item by item. Our man is put under oath and is supposed to either know of his knowledge or to have gathered the data from the superintendents so he can show where every dollar he is asking for is going to be spent and why we cannot get along without it. The officers of the Budget take the stand that we are a pretty fair bunch of fellows in the Park Service but are naturally biased along our own lines of work and are asking for more money than we actually need to operate efficiently on, so they must save the day by finding items which we think we need but can really get along without. If there is a difference of opinion they win. If our man can't show that we just have to have an item as it stands in the estimates and if we don't get it the Government's interest will suffer, the blue pencil goes through it and that item is out. Thus item by item the estimates are hammered through the Bureau of the Budget.

You might think any total we got passed by the Budget would be safe, but that is only the starting point.

Having been cut down as much as possible by the Bureau of the Budget, our estimates go through the hearings before the sub-committee of the House Appropriation Committee. This sub-committee handles the appropriations for the Bureaus of the Interior Department.

We can only take before them items which have been passed by the Bureau of the Budget and the sub-committee takes the general stand that the Budget Officers are a set of soft-hearted individuals who are likely to pass a lot of items which are not really necessary, so when they come to our estimates they call a Park Service man in,
put him on his oath and start gunning for items that can be cut out. When a difference of opinion arises, the committee wins, for they have the power to cut out any item which our man is unable to show is absolutely necessary.

After the second trimming, our estimates on the whole are fairly safe. They go from the sub-committee to the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives. From this committee they go before the House itself; are passed by it and approved by the President and become law.

Soon after the appropriation bill has been passed and approved, the Director writes me that we have been allowed so many thousand dollars to operate the Southwestern Monuments and it is allotted as follows: given the various amounts to be used under the various items. I then let each custodian know what funds he will have for the next year: that they will be available after July; and we are all set to go when that fiscal year opens.

Now, after all this explanation, we move from the general to the particular.

About April 1, 1928 the Director will write me giving the total amount I can estimate for operating the Southwestern Monuments between July 1, 1929 and June 30, 1930.

Any time between now and March 1, 1929 I wish you would write me what you will need for that year and <u>why you cannot do without it</u>. Remember, it is not what you <u>want</u> but what you cannot get along without which will determine what you will get. I am not at this time putting a limit on the amount you ask for but it will be foolish to ask for a lot of frills and feathers which you do not need when even the amount you do need will have to be cut to get the totals within the total amount I will be allowed to ask for.

Along in May or June 1928 I will make up my estimates and send them to the Director. In the fall of 1928 the Washington office will carry all the estimates before the Bureau of the Budget where they will be materially reduced. They will then go before Congress when it convenes in December 1928 where they probably will be cut some more. Congress will then pass the appropriations covering the reduced estimates and, after approval by the President they will become law. The Director will then notify me what sum of money has been appropriated to operate our monuments and of which items the sum is composed. I will in turn notify each of you in April or May, 1929 how much money you will have to expend between July 1, 1929 and June 30, 1930. We will then be all set to go.

From all the foregoing you will see that the Government uses a good deal of forethought before it lets us have any money and by this system of checking and rechecking on the estimates it cuts down the cost of doing business to the minimum.

Cordially yours,

Frank Pinkley.

Superintendent Southwestern Monuments

In a follow-up letter, Pinkley provided his custodians with a strict warning not to spend more than allotted by the Director of the National Park Service—and to only spend funds associated with a fiscal year appropriation on work that occurred within the fiscal year calendar, July 1 through June 30.[330]

> This is a sort of supplemental letter about our appropriations and allotments.
>
> In my previous letter I told you how the estimates were made up, how the appropriations were passed and that the office then notified us that certain funds were allotted for certain definite purposes, to become available after July 1 of the next fiscal year and to remain available until the following June 30th.
>
> I don't want you to get the idea that when money is allotted for a certain purpose that it must therefore all be expended. It is simply the maximum amount which you may expend without getting further permission, but if you can get through on less and not allow the Government's interest to suffer it will be to your credit and the credit of the National Park Service to do so. You will therefore take care to get a dollar's worth of material or a dollar's worth of labor for every dollar you expend, and will not expend a dollar unnecessarily.
>
> Remember you must not exceed your allotments and if you do so you will get into a very large kettle of very hot water. Men have been discharged from the Service for taking the stand, "I have spent more than you said to spend because I thought it was necessary, now what are you going to do about it?"
>
> As long as an allotment stands it is iron-clad and must be followed, but if you ask for a change and give a real reason, it will invariably be allowed. For instance, if you are able to save money in one fund but are running short in another, just ask that your money be re-allotted and permission will be given for the change upon proper showing. I cannot recall that I ever had a request for a re-allotment of funds turned down since the Park Service was organized.
>
> Another thing I find we don't all understand, is that money appropriated for a certain fiscal year must not be used until that year begins and likewise must not be used after the year ends. The first point is pretty well understood. When I notify you along in April or May that you will have such and such funds to operate your monument between the next July 1 and the following June 30, you are not to incur any expenditures of material, labor, supplies,

[330] Pinkley to the Southwestern Custodians, January 6, 1928, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

or anything else under that notification until the morning of July 1.

The second point, as to the closing of the fiscal year is not so clearly understood. You can incur obligations, up to the limits of your funds, to the night of June 30, and pay them off later. For instance I can buy cement and work a repair gang in June up to the Night of the 30th and then pay my bills and made out a labor pay-roll in July if I make it a point to charge the vouchers back against the funds which were available in June. In other words, it is the day you spend the money which decides where it will be charged and not the day you draw the voucher for it.

I know this point is not clear because quite recently one custodian tried to pay out of the money which was not available until after July 1 for some materials he had bought last February. That cannot be done. If the books show that he had enough left in his funds on the night of June 30, then he could draw this coucher in October and pay or the purchase in February out of that money, but 1928 funds which cover July 1, 1927 to June 30, 1928 can only be used to pay for things purchased or work done between these dates.

Some of you will not be much interested in these letters on estimates and appropriations and handling funds, but I am confidently expecting a material increase in our appropriations in the next year or two and I want you to be well grounded in these matters so you can avoid trouble when you get larger amounts of money to use.

Cordially yours,

Frank Pinkley

Superintendent Southwestern Monuments.

Circular #5: A Response to the Washington Office

In his fifth letter, Pinkley took an antagonistic tone in his response to Arno Cammerer's suggestion that U.S. Forest service personnel patrolled their national monuments as a matter of efficiency. Though he did not mention Cammerer by name, Pinkley challenged the Washington office to provide a better reason why the Department of Agriculture or the War Department should administer national monuments. Here Pinkley deviated from the explanatory tone of his previous letters, promising that his custodians in the Southwestern National Monuments group could "beat" foresters "hands down" in a contest of delivering superior visitor services at archeological monuments. Pinkley's custodians likely loved the letter's competitive spirit. The Washington office disapproved. "I enjoyed reading this very much," Cammerer told Pinkley in response, "but I am afraid you are leading up to matters of a possible controversial nature." Cammerer worried that the U.S. Forest Service might object. "It is perfectly all right," he told Pinkley, "for you to circularize the custodians under you on

matters of fact, but I believe that anything of an argumentative nature or touching on policies not firmly established by usage or rule had best be avoided." Cammerer requested that Pinkley kill his fifth circular. "Sorry, old man," Cammerer wrote, "for you have put a lot of hard work on the circular, but none of us can bat 100 per cent perfect."[331] Pinkley, claiming that he did not receive Cammerer's response in time, released his fifth circular to the custodians anyway.[332]

Circular Letter Number Five.

To the Southwestern Custodians:

One of the letters of this series has brought forth an answer from a Park Service man which is very gratifying to me because it proves some one is reading my stuff.

In my letter explaining why the national monuments are scattered through several Departments I said the reason for this seems to have been two fold: First, the Department having original jurisdiction seems to have been anxious to keep control of the new reservation and did not want some other branch to interfere with its operations, and: Second, no one seemed to think it was necessary to form a new bureau especially to take care of the new monuments.

This reply which I have received runs in part as follows: "As far as I have been able to find out, however, the primary reason for maintaining national monuments under the War Department and the Department of Agriculture has been that in most instances the administration of these monuments could be assumed in connection with the administration of nearby forest reserves and the like, without additional expense. For instance, if a national monument is inside a forest reserve the rangers patrolling the forest reserve can and do give administrative supervision to the monument as well."

This sounds like perfectly good logic on the first reading but there is a bug under the chip when you examine it closely.

---

[331] Cammerer to Pinkley, January 4, 1928, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[332] Pinkley to the Southwest Custodians, December 27, 1927, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

Let us 'suppose' a case and avoid personal allusions. Suppose we have a well known group of prehistoric ruins lying within a forest reserve and the presidential proclamation is put on them, turning them into a national monument. They then fall under the Forest Service for administration. Suppose there are so many visitors per year that it is necessary to maintain a resident custodian to take care of the ruins and show visitors about, explaining the many interesting details which they would otherwise never understand.

As a matter of expense, does the Government care whether the custodian is paid through the Park Service or the Forest Service?

Not a bit.

Then if it makes no difference in expense, where else does it make a difference?

And here is where we uncover a bug!

The Forest Service has as fine a body of men as any branch of the Government can show, but they are specialized along forestry lines and no place in that Service are they training men to take care of historic or prehistoric national monuments. What, then, can they do except put a fine forester in charge of our ruins and thus get an unspecialized man on a specialized job. And the visitor loses. That is the bug!

Therefore if our national monument is going to have a salaried custodian, the Park Service can deliver a better service on the job than the Forest Service and this type of monument should come under our charge.

Now let us suppose another group of ruins not so well known by the public as to demand a resident custodian yet, to be reserved from a forest reserve and turned into a national monument. The argument seems to be that the local forest ranger has plenty of time and interest to take on the extra work of developing our ruins, increasing the public interest in them and building them up into a real national monument.

Here is the bug under that chip. The forest ranger is a forester and you do wrong to assume that his chief leaves him a lot of idle time

from logging and grazing and fire control and trail building problems for him to acquire some special education in archaeology and anthropology and kindred subjects. So, at the very best he simply holds this new monument in status quo. He is not going to bite it unless it bites him. The only thing in the world he will do will be to give it a luke warm police protection. If he will give it any police protection for the Forest Service why can't he give it the same amount of protection for us? Why can't we, through a cooperative agreement with the Forest Service, have the ranger visit the ruins once in a while and report its condition to us until we can build it up to the point of putting a special man in charge?

The error in the argument comes in assuming that police protection is administration. It is only one element of administration and, while one of the most necessary, is yet only the beginning of real administration.

We find, then, that from a financial standpoint alone, we can administer a salaried national monument on a forest reserve as cheaply as the Forest Service and we could administer a part paid national monument as cheaply as they can. From every other standpoint, and especially from the point of service to the public, we can beat them hands down.

Because a statement has been made for several years without objection is no proof of its truth.

If we admit the statement that cheaper and better administration of national monuments can be had in forest reserves by the Forest Service simply because they are on the ground, why not follow it through by turning the Tumacacori Mission over to the Immigration Service which has a station near there at Tubac? As long as you are talking in terms of police protection only, that would work out all right, but when it comes to administration and development, while they are perfectly fine men in their own service, they wouldn't know a mission from a load of hay. Any one can see the point here because it is a new suggestion and one stops to see if it is true.

Examine the similar statement with regard to the Forest Service operating national monuments through the same glasses as through it were a brand new suggestion just made, and then tell me what answer you see.

Why were all the National Parks not put under the War Department for administration? Why were the Yellowstone and Yosemite taken over by a special National Park Service? When you have answered those two questions, go on and tell me why the national monuments are not transferred from the War Department and the Department of Agriculture and if you don't think they should be, make your answer jibe with the ones you have given above.

The reason given for scattering the national monuments is based on the idea of police protection alone, and under that idea any body can watch a monument.

To test whether or not the reason given in our friend's letter is the real reason for other Departments wanting to keep monuments under their charge, suppose we try to make a deal to trade their monuments over into our Service just as soon as we can give each monument police protection as good or better than it is getting now at no additional cost to the Government.

Would they do it?

On your life they would not!

What then is the real reason they want to hold them?

Turn back and read the second and third paragraphs of this letter

Cordially yours,

Superintendent Southwestern Monuments

Circular #6: The Legal Basis of Parks and Monuments

In his sixth circular, Pinkley referenced the language of the 1906 Antiquities Act and the 1916 Organic Act to suggest there existed no legal basis for keeping national monuments under the administration of the Department of Agriculture or the War Department.[333]

[333] Pinkley to the Southwestern Custodians, January 9, 1928, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

To the Southwestern Custodians.

Since we have a little interest stirred up regarding the scattering of the National Monuments through several Departments, I want to shoot some fancy fireworks which I have been saving for some time.

So far as I can find out, this having a monument under the Department from which the land is proclaimed, is a sort of gentlemen's agreement among the Department heads which has been followed by various Presidents but there is no law commanding it to be done.

The custom started in 1906 when the National Monuments act was passed, no provision was made for grouping these new reservations under a special branch or bureau because the idea was that the custodians of the monuments would be nothing but watchmen and there probably wouldn't be over a couple of dozen monuments anyway so the man who had proposed a special bureau to teach two dozen watchmen to watch and to attend to the administrative problems which might arise from their job of watching, would have been considered crazy.

It was thought that these new custodians could be attached to the forces of the various Departments where the monuments originated. Since all the Departments had watchmen these new fellows would be taken care of under and Department and thus there would be a saving over any method of bunching the monuments under a new organization which would take a staff of Washington officers.

While of course we don't think this this was the best way to start the monument family in life—leaving these various babies one by one on the doorsteps of the various Departments instead of gathering them all into one home where they would be welcomed and cared for—we have no particular quarrel to pick with these pioneers of the monument movement who, back in 1906 could not foresee the difficulties such a method would raise.

Coming down to 1916, when the Park Service Act was passed, we find in that act a passing reference to national monuments where it is provided that these monuments which on August 25th 1916 were operating under the Interior Department should be operated by this newly formed National Park Service. But there is nothing in the law saying where the President shall put future National Monuments for the operation when he proclaims them. So far as I can see he could have put every national monuments which had been proclaimed since 1916 under the National Park Service if he had wanted to do so, and all future monuments can be put under our Service if we can show that it is to the

public interest to do so.

If you disagree with that conclusion, show me wherein it is wrong.

I will even go farther and claim that the intent shown in in the Park Service Act was to put future monuments under the Park Service.

Else what is the meaning of the words "In the supervision, management, and control of National Monuments contiguous to national forests the secretary of Agriculture may cooperate with said National Park Service to such extent as may be requested by the Secretary of the Interior"?

If this doesn't mean that monuments made from forest reserves were to be administered by the Park Service and upon request, the Forest Service was to cooperate in caring for them, what <u>does</u> it mean?

Cordially yours,

Superintendent Southwestern Monuments.

Circular #7: Using Business Principles to Justify Higher Appropriations for Monuments

In his final and longest letter, Pinkley used business analogies to discuss investments in Southwestern National Monuments. By "investment" Pinkley meant appropriations for national monuments, and by "return" on the investment he meant the public's knowledge and appreciation of the Southwest's historic, anthropological, and geological past. He concluded that "any monument, when it reaches 4,500 visitors per year is worthy of a full time custodian."[334] In a separate letter to the Washington office, Pinkley acknowledged that his fifth, sixth, and seventh circulars, though addressed to custodians, were intended more for the Washington office. "As you might expect," he told Arno Cammerer, "I was gunning more for you and Horace [Albright]."[335]

<u>Circular Letter Number Seven.</u>

To the Southwestern Custodians:

Can the national monuments be figured on a business like basis at a certain cost per visitor, or per acre, or some other basis where

[334] Pinkley to the Southwestern Custodians, January 9, 1928, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[335] Pinkley to Cammerer, January 9, 1928, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

we can get a unit cost for comparison?

What should be a reasonable cost to operate a national monument and give proper service to the public?

Would it be worth while to gather, study and analyze data along these lines? Could we draw from such studies safe conclusions as to when the Government should invest in a partly paid custodian, a full salaried custodian, additional rangers, roads, buildings and the many other things which go toward the proper development of a national monument?

I have turned questions like this over hundreds of times in my mind while sitting behind the steering wheel of the Baby on the long drives of my summer work, or in one of the hundred camps of that work, or while discussing the probabilities or possibilities of increase of visitors at the various monuments in this district.

The Government is in the business of operating the national monuments. Like any other business, it seems to me, we ought to be able to analyze it and find which lines are yielding the greatest return on the investment, which lines are barely paying their way and which lines, if any there be, which are a dead loss. We might, as in any other business, find certain lines of our merchandise which are making good returns on the investment, are normally growing better all the time and need no especial treatment other than plans to gradually increase the capital investment as the returns along that line continue to grow. We might find other lines which are not increasing their returns and which, by proper study and experiment, might be pushed so that the public would understand and appreciate them, resulting in a favorable growth and a better return on the investment. We might find still other lines which are dead stock without future possibilities and which should be disposed of forthwith, thus avoiding a waste of further capital investment where it can do no good.

We should, first of all, settle the question as to what return we are expecting on our investments in monuments. It is of course not a financial return. The Government is not holding the Petrified Forest or the historic Mormon outpost of Pipe Spring or the gem-like ruin of the Montezuma Castle, waiting for the market value to advance so they can be sold at a profit. Nor are we expecting to charge admission to these monuments and try to cover their cost of operating.

I should say the return expected is an increased interest in the

nation at large in these reservations of historic, prehistoric or scientific interest, and, through scientific research, the unfolding of the past, so we may appreciate to the full this wonderful country of ours.

Under this definition our expected returns fall into two classes. The individuals who, in the aggregate, own these national monuments, must be drawn into the field to see and become interested in their property. This is the main line of our business and the greater number of our monuments fall under this line. But there is another line of only a little less importance. Some monuments have been and others must be reserved, not for their primary interest as points to be visited by the average citizen, but as research laboratories where various scientific problems may be worked out by expeditions properly equipped, the final results only of which will be of interest to the average citizen.

In other words, most national monuments were reserved so they could be visited by the citizens who own them, but there are and always will be some monuments reserved with no desire or expectation of being heavily visited. Let us call these two classes the 'popular' and the 'laboratory' types of national monuments.

In looking for a measuring stick by which to estimate the returns on the investment in the popular monuments, it seems to me we might pitch upon the number of visitors. Now as in business the cost of doing business is figured on the sales, and, as an interested and satisfied visitor is a very real sort of sale in this line of popular monuments, why can we not figure our investment on the cost per visitor in making comparisons and finding if we are operating economically? I have studied somewhat along this line and it seems to me that there may be some meat in this idea of the cost per visitor. This measuring stick must of course be used with judgement or it will cause us to fall into errors

The cost per visitor will depend upon the amount of service we deliver and that will vary at the different monuments. The cost per visitor will will vary with the number of visitors each employee can handle and that must necessarily vary at the different monuments. The cost per visitor will vary with the amount of what we may call 'overhead' at some monuments. At the Petrified Forest, for instance, keeping up 13 miles of road will add to the per visitor cost over Aztec Ruin where we will not have to maintain roads.

Is there, then, a general average cost per visitor which will give us an idea of about what we may have to pay to give good service?

In the travel season of 1927 the parks had 2,354,643 visitors and the monuments had 443,197, making a total of 2,797,840 visitors.

In Table 12, page 300 of the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1927, the total appropriation for the administration, protection and improvement of the parks and monuments is given as $3,698,920. Dividing the total appropriation by the total number of visitors served would make the per visitor cost $1.57. The year 1926 figures out, by the same method, $1.40 per visitor. In 1925 it was $1.47 per visitor. This of course includes the overhead expense of the Washington office, the road appropriation and everything in which Congress invested money on behalf of the parks and monuments for each of those years.

I have made up another table showing the number of visitors at each pearl and the expenditures of each park aside from the road budget, covering the years 1926 and 1927. This comes nearer giving us a cost per visitor with which we can make comparisons, but there are special peaks and valleys which must be thrown out of our calculations. For instance, Mt. McKinley National Park in 1927 had 651 visitors and expended $18,379, making a per visitor cost of $28.23. We cannot of course compare this cost with the other parks because the greater part of the investment was made in roads and trails and the isolation of the park keeps the number of visitors low. Yet it is necessary to expend this high per visitor cost because some time in the future the park will come into its own and the per visitor cost will be cut to a reasonable amount.

Platte National Park is at the other end of the string with its 294,954 visitors and $12,154 appropriation, making a per visitor cost of 4.1 cents. This cost is abnormally low because Platt is practically a city park. Its per visitor cost should not be taken into comparative calculations.

For information purposes I have made up a table of 13 of the parks which show an aggregate total number of visitors in 1927 of 1,822,879 and a total expenditure, aside from road budget, of $1,348,033. This gives an average per visitor cost in 13 parks of 68.4 cents.

The maximum cost in the list selected is $4.00 per visitor in Glacier and the minimum is 12.6 cents per visitor in Wind Cave. The Glacier cost is an abnormal one, due probably to a lot of road money and trail money which is being spent on force account. All visitors

are furnished guide service, trails are maintained under ground, roads above ground, etc. Lafayette gets 27 cents per visitor and does not furnish guide service.

A number of interesting things are hidden in these cost per visitor figures. Why does it cost three times as much per visitor to show the public Sequoia as compared with General Grant only a few miles away? Questions like this rise easily to the mind as one studies the table.

However we are interested in this paper in monument figures and are using these park figures only to get some measure to apply to the monuments.

We have found that the average cost in 13 parks for 1927 per visitor was 68.4 cents.

One of our monuments, the Carlsbad Cave, is handled separately by the appropriation committee. In 1927 Carlsbad had 26,436 visitors and expended $14663 making its per visitor cost 55.4 cents. This is not excessive as compared with the park cost of 68.4 cents and we can look forward confidently to lowering the cost at Carlsbad because it is yet a new monument and is still in its development period. Its normal run of visitors will be much greater when it is opened up and, other things being equal, an increase of visitors lowers the per visitor cost.

The remaining 31 national monuments of our system had a total number of visitors amounting to 416,761 in fiscal year 1927, and expended $20,867. This gives a per visitor cost of five cents. There is no need of wasting time or space to show that this per visitor cost is entirely too low. On this same per visitor cost the Yellowstone would have had appropriation enough to pay the salaries of Mr. Albright and a couple of helpers and maybe a thousand dollars left for them to operate the park during the fiscal year 1927!

Coming now to the Southwestern monuments which lie in our district, I have worked up a table on the ten monuments, omitting Carlsbad Cave which gets its own appropriation, upon which we have expended the major part of our funds in the fiscal year 1927. The ten monuments had a total attendance of 154,402 visitors and a total expenditure of $14,237.31, making a per visitor cost of 9.2 cents. With this same per visitor cost the Grand Canyon would have operated last year on less than 15,000 instead of the $129,288 which it did need and use. Again there is no need to waste the space and time to show that if the average per visitor cost in the average park is 68.4 cents, and no one claims we are delivering too

much service at that cost, we are not going to be able to deliver proper service in the monuments for 9.2 cents per visitor.

The Casa Grande is the only monument in my table which operated near efficiency during the year and its per visitor cost was 30.1 cents.

The Chaco Canyon shows the highest per visitor cost was 83.3 cents. but this is an abnormal figure due to the fact that we expend $1188 in repairs of ruins, which work had to be done regardless of the number of visitors. We had 1,500 visitors and the total amount expended under 01-Personal Services for receiving and showing visitors around, was twelve dollars.

Gran Quivira shows a per visitor cost of 38.7 cents but this is not a reflection of salary cost, which was 11 cents per visitor; the remainder of the 38.7 cents went for repair work to the ruins which had to be done regardless of the number of visitors.

The Petrified Forest had an average per visitor cost of 5.7 cents. Here we have reflected both a low upkeep cost and a low cist under 01-Personal Service. The Personal Service cost per visitor is a trifle over four cents. Figure the amount of 01-Personal Service cost in the $1.98 total per visitor cost of Yellowstone last year and see how much over four cents per visitor it comes to! And remember that the same visitor goes to both places and can do as much or more damage at the Forest is he is so inclined as at the park.

Looked at from the business angle, the visitor is a sort of standard product. A thousand visitors coming to a park this year are very like a thousand who came last year or a thousand who will come next year. And the the same token, a thousand visitors to a park this year are very like a thousand visitors to the monuments this year. It is not unreasonable, therefore, for us to hope to deliver the same sort of service at the monuments that these thousand visitors have found at the parks.

To put a full time custodian in charge of a historic or pre-historic monument will cost in salary and operating expenses about $1,800 per year. If we assume a per visitor cost of 25 cents—and every normal park except Wind Cave has a higher cost than that—to be reasonable, then we should have 4,500 visitors per year to justify a full time custodian. Reversing this statement, any monument, when it reaches 4,500 visitors per year is worthy of a full time custodian.

This would place full paid custodians at El Morro, Montezuma

Castle, Pipe Spring and Tumacacori at once.

One man can handle up to a certain maximum number of visitors and above that he should have help. This number will vary somewhat with the variation of the peak loads or the seasonal distribution, but for a year round monument of the historic or prehistoric class, where visitors must have individual explanations, I can speak from experience when I say that the custodian will be overloaded at from 7,000 to 9,000 visitors per year and should have a part time ranger. At from 10,000 to 15,000 visitors per year a full time ranger will be a necessity if we are to give good service. On this basis we should, in addition to full time custodians, have full time rangers at Montezuma Castle and Tumacacori. Pipe Spring had 16,853 visitors last year but it is a seasonal monument and could be handled with a part time ranger and a full time custodian.

The per visitor cost would drop when we passed 12,000 visitors per year with two men in charge and at 15,000 visitors per year should be about 23 cents per visitor. These are operating costs only and other charges of capital investment, such as new quarters, extensive repairs and restorations, etc, would have to be added at a per visitor cost of about five cents, making the total per visitor cost at 15,000 visitors about 28 cents at the average, year round, popular historic or prehistoric monument.

Coming now to the scientific monuments, Capulin Mountain with its 12,617 visitors could have been handled with a full-time custodian, double the road money could have been expended and its per capital cost held to 20 cents.

The Petrified Forest could have been property policed, its museum kept open at all hours, explanations given to those of its 61,000 visitors who wished them, and a road construction program carried on, and the per capital cost could have been held to 20 cents.

Is 25 cents per visitor too much to expect Congress to invest in the education of the citizens on the important phases of their country's past as reflected in the national monument system?

I think not.

Cordially yours,

Frank Pinkley.

Superintendent Southwestern Monuments.

A Surprise on Capitol Hill

In December 1927, Stephen Mather and Arthur Demaray appeared on Capitol Hill for the 1929 Interior Department appropriations hearings. The exercise rarely benefitted southwestern monuments. Bad memories lingered on of the "hard hearted Congress" that slashed national monument appropriations during the agency's early years. But congressional antipathy toward monuments began softening 1921 when Rep. Louis Cramton became chair of the Interior Department appropriations subcommittee. Cramton never withheld funding for national monuments; he also never failed to pay Frank Pinkley a visit at Casa Grande while inspecting Interior Department projects in central Arizona. In October 1927, Cramton and his House subcommittee colleagues, Burton French of Idaho and Edward Taylor of Colorado, along with Sen. Carl Hayden and Rep. Lewis Douglas of Arizona, stopped by Casa Grande after inspecting the nearby Coolidge Dam site. Their visit coincided with the arrival of Pinkley's new clerk, George Rudy.[336] Cramton saw for himself the crude dwelling that the National Park Service provided Rudy and his wife, Marie. By accounts it was an embarrassment.

For the 1929 fiscal year, the Bureau of the Budget recommended a $30,000 appropriation for protecting national monuments. That figure, Stephen Mather told the House subcommittee, would allow the agency to achieve several important objectives.

A full-time custodian at Montezuma Castle:

> Montezuma Castle is one of the most perfect cliff dwellings of the Southwest and for several years there have been enough visitors to require a full-time custodian for its protection. It is built in a recess in the face of the cliff and if the crowds on busy days are not properly handled, there is apt to be an accident resulting in loss of life.

A new car for Frank Pinkley:

> It is proposed to purchase for the superintendent of the southwestern national monuments a passenger-carrying automobile for his use in visiting the monuments under his control. The superintendent of the southwestern monuments also personally supervises all necessary repair work to prehistoric ruins and is doing wonderful work in preventing these ruins from disintegrating and preserving them for the benefit of future generations.

New employee housing at Casa Grande:

---

[336] "Appropriations Committee Visits Coolidge Damsite-Well Pleased," *Casa Grande Dispatch*, October 14, 1927; "Coolidge," *The Arizona Republic*, October 6, 1927.

> There is a ranger in charge of this monument and there is also a clerk for general correspondence purposes and who keeps records of costs and expenditures for the southwestern monuments. One of these employees has no quarters other than a mere shack and as there are no quarters available in the vicinity a suitable small cottage should be provided.

The subcommittee offered no objections. Louis Cramton, still appalled by George and Marie Rudy's crude residence, wanted assurances that the $30,000 figure left enough for new employee housing at Casa Grande. But Cramton also grasped the larger problem of systemically inadequate funding that plagued Southwestern National Monuments. "Your responsibilities are increasing very rapidly in connection with these monuments," Cramton told Mather and Demaray, "both through the addition of other monuments and the increased use that is being made of them." $30,000, in Cramton's view, was not enough. "If," he asked Mather and Demaray, hypothetically, "you had an additional $5,000, making $35,000, have you any idea what you would do with the money, or what need there would be for it?" Rep. Edward Taylor of Colorado, sitting next to Cramton, wondered if the monuments needed new roads. "No," answered Demaray, thinking quickly. "If we had more money we would want to put in some permanent custodians." The subcommittee obliged.[337] Pinkley, receiving the news at Casa Grande, was delighted. For years he had prodded the Washington office for full-time personnel to protect southwestern archeological monuments, and now he looked forward to placing full-time custodians at Chaco Canyon, Gran Quivira, Tumacácori, and Montezuma Castle. It appeared Congress was ready, at last, to invest in Southwestern National Monuments.

[337] *Interior Department Appropriations Bill, 1929*, 70th Cong., 1st sess., 1100.

CHAPTER 6:

INVESTING IN SOUTHWESTERN NATIONAL MONUMENTS, 1929-1933

During these years, and despite the extreme economic difficulties being experienced all over the country, we made some definite progress in expanding national monuments in the West and Southwest.[338]

~Horace Albright, 1985

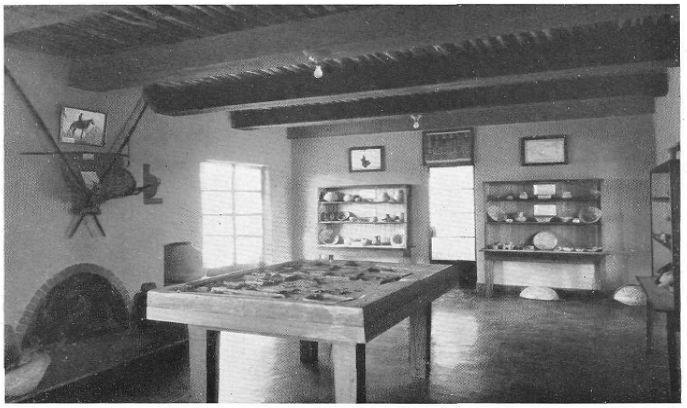


EXHIBIT INSTALLED IN NEW CASA GRANDE MUSEUM
Miniature model of compound in center, and pottery in background.



MUSEUM AT PETRIFIED FOREST NATICNAL MONUMENT
Rear view, showing large petrified log in foreground.

Figure 32. Views of new museum buildings at Casa Grande and Petrified Forest. National Park Service Annual Report, 1932.

[338] Horace M. Albright as told to Robert Cahn, *The Birth of the National Park Service: The Founding Years, 1913-1933* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1985), 275.

Southwestern National Monuments, Fiscal Years 1929-1933

Aztec Ruins · Capulin Mountain · Casa Grande · Chaco Canyon · El Morro · Gran Quivira
Hovenweep · Montezuma Castle · Natural Bridges · Navajo · Pipe Spring · Rainbow Bridge
Tumacácori · Wupatki · Yucca House

Arches (added 1929) · Bandelier (added 1932) · Canyon de Chelly (added 1931)
White Sands (added 1933)

Papago Saguaro (removed 1930) · Petrified Forest (removed 1932)

In July 1928, Frank Pinkley received a set of blueprints from Thomas Vint, the NPS chief landscape architect. The drawings showed plans for a ranger's residence at Casa Grande Ruins. "These were drawn up in the office," Vint explained in a note. "I will plan a trip [to Coolidge] in the latter part of the summer, possibly in October, and I would like to plan a cruise to several of the Monuments at that time if convenient to your regular field trip."[339] From his office in San Francisco, Vint oversaw a team of architects that designed all physical improvements at national parks and national monuments. Neither Vint nor any of his colleagues had ever visited any of the southwestern monuments. Pinkley was more than happy to host a tour. "I am very glad to hear that Mr. Vint may be able to visit some of our monuments this fall and get first hand impressions of our building needs," Pinkley told Frank Kittredge, the National Park Service's chief engineer.[340] At last, Southwestern National Monuments had the attention of the National Park Service's landscape architects and other field headquarters personnel, a sign the agency at last contemplated developing its national monuments up to national park standards.

Thomas Vint's Tour of the Southwestern Monuments

Vint arrived at Coolidge by train in December 1928. He and Pinkley spent the first two days at Casa Grande Ruins inspecting the grounds. Vint praised the adobe administration building that housed the monument's offices and museum; he also made a close inspection of the new adobe ranger's residence under construction. The use of adobe bricks, Vint noted in his report, illustrated "the type of architecture that should be used at this monument." As a southwestern vernacular material, adobe bricks nicely complemented the Great House's 600-year-old caliche construction. For similar reasons, Vint recommended demolishing Pinkley's residence located within the walls of Compound A, where

[339] Vint to Pinkley, June 29, 1928. Administrative Records, Southwestern National Monuments, Archival Records Group 10, Box 2, Folder 10, WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

[340] Supt. Southwestern Monuments to Chief Engineer, October 26, 1928, Administrative Records, Southwestern National Monuments, Archival Records Group 10, Box 2, Folder 10, WACC, Tucson, Arizona.



Figure 33. Panoramic view of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, headquarters of Southwestern National Monuments, around the time Tom Vint, NPS Chief Architect. Photograph by George Boundey, circa 1928. Source: WACC (2089)

it encroached upon the Great House. Vint also "informally discussed with Mr. Pinkley" the possibility of an entirely new administration and museum building supported by storage buildings, an enhanced groundwater system, and enlarged parking facilities.[341] The agency had never contemplated such an intensive building program at a southwestern monument.

The following day, Pinkley and Vint headed south for a quick trip to Tumacácori to discuss the new custodian's residence slated for the 1930 fiscal year. They then proceeded north to Montezuma Castle and on to Petrified Forest, where Vint winced at the monument's unpaved roads and crude wood frame buildings. "Probably no monument," Vint told the Washington office, "is in greater need of physical improvements than Petrified Forest." Pinkley and Vint next drove northeast to Aztec Ruins, where they met Pinkley's longtime righthand man, George Boundey. At Aztec Ruins, Pinkley informed Vint that he hoped the National Park Service might develop "a general scheme of construction there in the next couple of years." From Aztec Ruins the tour proceeded south to Chaco Canyon, where Vint sketched a new administration and museum building like what he imagined at Casa Grande Ruins. "Here the same general type of architecture would prevail," he noted, "but we would take our suggestion from the ruin and use stone walls as against the adobe which is used at Casa

[341] Thomas C. Vint, "Report of Inspection Trip to the Southwestern National Monuments with Supt. Pinkley, December 1928," Administrative Records, Southwestern National Monuments, Archival Records Group 10, Box 4, Folder 32, WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

Grande." From Chaco Canyon, Pinkley and Vint drove south to Gallup, New Mexico where Vint boarded a Santa Fe train and returned to California.[342]

Vint was appalled—but also intrigued—by what he saw in Arizona and New Mexico. The southwestern monuments, he wrote in his inspection report, represented "the one section of the Service that has been backward in development." Vint recommended the entire NPS field headquarters team in San Francisco work together to lift the monuments up to park standards. He advised Frank Kittredge, NPS chief engineer, to arrange for "shaping up, surfacing, and oiling existing roads and constructing adequate parking areas." He asked Harry Hommon, NPS sanitary engineer, to give the monuments heightened attention "because water supply and sanitation facilities" did not meet visitor expectations. Lastly, he advised Ansel Hall, head of the Educational Division at Berkeley, to consider planning museum exhibits and other educational programs at southwestern monuments. None of the work seemed too excessive. "The development needs of all these monuments are small," Vint wrote. They involved "but small buildings" compared to those of the national parks. But the work had to get underway immediately; the lack of improvements at southwestern monuments embarrassed the agency. "I would say," Vint concluded, "that my impression of building needs throughout the Service is that there are no places where a program is more needed than in the Southwestern Monuments."[343]

Thomas Vint's report set in motion a period of unprecedented investment in Southwestern National Monuments. No NPS official, besides Pinkley, had ever given the national monuments such a thorough inspection. Likewise, no NPS official, besides Pinkley, had ever contemplated bringing the monuments up to national park standards. But now Stephen Mather had a report on his desk authored by the agency's chief architect calling for the immediate development of employee housing, offices, museums, and modern utilities on southwestern monument grounds. A year later, in January 1930, Kenneth McCarter and Charles Peterson, junior NPS landscape architects, traveled to Arizona to sketch out ideas for improvements. Under Pinkley's watchful eye, the architects toured the grounds at Casa Grande Ruins, studied its existing buildings, and made preliminary drawings of a new administration building, a new roof covering for the great house, and other smaller improvements; they also noted Pinkley's request for a new superintendent's residence. McCarter and Peterson then visited Tumacácori to inspect the new custodian's residence under construction, followed by a trip to

[342] Thomas C. Vint, "Report of Inspection Trip to the Southwestern National Monuments with Supt. Pinkley, December 1928," Administrative Records, Southwestern National Monuments, Archival Records Group 10, Box 4, Folder 32, WACC, Tucson, Arizona; Supt. Southwestern Monuments to Chief Engineer, October 26, 1928, Administrative Records, Southwestern National Monuments, Archival Records Group 10, Box 2, Folder 10, WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

[343] Thomas C. Vint, "Report of Inspection Trip to the Southwestern National Monuments with Supt. Pinkley, December 1928," Administrative Records, Southwestern National Monuments, Archival Records Group 10, Box 4, Folder 32, WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

Petrified Forest where they imagined a new administration and museum building.[344] Hilding Palmer, who met with McCarter and Peterson at Tumacácori, found the level of attention "gratifying." It indicated, he reported to Pinkley, that "the Service [was] at last appreciating the monuments enough to send some of the 'head men', as the Two Black Crows say, to see how we are getting on and to give us the benefit of their wider experience."[345]

The NPS Landscape Architectural Division's work at southwestern monuments coincided with a period of administrative change at the Washington office. In November 1928, Stephen Mather suffered a stroke that left him paralyzed. In January 1929 he resigned, leaving his former assistant, Horace Albright, to take over as NPS director. Mather left a legacy of national park development but a less-than-stellar record of improving the agency's national monuments. He oversaw the creation of the national monuments appropriation in 1916 and dutifully defended the agency's national monuments estimates each year on Capitol Hill. But beyond that, Mather viewed the national monuments with indifference. They lacked outstanding scenery, and for that reason he found them uninteresting. Horace Albright, contrarily, found "most of them fascinating, especially those in the Indian country, such as Rainbow Bridge, Chaco Canyon, and Navajo."[346] Influenced by Pinkley's haranguing, Albright made it a major objective of his tenure as director to bring national monuments administered by the Department of Agriculture and the War Department under National Park Service control. The Southwestern National Monuments group also enjoyed higher appropriations under Albright's administration, as full-time custodian, ranger, and headquarters staff positions, new building projects, and numerous smaller improvements such as campgrounds, parking lots, and sanitation facilities materialized during the early 1930s. Casa Grande, Petrified Forest, and Aztec Ruins, in particular, reached levels of development that approached standards set by national parks. Under Albright's administration, the National Park Service finally began investing in its southwestern monuments.

Gains and Losses: Hiring Custodians and Staff

July 1, 1928, marked the beginning of the 1929 fiscal year, and with it came four new full-time custodian positions for Southwestern National Monuments. Two of the new hires were easy. Martin Jackson at Montezuma Castle and Doc Smith at Gran Quivira had, for years, dedicated themselves to the protection and development of their monuments on part-time custodian salaries: $10 per month for Jackson and $20 per month for Smith. With their promotions, Jackson received a 1,400% salary increase and Smith a 900% increase. Finding full-time custodians for Chaco Canyon and Tumacácori proved more difficult. Gus Griffin, the part-time custodian at Chaco Canyon, declined to join the

[344] Charles E. Peterson, "Report to Mr. Vint on Casa Grande National Monument," January 1930, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "204, Inspections and Investigations, 1928-30" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[345] Pinkley to Albright, February 10, 1930, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1930.

[346] Horace M. Albright and Marian Albright Schenck, *Creating the National Park Service: The Missing Years* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 51.

National Park Service in a full-time capacity. At Tumacácori, Pinkley had, for nearly a decade, served as the part-time custodian. For both positions, Pinkley preferred experienced NPS personnel who knew the Southwest. He had learned that lesson the hard way at Petrified Forest, where William Cox Buehler, a national parks enthusiast from California, had succeeded William Nelson as full-time custodian in the spring of 1926. Buehler lasted less than two years before returning to California to be with his wife, Anna, who refused to live in Petrified Forest's wood-frame custodian residence during cold winter months. In Buehler's place, Pinkley hired Charles "White Mountain" Smith, an experienced Grand Canyon ranger who knew all about northern Arizona cold winters. Not wanting to repeat the same mistake, Pinkley tapped Hilding Palmer, his ranger at Casa Grande, to fill the new full-time custodian position at Chaco Canyon. Pinkley also made the job seasonal. During Chaco Canyon's quiet winter months, Pinkley brought Palmer back to Casa Grande to handle ranger duties as southern Arizona's busy winter tourism season picked up.[347]

At Tumacácori, Pinkley offered the full-time custodian position to George Rudy, his Southwestern National Monuments clerk. But Rudy had other ideas. Declining the offer, Rudy surprised Pinkley by leaving the National Park Service to accept a job with the U.S. Postal Service at Phoenix. For the Tumacácori custodianship, Pinkley took a chance on a talkative twenty-six-year-old from Sacaton, Arizona named Johnwill Faris. Faris caught Pinkley's eye chatting up parishioners at the Presbyterian Church of Florence. His father, Chester Faris, had worked for many years as an agent with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. By 1928, Johnwill Faris himself had two years of experience working for the Indian Irrigation Department. Pinkley offered Faris the Tumacácori job on the condition he complete a monthlong ranger apprenticeship at Casa Grande. Faris passed with flying colors. He did so well, in fact, that Pinkley kept Faris on indefinitely at Casa Grande, making him the full-time, non-resident custodian of Tumacácori stationed at Casa Grande. Through the summer of 1929, Faris made occasional trips to southern Arizona to check on the mission while handling ranger duties at Casa Grande. Then in September 1929, after only six months on the job, Faris packed his bags for Aztec Ruins to take over the custodian position from George Boundey, who struggled in the role. Boundey happily returned to Arizona to take on the less challenging job at Tumacácori. Johnwill Faris went on to become one of Frank Pinkley's most valuable custodians, a "fixer" who took on difficult assignments and built important community relationships for the National Park Service—first at Aztec Ruins, then at Canyon de Chelly, then lastly at White Sands, where Faris remained for more than two decades before retiring after a long and distinguished NPS career [Bio File: Faris, Johnwill].

[347] Gus Griffin, Chaco Canyon's first part-time custodian, remained at Chaco Canyon and continued operating his trading post near Pueblo Bonito; the Griffin family kept an eye on the monument grounds during winter months while Palmer worked at Casa Grande. See "A Brief History of Chaco Culture National Historical Park," https://www.nps.gov/chcu/learn/upload/Chaco-Brief-History.pdf (accessed August 9, 2025).

Martin Evenstad, Chief Clerk

In January 1929, Pinkley hired Martin Ole Evenstad of Olla, North Dakota, to fill Hilding Palmer's ranger position at Casa Grande. Months later, Evenstad begrudgingly filled the position of headquarters clerk vacated by George Rudy. Evenstad, a graduate of Aaker's Business College in Fargo, preferred ranger duties but had bookkeeping experience [Bio File: Evenstad, Martin]. In May 1929, Pinkley hired C. E. Thomas, a stenographer, to serve as clerk, but Thomas quit after only six weeks on the job.[348] Evenstad again dutifully stepped in as clerk. Wishing to retain Evenstad as his permanent clerk, Pinkley arranged for a salary increase. "We are now trying," Pinkley told Albright, "to change this position to a chief clerkship and put Mr. M. O. Evenstad, who has been pinch hitting on the book-keeping and office work, into it."[349] The Washington office agreed. Pinkley promoted Evenstad to the position of Chief Clerk, Southwestern National Monuments. In March 1930, the Department of the Treasury designated Evenstad a Special Disbursing Agent, making him a procurement officer for the National Park Service. This allowed Evenstad to sign and disperse funds allocated to monuments, including paychecks, from the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters at Casa Grande rather than from Washington.[350] The designation made Southwestern National Monuments an independent fiscal office with a direct accounting function—a classification that proved crucial when Southwestern National Monuments later employed hundreds of CCC enrollees and other New Deal emergency work personnel.

Hilding Palmer, Supervisor of Construction

For the 1930 and 1931 national monuments appropriations, the Washington office requested housing on monument grounds for Pinkley's new custodians and rangers. Congress agreed, and in July 1929 Southwestern National Monuments embarked on a two-year project to build custodian and ranger residences at Montezuma Castle, Tumacácori, Chaco Canyon, and Petrified Forest, along with a new comfort station (restroom facilities) at Casa Grande. Hilding Palmer, the full-time Chaco Canyon custodian who worked at Casa Grande from October to April, became the Southwestern National Monuments "Supervisor of Construction." Palmer went from monument to monument during the fall, winter, and spring seasons of 1929-30 and 1930-31 with a mobile construction crew that included seasonal rangers like Ira Owensby from Petrified Forest. Owensby kept the crew "in good spirits with his Irish wit."[351] Together they built houses and comfort stations according to plans drawn up by architects in Tom Vint's San Francisco offices. Palmer's wife, Daisy, traveled with the crew as the

---

[348] Frank Pinkley to Horace M. Albright, June 3, 1929 [May 1929], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[349] Frank Pinkley to Horace M. Albright, December 3, 1929 [November 1929], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[350] Frank Pinkley to Horace M. Albright, April 10, 1930 [March 1930], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[351] Frank Pinkley to Horace M. Albright, January 6, 1930 [December 1929], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

camp cook.[352] In November 1929, Pinkley reported that Palmer was getting valuable project management experience and becoming well-acquainted with the various monuments.[353] Pinkly later referred to Palmer as "one of the most willing, cheerful, happy men in our Service."[354]

Losing Edna

Just as Southwestern National Monuments began to grow, it lost a key member of the group. Edna Townsley Pinkley died suddenly on the morning of November 13, 1929. Like any other day, Edna arose to prepare breakfast for herself and Frank. Just before 7:00 a.m. she lost consciousness and fell to the floor; she was gone by the time the doctor arrived.[355] The coroner recorded the cause of death as a cerebral hemorrhage, a paralytic stroke. Edna was forty-eight years old.[356] Two days later, Frank, Nancy Margaret, and Addison held Edna's funeral at the Presbyterian Church of Florence; her fellow lodge members of the Order of the Eastern Star conducted the service.[357] She was interred in the Florence Cemetery at a family plot where she and Frank had buried their newborn son Fred twenty-two years earlier.[358]

Southwestern National Monuments clerk Martin Evenstad wired the sad news to the Washington office and prepared a letter for custodians. Horace Albright, "greatly shocked," wired Pinkley immediately to express his sympathies.[359] Charles "White Mountain" Smith, custodian at Petrified Forest, replied with a heartfelt letter. "Believe me," Smith wrote to Pinkley, "it is a real and personal loss to each and every one of us here."[360] The November edition of the NPS *Park Service Bulletin* mourned the loss of "a strong supporter" of the National Park Service. "Mrs. Pinkley was as loyal,

---

[352] Pinkley to Albright, January 6, 1930.

[353] Frank Pinkley to Horace M. Albright, December 3, 1929 [November 1929], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[354] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1935, 4.

[355] *Park Service Bulletin,* no. 48 (November 1929): 1.

[356] Possibly forty-six years old, if the 1883 Louis County birth register for Edna is correct. See her Bio File.

[357] "Dies in Arizona," *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune,* November 13, 1929; "Death Takes Mrs. Edna Pinkley of Casa Grande Ruins," *Casa Grande Dispatch*, November 14, 1929; "Mrs. Edna Pinkley, Casa Grande Poet, Answers Last Call; Was Contributor to Lore of Historic, Indian Ruins," *Tucson Citizen*, November 15, 1929; "Mrs. Edna Pinkley, Authority on Casa Grande Ruins, Dies," *Arizona Republican*, November 15, 1929.

[358] "Mrs. Frank Pinkley Died Very Suddenly," unnamed newspaper clipping, n.d., in "S. S. Townsley Scrapbook, 1887-1941" 38, Series V: Scrapbooks, 1887-1941, Mabel Townsley Papers (MS-158), Mabel K. Richardson Collection, University of South Dakota; digital image, *Digital Library of South Dakota* (https://explore.digitalsd.org/digital/collection/richardson/id/14631/rec/12 : accessed April 1, 2024).

[359] Evenstad to Albright, November 13, 1929, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD; Albright to Pinkley, November 13, 1929, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[360] Smith to Pinkley, November 18, 1929, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06, Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-1931" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

enthusiastic, and hard-working a member of the organization as anyone officially on its rolls." the *Bulletin* noted. "Many members of the Park Service family knew Mrs. Pinkley personally, and to all these she was a very dear friend. All mourn her passing."[361] Further tributes poured in from across Arizona. The *Coolidge News* reported that Edna's death "came as a shock to a wide circle of acquaintances as well as to scores of intimate friends in Coolidge, Florence and Casa Grande."[362] The Coolidge Woman's Club honored her role as a founding member by planting an Italian Cypress tree in her honor.

Frank Pinkley grieved privately for his wife and companion of twenty-three years. The November 1929 Southwestern National Monuments monthly reports made no mention of Edna's passing.[363] Frank also lost an indispensable contributor to the educational and administrative operations of Casa Grande Ruins and Southwestern National Monuments. Edna was a scientific authority on southwestern monuments on par with any of the park naturalists who handled educational and interpretive duties at larger national parks. Her work at Casa Grande Ruins—all of it unpaid—involved acquiring and arranging collections in the monument's museum, authoring interpretive literature, guiding visitors, and handling clerical work. When she died, Edna left unfinished a book on southwestern national monuments set to be published by Stanford University Press. Her death created an enormous administrative hole in the Southwestern National Monuments group.

NPS director Horace Albright made moves to ease Frank Pinkley's administrative burden. The Washington office, for its 1931 fiscal year budget, inserted "an increase of $2,300" to the agency's Museum and Education budget item "to appoint a permanent naturalist for the southwestern monuments." The request puzzled Rep. Louis Cramton. "The national monuments are cared for in one lump sum," Cramton quizzed Albright during the agency's November 1929 appropriations hearing. "I notice the provision with reference to the ruins and so forth and the appointment of a permanent naturalist. Is Mr. Pinkley still in charge of a number of those monuments?" "Yes, sir," explained Albright. "He lost his wife the other day. She died very suddenly...One of the most important additions to the educational items is this assistant to him."[364] Cramton agreed. Effective July 1, 1930, Pinkley had authority to hire a full-time park naturalist.

---

[361] *Park Service Bulletin,* no. 48 (November 1929): 1.

[362] "Sudden Death of Mrs. Pinkley is Shock to Valley," *Coolidge News*, November 16, 1929.

[363] Edna's health had declined steadily through the late 1920s. She had spent the summer of 1928 alone on the Southern California coast recuperating from an unspecified illness, then in December 1928 she suffered from an attack of pleurisy that confined her to her bed. See *Arizona Republican*, August 24, 1928, 4; E. T. Pinkley to George L. Boundey, December 28, 1928, folder "Aztec Ruins, 1923-1932," Box 2, Archival Records of Frank Pinkley, Record Group 34 (ACC 546), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[364] *Message of the President of the United States Transmitting the Budget for the Service of the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1931* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928), 1078.



Figure 34. Edna Townsley Pinkley, circa mid-1920s. Source: Richardson Collection, University of South Dakota.

Museums at Southwestern National Monuments

For a group of archeological sites that yielded treasure troves of artifacts, the southwestern monuments in 1929 possessed grossly inadequate museums. Pinkley himself acknowledged that the museum facilities of Southwestern National Monuments consisted of "more or less makeshift structures."[365] Exhibits constituted "a very important part" of the visitor experience, Thomas Vint wrote in his December 1928 report to the Washington office, and yet Vint could scarcely believe the region's substandard museum facilities. At Casa Grande, he offered faint praise for the group's best museum: an adobe house "not essentially laid out for [museum] purposes" that could "easily be converted into a residence." At Montezuma Castle, Vint saw "some very fine exhibits" on display in a simple stone structure built into the side of an embankment; the building doubled as a store and gas station. At Petrified Forest, Vint disparaged the simple wood-frame museum built by William Nelson in 1924 as a "temporary shack" and an embarrassment. At Aztec Ruins, he found artifacts exhibited inside the ancient Puebloan structure itself, basically underground; at Chaco Canyon, he found artifacts on display in custodian Gus Griffin's private residence. "I think Ansel Hall (chief of the NPS Education Division) should make a trip to these areas," Vint concluded, "as I have seen no place where the museum work is of greater importance."[366]

Frank Pinkley offered a rosier assessment. He rather liked the practice of exhibiting artifacts within the walls of historic buildings and within rooms excavated by archeologists, a curatorial method he developed years earlier at Casa Grande. He also cheered on excavations conducted on monument grounds by external institutions as a source of artifacts and information. At Aztec Ruins, the American Museum of Natural History's 1927 excavations yielded "a nucleus of museum material to the monument." In lieu of a museum building, custodian George Boundey placed several of the artifacts on display "in some of the old ruins." Kerosene lanterns illuminated the dark exhibit spaces, and a wood-burning stove provided heat during winter months. Visitors "found the hushed, dark atmosphere of the rooms intriguing."[367] Elsewhere at Aztec Ruins, Boundey returned artifacts to "their original place," allowing visitors to encounter them in situ.[368] In 1932, he repeated the same methods at Tumacácori, placing a group of Spanish mission-era artifacts in the monument's historic priest's quarters. Boundey, like other custodians, also faithfully adhered to Pinkley's custom of personally guiding visitors through exhibits; Pinkley also preferred artifacts to be exhibited on shelves, unlabeled, and not behind glass. He devoted much of his 1929 annual report to discussing the museum facilities

---

[365] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1930, and the Travel Season, 1930* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930), 179.

[366] Thomas C. Vint, "Report of Inspection Trip to the Southwestern Monuments with Supt. Pinkley, December 1928."

[367] Robert H. Lister and Florence C. Lister, *Aztec Ruins National Monument: Administrative History of an Archeological Preserve* (Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1990), 102.

[368] *Extract From the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, Fiscal Year 1928, Relating to the National Park Service* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928), 4.



Figure 35. Museum conditions were rustic at the southwestern national monuments in the 1920s, as shown by this subterranean entrance to the Puebloan exhibit room at Aztec Ruins National Monument. Source: WACC (02584)

and policies.[369] "Museums," he wrote, "are maintained at the following monuments: Aztec Ruins, Casa Grande, Chaco Canyon, Gran Quivira, Montezuma Castle, and Petrified Forest.

> The artifacts in these museums are, as a rule, not labeled. Instead, the custodian, assisted in some places during the heavy tourist season by temporary rangers or guides, shows the visitors through both the museum and ruins, explaining the various exhibits, and answering the questions asked by the visitor. We consider this method superior to labeling as in many cases the visitor desires specific information on certain exhibits which can only be furnished by a ranger or guide personally conducting the visitor.
>
> In our museums only the most rare and valuable specimens are placed under glass. Most of them are displayed in the open on shelves and tables. In spite of this, the percentage of vandalism or stealing is so small as to be almost negligible. While the visitors are always accompanied by a ranger or guide, in many instances the parties are too large for anyone to keep on the lookout for possible "lifters." A museum of this type has added interest in

[369] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1929, and the Travel Season, 1929* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929), 156-157.

> containing exhibits excavated on the grounds in the immediate vicinity of the museum, as compared to museums where the exhibits are brought in from hundreds and thousands of miles away.
>
> Additions are being made to the museum collections of the various monuments by donations of specimens or artifacts from private persons, and in all cases we have tried to get exhibits that fit in with the culture of the specimens already in the museum, or exhibits which are good for comparison with the others.

Increasing numbers of visitors, however, made new museum facilities an imperative:

> One of the problems confronting us in the near future will be the handling of crowds of visitors in the various ruins, many rooms of which are too small to accommodate more than a small number. This began to be a problem at Casa Grande during the heavy run of last winter. We will eventually have more adequate buildings for museums, and the conducting of visitors through these will not be much of a problem, but the rooms in the ruins must remain as they are as to size. We may have to revise our system of taking care of visitors on heavy days, at least at some of the monuments.
>
> At Aztec Ruins the museum collection is housed in some of the old ruins and in some cases the artifacts are still in their original place. This makes an ideal way of displaying the exhibits if the room is large enough. The collection at Casa Grande is housed in two rooms in a building originally built for ranger's quarters, and the collection can not be properly displayed on account of lack of room. One of the immediate future plans at this monument is the construction of an administration building with several large rooms set aside to house the artifacts in proper cases. At Chaco Canyon, Gran Quivira, and Montezuma Castle the museum collections are housed in the various custodians' residences. Museum buildings or additions will have to be planned in the near future.

Despite makeshift facilities, visitors to the southwestern national monuments reported positive experiences due to the excellent guided service they received from custodians and rangers. To sustain visitor interest, Frank Pinkley also instructed his custodians to keep "the exhibits in continual flux, adding or subtracting and rearranging specimens to adjust to visitors' responses."[370]

---

[370] Lewis, *Museum Curatorship in the National Park Service, 1904-1982*, 13.



Figure 36. Museum conditions improved in the early 1930s, as custodian Johnwill Faris and his wife Dorothy demonstrated in May 1933. Source: NPS History Collection.

Engaging the Washington Office

Horace Albright, as NPS director, visited Arizona and New Mexico often and always made time for inspecting southwestern monuments with Frank Pinkley—a courtesy that Albright's predecessor, Stephen Mather, rarely made. Albright spent the entire summer of 1930 touring western national parks and monuments. On August 19 he arrived in Phoenix to speak before a gathering of government officials and civic leaders at Hotel Adams. Topics included the ongoing development of Petrified Forest, the search for a new "desert national monument" to replace Papago-Saguaro National Monument, and the agency's plans for a new museum and administration building at Casa Grande Ruins. From Phoenix, Albright joined Frank Pinkley and Thomas Vint on an eight-day inspection tour of Casa Grande Ruins, Tonto, Montezuma Castle, Wupatki, Petrified Forest, Chaco Canyon, Aztec Ruins, and El Morro national monuments; Roger Tillotson, superintendent of Grand Canyon National Park, accompanied them on the first leg of the tour through northern Arizona.[371]

En route, Albright and Pinkley met with monument custodians and local officials from across northern Arizona and northern New Mexico. Tillotson drove Albright, Vint, and Pinkley around southern Arizona himself before arranging for a Hunter Clarkson car at Flagstaff. Edgar Rogers, a Hunter Clarkson employee and former ranger-in-charge of Petrified Forest, chauffeured the party in a luxury eight-cylinder Cadillac outfitted for Santa Fe "Indian Detours" trips.[372] Jesse Nusbaum, superintendent of Mesa Verde, acting in his secondary capacity as the Department of the Interior's archeologist, joined the group for inspections of Chaco Canyon, Aztec Ruins, and Mesa Verde. At Chaco Canyon, Albright had the privilege of touring the monument while riding shotgun in Pinkley's 1918 Ford, "the Baby," which Pinkley had reassigned to the field in 1929. Writing from San Francisco after the tour, Albright thanked Pinkley for the arrangements and all the extra personal touches that had made it "one of the most interesting and successful trips" he had ever taken. "Also," he added, "I want to congratulate you again on the work that you and your associates are doing."

> Nowhere in the National Park and Monument system have I seen such a fine spirit of public service, such unselfish devotion to your work and such a spirit of loyalty to you and to the National Park Service. I give you personal credit for all of this because your

[371] Frank Pinkley to Horace M. Albright, September 4, 1930 [August 1930], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[372] Hunter Clarkson, Chief of Transportation for the Fred Harvey Company, inaugurated the Indian Detours tourist program in spring 1926. Based at Santa Fe's La Fonda Hotel, the Indian Detours consisted of excursion packages for passenger-train tourists. Indian Detours drivers (men) and couriers (women) met tourists at train depots and then chauffeured and entertained them in luxury touring cars and buses on single- or multiple-day tours of the "Great Southwest." See: "Splendor and Spectacle: The 100 Year Journey of Grand Canyon National Park," Northern Arizona University, Special Collections and Archives, https://library.nau.edu/speccoll/exhibits/grand-canyon-100/index.php/indian-detours/.

> own spirit and personality has spread throughout your organization and is reflected everywhere in service to the public.[373]

Albright conducted similar southwestern trips in the summers 1931 and 1932. The 1932 tour added national monuments not covered the previous summer: Gran Quivira, Hovenweep, Navajo, Canyon de Chelly, and Rainbow Bridge.[374] In particular, Albright closely studied Natural Bridges, Navajo, and Rainbow Bridge, which the Washington office considered merging with other land acquisitions to create new national parks.

Pinkley and his "outfit" of headquarters staff, custodians, and rangers appreciated the attention paid to Southwestern National Monuments. But with increased attention came increased scrutiny. Under Stephen Mather, the National Park Service, during its early years, entrusted much of its decision-making to park superintendents. The agency's Washington office administrators interacted with Department of the Interior officials and handled appropriations hearings on Capitol Hill; they also prepared public relations materials and other NPS government documents. Everything else happened in western states. Superintendents managed park units with relative autonomy. Architects, engineers, and educational specialists had offices in California. Even park inspections were customarily handled by the Yellowstone superintendent who acted as NPS field director during winter months when Yellowstone became buried under snow. The National Park Service was, in effect, a western agency with a Washington office that performed bureaucratic functions while park superintendents and field headquarters staff managed and developed the agency's parks and monuments.[375]

That changed under Horace Albright. After 1930, agency decision-making became more centralized within the Washington office. The Education Division, led by Ansel Hall from his Berkeley residence, became the first division to migrate west. In 1930, Albright established the Branch of Research and Education and brought in Harold Bryant, director of the Yosemite School of Field Natural History, to serve as assistant director. Wallace Atwood, a geologist, became Bryant's assistant. A year later, Verne Chatelain joined Bryant and Atwood as assistant in charge of historical and archeological activities. Bryant and his assistants, working out of the Washington office, became responsible for organizing and directing "all matters pertaining to the conservation and interpretation of the natural phenomena in the national parks and monuments."[376] Ansel Hall remained in Berkeley to lead the new Field Division of Education and Forestry, with offices and a workshop located in Hilgard Hall at the University of California. Hall and his team continued developing exhibits for park museums, preparing scientific publications, and coordinating park naturalist activities. Pinkley, accustomed to

---

[373] Albright to Pinkley, August 30, 1930, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "0-35, Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

[374] National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service...For Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1932.*

[375] Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 174-175

[376] Harold C. Bryant and Wallace W. Atwood, Jr., *Research and Education in the National Parks* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), 54.

setting his own educational policies for the southwestern monuments, soon discovered the limits of his authority opposite a Washington office more directly engaged in park and monument policies.

A Growing Casa Grande Ruins Headquarters

Like the Washington office, Southwestern National Monuments, headquarters at Casa Grande Ruins, grew dramatically during the early 1930s. In addition to receiving a park naturalist for the 1931 fiscal year, Frank Pinkley added multiple new Casa Grande Ruins rangers. Although not officially assigned to Southwestern National Monuments, the ranger position at Casa Grande Ruins became the training grounds from which Pinkley hand-selected Southwestern National Monuments custodians. Beginning with George Boundey in 1927, many Casa Grande Ruins rangers stepped up to fill custodian positions across the Southwest. Rangers also often found themselves "pinch-hitting" at southwestern monuments to provide guided service during busy seasons or to lend a hand with emergency maintenance tasks. By the early 1930s, Pinkley's outfit at times resembled a game of ranger-and-custodian musical chairs, with personnel constantly promoted and moving from one monument to the next. At the center of the game stood Frank Pinkley. Effective July 1, 1931, the National Park Service relieved Pinkley of his custodianship at Casa Grande Ruins so that he "might have more time to devote to the general supervision of the Southwestern Monuments."[377]

Frank Fish, Hurst Julian, and Alfred Peterson: Casa Grande Ruins Rangers

In May 1930, Pinkley hired 27-year-old Frank Fish from the Civil Service list to fill an open ranger position at Casa Grande Ruins. A year later, Fish became the custodian of Chaco Canyon to replace Hilding Palmer, who took Pinkley's full-time custodian position at Casa Grande. In July 1931, Pinkley hired 33-year-old Hurst Redfearn Julian (1899-1961) to fill Fish's vacant ranger position at Casa Grande Ruins [Bio File: Julian, Hurst].[378] Like Palmer before him, each fall, at the end of Chaco's summer tourist season, Frank Fish returned to Casa Grande to provide ranger support during southern Arizona's busy winter season. During Hilding Palmer's two-month medical leave in 1932, Fish also stepped in to handle acting custodianship duties at Casa Grande. Pinkley preferred having Frank Fish at Casa Grande; in the spring of 1933 he assigned the Chaco Canyon custodian position to Hurst Julian and made Fish a year-round ranger at Casa Grande. While at Casa Grande Ruins, Fish served on the Southwestern National Monuments "Board of Survey" along with ranger Ed Rogers and naturalist Bob Rose. During rare breaks between guided tours, the Board members inventoried and assessed the condition and valuation of all Southwestern National Monuments property and including a chart showing the location of national parks and monuments in the Southwest.[379] Like most

---

[377] *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1931, and the Travel Season, 1931* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929), 85.

[378] Palmer to Pinkley, July 30, 1931, Casa Grande Ruins Monthly Report, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1931.

[379] Frank Pinkley to Horace M. Albright, March 1933, Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.



Figure 37. Ranger Frank Fish, shown at his desk in the Southwestern National Monuments office at headquarters, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, n.d. Circa 1937. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge. Source: WACC (01138)

headquarters staff, Frank Fish also helped mimeograph Southwestern National Monuments monthly reports.[380] Fish remained with Southwestern Monuments until his premature death from complications of the flu in December 1943; prior to his passing he served as custodian of Chiricahua National Monument for more than six years. All the while, Pinkley received occasional help from Alfred Peterson, a temporary Casa Grande ranger who helped chief clerk Martin Evestad keep the books when called upon [Bio File: Peterson, Alfred]. Praised by Pinkley as the "old pinch hitter," Peterson performed ranger duties at southwestern monuments when called upon; he spent most summers working at El Morro.[381]

[380] Frank Pinkley to Horace M. Albright, October 1932, Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[381] Frank Pinkley to Arno B. Cammerer, August 1933, Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

Bob Rose: Assistant Park Naturalist

Frank Pinkley's most significant Southwestern National Monuments hire during the early 1930s was Robert H. "Bob" Rose, who filled the position of Southwestern National Monuments park naturalist [Bio File: Rose, Bob]. Park naturalists fulfilled NPS educational objectives by interpreting scientific knowledge about parks and monuments for visitors. As a prerequisite, they possessed university training in natural sciences; most park naturalists also completed a seven-week summer training program at the Yosemite School of Field Natural History. The naturalist position involved preparing lectures, leading guided hikes, curating museum exhibits, and developing pamphlets and other printed materials to help visitors understand the flora, fauna, and scenery they encountered in national parks and monuments.[382] In June 1930, Pinkley hired Bob Rose as Assistant Park Naturalist from the Civil Service list.[383] Rose had a Stanford University Ph.D. in geology and ranger experience at Yellowstone and Yosemite; he also possessed expert knowledge of mineralogy and petrography. His field experience made him "especially prepared [to lecture] on trees."[384] Ansel Hall, at the Field Division of Education and Forestry in Berkeley, cheered Rose's hire. "With the appointment of Park Naturalist Rose," Hall wrote, "the educational activities in the southwestern monuments are facing certain successful development, and it is recommended that the entire problem of museums in the Southwest be carefully studied."[385]

Frank Pinkley Goes to Washington

In the fall of 1930, Horace Albright called Frank Pinkley and his other western field officers to the Washington office for in-person meetings.[386] Albright deliberately scheduled Pinkley's trip so that it overlapped the agency's annual Interior Department Appropriation Bill subcommittee hearings. Albright wanted Congress to hear about Southwestern National Monuments directly from its superintendent. He asked Pinkley to stay in Washington for at least two weeks, promising to put him up at the Cosmos Club, where archeologist Neil Judd lived. At the Cosmos Club, Albright told Pinkley, he would rub shoulders with "all the archaeologists, anthropologists, ethnologists and every other 'ologist'" in Washington.[387] Pinkley, whose southwestern monuments suffered from chronically

---

[382] Quoted in Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective*, npshistory.com/centennial/1016/index.htm (accessed August 18, 2025)

[383] The "assistant" title denoted a pay grade, not office hierarchy. The Southwestern National Monuments did not have a senior Park Naturalist—Rose was it.

[384] "Service Records of 1930 Ranger Naturalists: Robert Harold Rose," RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, General Records, file "Employment, Service Records of 1930 Ranger Naturalists, 1930 (1 binder)," (Box 114), NARA, College Park, MD.

[385] *Annual Report of the director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior For Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1931* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931), 137.

[386] National Park Service, *Bulletin*, no. 53 (December 1930): 5.

[387] Albright to Pinkley, October 28, 1930, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06 Superintendents and Custodians, 1927-31" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.



Figure 38. Southwestern National Monuments staff in front of headquarters' new museum-administration building, March 1932. Left to right: Frank Pinkley, Hurst Julian, Hilding Palmer, Frank Fish, Martin Evenstad, Robert Rose. Through the early 1930s, Frank Pinkley's headquarters staff at Casa Grande enjoyed a period of stability with little job turnover. Source: NARA (RG 79)

low estimates through the 1920s, had always criticized the appropriations process from afar and never shied from holding the Washington office accountable. Now he would have his day on Capitol Hill to make his own case for funding Southwestern National Monuments. The 1932 fiscal year estimates for the national monuments appropriation, approved by the Bureau of the Budget in early 1930, totaled $85,000, a slight increase over the previous year's figure and nearly double the $46,000 approved by Congress two years earlier.[388] Several improvements contemplated by Thomas Vint in his December 1928 report on southwestern monuments made it into the 1931 and 1932 monuments appropriations. These included a new ranger's residence, a groundwater well, and administration and museum building

[388] *Message of the President of the United States Transmitting the Budget for the Service of the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1930* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928), 743; *Message of the President of the United States Transmitting the Budget for the Service of the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1931* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929), 775; *Message of the President of the United States Transmitting the Budget for the Service of the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1932* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930), 343.

at Petrified Forest; new restroom and wastewater facilities, a groundwater well, and superintendent's residence at Casa Grande; a new custodian's residence at Gran Quivira; and a new restroom and wastewater facilities at Tumacácori.[389] Pinkley appreciated the array of improvements, but disappointments lingered. The Bureau of the Budget had, in early 1930, turned down his estimates for a new administration building and museum at Casa Grande, along with his $10,000 estimate for a new roof over the Great House.[390]

The appropriations hearing got underway on November 14, 1930. When discussions turned to national monuments, Horace Albright provided the subcommittee an outline of estimates and an update on construction projects funded through the previous year's appropriation bill, including a sorrowful story about a failed groundwater project at Chaco Canyon. "We did not get a water supply at Chaco Canyon with the funds that were made available to us in the current appropriation, $2,000," Albright told the subcommittee:

> We sank a well a few hundred feet and struck plenty of water, but it was no good. We could not drink it. It was salty. So they drilled on down to try to strike another stratum which is well known in that section...and we got down 400 feet and could not go any farther with the money available, so the well has been cased and stands there with nothing to show in the way of water. So that project did not work out.

Rep. Louis Cramton, the subcommittee chair, seemed interested in completing the well. "You want to go on farther with it?" he asked Albright. "We ought to," Albright answered. "Is there," Cramton asked, rifling through the 1932 estimates, "money estimated for it here?" "No, sir," answered Arthur Demaray, the NPS operations director. "What would that amount to?" Cramton wondered. Albright turned to Pinkley. "Mr. Pinkley," Albright answered, "says $3,000, to reach the next stratum of sand, which is much deeper than we had expected to go." "$3,000 more?" asked Cramton. "Yes," Albright answered. Rep. Cramton turned to Demaray. "Is it necessary to refer to that specifically in the bill?" "I do not think it is," Demaray answered. Cramton wondered aloud if he could simply add $3,000 to the monuments appropriation and allow Pinkley to expend the funds as he saw fit. Demaray confirmed he could. Cramton had done something similar in December 1927, when he added $5,000 to the Bureau of the Budget's $30,000 monuments appropriation. But now, three years later, Cramton was feeling extra generous.

Under the U.S. Constitution, all appropriations bills originated in the House of Representatives; spending figures assigned by the Bureau of the Budget were advisory. If Cramton wanted to add extra

---

[389] *Interior Department Appropriations Bill, 1931*, 71st Cong., 2nd sess., 1076-1078; *Interior Department Appropriations Bill, 1932*, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., 534-535.

[390] Charles E. Peterson, "Report to Mr. Vint on Casa Grande National Monument," January 1930. RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "204, Inspections and Investigations, 1928-30" (box 571), NARA, College Park, MD.

funding for a well at Chaco Canyon, what was to stop him? With a national economic crisis underway, few members of Congress wanted a reputation for profligate spending. But in November 1930, Rep. Louis Convers Cramton from Michigan's 7th district had nothing to lose. Back home he had already lost his Republican primary to Jesse Walcott. With only four months remaining in his final term in Congress, Cramton decided to take care of his friends in the Department of the Interior and at the National Park Service; most of all he decided to take care of Frank Pinkley.[391]

"I think," Cramton remarked, turning to Pinkley, "the committee would be very glad if you care to supplement the statement of the director as to conditions in connection with those national monuments and their needs, and to what extent Congress is meeting those needs." Pinkley had the floor. It was a key moment in his career. "We certainly thank you, Mr. Chairman," he began, "for allowing us to appear before you and to lay our case on the table, as it were." Pinkley went on to explain that 229,000 tourists visited eighteen southwestern national monuments during the 1929 fiscal year, but Congress gave only 7.2 cents per visitor to the national monuments compared to $1.31 per visitor to the national parks. None of the southwestern monuments (apart from Petrified Forest) required expensive road building projects, but all urgently needed more personnel in the field to protect monuments from vandalism and provide visitors with personal guided service. "We have to take every visitor around and explain in detail our ruin to him," Pinkley told the subcommittee, "and then take him through our museum and explain that in detail; and that requires a great deal more presentation than it would in the geologic places where the visitor can stand and look for himself and education is a secondary matter. With us education is primary."

Cramton seemed satisfied. "Since you are here before the committee and do not come often," he told Pinkley, "I wonder if you are prepared to say to the committee what you regard as the most urgent specific needs of the service under your charge?" Pinkley was prepared. "We need," he responded, "one more permanent and two more temporary rangers at the Petrified Forest, and in our construction needs, we need a cover over the Casa Grande." That was a big ask. "What is your estimate for the cost for that shelter?" Cramton inquired. "The report from the landscape division," Pinkley responded, "is that it will cost about $40,000." Cramton seemed unfazed. "That would be about $40,000," he repeated to himself, penciling in the figure. "Does that complete the list of the urgent needs for the physical improvements?" No, Pinkley responded. There were more. By the end of the hearing,

---

[391] Louis Cramton chaired the Interior Department Appropriations Bill subcommittee from 1923 to 1931. Upon leaving Congress he became special attorney to the Secretary of the Interior. In 1932 the Secretary of the Interior "loaned" his services to the National Park Service, where Cramton wrote a legislative history of Yellowstone National Park in an effort to "to determine what Congress, in initiating the park system, intended the national parks to be, and what policies it expected would govern the administration of the parks." The results included a lengthy seventeen-point policy statement published in the 1932 National Park Service annual report. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1932, and the Travel Season, 1932* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), 7.

Cramton agreed to amend the 1932 national monuments appropriation with an additional $81,260 worth of improvements for Southwestern National Monuments. Besides the well at Chaco Canyon and a new cover over the Great House at Casa Grande Ruins, Cramton added a new $10,000 administration building and museum at Casa Grande Ruins; restrooms and a wastewater system at Montezuma Castle; equipment sheds at Casa Grande, Chaco Canyon, Montezuma Castle, and Tumacácori; salaries for full-time ranger positions at Montezuma Castle, Petrified Forest, and Tumacácori, with $3,000 residences for each; and two temporary rangers at Petrified Forest. The total 1932 national monuments appropriation exceeded $165,000, almost double the $85,000 estimates approved by the Bureau of the Budget.[392]

Back in the San Francisco office, NPS landscape architects went to work making dozens of technical drawings for Southwestern National Monuments: a comfort station, custodian's residence, and a tool shed at Aztec Ruins; an administration building, custodian's residence, two employee residences, a tool shop, parking areas, and bridges over Rio Puerco and Dry Creek at Petrified Forest; and an administration building, comfort station, superintendent's residence, employee's residence, tool shop, and an entrance gateway for Casa Grande Ruins, along with a new shelter for the Great House. Thomas Vint, in his 1931 annual report, happily noted that "very interesting administration buildings were commenced in the Southwestern Monuments at Casa Grande and Petrified Forest, together with residences, comfort stations, and utility buildings." Vint savored the work, which combined elements of building design and landscape architecture. "These monuments in the Southwest," he remarked, "have afforded our first opportunity to develop parks completely—that is, from the standpoint of community planning as well as the detailed plans of the individual buildings themselves."[393]

Developing a Team Spirit

During the early 1930s, the *esprit de corps* that Pinkley always envisioned for Southwestern National Monuments took hold among the custodians, rangers, and headquarters staff. "During my visit to the Southwest last summer," Horace Albright wrote in 1932, "I was tremendously impressed with the high morale of the Park Service personnel, both in the southwestern monuments and in the national parks of the locality."[394] Job satisfaction was high. Full-time work, housing on monument grounds, and steady paychecks amidst the national economic crisis explained, in part, the collective high spirits. But Frank Pinkley himself accounted for much of the *esprit de corps*. As superintendent, Pinkley possessed a rare combination of "kindly humor, depth of perception, human understanding, and ability of expression" that motivated custodians and rangers to achieve high standards of public

---

[392] *Interior Department Appropriations Bill, 1932*, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., 536-548.

[393] *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1931, and the Travel Season, 1931* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930), 130.

[394] *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1932, and the Travel Season, 1932* (Washington: Government Printing Office 1932), 65.

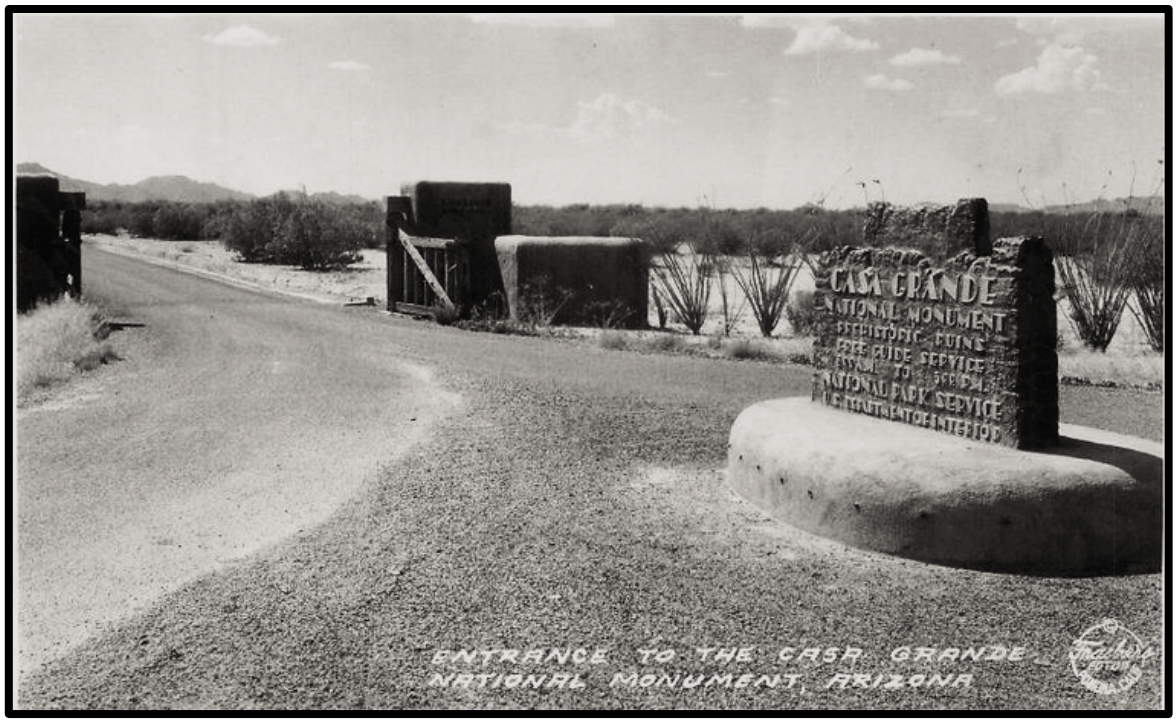




Figure 39. Southwestern National Monuments received a large appropriation in 1932, which covered development at several monuments, including a new entrance gate, picnic area, and ruins shelter roof at Casa Grande. Source: Arizona Memory Project and WACC.

service.[395] Pinkley, as his naturalist Natt Dodge later observed, "not only got the work out of them but made them like it."[396] Team building was a major point of emphasis. In 1924, during his first year as superintendent, Pinkley wrote optimistically about his custodians "developing a team spirit."[397] Forthose who bought in, Southwestern National Monuments became a warm, collegial workplace despite long geographical distances between monuments. Pinkley, during the early 1930s, began referring to his custodians, rangers, and headquarters staff as his "outfit." The outfit, in turn, playfully referred to their superintendent as "Boss" after hearing Navajos in northern Arizona address Pinkley by the term *naat'áanii* (leader, chief, head man, boss-man). Pinkley played along and signed his correspondence as "The Boss."[398] Pinkley, Dodge later quipped, "was [merely] his christened name."[399] Custodians and rangers all referred to him as The Boss.

Thriving in Pinkley's "outfit" meant delivering upbeat and informative personal guided service to visitors; it also meant sending monthly reports to headquarters, finding ways to incrementally improve monuments with limited resources, and annually preparing estimates for improvements. It meant going about the work of a custodian in much the way that Pinkley had, for decades, overseen the affairs of Casa Grande Ruins. No handbook existed on how to care for a remote desert monument. Pinkley's three decades of experience remained the group's best resource. His "deep knowledge and love of the Service" and his willingness to work side-by-side with his custodians commanded respect. Many came to view Pinkley as a mentor and welcomed his annual visits.[400] "He chugged around over the bad roads of those days in a Model 'T' camp car," Dale King later wrote, "making inspections and reports and using his microscopic allotted funds to hire local men to aid him sling mud and build braces in a never-ending fight against the forces of erosion which threatened to destroy his beloved ruins."[401]

---

[395] Natt N. Dodge, "Seven Star Superintendent," *National Parks Magazine* 32 (July-September 1958): 102.

[396] Natt N. Dodge, transcript of Oral History Interview of Natt N. Dodge by S. Herbert Evison, December 11, 1962, with changes and corrections added by Dodge on April 13, 1964, 19, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[397] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1924, and the Travel Season, 1924* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), 148.

[398] According to NPS naturalist Natt Dodge, Navajo speakers in the 1920s first referred to Pinkley as "Natini" (correctly spelled naat'áanii), which in English translates as 'leader', 'chief', or 'boss-man'. See Natt N. Dodge, "Seven Star Superintendent: The Story of Frank 'Boss' Pinkley," *National Parks Magazine* 32 (Jul-Sep 1958): 101-102.

[399] Dodge, transcript of Oral History Interview of Natt N. Dodge by S. Herbert Evison, December 11, 1962, 26-27.

[400] Edwin C. Alberts, transcript of Oral History Interview of Edwin C. Alberts by S. Herbert Evison, September 14, 1962, 8-9, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Projects, 1952-1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[401] Dale King, "Introduction" to Dale S. King, ed., *Arizona's National Monuments* (Santa Fe: Southwestern Monuments Association, 1945), v.

Working under miniscule budgets became the group's point of pride. Albright, who greatly admired Pinkley's ability to motivate his custodians and rangers, praised southwestern monument custodians for "the splendid work being done" despite "totally inadequate finances."[402] Albright also recognized the unpaid and unsung heroes of the outfit—the wives of custodians and rangers who helped to make Southwestern National Monuments a thriving unit. "The result," Albright observed, "is that the personnel—and this includes the many wives who devote hours of their time each day to assisting in Service work—is keenly alert, each trying to get $2 worth of results for every $1 of Federal funds expended.[403]

"Honorary Custodian Without Pay": Gay Rogers and the Southwestern National Monuments Wives

Getting "$2 worth of results for every $1" was not the only two-for-one deal the National Park Service got from Southwestern National Monuments. At most monuments, the agency got two custodians for the price of one by virtue of all the unpaid work handled by custodians' wives. Edna Pinkley set the precedent. For twenty-three years before her death in 1929, Edna worked side by side with Frank Pinkley at Casa Grande. Routinely she handled miscellaneous custodian duties and often stood in as acting custodian when Frank was away on inspection trips. Edna maintained regular correspondence with the Washington office and often prepared Southwestern National Monuments monthly reports. She also led efforts to acquire artifacts for the Casa Grande museum and regularly submitted feature articles about southwestern monuments to Arizona newspapers and periodicals. Encouraged by the reinforcement she received from the Washington office, Edna never hesitated to write directly to Stephen Mather about pressing administrative issues. Ada Jackson at Montezuma Castle, Edna Heaton at Pipe Spring, Georgia Boundey at Aztec Ruins and Tumacácori, and several other wives of custodians followed suit by actively assisting their husbands with monument affairs, much to the delight of agency leaders in the Washington office. "Your friendly attitude toward the men of the Service and their wives," Edna wrote to Mather in 1923, served as "a wonderful incentive toward [loyal] cooperation."[404]

While Mather appreciated the behind-the-scenes loyalty of the National Park Service wives, Frank Pinkley took it a step further, encouraging official recognition—such as uniforms—for the women. During the 1923 design-committee discussions on standardizing uniforms, Pinkley raised the issue of uniforms for wives . "I have never heard anything about uniforms for the women of the National Park Service," he told his colleagues. "I meant to interject this into the discussion at [the 1922] Yosemite

---

[402] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1924, and the Travel Season, 1924* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), 148.

[403] *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1932, and the Travel Season, 1932* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), 65.

[404] Pinkley to Mather, May 23, 1923, RG 73, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, General Records, file "201-01 Administration, Director, 1921-23 (5 files)" (box 73), NARA College Park, MD.

[conference], but just at that moment someone waved a gray shirt in front of Col. White, and when he stopped for breath twenty minutes later the Chairman changed the subject. Let me ask here why the women are not entitled to distinctive uniforms, and service stripes and so on."[405]

As Southwestern National Monuments expanded through the 1920s and 1930s, Pinkley often expressed his admiration for the women of the southwestern monuments outfit, calling them "the finest women" in the National Park Service. "You will go far," he once wrote, "and hunt long before you find a similar number who can match them or even run a close second to them."[406] From experience, Pinkley knew the value of investigating the mettle of spouses of prospective custodians and rangers.[407] As Natt Dodge remembered, the wife proved "just as important as the custodian or the ranger himself. Sometimes that meant that a less-than-ideal candidate for custodian or ranger got the job "primarily because his wife was a good monument 'man'."[408] Monuments were isolated, often located twenty to thirty miles from the nearest town and potentially closed off during winter, with little companionship available. Pinkley needed his custodians to be able to handle the isolation and take initiative when needs arose. He looked for those qualities in spouses as well. Women-led initiatives, such as the 1930s bird-banding efforts of Betty Jackson (Montezuma Castle), the anthropological research of Sallie Brewer (Wupatki), and the free circulating library that Betty Budlong (El Morro) established all received high praise from Pinkley in the Southwestern National Monuments monthly reports.

Headquarters wives were expected to pull their weight. Hurst Julian's wife, Winnie, designed Southwestern National Monuments monthly report covers until Ed Rogers took over in February 1933. Pinkley recalled that Winnie stepped into the role so naturally that he forgot to acknowledge her position as a volunteer: "I told her to draw the stencil for the cover of this report thus and so, and had calmly taken it from her and run the 70 copies of this issue before it occurred to me to say 'I thank you'. Just between us," Pinkley confided to Albright, "if these women whose names never appear on the pay roll ever walk out on us, this southwestern monuments machine is likely to fall apart in about 60 days."[409]

In 1932, the unofficial yet invaluable role played by the custodians' wives earned an apropos title: "Honorary Custodian Without Pay" or HCWP. The jaunty title and accompanying acronym emerged in Frijoles Canyon, New Mexico—likely the product of Gay Rogers's quick wit. The wife of Bandelier's custodian Gay found herself in sole charge of the isolated monument for nearly a month in

---

[405] R. Bryce Workman, "Ironing Out the Wrinkles, 1920-1932," *National Park Service Uniform Series*, no. 3 (1995): 19.

[406] Frank Pinkley, "Ruminations: About the finest women I know," July 1939,

[407] Dodge, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 24-25.

[408] Ibid, 25.

[409] Frank Pinkley to Horace M. Albright, December 1932, Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

summer 1932. Her father-in-law lay on his deathbed in Malvern, Arkansas, and her husband—custodian Edgar "Ed" Rogers—left Bandelier in her care to attend his father's bedside. Ed and Gay (née Cook) Rogers were newlyweds, married for just over a year at the time [Bio File: Cook, Gay]. They spent the first year of marriage at Montezuma Castle before settling into the leaky old Forest Service cabin in Bandelier's Frijoles Canyon in June 1932, weeks before Ed departed for Arkansas. A true "lone post" among the southwestern monuments, Bandelier possessed no modern facilities or improvements to speak of. It had just transferred from the Forest Service into the National Park Service, making Ed Rogers its first NPS custodian.

With characteristic aplomb, Gay Rogers capably managed Bandelier National Monument from July 18 to August 13. During that period, she DIY'ed the monument's first guest register, guided visitors who hiked the steep descent into the canyon, entertained agency personnel, and hired a laborer to clear a tree-blocked trail. She delighted in writing Bandelier's monthly reports for July and August and dutifully sent them to Frank Pinkley on time. He, in turn, reprinted her communication verbatim in the July issue of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, for Horace Albright to read. "Dear Boss," Gay's report began:

> I am going to pass along all the gossip I know and you can pick out the high spots and put them into the report.
>
> I was a little surprised when I added the visitors for the month to find that we had 1018. Mr. Richey and Ed talked as though arranging a temporary register was a very serious thing and might take an act of Congress to get it done. I took some cardboard and made a back to fit the sheets, fastened them on with a rubber band and so far no one has objected to signing it. It has its advantages because it is so light and portable.
>
> [...]
>
> The visitors express regret that we do not have a road into the Canyon. I have inquired of the parties that have registered and find that in almost every party there was one or more who did not come down. ...
>
> I am sending a request for a check to be sent to James Waters for one days[sic] work. ...if I am taking in entirely too much territory up here I am sorry.
>
> I am having a lot of fun with Ed's job. No one hired me, I am not being paid and so I can't very easily be fired. I meet the visitors at the foot of the trail and explain to them that this is a National Monument and why there is no ranger on hand and offer my services.[410]

Gay's witty reports and impressive shouldering of duties delighted the Washington office. In a personal letter to Gay, Albright praised her finely-written reports and skillful management of Bandelier.

---

[410] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1932, 1-3.

The first printed use of the title "Honorary Custodian Without Pay" and its acronym, "HCWP," emerged in the next month's Southwestern National Monuments report, in the Bandelier section co-written by Ed and Gay Rogers. In the issue, the couple intermittently referred to Gay as "(The Honorary Custodian Without Pay)," or "(the H.C.W.P.)," while Pinkley remarked that Gay may have "given up the keys of office" but still held "the position of Honorary Custodian Without Pay."[411] Almost all Southwestern National Monuments wives, beginning with Edna Pinkley, had, from time-to-time, handled custodian duties—such as submitting monthly reports—on behalf of their custodian-husbands; and yet an honorary title had never emerged. Gay likely referred to herself with the catchy title during Pinkley's summer inspection visit. Isabelle Story, NPS Chief Editor, accompanied Pinkley on his 1932 summer inspections. Story likely heard Gay use the title and ran with it. Unquestionably, Gay Rogers was the first of the Southwestern National Monuments custodians' wives to sport the title, at least in print. In the September 1932 issue of the NPS *Bulletin*, Story praised the capable ad hoc custodianship of "the Honorary Custodian Without Pay," declaring a "New Standard Set At Bandelier!"[412]

After Gay Rogers, the moniker "Honorary Custodian Without Pay" or "HCWP" became widely used in reference to the wives of custodians or rangers stationed at "lone post" southwestern monuments. In November 1932, at the Interior appropriations hearing on Capitol Hill, Albright introduced the HCWP concept in his acknowledgement of Southwestern National Monuments men and women:

> I visited many of these monuments this last summer—There is a wonderful spirit among our people, a pioneer spirit, if you choose, which gives them fun in making something out of nothing in the way of living conditions. A man and his wife running a monument and taking care of several hundred visitors a month, the wife working every day as long as the husband as honorary custodians without pay—H. C. W. P.
>
> After I went through New Mexico and Arizona and saw a dozen of these places with men and women both working and the fine things that were being said about their work, I was extremely proud of our people.
>
> Mr. TAYLOR. Were they maintaining something like a boarding house or restaurant?
>
> Mr. ALBRIGHT. No; they were just guiding the visitors and giving out information.
>
> Mr. TAYLOR. They do not get anything for it except a tip?
>
> Mr. ALBRIGHT. No tips. We do not permit any tips.[413]

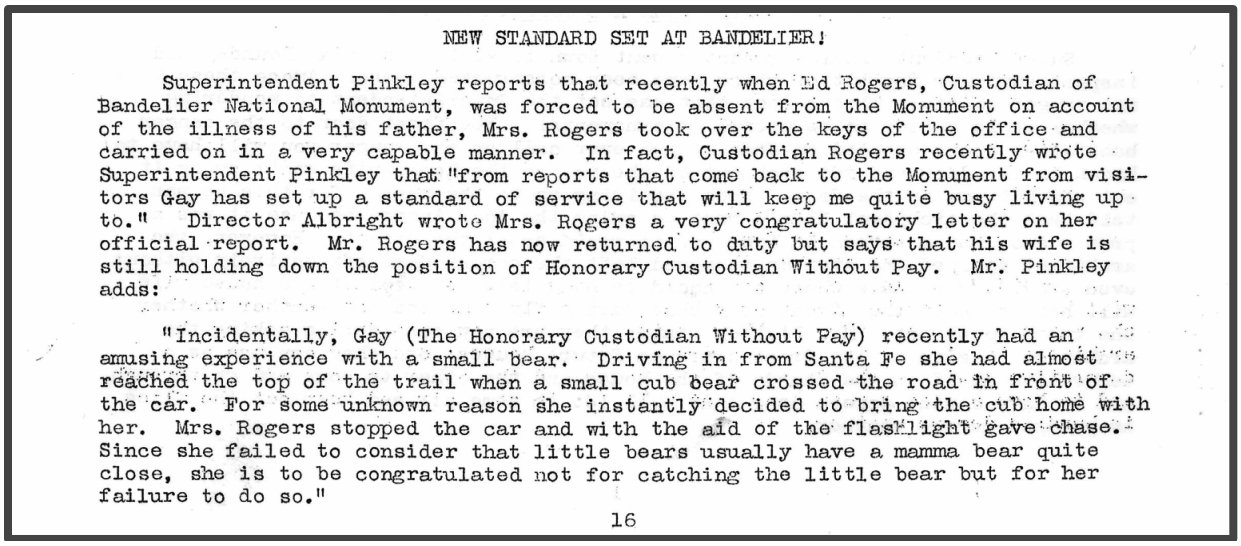
The notion of the custodians' wives choosing to work without pay or tips may have confused Congress, but the title of "Honorary Custodian Without Pay" became a point of pride in the

---

[411] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1932, 4.

[412] National Park Service, *Park Service Bulletin* 2, no. 7 (Sept. 1932): 16.

[413] *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1934*, 72nd Cong., 2nd sess., 211-212.



NEW STANDARD SET AT BANDELIER!

Superintendent Pinkley reports that recently when Ed Rogers, Custodian of Bandelier National Monument, was forced to be absent from the Monument on account of the illness of his father, Mrs. Rogers took over the keys of the office and carried on in a very capable manner. In fact, Custodian Rogers recently wrote Superintendent Pinkley that "from reports that come back to the Monument from visitors Gay has set up a standard of service that will keep me quite busy living up to." Director Albright wrote Mrs. Rogers a very congratulatory letter on her official report. Mr. Rogers has now returned to duty but says that his wife is still holding down the position of Honorary Custodian Without Pay. Mr. Pinkley adds:

"Incidentally, Gay (The Honorary Custodian Without Pay) recently had an amusing experience with a small bear. Driving in from Santa Fe she had almost reached the top of the trail when a small cub bear crossed the road in front of the car. For some unknown reason she instantly decided to bring the cub home with her. Mrs. Rogers stopped the car and with the aid of the flashlight gave chase. Since she failed to consider that little bears usually have a mamma bear quite close, she is to be congratulated not for catching the little bear but for her failure to do so."

16

Figure 40. First printed instance of the title "Honorary Custodian Without Pay" in an NPS (Washington office) publication. Park Service Bulletin (September 1932).

Southwest. It soon took on variations. The wife of rangers, for example, became referred to as Honorary *Rangers* Without Pay. Daughters of custodians—like Gus Griffin's stepdaughters, Patsy and Jean Griffin, who often volunteered at Chaco Canyon—became Honorary *Assistants* Without Pay. Outside observers marveled at the concept. "H.C.W.P's," *Arizona Daily Star* editors told readers in 1940, stands for "honorary custodians without pay—meaning wives—who apparently have a tendency to be more a partner in the job than is common in other walks of life [and] this is particularly true of those couples who are stationed at the lone post monuments."[414]

Verne Chatelain's Trip to Santa Fe—and Suggestions of a Move

In late November 1931, Verne Chatelain, the NPS chief historian, left Washington D.C. for a tour of western parks and monuments. As the National Park Service's first chief historian, Chatelain's role involved developing a history education program for the agency.[415] In less than three months on the job he had already prepared interpretive plans for Colonial and George Washington Birthplace national monuments. He also hoped the National Park Service might "do something with the Santa Fe Trail and Oregon Trail—in the west—as it has with the Colonial National Monument in the east." Chatelain arrived in Santa Fe in early December. He was received by Jesse Nusbaum, the former superintendent of Mesa Verde National Park. Nusbaum, now the director of the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, remained friendly with his former NPS colleagues. With Nusbaum, Chatelain toured the new Laboratory of Anthropology campus and visited the Puye cliff dwellings at the nearby Santa Clara Pueblo. "I am," Chatelain reported to Albright, "much impressed with Puye

[414] *Arizona Daily Star*, "Service Holds Trouble Clinic," February 3, 1940.

[415] Meringolo, *Museums, Monuments, and National Parks* (2012), 99.

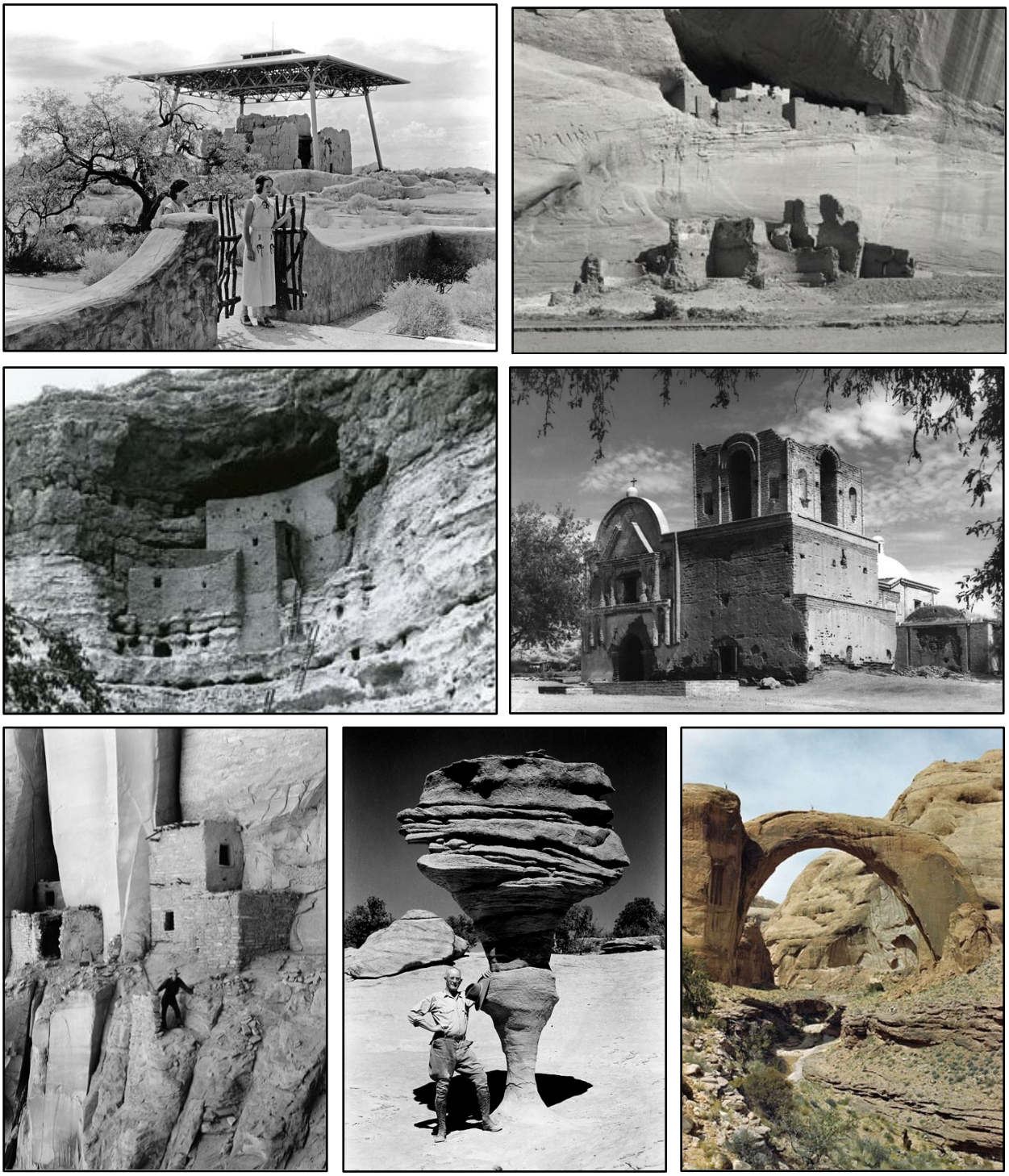


Figure 41. After 1928, the National Park Service also invested in Southwestern National Monuments by sending NPS photographer George Grant to the Southwest. Upper left, Nancy Margaret Pinkley at Casa Grande Ruins with the new cover on the Great House, 1934. Upper left, Nancy Margaret Pinkley at Casa Grande Ruins with the new cover on the Great House, 1934. Upper right, Canyon de Chelly, 1932. Middle left, Montezuma Castle, 1929. Middle right, the Tumacácori mission, 1929. Lower left, Navajo, 1935. Lower middle, Zeke Johnson at Natural Bridges, 1935. Lower right, Natt Dodge and Eivind Scoyend on Rainbow Bridge, 1946. National Park Service photographs.

which, with the ruins at Bandelier (the Frijoles), should make one of our best monuments, both when measured from the standpoint of archeology and location."

Chatelain and Nusbaum also discussed NPS operations in the Southwest at length. The conversation soon turned to "the general question of administrative organization of the Southwestern Monuments." Chatelain had visited Southwestern National Monuments headquarters at Casa Grande Ruins and toured several of the northern Arizona and New Mexico monuments with Frank Pinkley and Nusbaum in August 1931. Candidly, Chatelain openly questioned why the agency kept its Southwestern National Monuments headquarters at Casa Grande Ruins. "We [Chatelain and Nusbaum] both felt that Superintendent Pinkley is doing splendidly, but that no one man can cover adequately the large range of territory which his duties require." The solution, in Chatelain's mind, involved moving Pinkley and the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters to Santa Fe. "It might be wise," he told Albright, "to move the superintendency of the Southwestern Monuments to Santa Fe or Albuquerque with an assistant superintendent possibly at Coolidge." Such a move would better suit the archeological and historical programs of the National Park Service which tended "to concentrate more in New Mexico than Arizona." It would also bring the agency's work "in closer liaison with the archeological, museums and laboratory activities in the southwest, which are centered at Santa Fe." Lastly—and most importantly to Chatelain—moving the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters to Santa Fe would "make comparatively easy the organization of certain historical activities around the Santa Fe trail."[416] Chatelain, with comparatively little experience working in the Southwest, decided the future of Southwestern National Monuments belonged in Santa Fe.

Back in the Washington office, Arthur Demaray, NPS senior assistant director, loved the idea. "I see no obstacles in the way of establishing Mr. Pinkley's headquarters at Santa Fe where in my opinion, as Superintendent of all Southwestern Monuments, he ought to be located." Demaray imagined Pinkley taking up office space in the Santa Fe federal building or perhaps at the Laboratory of Anthropology alongside Nusbaum. Martin Evenstad, Southwestern National Monuments chief clerk, might also move to Santa Fe—so might Bob Rose, park naturalist. Pinkley could transfer one of his custodians to Bandelier and bring over a ranger from Petrified Forest. "Pinkley," Demaray concluded, "should realize what an opportunity this affords the Park Service."[417]

Arno Cammerer, NPS associate director, had his doubts. "I am not keen for it," he confessed. Cammerer thought Southwestern National Monuments might "take a subordinate position in Santa

---

[416] Nusbaum, according to Chatelain, stated that "Pinkley is a good man but there just isn't enough of him." Chatelain to Albright, January 28, 1932, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066), NARA, College Park, MD.

[417] Demaray to Albright, February 3, 1932, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066), NARA, College Park, MD.

Fe" to the Laboratory of Anthropology and preferred "staying and expanding where we are" at Casa Grande Ruins.[418] Albright nevertheless fired off a letter to Pinkley summarizing Demaray's ideas. Albright also sent a copy to Nusbaum at Santa Fe. Nusbaum responded less than enthusiastically. "Mr. Pinkley," he told Albright, "has been so intimately associated with the Arizona country for so long a period of years that he may not be favorable to a change of headquarters." Nusbaum also reminded Albright that Pinkley, headquartered in Arizona, served the National Park Service as "a very valuable public relations man." Removing him from Arizona would mean losing all the promotional value he provided the agency.[419] Pinkley, for his part, seems to have remained silent on the issue; there is no indication he responded to Albright's letter at all.

Bob Rose and His Museum Ideas

Bob Rose, appointed assistant park naturalist in June 1931, spent his first summer at Petrified Forest, where he processed a collection of fossils and developed a three-mile nature trail. In the late summer, Frank Pinkley led Rose on a weeklong tour of Aztec Ruins, Chaco Canyon, and Mesa Verde. Pinkley wanted his new naturalist to begin thinking more broadly about interpretive and educational possibilities at archeological sites; he also wanted to demonstrate what Jesse Nusbaum and his colleagues at Mesa Verde had accomplished with much higher budgets. At Aztec Ruins and Chaco Canyon, Rose made "a general survey of the many ruins" and carefully observed "the methods in educational service used by the personnel." At Mesa Verde he spent an afternoon "studying the organization of exhibit materials in the Park Museum" before touring the cliff dwellings. Mesa Verde had a well-funded program with a new museum; Aztec Ruins and Chaco Canyon did not. Their custodians, Johnwell Faris and Frank Fish, faithfully provided visitors with personal guided service but neither monument had dedicated exhibit spaces. Aztec Ruins had a collection of artifacts on display within the pueblo itself. At Chaco Canyon, Rose found no artifacts at all. The National Geographic Society had, in the previous decade, shipped most of Neil Judd's findings to the National Museum in Washington. Museum officials agreed to loan the artifacts back to Chaco Canyon once the National Park Service built a suitable museum facility.

Another problem with Aztec Ruins and Chaco Canyon, in Rose's view, involved the visitor entrances. Approaching from the ground and touring the pueblos from room to room, visitors did not "at once sense the thrill" of the sites in the same way they marveled at Mesa Verde's cliff dwellings from the rim of Fewkes Canyon. Rose also feared that Puebloan masonry walls, recently excavated, did not, on their own, "drive home the point in the minds of our visitors that these places were once inhabited by <u>real human beings</u>." To remedy that problem, Rose imagined scale models of the sites on display in new monument museums. The models would exhibit "the entire pueblo layout as it was at the time these

[418] Cammerer to Albright, February 5, 1932, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066), NARA, College Park, MD.

[419] Nusbaum to Albright, April 1, 1932, folder RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066), NARA, College Park, MD.

people occupied it," offering a spatial but also historical frame of reference. More ambitiously, Rose suggested restoring one or more of the excavated rooms at Aztec Ruins and at Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon to conditions approximating their original eleventh-century appearances. Within the restored rooms he envisioned "life size figures representing these ancient people going about their tasks in daily life." The restored rooms would function as extensions of the museums.[420]

Aztec Ruins and Chaco Canyon also required immediate preservation treatment, as moisture threatened to disintegrate recently excavated masonry. Earl Morris' methods of capping walls and plugging holes with cement to withstand seepage at Aztec Ruins showed promising results; similar cement treatment at Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon also appeared "skillfully done." But 500 feet to the west of Pueblo Bonito, the meandering Chaco Wash threatened Pueblo del Arroyo. The stream required urgent stabilization. Elsewhere at Chaco Canyon, Rose found sloppier cement work that "did not strictly carry out the design of the original." Cement repairs, he decided, should "harmonize with the original" patterns of construction, but also appear distinctly modern to distinguish concrete reinforcements from Ancestral Puebloan masonry.[421]

Rose concluded his inspection report to the Washington office with "a few general points which apply to educational work in the Southwestern National Monuments."[422]

1. The mental attitude of our national monuments visitors does not need molding before the educational angle can be presented. They step out of their cars completely filled with curiosity and almost demand an explanation of the "How, Why and the When" of the particular feature which they are visiting. Mental attitude for the presentation of the educational angle could not be better.

2. Someone, ranger or ranger-naturalist, should always be on hand when the visitor enters the door of our museums. The spirit of the National Park Service cannot be better displayed than through extending a personal

[420] Robert H. Rose, "Aztec Ruins National Monument" and "Chaco Canyon National Monument," September 20, 1931, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "840 Educational Activities and Methods, pt.1" (box 573), NARA, College Park, MD.

[421] "Superintendent Pinkley," Rose observed, "thinks this is especially important in that it will prevent some hopeful archeologist of the future from making 'startling discoveries' amid the repair work of 1920-1931." Robert H. Rose, "Aztec Ruins National Monument" and "Chaco Canyon National Monument," September 20, 1931, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "840 Educational Activities and Methods, pt.1" (box 573), NARA, College Park, MD.

[422] Robert H. Rose, "Aztec Ruins National Monument" and "Chaco Canyon National Monument," September 20, 1931, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "840 Educational Activities and Methods, pt.1" (box 573), NARA, College Park, MD.

greeting to visitors as they are about to become our guests. This plan is followed in the national monuments thus far visited by the writer. Each and every visitor has a chance to see the exhibits whether alone or with a party.

3. Each of the museums in the national monuments should have good pictures of the other national monuments and maps showing the connecting roads clearly. By boosting the whole unit a particular unit is also boosted.

4. The writer hopes to begin a short monthly publication very soon corresponding to Nature Notes published by many of the national parks. We certainly have enough variety in the Southwestern National Monuments for such publication and the material would be interesting to our circulation. In fact there is probably less generally known about our national monuments than about any of the greater national parks.

Robert H. Rose,
Assn't. Park Naturalist,
S'western National Monuments

To a remarkable degree, the ideas that Bob Rose presented in 1931 successfully predicted much of the interpretive and educational work accomplished at southwestern national monuments during the 1930s under New Deal relief agencies. Pueblo walls became reinforced with concrete; new museums complete with scale models of monuments, life-size figures of historical characters, and varieties of scientific exhibits went up; and crews at Aztec Ruins restored the pueblo's kiva to its twelfth-century appearance.

The Epitaph—and Tension

Rose's final idea, a short monthly publication modeled after *Nature Notes*, earned Frank Pinkley's immediate approval. Nine years earlier, Pinkley had experimented with a newsletter for park superintendents called *The Epitaph*, but the Washington office persuaded him to discontinue it, fearing other park superintendents might want to follow suit and print their own newsletters without agency oversight. But by 1931, naturalists at Yosemite, Yellowstone, Glacier, and other national parks routinely published editions of *Nature Notes*. Rose decided Southwestern National Monuments should follow suit. His idea, broached in early winter 1931, occasioned a rebirth of *The Epitaph* with Pinkley and Rose as editors and monument custodians as regular contributors. *The Epitaph*, like *Nature Notes*, contained popular scientific articles accompanied by homespun illustrations drawn by HPWP Winnie Julian, the wife of Casa Grande Ruins ranger Hurst Julian. But whereas *Nature Notes* maintained a strictly professional tone, *The Epitaph* featured editorials by Frank Pinkley written in his

customary lighthearted style. Even the name, "Epitaph," played on the public's common misunderstanding of "national monuments" as national gravestones. "Be sure of one thing," Pinkley told readers of the first issue, "you can't get half as much fun out of reading it as we have had out of getting it together and putting it out." Pinkley added a special request for his readers in the Washington office. "We hope this first effort of the Southwestern Monuments will be judged in a lenient mood and that we may have your sympathetic support."[423]

Pinkley received no sympathetic support from Washington. After the fourth edition, mailed in April 1932, Harold Bryant, chief of the NPS Branch of Research and Education, grew weary of Pinkley's writing style. "Attention is called," Bryant wrote to Pinkley, to the April number which contains, on page 57, items using such phrases as 'you folks,' 'this stuff,' 'dumb choice,' 'the gang,' and, on the wrapper, 'compliments of the outfit,' without quotes to show the use of slang."

> These expressions may give the flavor of the West to your publication, but they certainly do not add dignity to a government publication. If you desire a standing with scientists and educators, care must be taken to avoid this type of presentation. The general public can be interested fully as well by the use of simple words and thus the support of all can be maintained.[424]

Pinkley responded by stepping away from *The Epitaph* and leaving it entirely to Bob Rose. Pinkley would either write in his authentic voice or not contribute at all. "My theories of an Educational Department," he told Albright, "are so opposed to those set forth by Dr. Bryant that I will, of course, sever my connections with the Epitaph to avoid embarrassing him and his men." Pinkley went on to question the purpose of newsletters such as *Nature Notes* and *The Epitaph*. They were, he suggested, intended to pique readers' curiosity about plant life, wildlife, and archeological and geological wonders at national parks and monuments. "Publicity is the very core of [the newsletters'] existence," Pinkley told Albright.[425] Bryant was fooling himself if he considered *Nature Notes* and *The Epitaph* serious scientific scholarship. Pinkley also felt stung by Bryant's suggestion that he had no "standing" among scientists and educators. A generation of Arizona scientists and educators had made Casa Grande Ruins tours part of their high school and college curriculum. "Personally," Pinkley fired back, "having swapped tobacco and lies with a good many scientists and educators who have worked in the Southwest in the last 30 years, I am prepared to admit that most of them are about as human as the rest

---

[423] Frank Pinkley, "Forward," *The Epitaph* 1, no. 1 (January 1932): 1-2.

[424] Frank Pinkley, "His Own Epitaph," RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06 Superintendents and Custodians, 1931-47" (box 2066), NARA, College Park, MD.

[425] Pinkley to Albright, June 6, 1932, RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06 Superintendents and Custodians, 1931-47" (box 2066), NARA, College Park, MD.

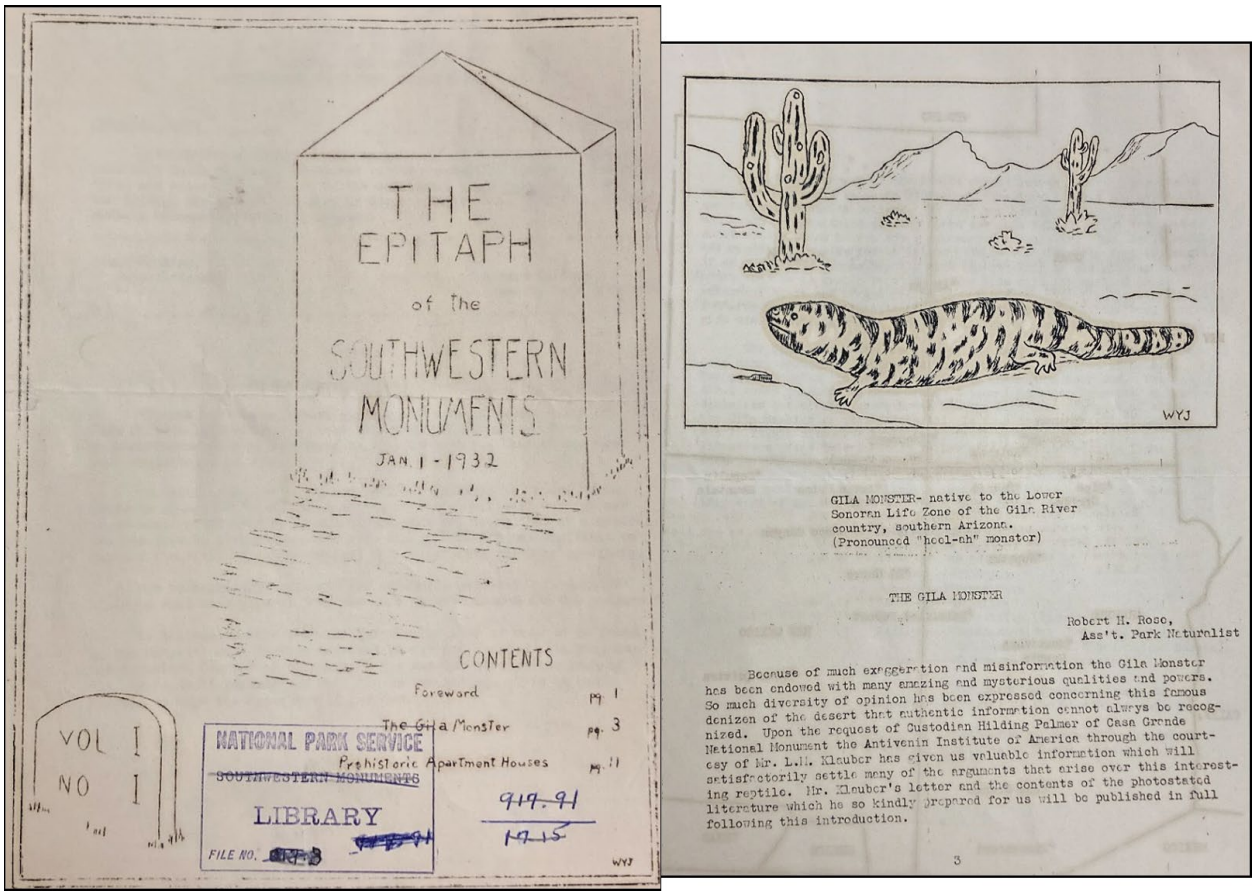

THE
EPITAPH
of the
SOUTHWESTERN
MONUMENTS
JAN 1 - 1932
CONTENTS
Foreward pg 1
The Gila Monster pg 3
Prehistoric Apartment Houses pg 11
VOL I
NO 1
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
SOUTHWESTERN MONUMENTS
LIBRARY
FILE NO.
917.91
WYJ
WYJ
GILA MONSTER- native to the Lower Sonoran Life Zone of the Gila River country, southern Arizona. (Pronounced "heel-ah" monster)
THE GILA MONSTER
Robert H. Rose,
Ass't. Park Naturalist
Because of much exaggeration and misinformation the Gila Monster has been endowed with many amazing and mysterious qualities and powers. So much diversity of opinion has been expressed concerning this famous denizen of the desert that authentic information cannot always be recognized. Upon the request of Custodian Hilding Palmer of Casa Grande National Monument the Antivenin Institute of America through the courtesy of Mr. L.M. Klauber has given us valuable information which will satisfactorily settle many of the arguments that arise over this interesting reptile. Mr. Klauber's letter and the contents of the photostated literature which he so kindly prepared for us will be published in full following this introduction.
3

Figure 42. The first issue of The Epitaph, mailed to subscribers in January 1932, featured Bob Rose's article on Gila monsters, illustrations by Winnie Julian, and some good-natured humor.

of us and I don't greatly desire a standing with any of them if I have to be other that my natural self to obtain it."[426]

The incident marked a low point in the relationship between Pinkley's Southwestern National Monuments headquarters and Albright's Washington office. A decade earlier, Stephen Mather had promoted Pinkley with the idea of "passing the problems from the various monuments up to a local man who would be in touch with the local conditions."[427] Given the freedom to welcome visitors to southwestern monuments as he wished, Pinkley opted for a humorous-but-informational approach. "Science to some people is a terribly serious thing," Pinkley told readers of the March 1932 edition of *The Epitaph*. "To us, the sciences with which we are dealing are intensely interesting; we believe we can

[426] Frank Pinkley, "His Own Epitaph," RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06 Superintendents and Custodians, 1931-47" (box 2066), NARA, College Park, MD.

[427] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1924, and the Travel Season, 1924* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), 148.

make them so to you; and we don't see that it hurts a scientific statement to smile a little when you put it over."[428] But Harold Bryant at the Washington office wanted no smiling.[429]

The National Park Service now had a Branch of Research and Education in its Washington office, and its chief, Harold Bryant, had no patience for Pinkley's chucklesome tone. Albright, furious with Pinkley for stepping away from *The Epitaph*, stood by his branch chief in a scathing letter. "I am a little out of patience with this attitude which is so different from any you have previously taken," Albright told Pinkley.

> I have always figured you as a good soldier who knew how to follow orders and was willing to take the decisions of his superiors without question once those decisions have been made...Remember that Doctor Bryant's letter of May 12 prescribed the Service point of view and a policy which covers the range of similar publications and your Epitaph is not singled out as any exception made because you do not agree with your superiors as to the objectives or the manner of obtaining that object...You and our other superintendents are filling your jobs and holding them solely because of your ability to interpret and apply Service, Departmental and Government rules and policies and to follow instructions from headquarters. For you to step into the ring and wave the red flag of perversity is so unusual, and I might say uncalled for in this instance, that I decided to write you about it personally instead of following my first impulse and letting the letter go unanswered."[430]

In the margins of his draft, Albright angrily scrawled "Frank Pinkley has this coming to him." That was the end of *The Epitaph*. No further issues appeared after April 1932. It was also the end of the Washington office's hands-off approach to southwestern monuments. In 1923, Stephen Mather had turned the monuments over to Pinkley because his colleagues had neither the time nor interest in handling monument affairs. Under Albright, the National Park Service *did* have the time and interest, and Pinkley soon found his folksy ranger-guided approach to interpretation and education at southwestern monuments in the crosshairs of the Branch of Research and Education.

Carl Russell's Tour, and More Tension

In March 1932, the National Park Service's field naturalist, Dr. Carl Russell, journeyed to Arizona to visit Pinkley and Bob Rose and inspect the new museums at Casa Grande and Petrified Forest. Russell was the agency's museum expert. A longtime park naturalist at Yosemite, he had helped to establish

---

[428] Frank Pinkley, "Editorially Speaking," *The Epitaph* 1, no. 3 (March 1932): 31.

[429] Ironically, the humorous and informal tone of Frank Pinkley's *Epitaph* editorials bears much resemblance to the National Park Service's humorous social media posts a century later.

[430] Albright to Pinkley, June 9, 1932. RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06 Superintendents and Custodians, 1931-47" (box 2066), NARA, College Park, MD.

the Yosemite museum during its formative years and studied museum curatorship under Hermon Bumpus, director of the American Museum of Natural History.[431] In 1929 he went to work for Ansel Hall at the NPS Education Division at Berkeley. Russell's duties involved traveling from park to park to inspect museums and help prepare exhibits as needed. His reports to the Washington office justified higher congressional appropriations for museums and other educational programs at national parks. His visit marked a milestone for Southwestern National Monuments. Just as Tom Vint's 1928 tour signaled the agency's new commitment to building housing, museums, and other facilities at southwestern monuments, Russell's visit signaled its commitment to investing in interpretive programs—an area that Frank Pinkley had, for nine years, handled all on his own.

Russell was delighted with what he saw in Arizona. The Casa Grande museum, he noted in his inspection report, "could hardly be improved upon for facilities, arrangement and finish." Its anthropological and archeological exhibits seemed "as interesting and valuable as any in the National Park Service." Two hundred miles to the north, at Petrified Forest, Russell praised the "rare and beautiful Navajo rugs" that custodian Charles White Mountain Smith hung from the walls of the museum's central room. The rug specimens, drawn from Smith's private collection, complemented state-of-the-art display cases containing "rich examples of polished petrified wood" and made Petrified Forest's central exhibit room "one of the most handsome rooms in any national park museum." Both museums benefitted from strong leadership. Smith and Pinkley, Russell observed, showed "a most intimate understanding" of the artifacts on display. "Superintendent Pinkley," he concluded, "has for many years worked toward the ends that are now taking shape and I admire his ideals and methods."

Russell also had concerns. A small exhibit space off the main Casa Grande Ruins museum room contained "poorly organized archaeological material." Its exhibits sat in "plain cases of pine" built "without doors or glass" to protect artifacts from theft. That pointed to a larger problem: Pinkley still insisted on guided tours and ranger-led question-and-answer sessions in opposition to the agency's preference for self-guided tours and labeled exhibits. "Present practice," Russell reported, "brings museum parties to these exhibits after they have been escorted through [the] Great House.

> A guide always accompanies each museum party and details are explained by word of mouth rather than by labels. The key labels which now accompany the exhibits serve to standardize the remarks of the guides and probably induce questions. Until adequate cases with glass can be provided it will be impossible to invite groups into the museum except when they are accompanied by a guide.

[431] In 1935 Russell transferred from Berkeley to the Washington office to lead the new NPS Museum Division. In 1947 he returned to California to serve as superintendent of Yosemite National Park. See John W. Bingaman, *Guardians of the Yosemite: A Story of the First Rangers* (National Park Service: Yosemite National Park, 1961).



Figure 43. Charles Smith at the new Petrified Forest museum, March 1932. Source: National Park Service

Russell praised Pinkley's longstanding policy of personally escorting visitors through the Great House, but he wondered if exhibits developed at the Field Division of Education's Berkeley workshops might provide visitors with a better frame of reference for viewing the Great House. "It is unquestionably most important," Russell observed, "to present this great feature of the monument to groups within the very walls of the ruin but it occurs to me that it will be well worth while to prepare models, diagrams and drawings that will give further information on the objectives of its builders and the methods of their work." Echoing Bryant's distaste for Pinkley's editorials in *The Epitaph*, Russell did not like folksy ranger-led discussions of artifacts sitting on open shelves. Taking cues from the American Museum and other large eastern institutions, Russell preferred labeling exhibits to create "open learning situations" where visitors moved freely through exhibits at their own pace.[432] "It is my impression," he concluded, "that adequate provision for Casa Grande Museum cases should be made at once. When they are available I should advocate [for] the preparation of labels for all objects

[432] Lewis, *Museum Curatorship in the National Park Service, 1904-1982*, 13-14.

on exhibit and it would follow that museum visitors might then be given access to the exhibit rooms unaccompanied by a guide."[433]

Pinkley bristled at the recommendation. He had, for more than three decades at Casa Grande, honed curatorial techniques that suited the southwestern monuments' makeshift exhibit spaces and anthropological themes. Guided tours of museums, ranger-led question-and-answer sessions, and artifacts displayed on open shelves provided, in his mind, the best complement to outdoor tours of archeological sites. Pinkley took offense to Russell's criticism of his "poorly organized archaeological material" at Casa Grande; he also scoffed at Russell's praise for Petrified Forest's "plate glass and bronze museum cases." Russell's inspection report, Pinkley caustically told Albright, "won't be read by more than a couple of dozen people anyway…so no real harm done." The real harm was to Pinkley's pride, as Russell's report seemed to refute the curatorial techniques Pinkley held dear. "Plate glass and bronze do not make a museum," Pinkley told Albright.

> Nor are artistic arrangements necessary to put over archaeological stuff. Nor does the stuff have to be highly organized with four or five types and kinds of labels for us to handle it in our own peculiar style of exhibition. I am not saying these things are not nice to have if you have the money to spend for them, but if you have the proper artifacts and a man who can explain them you have a museum; all you need to make the thing complete is some visitors. Party after party will go into that room full of poorly organized archaeological material with one of our men and stay for twenty minutes to half an hour listening to what he has to say about the stuff: I am willing to take on a small wager that nobody connected with the Park Service can so rearrange and organize the material as to keep those same parties in there more than fifty percent as long without an attendant but with as many glass and bronze cases as he can crowd into the room.[434]

Despite Pinkley's misgivings, the NPS Field Division of Education increasingly devoted time and attention to Southwestern National Monument through 1932 and 1933. A. E. Borell, a ranger-naturalist at Yosemite, visited Casa Grande and Petrified Forest during the fall of 1932. At both museums, Borell discovered that the "major features" of the monuments—the Great House and petrified wood specimens—had reached "such a stage of advancement" that it seemed "wise" for Southwestern National Monuments to pay greater curatorial attention "to the splendid opportunities that present themselves in natural history."[435] This presented a rare instance where everyone agreed.

---

[433] C. P. Russell, "A Report on the Casa Grande and Petrified Forest Museums, March, 1932," National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center Archive, Park Historic Reference Files, CAGR, HCFA 000111.

[434] Frank Pinkley, "We Are Moved To Remark," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1933.

[435] Rose to Albright, November 29, 1932, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "840 Educational Activities and Methods, pt.1" (box 573), NARA, College Park, MD.

Pinkley had worried that the Petrified Forest museum might miss out on valuable interpretive opportunities if it focused on petrified wood specimens exclusively. "What I fear," he told Horace Albright in April 1932, "is that we may shoot too low and stop with an attempt at a geological museum only at the Petrified Forest which would be overlooking a lot of mighty interesting material and would certainly not be giving the visitor a full 100% service."[436]

The Washington office agreed. "To our mind," wrote H. C. Bryant in response, "we cannot take too broad a view of our educational program. The "graver danger" involved "taking too narrow a view."[437] Exhibits addressing regional flora, fauna, and other scientific phenomena deserved their place in southwestern monument museums. Bob Rose subsequently began working on exhibits featuring desert birds, mammals, reptiles, and insects mounted alongside local botanical specimens to complement existing geological and archeological exhibits. Carl Russell made a return visit to Arizona in April 1933 and joined Rose on a more extensive tour of the southwestern monuments. The pair revisited Casa Grande Ruins and Petrified Forest but also inspected thirteen national monuments not visited during Russell's previous trip to assess overall educational possibilities.

Lacking in exhibit space and curatorial resources, Southwestern National Monuments, Russell observed in his 1933 inspection report, benefitted from rangers and custodians who provided excellent educational services. The unit, Russell noted, possessed "a very efficient organization of guides and ranger-naturalists" who guided visitors through makeshift museum spaces and led lively discussions about artifacts on display. "Leadership is notable, and the general morale of the group is excellent." Many of the monuments, Russell believed, warranted new museums. Tumacácori, "because of its strategic location and unique features of its story" deserved "first consideration of budgeting for future park service museums." Montezuma Castle likewise possessed "outstanding" possibilities. "It is important that the museum needs for this monument," Russell noted, "be kept in mind by the Director and action taken to provide needed facilities very soon." At Chaco Canyon, Russell envisioned "a major museum development" and foresaw Pinkley taking steps "to secure the return of enough material [from the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe and numerous eastern museums] to provide a completely representative collection." Bandelier also needed artifacts returned from the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe. "I am of the opinion," Russell wrote, "that a Bandelier museum of archaeology, geology, and biology should be included among the first building projects planned for the Southwestern Monuments."[438]

---

[436] Pinkley to Albright, April 29, 1932, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "840 Educational Activities and Methods, pt.1" (box 573), NARA, College Park, MD.

[437] H. C. Bryant to Frank Pinkley, May 13, 1932, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "840 Educational Activities and Methods, pt.1" (box 573), NARA, College Park, MD.

[438] RG 79, Central Files, 1907-39, Casa Grande National Monument, file "204-10 Inspections and Investigations, By Field Officers, Carl P. Russell, 1933" (box 2066), NARA, College Park, MD.

The Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report

The Epitaph, which died a quick death in the spring of 1932, quietly made its return that fall in the form of a longer, more information-rich, and more editorialized Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report. The change happened incrementally. As the 1933 fiscal year got underway in July 1932, the monthly report appeared just as it always had—a thirteen-page reprinting of individual monument reports, followed by Frank Pinkley's brief "In General" concluding remarks. But the August 1932 report offered something new. Pinkley included the late-arriving Petrified Forest and El Morro reports as an appendix he called the "Supplement." Within the Supplement, Pinkley also added a two-page item called "The Monthly News Sheet: Dealing With Persons and Events rather than Monuments." It included several wry anecdotes and teasing comments. Here readers learned that "the Boss" visited the dentist and had seven teeth pulled. "*Fortunately they were all back teeth so their loss does not mar his peculiar style of beauty*." Elsewhere at headquarters, the mimeograph machine malfunctioned one day and a colleague overheard Pinkley using a string of four-letter words. "*However I cannot say he taught me any new ones.*" At Aztec Ruins, "reliable people" praised Dorothy Faris as a better tour guide than her husband, Johnwill. "*Keep her off the monument, Johnwill; if these women get too good we men are likely to be doing housework in the near future.*"[439] Pinkley could not help himself; his reports had to be fun. The Washington office this time offered no objections. The Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report was not *The Epitaph* and no one mistook it for a government publication intended for scientists and educators. In the pages of the monthly report, Pinkley had autonomy to write whatever he wanted, and he took advantage of it.

The following month's Supplement included a section called "Dealing with persons and general news." Here Pinkley resumed his editorializing. He did not hold back and authored one of the most memorable missives of his career. Pinkley accused members of his Southwestern National Monuments "outfit" of "getting soft" while economic depression prevailed across the United States:

> Not so very long ago we were delivering a mighty fine brand of service on what now looks to our enlarged eyesight like a microscopic appropriation. In all this rushing and roaring around and growing into a bigger organization, let us watch carefully that the Park Service Spirit—the spirit of service—doesn't evaporate. There was a time when visitors were so few that we treated them almost as personal guests and that still holds good at some of our monuments... However big and complicated our organization may grow, if we can't remember that it is all built on the visitor and see that he gets the same old type of service; then we are growing downward and not upward. We are not going to get much money this year and next, and it is probably a good thing for we will have a breathing spell from all these roads and houses and worrying about whether we are going to have all the material comforts of life this year or will the Heavens fall. We will

[439] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1932, 19.

> have some spare time to do some thinking on the real foundation of this whole structure—the visitor and service.
>
> After all, the pioneer stage is the really interesting stage. We look back on it afterward as great fun even if it did have its inconveniences and leaky roofs. And from such a viewpoint we can't get highly excited about the sad situation of a fellow who can't have the hot water piped into his bathroom this year on account of lack of funds. The poor goof is lucky to have a job which has a house which has a bathroom to pipe hot water to. If you have any doubt about this, go outside and try to duplicate your present salary, quarters, retirement, etc. in the merry world of business. That will be an eye opener to the fellow who is fussing because his old bath fixtures are nickel plated and the latest thing in bath fixtures is chromium.[440]

Horace Albright enjoyed Pinkley's editorial so much that he forwarded it to all superintendents, custodians, and field officials across the entire National Park Service. Many park superintendents, including E. T. Scoyen of Glacier National Park, in turn forwarded it to their rangers, naturalists, and other park employees. Almost the entire National Park Service read Pinkley's "getting soft" editorial. "As most of the men in Glacier do not know Mr. Pinkley," Scoyen explained to his personnel, "I would like to state that he is a real 'Old Timer' in the National Park Service... If anyone is able to speak on the 'pioneer spirit' of the National Park Service, it is Mr. Pinkley."[441]

The Southwestern National Monuments monthly report continued evolving. The October and November 1932 reports featured illustrated covers drawn by NPS engineer Ed Nickel, who arrived at Casa Grande Ruins in October 1932 to inspect construction of the new roof over the Great House. Winnie Julian reprised her role as *The Epitaph* cover artist by illustrating the December 1932 monthly report cover and a subsequent issue; Edgar Rogers at Bandelier then took over in February 1933. The October 1932 Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, no fewer than thirty-nine pages in length, featured long reports of summer inspections made by Frank Pinkley and Bob Rose. Rose's report included a philosophical discussion of how NPS museums should differ from academic museums by focusing on storytelling; the piece drew effusive praise from Harold Bryant in the Washington office who confirmed Rose's distinctions between NPS museums and academic museums as "exactly right."[442]

The Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report supplement became longer with each passing month. By December 1933, it had a revised subtitle: "Dealing With Persons, General News & Shop Talk."

---

[440] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1932, 30-31.

[441] Scoyen to Park Force, October 31, 1932. RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, General Records, file "201-01 Administration, Stephen T. Mather, 1929-32" (box 70), NARA, College Park, MD.

[442] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, November 1932, F.

Four months later it became "Interesting things which don't quite fit into the regular report." These included an anthropological article on "Casa Grande Sun-Holes" by Ed Rogers—just the sort of article that would have appeared in *The Epitaph* a year earlier.[443] In May 1933, the Supplement achieved new levels of literary variety. Subtitled "Dealing with Interesting Facts About Persons and Things," it included a scientific discussion of waterproofing 800-year-old pueblo walls with a substance called PeneTex manufactured by Truscon Co., a poem dedicated to Hurst Julian at Chaco Canyon, and a variety of stray thoughts offered by Frank Pinkley, the beginnings of what later became a regular Supplement feature called "Ruminations."[444]

The Washington office's praise and affirmation for the expanded Southwestern National Monuments monthly report signaled a thawing of whatever tension accumulated between Pinkley's Southwestern National Monuments and Harold Bryant's Branch of Research and Education. The two men eventually buried the hatchet with a productive conversation at the 1932 superintendents conference at Hot Springs, Arkansas. Bryant acknowledged that he walked away from the conversation "impressed" with Pinkley's "thorough interest in educational matters" and the "fine way" in which Pinkley had developed the Southwestern National Monuments' educational program. "I am looking forward to the time," Bryant told Pinkley, "when more money will be available so that [visitors] may take better advantage of the splendid educational opportunities to be found in the Southwestern Monuments."[445] Neither Bryant nor Pinkley realized how much money lay just over the horizon.

[443] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, March 1933, A-E.

[444] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1933, A-H.

[445] Bryant to Pinkley, May 6, 1932, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, General Records, file "840 Educational Activities and Methods, General, 1931-32" (box 573), NARA, College Park, MD.

CHAPTER 7:

A NEW DEAL FOR SOUTHWESTERN NATIONAL MONUMENTS, 1934-1937

The depression actually aided monument development by the alphabetical agencies that have put men and money to work so that today master plans are some 10 years ahead of normal development."

~ Pauline Tovrea, 1939[446]



Figure 44. CCC enrollees roofing a building at Bandelier. Source: National Park Service, "The Civilian Conservation Corps at Bandelier."

[446] Pauline Tovrea, "Supt. Frank Pinkley Entitled to Seven Gold Stars," *Coolidge Examiner*, June 22, 1939. Pauline "Polly" Tovrea was the wife of J. H. Tovrea, Southwestern National Monuments Assistant Engineer. As a writer, Polly Tovrea helped generate publicity for the Southwestern National Monuments group by authoring feature stories for publication in the *Tucson Star* and other southwestern newspapers.

Southwestern National Monuments, Fiscal Years 1934-1937

Arches · Aztec Ruins · Bandelier · Canyon de Chelly · Capulin Mountain · Casa Grande Ruins
Chaco Canyon · El Morro · Gran Quivira · Hovenweep · Montezuma Castle · Natural Bridges
Navajo · Pipe Spring · Rainbow Bridge · Tumacácori · White Sands · Wupatki · Yucca House

Chiricahua (added 1935) · Gila Cliff Dwellings (added 1935) · Saguaro (added 1935)
Sunset Crater (added 1935) · Tonto (added 1935) · Walnut Canyon (added 1935)
Organ Pipe Cactus (added 1937)

The inauguration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in March 1933 marked the beginning of a New Deal for the United States and a new era for Southwestern National Monuments. Two weeks after taking office, Roosevelt presented to Congress his vision for the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), a work relief program dedicated to "forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control, and similar projects" on public lands.[447] Days later, Congress passed the Emergency Conservation Work Act, bringing the CCC to life. A quarter-million unemployed Americans enrolled. Four cabinet-level departments administered the program. The Department of Labor recruited workers (called CCC enrollees), the War Department built CCC camps, and the Agriculture and Interior departments supplied CCC projects at national parks and monuments, national forests, and other federal lands. To help him set ECW policy, Roosevelt appointed an advisory council. Horace Albright, who resigned from the National Park Service in August 1933, represented the Department of the Interior on the council. By the end of 1933, no fewer than seventy CCC camps appeared on the grounds of national parks and monuments.[448] Southwestern National Monuments was a major beneficiary.

Work Relief Programs at Southwestern National Monuments

With their warm winter temperatures allowing for year-round work, the national monuments of the Southwest became favored CCC project sites. In April 1933, Frank Pinkley, acting on the advice of Walter Atwell, the NPS field engineer assigned to Southwestern National Monuments, requested a CCC camp at Bandelier to build trails. Edgar Rogers, the seasonal ranger-in-charge at Bandelier,

---

[447] Alison T. Otis, William D. Honey, Thomas C. Hogg, and Kimberly K Lakin, *The Forest Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942* (Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, 1986), 6. Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) was the official name for the public-works program created by the Act of March 31, 1933. When President Roosevelt presented his ECW program to Congress, he used the name "Civilian Conservation Corps" to describe the ECW worker-relief program. This name "caught on and supplanted the official title," even though there was "no statutory CCC until June 28, 1937, when it was created by act of Congress." See John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967), Chapter 2, fn. 1.

[448] *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1933* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933) 156-157.

suggested a far more ambitious project consistent with national park development: an entrance road into Frijoles Canyon, administrative buildings, housing, and miles of new trails and fire suppression. The National Park Service, which had always imagined Bandelier as a national park, happily agreed. Camp NM-1-N at Bandelier National Monument became operational in November 1933.[449] Enrollees went to work on an entrance road suitable for hauling construction equipment down the steep decline into Frijoles Canyon. In June 1934, a second CCC camp, Tucson's SP-6-A, State Parks, transferred to Chiricahua National Monument and became Camp NM-2-A; its enrollees divided their time between NPS projects at Chiricahua and U.S. Forest Service projects at nearby Coronado National Forest. CCC enrollees went to work on trails, telephone lines, roads, and parking facilities at Chiricahua in the summer of 1934.[450] Among all the southwestern monuments, Bandelier and Chiricahua—both substantially undeveloped at the outset of the 1934 fiscal year—experienced the most marked change during the New Deal years. Within eight years, both monuments had facilities that compared favorably with any of the national parks.

Other federal work relief programs sprang to life during the spring, summer, and fall of 1933. In May 1933, Roosevelt unveiled the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) under the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932. Six months later, Roosevelt set up the Civil Works Administration (CWA) under FERA to combat high unemployment during the winter of 1933-34. With their benign winter temperatures, southwestern monuments played a major role in the short-lived seasonal CWA program. Frank Pinkley described the CWA as a "siege" of workers who provided a "vast amount of labor" during the winter of 1933-34.[451] CWA workers built a parking lot and improved "the general appearances of the premises" at Aztec Ruins; widened the new CCC entrance road at Bandelier; built trails and roads at Capulin Mountain; prepared a contour map of Canyon de Chelly; improved the drainage system and installed telephone lines at Casa Grande Ruins; reinforced walls and repaired roads at Chaco Canyon; fenced-in 240 acres, installed a new gate, cattle guard and erosion control structures, and carved stone steps up to the cliff-top archeological site at El Morro;[452] graded roads and parking lots at Gran Quivira; built concrete curbs and roads at Montezuma Castle; established new trails at Navajo; improved roads and installed fences and cattle guards at Pipe Spring; and surveyed a highway, graded a parking lot, and built comfort stations at White Sands. Additionally, the CWA organized an Archeological Reconnaissance group that repaired artifacts and indexed the museum collection at Aztec Ruins, conducted scientific surveys at Arches, made measured drawings of ruins at Bandelier, installed drainage systems at Chaco Canyon, and conducted archeological excavations and recovered artifacts at Montezuma Castle, Wupatki, and Walnut Canyon.

---

[449] Laura Soullière Harrison, Randall Copeland, and Roger Buck, *Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico: Historic Structure Report, CCC Buildings* (Denver: National Park Service, 1988), 11-14.

[450] Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1934, 5-8.

[451] Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1934, 8-11.

[452] "New Buildings at El Morro Park Are Considered," *Albuquerque Journal*, June 20, 1934, 3.

In June 1933, Roosevelt signed the National Industrial Recovery Act and directed the Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, to organize the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, better known as the Public Works Administration (PWA). Unlike the CWA, which put unskilled laborers to work on smaller tasks, the PWA contracted with construction firms to build large projects. For Southwestern National Monuments, the PWA funded a new museum and administration building at Aztec Ruins; a naturalist's residence at Casa Grande Ruins; a boundary fence at Chaco Canyon; a garage, tool shed, wastewater system, and trails at Montezuma Castle; a gateway and parking area at Tumacácori; and a residence, garage, and groundwater and wastewater systems at Canyon de Chelly. Smaller PWA jobs brought to completion unfinished CWA work at Aztec Ruins, Capulin Mountain, and Gran Quivira.[453] The first wave of PWA funding was, like the CWA, short-lived. But the CCC continued steadily at southwestern monuments through the decade. Bandelier and Chiricahua claimed the two largest CCC projects, but Casa Grande Ruins and other monuments also hosted smaller camps. In 1936, the CCC's Division of Grazing sent two dozen enrollees to Pipe Spring to perform cleanup work, plant native shrubs, trees, and grasses, and improve the monument's drainage systems and roads. In 1936-37, skilled woodworkers from Camp NM-1-N at Bandelier arrived at Tumacácori to carve wooden signs, doors, and furniture based on examples from the San Ignacio mission church in Sonora, Mexico. Pinkley in 1937 observed with deep appreciation that the CCC "made possible many fine improvements" at multiple national monuments, pushing development schedules "years ahead of what could have been expected with normal regular appropriations."[454]

Administrative Growth

The New Deal transformed the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters at Casa Grande Ruins into a nerve center for southwestern emergency work relief. Looking ahead to the 1934 fiscal year, Pinkley, in early 1933, had expected to disperse $60,000 of allotments across nineteen national monuments. Almost overnight, $160,000 flooded in with corresponding piles of vouchers, purchase orders, and other government paperwork associated with work relief projects at southwestern monuments. The office was overwhelmed. Pinkley, on one occasion, found himself feeling "tormented by the possibility of a post office fire" while addressing five hundred paychecks to CCC enrollees.[455] Amidst all the upheaval, a major surprise—and an even heavier workload—greeted Southwestern National Monuments in June 1933 when President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 6166, transferring twenty-six national monuments—eleven from the War Department and fifteen from the Department of Agriculture—to the National Park Service. On July 1, 1934, at the outset of the 1935 fiscal year, Chiricahua, Saguaro, Sunset Crater, Tonto, Walnut Canyon, and Gila Cliff Dwellings all became added to the Southwestern National Monuments roster. "New problems, or perhaps I should

[453] Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1934, 11-12; Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1935, 9; Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1936, 12.

[454] Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1937, 40.

[455] "Supt. Frank Pinkley Entitled to Seven Gold Stars," *Coolidge Examiner*, June 22, 1939.

say more old ones of the same kind, will be facing us with the addition of six new monuments," Pinkley reported to his outfit in April 1934.[456] To keep up, Pinkley's headquarters staff had to grow.

Hugh Miller, Chief Clerk

Not foreseeing the increased workload, the Washington office and the Bureau of the Budget authorized no new positions for Southwestern National Monuments for the 1935 fiscal year. Fortunately, Pinkley still had two unfilled positions authorized for the 1934 fiscal year: a custodian at Bandelier and a junior park naturalist at headquarters. In August 1933, Pinkley promoted Edgar Rogers [bio file: Rogers, Ed] from seasonal ranger-in-charge of Bandelier to permanent resident custodian. To fill the ranger position vacated by Rogers, Pinkley transferred his chief clerk, Martin Evenstad, to Tumacácori. Evenstad at last donned the park-ranger hat he had expected to wear when he arrived at Casa Grande Ruins in 1929. At headquarters, Pinkley brought in Hugh M. Miller, chief clerk at Wind Cave National Park, to replace Evenstad [Bio File: Miller, Hugh]. Born and raised in Nebraska, Miller had entered the National Park Service as a stenographer in 1931 after his employer, Blue Valley Mercantile Co. Wholesale Grocers, filed for bankruptcy. In the summer of 1932, Miller wisely joined a group of five stenographers who traveled to Yellowstone to receive training on the new NPS accounting system. The training qualified Miller for the position of chief clerk at Wind Cave, and a year later he transferred to Southwestern National Monuments. "Hugh Miller just came in and hung up his hat and went to work without any fuss and feathers," Pinkley observed in the September 1933 monthly report. "He has the whole book-keeping system eating out of his hand right now."[457]

During the winter of 1933-34, when CCC and CWA workers began arriving at Bandelier and other southwestern monuments, the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters office consisted of three permanent employees: Frank Pinkley, Bob Rose, and Hugh Miller. Frank Fish, the Casa Grande Ruins ranger, helped out at headquarters as needed. Pinkley also had a temporary clerical assistant, Margaret Brown, sister of Petrified Forest HCWP Dama Smith, on hand at headquarters. Brown handled the brunt of the CCC and CWA paperwork through the winter of 1933-34. Most of it consisted of processing vouchers and reimbursements to cover the costs of CWA materials. In December 1933, she was joined by Gay Cook Rogers who went to work at headquarters as temporary "Payroll and Personnel clerk."[458] New federal purchasing regulations required government employees to obtain three competitive bids for all goods and services. The regulations and accompanying paperwork caused much griping among monument custodians. Hugh Miller, a no-nonsense World War I veteran, helped set the record straight. In the December 1933 monthly report, Miller reminded custodians that the Civil Works program offered "an opportunity to get many things done that might otherwise have been postponed for years." The "slight inconvenience" of competitive bid regulations forced them "spend the allotted funds in a business-like way" and reduce the risk of embarrassment

[456] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1934, 35.

[457] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, September 1933, J.

[458] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, December 1933, L.



Figure 45. Hugh Miller, Southwestern National Monuments clerk (1934-36) and assistant superintendent (1937-1940), at his desk at headquarters, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, n.d. Source: WACC (01140)

should "a voucher covering a purchase made in good faith [be] disallowed."[459] The old days of lone-post custodians doing government business on handshake agreements were over.

Adding Clerks

Despite the best efforts of Hugh Miller, Margaret Brown, and Gay Rogers, relief work paperwork piled up during the fall and winter of 1933-34. "In our headquarters, the paper work has increased about one third in the last six months," Pinkley reported in October 1933. "Our chief clerk has had about three days off in the last two months and our office hours are from eight in the morning to about six in the evening."[460] Miller, likely burnt out, described the workload as "a matter of difficulty, stress and bitterness at almost every moment, and on almost every monument."[461] More help arrived in June 1934, when Robert Cole, a CCC enrollee from Phoenix, arrived to help process CCC paperwork as an "ECW clerk."[462] Other than that, the best Pinkley could do was request a full-time clerk-stenographer for the 1936 fiscal year. "Employment of a permanent clerk to handle routine detail," Arthur Demaray told Congress in February 1935, "is imperative if the office work is to be kept current."[463] Congress agreed. At the onset of the 1936 fiscal year, July 1935, Pinkley received authority to hire a new full-time clerk; when the Civil Service Commission failed to furnish a list of candidates, the Washington office allowed Pinkley to bring on Luis Gastellum of Tucson as "temporary clerk-stenographer." He came on board in August 1935. It took Pinkley almost a year to find a qualified permanent, full-time clerk. Millard Singerman came on board in June 1936. "We got him off the Civil Service List," Pinkley told colleagues, "and he has been living in California, which is not to be held against him." Gastellum, meanwhile, became a CCC enrollee and slid into the ECW clerk position vacated by Robert Cole. Pinkley expected that headquarters might finally get "on top of the office work"—but the paperwork burden at headquarters increased steadily through the decade.[464]

For the 1937 fiscal year, Pinkley got creative and submitted estimates for an Assistant Superintendent position at headquarters. "We have asked for a new position of assistant superintendent," Demaray told Congress in December 1935, "to assist [Pinkley] as the work is becoming so heavy that the Present incumbent cannot carry out properly the duties and responsibilities that devolve upon him."[465] Congress approved the budget item, and in July 1936 Pinkley promoted Hugh Miller to the position of Assistant Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments. Miller's responsibilities involved "directing the fiscal procedure and record keeping" and supervising "purchasing and other activities"—essentially, he remained the chief clerk. But by promoting Miller, Pinkley was able to hire a

---

[459] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, December 1933, K.

[460] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, October 1933, 21.

[461] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, December 1933, K.

[462] "Casa Grande Monument News," *Coolidge Examiner*, June 15, 1934.

[463] *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1936* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935), 361.

[464] Station Boss Broadcasting, June 8, 1936, 47-48; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1936

[465] *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1937* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1936), 376.

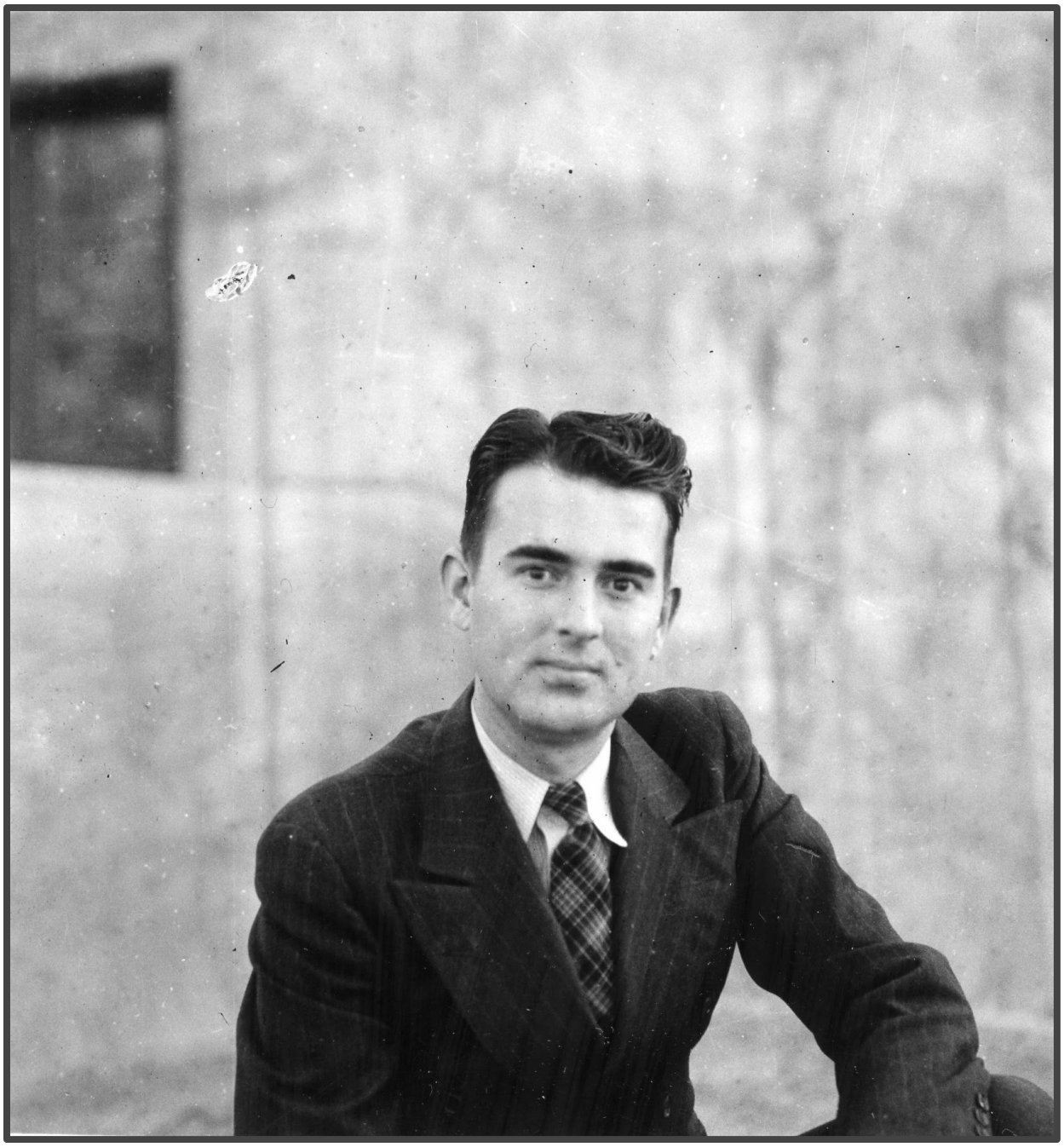


Figure 46. Portrait of William H. Sharpe, CCC clerk at Southwestern National Monuments, who began working at headquarters in July 1936. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge, November 1937. Source: WACC (00420)



Figure 47. Luis A. Gastellum, pictured at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, shortly after his promotion to permanent clerk-stenographer in the Southwestern National Monuments office. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge, November 1937. WACC (00405)



Figure 48. Millard Singerman, Clerk, pictured at Southwestern National Monuments headquarters, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge, November 1937. WACC (00414)

new chief clerk to fill Miller's vacancy. In September 1936, James Luther, the clerk at Carlsbad Caverns, transferred to the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters.[466] A second ECW Clerk, William Harrison Sharpe, a CCC enrollee from North Carolina, arrived in July 1936. Pinkley now had a sizable team keeping the books at headquarters.

"General Field Men"

During the New Deal years, the National Park Service sent a steady stream of engineers, architects, topographers, rodmen, and transitmen, to supervise CCC projects on monument grounds in Arizona and New Mexico. Frank Pinkley referred to them as resident "General Field Men" and included them in the roster of Southwestern National Monuments headquarters personnel listed at the front of each issue of the *Monthly Report*.[467] The National Park Service stationed these "field men"—engineers and landscape architects from the NPS Field Headquarters in San Francisco—at various parks and monuments on a semi-permanent basis. The practice began in October 1931 when Frank Kittredge, head of the NPS Engineering Division, decided "that it would probably be more advantageous to the Government to assign an engineer to [Casa Grande Ruins] during winter months" to oversee construction of a new entrance road to the monument.[468] A year later, NPS engineers Walter G. Atwell and Edward A. Nickel arrived to coordinate construction of the steel roof over the monument's Great House. Atwell became a fixture at Southwestern National Monuments. He regularly traveled from monument to monument to check on New Deal construction activities until NPS associate engineer John "Jack" Diehl took his place in June 1935.[469]

J. H. Tovrea, chief engineering aide to Atwell and Diehl, lived at Casa Grande Ruins with his wife Pauline ("Polly") from January 1935 until 1940, when Tovrea accepted an assignment to the Panama Canal war zone [Bio File: Tovrea]. During his time at Southwestern National Monuments, Tovrea—nicknamed "Tov"—became close with Pinkley. The two spent many hours together in early 1936 surveying the Tumacácori mission; Pinkley wrote about "how much fun we had climbing around over the top of the tower, the dome of the sanctuary, and so on."[470] Tovrea, like Diehl and Atwell before him, resided at headquarters but traveled widely throughout the Southwest. Tovrea took over for Diehl as NPS associate engineer in July 1936. Other resident "field men"—many of them in the early stages of their NPS careers—joined Atwell, Diehl, and Tovrea on southwestern monuments assignments; these

---

[466] Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1937, 31

[467] Pinkley's son Addison served a brief stint as one of the "General Field Men"; he was listed as a rodman in the January 1935 *Monthly Report* roster of Southwestern Monument Personnel.

[468] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, October 1931, 1-2.

[469] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1932, 2, 9, 25-26; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1935, 275-276. Also in September 1932, J. B. Hamilton, engineer stationed at Mesa Verde, joined Pinkley on a reconnaissance of Canyon de Chelly.

[470] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1936, 40-7–40-8.

included a young landscape architect named Charles "Chuck" Richey who later rose to the rank of superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments [Bio File: Richey, Chuck].

Dale King, Junior Park Naturalist

In the summer of 1932, a year before the New Deal got underway, the Washington office surprised Frank Pinkley by including a budget item for a junior park naturalist to assist Bob Rose at Southwestern National Monuments headquarters. "An increase of $2,000," Albright told Congress, "is asked for a junior naturalist who is to assist the permanent naturalist in developing the educational features in the 20 monuments in the southwestern monuments group, in order to meet visitor needs."[471] Congress approved, and in July 1933 Pinkley had authority to hire a junior park naturalist. The position, however, "remained vacant for considerable time because no certified eligible [naturalists] were available on the register of the U.S. Civil Service Commission."[472] Finally, in July 1934, Pinkley hired Dale Stuart King. A former student of archeologist Frank H. H. Roberts at the University of Denver, twenty-six-year-old King became the first member of Pinkley's outfit with formal training in southwestern anthropology. During the winter of 1933-34, he served as the archeologist-in-charge of the CWA's Citadel excavations at Wupatki. King then began his NPS career as a ranger naturalist at the Wayside Museum at Grand Canyon before transferring to Southwestern National Monuments at the outset of the 1935 fiscal year. With his self-deprecating sense of humor and aversion to formal writing, Dale King fit seamlessly into the culture of the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters. "I am going to like this job immensely," he told colleagues after a month on the job. In his first letter to the Washington office, King praised the "gang" at headquarters as a "swell lot" and described his initial duties as "expounding learnedly (?) to visitors" and "sneaking off to the Boss and the other fellows to determine if what I said [to visitors] was even partly correct." Pinkley was pleased. "Dale," he told the Washington office, like Hugh Miller before him, hung "his coat and hat on a peg and started right to work from the very beginning."[473]

Louis Caywood and Charlie Steen, Casa Grande Ruins Rangers to Junior Park Naturalists

During the New Deal years, Pinkley continued his practice of using the Casa Grande Ruins ranger position as the entry point to a career with Southwestern National Monuments. In the fall of 1934, Frank Fish, Casa Grande Ruins ranger, moved on to Montezuma Castle to fill ranger duties vacated by Robert "Bud" Budlong, who accepted the custodian position at Canyon de Chelly. In Fish's place, Pinkley hired a 28-year-old archeologist named Louis Richard Caywood [Bio File: Caywood, Louis]. A former student of archeologist Byron Cummings at the University of Arizona, Caywood, like Dale King, arrived with a background in southwestern anthropology and recent field experience in Arizona.

---

[471] *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1934*, 72nd Cong., 2nd sess., 207.

[472] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1934, 1.

[473] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1934, 13.



Figure 49. Dale S. King, Assistant Park Naturalist, pictured at Southwestern National Monuments headquarters, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. Photograph by Charlie Steen, Nov/Dec 1937. Source: WACC (00413)



Figure 50. Louis R. Caywood, Custodian of Tumacácori, also former SWNM Junior Park Naturalist, pictured at Southwestern National Monuments headquarters, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, during the second Custodians' School of Instruction. Photograph by Natt Dodge, February 1941. Source: WACC (06023)

During the winter of 1933-34, Caywood co-supervised, with Edward Spicer, the excavation of Tuzigoot, an 800-year-old Sinagua pueblo in the Verde Valley. Caywood and his wife, Winnie, took up residence in Pinkley's former home in Compound A, which the NPS converted into a duplex.[474] Caywood soon proved his mettle under difficult circumstances. On the afternoon of May 31, 1935, Hilding Palmer, custodian of Casa Grande Ruins, suffered a heart attack and passed away, leaving Caywood to step in as acting custodian.

From the outset, Pinkley probably intended to promote Caywood to junior park naturalist. In the spring of 1934, the Washington office included in its 1936 estimates a new position "at Canyon de Chelly and Casa Grande for the combination of educational and ranger duties."[475] Besides handling custodian duties at Casa Grande Ruins, Caywood worked on educational projects. During the spring of 1935 he traveled to Tucson to deliver a slideshow and read a paper entitled "The National Monuments of Southern Arizona."[476] He also spent a day at the Gila Pueblo library in Globe researching Salt and Gila River irrigation structures built by Ancestral Sonoran Desert People for a monthly report supplement article.[477] Authorized to fill the junior park naturalist position in July 1935, Pinkley wasted no time assigning Caywood the new role.

A month after promoting Caywood to junior park naturalist, Pinkley hired another young southwestern archeologist, Charles Rupert "Charlie" Steen, to fill Caywood's vacant Casa Grande Ruins ranger position [Bio File: Steen, Charlie]. Steen, like Dale King before him, studied anthropology at the University of Denver and participated in the winter 1933-34 CWA excavations at Wupatki. During a break in their work at Wupatki that winter, Steen and King made a fateful trip to Casa Grande Ruins to meet with Frank Pinkley and ask about positions at Southwestern National Monuments. The following summer, Pinkley hired Steen on a temporary basis to serve as a relief ranger-in-charge at Montezuma Castle. In the fall of 1934, Steen transferred to Tonto, where he spent eleven months building trails, mapping archeological sites, and establishing the beginnings of a museum. In August 1935, Pinkley placed Steen at Casa Grande Ruins to fill Caywood's vacant ranger position. "Charlie," Pinkley told the Washington office, "comes to us with an excellent record at Tonto, and his high position on the Civil Service eligible list made his selection indubitably a wise one."[478] In April 1936, when Louis Caywood departed headquarters to fill the vacant custodian position at Tumacácori, Steen stepped into his vacant position. In his monthly and annual reports, Pinkley referred to Steen as the Southwestern National Monuments "junior park archeologist" to acknowledge Steen's expertise.

---

[474] Dale King and his wife, Sylvia, occupied the other unit in the duplex. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, October 1934, 177.

[475] *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1936*, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 361.

[476] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1935, 238.

[477] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1935, 306.

[478] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1935, 81.



Figure 51. Junior Park Naturalist (Archeologist) Charlie Steen at Southwestern National Monuments, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge, December 1937. Source: WACC (00298)

Natt Dodge

On January 1, 1937, Bob Rose left Southwestern National Monuments to become Park Naturalist at the new Boulder Dam National Recreation Area in southern Nevada. Bidding readers of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report "adios" in December 1936, Rose took a moment "to express appreciation for the great circle of friends among Southwestern Monuments and to express the pleasure I have had in working with you."[479] Dale King, away on the National Park Service's University Fellowship during the fall and spring of 1936-37, became promoted *in absentia* to Rose's vacant park naturalist position. That left Charlie Steen, assistant archeologist, alone at headquarters during the second half of the 1937 fiscal year "manfully trying to keep abreast of a three-man job."[480] King returned from Yale University in June 1937, and three months later Pinkley brought in Natt Dodge, a thirty-seven-year-old Grand Canyon ranger, to fill King's vacant junior park naturalist position [Bio File: Dodge, Natt]. A New Englander by way of the Pacific Northwest, Dodge began his career in the Seattle area managing berry farms on the shores of Lake Washington. Turning to the honey business, he joined the sales team at Superior Honey and Bee Supply in Seattle, then worked as a foreman for the Pacific Slope Honey Company handling beekeeping duties at local apiaries. Stung by the economic depression in 1932, Dodge accepted a seasonal ranger-naturalist position at Mount Rainier National Park and took the junior park naturalist Civil Service examination. In April 1935, he and his wife, Hap, and their two young children moved to Grand Canyon, where Dodge served as a ranger and Hap homeschooled them. After two years in northern Arizona, the family continued south to Coolidge. "Dodge comes to us," Pinkley told readers of the September 1937 monthly report, "with general naturalist experience at Mt. Rainier and Grand Canyon National parks... [he] is an accomplished photographer and has had considerable success along the lines of writing and editing. His work will deal principally with the biological aspects of the Southwestern Monuments educational program."[481] One of Dodge's first responsibilities involved photographing Southwestern National Monuments staff at headquarters in the fall of 1937.

The Roving Ranger and Relief Ranger

The development of new state highways and paved county roads during the New Deal years brought motorists to the doorstep of previously unreachable national monuments, requiring innovative methods for monument protection and distribution of personnel. To respond to new demands for protection at monuments in southeastern Utah and southwestern Colorado, Southwestern National Monuments developed the Roving Ranger and Relief Ranger programs, launched in 1935 and 1939, respectively. Both sent what Pinkley called pinch-hitting rangers to understaffed and unmanned monuments. At the 1936 Interior Department Appropriation Bill hearings, held in February 1935,

[479] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1936, 396.

[480] Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1937, 31.

[481] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1937, 216.



Figure 52. Natt N. Dodge, pictured at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument a couple months after entering on duty as Junior Park Naturalist, Southwestern National Monuments. Photograph by Charlie Steen, Nov/Dec 1937. Source: WACC (00411)

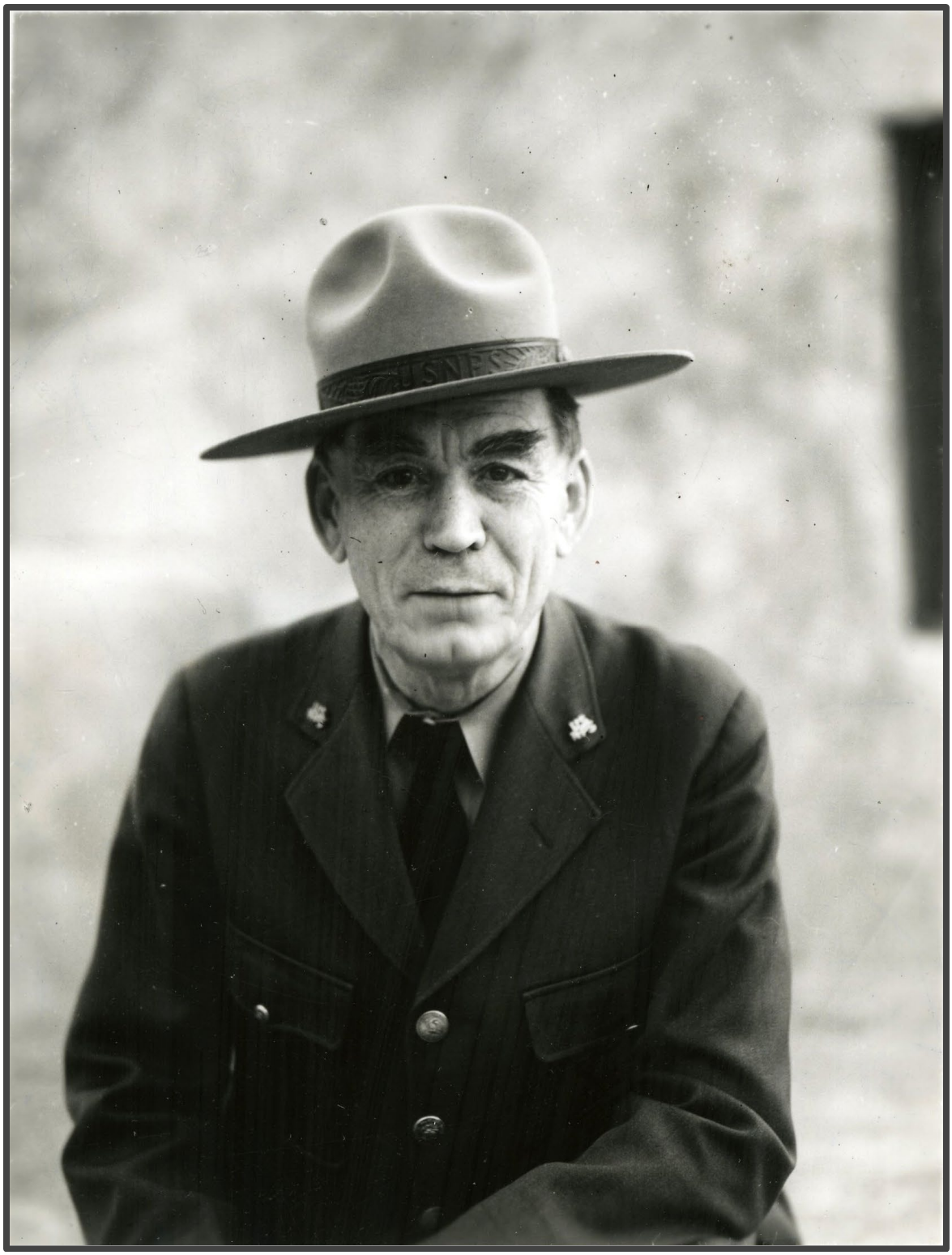


Figure 53. Frank Pinkley, Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, as photographed by his newest naturalist, Natt N. Dodge, in fall 1937. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge. Source: WACC (300A)

Arthur Demaray explained the need for a "roving" ranger to spend the summer months checking up on monuments in the northern Colorado Plateau. "The present ranger personnel," he explained, "is wholly inadequate to meet the needs for maintenance and protection in these areas."[482] Four years later, Demaray made a similar case for a "relief" ranger.

> In the southwestern monument group there are 11 isolated monuments with 1 man only on duty at each area, and there are 4 museums with 2 men only on duty at each. In these areas the duties of absent employees cannot be absorbed by others. The problem has been handled in the past by denying leave, an injustice to employees. It is proposed to relieve this situation at least in part by establishing a permanent ranger position..."[483]

Congress offered no objections; new ranger positions were established to provide timely protection of monuments and personnel relief across the entire Southwestern National Monuments group.

The Roving Ranger patrolled monuments in southeastern Utah and southwestern Colorado: Yucca House, Hovenweep, and Arches, in an area generally referred to as the Yucca House-Hovenweep district. All three monuments were remote and unprotected; all lacked custodians and rangers. The custodian of Chaco Canyon had, in previous years, made occasional inspections of monuments in the Yucca House-Hovenweep district. That responsibility now went to the Roving Ranger, who worked under the supervision of custodian Johnwill Faris at Aztec Ruins. In the summer of 1935, archeologist Erik Reed became the first Roving Ranger [Bio File: Reed, Erik]. Born and raised in Massachusetts, Reed worked as a field archeologist with Emil Haury at the 1934-35 Snaketown excavations near Casa Grande Ruins.[484] After the dig, Reed found himself unemployed and low on money; he gladly accepted Frank Pinkley's Roving Ranger offer and headed north to begin his patrol of Yucca House, Hovenweep, and Arches. "As with so many of us," he recalled,

> I came into the Service partly because I needed a job and was offered a job. Actually, I was out working with Deric O'Bryan, then Deric Nusbaum, in June or July when, to my great delight, I got a telegram from the Southwestern Monuments headquarters at Coolidge asking if I would accept the temporary position for the summer of ranger in charge of Hovenweep, Yucca House, and Arches. I was delighted by this and of course accepted. I came back to Santa Fe, left my personal car, a little old beat-up Model A Ford, with Earl Jackson at Bandelier, and took a pick-up truck which the CCC people at Bandelier had repaired, and went to Aztec and reported in to Johnwill Faris. And

---

[482] *Interior Department Appropriations Bill*, 1936 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935), 363.

[483] *Interior Department Appropriations Bill*, 1940 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939), 772.

[484] Charlie R. Steen, "The Life and Times of Erik Kellerman Redd" *in* Albert H. Schroeder, ed., *Collected Papers in Honor of Erik Kellerman Reed*, Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico, Vol. 6 (Albuquerque: Archaeological Society Press, 1981), 2; and Erik Reed, transcript of Oral History Interview of Erik Reed by S. Herbert Evison, December 11, 1962, 2, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

> while I waited for the truck to be fixed and things to arrive by mail from Coolidge, I put in a few days interpretive guiding under Faris as a volunteer, so to speak; I was supposed to go to work, but not on that job; and without a uniform. And that amounts to my Park Service training, really, in interpretive work: three or four days under the inspiration and guidance of Johnwill.[485]

At Yucca House, Hovenweep, and Arches, Reed checked for vandalism, patched gates and fences, developed community partnerships, documented travel statistics, and gave detailed reports on the conditions of ruins and roads. He also explored the district beyond his charge, looking for archeological sites with the potential to become future national monuments. Reed published his findings and recommendations in the *Monthly Report* for August 1935.[486]

In August 1935, Reed resigned as Roving Ranger earlier than expected to accept an Assistant Archeologist position with the ECW-funded State Park Division in Goliad, Texas. But Pinkley reported that Reed's short time on the job had confirmed the value of the Roving Ranger program:

> The so-called 'Roving Ranger' experiment conducted by Erik Reed was intensely interesting and we consider it highly successful for as long as it lasted. The theory about it is that we have some outlying monuments in our district which are not yet heavily visited but are valuable from research and other angles. Vandalism should be prevented; fences should be kept up; drainage should be studied and changed; local sentiment should be built up against destruction; and so on.
>
> Erik Reed went out in the 'Four-States-Corner' country with a car, a camp outfit and a page or two of general instructions, and in the course of a month or six weeks turned in a lot of paper which is pretty valuable. He caught up the fences at Yucca House, got an adequate idea of the location of the ruins on and off the monument, studied and reported past vandalism, which, by the way, was nothing very serious I am glad to say, posted signs showing ownership and forbidding vandalism, and made local contacts in which he told the neighbors what it was all about and why we were operating in that country.
>
> He located and visited the various subdivisions of the Hovenweep National Monument, studied and reported the needs for repairs and protection, suggested means of handling in the future, contacted local people and turned in a lot of information about ruins in that vicinity.

---

[485] Reed, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 3.

[486] Recommended sites included Lake Canyon (UT), Alkali Ridge (UT), The Lowry Ruin (Colorado), Barker Arroyo (NM), and Johnson Canyon/Lion Canyon cliff dwellings (NM). See: Erik Reed, "Monument Possibilities," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1935, 83-85.

> He visited Moab and the Arches National Monument, met a number of people in that vicinity, gathered much information and made some suggestions on enlargement of the monument and the possibility of future monuments in that country.
>
> In moving from one of these places to the other he made a general archaeological survey of the country, visiting ruins reported by the people of the locality, finding if they were on Government land, warning the neighbors to let them alone if they were, and turning in much valuable material to use in the way of reports.
>
> About the time he got settled and going good, you folks back there sent through a promotion for him to a higher paid job in ECW work and we lost him. It is too late in the season to try to replace him and we are letting the experiment go over until next spring.
>
> Given the right man, I am enthusiastic about the results we can obtain from this kind of a job and I am quite sure it will well repay further experimentation.[487]

Archeologist Deric Nusbaum, stepson of Jesse Nusbaum and a colleague of Erik Reed's, took up the Roving Ranger position when it resumed the next summer, serving from early June to September 1936. Like Reed, Nusbaum handled inspections of the Yucca House-Hovenweep district and drew upon his archeological background to survey and write reports about additional groups of ruins he found in the region.[488] Low visitation numbers allowed the Roving Ranger to devote more time than most custodians to scientific investigations of monuments. At the end of Nusbaum's appointment in September, Frank Pinkley reported that Deric had not only fulfilled his duties in traveling to each monument in circuit, but that he had also launched an information campaign, going door to door to inform locals about the consequences of pot-hunting and vandalism and causing much worry among guilty parties and would-be diggers. "Give us three general Roving Rangers in this district," Pinkley reported to Washington, "and we can go a long way toward stopping the terrible vandalism which is going on in the hundreds of Government-owned ruins of the Southwest."[489]

By the time former Wupatki custodian Jim Brewer assumed the Roving Ranger position in June 1937, the length of the appointment had increased from three months to up to six months [Bio File: Brewer, Jim]. For 1937 the position benefitted from double the manpower, with Brewer's wife—archeologist Sallie Pierce Brewer—serving alongside him as the Honorary Roving Ranger Without Pay [Bio File: Pierce, Sallie]. Like Reed and Nusbaum, the Brewers patrolled the Yucca House-Hovenweep district and, as needed, provided ranger service at Aztec Ruins.[490] In the summer of 1937, Sallie recalled that she and Jim divided their time "camping out in the Hovenweep area, visiting Yucca House when [they]

---

[487] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1935, 83-85.

[488] Deric Nusbaum's monthly reports for Hovenweep in the June, July, and August 1936 monthly reports were heavily detailed and illustrated with sketch maps of his findings.

[489] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1936, 202.

[490] The custodian of Aztec had been tasked with general oversight of the district during the Roving Ranger's off-season. This involved inspections once or twice monthly from October through May until the Roving Ranger returned.

went to Cortez for groceries, and either camping out or staying in one of the cabins that Doc Williams, who was one of the fathers of Arches National Monument, provided [them] at Moab."[491] Instead of reporting on each monument separately in monthly reports, Jim Brewer wrote a Roving Ranger column. The column detailed the itinerant nature of the job. The Roving Ranger visited each monument every few days. Brewer worried that readers might think his job sounded like a vacation. "My job is to patrol and protect these 'Four-Corner' monuments," he defended, so "I can't help it if the government sets aside all the choice camping grounds as monuments, can I?"[492]

While "vacationing" the Brewers produced good work. They repaired monument fences and searched out as many archeological sites as possible. They drew upon local trader John Ismay's extensive knowledge of the canyon country of Hovenweep to create a topographical map depicting the monument's various sites. They made several photographs of the Holly House, also known as the Keely group of ruins, for the Southwestern National Monuments files. And they kept headquarters abreast of new vandalism. At Hovenweep, they reported, the Horseshoe ruins showed new damage but "Cool Spring House," part of the Cajon archeological group, suffered the most serious injury. Ranging sheep had climbed all over the ancient walls, and workers on a water reclamation project had demolished several *cavate* rooms built under the cliff ledge and extricated stones from archeological walls to use in a modern revetment wall that blocked access into the *cavate* rooms. The Brewers photographed what they could access, including petroglyphs and a white wall painting located in two small *cavate* rooms. All of it, Pinkley reported to NPS director Arno Cammerer, emphasized the need for permanent ranger protection at the monuments.[493]

Jim Brewer's 1937 Roving Ranger assignment ended in early September. In spring 1938, he earned his Civil Service stripes and became a permanent ranger at Aztec Ruins. In May 1938, Brewer inspected Yucca House and Hovenweep, then a month later provided Roving Ranger orientation to his summer 1938 replacement, archeologist Alfred Peterson, the longtime Southwestern National Monuments temporary ranger, and his wife, Bernice.[494] For the Petersons, the Roving Ranger assignment involved some discomfort. Stagnant water, high winds, and an infestation of biting gnats greeted the couple at Hovenweep Castle (Square Tower).[495] But conditions improved over the summer. As a University of Arizona graduate in archeology with a focus on dendrochronology, Alfred Peterson spent considerable

---

[491] Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview of Sallie Van Valkenburg by S. Herbert Evison, December 19, 1962, with corrections and additions offered by Mrs. Van Valkenburgh Mar. 9, 1964, 8, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," in NPS Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[492] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1937, 357.

[493] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1937, 356-358; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1937, 41-44.

[494] By this time the custodian of Aztec Ruins National Monument possessed general administrative oversight of Yucca House and Hovenweep except for the summer season when the Roving Ranger took charge.

[495] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1938, 491.

time scouring the ground for archeological wood debris to submit for tree-ring dating to the tree-ring laboratory at his alma mater.[496] He found a few specimens left over from vandalized beams sawn and hacked. "The best preservation" of monuments in the Yucca House-Hovenweep district, Peterson concluded, was inaccessibility. Frank Pinkley concurred. At minimum, Southwestern National Monuments should discourage tourism until the monuments had permanent custodians and museums. "Yucca House, especially, we look upon as a reserve monument, not to be visited by the public until many years hence when a large excavation party has opened it for research and study."[497] During the summers of 1939 and 1940, archeologist Roland S. Richert held the Roving Ranger gig, living "out of the back of his pick-up truck in virtual isolation" for several months [Bio File: Richert, Roland].[498] Jack Andrich took over in summer 1941; Ted Sowers in summer 1942; and Edward L. Madson in summer 1943. No Roving Ranger was deployed in summer 1944, nor any year thereafter.

In 1939, the Southwestern National Monuments office added a second itinerant ranger program, the year-round "Relief Ranger." The Relief Ranger 'babysat' monuments during custodians' absences, usually during their annual month-long furloughs. With the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters as his home base, the Relief Ranger traveled across the Southwest year-round to provide temporary ranger-in-charge service. In theory, Pinkley explained, the Relief Ranger would "move about every 30 days for the next couple of years, relieving some one each time who will go on annual leave."[499] The Relief Ranger would remain on the road for eleven months of the year. Headquarters tried to schedule each custodian's month-long annual leave so they departed during their tourism off-seasons—winter at northern monuments; summer at southern monuments—meaning the Relief Ranger experienced each monument at its most undesirable time of the year.

Edwin C. Alberts, the former ranger at Montezuma Castle, served as the first Relief Ranger. Every year from August 1939 through January 1942, Alberts and his wife, Carey, traveled to eleven different monuments in an eleven-month circuit, with one month off for their own annual leave.[500] Alberts remembered actively seeking the position, thinking it had to be the best job in the National Park Service. When he applied and got the job, Edwin Alberts boasted that he would "know more about the Southwestern Monuments" at the end of the two-year appointment than anyone else "except the Boss and Hugh."[501] His first posts in 1939 included Tuzigoot, the "baby" of the Southwestern National Monuments group. Edwin Alberts had the honor of serving as the monument's inaugural custodian in October 1939. He and Carey arrived on October 4 and had the monument ready for visitors the next

---

[496] Peterson studied under Byron Cummings, graduating with a B.A. in archeology in May 1936.

[497] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1938, 35

[498] Lister and Lister, *Aztec Ruins National Monument*, 143

[499] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1939, 130.

[500] Alberts, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 6-7;

[501] Ibid; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1939, 130.

day.[502] The Alberts lived out of a trailer that they had bought specifically for the Relief Ranger position. Dubbed the "Flying Dutchman," the trailer served as their home on wheels as they traveled from unit to unit.

The Relief Ranger job proved "extraordinarily interesting," Alberts later recalled. They could have continued their itinerant lifestyle indefinitely if not for the birth of their daughter, Eleanor, in 1940.[503] By February 1942, Ed and Carey Alberts were done "roaming the far reaches of the Southwest in a trailer" with a toddler in tow; they accepted a permanent ranger-naturalist post at Death Valley.[504] Their last Relief Ranger assignment was Saguaro National Monument. Russell Mahan replaced Alberts as Relief Ranger in 1942, followed by Charles C. "C#" Sharp, who transferred from Carlsbad Caverns in July 1942. At other times, headquarters mobilized ad hoc "relief rangers" to fill in for shorter periods; that meant that naturalists King and Steen would depart headquarters and don ranger hats for a week or so as needed.[505]

The Ever-Expanding Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report

More clerks and more naturalists at the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters meant more hands on deck to help prepare monthly editions of Frank Pinkley's beloved Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report. With each passing year, the document and its supplement grew in terms of page numbers and in the variety of content it offered readers. "We get a lot of fun out of these monthly reports," Pinkley told the new NPS director, Arno Cammerer, in August 1933.

> As you probably know, we are using this report for several purposes; mainly as a report to you [Cammerer] so you may keep in touch with our work from month to month, but it also serves as a house-organ to keep out men in touch with each other, a clip sheet for the use of the press in this district, a news sheet keeping museums and [archeological] field workers up to the minute on discoveries made from month to month on our monuments, and, lastly, as pure reading matter of interest to certain persons who ask us to mail them a copy.[506]

During the early 1930s, the *Monthly Report* consisted of little more than brief summaries of monument activities drawn from letters custodians mailed to Pinkley, followed by a three- or four-page supplement containing news items. After 1933, all sorts of information appeared in print: letters from members of

---

[502] Edwin C. Alberts to Frank Pinkley, October 1939, 1, folder "Tuzigoot National Monument: Daily Diaries and Monthly Reports, October 1939-December 1939," Box 58, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[503] Alberts, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 1-2.

[504] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1942, 35.

[505] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1942, 27.

[506] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1933, 18.

the public, project updates from field men, technical reports prepared by archeologists who conducted excavations at southwestern monuments, and research papers prepared by naturalists. Pinkley's supplements also took on a gossipy quality describing staff vacations, sicknesses, marriages, childbirths, and other "personnel matters" in great detail. By the middle of the decade, the page count of the *Monthly Report* and its supplement, combined, often exceeded one hundred pages. "I think you will agree with me, Chief, that this report is too long," Pinkley acknowledged in January 1934. "Yet we have turned out a lot of work this last month and are mighty interested in telling you about it." Pinkley also viewed the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report as a historical record. "I might have cut these reports down a little and saved space," he continued, "but this is our only chance to get a lot of stuff into the record to which we might want to refer in the future, so I hesitate to cut a long report for fear I might cut out something which might become important in future years."[507] Elsewhere Pinkley expressed his hope that his monthly reports might offer "historical value and that a future historian will be able to get a good cross sectional view of life in the Southwestern Monuments during the years covered by these reports."[508] And to that end they were a success.

Libraries, archives, and other research institutions began to take notice. In July 1934, Pinkley, without naming names, reported that "one of the best Archaeologists in the United States wrote the Head Man in one of the big institutions of the United States and told him to get a complete file" of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report "and put them in his library among his reference books." Thereafter, Pinkley numbered his monthly reports consecutively for six months at a time, as a periodical, with a subject index provided each June and December.[509] In July 1935, a library in New Jersey asked to be placed on the mailing list, and in April 1936 "one of the largest county public libraries on the Pacific Coast" (likely the Los Angeles Public Library, which still holds copies) wrote to Pinkley asking if the monthly report was available for distribution. "If so," the institution's librarian promised, "we shall be very grateful to have our name placed on our mailing list to receive it regularly... Our reference department will be able to make valuable use of this material."[510]

During the New Deal years, Pinkley also revived his practice of issuing circular letters to his custodians via monthly reports. Members of the headquarters staff became contributors. In August 1933, Bob Rose authored a six-page letter entitled "Some Problems on Guided Trips" with thoughts on how to improve monument tours.[511] A follow-up, "Helpful Suggestions on Public Speaking," offered advice

---

[507] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1934, 52.

[508] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1936, 372.

[509] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1934, 42.

[510] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, July 1935, 77; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1936, 288.

[511] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, August 1933, M-R.

on oration.[512] Pinkley, pleased with Rose's efforts, reminded readers that "for some time the subject of a manual for new rangers and other members of our personnel, has been under consideration." The manual never materialized, but circulars issued by Pinkley during the 1920s and by his headquarters staff during the 1930s came close to fulfilling the vision.[513] In March 1935, Hugh Miller authored a circular of his own, "How Monuments Get Their Money," that explained the annual appropriations process to a new generation of custodians and rangers who likely never read Pinkley's 1924 and 1927 letters on the same subject.[514]

Everyone at headquarters pitched in to produce the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report. "Stenographic work and mimeographing this report have been the work of all hands around the office," Pinkley reported in May 1934.[515] A section called "Reports from the Men in the Field" included contributions from anyone involved in monument activities—custodians, wives, rangers, engineers, landscape architects, Washington office personnel—anyone. The editing, layout, and mimeographing fell primarily on the shoulders of clerk-stenographers, but other members of the headquarters staff stepped in to get issues printed, bound, and mailed on time. Luis Gastellum spent numerous nights and weekends preparing monthly reports for publication. He remembered it as his principal responsibility for about three years.

> After a few years there in the Southwestern Monuments, where I was exposed to all types of administrative work, one of the principal responsibilities that I had—and most of this was after work hours and during weekends and at night and so on—was writing the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report. I think that this is a well-known document throughout the Service. I think that in the library here we have them bound into permanent copies. But I typed, I think, all of those for a period of about three years. And I always looked forward to the Boss's Ruminations for the month, because he always had some very, very interesting topic to talk about. And this really gave us, you know, a kind of point of inspiration to move forward from as we were the first recipients of what the Boss was thinking about.[516]

As the years went on, Bob Rose, Dale King, and other headquarters naturalists became responsible for authoring most of the content, with Frank Pinkley retaining editorial oversight. It was all well-received in Washington. Horace Albright admitted one December that he took the *Monthly Report* home with

---

[512] R. H. Rose, "Helpful Suggestions on Public Speaking," Museum and Education Series, Letter No. 1, 1-5, printed in Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1934.

[513] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1934, 2.

[514] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, March 1936, 156-158.

[515] *S*outhwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1934, M.

[516] Luis A. Gastellum, transcript of Oral History Interview of Luis A. Gastellum by S. Herbert Evison, April 6, 1973, 9, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," in NPS Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

him and read it with great care. "It is up to the new standard of Southwestern Monument news," he declared, and "is full of interesting topics."[517] Frank Pinkley later admitted that next to tinkering with museum design, the monthly report was one of his greatest pleasures.[518] "This report business is interesting and the more we play with it the more interesting it becomes," he wrote in July 1935. "'We ought to get that in the Monthly Report' is a common expression around the Office."[519]

Taurian Sessions and Pinkley's Ruminations: To 'Talk Ruins' and Other 'Real Hot Material'

Whenever custodians, rangers, or the engineering field men visited headquarters, Pinkley made a point to set up conversational roundtables, or "bull sessions," where participants could sit and "talk ruins" with headquarters personnel. As the number of headquarters personnel grew and as field personnel passed through Casa Grande Ruins more frequently, the bull sessions increased in frequency. For fun, headquarters staff called them "Taurian Sessions." During a Taurian Session, Pinkley would "throw out some questions which he thought would stir up an argument" and then "once the boys got to arguing amongst themselves he would sit back and listen and gather the thoughts of his men."[520] On rare occasions when no "real hot material to discuss" came up in conversation, Pinkley had "three never failing subjects" in his back pocket: "uniform regulations and changes, the monthly report, and museums."[521] Taurian Sessions could be held anywhere. Most often, they happened at headquarters, sometimes in the office on slow days but usually in Pinkley's backyard after hours. A Taurian Session might last a few minutes or go long into the evening, sometimes into the wee hours of the morning. In May 1936, for example, Pinkley, Tovrea, Caywood, and Evenstad held an impromptu "architectural bull session" at Tumacácori. Caywood, the custodian at Tumacácori, recalled tongue-in-cheek that he and Evenstad "learned some new architectural terms and some very fine points about the Mission" from Pinkley and Tovrea, the "MAE (Mission Architectural Experts)."[522]

Taurian Sessions also became the basis for much of the editorial material included in the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report. The Supplement's own subtitle, effective November 1934, described the publication as "Being the Paper Equivalent of the Taurian Sessions So Often Held When Southwestern Monument Folk Get Together: In Which Will Be Found Various Bits of Shop Talk, Gossip, and Interesting Things About This and That: The Whole Containing Some Information and Not Much

---

[517] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, December 1932, F.

[518] Pauline Tovrea, "Pinkley Has Park Record of 35 Years," *Casa Grande Dispatch*, December 1, 1939, 38.

[519] *Southwest Monuments Monthly Report*, Supplement, July 1935, 76.

[520] Dodge, transcript of Oral History Interview of Natt N. Dodge by S. Herbert Evison, December 11, 1962, 20-21.

[521] Frank Pinkley, "Ruminations, Reissue No. Seventeen: On monthly reports," Box 1, Series 1: Southwest National Monuments Materials, 1926-1956, Southwest Regional Office Library Archives (ACC 109), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[522] Louis R. Caywood to Frank Pinkley, May 23, 1936, folder "Tumacacori National Monument: Monthly Reports, 1933 through 1938," Box 55, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

Misinformation About What Goes On in the Southwestern Monuments."[523] Pinkley himself provided much of the "shop talk" in a recurring closing section of the Supplement he called "Ruminations." Pinkley authored nearly fifty Ruminations columns between the summer of 1935 and early 1940. During the late 1950s, a group of Pinkley's former employees, later in their careers, reprinted them in a published volume entitled *Boss Pinkley's Ruminations*. It circulated widely through the National Park Service and became one of Pinkley's lasting legacies within the agency.

Pinkley's Ruminations essays almost always had their origins in Taurian Sessions discussions. The September 1938 column, for example, recalled a Taurian Sessions debate over "keeping people out of ruins" or letting visitors explore archeological sites up close. Dr. H. V. "Doc" Halliday, a Southwestern National Monuments "First Class Visitor," wanted Pinkley to prohibit tourists from climbing through Montezuma Castle's cliff dwellings as a protectionary measure.[524] A three-hour Taurian Session followed, wherein participants weighed "preservation" against "visitor enjoyment." Doc Halliday espoused preservation, arguing that "showing visitors through ancient ruins destroys the ruins in direct proportion to the number of visitors shown through." Pinkley favored visitor enjoyment. He called Halliday's approach "ultra-conservationist" and a betrayal of public service. "Ergo," Pinkley countered, rhetorically, "we must not let visitors go through the ruins so that we may save the ruins so that future generations may not let visitors go through the ruins so that they may save the ruins so that******."[525]

The "Great Seal"

One memorable Taurian Session held on February 9, 1935, in the engineering office (east room) of the museum-administration building at Casa Grande Ruins included J. H. Tovrea, Hugh Miller, and Frank Pinkley. Toward the end of the session at nine o'clock p.m., Tovrea pitched the idea of creating a "great seal" for Southwestern National Monuments. The seal, he explained, would serve as an identifying team brand, or logo, for the organization. It would adorn the cover of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report and make it a publication that reflected the group's team spirit and collaborative nature.[526] The February 1935 issue of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report launched the new seal—drawn by Tovrea with feedback from his colleagues at headquarters. The Southwestern National Monuments "great seal" incorporated elements that represented the types of monuments included in the group. A volcanic mountain in the background represented the "Geologic units;" a pueblo on a mesa, set to the left of the mountain, represented the group's "Prehistoric units;" a mission

[523] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, November 1934, 245.

[524] H. Virgil Halladay—an osteopathy professor at Des Moines University—was a regular visitor to southwestern monuments and parks. In the 1930s, through at least 1938, he regularly submitted thoughts and ideas on ways to improve the visitor experience at the various monuments. Headquarters staff called him "Doc Halladay" and welcomed his so-called 'annual reports'. Pinkley often included Halladay's suggestions in the Supplement. See example: Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, December 1932, F.

[525] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1938, 271.

[526] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1935, 1.

church in the right foreground represented "Historic units;" and a cactus represented "Botanic units." The group's mantra, "ESPRIT DE CORPS," appeared as a banner above rays from a rising sun that symbolized the group's destiny: "on its way up and nothing in the world can stop us so long as we hold our Esprit de Corps." In the bottom center foreground, a coiled "gentlemanly rattler" (no forked tongue) represented the personality of the outfit. It suggested they were serious but not too serious, shrewd but not double-tongued. "It takes the wisdom of a serpent," Pinkley observed, "to operate this far-flung group of the most interesting units of the National Park Service on the money we get!"[527]

Tovrea's 1935 great seal adorned the cover of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report until October 1937, when the office edited it with more artistry and new features, including clouds on the horizon. These "clouds of doubt" arrived in the aftermath of two budget cuts. The new design modified the mission church by adding two stories to the bell tower, reflecting the "never-ending argument between Tov. and the Boss as to how the Tumacácori bell tower would have been finished." The mission resembled the façade of Tumacácori, except intentionally reversed, "partly to show that it was not intended to represent...Tumacacori any more than the ruin on the distant mesa would represent Wupatki, or the volcano in the background represents Capulin."[528]



Figure 54. Southwestern National Monuments introduced its first Great Seal (left) in 1935 and its updated version (right) in 1937. Source: Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1935 and October 1937

[527] Frank Pinkley, "Concerning the Seal of the S.W. Monuments," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1938.

[528] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1938, 294.

Station Boss Broadcasting

By 1935, the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report had become a journal with a subscription list that extended beyond the National Park Service. It included the main report, charts, maps and other graphics as needed, and an appended Supplement with special studies and reports plus personnel news. It consumed a great number of personnel hours, requiring office staff to clock overtime on evenings and weekends. This prompted conversations about downsizing the publication. "Dale [King] and I had an argument this morning about the danger of getting the Southwestern Monuments Report too long," Frank Pinkley told readers in his July 1935 Ruminations column. King worried that the monthly report "would get so bulky that its very size would scare folks into skipping it and reading something else that looked easier." Pinkley, on the other hand, preferred to "put it all in there as long as there isn't duplication and it is of interest."[529] In a way, Dale King won the argument. Pinkley, during the summer of 1935, removed "personnel news" from the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report and placed it in an entirely new publication called "Station Boss Broadcasting." "We are taking some of our gentle spoofing out of the Supplement and running it in the Broadcast," Pinkley told NPS director Arno Cammerer in July 1935.[530] Unlike the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, which went to the Washington office and had a subscriber list of a few hundred readers, Station Boss Broadcasting was meant only for members of Pinkley's outfit. It was a strictly internal newsletter, and for a reason: Pinkley wanted Station Boss Broadcasting to boost the sense of camaraderie he sought for his headquarters staff, custodians, and rangers. It was an exclusive members-only monthly report full of "inside talk," a "clearing house to keep us all in closer touch with each other."[531]

> It just goes to the home team, as it were, and is an attempt to cover the weak spot in our armor of being scattered so widely that we get to thinking of ourselves as single units instead of members of an organization. It is much more personal than the Report or the Supplement, and incidentally is giving signs of filling a real need.[532]

Station Boss Broadcasting contained news about the comings-and-goings of Southwestern National Monuments personnel, humorous anecdotes, and optimistic words of encouragement; it became a major source of the *esprit de corps* that characterized the group during the New Deal years.

The "Branch of Education" and the CCC

As the 1935 fiscal year closed, and as Bob Rose and Frank Pinkley looked forward to promoting Louis Caywood to junior park naturalist in July 1935, a small change appeared in the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report. Museum and educational activities became listed under a separate heading, "Naturalist Division." They had previously fallen under the headings of individual

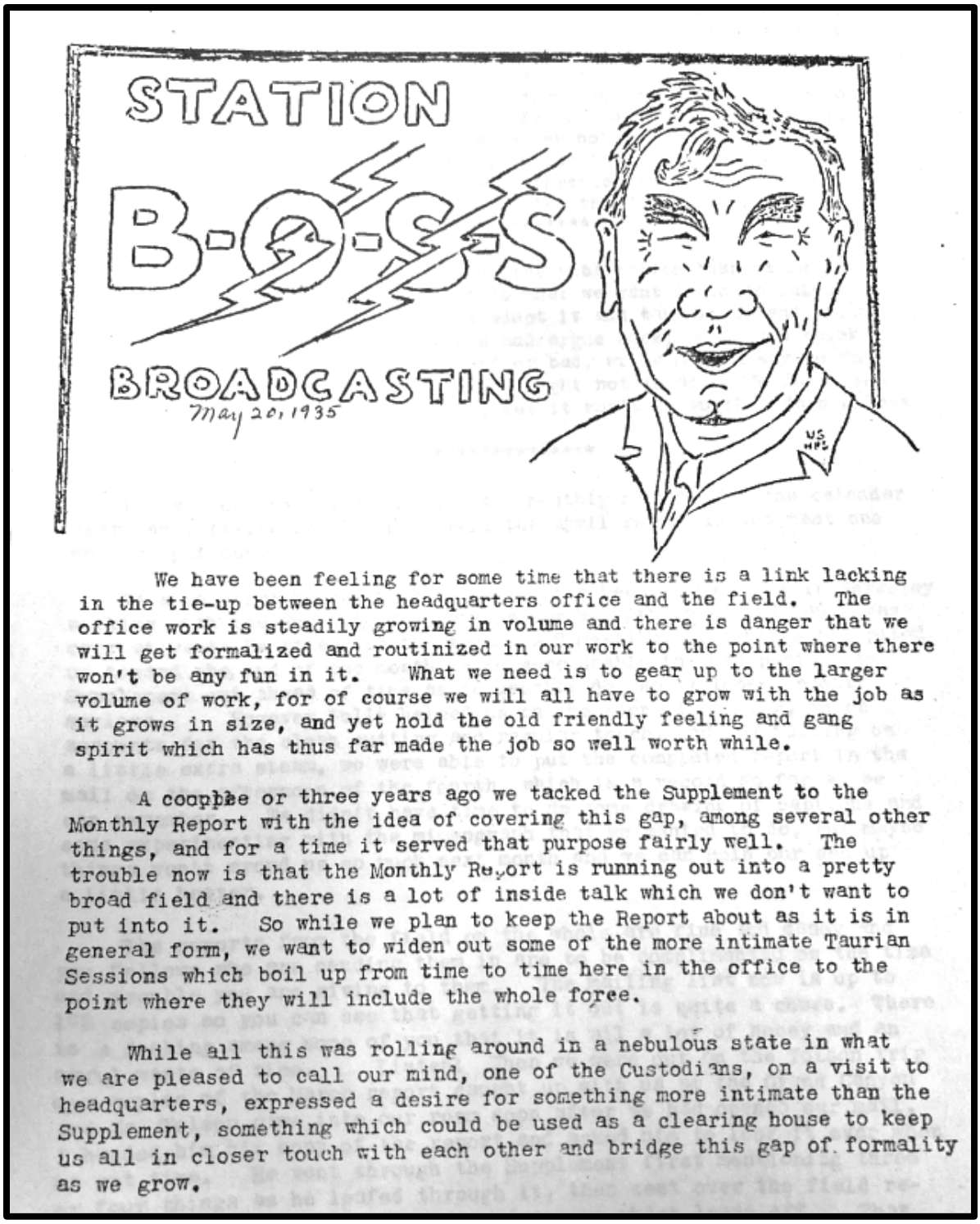
---

[529] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1935, 46.

[530] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, July 1935, 76.

[531] "Station Boss Broadcasting," May 20, 1935, 1.

[532] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, June 1935, 334.



We have been feeling for some time that there is a link lacking in the tie-up between the headquarters office and the field. The office work is steadily growing in volume and there is danger that we will get formalized and routinized in our work to the point where there won't be any fun in it. What we need is to gear up to the larger volume of work, for of course we will all have to grow with the job as it grows in size, and yet hold the old friendly feeling and gang spirit which has thus far made the job so well worth while.

A coupbe or three years ago we tacked the Supplement to the Monthly Report with the idea of covering this gap, among several other things, and for a time it served that purpose fairly well. The trouble now is that the Monthly Report is running out into a pretty broad field and there is a lot of inside talk which we don't want to put into it. So while we plan to keep the Report about as it is in general form, we want to widen out some of the more intimate Taurian Sessions which boil up from time to time here in the office to the point where they will include the whole foree.

While all this was rolling around in a nebulous state in what we are pleased to call our mind, one of the Custodians, on a visit to headquarters, expressed a desire for something more intimate than the Supplement, something which could be used as a clearing house to keep us all in closer touch with each other and bridge this gap of formality as we grow.

Figure 55. Cover page of the first Station Boss Broadcasting, May 20, 1935. Source: WACC (SWRO)

monuments. The change was subtle, but it underscored heightened capabilities at headquarters. "The filling of the new position of Junior Park Naturalist, Southwestern Monuments, is going to make a continuing program of museum and education activities possible," Bob Rose explained. "Hence it seems that now is the desirable time to start organizing a separate report to show the constant progress we are going to make in general education work."[533] By January 1936, the "Naturalist Division" section became titled the "Branch of Education" report. It appeared alongside a "Branch of Engineering" report authored by J. H. Tovrea and Pinkley's "Closing" report; Pinkley organized all three reports under a larger heading called "Headquarters Stuff."[534]

Having three full-time naturalists stationed at headquarters meant that Southwestern National Monuments could dedicate the equivalent of one full-time naturalist to field work exclusively. Pinkley cheered the development as "a distinct forward step in carrying assistance right into the field where more help should be given." In earlier years, custodians and rangers in the field limited their interpretive activities to lectures and guided tours of monument features and artifacts housed in rudimentary exhibit spaces; the only assistance they received from headquarters came by way of Pinkley's annual summer inspections and his brief training. Now headquarters had enough full-time educational personnel "such that a naturalist will have spent several weeks close to the problems of each individual monument, something that is most necessary in giving tangible assistance to field men in their problems."

Bird banding at southwestern monuments became a major Branch of Education initiative in early 1935 when Dale King and Louis Caywood received a permit from the Bureau of Biological Survey, Department of Agriculture, to trap and band birds at Casa Grande Ruins.[535] Bird banding got its start in the United States in 1902 when Smithsonian personnel began fastening metal bands with serial numbers on Black-crowned Night Herons in Washington D.C. Within a year, the Smithsonian received sightings of the birds in Maryland, allowing researchers to track migration patterns. The Migratory Birds Treaty Act of 1918 made it illegal to kill, capture, sell, or trade migratory birds without a bird-banding permit issued by the U.S. Bird Banding Office. Under the direction of Frederick Lincoln, the Bird Banding Office, administered by the Bureau of Biological Survey within the Department of Agriculture, successfully recruited hundreds of volunteers who established bird banding stations during the 1920s and 1930s.[536] Several went in at southwestern monuments. Lincoln himself wrote a letter of appreciation to Casa Grande Ruins in 1936, congratulating Louis Caywood on his efforts, "particularly," Lincoln wrote, "since there are so few banding stations in the southwestern part

[533] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1935, 309.

[534] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1936.

[535] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, November 1938, 435.

[536] Bird Banding Laboratory, "The U.S. Bird Banding Laboratory: An Overview of its History and Current Practices," November 2023, https://www.usgs.gov/labs/bird-banding-laboratory/us-bird-banding-laboratory-overview-its-history-and-current-practices (accessed January 25, 2026).

of the country." Lincoln acknowledged that the Biological Survey looked "to the stations established at Southwestern Monuments to produce some information of more than ordinary interest."[537]

Interpretive activities at almost all southwestern monuments increased steadily after 1935, with natural history making important strides. Bird banding stations went in at several monuments; collections of plant, flower, and tree specimens went on display; and stamped labels identifying plant and tree species appeared along monument trails.[538] Custodians routinely called on Southwestern National Monuments naturalists at headquarters to "initiate and pursue to completion a number of definite projects." No project was too ambitious thanks to the NPS Field Division of Education at Berkeley, which had more than two hundred CCC enrollees busily preparing museum-quality charts, relief maps, dioramas, interpretive signs, slide shows, bird banding kits, and any other kind of interpretive materials imaginable. Rose expected southwestern monument custodians to write to him with ideas. "We hope to be of more direct help than ever before to men in the field and we invite your assistance in the submission of naturalist activities from your Monument."[539]

Collaborations with Western Museum Laboratories

In the fall of 1933, a new CCC camp took shape in the hills above Berkeley near the University of California. Its thirty-five enrollees commuted daily to Hilgard Hall on campus where the NPS Field Division of Education had its offices and workshop. Most went to work building large-scale relief maps of the East Bay Area, a labor-intensive activity that kept workers busy for months. Some of the Berkeley enrollees, however, "worked on other kinds of exhibits and a few became accomplished preparators."[540] Newly-built museums at parks and monuments received priority attention. Casa Grande Ruins, with its new administration and museum building, was an early beneficiary. During the fall of 1933, CCC enrollees helped to prepare two "very successful" models depicting Ancestral Sonoran Desert People cremation burial customs that went on display in time for the winter tourism season. Other relief agencies, including CWA, FERA, the State Emergency Relief Administration (SERA), and the Emergency Educational Program (EEP) took notice of the successful partnership between the NPS Field Division of Education and the CCC camp at Berkeley. The workforce at the Field Division soon grew to more than two hundred relief workers. Hilgard Hall remained the Field Division's administrative office, but a much larger workshop went in at the federal Land Bank Building in downtown Berkeley. CCC enrollees also worked at the ECW Laboratories on College Avenue which housed a carpentry shop.[541] With PWA money, Carl Russell, the NPS field naturalist, placed a team of experienced museum preparators at the facility to guide museum planning at western parks and

---

[537] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1936, 37.

[538] Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1935, 5-6.

[539] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1935, 312.

[540] Ralph H. Lewis, *Museum Curatorship in the National Park Service, 1904-1982* (Washington: National Park Service, 1993), 55.

[541] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, June 1935, 330.

monuments, while artists went to work copying, hand coloring, and binding lantern slides for park naturalist slide shows. Those with lesser skills produced wire tripods for displaying artifacts on shelves; others stamped out nature trail labels.[542]

During the fall and winter of 1934-35, Aztec Ruins became the second major Southwestern National Monuments beneficiary of the Field Division of Education's workshops, just as PWA contractors in northern New Mexico made headway on the monument's new exhibit space within a reconstructed kiva. With Bob Rose on hand to supervise the work, Berkeley crews developed illustrated anthropological and historical exhibits for the Aztec Ruins kiva covering Asiatic migration theory, early cultures of the Southwest, southwestern archeology, local archeological findings, and the American-period history of northern New Mexico. Rose also oversaw the production of botanical specimen labels and a General Educational Development Plan for Southwestern National Monuments; the ECW Laboratories on College Avenue also produced custom-made wood-and-glass museum display cases for Aztec Ruins.[543]

In the spring of 1935, Dale King went to Berkeley to observe the Field Division of Education's operations first-hand. At the ECW Laboratories on College Avenue, he saw CCC enrollees and carpenters with "a fairly complete set of mill machinery" building "museum storage cases, lantern slide cases, trays, botanical specimen cases, etc.,—in fact any woodwork orders that come in from the field." At the federal Land Bank Building, King observed carpentry shops, a label-printing shop, and the lantern slide mounting department in the basement. On the first floor, typists hammered out NPS park and monument bibliographies, painters illustrated relief maps and dioramas, artists colored lantern slides, and modelers created miniature trees, shrubs, and grass for dioramas. "When our bibliography is complete," King remarked, "it will be a major step in the educational program of the Monuments." Mimographers and book binders occupied the mezzanine floor. On the second floor, a team of twenty artists busily illustrated maps, cartographs, charts, diagrams, and paintings for museum displays at NPS museums and monuments. "This is probably enough to convince you that the place is huge," King told his colleagues, "and that there is a convincing bustle of efficient activity manifest at all times."[544]

During his two-month stay at Berkeley, King compiled a list of Southwestern National Monuments projects underway at the Field Division of Education:

> 1. Diorama, 8'x5'x3', showing Montezuma Castle with archaeological crew in foreground. On display at San Diego Exposition,

---

[542] Lewis, *Museum Curatorship in the National Park Service*, 99-100.

[543] Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1935, 5; Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1934, 14; Robert H. Lister and Florence C. Lister, *Aztec Ruins National Monument: Administrative History of an Archeological Preserve* (Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1990), 141

[544] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, June 1935, 331.

2. Water color and tempera scenes for Ecology, Animal Foods, and Vegetal Foods cases for Aztec National Monument.

3. Map and Chaco kiva model for Comparative Culture case at Aztec.

4. Twelve museum storage cases for textiles, basketry, and bird and small mammal study skins. For Headquarters, Aztec, Bandelier, Canyon de Chelly, Casa Grande, Chiricahua, Navajo, Tumacaori, White Sands, Wupatki.

5. Twenty two-compartment bird traps for Monuments which have established bird-banding stations: Casa Grande, Canyon de Chelly, Navajo, Wupatki.

6. Six woodpecker traps for the same Monuments.

7. About 40 lantern slides for headquarters, and coloring of 14. Berkeley office can make the slides, but can not color more at the present time.

8. Two hundred trays for sherds and artifacts. For headquarters and various Monuments.

9. Two lantern slide cabinets. One for Headquarters; one for Aztec.

10. Approximately 2,500 metal cactus labels for Saguaro and all other Monuments wherein is found cactus.

11. 2,000 metal rods to affix same, and to be used if desired for labels already distributed to Bandelier, Walnut Canyon, El Morro, and Chiricahua.

12. Three pyrite mirror reconstructions for Casa Grande and, eventually, Tumacacori.

13. Model showing Pima house, kitchen, and store room, for Casa Grande. Now on display at San Diego.

14. Relief maps of Wupatki and Citadel portions of Wupatki National Monument.

15. Restoration drawing of Pueblo Bonito for Chaco.

16. Three maps showing distribution of Western Apache in 1850. For Tonto, Tumacacori, and Casa Grande.

17. About 15 signs for archaeological and botanical features along trails and Walnut Canyon.

18. Thirteen insect and dust proof cases for botanical specimens. For Aztec, Bandelier, Casa Grande, Chiricahua, Montezuma Castle, Tonto, Tumacacori, Walnut Canyon, White Sands, Wupatki, Canyon de Chelly.

19. Large map showing relation of Mission and ruins at Gran Quivira, for display at Gran Quivira museum.[545]

In late 1935, Carl Russell left Berkeley for the Washington office to lead the NPS Museum Division. Sixteen months later, Ansel Hall resigned from the National Park Service, and the Washington office reorganized the Field Division of Education within the Museum Division. Assigned a museum support role exclusively, the Berkeley offices became renamed "Western Museum Laboratories." Its crews continued producing interpretive materials for Southwestern National Monuments through the late 1930s. A lantern slide cabinet filled with hundreds of colored slides depicting southwestern monuments arrived at headquarters in 1937; it went into the headquarters visual education library and became available for monument custodians to access as needed.[546] As museums at Bandelier, White Sands, and Tumacácori —all built with New Deal funds—went up during the late 1930s, Western Museum Laboratories prepared a range of materials. These included a 4.5'x5.5' scale relief model of Bandelier that provided "considerable help as an orientation guide" and an immense quantity of fine arts interpretive materials for the Tumacácori mission. These included a Eusebio Kino bronze sculpted by Eugene Morahan and "incredibly detailed" dioramas depicting Kino on horseback, Tubutama during the 1751 Pima Revolt, and Mass held in the mission—all with wax figures with fabric clothing.[547] "Exhibits designed and built at Western Museum Laboratories during the late 1930s," Pinkley remarked, "put the White Sands, Bandelier and Tumacacori museums on par with any in the National Parks system."[548]

---

[545] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, June 1935, 331-333.

[546] Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1937, 33; Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1938, 40.

[547] Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1938, 4; "Western Museum Laboratories," https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/western-museum-laboratories.htm (accessed January 16, 2026).

[548] Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1938, 51. Pinkley also reported Western Museum Laboratories helped with the "repair of damaged library books, developing and printing of photographs, binding of projection slides, mounting of herbarium specimens, and many other services were of inestimable value to the Southwestern National Monuments." See Southwestern Monuments, Annual Report, 1939, 8.

The CCC at Bandelier, Chiricahua, and Other Southwestern Monuments

Nowhere in the Southwestern National Monuments group transformed more during the New Deal era of the 1930s than Bandelier and Chiricahua national monuments. Nearly undeveloped in 1933, both emerged, by the end of the decade, as the most well-appointed of all southwestern monuments. CCC enrollees, following plans drawn up by NPS landscape architects in San Francisco, built Bandelier and Chiricahua into first-rate NPS units. At Chiricahua, CCC enrollees built an administrative center with a museum, custodian and ranger housing, and multiple maintenance facilities, all made from locally sourced rhyolite stone, hand-quarried to appear consistent with the monument's rugged geological features. Seventeen miles of meandering CCC trails cut through Chiricahua's rugged landscape delighted hikers with dramatic views.[549] At Bandelier, in the previously inaccessible narrow Frijoles Canyon, CCC enrollees built an enormous Pueblo Revival-style residential village and administrative complex with hotel and museum along the banks of the Rio de los Frijoles. The Bandelier camp also employed a team of skilled craftsmen who furnished the monument's buildings with hard-carved wooden furniture; other enrollees built landscaped trails that led hikers to and through the monument's Ancestral Puebloan sites built in its canyon-side cliffs.[550]

Southwestern National Monuments supervised both camps; Chiricahua was located 200 miles from headquarters and Bandelier 600 miles away. "We think," Frank Pinkley stated in December 1937, that "this is about the longest distance operation of CCC camps in the country." Nevertheless, he boasted, the camps "do not have their efficiency decreased thereby but are known as outstanding camps in the Southwest by the inspectors, auditors, and other general officials who visit the various camps in the district."[551] Headquarters kept a "complete check of finances, stores, equipment, etc." for all camps and prepared camp work programs and budgets.[552] Paperwork mounted and the office again became overworked. "The clerical staff is still swamped," Arthur Demaray reported to Congress in 1940, "and work is kept current only by denying annual leave and requiring overtime and week-end work."[553] But the CCC program, in nine years of operation, brought Bandelier and Chiricahua up to a standard of development that might have otherwise taken several decades to achieve.

---

[549] Robin L. Pinto, "The Civilian Conservation Corps at Chiricahua National Monument: A Cultural Landscape For Interpretation" *in* Samantha Weber, ed., *Engagement, Education, and Expectations: The Future of Parks and Protected Areas: Proceedings of the 2015 George Wright Society Conference on Parks, Protected Areas, and Cultural Sites*. (Hancock, Michigan: The George Wright Society, 2016), 77.

[550] National Park Service, "The Civilian Conservation Corps at Bandelier," Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico, www.nps.gov/band/learn/historyculture/the-civilian-conservation-corps-at-bandelier.htm (accessed June 8, 2024). At Chiricahua and Bandelier, CCC enrollees also introduced modern utilities including electrical, groundwater, and wastewater systems.

[551] National Park Service, "The Civilian Conservation Corps at Bandelier," February 29, 2024, www.nps.gov/band/learn/historyculture/the-civilian-conservation-corps-at-bandelier.htm

[552] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1940, 2.

[553] *Interior Department Appropriations Bill, 1941* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940), 743.



Figure 56. Western Museum Laboratories artists in Berkeley putting the finishing touches on a model of the historic Tumacácori mission for installation in Tumacácori National Monument. Source: NPS History Collection

Besides Bandelier and Chiricahua, other southwestern monuments benefitted from smaller, temporary CCC side camps, also called "spike" or "spur" camps, that loaned enrollees from the main CCC camps.[554] In 1935, Pipe Spring obtained a CCC detail from the USFS Division of Grazing to improve the monument's grounds and roads. Two years later, Casa Grande Ruins received a Chiricahua spike camp. Pinkley hoped it would demonstrate the feasibility of placing temporary camps at monuments "badly in need of construction" that did not "share in any emergency funds, [could not] get construction money under the regular appropriation, and [had] not enough projects to keep a regular sized CCC camp busy."[555] From November 1937 to January 1940, "the Ruins camp" hosted up to fifty enrollees drawn from the ranks of camp CNM-2-A at Chiricahua. Major projects included the construction of a large walled-in maintenance compound with four buildings: an oil house, a warehouse with attached watchman quarters, an equipment and artifacts storage house, and a mechanic and blacksmith shop. In addition to the physical improvements completed by CCC enrollees, the Ruins camp also provided provisional ranger-guides for the monument and headquarters office. In his 1939 annual report, Pinkley told the Washington office that Casa Grande's CCC ranger-guides "proved invaluable in handling visitors in a much more efficient manner than would have been possible with the undermanned conditions of the monument."[556]

Strimple C. Coyle (1920-2009), an enrollee originally attached to the road-building crew at the Chiricahua main camp, was one of three CCC workers selected in 1937 to serve as a guide at the Casa Grande Ruins side camp. Coyle later recalled that he walked into the recreation room at Chiricahua one day in 1937 and saw a "notice on the bulletin board that said they were looking for guides at Casa Grande National Monument." Hoping to gain new experience, he put his name in for an interview and was selected.[557] Coyle served at the CCC Ruins camp from December 1937 through November 1940 before enlisting in the U.S. Marine Corps.[558] According to Coyle, CCC ranger-guide jobs at Casa

---

[554] Spur camps were smaller, provisional CCC camps formed from one of the main full-sized camps. Also called side camps, spike camps, and sometimes fly camps, they often consisted of a temporary grouping of tents located at the same monument as the "mother camp"—perhaps at the end of a trail or other construction site too distant from the main barracks to warrant daily treks back and forth. In rare cases, a spur camp was temporarily established off site, such as the Chiricahua side camp at Casa Grande Ruins, which consisted of a provisional barracks and mess hall to accommodate the twenty-four to fifty enrollees stationed at the monument over two years.

[555] Frank Pinkley, "Opening," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1938, 2.

[556] Annual Report, Southwestern Monuments, 1939, 30.

[557] Strimple C. Coyle, transcript of Oral History Interview with Strimple C. Coyle by Ronald E. Marcello, April 22, 1994, 5, Oral History Collection: No. 1025, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas (https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc2220807/m1/7/?q=Casa).

[558] Strimple was stationed at Ewa Field, Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941. Cited for "undaunted courage under direct enemy fire in the defense of Pearl Harbor," he not only survived the attacks and World War II but went on to hold a nearly thirty-year career in the military. When he retired in 1970, he held the rank of Sergeant Major and had earned many decorations including the Bronze "V" Star Medal, the Combat Action ribbon, two Presidential Unit citations, a Navy Unit citation, a China Service medal, a Korean Service medal, and the Asiatic Pacific Campaign medal with seven combat stars.

Grande Ruins were appealing because of the direct interaction with Southwestern National Monuments interpretive staff and the opportunity to take educational courses from them. Casa Grande Ruins, Coyle recalled,

> was headquarters for the location of all the educated people. We had archeologists, we had naturalists, we had the administrative section and all of that...there at the headquarters of the National Monuments.
>
> There were only three of us boys, and those people took an interest in us. I was permitted to attend lectures at the University of Arizona at Tucson in archeology, on museum techniques, and they taught me how to type and take shorthand.[559]

Coyle and his fellow CCC ranger-guides took courses offered through the CCC educational program. Frank Pinkley observed Coyle's photographic talent and offered encouragement; Pinkley even loaned his personal camera to Coyle. Educational opportunities were not limited to just CCC ranger-guides; the headquarters office offered academic and vocational instruction to all CCC enrollees at the Ruins camp. Dale King established a CCC educational program that included sixteen courses taught by naturalists in subjects such as "elementary arithmetic, English, archeology of the Southwest, shorthand, conversational Spanish, mechanical drawing, model making and museum technique, penmanship, photography, auto repairing, cooking, general building trades, bookkeeping, typing, and plan surveying."[560]

Ruins Stabilization and Southwestern National Monuments

Southwestern National Monuments, during its short history, administered multiple types of national monuments: geological formations (Rainbow Bridge, Arches, Natural Bridges, Chiricahua), volcanoes (Capulin Mountain and Sunset Crater), historic sites (Pipe Spring, El Morro, Tumacácori), and desert biomes (White Sands, Organ Pipe Cactus, Saguaro). But it was the pueblos, cliff dwellings, and adobe structures of Ancestral Puebloan, Sinagua, Mogollon, and Ancestral Sonoran Desert cultures that remained, in the public's mind, the icons of Southwestern National Monuments. "The predominant interest and enjoyment of the average visitor to many Southwestern National Monuments," the archeologist A. E. Buchenberg observed in 1941, "is centered in and stimulated by the visual and mental impact of the remains of prehistoric architecture and workmanship: In other words the ruins."[561] Excavated archeological sites such as Aztec Ruins and Pueblo Bonito at Chaco Canyon became major

---

See: "Dr. Strimple C. 'Jim' Coyle," McLemoreStrongGenealogy (https://strongfamilytree.org/getperson.php?personID=I34434&tree=STR06).

[559] Coyle, transcript of Oral History Interview (1994), 5.

[560] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1938, 63.

[561] A.E. Buchenberg, "Preliminary Report on Ruin Stabilization," *Southwestern Monuments Special Report,* No. 29 (Dec. 1941), 1; National Park Service History Electronic Library & Archive (http://npshistory.com/newsletters/sw_mon_rpt/special-report_no_29.pdf). Alvin E. "Buchie" Buchenberg was a business executive and southern Arizona rancher who participated in stabilization work at Wupatki.

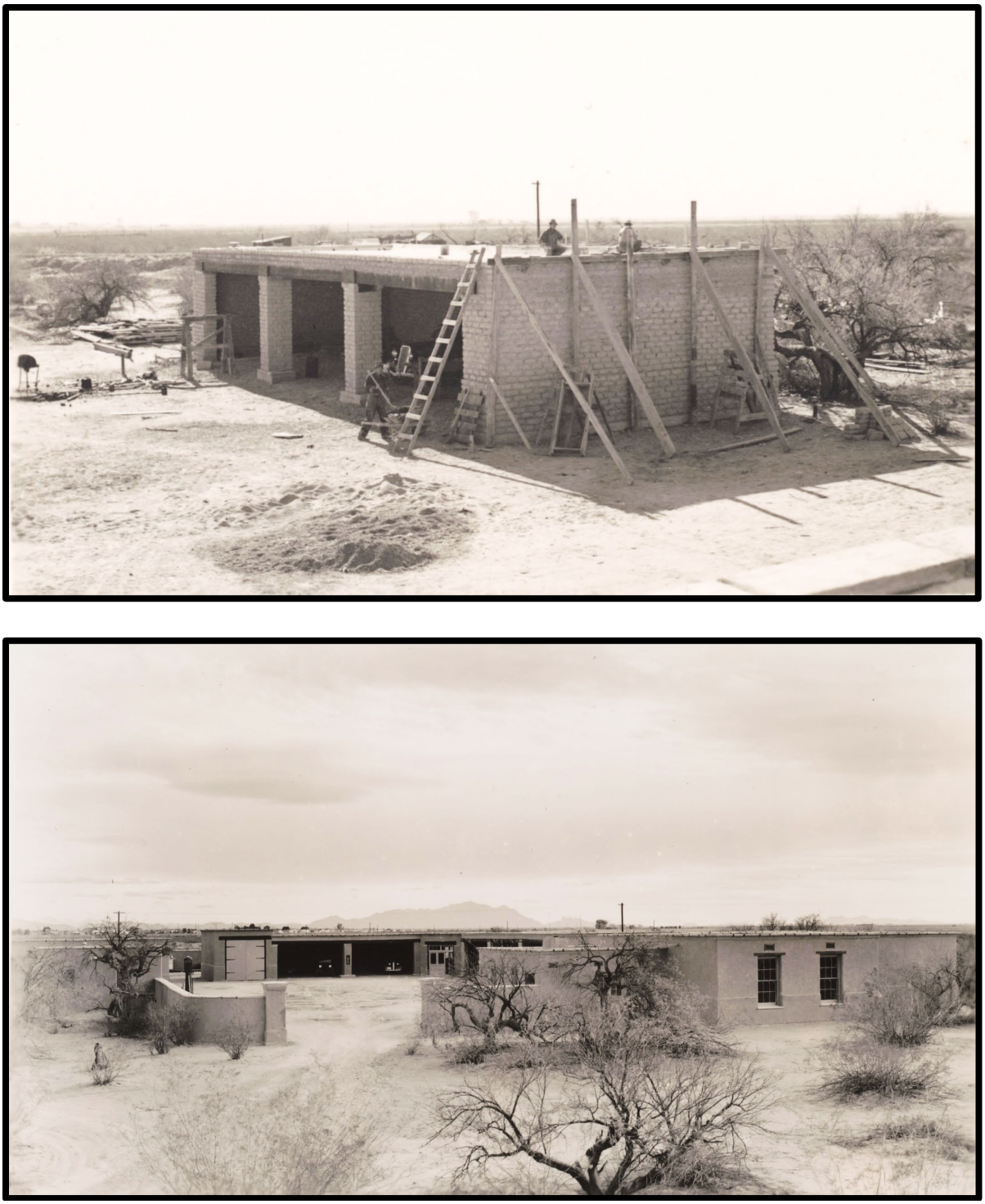


Figure 57. The CCC side camp at Casa Grande Ruins built a walled maintenance compound for Southwestern National Monuments administration in 1938. (top) in construction (bottom) finished. Source: NPS History Collection.

southwestern tourist attractions for the National Park Service. But excavation, which made sites visible to the public, also exposed Ancestral Puebloan mortar to rain, snow, and damp soil. Insulated below ground for centuries, pueblo walls, once exposed to moisture, suffered breakage, cracking and collapse. Concerned archeologists rued moisture as "one of the major factors in ruin disintegration" and "one of the most troublesome conditions to control."[562]

Early Stabilization

The earliest efforts to control moisture in southwestern archeological sites happened at Casa Grande Ruins during the late nineteenth century. Runoff from irrigation in the vicinity of Florence and Adamsville elevated the water table and increased the region's soil salinity, exposing the Great House to salty evaporative moisture that badly eroded the Great House's caliche foundation. In 1891, crews working under the direction of Cosmos Mindeleff underpinned the structure with bricks set in cement. They also shored up its entrances with lumber lintels and braced its south wall with steel rods. In 1902, shortly after Frank Pinkley arrived, Congress appropriated $2,000 for a roof over the Great House to shelter it from rain. Five years later, the archeologist Jesse Walter Fewkes, who led excavations of compounds A and B, oversaw the installation of a surface drainage system to discharge stormwater to a nearby pit.[563] Gordon Vivian, who headed Southwestern National Monuments ruins stabilization efforts during the 1930s through 1950s, praised the pioneering work at Casa Grande as "quite satisfactory" and surmised that, without it, "many walls, including the south wall of the Casa Grande, would have fallen long ago."[564]

After 1910, cement became the preferred stabilizing agent at southwestern monuments. In 1917, Earl Morris, working at Aztec Ruins, began capping walls with cement to protect them from rain and snow. Frank Pinkley and George Boundey subsequently made liberal use of cement plaster to reinforce Mindeleff's 1891 underpinnings of the Great House at Casa Grande Ruins. In 1925, Chaco Canyon custodian Gus Griffin cement-capped kiva walls at Pueblo Bonito and Pueblo del Arroyo with the help of Navajo laborers.[565] A decade later, Earl Morris, working with WPA funds, arrived at Mesa Verde with Al Lancaster, Raymond Dobbins, and a crew of Navajo laborers to stabilize Cliff Palace. Arthur Demaray of the Washington office specifically requested that Morris employ Navajos, praising "their native patience and artisanship." Cement remained "the mortar of choice in Morris' work." At Mesa Verde, the crew effectively rebuilt Cliff Palace, removing its Ancestral Puebloan mortar and resetting its

---

[562] National Park Service, *Handbook for Ruins Stabilization: Part 2: Field Methods* (Jan 1962); National Park Service History Electronic Library & Archive (https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/archeology/10/chap4.htm).

[563] R. Gordon Vivian, "Manual for Ruins Stabilization," 1949, 237-240. Copy on file at WACC.

[564] Vivian, "Manual for Ruins Stabilization," 240.

[565] "Report of the Director's Committee on Ruins Stabilization, 6, in WACC, Ruins Stabilization Unit Collection, Box 1, Report of the Director's Committee on Ruins Stabilization, 927-10/2, 1940; Vivian, 241-242; David M. Brugge, *A History of the Chaco Navajos*, 353. At their fall 1940 meeting in Santa Fe, members of the NPS Director's Committee on Ruins Stabilization condemned the practice of cement-capping, finding it "unsatisfactory as regards preservation and obnoxious as regards appearance."

ancient stones in cement. Morris' team also developed a technique of holding back the cement a half-inch and pointing stone joints with a less durable but more authentic-looking soil mortar made on site. Appearing indistinguishable from the original mortar, it concealed all evidence of modern cement. Morris also developed a practice of sealing off the backs of retaining walls from moisture-bearing soil with cement coatings. His techniques solved "several major structural instability problems" at Mesa Verde but also raised thorny questions about the Cliff Palace's material authenticity. Yet the techniques developed by Earl Morris in 1934, along with his use of Navajo labor, set the standard for subsequent stabilization efforts at southwestern monuments.

During the 1930s, Frank Pinkley fumed over the lack of funds provided for the preservation of southwestern archeological sites. He emphasized the "crying need for a comprehensive, long-term program of ruins stabilization in the area administered by Southwestern Monuments."[566] Emergency work programs such as the CCC and PWA put people to work building new things—roads, trails, museums, administration buildings. Far less effort, if any, went toward shoring up old archeological sites at national monuments. Pinkley chalked it up to a lack of awareness; an educational campaign seemed in order. "Another matter we expect to bring up again in the near future and keep hammering on," he wrote in September 1936, "is an educational campaign on the need of ruins stabilization.

> I don't think there are a dozen people, outside the workers in the Southwest, who know the vast need for actual wall repair, drainage, and general protection which we lump under the term stabilization among the ruins under our charge. We ought to have a regular, continuing appropriation, precisely comparable to our Roads and Trails appropriation, for the repair and upkeep of these ruins. I am speaking not only of the ruins which have been excavated by field expeditions, of which there are a large number greatly in need of work, but of that other large number which have many high standing walls which are gradually falling apart and being forever lost to future generations.

Pinkley pointed to Chaco Canyon as example of the federal government's tendency to proclaim national monuments as reservations, prohibit private uses, plan out complicated civil engineering projects, and authorize expensive excavations, only to let the original reason for the monument's existence—its Ancestral Puebloan masonry—melt away under rain and snow.

> There is considerable irony in the fact that we can make a large reservation to protect certain groups of ruins; we can spend forty thousand dollars fencing that reservation in order to keep the cattle and sheep off so the grass will get a new start and keep down soil erosion; we can spend sixty or seventy thousand dollars putting in dams, taps, and revetments to keep the soil from washing away and dropping our ruins into the arroyos; various institutions can spend a hundred and fifty thousand dollars opening one of two of these ruins and studying them; but we can only spend about two hundred and fifty

[566] D. S. King, "Notes and News," *American Antiquity* 4, no. 1 (Jul 1938): 70-71.

> dollars per year in keeping up and repairing the walls on that one reservation which, if gathered together, would cover more than four city blocks in Washington, D.C.[567]

"It seems terribly hard work," Pinkley concluded in November 1936, "to work up much interest in the repair and protection of prehistoric ruins, and I don't know quite why."[568] With help from his junior park naturalist, Charlie Steen, Pinkley resolved to work up the interest himself.

The Indian CCC Mobile Unit

In January 1937, Pinkley and Steen began laying the groundwork for a cooperative project between the CCC Indian Division (CCC-ID) and the National Park Service to develop a CCC camp of Navajo enrollees dedicated to ruins stabilization. Early in the negotiations, in January 1937, Pinkley suffered a major heart attack, forcing him to leave work for several weeks. In his place, Steen stepped in to handle the "preparation of a tentative schedule for the proposed ECW mobile unit for ruins stabilization."[569] With his fellow junior park naturalist, Dale King, away on educational furlough, Steen independently organized the creation of the Indian CCC Mobile Unit. It consisted of a crew of twenty-five Navajo CCC enrollees. Under the terms of the agreement, the National Park Service provided automobiles, equipment, and two foremen—an engineer and an archeologist—to supervise the work, while the CCC-ID furnished enrollees, a CCC camp, and camp provisions. The Indian CCC Mobile Unit launched at Chaco Canyon on July 7, 1937, under the direction of engineering foreman Robert Harris, an NPS field engineer.[570]

Set up to move from monument to monument as needed, the Mobile Unit spent its first year working at Chaco Canyon exclusively, focusing its efforts on stabilizing and repairing Pueblo Bonito and Klin Klizhin.[571] Gordan Vivian, a University of New Mexico-trained archeologist, signed on as the project's archeological foreman [Bio File: Vivian, Gordon]. Harris resigned after three months, leaving Vivian in charge. Vivian kept full notes and photographic records of the work, including ground plans and profile drawings following Historic American Building Survey standards. Copies of progress reports were filed with Chaco Canyon National Monument, the Southwestern Monuments Loan Library, the NPS Washington office, and the Bureau of American Ethnology.[572] Like other CCC programs at southwestern monuments, the Mobile Ruins Stabilization Unit accomplished in months what would

---

[567] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1936, 201-202.

[568] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, November 1936, 363.

[569] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1937, 105.

[570] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1937, 44-45; D. S. King, "Notes and News," *American Antiquity* 4, no. 1 (Jul 1938): 70-71.

[571] D. S. King, "Notes and News," *American Antiquity* 4, no. 1 (Jul 1938): 70-71.

[572] King, "Notes and News."



Figure 58. The CCC-ID Mobile Unit ruins-stabilization crew shored up walls at Pueblo Bonito, Chaco Canyon, by means of a three-story scaffolding system in 1938-39. Source: NPS History Collection

have taken the National Park Service years to achieve without the federal relief program; at last Frank Pinkley had a program in place entirely dedicated to ruins stabilization.[573]

The first Navajos to enroll in the unit included Charlie Atencio and his son, Agapito Atencio. Both had previous experience performing stabilization work at Chaco Canyon. Other Navajos joined the unit. The wages they earned helped offset low market prices for wool that plagued Navajos during the Depression years.[574] Navajos were no strangers to Chaco Canyon archeology; some had worked for more than fifteen years excavating and stabilizing the canyon's Ancestral Puebloan walls. When Neil Judd arrived at Chaco Canyon in the spring of 1921 to begin his seven-year excavation of Pueblo Bonito, he hired local Navajos to join his crew of Zuni and white laborers.[575] Frank Pinkley, who made an inspection of the excavation in July 1921, praised the persistence of Judd's workers, who took "rain,

[573] "Mobile Unit," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1937, 45.

[574] Brugge, *A History of the Chaco Navajos*, 451.

[575] For the following six summers, many of the same Navajo, Zuni, and white workers returned to Pueblo Bonito to resume work on Judd's excavation. See Brugge, *A History of the Chaco Navajos*, 318-319, 325, 327, 349, 359, 362.

windstorms, dust and such things as minor matters."[576] Gus Griffin hired members of Judd's crew to perform stabilization work on Pueblo Bonito's walls in April 1925. When Judd returned the following month, he found three of his most experienced Navajos—Rafael Atencio, Dan Cly, and Willeto Wero—hard at work stabilizing Pueblo Bonito's walls under the direction of local stonemasons.[577] A year later, Pinkley arrived at Chaco Canyon on his summer inspection trip and found a crew of eight Navajos performing stabilization work; intermittent efforts to shore up Pueblo Bonito's walls continued through the late 1920s and early 1930s as funding allowed.[578] Utilizing three-story scaffolding, the Mobile Unit had Pueblo Bonito's highest walls capped with cement within six months.

By the end of the 1938 fiscal year, twenty-five percent of Pueblo Bonito's stabilization work was finished; the crew had also stabilized the walls of Kin Klizhin kiva and installed a movement gauge near "Threatening Rock," a 97-foot vertical sandstone monolith that towered precariously above Pueblo Bonito.[579] By the fall of 1938, Vivian had crews working simultaneously at Pueblo Bonito and the nearby Pueblo del Arroyo site; a third crew worked at Aztec Ruins fifty miles to the north. Like many CCC units, the Mobile Ruins Stabilization Unit enjoyed high morale. Lewis McKinney, custodian of Chaco Canyon during the late 1930s, regularly observed Navajo enrollees "laughing and chanting as they [worked] away with their mud and stone, repairing the wonderful old ruins of Pueblo Bonito."[580] By January 1939, the Mobile Unit had finished its work at Pueblo del Arroyo, Kin Klizhin, and other minor Chaco Canyon sites, and moved on to Navajo National Monument, where enrollees stabilized the Inscription House.[581]

A year later, the unit made a memorable two-month trip to central Arizona to stabilize the cliff dwellings at Tonto National Monument.[582] The workers returned to Chaco Canyon in April 1940 to turn their attention to long neglected sites including Wijiji and Pueblo Pintado. That season, on January 22, 1941, at 3:25 in the afternoon, the 30,000-ton Threatening Rock gave way, sending a rock avalanche into the back portion of Pueblo Bonito, destroying twenty rooms and obliterating much of

---

[576] Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, July 20, 1921, folder 18 "Official Correspondence, 1921," Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (ARG 34), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[577] Brugge, *A History of the Chaco Navajos*, 353.

[578] Brugge, *A History of the Chaco Navajos*, 358-359, 367, 383, 392, 426

[579] The gauge confirmed that the top-heavy boulder was shifting and had moved one-and-three-eighths inches during the year. The estimated 30,000-ton Threatening Rock finally toppled on January 22, 1941.

[580] The high morale exhibited by Navajo workers in the CCC-ID's Mobile Ruins Stabilization Unit contrasted with an all-white WPA stabilization crew that worked concurrently at Chetro Ketl in Chaco Canyon. Paul Reiter, who directed the WPA crew, reported many of his workers expressed displeasure "in moving away from their homes to work in this location." See: Brugge, *A History of the Chaco Navajos*, 453.

[581] Brugge, *A History of the Chaco Navajos*, 454; National Park Service, *1939 Annual Report of the Southwestern National Monuments*, 33.

[582] Brugge, *A History of the Chaco Navajos*, 458-459.

the Mobile Unit's stabilization work.[583] Enrollees turned their attention back to Chaco Canyon. For the remainder of 1941, the Mobile Unit focused on mitigating the damage at Pueblo Bonito. Work at Wijiji, Pueblo Pintado, and Aztec Ruins continued until the spring of 1942, when the federal government abruptly ended the CCC program to mobilize for U.S. entry into World War II.[584]

[583] National Park Service, *Region III Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (Apr 1941); National Park Service History Electronic Library & Archive (http://npshistory.com/newsletters/region_iii_quarterly/vol3-2i.htm). The Navajo word for Pueblo Bonito, *tse biyaa anii'ahi* (leaning rock gap), references Threatening Rock.

[584] Brugge, *A History of the Chaco Navajos*, 460-461.

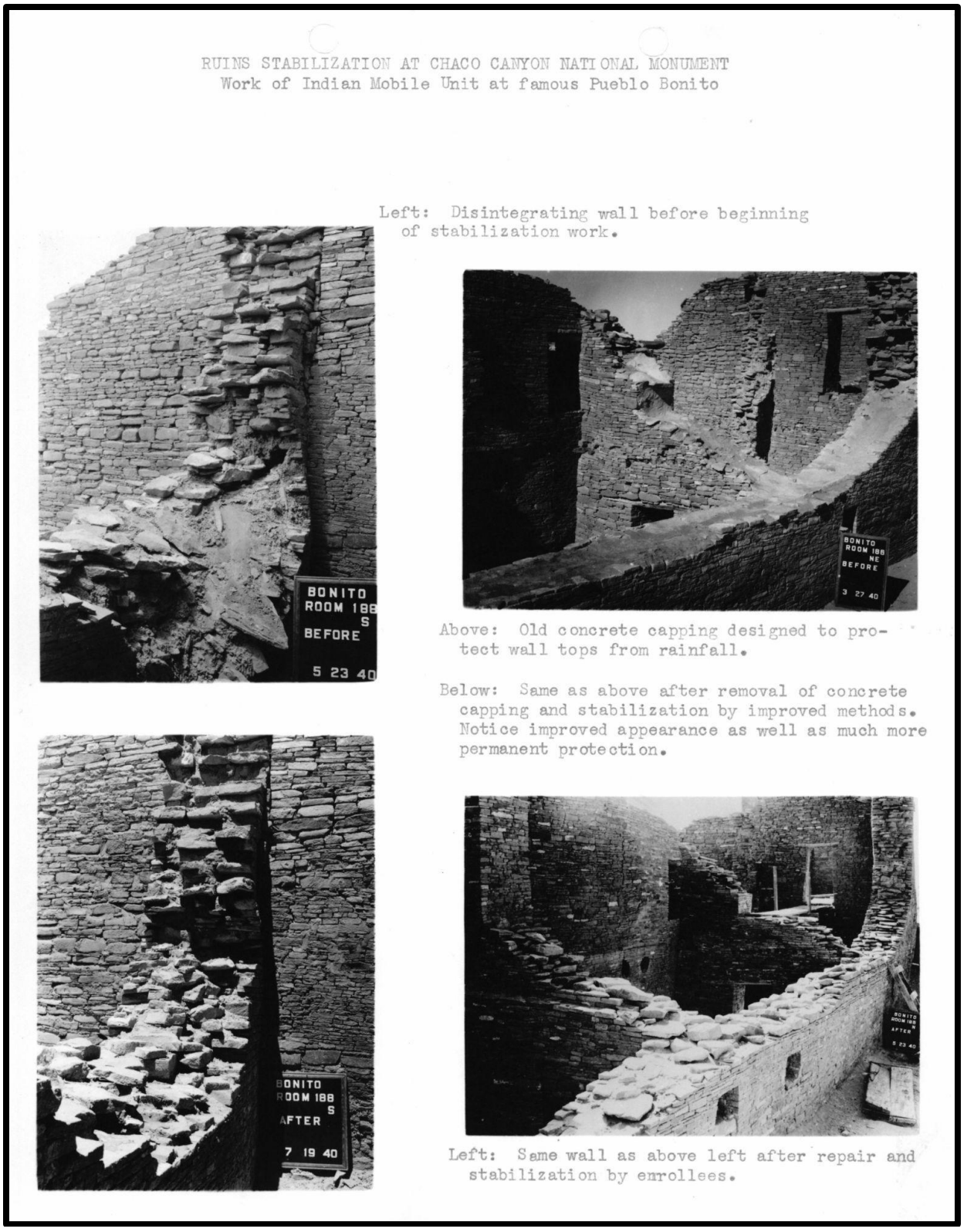


Figure 59. Before and after examples of CCC Mobile Unit work at Chaco Canyon. Source: Superintendent's Annual Report, Southwestern National Monuments, Fiscal Year 1940. Source: WACC

CHAPTER 8:

FULFILLING A DREAM, 1938-1942

Always there has been before me the mirage or the dream of all the Southwestern Monuments personnel getting together and sitting down where we could talk over our problems and try to find how to do our work in the best possible way. That time is now here…The idea behind our organization has been that 27 individual areas, each struggling along in its own individual way, each using its own plan, each meeting its own problems as they arise, can be welded into one compact group where every man will have benefit of the experience of every other man to start with when a problem arises and the same mistake need not be made 27 different times.[585]

~Frank Pinkley, February 14, 1940



Figure 60. Group photo of Southwestern National Monuments personnel from headquarters and the field during the 1940 Custodians' School of Instruction at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, showing the empty chair in honor of Superintendent Frank Pinkley. Source: WACC (4044)

[585] Quote from Frank Pinkley's "Red Letter Day" speech located in Appendix II of Ray C. Foust, "Frank Pinkley: National Park Service Pioneer," unpublished seminar paper for the University of Arizona, May 18, 1964, folder 19 "Foust, Ray: Frank Pinkley NPS Pioneer 1964," Box 1, Series 1: Southwest National Monuments Materials, 1926-1956, Southwest Regional Office Library Archives, 1928-1982 (SWRO ACC 109), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

Southwestern National Monuments, Fiscal Years 1938-1942

Arches · Aztec Ruins · Bandelier · Canyon de Chelly · Capulin Mountain · Casa Grande Ruins
Chaco Canyon · Chiricahua · El Morro · Gila Cliff Dwellings · Gran Quivira · Hovenweep
Montezuma Castle · Natural Bridges · Navajo · Organ Pipe Cactus · Pipe Spring
Rainbow Bridge · Saguaro · Sunset Crater · Tonto · Tumacácori · Walnut Canyon · White Sands
Wupatki · Yucca House

Tuzigoot (added 1939)

"This is the first time in my thirty-odd years of serving the Government that we have had to guess our way through a quarter of the year before we actually knew how our funds stood," Frank Pinkley reported in September 1937, amid a national economic slump. "You can take a field man's word for it, it is pretty hard on the nerves, temper, and vocabulary … our hardest year is ahead of us."[586] Two months later, the situation had not improved. In November, Pinkley reported that despite "trimming all the corners," the government "savings [kept] coming right out of our bones."[587] Congress had launched the 1938 fiscal year with an imposed ten-percent "impoundment" of national monuments funding. The budget cut corresponded with a recession that lasted from May 1937 through June 1938—arguably the third-worst economic downturn of the twentieth century.[588] New Deal public work-relief programs were reauthorized and CCC enrollees continued making progress developing the monuments, but the Southwestern National Monuments accounting books took a direct hit. "A ten per cent impoundment of funds to balance the budget," Pinkley acknowledged, "seems so small when one talks about it," but for the headquarters office and monuments, which operated meagerly even in feast years, the impoundment seemed like saving on an "automobile operation by not buying any oil."[589] Then came "the saddest news of all," another slice taken from their money "to finance the new Park Service Regional Officer's Salary and that of his helper."[590]

Despite its inauspicious start, the 1938 fiscal year heralded a period of program growth for Southwestern National Monuments. The establishment of a non-profit entity, the Southwestern Monuments Association, supported growth by serving as a supplementary source of funding for educational publications, including self-guiding trail booklets. And in 1939, Frank Pinkley finalized plans to provide official training for monument custodians, fulfilling his long-held dream. Tragically, the inaugural Custodians' School of Instruction, held at headquarters in February 1940, ushered in

---

[586] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, September 1937, 247.

[587] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, November 1937, 336.

[588] Patricia Waiwood, "Recession of 1937-38," Federal Reserve History, November 22, 2013 (https://www.federalreservehistory.org/essays/recession-of-1937-38; accessed 28 October 2024).

[589] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, October 1937, 308.

[590] Frank Pinkley, "Ruminations," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, September 1937, 247.

Pinkley's sudden death. The achievement of the Custodians' School also marked the apex of the group's upward trajectory. After Pinkley's death, Southwestern National Monuments attempted to maintain the status quo, but leadership change, World War II, and persistent agency attempts to consolidate the group with the new Region III office in Santa Fe brought irreversible transformation.

Regionalization: Creation of Region III in Santa Fe, 1938

In January 1937, the U.S. Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, signed off on an NPS plan to assign administrative authority of parks and monuments to regional offices in San Francisco, Omaha, Richmond, and Oklahoma City. The idea had its origins in the New Deal. In 1933, Conrad Wirth, the NPS public works planner, developed a system of four (later eight) regional offices to handle the sudden influx of CCC personnel and ECW projects at parks and monuments across the country.[591] Pleased with the results, Wirth pushed for regionalizing the entire National Park Service. Numerous park superintendents supported the idea.[592] Frank Pinkley was a strong proponent. Still smarting over the Washington office's pushback against his interpretive methods at southwestern monuments, Pinkley blamed the incident on disconnect between field personnel and agency leaders. At the 1934 superintendents conference he found "at least twenty different superintendents" who agreed with his premise that regional directors, acting as intermediaries, might repair the relationship between the Washington office and superintendents in the field. The original regionalization plan, developed at the 1934 conference, had Pinkley's imprints all over it. A proposed Region II, with Pinkley serving as director, included all the current southwestern monuments along with Mesa Verde National Park, Wheeler and Great Sand Dunes national monuments, and two former southwestern monuments: Carlsbad Cavern and Petrified Forest. Region I included all remaining national monuments, battlefields, memorials, and military parks. Regions III, IV, and V included the national parks.[593]

In February 1936, a committee headed by NPS assistant director Hillory Tolson agreed that regionalization should "bring the director and his assistants back into a more intimate touch with the field" allowing "greater supervision of the field, while preserving the autonomy and individuality of the parks."[594] But to Pinkley's disappointment, the committee decided against grouping parks and monuments thematically in favor of a strictly geographical alignment. The Region III office, first located in Oklahoma City but soon moved to Santa Fe, administered parks and monuments in Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. Southwestern National Monuments, headquartered at Casa Grande Ruins, reported to the Region III office but still remained responsible for national

[591] The number and relocation of CCC district offices were redrawn in 1935, increasing to eight district offices to handle the proportionate rise in number of new CCC camps.

[592] Kristin A. Miller, "Behind the Adobe Wall: An Administrative History of the Southwest Regional Office," unpublished study (Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1990), 30.

[593] Harland D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Washington: National Park Service, 1983), 252-255.

[594] Unrau and Williss (1983), 254-256.

monuments in southeastern Utah and southwestern Colorado, making Arches, Natural Bridges, Rainbow Bridge, Yucca House, and Hovenweep exceptions to the new NPS geography.[595] Much to Pinkley's chagrin, the agency took the Region III director's salary from the Southwestern National Monuments portion of the already-reduced national monuments appropriation. Pinkley compared it to "draining a couple of quarts of blood out of a man," then "cheerfully" asking him "for just another cup full."[596] The four new NPS regional offices became operational at the outset of the 1937 fiscal year.



Figure 61. Map showing the original four NPS regional offices, in operation by July 1937. Source: National Park Service.

Southwestern National Monuments Office Divisions

As the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters staff continued growing through the 1930s, it became necessary to delineate reporting lines, roles, and relationships within the office. The "Branch of Education" and the "Branch of Engineering" sections of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, introduced in January 1936, became the basis for a formal organizational chart. By January

[595] Other parks and monuments in Utah to Region IV (San Francisco); those in Colorado were assigned to Region II (Omaha).

[596] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, September 1937, 247.

1938, all headquarters personnel, except for the superintendent (Frank Pinkley) and assistant superintendent (Hugh Miller), belonged to one of three Southwestern National Monuments divisions: the Branch of Accounting, the Branch of Maintenance, and the Branch of Research and Information. Each branch had its own personnel aiding monuments in the field—and all three branches grew steadily in terms of personnel during the late 1930s.

Branch of Accounting

Keeping the books at Southwestern National Monuments during the mid-late 1930s involved multiple clerks working long hours—and it was not for everybody. James Luther, the former Carlsbad Caverns clerk who succeeded Hugh Miller as Chief Clerk in September 1936, lasted only a year before resigning. In his place, Pinkley hired Parke Soule from the U.S. Treasury Department at Salt Lake City [Bio File: Soule, Parke].[597] Soule and his wife, Jean, settled in Coolidge with their children; they remained with Southwestern National Monuments until Soule transferred to Yellowstone in 1943. A team of clerk-stenographers and clerk-typists worked under Soule. Working late into the night with few days off "handling the large volume of correspondence necessary in the administration of 25 widely separated monuments," the group struggled to keep pace.[598] Millard Singerman, hired in June 1936 off the Civil Service list, transferred to Petrified Forest in the spring of 1938. But others, like Luis Gastellum, made Southwestern National Monuments their permanent home. Gastellum, hired in the summer of 1935 as a temporary clerk-stenographer, became a CCC enrollee in 1936 and slid into the ECW clerk position at headquarters. Eyeing Gastellum for a permanent position, Pinkley requested a second permanent clerk-stenographer for the 1938 fiscal year. Gastellum got the job in August 1937—the beginning of a thirty-six-year career with the National Park Service.[599] During the 1939 fiscal year, Robert Petrie and former CCC clerk Ira Goodwin also became part of the permanent Southwestern National Monuments staff as assistant clerk-stenographer and assistant clerk-typist, respectively.[600] In September 1939 Pinkley hired Ray B. Ringenbach—a CCC enrollee from the Chiricahua camp—as permanent clerk-typist and then replaced Petrie with Howard Rieber in October 1939.[601] Months later, temporary

---

[597] "Mr. Park Soule," *Coolidge Examiner*, November 25, 1937.

[598] *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1938* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), 534.

[599] The family spelling of Luis's surname was Gastelum. The NPS generally spelled it "Gastellum."

[600] Howard Rieber replaced Petrie as assistant clerk-stenographer in October 1939.

[601] Ringenbach remained at headquarters until December 8, 1941, when he enlisted in the military. After his military discharge, Ringenbach became the first permanent ranger at Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. He later transferred to Chiricahua. In 1951, he became the superintendent of Gran Quivira National Monument. See: Ray B. Ringenbach, transcript of Oral History Interview of Ray B. Ringenbach by S. Herbert Evison, February 21, 1973, 6-7, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

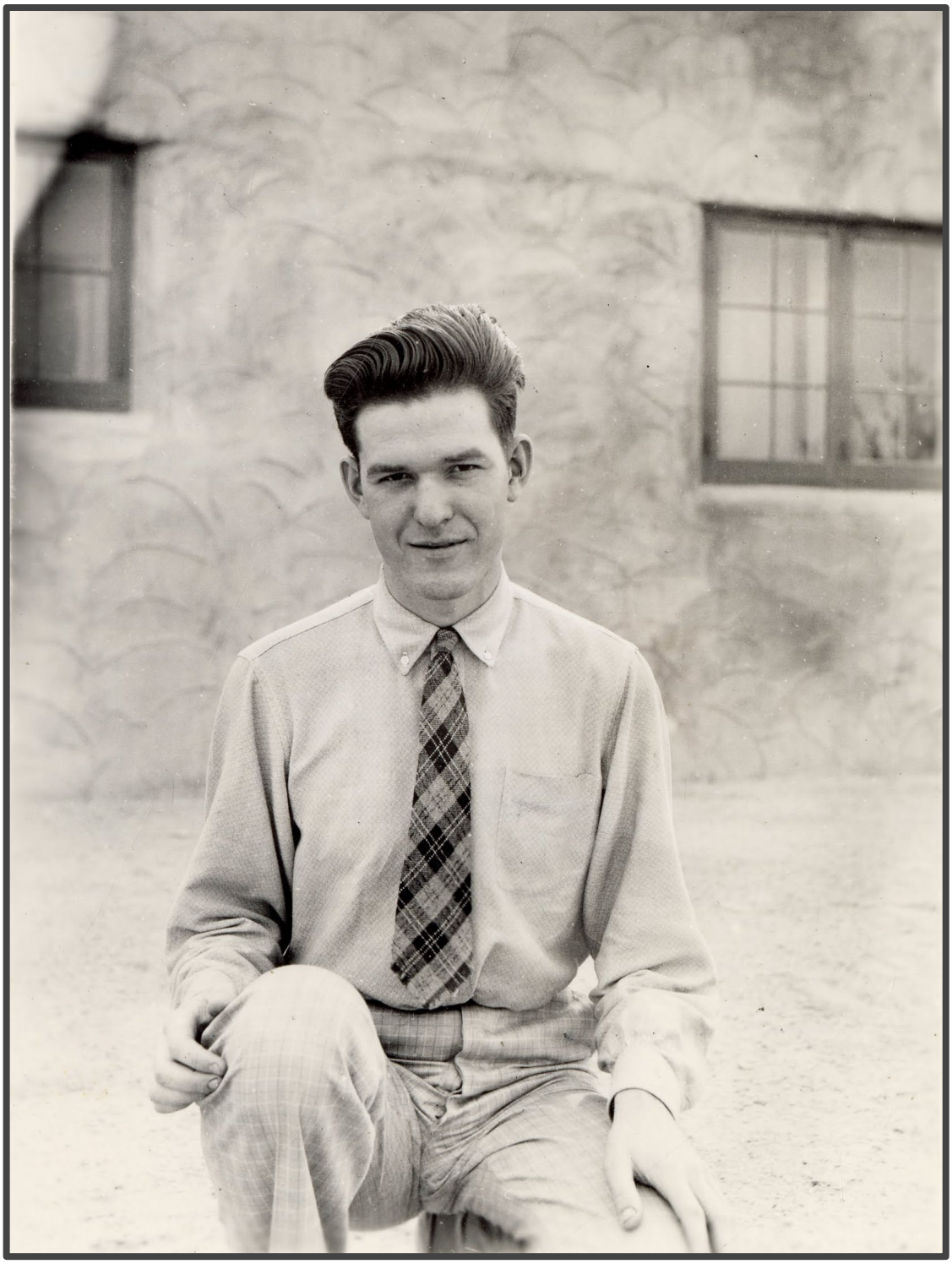


Figure 62. Ira Goodwin, Clerk-Stenographer for Southwestern National Monuments (1939), served first as a CCC clerk. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge, spring 1939. Source: WACC (03279A)

CCC clerk Lawrence Mungerro moved into a permanent position at headquarters as junior clerk-stenographer.

Branch of Maintenance

Through the late 1930s, Southwestern National Monuments also grew its maintenance team. In July 1937, Congress approved funding for a "general mechanic" at headquarters. Frank Pinkley hired Francis Eugene "Gene" Stonehocker (1903-1987), former mechanic in charge at the Goff Motor Company and Service Station in Coolidge.[602] As a mechanic, Stonehocker maintained and repaired vehicles and equipment for headquarters and for the monuments; he also repaired CCC equipment at camps located on southwestern monuments. Stonehocker regularly traveled from headquarters to the individual monuments to deliver equipment, pick up vehicles, and haul them back to headquarters for repairs. He could handle just about any tricky problem that arose, even relocating bee swarms from the Great House at Casa Grande Ruins. Stonehocker often worked together with J. L. L. "Teddy" Baehr, the Southwestern National Monuments longtime "utility man." A fixture at Casa Grande Ruins beginning in 1932, Teddy Baehr served as the monument's janitor, groundskeeper, and handyman.[603] His work ethic and attention to detail often earned Frank Pinkley's praise:

> Teddy sweeps and dusts and cleans things up and moves bushes and shrubs and irrigates and cares for the pumping plant and the light plant and is always on the job and never gets grouchy and is, in a word, much nearer a 100% janitor than the rest of us are 100% rangers and custodians and superintendents. So it doesn't matter much what you do; it is how you do it that counts.[604]

In September 1937, after Stonehocker came on board at headquarters, Pinkley reclassified Baehr's position from Casa Grande Ruins monument employee to Southwestern National Monuments

---

[602] Gene Stonehocker remained at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument as general mechanic well past the 1942 transfer of Southwestern National Monuments headquarters to Santa Fe. Personnel news in monthly reports indicated that Stonehocker and his wife Esther, with their young family, lived north of Coolidge on their private property, where they built a house in 1939. Their eldest son David Stonehocker worked summers at the Ruins in the early 1940s. According to the historic 1947 *National Park Service Directory*, Gene Stonehocker still lived at the Ruins in 1947 but by 1950 was working as a mechanic at Zion National Park. When he retired around 1969, he could boast thirty-two years with the National Park Service.

[603] John Luther Lamotte Baehr, known fondly by the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters and monument staff at Casa Grande Ruins as "Teddy," became janitor at the Ruins around June 1932 at the rate of $2.00 per diem (see October 1932 monthly report). He may have taken a leave of absence in 1935 or 1936, but his name showed up again in the monthly reports in January 1937. The historic *National Park Service Directory* indicates that Baehr still worked at Casa Grande Ruins as a maintenance laborer in 1947. See: *National Park Service Directory: January 1947* (https://npshistory.com/publications/nps-directory-1947.pdf), 27.

[604] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, October 1932, 13.

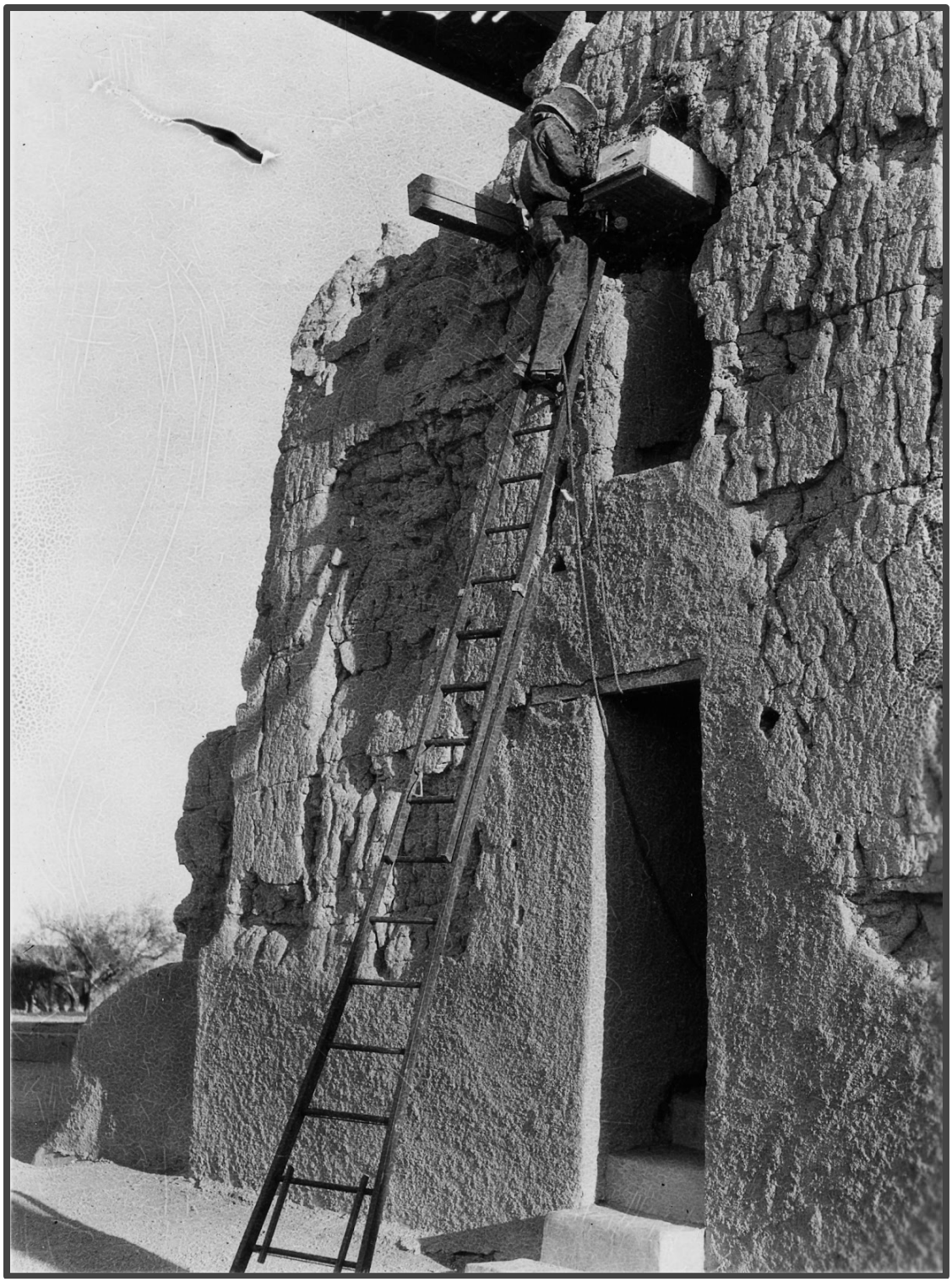


Figure 63. Eugene Stonehocker, general mechanic for Southwestern National Monuments, pictured removing a swarm of bees from the Great House structure at Casa Grande Ruins in 1940. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge. WACC (04742)



Figure 64. John Luther Lamotte Baehr (J.L.L. Baehr), known fondly as "Teddy," served as the janitor for Southwestern National Monuments headquarters and Casa Grande Ruins National Monument from 1932 to at least 1947. Together with Eugene Stonehocker, General Mechanic, Baehr formed the Southwestern National Monuments Branch of Maintenance. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge, November 1937. WACC (00403A)

headquarters staff. Baehr handled cleaning, maintenance, and general repairs for both the headquarters facilities and for Casa Grande Ruins. Beginning in October 1938, Southwestern National Monuments provided a temporary assistant mechanic for Stonehocker from the CCC side camp at Casa Grande Ruins.[605] The Branch of Maintenance, consisting of Stonehocker, Baehr, and the temp CCC assistant, initially operated from a small garage and machine shop set up in a shed at Casa Grande Ruins. Their workspace improved considerably when the Casa Grande CCC side camp completed a large walled-in maintenance and warehouse compound for headquarters in 1939-40.

Branch of Research and Information

As the accounting and maintenance branches expanded in 1937-38, so did the naturalist division. This sector of Southwestern National Monuments took on the name "Branch of Research and Education" in 1936. The name-change followed NPS administrative division titles established in 1930, when the Washington office created the Branch of Research and Education and placed Dr. Harold C. Bryant in charge. The Southwestern National Monuments "Branch of Research and Education"—usually shortened to "Branch of Education"—operated under the supervision of the park naturalist, first Bob Rose and then Dale King. The senior naturalist was responsible for writing the Branch of Education column in the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report. The column covered the various activities of the headquarters subject experts—"the educators." In addition to developing a wide range of interpretive programs for the southwestern monuments, the Education branch took responsibility for the content, layout, and mimeographing of special and recurring reports, including Southwestern National Monuments annual and monthly reports. During the 1938 fiscal year, Dale King, Charlie Steen, and Natt Dodge prepared twelve issues of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, totaling over 1,200 pages; mimeographed 300 copies of each issue for circulation; compiled the forty-page Southwestern Monuments Annual Report, and authored four Special Reports on a variety of scientific subjects.[606]

In 1938, the National Park Service renamed its central Branch of Research and Education the "Branch of Research and Information." The Southwestern National Monuments educational team became known by the same. After a heated Taurian Session at headquarters regarding the ever-changing name of the education division, Pinkley typed up his thoughts on the subject for the May 1939 Ruminations. "We used to call these fellows 'the educators'," he reflected, because "they worked with, or in, or under the Branch of Research and Education." But now "that name has been changed," he griped, "to Research and Information, and we can't call them 'informers' because that name has a sort of bad odor." Better the term "Interpreter," Pinkley explained:

---

[605] From October 1938 to November 1939, Teddy Savage, a former CCC guide from the Casa Grande Ruins side camp, became Stonehocker's assistant. After Savage, Southwestern National Monuments continued to draw assistants from the CCC side camp. See issues of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report beginning with October 1938.

[606] Southwestern National Monuments, *Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1938*, 40.

> A lot of us work with visitors; rangers and custodians as well as those on the scientific side...[they are all] interpreters because they are dealing with the visitor in the sense of interpreting the monument to him...The word "interpreter"...[has] a meaning which fits precisely what we are doing; we may have a ranger-historian who neither ranges nor does a historian's work, but the Interpreter would really interpret history, nature, and science to the layman who always wants to know but shies away from the thought of becoming educated.

Natt Dodge—hired as a junior naturalist in September 1937—walked by Pinkley's office, popped his head in, and, while Pinkley penned his "Ruminations," suggested the name, "Division of Interpretation and Stabilization" to reflect the two primary activities of Southwestern National Monuments. "Those long words sound too important," Pinkley ribbed. "Jobs by any other names are just as big."[607]

In June 1939, the Southwestern National Monuments Branch of Research and Information split into two interpretive branches: one focused on scientific activity (the so-called "naturalist" work) and the other cultural (archeology and history). Natt Dodge, naturalist, continued to identify with the Branch of Research and Information, but Dale King and Charlie Steen became the Branch of Historic Sites. Like previous divisional designations, the new organizational chart reflected changes in Washington. In 1936, the National Park Service created the Branch of Historic Sites and Buildings, shortened to Branch of Historic Sites in 1939 with the appointment of historian Ronald "Ronnie" F. Lee as supervisor. Thereafter the agency distinguished natural experts (geologists, biologists, etc.) from cultural experts (archeologists, historians), no longer lumping their interpretive work together under the "naturalist" umbrella. By 1941, the Southwestern National Monuments office appears to have stopped using the "naturalist" title altogether to describe its educational team. By April 1941 it dubbed each subject expert at headquarters as "Interpreter" and stopped identifying interpretive activities with a branch of any kind. In the April 1941 Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, the column covering activities of the former Branch of Research and Information and Branch of Historic Sites became the "Interpreters' Report."[608]

Southwestern National Monuments interpreters, Pinkley suggested in his May 1939 Ruminations article, offered a fluid range of expertise that did not fall neatly into any one scientific discipline. His reference to the non-rangering, non-historian "ranger-historian," for example, referred specifically to a seasonal CCC student technician who organized and cataloged the Southwestern Monuments library and office files. In 1937 and 1938, Gertrude F. Hill (1909-1981) served as the "ranger-historian" at

[607] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, May 1939, 384.

[608] Dale S. King "Interpreters' Report," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1941, 224-227.



Figure 65. A young Western or Pallid Horned Owl reared at Casa Grande Ruins in 1938. Pictured on top of a typewriter in the Naturalists' office at Southwestern National Monuments headquarters. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge. Source: WACC (00652)

headquarters for back-to-back summers, earning $70 a month.[609] Under the supervision of Bob Rose and then Dale King, Gertrude's main task involved cataloging the Southwestern National Monuments loan library. Hill was a graduate student at the time—enrolled in the anthropology M.A. program at the University of Arizona—but she also had years of library experience under her belt. Hill took the office's haphazard publications collection and transformed it into an organized library. In two summers, she "catalogued 792 publications, made out 4,503 library cards, and repaired 74 books."[610] Hill also developed a bibliographical filing system. Like all headquarters staff, she also stepped in as a clerk or "general handyman" as needed.[611] In July 1939, Eugene Knezevich replaced Gertrude Hill as the CCC ranger-historian at Southwestern National Monument headquarters.[612]

Southwestern Monuments Association (SWMA)

In response to the crippling 1938 fiscal year appropriations impoundment, Southwestern National Monuments personnel began considering external sources of funding. The answer was the Southwestern Monuments Association, the brainchild of naturalist Dale King.[613] The association, as King envisioned, would accept donations in exchange for interpretive programming, such as published informational guides for monument visitors. Several national parks already operated similar non-profit entities. All followed the lead of the Yosemite Natural History Association, which in 1922 began accepting donations in exchange for *Yosemite Nature Notes*, a popular scientific journal authored by park naturalists. Copies of *Yosemite Nature Notes* also went on sale at the park museum, creating a revenue stream for the park.[614] Similarly, the Grand Canyon Natural History Association helped raise

---

[609] A native Arizonan, Gertrude Hill earned both her B.A. (archeology and geology, 1937) and M.A. (anthropology and art, 1938) from the University of Arizona. Before attending college, she served five years as the assistant cataloger at the El Paso Public Library in Texas. In summer 1936, she took charge of the Arizona State Museum while Dr. Byron Cummings researched in the field. In fall 1938, after completing her work for Southwestern National Monuments, she became the city librarian of Flagstaff, a position she held until 1945. In 1945 she earned a second M.A. (library science) from Denver University. Between 1945 until her retirement in 1963, she served as the head of circulation at the University of Arizona library (1945-1949), librarian with the Santa Paula (CA) public library (1949-1951), and then chief librarian at the Museum of New Mexico library (1952-1960), Arizona Normal School Library (1960-1962), and New Mexico State Library (1962), before returning to Arizona State University's Hayden Library (1962-1963). In 1964, she married for the first time to Bob Muir. He died in 1974. Gertrude passed away in Phoenix in 1981. See her obituary: "Gertrude Muir Dies; Southwest Expert," *Arizona Republic*, May 7, 1981, 17.

[610] Southwestern National Monuments, *Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1938*, 39.

[611] Gertrude F. Hill to Emil W. Haury, August 13, 1938, folder 39, Box 4, "W.P.A. Statewide Archaeological Project" (MS2), Arizona State Museum, Tucson, Arizona.

[612] For more information on Eugene Knezevich, see the "Biography" section in the "Eugene I. Knez Papers" finding aid (https://manoa.hawaii.edu/koreanstudies/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/007-Eugene-I-Knez-Collection-List2021.pdf).

[613] Called the Southwestern Monuments Association in its establishing documents and early reports but shortened soon after to Southwest Monuments Association. The descendant association today is Western National Parks.

[614] *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1937*, 74th Cong., 2nd sess., 391.

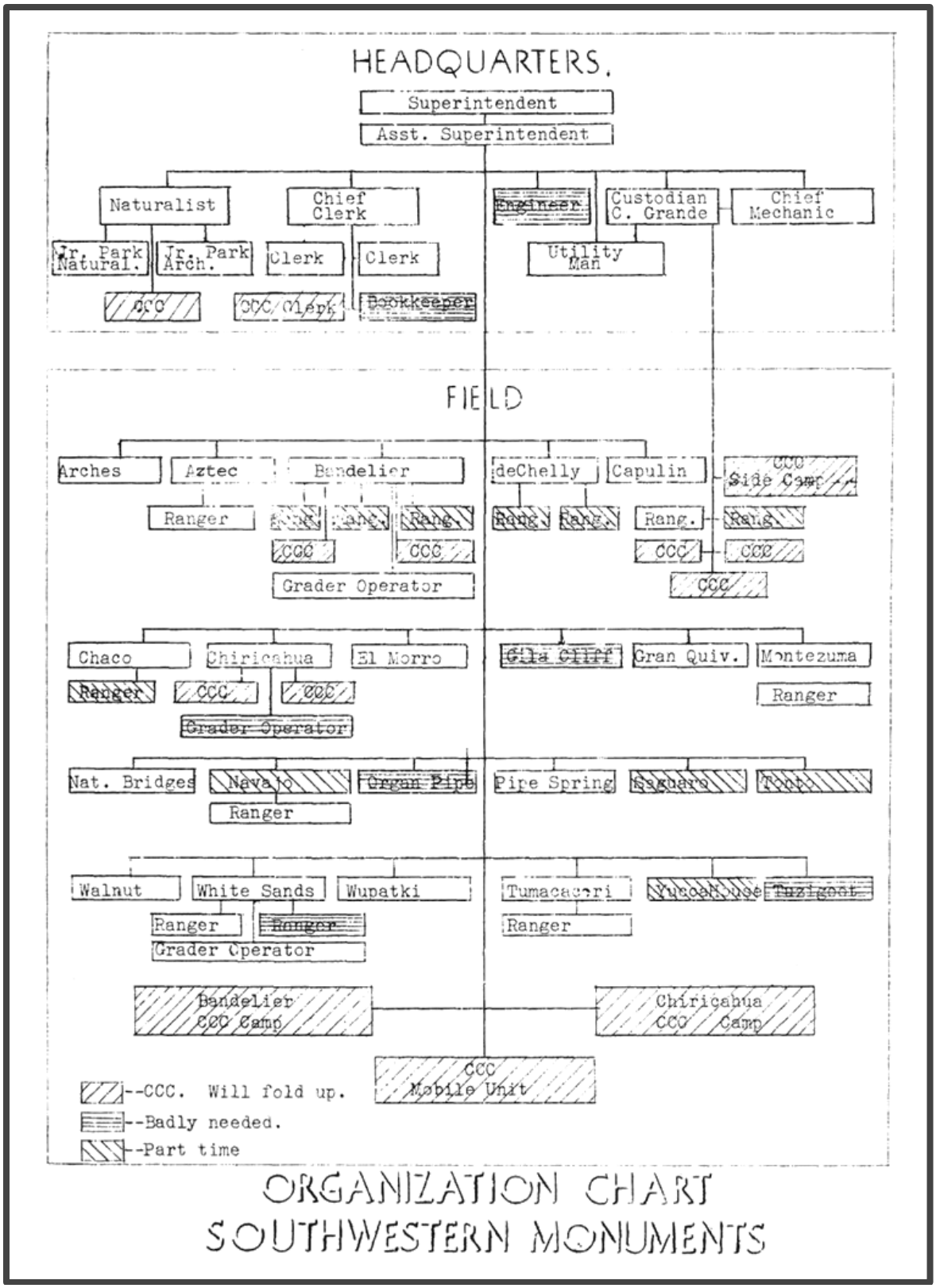


Figure 66. Chart from the January 1938 Monthly Report, showing the organizational structure of Southwestern National Monuments, plus staffing needs.

funds for Grand Canyon National Park by publishing bird guides and other interpretive materials sold to museum visitors for a quarter and presented *gratis* to donors.[615]

Dale King first broached the idea of a non-profit association for Southwestern National Monuments when he came on board as junior park naturalist in 1934. But Casa Grande Ruins did not seem to have enough dedicated visitors to sustain an association.[616] Frank Pinkley also expressed concerns. He wondered whether the National Park Service could legally accept external funding without an act of Congress. He also balked at the idea of visitors guiding themselves through monuments with an informational booklet and no custodians or rangers on hand to answer questions.[617] Pinkley remained committed to the principle of guided service. At Casa Grande, King recalled, "if anybody—a party—would be loose from the ranger, why, the Boss could see these people wandering around from his office window, and up he would jump and trot out and guide those people around."[618] King offered no solution to Pinkley's opposition to self-guided interpretation, but in 1936 the Washington office answered the legality question. The agency included a provision in its 1937 Interior Department Appropriations Bill that allowed NPS park naturalists to devote working hours toward preparing content for association publications.[619]

Faced with an impounded budget in 1937-38, Frank Pinkley at last allowed Dale King to move forward with his Southwestern Monuments Association idea. King devised a plan to use the subscription list of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report to solicit members and donations. The monthly report was about "130 pages long" on average, King recalled:

> We mailed [it] out to 330-some people all over literally the western world. I don't think we had anything going to Asia but we did mail one of those things to England and another to South Africa and so forth for quite a while. And those people were on that list because they had been in the monuments and loved them.[620]

Using the subscriber list, King developed a member base for his non-profit association. In a fundraising letter sent October 21, 1937, King explained the purpose of the association and asked for

---

[615] Dale S. King, transcript of Oral History Interview of Dale S. King by S. Herbert Evison, December 14, 1962 with corrections added by King in July 1964, 9-10, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 - 1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV; Dale S. King, "Report of Southwestern Monuments Association Affairs for the Period Ending December 31, 1940: Historical Statement," 1; Bancroft Library, University Archives, University of California, Berkeley, CA.

[616] Dale S. King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 10.

[617] Susan Lamb, "Toward Public Understanding of the National Parks: The First Seventy Years of Western National Parks Association," Western National Parks (https://wnpa.org/about-wnpa/history/detailed-history : accessed July 20, 2025).

[618] Dale S. King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 4.

[619] *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1937,* 74th Cong., 2nd sess., 391.

[620] King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 10.

one-time donations. In return, he promised a one-percent discount on future publications for every dollar donated—a marketing gimmick he borrowed from the Southwest Museum's Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund.[621] King knew that fundraising with local "box socials out of Coolidge" would never work since "nine-tenths of Coolidge [had] never been to Casa Grande ruins" whereas most monthly report subscribers had visited Casa Grande or the other southwestern monuments in the group at least once.[622] To the surprise of King's skeptics, the fundraising-by-mail wager paid off. Soon a $40 check and then several $20 checks rolled in, until he had thirty-five members and $234.50 in hand at the end of the 1937 calendar year.[623] The Southwestern Monuments Association soon had its board-member selection and advisory council in place. As executive secretary and editor, Dale King helped establish the Association's three-part mission, to (1) provide accurate information concerning the Southwest to the public by means of publications; (2) stimulate research and investigation; (3) assemble, study, and display exhibits and collections in the Southwestern National Monuments.[624] In June 1938, the mission statement and association proposal went to Washington for approval, and on July 22 the Secretary of the Interior authorized the Southwestern Monuments Association as a "non-profit organization pledged to aid in the preservation and interpretation of Southwestern features of outstanding national interest."[625]

King began working on the Association's first publication immediately. Through summer and fall of 1938, he prepared a fifty-page illustrated guidebook profiling all twenty-six southwestern monuments, with a foreword by Frank Pinkley. In October, the Association launched its publication sales program by distributing copies of the American Civic Planning Association's *Portfolio of the National Park and Monument System* to each monument. The publication sold for fifty-cents apiece. King's manuscript, *The Guide To Southwestern National Monuments*, Popular Series No. 1, went to the printers in December 1938. Subscribers began receiving litho-print copies in time for the winter tourism season.[626] Member subscriptions, sales revenue from the *Portfolio*, and a $160 loan from the Grand Canyon Natural History Association covered printing costs of *The Guide To Southwestern*

---

[621] Ibid, 16; and King, "Report of Southwestern Monuments Association Affairs for the Period Ending December 31, 1940," 1.

[622] King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 16.

[623] Ibid; Lamb, "Toward Public Understanding of the National Parks."

[624] King, *Arizona's National Monuments*, vi. The SWMA Board of Directors in 1938 included Dr. Harold S. Colton, John E. Fast, Harold S. Gladwin, H. P. Mera, Frank Pinkley, and Rev. Victor R. Stoner. An Advisory Council also provided subject-expert counsel. In 1938 the council comprised Dr. Emil Haury (Archeology), Jack Whitehead (Botany), Dr. W. W. Hill (Ethnology), Edwin D. McKee (Geology), Dr. Howard K. Gloyd (Herpetology), J. H. Tovrea (Illustrations), Lyndon L. Hargrave (Ornithology), and Dr. Leslie Spier (Publications). See: *A Guide to Southwestern National Monuments*, 2.

[625] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1938, 64; and King, *Arizona's National Monuments*, vi.

[626] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1938, 504.

National Monuments.[627] The Association issued 2,000 copies and released it for sale on February 7, 1939. At the end of March, Southwestern National Monuments had already sold 251 copies.

> The program of this association for dispensing information at the various monuments swung into full action during the month. The following publications were sold: 251 copies of the Association's booklet number 1, "Guide to the Southwestern National Monuments"; 107 sets of the "Portfolio of the National Parks and Monuments System"; and 13 copies of Dr. Shreve's book, "The Cactus and Its Home". The entire supply of Superintendent Pinkley's booklet, "The Mission San Jose de Tumacacori", consisting of 1,743 copies, was taken over by the Association and made available to visitors at Tumacacori National Monument.[628]

By the end of its first year, Southwestern National Monument Association sold 1,108 copies of the *Guide* and grossed $980.12, of which $702.80 came from sales. Its costs totaled $859.90, leaving $120.22 in the bank to defray the expense of a second publication.[629] By the end of the 1938-1942 period, the Southwestern Monuments Association had a draft manuscript for its second Popular Series booklet, *Arizona's National Monuments*, ready for the printer. Other Association-sponsored interpretive activities included institutional membership to the newsletter and a partnership with Clearing House for Southwestern Museums, an anthropology-focused organization that shared information about acquisitions and research in museums across five southwestern states. The Clearing House assisted in developing collection gift and loan policies but mainly shared information about collection materials accepted, rejected, or deaccessioned at southwestern museums, including Park Service museums, to facilitate interinstitutional exchanges of cultural material.[630]

Self-Guiding Nature Trails

The Southwestern Monuments Association, under Dale King's leadership, also helped launch self-guiding interpretation at southwestern monuments by producing informational booklets to accompany the organization's embryonic self-guiding nature trails.[631] The self-guiding trail concept was not new. In the 1920s, Bill Carr—co-founder of Tucson's Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum—staked trails with interpretive signage at Bear Mountain State Park in upstate New York, establishing

---

[627] King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 11**;** King, "Report of Southwestern Monuments Association Affairs for the Period Ending December 31, 1940," 1.

[628] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, March 1939, 193.

[629] Dale King, "Scope and Function of the Interpretative Program of the Southwestern National Monuments," 14 *in* "Report of Meeting of Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments–At Headquarters, Southwestern National Monuments, Coolidge, Arizona, February 14-16, 1940," RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "207 Reports, Custodians Meeting, 1940" (box 2068) NARA, College Park, MD.

[630] King, "Report of Southwestern Monuments Association Affairs for the Period Ending December 31, 1940," 1; Lewis, *Museum Curatorship in the National Parks* (1993), 298-299.

[631] King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 12.

the popular "trailside museums" concept.[632] Also during the 1920s, several national parks—Grand Canyon, Zion, Sequoia, Yosemite, Crater Lake, and Mount Rainier, among others—offered self-guiding trail interpretation of natural resources.[633] By 1930, "nature or self-guiding trails" had been "established and extended in practically all the parks."[634] But the self-guiding trail concept remained mostly untested at national monuments.[635] A self-guiding trail introduced at Casa Grande in 1938 may have been the first.[636]

At Southwestern National Monuments, Frank Pinkley generally discouraged self-guiding facilities despite encouragement from his headquarters staff.[637] But during the 1938 fiscal year, with the ten-percent appropriations impoundment severely reducing the seasonal ranger force, Pinkley agreed to put the so-called "nature trail" idea to the test.[638] Together with David "Davy" J. Jones, the ranger at Casa Grande Ruins, Frank Pinkley "tromped all over" Casa Grande in winter 1937-38 to mark out a self-guiding nature trail prototype for visitors; they called it the "Desert Trail."[639] Once laid out, the headquarters office mimeographed a short interpretive pamphlet to help visitors guide themselves along the trail. By January 1938, Pinkley reported its near-completion:

> The Desert Trail, a study in self-guiding trails, which we planned to start at Gasa Grande, lagged on the ways and has not yet been launched. We are hoping now to get it started in March. Tommie Onstott, temporary ranger at Tonto, is also planning some studies on a self-guiding trail. He has an ideal short trail or only a hundred yards, in mind. It leads off his parking area and will be useful as a means of keeping visitors busy while he is out on a trip to the ruins with another party.[640]

---

[632] Dale King later noted that Southwestern National Monuments got their hands on the Bill Carr trailside museum pamphlets when exploring the idea for the southwestern national monuments. See Dale S. King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 9-10.

[633] Department of the Interior, "Increased Current Service to the Public," *Annual Report of the Director the National Park Service...For Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1929*, 170.

[634] Department of the Interior, "Nature Trails and Exhibits in Place," *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service...For Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1930*, 23.

[635] Dale S. King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 9-10 and 14-16.

[636] See Frank Kowski's printed note at the bottom of "Ruminations: Reissue No. Sixteen, On self-guiding facilities" [folder 10, ARG 34, WACC], "Note: Was this the first self-guiding nature trail? F. F. Kowski" and Earl Jackson's handwritten reply: "In SW National Monuments, only. –E. J." Paul Beaubien's self-guided trail markers on the Ranger Ledge Trail at Walnut Canyon may have preceded Casa Grande self-guiding Ruins trail.

[637] See self-guiding recommendations in Dale S. King, "Comments on Ranger Guide Service at Casa Grande National Monuments," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, January 1936, 68-69.

[638] King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 6.

[639] King, 6.

[640] Frank Pinkley, "Opening," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1938, 92.

Casa Grande's "Desert Trail" booklet pointed out archeological and biological features in areas of the monument "not encountered in the regular guided trips" in order to provide a more complete picture of life during the time of the Ancestral Sonoran Desert People.[641] The trail consisted of a twenty-minute circle walk through the Ball Court and Compound B, with points of interest marked with numbered posts corresponding with numbered interpretive statements in the booklet.[642] The Desert Trail opened for visitors in March 1938, just a tad after peak visitor season.

Pinkley was proud of the effort that he and his headquarters staff put into planning and implementing Casa Grande's Desert Trail. But he thought they had much work ahead of them. No one seemed completely satisfied with it, he admitted. They disagreed on how much information and how many stations visitors could handle during the trail walk. In a Ruminations on the self-guiding subject, Pinkley wondered how visitors would take to their final compromise:

> Will a visitor walk a little less than a mile to ten different stations where he will receive an assortment of information as to the flora, fauna, and archeology of the monuments? I believe he will but the boys have cut the number of stations for fear we will overtire him.
>
> Will the visitor in walking the short mile read more than twelve single spaced pages of typewritten matter on the various things he sees; about two pages per stop? I believe he will but the boys have cut the number of pages for fear he will not. My theory would be to give him the whole story, letting it run to thirty or forty pages, as estimate it would, and then let him skip what doesn't appeal to him rather than condense it to the point where interest is likely to be lost because your narrative is simply a series of statements.
>
> Thus the battle of the trail has waged back and forth on the grounds of theory and now we are about ready to try it on the visitor, who, here as in so many other cases, is the court of last resort.[643]

A month later, Jones reported that twenty-five groups had tested out the trail and booklet. Some thought the trail was too short. Others became engrossed in the booklet and spent over an hour on the trail; the sections on birds and mammals proved the most popular. Oddly, most visitors pocketed the booklet at the start of the trail, intending to read it later. There was, Jones thought, room for improvement, and analysis of visitor reception would require a second season.[644]

---

[641] Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1938*, 12; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1938, 36.

[642] David J. Jones, "Casa Grande: The Desert Trail," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1938, 327.

[643] Frank Pinkley, "Ruminations: On Self-Guiding Facilities," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, March 1938.

[644] Jones, "Casa Grande: The Desert Trail," 327-328.

After Casa Grande, both Tonto and Montezuma Castle established self-guiding trails. At Tonto, the resident ranger laid out a nature trail and had it ready for visitors before the end of the 1938 fiscal year. It primarily identified plants and required the ranger to guide visitors along before markers arrived to make the nature trail "more or less self-guiding."[645] At Montezuma Castle, ranger Bill Bowen and custodian Earl Jackson worked on a nature trail they called "Sycamore Trail."[646] Completed in July 1938, the Sycamore Trail focused on the monument's botany with a few archeological and geological points of interest added. The trail had thirty-six trailside labels, each clipped with a small aluminum number plate. Like Casa Grande's Desert Trail, a corresponding leaflet, authored by Jackson, offered a "more complete exposition of the points contained on the trailside labels."[647] At the beginning of the trail, "an attractive little green painted box with red lettering" announced, "Sycamore Trail, guide leaflets." The visitor, Jackson explained, "reaches inside the box and gets the leaflet" before making his way along the trail.[648] Two months in, Jackson reported that,

> The Nature Trail (Sycamore Trail, as we have named it) is a big success. As far as our experience of the past two months goes, it is such a valuable part of the educational scheme that we wonder how we got along before it was installed. It is granted that a lot of visitors are too indifferent or lazy to go all the way around this trail, but there are also a lot of them who take it all in.[649]

Additional self-guiding trails were tested or at least contemplated at Wupatki, Organ Pipe, Walnut Canyon, and others.[650] By 1940, conversations on the value of self-guiding interpretive devices popped up regularly in the National Park Service. Too few self-guiding trails existed in the system at the time to warrant a whole manual on the subject, but conference roundtables provided guidance.[651]

---

[645] "Tonto," *Southwestern Monuments Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1938*, 28.

[646] King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 12.

[647] Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1940, 114; Earl Jackson, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 16.

[648] Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1940, 114.

[649] Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1940, 150.

[650] David J. Jones, "Wupatki," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, October 1938; Ray B. Ringenbach, transcript of Oral History Interview of Ray B. Ringenbach by S. Herbert Evison, February 21, 1973, 12, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[651] See the unpublished conference papers—John E. Doerr, "An Analysis of Naturalist Programs"; and Dorr G. Yeager, "Self-Guiding Nature Trails"—with their following roundtable Q & A in *Proceedings of the Second Park Naturalists Conference Held at Grand Canyon National Park, November 13-17, 1940,* 117-130 and 162-168.

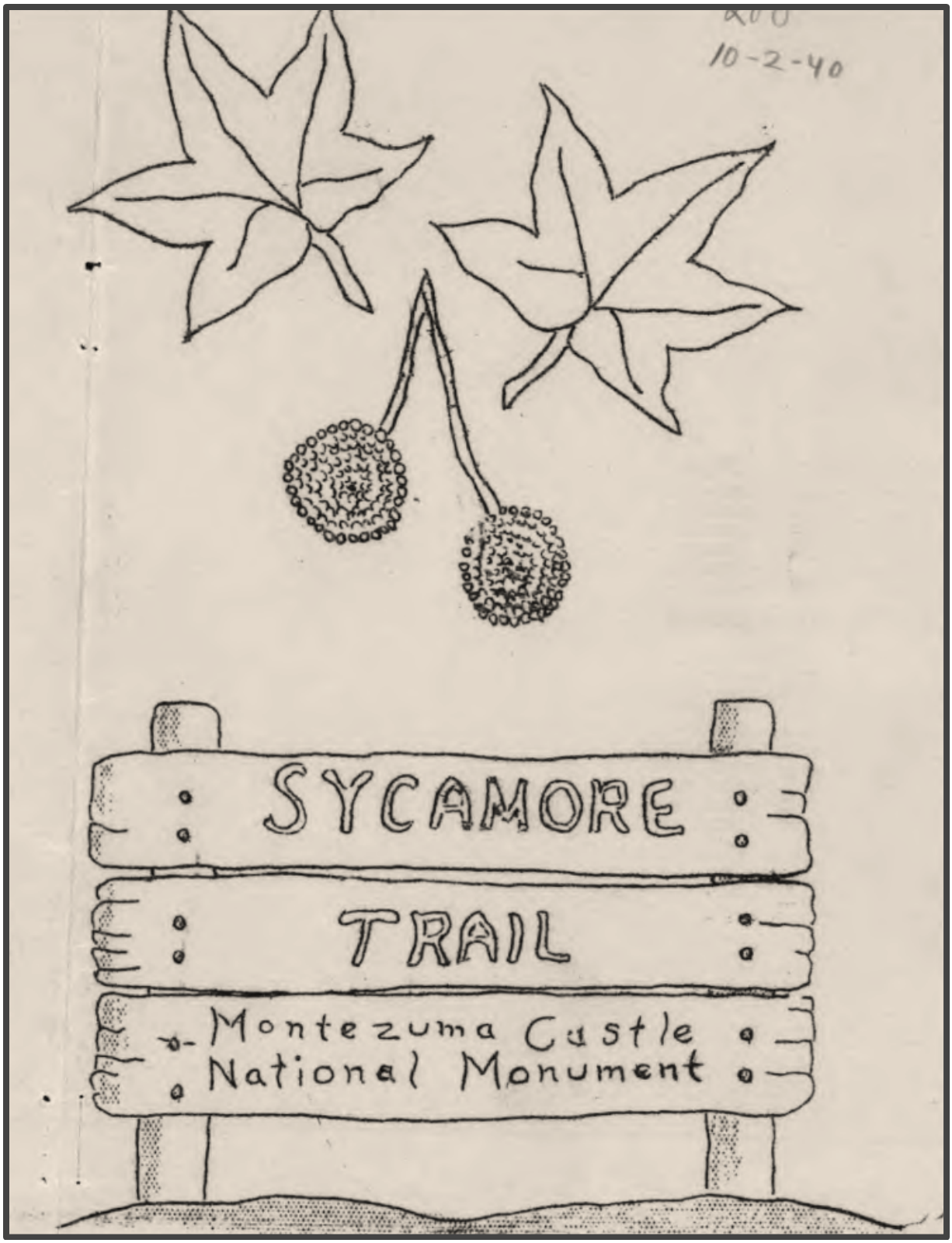


Figure 67. Cover artwork for the 1940 Southwestern National Monuments self-guided trail booklet, "Sycamore Trail: Montezuma Castle National Monument." Source: WACC

"Red Letter Day": Custodians' School of Instruction, February 14, 1940

The heavy workload at Southwestern National Monuments took its toll on Frank Pinkley. His health—questionable for several years—declined and in January 1937 Pinkley suffered a major heart attack. He recovered but, "complying with [his] physician's orders to remain as inactive as possible," Pinkley spent most of fiscal 1938 at headquarters. Assistant Superintendent Hugh Miller stepped up and handled field inspections, visiting the group's twenty-six national monuments plus the proposed Anasazi monument in Manuelito, New Mexico.[652] Late in the 1938 fiscal year, Pinkley recovered to the point where he felt strong enough to make inspection trips to southern Arizona and southern New Mexico. "Superintendent Pinkley," the 1938 Southwestern National Monuments annual report observed, "refrained from travel throughout the greater part of the year, visiting only such nearby areas as Casa Grande, Tumacacori, and Saguaro. In May, being much improved in health, he made the trip to White Sands to inspect the new developments there and confer with Assistant Director Tolson."[653]

Planning the Custodians' School

During the early years of the Southwestern National Monuments, Pinkley instructed his custodians through circular memos in which he laid out expectations and offered recommendations and advice. When feasible, new custodians or rangers also spent their first month or so at headquarters for a crash course in national monument work at Casa Grande Ruins before heading into the field. At other times, headquarters staff and or monuments personnel held "Taurian sessions"—spontaneous, informal after-hours meetings with Pinkley where they could toss around administrative ideas or discuss challenges. In the 1930s, the notes or feedback from the Taurian sessions were often shared in the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, often within one of Pinkley's "Ruminations." The Ruminations acted as a kind of abbreviated circular letter for the entire Southwestern National Monuments outfit to read and consider.

Despite the many benefits of written instructions, Pinkley desired a more consistent and organized program for training monument personnel. He wished to provide scattered custodians with formal in-person instruction like the annual NPS superintendents conference. The final incentive to develop a formal training program came from Bandelier's acting custodian Chester "Art" Thomas in October 1939. That month, Pinkley stopped by Bandelier after attending the NPS superintendents conference at Santa Fe. While inspecting the monument's CCC progress, he and Art Thomas discussed the possibility of holding a similar conference for the custodians of Southwestern National Monuments. Thomas offered to hold the custodians' training conference at Bandelier, with lodging at the Frijoles Lodge, sometime in November or December. He estimated $600 as the total conference cost, including travel expenses for each custodian. "Boss," Art wrote, "I am thoroughly sold on the idea that a Custodians Conference would pay big dividends in improved monument

---

[652] Different area from the 1988 proposed Anasazi National Monument of southwestern Colorado.

[653] Southwestern National Monuments, *Annual Report* (1938), 43.

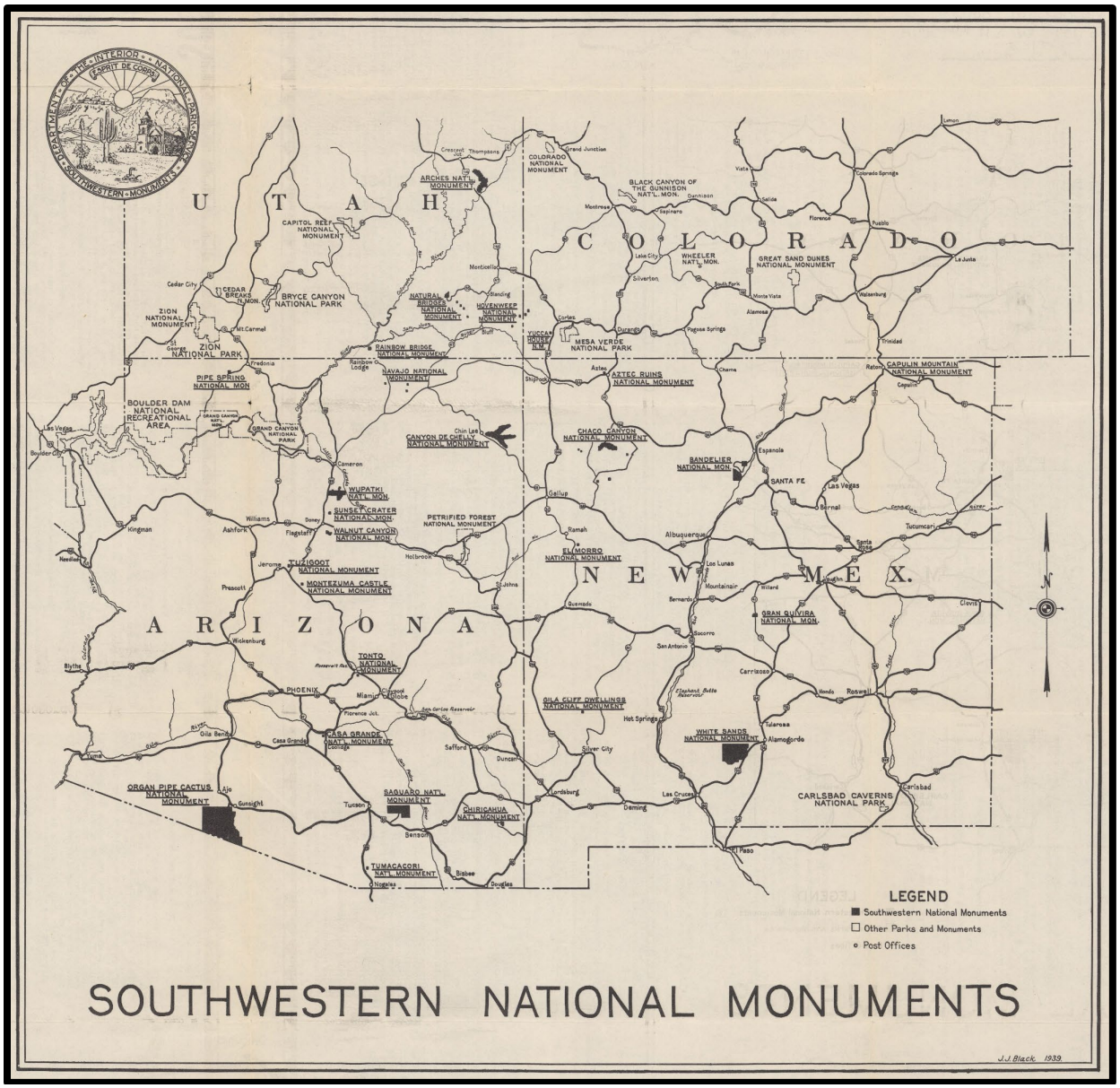


Figure 68. NPS Map of Southwestern National Monuments in 1939, showing twenty-seven national monuments in the group at the time. Source: Arizona Memory Project

administration. I am convinced that the insight gained by learning the other fellow's problems, the helpful suggestions from brother administrators and the general good fellowship that would come out of such a conference far outweigh the money costs." Pinkley agreed but politely declined Art's invitation to hold it at Bandelier. "The best place for the first school of instruction," he replied,

"would be at Headquarters."[654] Pinkley submitted his proposal for a "Custodians School of Instruction" in a memo to NPS director Arno Cammerer on November 18, 1939. Both of their offices, Pinkley reminded Cammerer, had "a serious deficiency…in the training of field personnel." They had agreed at the recent superintendents conference to improve and standardize field operations. "Park superintendents," Pinkley wrote, "have occasion to bring their entire staffs together for specialized instruction, perhaps several times a year." Similarly, the Forest Service held scheduled personnel training sessions on handling wildfire risk in their respective areas; some of the Southwestern National Monuments staff attended those sessions and benefitted. But Southwestern National Monuments offered no comparable opportunity for field personnel to meet. "While every attempt has been made," Pinkley added,

> to correct this deficiency in the Southwestern National Monuments by mimeographed instructions, through the monthly report, and by personal discussion, it is felt that uniformity of policy and standardized procedure can best be achieved by bringing the various custodians together annually for a short intensive period of instruction in manner similar to that recognized by this Service and the Forest Service for fire training.[655]

Pinkley wanted to hold his custodians' school in early 1940 and promised to keep their total per-diem travel costs at or below an average of $25 per attendant—low enough so that the monument could cover the costs from their general allotment. He submitted a tentative program for the director's review, demonstrating how the training sessions would meet the agency-wide goal for administrative uniformity in the field.

The Washington office authorized the "Custodians School of Instruction" for February 14-16, 1940, with lodging at the Vah-Ki Inn.[656] Pinkley announced the School of Instruction on February 2. The

---

[654] Chester A. Thomas to Frank Pinkley, October 21, 1939, and Frank Pinkley to Chester A. Thomas, November 18, 1939, folder "Custodians' School of Instruction, Correspondence, 1939-40," Box 15, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[655] Frank Pinkley, memorandum to Arno B. Cammerer, November 18, 1939, folder "Custodians' School of Instruction, Correspondence, 1939-40," Box 15, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[656] Frank Pinkley influenced the development of the Vah-Ki Inn in the late 1920s when Coolidge (est. 1926) lacked appropriate lodging options for visitors. Pinkley convinced newcomers Walter and Theodora Smith to build a hacienda-style inn within walking distance of Casa Grande Ruins, less than a mile south along Arizona Boulevard (Hwy 287), at the northwest intersection of the roads now known as W Vah Ki Inn Road and N Padre Kino Lane. The name of the inn, "Vah-Ki," means 'ancient house' in the O'odham language. Through the 1930s, the Vah-Ki served Southwestern National Monuments and Casa Grande Ruins as the primary lodging option for tourists, visiting officials, seasonal researchers, friends and family, and even headquarters or monument personnel who leased rooms by the month. The Vah-Ki Inn's tea room and other gathering spaces served as a convenient gathering place for Southwestern National Monuments activities such as meetings, staff picnics, holiday parties, and banquets. In the early 1930s the Inn began offering guest-ranch activities and amenities, including an in-ground swimming pool that provided Southwestern National Monuments staff

newspapers called it a "Trouble Clinic" of special lessons in park policy. The three-day school would open with regional director Hillory A. Tolson's address discussing NPS policies and regional office function, with addition to talks by headquarters staff Dale King, Natt Dodge, Charlie Steen, and Frank Pinkley. The second day would deal with enforcement of law and regulations, fees and collections, disgruntled visitors, and National Park Service policies, with Hugh Miller and Parke Soule leading the discussions. The third and final day would cover monument-specific problems. Twenty-one custodians had been invited, including the HCWPs "who apparently," the *Arizona Daily Star* mused, "have a tendency to be more a partner in the job than is common in other walks of life." In addition to the day sessions, which the wives could attend as desired, the agenda involved sightseeing trips, teas, and bridge for the wives, plus a "round of entertainment" for all including special luncheons and dinners, moving pictures, and a closing dinner dance.[657]

Pinkley's Last Act: "He died at the top with his boots on"

On February 13, 1940, the custodians and their wives arrived at Casa Grande Ruins for an open house and kick-off banquet at headquarters. An informal event, they dined and danced, told stories and reminisced. Cal Miller, custodian of Aztec Ruins, shined the spotlight on Zeke Johnson—longtime custodian of Natural Bridges—by sharing a funny story. "Zeke," he laughed, had painted "hors' trail," a misspelling of "horse trail," on a monument directional sign. A bunch of cowboys came across the sign and began hollering, "'Whar are they, Zeke? That's just what we're looking for'." The cowboys then explained to the confused custodian, "'You've got "hors trail" there on your sign. We thought you had a bunch here somewhere'." Pinkley, who had known Zeke and his quirks since the early years of Southwestern National Monuments, enjoyed the story. "I never saw Frank Pinkley laugh [so] much," Miller recalled.[658]

The Custodians' School opened the following day. Sessions began early Wednesday morning, February 14, when headquarters staff and the monument custodians and their wives assembled in the equipment warehouse. Thirty-three attendees took their seats. HCWP Betty Jackson, with baby Bruce in tow, showed up a tad late. To her surprise, she discovered that Pinkley had waited to open the

---

and their families with nearby recreation. In 1957, guest services ceased when the Smiths transferred the deed to the local Episcopalian diocese to serve as a center for church retreats, workshops, and conferences. Today, the building of the old Vah-Ki Inn hosts St. Michael's Episcopal Parish of Coolidge. "See: Doreen Obermeyer, "Vah-Ki Inn Has Long History," *Casa Grande Dispatch*, June 28, 2000 (https://www.pinalcentral.com/casa_grande_dispatch/area_news/vah-ki-inn-has-long-history/article_21f5c604-c421-5e30-bf22-862387ba7ece.html; accessed 24 Feb 2025); and "The History of St. Michael's Church Building" stmichaelscoolidge.com/about-stmichaels/history-vah-ki-inn/ : accessed 17 Oct 2021).

[657] "Service Holds Trouble Clinic: Park Custodians Gather for Special Lessons in Park Policy," *Arizona Daily Star*, February 3, 1940, 8; "Monument Heads To Attend Class," *Arizona Republic*, February 6, 1940, 8; "Monument Aids To Hold School," *Arizona Republic*, February 13, 1940, 8.

[658] Cal Miller, transcript of Oral History Interview of Thomas Carroll Miller by S. Herbert Evison, January 8, 1963, 9; "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

meeting until she arrived. Seeing Betty, he announced, "'Here's Betty. Now we can start'."[659] Pinkley opened the meeting at 9:10 a.m. with an address titled, "Explanation of the Purpose of the School."[660] He looked out at the gathering of monument men and women—his beloved "Outfit," assembled together for the first time—and commented, "I think that you will understand that this is one of the red letter days of my life."[661] Fifteen minutes later, his voice choking a little, Frank Pinkley closed his speech with a nod to the absent members—those unable to make the trip (custodian Homer Farr and some of the wives), and those retired or gone "over the Divide." With a slight falter and quick grab of the podium, he asked those present to leave the meeting "with a bigger and broader comprehension" of their work "and a fixed determination to do it better [the] next year than it [had] ever been done before."[662] For a few seconds, Pinkley acknowledged the applause.[663] As he lowered himself into the "presiding officer's desk, apparently under deep emotion," he took "several snorting intakes of breath" then "slumped forward" and "crumpled to the floor."[664] Hank Schmidt, sitting in the front row, caught Pinkley as he fell; others rushed to revive him.[665] But the Boss no longer had a pulse. He just "dropped dead," Hugh Miller remembered, there in the presence of the Outfit "after having made the speech that said this was in effect the culmination of all his ambitions."[666] He "died," Dale King added, "at the top with his boots on."[667]

---

[659] Betty Jackson to Polly Kaufman, "The Morning Frank Pinkley Died," September 30, 1983, folder "Betty Jackson [and Martin Jackson]," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection, NPS History Collection (HFCA).

[660] Copies of Pinkley's final address are in various locations (SWNM Admin collection at WACC; RG 79 National Monuments-related boxes at NARA; within the February 1940 Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report and NPS *Park Service Bulletin* (Mar-Apr 1940) as well as reprinted in newspapers after Pinkley's death.

[661] Betty Jackson to Polly Kaufman, September 30, 1983.

[662] Dale S. King, transcript of Oral History Interview of Dale S. King by S. Herbert Evison, December 14, 1962, with corrections added by King in July 1964, 3, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[663] Miller to Cammerer, February 20, 1940, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06 Superintendents and Custodians, 1931-47" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[664] Betty Jackson to Polly Kaufman, September 30, 1983; Parke Soule, "Informal Notes of Southwestern National Monuments Meeting: February 14, 1940," folder "National Park Service–Custodians' School of Instruction, Correspondence, 1939-1940," Box 15, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

[665] Hank Schmidt, transcript of Oral History Interview of Henry G. Schmidt by S. Herbert Evison, August 5, 1971, 15, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[666] Hugh Miller, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 17.

[667] Dale S. King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 25.

SWNM FIRST CUSTODIANS' SCHOOL

EXPLANATION OF THE PURPOSE OF THE SCHOOL
By Superintendent Frank Pinkley

I think that you will understand that this is one of the red letter days of my life. It was in December, 1901, that I started down the lonesome trail which has finally led to today and this room and these co-workers.

Until 1916, the Casa Grande was a lone post. Then came the formation of the National Park Service, and, while it was still a lone post as we speak of them today, at least I could feel that I was part of an organ- ization and that there were other men elsewhere with whom I was working along the same lines and handling somewhat similar problems.

The gradual expansion of the early twenties brought George L. Boundey to work by my side and several additional monuments for us to worry about.

Then came the hectic thirties with their financial floods and their sudden expansion. We grew by leaps and bounds, always undermanned and praying for more help; always thinking that in another six months, or another year, we would work our way out to where we could begin to look around us and take things easier. That time has not yet come.

Always there has been before me the mirage or the dream of all the Southwestern Monuments personnel getting together and sitting down where we could talk over our problems and try to find how to do our work in the best possible way.

That time is now here and with it comes a great responsibility on your shoulders and on mine. If this meeting should end with no great amount of good done; if we should go home with no more information or esprit than we had when we came together; if we cannot build in the next three days a better team spirit; then I must sit down and write the Chief that my plans and dreams of the last 20 years are shattered; that we have wasted several hundred dollars of our funds in coming together, and that our whole theory of the Southwestern Monuments administration has been wrong through all these years.

The idea behind our organization has been that 27 individual areas, each struggling along in its own individual way, each using its own plan, each meeting its own problems as they arise, can be welded into one compact group where every man will have benefit of the experience of every other man to start with when a problem arise and the same mistake need not be made 27 different times.

We also have a very definite theory that national parks and national monuments are different types of areas, and, because of this difference, require a different type of handling which can better be done by a man and a group of men specialized in monument needs.

If these basic propositions be true, then there has existed for many years a need that we who deal exclusively with monuments should get together and go over our common problems, working out the best methods of dealing with the various angles and phases of our work.

The present moment is the culmination of long years of absolute belief in and hope for just such a meeting as we have now opened.

We want to make it clear at the start that this meeting is not called for the same purpose, nor will it operate the same as the Superintendents Conference which meets from year to year. The name, "School of Instruction", was given some forethought and represents the purpose of the meeting. You are here to learn.

We have long hoped that some day we could have a handbook for custodians. We plan some day to get out a book which will become the text-book by which a new custodian can become thoroughly familiar with all the details of his position whether or not he may have had a "breaking in" period at headquarters. This dream, as you know, has never been realized. We have simply never been able to find the time to do it.

For lack of such a handbook many things are being done in the field which should not be done and a lot of things are being left undone which by all means should be done. We want to talk over with you in the next few days a few of those things. As proof that we do not con- template a one-sided conversation, you will note that we have, in our tentative program, left liberal time for your questions and arguments, and we want you to utilize this time to the full. I need hardly tell you that we want no "yes men" in this meeting and that you need pull no punches; and knowing you as I do, I am not much afraid of any of you on either score. I am just telling you this so you will feel at home and be your usual selves in the arguments.

My personal greeting goes to the Park Service wives who are present, and I am sincerely glad to see you here. No one knows better than I that the wife is a large half of a firm both members of which are working for the interest of the Government. One of the most interesting features of my work as I sit here at headquarters is watching the play and inter- play of the man and wife and the job at some field station. It gives me pleasure to welcome you wives here and to tell you that I open these meetings to you, not as a superficial courtesy, but because I want you to attend any or all of them as a right which you have well earned by the excellent service you have donated to use in your field work. You are to feel free to come and go as you please. I well know that many of you will not be interested in

bookkeeping and purchase procedure and may want to skip those parts of the meetings. None of you are under

any order or even any moral pressure to stay, and the moment the proceedings get too dry for you, feel free to walk out. Many of these talks, however, you will find intensely interesting and I especially wish that you would feel free to enter into the discussions which follow the talks. You women will see these things from a slightly different angle from the men and for that reason your viewpoint is very important to me.

Aside from this official side of your visit, we want also to welcome you into our homes here at headquarters. Please feel at all times free to use them when you want to read, or lie down, or just rest and relax, or to hold little meetings of your own; we want you to feel really at home.

To the men I might say that we want this to be a working meeting. Our three days together will be all too short for the things we want to say, and we have provided a full program. It will be a little tough on you and may grow tiresome at times, but we hope you will be able to look back on these days and consider the work a job well done.

I am well aware that half the good you will get from this trip will be the pleasant contacts you will make in the odd hours before, between, and after the official sessions when you will be able to find out what fine fellows we have in the Southwestern Monuments.

I am depending on these contacts to broaden your knowledge of our work and give you an understanding of the multiplicity of our problems. You will find that the problem which you thought was ours alone is shared by half a dozen other men, and they will have solved some of the things which may be bothering you and can offer you short cuts which may not have occurred to you. It is my opinion that the hotel lobby sessions and the little group sessions which gather here and there during one of these meetings will contribute nearly a third of the good which will result from our getting together. To our own headquarters office force this will be a great opportunity. Here you will have a change to meet in the flesh the many men and women with whose names you have so long been familiar. Hereafter, as you handle the seven thousand pieces of mail which flow across your desks each month, these names will have a significance which you have not heretofore been able to give them. And you from the field will hereafter be able to direct your blasphemy at some real individual whom you can materialize in your mind's eye, instead of the unsatisfactory blast you have heretofore had to send toward those so-and-so nit-wits down there in the headquarters office!

We want as many of the office force as it is possible to spare to attend these meetings. I realize that the mail and telegrams must be kept moving, at least after a fashion, and that the office jam cannot be allowed to accumulate beyond a certain critical point, but I wish Parke would see that you are with us as much as possible and of course you will be in attendance at the night sessions.

We would like for the visitors from the field to have a chance to look through the offices and some short recess may be taken for that purpose if and when we can squeeze it in. I would like you to realize how much work these boys are doing.

Most of you have been through the ruins and the museum. Al. will arrange a special trip for those of you who wish to go, or you may, if you wish, join a standard trip and thus see how Al. and the boys handle their visitors. Arrangements will also be made to take the ladies on either the standard or special trips as they may desire.

In closing, let me speak for a moment of those who are not here. It was impossible to withdraw all our forces from the field and we have left a skeleton force to keep things running. We will miss these men and women as they will miss being with us. Some of the wives could not come because of sickness or household duties which forbade the journey. I hope you will, in their case, understand that the girls we have here are a typical cross section of our organization and that the others, who could not attend, are just as nice.

There are others who are not here. Hosteen John and George Boundey are examples of those who have fought a good fight and are now wishing us well from the sidelines of retirement. They were with us when the going was tough and helped to put us where we are today. Let us not forget them. And there are yet others, like Jack and Hilding, who have gone over the Divide but who did yeoman work while they were with us in a time when things were not as easy as the present, who must be included in our thoughts along with all those here present when we say "Our Outfit".

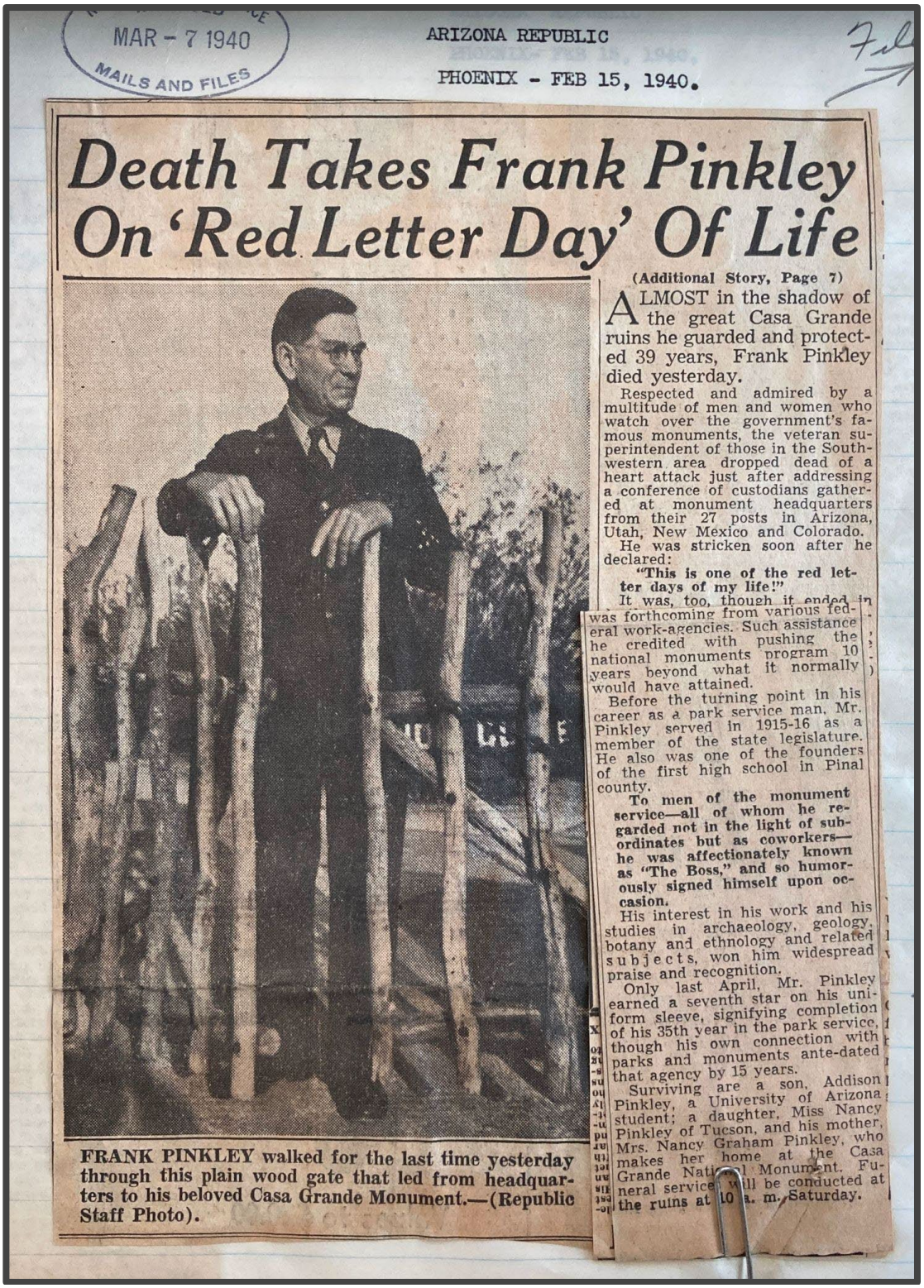
To my great glee, one of the very correct and formal writers of the Service once hauled me hither and yon over his bed of coals for using that term, but to me it is a very natural expression and rather covers our case. We speak not alone of our men in uniform; not only of our men and women here present; not only of our forces now living; but of all these and the areas under our charge with all that we have therein, the 27 finest National Monuments in the United States, when we say "Our Outfit".

No other term suits me quite so well and no other is so all-inclusive. It is ours to make or ruin; some of our mistakes may hurt not only ourselves but may go on down through the years hurting those who come after us. Let us try hard to make ourselves worthy of these obligations which have been placed upon us.

May we leave this meeting three days hence with a bigger and broader comprehension of our work and a fixed determination to do it better this next year than it has ever been done before.[668]

---

[668] Copy of Frank Pinkley's opening speech as published in the official "Report of Meeting of Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments–At Headquarters, Southwestern National Monuments, Coolidge, Arizona, February 14-16, 1940," 115-188, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "207 Reports, Custodians Meeting, 1940" (box 2068) NARA, College Park, MD.


MAR - 7 1940
MAILS AND FILES

ARIZONA REPUBLIC

PHOENIX - FEB 15, 1940.

Death Takes Frank Pinkley On 'Red Letter Day' Of Life

(Additional Story, Page 7)

ALMOST in the shadow of the great Casa Grande ruins he guarded and protected 39 years, Frank Pinkley died yesterday.

Respected and admired by a multitude of men and women who watch over the government's famous monuments, the veteran superintendent of those in the Southwestern area dropped dead of a heart attack just after addressing a conference of custodians gathered at monument headquarters from their 27 posts in Arizona, Utah, New Mexico and Colorado.

He was stricken soon after he declared:

"This is one of the red letter days of my life!"

It was, too, though it ended in

was forthcoming from various federal work-agencies. Such assistance he credited with pushing the national monuments program 10 years beyond what it normally would have attained.

Before the turning point in his career as a park service man, Mr. Pinkley served in 1915-16 as a member of the state legislature. He also was one of the founders of the first high school in Pinal county.

To men of the monument service—all of whom he regarded not in the light of subordinates but as coworkers—he was affectionately known as "The Boss," and so humorously signed himself upon occasion.

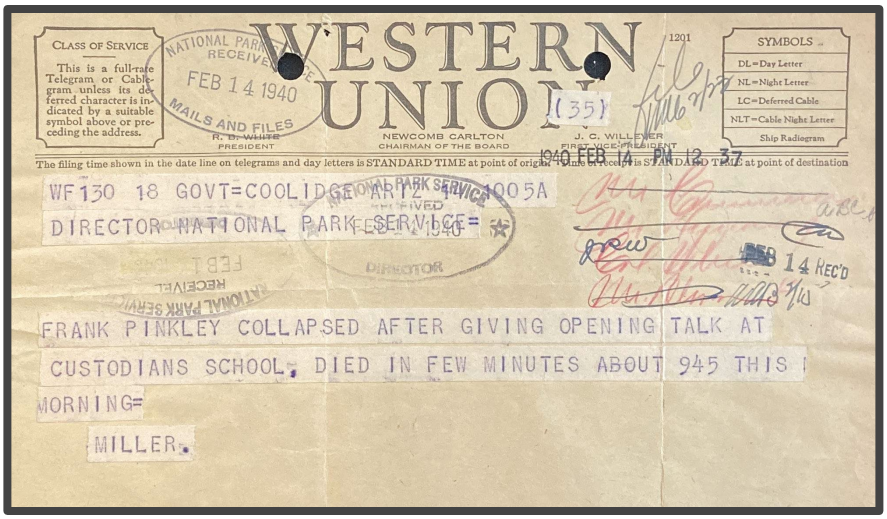
His interest in his work and his studies in archaeology, geology, botany and ethnology and related subjects, won him widespread praise and recognition.

Only last April, Mr. Pinkley earned a seventh star on his uniform sleeve, signifying completion of his 35th year in the park service, though his own connection with parks and monuments ante-dated that agency by 15 years.

Surviving are a son, Addison Pinkley, a University of Arizona student; a daughter, Miss Nancy Pinkley of Tucson, and his mother, Mrs. Nancy Graham Pinkley, who makes her home at the Casa Grande Nati[illegible] Monument. Funeral service[illegible]ll be conducted at the ruins at 10 a. m. Saturday.

FRANK PINKLEY walked for the last time yesterday through this plain wood gate that led from headquarters to his beloved Casa Grande Monument.—(Republic Staff Photo).

Figure 69. Clipped Arizona Republic article about Superintendent Frank Pinkley's death, as received by the Washington office. Possibly the last photo taken of Pinkley. Source: NARA (RG 79)



WESTERN UNION

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a full-rate Telegram or Cable-gram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

NEWCOMB CARLTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
R. B. WHITE, PRESIDENT

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE RECEIVED FEB 14 1940 MAILS AND FILES

1201

1940 FEB 14 PM 12 37

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

WF 130 18 GOVT=COOLIDGE ARIZ 14 1005A

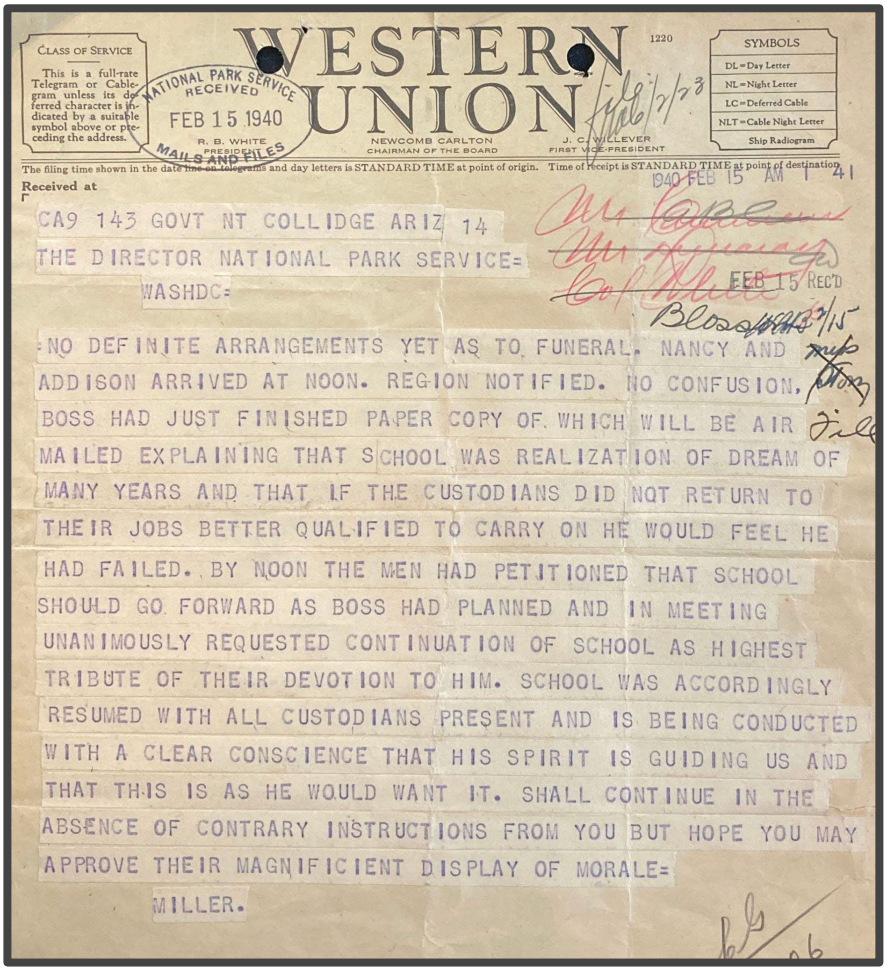
DIRECTOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE=

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE RECEIVED FEB 14 1940 DIRECTOR

FEB 14 REC'D

FRANK PINKLEY COLLAPSED AFTER GIVING OPENING TALK AT CUSTODIANS SCHOOL, DIED IN FEW MINUTES ABOUT 945 THIS MORNING=

MILLER.



WESTERN UNION

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a full-rate Telegram or Cable-gram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

NEWCOMB CARLTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
R. B. WHITE, PRESIDENT

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE RECEIVED FEB 15 1940 MAILS AND FILES

1220

1940 FEB 15 AM 1 41

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

Received at

CA9 143 GOVT NT COLLIDGE ARIZ 14

THE DIRECTOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE=

WASHDC=

FEB 15 REC'D

NO DEFINITE ARRANGEMENTS YET AS TO FUNERAL. NANCY AND ADDISON ARRIVED AT NOON. REGION NOTIFIED. NO CONFUSION. BOSS HAD JUST FINISHED PAPER COPY OF WHICH WILL BE AIR MAILED EXPLAINING THAT SCHOOL WAS REALIZATION OF DREAM OF MANY YEARS AND THAT IF THE CUSTODIANS DID NOT RETURN TO THEIR JOBS BETTER QUALIFIED TO CARRY ON HE WOULD FEEL HE HAD FAILED. BY NOON THE MEN HAD PETITIONED THAT SCHOOL SHOULD GO FORWARD AS BOSS HAD PLANNED AND IN MEETING UNANIMOUSLY REQUESTED CONTINUATION OF SCHOOL AS HIGHEST TRIBUTE OF THEIR DEVOTION TO HIM. SCHOOL WAS ACCORDINGLY RESUMED WITH ALL CUSTODIANS PRESENT AND IS BEING CONDUCTED WITH A CLEAR CONSCIENCE THAT HIS SPIRIT IS GUIDING US AND THAT THIS IS AS HE WOULD WANT IT. SHALL CONTINUE IN THE ABSENCE OF CONTRARY INSTRUCTIONS FROM YOU BUT HOPE YOU MAY APPROVE THEIR MAGNIFICIENT DISPLAY OF MORALE=

MILLER.

Figure 70. Hugh Miller sent two telegrams to the Washington office on February 14, 1940, announcing Superintendent Frank Pinkley's death and the decision to reconvene the Custodians' School. Source: NARA (RG 79)

The Show Must Go On: Finishing What Pinkley Started

Chaos followed Pinkley's dramatic death. His doctor, B.L. Steward of Florence, took the call while in surgery and then, passing off the operation to his brother, sped "95 miles an hour" to get to Pinkley. Steward arrived at the same time as the local Coolidge doctor. Both confirmed the superintendent's death by coronary thrombosis and notified Pinkley's family.[669] After the initial shock, Hugh Miller gathered the headquarters staff and custodians to decide "what the hell [they] were going to do with the conference that had just opened." Miller asked for a standing vote to keep the School going. "I know that the Boss," he told his colleagues, "waited so long and worked so hard to have this conference, [and he] would deeply regret if we cancelled it, and I am pretty sure that if he were in a position to tell us what to do he would tell us for Christ's sake go ahead and have it." Miller remembered the mixed response.

> The boys were first a little bit, a little bit dubious about it; but then finally everybody agreed quite enthusiastically that the thing to do was to go right ahead as if nothing had happened. And I said 'Now, if we do this, there's to be no outward evidence of grief. We're going to have to wisecrack and make it interesting and make it snappy and do everything exactly the way we would have done if the Boss had been present.' And they agreed to that. But then some bastard said 'Well, of course we can't have it in this room.' And I said 'Why not? First you guys are going to be brave, and then you turn into cowards. There isn't any place else to have it. If we are going to continue, we do it right here.' And we did.[670]

In the end, they resolved to continue the School of Instruction as the "most fitting tribute" they could offer Pinkley, who would have wanted them to "pick up the work and strive to live up to his ideal of putting service above personal feeling."[671] By unanimous vote, the School reconvened the afternoon of Pinkley's death, with Hugh Miller chairing and following a slightly modified program.[672]

---

[669] In his February 20, 1940, letter to Cammerer, Hugh Miller wrote that Addison and Nancy Margaret sustained the shock of their father's death well and would be okay financially; Nancy had a job and Addison planned to graduate that spring and already had several job offers. The "bitterest tragedy," Miller thought, was "Mother Pinkley." Frank Pinkley's mother, Nancy "Nannie" Graham Pinkley, had lived with him at the Ruins since Edna's death in 1929. Miller noted that Pinkley left a will outlining a logical arrangement for his mother's comfort and probably enough estate to sufficiently care for her for the remainder of her life. In the end, that was only nine months. She passed away in Coolidge in November 1940. See: Miller to Cammerer, February 20, 1940, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06 Superintendents and Custodians, 1931-47" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[670] Hugh Miller, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 17.

[671] Southwestern National Monuments, Informal Minutes of Southwestern National Monuments Meeting, February 14, 1940, *in* "Report of Meeting of Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments–At Headquarters, Southwestern National Monuments, Coolidge, Arizona, February 14-16, 1940," RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "207 Reports, Custodians Meeting, 1940" (box 2068) NARA, College Park, MD.

[672] Miller to Cammerer, February 15, 1940, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06 Superintendents and Custodians, 1931-47" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

It was tough picking up the pieces, Dale King recalled, but they "dogged it on out," knowing Pinkley "would have been horrified" if they quit. King, first up when they reconvened at 2:15pm on February 14—also the first to present after roll call on the second day—struggled to get through his presentation:

> I had a paper and I was number one - I was the first guy to speak when we reconvened the next day, and I read this thing, and people just looked at me blank, and that's the way I looked at myself. I couldn't remember which sentence I was reading; we were so emotionally shocked that I'm sure that no one ever went out of that conference and knew what that paper was. After two or three papers I commenced to be normal again. But if I hadn't had the typescript of my own talk I wouldn't have known what I was talking about either; I couldn't keep my mind on it.[673]

King laid out his ideas for the scope and function of the group's interpretive program, touching on the "two sometimes conflicting purposes" of the National Park Service—"conservation and enjoyment, or preservation and use"—and how Southwestern National Monuments could meet both without losing its focus on accurate interpretation and visitor education. He emphasized the need to compile interpretive inventories, a method for learning more about each monument's resources before progressing too far with an educational program. "Let us try to analyze our monuments in terms of their real meaning and importance. Let us attempt to stress those parts of their story which have some lasting value and significance." The interpretive personnel at each monument should, King stressed, gather information about their monuments and issue it; and abstract from the mass of information the most significant items and principles and present them to the public in the most effective way.[674]

Natt Dodge followed King with a paper on how to gather and record information, the core components of an accurate interpretive program. He concluded that "the object of the interpretational work in the Southwestern National Monuments" was to provide visitors with an "accurate, interesting, and easily understandable explanation of the various phenomena." To accomplish this, monument staff needed access to "an immense, easily tapped source of basic information" from which to draw "accurate facts" as well as a system of presentation based on devices and techniques frequently effective in adult education.[675]

---

[673] Dale S. King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962).

[674] Dale S. King, "Scope and Function of the Interpretative Program of the Southwestern National Monuments," 17 *in* "Report of Meeting of Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments–At Headquarters, Southwestern National Monuments, Coolidge, Arizona, February 14-16, 1940," RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "207 Reports, Custodians Meeting, 1940" (box 2068) NARA, College Park, MD.

[675] Natt N. Dodge, "The Accumulation and Recording of Information as the Basis of an Accurate Interpretative Program," 28 in Ibid.

The second day, King segued to an address on types of "interpretational devices" and how each worked for presenting the collected information that Dodge introduced. King identified five type-groups of interpretive devices: accompanied field trips (guide trips, nature walks, auto caravans, and horseback parties); attended and unattended exhibits; study collections; publications; and talks. He emphasized museums, or "exhibit rooms," as they "euphemistically [called] them in the Southwestern National Monuments," as the most impactful interpretive device.[676] Clarifying, he added that "visually-minded persons" generally outnumber the "auditory-minded" by "about seven or eight to one," and therefore "most ideas capable of assimilation by [the] public [should] be put across by cleverly designed graphic material." The "ideal monument museum," he suggested, offered "a string of ideas graphically portrayed, one major idea to the case," with minimal text, plus a building design and directional flow that fostered the self-guiding visitor when museum attendants were unavailable—the case at most of the understaffed monument museums.[677]

Other topics presented on day two of the School included Superintendent Miller's talks on enforcing laws and regulations and handling disgruntled visitors while upholding Park Service policies; Chief Clerk Parke Soule's discussions on fees and collections (a hot topic at the time with many dissenters); the mechanics of office files, filing, and purchase procedures; and the Boss's paper on "Visitor Statistics," read by Charlie Steen, which addressed the importance of visitor statistics and how to record them, but mostly talked about Pinkley's various theories and ideas on visitor engagement and contact.

The third and final day of the School opened with Regional Director Tolson's address on the development and functions of the Washington and regional offices, followed by Hugh Miller's thoughts on the importance of physical-plant (grounds and building) maintenance, and Jesse Nusbaum's speech on the functions of regional archeologists, which he cut short in order to talk about "his long friendship for Superintendent Frank Pinkley, paying tribute to the work accomplished and organization developed by the Boss."[678] Parke Soule talked about field personnel standard procedures, and Miller concluded the sessions with comments on future possibilities for the Custodians' School.

With that, the first Southwestern National Monuments Custodians' School closed, Cal Miller, serving as chairman of the Committee on Recommendations presented the group's findings: to hold the Custodians' School every year; to increase field and headquarters staff at Southwestern National Monuments; submit seasonal (summer and winter) reports on the condition of historic and archeologic structures; standardize the system of monument signage; coordinate interpretive content

---

[676] King, "Interpretational Devices," 29 in Ibid.

[677] Ibid, 39.

[678] "Informal Minutes of Southwestern National Monuments Meeting–February 16, 1940," 3 *in* "Report of Meeting of Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments–At Headquarters, Southwestern National Monuments, Coolidge, Arizona, February 14-16, 1940," RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "207 Reports, Custodians Meeting, 1940" (box 2068) NARA, College Park, MD.

of distributed materials; study the effectiveness of a fee system; allow and determine a per-diem policy for custodians' official travel; and improve the conformity of their uniforms with NPS standards.[679] Johnwill Faris, chairing the Committee on Resolutions, announced the group's unanimous resolutions: to express their gratitude and appreciation for Director Cammerer's approval of the school; extend good wishes to custodian Homer T. Farr, the only custodian unable to attend; extend thanks to the headquarters staff for preparing the plans and details and offering cooperation and help; extend their sympathy to Pinkley's family in their bereavement; express their deep sense of loss at the passing of Superintendent Pinkley and to redouble their efforts to forward the program which the Boss built up through the year "to the present high state of efficiency"; maintain "intact and unimpaired" the organization administering the southwestern monuments and to keep the field policies as "laid down by its first and only 'Boss,'" with which they were "heartily in accord"; and make known their unshaken morale and undiminished allegiance.

> Since our sincere and undivided loyalty to the Boss has been a matter of public knowledge in the past, lest anyone feel that Frank Pinkley's passing may have shaken our morale, we wish firmly to express our undiminished allegiance, which has been augmented, rather than lessened, by the events of the past three days, to the National Park Service and whichever supervisory officer may be placed over us; this allegiance we pledge to continue firm and unimpaired through the future.[680]

In a post-meeting report to Director Cammerer, Hugh Miller praised the group's composure during the conference. "The going was a little rough for the first hour," he admitted, and tears were close to the surface, "but thereafter until the conclusion of the meeting the boys listened and argued and wisecracked in an entirely normal manner…Even I had not realized what marvelous esprit really existed. It seemed as though the circumstances of the Boss' death had welded them more firmly than ever into an enthusiastic, cohesive 'outfit' as the Boss loved to call it."[681]

A group photo taken on the final day of meetings captured the composure of the "Outfit." The uniformed custodians and headquarters staff gathered around a single, unoccupied chair placed front and center, in honor and memory of Frank Pinkley. Many smiled, some even appeared to be chuckling. But few in attendance that week ever got over the shock of the Boss's abrupt death or the emotive visual of that empty chair.[682]

---

[679] National Park Service, "Monument Officials Derive Considerable Benefit from School of Instruction," *Park Service Bulletin* 10, no. 2 (March-April 1940): 4; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1940, 118C.

[680] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1940, 118C.

[681] Miller to Cammerer, February 20, 1940, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD. See also: Hugh M. Miller, "Opening," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1940, 69.

[682] Dale S. King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 25.



Figure 71. Southwestern National Monuments headquarters and field personnel in attendance at the inaugural Custodians' School of Instruction, February 14-16, 1940, doffed their hats in honor of "the Boss," the late Frank Pinkley, represented by an empty chair. Top Row standing (l to r): Clerk Luis A. Gastellum, Headquarters; Assistant Clerk-Stenographer Howard Rieber, Headquarters; Chief Clerk Parke W. Soule, Headquarters; Assistant Clerk-Typist Ira G. Goodwin, Headquarters; Junior Clerk-Stenographer Lawrence Mungerro, Headquarters; Junior Clerk-Typist Ray B. Ringenbach, Headquarters; and Assistant Engineer J. Howard Tovrea, Headquarters. Second Row standing (l to r): Custodian David J. Jones, Jr., Wupatki; Custodian Thomas C. Miller, Aztec Ruins; Custodian Lewis T. McKinney, Chaco Canyon; Custodian Don W. Egermayer, Saguaro; Custodian Luther Earl Jackson, Montezuma Castle; Custodian Robert R. Budlong, El Morro; Custodian Zeke Johnson, Natural Bridges; and Acting Custodian Chester A. Thomas, Bandelier. Third Row seated (l to r): Custodian Joseph H. Toulouse, Jr., Gran Quivira; Custodian James W. Brewer, Jr., Navajo; Acting Custodian Paul L. Beaubien, Walnut Canyon; Custodian William R. Supernaugh, Organ Pipe Cactus; Acting Superintendent Hugh M. Miller, Headquarters; Custodian Albert T. Bicknell, Casa Grande; Acting Custodian Charles L. Heaton, Pipe Spring; Custodian Theodore Cronyn, Canyon de Chelly; and Assistant Naturalist Natt N. Dodge, Headquarters. Front Row kneeling (l to r): Associate Naturalist Dale S. King, Headquarters; Custodian Henry G. Schmidt, Arches; Junior Park Archeologist Charlie R. Steen, Headquarters; Park Ranger (Relief Ranger) Edwin C. Alberts, Headquarters; Custodian Louis R. Caywood, Tumacácori ; Custodian Frank L. Fish, Chiricahua; Custodian Ira John Peavy, Tonto; and Custodian Johnwill Faris, White Sands. Source: WACC (04341).

Final Tributes to Pinkley: "More than an individual–he was something of an institution"

On Friday afternoon, the final day of the Custodians' School, the participants kept a uniformed honor guard in the mortuary where Frank Pinkley's body lay. In tribute to the Boss, two at a time always held quiet vigil next to him for one-hour intervals between 2 and 8 p.m.; when one custodian slipped out, another silently stepped in place. "Everyone who witnessed it," Miller reported to Cammerer, "was

deeply impressed by this silent tribute."[683] The custodians and other monuments personnel stayed on after the School to attend Pinkley's funeral, held Saturday, February 17, at 10:00 a.m. on the grounds of Casa Grande Ruins. Custodian Al Bicknell handled the funeral arrangements. Perhaps for the first time since Pinkley arrived in 1901 as Casa Grande's first custodian, the visiting public was barred entry. For two hours during the funeral service, the monument entrance stayed closed.

In an improvised chapel outside the museum, nearly 500 friends and associates gathered to pay tribute to Pinkley. His casket lay on a bier with the Great House as backdrop, while the Masonic brotherhood conducted a simple service consisting of a song, a prayer, and a brief tribute read by Rev. Earl Ward, Chaplain of Pinkley's Coolidge lodge. "Frank Pinkley is not dead," the reverend announced; "His name shall live beyond the coming years. Everything he touched bears the impress of his personality and has become a part of our most cherished memories. It is not often given to a man to look upon the finished pattern of his life work. Frank Pinkley had that rare privilege...He was enabled to stand before [his co-laborers] and express to his heart's content the purposes and progress of his work and having completed his address to his loyal assistants and friends he simply sat down and, as was fitting for so noble a person, quietly went to his reward."[684]

Tolson noted the fine weather: "the sun was shining and not a breeze disturbed the dignity of the services...It was just the type of day that Frank always appreciated at Casa Grande."[685] When the service concluded, the headquarters staff and monument custodians and rangers stood at attention. Pallbearers selected by Pinkley's son, Addison—Leonard Heaton, Zeke Johnson, Earl Jackson, Johnwill Faris, Cal Miller, and Frank Fish—carried Pinkley away from Casa Grande Ruins for the last time:.[686] Masons performed the graveside rites at the Florence Cemetery. Pinkley was laid to rest near his grandfather, James Graham, his father, Samuel Pinkley, his wife, Edna Townsley, and their infant son, Fred Arthur Pinkley.[687]

---

[683] Miller to Cammerer, February 20, 1940, 3.

[684] Earl M. Ward, funeral address, February 17, 1940, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, located in Appendix II of Ray C. Foust, "Frank Pinkley: National Park Service Pioneer," unpublished seminar paper for the University of Arizona, May 18, 1964, folder 19 "Foust, Ray: Frank Pinkley NPS Pioneer 1964," Box 1, Series 1: Southwest National Monuments Materials, 1926-1956, Southwest Regional Office Library Archives, 1928-1982 (SWRO ACC 109), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

[685] National Park Service, "Frank Pinkley, Dean of Park Superintendents, Dies of Heart Attack," *Park Service Bulletin* 10, no. 2 (March-April 1940): 3-4.

[686] Miller to Cammerer, February 20, 1940, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[687] *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/24129346/frank-pinkley), memorial page for Frank "Boss" Pinkley (27 May 1881–14 Feb 1940), Find a Grave Memorial ID 24129346, citing Florence Cemetery, Florence, Pinal County, Arizona, USA; Maintained by Michael Malone (contributor 46811147).



Figure 72. Images from Boss Pinkley's funeral, held February 17, 1940, at Casa Grande Ruins National Monuments. Pictured: (top) His casket lying on a bier with the ruins as backdrop, and then (bottom) his men bearing him away. Photographs by Harvey Matt. Source: WACC (04091A/B)

In the coming weeks, newspapers across the country published numerous obituaries, memories, and biographical histories of Frank Pinkley. "Rites as simple and unadorned as the man they honored," reported the *Arizona Republic*, "were held this morning for Frank Pinkley in the heart of the desert surrounding Casa Grande National Monument, his home for 39 years."[688] He "was always 'The Boss'," Tucson's *Arizona Daily Star* added, while the *Coolidge Examiner* reminded readers that Pinkley had been "one of the pioneer settlers" of their area, "widely known and beloved by all."[689] In Pinkley's birthplace, the *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune* observed his hometown roots: "Pinkley...was born in Chillicothe and graduated from the Chillicothe High School. The family home was on North Locust street. He is well remembered here by a large number of the older residents."[690] Arizona's transportation magazine, *Arizona Highways*, which often featured articles about the state's national monuments, included a frontispiece memoriam to Pinkley. "He had his eye on the future as well as the present, and scholars and visitors of the years to come can thank him for laying the foundation that means such well managed and preserved national shrines of archaeology and history and scenic beauty throughout the southwest."[691]

In Santa Fe, the NPS *Region III Quarterly* also paid tribute. "To most of those who knew him, he was more than an individual—he was something of an institution."[692] In Washington, the National Park Service's Park Service *Bulletin* celebrated Pinkley as "Dean of the Park Service Superintendents and one of the most popular officers of the organization."[693] The *Bulletin* also reprinted his opening address at the Custodians' School of Instruction, accompanied by several written sentiments from friends and colleagues. Naturally, the February 1940 Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report was almost entirely devoted to the memory of the group's superintendent. In addition to draft minutes and papers from the Custodians' School of Instruction sessions, the Monthly Report included an open letter, "To The Boss," from his Southwestern National Monuments outfit, expressing their sorrow, as well as clips of colleagues' sentiments, anecdotes, and sympathy, and the first of three unpublished Ruminations that Pinkley left for "future publication."[694] We are all pretty numb underneath," headquarters staff wrote in the February 1940 Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, "and it is going to take a long, long time to cover our feelings very deeply...[but] no matter how much we miss you," they promised, "we are not going to grieve. ....you built up the strongest unit in [the] Service, and, God willing, we are going to keep

---

[688] "Called to Monuments in the Skies: Simple Rites Held in Heart of Desert for Frank Pinkley," *Arizona Republic*, February 17, 1940; "Frank Pinkley Buried," *Albuquerque Journal*, February 18, 1940.

[689] "Frank Pinkley Dies Suddenly," *Arizona Daily Star*, February 15, 1940, 15; "Frank Pinkley, Supt. of Southwestern Natl. Monuments Passes On," *Coolidge Examiner*, February 15, 1940, 1.

[690] "Sudden Death of Frank Pinkley," *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune*, February 14, 1940, 1.

[691] "The Death of Frank Pinkley," *Arizona Highways* 16, no. 4 (Apr 1940): 2.

[692] "In Memoriam," *Region III Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (Apr 1940); 12-13; *National Park Service History Electronic Library & Archive* (https://npshistory.com/newsletters/region_iii_quarterly/vol2-2e.htm).

[693] National Park Service, "Frank Pinkley, Dean of Park Superintendents, Dies of Heart Attack," *Park Service Bulletin* 10, no. 2 (March-April 1940): 3.

[694] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1940.

it the strongest," doing "all in our power to keep the Southwestern National Monuments a true, and living, and everlasting monument to your memory. So long, Boss, Your Outfit."[695]

Southwestern National Monuments after Pinkley

Frank Pinkley's fatal heart attack cast a pall across Region III and the Washington office. Miller's leadership the day of Pinkley's death belied his grief. In correspondence with Arno Cammerer, Miller acknowledged his great personal sense of loss. "You already know how close the Boss and I were to each other. My own father died when I was nine years old and the affection I felt for the Boss was more like that of a son for his father."[696] In Washington, NPS Editor-in-Chief Isabelle Story received the news as "a severe blow." She and Pinkley had maintained a romantic relationship since the early 1930s. According to Horace Albright, Story "never seemed to get over her loss and sorrow."[697] Back in Arizona, tributes poured in. Some suggested that the National Park Service rename Casa Grande Ruins "Pinkley National Monument." "'If it is at all possible," the *Arizona Republic* editorialized, "we believe most of the citizens of Arizona, if not in the entire Southwest, would favor the renaming of the monument. ...Mr. Pinkley, through hard work, which, by the way, was a labor of love, created the interest which now makes the monument one of the most widely known of all the national monuments'."[698]

While most grieved Pinkley's sudden death, others seized the opportunity to reconsider ideas the Boss had not supported in life. On February 17, 1940, just three days after Pinkley died, Arthur Demaray, NPS Associate Director, took the untimely step of renewing the old conversation about moving the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters to the Santa Fe regional office:

> With the death of Superintendent Pinkley of Southwestern National Monuments I suggest that early consideration be given, as has long been planned, to transferring the headquarters of the Southwestern National Monuments from Casa Grande National Monument to the regional headquarters at Santa Fe, New Mexico.
>
> It is believed the purchasing and accounting work can be more expeditiously and efficiently handled at the Regional headquarters and probably some savings effected. It

[695] "To the Boss," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1940, II.

[696] Miller to Cammerer, February 20, 1940, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201-06 Superintendents and Custodians, 1931-47" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[697] Horace M. Albright, "Isabelle Story: Talented Writer-Editor," *Courier: The National Park Service Newsletter* (Dec 1981): 21-22.

[698] *Arizona Republic*, as quoted in "Naming of Monument in Honor of Frank Pinkley Suggested," *Park Service Bulletin* 10, no. 4 (Jul-Aug 1940): 5.

TO THE BOSS

Dear Boss:

You left us so suddenly that none of us had a chance to say goodbye. All of us miss you - like anything - but we know that you couldn't have gone at a happier time. You couldn't have picked a more appropriate moment to get your transfer orders from the Big Boss. Now you are in a much better position to see what is going on at all of the monuments, and, knowing that, there isn't a man among us that is not going to carry on just as you want him to.

It has been pretty lonesome around here since you left. We miss that steady hand of yours on the helm, although we have had fairly smooth sailing during the last couple of weeks. We miss your step on the walk at lunchtime, and your cheery whistle as you came into the office with the day's mail under your arm. We miss your friendly letters in reply to some gripe of ours, gently pushing over some mountain we had built from a mole-hill. We miss your everlasting sense of humor which always bubbled up when some emergency developed and which helped us so much to meet our problems in a sensible manner.

But no matter how much we miss you, we are not going to grieve. After all, you are much happier in your new and bigger assignment, and we are not sorry for you, only for your family and for ourselves. And so we are going to carry on as you would want us to. We kept the Custodians' School going, and you will note that the Monthly Report carries the same tone as it has in the past. We found those several Ruminations which you left for us, and they will help a lot. We are doing our best to keep things going along just the same; we have even written the Chief asking him to help us by not making any great changes in our organization, the one which you built up during those long, hard years of pioneering. Things seem to be going along the same, on the surface, but we are all pretty numb underneath, and it is going to take a long, long time to cover our feelings very deeply.

You know, a fellow never is appreciated fully until after he has gone away. We are just beginning to realize the importance of some of the things that you have done for the National Park Service and for us. As an organization, we have always been mighty proud of our Esprit de Corps and of our loyalty to you and to each other. Your transfer hasn't weakened that loyalty a bit, in fact it has strengthened it immeasurably. No matter what happens, as long as the Southwestern National Monuments is an organization, we will be known as Frank Pinkley's Outfit. Through your persistent work, your determination, and your everlasting belief in and loyalty to the ideals of the National Park Service, you built up the strongest unit in that Service, and, God willing, we are going to keep it the strongest.

One of your most difficult accomplishments was impressing the Service, as a whole, with the fact that national monuments are not second-rate areas but have just as much intrinsic value to our country as the scenic parks. You went even further, and brought that fact to the attention of part of the public. We alone realize how much it worried you to feel the misunderstanding which people had as to the meaning and function of national monuments.

Largely through your example and your high ideals of both personal and professional conduct and service, our uniform commands honor and respect in the Southwest. Especially during the last few years, when a multitude of governmental organizations clouded the identity of any one branch, the National Park Service has maintained its position of friendliness yet dignity in the minds of the people. It rests with us to keep your uniform and ours on this same high plane, and we pledge ourselves to do so with the high degree of integrity and devotion which has made you the symbol of the National Park Service to the people of the Southwest.

To say that you are better known in distant states than at home, would not be true. And yet, because your work was done so wholeheartedly, so unselfishly and without thought of acclaim, simply because it needed doing, there are many persons who have known you for years who think of you only as the Keeper of the Casa Grande, The Guardian of the Ruins. And so you are and always will be, in a much greater sense, the guardian of the priceless heritage of the American people. But you are more than a keeper or a watchman, for you had that depth of understanding and human sympathy which enabled you to be as one with those prehistoric inhabitants who peopled you land, and you had that charm of personality which, with your breadth of understanding, enabled you to make these people live, and love, and laugh again for the benefit of your own people, the men and women who visited your beloved monuments.

Well, Boss, we have to say goodbye. We'll think of you often, over there, talking over old times with Martin Jackson, and Hilding Palmer, and other of those fine old-timers who took their transfer orders first. And when the going gets tough, and things look black, as they surely will, we'll get out some of your Ruminations written when things looked pretty dark to you, things which, with that courage, and determination, and unquenchable humor, even when you were sick, you whipped into shape, taking them in your stride, and then joked about afterward in the Monthly Report. We had to write this, Boss, just to let you know that we are all with you in spirit, and that it's almighty hard for us to realize that it is a permanent transfer that took you from us. We'll never forget you, Boss, and we'll do all in our power to keep the Southwestern National Monuments a true, and living, and everlasting monument to your memory.

So long, Boss,

Your Outfit

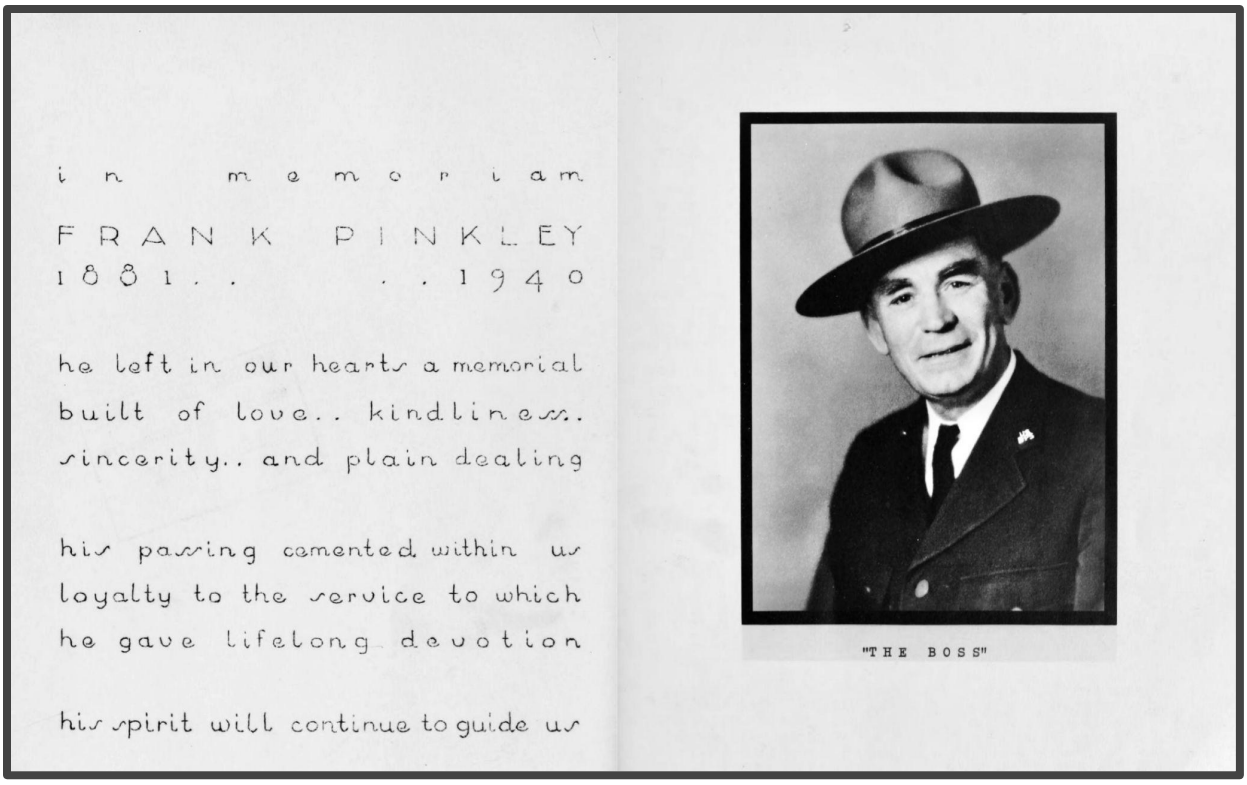


Figure 73. The Southwestern National Monuments "open letter" and memorial to Frank "Boss" Pinkley, from the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1940.

> is also recommended that Hugh Miller's valuable work during the last several years be recognized and that he be appointed superintendent vice Mr. Pinkley.

Director Cammerer offered no objection to promoting Hugh Miller to the vacant superintendency, but he gave a firm 'no' on moving Southwestern National Monuments to Santa Fe. His opinion on the matter had not changed since first broached in 1932. "I see no advantage to the plan," he told Demaray in a terse memo, "but rather several disadvantages." Back in 1923, when Cammerer was NPS Assistant Director, he played an instrumental role in creating the Southwestern National Monuments superintendency with Frank Pinkley at the helm. Seventeen years later, Cammerer remained an ardent supporter of the late superintendent and the organization he built:

> The organization that Pinkley built up with our consent and approval centered under one head the administration of the various far-flung southwest monument units with almost identical problems and complications. It has worked unusually well, and a knowledge of such problems and complications has been developed, and an esprit de corps established, that has proven its outstanding worth and value. The monthly report proves that. If the change were desirable, it should have been done as an

> administrative matter long ago, and not await the passing of Superintendent Pinkley to achieve it.[699]

Cammerer's objections to moving the Southwestern National Monuments office put a temporary end to the idea. In a confidential memo, Hillory Tolson, newly relocated to Washington as NPS Chief of Operations, informed his Region III replacement, John R. White, that they no longer contemplated the transfer to Santa Fe but would wait for the need to present itself naturally in the future: "The time may come," Tolson explained, when the monuments require independent administration and then it would "be considered advantageous to move the Headquarters unit to Region III Headquarters."[700] White dispatched his concurrence, noting that the timing of the proposal was premature. "It should be treated symptomatically rather than by surgical operation at this time. Certainly the administrative relationship of the Region to the Monuments should be further defined and perhaps strengthened before any such transfer of headquarters is made."[701]

Hugh Miller Takes Over

Hugh Miller humbly accepted the Southwestern National Monuments superintendency. "It would probably have been more conservative of you to hold me in an acting capacity," he wrote to Cammerer, but "I deeply appreciate this very tangible expression of your confidence."[702] To fill Miller's vacant Assistant Superintendent position, the National Park Service appointed Charles "Chuck" Richey. Richey was a Washington man, well-versed in the bureaucracy, and new to the Southwest. He had no former relationship or built-in loyalty to Frank Pinkley or the Southwestern National Monuments outfit; he may have been strategically placed by the Washington office.[703]

---

[699] Cammerer to Demaray and White, February 20, 1940, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[700] Tolson to White, May 24, 1940, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[701] White to Cammerer, May 28, 1940, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[702] Miller to Cammerer, April 1, 1940, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[703] Many years later, the elderly Corky Jones, former HCWP of Wupatki, accused the National Park Service of deliberately trying to break up the Pinkley-trained men. "The esprit de corps was so great," she wrote to historian Polly Kaufman, that "it was considered a threat to the NPS and the Eastern Superintendents were encouraged to hire [illegible] saying they wanted to diffuse some of this loyalty but of course they didn't realize the tremendous loyalty was to an ideal Park Service that existed in their minds and was fostered by The Boss. Moving them away from the SW simply woke them up to the general sleaze that existed. There's a lot more to this theory." See: Courtney Jones to Polly Kaufman, n.d. [Jan. 1989?], folder "SW Monuments - Courtney Jones Pix," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

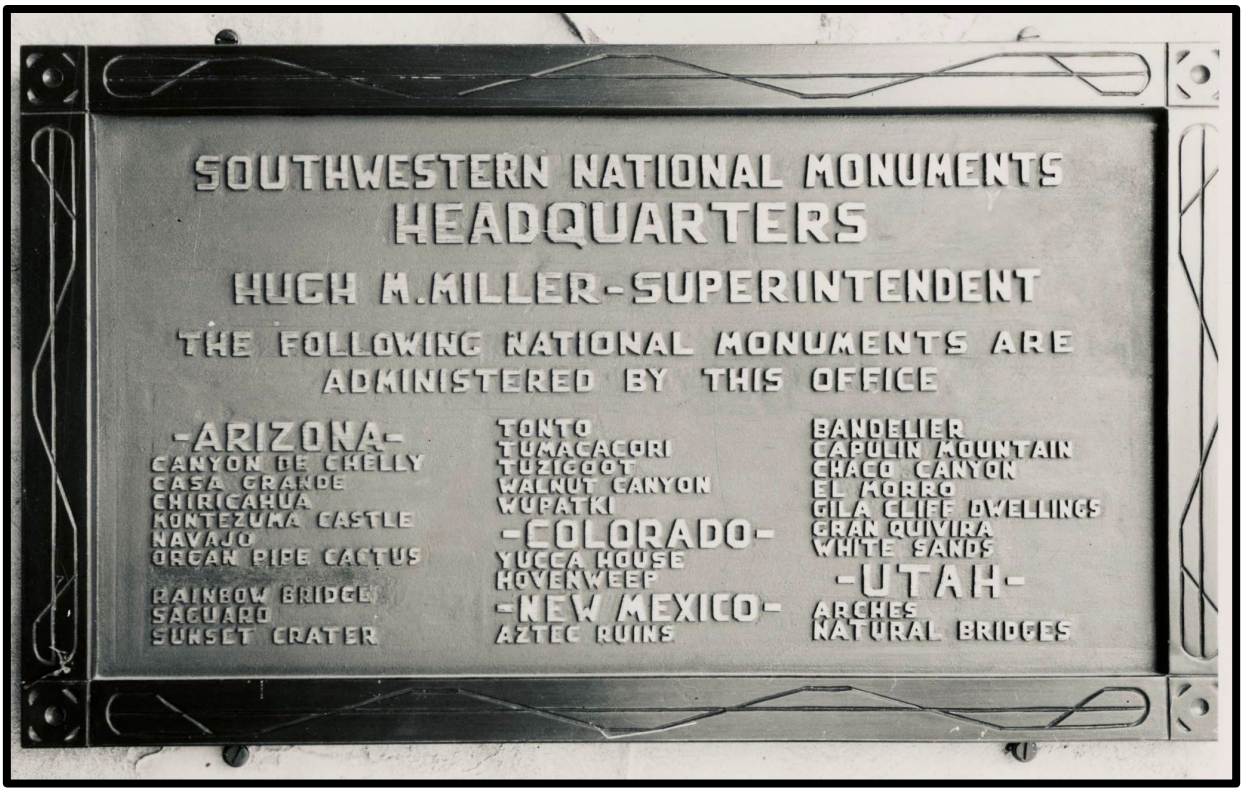


Figure 74. Southwestern National Monuments office sign under Hugh Miller's superintendency. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, May 1942. Source: WACC (07131)

Miller's superintendency was short but uneventful. As a member of the Southwestern National Monuments office since 1932, and as Acting Superintendent for the previous three years during Pinkley's declining health, Miller knew the ropes. He, more than anyone, could pick up where Pinkley left off. As a veteran of Southwestern National Monuments, he also understood that the events of February 1940 would alter the course of the organization. In his first monthly report as superintendent, Miller noted that "the prospects of the first Custodians' school of Instruction" enlivened the first half of the month, but the latter half was "crowded with the shadow of sorrow occasioned by the death of Superintendent Frank Pinkley." Both events, Miller stated, would "profoundly affect the future of the entire organization."[704]

The first order of business after Frank Pinkley's funeral involved collecting visitor statistics at monuments that had been charging twenty-five-cent entrance fees under an experimental agency policy launched in May 1939.[705] From the start, the custodians at fee-charging monuments noted a

[704] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1940, 71.

[705] Barry Mackintosh, *Visitor Fees in the National Park System: A Legislative and Administrative History* (1983), National Park Service History Electronic Library & Archive (https://npshistory.com/publications/visitor-fees/fees1.htm).

significant drop in visitors, a loss of up to two-thirds the expected numbers.[706] In Washington, the agency maintained it received few complaints about the fee from a sample size of 40,000 visitors. "How many times we have laughed over the statement," Pinkley chuckled when the program launched. "Our Southwestern traveler seems to be made of sterner stuff, as witness the well dressed banker-looking gentleman in the high priced car, who, upon being checked at Casa Grande and told the ranger would have to collect 25¢ each for him and his wife said: 'Oh, no you won't, and you can tell my dear friend, Harold Ickes, he can go straight to hell and take all you sons of Belial (word possibly confused) along with him.' Upon which he left in what appeared to be an angry mood."[707] During the test period, visitor reactions to the fee proved mostly negative, especially from local visitors out for a Sunday drive.[708] Some monuments, like El Morro, received such low visitation and negative local press within the first month of the program that the Interior Department granted them permission to suspend the fee system.[709]

The low-visitation trend at fee-entry southwestern monuments continued through the new year 1940. In his final Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Pinkley noted that the seven or eight monuments charging vehicle admission in January 1940 continued to admit fewer visitors than the same month a year earlier. At Casa Grande, January visitors added up to only 42% of the expected average, with 450 people in 153 cars driving into the monument but exiting soon after to avoid the fee collection.[710] In contrast, attendance at no-fee monuments increased by ten to twelve percent.[711] On a monument by monument basis, the Department of the Interior began allowing flexibility to the fee system at southwestern national monuments. Temporarily in February, Casa Grande, Montezuma Castle, and a few other southwestern monuments were given authorization to charge admission for guide service, but not entrance. This allowed the public to enter the monument and visit designated areas like picnic tables and campgrounds without paying a fee. The Interior reversed the arrangement in March by reinstalling the entrance fee program. Finally, in June 1940, the Secretary of the Interior stopped the see-saw by ruling that fees at several southwestern monuments "should be considered a guide fee and not an admission fee," allowing each monument to decide which parts of the monuments or activities should require a fee—public entrance, the museum, or guided tours.[712] Other noteworthy changes under Superintendent Miller's administration included the Natural Bridges custodianship. In 1941, Ezekiel "Zeke" Johnson, pioneer custodian of Natural Bridges, retired after 25 years on the job. Zeke had maintained his position beyond the federal employment retirement

---

[706] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1939, 198.

[707] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1939, 315.

[708] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1939, 328.

[709] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1939, 346; and "Monument Travel Totals Under '39," *The Gallup Independent*, March 22, 1940, 5.

[710] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1940, 9.

[711] Frank Pinkley, "Opening," *in* Ibid.

[712] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1940, 342.

age of 70, and Miller wagered that if the President of the United States could have seen Zeke dancing "the Varsoviana with Carolie McKinney" during the 1940 Custodians' School, he would have extended Zeke's employment indefinitely. "Zeke just refuses to get old!" Miller concluded.[713] But in fall 1940, Zeke received notice of his mandatory retirement, set for April 30, 1941. On that day, at age 72, the "grand old man of the Four Corners Country" turned "his back on those beautiful bridges, never to return."[714] The Natural Bridges custodianship had been an eight-month position. Each year, Zeke Johnson took four months off during the winter when snow prohibited access to the monument. But after Zeke retired, Miller consolidated the eight-month Natural Bridges custodianship and the four-month ranger-historian post at headquarters into one year-round permanent ranger position. The new full-time ranger position covered the resident custodianship of Natural Bridges during all months except winter, when, instead of a four-month furlough, the custodian transferred to a four-month ranger post at Casa Grande Ruins.[715]

Following Zeke's retirement, Hugh Miller made the sad announcement that the Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report, as they knew it, was ending. The journal, while still popular, had become time-consuming and costly. There was also the matter of the National Park Service wishing to "curtail a growing list of unofficial publications." On June 30, 1941, Miller introduced the last issue with a frontispiece article titled, "Finis." It had been "more than an official report," he explained;

> From its beginning in 1932 when Boss Pinkley assembled the material and cut the stencils himself, it developed into a medium which served not only the purposes of official report to the Director of the National Park Service but as a house organ and technical journal. Its informal style and unawed humanity attracted the attention of many persons who loved the Southwest, though they had no direct connection with the Southwestern National Monuments. The technical material attracted the interest of universities and prominent libraries particularly in the field of archeology, and the demand for copies far exceeded our capacity to produce them. The mailing list now discontinued, of some 300 names, consists almost entirely of Service-connected persons, libraries, and distinguished schools.

"In discontinuing it we seem to be bidding goodbye to another bit of a beloved personality," Miller concluded. But "the salt of [Pinkley's] humor and the savor of his philosophy are preserved in the bound copies of the reports. We shall turn to them often for guidance and inspiration."[716]

---

[713] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1940, 1181.

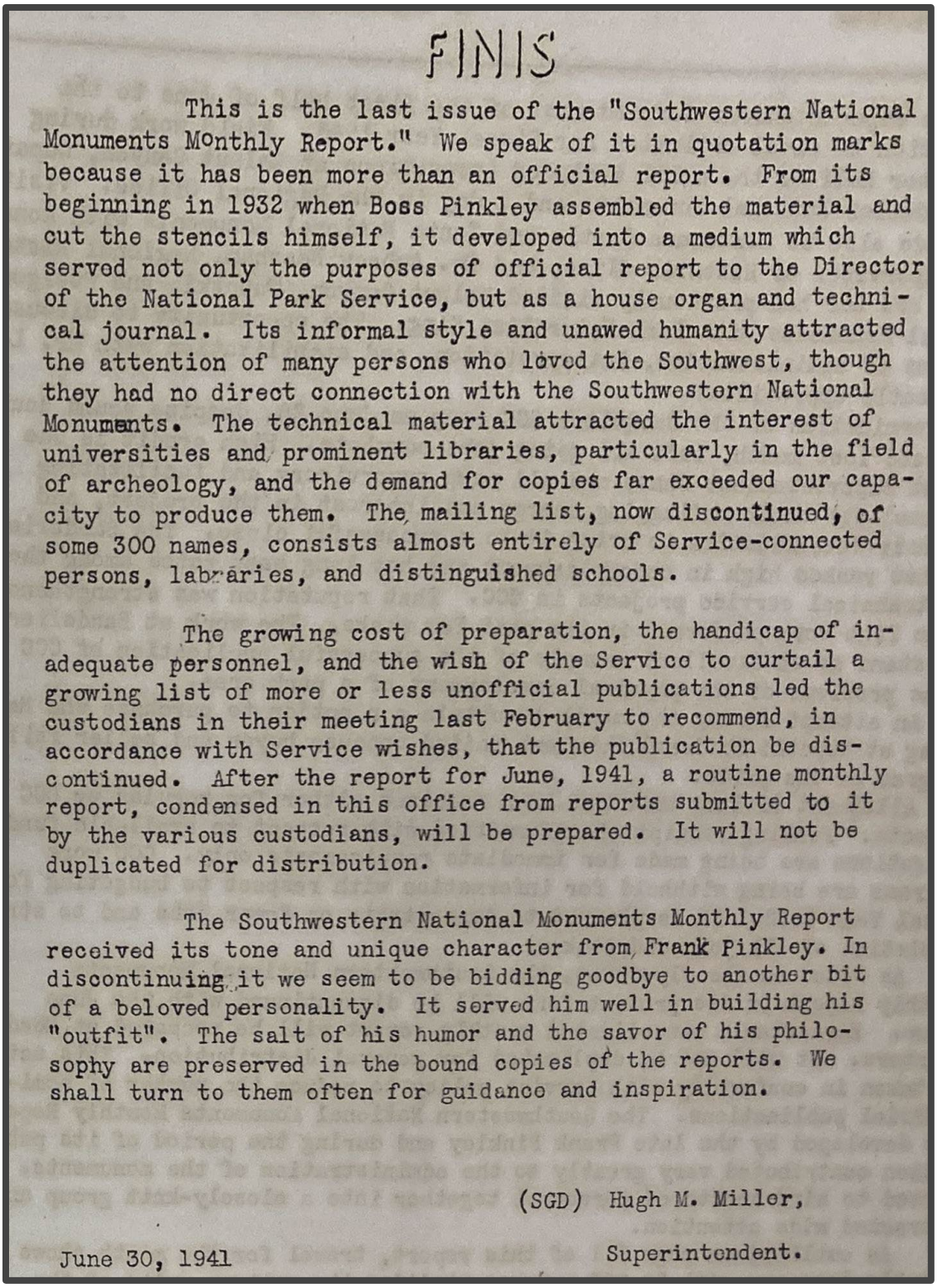
[714] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1941, 184; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, November 1940, 313.

[715] Tolson to Demaray, January 16, 1941, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[716] Hugh M. Miller, "Finis," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1941, 309.



Figure 75. Zeke Johnson, “grand old man of the Four Corners Country,” pictured during the SWNM Custodians’ School of Instruction at headquarters, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, in February 1941, shortly before retirement as longtime custodian of Natural Bridges at age 72. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge. Source: WACC (6015B)



FINIS

This is the last issue of the "Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report." We speak of it in quotation marks because it has been more than an official report. From its beginning in 1932 when Boss Pinkley assembled the material and cut the stencils himself, it developed into a medium which served not only the purposes of official report to the Director of the National Park Service, but as a house organ and technical journal. Its informal style and unawed humanity attracted the attention of many persons who loved the Southwest, though they had no direct connection with the Southwestern National Monuments. The technical material attracted the interest of universities and prominent libraries, particularly in the field of archeology, and the demand for copies far exceeded our capacity to produce them. The mailing list, now discontinued, of some 300 names, consists almost entirely of Service-connected persons, libraries, and distinguished schools.

The growing cost of preparation, the handicap of inadequate personnel, and the wish of the Service to curtail a growing list of more or less unofficial publications led the custodians in their meeting last February to recommend, in accordance with Service wishes, that the publication be discontinued. After the report for June, 1941, a routine monthly report, condensed in this office from reports submitted to it by the various custodians, will be prepared. It will not be duplicated for distribution.

The Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report received its tone and unique character from Frank Pinkley. In discontinuing it we seem to be bidding goodbye to another bit of a beloved personality. It served him well in building his "outfit". The salt of his humor and the savor of his philosophy are preserved in the bound copies of the reports. We shall turn to them often for guidance and inspiration.

(SGD) Hugh M. Miller,

June 30, 1941 Superintendent.

Figure 76. The June 1941 issue of the Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report was the final edition

The move to terminate the monthly report was decided at the 1941 Custodians' School of Instruction, held February 19-21 at headquarters. During his brief tenure as Southwestern National Monuments superintendent, Miller agreed to continue the School as an annual event, as the group had intended. For the second annual conference, the meeting sessions were held in CCC camp buildings located at Casa Grande Ruins. Topics for the 1941 sessions included, among many, how to standardize methods for counting visitors (Natt Dodge), best practices in ruins stabilization methods and procedures (Charlie Steen), how to enforce the Antiquities Act (Dale King), monument publicity and community relationships (Dale King), enriching monument interpretation through community talks, radio, and other media (Louis Caywood), lots of accounting sessions (Parke Soule), the ongoing conflict between protection and public use (Chester Thomas), maintenance, repairs, and proper equipment use (Charles Richey), fiscal needs for future development (Hugh Miller), and custodian's duties (Hugh Miller). Sandwiched between sessions were color slide and film shows, special lunches and dinners, and evening entertainment and dancing.[717] Like the previous year, attendees lodged at the nearby Vah Ki Inn or the San Carlos hotel in Coolidge.

In addition to the ten Southwestern National Monuments headquarters staff, twenty-two custodians and most of their wives attended the School, though not without some difficulty. Jim and Sallie Brewer, snowed-in at Navajo National Monument, made arrangements with one of the monument's Navajo laborers, "Pipe Line," to bring in horses so they could get out to the main road.[718] But in the end, each monument custodian made the trip to Casa Grande Ruins. Once again, they commemorated the effort with group photos—these would be the last formal photos of the Southwestern National Monuments outfit. In December 1941, following the Pearl Harbor bombing and the United States' entry into World War II, the National Park Service canceled the 1942 Custodians' School.[719] By the time the School could reconvene after the war, the custodians no longer needed it. The title of national monument "custodian" changed to "superintendent" for the 1948 fiscal year, qualifying the former Southwestern National Monuments custodians to attend the biennial NPS superintendents conference instead.

---

[717] Folder "0-1.7, Custodians Conference at Headquarters – February 19-21, 1941, to Jan. 10, 1942 ," Box 15, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[718] "Park Men Will Hold Meetings," *Arizona Daily Star*, February 16, 1941.

[719] Charles A. Richey, "Headquarters Circular Letter," December 30, 1941, folder "0-1.7, Custodians Conference at Headquarters – February 19-21, 1941, to Jan. 10, 1942 ," Box 15, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.



Figure 77. Group photos during the 1941 Custodians' School of Instruction attendees at Southwestern National Monuments headquarters, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, February 18-21. (top) The custodians, headquarters staff, and other NPS personnel in attendance. (bottom) The wives who attended the School. Source: WACC

Wives of the "The Round Table"

Several wives—the Honorary Custodians Without Pay—accompanied their spouses to the 1941 Custodians' School. During his fateful opening speech at the inaugural school, Frank Pinkley had emphasized that the wives provided "excellent service" and should, as it was their right, attend "any or all" of the meeting sessions. During the 1930s, the HCWPs of the "lone post" monuments took on increasingly active roles in the Southwestern National Monuments group, with full recognition that they did so unofficially, without financial compensation. In both 1940 and 1941, most wives chose to attend at least some of the regular Custodians' School sessions alongside the custodians. But the wives also held women-only events, including an HCWP "roundtable"—the first of its kind in the history of Southwestern National Monuments.[720] At the 1940 Custodians' School, they used the roundtable format to encourage each other and collaborate on problem-solving, best practices, and other matters unique to their role in the organization. It went so well that they decided to "meet" regularly in print.

In spring 1940, the Southwestern National Monuments HCWPs launched a quarterly newsletter called The Round Table (later renamed The Grapevine). The publication offered a "middle-ground" space for the wives of the custodians, rangers, and headquarters staff to solve issues of a different tenet than the matters addressed in the inclusive but administration-focused Southwestern Monument Monthly Report. The HCWPs published their newsletter for three years, with each new issue announced in the "Have You Read?–Bulletins" column of the NPS *Park Service Bulletin*.[721]

Jean Soule, wife of Southwestern National Monuments chief clerk Parke Soule, introduced the inaugural April 1940 issue of The Round Table. For background, she explained that about eighteen Southwestern National Monuments women met "for about one hour during the 'Field School'" to discuss their problems and ideas; during that first meeting, they resolved to form a newsletter to serve as the printed alternative to assembling in person—especially since several wives had been unable to attend the School. "It is our hope," she wrote, "that each one of you will profit by this review of our hastily drawn plans [for a newsletter] and feel free to make suggestions."[722] Jean announced that Marguerite Schmidt (Arches) had volunteered to serve as The Round Table's first editor. Schmidt would edit and mimeograph the bulletin, but the wives were responsible for mailing newsletter content to Marguerite directly. Jean recommended content on visitor contact duties, bird banding ("usually the duty of a wife," she added), mileage and road conditions, and any other important tips, recipes, or interesting news. She also encouraged them to publicize their respective monuments in local newspapers by writing special articles illustrated with photographs. The Round Table inaugural issue

---

[720] In the first issue of The Round Table the women mentioned Corky Jones and Sallie Brewer having photographs of their gathering at the 1940 Custodians' School. But Polly Kaufman, during research for her book *National Parks and the Woman's Voice*, was unable to find a photograph of the wives who attended.

[721] See example: National Park Service, "Have You Read?" *Park Service Bulletin* 10, no. 4 (July-Aug 1940): 27.

[722] Jean Soule, "To the Southwestern Monuments Wives," *The Round Table* 1, no. 1 (April 1940), folder "Roundtable & Grapevine, 1940-43," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.



Figure 78. Portrait of Genevieve "Jean" Soule, wife of Parke W. Soule, Chief Clerk of Southwestern National Monuments. Jean edited the first year of The Round Table women's newsletter. Photograph taken by Natt N. Dodge during the 1941 Custodians' School of Instruction, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. Source: WACC (06348A)

opened with the newsletter's mission statement reworded as a poem by Marguerite Schmidt. The rest of the issue focused on gathering photographs (of the monuments and the recent Custodians' School), expanding the bird study and banding program, and addressing housing conditions and challenges; it also included a section for personnel news.

The women gathered again at the 1941 Custodians' School to discuss their progress and future goals. During the week they held a luncheon meeting at the Rancho Loma Verde guest ranch, where Winnie Caywood (Tumacácori) and Corky Jones (Wupatki) agreed to take up the editorial reins of The Round Table. During afternoon tea at the Vah Ki Inn, they presented exhibits on their monument work and other hobbies.[723] Betty Budlong (El Morro), unable to attend the School again, sent an exhibit on her rural library program [Bio File: Budlong, Betty].[724] Betty Jackson (Montezuma Castle) presented her latest ornithology research, pending publication with the Museum of Northern Arizona [Bio File: Jackson, Betty]. At the conclusion of the 1941 School, the general assembly recognized the wives' achievements of the past year: "Be it resolved, that our appreciation be expressed to the wives of Southwestern National Monuments personnel for their activities during the past year contributing to the betterment of our organization, in the following fields: Bird Banding, The Round Table, Passing Out Books, Moral Support, Exchange of Information."[725]

Over the following year, The Round Table quarterly included a wide range of topics, including practical matters such as an HCWP uniform tips for staying "fresh and clean all the time," even without electricity—submitted by Betty Toulouse (Gran Quivira):

> Blouse Seersucker (or plisse' crepe as they call it now) ... in the color and style you like. When you wash it hang it on a coat hanger to dry, pulling it out the way you want it and leave the rest to "old sol".
>
> Skirt The kind called "Apache". It takes 4 lengths (more if you want it very full) of cotton print, stripe, or checked etc. gathered onto a 3" wide waist band, zippered, hooked or buttoned. The trick to this skirt is in the drying. After it is washed, pull it out straight and twist it tightly, hang it up to dry without shaking it out too much - the more wrinkles up and down the better. Practice makes perfect. When it is dry hang it in the closet ready to wear.[726]

In 1942, the women's newsletter took on a wartime tone. The August 1942 issue encouraged HCWPs to stay strong, reminding them that their participation (or lack thereof) in monument administration affected the success and spirit of the whole organization. The guest author, Marjorie Beal—pioneer of

---

[723] "Monuments Parley Set," *Arizona Republic*, February 16, 1941, B2.

[724] "Women of National Park Service Display Interesting Hobbys[sic] Here," *Coolidge Examiner*, February 21, 1941, 8.

[725] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1941, 294.

[726] *The Round Table* 2, no. 2 (Sep 1941): 5, in folder "Roundtable & Grapevine, 1940-43," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

rural library programs—reminded readers that the headquarters office lightened "the load of details and red tape and [had] the complex job of coordinating field activities," but that the custodians, HCWPs, and rangers *were* the field, and without them, Southwestern National Monuments would not exist:

> It is the Field, collectively and individually, that <u>is</u> the Southwestern National Monuments....Upon you in the field rest the responsibility for the smooth functioning of the 'Outfit'. You were chosen not only because you fitted the job, but because of your ability to fit in with the organization. Your opinions, as a whole, have always determined and influenced the administration; it is these opinions and feelings which make up the Esprit de Corps for which the organization is noted. NO ONE BUT YOU CAN INFLUENCE THIS SPIRIT–YOU MAKE IT OR BREAK IT YOURSELF....Times are tough and they are getting tougher. The changes brought about by this war furnish a crisis which will separate the men from the boys.[727]

Beal's counsel suggested the wartime isolation that many of the wives were about to experience, especially at remote "lone posts" amidst rationing and the absence of spouses and colleagues. By this point, Sallie Brewer (Navajo) and Corky Jones were co-editors of The Round Table, which they renamed The Grapevine.

The newsletter did not survive the war. The last issue of The Grapevine was published in January 1943, just before co-editor Sallie Brewer became the first permanent NPS woman ranger in the Southwest. Appropriately, the last issue summarized the results of a "woman-power survey" the HCWPs conducted to demonstrate to the National Park Service the full extent of their collective efforts. The results showed that the wives of Southwestern National Monuments custodians gained considerable experience, knowledge, and skills after they married into the agency and that, by virtue of this field experience—many years of it, in some cases—they could capably occupy the growing number of positions vacated by furloughed men.[728] After the final issue of The Grapevine, the HCWPs continued to create content but no longer for publication in their own newsletter. Instead, they submitted content to "Personnel Notes" section of the Supplement to the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report—partly as a cost-reducing step, and partly to ensure that the wives' news reached their furloughed husbands, who received copies at their respective military stations.[729]

---

[727] Marjorie Beal, "Men Only," *The Grapevine* 3, no. 2 (August 1942): 2, in folder "Roundtable & Grapevine, 1940-43," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[728] See chapter 9 of this administrative history, section "Wartime Administration," for a fuller discussion of the woman-power survey conducted by the editors of The Grapevine.

[729] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1943, 28.

War at the Door

On December 7, 1941, the Imperial Japanese Army attacked the American naval force at Pearl Harbor in Hawai'i. The United States Congress reacted by declaring war on the Japanese empire. Within a few days, that declaration extended to Germany and Italy. Before these events, Congress had already been debating a full shutdown of federal relief programs, while the Department of the Interior attempted to negotiate a partial retention of the CCC program. After the December 8 declaration of war, the chance of such a compromise plummeted. Instead, the relief agency resources became redirected to support the war effort. As the CCC exited the National Park Service, Hugh Miller stepped down as Southwestern National Monuments superintendent in December to become the NPS acting chief finance officer in the agency's central office—relocated from Washington to Chicago as a wartime precaution. A few months later, Congress officially terminated all federal-relief programs. Assistant Superintendent Charles A. Richey took over for Miller as acting Southwestern National Monuments superintendent until the appointment became permanent on July 1, 1942.

Where possible, the monuments hurriedly wrapped up pending projects before CCC personnel departed, buildings were dismantled, and equipment transferred to military camps. A wartime turnover of personnel due to transfers and military furlough followed, as the National Park Service announced the agency would "claim no exemption from either the armed forces or civilian defense positions."[730] Some of the first wave of Southwestern National Monuments personnel to join the armed forces or transfer to civilian defense jobs included ranger John E. Baczuk (Montezuma Castle) – War Ordnance Division in the Springfield Armory; custodian Don W. Egermayer (Saguaro) – Army Air Corps; custodian William R. Supernaugh (Organ Pipe) – Army Infantry; ranger Francis Elmore (Saguaro) – Navy Medical Corps; Relief Ranger, Charles C. Sharp (aka "C#") – Air Force.[731] The loss of permanent personnel from the monuments had a ripple effect. Southwestern National Monuments shuffled employees around, transferring custodians and rangers from one monument to another to fill gaps. It was an old familiar game for the organization. "Those of us who are not called to the armed forces or to civilian positions related to the war will work harder, longer hours, be subject to increasing inconveniences and fewer and shorter vacations," Hugh Miller announced from his new position in Washington," adding that "the folks in the Southwestern National Monuments have had some practice in that sort of thing and the whole Service knows they have what it takes to come through snorting and pawing."[732]

The war caused travel figures at the monuments to plummet. Exceptionally high numbers of visitors in November 1941 suggested the monuments might set new visitation records in December, when the southernmost monuments entered their peak season. But after Pearl Harbor, December visitation decreased sharply. Casa Grande reported its first drop in visitors in over a year; Chiricahua described a

[730] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1942, 37.

[731] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1942, 26-27.

[732] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1942, 37.



Figure 79. Charles "Chuck" A. Richey, Assistant Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments under Superintendent Hugh Miller. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge, February 1941, probably during the second Custodians' School of Instruction at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. WACC (06001)

noticeable curtailment of general travel through the area; Montezuma Castle experienced an unprecedented multi-day period without a single visitor; and Tuzigoot's visitor count "skidded to the year's nadir." As the new year approached, visitors began trickling back in, stirred "from the radioside" to "take a little fresh air again."[733] Monument reports in January 1942 indicated that travel numbers for the year might not be as low as feared. In March, President Roosevelt announced that visiting national parks benefitted mind and body and should be considered an intangible aid to winning the war. The National Park Service concurred. It would not justify "the promotion of park travel to maintain attendance records" but, otherwise, it held that keeping the parks open offered civilians and military personnel invaluable "rest and relaxation" to counter the strains of war.[734] At southwestern monuments, custodians reported that wartime visitors seemed "higher quality," more interested than usual in what the monuments offered.[735] Despite sustained interest, year-over-year visitor numbers in 1942 declined monthly. A wartime rubber shortage and ban on the purchase of new tires curtailed travel; Americans needed to prolong the lives of irreplaceable tires for the war's unspecified duration. A brief surge of visitors occurred in October 1942 when Americans took "a last trip" before the government rationing program went into place and gasoline usage became officially restricted.[736]

The first operational "casualty of war" at Southwestern National Monuments was the termination of Tuzigoot's much-needed fencing project set to begin in December 1941.[737] Other wartime sacrifices went unnoticed. In August 1942, longtime headquarters mechanic Eugene Stonehocker stripped Frank Pinkley's vintage Ford truck down to its skeleton to donate to a local scrap-metal drive for the war effort. Affectionately known as "The Baby," the modified 1918 Model T Ford served as Pinkley's "rolling home" and office through hundreds of miles and monument inspections during the 1920s. When the truck reached 92,000 miles in 1929, Pinkley assigned it to Petrified Forest, sending it off with an ode, gently edited by Edna and set to music never recorded: "Farewell to the Baby, Oh, how I lament her/.../You were always my pet and everyone knew it."[738] The Baby spent several years at the northern monuments. When it outlived its usefulness, Pinkley sent it out to permanent pasture behind the maintenance and equipment sheds at headquarters. There it sat through the bustling 1930s, a rusty ruin with a history known only by a few. "The Baby," Superintendent Richey reported to Washington in 1942, "played an important part in building and welding the Southwestern National Monuments organization." It seemed "a fitting tribute to its years of service that its bones be ground up and recast to build the sinews of war. The Boss would have it so."[739]

---

[733] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1941, 12, 14, 17, 27.

[734] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1942, 24-26.

[735] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1942, 7; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1942, 22.

[736] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, October 1942, 7.

[737] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1942, 28.

[738] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, April 1929.

[739] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1942, 26.

CHAPTER 9:

CLOSURES: THE SANTA FE AND GLOBE YEARS, 1942-1957

When The Boss passed away in harness...he was at the top of his career. He headed more than two score well-trained custodians, rangers, and scientists who were doing their best to give accurate information to the traveling public in 27 national monuments in four states...He missed seeing the big shutdown,—the cessation of improvements and diminution of travel when the world blew its top and slithered off into tail spins. It would not have worried him, for he knew he had molded an organization which would weather the bad days and be ready to function again when times are better.[740]

~Dale King, 1942



Figure 80. Entrance to Southwestern National Monuments headquarters at Gila Pueblo (est. 1952). Photograph by Roland S. Richert, 1956. Source: WACC

[740] Dale S. King, *Arizona's National Monuments*, Southwestern Monuments Association Popular Series, No. 2 (Santa Fe: Southwestern Monuments Association, 1945), vi. King finished the manuscript for this publication in October 1942, before heading off to war. It was not published until 1945.

World War II halted the growth of Southwestern National Monuments. In the 1930s, the organization had developed at a rapid pace as federal relief agencies provided the *de facto* National Park Service workforce. In parks and monuments across the country, thousands of Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees built new facilities, trails, and campgrounds at a high rate of progress through 1941. "During the 8 years that preceded the war," explained the NPS Washington office in 1946, "virtually all of the ordinary maintenance work in many of the major areas of the park system, including that required for the many new facilities made possible by Civilian Conservation Corps and other emergency construction agencies, was performed by CCC enrollees, under the direction of CCC foremen."[741] In fall 1941, as Congress debated the future of the CCC program the Department of the Interior scrambled to negotiate for a reduced program, not abolishment. But in early 1942, at the outset of the U.S. entry into World War II, Congress permanently disbanded the CCC in favor of the war effort. A mass exit of NPS personnel into military duty or civilian defense jobs followed the CCC disbandment. Deprived of the bulk of its workforce, the National Park Service paused new construction. Development of parks and monuments ground to a halt. Surplus NPS equipment and supplies went to the war agencies. Facilities at some parks and monuments, such as White Sands and Bandelier, became temporary military installations.[742] With appropriations halved, the National Park Service became "reduced to a minimum basis" and faced difficult administrative decisions, including merging field offices as a cost-saving measure.[743] In fall 1942, the agency abruptly ordered Southwestern National Monuments staff to move headquarters operations to the Region III office in Santa Fe, effectively ending Southwestern National Monuments. A decade later, the National Park Service reactivated the office and established its new headquarters at Gila Pueblo in Globe, Arizona. This second iteration of Southwestern National Monuments proved short-lived; the agency ended it in 1957, a casualty of Mission 66 reorganization.

Transferred to Santa Fe, 1942: Secrecy and Protests

On August 4, 1942, the Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, Charles A. Richey, received a memo by air mail from NPS Acting Associate Director Hillory A. Tolson. It was marked "strictly confidential." Richey hoped the memo contained an answer to his recent request to transfer custodian Art Thomas of Bandelier to headquarters at Casa Grande Ruins. He wished for Thomas to step into the assistant superintendency, the position that Richey had held before Hugh Miller, his predecessor, resigned. Instead, Tolson's memo relayed unexpected news: the National Park Service planned to transfer the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters to the Region III office in Santa Fe. Wartime restrictions and the elimination of the CCC, Tolson explained, necessitated a reorganization of NPS divisional offices and field personnel. For the regional office, this wartime reorganization meant an expanded geographical jurisdiction but with reduced administrative

[741] National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1946* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1946), 308.

[742] National Park Service, *Annual Report...1946,* 311.

[743] National Park Service, *Annual Report...1946*, 308.

personnel and funds. Federal relief agencies—now discontinued—had, since 1938, covered the salaries of Region III office personnel.[744] Only Tillotson and his secretary had drawn paychecks from NPS appropriations.

The NPS regional office appropriation for the 1939, 1940, and 1941 fiscal years was $34,000. This budget covered "a regional director and a stenographer and approximately $350 for travel and other expenses for each of the four regional offices." Each regional office, on average, employed an additional 150 employees with salaries paid from "direct appropriations to the National Park Service for 'Roads and trails,' 'Parkways,' 'Physical improvements,' etc., and from allocations to the Service from Public Works, CCC, ERA, and other emergency appropriations." The $34,000 had, to that point, covered the functions of the early regional offices. By 1941, however, the function of the regional office "evolved to include responsibility for coordinating all phases of the administration, protection, maintenance, and operation of the national parks, monuments, and other areas." The regional office appropriation for fiscal year 1942 increased to $47,700, but it was nowhere near enough to offset the loss of relief agency money for the 1943 fiscal year.[745]

Southwestern National Monuments became the sacrificial lamb. The National Park Service, Tolson emphasized, would maximize operations in the Southwest by consolidating Southwestern National Monuments resources with Region III and sending seven permanent staff positions allotted through the National Monuments appropriation to Santa Fe.[746] The news shook the Southwestern National Monuments group. Some personnel questioned the agency's motives. Corky Jones, HCWP at Wupatki, believed the high sense of camaraderie at Southwestern National Monuments made the agency uncomfortable. Our "esprit de corps was so great," she later told interviewers, that it became "a threat to the NPS," and that "Eastern Superintendents were encouraged to hire" Pinkley-trained personnel "to diffuse" the group's strength.[747] Less conspiratorially, Charlie Steen thought it just all came down to money and economy. Wartime "Park Service appropriations were severely cut," he later explained in an interview from his office in Santa Fe, because Congress,

> cut all [the agency's] emergency funds, the ECW and any other alphabet that was available. And the funds which were cut the least, as I recall it, were the field office funds, for the operation of parks. And the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters came under this category. The office here was down to bare bones. But here was a group of employees with established salaries who could be picked up and

[744] Miller, "Behind the Adobe Wall," 73.

[745] "Development of the Regional Offices Appropriation," Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Interior Department, *Interior Department Appropriation Bill for 1948*, Part 1, hearings, 80th cong., 1st sess. H. Rep., 568.

[746] Tolson to Richey, August 4, 1942, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[747] Corky Jones to Polly Kaufman, notes on SWNM personnel, n.d., folder "Wupatki + Jones Correspondence," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

> put down here [Santa Fe]. And this was the reason. Minor Tillotson, the Regional Director, at that time got permission - he would have forced Chuck into it eventually, I think, but he got Chuck to agree to moving his office up here [Santa Fe], all right? Broke our hearts. We didn't want to come up here to Santa Fe. The rest of us cared little for the city up here. We wanted to continue living down there [Coolidge].[748]

Uprooting Southwestern National Monuments from its long-established headquarters in southern Arizona unsettled nearly everyone. Casa Grande Ruins and the community of Coolidge had hosted the Southwestern National Monuments administration since 1923. Rooted in place or not, Richey's instructions were to prepare to leave as early as September 1, pending final approval from the Washington office. Tolson emphasized that the National Park Service hoped to expedite approval for the transfer quickly *and quietly*; they should endeavor to keep the move confidential from the local community and press.[749]

Official approval for the transfer dragged on. September closed without movement and Southwestern National Monuments personnel drummed their fingers. On September 26, Superintendent Richey impatiently wrote to Director Drury, expressing his staff's frustration with the uncertainty and the anticipated expense of the move. "The transfer," Richey urged, "should be made effective without delay, or postponed indefinitely."[750] Headquarters personnel who lived off-site in Coolidge faced a major housing difficulty. News of the possible transfer had leaked; their Coolidge landlords were pressuring them to commit to a date of vacancy. But Santa Fe's higher cost of living and housing demand made renting "a house sight unseen and without definite knowledge" of a move-in date impracticable. Without an authorized date for the move, headquarters personnel were stuck. They could not schedule the transportation of their furnishings with no place to store them in Santa Fe. If they preemptively moved, they faced the expense of lodging in Santa Fe hotels or "tourist cabins" for an uncertain, potentially prohibitively long period.

"Most of our employees," Richey reminded the director, "are in the lower-income bracket" and could "ill afford" the anticipated expenses above the government's planned reimbursement. "The maximum reimbursement now proposed," he outlined,

> is limited to a sum not to exceed the equivalent of the cost of first-class rail transportation, pullman, and per diem for the interval of time elapsing between scheduled departure from Coolidge, till arrival at Santa Fe. We have checked and

---

[748] Charlie R. Steen, transcript of Oral History Interview of Charlie R. Steen by S. Herbert Evison, April 3, 1973, 29-30, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," NPS Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[749] Tolson to Richey, August 4, 1942.

[750] Richey to Drury, September 26, 1942, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

> found this to be $31.00. This reimbursement will be a far cry from the actual financial burden imposed upon the employees. It would not only be unjust and inequitable to expect them to pay the extra transfer costs personally, but the situation will make for inefficient performance of official duties and will be disruptive of good organization until the families can be settled down.

"We would like to establish some means whereby the added expense can, as it equitably should, be borne by official funds. Can you propose," Richey begged, "some method whereby compensation for unusual personal expenses incurred during the interval of transfer and relocation can be accomplished?"[751] The Washington office could not. "There is no way," the agency's finance officer explained, that "we can assist the employees of the Southwestern National Monuments in their proposed transfer to Santa Fe. The travel regulations are specific in prohibiting the payment of per diem to employees while at their official headquarters...and upon their arrival in Santa Fe, the employees would be at their headquarters. Also, they can not be paid per diem at Coolidge prior to the move for the same reason."[752]

Arizona Protests

Eventually, news of the move spread. Dismayed, the Coolidge Chamber of Commerce with the support of Arizona's junior senator, Ernest McFarland, appealed to the Department of the Interior to revert the decision. McFarland forwarded the community's written objections: "Some two years ago," McFarland communicated to Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, "it was rumored that this move was contemplated....[and when] the citizens of Coolidge [endeavored] to secure a Federal Building to house [headquarters]...Officials of your National Park Service at that time stated that they had ample quarters at the Ruins for all purposes, and were not interested" in relocating the headquarters. Now, McFarland argued, "The move will leave the quarters empty at Casa Grande Monument (described by your local administrative officers as ample) and will entail a great expense and inconvenience in moving personnel and records." Secondly, he added, "The Casa Grande Ruins is more centrally located than [Santa Fe]...a larger number of National Monuments are thus better administered and supervised with headquarters at the Ruins." Lastly, McFarland noted that the timing of the move seemed a "strange" wartime strategy; at a time "when all transportation facilities [were] taxed to the utmost," he mused, "the Park Service, in the midst of this great conflict, suddenly finds it necessary to move and to use transportation facilities now needed to win the war...to locate headquarters where extra transportation facilities will have to be used to properly perform the necessary work."[753] Keep the headquarters at Coolidge, he concluded.

---

[751] Charles A. Richey to Newton B. Drury, September 26, 1942.

[752] Edwards to Tolson, October 3, 1942, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[753] McFarland to Ickes, October 1, 1942,RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

McFarland's arguments made no dent. Secretary Ickes refused to budge: "I am not unmindful of the affection with which these people regard the community and their many friends among its citizens," came his cavalier response; "I am constrained to believe, however, that the community will withdraw its objections when it understands the reasons for making the move."[754] Those reasons, Ickes stated, were twofold: combining manpower and saving money. Urgent wartime economy had dictated a serious reduction of the staff at Region III, inadequate to direct operations in park areas across eight states. By combining the two curtailed workforces of Southwestern National Monuments and Region III at one location, he argued, both offices would strengthen their wartime administrative capabilities; the regional office would also see substantial annual savings approximate to "the total salaries of the Southwestern National Monuments Headquarters' group."[755] The agency would use monument resources to build up the regional office.

Making the Move

While Arizona battled it out with the Department of the Interior, Charles Richey prepared headquarters for the transfer. On October 7, he received the green light to pack up. A few days later he confirmed it with the press: all Southwestern National Monuments administrative and interpretive staff and operations would be gone by the end of the month, leaving behind only the warehouse storage and automotive repair shops. "The administration of Casa Grande National Monument will not be affected," Richey assured his worried neighbors.[756] That night, Southwestern National Monuments staff held a farewell buffet under a ramada at Casa Grande Ruins—a chance to gather with colleagues and friends before the rush of packing set in.

The naturalist division handled most of the move. Archeologist Charlie Steen oversaw the loading of office equipment. Naturalist Natt Dodge prepared several press releases with additional details about the closure, while naturalist King, who planned to join the Army Air Corps on October 22, hurriedly completed preparations for the publication and copy-editing of the Southwestern Monuments Association book, *National Monuments of Arizona*, a collection of reprinted *Arizona Highways* magazine articles about the national monuments. King squeezed in a brief history of Southwestern National Monuments into his introduction. Frank Pinkley, he noted, "passed away in harness," just missing "the big shutdown" when "the world blew its top and slithered off into tail spins." But Pinkley, King added, "would not have worried," for "he knew he had molded an organization which would weather the bad days and be ready to function again when times [were] better."[757]

---

[754] Ickes to McFarland, October 15, 1942, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[755] Ickes to McFarland, October 15, 1942.

[756] "Monuments Unit to Move," *Arizona Republican*, October 11, 1942.

[757] Dale S. King, *Arizona's National Monuments*, Southwestern Monuments Association Popular Series, No. 2 (Santa Fe: Southwestern Monuments Association, 1945), vi. The book was not published until King returned from military duty. SWMA issued 5,000 copies; the final copies did not sell until 1962. SWMA learned that visitors preferred to purchase



Figure 81. The Southwestern National Monuments naturalist team—Natt Dodge, Charlie Steen, and Dale King—taking a smoke break after loading the educational division's semi-trailer with headquarters interpretive equipment for transfer to Region III, Santa Fe. Photo by Eugene Stonehocker, October 1942. Source: WACC (07467)

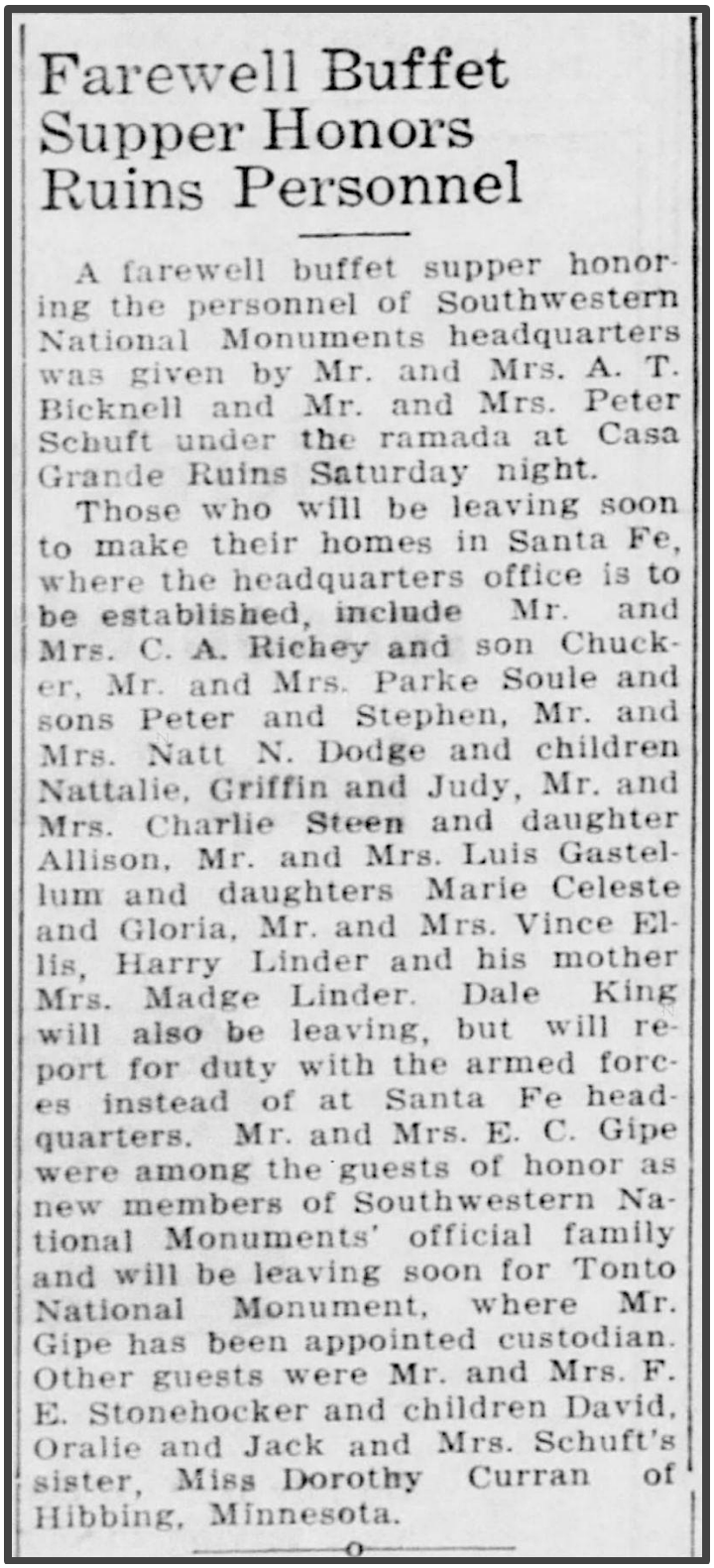
By October 21, most Southwestern National Monuments staff had left Arizona. The laborer and mechanic positions—held by Baehr and Stonehocker—plus one Park Ranger position remained at Casa Grande Ruins. NPS retained the "warehouse pool" of shop and equipment storage, gasoline and oil dispensing facilities, and repair and blacksmith shops at Casa Grande. The agency planned to gradually discontinue the warehouses by "transferring material to Southwestern monuments areas as needed."[758] Charlie Steen delayed transfer to Santa Fe, remaining at Casa Grande through winter so he and his wife could welcome their first child, expected in December. Steen cleaned up and rearranged the vacated Southwestern National Monuments offices for monument-only administration and served as an acting ranger in place of Peter Shuft, conscripted into the U.S. Navy in October. Steen also supervised ruins stabilization at Compound A, installed temporary exhibits for the monument museum, and provided technical assistance at Tonto National Monument helping "break in Custodian Gipe in [his] interpretive duties."[759] The Steens moved to Santa Fe in March 1943.

---

literature on monuments they visited but were less likely to purchase compendiums of all the monuments. See: Rose, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 12-14.

[758] Drury to Tillotson, August 22, 1942, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[759] Memorandum for the Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments: Monthly Report of the Interpretive Staff for October, November 3, 1942, folder "Administration and Personnel: Monthly Reports of SWNM Interpretive Staff to Regional Director, 1941-1945, " Box 22, RG 10 (ACC 0681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.



Farewell Buffet Supper Honors Ruins Personnel

A farewell buffet supper honoring the personnel of Southwestern National Monuments headquarters was given by Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Bicknell and Mr. and Mrs. Peter Schuft under the ramada at Casa Grande Ruins Saturday night.

Those who will be leaving soon to make their homes in Santa Fe, where the headquarters office is to be established, include Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Richey and son Chucker, Mr. and Mrs. Parke Soule and sons Peter and Stephen, Mr. and Mrs. Natt N. Dodge and children Nattalie, Griffin and Judy, Mr. and Mrs. Charlie Steen and daughter Allison, Mr. and Mrs. Luis Gastellum and daughters Marie Celeste and Gloria, Mr. and Mrs. Vince Ellis, Harry Linder and his mother Mrs. Madge Linder. Dale King will also be leaving, but will report for duty with the armed forces instead of at Santa Fe headquarters. Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Gipe were among the guests of honor as new members of Southwestern National Monuments' official family and will be leaving soon for Tonto National Monument, where Mr. Gipe has been appointed custodian. Other guests were Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Stonehocker and children David, Oralie and Jack and Mrs. Schuft's sister, Miss Dorothy Curran of Hibbing, Minnesota.

Figure 82. Southwestern National Monuments staff bade farewell to their colleagues at Casa Grande Ruins on October 10, 1942. Source: Coolidge Examiner, October 16, 1942.

Wartime Administration: Operating at a Minimum Basis

In Santa Fe, the regional office reorganized personnel and duties to reflect the consolidation with Southwestern National Monuments. A staff conference on October 22, 1942 clarified titles and addressed how the new iteration of both offices would function. Importantly, the Southwestern National Monuments superintendency fell under the general supervision of the regional director, Miner R. Tillotson. Since the consolidation occurred mid-fiscal year, headquarters personnel who transferred from Coolidge to Santa Fe would receive their salaries through the national monuments appropriations until the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1943. Southwestern National Monuments would retain its status as "an independent unit" for the same period. After that date, however, the process of merging "all fiscal, personnel, and general clerical work of the Southwestern National Monuments" with the regional office would conclude and Southwestern National Monuments would no longer exist on paper as an autonomous office.[760]

Staff Reassignments

From the outset, the reimagined Southwestern National Monuments staff wore two hats. They retained their previous roles but also inherited new Region III responsibilities. Superintendent Richey became Associate Regional Director, a role that required him to serve as Acting Regional Director during Tillotson's absences. But Richey's primary title was "Assistant Regional Director"—a new position created just for handling southwestern monuments administration. Dr. Ross A. Maxwell, part of the Region III staff, became Richey's assistant and, in turn, served as Acting Regional Director when both Tillotson and Richey were out of office. Maxwell also held the position of Regional Geologist, serving as one of three staff members in the interpretive office at Santa Fe. The other two were Natt Dodge and Charlie Steen. Natt Dodge received the title of Associate Regional Naturalist, effective January 1, 1943.[761] Charlie Steen joined Dodge and Maxwell in the Region III interpretive office in March 1943 after wrapping up winter ruins stabilization efforts at Casa Grande Ruins. His title changed from Junior Park Naturalist to Assistant Regional Naturalist under Dodge.[762] Officially, the consolidated Southwestern National Monuments-Region III interpretive office—composed of Dodge, Maxwell, and Steen—offered educational assistance to all field areas within the eight-state Southwest region; Dodge and Steen were still expected to prioritize the southwestern monuments.[763]

---

[760] "Personnel," *Memorandum for the Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments*, January 1943, 20.

[761] Ibid.

[762] Memorandum for the Superintendent, "Southwestern National Monuments: Monthly Report of the Interpretive Staff for October," November 3, 1942, folder "Administration and Personnel: Monthly Reports of SWNM Interpretive Staff to Regional Director, 1941-1945," Box 22, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, RG 10 (ACC 0681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[763] "Report of Special Region III Headquarters Staff Meeting," October 22, 1942, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

When he arrived in Santa Fe, Dodge's first task as Regional Naturalist involved organizing the Region III interpretive office to suit Southwestern National Monuments activities. This involved rearranging the regional office library, a task for which he had the inadequate half-time assistance of a stenographer.[764] All books in the regional library needed to be carefully catalogued, accessioned, marked, and each fixed with a loan card envelope. The prized Southwestern National Monuments loan library, begun in 1918 when Frank Pinkley resumed the custodianship of Casa Grande, moved to Santa Fe in October and became accessioned into the regional stacks. Merging the two libraries seemed a daunting task until Dodge's mother, Florence Dodge—a former school librarian—volunteered to help him organize the merger. Six days a week for three months each winter, she worked on cataloguing the library in a small corner of the regional office.[765] The new Southwestern National Monuments-Region III library did not include Frank Pinkley's personal library collection. Pinkley's books traveled initially to Santa Fe but were immediately returned to Casa Grande Ruins per Nancy Margaret Pinkley's urgent request.[766] The Southwestern National Monuments-Region III library reorganization may have had Earl Jackson's assistance. In November 1942 Jackson left the custodianship of Montezuma Castle and transferred to the regional office for an "indefinite assignment" to help with the Southwestern National Monuments–Region III office merger. Earl's new job mainly involved sorting through old Civil Works Administration records. His wife Betty became appointed treasurer-bookkeeper for Southwestern Monuments Association, which moved its operations to Santa Fe as well.[767]

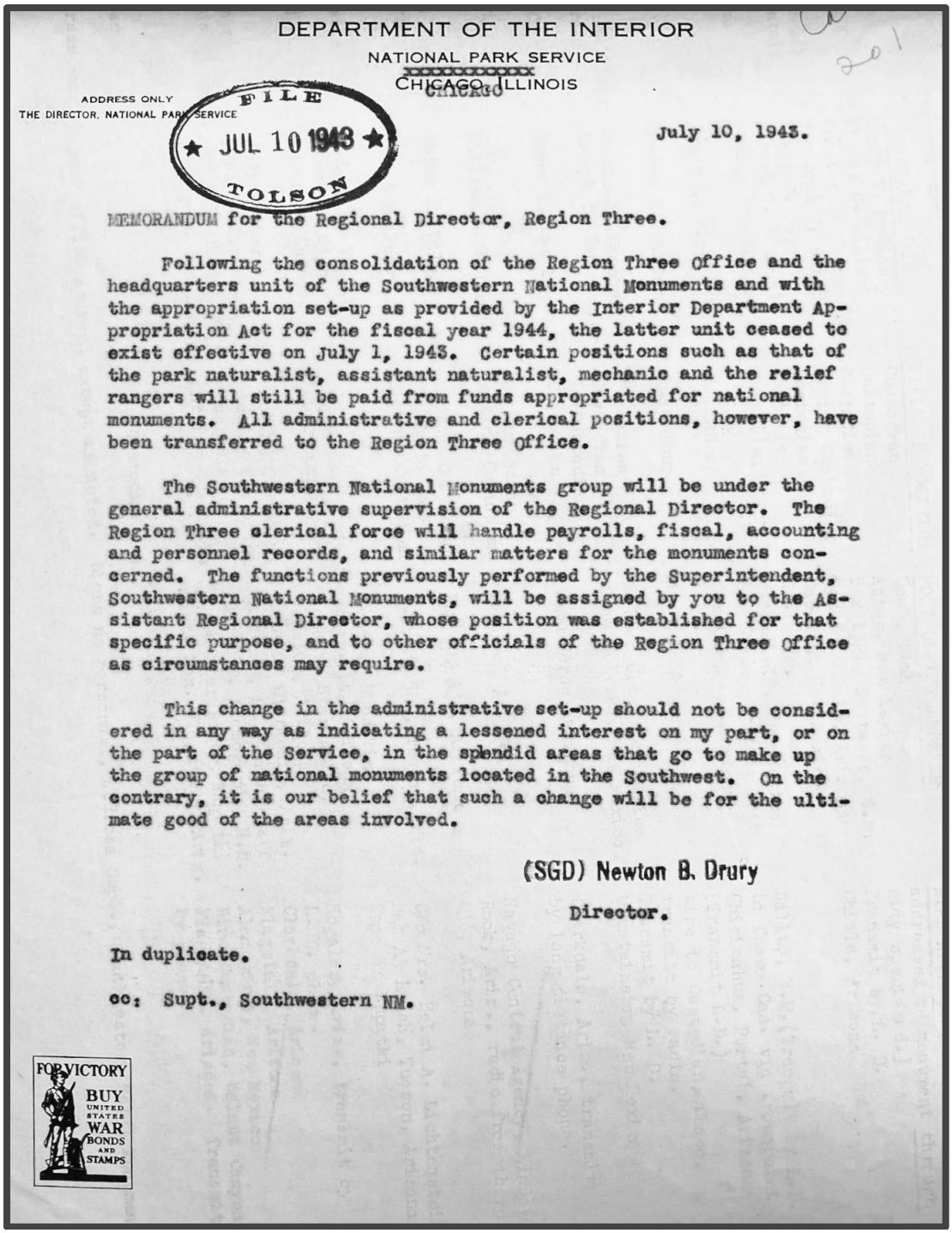
The Southwestern National Monuments transition from independent administrative office to dependent operational unit of the regional office concluded June 30, 1943. The next day, it ceased to exist, on paper. Some positions remained funded through the national monuments appropriation: the naturalist (Dodge), assistant naturalist (Steen), mechanic (Stonehocker), and the roving and relief rangers. But all other Southwestern National Monuments administrative positions—the superintendent, clerks, and monuments staff and operations—along with their "payrolls, fiscal, accounting and personnel records, and similar matters" were turned over to Region III. Functions

[764] Dodge, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 16.

[765] Dodge, 16-17.

[766] Nancy Margaret Pinkley inherited her father's personal effects, including his books, in his will. The inventory of books returned to Casa Grande Ruins on October 22, 1942, numbered 200 volumes. Later, she donated 185 volumes to the University of Arizona. See: Natt N. Dodge, "Pinkley Library List," Box 36, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ; Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 14, 1942, 2; Frank Pinkley, "Last Will and Testament," April 9, 1937, Box 2, Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (ARG 34), WACC, Tucson, AZ; Robert L. Nugent to Nancy Pinkley Whiting, May 4, 1949, Box 2, Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (ARG 34), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[767] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1942, 2.



DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

ADDRESS ONLY
THE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

FILE
JUL 10 1943
TOLSON

July 10, 1943.

MEMORANDUM for the Regional Director, Region Three.

Following the consolidation of the Region Three Office and the headquarters unit of the Southwestern National Monuments and with the appropriation set-up as provided by the Interior Department Appropriation Act for the fiscal year 1944, the latter unit ceased to exist effective on July 1, 1943. Certain positions such as that of the park naturalist, assistant naturalist, mechanic and the relief rangers will still be paid from funds appropriated for national monuments. All administrative and clerical positions, however, have been transferred to the Region Three Office.

The Southwestern National Monuments group will be under the general administrative supervision of the Regional Director. The Region Three clerical force will handle payrolls, fiscal, accounting and personnel records, and similar matters for the monuments concerned. The functions previously performed by the Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments, will be assigned by you to the Assistant Regional Director, whose position was established for that specific purpose, and to other officials of the Region Three Office as circumstances may require.

This change in the administrative set-up should not be considered in any way as indicating a lessened interest on my part, or on the part of the Service, in the splendid areas that go to make up the group of national monuments located in the Southwest. On the contrary, it is our belief that such a change will be for the ultimate good of the areas involved.

(SGD) Newton B. Drury

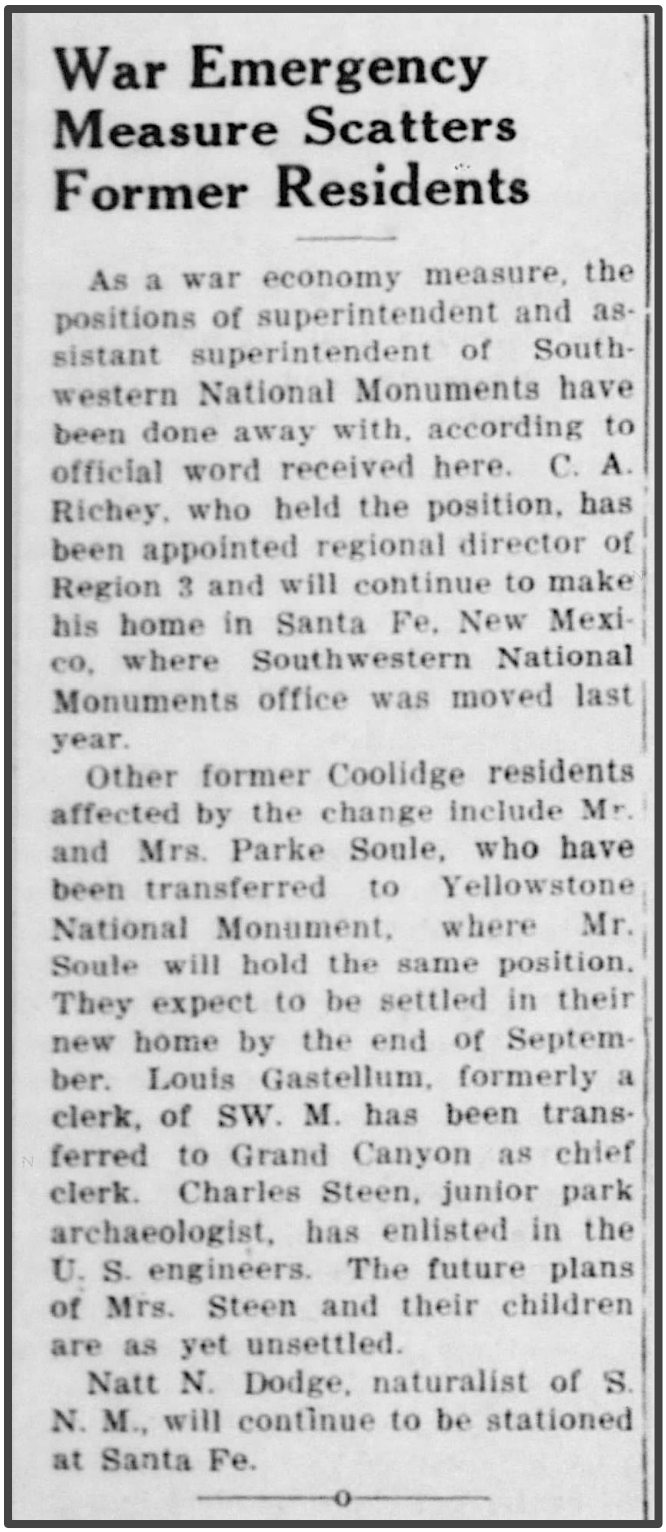
Director.

In duplicate.

cc: Supt., Southwestern NM.

FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

Figure 83. NPS official memo notifying the Region III office of the formal administrative consolidation with Southwestern National Monuments at the start of fiscal 1934. Source: NARA (RG 79).



War Emergency Measure Scatters Former Residents

As a war economy measure, the positions of superintendent and assistant superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments have been done away with, according to official word received here. C. A. Richey, who held the position, has been appointed regional director of Region 3 and will continue to make his home in Santa Fe, New Mexico, where Southwestern National Monuments office was moved last year.

Other former Coolidge residents affected by the change include Mr. and Mrs. Parke Soule, who have been transferred to Yellowstone National Monument, where Mr. Soule will hold the same position. They expect to be settled in their new home by the end of September. Louis Gastellum, formerly a clerk, of SW. M. has been transferred to Grand Canyon as chief clerk. Charles Steen, junior park archaeologist, has enlisted in the U. S. engineers. The future plans of Mrs. Steen and their children are as yet unsettled.

Natt N. Dodge, naturalist of S. N. M., will continue to be stationed at Santa Fe.

—o—

Figure 84. Newspaper announcement of the abolishment of the Southwestern National Monuments superintendency. Coolidge Examiner, October 1, 1943.

previously handled by the superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments became the responsibility of whoever held the "Assistant Regional Director" position at Santa Fe.[768] Addressing this new administrative arrangement, NPS Director Drury emphasized that the changes made by the agency should not indicate "a lessened interest on [his] part, or on the part of the Service, in the splendid areas that go to make up the group of national monuments located in the Southwest." On the contrary, he assured all concerned, "it is our belief that such a change will be for the ultimate good of the areas involved."[769]

Emergency Repairs, Visitor Self-Service, and Crash-course Personnel Training

Most of the southwestern monuments operated at a 'minimum basis' due to wartime restrictions. With personnel on military furlough, and food and gasoline rationed, operations slowed to a near halt. For the monuments, this meant neglect. Most became "operated by mail," Charlie Steen recalled. "It was a rare occasion when anyone from headquarters visited a park or a monument." Steen arrived at Santa Fe in March 1943 and joined the U.S. Army in October. In between, he squeezed in a couple of ruins stabilization jobs—at Canyon de Chelly and Hovenweep—despite the strict rationing, only "because people who worked at the camps got more food [and gasoline] stamps than people who lived at home." Even then, he remembered spending long hours at the rationing office to receive extra stamps and "the permission to go out and do these jobs."[770]

The deactivation of Southwestern National Monuments as an administrative field office, coupled with the growing number of NPS personnel on military furlough, accelerated the damage and deterioration of natural and cultural resources in the region. Overgrazing on western parks and monuments grounds—allowed by the Interior as a wartime emergency measure—contributed to the rapid destruction of native vegetation, notably at both Saguaro and Organ Pipe.[771] The wartime cancellation of the NPS ruins stabilization program had dire consequences in the Southwest, where most of the region's national monuments were archeological. "The enforced deferment of the Service's ruins stabilization work during the war," the agency later concluded, "offered a serious threat to the Nation's heritage of antiquities in the Southwest."[772] Lacking adequate personnel or active preservation, "prehistoric Indian ruins" were subjected "to the destructive effects of weather and, to

---

[768] Drury to Tillotson, July 10, 1943, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[769] Drury to Tillotson, July 10, 1943.

[770] Steen, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 30-31.

[771] Overgrazing reduced the plants' rate of reproduction, becoming the principal threat. See National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service, Reprinted from the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1945* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945), 212.

[772] National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1946* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946), 322.

some extent, rodents and livestock," while historic monuments, including Gran Quivira and Tumacácori, showed "alarming signs of structural failure."[773]

An unfortunate series of natural disasters compounded the situation. At Saguaro National Monument, an epidemic of cactus necrosis in 1943-44 killed many of the monument's mature cacti, while a wildfire destroyed thousands of acres of desert flora. The National Park Service blamed the fire on "the increasing shortage of experienced protection personnel, available fire fighters, and other workers."[774] Over at Tumacácori, a stormwater flash flood coursed through the grounds at midnight on August 8, 1944, threatening the already-vulnerable historic structure; only a quick response from staff on site—park ranger Sallie Brewer, visitor Nancy Margaret Pinkley, and incoming acting custodian Ted Sowers, who reported for duty the day after the flood—prevented irreparable damage to the monument's historic museum.[775]

When feasible, the National Park Service approved ancillary steps to mitigate damage from natural disasters. In 1943 and 1944, the agency moved funds around to provide emergency ruins stabilization at the monuments. Aztec Ruins received emergency funds for a new roof on the Great Kiva after snowmelt caused major water damage.[776] Wartime impoundments and sharply reduced workforces meant that most southwestern monuments experienced wartime decay. "Unless a determined and well-financed effort is made to preserve what remains," observed the Washington office in 1945, "the life of many of these structures is definitely limited."[777] NPS Acting Director Hillory A. Tolson proposed a long-term plan for funding repairs in March 1944. Approved for the 1945 fiscal year, the "Major Repair and Rehabilitation Program" provided several archeological southwestern monuments with emergency repairs and stabilization. As conceived, the program involved the development of a plan-in-place for handling repairs and stabilization as soon as the war ended and wartime funding restrictions lifted. Known also as the Comprehensive Post-War Stabilization Program, it included a rehabilitation schedule starting with an initial "call for statements," asking the parks and monuments to describe and prioritize all repairs and stabilization needed. Importantly, the Santa Fe regional office asked southwestern monuments for additional statements describing urgent work that could not wait

---

[773] National Park Service, *Annual Report...1945*, 213; and National Park Service, *Annual Report...1946*, 321.

[774] National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service, Reprinted from the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1944* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944), 223; National Park Service, *Annual Report...1945*, 212.

[775] Baker and Zenzen, "Tumacácori National Historical Park: An Administrative History," 64-65.

[776] Lister and Lister, *Aztec Ruins Administrative History,*
https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/azru/adhi12e.htm

[777] National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director...1945*, 213.

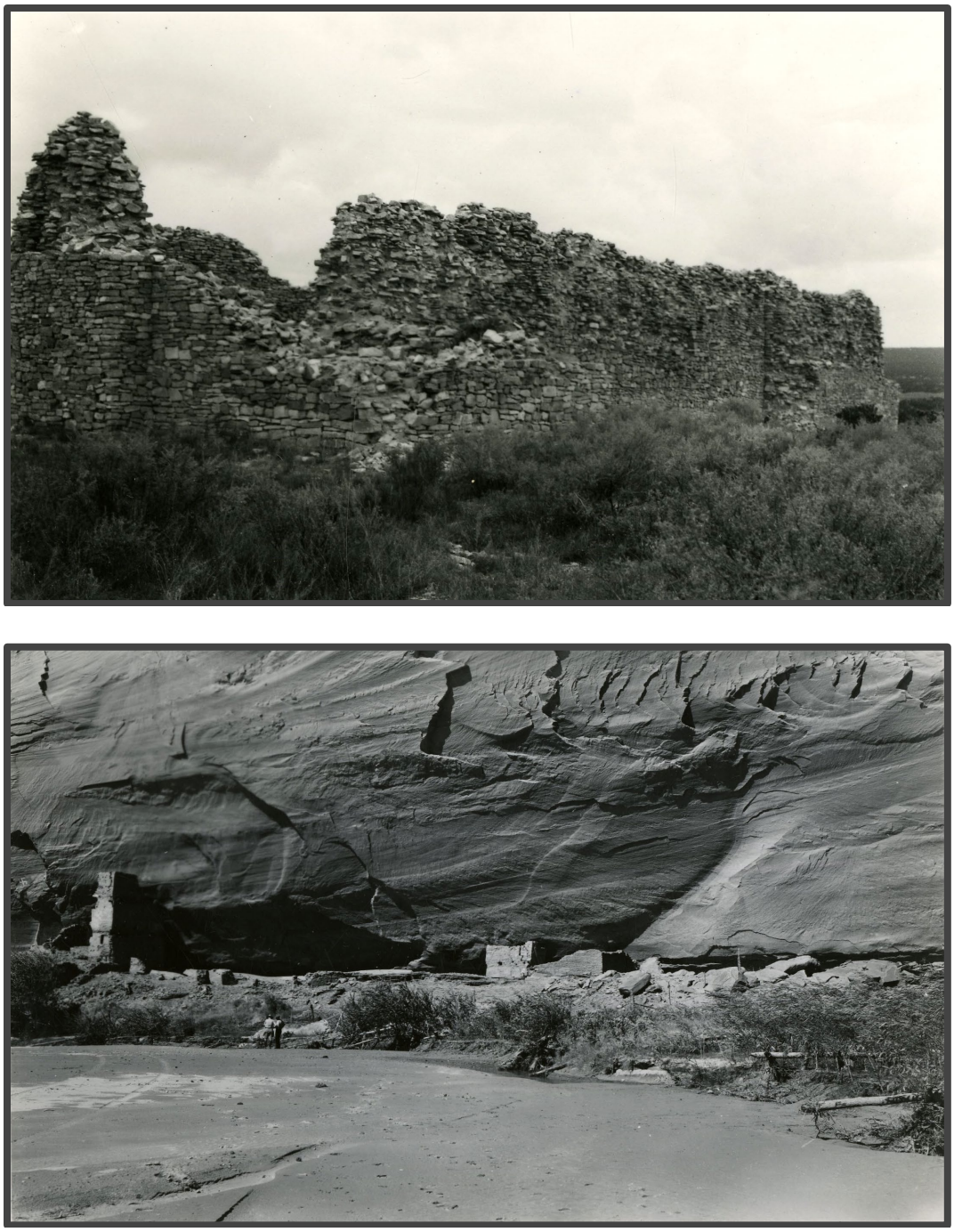


Figure 85. Historic and archeological monuments in the Southwest suffered deterioration and damage during the war. Pictured: (top) Gran Quivira in 1944, showing a fallen wall. (bottom) Canyon del Muerto, Canyon de Chelly, in September 1945, showing flood damage near Antelope House. Photographs by Louis Caywood. Source: WACC (09952 and 11093)

until "the larger [postwar] endeavor."[778] This interim repair and rehabilitation plan covered emergency repairs to stave off catastrophic damage, such as the approval of emergency funds in 1945 for NPS crews to divert flood waters that cut new channels toward the ancestral pueblos at Canyon de Chelly and Chaco Canyon.[779] Wartime restrictions impacted interpretive work at southwestern monuments less critically. In some ways, the war fostered educational growth by forcing creative workarounds. Wartime reductions of resources and programmatic activities allowed staff time to test alternative programs and methods, especially on visitors who showed up at parks and monuments more engaged in the overall monument experience. In spring 1943, Bandelier reported that the average wartime visitor seemed "unusually interested and unhurried." Casa Grande Ruins noted more businessmen stopping by—traveling salesmen, who had "nothing to sell," due to rations, but still had to cover their territory to maintain contact with "pre-ration time customers." Montezuma Castle experienced a similar influx of on-the-clock visitors. They apologized "for using tires and gasoline" but admitted they wanted to make the most of their rationed business trips by exploring as many wayside sights as possible. Chiricahua reported heavier visitor traffic on Sundays, including record-high instances of "horseback riding on the Monument, [with] visitors leaving their cars at the Lodge and covering the Monument on horseback."[780]

White Sands experienced an enormous wartime increase in educational interest in the monument. "The S.W.N.M. folders and Glimpses of Our National Parks are accepted eagerly and even with enthusiasm," Acting Custodian ranger David Winslow reported. "Everyone appears to want to know all about the White Sands, the monuments, and parks…most people now feel confident of victory and have relaxed a bit. They are not as hurried in their visits."[781] The monument also reported a record high number of mailed-in requests for informational leaflets—mostly received from friends and families of Army personnel stationed at southern New Mexico camps. Soldiers visited White Sands and wrote home about it, in turn prompting their friends and relatives to check out "the inspiring white majesty of the gypsum dunes" while visiting "a son, brother, or pal in one of the several training camps" nearby.[782] At Wupatki, too, visitors lingered longer and showed greater attentiveness to the ranger talks

---

[778] Lister and Lister, *Aztec Ruins Administrative.*

[779] The Major Repair and Rehabilitation Program provided wartime funding for wall capping, drainage, and bracing projects at Southwestern National Monuments archeological sites. National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service, Reprinted from the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1945* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945), 213.

[780] Dodge, "Monthly Report of the Interpretive Staff for March, 1943," *Memorandum for the Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments*, April 8, 1943.

[781] David C. Winslow, "White Sands," *Memorandum for the Custodians, Southwestern Monuments*, February 11, 1943, 17.

[782] Associate Naturalist Natt N. Dodge, "Monthly Report of the Interpretive Staff for March, 1943," *Memorandum for the Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments*, April 8, 1943, folder "Administration and Personnel: Monthly Reports of SWNM Interpretive Staff to Regional Director, 1941-1945, " Box 22, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, RG 10 (ACC 0681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.; David C. Winslow, "Army Paradise,"

than pre-war visitors; many indicated that they had read up on "the attractions of the Monument before visiting the Area."[783]

Limited staff and more engaged visitors meant that self-service—unattended (self-guiding) trails and exhibits—became an effective approach to monument interpretation during the war. Before 1942, the self-guiding trail concept in Southwestern National Monuments functioned like a prototype; there was no formal or consistent implementation of the idea. Frank Pinkley had allowed initial implementation of self-guiding facilities in 1938 only as a last resort, during a period of severely limited resources. Overall, it proved useful and popular. By 1941, the Southwestern National Monuments interpretive division's statistics on visitor contact hours included a column for "unattended stations" that included the increasing number of self-guiding trails in the monuments. During World War II, the sudden decrease in the number of rangers working at parks and monuments brought self-guiding facilities to the forefront. After transferring to Santa Fe in fall 1942, the Southwestern National Monuments–Region III naturalists produced instructions for developing nature trails at national monuments and distributed mimeographed copies to field personnel.[784] By the end of the war, several monuments had self-guiding visitor service of one sort or another. During the 1946 fiscal year, Tumacácori reported high visitation of its new self-guiding museum exhibits, and Walnut Canyon announced the completion of its self-guiding canyon ruins trail ("Island Trail") and the accompanying four-page interpretive pamphlet, ready to be mimeographed by the regional office naturalists and 5,000 copies made available at the monument.[785]

As the National Park Service entered the postwar period, self-guiding trails, wayside museums, and self-guiding exhibits became a necessity. In its annual report for 1949, the agency announced that it had made the "self-operating [unattended] interpretive devices" a virtue. "In order to widen the scope of the [educational function of the National Park Service] and to reach more people than can be served directly by the interpretive staffs, the past year has seen considerable experimentation in the development and use of self-operating interpretive devices."[786] Bandelier's self-guiding trail to Tasankawi, Capulin Mountain's wayside markers, Chiricahua's unattended Massai Point Orientation Station, Gran Quivira's self-guiding Mission Trail, Montezuma Well's self-guiding Nature Trail,

---

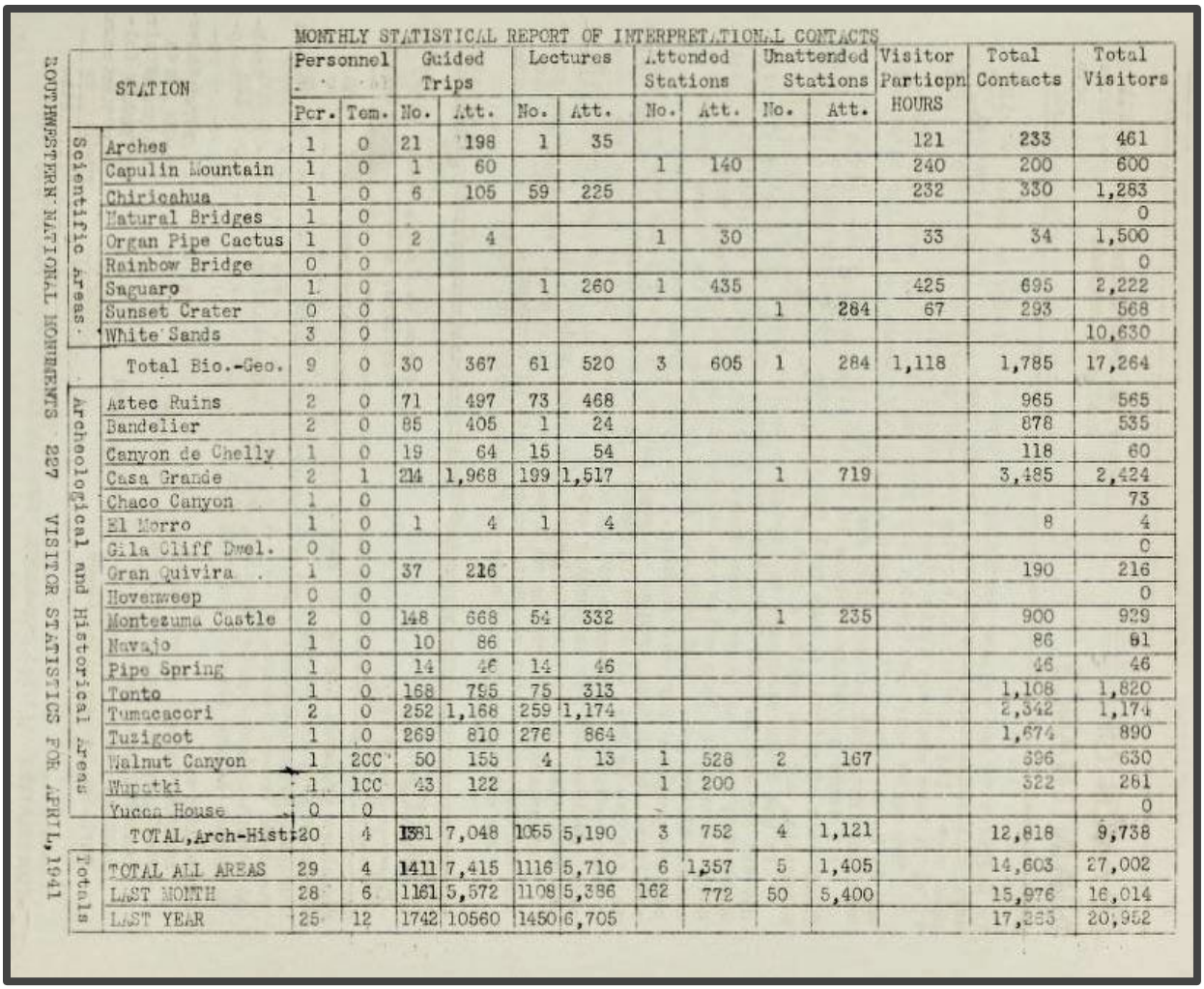
National Parks Magazine 17, no. 72 (Jan-Mar 1943): 5, National Park Service History Electronic Library & Archive (https://npshistory.com/npca/magazine/jan-mar-1943.pdf).

[783] Dodge, "Monthly Report of the Interpretive Staff for March, 1943," *Memorandum for the Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments*, April 8, 1943.

[784] Natt N. Dodge, "Special Activities - Conferences," *Memorandum for the Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments: November 1942*, 1.

[785] "Narrative Report for Tumacacori National Monument for the Month of April, 1946," *Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region Three*," April 27, 1946; and "Naturalist Monthly Report for Southwestern National Monuments for July, 1946," *Memorandum for Assistant Regional Director Davis: Naturalist Monthly*, August 9, 1946.

[786] National Park Service, "The Educational Function of the National Park Service: Making a virtue of necessity," *Annual Report of the Director the National Park Service...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1949*, 312.



MONTHLY STATISTICAL REPORT OF INTERPRETATIONAL CONTACTS

SOUTHWESTERN NATIONAL MONUMENTS 227 VISITOR STATISTICS FOR APRIL, 1941

	STATION	Personnel		Guided Trips		Lectures		Attended Stations		Unattended Stations		Visitor Partiepn HOURS	Total Contacts	Total Visitors
		Per.	Tem.	No.	Att.	No.	Att.	No.	Att.	No.	Att.			
Scientific Areas	Arches	1	0	21	198	1	35					121	233	461
	Capulin Mountain	1	0	1	60			1	140			240	200	600
	Chiricahua	1	0	6	105	59	225					232	330	1,283
	Natural Bridges	1	0											0
	Organ Pipe Cactus	1	0	2	4			1	30			33	34	1,500
	Rainbow Bridge	0	0											0
	Saguaro	1	0			1	260	1	435			425	695	2,222
	Sunset Crater	0	0							1	284	67	293	568
	White Sands	3	0											10,630
	Total Bio.-Geo.	9	0	30	367	61	520	3	605	1	284	1,118	1,785	17,264
Archeological and Historical Areas	Aztec Ruins	2	0	71	497	73	468						965	565
	Bandelier	2	0	85	405	1	24						878	535
	Canyon de Chelly	1	0	19	64	15	54						118	60
	Casa Grande	2	1	214	1,968	199	1,517			1	719		3,485	2,424
	Chaco Canyon	1	0											73
	El Morro	1	0	1	4	1	4						8	4
	Gila Cliff Dwel.	0	0											0
	Gran Quivira	1	0	37	216								190	216
	Hovenweep	0	0											0
	Montezuma Castle	2	0	148	668	54	332			1	235		900	929
	Navajo	1	0	10	86								86	61
	Pipe Spring	1	0	14	46	14	46						46	46
	Tonto	1	0	168	795	75	313						1,108	1,820
	Tumacacori	2	0	252	1,168	259	1,174						2,342	1,174
	Tuzigoot	1	0	269	810	276	864						1,674	890
	Walnut Canyon	1	2CC	50	155	4	13	1	528	2	167		696	630
	Wupatki	1	1CC	43	122			1	200				322	261
	Yucca House	0	0											0
	TOTAL, Arch-Hist	20	4	1381	7,048	1055	5,190	3	752	4	1,121		12,818	9,738
Totals	TOTAL ALL AREAS	29	4	1411	7,415	1116	5,710	6	1,357	5	1,405		14,603	27,002
	LAST MONTH	28	6	1161	5,572	1108	5,386	162	772	50	5,400		15,976	16,014
	LAST YEAR	25	12	1742	10560	1450	6,705						17,233	20,952

Figure 86. Example of the Southwestern National Monuments interpretive division's monthly visitor-contact statistics, showing visitor usage of "unattended" (self-guiding) facilities, April 1941.

Sunset Crater's trailside signs, Tumacácori 's self-guiding museum and patio garden tour, and Wupatki's self-guiding Malakihu exhibit all appeared during the late 1940s.[787] At Bandelier, visitors could also experience a "synchronized tape recording and slide projection" presented in the monument's museum, a self-guiding device to occupy "visitors waiting for the beginning of the scheduled tour of prehistoric ruins."[788] After visitor trips into the cliff dwellings became prohibited in

[787] Names of self-guiding or unattended interpretive devices in southwestern national monuments at the end of 1949 were collected from the "Monthly Statistical Report of Interpretive Services in National Park Areas" form filled out for each monument and appended to the December 1949 *Memorandum for the Regional Director, Southwestern National Monuments*, January 9, 1950. The form included a section for tallying the total quantity, attendance numbers, and duration minutes of "conducted trips," "talks," "attended interpretive stations," "unattended interpretive devices," "interpretive activities outside of park area," and "government publications sold."

[788] Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1952*, 367.



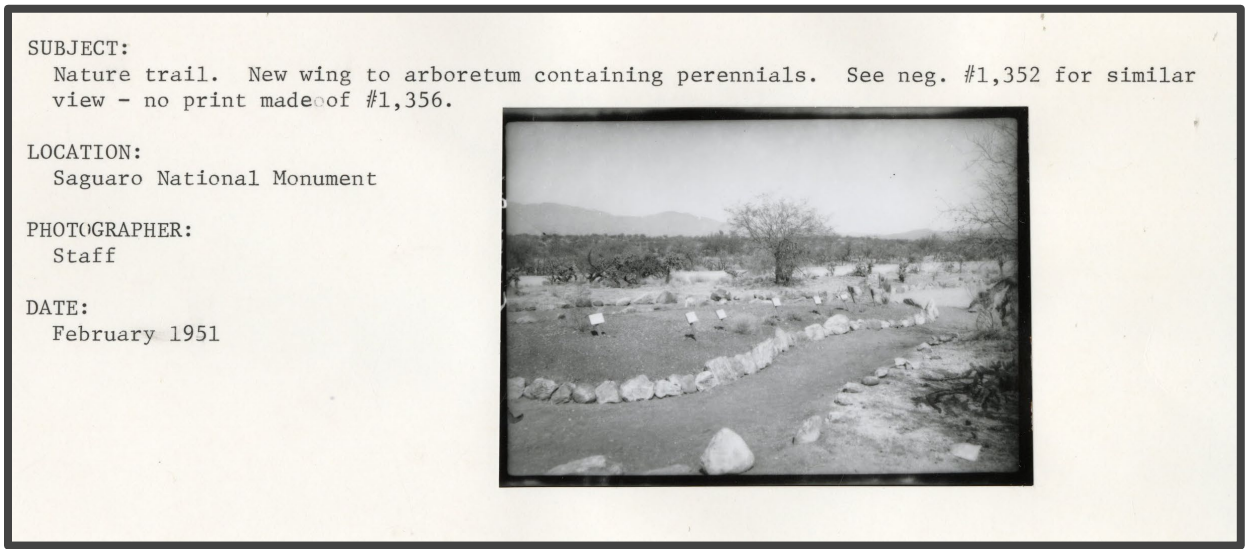


Figure 87. Self-guiding trail options at southwestern monuments increased considerably in the postwar period. Pictured (top) a visitor using the self-service interpretive-material distribution box at Montezuma Well's self-guiding nature trail, October 1955; (bottom) a new nature-trail wing added to Saguaro's perennial arboretum in 1951 prolonged the visitors' self-guiding experience. Source: WACC (SWRO-Box 2 and SWNM-51356).

1951, Montezuma Castle substituted the discontinued "authentic" experience with a large model of

the ruins in a glass display located at the base of the cliff. It provided "a happy solution to the interpretive problem faced when it became necessary to close the ancient structure to visitors."[789] Over at Saguaro National Monument in 1951, staff completed a "new wing" to the arboretum—a self-guiding nature trail displaying perennial native plants. By 1957, most of the monuments had self-guiding trails in place. The focus turned to improving the system with updates like "significant new marker installations and other interpretive devices," including superior self-guiding materials. In the 1950s, the Southwestern Monuments Association replaced most of the monuments' mimeographed self-guiding leaflets with high-quality illustrated booklets.[790]

Reduced resources and incessant turnover of field personnel during the war years presented southwestern monuments with administrative challenges. The lack of rangers prompted reliance on self-guiding interpretation; rapid personnel turnovers required a different kind of administrative solution. In the old days, the Casa Grande Ruins headquarters functioned as a sort of training facility. New hires—both custodians and rangers—often came to headquarters first for a month-long, hands-on crash course on guiding visitors under Pinkley's supervision before being cast into the field. Headquarters staff, watching the training exercises, needed only to step outside their offices to observe visitor-contact issues in real time. Pinkley once said, "natural evolution developed our headquarters [into] one of the finest laboratories in our district for the study of visitors."[791] The consolidation of the Southwestern National Monuments and Region III offices meant the National Park Service lost that "laboratory." Now incoming rangers and guides headed straight to their new posts to fill positions as quickly as furloughed staff vacated them. Often, they possessed little rangering experience and no knowledge of the Southwestern National Monuments group. Busy monuments staff needed incoming rangers to jump in and interpret monuments for visitors. It was a head-scratching situation.

At White Sands, custodian Johnwill Faris developed a solution: a crash course "training school," complete with a series of required examinations for new and current monument personnel. Putting a twist on Pinkley's old methods, Faris tested participants' knowledge of the National Park Service, of their assigned monument, and of the soon-to-be discontinued Southwestern National Monuments group, including questions about "The Boss" and his significance to the Service.[792] "We take our hats off" to Johnwill Faris, the Southwestern National Monuments interpretive division in Santa Fe announced in its monthly report for March 1943. "Although this type of training is always important, it is paramount at this time because of the numerous changes in personnel due to the war, making it

---

[789] Ibid.

[790] Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1957*, 327.

[791] Frank Pinkley, "Ruminations," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, July 1936, 73.

[792] *Memorandum for the Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments*, April 12, 1943, 25-26. The April 1943 monthly report thought Faris had based his training course on a similar training module given by NPS Chief of Operations (Tolson) at Region III in 1941.

necessary for all of our employees to carry a greater burden of responsibility."[793] The March to June 1943 issues of the Southwestern National Monuments monthly report provided copies of the exams:

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE TRAINING COURSE QUESTIONS
White Sands National Monument - December 1942

First Examination

1. When was the White Sands National Monument created? Who signed the proclamation making it a national monument? What act of Congress was necessary before this was possible? Basically, why were we set aside according to the proclamation? Who was the first custodian? Permanent ranger? And when?

2. What are the Southwestern National Monuments? Name as many as you can, giving their approximate location, and very briefly the major attraction of each. Name as many custodians as possible — prior to losses to the "armed forces". Where was, and at the present time where is, our monuments' central office? Name the past and present superintendents of the Southwestern National Monuments. Assistant superintendents the same. Who is our present chief clerk?

3. Who was "the Boss"? Why has he meant so much to the Service, and the Southwestern National Monuments particularly? Have you carefully read the following articles concerning him: Arizona Highways, April 1940; Southwestern National Monuments monthly report, February 1940? Have you read his final address to the custodians in conference? Did these articles give you any insight as to the character of "the Boss" and his effect on our "esprit de corps"?

4. Give a brief summary of the history of the White Sands National Monument from its inception to June 1940. What agencies did much of our work: roads, buildings, utilities, et cetera? Who designed our buildings? What agencies did our museum exhibits? Who "made up" our exhibit plan in its early stages? Who is Dale King? Natt Dodge? Charlie Steen? Gene Rhodes? Blazer? Garton?

5. What about our "red lakes"? The ox-cart? The stone disks? Selenite? Give the formula for gypsum plaster of Paris. Where is Lake Lucero? Old Mesilla? briefly

6. Where is the office of Region Three located? Can you give the other regions and their locations? Who is our Regional Director? What are the functions of a regional director?

7. Name the parks in Region Three. Name as many of the superintendents as possible, and give the state in which the park is located.

[793] *Memorandum for the Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments*, April 12, 1943, 25.

8. Name as many technical branches of Region Three as possible and give the chief where you can. Very briefly, what are the duties of the Engineering and Plans and Design chiefs?

9. Who is the Regional Geologist?

10. Can you tell how many parks, monuments, recreational areas, and national memorials are in Region Three? Can you give the total number of areas administered by the National Park Service?

During the war years, monument custodians also provided administrative assistance to the consolidated Southwestern National Monuments–Region III staff. The remnant interpretive staff in Santa Fe were spread thin in their dual positions. Others went to war, leaving operational gaps. When necessary, the regional office called on monument custodians for assistance with projects aimed at improving operations at the monuments. In 1943 and 1944, for example, Joseph Toulouse, custodian of Gran Quivira, filled in for naturalist Natt Dodge during his intermittent absences conducting fieldwork. Among other special assignments in Dodge's stead, Toulouse drafted some sections of the *Custodian's Manual for the Southwestern National Monuments*, a project started and completed by Dodge in 1943-1945.[794] As he finished his assigned sections, Toulouse mimeographed and distributed them to the field custodians. The *Manual* made a splash across the agency. Arthur Demaray, as NPS Acting Director, commented that Section 6 of the *Manual* offered an "excellent presentation of the custodian's responsibilities toward interpretation." He thought it would be useful across the National Park Service, not just in the Southwest. Despite wartime rationing, Demaray printed seventy copies for distribution among the region I, II, and IV offices.[795]

In addition to training courses and manuals, the monthly reports continued to distribute important information and news to the southwestern monuments in a much briefer format. Furthering the effort begun by former Superintendent Hugh Miller in July 1941, to condense the *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report*, Charles Richey, working from the Region III office in Santa Fe, shortened the publication and stylized it closer to a memorandum. In the preface to the first monthly report sent from Santa Fe (November 1942), Richey described the new *Memorandum for the Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments* as a collection of "narrative reports of Southwestern National Monument areas" reproduced for "the information of all field officers." Each unit received one copy for circulation among all personnel.[796] After the official deactivation of the Southwestern

---

[794] Joseph H. Toulouse, Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region Three, May 24, 1944, folder "Administration & Personnel Reports (General): Superintendents, 1943-1946" Box 44, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, RG 10 (ACC 0681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[795] Arthur Demaray, Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region Three, April 23, 1945, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[796] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, November 1942, 2.

National Monuments superintendency on July 1, 1943, the southwestern monuments monthly memo became reframed again as "Memorandum for the Regional Director." The wartime monthly memorandum still collated monthly reports from various monuments into one report. But it was no longer addressed to the NPS director, nor mailed to public subscribers. The new report kept custodians and the regional office abreast of information in the field but no one else. Richey prepared a separate report for the NPS director. The Southwestern National Monuments great seal no longer adorned the cover, nor the long, thought-provoking articles and Ruminations that had once boosted subscription of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report to over 300 subscribers. But a few remnants still held on. Though shorter and more concise than the old journal-length *Monthly Report*, the new Memorandum retained a short "supplement" and "personnel notes" section at the end of each monthly issue to keep personnel up to date on the latest monuments and personnel news, including updates from enlisted personnel and the homefront HCWPs.

"Woman Power" and The Case of Mrs. Sallie Brewer

For an agency predominantly composed of men, World War II greatly reduced the National Park Service workforce in terms of total numbers; but it was not a proportional reduction. While men up to age sixty-four were required to register for conscription, generally only men below forty-five were called to military service. Even then, the draft bypassed younger men for myriad reasons. Not counting the significant number of NPS personnel who actively enlisted in the military during this time, the draft skipped enough NPS employees to sustain agency growth despite the war. For personnel left out of the draft, the war created opportunities to try out new positions and make lateral, and in some cases upward, career moves within the agency. For example, Edwin C. Alberts, the former Southwestern National Monuments relief ranger, registered for the draft in October 1940 at age twenty-eight but was never called up. For him, wartime NPS employment proved an upward career move. Hired "quite arbitrarily" as the first naturalist at Carlsbad Caverns National Park in 1943, Alberts quickly advanced to the newly-invented position of Chief Guide, created for the purpose of developing an improved interpretive approach to guided cave tours. By the end of the war, the interpretive staff he trained were almost all women.[797]

[797] Alberts, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 2-3.



Figure 88. Seasonal, unmarried lady rangers at Aztec Ruins in June 1940 (left to right): Georgia Eaker, Joyce Chubb, and Zelda Mae Abrams. Photograph by George A. Grant. Source: NPS History Collection

The unprecedented hiring of women by the National Park Service during World War II helped sustain the agency's program growth. As a provisional wartime allowance, federal agencies such as the National Park Service placed a record number of women in uniformed positions. In October 1942, the Department of the Interior directed the agency to "Replace men with women in all positions in which women can perform the required duties," adding that "the utilization of the services of women [was] feasible in many of our areas" and "the possibility of War Service appointment" should therefore be actively presented to all promising female students.[798] Up to that point, the Park Service had mostly hired women for clerical positions, rarely as uniformed personnel except when qualified men were unavailable and the woman's marital classification remained unmarried. Even then, uniformed jobs held by women were usually seasonal, not full-time—such as the case of widowed Honorary Custodian Without Pay, Gay Cook Rogers, hired as a permanent seasonal ranger at Aztec Ruins in summer 1934 after her husband, Bandelier's custodian Ed Rogers, died. Similarly, ranger Zelda Mae

[798] As quoted in "Woman-Power Survey Report," *The Grapevine* 3, no. 5 (Jan 1943): 1, in folder "Roundtable & Grapevine, 1940-43," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS History Collection, NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

Abrams of Aztec Ruins served as a uniformed seasonal Park Ranger until her marriage on June 27, 1940, after which she stepped down.[799]

When America entered the war, women—even married women—suddenly made it to the top of the waitlist. Seeing their chance to secure paid appointments, Southwestern National Monuments wives—the Honorary Custodians Without Pay (HCWPs)—actively encouraged each other to find employment, especially within the National Park Service. In the penultimate issue (Nov 1942) of their quarterly woman-edited newsletter, The Grapevine, the HCWPs initiated a study called the "Grapevine Woman-Power Survey" to gauge the collective workforce of women. The survey asked each HCWP within the Southwestern National Monuments group to answer a set of questions about their interest, experience, skill sets, and availability for employment within the agency. "The Boss," they reminded the women, "considered the HCWP a partner in her husband's job; are we good enough partners to be any help to the Park Service now? ... From your answers we will prepare a summary, giving [the NPS] accurate data on the potential woman-power in the Southwestern National Monuments."[800] The January 1943 issue of The Grapevine published the results. "Our survey shows," editor Corky Jones reported, that

> two-thirds of the twelve HCWPs who answered [the survey] could fill Park Service jobs now open to women...Eight of you had training in clerical work, and experience in jobs similar to those now opening up in the Park Service. Six of the women with clerical training, and two more without it, had scientific training, and from one to six years experience on the home Monument in interpretation and protection, museum preparatory work, and research. Of the women with clerical training, six help with the filing and typing on their own Monuments, and two of these women regularly do all the typing for the monument.[801]

The case of Mrs. Sallie Pierce Brewer offers a telltale example of a qualified woman who had to wait for her husband's wartime furlough before getting paid by the agency that gladly accepted her volunteer

---

[799] Zelda Mae Abrams (1920-1995)—granddaughter of Henry Dudley Abrams, former owner of land within Aztec Ruins NM—was pictured with the staff of Aztec Ruins on June 13, 1940. She sported an early NPS woman's uniform, along with two other lady rangers in the picture—Georgia Mildred Eaker (1919-2010) and Joyce Chubb, both seasonal guides. Two weeks after the photo was taken, Zelda married William Thomas Pomeroy, and as expected, stopped working for the National Park Service. Georgia Eaker still worked at Aztec Ruins in summer 1941, but by 1942 she was working at the air base outside Carlsbad, New Mexico as a "bombigator." In 1945, Georgia married Lawrence De Rouche/DeRusha. Joyce Chubb remains anonymous. See Occupations note by FamilySearch user DavisJaneenDraves on profile for "Georgia Mildred Eaker" (https://www.familysearch.org/en/tree/person/collaborate/LBJP-VFV).

[800] "Grapevine Woman-Power Survey," *The Grapevine* 3, no. 4 (Nov 1942): 5, in folder "Roundtable & Grapevine, 1940-43," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[801] "Woman-Power Survey Report," *The Grapevine* 3, no. 5 (Jan 1943): 1, in folder "Roundtable & Grapevine, 1940-43," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

services for eight years. Sallie possessed university degrees and field training in archeology, placement on the Civil Service eligible list since 1933, and hands-on experience as an unpaid ranger at several southwestern monuments. Her background and experience equaled, if not exceeded, that of her husband, Jim Brewer, permanent custodian of Navajo National Monument at the time of his military furlough. The Civil Service recognized this. Around 1938, Sallie's name came up for an available Junior Park Archeologist position; the Civil Service requested her availability. Sallie wanted the job but also embraced traditional spousal roles and did not pursue it. As she later recalled, "I was then married and living with my husband on Navajo National Monument."[802]

After Jim Brewer went to war, Sallie warmed up to the idea of permanent employment in the National Park Service. Former Southwestern National Monuments superintendent, Hugh Miller, the wartime NPS Chief of Personnel, explained to Sallie in January 1943 that they were desperate to hire women "wherever practicable," even married women—especially the spouses of furloughed personnel. From

Miller's point of view, "nothing would be more logical than to employ the wives of employees who [had entered] the armed forces." He posited that Sallie's case could set the precedent: "The action in your case will be an indication of just how far in that direction we may expect to go."[803] Her case showed that the agency could go far, filling desirable permanent ranger positions with women until the furloughed male workforce returned from war. Sallie Pierce Brewer entered on duty at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument on February 16, 1943, as Ranger, Position #2a, at the pay grade of FCS-8 ($2040 per annum plus $38.83 per month to cover Saturday overtime duties). She joined Mrs. Mabel B. Usrey, who entered on probational duty on February 5 as the first permanent woman Junior Clerk-Stenographer in the Southwestern National Monuments office.[804]

In the letter notifying Sallie Brewer of her permanent appointment, Southwestern National Monuments acting superintendent Ross A. Maxwell offered a warm welcome. "May the entire Headquarters staff offer congratulations and officially welcome you to the organization. Although you have been an esteemed HCWP, you now have the distinction of becoming the first woman ranger on regular assignment, not only in Southwestern National Monuments, but also in Region III."[805] Sallie's appointment was groundbreaking. But in the fine print it proved to be "Group B" employment, meaning not competitive and lacking classified Civil Service status. As a War Service Appointment only, Sallie's employment would be "indefinite, subject to a trial period of one year," also "limited to

---

[802] Sallie Pierce Brewer, Memorandum for the Regional Director, December 16, 1945, folder "Notification of Personnel Action: Sallie Pierce Brewer," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[803] Arno B. Cammerer to Sallie Pierce Brewer, January 10, 1943, *in* Ibid.

[804] "Appointments," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1943, 23.

[805] Ross A. Maxwell to Sallie Pierce Brewer, February 13, 1943, folder "Notification of Personnel Action: Sallie Pierce Brewer," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

GRAPEVINE WOMAN-POWER SURVEY

. . . . . At the same time the Park Service begins to feel a shortage of manpower--particularly of men trained in Park Service ideals and policies, won't some Park Service wives be needing jobs for the duration? The Boss considered the HCMP a partner in her husband's job; are we good enough partners to be any help to the Park Service now? Perhaps if we can tell the "powers-that-be" what a representative group of such wives can offer, it may help them plan how and where such women may be useful. We are asking you to show the extent of your interest and ability by answering the questions below. From your answers we will prepare a summary, giving accurate data on the potential woman-power in the Southwestern National Monuments. This summary will be published in The Grapevine and copies will be sent to Chuck and Hugh. . . . . .

An extra sheet is enclosed so you'll have plenty of room. The outlines following some of the questions below are just "memory joggers"--to remind you of what the Park Service might want to know; add to the outline if it doesn't cover your experience and training fully, and give actual examples when they occur to you. The back of this sheet has return address and postage--to get the summary in the December Grapevine your answers should be in by the middle of November.

Part One: Actual Park Service Experience

1. How long have you been in the Park Service?

2. How many Monuments or Parks have you lived on?

3. How much have you helped on your own Monument?
   a. Guiding: About how much do you do (like four or five times a year or as much as several parties a week)--and is it mostly giving out information at the door, or do you give a regular guided trip?
   b. Protection: Have you handled situations and questions with regard to picking up pottery, destroying plants, hunting, carving names, or any of the familiar "don'ts"?
   c. Naturalist activities: Do you keep observation files, collect plants and animals, or do any preparatory work and cataloguing for your museum?
   d. Paper work: Maybe you help with the filing, or have even written a report; maybe you act as your husband's stenographer and clerk.
   e. Emergencies: Have you had at some time to take charge, and had some or all of the responsibility for running the Monument? (This is a good place for an example!)
   etc. Is there any job, even a little one, which you regularly work on for the Monument?

Part Two: Pre-Park Service (or civilian) Training and Experience

1. Describe any formal or informal training you've had which might be useful to the Park Service. (Ability to type or a course in biology would help--or maybe you are well-trained in some special field.)

2. Have you ever worked--what kinds of jobs have you held--were you ever a Career Woman?

Figure 89. "Woman-Power Survey," distributed in the November 1942 issue of The Grapevine. Source: NPS History Collection.



Figure 90. Ranger Sallie Pierce Brewer in uniform at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, circa 1944. Source: NPS History Collection

the military furlough of Peter H. Shuft," who had vacated the ranger position at Casa Grande Ruins when he enlisted in the Navy in October 1942.[806] If Shuft were to resume the position after military discharge, or if another "Group A" applicant with classified Civil Service status later applied for it, Sallie's lack of competitive status meant she would be required to vacate the position within six months.

The end of the war created new dilemmas for women such as Sallie Brewer with career aspirations in the National Park Service. Women across multiple federal agencies held non-competitive War Service appointments. Under the Veterans Preference Act of 1944, they could expect to give up their positions within six months once furloughed men returned and applied for Civil Service positions. In 1945, Sallie nervously inquired about how to secure competitive Park Ranger status. Her marriage to Jim Brewer was on the rocks; she could not rely on working with him as an Honorary Custodian Without Pay after he returned to work. Sallie had transferred into an open park ranger spot at Tumacácori in June 1944, in part to escape the insufferable summer heat at Casa Grande and partly to position herself more competitively.[807] The Tumacácori ranger position was new, not previously filled by a man furloughed on military duty. Sallie hoped this scenario increased her odds in keeping the job. But Hugh Miller thought the chance unlikely; there would be no "women rangers when things [got] completely back to normal," he warned Sallie. Instead, he encouraged her to inquire about having her title at Tumacácori changed from Park Ranger to Historian, P-1, which paid approximately the same salary but required stricter qualifications from applicants than Park Ranger. At minimum, it would give her some leverage, should she need to compete with male veterans or other qualified female applicants.[808]

In the end, Sallie decided to wait it out and hope for a Park Archeologist position in the Southwest. She was still eligible on the Junior Park Archeologist register, and Park Archeologist was her preferred position. Her gamble did not pay off. In 1949, the new Region III Assistant Regional Director, John M. Davis, suggested Sallie stop holding out for an ideal position and preemptively apply for the first applicable Civil Service examination announced. It seemed likely, he wrote, that soon "men would be available from the recent Park Ranger examination lists" to take her job before her name reached the top of the Archeologist register. Sallie applied for the first Civil Service exam she thought relevant—Historian P-2, Announcement No. 13-101, issued on August 15, 1949, from Denver; she banked on fewer applicants for this exam over the Historian P-1, which Miller had recommended. She passed the

[806] Charles A. Richey to Sallie Pierce Brewer, January 27, 1943, in Ibid.

[807] Jessica Shearwood replaced Sallie Brewer as park ranger at Casa Grande; a year later, Polly Tovrea—wife of former Southwestern National Monuments engineer, J. Howard Tovrea—replaced Shearwood.

[808] Hugh M. Miller to Sallie Brewer, December 27, 1945, in "Notification of Personnel Action: Sallie Pierce Brewer."

Historian P-2 exam and made it to the eligible list but learned after the fact that only Historian P-1s would be hired for the Southwest region; this included Tumacácori.[809]

The National Park Service continued to scramble for a way to raise Sallie's competitive status, including an eleventh-hour effort in March 1950 to encourage her to apply for the Park Guide examination recently announced for Carlsbad Caverns. Sallie opted out. The long-anticipated news of her displacement as Park Ranger, Tumacácori National Monument, arrived March 28 when her boss, custodian Earl Jackson, regretfully informed Sallie that her position would be filled by a male veteran, effective May 31: "We are exceedingly grateful for the services you have rendered," he closed, "and we hope that your interest in the National Park Service will continue. The Regional Office has advised me that every effort will be made to find a suitable place for you after your employment is terminated at Tumacacori."[810]

Resurrecting Southwestern National Monuments, 1947-1952

After World War II, the National Park Service confronted a resumption of prewar activity in the parks and monuments without its thousands of CCC laborers. "Today," observed the Washington office in 1946, "all the maintenance work [the CCC] formerly performed is thrown back upon the regular forces."[811] But the number of regular forces had diminished by more than half. In 1941, the National Park Service employed 5,104. In 1947 it employed just 2,313. At the same time, visitation was up. The agency recorded a record number of visitors in the parks and monuments in 1941. The number plummeted during the war, then swelled during the late 1940s, increasing by 75% over prewar numbers between 1946 and 1951.[812] National Park Service resources could not match the visitor inflation. Postwar appropriations barely exceeded wartime appropriations "when the Service was operating strictly on a custodial basis."[813] The National Park system was the "greatest show on earth," NPS director Newton Drury announced during the 1948 Interior Appropriation Bill hearings, but also the most undermanned.[814]

---

[809] Earl Jackson to Regional Director, October 29, 1949, folder "Notification of Personnel Action: Sallie Pierce Brewer," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[810] Earl Jackson to Sallie Brewer, March 28, 1950, folder "Notification of Personnel Action: Sallie Pierce Brewer," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[811] National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1946* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946), 308.

[812] U.S. Congress, House, "Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1949: Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee of Appropriations, House of Representatives," 80th cong., 2d sess., pt. 1, February 16, 1948, 11; National Park Service, "Administrative History of the National Park Service Inventory & Monitoring Division," (https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/imd_administrative_history-3.htm#ftn3).

[813] "Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1949," 11.

[814] See also the hearings for the Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1948, 554-555.

A Diminished "Esprit de Corps"

Protection of the southwestern monuments became a regional priority at war's close, especially among the old guard in Arizona who had known and admired Pinkley's organization. In 1945, Drury received a letter from former Museum of Northern Arizona archeologist Harold S. Colton, who relayed his concerns about the fate of the southwestern monuments. As a former custodian of Wupatki, Colton disliked the organizational direction he now observed. The old "esprit de corps," he wrote, had dropped "little by little until it [now] approaches the level of other government bureaus."[815]

The 'fault' for this diminished *esprit de corps*, Colton proposed, lay with the Washington office's decision to move Southwestern National Monuments headquarters to Santa Fe and place it under the regional direction of Tillotson—"a good government servant" but "unsympathetic" to the educational mission of the monuments. "Under Frank Pinkley," Colton observed,

> a unique organization was functioning. Placing it in the Regional Office, I feel, was a great administrative mistake. I have known Mr. Tillotson, present Regional Director, for a number of years, and realize that, from the point of view of those in Chicago and Washington, he is a good government servant. As Superintendent of the Grand Canyon National Park, he built good road[sic], trails, drains, and stone walls, but was unsympathetic to the educational possibilities of the Canyon. The naturalists who were carrying out the work of interpretation, the main function of the National Park Service, suffered greatly from his lack of interest. As Director of Region III, he is having the same effect on the personnel of the National Monuments.
>
> The National Monuments in the West were set aside primarily for their educational value, and the custodians, rangers, and naturalists, whatever their titles, have all had much the same academic training and experience, and interpret the educational and scientific story of their monuments to the public. In the monuments, the division of labor is at a minimum. To place this group under an engineer with little or no academic or educational background is to destroy an institution [that] can only be lead by an idealist, in sympathy with the personnel.
>
> I am making no personal attack on Mr. Tillotson, for I have known him for many years and recognize him as an excellent administrator. Yet he is not the one to direct the personnel of the National Monuments.

Colton proposed a new superintendent, someone equipped to recreate the old Pinkley institution. "I feel very strongly," he urged," that,

[815] Colton to Drury, November 24, 1945, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

> First: the Southwestern National Monuments should be returned to their independent status, equivalent to that of a National Park, so that they can be administered as educational units.
> Second: A superintendent should be selected with an academic background, sympathetic to research and interested in education, a man with a personality that would promote the loyalty of those under him. Frank Pinkley did not have the academic background, but by his personal sympathy with those beneath him, he built up an organization within the Park Service that was outstanding. Cannot such an institution be re-created?[816]

Colton's description for a preferred superintendent read a bit like his own resume, though he did not specifically recommend himself. In reply, Drury promised to address the matters with his NPS colleagues at an upcoming meeting of regional directors in Omaha: "I feel sure," he encouraged Colton, "that [Tillotson] is officially and personally greatly interested in the Southwestern National Monuments and the welfare of the employees of those areas." Meanwhile, Drury encouraged Colton to wait and see how the incoming Assistant Regional Director at Santa Fe—John M. Davis, Richey's replacement—would handle the diminished "esprit de corps" of the southwestern national monuments. "It will be his immediate task," Drury emphasized, "to see that the morale of the custodians and other employees of those Monuments is maintained at a high level and to give his personal attention to the needs for increasing the personnel and the facilities of those areas."[817]

Restaffing the Southwestern Monuments

The postwar budget estimates for the Santa Fe regional office, like every other region in the National Park Service, focused on rebuilding staff. Region III needed a highly-experienced coordinator to handle the resumption of activity at twenty-seven national monuments. Using regional staff to handle the extent of southwestern monuments work during the war had essentially failed; the area was just too large to be effectively administered in detail by the regional office.[818] Talk of reinstituting the Southwestern National Monuments organization surfaced. During the war, Dale King recalled,

> They had built the regional staff using the old Monuments positions…But they realized that the Monuments stuff was different and the regional people really didn't

[816] Colton to Drury, November 24, 1945, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[817] Drury to Colton, December 10, 1945, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[818] J. M. Davis, draft Memorandum for the Files, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

> know how to administer those scattered little areas...So it wasn't working very well, and talk of a headquarters was all around our end of the corridor.[819]

The National Park Service chose John McRae Davis to coordinate southwestern monument activities from the Santa Fe office. A career NPS employee since 1926, Davis spent the wartime years as Assistant Superintendent, Grand Canyon National Park, before transferring to the Region III office in January 1946 as Acting Assistant Regional Director.[820]

Like his predecessor, Chuck Richey—promoted to a Bureau of Lands position in the NPS office—the greater part of Davis's duties in Santa Fe involved general administration of the southwestern national monuments [Bio File: Davis, John].[821] In March 1946, when his appointment became permanent, Davis gathered with National Park Service office staff in Chicago—still the wartime location of the agency's central office—to discuss how the administration of southwestern monuments from Santa Fe should look during the postwar period. The March 13 meeting with NPS Director Drury and Assistant Director Tolson included John Davis as well as two former Southwestern National Monuments superintendents: Chuck Richey and Hugh Miller. They all agreed that administration of the monuments should involve some sort of supervisor or superintendent. The discussion that followed centered on Drury's vision for the southwestern national monuments group: a form of distributed management handled by multiple coordinators, all overseen by Region III.

Drury possessed little-to-no interest in resurrecting the Pinkley version of Southwestern National Monuments, a semiautonomous operation under one superintendent. He proposed breaking up the southwestern monuments group into two or three administrative units, each with its own coordinating superintendent, one to cover the northern Arizona monuments and the other southern Arizona, with no clear discussion of who would coordinate the non-Arizona monuments, except to note that 1947 budget estimates included clerical positions for White Sands and Bandelier to set them up for independent status like Petrified Forest. Four major questions formed the basis of Drury's 'coordinating superintendents' idea:

1. Should the Southwestern National Monuments continue to be administered as they are at present; if so, what additional personnel will be needed in the areas and in the Region III Office to facilitate this administration?

---

[819] King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 29.

[820] Monthly reports from the monument custodians to the regional office suggest that Davis was selected as Richey's replacement as early as September 1945, when Bandelier's custodian spent a couple days with Davis at the Santa Fe regional office helping orient him to the work of the southwestern national monuments. See: "Bandelier National Monument," *Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region Three*, September 27, 1945.

[821] U.S. Congress, Senate, 1969, "The Retirement of Charles A. Richey, Superintendent of Lake Mead National Recreational Area," 91st Cong., 1st sess., Feb. 19, 1969, pt. 3, 3916.

2. Which of the Southwestern National Monuments should be administered as independent areas? ...

3. Which areas should be placed under coordinating superintendents? ...

4. Should any of the Southwestern National Monuments be placed under the coordinating supervision of one or more of the national park areas in the Southwest as was done when Pipe Springs National Monument was placed under the general supervision of Zion National Park?

Drury asked Davis to discuss the proposed plan "freely and frankly" with southwestern monument custodians to keep them fully informed and solicit their ideas. "They should feel," Drury stressed, "that they have an opportunity to be heard" in connection with any plans for their areas.[822] Whether or not Davis talked with the custodians and relayed this information to the director remains unclear. It appears that the regional office, with Davis at the helm, moved on to more urgent matters: restaffing the twenty-seven southwestern national monuments before summer.

In May 1946, the agency approved twenty-seven temporary seasonal park-ranger positions for the southwestern national monuments, each at the CPC-6 rate of $2,166 per annum—in theory, one for each monument. Temporary Civil Service regulations waived the usual Park Ranger examination requirements, allowing seasonal appointments. The hiring selections fell to Region III. In a memo informing the regional office of the authorized ranger positions, Hugh Miller—at the time NPS Chief of Personnel in the Chicago office—outlined a few caveats. One-third of the seasonal hires were required to have previous temporary park-ranger experience; the remaining two-thirds could be entry-level appointments. None needed to be veterans. If Tillotson and Davis preferred, they could re-hire "outstanding seasonal employees" who had become "valuable members of the summer staff," even if they were not veterans. This had been the Southwestern National Monuments strategy before the war; Miller knew it well. Even so, he cautioned the regional office to exercise the old staff-loyalty option with discretion. "Of course," he added, when deciding "between a veteran and a non-veteran applicant both of whom have the required experience," choose the veteran.[823]
Luis Gastellum, in response to Miller, raised the issue of winter employment. Southwestern National Monuments had traditionally transferred seasonal rangers from the northern monuments down to Casa Grande Ruins, Tumacácori, and other southern Arizona monuments to serve during the latter peak travel seasons. In response, Hugh Miller noted he could only find one authorizing record from the Civil Service Commission that covered such an arrangement in the Southwest. Dated from 1935, it authorized seasonal winter ranger appointments at Saguaro and Tonto only. "Tumacacori," Miller

[822] Drury to Tillotson, March 19, 1946, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.
[823] Miller to Tillotson, May 7, 1946, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

explained, "was not covered by the Commission's letter."[824] Surprisingly, the special arrangement had not covered Casa Grande Ruins either, where Pinkley had traditionally employed rangers from Bandelier, Chaco Canyon, and Wupatki during the winter months.

The lack of official authority for temporary summer rangers to fill in at winter-season monuments—and in this way work year-round—should not have surprised either Gastellum or Miller. It had been Pinkley's informal policy in the 1930s to move custodians and rangers around throughout the year, posting them where their services were most needed seasonally, apparently without any official paper trail. In 1946, Hugh Miller agreed that the National Park Service could probably seek and "obtain approval of a wider application of [seasonal] authority" like they had for Saguaro and Tonto, but that doing so might jeopardize the broad authorization they had just received from the Commission to hire twenty-seven Southwestern National Monuments seasonal rangers—in theory, one for each monument during its respective peak season. Alternatively, Miller suggested, they could simply assign the new CPC-6 seasonal rangers to monuments where the visitor season was always heaviest for periods not to exceed six months; in short, they could divide the twenty-seven seasonal rangers between the southernmost monuments in the winter and northern monuments in the summer, but it was an either-or situation. The same ranger could not be appointed to both summer- and winter-season monuments in the same fiscal year.[825]

With protection of the southwestern national monuments resolved for the 1946-47 travel season, the National Park Service turned its attention to ruins stabilization in the Southwest. "Prehistoric cliff dwellings, pueblos and other pre-Columbian Indian structures," the agency announced, "required immediate attention by skilled stabilizers."[826] Wartime neglect of the southwestern national monuments had allowed many archeological sites to deteriorate, requiring lots of catch-up work. At once, the regional office in Santa Fe began facilitating the re-establishment of the former CCC-ID Mobile Unit ruins stabilization crew, basing its operations once again at Chaco Canyon. The renewal of the Mobile Unit would require beefed-up archeological programming for the southwestern national monuments. The Southwestern National Monuments-Region III interpretive office subsequently posted job announcements for four permanent park archeologists to be stationed at various monuments, as well as new job descriptions for a proposed regional "archeologist-surveyor" and natural history expert.[827]

---

[824] Miller to Tillotson, May 7, 1946, RG 79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Casa Grande National Monument, file "201 Administration, General, 1907-48" (box 2066) NARA, College Park, MD.

[825] Miller to Tillotson, May 7, 1946.

[826] National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1946* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1946), 322.

[827] "September 1946 Monthly Narrative Report for the Naturalists of Southwestern National Monuments," *Memorandum for Assistant Regional Director John M. Davis*, October 14, 1946, 1.

By November 1946, the Mobile Unit was off and running at Chaco Canyon, with archeologist Gordon Vivian again in charge and archeologist James Lancaster as Vivian's aide.[828] From this point, each monthly Memorandum to John Davis concerning the southwestern monuments included a Mobile Unit progress report from Vivian. The ruins stabilization work got off to an inauspicious start. On August 22 and 23, 1947, just as ruins stabilization crews nearly completed a stabilization project at Chetro Ketl, heavy rains caused a deluge that, "choked by waterborne debris," dammed the arroyo and sent floodwaters tearing through the canyon, destroying twenty-five Puebloan rooms and depositing six-to-eight feet of debris in areas excavated below ground level. Resolving that setback occupied a stream control crew for the remainder of the year; the crew planted 15,000 willow trees along the arroyo to prevent future erosive events.[829] Despite this initial setback, the Washington office reported in 1949 that several "prehistoric adobe structures in the Southwest were stabilized" and that "highly skilled workers [had] been developed."[830]

During the postwar period, the National Park Service also began reissuing permits to universities, museums, and other partner institutions to conduct excavations and scientific studies at the national monuments. Archeologists, paleontologists, and other scientists returned to the Southwest with a renewed determination. Arches, Bandelier, Canyon de Chelly, El Morro, Hovenweep, Gran Quivira, Natural Bridges, and Rainbow Bridge all received scholarly attention during the 1950s. In 1952, archeologist Paul H. Ezell conducted a seminal archeological survey of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument.[831] Jesse Nusbaum, Region III archeologist, reviewed all permit applications made under the Antiquities Act. From his office in Santa Fe, Nusbaum checked plans, validated applicants' credentials, and investigated possible permit violations at the southwestern national monuments.[832]

Physical development did not receive the same level of attention as stabilization and scientific study. After the war, the National Park Service could not resume the dizzying construction pace of the New Deal years, even though wartime neglect left facilities at many monuments, especially the most understaffed and underdeveloped, in poor condition. But the agency needed to resume its development activities at southwestern monuments. In 1948, the Washington office pointed to Wupatki National Monument as a typical example of what a renewed commitment to monument development might involve:

---

[828] "November 1946 Monthly Narrative Report for the Naturalists of Southwestern National Monuments," *Memorandum for Assistant Regional Director John M. Davis*, December 16, 1946, 1 and 3.

[829] National Park Service, *Annual Report...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1948,* 343, 356 and 361.

[830] National Park Service, *Annual Report...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1949,* 314.

[831] National Park Service, *Annual Report...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1951*, 326; National Park Service, *Annual Report...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1952*, 363; National Park Service, *Annual Report...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1956*, 312-313.

[832] National Park Service, *Annual Report...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1949*, 316. Nusbaum's desk files as Region III archeologist handling Antiquities Act permits are stored in the Southwest Regional Office collection at WACC.



Figure 91. Ruins stabilization of Chetro Ketl, Chaco Canyon, in 1947, showing Navajo Mobile Unit crew members at work while supported by scaffolding. Photograph by George A. Grant. Source: WACC (50638)

Wupatki National Monument, in eastern Arizona, rich in the ruins of pueblos and homesites of the ancestors of the Hopis, is a typical case. A monument since 1924, it was enlarged from its original 640 acres to more than 34,000 in 1937, when it was first reached by highway. In 1940 it was provided with a residence, a garage, and a water system. That is all it has ever had.

Because it was underdeveloped and understaffed, the ruins have been destroyed by cattle and pot-hunters; visitors have had a difficult time reaching the ruins and have not been given interpretive or guide service; nearby residents have discouraged potential visitors from going to the area; and generally the purpose of the monument—preservation of the ruins and intelligent presentation to the public—has been defeated.

Comparatively modest sums are required to equip Wupatki and other smaller areas. An adequate water system; administration, residential, and utility buildings; light, power, and communication; and the fencing of the boundaries would cost little

> more than $100,000 at Wupatki. A proper circulation system of roads and trails would cost about $250,000. Wupatki's situation is not unique; on the contrary, it is duplicated in greater or less degree in most of the monuments.[833]

Despite this early postwar vision for improving the national monuments, the National Park Service did not yet have the resources for full-scale development of southwestern monuments. A heightened pace of development awaited Mission 66, initiated in 1956.

New Superintendent, New Headquarters

In his own words, John Davis's arrival at the regional office in 1945 launched an eleven-year period of his career spent "fighting the battles of Southwestern Monuments."[834] He accepted the assistant regional directorship with Director Drury's instructions ringing in his ears, that he should devote his efforts "to raising morale of monument personnel, to increase the number of positions in an understaffed organization, and to raise standards of their equipment and physical plants." It was, Davis later noted, a "controversial opinion not shared by all in the Region office."[835] From the start, Davis chose to befriend, support, and advocate for members of the old Pinkley organization at a key juncture when the group's *esprit de corps* was at its lowest. For three years, he stirred the pot, administratively, hoping to influence the group's resurrection as an independent regional division; he succeeded.
The idea to reauthorize Southwestern National Monuments surfaced at the NPS Superintendents Conference at Grand Canyon National Park, October 4-8, 1948, where monument custodians, sporting their new titles as "superintendents," were in attendance for the first time.[836] The suggestion involved separating the administration of the southwestern monuments from Region III to facilitate postwar administration of parks and monuments in the Southwest. The "passage of time and experience," King later explained, "had shown that a group of scattered areas could more effectively be administered by such [a specialized] office, rather than directly by the Regional Office in Santa Fe."[837]

---

[833] National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1948*, 322-323

[834] John M. Davis, transcript of Oral History Interview with John M. Davis by S. Herbert Evison, November 6. 1962 with corrections offered by Davis in March 1964, 35, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 - 1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[835] "Bibliography: John M. Davis, Superintendent, Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks: May 2, 1963," 2, folder 2 "Davis, John M., October 20, 1966," Box 6, Subseries B: Employee Bio Files, Series XVI: Records of the Employee and Alumni Association of the NPS, Assembled Historic Records of the NPS (HFCA 1645), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[836] The October 1948 monthly memoranda from the monuments to the Region III director indicate that most of the custodian-superintendents were able to attend the superintendents conference at Grand Canyon.

[837] Dale S. King, "Memorandum for the Files–Some Historical Information Regarding Gila Pueblo," May 31, 1956, 7, folder "SWNM's National Monuments: Gila Pueblo–Acquisition, Rehabilitation, Etc.," Box 1, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, RG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

Official resurrection of Southwestern National Monuments began when the National Park Service reinstated the superintendency by appointing John Davis as superintendent, effective March 3, 1950.[838] After his appointment, Davis and his administrative aide, Iva M. Boatright, organized a skeleton staff of Southwestern National Monuments personnel at the regional office.[839] The staff included naturalist Dale King and the part-time services of archeologist Charlie Steen. By the fall of 1950, the full-time services of naturalist Leslie P. Arnberger, ranger-naturalist at Casa Grande Ruins, rounded out Davis's small team [Bio File: Arnberger]. To fill Davis's vacated position as assistant regional director, the National Park Service transferred former Southwestern National Monuments superintendent Hugh Miller from Washington to Santa Fe; Miller and his wife Christine remained in Santa Fe until his retirement in 1959 as regional director.[840]

Workspaces in the joint Southwestern National Monuments–Region III office soon became cramped. The quiet wartime years were over. As Davis and his staff looked around for potential office space elsewhere, the conversation turned to resurrecting the Southwestern National Monuments office with separate headquarters. The National Park Service favored the idea and suggested that perhaps the organization could relocate to Tucson. But the city had no suitable building. Renting office space was not an option due to high postwar demand and low supply, and the estimated $100,000 expense for a new building was prohibitive. Other suggestions included occupying an abandoned high school near the small mining town of Jerome, Arizona, but that seemed too remote. "'Well, why don't we get Gila Pueblo?'" Charlie Steen remarked to King and Arnberger one morning in the Region III library. "'I hear Gladwin is trying to give it to the University of Arizona.'" King, who had visited Gila Pueblo and thought it "fabulous," became excited. If you look in "from one end of that building" to the other, he explained to John Davis, who had never heard of Gila Pueblo, "it looks like half a mile there...We could have all the space in the world for your clerical business...and we could store all these collections that are in barns and sheds all over the place."[841] The Gila Pueblo complex was "elaborate," Steen added, but it possessed the central location Davis desired—about a half day's drive from half of the monuments, and a day's drive to the rest—plus it would provide ample space for Southwestern National Monuments administrative operations and employee housing.[842]

---

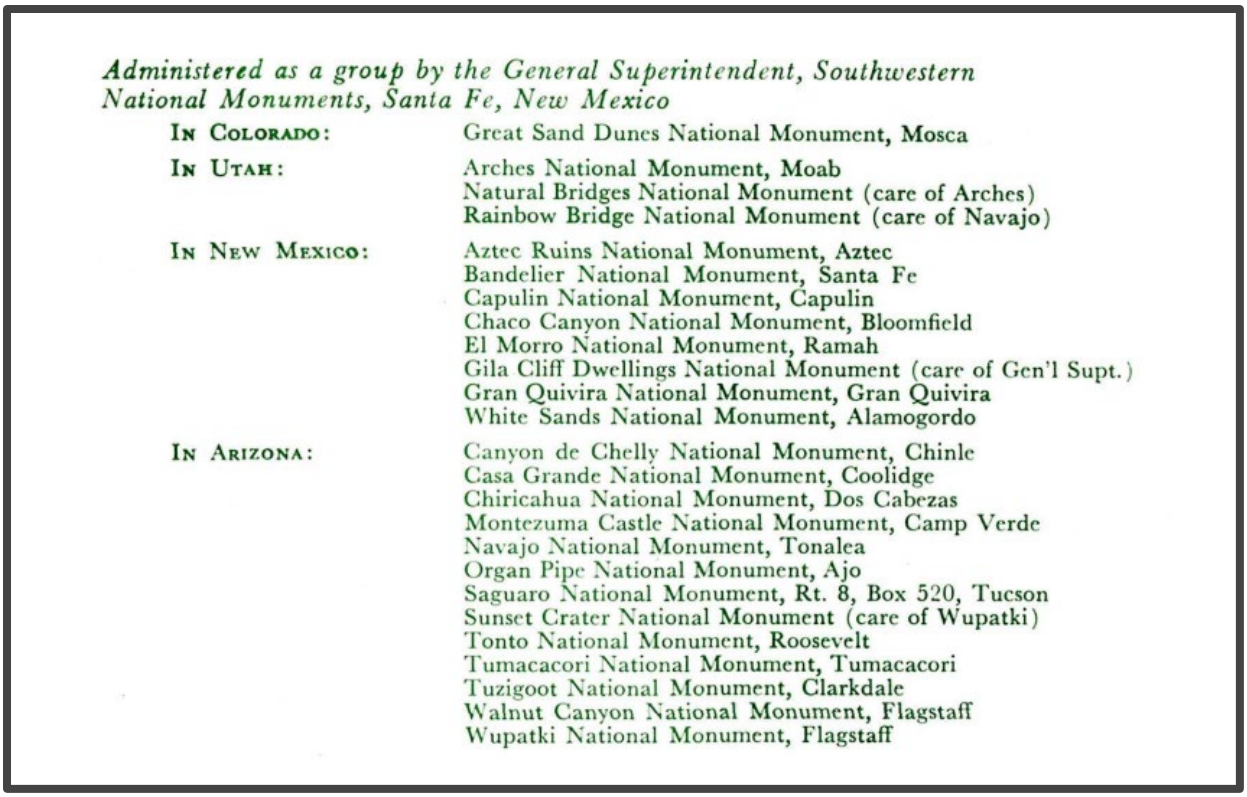
[838] The title changed to "General Superintendent" effective June 3, 1955, to better distinguish his position from the monument superintendents (their title had changed from custodian to superintendent in 1948).

[839] Iva Boatright served as the Southwestern National Monuments administrative aide until its closure in 1957.

[840] Official registers suggest that there may have been three overlapping assistant regional directors at Santa Fe after John Davis stepped down: Harvey H. Cornell (6/25/1950-6/30/1954), Preston P. Patraw (9/29/1950-5/8/1954), and Hugh Miller (11/6/1950-7/13/1955). Miller was promoted to Region III director in 1955. See: National Park Service, "Historic Listings of NPS Officials: Southwest Regional Office, Santa Fe, New Mexico," National Park Service History: Electronic Library & Archive (https://npshistory.com/publications/tolson/histlist10.htm).

[841] King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 30-31.

[842] King, "Memorandum for the Files," May 31, 1956, 8-9; Southwestern National Monuments, "Staff Minutes – January 29, 1957," Box 4, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975 (ARG 10/ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.



Administered as a group by the General Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments, Santa Fe, New Mexico

IN COLORADO:	Great Sand Dunes National Monument, Mosca
IN UTAH:	Arches National Monument, Moab Natural Bridges National Monument (care of Arches) Rainbow Bridge National Monument (care of Navajo)
IN NEW MEXICO:	Aztec Ruins National Monument, Aztec Bandelier National Monument, Santa Fe Capulin National Monument, Capulin Chaco Canyon National Monument, Bloomfield El Morro National Monument, Ramah Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument (care of Gen'l Supt.) Gran Quivira National Monument, Gran Quivira White Sands National Monument, Alamogordo
IN ARIZONA:	Canyon de Chelly National Monument, Chinle Casa Grande National Monument, Coolidge Chiricahua National Monument, Dos Cabezas Montezuma Castle National Monument, Camp Verde Navajo National Monument, Tonalea Organ Pipe National Monument, Ajo Saguaro National Monument, Rt. 8, Box 520, Tucson Sunset Crater National Monument (care of Wupatki) Tonto National Monument, Roosevelt Tumacacori National Monument, Tumacacori Tuzigoot National Monument, Clarkdale Walnut Canyon National Monument, Flagstaff Wupatki National Monument, Flagstaff

Figure 92. List of national monuments administered by the new Southwestern National Monuments office in 1950-1951. Great Sand Dunes was the only new addition; it left the group along with Bandelier, Capulin Mountain, Organ Pipe, Saguaro, and White Sands at the end of the 1953 fiscal year. Source: A Guide to the 'Island' Trail at Walnut Canyon National Monument, Arizona, Southwestern National Monuments Association, c. 1951.

Gila Pueblo, former home of the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation, was in central Arizona, a couple miles south of the city of Globe. In 1928, archeologist Harold Gladwin and his future wife Winifred Jones MacCurdy bought many acres of land in rural Six Shooter Canyon, on a portion of which lay the remains of a 13th century Salado Culture village called Besh Ba Gowah. They excavated part of the site, photographed and mapped the original walls they found, and then razed the area to build a modern pueblo that, from the outside, made the public think it was a reconstruction of its ancient predecessor.[843] In actuality it was a 22,000-square-foot archeological research facility with nearly fifty rooms. Under Emil Haury as assistant director, the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation privately funded extensive fieldwork across the Southwest, located numerous archeological sites and artifacts—stored in the Gila Pueblo laboratory—and facilitated scholarly dialogue that identified and chronologized the region's key archeological cultures and periods.[844]

---

[843] King, "Memorandum for the Files," May 31, 1956, 2.

[844] For historical background, see also: Emil W. Haury, "Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation: A History and Some Personal Notes," *The Kiva* 54, no. 1 (1988): i-ix, 1-77.

For Southwestern National Monuments staff, the advantages of transferring from Santa Fe to a more centralized southwestern location were clear. First, they would bill less mileage when providing supervisory, administrative, and technical assistance to the southwestern national monuments. To operate smoothly and coherently, the southwestern monuments—still recovering from wartime deprivations—needed more regular field support from the Southwestern National Monuments administrative and technical staff.[845] Less-cramped office conditions made sense, too.[846] And Davis hoped for fiscal autonomy as well. Luis Gastellum's fine-tuned clerical skills helped win this specific line item. In a memo to Tillotson regarding the final draft of the proposal to establish a Southwestern National Monuments headquarters, Gastellum emphasized the specific advantages of separating office accounting, too, not just personnel and general administrative operations: "It would be no more expensive to transfer the fiscal office [to Globe] than to retain it" in Santa Fe, he stated, and it would help straighten out Region III accounting. Fiscally, it had become difficult for Region III to differentiate southwestern monument-specific functions from the divisional functions that the National Park Service increasingly delegated to the regional office. But mostly, Gastellum emphasized, the overriding advantage of transferring Southwestern National Monuments accounting from the regional office would be the removal of any perceived conflict of interest. If monument fiscal accounting remained the responsibility of Region III, other regional offices might grumble that the southwestern monuments were more favorably positioned "to obtain assistance from regional resources."[847]

A final draft of the proposal for a fully-autonomous Southwestern National Monuments office reached the Washington office in early February 1952, just in time for the National Park Service to defend the agency's 1953 operational estimates in Congress. Authorization to establish the office with separate headquarters was granted February 12, 1952.[848] The authorization did not include approval for the purchase of a specific building. After Steen first suggested the Globe facility for the Southwestern National Monument headquarters, John Davis went out to tour it and returned greatly impressed. "How can we get hold of that place? Why, it's the most fabulous place you ever saw."[849] Davis had missed the latest news. Ownership of Gila Pueblo and all of the facility's archeological collections just transferred as a gift to the University of Arizona, caretaker of the archeology-based Arizona State Museum in Tucson. Neither the university nor the museum needed the Gila Pueblo facility—the archeological collections were the main attraction. The state sold several of Gila Pueblo's exterior buildings for $50,000 to cover costs associated with storing the collections in

---

[845] Luis A. Gastellum to the Regional Director, February 15, 1952, "SWNM's National Monuments: Gila Pueblo–Acquisition, Rehabilitation, Etc.," Box 1, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, RG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[846] Antagonistic office dynamics at Region III may have played a role in the transfer as well. See: Charlie Steen, transcript of oral history interview (1973), 35.

[847] Gastellum to the Regional Director, February 15, 1952.

[848] Public Law 295, 82nd Cong., Ch. 19, 2d sess., S. 2169, February 12, 1952.

[849] King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 32.



Figure 93. Views of Gila Pueblo, south of Globe, Arizona. (top) view from the room of Gila Pueblo, looking toward Globe; (bottom) view of Gila Pueblo from the east. Photographs by Leslie P. Arnberger. Source: WACC (51578 and 58063)

Tucson. The property became vested with private parties in the Globe area. The National Park Service explored renting Gila Pueblo with the option to buy later, but this proved impractical. In the end, the Arizona State Legislature agreed to approve NPS purchase of Gila Pueblo—appraised at $222,955—for the nominal sum of $75,000.[850] But the option to buy at that price expired November 1, 1952.

On Capitol Hill, May 21, 1952, NPS Assistant Director Hillory A. Tolson defended the agency's supplemental appropriation estimates for the purchase of Gila Pueblo. It would cost $8,100 a year to operate Gila Pueblo, Tolson reported, including the salaries of the ten to twelve permanent employees the National Park Service anticipated posting there. And how much do you anticipate saving, asked Chairman Michael J. Kirwan of the Subcommittee on Interior Department Appropriations, by "moving the southwestern monument unit to Gila Pueblo?" There would be no "saving as a result of the move," Tolson admitted, at least "in dollars and cents." The advantage was "a much better location for the staff, being centrally located among the 25 national monuments located in Arizona, New Mexico, southern Colorado, and southern Utah." Gila Pueblo would also provide the facilities for a new function: extensive storage rooms and laboratory space to protect and conserve NPS archeological collections currently scattered around the Southwest. Gila Pueblo, Tolson explained, as a former archeological laboratory, offered:

> a place where we can store the archeological remains that have been donated to the Park Service or that it has acquired in various ways, and which are now housed in very unsatisfactory buildings and shacks throughout the Southwest. We could bring them into a fireproof building where they could be protected; where they can be properly serviced; and where they can be displayed to the public.[851]

So there would be savings, Kirwan pushed. "You are going to unify the operation and have it in one place rather than scattered all over the Southwest?" Not exactly, Tolson explained:

> This will be the headquarters unit of the Southwest National Monuments. Each of the 25 monuments, or at least most of them, has a small staff...[of] superintendents and rangers, and, in a few places, archeologists. The headquarters staff will be located at Globe and give over-all administration to the entire group of 25 monuments. It will also provide a central place for equipment storage for use at the monuments that cannot afford it.

---

[850] Appraisal made by Region III on May 28, 1952. See: Lyle E. Bennett and Milton J. McColm, National Park Service, "Appraisal of Gila Pueblo, Globe, Arizona," May 28, 1952, folder "SWNM's National Monuments: Gila Pueblo–Acquisition, Rehabilitation, Etc.," Box 1, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, RG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[851] A popular feature of Gila Pueblo during the Gladwin years included the reconstructed Besh Ba Gowah ruins and accompanying archeological museum available for public viewing.

But "there should be a savings when you establish a headquarters," Kirwan insisted. "That is why you are establishing it there; is it not?" No, Tolson repeated, "We are establishing the central headquarters staff at Globe for a more efficient operation." Efficiency equals savings, Kirwan argued. "You are going to save. You may not be able to say offhand what you are going to save, but you are going to save." Tolson held his ground. No, Gila Pueblo would provide a "more centrally located [headquarters], so that the administration of [the monuments would] be better and [therefore] in the interest of the public."[852]

Kirwan moved on, asking for the value of the buildings. Gila Pueblo had cost $250,000 to build in 1929-30 but would only cost $75,000 to purchase in 1952—"a very fine bargain," observed Tolson. For $75,000 the government would acquire "about 20 acres of land and the structures on it," workrooms and offices, plus apartments and residences for employees. There would be initial maintenance costs—about $10,000 to rehabilitate the buildings plus whatever it might cost to install kitchens in the employee apartments—and utilities expenses, but no water bills. The property had grandfathered access to a water right of 5,000 gallons a month. "Even from a real-estate point of view, the Government is making a good deal in this case," Tolson suggested. Kirwan softened. "It will be a good deal for the people?...It will bring back the memories of the Southwest, and it will point out what we had in this country?" Yes, Tolson concluded. "There is no question about it."[853]

Congress approved the acquisition of Gila Pueblo in the 1953 Supplemental Appropriations Act. In July, Director Conrad Wirth and Assistant Director Ronald F. Lee traveled to Santa Fe to sit in on a Southwestern National Monuments-Region III staff meeting and share the happy news: Southwestern National Monuments would have its own headquarters again.[854] Naturally, discussion turned to the subject of the original headquarters at Casa Grande Ruins and the memory of its figurehead, the late Frank Pinkley. Reflecting on his recent field inspections in the Southwest, Wirth suggested that "the 'Boss' hadn't done so bad after all." The national monuments had fine buildings, and their self-guiding trails were "splendid." The National Park Service had highlighted the self-guiding activities of parks and monuments in its latest *Annual Report*, making special note of the special self-guiding interpretive booklets that the Southwest Monuments Association published for the monuments.[855] Lee nodded in agreement; the self-guiding program at Southwestern National Monuments was stellar and should serve as an interpretive model to other areas of the Service. Wirth agreed that the resurrection of Southwestern National Monuments at Gila Pueblo signaled a good time for the agency to revisit its programs and core objectives—and to just pause and ponder "things in general." Tillotson nodded,

---

[852] U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "The Supplemental Appropriation Bill For 1953: Hearings Before Subcommittees of the Committee on Appropriations," 82d cong., 2d sess., pt. 1, May 21, 1952, 2-7.

[853] "The Supplemental Appropriation Bill For 1953," 2-7.

[854] National Park Service, *Annual Report...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1952*, 382.

[855] Ibid, 368.

every so often "It is a wonderful thing, as the late Boss Pinkley once said, to clear off a corner of your desk and just lean back and put your feet up and stop and think."[856]

Three months later, on October 8, 1952, the National Park Service finalized the purchase of Gila Pueblo for the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters. NPS Supervisor of Construction, Eugene Mott, began rehabilitating the facility as soon as the sale closed. He had $10,000 to work with, but it needed to stretch. Mott's list included "preliminary roofing, cleaning, opening of windows, doorways, et cetera." An "advance skeleton staff" of Southwestern National Monuments personnel followed Mott. Naturalists Dale King and Leslie Arnberger, along with their wives, arrived November 2 to clean up the interpretive office rooms and the onsite apartments they were to rent. "We were there on election night [Nov. 4] in 1952," Arnberger remembered; "We had no furniture, and my wife and I were ensconced in one of the rooms at Gila Pueblo on air mattresses...[but] we had a radio, and we listened to Mr. Eisenhower being elected President. And it was a week or so after that, I guess, before any of the other Park Service people turned up."[857]

The huge cobblestone building, "with doors banging in the wind and dogs and cats running through it," overwhelmed its new tenants.[858] The facility possessed three stories and 22,000 square feet of floor space; the ground floor alone offered forty-nine rooms including a council hall that could fit an audience of 250. The second level offered a pair of two-room apartments with baths and one four-room apartment with a bath. A third level stored old water storage tanks, no longer in use. Outside, a separate cluster of buildings featured a six-car garage with storeroom, a five-room workshop building, a two-bedroom residence, and a pump house. A residential quadrangle provided a two-room guest apartment and a staff apartment with two guest rooms assigned to Superintendent John Davis. Gila Pueblo provided more than ample space. "Needless to say," the newcomers "felt pretty much like five peas rattling around in a pretty large bushel basket, and all concerned wondered how long it would be before an adequate and functional staff" would be established.[859]

By the end of November, all remaining Southwestern National Monuments staff had arrived and settled into their new offices at Gila Pueblo.[860] Superintendent John Davis showed up November 9 with Secretary Iva Boatright, Assistant Superintendent Luis Gastellum, and Treasurer Alan Vedder, and their respective families. Davis's presence signaled the soft opening of the new headquarters.

---

[856] Region III, "Staff Conference Minutes: July 30, 1952," folder "SWNM's National Monuments: Gila Pueblo–Acquisition, Rehabilitation, Etc.," Box 1, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, RG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[857] Leslie P. Arnberger, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 4.

[858] King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 32.

[859] King, "Memorandum for the Files," May 31, 1956, 10-11.

[860] National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1953*, 320.

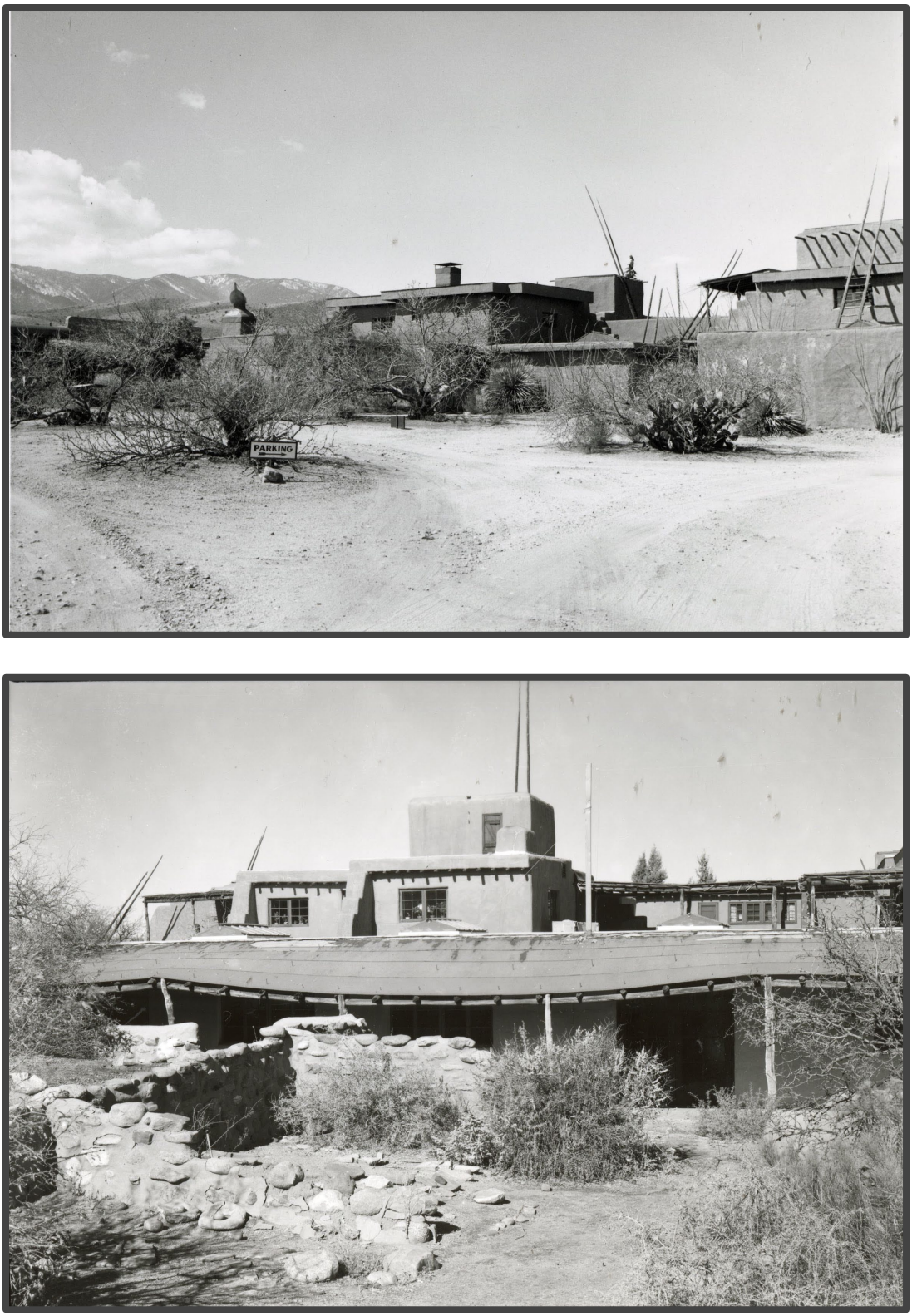


Figure 94. View of Gila Pueblo, 1953. (top) view from parking lot approach, 1952 (bottom) view from the adjacent Besh-Ba-Gowah site, 1953. Photographs by Les Arnberger and George Grant. Source WACC (51577 and 58153)

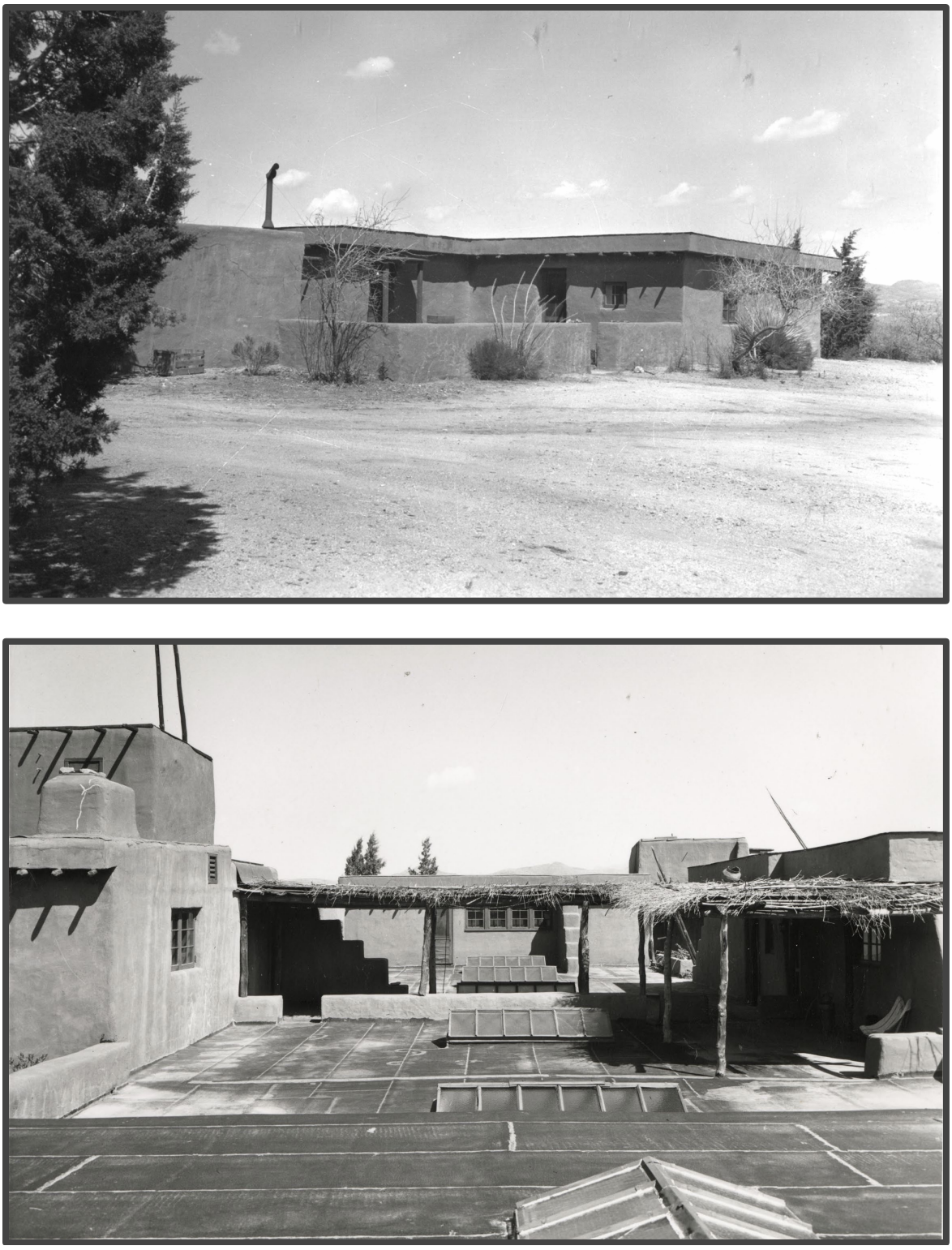


Figure 95. Staff residences at Gila Pueblo, Southwestern National Monuments headquarters. (top) Two-bedroom residence with courtyard and guest apartment for the superintendent; (bottom) rooftop apartments for staff. Photographer Les Arnberger, 1952. Source: WACC

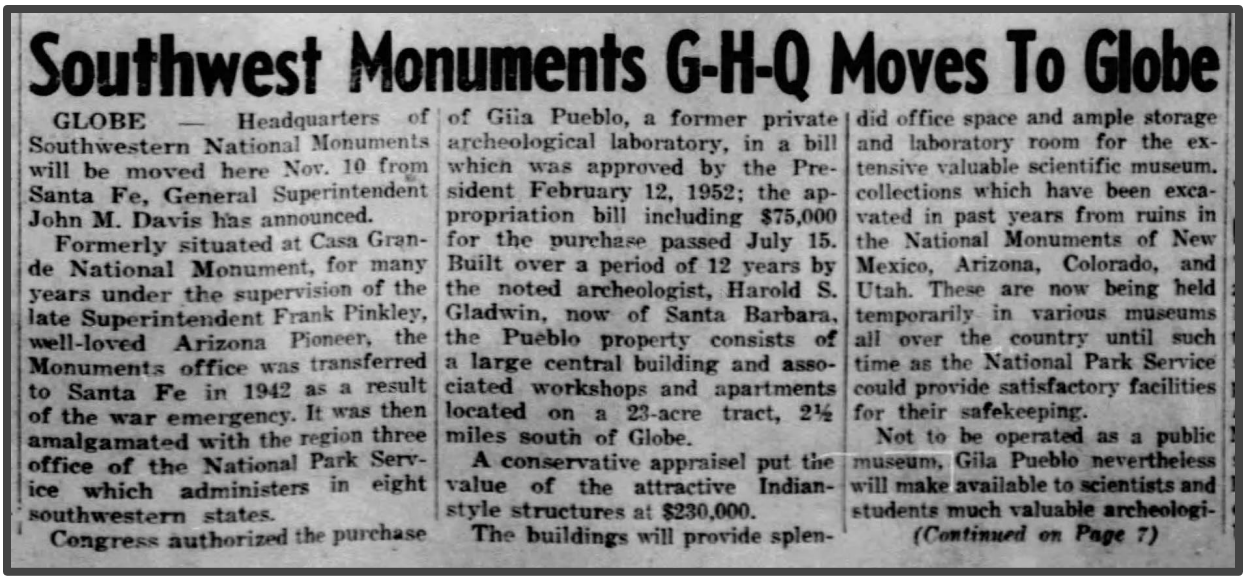
LIST OF PERMANENT POSITIONS IN SOUTHWESTERN NATIONAL MONUMENTS

Title	Grade	Position No.
Headquarters		
Superintendent	GS-13	1
Assistant Superintendent	GS-12	22
Park Naturalist	GS-11	55
Park Engineer	GS-11	35
Park Landscape Architect	GS-11	34
Archeologist	GS-11	33
Archeologist	GS-9	40
Forester (General)(Park Forester)	GS-11	41
Park Naturalist	GS-9	39
Chief Clerk	GS-9	25
Supervisor Construction and Maintenance (General)	GS-9	19
Personnel Assistant	GS-7	24
Fiscal Accounting Clerk	GS-7	28
Secretary (Stenography)	GS-5	21
Purchasing Agent	GS-5	29
Property and Supply Clerk	GS-4	30
Project Cost Clerk	GS-4	32
Clerk-Stenographer	GS-3	20
Construction Supervisor (Equipment Operations)	CPC-9	23
Maintenanceman	Ungr.	26
Clerk-Stenographer (WAE)	GS-3	36
Clerk-Dictating Machine Transcriber (WAE)	GS-2	27

Figure 96. November 1954 list of permanent positions at the Southwestern National Monuments Gila Pueblo headquarters, showing that the staff had grown from seven personnel in November 1952 to twenty-three (this list was missing Caretaker, position no. 43). Source: WACC

Clerical operations lagged until spring 1953 when administrative officer Darrel Crumley and his three-person clerical team arrived to get things up and running. Each year, the number of staff positions grew. By the end of the 1955 fiscal year, organizational reports showed twenty-three permanent Southwestern National Monuments staff employed at headquarters. There were eleven senior administrative personnel, nine clerical assistants, and three maintenance personnel.[861]

[861] Davis noted that one position had been left out of the following list, that of Caretaker (WAE), position no. 43: Leland F. Ramsdell, Memorandum to the General Superintendent, Southwestern, "List of Permanent Positions in Southwestern National Monuments," November 2, 1954, folder "Administration–Southwestern National Monuments, General, 1941-1955," Box 2, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, RG 10 (ACC 681), Western Archeological and Conservation Center.



Southwest Monuments G-H-Q Moves To Globe

GLOBE — Headquarters of Southwestern National Monuments will be moved here Nov. 10 from Santa Fe, General Superintendent John M. Davis has announced.

Formerly situated at Casa Grande National Monument, for many years under the supervision of the late Superintendent Frank Pinkley, well-loved Arizona Pioneer, the Monuments office was transferred to Santa Fe in 1942 as a result of the war emergency. It was then amalgamated with the region three office of the National Park Service which administers in eight southwestern states.

Congress authorized the purchase of Gila Pueblo, a former private archeological laboratory, in a bill which was approved by the President February 12, 1952; the appropriation bill including $75,000 for the purchase passed July 15. Built over a period of 12 years by the noted archeologist, Harold S. Gladwin, now of Santa Barbara, the Pueblo property consists of a large central building and associated workshops and apartments located on a 23-acre tract, 2½ miles south of Globe.

A conservative appraisel put the value of the attractive Indian-style structures at $230,000.

The buildings will provide splendid office space and ample storage and laboratory room for the extensive valuable scientific museum. collections which have been excavated in past years from ruins in the National Monuments of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah. These are now being held temporarily in various museums all over the country until such time as the National Park Service could provide satisfactory facilities for their safekeeping.

Not to be operated as a public museum, Gila Pueblo nevertheless will make available to scientists and students much valuable archeologi-

(Continued on Page 7)

Figure 97. The Arizona Daily Sun, November 3, announced the soft opening of Southwestern National Monuments headquarters at Gila Pueblo near Globe.

In 1952, the Southwestern National Monuments office at Gila Pueblo headquarters coordinated the activities of twenty-five national monuments. In January 1953, it gained a twenty-sixth: the new 2,745-acre Coronado National Memorial, located between Bisbee and Nogales, at the U.S.-Mexico border. The National Park Service assigned the position of Acting Superintendent of Coronado Memorial to the superintendent of Tumacácori, effectively bringing the new unit into the Southwestern National Monuments group.[862] After gaining Coronado, the group lost six monuments: Bandelier, Capulin Mountain, Great Sand Dunes, Organ Pipe, Saguaro, and White Sands. The National Park Service separated their administration from the Southwestern National Monuments group on July 1, 1953, at the start of the new fiscal year; all six became independently administered.[863]

Like the former Southwestern National Monuments headquarters at Casa Grande Ruins, the Gila Pueblo facility housed the administrative office of the Southwestern Monuments Association. Dale King remained the executive secretary, with John W. Stratton as assistant. Gila Pueblo also provided office space for the new Southwestern National Monuments archeological division, headed by Gordon Vivian. From Globe, Vivian supervised the Mobile Unit ruins stabilization program (est. 1938 by the NPS and Bureau of Indian Affairs with CCC resources). In September 1951, Roland Richert stepped down as Tuzigoot's longtime park ranger and transferred to Chaco Canyon to serve as field director of the Mobile Unit. In addition to extensive ruins stabilization at Chaco Canyon, the 1950s

[862] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1953, 1.

[863] John M. Davis, Memorandum to the Director, "Position in Southwestern National Monuments," November 15, 1954, folder "Administration–Southwestern National Monuments, General, 1941-1955," Box 2, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, RG 10 (ACC 681); Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Mobile Unit made "steady progress" in arresting deterioration at Chaco Canyon, Tonto, Wupatki, Aztec Ruins, Hovenweep, Bandelier, Tuzigoot, Casa Grande Ruins, Gila Cliff Dwellings, Navajo, and Pipe Spring national monuments.[864] In 1956, the Mobile Unit program moved its field base of operations from Chaco to the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters at Gila Pueblo and became retitled the Ruins Stabilization Unit (RSU).

The Branch Preservation Laboratory at Gila Pueblo

Besides providing a headquarters for Southwestern National Monuments, Gila Pueblo served a second function for the National Park Service. The building provided facilities and staff for storing, preserving, and curating artifacts from southwestern parks and monuments. For decades, the collections remained scattered across four states in hogans, shacks, and other temporary structures. Hazards such as fire, theft, breakage, and other sources of irreparable damage were high. Other southwestern cultural institutions held a great deal of archeological material excavated at southwestern parks and monuments. Most were eager to return the material to ease themselves of "a definite and unwarrantable burden." The long-term goal remained the "eventual disposition" of material to the monuments from which the objects originated. But, except for the storage facilities for the Casa Grande Ruins museum, no southwestern monument possessed an "adequate fireproof, moisture-proof, museum storage room."[865] Meanwhile, the Gila Pueblo facility offered adequate storage space and conditions for proper conservation of the monuments' archeological material.

In October 1953, Hugh Miller wrote to John Davis at Gila Pueblo with news from Washington. The Museum Division's 1954 fiscal year appropriation included funding for "a branch preservation laboratory" at Gila Pueblo with two full time positions: a Museum Preservation worker-ceramics and a clerk-stenographer. The Region III office would recruit and supervise the new positions while Davis, as Southwestern National Monuments superintendent, would handle the laboratory's "ordinary administrative supervision, fiscal matters, and procurement."[866] In terms of equipment, Gila Pueblo already had a wealth of supplies left behind by the Gila Pueblo Archaeological

---

[864] National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1948*, 342-343, 356, 361; National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1949*, 314; National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1951*, 324; National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1952*, 361. See also: Edna Richert, "The National Park Service's Ruins Stabilization Mobile Unit– –To the Rescue," *Desert Magazine* 23, no. 4 (April 1960): 42-44; Rothman, *Navajo National Monument*, 121.

[865] John M. Davis, Memorandum to M. R. Tillotson, April 10, 1953, "Subject: Program for transferring archeological collections to Gila Pueblo," folder "Gila Pueblo—Correspondence, 1949-1955," Box 1, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, RG 10 (ACC 681); Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

[866] Miller to Davis, October 28, 1953. Southwestern National Monuments, Archival Record Group 10 (WACC 3184, box 1, file unit 3).

Foundation: a ceramics laboratory with deep sinks and 2,400 square feet of storage space with steel shelving and insect-proof steel storage cases. "Very little additional equipment," Davis reported to Miller, "would have to be purchased in the next few years."[867] Organized within the NPS Museum Division as a western counterpart of the preservation laboratory at Jamestown National Historic Site, the Gila Pueblo lab was not administered by Southwestern National Monuments; its staff prepared separate monthly reports for the Museum Division, sent through the Region III office at Santa Fe.[868] But the laboratory maintained close ties with Southwestern National Monuments. The laboratory provided, "for the first time, centralized and adequate storage facilities for archeological and historical materials from the field areas of the Southwest."[869] In addition to providing storage, the laboratory offered facilities cleaning, repairing, numbering, filing, and cataloging southwestern pottery. specimens and other archeological material.[870] The Museum Preservation worker-ceramics position went to John Francis "Jack" Turney, a Bandelier ranger, who arrived at Globe in March 1954.[871]

Final Closure of Southwestern National Monuments, 1957

For just over four years, the revived Southwestern National Monuments office headquartered at Gila Pueblo provided supervisory, administrative, and technical assistance to the superintendents of a fluctuating number of southwestern national monuments. In 1957, everything seemed to be going well for the revived Southwestern National Monuments group. They had a superintendent, a headquarters, and their own clerks. They engaged with the Globe community and felt settled. The old "esprit de corps" returned. Leslie P. Arnberger, assistant park naturalist under Dale King, remembered his two years at Gila Pueblo as "full of frustrations and full of pioneering" but also a period of intense "closeness" among the staff, since they were all in the same boat, so to speak." The move to Gila Pueblo, Arnberger recalled, "had been subject to considerable criticism from other parts of the Park Service." That criticism drew the staff together and they developed "a greater sense of esprit de corps" than Arnberger had ever experienced. "We were all united in one goal and that was to weld the Southwestern Monuments into the best outfit in the Park Service."[872]

---

[867] Davis to Miller, November 13, 1953. Southwestern National Monuments, Archival Record Group 10 (WACC 3184, box 1, file unit 3).

[868] Miller to Davis, October 28, 1953. Southwestern National Monuments, Archival Record Group 10 (WACC 3184, box 1, file unit 3).

[869] Turney to Wormington, June 30, 1954. Southwestern National Monuments, Archival Record Group 10 (WACC 3184, box 1, file unit 2).

[870] National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1954*, 349; National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior...For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1955*, 340.

[871] Turney, a Marine Corps veteran who served in North Africa during World War II, later served as superintendent at Aztec Ruins, Walnut Canyon, White Sands, Padre Island National Seashore, and Buffalo National River. He retired in 1980 and returned to White Sands where he operated White Sands Concessions with his wife, Betty.

[872] Leslie P. Arnberger, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 13-14.

In a self-statement of significance—nicely developed in the organization's 1955 Mission 66 prospectus—the Southwestern National Monuments office highlighted the intangible qualities that made the unit so effective. They emphasized *esprit de corps* and sense of belonging:

> This headquarters office provides supervisory, administrative and technical services to 19 national monuments and 1 national memorial located in the states of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. The justification for its existence is based on the fact that it is impractical to provide a staff in each of these areas to perform the technical work that is required in their operation and development. It performs the same functions and is staffed on the same organizational basis as a superintendent's office in a large national park – instead Southwestern National Monuments has 20 individual areas.
>
> In addition to the services outlined, Southwestern National Monuments headquarters office makes possible the development of a high degree of esprit de corps among monument employees by fostering a feeling of "belonging" and unity that cannot be attained in small independent areas. The close association of this office with the monuments, and its direct responsibility for them, permits a fuller understanding, appreciation of, and personal interest in, area problems; it provides close supervision and control of area activities without abrogation of the superintendent's delegated authority or responsibility, or without decreasing opportunity for developing his abilities; it makes possible, and more frequent, the past audits and analyses of activities essential to good administrative management.[873]

The statement spoke well for the Southwestern National Monuments; but somewhere in the National Park Service it failed to impress. Ultimately, the unit did not make the Mission 66 cut. Maybe the uniqueness of Southwestern National Monuments made it seem expendable. Or perhaps the National Park Service could not afford Southwestern National Monuments. Under Mission 66, the agency launched one of the largest, most ambitious construction programs in its history. In his feedback on the Southwestern National Monuments Mission 66 prospectus, Hugh Miller, now regional director at Santa Fe, wondered whether the Gila Pueblo facility might be too expensive to maintain.[874] Whatever the underlying reasons, Southwestern National Monuments at Gila Pueblo did not survive the first year of the Mission 66 program. Just as its personnel celebrated the 1957 launch of Mission 66 construction at a southwestern monument—a visitor center for Chaco Canyon—they received the deflating news of their unit's demise.[875]

---

[873] "Mission 66 Prospectus: Southwestern National Monuments Headquarters, Globe, Arizona," folder "Gila Pueblo," Box 1, Mission 66 Collection (ACC 1480), WACC.

[874] "Mission 66 Prospectus: Southwestern National Monuments Headquarters, Globe, Arizona," folder "Gila Pueblo," Box 1, Mission 66 Collection (ACC 1480), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[875] National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior, Reprinted from the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1954* (Washington:

It started when their boss, superintendent John Davis, resigned suddenly in January 1957 upon receiving a promotion to the position of NPS Chief of Conservation and Protection in the Washington office.[876] If he learned at that time of a plan or idea to deactivate Southwestern National Monuments, he failed to formally divulge it. Upon returning to Gila Pueblo from Washington, Davis "caught the flu" and did not get out of his bed to attend the staff meeting scheduled January 17. During the meeting, his staff carried on as normal, making plans to revisit their 1956 calendar-year objectives and "see how well they did in carrying out [their] program."[877] Davis missed the January 29 staff meeting as well; without bidding his staff farewell he announced his resignation and departed.

The Southwestern National Monuments staff continued their work, business as usual, presumably with no knowledge of the upcoming closure of their organization. Their January 29 staff meeting minutes noted a brief discussion about who might succeed Davis as general superintendent. Luis Gastellum reiterated that they all knew what their responsibilities were, with or without a superintendent. As a group they resolved to carry on as effectively as they could. Gastellum reminded his colleagues what Davis had always said: "our technical staff is here for only one purpose…to assist and advise the individual monument superintendents so that they can make the decisions and carry out the programs for which they are responsible."[878] The superintendency vacancy at Gila Pueblo did not last long. On March 5, the National Park Service made an official announcement: there would be no succeeding general superintendent. At the end of the 1957 fiscal year, Southwestern National Monuments would close and not reopen.[879]

Immediately following the announcement, fiscal accounting for southwestern monuments shifted back to Region III. The remaining administrative functions of the Southwestern National Monuments office ceased in June 1957. A month later, all administrative assistance formerly provided by Southwestern National Monuments to monument superintendents transferred to Region III permanently. After the closure, ten headquarters staff—those affiliated with the laboratory and Ruins Stabilization Unit—remained employed at Gila Pueblo; the remaining fifteen were reassigned to Santa Fe.[880] The Southwest Monuments Association retained its office space at Gila Pueblo. The Preservation Laboratory and Ruins Stabilization Unit also continued to operate from Gila Pueblo; together they became the Southwestern Archeological Center (SWAC), the predecessor organization

---

Government Printing Office, 1954), 338-339; National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior, Reprinted from the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1957* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957), 323.

[876] National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior…For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1957*, 348.

[877] Southwestern National Monuments, "Staff Minutes – January 16, 1957," Box 4, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975, ARG 10 (ACC 681), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[878] Southwestern National Monuments, "Staff Minutes – January 29, 1957," Box 4 (ACC 681).

[879] Southwestern National Monuments, "Staff Minutes – March 5, 1957," Box 4 (ACC 681).

[880] "Monument Office Being Replaced," *Albuquerque Journal*, March 2, 1957.

of what is now the NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center (WACC) in Tucson. Gordon Vivian became head of SWAC and Supervisory Archeologist of the RSU program. Richert stepped into Vivian's former position as RSU archeology-foreman.

After 1957, a few of Pinkley's original outfit—personnel based at Casa Grande Ruins in the 1930s and early 1940s—continued at Gila Pueblo with the Southwestern Archeological Center and the Southwestern Monuments Association. Naturalist Dale King stayed on another year until retiring as the Association's executive secretary in 1958. Naturalist Earl Jackson succeeded King as executive secretary; he kept offices at Gila Pueblo until his retirement in 1981. Archeologist Roland Richert retired from the Southwestern Archeological Center in 1972 but stuck around to write an NPS guide to ruins stabilization in the Southwest. Sallie Brewer-Van Valkenburgh-Harris joined her old colleagues at Gila Pueblo in 1959 as Southwestern Archeological Center museum curator (archeology specialist). She retired in 1964. Together with the rest of the outfit, scattered in all directions, she and her colleagues carried on the *esprit de corps*, always "ready to function again when times are better."[881]

[881] Dale S. King, *Arizona's National Monuments*, Southwestern Monuments Association Popular Series, No. 2 (Santa Fe: Southwestern Monuments Association, 1945), vi.



Figure 98. November 1956 group photo of SWNM–Gila Pueblo headquarters staff at the 75th Diamond Jubilee pageant for Gila County, Arizona, just months before the final closure of Southwestern National Monuments. Pictured left to right: (back row) Slim Ratcliff, forester; Warren Hotchkiss, personnel officer; Earl Jackson, naturalist; Jim French, property clerk; Cecil Hanner, asst. personnel officer; Ray Brandes, non-NPS Arizona historian. (middle row) John Vogeli (?), Luis Gastellum, asst. general superintendent, Al Schroeder, archeologist; Harold Marsh, landscape architect; Gene Mott, construction and maintenance supervisor. (front row) Darrell Crumley, chief clerk; John Davis, general superintendent; Dale King, naturalist. Source: WACC. See also: "Excavation Sets History Back 1,000 Years," *Employees and Alumni Association Newspaper of the National Park Service,* November 16, 1956.

EPILOGUE:

THE SOUTHWESTERN NATIONAL MONUMENTS LEGACY

I am still working for a man that's been dead for twenty years; I'm working for Boss Pinkley, not for anyone else, really, at heart."[882]

~Erik Reed, 1962

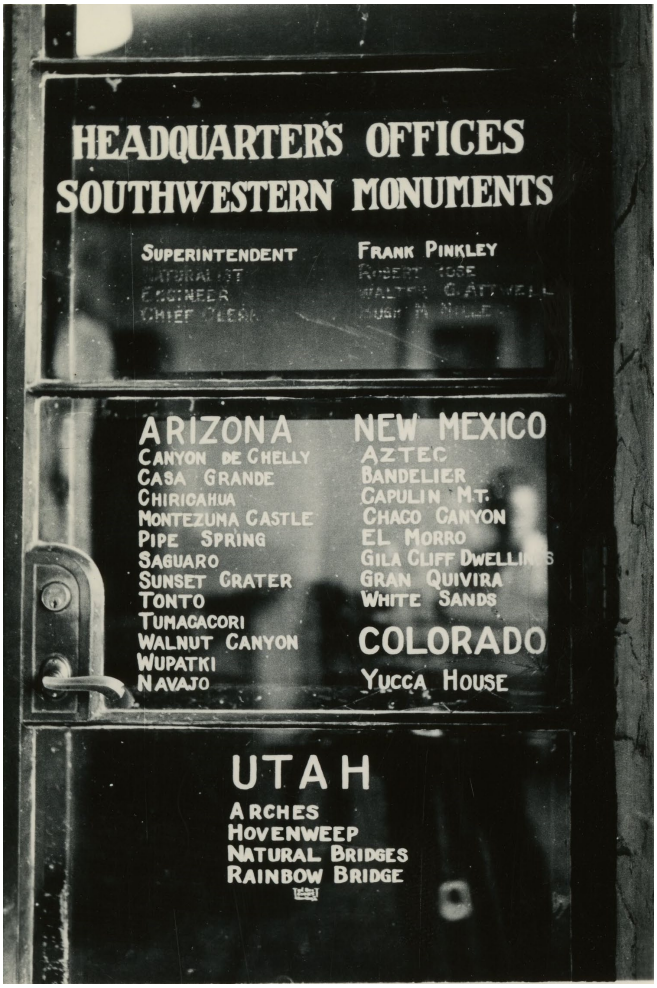


Figure 99. Door of the old Southwestern National Monuments office, listing names of personnel. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge, March 1939. Source: WACC (049.01)

[882] Erik Reed, transcript of Oral History Interview of Erik K. Reed by S. Herbert Evison, December 11, 1962, 2, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

In 1970, Luis Gastellum, in the twilight of his National Park Service career, became the Chief of Operations Evaluation for the Southwest Region. His duties involved making routine inspections of southwestern park areas. "The main thing that I always like to look for when I go to a field area," Gastellum told Herb Evison in 1973, is "the morale of the organization, because the morale of the organization gives you signals as to whether things are going good or things are going bad." Gastellum also expected the rangers, naturalists, and other park personnel he met to understand their superintendents' goals and objectives. High morale and clear lines of communication—two virtues instilled in Gastellum as a young clerk-stenographer working under Frank Pinkley at Southwestern National Monuments during the late 1930s. By 1970, however, the highest Southwestern National Monuments virtue of all—the wisdom of passing "the problems from the various monuments up to a local man who would be in touch with the local conditions"—escaped southwestern monuments.[883] No such position existed. The Southwest Region office in Santa Fe, successor to the Region III office, administered more than fifty park units spread across Arizona, Utah, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and parts of southern Nevada and southwestern Colorado.[884] Stretched thin with a staff of only four, the Southwest Region sometimes made questionable personnel decisions at smaller park areas.[885] Gastellum referred to the problem as "poor staff planning"—the agency's tendency to assign supervisory positions to individuals who knew little about southwestern history and culture, to the detriment of the monuments and their visitors.

A glaring example occurred at Coronado National Memorial in southern Arizona during the late 1960s. The memorial commemorated the 1540 Coronado expedition, which followed the San Pedro River north past the Huachuca Mountains across what later became the U.S.-Mexico border. Gastellum had high expectations for the memorial's historical exhibits, which called for a U.S.-Mexico transnational perspective. What he found qualified as poor staff planning. The individual responsible for developing exhibits at Coronado "knew no Spanish; had no history background, and was from Indiana." The Southwest Region hired him because he had experience driving a bus at Grand Canyon for the Fred Harvey Company. He "was a truck driver," Gastellum recalled, "with no sympathy at all for the bilingual requirements of his job, no sympathy at all for the history of the area. So that thing was a total failure." Discussing the incident with Evison, Gastellum's thoughts turned to Pinkley's old outfit. "It shows you," he concluded, "the reason why sometimes we have to have a specialized

---

[883] *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1924, and the Travel Season, 1924* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1924), 148.

[884] The National Park Service renamed Region III the "Southwest Region" in 1962. See "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow: From Southwest Regional Office… To Southwest Systems Support Office," May 15, 1995, https://npshistory.com/publications/nhl/osftb/swro-1995.pdf (February 15, 2026).

[885] Southwest Regional office administrators in 1970 included Frank Kowski, Regional Director; James Eden, Assistant Regional Director; Carl Walker, Assistant Regional Director; and Arthur White, Assistant to the Regional Director. Three new administrators, Monte Fitch, Associate Regional Director, Park Operations; Luis Gastellum, Chief, Operations Evaluation; and Charles Boatner, Assistant Regional Director, Cooperative Activities, joined the Southwest Regional Office later in 1970. See *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials*, 27-29.

organization such as the old Southwestern Monuments to protect the small area, the small superintendent, from getting [misguided] orders from up above."[886] Almost fifty years after Frank Pinkley's 1923 promotion to superintendent, the need for a regional expert stationed in Arizona to keep "in touch with the local conditions" remained as crucial as ever.

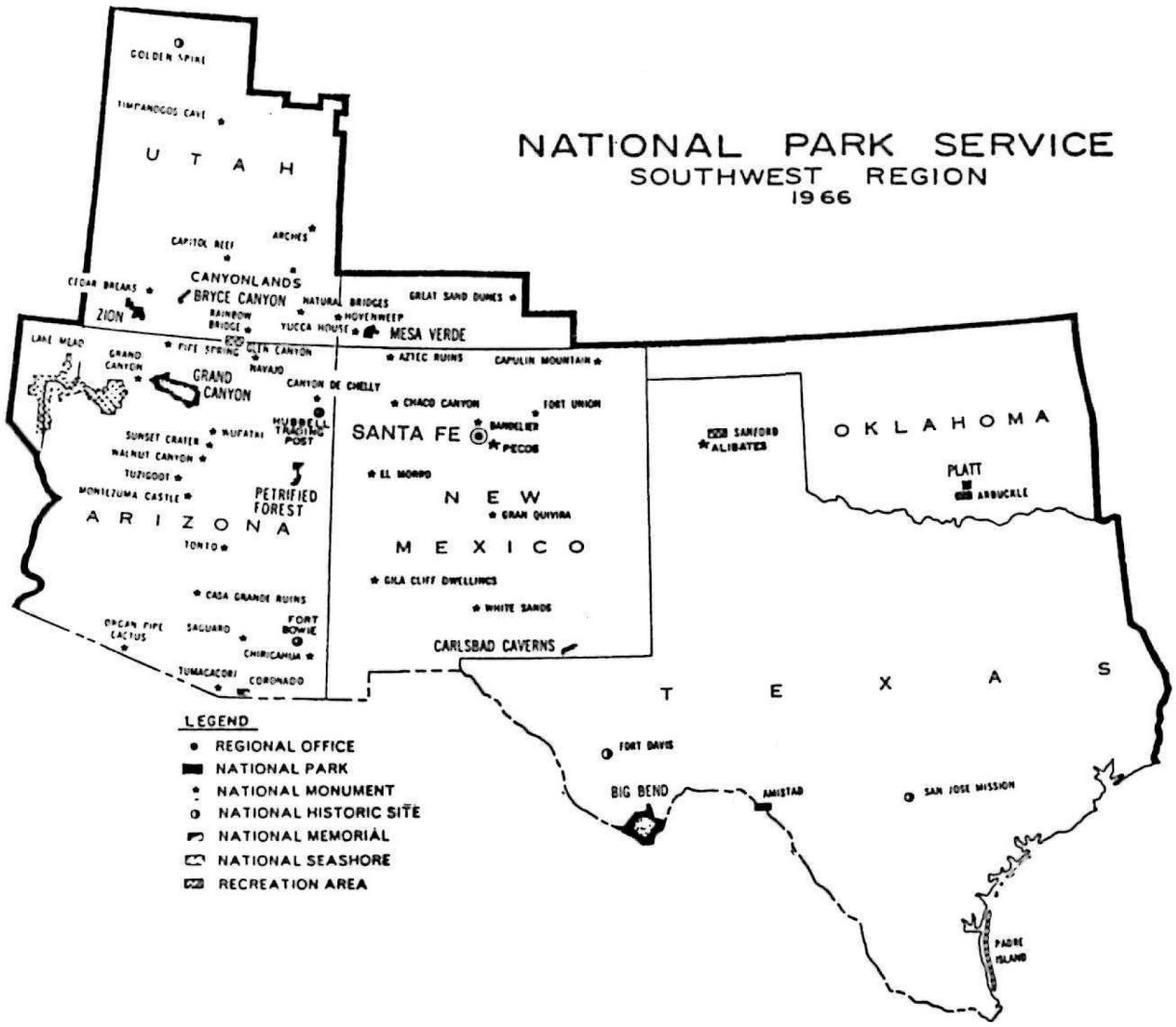


Figure 100. The Southwest Region in 1966. Responsible for more than fifty park units across seven states, the Regional Office's administrators struggled to give small parks areas the level of attention that the Southwestern National Monuments provided between 1923-1943 and 1950-1957. Source: NPS Southwest Systems Support Office, 1995.

[886] Luis A. Gastellum, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 43-44.

Administrative Vestiges of Southwestern National Monuments

When Southwestern National Monuments closed in 1957, most of the monuments under its authority became independent units administered by the Region III office at Santa Fe (renamed the Southwest Region office in 1962). The Southwest Region also administered Big Bend, Grand Canyon, Zion, and other large southwestern national parks. Smaller park areas became lost in the bureaucracy. With nothing like Southwestern National Monuments in place, the need for an administrative unit dedicated to southwestern small-park areas became more glaring with each passing year. In 1964, Bates Wilson, superintendent of Arches and Natural Bridges national monuments, became the superintendent of the new Canyonlands National Park. Rather than find a replacement superintendent at Arches and Natural Bridges, the National Park Service asked Wilson to administer four areas at once—Arches, Natural Bridges, and the Needles and Island in the Sky sections of Canyonlands—all from his office in Moab.[887] Wilson's office became known as the "Canyonlands Complex," headquartered in an old post office building in Moab. As an administrative unit, the Canyonlands Complex office staffed an assistant superintendent, supervisory park ranger, park naturalist, administrative officer, general supply assistant, clerks and stenographers, and dozens of field personnel, all providing services to Arches, Natural Bridges, and Canyonlands exclusively.[888]

In 1968 and 1969, the National Park Service, acknowledging Wilson's success at Moab, established three similar group units: the Navajo Lands Group, headquartered in Chinle on the Navajo Reservation (later moved to Farmington); the Flagstaff Group, headquartered in Flagstaff; and the Southern Utah Group, headquartered in Cedar City. All three offices sought to "take the heavy administrative load off the individual park administrators and centralize it with a general superintendent for the area."[889] John Cook, superintendent at Canyon de Chelly and a fluent Navajo speaker, became the general superintendent of the Navajo Lands Group.[890] It included Chaco Canyon, El Morro, Canyon de Chelly, Navajo, and Hubbell Trading Post. Carroll "Cal" Burroughs, an archeologist who worked at Tuzigoot and Mesa Verde, headed the Flagstaff Group.[891] It included Wupatki, Sunset Crater, Walnut Canyon, Montezuma Castle, and Tuzigoot. The Southern Utah Group, led by Karl T. Gilbert, superintendent of Zion National Park, administered Pipe Spring along with Zion, Bryce Canyon National Park, Cedar Breaks National Monument, and Capitol Reef National Monument. The offices, like the Canyonlands Complex office, staffed directors, administrative officers, personnel assistants, maintenance specialists, park rangers, park naturalists, clerks, and stenographers. "The services of these people," the agency announced, "will be readily available to the areas involved and thus should make possible more efficient and better management in

[887] "Bates Wilson Named Super," *The San Juan Record*, October 22, 1964.

[888] "Canyonland Complex Employment Totals 55," *The Times-Independent* (Moab), July 3, 1969.

[889] "Park Service Centralizes Administration of Area," *Arizona Republic*, April 11, 1968.

[890] Navajo Lands Superintendent Named," *Gallup Independent*, March 22, 1968.

[891] "Park Service Chief Retires," *Arizona Daily Sun*, April 7, 1970.

all operational phases where services and advice are needed."[892] Together the group offices also took on "long range planning" duties of their park areas to "allow individual superintendents to devote more time to the general operation of the national monuments sites" and provide higher quality services to visitors.[893]

In 1971, the National Park Service established a fifth southwestern small-park administrative unit, the Southern Arizona Group, headquartered in Phoenix. The Southern Arizona Group provided "support, assistance, and guidance to superintendents and staff" at Casa Grande Ruins, Chiricahua, Coronado, Fort Bowie, Montezuma Castle, Organ Pipe, Saguaro, Tonto, Tumacácori, Tuzigoot, and Walnut Canyon.[894] Ray Ringenbach, superintendent of Tumacácori, likened the group to Frank Pinkley's 1930s Southwestern National Monuments outfit, where Ringenbach began his NPS career. "I certainly have felt over all these years," Ringenbach told Herb Evison in 1973, "that the Southwestern monuments type of organization, and lately the Phoenix group idea, clustering small national monuments, is a good idea." For Ringenbach, the Southern Arizona Group's services made supervising Tumacácori far more manageable. " I believe that it offers the small-area superintendents some close support, engineering support, interpretive support and so on, that might not be forthcoming from a headquarters farther away…it's just geographically impossible to have close support when you are, let's say, 500, 600, 700, 800 miles away or something like that."[895] No southwestern NPS unit ever took on the full range of administrative responsibilities handled by Southwestern National Monuments, but the agency's small-park administrative groups established during the late 1960s came closest.[896]

---

[892] "National Park Service Activates New Group Office in Cedar City," *Southern Utah Free Press*, May 1, 1969.

[893] "Park Service Centralizes Administration of Area," *Arizona Republic*, April 11, 1968.

[894] Lee Benson, "National Park Service, Southern Arizona Group: Role and Function in Resource Management and Research" in Timothy J. Tibbits and Gloria J. Maender, eds., *First Conference on Research and Resource Management in Southern Arizona National Park Areas, Extended Abstracts* (Ajo, Arizona: National Park Service, 1998), 23.

[895] Ray Ringenbach, transcript of Oral History Interview of Ray B. Ringenbach by S. Herbert Evison, February 21, 1973, 35-36, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[896] In November 1971, all Utah and southwestern Colorado park areas went to the Midwestern Region headquartered in Omaha. In 1973, the new Rocky Mountain Region, headquartered in Denver, absorbed all Colorado and Utah park areas along with Pipe Springs in Arizona. In 1974, Navajo, Canyon de Chelly, Wupatki, and Sunset Crater reverted to the Southwest Region. In 1995, all former Southwestern National Monument units became reunified within the Intermountain Region, headquartered in Denver. See National Park Service, "Guide to the NPS Regional Offices Collection," https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/guide-to-the-nps-regional-offices-collection.htm (February 15, 2026). Reorganizations during the early 1970s prompted the 1972 closure of the Southern Utah Group. The Canyonlands Complex, reorganized in 1989 as the Southeast Utah Group, headquartered in Moab, now administers Natural Bridges, Hovenweep, and Arches, along with Canyonlands National Park.

Preserving the Writings and Records of Southwestern National Monuments

In 1953, as Southwestern National Monuments personnel settled into their new Gila Pueblo headquarters, naturalist Dale King, executive secretary of the Southwestern Monuments Association, undertook a "recurrent project of compiling an inventory of the writings of Frank Pinkley" for a Southwestern Monuments Association publication.[897] King's inventory never made it to print, but it did prompt agency veterans from across the Southwest to take a fresh look at Pinkley's 1930s "Ruminations" published in the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report. Legendary in NPS circles for the quantity and quality of its content, the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report remained, for many within the agency, the legacy of Pinkley's superintendency. At the time of the monthly report's discontinuation in 1941, it had a list of three hundred subscribers—including many NPS personnel stationed around the country. By the 1950s, many agency veterans had fond memories of reading the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report during the early years of their careers; back issues of the report became prized holdings in NPS office libraries.[898]

In the fall of 1957, Frank Kowski, director of the NPS Training Center at Yosemite, and H. Raymond Gregg, Chief of Interpretation at the Region 2 offices at Omaha, suggested compiling and reprinting Pinkley's Ruminations columns as required reading for Training Center students. The Ruminations, which appeared regularly in the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report supplement between 1935 and 1940, contained some of Pinkley's most expressive writings. Vincent Ellis, who remembered reading copies of the monthly reports while working as a CCC enrollee at Bandelier during the 1930s, recalled that Pinkley's Ruminations were "the first thing anyone turned to each month" and maintained a devoted following for years.[899] "They are remembered by many of us," Kowski told NPS director Connie Wirth, "as extremely well-phrased and always humorous bits of philosophy."

> They so aptly called attention to the human efforts and occasional frailties which influenced the affairs of the Service in the Southwest several decades ago. More important, however, they repeatedly disclosed the strong sense of dedication which these monument employees possessed for the work and ideals of the Service. It is our intention to use these pithy thoughts to acquaint our trainee groups with some of the people, conditions, and outlooks of the early years of the Service. So farsighted were many of these Ruminations that the questions which were raised are not fully resolved

[897] A. T. Bicknell to General Superintendent, SWNM, April 24, 1955, Pinkley Collection (ARG-34, box 1, folder 10, Ruminations Reissue and related correspondence), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[898] Arizona Senator Carl Hayden so admired the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report that he wrote to the Southwest Regional Office in October 1942 asking for copies of issues missing from his personal library to complete his collection.

[899] Vincent Ellis, transcript of Oral History Interview of Vincent Ellis by S. Herbert Evison, March 22, 1971, 16-17, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

> to this day. It has recently occurred to us that a reissue of these might serve a much broader purpose than just for sole use at the Training Center.[900]

Fortunately for Kowski and Gregg, the Southwestern Archeological Center at Gila Pueblo possessed a complete unbound set of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, including all fifty of Pinkley's Ruminations columns. Elsie Bannon, the librarian at Gila Pueblo, carefully extracted the pages and made photocopies of each. "It is with pleasure and considerable nostalgia," Natt Dodge wrote to Kowski, "that we are forwarding the entire set to you." Dodge, now the Region III naturalist in Santa Fe, asked that the Training Center at Yosemite provide his office with fifty copies of the final publication. Dodge, like Kowski, viewed Pinkley's Ruminations as required reading for new hires. "As a training device," Dodge wrote, "we can think of nothing more redolent of the 'Park Service Spirit' for instilling esprit de corps and loyalty into men now in the Service."[901] A year later, *Boss Pinkley's Ruminations* appeared in print. The NPS director and all regional directors received copies. Untold numbers of photocopies of the book produced on the agency's new 3-M Thermo-Fax machines also circulated to NPS offices around the country.[902]

The Southwestern Archeological Center, which succeeded the NPS Preservation Laboratory at Gila Pueblo, kept more than just unbound copies of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report. It also had a research library, managed by librarian Elsie Bannon, that served as the final repository for Southwestern National Monument records. In late 1952 and early 1953, as Southwestern National Monuments personnel departed Santa Fe for Gila Pueblo, they took with them their headquarters records—the same collections that initially traveled from Casa Grande Ruins to Santa Fe in October 1942.[903] In 1972, the records moved again from Globe to Tucson with the rest of the Southwestern Archeological Center personnel and material. The records eventually formed the basis of "Archival Record Group 10, Administrative Records Southwestern National Monuments, 1920-1975." NPS

---

[900] Frank F. Kowski to Director, March 4, 1958, Pinkley Collection (ARG-34, box 1, folder 10, Ruminations Reissue and related correspondence), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[901] "As a history of the growth and evolution of Boss Pinkley's 'outfit'," Dodge continued, "this material is invaluable. As a source of 'food for thought', there are many matters discussed pro and con which are still far from satisfactorily settled." Natt N. Dodge to Supervisor, National Park Service Training Center, October 24, 1957, Pinkley Collection (ARG-34, box 1, folder 10, Ruminations Reissue and related correspondence), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[902] Gene Franklin to Elsie Bannon, July 9, 1958, Pinkley Collection (ARG-34, box 1, folder 10, Ruminations Reissue and related correspondence), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[903] Letters, reports, and notebooks discussing Frank Pinkley's pre-1923 activities at southwestern monuments (and a few post-1923 materials) remained at Casa Grande Ruins. Custodian Al Bicknell alertly rescued them from files slated for disposal in 1940 and then later processed the collection into binders and accessioned the material into the Casa Grande Ruins library. See Superintendent, Casa Grande to General Superintendent, SWNM, April 24, 1955, Pinkley Collection (ARG-34, box 1, folder 10, Ruminations Reissue and related correspondence), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

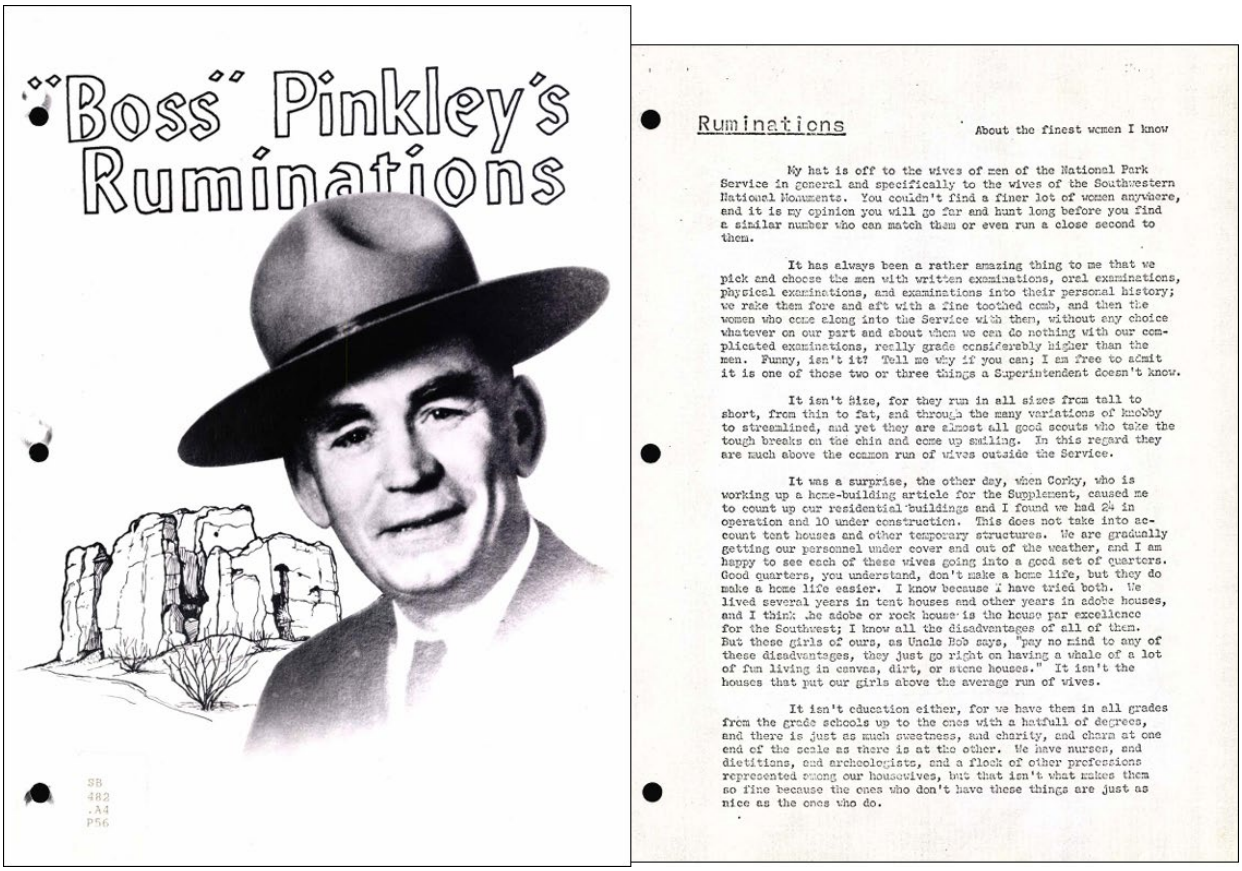


Figure 101. Cover page and selection from Boss Pinkley's Ruminations, an internal NPS compilation published in 1958.

archivists at the Western Archeological and Conservation Center in Tucson, successor of the Southwestern Archeological Center, processed the collection in 2008.[904]

In the 1980s, Southern Arizona Group general superintendent Tom White conducted extensive research on Frank Pinkley for a biographical project that he co-authored with Keith Hoofnagle. White's efforts resulted in the discovery of Pinkley's personal papers and effects, including family photo albums, the Pinkley family bible, manuscripts and publications, considerable Southwestern National Monuments correspondence, and genealogical information about the Pinkley and Townsley families, all of it bequeathed to Nancy Margaret Pinkley in 1940 and, upon her death in 1979, to her father's cousin, Marion Russell of Tucson.[905] These were later accessioned by the Western Archeological and Conservation Center as Archival Record Group 34, the Pinkley Collection. Lastly, the Western Archeological and Conservation Center also inherited Frank Pinkley's personal collection

[904] "Administrative Records Southwestern National Monuments ARG 10, 1920-1975: Finding Aid," 7-8, WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[905] The provenance of the collection is recorded in accession records, correspondence, and an oral history of Marion Russell located in Box 2 of ARG 34.

of artifacts shown to visitors at Casa Grande during the early twentieth century—by some accounts, the earliest National Park Service museum exhibit.[906]

Contemporary Remembrances of Southwestern National Monuments, 1958-1974

The effort to produce *Boss Pinkley's Ruminations* led to the first histories of Southwestern National Monuments. Natt Dodge's "Seven Star Superintendent," a two-part biographical essay on Frank Pinkley, appeared in *National Parks Magazine* in 1958.[907] Dodge explored the Navajo origins of "The Boss" moniker, observed Pinkley's respect for the Honorary Custodians Without Pay, and paid homage to Pinkley's "amazing ability to stimulate understanding" among visitors at Casa Grande Ruins. Frank Kowski praised Dodge's work, adding that Pinkley's life story "could only be so warmly retold by one of his very close associates and long-time friends."[908] In 1960, Dodge prepared an abbreviated biographical piece on Frank Pinkley for *Westways* magazine.[909] In his landmark 1961 history of the National Park Service, John Ise, a University of Kansas economist and historian, used Dodge's *National Parks Magazine* essay as the basis for his very favorable one-page profile of Pinkley under the heading, "Protection of Archeological Monuments."[910] In 1962, Sallie Brewer Van Valkenburgh, museum archeologist specialist at Southwestern Archeological Center and herself a former Honorary Custodian Without Pay, published a history of Casa Grande Ruins that included further biographical material on Frank Pinkley.[911] Similarly, Ray Foust, a Saguaro National Monument ranger and student of Frank Kowski at the National Park Service Academy at Grand Canyon, authored a 20-page biographical history of Pinkley entitled "National Park Service Pioneer" in 1964.[912] It was, it seemed, impossible for anyone to discuss the history of Southwestern National Monuments without emphasizing Frank Pinkley almost exclusively.[913]

---

[906] See: Ned J. Burns, *Field Manual for Museums* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941), 4; Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1986), 3.

[907] Natt N. Dodge, "Seven Star Superintendent: The Story of 'Boss' Pinkley, Part I," *National Parks Magazine* (Jul-Sep 1958): 101-105; "The Story of 'Boss' Pinkley, Part II" (Oct-Dec 1958): 160-164.

[908] Frank F. Kowski, memorandum to the Director, Regional Directors, Chiefs, EODC and WODC, and Superintendent, National Capital Parks, August 21, 1958, folder "Ruminations–Reissue and Related Correspondence," Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (ARG 34), WACC, Tucson, AZ.

[909] Johnwill Faris, transcript of Oral History Interview of (1963), 5.

[910] John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), 292-293.

[911] Sallie Van Valkenburg, "The Casa Grande of Arizona as a Landmark on the Desert, a Government Reservation, and a National Monument," *The Kiva* 27, no.3 (Feb 1962): 1-31.

[912] Ray C. Foust, "Frank Pinkley: National Park Service Pioneer," unpublished seminar paper for the University of Arizona, May 18, 1964, folder 19 "Foust, Ray: Frank Pinkley NPS Pioneer 1964," Box 1, Series 1: Southwest National Monuments Materials, 1926-1956, Southwest Regional Office Library Archives, 1928-1982 (SWRO ACC 109), WACC, Tucson, Arizona.

[913] This administrative history of Southwestern National Monuments seeks to correct the overemphasis on Frank Pinkley by discussing staff members and associates while still acknowledging that Pinkley remains the central historical figure.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Herbert Evison, former NPS Chief of Information, conducted a series of oral histories with aging members of the old Southwestern National Monuments outfit. In two phases, 1959-1963 and 1972-1974, Evison interviewed nearly 500 active and retired NPS personnel, including several former Southwestern National Monuments custodians, rangers, and headquarters staff who worked under Frank Pinkley in the 1920s and 1930s.[914] Evison considered Pinkley "one of the maybe half-dozen really great men in the Park Service's history."[915] In each interview, Evison asked what his subjects remembered most about their experiences working under Pinkley at Southwestern National Monuments. Johnwill Faris, who began his NPS career at Southwestern National Monuments in 1929, struggled to find the right words, likening it to a minister attempting "to tell you about his conception of a god," or an adult child trying to relay the indelible advice their father told them when they were growing up. "It's difficult to put your finger on these things and yet you know that your very existence is due to them."[916]

Others found the words. Ed Alberts remembered Frank Pinkley as an empathetic boss who could command authority when the situation warranted. "I don't think he might succeed in today's situation," Alberts added, but during the "primitive" era of Southwestern National Monuments, Pinkley's "father figure" approach worked.[917] Others remembered Pinkley for his intellect and eagerness to learn. "I don't believe in a formal way that he received any education along [archeological] lines," Bob Rose mused; "yet the prominent figures of that day such as A.B. Kidder, all of us know A.B. Kidder, one of the great stalwarts of Southwestern archeology. Men of that stature Earl Morris and Edgar Lee Hewitt uh, men of that kind beat a path to Boss Pinkley's door."[918] Pinkley was unquestionably "one of the great philosophers…in the National Park Service," Luis Gastellum concluded. He "inspired people more than anyone I have ever known" just by example and by his "down-to-earth" simplicity.

> I remember in those early days as I worked there in the headquarters office…they had three offices there, the fiscal office, then the ranger's office and then the superintendent and assistant superintendent's office. …Boss Pinkley sat just catty-corner to the entrance to the reception office. And Boss Pinkley was one of those people who, above all, was there to serve the visitor. Even as the general superintendent, he never thought there was anybody more important than the visitor

---

[914] The NPS history collection at Harpers Ferry Center Archives in Charles Town, WV, has most of the Evison oral-history interview tapes, and some transcripts, in the NPS Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817). The Denver Public Library also has several Evison oral-history interview transcripts available in its "S. Herbert Evison Papers" collection.

[915] Gastellum, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 48.

[916] Johnwill Faris (1963), 7.

[917] Edwin C. Alberts, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 8-9.

[918] Robert H. Rose, transcript of Oral History Interview of Robert H. Rose by S. Herbert Evison, July 2, 1971, 34, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817); NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

> to one of the national monuments. And he had a little shelf right next to his desk and on his shelf he always used to place his hat, his regular park ranger uniform hat. And if he saw a visitor come into the porch there and he didn't see anybody in the office taking care of them, he'd pick up that hat, put it on, and go out and meet the visitor."[919]

Natt Dodge, interviewed in 1962, provided a list of Frank Pinkley's rules, as he remembered them, for Southwestern National Monuments custodians and headquarters staff: 1) meeting visitor needs first, watching the clock secondly; 2) interpreting, stimulating, inspiring; and 3) frequently gathering the team (Taurian Session style). Pinkley, Dodge explained, emphasized that,

> the public came first; that the monument, the national monument, was the same as...the custodian's home and that the custodian should be a good host and should treat his visitors much as he would treat visitors coming to his own personal house; that the visitor was the principal reason for the existence of the staff of the parks; that of course the men were there to protect the areas and to develop them as rapidly as could be carried out; but that the primary purpose for development was to make them accessible and available to the visitors, and that their jobs depended upon the visitor and that holding their jobs depended upon their courtesy and their hospitality and their treatment of the visitor.
>
> And for that reason always in the Southwestern Monuments there has been a reputation of hospitable treatment on the part of the uniformed personnel.[920]

"We still feel his influence," Dodge concluded. "In this present day of so many changes in the national park management, I find that there are still little nuclei of individuals who worked under the Boss and who are carrying on his philosophy of park management up to the present time and inculcating the present-day rangers, naturalists, and other personnel with the Boss's views." Erik Reed, also interviewed in 1962, agreed: "I am still working for...Boss Pinkley, not for anyone else, really, at heart."[921]

Importantly, the collection of 1960s and 1970s Evison interviews of Southwestern National Monuments personnel highlighted a lingering feature of the old outfit: its *esprit de corps.* "Many of us," Johnwill Faris boasted, "have radiated to the Service that esprit de corps" that "only the Boss I think could have left with a group of men," a team spirit so palpable that Horace Albright once raved

---

[919] Luis Gastellum, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973).

[920] Natt N. Dodge, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 19-23.

[921] Erik Reed, transcript of Oral History Interview of Erik K. Reed by S. Herbert Evison, December 11, 1962, 2, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

about it during congressional hearings in the 1930s.[922] Bigger than one man, it had involved *a team*. A group of diverse characters, from different backgrounds, both men and women, all united around building up the southwestern national monuments into the finest group in the National Park Service. They all played a part in the legacy. Leslie P. Arnberger observed in 1962 that the old *esprit de corps* was "alive even yet," not just "in those monuments that used to belong to [the Southwestern National Monuments] group," he explained "but in the entire Southwest."[923] In another 1962 interview, former Southwestern National Monuments superintendent John M. Davis expressed regret "that the Service saw fit to discontinue" the office in 1957, adding that it had, in the end, been "the finest unit" in the National Park Service. No other organization in the National Park Service, he believed, had done as much "good for the Service" as the Southwestern National Monuments with its unparalleled understanding of and attention to "the visitor."[924]

Next Steps

The few existing histories of Southwestern National Monuments—Natt Dodge's late 1950s work; Hal Rothman's *Preserving Different Pasts* (1989); and Keith Hoofnagle's brief biography of "Frank 'Boss' Pinkley" in *National Park Service: The First 75 Years* (1990)—all emphasized Pinkley's life and career at the expense of dozens of men and women essential to the Southwestern National Monuments story. This administrative history seeks to correct those omissions while still placing Pinkley at the center of the narrative—where he objectively belongs. Above all, the authors hope that this history provides current and future NPS personnel stationed at units once administered by Southwestern National Monuments a better frame-of-reference for understanding the early histories of their units, as well as the torch they carry. Crucially, several of the original southwestern national monuments still lack formal administrative histories. A history of Chaco Culture National Historical Park (the former Chaco Canyon National Monument) is now underway, while the following monuments—some now national parks—await administrative histories of their own: El Morro, Petrified Forest, Natural Bridges, Gran Quivira, Walnut Canyon, Yucca House, Hovenweep, Carlsbad Caverns, Chiricahua, Wupatki, and Sunset Crater.

The Southwestern National Monuments wives—the Honorary Custodians Without Pay—also deserve their own study to further explore the lives and contributions of women who shaped several southwestern parks and monuments. Polly Kaufman's *National Parks and the Woman's Voice* provided a starting point for the history of women in the National Park Service, but her book barely touched on the work that wives of monument custodians, superintendents, and rangers accomplished in the Southwest during the agency's early decades. The Harpers Ferry Center Archives history

[922] Johnwill Faris (1963), 7.

[923] Leslie P. Arnberger, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 11.

[924] John M. Davis, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962; with corrections made in 1964), 35-36.

program has prepared several valuable vignettes of HCWPs; the Bio Files appended to this administrative history add even more. But a collective biography of the HCWPs is still needed.

APPENDIX A: BIO FILES WITH PHOTOS

When a history of the southwestern monuments is finally written I hope adequate recognition will be given to the fine work of such men as J. C. Clarke whose friendship I have valued, whose contagious enthusiasm has many times revived my own drooping spirit, and whose advice I have so often taken in handling the local matters.

~Frank Pinkley, *Monthly Report*, August 1932

This appendix presents a set of biographical sketches profiling the lives of key personnel from the Southwestern National Monuments group. The sketches profile Southwestern National Monuments headquarters staff, but also include some of the early monument custodians, their spouses (HCWPs), and rangers. Frank Pinkley loved and valued the men and women who held down the "lone posts." Many of the earliest custodians and rangers protected and interpreted the monuments in their spare time, often for the nominal salary of $12 a year—paltry compensation for the hours they put in and the influential role they played in growing the Southwestern National Monuments outfit. After the death of one of the nominal custodians, J. C. Clarke of Wupatki National Monument, Pinkley wrote in the next Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report that he hoped any future history of the Southwestern National Monuments would provide adequate recognition of the contributions of the nominal custodians. This is an attempt to fulfill that wish.

Leslie Preston Arnberger (1924-2003)

~Born: March 29, 1924, Gilby, North Dakota
~Died: June 23, 2003, Tucson, Arizona
~SWNM Association: Casa Grande Ruins (junior naturalist, 1948-1950); SWNM (assistant park naturalist, 1950-1955)

Leslie "Les" Preston Arnberger was one of the last National Park Service employees to join the Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM) office. Arnberger came on board in 1950, when SWNM superintendent John M. Davis hired him as his assistant park naturalist from the SWNM office in the NPS regional office at Santa Fe, where the organization operated from reauthorization in 1950 until moving to new headquarters at Gila Pueblo, Globe, Arizona, in 1952. Davis transferred his new naturalist from Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, where Arnberger had been employed as a junior naturalist since 1948.

Though he considered himself an Arizonan, Leslie P. Arnberger's roots were in North Dakota. His parents, Preston William Arnberger (1893-1927) and Margaret Lucille née Bennett (1892-1993), brought baby Les to their home in Gilby on March 29, 1924. After his father died from tuberculosis in 1927, Arnberger and his mother—a public school teacher—relocated to Arizona. Lucille taught in the Williams school district in 1928-29 and then joined the staff of the Roosevelt Grammar School in Phoenix, Arizona, in 1929.[925] Arnberger attended Roosevelt as well, followed by Phoenix Union High (Class of '41); during his school years he also attended the Institute of Educational Music as a violin student and was active in 4-H.[926] In fall 1941, he began his freshman year at the Arizona State Teachers College in Flagstaff, Arizona, where he also became active in the Arizona Playmakers troupe.

The next summer, Les Arnberger—just barely eighteen years old—registered for military service. He returned to college as a sophomore in the fall but did not complete the year. He enlisted in the army in September 1942 and by April 1943 had exited his college courses to begin Air Corps preflight training at Montana State College in Bozeman.[927] He later completed flight training at the Advanced Twin-Engine School in Marfa, Texas, where he was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant pilot.[928] The Army deployed him with the Eight Air Force to Germany. He co-piloted thirty-six Flying Fortress missions.

[925] *Williams News*, May 30, 1930, pg. 4, and September 6, 1930, pg. B1.

[926] *Arizona Republic*, December 13, 1932, pg. 5; May 22, 1937, pg. 8; March 19, 1940, pg. 2; May 30, 1941, pg. 2.

[927] "Our Fighting Men–Assignments," *Arizona Republic*, April 18, 1943, pg. 12.

[928] *Arizona Republic*, March 26, 1944, pg. B5.

Arnberger returned stateside for a month's leave in April 1945, just "in time to hear President Truman announce VE Day."[929] Six weeks later, the Army discharged him at the rank of first lieutenant.
In summer 1945 Les Arnberger attempted to get a seasonal ranger-naturalist job at Grand Canyon National Park—in college he had roomed with Wayne Bryant, son of the park superintendent—but there were no positions available. Instead, assistant park superintendent John M. Davis offered him a seasonal junior laborer position at sixty-three cents an hour, crushing rock with a crew of Havasupai laborers.[930] After about a month, a seasonal ranger position opened up, and Arnberger snatched it; a month after that, he stepped into a vacated seasonal ranger-naturalist spot, ending the summer in that role.[931] Afterward, Arnberger rejoined the Arizona Playmakers as its technical director, and then president. For summer 1946, he abandoned the theater to become a full-time seasonal summer ranger-naturalist at the Grand Canyon.[932] At the end of the summer, Arnberger headed to Inglewood, California, to marry Los Angeleno, Gail McCormick, on August 24.[933] The couple honeymooned at a number of west-coast national parks and then moved to Flagstaff for Arnberger to resume his studies at the state college. Pending completion of G.I. apartments, the newlyweds lived in a tourist cabin in Parks, Arizona, until Arnberger completed his B.A. in education the following May.[934] He returned for a third summer at the Grand Canyon in 1947, again as a seasonal ranger-naturalist; while fighting a forest fire that summer, his firstborn son, Robert, entered the world.[935]

In September 1947, with no success finding a permanent job, Arnberger and his wife, along with baby Robbie, bought a house trailer and moved to Logan, Utah, so Arnberger could pursue a master's degree at Utah State Agricultural College under the G.I. bill.[936] Before year's end, however, John Davis—by that time NPS assistant regional director in Santa Fe—remembered Arnberger from the summer of 1945 and offered him the open Junior Park Naturalist position at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, really a ranger position to replace Peter Shuft.

As a Phoenician, Arnberger was no stranger to Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. He, like many of his friends, had visited the monument as a kid when it served as headquarters for Southwestern National Monuments under superintendent Frank Pinkley. Arnberger remembered his

---

[929] "Mrs. Lucille Arnberger of Phoenix," *Williams News*, May 24, 1945, pg. 6.

[930] Leslie P. Arnberger, transcript of Oral History Interview with Leslie P. Arnberger by S. Herbert Evison, December 7, 1962, 2-3, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[931] Arnberg, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 3.

[932] "Grand Canyon Notes," *Arizona Daily Sun*, August 8, 1946, pg. 6.

[933] *Arizona Republic*, September 20, 1946, pg. 14.

[934] In his 1962 oral history with Evison, Arnberger said he majored in botany.

[935] *Arizona Daily Sun*, September 13, 1946, pg. 6; May 20, 1947, pg. 2; May 29, 1947, pg. 6. Like his father, Robert Arnberger took up a career with the National Park Service, including superintendency of Grand Canyon National Park, where he was born. See: "New Park Chief, Canyon Linked," *Arizona Daily Sun*, May 15, 1994, pg. 1.

[936] Arnberg, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 3.

first visit well—not because he had the privilege of meeting the iconic Pinkley, but more so because naturalist Natt Dodge, who was guiding visitors that day, singled out Arnberger and inspired him:

> I was impressed with Natt; more than that, I was impressed with the kind of work that he was doing. And after the trip, why, I walked up to this guide, to the ranger, and said, 'Ranger, how do you get into the National Park Service?' And I can remember very clearly to this day [1962] how understanding and sympathetic and kind Natt was to me. He was interested in me as a person; he told me all about the Park Service and the advantages of Park Service employment. And because of that contact I think I am in the Park Service today. And this to me illustrates something that I think is very important: That people in the Park Service today, all of us, when we meet visitors, should keep in mind this possibility of stimulating an interest in young people and so on to go into the Park Service as a career. So Natt is the man who got me started.[937]

Arnberger accepted Davis's offer and, on April 18, 1948, entered on duty at Casa Grande Ruins by guiding visitors—back at the same place, "interestingly enough," where he, as a young visitor, first found the inspiration to pursue a naturalist career.[938]

For just under two years, Arnberger served under Casa Grande Ruins superintendent Al Bicknell as the ranger-naturalist in charge of guiding visitors and helping with general monument administration, including clerical work.[939] His only other colleagues were archeologist Dan Davis, and the maintenance staff. From September 1949 to May 1950, he participated in the inaugural DOI Management Training Program located primarily in the Washington, D.C. area, except for the final two months, when Arnberger was sent to Region IV (San Francisco) for training. Successful completion of the program led to Arnberger's promotion to a park naturalist for Southwestern National Monuments.

In 1950, John Davis, newly promoted to the reauthorized Southwestern National Monuments superintendent position, still with offices in Santa Fe, reached out to Arnberger, asking him to join his small staff as Assistant Park Naturalist under chief naturalist Dale King—in charge of the SWNM interpretive program. The opportunity to finally work full-time in the same capacity of park naturalist like his inspiration, Natt Dodge, excited Arnberger.[940] As SWNM naturalist (GS-7), Arnberger provided technical assistance to the southwestern national monuments "in developing and improving the interpretation of botanical, zoological, and geological aspects." Among many other tasks, Arnberger was responsible for photographing many Southwestern National Monuments events and

---

[937] Arnberger, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 1.

[938] Arnberger, 3; *Arizona Daily Sun*, April 1, 1948, pg. 4.

[939] Arnberger, 11; U.S. Department of the Interior, "Leslie P. Arnberger," *Career Profiles* (D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959), 61-62.

[940] Arnberger, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 4

sites and helping Dale King edit Southwest Monuments Association educational "manuscripts and information leaflets," including Arnberger's authored booklet, *Flowers of the Southwest Mountains*, illustrated by Jeanne R. Janish (Popular Series No. 7, May 1952).[941] Arnberger continued this line of work after SWNM secured new headquarters at Gila Pueblo in Globe, Arizona, in 1952, except with a salary bump to GS-9. In early November, the Arnberger family relocated to Gila Pueblo, arriving on a memorable night in advance of most personnel:

> I can remember it well. We had no furniture, and my wife and I were ensconced in one of the rooms at Gila Pueblo on air mattresses; we had nothing to sleep on. We had a radio, and we listened to Mr. Eisenhower being elected President. And it was a week or so after that, I guess, before any of the other Park Service people turned up.[942]

Shortly, the Arnbergers, which by then included daughter Susan, acquired some furniture and settled into their modern Puebloan-style apartment house at Gila Pueblo. It boasted a large living room, two tiny bedrooms, a bath, but no connected kitchen—they had to cross an outdoor patio to reach the kitchen.[943] The following year, they completed their family with the birth of son Howard.

In 1955, the Arnberger family of five left Southwestern National Monuments for North Carolina, where Les Arnberger donned a GS-11 naturalist hat at Blue Ridge National Parkway. His NPS career advanced quickly at this point. In 1956, after wrapping up the master plan for the park's naturalist program, which included nine proposed visitor centers along the scenic parkway, Arnberger transferred back to the Southwest to serve as Region III park specialist (GS-12) in Santa Fe.[944] In his new position he coordinated Mission 66 planning activities for the region (New Mexico, Texas, Arizona, and Utah). The following year in December 1957, the Santa Fe regional office promoted him to chief of planning as an assistant regional director (GS-13), a position which included supervising boundary investigations at the forty-four existing southwestern NPS areas at the time and directing field studies of proposed new areas for inclusion in the system.[945] In 1964-65 Arnberger spent the academic year at Princeton University as a Fellow in Public Affairs; soon after, he left the regional office to become superintendent of Point Reyes National Seashore. Two years later, he crossed the country to serve as deputy assistant director for operations in the Washington office briefly before taking up the superintendency of Cape Cod National Seashore in August 1968. Arnberger remained at Cape Cod for five years, crossing the country again to become superintendent, Yosemite National Park, the position once occupied by his old boss, John M. Davis.[946]

---

[941] "Leslie P. Arnberger," 61.

[942] Arnberger, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 4.

[943] Ibid.

[944] "Parkway Naturalist Promoted, Transferred," *The Roanoke Times*, November 16, 1956, pg. 12.

[945] "Leslie P. Arnberger," 61.

[946] "Yosemite Park Will Get New Superintendent," *Merced Sun-Star*, December 24, 1973, pp. 1 and 10.

Leslie P. Arnberger wrapped up his National Park Service career back in the Southwest. In 1979 the Park Service promoted him to Associate Director for Operations in the Southwest Region office in Santa Fe. Arnberger retired from this position in 1980, after more than thirty-five years of NPS service.[947] He and Gail retired to Alamogordo, to be near their daughter's family. Arnberger died there on June 23, 2003, survived by his wife, children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren.[948]

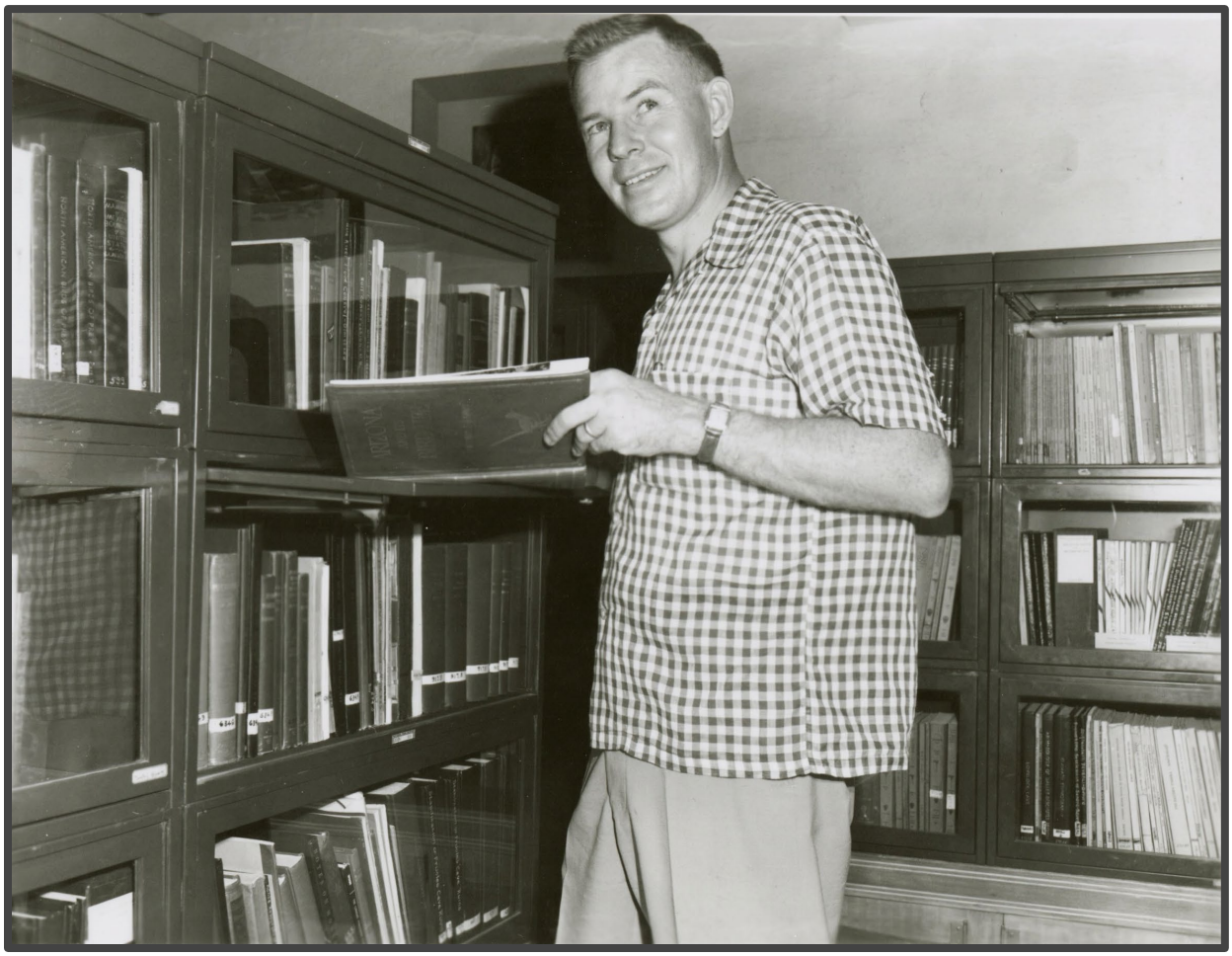


Figure 102. SWNM assistant park naturalist Leslie P. Arnberger, pictured in the library at SWNM headquarters, Gila Pueblo, Globe, Arizona, in August 1953. Publicity photo by Nancy Oddonetto. Source: WACC (57954)

[947] *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 20, 1979, pg. B4; November 9, 1980, pg. B5.

[948] "Deaths: Les Arnberger, 78–Longtime National Park Service employee," *Alamogordo Daily News*, June 24, 2003, 14.

Boundey, George

George Layton Boundey (1882-1969)

~Born February 14, 1882, in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin
~Died July 3, 1969, in Portland, Oregon
~SWNM Affiliation: Casa Grande [civilian employee, 1923-1925; permanent ranger and assistant custodian, 1925-1927]; Aztec Ruins [custodian, 1927-1929]; Tumacácori [custodian, 1929-1936]; Gran Quivira [custodian, 1936-1939]

In January 1923, George Layton Boundey became Frank Pinkley's volunteer assistant at Casa Grande National Monument. The NPS later hired Boundey as a ranger at Casa Grande. He often stepped into acting custodian and acting superintendent roles while Pinkley made inspections of southwestern monuments. Boundey went on to become custodian for three other southwestern national monuments before his retirement in 1939. At many of these monuments, Boundey excavated archeological material that now forms part of the monuments' museum collections. He possessed an avocational passion for archeology developed during childhood, when he amassed a collection of arrowheads that numbered approximately 1,000 by the time he turned age nine.[949] Later, Boundey became a member of the Wisconsin Archeological Society and participated in amateur excavations of effigy mounds in Waukesha and Juneau counties.[950] Oddly enough, Boundey's archeological avocation did not influence his initial career choice, though not for lack of opportunity.

George Boundey was born Valentine's Day, 1882, in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin, the second son of William Albert Boundey (1848-1910) and Isadora Jane Shepard (1852-1942). His parents both hailed from pioneer Wisconsin families. In Oconomowoc, William Boundey ran a successful house-painting business. Dora Boundey volunteered in the community and sang in the choir at the Methodist church. Together with their two sons, the Boundeys improved the family's two-acre lot on Concord Street until it boasted a barn, chicken house, fruit-bearing orchard, and garden.[951] George Boundey completed all primary and secondary school in Oconomowoc and then enrolled at Marquette University in Michigan; but instead of archeology, he opted for a degree in pharmaceuticals. In 1910, he passed the Wisconsin State exams that certified him as a druggist. Over the next few years, he served customers at his drugstore in Camp Douglas, Wisconsin. He also took up photography and made a name for himself as a local landscape photographer. Eventually, Boundey opened a second drug store,

---

[949] "Cholla Nature Club News," *Seventh Day Adventist Pacific Union Recorder* (March 15, 1965): 6 (https://documents.adventistarchives.org/Periodicals/PUR/PUR19650315-V64-34.pdf).

[950] See various issues of the *Wisconsin Archeologist*, including "Archaeological Reconnaissance of Juneau County," vol. 17, no. 4 (December 1918): 133, and "Waukesha County, Northern Townships," New Series 2, no. 1 (January 1923): 21, 28, 70, and 114, both available on Internet Archive (https://archive.org/search?query=Wisconsin+Archeologist).

[951] "For Sale," *The Oconomowoc Enterprise*, September 22, 1911, pg. 8.

but quickly became overworked and plagued with chronic ill health that he attributed to the chemical environment of his profession. His first marriage also fizzled.[952]

George Boundey decided to leave the Midwest around 1915. He donated the bulk of his indigenous artifacts collection to the Wisconsin State Museum in Madison and then headed southwest, settling in Douglas, Arizona, where he found work at the Douglas Drug Company.[953] Once again, the pharmaceutical work tampered with Boundey's health and he opted for outdoor work handling stock for a cattle baron in Alamogordo, New Mexico, at the edge of the White Sands. When his health improved, Boundey temporarily resumed work at the Douglas Drug Company. Ill health once again sent him back for outdoor work, this time a mining gig in New Mexico. In 1917, Boundey headed to El Paso to register for World War I military service, hoping to enlist with the infantry and see action in France. Not to be—his superiors learned of his excellent experience as a druggist and he landed in the Army's medical department at Fort Bliss for the duration of the war.[954] On April 10, 1920, the Army discharged Boundey at the rank of Sergeant 1st Class. He departed for California, where some of his midwestern Boundey relatives had settled.[955]

According to family records, George Boundey married secondly to Georgia Irene Bateman (1890-1989) just a few weeks after his military discharge. The ceremony took place on April 22, 1920, at the home of their uncle James Boundey in Los Gatos, California.[956] "Uncle James" was the brother of George Boundey's father; he was also Georgia Bateman's uncle by marriage (he married her maternal aunt, Genevieve "Jennie" Shattuck). Georgia moved in with her aunt and uncle around 1912 and found work as a saleswoman in a San Jose department store, where she became head of the glove

---

[952] George Boundey married twice, firstly to school teacher Alma Vater (1884-1973) in Michigan in 1910. They had either separated or divorced before he left Wisconsin in 1915. Per census records, Alma referred to herself as a widow for the remainder of her life—a likely necessity because of her occupation as a teacher, which frowned on divorced women at the time. Alma never remarried; she died in 1973.

[953] William J. Boundey, ed., "Notes on the Casa Grande Ruins: As recorded by George and Georgia Boundey," unpublished copyrighted manuscript (1988), 1, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument Library, Coolidge, Arizona. This family-history source, written by the Boundeys' son Bill, includes 1) a brief biography of the Boundeys, 2) some notes by Georgia describing Frank Pinkley and the Casa Grande Ruins, 3) her diary entries from January 1923 through April 1924, 4) some additional accounts by both George and Georgia on random topics/events, and 5) a series of letters written by George to Georgia in 1925.

[954] Boundey, ed., "Notes on the Casa Grande Ruins," 1.

[955] His uncle James Edward Boundey worked in the lumber business of Santa Clara, California, in the 1870s but then left to homestead in South Dakota in 1882. He returned to Santa Clara with his second wife sometime after 1905. George Boundey's brother, Burton Shepard Boundey, a landscape artist, also moved to California, settling in the Monterey area in the 1920s. He and his wife Letitia became involved with the greater Monterey Bay and Carmel area artist community. According to a *Casa Grande Dispatch* article dated July 23, 1926, Burton and Letitia Boundey lived in central Arizona for almost a year, while he studied and painted landscapes. During this time, Burton made a painting of the Casa Grande Ruins that he donated for display in the Ruins museum.

[956] The place and date of marriage to Georgia Bateman—April 21, 1920—shows up on public family trees on Ancestry and FamilySearch but has not been verified with official records.

department.[957] After their April 1920 wedding, George and Georgia Boundey moved to Waterford, Stanislaus County, just east of Modesto on the highway to Yosemite National Park. They lodged at the boarding house of "Mrs. Pearl Smith" while they awaited construction of their new drugstore & soda fountain shop.[958] Once built, they lived in quarters at the rear of "Boundey's Drug Store," which became well known for its ice cream.

By 1922, the Boundeys were ready to move on. In early July, they sold their Waterford drugstore business to J. E. Plaster of Chico.[959] The *Modesto Morning Herald* reported that George Boundey sold out due to ill health and planned to leave for the Southwest in a house-car built in Modesto—probably at his cousin Elwin J. Boundey's auto shop The Yosemite Garage.[960] By August, George and Georgia were Arizona-bound in their new "bungalow on wheels."[961] The Boundeys took their time driving through California. The house-car coasted slowly down the San Joaquin Valley, struggled up the infamous Grapevine, and battled the steep Torrey Pines Grade to San Diego. In early December, they crossed into Arizona.[962] By January 1923, the *Arizona Republican* reported that a "Mr. and Mrs. George L. Boundey of Waterford, California," had registered with the Phoenix office of the Automobile Club of Arizona and planned to explore the city for several days.[963] A month later, the newspapers suggested the newcomers might actually settle permanently in the area. The *Casa Grande Dispatch* described the Boundeys as "visitors looking over the country for a location" to settle while traveling in "a car equipped with all housekeeping features even to a sink and running water."[964] By the end of February 1923, the newspapers disclosed that the Boundeys would remain in the Casa Grande valley area indefinitely.[965]

---

[957] Georgia was born in Hecla, South Dakota, in 1890 to John Bateman and Mae née Shattuck. She spent most of her childhood in the Mason-Aurelius area of Michigan. Her mother died in 1907 and her father remarried in 1910. In 1911, Georgia moved to North Dakota to accept a position as a trimmer in a millinery but by April 1912 she was reported in San Jose, California-area newspapers as the out-of-town guest of "Mrs. J. E. Boundey" (her aunt). That same year, she registered to vote in San Jose. *Lansing State Journal*, June 19, 1918, pg. 7.

[958] "Waterford Gossip," *Modesto Bee*, May 13, 1920; and "Hickman-Waterford," *Modesto Morning Herald*, May 23, 1920.

[959] They sold the business but not the building. The Boundey family history states that George Boundey leased the drugstore. In her 1923-1924 diary, Georgia mentioned the income they earned from renting the store building.

[960] "Drug Store Sold," *Modesto Morning Herald*, July 22, 1922. Elwin J. Boundey was the future mayor of Modesto.

[961] Described as "a bungalow on wheels" in the *Modesto Morning Herald*, August 6, 1922. Traveling "bungalows" built on truck chassis were rising in popularity at the time, partly due to the "See America First" slogan and, especially, the postwar "good roads" movement, which encouraged highway travel vs. railroad travel. The *Oakland Tribune*, also on August 6, 1922, declared the house-car type of mobile living as an increasingly desirable method of travel; it countered recently-inflated costs of railroad travel and hotels, and could serve as "real homes on wheels" for "men of prominence."

[962] Boundey, ed., "Notes on the Casa Grande Ruins," 2.

[963] *Arizona Republican*, January 13, 1923.

[964] "Visitors Pleased with Valley," *Casa Grande Dispatch*, February 15, 1923.

[965] *Arizona Republican*, February 23, 1923.

At some point after reaching Phoenix, the Boundeys drove their house-car down to Casa Grande National Monument, where Frank Pinkley gave them a tour of the ancient ruins. They all "took an immediate liking to each other" and Pinkley invited the Boundeys "to park their house-car behind the museum and stay for the remainder of the winter." The Boundeys resided at the monument rent-free in exchange for assisting with custodial work; "George made himself useful, learned fast, and stayed on, working without pay." Along with their cat Snoopy, they parked their house-car—dubbed "Old Henry"—under a mesquite tree in the campground behind the museum and served as 'campground hosts', of a sort, for visitors.[966]

For the first time in his career as custodian of Casa Grande, Frank Pinkley finally had an 'employee'. George Boundey's presence as unofficial ranger allowed Pinkley more freedom to travel to his secondary custodial charge, Tumacácori National Monument, and to inspect other southwestern monuments as needed at the behest of the NPS Washington office. As a bonus, Boundey's amateur experience in archeology meant that Pinkley often asked him to assist in minor archeological excavations at Casa Grande or wherever needed.[967] While George Boundey's assistant duties were primarily situated at Casa Grande, Pinkley occasionally assigned him to other monuments to conduct minor excavations, take photographs, or help with general maintenance. Perhaps Boundey's greatest moment of archeological glory occurred in December 1924, when he discovered a burial in Compound A at Casa Grande that contained a cache of turquoise mosaics, pendants, and other jewelry. The newspapers could not cover the find—or the mysterious "Boundey"—enough.[968]

The part-time arrangement suited the Boundeys. They could explore the region and grow their photography business while also enjoying the camaraderie of the Pinkley family, the engaging interactions with monument visitors, and the fine reading selections in the Pinkley family's library.[969] Though not an official NPS employee, Boundey accepted a ranger badge from Pinkley and wore it with great pride.[970] Georgia Boundey also assisted with administrative duties. In their first year at Casa Grande, before the birth of their first child, she cleaned, organized and arranged artifacts for the fledgling museum (est. 1922), helped landscape the grounds, entertained visitors in the campground, and participated in archeological surveys and excavations with her husband. When Frank and Edna

---

[966] Boundey, ed., diary entry for March 28, 1923, 7.

[967] Boundey, ed., diary entry for February 27, 1923, 5.

[968] "Unearths Work of Lost Race Amidst Ruins," *Stockton Daily Evening Record*, January 17, 1925, pg. 19; "Civilization of Prehistoric Age is Revealed," *Fresno Morning Republican*, January 18, 1925, pg. 10; "Bill Boundey, Step Forward and Be Recognized," *Arizona Daily Star*, January 21, 1925, pg. 3; "Bill, Rather George Boundey Found at Casa Grande," *Arizona Daily Star*, January 22, 1925, pg. 6.

[969] Boundey, ed., diary entry for February 25, 1923, 5.

[970] Boundey, ed., diary entry for March 11, 1923, 6. On April 8, 1923, George Boundey was formally hired as an unpaid Civilian Employee at Casa Grande. Boundey wrote that he wore "his own Ranger badge first time." See Boundey, ed., diary entry for April 8, 1923, 8.

Pinkley were both absent from the monument, she often babysat their two children, Nancy and Addison; when George Boundey was likewise absent, she helped serve as acting custodian.

In October 1923, the Boundeys handled both the custodial duties and childcare of the Pinkley children while Frank and Edna Pinkley attended the annual NPS Superintendents Conference at Yellowstone National Park.[971] When the Pinkleys returned in early November, Georgia noted in her diary that it marked a special occasion: "Mr. Pinkley has been made Southwestern National Monuments Superintendent. He has worked and studied a long time, and we are so pleased he got it."[972] A few months later, Supt. Frank Pinkley offered George Boundey a small, out-of-pocket salary of $50 a month effective February 1, 1924; in her diary, Georgia mused that Pinkley probably hoped the salary would keep the Boundeys from moving on [they were expecting their firstborn].[973] But they accepted the compensation, and stayed.

In summer 1924 the Boundeys welcomed son William; a year later, George Boundey's mother Dora left Wisconsin and moved in with their growing family. A year later, November 1925, Boundey started drawing an official full-time salary when the National Park Service finally hired him as the first permanent ranger of Casa Grande. Frank Pinkley added "acting custodian" to Boundey's official title in early 1927 but this arrangement proved short-lived. In March 1927, Pinkley reassigned Boundey to the newly-authorized fulltime resident custodianship of Aztec Ruins National Monument in northern New Mexico. The experience proved "tumultuous."[974] The Park Service appointed Boundey in an effort to slay political infighting involving archeologist Earl Morris—the nominal unpaid custodian of Aztec Ruins since its establishment in 1923—and the scholarly institutions that had invested in the monument. But the institutions, as well as the locals, viewed Boundey as a threatening outsider unqualified to administer an archeological site due to his lack of formal training in the field. The political pressures burdened Boundey's tenure as custodian—so, too, the high altitude on his health. In 1929 Pinkley reassigned Boundey to Tumacácori National Monument in southern Arizona.[975]

On October 28, 1929, after a month's vacation to the California coast, George and Georgia Boundey moved their family—sons William "Bill" John (b: 1924), Burton James (b: 1928), and Boundey's mother Dora—to Tumacácori. The monument finally had a full-time resident custodian to protect the mission from the constant barrage of treasure hunters and Prohibition smugglers. For nearly seven years, the Boundeys oversaw Tumacácori's protection, restoration, and interpretation through the

---

[971] Boundey, ed., diary entries for October 3 and 9, 1923, 16.

[972] Boundey, ed., diary entry for November 3, 1923, 17.

[973] Boundey, ed., diary entry for February 1, 1924, 18.

[974] Lister and Lister, "Aztec Ruins National Monument," 89.

[975] Johnwill Faris, transcript of Oral History Interview of Johnwill Faris by S. Herbert Evison, January 9, 1963, 3, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

early Depression and first wave of CCC development. In mid-1936, Frank Pinkley transferred George Boundey back to New Mexico to take over the custodianship of Gran Quivira National Monument. This was Boundey's last NPS career move; in August 1939, he received early retirement due to poor health.[976]

On the occasion of his former assistant and longtime friend's departure from Southwestern National Monuments, Frank Pinkley took a minute to reminisce:

> George Boundey and family have left Gran Quivira and his future address will be High Rolls, New Mexico, which is down near Alamogordo. The good wishes of the Service go with George and we hope he finds both health and wealth in his new home. It is strange that he has worked around the same spot where he was twenty-odd years ago when the Great War started. He walked down out of the hills in those days, a young man wanting action, and signed on with the regulars, thinking they would be the first to go across. They took him down to El Paso, found out he was a registered pharmacist, and put him to issuing drugs for all the camps along the Mexican Border. He slept among his drugs and was on call day and night and by the time his stretch was over his health was gone. A few years later, after a major operation the medicos told him he didn't have long to go but he would last a little longer if he remained out doors. Thus he and Georgia, for he had married in the meantime, came into Arizona looking for health and we met at the Casa Grande Ruins and they commenced working for the Park Service. He was the second regular man on duty at Casa Grande and a lot of water has gone under the bridge since then, and I wonder where those doctors are who told you you only had six months to go, George? Good luck, old timer, and a lot of it![977]

After retirement, the Boundeys remained in New Mexico for a couple years before moving to California in 1941.[978] In the mid-1940s, the Boundeys returned to Arizona to live near their son Burt, who was attending the state teacher's college in Tempe. George Boundey kept his pharmaceutical certificate active during his career with the National Park Service. After retirement from the NPS, he resumed work as a druggist at various pharmacies, including the Tempe Clinic pharmacy located on old 8th street.[979] The Boundeys remained in Tempe through the 1950s. In 1957, they visited their old stomping grounds at Tumacácori and gave an interview conducted by Superintendent Ray

---

[976] In its June 1939 monthly report, the Southwestern National Monuments office reported that Boundey's retirement papers had "gone through and within the next month or so [would] take effect." The next month, SWNM reported that "George Boundey and family have left Gran Quivira on annual leave and George is retiring from the Service when his annual leave is over. He has been in ill health for some time and we hope a climatic change and more restful life for a while will improve his health."

[977] "Personnel Notes," *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, August 1939, 131.

[978] City directories placed them in Modesto and San Diego between 1941-1945.

[979] "Wisconsin, Pharmacy Examining Board–Certificate Renewal Boards," online database, *Ancestry.com*.

Ringenbach and tour leader Jay England. George Boundey shared stories about his 1930s excavation work at the mission and efforts to stave off treasure hunters.[980]

Eventually, the Boundeys became snowbirds, spending summers in the Northwest near their son Burt and winters in southern Arizona near son Bill.[981] George Boundey died in Portland, Oregon, in 1969, at age eighty-seven; a military veteran, he was buried in the Willamette National Cemetery.[982] Georgia survived him by twenty years. In 1983, Burt Boundey escorted his 93-year-old mother from her California nursing home to Tumacácori to attend the monument's 75th diamond jubilee ceremony. There Georgia relived the memories of the Boundeys' pioneering custodianship of the mission: the lack of electricity and rustic conditions when they first arrived, and the cozy space they made for themselves in the old "padre's schoolhouse" before NPS construction of a custodian's house.[983] Georgia died six years later in 1989, just shy of her 100th birthday.

[980] See: George Boundey, transcript of Oral History Interview of George Boundey by Jay England and Ray Ringenbach, July 17, 1957, Box 1, Tumacácori National Historical Park Historic Audio and Oral History Collection (TUMA ACC-00174), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

[981] "Cholla Nature Club News," *Seventh Day Adventist Pacific Union Recorder* (March 15, 1965): 6.

[982] *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/391864/george_l-boundey: accessed February 17, 2026), memorial page for George L. Boundey (14 Feb 1882–3 Jul 1969), Find a Grave Memorial ID 391864, citing Willamette National Cemetery, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, USA, maintained by SMBP5369 (contributor 47207644). See also: "Funeral Notices–Boundey," *The Sunday Oregonian*, July 6, 1969, pg. 35.

[983] "Return to Tumacacori," *Arizona Republic*, October 4, 1983, pg. B10.



Figure 103. Custodian George Boundey at Casa Grande Ruins, late in his career, December 1937. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge. Source: WACC (00410)



Return to Tumacacori

Georgia Boundey
Reliving a memorable part of her life

Residents fondly remember life at neglected mission

Story by Sam Negri/Republic Staff
Photos by Kent Sievers/Special for The Republic

TUMACACORI -- Georgia Boundey, 93, inched her way from the visitor center to the ruins of Tumacacori Mission.

Burton Boundey, who held her elbow, gently suggested to his mother that she might forgo the forthcoming ceremony in the church and sit in the visitor center, but she would have none of it.

She had traveled a long way from a nursing home in California. She had arrived at this tranquil oasis near the Santa Cruz River in time for the 75th anniversary celebration of the establishment of Tumacacori National Monument.

It was an occasion that allowed her to relive a memorable part of her life.

Her husband, George, who died in 1967, had been custodian of the monument from October 1929 to April 1936. While the mission had been declared a national monument by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1908, it was not until 1929 that a park service employee was assigned to live at the mission full time and begin the major work of restoration and preservation.

Boundey, who was among 225 guests who came for the Diamond Jubilee ceremony, reflected, "My son Bill was 4 years old and Burton 9 months when we went to Tumacacori. Mother Holly (her mother-in-law) came also. There was no place to live, so we cleaned up the padres' schoolhouse, whitewashed it, so we were very comfortable while the house was being constructed by the government. However, we had no electricity.

"At that time there was nothing here but the old mission and these mesquite trees. There were still some Mexicans and Indians living around the church, but the mission wasn't used as a church except once in a while for a marriage or a funeral."

By the time the Boundeys left in 1936, they had done considerable work on the ceiling of the crumbling mission and had built a wall around the periphery of the 10-acre site.

There had not been a priest stationed at Tumacacori since April 1828, when the last Franciscans were ordered to leave. However, in 1939 Louis Gastellum, a park service employee born at nearby Tubac, received a special dispensation from the Catholic Church that enabled him to bring a priest from Nogales to perform his wedding ceremony in the ruins of the old mission.

Gastellum, now a resident of Tucson, eventually became deputy assistant director of the National Park Service in Washington, D.C., and retired in 1973.

"When we were married," Gastellum said, "the facade looked just like it looks today. Some of the repair work had been done, but actually the interior was little different than it is today. There were no pews in there, so we just all went in there and stood up. But,

— *Tumacacori, B11*

Figure 104. On October 4, 1983, the Arizona Republic depicted Burton Boundey escorting his mother Georgia Boundey, widow of former Tumacácori National Monument custodian George Boundey, into the historic mission to attend the monument's 75th anniversary celebration. Source: Newspapers.com

Brewer, Jim

James Walter Brewer, Jr. (1903-1954)

~ Born: September 1, 1903, in St. Louis, Missouri
~ Died: June 29, 1954, in Oak Park, Illinois
~ SWNM Association: Wupatki (CWA archeologist, winter 1933-34); Casa Grande Ruins (temp ranger, spring 1934); Walnut Canyon (ranger-in-charge, summer 1934); Wupatki (ranger-in-charge, 1934-1936); SWNM (roving ranger, 1937); Aztec Ruins (custodian, 1938); Navajo (custodian, 1938-1942 and 1946); Wupatki (custodian/superintendent, 1946-48); Tuzigoot (superintendent, 1950-1953); Wupatki (superintendent, 1953-1954)

James Walter "Jimmie" Brewer, Jr. served as a ranger-archeologist, custodian, and superintendent at nine national monuments in the Southwest during his twenty-year career with the National Park Service.[984] He was born September 1, 1903, in St. Louis, Missouri—the second child of James Walter Brewer, Sr., and Mae Victoria Dunn. When he was two years old, the Brewer family moved to Chicago, where James, Sr. pursued a career in sales advertising. At first, Jim Brewer followed in his father's footsteps. Per the 1930 U.S. Census, he served as the office manager at his father's advertising agency. But by 1933, he no longer lived in Missouri. The records of the Museum of Northern Arizona-sponsored archeological expedition at Wupatki National Monument in 1933 indicate that Brewer was serving as an archeological assistant and cook for the expedition team until the close of the season in early fall 1933.[985]

Jim Brewer returned to archeological work at Wupatki in December 1933, this time as part of the CWA work relief program for Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM) that spanned the winter season 1933-1934. Harold S. Colton, director of the Museum of Northern Arizona and the newly-designated nominal custodian of Wupatki National Monument, had successfully applied for CWA funds to excavate at Navajo, Walnut Canyon, and Wupatki national monuments. After receiving CWA funds, Colton assigned Brewer to serve as foreman of the Wupatki Pueblo field excavations—known as F-68 CWA Work Project No. 10—under the direction of Abraham Tenbroeck Williamson.[986] The project commenced December 18, 1933, and ended in March 1934.[987]

---

[984] He signed his correspondence "Jimmie," and the SWNM reports mostly referred to him as Jimmie. He also went by Jim or Jimmy.

[985] Watson Smith met Jimmie Brewer at Wupatki at the close of the first archeological season in fall 1933. He noted that Jimmie was a student assistant for MNA and that he also cooked for the field party. See: Watson Smith and Benjamin W. Smith, "One Man's Archaeology," *Kiva* 57, no.2 (1992): 139.

[986] Dana Hartman and Arthur H. Wolf, "Archeological Assessment of Wupatki National Monument," Museum of Northern Arizona and the National Park Service, Feb. 1977, 7.

[987] Brewer's relevant education or previous field experience in archeology remains unclear. Colton referred to "J. W. Brewer" as foreman of the Wupatki Ruin excavations and called him an "associate of the Museum of Northern Arizona."

During his CWA work at Wupatki in winter 1933-34, Jim Brewer met archeologist Sarah "Sallie" Louise Pierce, who also worked on a CWA archeological project for Southwestern National Monuments. Harold Colton had hired Sallie in January 1934 to assist with excavations and artifact processing at Montezuma Castle under Project No. 5. The two archeologists enjoyed a whirlwind courtship that led to a hasty marriage on July 19, 1934, in time for Jim Brewer to report for duty as the temporary ranger-in-charge at Walnut Canyon National Monument the following day. Walnut Canyon had transferred from Forest Service administration to the Park Service the previous year and lacked a custodian. Brewer's summer assignment started July 20; a four-month custodial post to Wupatki as the first in-residence custodian followed the Walnut Canyon assignment.[988]

Jim and Sallie Brewer moved to Walnut Canyon on July 20, hours after Forest Service ranger Frank J. Cox and his wife moved out of their well-kept circa 1904 log cabin. They remained at Walnut Canyon for approximately six weeks, then transferred to Wupatki in late August when archeologist Paul Beaubien showed up with his permanent Civil Service appointment to assume the Walnut Canyon custodianship.[989] Unlike Walnut Canyon, Wupatki lacked even the semblance of employee housing. In lieu, Pinkley allocated $25 for Jim Brewer to transform a reconstructed second-story room of the prehistoric Wupatki Pueblo into something livable. The only access involved climbing a ladder. Brewer hired his friend, Hopi pueblo artist "Jimmy Kewanwytewa," to help with the room's transformation. During the Wupatki period, the Brewers became close friends with their Hopi and Navajo neighbors, particularly the Peshlakai clan. Brewer reported: "together we plastered the wall of Room 36 and dyed the floor – so that the room of the pueblo in which we will live is reconstructed comfortably now with native workmanship in part."[990] With later modifications and enlargements, this ancient apartment became a rustic but cozy home for Jim and Sallie Brewer—and for longer than anticipated. The four-month post stretched to nearly two years, almost year-round, due in part to supplementary financial assistance from the Museum of Northern Arizona for assisting with excavations (room 7 of the Wupatki Pueblo with Erik Reed in fall 1936). In December 1934 Brewer

---

See: *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report*, February 1934, 33. Frank Pinkley also referred to Brewer as "formerly Associate Archeologist of the Museum of Northern Arizona" when he announced Brewer's assignment as ranger-in-charge of Walnut Canyon in the SWNM July 1934 monthly report.

[988] Harold Colton held the non-resident, nominal custodianship ($12 a year) of Wupatki and Walnut Canyon national monuments from December 1933 until his very-public resignation in 1934 as a sort of boycott of the National Park Service. He believed that NPS had neglected the Flagstaff-area national monuments, pointing to the agency's failure to prioritize resident custodians. Robert H. Rose wrote to Colton in April 1934, asking for a recommendation for his own replacement at Wupatki. Colton suggested CWA archeologists Steen, Brewer, and Tenbroeck—in that order. Rose offered Steen the job but ultimately hired Brewer.

[989] Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview of Sallie Van Valkenburg by S. Herbert Evison, December 19, 1962, with corrections and additions offered by Mrs. Van Valkenburgh Mar. 9, 1964, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," NPS Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[990] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report,* August 1934, 70a.

also kept an eye on Sunset Crater and Walnut Canyon, the other Flagstaff-area monuments, to relieve Paul Beaubien.[991]

By December 1936, all extra sources of funding had run out to keep the Brewers at Wupatki. They said goodbye to their Navajo friends and headed back to SWNM headquarters.[992] From January to May 1937, Jim Brewer worked as a temporary per-diem ranger for Casa Grande Ruins while Frank Pinkley waited to get a permanent ranger off the Civil Service List who could split duties seasonally between Casa Grande (winter) and Wupatki (summer).[993] Brewer could not fill the position since he had yet to pass his Civil Service exam. Instead, he guided monument visitors through Casa Grande and pitched in on headquarters work, such as preparation of the monthly reports and field inspections at other monuments. Brewer's temporary per-diem arrangement at Casa Grande ended when Pinkley assigned Brewer to serve as his "Roving Ranger"—an original SWNM concept established in 1935 that involved the assignment of personnel to pinch-hit at monuments that lacked custodians or rangers. The position mostly covered the northern monuments of Yucca House, Hovenweep, and Arches, all lacking a custodian. Jim Brewer entered on duty in May 1937 and submitted his first Roving Ranger report in the June issue of the SWNM monthly reports. The report detailed his itinerant schedule, showing that he and Sallie traveled between each monument every couple days; they also helped as guides at Aztec Ruins National Monument, as needed.

Jim Brewer's Roving Ranger assignment ended in early September 1937. He covered custodian Bob Budlong's month-long furlough at El Morro, then headed to Saguaro National Monument for a winter assignment at the Rincon Ranger station.[994] In the April 1938 monthly report, Frank Pinkley remarked that Jim Brewer's Civil Service papers had come through; Brewer could finally serve as a permanent ranger. Brewer reported for duty to Custodian Miller, Aztec Ruins, on May 5. After a month, Miller reported that Brewer "had good training and it is greatly appreciated when you get a permanent man that has had the experience in the Service and knows how to proceed with the duties of a Ranger." Miller noted that part of Brewer's responsibilities included heading out to Yucca House and Hovenweep for inspections, since he knew those monuments so well from his Roving Ranger

---

[991] In December 1934, Jim Brewer took temporary charge of all of the Flagstaff monuments—Sunset Crater, Walnut Canyon, and Wupatki—while Paul Beaubien was on temporary leave from Walnut Canyon to serve as foreman of the FERA-funded archeological expedition at Tumacácori that winter.

[992] The Brewers became particularly close to the Peshlakai clan. For Christmas 1935, the Brewers hosted a festive holiday gathering with their Navajo and Anglo friends. For the event, they cut down a fir tree and decorated it. As an object used ceremonially for the event, the Navajos took it home with them, kept it in a safe place until the New Year, and then ceremonially burned it. This special gathering became an annual tradition known as "Kishmus."

[993] David "Davy" J. Jones was selected as the new ranger-in-charge at Wupatki. Like the Brewers, he and his wife Courtney ("Corky") lived inside a room of Wupatki Pueblo. Courtney later captured much of their experience in, *Letters From Wupatki* (1996).

[994] The monthly reports confirm that Sallie was with Jimmie, some of the time, during the summer roving-ranger position, though Jimmie made no mention of Sallie in his reports from Saguaro.

experience the previous year.[995] Brewer submitted a separate report on those inspections in the May monthly report, closing by expressing his and Sallie's pleasure to be back in the Service. Pinkley, in turn, remarked that "it looks good to see Jimmie Brewer's name in the reports again and this time as a permanent man entering his probational year."[996]

By August 1938, the Brewers awaited transfer to Navajo National Monument to fill the permanent ranger vacancy. In the SWNM Personnel section of the monthly report, the headquarters staff announced that, by "the way the cards" read, "Jim and Sallie Brewer [might] go over to Navajo, they both being pretty good Navajos and liking that country and having had some pioneering experiences" in "frontline work." By September, Jimmie and Sallie were "rarin' to go," pending the results of Brewer's Civil Service oral exam.[997] He passed, and a month later transferred. Officially, John Wetherill still held the custodianship of Navajo National Monument but did not live on site. Jim Brewer would therefore enter as "ranger" but live on-site and essentially be in charge. The only suitable place to live was Betatakin (Tsegi Canyon), where ranger William F. V. Leicht had temporarily resided until his transfer in August 1938 to Boulder Dam Recreational Area. The custodianship of Navajo mainly involved patrolling the Keet Seel, Betatakin, and Inscription House archeological sites. Secondly, it involved general supervision (two to three inspections a year) of Rainbow Bridge National Monument. When he entered on duty, Jim Brewer became the first NPS-trained personnel assigned to Navajo on a permanent basis and the first to live full-time at the monument.[998]

By the time the Brewers reached Navajo on November 11, they were too late to take up residency. Winter weather had blown in, and the only structure at Betatakin was Milton Wetherill's drafty boarded tent, stocked with provisions he had left behind.[999] So they set up camp at the Shonto trading post, ten miles southwest of the monument. When Bud Shriver of Aztec Ruins arrived at Shonto with the Brewers' personal belongings packed in truck No. 8121, he found them settling into a stone hogan that trader Harry Rorick had built as guest quarters.[1000] For their kitchen, the Brewers rented a camp tent from the Navajo CCC unit. They retained this setup at Shonto through the 1938-39 winter. As often as the roads were passable, Jim Brewer made the ten-mile trip to Navajo in an old pickup truck, but heavy snows closed access entirely in January and February.[1001] They finally moved onto the

---

[995] Jimmie passed on the Roving Ranger baton to ranger Alfred J. Peterson and his wife Bernice in June 1938. After orientation from Jimmie, they took over the inspections of Hovenweep and Yucca House.

[996] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, May 1938, 404.

[997] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, Supplement, September 1938, 246H.

[998] John Wetherill had been nominal custodian of Navajo for decades. He was not NPS-trained, nor had he ever resided at the Monument. Leicht was appointed to Navajo from the Civil Service list but likewise had no previous experience with the Park Service. See: Rothman, *Navajo National Monument*, 18 and 179.

[999] Wetherill's nephew Milton Wetherill wanted the job but failed to score high enough on the Civil Service exam to secure the appointment.

[1000] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, November 1938, 385.

[1001] Rothman, *Navajo National Monument*, 18.

monument in March 1939, taking the CCC tent with them and staking it at Tsegi Point, the rim above Betatakin, on the spot where the NPS planned to build a stone and shingle custodian's residence.[1002] By the end of summer 1939, the new residence had been constructed, and Jim Brewer reported that he and Sallie had moved in: "Residence No.1 was completed and moved into on August 16. ...The cook shack was moved from the residence to the new parking area where it will be used as a contact station and museum as soon as the water system is complete. The borrowed Indian Service CCC tent was moved next to the cook shack and is being used as a toolhouse."[1003]

In 1939, Jim Brewer's title and official position at Navajo transitioned from ranger-in-charge to custodian after John Wetherill finally retired. Now an official custodian, Brewer attended the inaugural SWNM Custodian's School of Instruction the following winter, February 14-16, 1940. In reference to Frank Pinkley's death at the start of the event, he added,

> Let's be reminded of the Chaplain's words, "This is not the time for sorrow," and let's be thankful for the opportunity we have had to work under the Boss. We are sure there is not a man in the outfit who is not a better man for his association with the Boss and we know that his philosophy and his far reaching influence will be felt always. [...]the Boss has moved on to a better seat where he can see all 27 of his far-flung national monuments at the same time.[1004]

Except for his annual month-long furlough, Brewer remained custodian of Navajo National Monument until December 1942, when he enlisted in the U.S. Navy. In January through March 1943, while waiting to be furloughed, Brewer served as acting resident custodian of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. He salvaged an old building from the defunct Casa Grande CCC side camp for lumber to build temporary monument employee quarters at Organ Pipe.[1005] Brewer joined the U.S. Navy "Seabees" 94th Naval Construction Battalion, "A" Company, on March 26, 1943, with training completed at both Camp Peary and Camp Endicott, before shipping off for Pacific duties.[1006] After the war in 1946, Brewer returned to Navajo National Monument as custodian. Sallie did not join him; their marriage had not survived the war, and they divorced.

[1002] Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 10.

[1003] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, August 1939, 94.

[1004] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, February 1940, 95-96.

[1005] *Memorandum for the Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments,* March 1943, 10.

[1006] *Memorandum for the Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments*, March 1943, 25; World War Two Veterans LLC, "94th Naval Construction Battalion Seabees Roster" (https://worldwartwoveterans.org/94th-naval-construction-battalion-seabees-roster/). See also: Staff of the 94th Naval Construction Battalion, *An Official Story of the Work and Travels of the 94th Naval Construction Battalion in Training and in the Pacific Ocean Areas, May 1943 to July 1945* (San Francisco: 1945), 124 and 139.

In 1947, Jim Brewer remarried to Ida Walton Kent. Around the same time, he transferred to the superintendency of Wupatki.[1007] His widowed father, James W. Brewer, Sr., lived with the newlyweds, helping as needed.[1008] From 1950 to 1953, Jim Brewer held the superintendency of Tuzigoot National Monument. During his tenure, he co-founded the Jerome Historical Society and Mining Museum—an effort for which he received the NPS "Superior Accomplishment" award in March 1954.[1009] In 1953, Jim Brewer transferred back to Wupatki, but illness forced his early retirement the following year. In May 1954 he and Ida moved to Oak Park, Illinois, where he started treatment for liver cancer at the Oak Park Hospital under the care of his brother, surgeon Dr. Lewis Rawlings Brewer. A month later, June 29, 1954, Jim Brewer passed away—age fifty-one.[1010] Posthumously, SWNM General Superintendent John M. Davis bestowed three awards to Brewer: a certificate of honor, a citation for meritorious service, and the meritorious medal of the Department of the Interior. Brewer's widow, Ida, accepted the awards on his behalf in a ceremony at the SWNM headquarters at Gila Pueblo in March 1955.[1011]

[1007] The Park Service standardized the administrative title for all national parks and monuments at the end of 1948, changing 'custodian' to 'superintendent'.

[1008] Lloyd Mason Smith, "Hammada," *The Desert Sun*, August 2, 1946, pg. 5; *Arizona Daily Sun*, September 22, 1948, pg. 3.

[1009] "Brewer Honored by Nat'l Park Service," *Arizona Daily Sun*, March 15, 1954, pg. 4. See also:

[1010] "Jimmy Brewer Dies in Illinois Hospital," *Arizona Daily Sun*, June 29, 1954; "Request No Flowers for Jimmy Brewer," *Arizona Daily Sun*, July 1, 1954, pg. 5; and "Founder of Jerome Mine Museum is Dead," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, July 2, 1954.

[1011] "Jimmy Brewer Honored," *Arizona Daily Sun*, March 31, 1955; and "U.S. Monument Official Posthumously Honored," *Arizona Republic*, April 1, 1955, pg. 11.



"A" COMPANY—PLATOONS—5 and 6

First row, left to right
Zamora, L. R., MM2c
Werneburg, W. L., CM1c
Johnson, C. C., S1c
Jones, E. J., CM1c
Short, W. A., CCM
Schaub, I. O., CSF
McClanahan, T. E., MM2c
Daniel, W. E., MMS2c
McCormack, F. E., MM1c

Second row, left to right
Brewer, J. W., CM1c
Reardon, F. J., S1c
McDonald, L. B., EM2c
Neumiller, G. J., SF2c
Cooley, W. G., MoMM3c
Bowman, R. H., S1c
McElyea, F. H., WT2c
Hoag, K. F., MM1c
Spindle, J. L., CM1c

Third row, left to right
Brewer, W. C., S1c
Dietlein, H. H., CM3c
Cox, W. T., EM2c
Cady, L. G., SF3c
Oliver, D. V., F1c
Proctor, G. K., S1c
Wagar, A. J., CM3c
Wells, W. C., CM1c
Lynn, T. C., SF2c

Fourth row, left to right
Funderburg, J. W., S1c
Burrell, W. H., S1c
Moolenaar, P., S1c
Hendrus, M. A., S1c
Woodbury, A. K., MoMM1c
Moran, V. G., BM1c
Boyer, J. H., CM3c
Willoughby, L. H., BM1c

First row, left to right
Davis, C. K., WT2c
Dolan, J. P., MM3c
Parker, L. H., SF2c
Carr, G. A., S1c
Norton, H. S., CBM
White, R. F., CCM
Niceley, R. A., S1c
Gibson, A. L., SF2c
Griffith, J. B., S1c
Gressett, T. W., SF2c

Second row, left to right
Klohn, F. J., M1c
Lee, S. H., SF1c
Eckstein, W. J., SF3c
Schneider, J. H., SF1c
Papp, J. D., M2c
Daley, T. A., SF2c
Britton, B. W., S1c
Murray, A., SF3c
Dunham, L. B., CM3c

Third row, left to right
Levanas, A. K., M3c
Middleton, W. E., SF3c
Curtis, J. M., PTR1c
Doherty, J. F., WT1c
Hayes, R. D., SF1c
Filer, B. J., S1c
Morris, W., S1c
Brown, F. J., SF2c

Fourth row, left to right
Johnson, W. R., SF1c
Epperhart, W. B., SF2c
Brenza, G. J., PTR1c
Matthews, C., S1c
Elms, D. N., S1c
Keck, O. E., SF1c
Foss, J. A., S1c
Ernest, C. F., CM1c
Trussell, H., SF1c

Figure 105. Jim Brewer with his Seabees platoon during World War II (top, third row back—the blond-haired guy on the far left). His first initials were erroneously switched with the other Brewer in the photo. Source: *An Official Story of the Work and Travels of the 94th Naval Construction Battalion...May 1943 to July 1945* (San Francisco: 1945).



Figure 106. Ida Brewer accepted her late husband Jim Brewer's posthumous awards from the National Park Service and Department of the Interior at a ceremony presided by general superintendent John M. Davis at Southwestern National Monuments headquarters, Globe, Arizona, March 1955. Photograph by Leslie Arnberger. Source: WACC (58543)

Louis Caywood (1906-1997)

~ Born: February 8, 1906, in Bisbee, Arizona
~ Died: April 30, 1997, in Globe, Arizona
~ SWNM Affiliation: Casa Grande Ruins (ranger, 1934-1935); SWNM (junior park naturalist, 1935-1936); Tumacácori (custodian, 1935-1944)

Louis Richard Caywood served as a Casa Grande Ruins ranger, Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM) junior park naturalist, and custodian of Tumacácori National Monument during his ten-year career with SWNM. He was born February 8, 1906, in Bisbee, Arizona, the oldest child of Richard and Louise Caywood. In 1932, Caywood graduated with his B.A. in business administration from the University of Arizona and enrolled in the university's anthropology graduate program under Byron Cummings. Caywood began his NPS career as a seasonal ranger at Mesa Verde before enrolling in the CCC and co-supervising, with Edward Spicer, the excavation of Tuzigoot, an 800-year-old Sinagua pueblo in the Verde Valley, two miles north of Cottonwood. Publishing their project in July 1935, Caywood and Spicer earned the distinction of holding the speed record for excavation and publication of a federal relief archeological site during the New Deal years.[1012]

In June 1934, Caywood married Winifred "Winnie" Ellen Brett in Prescott, Arizona. Months later Louis accepted a full-time ranger position at Casa Grande Ruins and the couple moved into Frank Pinkley's former home in Compound A, a converted duplex they jokingly called the "Caywood Mansion."[1013] In April 1935, Louis and Winnie took their annual leave and drove to Santa Fe, where Louis presented his Tuzigoot research at the American Association for the Advancement Science's annual southwestern meeting. A month later, Hilding Palmer, custodian of Casa Grande Ruins, suffered a fatal heart attack, leaving Caywood to step in as acting custodian. Performing custodian duties by day, Louis spent off-hours studying the history and culture of the southwestern monuments. In the spring of 1935 he presented a slideshow and lecture on "The National Monuments of Southern Arizona" to audiences in Tucson and then spent weekend days at the Gila Pueblo library in Globe researching ancient Salt and Gila River irrigation structures for a *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report* supplement article.[1014] In July 1935, Pinkley wasted no time promoting Caywood to the role Southwestern National Monuments junior park naturalist. Working alongside Dale King and Bob Rose, Caywood helped to provide the office's twenty-five national monuments with interpretive and educational programs.

[1012] "Louis Richard Caywood," *Anthropology Newsletter*, September 1997, 42.

[1013] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, October 1934, 177.

[1014] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, May 1935, 238; *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, June 1935, 306.

In April 1936, Louis accepted Pinkley's offer to fill the vacant custodian position at Tumacácori. He and Winnie remained in southern Arizona for more than eight years during Tumacácori's most active period of growth. In 1944, Louis accepted the position of assistant naturalist at the NPS Region III office, and the couple moved to Santa Fe.[1015] Their only child, Louis Robert Caywood, was born in 1945. Two years later, Louis resumed his archaeological work and embarked on a multi-year project in Vancouver, Washington, where he and a team of excavators located the site of the original Fort Vancouver built by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1824-25. The project culminated with the establishment of Fort Vancouver National Monument in 1948.[1016]

Caywood subsequently led excavations at Fort Spokane and Fort Okanagan for the NPS western regional office. During the 1950s he unearthed a seventeenth-century Jamestown village at Colonial National Historical Park and undertook survey projects in Alaska, Hawaii, and Canada. Later in his career, Caywood returned to the Southwest to perform stabilization work at Montezuma Castle, Tumacácori, Tonto, and Bandelier national monuments. From 1956 to 1961, he served as superintendent of Ocmulgee National Monument, a Mississippian mound site in central Georgia, then returned to the Southwest to handle artifacts at the Southwestern Archeological Center before retiring in 1969.[1017] Louis Caywood enjoyed a long retirement in Globe, Arizona. He died in 1997 at the age of 92; Winnie Caywood passed away in 2003.

[1015] "Assignment Changes Made in U.S. Parks," *Tucson Citizen*, July 15, 1944.

[1016] "They're Brushing Off the Past," *The Columbian* [Vancouver, WA], July 23, 2007.

[1017] "Louis Richard Caywood," *Anthropology Newsletter*, September 1997, 42.

Budlong, Betty

Elizabeth "Betty" McDonnell French (1911-1989)

~ Born: October 8, 1911, in New Rochelle, New York
~ Died: August 26, 1989, in Talpa, New Mexico
~ SWNM Affiliation: Canyon de Chelly (HCWP, 1934-1936); El Morro (HCWP, 1936-1940)

From 1934 through 1940, Elizabeth "Betty" McDonnell French served as Honorary Custodian Without Pay alongside her husband Robert R. Budlong (1902-1989), custodian of the southwestern national monuments Canyon de Chelly (Arizona) and El Morro (New Mexico). Betty, a northeasterner, was a long way from home. She was born in New Rochelle, Westchester County, New York, a village northeast of New York City along the Long Island Sound, on October 8, 1911. Her father, Hamline Q. French, Jr., had varied business interests, including operation of the third-generation French family granite memorials and monuments business.[1018] Betty's father and mother, Elizabeth Anne née Price, had a rocky marriage. When Betty and her sister Fedora were still young, their mother—a native Marylander—left their father and took the girls to live on the eastern shore. Betty lived in the Chesapeake Bay area until she reached high school age, at which time her parents reunited. Back in New York, she attended an elite Montessori-style high school in Westchester County.[1019]

During high school, Betty met Robert Budlong of Washington, D.C. and became engaged. Soon after, Budlong left the capital for the Southwest, hoping its arid climate would cure his arthritis. Betty recalled that in early 1926 he joined the Immigration Services in Arizona as a border-patrol inspector for Nogales and Tucson, serving in that capacity until forced to resign in summer 1928 due to ill health.[1020] He returned to the D.C. area and became a secretary to Senator Johnson of California. He and Betty were still engaged. In December 1933, he entered National Park Service employment as a park ranger at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument in Coolidge, Arizona, also the office headquarters for Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM).

A year later in November 1934, Betty joined Budlong in Arizona. A few months earlier, "Bob" as she called him—"Bud," to his SWNM colleagues—had transferred from Casa Grande Ruins to the custodianship of Canyon de Chelly National Monument. Betty arrived on the train just before their

---

[1018] Herman W. Knox, ed. *Who's Who in New York, Vol. 7* (New York City: Who's Who Publications, Inc., 1918), 1186.

[1019] Elizabeth Budlong, transcript of Oral History Interview with Elizabeth Budlong, R.N., by Jake Spidle, Taos, New Mexico, November 2, 1983, 1, "Oral History of Medicine Project," UNM Health Sciences Library and Informatics Center Repository Oral History Collection (HHC 110), University of New Mexico Medical Center Library, Albuquerque, NM (https://econtent.unm.edu/digital/collection/nmhhc/id/37/rec/49; accessed 7 March 2024).

[1020] See: "Budlong, Robert R.," GSA Transcript/Statement of Federal Service, Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

November wedding, scheduled to take place on the canyon rim the day after her arrival. But since best man Frank 'Boss' Pinkley, superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, had to attend a Park Service conference in Washington, D.C., they moved the wedding location closer to Coolidge, about twenty-five miles northeast. The ceremony took place at sunset on November 15 in a desert area surrounded by native cacti with the Superstition Mountains as backdrop. Frank Pinkley and Sylvia King (wife of SWNM naturalist Dale King) stood up as attendants. Pinkley described the evening in the November issues of the *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*:

> No church in the world could have furnished a high altar equal to the sunset the Great Architect hung in the western sky that evening and toward which this group faced during the ceremony. ...It was a beautiful ceremony in a magnificent setting, make no mistake about that. [...]
>
> Late letters from Betty and Bud say they are temporarily settled in one of the Indian Service houses at Chin Lee and the Honorary Custodian Without Pay is as much in love with her new Monument as she is with her new Southwestern Monuments family.[1021]

Betty and Bob Budlong served as custodians at Canyon de Chelly for about two years. During that time, they lived in any unoccupied dwelling at the Chinle Indian Service school at any given time—sometimes the Home Economics teacher's cottage, sometimes a room in the boys' dormitory. In July 1935, they moved into a little stone house located at the Franciscan mission, a mile from Chinle. Into this small space, they squeezed their shared belongings plus two bird cages housing their three pet parakeets: Boze, Warp, and Woof.[1022]

Betty remembered the Canyon de Chelly posting as "a marvelous experience." She led visitors by horseback through the canyons and became friends with the local Navajos, whom she loved.[1023] She accepted exclusive invitations to see Navajo sand-painting ceremonies—a rare experience for a Navajo let alone a white woman, as she explained in her published description of the ceremonies in the SWNM monthly reports.[1024] Betty also coordinated a Canyon de Chelly cooperative educational program with the Home Economics Department of the Chinle Indian Service school. Called the Navajo Study Project, it offered classes to Navajo girls and visitors in the Navajo traditional arts, such as weaving and dyeing; the program also featured a monument exhibit on the Navajo rug-weaving process.[1025] As the Honorary Custodian Without Pay, Betty approached the custodianship energetically, "in a way that [brought] a faint tinge of green" to her husband. But lacking a ranger to

---

[1021] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, November 1934.

[1022] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, July 1935, 13.

[1023] Elizabeth Budlong, transcript of Oral History Interview (1983), 1.

[1024] Betty Budlong, "Navajo Sand Painting–De Chelly," *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, August 1935, 133-136.

[1025] Betty Budlong, "Navajo Study Project," *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, February 1936, 123-125. See also: Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice* (2006), 95.

assist at the monument, he reported that the two of them would "continue to take care of all visitors," and run themselves "ragged hiking up and down that long, long trail a-winding to the canyon floor, accompanying horseback parties, accompanying cars, writing reports, attending to correspondence, etc."[1026] Ranger relief for Canyon de Chelly finally arrived in the form of James Douglas "Doug" Harritt, seasonal ranger, on July 19, 1935.[1027] And in June 1936, the second relief: a brand-new custodian's residence—a two-bedroom house complete with a kitchen and dining alcove, bathroom, large living room, office, and service porch.[1028] Betty enjoyed the stylish and comfortable new domicile at Canyon de Chelly for about five months before her husband transferred to the full-time custodianship of El Morro National Monument near Ramah, New Mexico.

At El Morro, they lived in a tiny log shed originally built to shelter cars; it had been partitioned into two rooms, and the Budlongs' king-size bed took up one of those 'rooms'.[1029] Betty recalled the El Morro years with a lack of enamor. Perhaps the cramped living quarters—with only four by seven feet of floor space, doubling as a museum, lecture hall, and laboratory—or the isolation from neighbors contributed to her lackluster memories. Then there was the Christmas they were snowed in, and Betty survived on a box of Christmas cookies and a can of anchovy paste for three days while Budlong snowshoed out for help and supplies.[1030] Despite all of this, the Budlongs provided their visitors with unforgettable experiences at El Morro—often exceeding the call of duty. In August 1938, for example, a heavy rainstorm hit the monument suddenly and turned the entry road into mud, moments after visitors Dr. Vera Vinogradoff and her husband had arrived and signed in. The Budlongs encouraged their visitors to remain overnight rather than risk the drive out to Gallup. They set up a warm sleeping arrangement for them within one of El Morro's sandstone grottos, complete with hot water, soap and towels, and prepared them "a delectable dinner" followed by "a hearty breakfast" the next morning. News of their hospitality hit NPS director Cammerer's desk the following month, in the form of Vera Vinogradoff's descriptive letter of praise for the Budlongs' hospitality.

In addition to entertaining visitors with five-star service at El Morro, Betty committed her spare time to improving the local community. In June 1938, she organized a public library system for the isolated residents of the rural El Morro area under the auspices of the newly-founded Woman's Club of El Morro. As the library's brainchild, by default she also became the club's "Custodian of the Books." With Frank Pinkley's enthusiastic support, Betty used the SWNM monthly reports as a way to solicit literary donations.[1031] It worked. In just a few months, she acquired 129 donated books, with more on

---

[1026] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, June 1935, 279.

[1027] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, July 1935, 14.

[1028] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, January 1936.

[1029] Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 1.

[1030] Robert R. Budlong, "El Morro," *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, December 1936, 369.

[1031] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, June 1938, 535.

the way. In September, she updated her supporters with a detailed description of her library program in operation:

> Every Tuesday afternoon I load the books into the car and drive to the little El Morro store and check new ones out and old ones in; several times during the week I have calls for them here at the cabin. People come from 25 to 30 miles away to stock up on their reading materials.
>
> This is the busiest time of year for those hard working folk…[but when] the winter's snows settle deeply over the countryside, I can visualize real contentment as they sit in their warm cabins, whiling away the long evenings with all the books they can possibly read![1032]

Betty continued her library program until the end of her tenure at El Morro. During the winters, she would ski with a knapsack to restock the supply at the El Morro store; locals could also check out books at the monument cabin, arriving by sleigh or horseback.[1033] By spring 1939, Betty's library had acquired 200 books, each "dressed up" with a printed "El Morro Public Library" label, courtesy of Edwin B. Hill of Ysleta, Texas, self-publisher and father of the library assistant at SWNM headquarters, Gertrude F. Hill.[1034] In September 1939, Betty reported 400 books, then, exactly a year later, 1,692 volumes. By spring 1941, the El Morro library boasted over 2,000 volumes; Betty had also added a new library "branch" out at a remote logging camp.[1035]

Back at the monument, living conditions improved when the National Park Service approved a new custodian's residence in 1938-39; unfortunately, the Budlongs had little time to enjoy the upgrade. At some point in 1939-40, their marriage began "to skid." Betty, realizing that any day she could "be more or less tossed out" without education or a profession to her name, preemptively separated from Budlong.[1036] In 1940, U.S. census takers recorded her living with her mother and sister in Miami, Florida—still "married," but not documented in Budlong's census registration in Ramah. Betty briefly returned to El Morro later that year to keep working on her library program. By this point the monument also had a new administration–museum building. In the August 31, 1940, issue of the *Christian Science Monitor* magazine, she published a full-page spread illustrating her life as a custodian's wife at a remote national monument—the sixth and last article in the magazine's series of stories entitled "Women in the Wilderness," a few of which featured other SWNM wives.[1037] Through December 1940, Betty submitted an occasional report to the SWNM group *Monthly Report*, and, in February 1941, she sent an exhibit on her El Morro library work to the second annual SWNM

[1032] Betty Budlong, "El Morro Library," *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, September 1938, 233-234.

[1033] Betty Budlong, "El Morro Library," *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, March 1939, 190.

[1034] Ibid.

[1035] *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, March 1941, 87.

[1036] Elizabeth Budlong, transcript of Oral History Interview (1983), 2.

[1037] National Park Service, "Have You Read?" *Park Service Bulletin* 10, no. 4 (Jul-Aug 1940): 23.

Custodian's School of Instruction at headquarters, though she did not attend in person.[1038] Betty and Bob Budlong apparently divorced in or before 1941; he remarried in December 1941 to Helen O'Keefe of Nogales.[1039]

In fall 1941, Betty matriculated at the Seaton School of Nursing in Colorado Springs and worked at the Penrose-Glockner Hospital. In 1944, she graduated as an R.N. and followed that with a certificate in public health nursing earned from the University of Oregon.[1040] After a couple years in California with the City of Oakland Health Department, Betty returned to New Mexico. By 1950, she had settled permanently in the Taos area. Known best as "Liz" or Elizabeth Budlong during this period, she served as a sort of "Call the Midwife" activist in her role as an independent public-health practitioner for Taos County, coordinating public health and school programs, community dental clinics (including a mobile dental unit in Questa in 1967), well-baby immunization campaigns, and venereal disease detection programs.[1041] Friends and colleagues knew her as the "great field gal who could smell a tuberculosis household a long way off. She went out and gathered people in, bringing them in by carloads and busloads sometimes."[1042] She was also well-known socially and served as both actor and president of the Taos Little Theater for a time. In 1973, she retired from public health nursing but remained active in the community. On August 26, 1989, Elizabeth French Budlong passed away at her home in Talpa, just outside Taos.[1043]

[1038] "Women of National Park Service Display Interesting Hobbys[sic] Here," *Coolidge Examiner*, February 21, 1941, pg. 8.

[1039] Bob Budlong and his second wife Helen left El Morro in 1943 and transferred to Nebraska. They had two children together.

[1040] "About Folks," *National Park Service Bulletin* 15, no. 4 (May 1945): 9.

[1041] Elizabeth Budlong, transcript of Oral History Interview (1983).

[1042] Bergere Kenney, transcript of Oral History Interview with Bergere Kenney, M.D. by Jake Spidle, Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 17, 1984, 5, "Oral History of Medicine Project," UNM Health Sciences Library and Informatics Center Repository Oral History Collection (HHC 110), University of New Mexico Medical Center Library, Albuquerque, NM (https://econtent.unm.edu/digital/api/collection/nmhhc/id/59/download).

[1043] *Taos News*, August 31, 1989, pg. 22; and "Former Nurse Dies in Talpa," *Taos News*, September 7, 1989.



Figure 107. Bob and Betty Budlong with seasonal summer ranger Doug Harritt at Canyon de Chelly, circa 1936. Source: WACC (01854)

1421 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.,
September 30, 1938.

Dr. Arno Cammerer, Director,
National Park Service,
Department of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Dr. Cammerer:

I am writing to congratulate the National Park Service on the efficiency and courtesy of its personnel. We have just returned from a trip across the country during which we visited 22 national parks and monuments. We found the ranger staff extremely pleasant and helpful in every case.

There is one case, however, about which I feel you will appreciate detailed information. On August 12th we had just arrived at El Morro National Monument when a terrific rainstorm made the roads impassable. The custodian stationed at El Morro, Mr. Robert R. Budlong, warned us not to attempt to go on to Gallup, saying that it would be impossible for us to get thru the roads without serious damage or injury. There was no alternative but to accept the hospitality of the Budlongs. To us, three total strangers, they gave a delectable dinner, concocted from a larder which can be replenished only once a week. They set up beds for us in the shadow of impressive El Morro, furnished us with warm bedding, hot water, soap, towels. In the morning we were served with a hearty breakfast. During the evening, Mr. Budlong entertained us with more than 120 exquisite color slides which he had made of the surrounding country, explaining in detail what we should attempt to see during our stay in New Mexico and Arizona. As we left El Morro, Ranger Budlong arranged to drive ahead of us in his personal car as far as Ramah to point out bad weather roads and to be on hand to help us in case of difficulty.

It is difficult to imagine the inconvenience we caused for them unless you are aware that they live in a very small log cabin miles from any village. But we had a distinct feeling that Mr. Budlong did these things for us because he had such loyalty to the Park Service that without second thought he considered it as part of his duty.

I have recounted the Budlong's hospitality in detail because I am sure that they and other Park Service men like Mr. Budlong perform such unselfish service daily and that most of these services are never reported to those whose foresight it has been to develop such an efficient and devoted staff.

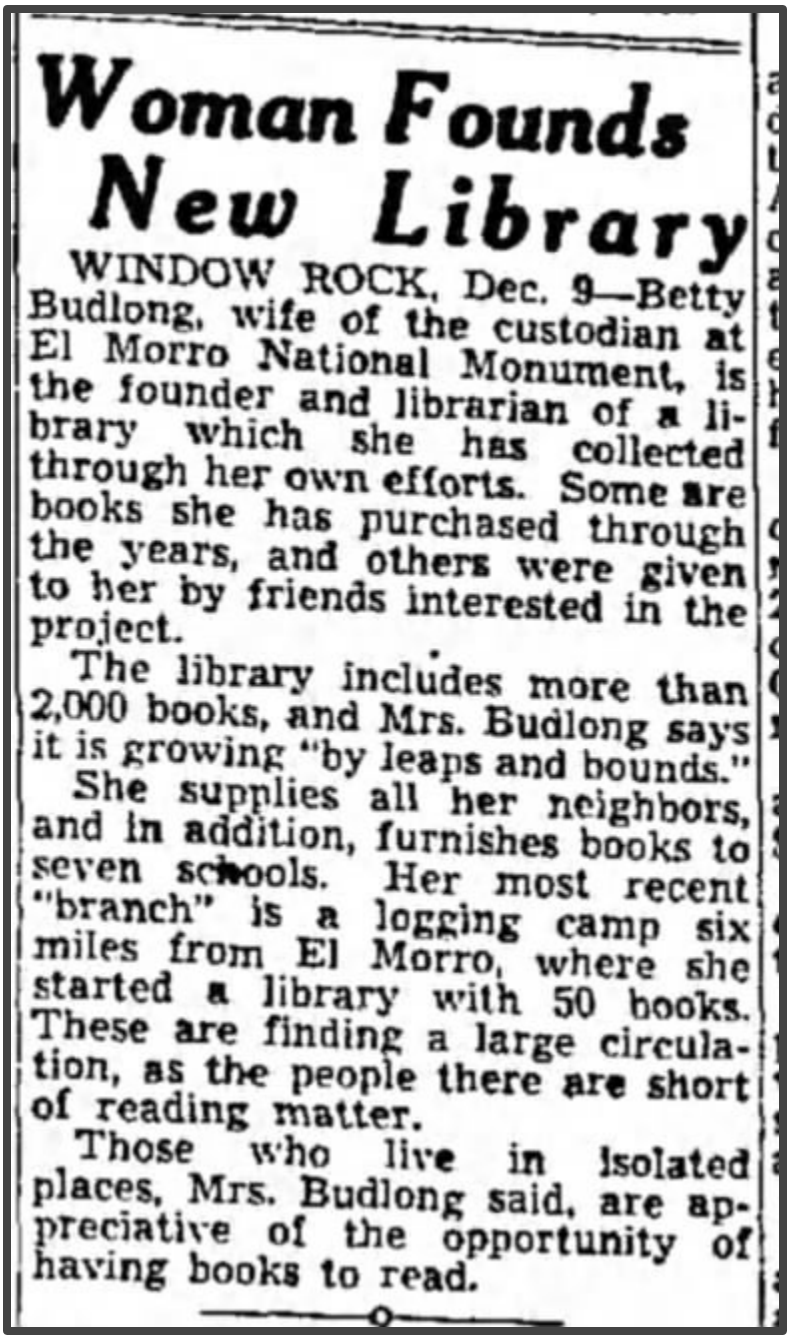
Yours very truly,

(Signed) Vera D. Vinogradoff
Dr. Vera D. Vinogradoff

cc: Herbert Maier; Frank Pinkley.

COPY

Figure 108. Dr. Vera Dawson Vinogradoff's letter to Director Cammerer praising the Budlongs' hospitality. Source: WACC



Woman Founds New Library

WINDOW ROCK, Dec. 9—Betty Budlong, wife of the custodian at El Morro National Monument, is the founder and librarian of a library which she has collected through her own efforts. Some are books she has purchased through the years, and others were given to her by friends interested in the project.

The library includes more than 2,000 books, and Mrs. Budlong says it is growing "by leaps and bounds."

She supplies all her neighbors, and in addition, furnishes books to seven schools. Her most recent "branch" is a logging camp six miles from El Morro, where she started a library with 50 books. These are finding a large circulation, as the people there are short of reading matter.

Those who live in isolated places, Mrs. Budlong said, are appreciative of the opportunity of having books to read.

Figure 109. News of Betty Budlong's library work in the El Morro area. Source: Arizona Republic, December 10, 1940.

Clarke, Jesse

Jesse Cecil Clarke (1876-1932)

~Born: December 31, 1876, Brownsville, Tennessee
~Died: August 9, 1932, Flagstaff, Arizona
~SWNM Association: Wupatki (custodian, 1925-1932)

Jesse Cecil (J. C.) Clarke served as the first custodian of Wupatki National Monument near Flagstaff, Arizona. For nearly eight years, he kept an eye on the monument for the nominal sum of $12 a year. This part-time arrangement with the National Park Service was cut short in August 1932 when Clarke suddenly passed away. On the occasion of his death, Clarke's NPS field boss, Frank Pinkley, Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, recognized Clarke's role in the organization in the following month's issue of the *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*: "When a history of the southwestern monuments is finally written I hope adequate recognition will be given to the fine work of such men as J. C. Clarke whose friendship I have valued, whose contagious enthusiasm has many times revived my own drooping spirit, and whose advice I have so often taken in handling the local matters around Wupatki."[1044]

Like many early twentieth-century Arizonans, J. C. Clarke started life elsewhere. He was born on New Year's Eve, 1876, in Brownsville, Tennessee, the eldest child of John Peter Clarke (1852-1905) and Georgianna Holmes (1856-1935). During his childhood, Clarke's family moved around Tennessee and then headed southwest to Waco, Texas, before settling in Oklahoma. In Ardmore, Chickasaw Nation, Clarke took up work as a lineman for telephone and railway companies. In Oklahoma City in 1902, he married Tillie Hrabe; she filed for divorce in 1908 and moved to Pueblo, Colorado, taking full custody of their only daughter, Cecilia (b: 1906).[1045] By 1910, Clarke had moved to New Mexico, to serve as local manager for the Clovis telephone company.[1046] There he met widow Alice Honn-McWilliams, chief operator for the Roswell telephone company.[1047] They married and in 1912 relocated to Flagstaff, Arizona, where Clarke became office manager for the Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Co.[1048]

[1044] Frank Pinkley, *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*, August 1932, 1.

[1045] "Marriages," *The Oklahoma Post*, December 31, 1902, pg. 5; "Charges Threat to Blacken Character," *The Daily Oklahoman*, November 3, 1908, pg. 3; "Announcements–Notice," *The Daily Oklahoman*, January 5, 1909, pg. 11; and *The Pueblo Sun*, February 14 and May 26, 1910. See also the 1910 U.S. Census for Pueblo, Colorado, where Tillie and Cecilia were registered in the Davis household (*FamilySearch*, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MK4J-K8T, entry for Jane J Davis and Isac J Davis, 1910).

[1046] *Roswell Daily Record*, February 7, 1910, pg. 3.

[1047] *Roswell Daily Record*, March 16, 1910, pg. 3.

[1048] *Arizona State Business Directory, 1914-1915*, 278, digital ed., Arizona Memory Project (https://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/nodes/view/161181).

By 1920, the Clarkes were well-established in the greater Flagstaff community and affiliated with several local fraternal lodges and philanthropic clubs, including the Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows, Rotary Club, Rebekah Lodge, and Flagstaff Woman's Club. J. C. Clarke dabbled in various business ventures. In 1915, he became the proprietor of Flagstaff's new European-style hotel, The Ideal. By 1919, he had shifted employment to "postmaster" of the city's post office two blocks from the hotel.[1049] Despite his background in electrical engineering, Clarke devoted most of his spare time to southwestern archeology. He befriended prominent archeologists, such as Jesse W. Fewkes and Harold S. Colton, curated an impressive collection of artifacts, and grew an extensive library of volumes on the history of Arizona and the Southwest.[1050] He and his wife co-founded the predecessor institution of the Museum of Northern Arizona, an archeological 'museum' located in a 12 x 24-foot space within the 1923 Flagstaff Woman's Club building.[1051] Clarke devoted considerable time exploring Arizona's Ancestral Puebloan sites and lobbying for their protection by garnering support from among his many social and business connections.[1052] The Wupatki pueblo—which Clarke christened as such in 1921—became a national monument in 1924 due in large part to Clarke's efforts.[1053]

[1049] "Ad: Flagstaff's New Hotel–The Ideal, J. C. Clarke, Prop.," *The Coconino Sun*, March 26, 1915, pg. 8; and "Ad: The Ideal Hotel," *The Coconino Sun*, July 9, 1915, pg. 6.

[1050] David R. Wilcox, "Seizing the Moment: Collaboration and Cooperation in the Founding and Growth of the Museum of Northern Arizona," *Journal of the Southwest* 52, no. 4 (Winter 2010): 456-460. After Clarke's death, Harold Colton purchased Clarke's library and gifted it to the state teacher's college in Flagstaff [Northern Arizona University]. Clarke's library, along with other valuable books added to the collection, was to be known as the J. C. Clarke Memorial Library. Ultimately, the university named it the Harold S. Colton Memorial Library. See: "J. C. Clarke, 1876-1932," *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* vol. 36 (Apr 13-15, 1933): 32.

[1051] In 1922-1924, before the formal establishment of the Museum of Northern Arizona (est. 1928), the Clarkes helped establish its embryonic predecessor—a small archeological museum curated by the Flagstaff Woman's Club, of which Alice Clarke was a board member and former president. The woman's club stepped up to the challenge during the community search for a local organization willing to furnish museum space for the "preservation of Coconino County and Arizona curios." The Flagstaff Woman's Club designed a new club building with a dedicated 12 x 24-foot exhibit space for the museum. The building's grand opening occurred in February 1924. See "Our Antiquities Going to Other Cities—Why Not a Museum Here?" *The Coconino Sun*, September 15, 1922, pp. 1-2; "Woman's Club Plans a Museum for Flagstaff," *The Coconino Sun*, October 27, 1922, pp. 1 and 8; "Fr. Vabre's Curios Given to the Woman's Club Museum," *The Coconino Sun*, March 21, 1924, pg. 1; "Flagstaff Woman's Club New Home Will Be an Ornament to the City," *The Coconino Sun*, September 28, 1923, pg. 1; "Movement on Foot to Organize Museum Society," *The Coconino Sun*, January 18, 1924, pg. 1; "Museum Got Start in Women's Club Building," *Arizona Daily Sun*, October 31, 1969, pg. 6D. See also: Susan Deaver Olberding, "Telling the Story: The Museum of Northern Arizona," *Plateau*, New Series no. 2 (1997): 17, Museum of Northern Arizona (https://musnaz.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Telling-the-Story-1.pdf).

[1052] "Great Historic Ruins Near Flagstaff Being Neglected," *The Coconino Sun*, February 16, 1923, pp. 1-2; Rotary Requests Indian Ruins Northwest of City Be National Monument," *The Coconino Sun*, February 23, 1923, pp. 1 and 3.

[1053] William Stoutamire, "Creating the Monuments: Exploiting, Owning, and Protecting the Past in Flagstaff, Arizona," Ph.D. Dissertation, Arizona State University (2013), 271-274; Tyson Pendery, "Wupatki National Monument: Archeology and Tourism, 1900-1956," unpublished M.A. Thesis, Northern Arizona University, 2004, 42-51; "J. C. Clarke, 1876-1932," *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* vol. 36 (Apr 13-15, 1933): 32.

In December 1924, J. C. Clarke corresponded with Frank Pinkley, sending the superintendent a copy of a newspaper write-up on the new Wupatki National Monument and asking him whether he could give a talk at the new Flagstaff archeological museum. In his reply, Pinkley asked Clarke if he would consider taking on the position of "nominal custodian" of Wupatki for $12 per annum. The monument desperately needed oversight, but the Park Service had no funds to hire a full-time custodian: "You see," Pinkley explained,

> We haven't funds enough to put on full-paid men at a lot of our Monuments, and, until Congress understands our problems a little better, we have to hunt around at a number of our monuments until we can find a man who is interested enough in the monument to forget there is no salary attached to the job and will give it such attention as he can and send me a general report in the way of a friendly letter once a month, all for a salary of 12 per year. I know how interested you are in Wupatki and in prehistoric ruins of the southwest, and I think you will enjoy the contact this office will give you with the other custodians of the southwestern monuments. Every month we each chip in a report on our monument to my office and I work these reports up into a general report, a copy of which is sent back to each custodian. In this manner we all keep in touch with what the other fellow is doing. Think this over and let me know about it.[1054]

Clarke accepted the nominal custodianship of Wupatki, effective January 1925. Pinkley announced the agency's new custodial selection in the Southwestern National Monuments monthly report:

> Mr. J. C. Clark[sic], of Flagstaff, Arizona has agreed to become custodian and we are delighted to welcome him in the Service. Mr. Clark is deeply interested in the prehistoric remains of the southwest and is thoroughly [acquainted] with Wupatki in particular. He has had a chance to become thoroughly acquainted with the work which Dr. J. W. Fewkes did at Wupatki since he has worked for the latter in archaeological investigation.
>
> In his letter of January 14th, Mr. Clark seems to be alive to the possibilities of the ruins on his monument for he says: "A few days ago I received a letter from the Manager of the News Department of the Automobile Club of Southern California asking for prints of the different ruins located in the Wupatki Monument." Although Wupatki is not situated so visitors can readily reach it, there is no doubt but that advertising and publicity such as the above will soon send the public there at any cost.[1055]

[1054] Frank Pinkley to J. C. Clarke, December 26, 1924.

[1055] Frank Pinkley, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1925, 7.

J. C. Clarke remained custodian of Wupatki National Monument until his rapid decline from abdominal cancer in 1932. He died August 9 and was buried in the Odd Fellows section of the Flagstaff Citizens Cemetery.[1056] Harold Colton succeeded Clarke as nominal custodian.

[1056] *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/123968192/jesse_c-clarke: accessed February 21, 2026), memorial page for Jesse C. Clarke (31 Dec 1876–9 Aug 1932), Find a Grave Memorial ID 123968192, citing Citizens Cemetery, Flagstaff, Coconino County, Arizona, USA, maintained by sherylynn (contributor 48835624).

Cook, Gay

Augusta Gay Cook (1906-1984)

~Born: January 21, 1906, in Pineville, West Virginia
~Died: November 24, 1984, in Albuquerque, New Mexico
~SWNM Association: Montezuma Castle/Tumacácori/Casa Grande Ruins (ranger's wife, 1931-1933); Bandelier (HCWP, 1932-1933); SWNM (payroll and personnel clerk, winter 1933-34); Aztec Ruins (permanent seasonal ranger, 1934)

Gay Cook Rogers became the first paid woman ranger in the Southwestern National Monuments group when she entered on duty at Aztec Ruins National Monument on June 1, 1934. Tragic circumstances led to this exceptional arrangement. Eight months earlier, her husband, Edgar Rogers (1901-1933), custodian of Bandelier National Monument and former ranger at several southwestern monuments, had committed suicide. For two-plus years, Gay served alongside him at Montezuma Castle, Tumacácori, Casa Grande Ruins, and Bandelier. Unpaid but just as committed as her husband, she earned the distinction of being the first Park Service wife to bear the venerable title, "Honorary Custodian Without Pay" or "HCWP." She may have invented the moniker as well. As a former HCWP, Gay possessed the field experience needed for the paid ranger position at Aztec Ruins in 1934. As a widow, she also met the unmarried status required for most employed women in the National Park Service at the time. But even with her field experience and single marital status, the employment of a female ranger in lieu of a male ranger was rare. Gay understood the rarity of her employment, and she donned her ranger uniform with great satisfaction.[1057]

Considerable mystery surrounds this pioneering National Park Service ranger. The details of Gay's early life are vague even to her descendants; she shared little about her life before and during her marriage to Ed Rogers. We know from a range of genealogical records that she entered the world as Augusta Gay Cook on January 21, 1906, in Pineville (Wyoming County), West Virginia—the second-born of six children born to Rayston Beecher Cook and Leora née McGraw.[1058] She spent her childhood in Slab Fork and, after 1920, in Mullens, where her father joined the local police force.[1059] By the mid-1920s, Gay had spread her wings and moved to northern New Mexico to serve as a public school teacher.[1060] When she returned to her parents' house in West Virginia during the summer of

---

[1057] Conversation with Gay Cook's granddaughter via FamilySearch.com private chats, April 22, 2021.

[1058] Wyoming County, West Virginia, Birth Register, p. 28, entry for Gay Cooke, January 21, 1906; "Vital Research Records Project," database with images, West Virginia Department of Arts, Culture & History (https://wvculture.org/vital-records-interactive/ : image-searched November 8, 2023).

[1059] Ancestry.com, "1920 U.S. Federal Census," online database with images, entry for Beacher Cook, sheet 8-B, Slab Fork, Wyoming County, West Virginia.

[1060] According to anecdotal information collected from Ancestry.com public family trees, Gay started teaching public school in Chama, Rio Arriba County, NM, around 1924 . See: Ancestry.com, "20240621 JSC Family Tree" (user profile: John S Cook),

1930, a local newspaper noted that "Miss Gay Cook" had taught school in New Mexico "for the past several years."[1061] She did not stay home for long. At the start of new year 1931, 'Miss Gay Cook' became 'Mrs. Edgar Rogers' and subsequently moved back to the Southwest.

The nuptials of Gay Cook and Edgar Rogers took place in Rogers's hometown of Malvern, Hot Spring County, Arkansas, on January 3, 1931.[1062] Gay was twenty-three years old and Rogers twenty-nine; it was her second marriage and his first.[1063] Most likely, they first met in northern New Mexico. Since 1925, Rogers had worked sporadically as a seasonal National Park Service ranger in the Southwest; he also chauffeured for the Fred Harvey-Hunter Clarkson "Indian Detours" excursions company that was based in Santa Fe. After marrying, Gay joined her husband on a one-year ranger assignment to Montezuma Castle National Monument in Arizona in July 1931. The newlyweds lived in the monument's rustic ranger quarters, which they improved with interior decorating and outside plantings of native trees and vines.[1064]

In mid-June 1932, Gay and Edgar Rogers left most of their household goods at Montezuma Castle and moved to their new assignment at Bandelier National Monument, newly transferred into the National Park Service from Forest Service administration, for a four-month seasonal appointment as the monument's custodians. The Rogerses moved into the only available residence at the monument—a leaky old Forest Service ranger station in Frijoles Canyon.[1065] Despite the rustic conditions, Gay embraced life at Bandelier; it was isolated, but not lonely. The Frey family, longtime concessionaires at Bandelier, ran the Frijoles Canyon Lodge a few hundred yards down the trail from

---

profile for Augusta Gay Cook (1906-1984, d: Albuquerque, NM). Gay was listed in two households in the 1930 U.S. Census. For Lamy, Santa Fe County, New Mexico, she showed up as a boarder in the household of Dr. F. M. Crume; her occupation was "teacher of public schools." Back in Mullens, Wyoming County, West Virginia, her parents also listed her as a member of their household. See: Ancestry.com, "1930 U.S. Census," entry for family 173, Roston B. Cook, sheet 8-A, Mullens, Wyoming County, West Virginia; and "1930 U.S. Census," entry for family 1, F.M. Crume, sheet 1-A, Lamy, Santa Fe County, New Mexico.

[1061] *Bluefield Daily Telegraph*, June 12, 1930, pg. 5.

[1062] "Hot Spring County, Arkansas, County Marriages, vol. June 1930-August 1932," p. 392, image for Edgar Rogers and Gay Cook, 3 January 1931, "Arkansas, County Marriages, 1837-1957," database with images, *FamilySearch* (https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NMTY-HPN).

[1063] The 1930 U.S. Census entry for the Cook family in Mullens, West Virginia, gave Gay's marital status as "divorced." The *Harrisburg Telegraph* of Pennsylvania reported on December 4, 1925, pg. 3, that Pennsylvania resident Eugene R. Canada and Augusta Gay Cook of Mullens were issued a marriage license in Hagerstown, Maryland. Based on the census, they were divorced before 1930, possibly by 1927. Eugene Roosevelt Canada (1907-1989) served overseas with the Marine Corps, 1927-1935.

[1064] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, March 1932, 150.

[1065] Laura Soullière Harrison, "History and Significance," *Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico. Historic Structure Report: CCC Buildings* (1988), digital edition (https://npshistory.com/publications/band/hsr-ccc.pdf).

the ranger station. Gay became good friends with Evelyn Frey. She also enjoyed interacting with monument visitors, fairly numerous for such a remote and underdeveloped monument.[1066]

In summer 1932 Bandelier had no rangers or other administrative personnel besides Ed and Gay Rogers. Out of necessity, Gay learned the ropes quickly, especially after Ed left for Arkansas just a month later to attend to his dying father, and left Gay in charge from July 18 to August 13. With characteristic aplomb, Gay capably managed the affairs at Bandelier. She DIY'ed the monument's first NPS guest register, guided visitors, entertained official Park Service visitors, and hired a laborer to clear a tree-blocked trail. She also analyzed visitor trends and concluded that development of an access road into the canyon was paramount. From careful inquiry of the visitors who hiked down into Frijoles Canyon, she noted that about fifteen percent of each party never attempted the steep descent down the 5/8-mile trail to the canyon floor, but being wary of the slope, remained at the campground above.[1067]

Gay especially delighted in writing Bandelier's monthly report to Frank Pinkley, Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM). With equal delight, Pinkley reprinted Gay's monument report in the SWNM monthly group report for July, remarking that it appeared Bandelier would not get out of hand while "Ed" was away:

> Dear Boss:
>
> I am going to pass along all the gossip I know and you can pick out the high spots and put them into the report.
>
> I was a little surprised when I added the visitors for the month to find that we had 1018. Mr. Richey and Ed talked as though arranging a temporary register was a very serious thing and might take an act of Congress to get it done. I took some cardboard and made a back to fit the sheets, fastened them on with a rubber band and so far no one has objected to signing it. It has its advantages because it is so light and portable.
>
> [...]
>
> The visitors express regret that we do not have a road into the Canyon. I have inquired of the parties that have registered and find that in almost every party there was one or more who did not come down. ...
>
> I am sending a request for a check to be sent to James Waters for one days[sic] work. I hardly knew what to do about that for Ed had to leave before we could get the trail cleared, (a couple of fallen trees) and if I am taking in entirely too much territory up here I am sorry.

[1066] During the summer season 1932 (June through September), the Rogerses recorded 2,724 visitors to Bandelier National Monument. Statistics taken from the SWNM monthly reports for those months.

[1067] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1932, 196.

> I am having a lot of fun with Ed's job. No one hired me, I am not being paid and so I can't very easily be fired. I meet the visitors at the foot of the trail and explain to them that this is a National Monument and why there is no ranger on hand and offer my services.[1068]

Gay's temporary solo flight as custodian proved a smashing hit in the National Park Service. The following month, NPS Director Albright sent a personal letter to Gay, congratulating her on her fine monthly report for July. The editor of the NPS *Bulletin* also took up the news of Gay's capable ad hoc custodianship with an article titled, "New Standard Set At Bandelier!"[1069] In their co-written August monthly report for Bandelier—submitted to the SWNM office—Gay and Ed Rogers labeled Gay as "(the H.C.W.P.)." Frank Pinkley added that Gay may have "given up the keys of office" but she would keep "the position of Honorary Custodian Without Pay."[1070] Wives of SWNM custodians had submitted reports on behalf of their husbands for years before Gay's two reports in July and August 1932, but this appears to be the first use of the title Honorary Custodian Without Pay (HCWP) to describe their volunteer services. Likely, Gay invented the moniker. She used a playful tone in most of her communications and, in fun, probably referred to herself with the catchy label while acting custodian that summer.

'Playful' would hardly have described Gay Cook Rogers, "the HCWP," a year later. In May 1933, after spending the winter and spring peak tourist season in Arizona, the Rogerses returned to Bandelier for their summer assignment.[1071] They found a leaky, burglared cabin and signs of new vandalism. Frank Pinkley promoted Ed Rogers to permanent full-time custodian of Bandelier soon after. The monument needed year-round protection; it also needed someone onsite to supervise the extensive CCC development scheduled to start that fall. The promotion was good news, but for the Rogerses it also entailed the difficult task of hauling all their household goods over from Arizona to New Mexico, and then down into Frijoles Canyon by pulley. En route, most of Gay's treasured china and Mexican blue glassware broke.

By the end of summer, Ed Rogers became depressed about the logistics of planning, coordinating, and preparing for the Army construction workers that would arrive in October to begin building the CCC camp and potentially damage irreplaceable archeological resources in the process. On Sunday, October 16, 1933, Gay found him prone in the ranger cabin with a self-inflicted pistol wound to the head. She ran for Evelyn Frey, who hurried over, found Rogers still alive, stretched out in his ranger uniform on

---

[1068] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1932, 194-196.

[1069] National Park Service, *Park Service Bulletin* 2, no. 7 (Sept. 1932): 16.

[1070] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1932, 224.

[1071] On October 18, 1932, the Rogerses transferred to Tumacácori for a seasonal ranger appointment. On January 15, they transferred to SWNM–Casa Grande Ruins. In April, they were briefly stationed at Tumacácori again to cover the Boundeys' furlough, before returning to Bandelier on May 6.

the floor, and sat with him until he passed away.[1072] Gay wired the news of Rogers's suicide to her close friend Dama Smith, wife of the custodian at Petrified Forest, who arrived early the next morning with Frank Pinkley and SWNM chief clerk Hugh Miller.[1073] They all escorted Gay back to Santa Fe, where she coordinated her husband's funeral. In the following SWNM monthly report, Pinkley sympathized with Gay, adding that she would continue "to hold her place in the hearts of the Park Service family of the Southwestern Monuments" and he hoped that she, too, would consider them "her folks."[1074]

Gay remained at Bandelier for a short while after Rogers's death. Martin Evenstad, former ranger at Tumacácori who entered on duty as the acting custodian of Bandelier, remarked in his October monthly report to SWNM that "Mrs. Rogers" gave him a tour of Bandelier and introduced him to the various ruins along the canyon wall.[1075] In November, Gay headed to Coolidge, Arizona, where Frank Pinkley employed her to assist with the mounting office paperwork related to CWA and CCC federal-relief work projects. He introduced Gay as the new Payroll and Personnel clerk, handling the Public Works Appropriation vouchers and timesheets.[1076] The appointment was short-lived. By January 1934, Gay had returned to New Mexico; the University of New Mexico's 1933-34 student directory listed a "Mrs. Gay Cook Rogers" in its directory of correspondence-course students enrolled in the Santa Fe extension program.[1077] Her name reemerged in the SWNM monthly reports a few months later in May 1934, when Pinkley happily announced that he had hired Gay as seasonal ranger at Aztec Ruins National Monument, effective June 1. According to custodian Johnwill Faris, Gay reported for duty a few weeks early on May 11, happy to start her gig as the first woman ranger for Southwestern National Monuments under the official salaried title of "Park Ranger," Grade 7 [$1680 per annum].[1078]

Gay's official tenure as ranger at Aztec Ruins lasted from June 1 to August 31, 1934. During her appointment, she put her characteristic exuberance into the job, often going the extra mile. Her efforts drew attention. In June, she escorted visitors from Aztec over to Chaco Canyon; the custodian, J. L. Patterson, remarked that "Ranger Rogers" often referred visitors to his monument. One visitor, he

---

[1072] Mary D. Burchill, *Lady of the Canyon: Evelyn Cecil Frey, A Tribute* (Los Alamos: Otowi Crossing Press, 2001; reprint 2007), 30-31.

[1073] Burchill, *Lady of the Canyon*, 30-31.

[1074] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, October 1933.

[1075] Ibid.

[1076] That winter Pinkley also hired Mable Brown, sister of Dama Smith of Petrified Forest NM, for a clerical SWNM office position. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1933; *Coolidge Examiner*, November 17, 1933, 8.

[1077] *The University of New Mexico Bulletin: Forty-third Annual Catalog, Issue 1933-34* (Albuquerque: the University of New Mexico, April 1934), 244. Gay Rogers's NPS federal-service personnel record in the employee biographical files at Harpers Ferry Center Archives lists her education as "three years of college," probably completed at UNM.

[1078] "Rogers, Gay–GSA Transcript/Statement of Federal Service," Box 4, Sub-subseries 1: Research and Interview Notes, Subseries C: Project Records and Research Notes, 1942-1987, Series III: Dorothy B. Huyck's Women in the NPS Oral History Project, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

reported, told him she would have missed seeing the "wonderful ruins" of Chaco if "that lovely little lady at Aztec had not insisted that [they] go to Chaco Canyon."[1079] That summer, Gay dropped down into Bandelier for a short visit—her first trip back since the death of Ed Rogers. "As exuberant as ever, and showing almost official dignity in her Park Service uniform," she made a splash in the SWNM monthly report as the first person to nearly drive her car off the narrow bridge recently installed to connect Bandelier's new CCC-built parking area and lodge; "Come in again, Rogers," the new custodian, Earl Jackson, jested.[1080]

At the end of summer, Gay's seasonal appointment ended and she returned to teaching, serving as a public-school teacher in Farmington for 1934-35. Southwestern National Monuments planned for her to return to Aztec Ruins for her seasonal position in summer 1935.[1081] But during the school year, on December 15, 1934, in Durango, Colorado, she secretly married Richard "Dick" Haldor Lovald (1903-1963) —an engineer for the new USDA Soil Conservation Service, aka Soil Erosion Service. They met earlier that year in a kiva at Aztec Ruins while Gay was employed as a ranger.[1082] The newlyweds did not publicly announce their marriage until April 1935, to protect Gay's teaching contract. Frank Pinkley announced the happy news in a News Flash in the SWNM monthly report:

> The prohibition of secrecy having been removed, we are at liberty to tell the many Service people and others who will be interested in hearing the news, that Gay Rogers was married on the fifteenth of last December to Dick Lovald, of the Soil Erosion Service. Gay had to finish out an unexpired term of school teaching at Farmington, New Mexico, so they decided to say nothing about the wedding until a couple of weeks ago when the school term was over and it looked like Dick was going to settle down in one place for a while. At the present writing they are in Albuquerque, New Mexico, but within a few days will be working out of Gallup with that town for their headquarters, box 135.[1083]

Gay and Dick Lovald settled in Gallup and, a couple years later, welcomed daughter Sonja Gay Lovald (1937-2022). The family of three traveled the globe for Dick's many government assignments with the Office of Inter-American Affairs, the Bureau of Land Management, the United Nations, and the Bureau of Reclamation. Gay taught school at some of their posts, including in Hawai'i.[1084] On the side, she tried her hand at creative writing. In November 1946, *The Children's Friend* magazine

---

[1079] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1934, 628.

[1080] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1934, 739.

[1081] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1935. The custodian of Aztec Ruins talked about the guided service he and "Mrs. Rogers" would provide for summer 1935.

[1082] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, October 1937, 331.

[1083] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1935. See also: National Park Service, *Park Service Bulletin* 5, no. 4 (May-June 1935): 31.

[1084] "In Brief—," *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, May 29, 1948, pg. 1.

published a short story about a mouse named "Sniffy," written by Gay Lovald and illustrated by her friend Elizabeth Williamson.[1085]

In the late 1950s, the Lovalds settled down in Santa Fe, where, in 1961 at age 55, Gay became a hostess and part-time office assistant at 109 East Palace—the infamous Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory 'portal'.[1086] She may have been on the job when John F. Kennedy visited the Laboratory on December 7, 1962—the first U.S. President to visit. Gay worked at the portal until it closed its doors in June 1963.[1087] Around the same time, Dick Lovald died after a long illness. Gay remarried in 1967 to widower Abraham Ten Broeck Williamson, Jr.—former head archeologist of the CWA public works project at Wupatki National Monument in winter 1933-34.[1088] Ten Broeck and his late wife Elizabeth were family friends of the Lovalds. He had been Dick Lovald's Soil Service colleague, and in the 1940s they were stationed together in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, with the Office of Inter-American Affairs.[1089] Gay and Ten Broeck Williamson settled in Albuquerque and enjoyed seventeen years of marriage before Gay passed away on November 24, 1984, seventy-eight years young.[1090]

[1085] Gay Lovald, "Sniffy and the Silly Cat," *The Children's Friend* v.11 (Nov. 1946): 462-464, online database, *Church History Catalog* (https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets/4de8a7f7-2aa4-440d-827c-ab133c8fe8ce/0/0).

[1086] *Santa Fe New Mexican*, April 22, 1962, pg. 20; and "AEC Office in SF Closes," *New Mexican Sun*, June 30, 1963, pg. 5.

[1087] "AEC Office in SF Closes," *New Mexican Sun*, June 30, 1963, pg. 5.

[1088] "Wupatki Ruins," *Albuquerque Journal*, July 14, 1983, pg. C-3; *Arizona Daily Star*, December 26, 1933, pg. 12.

[1089] Ten Broeck Williamson, *Three Years of Agricultural Experience in Honduras: A Special Report* (Washington: Institute of Inter-American Affairs, 1946).

[1090] "Williamson-Gay Lovald," *Albuquerque Journal*, November 26, 1984, pg. 31.



Figure 110. Gay Cook Rogers, the original "HCWP," in her ranger blouse and tie, circa 1934, when she served as Park Ranger, Aztec Ruins National Monument. Source: Lovald family private collection, used with permission.

John McRae Davis (1901-1985)

~ Born: June 25, 1901, in Crookston, Minnesota
~ Died: March 1, 1985, in Tacoma, Washington
~ SWNM Association: Region III (assistant regional director, 1945-1950); SWNM (superintendent, 1950-1955; general superintendent, 1955-1957)

When John McRae Davis retired from the National Park Service in 1968, he had served the agency for nearly forty-two years. He first donned an NPS uniform on April 12, 1926, the same day he entered on duty as Park Ranger, Mount Rainier National Park; when he hung up his uniform for the last time in June 1968, he did so as the newly-retired superintendent of Yosemite National Park (1966-1968). His career was long and varied. In the middle, he spent eleven years in the singular position of staunch supporter and superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM), the fourth and final person to hold that title.

John M. Davis's Park Service career launched at Mount Rainier National Park, only sixty miles from where he grew up. When Davis was six or seven years old, his parents Don Carlos Davis and Ida née McRae moved him and his four siblings from Crookston, Minnesota—his birthplace, where he was born June 25, 1901—to Tacoma, Washington. Davis graduated from both grade school and high school in Tacoma. Following high school, Davis studied business administration at Washington State University at Pullman. After college, he enlisted in the Washington State National Guard, assigned to Troop B, 8th Machine Gun Squadron of the 24th U.S. Cavalry Division; he served from July 5, 1923, to April 15, 1924, with the bulk of that time spent in training at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming.[1091] After discharge, he secured employment with a real estate firm in Seattle, Washington, but quickly tired of the job.

In spring 1926, John Davis heard of a park-ranger vacancy at Mount Rainier and applied. On April 10, he, and about thirty or forty other applicants arrived at Seattle's Frye Hotel to interview with Supt. Owen Tomlinson. Davis's business skills in stenography and shorthand clinched him the job, which he started the following day.[1092] He remained at Mount Rainier for twelve years. During that period he married Marie Adelaide Lyddon (1904-1995)—a Tacoma resident employed as an interior decorator

---

[1091] Ancestry.com, "Washington, U.S. Military Records, 1855-1950," online database, entry for John M. Davis, image no. 30633.

[1092] John M. Davis, transcript of Oral History Interview with John M. Davis by S. Herbert Evison, November 6. 1962 with corrections offered by Davis in March 1964, 2, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 - 1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

at Schoenfeld's department store.[1093] They tied the knot on November 14, 1928. Like her husband, Marie was born in Minnesota and, as a young girl, moved with her family to Tacoma. After marriage, John and Marie Davis lived in ranger quarters at Mount Rainier. The couple had their first child, son John "Jack" H. Davis, in 1931, and welcomed daughter Anne Marie Davis in 1934.[1094] The year Jack was born, Davis earned a promotion to Chief Ranger, Mount Rainier, a position he held until 1938. As Chief Ranger, Davis "participated in a number of hazardous summit rescues," one of which involved recovering the body of Delmar Fadden in February 1936 after a ten-day search at 13,500 feet in elevation. The ordeal earned him special commendation from NPS Director Arno B. Cammerer in February 1936. Davis also organized the first winter ski patrols at Rainier, oversaw the projects of six CCC camps in the park, and helped pioneer "the development of the park as a major Northwest ski area."[1095]

In spring 1938, the Davises left the Northwest. In an upward career move, John Davis accepted the assistant superintendent position at Zion and Bryce Canyon national parks in southern Utah, which included joint administration of five national monuments. During his tenure, he worked under four superintendents and even took up the acting superintendency for Supt. Finan during the latter's year-long medical leave-of-absence. In July 1941, Davis transferred again, to the assistant superintendency of Grand Canyon National Park, where he was stationed for "the quiet years of World War II."[1096] During this time he enjoyed serving as a naturalist a couple days a week by operating the Yavapai Observation Station and "giving daily park interpretive talks."[1097] By December 1945, the agency had installed him in the southwestern regional office at Santa Fe as acting Assistant Regional Director; the position became permanent in spring 1946.

John Davis's primary duties as assistant regional director at Region III involved the general administration of twenty-seven national monuments associated with the deactivated Southwestern National Monuments office, formerly based at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Coolidge, Arizona, then merged with the regional office in 1942-43. Specifically, Director Drury instructed Davis to devote his efforts "to raising morale of monument personnel, to increase the number of positions in an understaffed organization, and to raise standards of their equipment and physical plants" —a "controversial opinion," Davis later noted, that was "not shared by all in the Region office.[1098] In his own words, Davis's arrival at the regional office launched an eleven-year chunk of his

---

[1093] *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, advertisement, February 27, 1927, pg. 5.

[1094] Jack Davis followed in his father's footsteps and became a career National Park Service employee.

[1095] "Bibliography: John M. Davis, Superintendent, Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks: May 2, 1963," 2, folder "Davis, John M., October 20, 1966," Box 6, Subseries B: Employee Biographical Files, Series XVI: Records of the Employee & Alumni Association of the NPS, Assembled Historic Records of the NPS (HFCA 1645), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1096] "Bibliography: John M. Davis, Superintendent," 2.

[1097] Ibid.

[1098] Ibid.

career spent "fighting the battles of Southwestern Monuments."[1099] From the start, he was a friend, supporter, and advocate for the old Pinkley organization. Davis came on board when the group's *esprit de corps* was at its lowest. For three years he worked hard to reactivate the SWNM office as an independent regional division; he succeeded. The National Park Service reauthorized the SWNM superintendency in fiscal year 1950 and placed Davis in charge, with an official appointment start date of March 3, 1950.[1100]

After his appointment as Southwestern National Monuments superintendent, Davis and his administrative aide, Iva M. Boatright, organized a skeleton staff of personnel, including a chief naturalist, Dale King, and the part-time services of archeologist Charlie Steen.[1101] By fall 1950, the full-time services of naturalist Leslie P. Arnberger, a ranger-naturalist transferred from Casa Grande Ruins, rounded out Davis's small team. To fill Davis's vacated position as assistant regional director, the Park Service transferred former SWNM superintendent Hugh Miller from the Washington office to Santa Fe.[1102] Crowded office conditions, and tensions between administrators, meant that Davis began looking for potential office space elsewhere. The conversation quickly turned to reinstating Southwestern National Monuments as a fiscally-independent administrative office, with separate headquarters—like the prewar years.

In 1951, John Davis became a member of the NPS committee set up to determine the functions of regional offices.[1103] In this position he helped influence the agency's agreement to separate Southwestern National Monuments administration from the regional office. In February 1952, Congress approved the reauthorization of SWNM with separate headquarters.[1104] Legislation authorizing funds to buy a building for a new headquarters followed in July 1952 and, by October, SWNM possessed the keys to the former Gila Pueblo Archeological Foundation—a 22,000-square-foot central building with a cluster of outside buildings and a residential quadrant—of Globe, Arizona. On November 9, 1952, John Davis and his family relocated to Globe and settled into their

---

[1099] Davis, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 35.

[1100] The title changed to "General Superintendent" effective June 3, 1955, to better distinguish his position from the monument superintendents (their title had changed from custodian to superintendent in 1948).

[1101] Iva Boatright served as SWNM administrative aide until its closure in 1957.

[1102] Three overlapping assistant regional directors filled the gap at Santa Fe after John Davis stepped down: Harvey H. Cornell (6/25/1950-6/30/1954), Preston P. Patraw (9/29/1950-5/8/1954), and Hugh Miller (11/6/1950-7/13/1955). Miller was promoted to Region III director in 1955. See: National Park Service, "Historic Listings of NPS Officials: Southwest Regional Office, Santa Fe, New Mexico," National Park Service History: Electronic Library & Archive (https://npshistory.com/publications/tolson/histlist10.htm).

[1103] National Park Service, "Profiles.....John M. Davis," *Newsletter* 2, no. 10 (May 18, 1967): 3 (https://npshistory.com/newsletters/courier/newsletter-v2n10.pdf).

[1104] Public Law 295, 82nd Cong., Ch. 19, 2d sess., S. 2169, February 12, 1952.

accommodations at Gila Pueblo—a staff apartment, boasting two guest rooms for visiting family and friends.[1105]

John Davis remained general superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments until January 1957, when he suddenly announced his resignation. In December, while visiting the Washington office, Davis had received the offer of a promotion to serve as NPS Chief of Conservation and Protection; he accepted on the spot. Most likely, Davis learned at the time that the National Park Service was considering closing Southwestern National Monuments permanently—which it did, by internal announcement circulated March 5, 1957. By that date Davis had already resigned and moved to Washington. Dale King stepped into the acting general superintendency and supervised the closure. At the end of June, the SWNM office closed its office doors permanently.[1106] The closure was regrettable, Davis later noted in an interview to Herbert Evison: "Now, admittedly I am prejudiced about Southwestern Monuments," he added, "and others could very well challenge my statements...but we did have a fine organization, and I always regretted that the service saw fit to discontinue it, because I think it was the finest unit in our entire Park Service organization." Southwestern National Monuments, he argued, "did more good [than any other organization] through the personal contacts that these monument superintendents and the men in the monuments would make with visitors."[1107]

John Davis worked in Washington from 1957 to 1959. During that time, he transferred from the position of Chief of Conservation and Protection to Chief of Ranger Activities over the new Division of Ranger Activities that he helped establish. In Washington he also served as chairman of the Mission 66 Advisory Committee. In 1959, Davis transferred to the west coast to become superintendent of Sequoia-Kings Canyon National Park, a post he held until 1966, when he transferred for the last time to the superintendency of Yosemite. Davis retired in January 1968 after forty-one years of NPS service. A few months later, the Department of the Interior awarded him its highest merit, the Distinguished Service Award, during a ceremony in the DOI auditorium in Washington, D.C.[1108]

John and Marie Davis initially retired to Fresno, California, but in 1976 retired permanently to their hometown of Tacoma, Washington. Davis continued to be involved in National Park Service affairs, including volunteering occasionally as a hearings officer at wilderness and master-plan hearings in the

---

[1105] King, "Memorandum for the Files," May 31, 1956, 10-11.

[1106] Southwestern National Monuments, "Staff Minutes – March 5, 1957," Box 4, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10 (ACC 681), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

[1107] Davis, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 35.

[1108] "Davis Receives Park Award In DC Ceremony," *The Fresno Bee*, June 4, 1937.

western national parks.[1109] In 1985, he passed away in Tacoma after a brief illness, age 83; Marie followed in 1995.[1110] They were both buried in the New Tacoma Cemetery.[1111]

[1109] "Veteran Official of Park Service Dead at Age 83," *The Fresno Bee*, March 5, 1985, pg. 3.

[1110] "Marie A. Davis," *Tacoma News Tribune*, September 24, 1995, pg. 18.

[1111] *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/230392364/john_mcrea-davis: accessed April 18, 2026), memorial page for John McRea Davis (25 Jun 1901–1 Mar 1985), Find a Grave Memorial ID 230392364, citing New Tacoma Cemetery, University Place, Pierce County, Washington, USA, maintained by Tim Kovacs (contributor 49120403).



Figure 111. John M. Davis, general superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments. No date. Source: NPS History Collection



Figure 112. John M. Davis, General Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments, at his desk in the new headquarters in Globe, Arizona. Pictured with office staff (left to right) Dale King (Naturalist), Leslie Arnberger (Naturalist), and Luis Gastellum (Asst. S Supt.). Publicity photo by John Startton, March 1953. Source: WACC (57982)

Dodge, Natt

Natt Noyes Dodge (1900-1982)

~ Born: August 23, 1900, South Chatham, Massachusetts
~ Died: December 12, 1982, in Santa Fe, New Mexico
~ SWNM Association: SWNM (junior park naturalist, 1937-43); Region III (assistant park naturalist, 1943-1946; regional naturalist, 1946-1963)

Natt Noyes Dodge enjoyed a 31-year career as a naturalist for the National Park Service. For most of that period, he served in the Southwest—two years as a ranger-naturalist at Grand Canyon National Park, five years as Junior Park Naturalist at the Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM) headquarters in Coolidge, Arizona, four years as Assistant Park Naturalist for SWNM in the Region III office in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and then seventeen years as Regional Naturalist for Region III. He was a prolific writer on naturalist subjects, "the man everyone called when they saw a new bird."[1112] His commitment and productivity eventually earned him the title, "Grand Naturalist of the Southwest." As Dodge modestly dubbed himself, he was a "jackologist," a "jack of all nature studies but master of none."[1113]

Natt and Nature first met in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, on August 23, 1900, when Franklin Parker Dodge (1873-1908) and Florence Harriet Griffin (1866-1958) welcomed him as their first and only child. On the heels of his birth, baby Natt and his parents moved to Roxbury, a borough just outside Boston, where his father taught Latin in a high school. When Natt was age five, his father's compromised health forced the family to move west. They settled in Boulder, Colorado. Frank Dodge started a chicken ranch in hopes that the outdoor work would improve his health, but he never fully recovered; he died in June 1908.[1114] After her husband's death, Florence Dodge, a former schoolteacher, launched a new pedagogical career spanning thirty years in the Boulder School District. She and Natt—and his maternal grandparents—lived together north of town at Meadow Lark Ranch, located on old 12th Street atop "Maxwell Mesa."[1115]

[1112] Corky Jones to Polly Kaufman, notes on SWNM personnel, n.d., folder "Wupatki + Jones Correspondence," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1113] "Natt Dodge Knows Birds and Bees," *The Santa Fe Scene: Weekly News and Features*, July 26, 1958, pg. 5.

[1114] "Frank Dodge, Dartmouth Graduate, Dies in Boulder," *Rocky Mountain News*, July 1, 1908.

[1115] "Death Claims Florence Dodge," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, March 4, 1958, pg. 7. Florence Dodge's parents (C. P. and Harriet Griffin) moved out to Colorado to live with Florence and Natt after the death of Frank Dodge. The Griffins and Dodges all lived together in an exurban area just outside town at the time, now the North Boulder residential community known as Wonderland Hill. In 1920, the Griffins' and Dodges' next-door neighbor was Hon. James P. Maxwell, who built his 1906 mansion on a knoll which locals referred to as "Maxwell Mesa." The current address of the well-preserved Maxwell mansion is 3737 Broadway. The Griffins and Dodges lived next door at a 'ranch' they called Meadow Lark. A

In Boulder, Natt attended the State Preparatory School (Boulder High School) and took on a number of odd jobs to help pay the household bills. He graduated in May 1918. After a summer spent shepherding at a ranch in Medicine Bow, Wyoming, he enrolled in Colorado Agricultural College (Colorado State University) at Fort Collins.[1116] Natt was socially active in college, including serving as an editor, author, and photographer for student publications. He also attended the Student Army Training Corps in fall 1918, then promptly discharged in December due to illness. Despite his full schedule, Dodge managed to earn dual degrees in agronomy and horticulture in 1924.

A couple days after graduation, Natt Dodge married Mildred "Hap" Nellie Johnson (1899-1991) of Boulder.[1117] They first met in prep school in Boulder, and then again years later at a house party.[1118] A collegiate athlete and 1922 graduate of the University of Colorado, Hap taught school in the Boulder district; she also enjoyed active membership in both the Colorado Mountain and Rocky Mountain Climbers' clubs.[1119] After their wedding, Natt and Hap Dodge promptly moved to Washington State, where Natt managed several large berry farms near Beaux Arts. He soon secured a position as a salesman for the Superior Honey and Bee Supply distribution company in Seattle, a position that also involved contributing articles and photographs to the *Bees and Honey* trade periodical. By the late 1920s, he worked for the Pacific Slope Honey Company as foreman. During the Seattle period, the Dodges welcomed two children: Nattalie Ruvern (1926-2011) and Griffin Noyes (1931-2018).[1120]

After the Depression hit, Natt Dodge supplemented the family income with extra work as an apiarist.[1121] But when Superior Honey declared bankruptcy in 1932, Dodge needed a new job. In desperation, he applied for a seasonal ranger-naturalist position under Frank Brockman at Mount

---

house built on the property in 1926 still stands but was approved for demolition in summer 2024. The address is now 3776 Orange Lane.

[1116] He matriculated in fall 1918, and the same semester enlisted in the Student Army Training Corps, hoping to be furloughed for war service. But a severe case of the flu, followed by pneumonia, had him honorably discharged in December 1918. In 1920, after three months in the hospital followed by a year convalescing at home, during which time he worked as a cab driver, he returned to his university studies. See: "Natt Dodge Knows Birds and Bees," *The Santa Fe Scene: Weekly News and Features*, July 26, 1958, pg. 4.

[1117] Hap was the youngest of eight children—born in Genesee, Illinois, while her father was on his deathbed. During her baptism at six weeks old, surrounded by her siblings and their father (who got out of bed for the occasion), her eldest brother motioned to call her Happy based on her disposition, despite her official christening as "Mildred." She was called "Hap" or "Mary Sunshine" the rest of her life.

[1118] Polly Welts Kaufman, transcript of phone interview with Mildred (Hap) Dodge, June 25, 1988, Box 2, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1119] Johnson-Dodge Engagement Is Formally Announced," *Fort Collins Coloradoan*, January 3, 1924, pg. 4.

[1120] Daughter Judith "Judy" Cecelia arrived in 1940. Eldest daughter Nattalie later married NPS archeologist Zorro Bradley; they were posted to several southwestern national monuments.

[1121] "Natt Dodge Knows Birds and Bees," *The Santa Fe Scene: Weekly News and Features*, July 26, 1958, 4.

Rainier National Park. Brockman hired him, and Dodge returned every summer through 1934.[1122] Hoping for more permanency with the National Park Service beyond seasonal rangering, Dodge took and passed the "famous naturalist - junior park naturalist - [Civil Service] examination."[1123] He turned down his first Civil Service job offer at Alaska's Mt. McKinley, choosing instead to wait for a preferable location for raising a family. This came in the form of a park ranger position at Grand Canyon National Park in April 1935.

On September 13, 1937, Dodge and his family transferred from Grand Canyon National Park to Southwestern National Monuments headquarters at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument in Coolidge, Arizona. Natt Dodge joined the entered as Junior Park Naturalist, working under Dale S. King, Assistant Park Naturalist. In the September 1937 monthly report, King introduced Dodge to the group: "Dodge comes to us with general naturalist experience at Mt. Rainier and Grand Canyon national parks, is an accomplished photographer and has had considerable success along the lines of writing and editing. His work will deal principally with the biological aspects of the Southwestern Monuments educational program."[1124]

Though hired for his background in natural sciences, Dodge, like most headquarters staff, found himself pinch-hitting wherever needed, including helping prepare the monthly report. As a photographer, he built up the SWNM inventory of monument images for illustrated talks and exhibits, including producing Kodachrome 'moving pictures' for evening lectures with themes such as, "The Desert," "Glimpses of Our Southwestern Monuments," and "Indians."[1125] He offered courses in photography to the CCC enrollees at the Casa Grande Ruins side camp. At other times, he found himself party planning—designing menus and other preparations for special CCC camp holiday dinners. But most of his work involved museum preparation and general naturalist work. He banded birds, collected biological specimens, and conducted field trips to the monuments to prepare preliminary outlines for museum exhibits and general interpretive programming. He also worked on boundary and wildlife protection plans for some of the monuments, including Saguaro. In his first year alone, he inspected and proposed plans for museum development, interpretation, and conservation programs at sixteen monuments; later in 1941, he helped Carlsbad Caverns National Park staff establish the park's interpretive program.

[1122] Natt published articles often in the Mount Rainier National Park "Nature Notes" publication, available digitally at: https://npshistory.com/nature_notes/mora/nn-title.htm

[1123] Natt N. Dodge, transcript of Oral History Interview of Natt N. Dodge by S. Herbert Evison, December 11, 1962, with changes and corrections added by Dodge on April 13, 1964, 2, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1124] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1937.

[1125] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1938, 243,

Natt held the SWNM Junior Park Naturalist position at headquarters for five years. Initially, the Dodge family took up temporary lodging at the Vah-Ki Inn, located just around the corner from the monument—the go-to lodgings for NPS friends and family. Complete with a pool, where the children of SWNM personnel took swim lessons, and a dining room and tearoom, it often served as an offsite conference space for SWNM meetings. Eventually, the Dodges moved into employee housing at Casa Grande Ruins. Their daughter Nattalie later recalled that in 1939 their family of four lived in one half of Frank Pinkley's old 1910 house in Compound A, which had since been converted to a duplex. All the single male SWNM staff lived in the other partition:

> Boss Pinkley had the house built and with every new room added was charged $5.00 per month more in rent. The other half of the house was inhabited by 7 bachelors working at the Southwestern National Monument Headquarters, among them Luis Gastelum, Gordon Vivian, Charlie Steen. We shared one small bathroom.[1126]

In October 1942, Dodge and the other SWNM personnel moved headquarters operations to the NPS Region III office in Santa Fe. In Santa Fe, Dodge's title became Assistant Park Naturalist. He still worked mostly for the southwestern monuments but also performed regional office-specific duties across Region III. His duties included special assignments such as organizing the regional library to reflect its merger with the inventory brought in from SWNM.

During the war years, the regional office assigned Dodge the task of developing a regional naturalist position. Dodge traveled around the various parks and monuments surveying personnel opinions about the usefulness of a regional naturalist: "I was the guinea pig," he later mused, "on which this regional naturalist job [est. 1946] was tried out first as acting and then finally as an established position."[1127] Once authorized, the regional office gave the permanent regional naturalist position to Dodge. He served in this capacity from 1946 until his retirement on December 30, 1963, a milestone marked by his receipt of both the Interior's Meritorious Service Award and the regional office's gift of a bound volume of "scores of congratulatory letters from friends throughout the nation."[1128]

After retirement, Natt and Hap Dodge continued to live in Santa Fe, at their home on Camino Manzano. They remained active in both the community and the Park Service. Hap participated in several organizations in Santa Fe, including the Girl Scouts, First Presbyterian Church, Woman's Club, and Kiwani-Anns (Kiwanis Club). From 1958 to 1976, she was primarily responsible for the task of sewing the 44-foot Zozobra marionette costume for the annual Fiesta de Santa Fe.[1129] For many

---

[1126] Nattalie Dodge Bradley to Polly Kaufman, July 10, 1988, folder "Hap Dodge 6/25/88," Box 2, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1127] Natt N. Dodge, transcript of Oral History Interview (1964), 5 and 7.

[1128] "Natt N. Dodge Retires After 30 Years Service," *The National Park Courier* 10, no. 1 (Jan 1964): 5; and "Natt Dodge Retiring After 30 Years with Park Service," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, December 22, 1963, pg. 9B.

[1129] Harrison Sudborough,"The Lady Dressed Him for Burning," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, September 5, 1985, pg. 21.

years she also served as an active member of the NPS Woman's Organization in Region III. In addition to writing and publishing, Natt taught interpretation classes at the NPS Albright and Mather training centers. The Albright Training Center later named its 46th session of the course, "An Introduction to National Park Service Operations," after Dodge, in honor of his career contributions to the Park Service.[1130]

Around 1971, Natt Dodge stepped back from interpretive research and writing due to the onset of Parkinson's. In 1972, the Association of Interpretive Naturalists awarded him honorary membership for being a "highly productive interpreter—particularly as a writer. Through his personal example and direct encouragement he inspired many who had only marginal interests to become full-time professionals in the field."[1131] During his NPS career, Dodge authored roughly 300 magazine articles and booklets on national parks and monuments, including a chapter on wildlife in the American west for Julian Messner's tome, *The Book of the American West* (1963), and a two-part biographical feature on Frank Pinkley, "Seven Star Superintendent," for *The National Parks Magazine* (1958). He illustrated most of his publications with his own photographs. Dodge mostly authored and co-authored books on southwestern natural history, including *Poisonous Dwellers of the Desert, Flowers of the Southwest Desert,* and *The American Southwest* (1955), which had sold over 150,000 copies by 1972. His impressive resume included a self-published book of verses, "Rhymes of a National Park Naturalist and Other Selected Verses" (1971), completed during retirement—his last publication. On December 12, 1982, Natt Dodge died in Santa Fe from complications of Parkinson's.[1132] Hap survived him by nine years; she died on January 20, 1991, in her home in the El Castillo Retirement Residences of Santa Fe.[1133] Natt and Hap were buried in the Santa Fe National Cemetery, survived by all three of their children.[1134]

[1130] National Park Service, Southwest Regional Office, "News Release," draft (1976?), folder "Dodge, Natt N., July 26, 1958-1976," Subseries B: Employee Biographical Files, Series XVI: Records of the Employee & Alumni Association of the NPS, Assembled Historic Records of the NPS (HFCA 1645), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1131] Association of Interpretive Naturalists, "Honorary Membership, 1972: Natt Noyes Dodge," typescript, folder "Dodge, Natt N., July 26, 1958-1976," Subseries B: Employee Biographical Files, Series XVI: Records of the Employee & Alumni Association of the NPS, Assembled Historic Records of the NPS (HFCA 1645), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1132] "Obituaries: Dodge, Natt Noyes 82," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, December 14, 1982; National Park Service, "Natt N. Dodge," *Courier* (Feb 1983): 5.

[1133] "Mildred J. (Hap) Dodge," *Courier* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 46.

[1134] *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/17533717/natt_noyes-dodge: accessed April 14, 2026), memorial page for Natt Noyes Dodge (23 Aug 1900–12 Dec 1982), Find a Grave Memorial ID 17533717, citing Santa Fe National Cemetery, Santa Fe, Santa Fe County, New Mexico, USA, maintained by Anonymous (contributor 8021295).



Figure 113. Natt N. Dodge, Junior Park Naturalist of Southwestern National Monuments, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, circa 1937-38. Source: NPS History Collection



Figure 114. Natt and Hap Dodge pictured with Supt. Frank Pinkley at Southwestern National Monuments headquarters, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. Source: NPS History Collection



Figure 115. Caricature sketch of Natt N. Dodge by artist Gene Wakefield, 1958. Source: WACC

Martin Ole Evenstad (1891-1956)

~ Born: January 30, 1891, in Hendrum, Minnesota
~ Died: January 11, 1956, in Mill Valley, California
~ SWNM Affiliation: SWNM [acting clerk-stenographer, 1929-30; chief clerk and procurement officer, 1930-1933]; Tumacácori [ranger, 1933; 1934-1936]; Bandelier [acting custodian, 1933-1934]

Martin Ole (aka Olai or Ollie) Evenstad joined the Southwestern National Monuments office in 1929. He hailed from North Dakota, but was born in Hendrum, Minnesota, on January 30, 1891. Sometime before 1907, his parents—Norwegian immigrants Ole and Marita Evenstad—moved the family to Rolette County, North Dakota, to homestead near Willow Lake.[1135] Evenstad attended Aaker's Business College in Fargo; after graduating in 1913, he accepted a clerical position with Linwell-Nason Mercantile Co. in the town of Ray.[1136] When he registered for the World War I draft in 1917, Evenstad was serving as a Williams County deputy sheriff.[1137] During the war, Evenstad served in France with the U.S. Army Military Police until transported home on the sick & wounded ship in January 1919.[1138] After discharge, he returned to North Dakota to work on the family farm. In 1927, he married Ethel Ida Rosscup (1902-1942) in Rolla. Ethel also attended Aaker's Business College. She met Evenstad after she procured work as a stenographer in the Rolla law office of her brother-in-law, attorney John A. Stormon, where Evenstad also worked.[1139]

At some point, Evenstad decided to pursue a career with the National Park Service as a park ranger, entering first on temporary duty at Casa Grande Ruins, January 1, 1929. Frank Pinkley, superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, however, needed Evenstad to serve as the acting clerk stenographer while he awaited a new clerical hire from the Civil Service list. Evenstad's

---

[1135] Evenstad's father died in 1909. Marita Evenstad and her children were registered in the 1910 U.S. Census for Willow Lake Precinct, Rolette County, ND. They were still in Willow Lake for the 1920 census.

[1136] *The Fargo Forum and Daily Republican*, May 3, 1913, pg. 8.

[1137] **"**U.S. World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918," online database with images, *Ancestry.com*, entry for Martin O. Evenstad, Willow Lake, Rolette, North Dakota, June 6, 1917, serial no. 338, order no. 1.

[1138] "U.S. Army Transport Service, Arriving and Departing Passenger Lists, 1910-1939," online database with images, *Ancestry.com,* entry for Evenstad, Martin O., 2704210, Varicose, Pvt., Co. "C," 1st Army Military Police (MP), departed St. Nazaire, France, 20 Jan. 20 1919, aboard the Mongolia—Sick & Wounded, arrived in Hoboken, New Jersey, 31 Jan 1919, pg. 28, no. 593, digital image 477 of 1027, citing *Lists of Incoming Passengers, 1917-1938*, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, 1774-1985, Record Group 92, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[1139] *Cando Record*, Feb. 22, 1923, transcription, *USGenWeb Archives Special Projects* (files.usgenwarchives.net/nd/rolette/newspaper/re20-23.txt : accessed 15 Oct 2023). See also: *The Coolidge Examiner*, July 21, 1933, pg. 1; and "Mrs. Ethel Evenstad Dies in Prime Of Life," *Mill Valley Record,* July 31, 1942, pg. 5.

duties as clerk included writing the monthly reports during Pinkley's absences and helping with book-keeping. By May 1929, Evenstad still covered the clerical workload but hoped to don a permanent ranger hat soon. Meanwhile, Pinkley hired C. E. Thomas—a trained stenographer—as temporary ranger while Thomas awaited the results of his Civil Service "Clerk" examination. The plan was to replace Evenstad with Thomas, and vice versa.[1140] But Thomas quit suddenly, and Evenstad remained stuck in the clerical work. Pinkley could not keep Evenstad on a temporary salary indefinitely and, yet, for two years he had tried unsuccessfully to fill the clerk-stenographer position from the Civil Service list. By November, Pinkley had devised a new plan. He announced to Director Albright that he would just redesign the clerk-stenographer title and job description to "Chief Clerk," and promote Evenstad to the 'new' position.[1141]

As Chief Clerk, Evenstad's initial duties remained the same. It was not a ranger gig, but it was permanent and came attached with a higher salary. In March 1930, Evenstad's duties expanded when the Department of the Treasury designated him a Special Disbursing Agent, adding "procurement officer" to his responsibilities. The designation allowed SWNM monies, including paychecks, to be signed and disbursed from SWNM headquarters rather than from Washington, D.C., and it made SWNM an independent fiscal office with direct accounting.[1142] Two months later, Evenstad added "father" to his growing job description, with the birth of daughter Norinne Gayle.

Evenstad remained SWNM Chief Clerk through July 1933. In August, he finally slid into a park ranger position when reassigned to Tumacácori National Monument. This was a short-lived post. In October, he transferred to Bandelier National Monument to serve as the emergency acting custodian after custodian Edgar Rogers committed suicide. At Bandelier, Evenstad spent the winter mobilizing the new CCC camp until Pinkley replaced him with Earl Jackson as permanent custodian in the spring. Evenstad returned to Tumacácori in June 1934. Two years later in June 1936, he transferred once again—but this time, outside of the Southwestern National Monuments group. He became ranger-clerk at Muir Woods National Monument near Mill Valley, California. Evenstad remained at Muir Woods until he took early retirement due to disability on December 31, 1941.[1143] A year later, his wife Ethel died after a brief illness; he remarried in 1951 to Lorraine Lavender Smith of New

[1140] Frank Pinkley to Horace M. Albright, June 3, 1929 [May 1929], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.
[1141] Frank Pinkley to Horace M. Albright, December 3, 1929 [November 1929], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404); NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.
[1142] Frank Pinkley to Horace M. Albright, April 10, 1930 [March 1930], Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404); NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.
[1143] National Park Service, *Park Service Bulletin* 11, no. 1 (Jan-Feb 1941): 20.

Mexico.[1144] On January 11, 1956, Evenstad suffered a fatal heart attack while speaking before the Marin County Chapter of the National Association of Retired Civil Service Employees, age 64.[1145]
Faris, Johnwill

John William Faris (1903-1993)

~Born: August 21, 1903, in Sheridan, Wyoming
~Died: November 18, 1993, in Farmington, New Mexico
~SWNM Association: Tumacácori (custodian, 1929); Aztec Ruins (custodian, 1929-1936); Canyon de Chelly (custodian, 1936-1938); White Sands (ranger, 1938-1939; custodian-superintendent, 1939-1961)

In 1929, at age twenty-six, John William "Johnwill" Faris launched a 34-year career with the National Park Service, during which he served as custodian (superintendent) of four southwestern national monuments. His childhood prepared him well for the rustic, itinerant lifestyle of NPS work in the Southwest during the 1930s and 1940s. He was born in 1903 in Sheridan, Wyoming, to Chester E. Faris and Elinora "Elsie" née Mathes. His father's career as a "pioneer" field agent for the Office of Indian Affairs [Bureau of Indian Affairs] meant that the Faris family moved often, mainly around the Southwest. Chester Faris's assignments included a post at the Pima Indian Agency in Sacaton, near Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, from 1924-1926.[1146] In Sacaton, Johnwill Faris met Dorothy Mae Thwing (1903-1953) of Los Angeles while she was conducting "home missionary work among the Indians" during the school year, 1925-26.[1147] They married on July 13, 1926, and settled in Albuquerque. Shortly after their marriage, Johnwill Faris secured work for the Indian Irrigation Service near Florence, Arizona.

Around spring 1929, Johnwill Faris met Frank Pinkley, Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM), through a church Sunday School activity in Florence, Arizona. Allegedly, Pinkley noticed how well Faris interacted with people and, since he needed someone to replace himself as custodian of Tumacácori National Monument, Pinkley broached the job possibility to Faris.[1148] Earlier in February, Pinkley had offered the Tumacácori custodianship to George Rudy, the clerk-stenographer for SWNM but Rudy declined and quit the Park Service altogether. The idea of working for the National Park Service appealed to Faris. Without thought of salary or remuneration, he

---

[1144] "Mrs. Ethel Evenstad Dies in Prime of Life," *Mill Valley Record,* July 31, 1942, pg. 5.

[1145] "Martin Evenstad Rites Tomorrow," *Daily Independent Journal*, January 16, 1956, pg. 16. See also: "Martin Evenstad Dies Suddenly," *Mill Valley Record*, January 19, 1956, pg. 6.

[1146] "Chester E. Faris Dies, Indian Lore Authority," *Albuquerque Tribune*, January 24, 1957, pg. 1.

[1147] "Miss Thwing Married," *The Breckenridge Bulletin*, July 23, 1926, pg. 1.

[1148] Johnwill Faris, transcript of Oral History Interview of Johnwill Faris by S. Herbert Evison, January 9, 1963, 1, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, NPS Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, West Virginia.

accepted Pinkley's proposition to serve as custodian of Tumacácori, resigning from his Indian Irrigation job.[1149] Faris showed up for duty at Pinkley's office at SWNM headquarters, Casa Grande Ruins, on April 1, 1929.

Before entering on duty at Tumacácori, Faris completed a month's training at headquarters under Frank Pinkley, learning guided visitor service among other tasks expected of a park ranger and custodian.[1150] This was Pinkley's standard training approach for new hires. However, in this case he also needed Faris to guide visitors around Casa Grande Ruins. Ranger Martin Evenstad was pinch-hitting in the office, dealing with mounting clerical work after Rudy's resignation. Pinkley hoped to move newly-hired ranger C.E. Thomas—a trained stenographer—into the office clerk position and then Evenstad out to ranger duties, which would free up Faris to head down to Tumacácori. But Thomas quit and Pinkley asked Faris to remain in residence at Casa Grande Ruins indefinitely. Faris's appointment as custodian of Tumacácori shifted to a non-resident, part-time position, whereby he made occasional day trips to Tumacácori to check on conditions and to complete ongoing repairs and improvement projects, and the rest of the time served as ranger at Casa Grande Ruins.

Johnwill Faris served as the part-time custodian of Tumacácori for only five months. In September 1929, Frank Pinkley transferred him to Aztec Ruins National Monument in New Mexico. Faris assumed his new role at Aztec Ruins with enthusiasm. From the start, he proved diplomatic and made concerted efforts to build friendly relationships in the local community and with various partner institutions involved in archeology at the monument .[1151] At times, Faris overstepped bounds of professional propriety, bypassing official channels in his desire to secure congenial relationships and allotments for his monument.[1152] But despite the occasional snag, the administrative results Faris produced and the relationships he netted usually balanced the scale.

Johnwill Faris's wife Dorothy resided with him at Aztec Ruins. The SWNM monthly reports mentioned her occasionally, mostly in the context of her well-known gravy recipe and homemade beans, though she apparently served as "a lady guide" for visitors when needed; by some accounts, she did the job better than her husband.[1153] After about nine years of marriage, the Farises divorced.[1154] On February 8, 1935, in Colorado, Johnwill Faris remarried to Lena Eve McEwen (1914-2001), with whom he had two sons—James and Kenneth.

[1149] Faris, transcript of Oral History Interview (1963), 1-2.

[1150] Pinkley introduced this strategy in the late 1920s as a type of crash-course training to bring a new ranger up to speed on Pinkley's preferred approach to guiding visitors at southwestern national monuments.

[1151] Lister and Lister, 105. Pages 105-141 cover Faris's administration of Aztec Ruins.

[1152] Lister and Lister, 106 and 141.

[1153] "The Monthly News Sheet Dealing with Persons and Events rather than Monuments," *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report*, August 1932, 2.

[1154] Dorothy Faris remarried to David Boyd of Los Angeles on September 25, 1937. See: "Brea," *Santa Ana Daily Register*, September 22, 1937, pg. 13.

In December 1936, Johnwill Faris transferred to the custodianship of Canyon de Chelly in Arizona, then transferred back to New Mexico in 1938 to serve as a ranger at White Sands National Monument. In 1939, Pinkley promoted Faris to the custodianship of White Sands after the Park Service asked longtime custodian Tom Charles to resign. Faris remained at White Sands longer than any custodian (superintendent) before or since, refusing to transfer until his sons had completed their schooling.[1155] During his tenure he initiated the first interpretive programs, developed the exhibit program, and prevented a military takeover of the monument, in large part due to the excellent relationships he fostered with the local community and adjacent military reservation.[1156] He finally stepped down as superintendent in January 1961, when he transferred to the superintendency of Platt National Park in Oklahoma.

Faris retired from the National Park Service two years later in 1963. In 1964, the Department of the Interior awarded Faris the Commendable Service Award for his ruins stabilization efforts at Canyon de Chelly and for his successful diplomatic efforts while superintendent of White Sands.[1157] After retirement, the Farises remained active in local and regional affairs in Alamogordo. They eventually moved to Farmington, where, in 1985, they celebrated their 50th golden wedding anniversary.[1158] Faris died in Farmington in 1993.[1159] On April 26, 1997, the National Park Service christened the new White Sands headquarters building in Faris's honor during a grand-opening ceremony attended by his wife and two sons.[1160]

[1155] The title of "custodian" for a national monument was abolished in 1948 and standardized to "superintendent" to match the national parks.

[1156] New Headquarters Building at WSNM Dedicated Saturday," *Alamogordo Daily News*, April 24, 1997, pg. 1.

[1157] "Johnwill Faris Commended by Interior Department," *Alamogordo Daily News*, October 2, 1964, pg. 1.

[1158] "Golden Anniversary Celebrated," *Alamogordo Daily News*, May 5, 1985, pg. 18.

[1159] *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/74714668/john_william-faris: accessed March 2, 2026), memorial page for John William "Johnwill" Faris (21 Aug 1903–18 Nov 1993), Find a Grave Memorial ID 74714668, citing Cedar Hill Cemetery, Cedar Hill, San Juan County, New Mexico, USA, maintained by Shyla Blair (contributor 47298633).

[1160] "Faris to be Center of WSNM Dedication Saturday," *Alamogordo Daily News*, April 25, 1997, pg. 1.

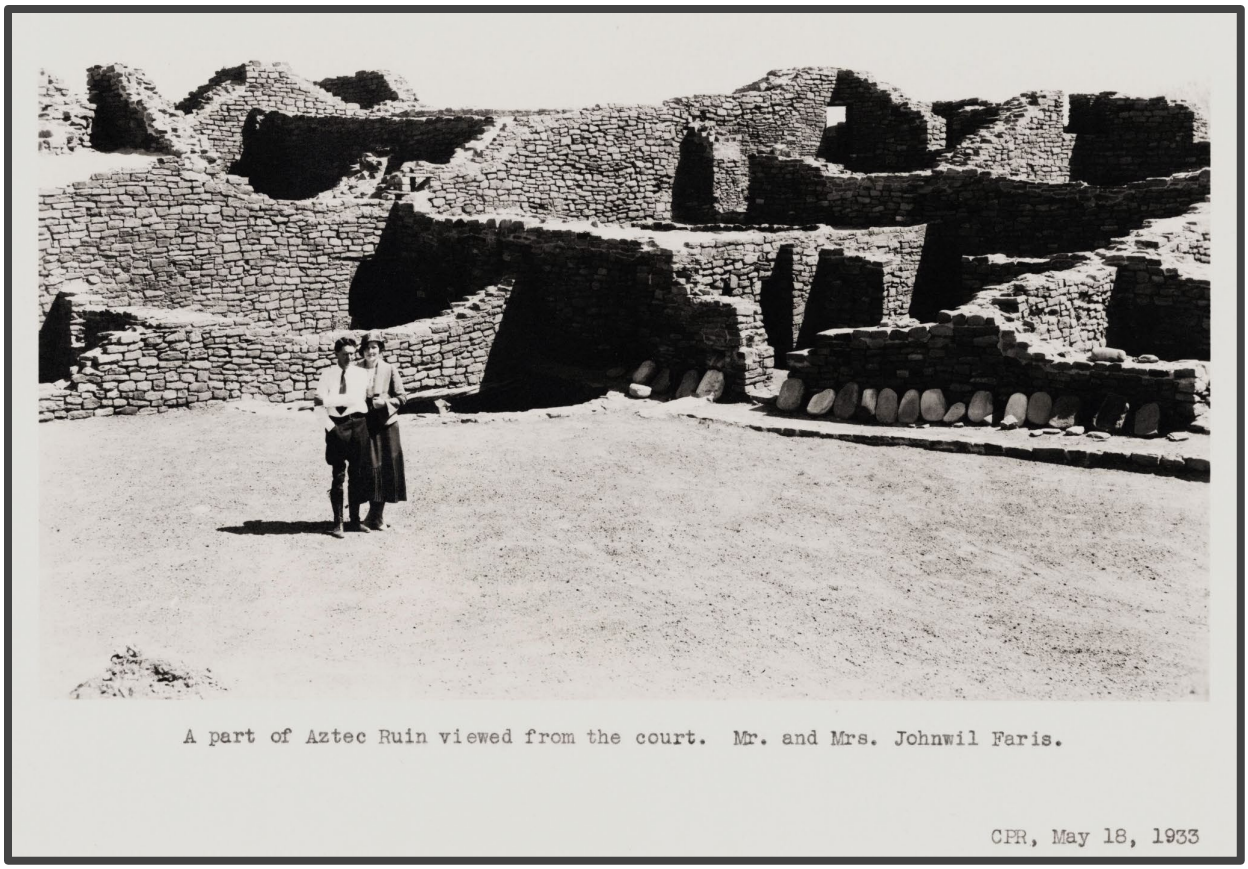


Figure 116. Johnwill and Dorothy Faris at Aztec Ruins, 1933. Source: NPS History Collection (HFCA)

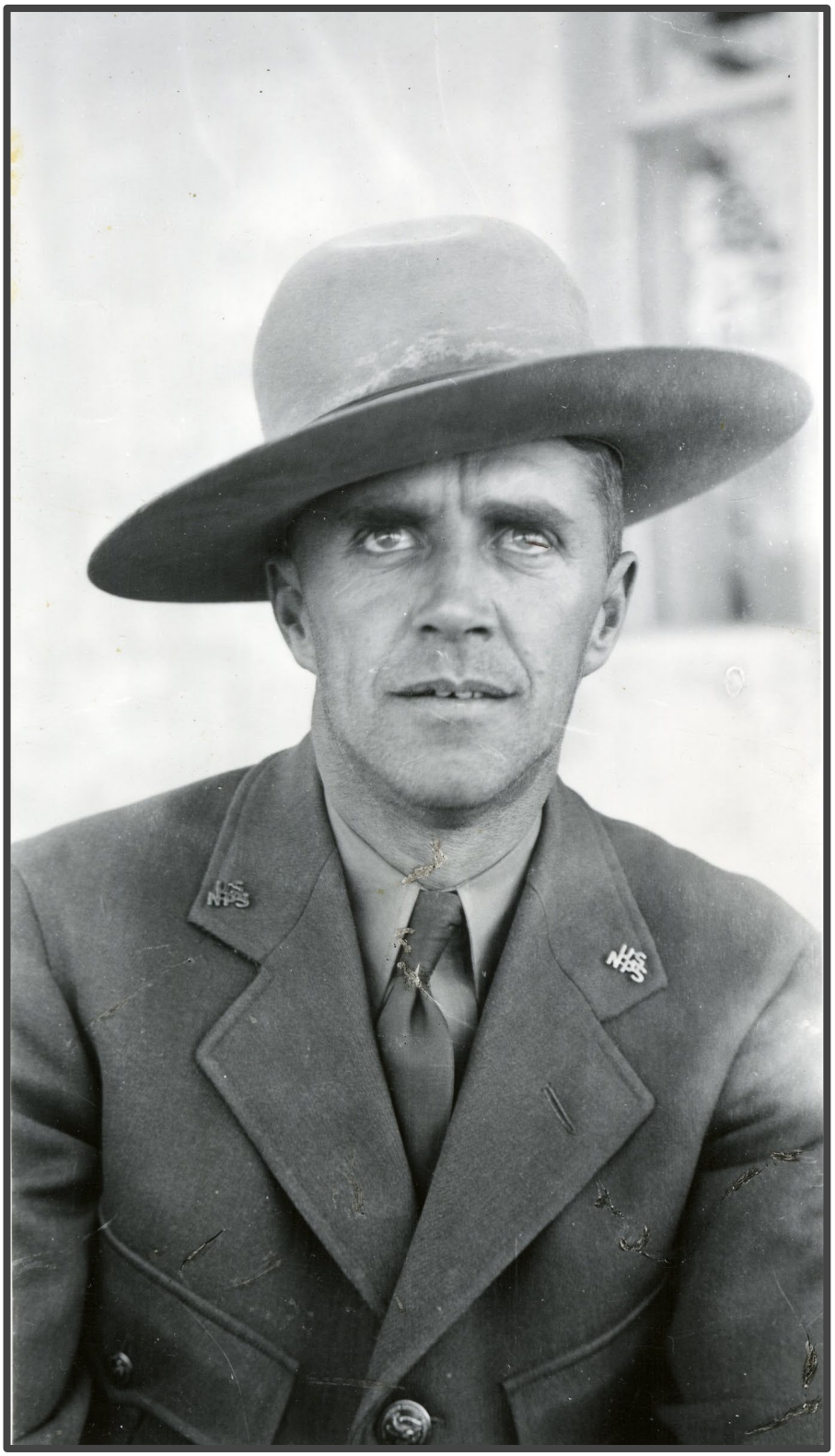


Figure 117. Johnwill Faris, custodian of Canyon de Chelly. Photograph by Dale King, 1937. Source: WACC (00421)



Figure 118. Johnwill Faris, custodian, viewing Canyon de Chelly from the rim. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge, June 23, 1938. Source: WACC (03655)



Figure 119. Johnwill Faris, superintendent of White Sands National Monument, pictured with his ranger patrol car stuck in the sand, pre-1956. Source: Alamogordo Daily News, August 22, 1993.

Gastellum, Luis

Luis Cruz Acuña Gastellum (1915-2000)

~ Born: May 3, 1915, in Tubac, Arizona
~ Died: March 14, 2000, in Tucson, Arizona
~ SWNM Association: SWNM (clerk, 1935-1943; assistant general superintendent, 1952-1956; acting general superintendent, 1957); SWRO (regional administrative officer, 1946-1952)

Luis Acuña Gastellum worked for the National Park Service in a variety of administrative positions during his thirty-eight-year career with the agency. More than twenty of those years he spent in the Southwest, helping administer the national monuments. Like many NPS personnel who started their careers in the Southwest, Gastellum began his career at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument—more specifically, in the Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM) office, headquartered at Casa Grande from 1923-1942. Twenty-year-old Gastellum started out as a temporary clerk-stenographer for SWNM in 1935 and remained with the organization until its closure in 1957.

Luis A. Gastellum was no stranger to Arizona when he showed up at Casa Grande Ruins in August 1935. He boasted deep roots in Santa Cruz County. Gastellum was born on the Luís Acuña Homestead near Tubac—Arizona's first European settlement (est. 1752)—on May 3, 1915, the fifth child of Hispanic ranchers Santiago and Santos (née Acuña) Gastelum.[1161] When Luis Gastellum was four years old, U.S. marshals evicted his family from their homestead (located within the original Baca Float No. 3), forcing them to resettle in Amado. Gastellum started school at age six, riding in the "school buggy" with his siblings for five miles to the Tubac school—a ninety-minute ride. They returned home around 5:30 in the evening. In their spare time, they helped with farm duties: milking cows, chopping wood, harvesting and baling hay, seeding crops, and peddling the family's homemade cheese; when he became a teen, he found summer work as a laborer and farmhand at neighboring ranches and dairy farms.[1162] Gastellum attended Nogales High School, graduating in May 1933 after only three and half years of coursework. Following high school, he attended business school at the Arizona College of Commerce in Tucson, studying accounting and shorthand. He graduated in 1935 and found a job with Wells Fargo Company. A few months in, Hugh Miller, Chief Clerk of Southwestern National Monuments, contacted the Arizona College of Commerce asking if they had

---

[1161] During retirement, Luis Gastellum changed the spelling of his surname to "Gastelum" (one 'l') to reflect its authentic Mexican spelling. For this administrative history, the authors use the spelling "Gastellum" (with two 'l's) to be consistent with official records and how Luis spelled it during his career with the National Park Service. See: Luis A. Gastelum, "Memories of My Youth at Tubac: From the Old Homestead to Adulthood," *Journal of Arizona History* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 32.

[1162] Luis A. Gastellum, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 15 and 18.

any male stenographers they could send up to Casa Grande for an interview; the school recommended Gastellum.[1163]

Luis Gastellum entered on duty as temporary clerk-stenographer, Southwestern National Monuments, in August 1935.[1164] He hit the deck running. Miller needed dictated replies to a huge stack of correspondence from the custodians of the southwestern national monuments before leaving on furlough a couple days later. "He's going to push you pretty hard," Frank Pinkley told Gastellum when they met. Gastellum did not mind; "in those days," he later stated, "we didn't mind work, because we had to work to survive." The first few months at SWNM, Gastellum "was exposed to all types of administrative work," such as "procurement, contracting," and all those practical things which he only knew "from theory at business college." Because of his grasp of the Spanish language, Gastellum was also given the task of translating historical documents collected by the task force of architects, engineers, and naturalists who traveled to northern Sonora, Mexico, in 1935 to study the Kino-era chain of missions as part of the Sonora Missions Expedition [Bio File: Tovrea].[1165] The final report of the expedition helped frame the restoration plan for the historic mission and design of a modern museum at Tumacácori National Monument in 1938-39.

From the outset, Gastellum's principal responsibility for the first three years at SWNM involved writing up the *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report* and laying it out for mimeograph, mostly "after work hours and during weekends and at night." Occasionally, Gastellum took field trips to the southwestern national monuments. Few of those involved clerical work. For his first field trip, he delivered a pickup truck to Gran Quivira in New Mexico. En route, he stopped at White Sands to check it out, and custodian Tom Charles gave him an off-road tour of the dunes. As soon as he had delivered the truck to Gran Quivira, he took the first train straight back to headquarters at Casa Grande. "Those were the type of field trips that we had in those days, and it was a matter of travelling 24 hours a day."[1166] In April 1936, Frank Pinkley redesignated Gastellum's position to ECW Clerk, with his salary coming out of CCC funding. The accounting transfer changed little; Gastellum remained in the SWNM office and continued his same duties. Since he had no transportation, for the first year Gastellum lived onsite at Casa Grande Ruins in a tent set up in the shade of a mesquite tree, an arrangement Frank Pinkley offered Gastellum until he could get a car and start looking for other places to live.[1167] In August 1937 Gastellum was promoted to permanent NPS clerk-stenographer "to assist in handling the large volume of correspondence necessary in the administration of 25 widely

---

[1163] Luis A. Gastellum, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 5-6.

[1164] "News at the Ruins," *The Coolidge Examiner*, August 9, 1935, pg. 1. See also: Frank Pinkley, "Ruminations," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1935, 153.

[1165] National Park Service, "Member News," *Courier* 35, no.4 (Apr 1990): 35.

[1166] Gastellum, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 7-9.

[1167] Gastellum, 52.

separated monuments."[1168] Beginning in 1938, Gastellum's duties expanded to include clerical work for the newly-established Southwestern Monuments Association, which provided fundraising, publishing, and technical educational assistance to SWNM.

By this time Gastellum had grown roots in the Coolidge area. He played on the local men's volleyball team that practiced in the residential parking area at Casa Grande Ruins; he also competed on the Coolidge men's softball and basketball teams.[1169] In April 1939, he purchased a house in Coolidge, the former home of SWNM mechanic Eugene Stonehocker.[1170] The home purchase heralded his marriage. A month later, Luis Gastellum married Tumacacori-native Agueda (Agatha) "Aggie" Cota (1914-2007), whom he had known since grade school. The small, intimate wedding ceremony before family and close friends took place at 8:30 in the morning of May 13 inside the mission chapel at Tumacácori National Monument, with special dispensation to do so granted from both the Catholic diocese and the National Park Service. Father Luis Duval, of Sacred Heart Church in Nogales, officiated the ceremony; he had baptized Agatha, as well as her mother, when they were both infants. The newlywed Gastellums honeymooned at the Grand Canyon and other national parks before settling into their new home in Coolidge.[1171]

In fall 1942, the National Park Service removed Southwestern National Monuments from its longtime location at Casa Grande Ruins and merged its personnel and resources with the regional office in Santa Fe—in large part to prevent a wartime closure of the regional office.[1172] The SWNM clerical office, including Gastellum, transferred to Santa Fe to help set up the reinvented SWNM-Region III office, and then, in mid-December, transferred to Kings Canyon as chief clerk. While there, Gastellum registered for the war, hoping to enlist in the Navy; but a perforated eardrum disqualified him. The Civil Service Commission hoped to send him to Paraguay, to provide clerical service as an associate administrative office for the food program. To go, Gastellum needed a 4F classification, which the draft board would not grant until his name reached the top of the draft list. In the end, "as red tape would have it," he never received the assignment. While Gastellum battled with the draft board, Kings Canyon and Sequoia national parks merged as an administrative unit. Gastellum had the option to be chief clerk for Sequoia or transfer to the Grand Canyon; he chose the latter, making the close of 1943.[1173]

[1168] *Interior Department Appropriation Bill, 1938* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), 534.

[1169] Frank Pinkley, "Closing," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1936, 287. See also: "Coolidge Team Wins the Soft Ball Championship," *The Coolidge Examiner*, September 16, 1937, pg. 1; and "Town Basket Ball Team Has New Suits," *The Coolidge Examiner*, December 23, 1937, pg. 12.

[1170] "Personnel Notes," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1939, 289.

[1171] "Couple Are Wed at Rites in Tubac," *Tucson Citizen*, May 13, 1939, pg. 13; "Agatha Cota and Louis Gastellum Married Saturday," *Arizona Daily Star*, May 14, 1939, pg. B1; Luis A. Gastellum, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 11; and "Personnel Notes," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1939, 364D.

[1172] Gastellum, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 13.

[1173] Ibid, 14-16.

At Grand Canyon National Park, Gastellum served under park superintendent John M. Davis, who, after accepting the position of assistant regional director at the Santa Fe regional office, persuaded Gastellum to transfer back to Santa Fe to work in the same office. Gastellum entered on duty at Region III as the regional administrative officer in November 1946. After NPS reinstated the Southwestern National Monuments superintendency in 1950, Gastellum worked closely with Davis on the successful proposal to reauthorize Southwestern National Monuments as a semi-autonomous administrative office. In 1952, after the Park Service approved the resurrection of SWNM, Gastellum became the organization's assistant superintendent under Davis.[1174]

In November 1952, Southwestern National Monuments staff settled into new headquarters at Gila Pueblo in Globe, Arizona. Luis Gastellum and his family transferred there as well. Gastellum continued to serve as assistant SWNM superintendent (title changed to assistant *general* superintendent in 1955) until 1957, when Davis resigned and Gastellum stepped up as acting superintendent. A month later, NPS circulated an official memo confirming rumors that it intended to close Southwestern National Monuments permanently. Gastellum stayed at Gila Pueblo through June to help smooth the transition for all personnel and monument custodians to their post-SWNM realities, including his own, which included a few stints in the NPS Washington office.

In Washington, Gastellum served as assistant personnel officer (1957-1958), first director of the Job Corps (1964-1966), and deputy assistant director for administration (1967-1970). In between he served as assistant superintendent at Yellowstone National Park (1958-1964). These appointments involved several special assignments overseas, including serving as the official U.S. representative on the Chilean Expedition to Antarctica in 1961-62. During most of his NPS career, Gastellum volunteered for the Arizona chapter of the National Federation of Federal Employees union, serving several terms as secretary and vice president until he retired from the organization in 1962. Gastellum also remained involved with the Southwestern Monuments Association, later renamed the Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, which awarded him the Edward B. Danson Distinguished Associates Award in 1968 in recognition of his outstanding contributions to the association. The same year, the Department of the Interior awarded him the Distinguished Service Award.[1175]

Luis Gastellum's NPS career ended back in the Southwest, where, in 1970, he was appointed Chief of Operations Evaluation in the Santa Fe regional office; he retired from this position in 1973. He and Agatha—known fondly as "Aggie"—spent their retirement in their old neck of the woods. They purchased a 1969 ranch house in Tucson's Rolling Hills golf-course subdivision, where they enjoyed gardening and being grandparents.[1176] But Gastellum did not abandon the Park Service in

---

[1174] Gastellum, 16-17.

[1175] National Park Service, "Awards," *Courier* 32, no. 5 (May 1987): 23, https://npshistory.com/newsletters/courier/courier-v32n5.pdf.

[1176] "Generation Gap Vines?" *Arizona Daily Star*, October 27, 1973, pg. C2,

retirement—not by a long shot. In 1975 he served as acting superintendent of Saguaro National Monument and he maintained active involvement in the NPS Employee & Alumni Association (E&AA) and the Southwest Parks and Monument Association, for which he received the Edward Danson Distinguished Associate Award; he also helped coordinate the annual E&AA "Geriatric Open" golf tournament, often held in Arizona. In the community, Gastellum served on the board of Tucson's Arizona Sonora-Desert Museum and volunteered with the Yaqui Indians and St. Vincent de Paul Society.[1177] Both he and Agatha enjoyed a long retirement and long marriage. In 1989, the Gastellums celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary by renewing their vows in Tumacácori's historic mission. Eleven years later on March 14, 2000, Luis Gastellum "met his 'Tee' time," passing away at home, "surrounded by his immediate family," age eighty-four.[1178] His family, which included seven children, seventeen grandchildren and eight great-grandchildren at the time, interred him in Tucson's Holy Hope Mausoleum; Agatha came to rest next to him seven years later, aged ninety-two.[1179] Their eldest son Luis Edward "Ed" Gastellum followed in his father's footsteps, becoming a career NPS employee with posts at several southwestern national parks and monuments.

[1177] Gastellum (1995): 29; and "Gastellum, Luis A.," *Arizona Daily Star*, March 17, 2000, pg. 14.

[1178] "Gastellum, Luis A.," *Arizona Daily Star*, March 17, 2000, pg. 14.

[1179] *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/198472705/luis_a-gastellum), memorial page for Luis A Gastellum (1915–2000), Find a Grave Memorial ID 198472705, citing Holy Hope Cemetery and Mausoleum, Tucson, Pima County, Arizona, USA, maintained by ibydkwtsf (contributor 48196473).



Figure 120. Luis A. Gastellum, SWNM Asst. General Superintendent, circa 1955 [same photo used in 9-11-1955 Arizona Daily Star article]. Source: NPS History Collection (HFCA 1607)

NPS 'Geriatric Open' held in Tucson, Ariz.

(Ed.'s note: The April *Courier* carried a short alumni item about the retiree get-together in Tucson, Ariz., in March. We have since received further information about the event and some photographs which should be of interest to our readers.)

One hundred E&AA members from California, New Mexico, and all corners of Arizona came to partake in golf and a social-dinner get-together March 6 at Tucson's Rolling Hills Country Club.

In the first of what is hoped will be an annual affair, the "NPS Geriatric Open" kicked off with a total of 46 retirees, spouses, and current Service employees participating.

Play got underway at 9 a.m. with a foursome made up of Luis Gastellum, Barbara Rumburg, Bill Schnettler and John Clay leading off. The group was followed by the remaining foursomes and play throughout the day was spirited if not always spectacular.

Awards for various feats performed by the golfers were given out at the evening banquet with Stan Joseph having the low net score, using the Colloway scoring system. Evelyn Beatty posted the gross low score for ladies and Aubrey Anderson for the men.

Faye Lukens of Saguaro National Monument, Ariz., had the most "Birdies" for ladies and Carl Walker had the most among the men.

Spud Bill walked away with the prize for having his drive land closest to the hole on the 9th green and Gladys Clancy was awarded a prize for a similar feat on the 7th.

Luis Gastellum's drive on the 18th hole, which earned him an award, landed the farthest from the tee.

Other awards for various feats were made to Jack Vinger, Lois Kowski, Jim Clancy, Don Robinson, Mary Fitch and Jean Anderson. Symbolic of probably nothing was the fact that Hank Schmidt won the drawing for a free golf lesson which had been donated by Nick Riviezzo, the Rolling Hills pro. As a final award, a small amount of cash was turned over to the Employee and Alumni Association Representative Monte Fitch for donation.

Spearheading the arrangements were committee members Luis A. Gastellum, Bill Lukens and Ray Mulvany.

After a delicious prime rib dinner, participants listened to talks by Western Regional Director Howard Chapman, Superintendent Bill Lukens and Edward "Ted" Ogston, the oldest alumni in attendance (1912-1977). Luis Gastellum was emcee.



Retirees John O. Cook and Luis Gastellum, right, chew the fat over their margaritas.



Grand Canyon Superintendent Merle Stitt, right, has a word with retiree Monte Fitch, former E&AA chairman.



Retiree Dick Boyer, left, former superintendent of Saguaro National Monument, Ariz., enjoys his Coors with present superintendent of Saguaro, Bill Lukens. Isn't it great to be retired?



Western Regional Director Howard Chapman, left, came down from San Francisco to chat with the geriatric stars. He talks with Superintendent Ray Martinez, Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, Ariz.

Figure 121. During retirement Luis Gastellum coordinated several annual NPS Employee & Alumni Association "Geriatric Open" golf tournaments. The first, held in Tucson, where he and Aggie lived, launched in March 1977. Source: NPS Courier 24, no. 5 (May 1977): 4.

Chester Augustus "Gus" Griffin, (1882-1969)

~Born: August 22, 1882, in Altoona, Kansas
~Died: December 1, 1969, in Flagstaff, Arizona
~SWNM Association: Chaco Canyon (custodian, 1923-1928)

Chester Augustus "Gus" Griffin became the first custodian of Chaco Canyon National Monument in December 1923. Griffin and his family—including wife Ramona, two stepdaughters, a son, and a daughter—had moved to Chaco Canyon several months earlier in the spring.[1180] They leased the buildings formerly associated with the Wetherill "Pueblo Bonito Trading Company" and revived the trading post business.[1181] The Griffins remained at Chaco until Gus retired in 1928 and handed over the reins of the custodianship to Hilding Palmer.

Gus Griffin had called New Mexico home since at least 1912. He hailed from Kansas, where he and his twin sister were born August 22, 1882, just east of Fredonia, Wilson County.[1182] After that, very little is known about Griffin's childhood. His mother died when he was only a year old; his father remarried a year later, and eventually moved his growing family to Missouri.[1183] When Gus reached adulthood, he headed southwest, making his way to Laguna Pueblo, New Mexico, no later than 1912.[1184] By 1916, he was well established in northern New Mexico as "a prominent sheep and cattleman" who operated from his ranch headquarters at Zuni Pueblo near Gallup.[1185]

Around 1916, Griffin began courting Ramona Alpha Rollins-Wylie (1888-1981), daughter of Warren Eliphalet Rollins—'Dean' of the Santa Fe artist colony.[1186] They met at Zuni Pueblo while she was

---

[1180] In later years, Ramona Griffin reminisced that she moved to Chaco Canyon in 1921, but she was off by two years. See: David M. Brugge, *History of the Chaco Navajos* (Albuquerque: National Park Service, 1980), 327.

[1181] The Griffins leased the building from the owner, a "Mrs. Sammons." Brugge, *History of the Chaco Navajos*, 327.

[1182] The birthdate Gus gave on various records over the decades varied in year (1884, 1888, etc.) but the day of birth was always written as either August 21 or 22. He was the son of Thomas Sullivan Griffin (1845-1932) and Serilda "Lillie" Nicholson (1860-1883). The announcement of a twin baby boy and girl to "Mrs. Tom Griffin" was briefly noted in the newspapers ["Altoona Items," *Wilson County Citizen*, August 25, 1882, pg. 3]. Griffin's siblings were Sarah "Lizzie" Griffin (b: 1879) and twin sister Naomi Isabelle "Belle" Griffin (1882-1905), plus five half-brothers.

[1183] "Died: Griffin, *"Fredonia Times*, October 26, 1883, pg. 6.

[1184] "Local Items of Interest," *Albuquerque Journal*, June 15, 1912, pg. 8; "Hotel Arrivals," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 15, 1912, pg. 6; and "Local and Personal," *Albuquerque Journal*, July 7, 1912, pg. 8.

[1185] *Santa Fe New Mexican*, December 2, 1916, pg. 3.

[1186] Ramona Griffin, transcript of Oral History Interview with Ramona Rollins-Griffin by Kristine Prennace, July 16, 1976, Colorado Plateau Digital Collections, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University (https://cdm16748.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/cpa/id/64426/rec/1).

spending the summer in New Mexico with her family. Ramona was a New England Conservatory trained mezzo-soprano soloist who performed with the Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra and frequently gave solo recitals across southern California, Arizona, and, increasingly, in New Mexico. Years earlier, she made gossip-column headlines for the scandalous jilting of her wealthy fiancé. In January 1909, while enroute to her wedding in Colorado, she disembarked at Kingman, Arizona, and eloped with Ralph Wylie, a violinist she met at a recital just a few weeks earlier.[1187] Ramona had two daughters from her union with Wylie—Jean (1911-1996) and Patricia "Patsy" (1913-1970). The marriage had fizzled by the time Ramona joined her parents in New Mexico in 1916.[1188] Ramona married Gus Griffin on May 18, 1917, in Gallup. Shortly, the Griffins had two children of their own, Warren (1918-1991) and Ramona "Mona" (1921-1996).

Between 1917 and 1922, the Griffin family continued to live and raise sheep in the greater Gallup area, as well as across the border in Arizona on the Navajo Indian Reservation at St. Michaels.[1189] During this period, Griffin partnered with Evon Vogt of Ramah—the custodian of El Morro National Monument—and incorporated the G. V. Stock and Trading Company.[1190] For several seasons, Ramona enjoyed the rhythm of following the sheep herds as they trailed from lowland winter fields to lush mountain pastures in the spring, and then back to the lowland in the fall.[1191] During the post-WWI market slump, the sheep-raising industry suffered heavily, and the Griffins' company along with it. When the chance came to operate the old Wetherill trading post at Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon, Gus and Ramona Griffin delayed only long enough "to pack [their] earthly possessions and gather [their] brood of four" before embarking on the new trading venture.[1192] When they arrived in Chaco Canyon in May 1923, they were starting over both financially and vocationally.

At Chaco, the Griffins renovated the historic buildings of the Hyde-Wetherill archeological operation and trading post at Pueblo Bonito. They lived in Richard Wetherill's former home, and transformed the seven-room "Pueblo Bonito Lodge" into part-artist studio, part-apartment for Ramona's widowed father, part-hotel with limited overnight accommodations for seasonal tourists and guests, and part-one room schoolhouse for the Griffin children.[1193] They operated their trading business in a separate building near the expedition camp of archeologist Neil M. Judd, who, along with a group of Zuni laborers and other staff, arrived every summer for excavations. The activities of the archeologists

---

[1187] "Engaged to One, Marries Another," *Oakland Tribune*, January 29, 1909.

[1188] Ramona Rollins-Griffin, *Chaco Canyon Ruins: Ancient Spirits Were Our Neighbors* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1971), 3.

[1189] The 1920 U.S. Census registered them as residents of St. Michaels.

[1190] "New Companies File Incorporation Papers," *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, August 26, 1917, pg. 5.

[1191] Rollins-Griffin, *Chaco Canyon Ruins*, 5.

[1192] Rollins-Griffin, 5. See also: Brugge, *History of the Chaco Navajos*, 328.

[1193] Rollins-Griffin, 56.

provided the Griffin children with endless summer entertainment, treasure hunts, and tasty morsels from the meals that Ban—the expedition chef—served up daily.[1194]

In December 1923, the National Park Service officially offered Gus Griffin the custodianship of Chaco Canyon.[1195] Frank Pinkley, the newly-appointed superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments group (SWNM), announced Griffin's appointment in the December SWNM monthly report. "Mr. A. C. Griffin" of Thoreau, New Mexico, he happily conveyed, had taken charge of Chaco Canyon National Monument: "I know the other custodians of the southwestern monuments will join me in extending a hearty welcome to Mr. Griffin."[1196] In receipt of Griffin's first monthly report for Chaco, dated December 7, Pinkley noted that Griffin promised they could "bet" on him to do everything within his power to protect the ruins; he already kept a list of visitors to the monument and had a plan to put up directional signs on the road from Farmington. Griffin's position as custodian, part-time, stood at the nominal salary of $12 per annum.[1197]

Despite the modest income, Griffin contributed considerably to the early administration of Chaco. He focused on improving the entry road from the north, made concerted efforts to stop hunting on the monument to protect the quail population, and he oversaw the first ruins-stabilization projects at Pueblo Bonito, which began in spring 1925 with a $1,300 allotment; Griffin hired three stonemasons and seven Navajo laborers for the work.[1198] The Navajos gained invaluable training and experience under the stonemasons; this, in turn, established Navajo masonry work as the benchmark for ruins stabilization in the Southwest.

As a nominal custodian, Griffin's livelihood depended on other income, such as raising livestock. Around 1927, Griffin also became employed in part-time field service with the Navajo district of the Indian Service [Bureau of Indian Affairs]. At this time, he and his family stopped operating the Pueblo Bonito trading post to focus just on the lodge. The National Park Service granted the trading-post

---

[1194] Rollins-Griffin, 16. In 1923, the NGS archeological expedition under Judd was in its third summer of excavations at Pueblo Bonito and Pueblo Arroyo.

[1195] The Park Service sent Griffin his official appointment agreement in December 1923, and Griffin signed and mailed it back after the winter roads were clear enough to make it to the post office at Thoreau—making February 1924 the effective start date of his custodianship.

[1196] Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, January 2, 1924, Southwestern National Monuments monthly report for December 1923, pp. 5-6. Thoreau was the nearest railroad station to Chaco, about 60 miles to the south. At the time this was also the nearest postal station, thus the mailing address of Thoreau for the Griffins, who already lived in Chaco at the time of the custodial appointment. Wetherill operated the Putnam Post Office in Chaco Canyon from 1901 until its discontinuance in 1914. After becoming custodian, Griffin hoped to establish a post office at the Pueblo Bonito trading post, but the postal service did not approve an official post office in Chaco Canyon until 1936 (discontinued in 1942) under postmaster Mrs. Thelma Kirk Springstead. See "U.S., Appointments of U. S. Postmasters, 1832-1971," online database, image no. 130 of 400, Ancestry.com (https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/1932/images/30439_065470-00132).

[1197] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Official Register of the United States, 1925*, pg. 57.

[1198] Brugge, *History of the Chaco Navajos*, 353.

concessionaire permit to business partners James Matchin and Lloyd Ambrose under the caveat that they renovate the store building and stock ample tourist supplies.[1199] In early 1928, Griffin purchased 160 acres within Chaco Canyon—known as the Old Wetherill Tract; after the purchase, he conveyed part of it to the University of New Mexico for its Chaco archeological field school.[1200] Around this time the National Park Service authorized the Chaco Canyon custodianship as a full-time permanent position; Griffin stepped down, and Frank Pinkley replaced him with Hilding F. Palmer [Bio File: Palmer, Hilding].

Griffin and his family continued to live part-time at the monument and operate the Pueblo Bonito Lodge seasonally.[1201] They lived in Farmington during the school year, fall through spring, while keeping an occasional eye on the monument for the custodian, who lived in Arizona during the winter; Griffin made the trip into Chaco Canyon when roads were clear of snow. Chaco's third custodian, Hurst Julian, later referred to the whole Griffin family as Frank Pinkley's "Honorary Assistants Without Pay."[1202] Griffin's stepdaughters Jean and Patsy Wylie-Griffin helped guide visitors, volunteered in the monument's small museum, and wrote the monthly Chaco reports during the custodian's absences; Jean also maintained a weather station on Chaco Arroyo.[1203]

The Griffins remained in northern New Mexico until the mid-1930s, when Gus Griffin became employed with the Soil Conservation Service in Arizona.[1204] Around 1940, he and Ramona acquired the historic Lonely Dell Ranch at Lees Ferry, Arizona—now a national historic site administered by the Park Service.[1205] They grew watermelons and a large variety of fruit-bearing trees in the historic orchard and advocated for its federal protection, hoping for national-monument designation.[1206] During this time Griffin also worked in Navajo field service for the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Kaibeto and Tuba City, followed by an appointment in 1948 as the district supervisor in the agency's

---

[1199] Brugge, 360.

[1200] Ibid, 364.

[1201] Brugge, *History of the Chaco Navajos*, 360.

[1202] In 1933, custodian Hurst Julian admitted in a private letter to Frank Pinkley that he gave jobs to members of the Griffin family as a sort of platitude to keep Gus Griffin from causing problems, even when, at times, he would have preferred to hire someone else for particular work. The 'problems' Julian feared involved private land use in and around Chaco Canyon. See: Hurst Julian to Frank Pinkley, November 15, 1933, folder 17 "Official Correspondence, 1927-1938," Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (ARG 34), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

[1203] See abstract for the "Chaco Canyon Old Timers Reunion Oral History Project" (MSS-579-BC), New Mexico Archives Online (https://nmarchives.unm.edu/repositories/22/resources/1758/collection_organization).

[1204] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, November 1936, pg. 308.

[1205] Robert G. Graham and Douglas E. Kupel, "Historic Structures Report: Lee's Ferry and Lonely Dell Ranch, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area," pg. 46, AA Project No. 1084, September 2000 (http://npshistory.com/publications/glca/hsr-lees-ferry-lonely-dell-ranch.pdf).

[1206] "USGS Water Flow Station One of Most Remote in U.S.: Long Way to Nearest Neighbor at Lee's Ferry," *Arizona Daily Sun*, December 7, 1959, pg. 5.

Leupp office; he retired from the BIA in March 1958. He and Ramona lived at Lonely Dell Ranch until they sold it in 1964, fearing that construction of Marble Canyon Dam might flood the property. They subsequently settled in Flagstaff. Five years later, August 1, 1969, Gus Griffin died, and his family buried him back in New Mexico in the Wetherill cemetery in Nageezi, near Farmington.[1207] In 1971, Ramona published her memoir of their life together at Chaco Canyon, titled *Chaco Canyon Ruins: Ancient Spirits Were Our Neighbors*. She died ten years later, April 1, 1981, almost 93 years old.

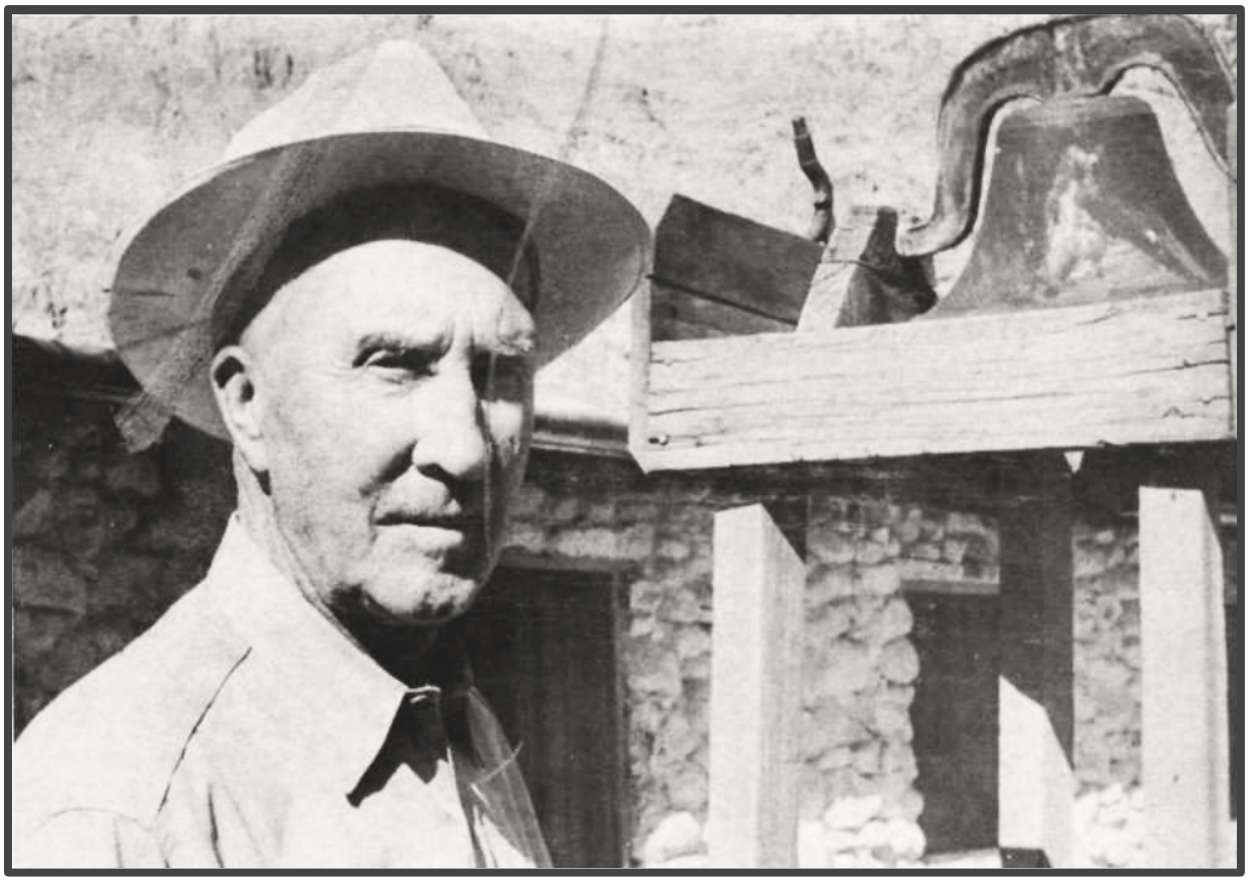


Figure 122. Chester A. "Gus" Griffin during retirement at his Lonely Dell Ranch in Arizona. Source: Desert Magazine (June 1960).

[1207] "Northland Resident C.A. Griffin Dies," *Arizona Daily Sun*, December 2, 1969; *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/11216071/chester_a-griffin: accessed February 20, 2026), memorial page for Chester A Griffin (22 Aug 1888–3 Dec 1969), Find a Grave Memorial ID 11216071, citing Wetherill Cemetery, Nageezi, San Juan County, New Mexico, USA, maintained by R & S Fine (contributor 46620684).

Jackson, Betty Morris

Elisabeth Woodbridge Morris (1913-2012)

~ Born: January 30, 1913, in New Haven, Connecticut
~ Died: May 2, 2012, in Globe, Arizona
~ SWNM Association: Bandelier (HCWP, 1935-36); Montezuma Castle (HCWP, 1937-1942); SWNM (1942-1944); Casa Grande Ruins (1944); Tumacácori (HCWP, 1945-1953)

Elisabeth "Betty" Woodbridge Morris joined the Park Service's Southwestern National Monuments group in 1935 when she married Luther Earl Jackson, the custodian of Bandelier National Monument. At the time, the Southwest was a new and curious place for Betty. She had deep ancestral roots in the northeastern United States and had never strayed far from New Haven, Connecticut, where she was born on January 30, 1913—the sixth and final child of Brooklyn natives Charles Gould Morris (1871-1961) and Dr. Sarah Elisabeth Woodbridge (1870-1964). Her parents were highly-educated eastern elites with terminal degrees from Yale, who retained an influential connection to the university.[1208] Betty's mother taught English and History at Vassar College, participated in suffragist activities, and published on various topics regularly; in her spare time, she read up on all things archeological.[1209] Betty's father was the son of a former Connecticut governor; like his father, he ran a law practice, was active in civil affairs and reforms, and had varied business interests, including several ice cream and dairy businesses. Privately, he wished to be a naturalist.[1210]

Betty Morris inherited her parents' avocational passions. She attended Vassar College, graduating in June 1934 with a degree in geology and expertise in Spanish. After graduation, Betty attempted to find work as a geologist, but the Depression limited the options, especially for women attempting to find work in a traditionally male field.[1211] Finally, a well-connected relative recommended her for a job teaching archeology, geology, and Spanish at the Brownmoor School for Girls at Bishop's Lodge near

---

[1208] Betty's paternal aunt, Helen Morris Hadley, was married to Arthur Twining Hadley—president of Yale from 1899-1921.

[1209] Betty's mother Elisabeth Woodbridge attended Packer Institute ('90) and Vassar College ('92). She taught history and English at Packer Institute for several years, then went on to earn a Ph.D. in English from Yale in 1898. She was a friend and colleague of suffragist Dr. Laura Johnson Wylie, a member of the first group of women to graduate with a Ph.D. from Yale in 1894 and longtime Chair of English at Vassar College. Elizabeth Woodbridge, Ph.D., was appointed instructor of English at Vassar in 1898. A year later, she married Yale alumnus Charles Gould Morris (BA, '95; LLB, '97). They named their first child Laura Wylie Morris after Dr. Wylie. See: "In the World of Society," *The Brooklyn Daily Times*, July 2, 1898, pg. 10; and "Morris, Elizabeth Woodbridge," *Woman's Who's Who of America, 1914-1915* (https://w.wiki/CupR).

[1210] Betty Jackson, transcript of "Oral History Interview: Betty Jackson, *Wife of Earl Jackson, Custodian of Montezuma Castle National Monument, 1937-1942*," 4, Interview Conducted by Joshua M. Protas, April 18, 1997, Globe, Arizona, "Central Files: N Files," Box 1: Montezuma Castle National Monument/Tuzigoot National Monument (ACC MOCA-00422), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

[1211] Betty Jackson, transcript of Oral History Interview (1997), 5.

Santa Fe, New Mexico, in exchange for room and board. Betty got the job without demonstrating knowledge or experience.[1212] To give herself a leg up on southwestern archeology, that summer Betty enrolled in The University of New Mexico's archeology field school in Jemez Canyon.[1213] The field school better equipped her to teach archeology at Brownmoor that fall; she continued to seek additional ways to increase her knowledge of anthropology. During the school year 1934-35 she volunteered in Santa Fe's Laboratory of Anthropology, assisting curator Kenneth Chapman on a book about Zuni pottery designs.[1214] On April 6, 1935, Betty escorted her class on a field trip to various archeological sites in the Santa Fe area, including Bandelier National Monument, where she met custodian Earl Jackson; within four months they were married.[1215] Betty's wedding to Earl took place on August 10 in a ceremony held at her family's summer home, the old Morris homestead on Berkshire road near Sandy Hook (Newtown).[1216] After the wedding, the newlyweds honeymooned with a meandering road trip back to New Mexico, exploring New York City, Washington, D.C., Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas enroute.

Back at Bandelier, the newly-minted Mrs. Betty Jackson hit the road running in her new role as a Southwestern National Monuments "Honorary Custodian Without Pay" (HCWP). When Frank "Boss" Pinkley, Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, showed up to "see how this new girl was doing," he solicited Betty's first impressions of everything at the monument—"the museum, the people, personnel, anything that [Betty] could tell him as a stranger coming in new"—including her thoughts on museum visitor circulation: "Do you turn right, or do you turn left when you go into a museum?"[1217] Betty later recalled that Pinkley made her feel important; he encouraged her and all the wives of southwestern monument custodians "to get their fingers in the pie as much as their husbands would allow…And my fingers were very much in the pie, in all my spare time," she added.[1218]

[1212] Betty Jackson, 6.

[1213] "Field School Students Are On Way Here," *Albuquerque Tribune*, July 19, 1934, pg. 4; and "Brownmoor School Opens for Fourth Year with Large Class," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, October 6, 1934, pg. 2.

[1214] Betty Jackson, transcript of Oral History Interview (1997), 13.

[1215] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1935, 168; Betty Jackson, transcript of Oral History Interview (1997), 8.

[1216] "1883," *Vassar Quarterly* XXI, no. 1 (1 Oct 1935): 25; "Vassar Graduate Weds in New Haven," *Poughkeepsie Eagle-News*, August 12, 1935, pg. 3; Connecticut Commission On Culture & Tourism, "Historic Resources Inventory Form - Building and Structures: Morris Farmstead/The Old Morris Place, Record No. 5757," Connecticut State Historic Preservation Office, Department of Economic and Community Development, 2012 (https://connecticutbarns.org/upload/state_reg/sr-barn_newtown_berkshire_133_no.5767.pdf).

[1217] Betty Jackson, transcript of Oral History Interview (1997), 9.

[1218] Elizabeth Morris Jackson, "Life at Montezuma Castle," *Christian Science Monitor*, reprinted in the *Vassar Alumnae Magazine* (Jan 1941): 5

Within a month of her arrival at Bandelier, Betty secured a bird-banding permit from the U.S. Bureau of Biological Survey and set about creating lists of birds she observed and banded.[1219] In 1935, several of the southwestern national monuments had started recording and banding birds as part of a larger programmatic effort to interpret the group's natural resources. Birding at Bandelier was a comfortable fit for Betty. Her father had enjoyed birding and shared the hobby with her, and during her year as a teacher at Brownmoor, Betty had renewed her birding interest through acquaintance with Danish immigrant Jens K. Jensen, a local Santa Fe bird authority who lived on Canyon Road. Jensen "was steeped in bird lore" and he helped Betty develop her skills of observation. Betty started banding birds at that time, using a cage trap that she mounted on the outside of Brownmoor School.[1220] At Bandelier, Betty Jackson contributed her bird lists to a "Bandelier Bird List" column included in the "Supplement" of the *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report*. She divided the list to show birds observed versus birds banded. The first submission for the September 1935 report showed that she had observed fourteen species in Frijoles Canyon and banded one bird: a Long-crested Jay.

Betty kept up her monthly Bandelier Bird List column until May 1936 when Earl took sick leave to recover from a diagnosis of tuberculosis. The Jacksons left Bandelier in the care of ranger-in-charge Jerome Hendron and moved to Albuquerque so Earl could be hospitalized. By mid-August, Earl was still on sick leave but able to recoup outside of a hospital; he and Betty spent six weeks with Earl's family at Montezuma Castle National Monument.[1221] They lodged in the monument's tenthouse, provided for rangers. Probably during this period Earl's father, Martin Jackson, longtime custodian of the Castle [Bio File: Jackson, Martin], agreed to early retirement if Earl could replace him, thinking that the lower elevation at Montezuma Castle would be better for Earl's respiratory health. Meanwhile, Earl and Betty found an apartment in Phoenix, rented under the auspices that Earl was a writer (not a TB patient) and that "he wanted to be left undisturbed as much as possible."[1222] Shortly after, they moved again when Dr. Byron Cummings offered them a rent-free room in his house in Tucson in exchange for Betty's help with "cooking and cleaning and stuff like that"; they stayed with Cummings for three or four months.[1223]

Finally, in January 1937, with the approval of Supt. Pinkley, Earl Jackson returned to work—this time, as custodian of Montezuma Castle in place of his father, who had retired to Las Vegas. At Montezuma

---

[1219] In 1940 the BBS was merged with the Bureau of Fishery and renamed the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

[1220] Jackson, "Life at Montezuma Castle," 5-6; Betty Jackson, transcript of Oral History Interview (1997), 20-22.

[1221] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1936, 182.

[1222] Betty Jackson, transcript of Oral History Interview (1997), 16.

[1223] Betty remembered that Dean Cummings loved to cook, and that she ended up cooking very little, which suited her: "I, in the first place, had *never* intended to be a cook or housekeeper, except the necessary – but I was going to go on to a great career as an archaeologist." The nomadic year of Earl's tuberculosis made the Jacksons' marriage a bit rocky. Betty recalled that the arrangement at Dean Cummings's house was "good for our marriage" because "the Dean would laugh [Earl] out of [his mental lows]" and Earl, in turn, did a little growing up. See: Betty Jackson, transcript of Oral History Interview (1997), 17-18.

Castle, Betty and Earl lived in the rustic custodian's house that his parents had built in 1927. It was positioned in the middle of the monument's parking area and went by the name, "The Syzygy House," so-called after the rip-rap that stabilized the nearby Beaver Creek bank to prevent it from flooding the parking lot and house. In 1939, the WPA built two new adobe residences for the monument's custodian and ranger—both located away from the center of visitor activity, offering staff and their families more privacy and Betty "a great thrill moving into a brand new home."[1224] The new living quarters also provided Betty with more space for her birding projects. At Montezuma Castle, Betty continued to observe and band birds, contributing her data to the SWNM monthly reports in a new column titled "Bird Notes." After becoming a mother in December 1937, and finding her spare time suddenly limited, Betty paused all banding but continued to observe birds and record her findings on sight observation cards.[1225] She developed an impressive card catalog, in which she wrote down everything she observed about species seen; her monthly SWNM column became less of a bulleted list of birds observed and more of a narrative summary taken from her observation notes.[1226]

By 1940, Betty Jackson's birding program served as the gold standard in the Southwestern National Monuments. While ornithology had been a co-ed activity across the monuments up to this point, Betty's success served as a model for other custodians' wives and fostered the idea that the HCWPs should oversee the bird-banding program at their respective monuments. In the inaugural issue (Apr 1940) of the SWNM women's quarterly newsletter, *The Roundtabl*e, the editors introduced "Bird banding" as "usually the duty of a wife," with no training required, "just time and interest."[1227] Despite growing interest and participation, no other HCWP took to bird banding with the same level of dedication as Betty. In an article for the *Christian Science Monitor* in 1941, Betty admitted that she never left the house without taking her field glasses with her: "This way," she explained,

> I can watch the birds for a few minutes or a few hours, and feel that I am really contributing something to natural science. Some day I may write a book about my birds. In the meantime I am gathering material which is of interest to the visitor and to natural scientists, and of value for the monument—even if I never write the book.

[1224] Protas, *A Past Preserved in Stone*, 104; Betty Jackson, transcript of Oral History Interview (1997), 31.

[1225] Martin Allan Jackson was born in December 1937 and David Bruce Jackson in December 1939. Betty was "scared to death of motherhood" and became overwhelmed with the extra baby care and housework after Martin's birth. Her mother-in-law, Ada Jackson, came out from Nevada to help, but as Betty recalled, "we didn't work well together. So, soon she went back to Las Vegas. It was later that we became good friends." Instead, Grace Jennings—mother of MOCA ranger Jesse Jennings—helped out. See: Betty Jackson, transcript of Oral History Interview (1997), 17, 20.

[1226] Betty Jackson, transcript of Oral History Interview (1997), 6.

[1227] Jean Soule, "To the Southwestern Monuments Wives," *The Roundtable* 1, no. 1 (April 1940), folder "Roundtable & Grapevine, 1940-43," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

> I have seen well over a hundred different species of birds in less than one square mile of Arizona's country. Several other Park Service wives are now cooperating on bird observation and banding.[1228]

Early in 1941, she assisted Earl in the design of a standardized "Bird Observation Form" for SWNM, based on a similar concept used up at the Grand Canyon. Earl submitted examples of the form to the January 1941 Supplement to the SWNM monthly report, suggesting its usage at all monuments. Around the same time, Betty and Earl also prepared a bird calendar for Montezuma Castle based on four years' of Betty's observations.[1229] At the end of the year, Betty prepared a preliminary ornithological report summarizing her expansive research at the monument, titled "Birds of Montezuma Castle" and printed in the monthly Supplement (Nov 1941) as Special Report No. 28.

The year 1942 heralded big changes for both Southwestern National Monuments and the Jackson family. In October, headquarters uprooted from Casa Grande Ruins National Monument and transferred to the NPS regional office in Santa Fe, New Mexico, to consolidate their severely-reduced wartime resources. A month later, the Jacksons left Montezuma Castle and settled in Santa Fe as well, so Earl could start an "indefinite assignment" in the reimagined SWNM/Region III office. Earl's new job mainly involved sorting through old Civil Works Administration records. During this time Betty became the appointed treasurer-bookkeeper for the Southwest Monuments Association (SWMA), the non-profit cooperative partner for SWNM.[1230] And in August 1943, she was elected treasurer of the NPS women's club in Santa Fe. She had to resign both positions in December 1943 after Earl suffered a tuberculosis relapse and went on bed rest. Betty's mother temporarily moved in with the family to run the household while Betty played nursemaid.[1231] In spring 1944, Earl left Santa Fe to recover in St. Joseph's Sanitorium of Albuquerque. Betty packed up the family and headed to Tucson, where Earl planned to have surgery before entering on duty at Casa Grande Ruins for part-time work while he recuperated.

At Casa Grande, Betty Jackson resumed her ornithological activities. She kept track of birds and other wildlife observed by herself and the monument staff; she summarized their collective findings in a Nature Notes section of the monument's monthly report. In October 1945 after a full recovery, Earl Jackson returned to permanent duty, this time as custodian of Tumacácori National Monument. Once again an Honorary Custodian Without Pay, Betty helped Earl with administration. As a "two-man monument" consisting of the custodian and one park ranger (Sallie Brewer) on the payroll, Earl and Betty had to juggle a wide-range of tasks at Tumacácori, including a huge overhaul of the mission's historical interpretation—a project initiated by ranger Sallie Brewer [Bio File: Pierce, Sallie]—that involved some travel to Mexico and culminated in Earl Jackson's authorship of a historical booklet

---

[1228] Jackson, "Life at Montezuma Castle," 6.

[1229] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1941, 90.

[1230] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1942, 2.

[1231] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, November 1943, 21.

called, *Tumacacori's Yesterdays* (1951). This left little time for ornithological research, though, as time allowed, Betty and Earl expanded the monument's bird observation records.[1232] They also, along with their children, participated in the Desert School for Southwestern National Monument personnel, sponsored by the Desert Botanical Garden in Phoenix, with training on the topic of desert vegetation. The Garden offered the Desert School as two identical sessions in early October 1951, before the Garden reopened for the winter season.[1233] Southwestern National Monuments coordinated to help personnel standardize the interpretation of desert flora for national-monument visitors.[1234]

Betty Jackson remained the HCWP at Tumacácori until 1953, when Earl transferred to the superintendency of Pinnacles National Monument in California. Two years later, he transferred back to Southwestern National Monuments to serve as a park naturalist at the organization's new headquarters at Gila Pueblo in Globe, Arizona, a position he retained after SWNM closed permanently in 1957 and the facility became the Southwest Archeological Center. In 1958, Earl also inherited from Dale King the position of Executive Secretary of the Southwest Monuments Association, later renamed to Southwest Parks and Monuments Association. After retiring from the National Park Service in 1966, Earl accepted a full-time salaried position as the managing editor of SWMA. He retired as executive director of the association in 1981 but maintained a position on the Board of Trustees for a few more years. In Globe, both Betty and Earl continued to observe and document birds. Betty regularly wrote bird notes for *American Birds* and participated in her local Audubon Society chapter; Earl maintained a column in the *Arizona Record* called "Naturally Yours," in which he discussed a variety of naturalist topics, often about birds, sometimes on topics related to the Nature Study Club field trips that he and Betty led. Betty also stayed active in community service, tutoring in English literacy and ESL, among other activities.[1235] After Earl died in 1998, Betty survived him by fourteen years, passing away in Globe on May 2, 2012, just shy of the centenarian milestone.[1236]

[1232] Earl Jackson, *Memorandum for the Regional Director*, March 25, 1946.

[1233] Desert Botanical Garden of Arizona, "Editorial," *Saguaroland Bulletin* V, no. 9 (Nov 1951): 1, Biodiversity Heritage Library (https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/page/54637008).

[1234] "Tumacacori National Monument: Monthly Narrative Report," *Memorandum to the General Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments*, October 1951.

[1235] *Arizona Silver Belt*, August 18, 1988, pg. 17.

[1236] *Arizona Silver Belt*, May 15, 2012, transcript, Arizona Obituary Archive (http://obits.arizonagravestones.org/view.php?id=58356).

Just by the Castle bench, in one of the hackberries, I saw an Ash-throated Flycatcher that seemed slightly smaller than the ones I've seen there before - and he had a small round spot of white on his forehead above the eyes, and his crest ended more raggedly in back than they usually do. Is that a different specie?



I caught the Baird-Bewick Wren in the act of taking a worm home to his family that evening. I was apparently standing right in the center of his route, because he flew straight at me till he was about fifteen feet away, then saw me and made a hasty reversal of direction. I haven't yet found the nest.

The Kingbird nest over the syzygy is now bursting with young life. It keeps both parents busy all day feeding the young ones. I expect them to fly any day now.

By the way, in hunting that Rocky Mt. Orange-crowned Warbler today I saw a young house-finch in a mesquite. He was upset by my proximity, and fluttered from twig to twig away from me. He finally made a brave attempt, and flew about ten feet into another tree, though he lost quite a lot of altitude.

I'm surprised to see the quail still around. It seems to me that last year at this time they were all surreptitiously laying eggs under the brush, and keeping as much out of sight as possible.

The Western (or Louisiana) Tanager may decide to nest with us this year. I think there are two pairs, and they've been here a month now.

I got a good look at the "Sparrow Sp." of last month, and he's a Western Lark Sparrow I'm sure. There are still lots of them around.

Betty Jackson

Betty Jackson

Figure 123. Draft page of Betty Jackson's monthly bird observations at Montezuma Castle, sent to Frank Pinkley for inclusion in the May 1938 SWNM monthly report. The penciled sketch of an Ash-throated Flycatcher did not make it into the published version of the report. Source: WACC (MOCA-00422).



Figure 124. Xeroxed copy of a photograph of Betty Jackson at Montezuma Castle National Monument, circa 1940. Source: NPS History Collection



Figure 125. Group photo of Southwestern National Monuments attendees at the Desert School personnel training on desert vegetation, October 2-3, 1951, second session, at the Desert Botanical Gardens in Phoenix, Arizona. The whole Jackson family attended. Pictured (standing) instructor W. Taylor Marshall; (rear row, left to right) Forrest Benson, Earl Jackson, Charles Sharpe, Ben Zerby, Martin Jackson, Steve Leding, Homer Hastings; and (front row, left to right) Bruce Jackson, Betty Jackson, Frances Sharpe, Mary Hastings. Photograph by Leslie Arnberger. Source: WACC (51492)



elt, Globe, Arizona Page Five

Jackson takes time for himself

Earl Jackson has retired as executive director of the Southwest Parks and Monuments Association and it means he'll have some time to do more of those many things interesting to him.

JACKSON HAS devoted the better part of 55 years for and with the National Park Service. Now he'll spend more time with his wife Betty and with his new IBM typewriter.

All his work with the park service has been in the Southwest. The New Mexico native has written handbooks for national monuments and parks as well as technical papers.

His work with the Southwest Parks and Monuments Association begin after his retirement from the National Park Service in 1965.

"I was invited to continue supervising the association. That was fine because I didn't want a full-time job," Jackson said.

THE ASSOCIATION is non-profit and operates retail outlets for pictures, slides and books in 58 federal areas. Net profits from the operations are turned over to the National Park Service.

Although he is a native of Raton, New Mexico, Jackson's family moved to Jerome when he was two years old. They homesteaded on Beaver Creek near Montezuma and were among the last bonafide homesteaders in the US, Jackson said.

At the age of 15, Jackson began work in 1925 as a day laborer for the park service. He did some of the stabilization work on Montezuma Castle.

He went on to earn a bachelor's degree in English and a master's degree in archeology from the University of Arizona.

When he took the civil service exam in 1935, he finished sixth of 1,400 applicants and was put in charge of the Bandalier National Monument.

"AFTER A few months there I met a school teacher, Betty Morris from New Haven, Connecticutt.

"She'd brought the school kids to see the monument. I couldn't see anything but her. She saw the patch on my pants and figured I had no one to take care of me.

That was in April of 1935. In August of the same year they were married in New Haven.

Earl Jackson

"We were just out and I asked her, 'How would you like to be my housekeeper for the next 45 years?' After she asked if it was a proposal or a proposition, she said yes but made me wait until August," Jackson remembered.

"SHE WENT to Vassar and had a degree in geology and here she was chasing around the hills with me in the wild west," he said.

They seem to fit each other to a T, with Mrs. Jackson's interest in birds and his interest in snakes. Both are interested in collecting seeds of native plants.

All his posts with the park service were in the Southwest, including TumAcacori, Montezuma Castle, Pinnacles National Monument in California and a post as regional officer with the park service in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

He came to Globe in 1955 as general superintendent of the Globe office then continued with the association after retirement in 1965 from the park service.

That turned out to be more than a part time job, but now Jackson has the time to devote to his writing and to the "nature rambles" he and his wife enjoy.

AN OUTSPOKEN environmentalist, Jackson is concerned with the future of the area and the state. "I don't think we own the earth. We have a right to stewardship to enable permanent, sustained use of it," he said.

Jackson is an honorary Rotarian. He and his wife have two children and six grandchildren.

And what more can you ask of life than work you love and a spouse who still fits this description after almost 46 years, "We get a big bang out of life. We're a couple of naturalists who happen to love each other."

Rudd confers with O'Connor

US Rep. Eldon Rudd (R-Arizona) has conferred with Judge Sandra D. O'Connor while the Supreme Court nominee was in Washington, DC to discuss upcoming Senate confirmation hearings.

JUDGE O'Connor, who is a member of the Arizona Court of Appeals has been

stitutional processes governing our land."

Meeting with congressional and presidential leaders, Rudd praised O'Conner "thoroughness on the Arizona court and willingness to stand up for judicial principles con-

Figure 126. Retirement announcement for Earl Jackson, executive director of Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, with biographical background on how he and Betty Morris met and other details about their relationship. Arizona Silver Belt, July 23, 1981.

.

Martin Luther Jackson (1888-1939)

~Born: January 24, 1888, West Texas
~Died: March 10, 1939, in Las Vegas, Nevada
~SWNM Association: Montezuma Castle (custodian, 1921-1936)

Martin Luther Jackson served as custodian of Montezuma Castle National Monument from 1921 to 1936. He and his boss, Frank Pinkley, Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, were close friends. "Jack," as Pinkley called him, was born in west Texas on January 24, 1888, to John and Alice (née Patty) Jackson.[1237] Around 1908, his parents moved to San Antonio, where his father—a cattle rancher—became the cattle and land inspector for the City Central Bank. It is unclear whether Martin Jackson moved to San Antonio as well. That same year he married Ada Theresa Strain.[1238] In 1910, U.S. census takers registered Martin and Ada Jackson living in Raton, New Mexico. Martin worked as a fireman for the Santa Fe Railway.[1239] Later that same year, the couple welcomed their first child, son Luther Earl.[1240] A couple years later, the young family of three left New Mexico and moved to Jerome, Arizona, where Jackson took up the trade of house painter and wallpaper hanger; Ada's brother Earl Strain worked for him.[1241] Martin and Ada, whom he nicknamed "Murphy," welcomed their second (and last) child—son Norman—in 1915.[1242] The Jacksons still lived in Jerome at the time of the World War draft in 1917, though Martin Jackson received an exemption and did not serve.[1243] A year later, they moved close to the town of Camp Verde, settling on ranchland along Beaver Creek a mile south of Montezuma Castle National Monument. In addition to Martin's painting trade—which

---

[1237] Martin's son Earl Jackson listed Marfa, Texas, as his father's birthplace on Martin's death certificate. Martin wrote his own birthplace as "Newport, Texas" on his 1917 World War I Draft Registration Card. In 1900, Martin Jackson was living with his parents and siblings in Memphis, Texas (Hall County), which was fairly close to Newport.

[1238] The 1910 U.S. census reported that Martin and Ada had been married for two years, placing their marriage around 1908. Ada was the daughter of Rev. John Calhoun Kassuth Strain and Theresa Americus Jinks. She was born in Locust Grove, Georgia, in December 1887. Her family moved to Texas sometime between 1891 and 1899.

[1239] Earl Jackson, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 2.

[1240] Their son's birth name was actually "David Bob Jackson." He legally changed his name to Luther Earl in the Bernalillo County, New Mexico, court in 1935. See: "Notice of Application for Change of Name," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, August 1, 1935, pg. 5. See also Earl's son's birth announcement in the SWNM December 1939 monthly report—named similarly as, "David Bruce Jackson."

[1241] Occupation of "painter" and residence of Jerome listed on both Martin Jackson's and Earl Strain's WWI draft registration cards as well as the 1920 federal census.

[1242] Betty Jackson to Polly Kaufman, n.d. [1988?], pg. 1, in folder "SW Monuments – Betty Jackson (also Martin Jackson)," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1243] Martin Jackson received an exemption due to the dependence of his wife and two sons. See: "Discharges Are Issued to 32 by Board," *Weekly Journal-Miner*, October 24, 1917, pg. 3.

he plied in Jerome, Clarkdale, Clemenceau, Cottonwood, and Camp Verde—the family earned income from truck-gardening and raising chickens.[1244]

Martin Jackson took a keen interest in the ancient landscape surrounding his ranch.[1245] He and his family visited the cliff ruins at Montezuma Castle and Jackson handled occasional repair work there. When custodian-elect Alston D. Morse declined the custodianship in 1919, he endorsed Jackson to the National Park Service as a qualified and willing substitute for both the custodianship and the scheduled repair work.[1246] Frank Pinkley met Martin Jackson at Montezuma Castle on August 31, 1919, while inspecting the monument for the Washington office. Pinkley did not recommend Jackson for the custodianship at the time, though he thought Jackson "interesting" and well-spoken. Jackson asked to assist with the repairs of the Castle and the trail building, and Pinkley agreed. In summer 1920, Pinkley arranged for Jackson to undertake improvements at the monument for the sum of $180. When Pinkley inspected Jackson's work, the quality impressed him—as did Jackson's initiative. Jackson had adapted the original work plans to existing conditions when sensible and in the process discovered a 'new' archeological site.[1247] Jackson's personal drive to 'go the extra mile' paralleled Pinkley's own work ethic. Naturally, Pinkley recommended Jackson for the custodianship of Montezuma Castle when the position reopened in October 1921.[1248]

Martin Jackson's appointment as custodian of Montezuma Castle became effective December 16, 1921. The position was part-time and non-resident, at the modest salary of $10 a month, or $120 per annum. NPS director Stephen Mather asked Jackson to make weekly inspections, handle general maintenance, and submit official reports. Frank Pinkley expected more. In a letter to Jackson with instructions for the custodianship, Pinkley emphasized that the weekly inspections and reports were mere "leg work;" the greater duty, he wrote, involved carrying "the Castle around in the back of [his]

[1244] Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle and the Jackson Family," 1, unpublished draft, September 28, 1960, Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection, (ACC MOCA-00226), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

[1245] Martin Jackson's daughter-in-law Betty (née Morris) recalled that the Jacksons intended to homestead their ranchland but never managed to improve it within the patent time limits. See: Betty Jackson, transcript of "Oral History Interview: Betty Jackson, *Wife of Earl Jackson, Custodian of Montezuma Castle National Monument, 1937-1942*," 37, interview conducted by Joshua M. Protas, April 18, 1997, Globe, Arizona.

[1246] Alston D. Morse to Horace M Albright, January 27, 1919, Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

[1247] The site is known as Castle A. See: Josh Protas, *A Past Preserved in Stone: A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument* (Tucson: Western National Parks Association, 2002), 83.

[1248] W. James Sullivan, a Verde Valley homesteader whom Pinkley had hired as nominal custodian in October 1920 abandoned his custodial duties without notice in summer 1921. He moved to Prescott after his wife died and left him with the care of their fifteen children. The NPS terminated Sullivan from the position and hired Martin Jackson for the post on Pinkley's recommendation. Cammerer approved Jackson as custodian on October 28, 1921.

mind" and studying its problems during his "spare moments."[1249] The protection and care of archeological monuments was a calling for Pinkley. He had dedicated himself wholeheartedly to the custodianship of his own monument, Casa Grande Ruins, since 1901. Pinkley expected the same zeal from the emerging outfit of custodians attending the other southwestern national monuments. In the end, Jackson proved equipped for the task. As custodian, he made weekly inspections of Montezuma Castle—each Sunday walking the mile from the ranch to the monument to inspect conditions and talk to visitors—and he kept Pinkley abreast of conditions, repair needs, and visitor stats in regular reports. Jackson earned extra income by completing monument repairs under separate financial contracts.[1250] Just days after assuming the custodianship, Jackson tendered his first bid for minor repairs at the lump-sum of $45, the work to be conducted over the winter. Larger projects, such as ruins preservation, generally occurred in the summers.

In August 1923, Frank Pinkley swung by Montezuma Castle to help Martin Jackson and four Apache laborers use a $300 allotment to repair and stabilize the cliff structure. When Pinkley submitted the initial report of the project progress to Mather a couple weeks later, Pinkley added that the work had given him his first real opportunity to get to know the Castle's custodian: "I am more than pleased to find how interested he is in his monument and not only in his own but in all the other southwest monuments."[1251] It was the first summer of many in which Jackson and Pinkley worked jointly on monument repairs. The summer of 1923 was also the birth of a lifelong friendship for "Jack" and "Pink," as they called each other. Years later, Pinkley recalled that in the mid-1920s Jackson made $7-8 a day as a painter at a local smelter, but only half that amount on NPS repair contracts. And yet, Pinkley could never convince Jackson to keep his higher-paying painting gigs when monument work was in the queue. Instead, each summer Jackson quit painting to work with Pinkley. Pinkley fondly recalled his friend's reasoning: "he always claimed that he was just as good a workman as I was; that he could put just as much mud in a wall per day as I could, and the fun of doing it was well worth the four dollars a day it cost him to work for me."[1252]

Granted, no other contractors proved willing to handle the dangerous stabilization work at Montezuma Castle. Martin Jackson's son Earl later remembered the dangerous conditions of summers 1923 through 1925 when Pinkley, Jackson, and a small crew of indigenous laborers (including 15-year-

---

[1249] Protas, *A Past Preserved in Stone*, 88. Quote from Frank Pinkley to Martin Jackson, November 16, 1921, in Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

[1250] Protas, 83. See also: Earl Jackson, memorandum to Foy L. Young, November 21, 1956, 1, folder "Area History Correspondence," Box 46, Records of the Southwestern National Monuments (ACC 681/ARG 10), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

[1251] Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, August 12, 1923, Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

[1252] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, March 1939, pg. 199.

old Earl in 1925) worked long hours restoring the Castle. The 'mudslinging', as they jokingly called the work, proved:

> so dangerous and so scary that Pinkley and Dad [Jackson] couldn't find an interested contractor, so they had to do it themselves. It involved hanging out over space on a long ladder suspended by a rope, filling holes in a frail wall with rock and mud, hoping the whole wall section wouldn't take a notion to pitch forward into eternity and take one of them with it."[1253]

Pinkley, too, admitted that it was heart dropping. In his August 12, 1923, progress report to Mather, he described the fear: "You remember how our mutual friend Huck Finn says his heart fell down amongst his livers and things when he was scared. Mr. Jackson and I have had that feeling for days at a time while we were putting 1800 bucket loads of rocks and mud in a buttress we built under a wall which was hanging to the cliff by its eyebrows."[1254]

This 'do it yourself' approach involved personal risk, but also allowed Pinkley, et al, to eek the highest value from every allotted dollar. It was the way Pinkley had managed Casa Grande for the past twenty-plus years, and Martin Jackson and his family shared the same work ethic. Martin Jackson's wife Ada and their two sons often helped at Montezuma Castle for no extra charge to the government. Pinkley discovered Ada's equal dedication to the monument work during summer 1923. In his report to Mather, he added that "Mrs. Jackson" filled in when her husband was absent: "She goes to the Castle regularly, talks to the visitors she finds there, makes out the reports, and everything goes on as though [Mr. Jackson] were on the ground himself."[1255]Ada also helped with repairs, site excavations, and building up the monument's first museum collection.

For several years, Martin Jackson cared for the monument while still working the family ranch. He made ends meet with myriad day jobs, including some bootleg liquor sales during Prohibition with a secret still he kept up the canyon.[1256] In 1926, with the family chicken business failing, Martin and Ada decided to economize and reside permanently at the monument. Without their other sources of income, Pinkley promised Jackson that he could get extra paid work in ruins stabilization at some of the other national monuments.[1257] With this financial assurance, the Jacksons made plans to build a house at the monument. They had a $500 allotment from the Park Service, earmarked for construction of a monument 'shelter cabin', but this amount only scratched the surface of the total expected cost for their house. They donated personal funds and sweat labor to the allotment, hauling

---

[1253] Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle and the Jackson Family," 2.

[1254] Frank Pinkley to Stephen T. Mather, August 12, 1923, Box 1, Protas Administrative History Collection (ACC MOCA-00226), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

[1255] Pinkley to Mather, August 12, 1923.

[1256] Transcript of "Oral History Interview: Betty Jackson," 37.

[1257] Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle and the Jackson Family," 4.

hundreds of blue boulders from the creek bed for use in the house construction. Construction began Thanksgiving week 1926, when the Pinkleys joined the Jacksons at Montezuma Castle for the holiday and stayed on to help build.[1258] With a great deal of lime mortar, the Jacksons constructed a two-room cabin that they further partitioned to "serve rather creditably as a house."[1259] The ample front room on the west side of the house served the dual purpose of a museum by day and living room by night.

During most of the 1920s, Martin Jackson's part-time status remained unchanged. But, as Pinkley had promised, Jackson supplemented his nominal salary with contract preservation work at other monuments. These gigs took him away from Montezuma Castle for extended spells that were too great for Ada to handle alone. During the summer of 1928, Pinkley hired their son Earl as a seasonal ranger to cover Jackson's long absence, making Earl Jackson the first full-time paid employee of Montezuma Castle. Earl earned $125 a month and put in ninety days straight of twelve-hour plus shifts, working from 8:00 am until the last visitor departed, often after 9:00 pm.[1260] At summer's end, Earl resigned to resume his studies at the University of Arizona in Tucson. Martin Jackson returned to duty at the Castle, but this time as a full-time permanent custodian with a salary of $1860 per annum.

Martin Jackson remained custodian of Montezuma Castle until 1936. During this time, he and Ada supervised construction of a separate museum building and a new two-bedroom residence adjoining the rear of the museum. In the museum building, Ada operated a curio and concessions shop. Eventually, they moved the museum back into their original 1926-27 cabin, which doubled as the custodian's office. When Jackson retired in 1936, Earl—at the time custodian of Bandelier National Monument—applied for his father's job and got it. Martin and Ada Jackson spent a short retirement in Las Vegas, Nevada, operating the Pioneer Hotel on First Street; in 1939, Martin died suddenly from a brain hemorrhage, at only 51 years of age. In the March 1939 Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Frank Pinkley reminisced about his friend "Jack" in a full-page obituary.[1261] Ada Jackson remained in Las Vegas as proprietor of the Pioneer Hotel.[1262] She remarried but by 1950 was widowed again, and her son Norman moved in with her.[1263] Ada suffered a heart attack in the hotel on July 7,

---

[1258] Frank Pinkley, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, November 1926.

[1259] Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle and the Jackson Family," 4.

[1260] Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle and the Jackson Family," 5.

[1261] Frank Pinkley, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, March 1939, 199.

[1262] "Sparks, Vegas Landlords in OPA Trouble," *Nevada State Journal*, July 6, 1945, pg. 12. Ada remarried a second time sometime after 1950 and carried the married name "Butler," confirmed by newspaper accounts about the estate of Ada Jackson Butler—proprietor of the Pioneer Hotel—in 1953.

[1263] At Montezuma Castle, Norman R. Jackson helped guide visitors and operate visitor concessions. In 1936, he received a permit for banding birds; this was later rescinded due to inconsistent banding [SWNM monthly report for June 1936, pg. 470]. After his parents retired to Las Vegas, Norman continued to operate the concessions store with his wife Louise (née Thompson). An alcoholic, he eventually let the store fall apart. After Norman and Louise divorced, he remarried Eula Lee Metcalf in 1943 but that marriage also ended and he moved to Las Vegas. Norman died in Texas in 1978. See: Betty Jackson to Polly Kaufman, n.d. (1988?), folder "SW Monuments – Betty Jackson (also Martin Jackson)," Box 1, NPS

1953. Sometime after her death, Earl Jackson scattered both of his parents' ashes at Montezuma Castle National Monument.[1264]



Figure 127. "Pink" and "Jack" on break during the 1923 summer of ruins stabilization work at Montezuma Castle National Monument. Source: Arizona Memory Project.

Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1264] Jackson, "Montezuma Castle and the Jackson Family," 8.

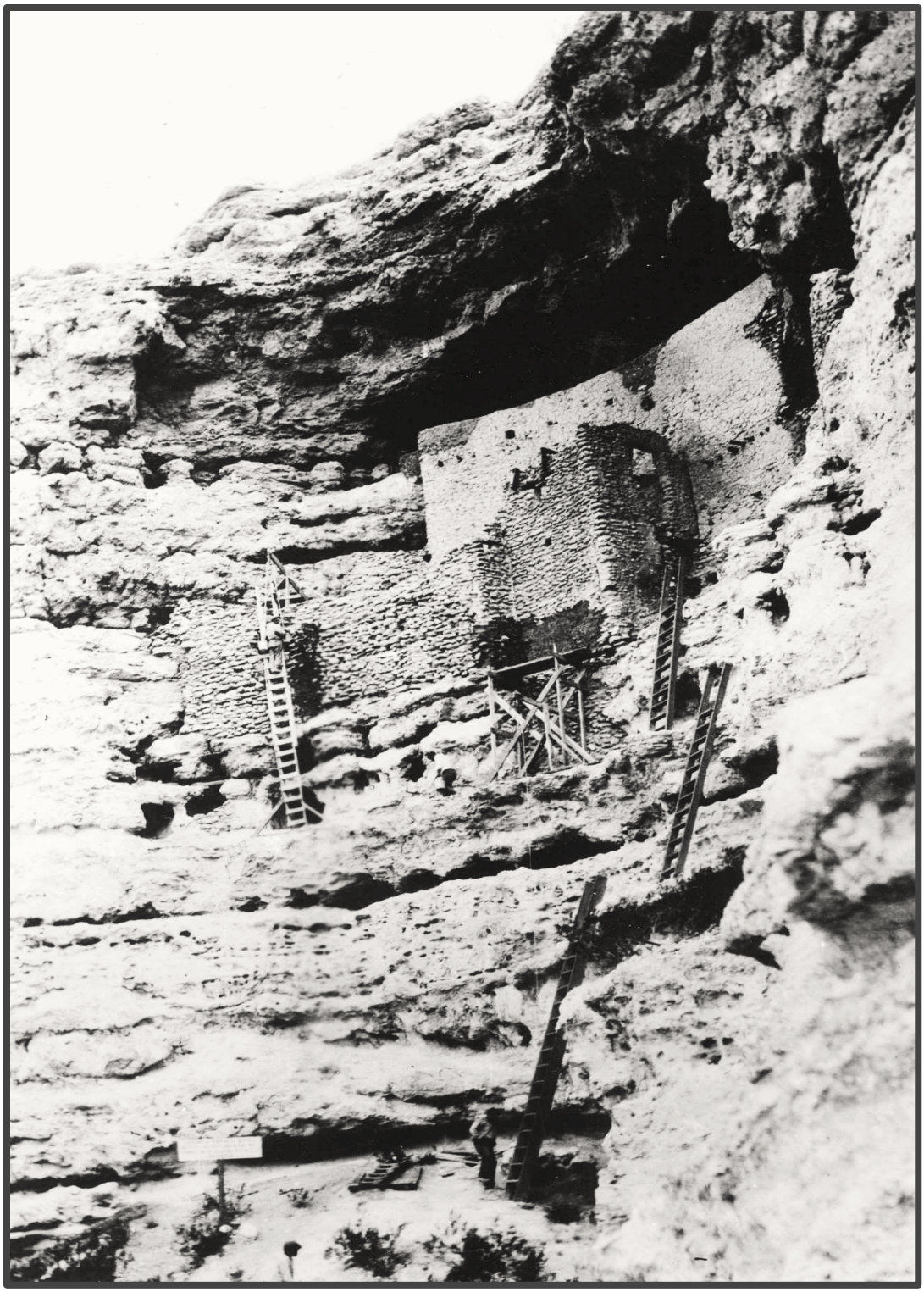


Figure 128. Pinkley, Jackson, and local Apache laborers stabilized the Montezuma Castle with "mudslinging" during the summer of 1923. Source: Arizona Memory Project.



Figure 129. Martin and Ada Jackson conducted the preliminary excavation of Castle A at Montezuma Castle National Monument. Source: Arizona Memory Project.

IN MEMORY OF MARTIN LUTHER JACKSON

On Saturday, March 11, 1939, Martin Luther Jackson, father of Custodian Earl Jackson, died at Las Vegas, Nevada. Thus another Park Service man leaves us and goes over the Great Divide.

When I think of Jack, there comes to mind such a vivid picture of the flock of quail coming down the hillside, bold and unafraid, calling in their clear tones for their friend to come out with that wheat; they were hungry, and I can see Jack yet, in my mind's eye, standing among them, talking to them as he would to a lot of children while they ate their breakfast and talked back to him in their own tongue.

I have known Jack so long and so well that I cannot remember our first meeting. He and the family were living a mile or so south of the Castle in those days, and I suggested that he take a nominal salary and become its technical custodian.

Thus began our 20 years of friendship, during which I cannot remember a single quarrel nor a serious major difference of opinion. We were always 'Jack' and 'Pink' to each other. I can remember how the Park Service spirit grew in Jack like a living flame. I was about the only Service official he met in those early days and we used to sit by the hour at night and talk over the policies and personnel of the Service and how we would develop the Montezuma Castle if and when we got the men and money.

In those days Jack was a painter by trade, making seven or eight dollars per day while the family lived at the ranch developing the place with the money his work brought in. Our top wages on stabilization work on the ruins were never ever half what Jack could make at his trade, yet I could not keep him from quitting his job at the smelter and coming on with us each summer; he always claimed that he was just as good a workman as I was; that he could put just as much mud in a wall per day as I could, and the fun of doing it was well worth the four dollars a day it cost him to work for me.

When, in the course of time, we got what we in those days called a full-time salary for Montezuma Castle, Jack and the family moved up on the ground and took over the job. He was so enthusiastic about his ruin that he practically never sent away an unsatisfied visitor. He had examined every square foot of its walls, had developed all the angles of all possible deductions and could make that old building live again with its red skinned people in its various rooms.

And now he is gone; with others of his type a period of the development of the Southwestern Monuments is passing. His work, however, will remain and for many years those of us who knew him and appreciate the good work he did will think of him and speak of him. Faults he had, but I leave those of us who have none to speak of them, I like to remember him calling his quail down the hillside to show them to visitors, or as we used to lie stretched out during the noon hour on the shady ledge at the top of the Castle, planning the future work we must do until the hour was past and we went to the present job we had under our hands.

Adios, Jack! You were a Park Service man, and you know what I mean by that.

"Pink"

Figure 130. Frank Pinkley's eulogy for his friend "Jack," printed in the March 1939 Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report. Source: WACC

Hurst Redfearn Julian (1902-1961)

~ Born: June 5, 1899, Clinton, Missouri
~ Died: June 18, 1961, San Rafael, New Mexico
~ SWNM Affiliation: Casa Grande Ruins (ranger, 1931-32); Chaco Canyon (custodian, 1932-)

Hurst Redfearn Julian entered on duty at the Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM) group headquarters, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, on July 1, 1931.[1265] Frank Pinkley, superintendent of the organization, hired Julian off the Civil Service list to fill the permanent park ranger position recently-vacated by ranger Frank Fish, who transferred to Chaco Canyon to serve as custodian. He technically joined Southwestern National Monuments as park ranger for Casa Grande, but, in the early days of SWNM administration, Pinkley distinguished very little between personnel hired for the monument and those hired for the administrative office. With limited resources, he needed all hands on deck; the staff had little choice but to wear many hats. A clerk could guide visitors or serve as acting custodian, just as a custodian or ranger could shuffle papers or set headquarters' monthly reports for mimeographing. Hurst Julian did both, as did his wife Winnie, who volunteered as staff artist for SWNM during the Julians' tenure.

When he became ranger for Casa Grande in 1931, Hurst R. Julian had already lived in the greater Southwest for many years. Like Pinkley, his native roots were in Missouri. Julian was born on June 5, 1899, in the town of Clinton, to Willis G. Julian (1859-1910) and Paulina née Phillips (1858-1940). Graduating high school at the cusp of World War I, Julian enlisted in the Navy in July 1917, as soon as he turned eighteen. He spent the war far from home, stationed in Britain and even Russia.[1266] In spring 1920, the Navy discharged him in Charleston, South Carolina, at the rank of Sergeant—early, due to a severe leg injury.[1267] By 1921, Julian was studying veterinarian science in the agricultural college at Colorado State, Fort Collins; he was also married to a woman named Alice.[1268] By the late 1920s, Julian had made his way to California, where he could be found taking classes at U.C.L.A. while working a night job as special officer for the Union Pacific Railroad in Yermo, as well as side gigs serving as a double for Hollywood actors Tom Mix and Rex Bell, among others.[1269]

[1265] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1931; and *Clinton Eye*, September 10, 1931.

[1266] "Hurst Julian Writes a Clinton Friend As Follows," *The Clinton Eye*, January 3, 1919, pg. 6; Prof. Hurst R. Julian, Director, Escuela de Idiomas, Foreign Club, Chihuahua, Mexico, to Helen Keller, July 30, 1950, c/o *The Readers Digest*.

[1267] *Clinton Eye*, April 2, 1920, pg. 8; *The Coolidge Examiner*, February 5, 1932, pg. 1.

[1268] *Clinton Eye*, December 24, 1920, pg. 6, and January 28, 1921, pg. 6. Hurst and Alice divorced around 1928.

[1269] "Once Movie Stand-in for Tom Mix; Turns to Cattle and Typewriter As He Tires of Boredom of Films," *Las Cruces Sun-News*, January 25, 1940, pg. 1.

In 1930, Julian, temporarily living in Monterey, California as a surveyor, became engaged to Winifred née Young (1906-1979), a native of England who taught in the Point Sur lighthouse school. They married July 20 in Barstow, and settled in Yermo.[1270] In early 1931, Julian shipped off to Yosemite National Park, where he was "connected with the forestry department for the summer"; by July, he and Winnie were in Arizona.[1271] The Julians settled temporarily into rental quarters in Coolidge while they awaited the availability of a residence at the monument; Julian commuted back and forth each day.[1272] After a month on the job, Hilding Palmer, custodian of Casa Grande Ruins, reported that Julian had "handled the educational program in a very satisfactory manner.[1273] Hurst Julian worked hard and soon became known by the other personnel as the "Destroying Angel," for "the effective way" he cleaned up "the accumulation of the ages" around the grounds of headquarters.[1274] Julian's wife earned the tamer nickname, "Winsome Winnie," perhaps for her artistic talents. During their first winter at Southwestern National Monuments headquarters, she volunteered as staff artist. She devoted many hours to designing and sketching illustrations for the organization's playful newsletter, *The Epitaph*, which ran for four issues (Jan - Apr 1932) before its agency cancellation for 'undignified' usage of jocular slang.[1275]

In spring 1932, Frank Pinkley transacted a staffing switcheroo. He transferred ranger Frank Fish, serving as custodian of Chaco Canyon, to Casa Grande Ruins, and sent Hurst Julian to Chaco in Fish's stead. The Julians transferred to New Mexico in May.[1276] The Chaco Canyon administrative arrangement traditionally required the custodian to live on site from mid-spring to mid-fall, May to October or so, and then to spend winters at Casa Grande Ruins on ranger duty during its busiest tourist season. The same rhythm applied to the Julians. Back at Casa Grande Ruins in winter 1932-33, Julian 'talked ruins' to visitors and Winnie volunteered again as staff artist. She illustrated the cover for headquarters' December 1932 *Monthly Report*, featuring Montezuma Castle.[1277]

Just a few months earlier, a catchy moniker for the wives of Southwestern National Monuments personnel—Honorary Custodian Without Pay, or HCWP—had caught on and made a splash, even as far afield as the appropriation hearings on capitol hill in Washington, where NPS Director Albright

---

[1270] "Engagement of Miss Winifred Young Announced," *Pacific Grove Tribune*, July 11, 1930, pg. 4; and "Miss Young Becomes Bride of Mr. Julian," *Pacific Grove Tribune*, July 25, 1930, pg. 3.

[1271] *Pacific Grove Tribune*, June 19, 1931, pg. 4; *The Coolidge Examiner*, July 3, 1931, pg. 8.

[1272] Pinkley and Casa Grande custodian Hilding Palmer planned to convert the 1925 museum/administrative office into ranger quarters for Julian as soon as construction of the new administration building was completed.

[1273] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1931.

[1274] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1931, 111.

[1275] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1932, cover page.

[1276] *The Coolidge Examiner*, May 13, 1932, pg. 8.

[1277] Previously, in October and November 1932, NPS Field Headquarters resident engineer, Ed Nickel, had handled the cover illustration. In January 1933, ranger Ed Rogers—custodian of Bandelier, also stationed at Casa Grande during the winter—took over for Winnie and designed the *Monthly Report* covers for January 1933 through September 1933.

sang the praises of the HCWPs. Pinkley reprinted the transcript of the hearings in the December 1932 issue of the *Monthly Report*, which also sported Winnie's artistic cover as 'staff artist'. Pinkley pointed out her contribution in a note tacked on for the benefit of NPS director Albright:

> Thanks, Chief, for giving these honorary custodians without pay the recognition they so well deserve. You and I have known it for years, but it won't hurt to let the news leak out to the appropriation committee.
>
> As a matter of fact, donations of work and time are so common that I sometimes forget whether a member of our outfit is under pay or not. I had to apologize the other day to Winsome Winnie Julian, who, with the Destroying Angel, her husband, is stationed at headquarters for the winter, when I realized that I had told her to draw the stencil for the cover of this report thus and so, and had calmly taken it from her and run the 70 copies of this issue before it occurred to me to say 'I thank you'.
>
> Just between us [Pinkley and Albright], if these women whose names never appear on the pay roll ever walk out on us, this southwestern monuments machine is likely to fall apart in about 60 days."

In addition to Winnie's illustrations and Hurst's regular monthly report on Chaco Canyon administration, Hurst Julian contributed regularly to "The Supplement," which, appended to the *Monthly Report* during the 1930s through early 1940s, printed personnel updates and hearsay, general news, and shop talk. Julian covered a variety of topics for The Supplement, including his initial thoughts on the relationship between anthropology and ranger-led guided services: "Some of us have been talking 'Ruins' to the visiting public for years," he wrote, "without fully realizing that we were also talking anthropology. ...I wonder how many of us realize how closely our work is allied with anthropology? ... Anthropology is the story of all that man has known, and done, and been, with, so far as they have been determined, the reasons for such. Most of the questions which we are called upon to answer daily [for visitors] are included in this field."[1278]

Hurst Julian remained custodian of Chaco Canyon—and winter ranger at Casa Grande Ruins—until 1935. During this time, he cooperated with several archeological institutions, supervising their activities and navigating competing interests. Edgar Hewett, director of the School of American Research summer field school at Chaco, complimented Julian's efforts to the Secretary of the Interior:

> Mr. Julian, while attentive to all the customary duties of Monument administration, has shown a keen appreciation of the interests of all parties in this rather complex situation, including the University of New Mexico, State Museum, and School of Research. He (h)as won the respect and personal liking of students of the Field School

[1278] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, December 1932, A-B and K-L.

> as well as of those in charge of the scientific work, and cemented the cordial relations between the expedition and the National Park Service.[1279]

In spring 1934, Hurst and Winnie Julian welcomed a son, George Robert.[1280] George was about a year old when Julian exited the Park Service and settled on ranchland he claimed in San Rafael in 1934, just south of Grants, New Mexico, to raise cattle.[1281] He may also have worked for the Forest Service in Las Cruces at this time. At some point between 1935 and 1940, Hurst and Winnie divorced. She returned to Monterey, California, with their son and resumed her teaching career; she remarried to John Burton in 1953. Hurst Julian remarried to Ofelia Gomez in Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, Mexico, in 1940; he adopted her son, Carlos Mario (b: 1934), who took on the Anglicized name, Charles.[1282]

After 1940, according to an array of newspapers, Hurst Julian seemed to live and work in several places: Texas (Ciudad Juarez and El Paso), Mexico (Nuevo Casas Grandes and Chihuahua City), and New Mexico (San Rafael and Prewitt). Over the decades, he developed respected relationships with anthropological institutions and clubs. Because of his extensive experience in the archeological field as a Southwestern National Monuments custodian, especially his fieldwork in Chaco Canyon, he frequently gave talks on western history and southwestern archeology to clubs and schools. In January 1955, Julian attended a lecture at the El Paso Archaeological Society on the prehistory of Arizona's Verde Valley, given by Ranger Pierson of Chaco Canyon National Monument, while on annual leave in El Paso; the lecture prompted a long Q&A on the Chaco cultural chronology.[1283] A few months later, Julian gave a similar lecture to the archaeological society, this time on Chaco prehistory.[1284] Julian also taught English in Mexico through his Escuela de Idiomas.[1285] In the 1930s through 1950s, he published many opinion pieces, book and film reviews, and articles on a wide range of western themes for newspapers and magazines. Sadly, a fatal car accident in 1961 cut his industrious life short. Julian drove in the wrong lane on state highway 53 near his San Rafael ranch and struck an oncoming vehicle; the news report of the incident described Julian as "a rancher and a free lance writer."[1286]

[1279] Edgar L. Hewett to the Secretary of the Interior, December 19, 1932, printed in Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1932, 11.

[1280] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, May 1934, C; and "Obituary: Julian, George Robert 'Bob'," *The Sacramento Bee*, September 23, 2017, pg. B4.

[1281] "Notice for Publication," *Gallup Independent*, March 9, 1938, pg. 2.

[1282] "Chihuahua, Mexico, Civil Registration Marriages, 1861-1967," online database, *Ancestry.com,* entry for Hurst Redfearn Julian and Ofelia Gomez, August 8, 1940, Nuevo Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, Mexico, 194.

[1283] Glen Bean, "Superintendent's monthly narrative report for January, 1955," *Memorandum to the General Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments*, December 1954.

[1284] "Archaeological Group To Hear Hurst Julian," *El Paso Times*, April 17, 1955.

[1285] Prof. Hurst R. Julian, Director, Escuela de Idiomas, Foreign Club, Chihuahua, Mexico, to Helen Keller, July 30, 1950, c/o *The Readers Digest*.

[1286] "Weekend Accidents on State Highways Claim Four Lives," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 19, 1961, pg. 1.



Figure 131. Winnifred Young Julian, aka "Winsome Winnie," wife of Casa Grande ranger Hurst Julian, volunteered her services as Southwestern National Monuments staff artist, illustrating headquarters publications such as the Monthly Report cover. Source: WACC

Dale Stuart King (1908-1980)

~ Born: January 2, 1908, in Goodland, Kansas
~ Died: March 29, 1980, in Tucson, Arizona
~ SWNM Association: Wupatki (CWA archeologist, winter 1933-34); SWNM (junior park naturalist, 1934-1936; assistant park naturalist, 1936-1942, and 1946-1957)

When he retired from the National Park Service in 1958, archeologist Dale Stuart King had contributed nearly twenty-five years to the interpretation of the southwestern national monuments. He came on board as Junior Park Naturalist at Southwestern National Monuments headquarters, Coolidge, Arizona, in 1934. Except for his World War II service in the Army Corps, King remained with SWNM until its last headquarters location at Gila Pueblo (Globe, Arizona) closed permanently in 1957. During his tenure, King oversaw SWNM educational and interpretive programming, which covered museum planning and exhibit development. He was also the brainchild behind and long-time executive secretary of the Southwest Monuments Association—the non-profit cooperative organization responsible for publishing most of the interpretive literature for the Southwestern National Monuments group from 1938 through 1957. King later explained his entrance into National Park Service employment as simply, "a lucky circumstance."[1287]

Dale King was born in 1908 in Goodland, Kansas, to Moody Rutherford King and Emma Mary Penfold, but he spent the bulk of his childhood in El Reno, Oklahoma. At some point in the 1920s, the King family, which included his little sister Arlene (1917-2012), moved to Colorado. King attended the University of Denver, studying archeology and participating in Laboratory of Anthropology summer field work in Arizona before graduating with an M.A. in anthropology in 1931.[1288] King left the sanctuary of the university at an unlucky time in U.S. history. The Great Depression was in full swing, and few institutions had the resources to employ newcomer archeologists. Desperate, King found a job writing travel literature for the Conoco Oil Company's travel bureau in Denver. He and a crowd of over 100 college-educated colleagues made $80-90 a month writing booklet about the states where Conoco conducted business. One day, he saw a way out. Returning from lunch, a coworker handed him a Civil Service announcement for a National Park

---

[1287] Dale S. King, transcript of Oral History Interview of Dale S. by S. Herbert Evison, December 14, 1962 with corrections added by King in July 1964, 4, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1288] Some of the subjects he explored during graduate school included "The Influence of Nature on the Indians of Eastern Colorado," the title of an academic convention paper he presented before the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) meeting in Cleveland in 1931. See: "Abstracts of Convention Papers," *The Biologist* 12, no. 3 (Feb 1931): 139.

Service "Junior Park Archeologist" exam, the prerequisite step for jobs that started at the "fabulous salary of $2,000 a year" with no previous experience required. The timestamp deadline for applying to take the exam was midnight on the same day that King saw the announcement. He rushed to the doctor's office for a certified physical examination—required to apply for a Civil Service exam at the time—and managed to mail off his application just in the nick of time.[1289]

King passed the Junior Park Archeologist exam, and subsequently the Park Ranger exam as well. He continued to work for Conoco until a telegram arrived in early December 1933 with a job offer from archeologist Dr. Harold S. Colton of the Museum of Northern Arizona. Colton offered King a job as archeology foreman of a small Civil Works Administration crew at Walnut Canyon National Monument. The gig began immediately and spanned the winter months. Colton—the newly-designated nominal custodian of Wupatki National Monument—had successfully applied for CWA funds to excavate at Navajo National Monument and the Flagstaff-area monuments of Walnut Canyon and Wupatki, which had both transferred from Forest Service administration to the Park Service earlier that year. Initially, Colton assigned King to serve as foreman of the Walnut Canyon archeological survey and restoration project, F-68 CWA Work Project No. 4., but Colton had not considered the canyon's severe winter conditions. Forced to leave Walnut Canyon due to extreme weather, King and his CWA crew went to work instead at the Nalakihu Pueblo at Wupatki National Monument, where they undertook excavations and restoration of the ten-room sandstone masonry ruin at the northeast base of Citadel Butte. The restoration included roofing one of the original Puebloan rooms to serve as a visitor registration center. The Nalakihu project commenced December 27, 1933, and wrapped up in March 1934. As foreman of the Nalakihu Pueblo restoration project, King worked directly with Charlie Steen—assistant archeologist and survey rodman—and closely with James Brewer, foreman of the Wupatki Pueblo excavations (Work Project No. 10).[1290] Both later became King's colleagues in the Southwestern National Monuments organization.

All CWA projects at national monuments in the Southwest fell under the administrative supervision of Frank Pinkley, Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM). During their CWA employment, Dale King and Charlie Steen traveled to Casa Grande Ruins National Monument to meet Frank Pinkley at his office and hand him their resumes. Pinkley needed to hire another naturalist for SWNM headquarters, but the authorized position of Junior Park Naturalist had remained unfilled for months while he waited for somebody eligible off the Civil Service register. Robert H. "Bob" Rose held the senior Assistant Park Naturalist position at SWNM at the time, but he also served as assistant SWNM superintendent and acting custodian of Casa Grande when needed. He

---

[1289] Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., "An Important Archeological Site in Eastern Arizona," *in* The Smithsonian Institution, *Explorations and Field-Work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1927* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1928), 141; Dale King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 1-2.

[1290] King completed the final report on the Nalakihu Pueblo excavations in 1949. See: Dale S. King, "Nalakihu: Excavations at a Pueblo III Site on Wupatki National Monument, Arizona," *Museum of Northern Arizona Bulletin* 23 (1949).

was overworked. After King and Steen applied for the naturalist position, King found a seasonal ranger-naturalist job at the Grand Canyon's Wayside Museum of Archaeology.[1291] While managing the Wayside Museum, King received a letter from Pinkley offering him the open Junior Park Naturalist position. King accepted and entered on duty at SWNM headquarters on July 9, 1934. As King descended the hill leading to the flat desert plain surrounding Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, the desert heat slowly rose up to meet him; King wondered "how in the devil [he] ever got into such an oven."[1292]

In the National Park Service books, Frank Pinkley hired Dale King to be the naturalist with archeological expertise. As advertised, King would assist naturalist Bob Rose—a geologist by training—and handle the museum responsibilities that Rose had exclusively shouldered before. This left Rose with more time for his secondary role as Acting Assistant Superintendent, a position he filled rather regularly due to Pinkley's frequent absences and Assistant Superintendent Hilding Palmer's chronic ill health. As an archeologist, King figured it was his job "to start the interpretive and scientific program" for the Southwestern National Monuments group.[1293] He hoped to study the organization's museum problem, accumulate museum preparation materials, and sketch out plans for exhibits. But in his first "Junior Naturalist Report" in the SWNM *Monthly Report* for July 1934, Dale King admitted that he had spent the bulk of his time guiding visitors. "I have heard," he wrote, "that a Junior Naturalist is a Boy Scout who hunts bugs. It may be that is not correct."[1294] At headquarters, the required duties of office staff went beyond one's specialization; all personnel wore two or more hats. King learned that Pinkley had not even wanted a second naturalist position: "We don't want any bone-digging archeologists around here. We want to take care of the people," Pinkley replied, when King complained about the grunt work: "Frankly, I didn't want this staff job that you're in; I wanted another ranger at Casa Grande. So you will take your turn at guiding and it will be good for you." And so for the first year on the job, King continued to guide visitors, and during the afterhours at night he helped the clerk prepare the Boss's "beloved monthly report."[1295]

As an NPS naturalist, Dale King had special training opportunities available to him. In September 1936, for example, he was awarded the annual Adult Education Association graduate fellowship, granted each year to a Park Service naturalist to cover one year of specialized training at Yale University.[1296] King took nine months of administrative leave to attend. Soon after he returned, his

---

[1291] Michael F. Anderson, *Polishing the Jewel: An Administrative History of Grand Canyon National Park* (Grand Canyon: Grand Canyon Association, 2000), 26.

[1292] King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 3.

[1293] King, 4.

[1294] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1934.

[1295] King, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 4.

[1296] Dale King was the second recipient of this fellowship, the first being Frank C. Brockman. See: Ned J. Burns, *Field Manual for Museums* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941), 21.

superior, Bob Rose, left SWNM to take the superintendency of Boulder Dam Recreational Area, and Pinkley promoted King into Rose's position as Assistant Park Naturalist. King also participated in NPS park naturalists conferences. In November 1940, he attended the second Park Naturalists Conference at Grand Canyon along with SWNM colleagues Natt Dodge, Earl Jackson, Davy Jones, and Bob Rose [attending from Boulder Dam].[1297]

King's idea in 1937 to form a non-profit cooperative association for SWNM—the Southwestern Monuments Association, known today as Western National Parks (WNP)—stands out as his most enduring contribution.[1298] From the association's official establishment in July 1938 until he retired in 1958, King served as executive secretary—a role that allowed him to furnish to the monuments high-quality interpretive materials they otherwise could not afford, including a series of popular publications. In October 1942, Dale King busily wrapped up the manuscript for the second popular publications of the Southwestern Monuments Association (SWMA)—*Arizona's National Monuments*—while his colleagues scurried about packing up the SWNM office. The Park Service had ordered them to move headquarters to the agency's regional office in Santa Fe. As the last box was packed and everyone prepared to depart for New Mexico, King remained behind. He had enlisted in the Army and needed to report for duty on October 22.

King spent World War II serving with the Army Air Corps. He completed his exams in Los Angeles, while learning to type and be an engineering and operations clerk at the Administrative, Supply, and Technical School. He graduated from the clerical program at the end of year, at the rank of "technical sergeant," and subsequently applied for officer's training.[1299] King ended up at MacDill Field, Tampa, Florida, with the Hdq. Sqd., Third Bomber Command. He shared an office with ten men and two typewriters.[1300] In May, at the rank of corporal, King flew a B-24 from Florida to Arizona, flying right over Casa Grande Ruins in the afternoon, possibly disturbing ranger Frank Fish from "taking a siesta under one of the trees."[1301]

By November 1945, King had exited the Army, at the rank of 2nd Lieutenant, and reentered the National Park Service. He returned immediately to NPS employment as a naturalist (archeologist), in charge of the southwestern monuments interpretive program, this time out of the regional office in Santa Fe. Tasked with museum planning and providing other interpretive services to the various southwestern national monuments, his work often involved spending several weeks at a time in the

---

[1297] C. Frank Brockman, "Park Naturalists and the Evolution of National Park Service Interpretation through World War II," *Journal of Forest History* (Jan 1978): 40-42.

[1298] Not long after establishment, the Southwestern Monuments Association shortened its name to *Southwest* Monuments Association.

[1299] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, November 1942, 24.

[1300] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1943, 21.

[1301] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1943, 28.

field. In August 1946, for example, he spent five weeks at Sunset Crater, conducting interpretive research, including studying visitor habits. He also assisted with critical postwar ruins stabilization needs. In June 1946, he and a crew of laborers, under regional archeologist Erik Reed's supervision, replaced missing column sections and bases of the Tumacácori mission facade.[1302]
In 1950, John Davis, the new superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, located at the regional office in Santa Fe, recruited King to serve as the naturalist on his small administrative staff. When the Park Service authorized purchase of a new headquarters for Southwestern National Monuments in 1925 at Gila Pueblo, Globe, Arizona, King transferred as well as SWNM naturalist, along with colleague Les Arnberger [Bio File: Arnberger, Les].

From Globe, King continued to work as a naturalist on SWNM interpretive and scientific program growth. As he had for nearly twenty years, he continued to engage with the community, giving illustrated lectures. As an archeologist, he often conducted new archeological research.[1303] In 1955, he completed a survey of archeological sites in southeastern New Mexico near Silver City, which included Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument and the Mimbres site.[1304] And he served as chairman of the Cummings Publication Council, which worked on publishing the works of Dean Byron Cummings, the late mentor of King and many of King's NPS colleagues.[1305] King remained affiliated with the Southwest Monuments Association during the Gila Pueblo period of Southwestern National Monuments administration. The SWMA, under King's executive oversight and with Alan Vedder as treasurer, produced many illustrated interpretive materials for the southwestern monuments, including upgrading the group's self-guiding Nature Trail booklets.

The National Park Service deactivated Southwestern National Monuments in June 1957. Dale King retired seven months later in January 1958.[1306] Upon retirement, King handed over the SWMA secretarial reins to longtime SWNM colleague Earl Jackson, former custodian of both Montezuma Castle and Tumacácori, as well as park naturalist at SWNM headquarters at Gila Pueblo from 1955-1957 [see Bio File: Jackson, Betty]. Two weeks after King retired, the Arizona State Parks Association elected King president of the board. From his Six-Shooter Canyon home, King set up a self-publishing company under the name "Dale Stuart King." He published at least eight informational books on southwestern subjects, including a couple titles authored by himself.[1307]

[1302] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1946 and August 1946.

[1303] "Naturalist to Give Talk," *Arizona Republic*, April 2, 1957.

[1304] "Surveys Ruins," *Carlsbad Current-Argus*, September 26, 1955, pg. 5.

[1305] "King Quits Park Service So He Can Stay In Arizona," *Arizona Republic*, January 11, 1958, pg. 18.

[1306] "Park Service Veteran Will Leave Post," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, January 10, 1958, pg. 2.

[1307] For a list of King's self-publications, see: The Open Library, "Dale Stuart King" (https://openlibrary.org/publishers/Dale_Stuart_King).

In his personal life, King was married and divorced three times. During his residency at SWNM headquarters in Coolidge, he married Sylvia Potter (m: 1934, div: 1936), a college classmate from the University of Denver. After their divorce, he married Hortensia Espinosa (m: 1938; div: 1940), a woman with deep ancestral roots in the Florence, Arizona area.[1308] Neither of King's first two marriages produced children. In 1957, during his third marriage to southwestern archeologist Jean Owens, he and his wife welcomed a daughter; King was nearly fifty years old at the time of her birth. In 1969, after his marriage ended, his ex-wife and daughter moved to Tucson. King initially remained in Globe but eventually he, too, moved to the Old Pueblo, where he continued to self-publish southwestern books. Dale King died in 1980, age 72.[1309] His family buried his remains in Tucson's East Lawn Palms Cemetery.[1310]

[1308] "Florence Girl Weds Park Naturalist," *Arizona Republic*, February 24, 1938.

[1309] "King Services Slated Thursday," *Tucson Citizen*, April 1, 1980, pg. 6C.

[1310] *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/), memorial page for Dale Stuart King (2 Jan 1908–29 Mar 1980), Find a Grave Memorial ID 45286840, citing East Lawn Palms Cemetery and Mortuary, Tucson, Pima County, Arizona, USA, maintained by limetreehistory (contributor 47179431).



Figure 132. Dale S. King, Assistant Park Naturalist, Southwestern National Monuments, pictured in November 1937 at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge. Source: WACC (00406)



Figure 133. Dale S. King at age 50. Photography by John F. Turney, taken at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, January 2, 1958, days before King retired. Source: WACC (59926)

James Eli McClain (1873-1943)

~Born: October 8, 1872, in Marion, Indiana[1311]
~Died: May 22, 1943, in Lake Mary, Arizona
~SWNM Association: Papago-Saguaro (custodian, 1919-1930)

James Eli "Jamesie" McClain was the first and last custodian of the short-lived Papago-Saguaro National Monument (est. 1914). The monument, once a reservation for the Pee-Posh (Maricopa) and Akimel O'odham (Pima) people, encompassed approximately 2,000 acres of the northern Sonoran Desert. Its Saguaro cacti and prominent red sandstone buttes spanned an area where east Phoenix and north Tempe meet—a favorite local playground then, as it remains today. Papago-Saguaro lacked a custodian until the National Park Service appointed McClain as part-time custodian in September 1919.

Jamesie McClain had lived in the Phoenix area for seventeen years at the time of his appointment. Originally, he hailed from Marion, Indiana, where he was born in 1882 to James M. McClain and Mary Jane Howard. He attended law school, while interning with the Strange & Huffman law office in Marion; he was admitted to the bar in June 1897.[1312] In 1901, McClain married Mary Alice Enright. The couple relocated to Shirley, Indiana, where James McClain worked as an attorney-at-law, publisher of the *Shirley-Wilkinson News*, and a real estate investor.[1313] In December 1902, when his wife's health dictated a move away from "white plague" country, McClain left Indiana and moved to Arizona.[1314]

Jamesie and Mary McClain settled on a ten-acre farm in the Salt River Valley, a mile and half southwest of Tempe and five miles from Phoenix. At their farm, called Double Butte Ranch, they raised livestock and Wyandotte chickens, bred horses, kept a small apiary, and grew cantaloupes impressive enough to be featured in local booster publications. By 1919, the McClain ranch had grown

---

[1311] On his World War I registration card, McClain gave October 8, 1872, as his birth date. His death certificate says October 10, 1873, but this date was provided by his daughter, Mrs. Wilbur Bluhm, who did not know where in Indiana he had been born nor the names of his parents (her grandparents). McClain's headstone gives his birth year as "1872." Without a birth certificate, the safest bet is the birth date he personally gave for the WWI draft.

[1312] *Marion News-Tribune*, March 17, 1897, pg. 2; *Chronicle Tribune*, June 22, 1897, pg. 5.

[1313] "About People," *The Hancock Democrat*, Feb. 28, 1901, pg. 4; Delbert C. Reason, *A History of Early Shirley and Surrounding Communities* (Fortville, IN: Shirley Diamond Jubilee, Inc., 1965), 9; and "Mesa," *Arizona Republic*, December 28, 1902.

[1314] "An Arizona Man Visits Us," *Tri-County Banner*, February 10, 1911, pg. 2.

to 227 acres.[1315] In the community, Jamesie McClain worked as head clerk of the New York Store in Tempe, participated in Arizona's movement for statehood, and served in local agricultural organizations including the local farm bureau, the Tempe Melon Growers' Association, and the State Fair Commission. He also served in the 2nd Arizona Legislature with Frank Pinkley, who likely recommended McClain for custodian of Papago-Saguaro in 1919.[1316]

McClain's custodianship of Papago-Saguaro National Monument was nominal; he earned $10 a year to occasionally inspect the monument and supervise events or projects. After the appointment of Frank Pinkley as Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments in 1923, McClain rarely submitted a monthly report.[1317] But Pinkley was often in Phoenix on business and would scope out conditions at the monument in person with McClain—a fellow Rotarian. During his tenure, McClain officiated at monument events such as the Sunrise Point annual Easter sunrise service and the dedication of a new cement picnic table by the local women's business club in 1925. Meanwhile, urban growth engulfed the monument on all sides. Its interurban value as a central park for the three cities that edged it made federal protection and interpretation of the monument difficult to manage and guide.[1318] As custodian of the only metropolitan unit in the Southwestern National Monuments group, McClain dealt constantly with heavy vandalism and political pressures to repurpose the monument for local needs. As Pinkley remarked to NPS director Stephen Mather in June 1920, "they seem to be thinking of our Monument, not from a national standpoint, but as a playground for the especial benefit of the city of Phoenix."[1319]

In October 1926, McClain resigned the custodianship to campaign for a seat in the 8th Arizona State Legislature; his wife Alice applied for the custodianship in his stead. But McClain was defeated by R. L. Finch in the November elections a month later, and he resumed the custodianship. In 1930, McClain's supervision of Papago-Saguaro automatically ended when Congress withdrew the park's national-monument status.[1320] On April 7, management of Papago-Saguaro transferred to multiple state and city agencies: 480 acres reserved as a rifle range for the Arizona National Guard; another 480 acres granted to the city of Tempe for a municipal park; a right-of-way strip to the Salt River Valley

---

[1315] They may have acquired property closer to Tempe, as suggested in, ""Additional Local News," *Tri-County Banner*, September 5, 1919, pg. 5.

[1316] J. E. McClain, "Salt River Valley," *Tri-County Banner*, August 28, 1903, pg. 2; "Sold the Potatoes," *Tri-County Banner*, December 11, 1903, pg. 6; and "Big Money from Cantaloupes," *Tri-County Banner*, December 18, 1908, pg. 9. For McClain's legislative biography, see: Arizona State Library, Archives, and Public Records, "Arizona Legislators: Then and Now," https://apps.azlibrary.gov/officials/Legislators/Person/925 (accessed February 21, 2024).

[1317] It does not appear that he sent monthly reports to Mather before 1923, either.

[1318] Ronald Beckwith, "Resource Brief: Papago Saguaro National Monument," Saguaro National Park Cultural Resources, February 2016, Tucson, Arizona.

[1319] Quoted in Marcus Burtner, *Crowning the Queen of the Sonoran Desert: Tucson and Saguaro National Park*, An Administrative History, University of Arizona (2011), 29.

[1320] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1930.

Water Users Association; and 1100 acres to the State of Arizona.[1321] James McClain continued to live in the Phoenix-Tempe area. He died on May 22, 1943, while visiting Flagstaff; his wife and two daughters buried his remains in the St. Francis Cemetery of Phoenix.[1322]

[1321] Today, most of the original national-monument land lies within Papago Park. See: Olson Associates, et al, "Papago Park Regional Master Plan: Discover Papago Park," June 17, 2010, 8.

[1322] "Former Tempe Man Succumbs," *Arizona Republic*, May 25, 1943, pg. 10.



Figure 134. Portrait of J. E. McClain (center top) in the 1915 Arizona Legislative Blue Book. Frank Pinkley (center bottom) served in the House of Representatives at the same time as McClain. Source: Arizona Memory Project

Miller, Hugh

Hugh Mason Miller (1894-1972)

~ Born: September 28, 1894, in Diller, Nebraska
~ Died: August 10, 1972, in Santa Fe, New Mexico
~ SWNM Association: SWNM (chief clerk, 1933-1935; acting assistant superintendent, 1935-1936; assistant superintendent, 1936-1940; superintendent, 1940-1942)

Hugh Mason Miller served the National Park Service from 1931 to 1959. He joined the agency by "sheer chance" during the Depression, when any job offer was a good offer. Remembering his introduction to the agency, he later admitted that "It was a case of 'any port in the storm' ... 'I had to go to the library to find out what the National Park Service was'."[1323] From the start, he recognized the Park Service as a good career fit, and he never left.[1324] He served first at Wind Cave National Park, followed by nine years at Southwestern National Monuments headquarters, eight years in the NPS Washington office, and nine years at the NPS regional office in Santa Fe, where he retired in 1959.

Hugh Miller called Nebraska his native home. He was born in Diller, Jefferson County, on September 28, 1894—the only child of Jesse and Lottie (née Mason) Miller. Before Miller's tenth birthday, his father died of liver cancer. A year later, his widowed mother—a leader in women's rights and the Temperance movement—relocated to Beatrice, Nebraska, and raised Miller alone.[1325] An invalid for much of his early childhood due to a severe case of rheumatic fever, Miller largely schooled himself, pursuing knowledge of all kinds.[1326] By age twelve, he had read the great works of "Shakespeare, Emerson, Carlyle, and Tolstoi."[1327] He actively participated in the debate society in high school and, over the years, wrote several poems. Years later, his colleagues fondly remembered his grasp of languages and gift of articulation: "He had not had any college. And yet through reading – principally through reading – he was able to develop a tremendous vocabulary and a real understanding of the arts, you know, and music."[1328]

[1323] "'Any Port in a Storm': 'Sheer Chance' that Miller Went into U.S. Park Service," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, September 8, 1959, pg. 18.

[1324] Quoted in Evison's draft obituary of Miller for the NPS *Courier*, 1972, "Miller, Hugh M. October 27, 1959," Box 15, Subseries B: Employee Biographical Files, Series XVI: Records of the Employee & Alumni Association of the NPS, Assembled Historic Records of the NPS (HFCA 1645), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1325] "Mts. Lottie Miller: Obituary," *The Diller Record*, April 10, 1941, pg. 1.

[1326] Newspapers described him as having a "weak heart." See: "Both Arms Broken," *The Diller Record*, July 16, 1909, pg. 9.

[1327] "Former Chief at Coolidge Made Regional Parks Head," *Arizona Republican*, June 5, 1955.

[1328] Luis A. Gastellum, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 48.

Eventually, Hugh Miller overcame his childhood affliction. After high school graduation in 1913, he secured a job as a stenographer at the Blue Valley Mercantile Co. Wholesale Grocers.[1329] When America entered World War I, Miller was exempt from the draft for physical reasons but he surprised friends by volunteering anyway.[1330] He enlisted at Fort Logan in August 1917 and received his assignment to the army medical department at Kelly Field, Texas, with the 106th Aero Squadron.[1331] On discharge, September 4, 1919, he was stationed at General Hospital No. 16 in New Haven, Connecticut, with the rank of sergeant. After the war, Miller returned to Beatrice, Nebraska. His family happily noted that Miller's health had improved during army service, evidenced by a forty-pound weight gain.[1332] In Beatrice, he resumed his former job with the Blue Valley Mercantile Co., eventually climbing the company ladder up to the position of credit manager. He still held this role when the Great Depression hit and the company went bankrupt, forcing the liquidation of all assets under Miller's trusteeship.[1333]

In 1931, Hugh Miller heard that the federal government had several openings for male stenographers. He passed the Civil Service exam for clerk-stenographer and joined the eligible list. Beating the odds of the Depression-era job market, in May 1931 he received a job offer from the National Park Service as clerk-stenographer at Wind Cave National Park for $1,620 per annum.[1334] He accepted. When the Park Service developed a new accounting system in summer 1932, the editor of the *Park Service Bulletin* reported that "Hugh M. Miller, Wind Cave," and four other "members of the accounts section of five national parks" traveled to Yellowstone National Park to receive instructions on the new system.[1335] A year later, Miller applied his training at the Southwestern National Monuments office in Coolidge, Arizona, where he transferred in August 1933 to replace Chief Clerk Martin Evenstad, who had resigned to take up the park-ranger vacancy at Tumacácori National Monument. Miller suspected that the SWNM group viewed him with suspicion, believing that "the Washington office had no real sympathetic understanding" of the organization's needs, and merely viewed SWNM as a place to send agency "misfits."[1336]

But Miller proved a good fit for Southwestern National Monuments. As SWNM Chief Clerk and Disbursing Agent, a large part of Miller's duties involved the preparation of estimates and budgets.

[1329] "Blue Valley Quits Business after 25 Years of Service," *Beatrice Daily Sun*, March 5, 1931, pg. 2.

[1330] "Hugh Miller Joins Army at Fort Logan," *Beatrice Daily Sun*, August 19, 1917, pg. 1.

[1331] Letter by Hugh M. Miller, "Tells of Camp Life at Kelly Field, Tex.," *Beatrice Daily Sun*, September 8, 1917, 2.

[1332] *The Diller Record* via *The Beatrice Daily Express*, September 8, 1919, pg. 5.

[1333] "Trustee's Sale," *Beatrice Daily Sun*, April 5, 1931, pg. 11.

[1334] Hugh Miller, transcript of Oral History Interview of Hugh M. Miller by S. Herbert Evison, December 8, 1962, 1, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1335] *Park Service Bulletin* 2, no. 6 (August 1932): 14.

[1336] Hugh Miller, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 2.

One of the first budgets he worked up as clerk involved the group's equipment needs. He discovered that, as a matter of course, the Bureau of Budget replaced government automobiles as soon as they reached six years old or 60,000 miles, whichever occurred first. Since SWNM had a slim appropriation and only two cars available for use, Miller devised a plan for securing new vehicles for headquarters and the field stations. When a friend in Phoenix, who worked for another federal agency, mentioned that his agency had six pick-up trucks ready to be discarded for reaching their age-mileage maximum, Miller convinced him to hand over the worthless trucks to Southwestern National Monuments instead. Then, in the next round of NPS budget estimates, SWNM recorded the maxed-out mileage of the six vehicles in their inventory and subsequently received approval to request six new pick-up trucks as replacement.[1337]

Miller's clerical duties extended to supervision of accounting at the various southwestern monuments. This included helping the custodians understand the mounting paperwork and new accounting procedures that corresponded with the advent of federal public-works money in 1933-34. In fall 1933, Miller and Pinkley threw a 'hail mary' and turned in applications for fifteen CWA projects spread out across Arizona and New Mexico, estimating employment needs at "approximately 800 people." They did not expect approval and were surprised when, "two days later" they "got a wire approving the whole works." After recovering consciousness, Miller told the Boss, "'I think I'm going to have to have some clerical assistance'."[1338] The paperwork associated with so many projects proved unwieldy. In the December 1933 monthly report, Miller acknowledged the custodians' "stress and bitterness" over the cumbersome new CWA bids and purchase process, required even for small expenditures. "The purchase procedure required under the Civil Works allotment…is admittedly a bother," he agreed, "but there's nothing complicated about writing up an order on Form 10-131 to confirm your purchase from the man whose quotation was the lowest." Instead of raging at the additional 'red tape', he encouraged the SWNM outfit to view it as "an opportunity to get many things done that might otherwise have been postponed for years."[1339]

A month later, Hugh Miller signed off on truly cheerful paperwork: his marriage certificate. On January 17, 1934, he married Christine Amelia Myran (1906-1998) in Phoenix, Arizona. Christine was born March 29, 1906, on the Myran family farm near Wessington Springs, South Dakota. An above-average educated woman for the time, Christine graduated from St. Olaf College in Minnesota in 1928 and followed that with graduate studies in dietetics. Up until her marriage, she worked as a dietician and nurse at the Lutheran Hospital at Sanator, South Dakota, only twelve miles from Wind Cave National Park. She and Miller met on a blind date at a picnic in August 1933, just before he moved to

[1337] Hugh Miller, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 4-5.

[1338] Miller, 8.

[1339] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1933, Supplement, K.

the Southwest.[1340] A brief long-distance relationship followed. Christine joined Miller in Arizona five months later, arriving by train the same day as their wedding ceremony, held at the Phoenix Lutheran Church that afternoon. Frank Pinkley and Mable Brown—at the time a temporary assistant clerk at SWNM Headquarters—attended as witnesses. After a short honeymoon trip, the newlywed Millers returned to Casa Grande Ruins, where they settled into the newly-built clerk's residence.[1341]
In 1934-35, the SWNM expanded the clerical team, hiring temporary clerk-stenographer Luis Gastellum and ECW-funded clerk Robert Cole. Both new clerical hires freed up Hugh Miller to serve as Acting Assistant Superintendent under Frank Pinkley until the position became permanent on July 1, 1936. When Frank Pinkley died suddenly at the Custodians' School of Instruction in February 1940, Miller took over as the superintendent. During the chaos after Pinkley's shocking death, Miller stepped in and wrangled 'the Boss's Outfit,' convincing the gathered custodians that reconvening the School would have been Pinkley's single wish. Miller's strength in the moment belied his own grief. In a letter to NPS director Arno B. Cammerer, Miller admitted to heartbreak: "I think I do not need to tell you that my personal sense of loss is great. You already know how close the Boss and I were to each other. My own father died when I was nine years old and the affection I felt for the Boss was more like that of a son for his father. I don't need to tell you how fine the Boss was; you already know that. I haven't yet convinced myself that he is gone. Indeed, his guiding spirit will be ever present to all of us who make up the Southwestern group."[1342]

Like Pinkley, Hugh Miller possessed a driven work ethic, except with superior organizational skills. According to Luis Gastellum, Miller believed "that people should work and produce and feel proud of the fact that when the day was done, that you had actually accomplished something."[1343] Miller once stated that the best employees were those that so enthusiastically attended to their job or organization that they forgot the clock: "I am personally convinced," he asserted, "that nobody ever amounted to a damn on [just] 40 hours a week."[1344] His tenure as superintendent was short. The Southwestern National Monuments office transferred to the regional office in Santa Fe in fall 1942 as a wartime emergency measure. Miller, perhaps anticipating the merger, resigned months earlier, on the heels of

---

[1340] Quoted in Herbert Evison's draft obituary of Miller for the NPS *Courier*, 1972, "Miller, Hugh M. October 27, 1959," Box 15, Subseries B: Employee Biographical Files, Series XVI: Records of the Employee & Alumni Association of the NPS, Assembled Historic Records of the NPS (HFCA 1645), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1341] "Married," *Coolidge Examiner*, January 19, 1934, pg. 1.

[1342] Hugh Miller to Arno B. Cammerer, February 20, 1940, Box 2066, 2nd Subseries, 1933-49: National Monuments, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Records of the National Park Service (RG 79), National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[1343] Luis A. Gastellum, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973).

[1344] As quoted in Evison's draft obituary of Miller for the NPS *Courier*, 1972, "Miller, Hugh M. October 27, 1959," Box 15, Subseries B: Employee Biographical Files, Series XVI: Records of the Employee & Alumni Association of the NPS, Assembled Historic Records of the NPS (HFCA 1645), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

the Pearl Harbor bombing and U.S. declaration of war against Japan. He handed off the reins of Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments, to Charles A. Richey, and headed to Chicago to serve as NPS Chief of Personnel at the agency's wartime headquarters.

In 1950, Hugh and Christine Miller returned to the Southwest. He joined the Santa Fe regional office as Assistant Regional Director under Tillotson, then stepped up as Regional Director after Tillotson's death in 1955. Four years later, September 30, 1959, Miller retired from the Park Service.[1345] He and Christine remained in Santa Fe. Hugh Miller passed away August 10, 1972, after a long illness brought on by a stroke. Christine passed away at her home in Redwood, California, in 1998, age 91. Both were buried in the Santa Fe National Cemetery.[1346]

[1345] "'Any Port in a Storm': 'Sheer Chance' that Miller Went into U.S. Park Service," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, September 8, 1959, pg. 18.

[1346] *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/66746470/hugh_mason-miller: accessed April 19, 2026), memorial page for SGT Hugh Mason Miller (28 Sep 1894–10 Aug 1972), Find a Grave Memorial ID 66746470, citing Santa Fe National Cemetery, Santa Fe, Santa Fe County, New Mexico, USA, maintained by Graveyard Walker (contributor 47314881).



Figure 135. Portrait of Hugh Miller, Assistant Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments, at headquarters. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge, November 1937. Source: WACC (00424)



HUGH M. MILLER, who has been appointed superintendent of Southwestern national monuments, filling the vacancy created by the death of Frank Pinkley.

MILLER TAKES MONUMENT JOB

Temporary Status Made Permanent Under New Orders

COOLIDGE, March 24.—(Special)—Hugh M. Miller, who has been acting superintendent of Southwestern national monuments since the death of Frank Pinkley February 14, has been appointed superintendent of the interior. Word of the appointment was received today from regional headquarters.

Since 1933

Miller has been a member of the Southwestern monuments organization since August, 1933, coming to headquarters at the Casa Grande national monument as chief clerk from Wind Cave national park in South Dakota. He first entered the national park service at Wind Cave in 1931. In June, 1935, he became acting assistant superintendent and in 1936 was named assistant superintendent.

Miller's former home was at Beatrice, Neb., where he was born and received his early education. He is a veteran of the World war. Since coming to the Southwestern monuments headquarters he has been active in civic affairs, being a member of the Rotary club, American Legion, Masonic lodge and Scottish Rite organization. His home is at the Casa Grande ruins.

Monument Manager

As superintendent, Miller will be responsible for the administration, protection and maintenance of 27 Southwestern monuments, occupying a total of 760,000 acres in the states of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Utah. Last year, these monuments were seen by 255,530 visitors from all states and many foreign countries.

'Any Port In A Storm'

'Sheer Chance' That Miller Went Into U.S. Park Service

"Sheer chance" is the way Hugh M. Miller, retiring regional director of the National Park Service's Region 3, explains the beginning of his life-long occupation.

Miller is leaving the Park Service on retirement after 28 years.

The grocery store where Miller worked as a credit manager collapsed during the depression, and he began looking for another job. "It was a case of 'any port in the storm' when I took a job with the Park Service at Wind Cave National Park, S.D., in May, 1931." The retiring director smiled as he said, "I had to go to the library to find out what the National Park Service was."

After 28 years with the National Park Service, Miller has a thorough knowledge of its functions. "The depression did me a good turn," he relates. "I would never have gone into anything else if I had known about this first."

Miller served in administrative positions in South Dakota, at the Southwestern National Monument in Coolidge, Ariz., and at the national headquarters in Washington, D.C. before coming to Santa Fe in November, 1950.

Miller, who lives at 1507 Don Gaspar Ave., first served as assistant regional director of Region 3. In July of 1955 he succeeded the late M. R. Tillotson as regional director.

Region 3 is composed of Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and portions of Colorado and Nevada. There are seven million acres of national parks and monuments in this region that draw 10 million visitors yearly. Lake Mead is the biggest drawing card, with the Grand Canyon running in second place.

"Several projects are close to my heart now," the veteran director says. One is the Colorado River storage project. Another is the Padre Island proposal. Should Congress vote to create Padre Island into a national park, this 60 to 70 mile stretch of beach will be the greatest length of primitive seashore in the United States. "I hate to walk off and leave something as big as these projects," Miller said saidly.

Enthusiasm radiates from the 65-year-old man when he talks about the people with whom he works. "These are intelligent people," he said as he named the various professions used by the National Park Service. "They have high ideals and characters. It has given me great satisfaction to work with them."

Plans for the future are indefinite. When asked what he and his wife, Christine, would do after his retirement, Miller said, "I never could ride two horses at the same time effectively. I'll just wait until I'm through with this job before I decide what to do next."

HUGH M. MILLER

17-Year-Old Is Suspect In Latest NY Teenage Murder

NEW YORK (UPI)—Police questioned a 17-year-old suspect today in this city's latest case of teen-boy. Police said the crime appar ently had no teen gang connec tion.

Figure 136. Hugh Miller became SWNM superintendent in 1940 (left). He retired from the National Park Service in 1959 as Region III director at Santa Fe (right). Sources: Arizona Daily Star (3-25-1940); Santa Fe New Mexican (5-3-1959).

William Henry Nelson (1881-1963)

~Born: December 5, 1881, in Red Oak, Iowa
~Died: April 28, 1963, in Pueblo, Colorado
~SWNM Association: Petrified Forest (custodian, 1918-1925)

William Henry Nelson served as custodian of Petrified Forest National Monument from 1918 to 1925. A newcomer to Arizona in the 1910s, he originally hailed from Red Oak, Montgomery County, Iowa, where he was born December 5, 1881, to Swedish immigrants.[1347] The first thirty years of his documented life are hazy. Then in 1917, Nelson showed up in northern Arizona when Chester Campbell—custodian of Petrified Forest and proprietor of the Forest Hotel at Adamana—hired him as a tour driver to escort hotel guests through the Forest. That same year, the local *Holbrook News* newspaper mentioned that William Nelson had completed a large oil painting of Petrified Forest for the Holbrook Drug Store; the painting—a 23-foot by 54-inch canvas—covered the wall space above the store's prescription case.[1348] The newspaper described Nelson as an artist from Colorado, suggesting he had lived there in between leaving Iowa and moving to Arizona.

In 1918, William Nelson purchased the Forest Hotel and auto-tour business from Chester Campbell and renamed it the Adamana Hotel and Auto Livery. For the previous two decades, the hotel and each of its hotel owners had served as the unofficial headquarters and custodians, respectively, for Petrified Forest National Monument. Likewise, Nelson inherited the custodianship from Campbell when he bought the hotel. Nelson served as custodian for seven years. Initially, the National Park Service paid him the nominal custodian salary of $12 per annum while he resided off-site at the Adamana Hotel. In 1922, he abandoned management of the Adamana Hotel and Auto Livery businesses when Director Mather offered him a full-time salary of $1,500 per annum to reside permanently on the monument, on the recommendation of Frank Pinkley, NPS custodian of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument.

During his resident tenure, Nelson erected three frame buildings, including a cabin-house and a 16' x 16' makeshift museum near the site of the present Rainbow Forest Museum.[1349] In his museum he exhibited polished specimens of petrified wood and gave lectures and lantern-slide presentations that proved quite popular. By 1924, Nelson commented that visitors were pilfering less petrified wood as souvenirs; he credited his museum program, suggesting that seeing the objects on display with some

[1347] In his WWI draft registration card, Nelson listed his birthdate and his nearest relative as his uncle Gus Peterson in Red Oak, Iowa. Middle name "Henry" found on his WWII draft registration card.

[1348] *Holbrook News*, April 13, 1917, pg. 6.

[1349] Harold J. Brodrick, "A History of Petrified Forest National Monument," unpublished manuscript, 24-25.

interpretation made visitors aware of the monument's scientific value and need for protection.[1350] Nonetheless, Nelson still spent considerable time chasing down poachers—often on a motorbike. At six-foot-tall and built like a storybook Viking, Nelson cut a steely figure that earned him the nickname, "Petrified Bill."

During Nelson's custodianship of Petrified Forest, his wife—Lucy Hildegard née Gottert—served as his business partner in Adamana. Before their marriage, Lucy, a German immigrant, worked as a governess for the grandchildren of sugar baron A. Claus Spreckels in Coronado, California.[1351] At some point, she met Nelson and they married in Navajo County, Arizona, in November 1918.[1352] Lucy possessed a head for business and enjoyed running the Adamana Hotel and concessions. In 1922, after Mather promoted Nelson to full-time resident custodian of Petrified Forest, the Nelsons leased out the Adamana hotel, livery, and gift shop business to other operators and moved onto the monument. Despite the raise in salary, Lucy disliked monument administration and the isolation. Preferring the bustle of Adamana, she moved off the monument and back into town.

Lucy Nelson's distaste for Park Service work probably contributed to Nelson's resignation as custodian in October 1925, though his recent grievance with the agency played a larger role. Earlier that year Director Mather investigated Nelson on suspicions that he sourced the petrified wood on sale in the Adamana souvenir shop with specimens collected from the monument. The Park Service cleared Nelson of any wrongdoing, but Nelson believed the libel had irreparably damaged his reputation.[1353] Frank Pinkley, by this time Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, did not persuade Nelson to reconsider resigning. Instead, he replaced him with Edgar Rogers, one of the monument's seasonal rangers.[1354] William Nelson remained in Adamana until the mid-1950s. He continued to paint and to operate a lapidary business and souvenir shop. Around 1955, his rocky marriage ended, and he moved to Pueblo, Colorado, where he remarried to Ethel A. (née Hurst) Whiteley, widow of Edgar P. Whiteley. Nelson died near Pueblo on April 28, 1963, and was buried in

---

[1350] Frank Pinkley, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1924.

[1351] Lubick described Lucy Nelson as the former governess of Rudolph Spreckles[sic]' children. The 1918 San Diego directory listed her as the governess for Claus Spreckels. Both Rudolph and Claus were the adult children of "Sugar King" Adolph Claus Spreckels (1828-1908). San Diego Directory Co., *San Diego City and County Directory, 1918*, 995, entry for Lucy Gotterd, *Internet Archive* (https://archive.org/details/sandiegocityco1800unkn/page/994/).

[1352] On their 1918 marriage record, her full name was Lucy Hildegard Gottert. She listed her age as 26 on the marriage license. See: Ancestry.com, "Marriage Affidavits, 1895-1925," online database, *Arizona, U.S., County Marriage Records, 1865-1972*, image no. 927 of 2076, entry for William Nelson and Lucy H. Gottert, marriage license, November 22, 1918.

[1353] Lubick, *Petrified Forest National Park*, 96.

[1354] Brodrick, pp. 24-25. See also: Lubick, *Petrified Forest National Park*, 85-86.

Mountain View Cemetery.[1355] In Adamana, Lucy Nelson ran the hotel until it burned down in 1965, after which she moved into the Campbell's Trading Post and operated its post office.[1356]

[1355] Ethel Nelson passed away in 1971. In her will, she bequeathed to the park a 7-foot canvas painting of Petrified Forest by Nelson. This was a different painting than the 1917 canvas that hung in the Holbrook drugstore. See Ethel's notice of William Nelson's death in the *Arizona Daily Sun*, July 17, 1963, pg. 11. See also: *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/52711143/william-nelson: accessed August 7, 2025), memorial page for William "Petrified Bill" Nelson (5 Dec 1881–26 Apr 1963), Find a Grave Memorial ID 52711143, citing Mountain View Cemetery, Pueblo, Pueblo County, Colorado, USA, maintained by gardengirl (contributor 47349735).

[1356] William G. Parker, Program Manager, Resource Stewardship and Science, Petrified Forest National Park, email message to authors, May 4, 2023.



Figure 137. Portrait of Custodian William "Petrified Bill" Nelson, circa 1922-1925. Source: NPS History Collection



Figure 138. Interior of the Holbrook Drug Store after remodeling, n.d., showing William Nelson's 23' x 54" canvas painting of Petrified Forest above the prescription cases at the back of the store. Source: Navajo County Historical Society via the museum staff at Petrified Forest National Park.

Hilding F. Palmer (1890-1935)

~ Born: December 9, 1890, in Morrison, Illinois
~ Died: May 31, 1935, in Coolidge, Arizona
~ SWNM Association: Casa Grande (ranger, 1928; custodian, 1931-1935); Chaco (custodian, 1928-1931); SWNM (supervisor of construction, 1929-1931)

In spring 1928, Frank Pinkley hired Hilding F. Palmer as ranger at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. Palmer had lived in the Casa Grande Valley for only a few months at the time. The previous fall, he and his former employer, George H. Kentfield, took an indefinite "western motor trip" from Illinois to Florence, Arizona, to pass the winter with Kentfield's sister Mary Colton and her family. By spring 1928, Palmer decided to move to the area permanently; as one of his hometown newspapers reported, his health had improved considerably during his Arizona stay.[1357] Like many of the region's transplants, Palmer, a certified pharmacist, suffered from tuberculosis and had heard that the arid southwestern climate might improve his health.

Hilding Palmer was born in Morrison, Whiteside County, Illinois, on December 9, 1890, to David Palmer and Dora Coonley. After graduating high school in 1908, he worked at Kentfield Drugstore in Morrison while studying for the state pharmacy board exam, which he passed in 1912 before accepting a job as a registered pharmacist in Littleton, Colorado.[1358] A couple years later in 1914, he married Illinois native Daisy M. Rector (1890-1981) in Fenton, Illinois, and returned to Morrison to work for his former employer, Kentfield Drugstore.[1359] Around this time he began to suffer from chronic illness, forcing him to resign from pharmaceutical work in 1916.[1360] He and Daisy moved to Colorado, and eventually he resumed work as a druggist—at the A.W. Clark Drug Co. in Denver as well as his former place of employment in Littleton.[1361] Before he traveled to Arizona in 1927, Palmer managed the Harper House Drug Store in Rock Island, Illinois.[1362]

Hilding Palmer settled permanently in Arizona in March 1928. During the winter, he met Frank Pinkley, Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, at his headquarters at Casa Grande

---

[1357] *Sterling Daily Gazette*, February 29, 1928, pg. 6.

[1358] The 1910 U.S. Census for Morrison, Whiteside, Illinois, registered Palmer as a boarder in G. H. Kentfield's household, with the occupation of a drugstore salesman. "Chicagoans Win Drug Test," *Chicago Tribune*, April 6, 1912, pg. 9; "Rossiter," *Quad-City Times* (Davenport, IA), March 22, 1914, pg. 15.

[1359] "Daisy Rector Becomes Mrs. Hilding Palmer," *Sterling Evening Gazette*, April 22, 1914, pg. 2.

[1360] *Sterling Daily Gazette and Daily Standard*, August 14, 1916, pg. 2.

[1361] Occupations listed on his 1917 WWI Draft Registration Card and the 1920 U.S. Census for Littleton, Colorado.

[1362] "Former Manager of Drug Store Here is Claimed by Death," *The Daily Times* (Davenport, IA), June 1, 1935, pg. 16.

Ruins National Monument. When Francis Seagoe, the ranger at Casa Grande, resigned in February, Pinkley convinced Palmer to stay in Arizona and fill Seagoe's position. For a month, Palmer worked as a laborer at Casa Grande Ruins while Pinkley trained him in ranger work. After this 'probationary' period, Palmer entered on duty as Casa Grande's permanent full-time ranger, effective May 1, 1928. Palmer's wife Daisy left Illinois and joined him at the monument in late April, settling into the rustic eight by twelve-foot room with screened porch that qualified as the ranger's quarters at the time.[1363] That fall, Daisy returned to Illinois to collect her parents, Fred and Sarah Rector, for an extended winter visit in Arizona; they ended up living permanently with the Palmers at Casa Grande Ruins. For most of 1928, Hilding Palmer served as the only fulltime ranger at the monument alongside George Rudy, the Southwestern National Monuments clerk who gave half his time to ranger service.

In November 1928, Pinkley promoted Palmer to the custodianship of Chaco Canyon National Monument at $1680 per annum. Palmer and his family remained in Arizona for the winter to handle ranger duties at Tumacácori, Casa Grande, and Montezuma Castle, and then moved to New Mexico in April 1929 to serve as custodian-in-residence at Chaco.[1364] The Palmer custodianship of Chaco Canyon lasted two years. Each year, the Palmers and Rectors resided at Casa Grande Ruins from late fall through early spring—when Chaco was mostly closed to travel—and at Chaco for the rest of the year. During his tenure, Palmer oversaw archeological excavations and ruins stabilization efforts in Chaco Canyon, as well as the collection of tree-ring specimens from beams in Pueblo Bonito.

In summer 1929, Pinkley expanded Palmer's duties to include the position of SWNM Superintendent of Construction. The role involved oversight of a mobile construction crew that moved among the southwestern monuments to complete scheduled projects, such as the construction of custodian's and ranger's quarters at Chaco, Petrified Forest, Montezuma Castle, and Tumacácori. Daisy often traveled with her husband and the construction crew, to serve as the camp cook.[1365] This dual arrangement worked until spring 1931, when Pinkley resigned from his nearly thirty-year tenure as Casa Grande's custodian and offered the position to Palmer, whose declining health dictated a change. Pinkley transferred Casa Grande ranger Frank Fish to the Chaco custodianship, allowing the Palmers to return permanently to Casa Grande Ruins.

From April through June 1931, Palmer served as the acting custodian of Casa Grande Ruins until his permanent appointment became effective on July 1. As custodian, Palmer handled the administration of Casa Grande Ruins while also serving unofficially as SWNM acting superintendent whenever Pinkley was absent from headquarters. This arrangement lasted until Robert H. Rose was made permanent acting superintendent in April 1933. During Palmer's four-year tenure as Casa Grande's custodian, he re-established a weather-bureau station at the monument (September 1931) and oversaw

[1363] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1928, 2.

[1364] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1929.

[1365] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1929.

considerable new development: the 1931-32 administration, maintenance, and residence buildings and parking area, and the 1932 replacement shelter cover for the Great House ruin.

During Palmer's custodianship, he suffered frequent bouts of illness related to tuberculosis. In summer 1932, he took a two-month leave to convalesce in Prescott and returned to duty with vigor and much-needed weight gain. But in fall 1934, his health relapsed. By early 1935, he was on extended bed rest at Casa Grande Ruins, "fighting for his life." Exhausting all paid leave, he took administrative furlough. Palmer stopped fighting on May 31, 1935, passing away quietly in his bed; he was only forty-four years old. Frank Pinkley wrote Palmer's obituary:

> As the outlook grew darker his cheerfulness and good humor shone by contrast. It was our constant marvel, who saw him day by day, that he could continue to smile and joke when the days grew into weeks since he had been propped up in bed. Only an occasional word dropped to one or two of us showed that he was fighting with a complete knowledge of the nearness of the end.
>
> And so he goes from us, not leaving our Service but wearing his uniform as he wishes, and we who are left must close up the ranks and hope that when our turn comes we may leave a record of patience and bravery and kindness and justice as clear and fine as this record he leaves.[1366]

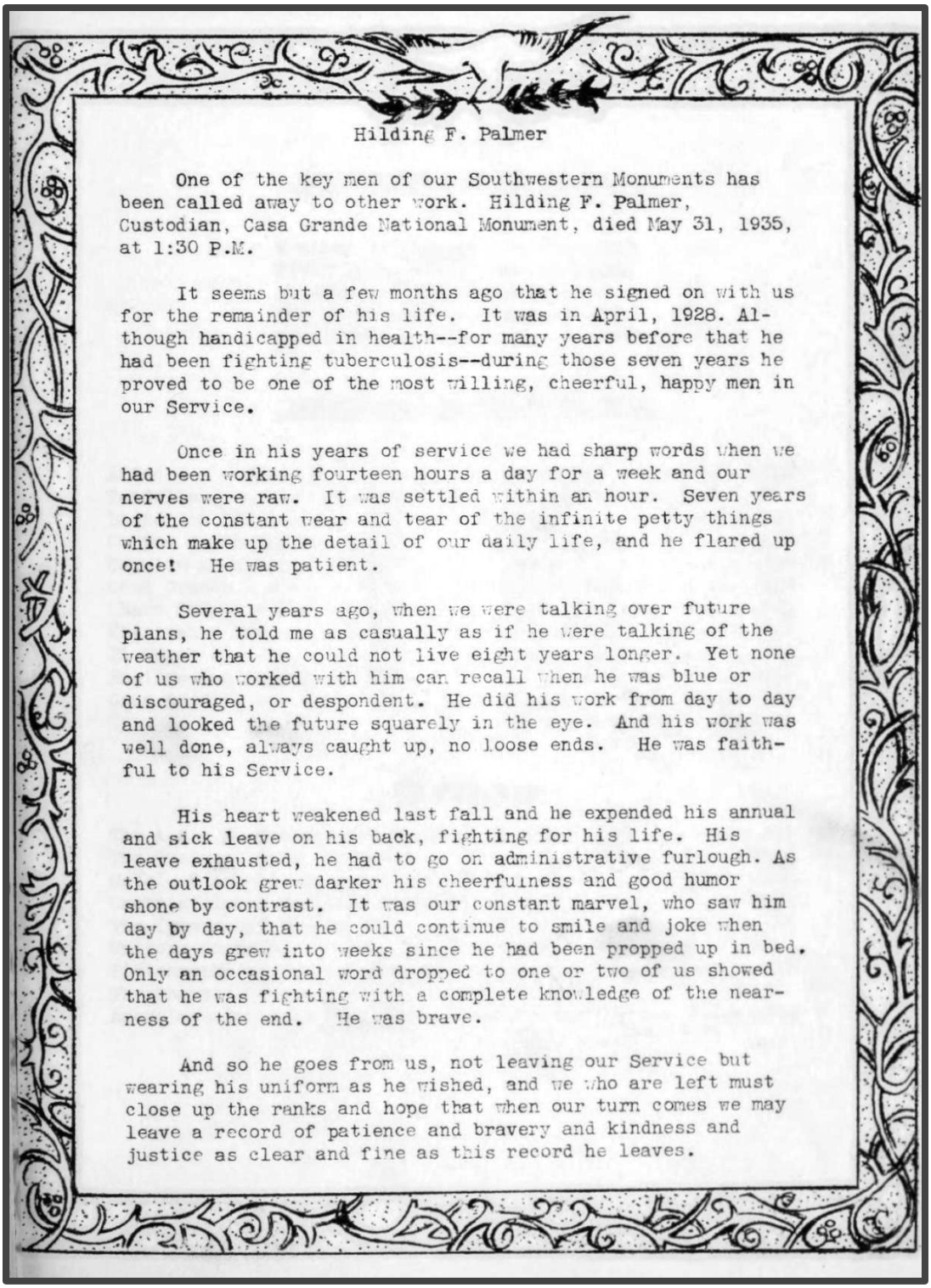
After Palmer's death, Daisy Palmer and her parents transported his body by train back to Morrison, Illinois.[1367] Daisy remained in Illinois. She never remarried; instead, she purchased beauty salons in the Morrison and Erie areas and managed them successfully for many years. She returned often to Arizona to visit friends.[1368] Daisy survived her husband by more than forty years. She died April 23, 1981, in Morrison, Illinois, at age ninety.[1369]

[1366] Frank Pinkley, "Hilding F. Palmer," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1933, frontispiece.

[1367] *Arizona Republic*, June 1, 1935, pg. 32; *Casa Grande Dispatch*, June 7, 1935; *Coolidge Examiner*, June 7, 1935, 1.

[1368] *Arizona Republic*, April 9, 1952, pg. 18.

[1369] *Quad-City Times*, April 26, 1981, pg. 14.



Hilding F. Palmer

One of the key men of our Southwestern Monuments has been called away to other work. Hilding F. Palmer, Custodian, Casa Grande National Monument, died May 31, 1935, at 1:30 P.M.

It seems but a few months ago that he signed on with us for the remainder of his life. It was in April, 1928. Although handicapped in health--for many years before that he had been fighting tuberculosis--during those seven years he proved to be one of the most willing, cheerful, happy men in our Service.

Once in his years of service we had sharp words when we had been working fourteen hours a day for a week and our nerves were raw. It was settled within an hour. Seven years of the constant wear and tear of the infinite petty things which make up the detail of our daily life, and he flared up once! He was patient.

Several years ago, when we were talking over future plans, he told me as casually as if he were talking of the weather that he could not live eight years longer. Yet none of us who worked with him can recall when he was blue or discouraged, or despondent. He did his work from day to day and looked the future squarely in the eye. And his work was well done, always caught up, no loose ends. He was faithful to his Service.

His heart weakened last fall and he expended his annual and sick leave on his back, fighting for his life. His leave exhausted, he had to go on administrative furlough. As the outlook grew darker his cheerfulness and good humor shone by contrast. It was our constant marvel, who saw him day by day, that he could continue to smile and joke when the days grew into weeks since he had been propped up in bed. Only an occasional word dropped to one or two of us showed that he was fighting with a complete knowledge of the nearness of the end. He was brave.

And so he goes from us, not leaving our Service but wearing his uniform as he wished, and we who are left must close up the ranks and hope that when our turn comes we may leave a record of patience and bravery and kindness and justice as clear and fine as this record he leaves.

Figure 139. Frank Pinkley published an obituary for Hilding F. Palmer in the May 1935 SWNM monthly report.

Sarah "Sallie" Louise Pierce (1911-1994)

~Born: April 3, 1911, in Victor, Colorado
~Died: May 2, 1994, in Prescott, Arizona
~SWNM Association: Montezuma Castle (CWA museum lab technician, 1934); Walnut Canyon (HCWP, 1934); Wupatki (HCWP, 1934-1936); SWNM (HCWP-Ranging Rover, 1936-1938); Aztec Ruins (HCWP, 1938); Navajo (HCWP, 1938-1942); Casa Grande Ruins (park ranger, 1942-44); Tumacácori (park ranger, 1944-1950); Bandelier (seasonal ranger-naturalist, 1950); Region III (asst. regional archeologist, 1951-1954); SWNM (seasonal ranger-archeologist for Casa Grande Ruins/Walnut Canyon, 1954-1955); Montezuma Castle (park ranger, 1956-1959)

Career NPS archeologist Sarah "Sallie" Louise (née Pierce) Brewer-Van Valkenburgh-Harris had the distinction of becoming the first permanent National Park Service "lady ranger" in the Southwest in 1943.[1370] A noteworthy milestone, though it overshadows her important role in the 1930s as an Honorary Custodian Without Pay, as well as her work as an archeologist and ethnologist from the early 1930s through 1970s at several southwestern monuments, mostly in Arizona. Sallie had called Arizona her home for most of her life. She was born in Victor, Colorado, April 3, 1911, the eldest of three children born to Colwell and Mary (née Rood) Pierce.[1371] But when she was only eighteen months old, Sallie's father, a mining engineer, moved the family to rural southern Arizona to serve as the new general manager of Mansfield, an isolated mining camp located in Santa Cruz County at the base of Mt. Wrightson's steep foothills—seven miles from the nearest town (Patagonia).

Until her brother Jack's birth in 1914, Sallie was the only child in Mansfield. "Badly spoiled by the bachelor prospectors, miners, and occasional cowboy," Sallie developed little experience interacting with children her own age until the family moved into Patagonia in 1918.[1372] From Patagonia, her father worked as a consulting engineer for a number of Santa Cruz County mining concerns; Sallie

---

[1370] For a wonderful vignette on Sallie, NPS Park Ranger, see the profile written by the NPS History Collection team at Harpers Ferry Center Archives: "50 Nifty Finds #17: Common Threads," https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/50-nifty-finds-17-common-threads.htm.

[1371] When researching her name in newspapers, the SWNM monthly reports, etc., use the alternate spelling "Sally" as well. Pierce spelled her nickname as "Sallie," but others often misspelled it as "Sally." Same goes for her husband James W. Brewer—search also with the spellings Jimmie or Jimmy (or just Jim).

[1372] Sallie Pierce Harris, "Memories of Mansfield Mining Camp," unpublished typescript, 6, folder 3, Box 1, Sallie Pierce Harris Papers (MS 638), University of Arizona Libraries, Digital Collections (https://cdm16127.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/ms638/id/4/rec/1).

often tagged along on her father's site trips.[1373] Sallie's youthful exposure to rural desert life in Arizona deeply influenced her career direction and prepared her for the remote conditions of the early National Park Service: "I have never learned to live in cities, or 'play' with contemporaries, or like crowds," Sallie later confessed in an interview; "I've never been truly content to live anyplace that wasn't close to natural laws and on the edge of untrammeled wild country."[1374]

In 1928, Sallie graduated from Patagonia High School and subsequently matriculated at the state university in Tucson [University of Arizona].[1375] The following year, her family left Arizona and settled in Carlsbad, New Mexico, where her father assumed the new position of General Superintendent, U.S. Potash Company. At university, Sallie served as a vital member of the Chi Omega sorority and the Mortar Club national honors society. She graduated with distinction in May 1932 with a B.A. in archeology earned under Dean Byron Cummings. After graduation, Sallie moved to her parents' residence in Carlsbad. This served as her home base while she participated in her second summer of archeological field work in New Mexico. At the time, Dr. Cummings' program policy prohibited female students from attending prolonged summer field trips. As a workaround, Sallie enrolled in the University of New Mexico (UNM) archeological summer school.[1376] She conducted archeological fieldwork with UNM at Jemez in summer 1931 and at Chaco Canyon in the summer of 1932. At Chaco, she processed archeological material from Chetro Ketl. In 1932-33, Sallie enrolled in graduate extension programs at the University of California, Los Angeles (fall semester), and the University of Arizona (spring semester), followed by another summer of field work in New Mexico in 1933.[1377] In Roswell that summer, she took the U.S. Civil Service exam, hoping to qualify as a National Park Service "Junior Park Naturalist."[1378] She passed, and on October 26, 1933, the Commission notified her at her Carlsbad address at La Caverna Hotel that she had been placed on the eligible list.[1379]

Sallie's interest in working for the National Park Service had piqued years earlier during a motoring "grand tour" of Arizona's national parks and monuments with her family, circa 1920. The road trip

---

[1373] Sallie Harris, transcript of Oral History Interview of Sallie Pierce Brewer Van Valkenburgh Harris by Dorothy Huyck, October 11, 1978, 7, "Dorothy Huyck's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1942-1987," in NPS Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, West Virginia.

[1374] Harris, "Memories of Mansfield Mining Camp," unpublished typescript, 1.

[1375] "U.A. Yearlings Face Accusers," *Arizona Daily Star*, 19 Oct 1928, p3.

[1376] Sallie Harris, transcript of Oral History Interview (1978), 4.

[1377] "To California for School," *Carlsbad Current-Argus*, September 15, 1932, pg. 6; "Folks You Know," *Anaheim Bulletin*, November 21, 1932, pg. 2; and "Local Happenings," *Carlsbad Current-Argus*, 25 Jan 1933, pg. 4.

[1378] In one of Sallie's Civil Service applications, she wrote that the exam was for Junior Park Archaeologist, but all of her later resumes said "Naturalist."

[1379] U.S. Civil Service Commission to Sarah Louise Pierce, October 26, 1933, folder "Civil Service Exam Applications, Notice of Ratings, etc.–Sallie Pierce Brewer, 1933-1954," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

included a visit to Casa Grande National Monument, where Sallie remembered the custodian, Frank Pinkley, giving the Pierce family a guided tour and encouraging them to visit Montezuma Castle National Monument as the next stop on their circuit.[1380] Years later, Sallie was reintroduced to Park Service work during her studies at the University of Arizona when archeology classmate Nancy Margaret Pinkley reacquainted Sallie with Frank Pinkley, who by then served as Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, with headquarters at Casa Grande.[1381] Sallie developed an enduring interest in NPS employment after that visit. "I don't think anyone," she insisted, "who went through Casa Grande with Frank Pinkley and heard him talk at all about the ideals and aims of the National Park Service could fail to get serious about (or at least interested in) [those] ideals and aims."[1382]

Professionally, Sallie was mostly interested in working at the archeological monuments. Thus, when Dr. Byron Cummings wired her in December 1933 about an available Civil Works Administration (CWA) lab technician position for an archeological dig at Montezuma Castle National Monument—a Salado Culture archeological site in central Arizona—Sallie-the-archeologist readily accepted.[1383] She reported for duty at Montezuma Castle just after the new year 1934 and remained on the job until about May. Her project supervisor was Earl Jackson, a college classmate who had graduated the same year as Sallie except with a degree in English. Jackson wrapped up a master's in archeology right after the CWA project ended.[1384] As the project lab technician for F-68 CWA Work Project No. 5 at Montezuma Castle, Sallie earned $60 a month processing and analyzing categories of pottery sherds and prehistoric architecture uncovered in the nine rooms of Castle A where she, Jackson, and a team of CWA workers excavated.[1385] "They must have been running short of archeologists at that time," Sallie later mused, "because I think I was the first woman that they asked to take one of those [CWA

[1380] Sallie Harris, transcript of Oral History Interview of Sallie Harris (1978), 2.

[1381] Harris (1978), 1.

[1382] Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview of Sallie Van Valkenburg by S. Herbert Evison, December 19, 1962, with corrections and additions offered by Mrs. Van Valkenburgh Mar. 9, 1964, 1, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," NPS Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1383] Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 1. Sallie's pay rate located in folder "Civil Service Exam Applications, Notices of Ratings, etc.–Sallie Pierce Brewer, 1933-1954," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122); NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1384] After college graduation, Earl Jackson switched fields and pursued postgraduate work in archeology under Byron Cummings. During his last semester of graduate school, Jackson was hired at Montezuma Castle to supervise the CWA work alongside his father Martin. He earned his master's degree in archaeology in May 1934.

[1385] See Earl Jackson's project report in Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1934, 6; and "Matthew C. Guebard, "Two to Four Inches of Lime Dirt: Public Archaeology and the Development of Old and New Interpretations at the Caste A Site, Montezuma Castle National Monument," *Journal of Arizona Archaeology* X, no.s 1-2 (2015): 1.

archeology] jobs and I am quite sure if there had been another real able-bodied man around they might have chosen him."[1386]

Sallie made a good point. While posted to Montezuma Castle, the position of Junior Park Naturalist at Southwestern National Monuments opened and caught her eye. It was a Civil Service hire, and Sallie was already on the eligible list and well-qualified. She expressed interest. Her father, who worked under former NPS director Horace Albright in the U.S. Potash Company, forwarded Sallie's interest in the SWNM position to his influential boss. In late January, Albright reached out to Frank Pinkley's assistant superintendent, Robert H. Rose, hoping to secure Sallie the job. But traditional biases about the hardiness of her sex played against her. "Because of the rigorous living conditions in various monuments," Rose explained to Albright, "I believe that for our new position of Junior Park Naturalist of Southwestern Monuments only a man should be considered for appointment." Albright agreed that, "being a girl [Sallie] could not fill the post of Junior Park Naturalist, because of the vast amount of traveling that must be done and the lack of suitable quarters to accommodate her in the various monuments," but he emphasized that Sallie was "a very capable girl" and he wished "she could be situated at one of the monuments or Parks. She would give a splendid account of herself if such a place could be found for her," he added. Rose responded that he hoped to establish "one or more positions of museum preparator" for Southwestern National Monuments, a position that would involve mostly laboratory work, that could "be done for the most part at headquarters," thus making "little difference whether this position were filled by a man or woman"—perhaps even Sallie.[1387] So the naturalist job that Sallie preferred went to a man—Dale S. King [see Bio File: King, Dale].

After she wrapped up the Montezuma Castle CWA position, Sallie returned to Carlsbad to temporarily substitute as secretary in her father's office. This gig was short-lived. During her CWA assignment Sallie had met James "Jimmie" W. Brewer, Jr., a fellow archeologist posted to CWA project no. 10 at Wupatki National Monument. The two archeologists enjoyed a whirlwind courtship that led to a hasty marriage on July 19, 1934, in time for Jim Brewer to report for duty as the temporary ranger-in-charge at Walnut Canyon National Monument the following day. Walnut Canyon had transferred from Forest Service administration to the Park Service the previous year and lacked a custodian.[1388]

[1386] Sallie noted that the key male archeologists of the Southwest were already at work at Tuzigoot and Wupatki when the Montezuma Castle job came up. See: Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 2.

[1387] Robert H. Rose to Horace Albright, February 16, 1934, and Albright to Rose, February 20, 1934, folder "Civil Service Exam Applications, Notices of Ratings, etc.–Sallie Pierce Brewer, 1933-1954," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1388] Harold Colton held the non-resident, nominal custodianship ($12 a year) of Wupatki and Walnut Canyon national monuments from December 1933 until his very-public resignation in 1934 as a sort of boycott of the National Park Service. He believed that NPS had neglected the Flagstaff-area national monuments, pointing to the agency's failure to prioritize resident custodians. Robert H. Rose wrote to Colton in April 1934, asking for a recommendation for his own replacement at Wupatki. Colton suggested CWA archeologists Steen, Brewer, and Tenbroeck—in that order. Rose offered Steen the job but ultimately hired Brewer.

Jim and Sallie Brewer—newlyweds for a day—moved to Walnut Canyon on July 20, hours after Forest Service ranger Frank J. Cox and his wife moved out of their well-kept circa 1904 log cabin. The Brewer-Pierce marriage proved surprising news to the Southwestern National Monuments outfit. When Frank Pinkley showed up at Walnut Canyon on July 24th during his routine summer inspections trip, he was both surprised and pleased to see that "the charming Sally Pierce" had signed on with SWNM as "Mrs. Brewer": "We think we're doing well," he reported later that month, "when we can angle for one archeologist and get two!"[1389] The newlywed archeologists remained at Walnut Canyon for approximately six weeks, then transferred to Wupatki in late August for a four-month custodial assignment, after archeologist Paul Beaubien showed up at Walnut Canyon with his permanent Civil Service appointment to assume the custodianship.[1390]

Unlike Walnut Canyon, no quaint historic cabin or any semblance of modern housing awaited the Brewers at Wupatki. They were expected to live in a reconstructed second-story room of the 100-room Wupatki Pueblo—in room no. 36, specifically, accessible by ladder only. Pinkley authorized $25 of SWNM funds for Jim Brewer to remodel the space into something livable. Meanwhile, the couple lived in the monument cook-shack, an abandoned CWA structure located several yards away outside. They used the $25 to buy "lumber to build shelves and a bedstead and a two-burner Coleman stove"; later they added a Franklin stove to their pueblo apartment, on loan from Dr. Colton of the Museum of Northern Arizona (MNA).[1391] With additional modifications and enlargements (incorporating room no. 63), the pueblo apartment served as Sallie's home for a period that stretched to nearly two years and almost year-round due to supplementary financial assistance from the MNA to complete archeological projects at the monument. Sallie applied her archeological training to help Jim excavate room no. 59 in 1934, and she likely helped him—and archeologist Erik Reed—on the excavation of room no. 7 in fall 1936 as well.[1392] During the Wupatki period, the Brewers became friends with their Navajo neighbors, particularly the Peshlakai clan.[1393]

Sallie thrived as a voluntary co-custodian alongside her husband—known as an Honorary Custodian (or Ranger) Without Pay in the Southwestern National Monuments group. But she still hoped to

---

[1389] Frank Pinkley, "The Month of the Boss," *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report*, July 1934, 4

[1390] Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962).

[1391] Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962).

[1392] Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962). See also the SWNM monthly report for January 1937, 41. The Brewers earned about $30 a month from SWNM for their seasonal employment at Wupatki (which expired after three seasons), and about $90 a month from MNA to remain at the monument during the winters. See: Tyson Pendery, "Wupatki National Monument: Archeology and Tourism, 1900-1956," unpublished M.A. Thesis, Northern Arizona University, 2004, 68.

[1393] For Christmas 1935, the Brewers hosted a festive holiday gathering with their Navajo and Anglo friends. For the event, they cut down a fir tree and decorated it. As an object used ceremonially for the event, the Navajos took it home with them, kept it in a safe place until the New Year, and then ceremonially burned it. This special gathering became an annual tradition known as "Kishmus."

pursue her own career as a salaried archeologist. During this time Sallie kept an ear out for paid positions in the Park Service. In 1936, she took the Civil Service written and oral exams for Junior Park Archaeologist, making it onto the eligible list in spring 1937. Meanwhile, funding sources to keep the Brewers at Wupatki ran out.[1394] In December, they moved to SWNM headquarters in Coolidge for Jim Brewer's winter assignment, per-diem ranger for Casa Grande Ruins from January to May, when he became the SWNM "Roving Ranger."[1395]

An original SWNM concept established in 1935, the Roving Ranger program involved the assignment of personnel to pinch-hit at whichever monument needed a temporary acting custodian or ranger. The Roving Ranger's area of coverage typically covered the northern monuments circuit—namely Yucca House, Hovenweep, and Arches, all three of which lacked a custodian. Sallie joined her husband on this unique itinerant gig, traveling between each monument every couple days and providing visitor guiding duties at Aztec Ruins National Monument as needed. Sallie later recalled that they divided their time "camping out in the Hovenweep area, visiting Yucca House when [they] went to Cortez for groceries, and either camping out or staying in one of the cabins that Doc Williams, who was one of the fathers of Arches National Monument, provided [them] at Moab."[1396] Sallie also secured a seasonal summer position at Mesa Verde National Park in Ansel F. Hall's curio shop at Spruce Tree Lodge, where she oversaw the production and trade of Navajo artisan goods for stocking in the shop.

Sallie's Mesa Verde gig and Jimmie's Roving Ranger assignment both ended in early September 1937. After covering Custodian Budlong's month-long furlough at El Morro from September 8 to October 15, Jimmie headed to southern Arizona for his winter assignments. Sallie spent the winter with her parents in Carlsbad, New Mexico, working part-time at Victor Minter's Curio Shop in La Caverna Hotel for $40 a month. Sallie held the sales job until May 1938, when she moved to Aztec Ruins National Monument, where Jimmie had just been hired as permanent ranger from the Civil Service List.[1397] Sallie had been on the Civil Service eligibility list longer than Jim Brewer at this point, but as a married woman her chances of a permanent paid appointment in the agency were slim to none. Serving as an HCWP alongside her husband proved the best opportunity at the time for her to explore and study southwestern archeological sites. The Brewers remained at Aztec Ruins until summer 1938, when Frank Pinkley reassigned Jimmie to serve as ranger-in-charge at Navajo National Monument for the season.

[1394] Sallie took the exam in August 1936 and was notified on March 4, 1937, that she had made the eligible list based on her oral exam.

[1395] David "Davy" J. Jones was selected as the new ranger-in-charge at Wupatki. Like the Brewers, he and his wife Courtney ("Corky") lived inside a room of Wupatki Pueblo. Courtney later captured much of their experience in, *Letters From Wupatki* (1996).

[1396] Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 8.

[1397] Jim Brewer's Civil Service eligibility and appointment came through in April 1938.

The Brewers reached the Betatakin area of Navajo National Monument on November 11, too late to take up residency. Winter weather had blown in, and the only structure at Betatakin was a drafty boarded tent left behind by Milton Wetherill. The Brewers opted out.[1398] Instead, they set up quarters at the Shonto trading post, ten miles southwest of the monument in a stone hogan that local trader Harry Rorick had built for guests.[1399] For their kitchen, the Brewers rented a camp tent from the Navajo CCC unit. They retained this setup in Shonto until the snow melted in March 1939 and they moved onto the monument. Sallie recalled that they took the CCC tent with them, staking it at Tsegi Point, where NPS engineers planned to build a stone and shingle ranger's residence. The old, boarded tent at the location served as their kitchen. In late summer 1939, the Brewers abandoned the tent and moved into the newly-built ranger's cabin. The following year, completion of a piped water system into the ranger's cabin offered the "biggest thrill," as it meant that Sallie no longer needed "to drive 135 miles to the Monte Vista Hotel in Flagstaff...to take a tub bath."[1400]

In a letter to SWNM headquarters, referenced in the January 1939 SWNM monthly report, Sallie admitted that she had "fallen in love with the Tsegi Canyon country; [and she] hadn't been to town in a month and didn't care to go."[1401] Nevertheless, in spring 1939, Sallie accepted a six-week volunteer job for the Museum of Northern Arizona. In his April monthly report for Navajo, Jim Brewer reported that Sallie worked down in Flagstaff on a joint NPS-MNA project supervised by Katherine Bartlett, MNA Curator of Archaeology. Sallie's job involved unpacking, processing, and arranging specimens from the spring 1934 CWA archeological collection taken from Keet Seel.[1402] Sallie had been a registered "research associate" for MNA since 1935, a professional role she retained through 1944. But during the Navajo years, Sallie preferred to spend the bulk of her time at Navajo National Monument. Her duties as the wife of the custodian included clerical work but also a great deal of outdoor work, which she loved. She gathered firewood and water, and guided visitors, all on horseback atop one of John Wetherill's loaner horses—the whitecoat "Messenger" (her favorite), or the young black horse named "Coal."[1403] During the Navajo custodianship years, Sallie helped establish *The Round Table*, a woman-edited newsletter concocted by the wives of Southwestern National Monuments custodians—the Honorary Custodians Without Pay—during the inaugural Custodians' School of Instruction at headquarters in February 1940. By 1942, Sallie was co-editing the newsletter, renamed to *The Grapevine*. The last issue was published just before she entered on duty as a park ranger at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument in February 1943.

[1398] Rothman, *Navajo National Monument*, 18.

[1399] Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962); Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, November 1938, 385.

[1400] Hugh Miller, "Opening," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1940, 191.

[1401] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1939, 52. "Town" was probably Tonalea, the nearest post office and the official address given for Navajo National Monument at the time.

[1402] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1939, 255.

[1403] Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 13.

In November 1942, with Jim Brewer slated for military furlough with the U.S. Navy "Seabees," Sallie began inquiring about permanent placement in the National Park Service. She preferred to find employment as a naturalist or archeologist in the regional office at Santa Fe, but the only available positions (for her) were clerical. Instead, SWNM Superintendent Chuck Richey recommended Sallie apply for the permanent ranger vacancy at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument: "Because of your training in anthropology and archeology," he wrote, "I would prefer to try and place you in a ranger position...the duties of the ranger position at Casa Grande [would be heavily] clerical as a result of leaving the headquarters pool warehouse and shop at this area. [...but they would include] some guiding, of course, and opportunity to work over the museum...being moved from the lobby of the Administration and Museum Building to the old headquarters office."[1404] Sallie Pierce Brewer entered on duty at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument on February 16, 1943, as Park Ranger, Position #2a, at the pay grade of FCS-8—$2040 per annum plus $38.83 per month to cover Saturday overtime duties. In the letter advising her of her appointment, SWNM Acting Superintendent Ross A. Maxwell happily expressed, "May the entire Headquarters staff offer congratulations and officially welcome you to the organization. Although you have been an esteemed HCWP, you now have the distinction of becoming the first woman ranger on regular assignment, not only in Southwestern National Monuments, but also in Region III."[1405] A month after she became a ranger, Jim Brewer headed off to war.

As a War Service Appointment, Sallie's employment would be "indefinite, subject to a trial period of one year," and "limited to the military furlough of Peter H. Shuft," who had vacated the ranger position at Casa Grande Ruins when he enlisted in the Navy in October 1942.[1406] Sallie served as the "lady ranger" at Casa Grande Ruins until 1944. During this period, she lodged at the Vah Ki Inn, the resort around the corner from the monument that had hosted nearly fifteen years' worth of NPS guests.[1407] In June 1944, she requested transfer to Tumacácori. The job came with a bit more job security. While still a conditional War Service Appointment, no furloughed ranger—like Shuft at Casa Grande—had a priority hold on it. This increased Sallie's chances of keeping the position longer. The cooler climate of Santa Cruz County and her familiarity with the area from childhood also appealed to her. Sallie remained park ranger at Tumacácori until May 1950. During this six-year period, she served as a ranger-guide as well as the museum curator responsible for updating the monument's historical interpretation. She instigated an extensive reevaluation of the mission's general historical

---

[1404] Charles A. Richey to Sallie Pierce Brewer, December 2, 1942, folder "Notification of Personnel Action: Sallie Pierce Brewer," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1405] Ross A. Maxwell to Sallie Pierce Brewer, February 13, 1943, folder "Notification of Personnel Action: Sallie Pierce Brewer," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122).

[1406] Charles A. Richey to Sallie Pierce Brewer, January 27, 1943, folder "Notification of Personnel Action: Sallie Pierce Brewer," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122).

[1407] Sallie Harris, transcript of Oral History Interview (1978), 44.

interpretation as well as its architectural history. Sallie's research involved gathering copies of published translations of early Spanish-era writings about the mission and region, mission burial records, and any other historical works that referenced relevant Spanish-era documents. This required travel to other Sonoran missions to collect further data on period mission architecture, building upon the work of the NPS 1935 Sonora Missions Expedition [Bio File: Tovrea].

During her war appointment at Tumacácori, Sallie Brewer remained alert for displacement by a veteran at war's end. She also kept an eye out on the job boards. Sallie was still eligible on the Civil Service "Junior Park Archaeologist" register; she hoped her name made it to the top of the list before returning veterans took their exams. Her new marital status—from married to single—boosted her competitiveness, she thought; her marriage to Jim Brewer had not survived the war. The likelihood of securing the position she wanted in the National Park Service diminished rapidly. By 1949, eligible male veterans from the Civil Service registers quickly replaced the female workforce. Fearing that eligible men off the recent Park Range exam would take her ranger position before her name reached the top of the Archaeologist register, Sallie applied for a Historian P-2 exam announced in August 1949. Her qualifications were stellar. "My experience with the National Park Service since February, 1943," she stated in her application, "has consisted chiefly of historical interpretive work." Her long list of relevant completed projects and publications confirmed her statement. Unfortunately, a clerical error timestamped the receipt of her application as post-deadline; the Civil Service returned her application.[1408] The Park Service scrambled to find a place for Sallie—a clerical position in the regional office in Santa Fe, even a guide job recently announced for Carlsbad Caverns. But Sallie opted out.

On March 28, Sallie's boss, custodian Earl Jackson of Tumacácori, regretfully informed her that a war veteran would soon displace her as Park Ranger at Tumacácori: "We are exceedingly grateful for the services you have rendered," he closed, "and we hope that your interest in the National Park Service will continue. The Regional Office has advised me that every effort will be made to find a suitable place for you after your employment is terminated at Tumacacori." A week later, Hugh Miller wrote a heartfelt letter to Sallie, noting that he "read, and almost wept, Earl's memorandum to [her] of March 28" but could do nothing about it; their hands were tied. He admitted that an appointment from the Archaeologist register had finally been announced, but six competitive and available applicants had bumped Sallie further down the list. Ironically, all but one were women.[1409] The Park Service immediately recruited Sallie Brewer for temporary ranger-naturalist work at Bandelier for the summer and fall seasons, at the salary grade of GS-4, $2875 per annum. After Bandelier, Sallie headed to Mexico for independent archeological research over the winter. While there, in January 1951, Luis Gastellum, Region III clerk, notified her of a job offer—a promotion to the position of assistant

[1408] "Civil Service Exam Applications, Notices of Ratings, etc–Sallie Pierce Brewer, 1933-1954," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122).

[1409] "Notification of Personnel Action: Sallie Pierce Brewer," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122).

regional archeologist at Santa Fe working under regional archeologist Erik Reed and SWNM naturalist Dale King. She accepted. For the first time since passing the Civil Service exam in 1933, Sallie had a full-time paid position in the Park Service.

Probational at first, Sallie's status as Asst. Regional Archeologist, Region III, became "permanent" on August 26, 1953.[1410] By that time she had remarried to anthropologist Richard F. Van Valkenburgh, in a ceremony held in the Bishop's Lodge chapel in Santa Fe.[1411] It was Richard Van Valkenburgh's third marriage. He worked for the Navajo Department of Land Use and Surveys in St. Michael's, Arizona, conducting ethno-historical studies. Sallie had known him for nearly twenty years, since the winter of 1933-34 when he worked alongside Jim Brewer on the CWA-funded archeological excavations at Wupatki. After marriage, Sallie and Richard (also known as "Dick") made their home in the Timberwick Village community on the edge of Santa Fe and continued their respective independent careers. In 1954, the National Park Service reorganized the regional offices and laid off Sallie and one other woman in the Santa Fe office. She learned that her superiors thought her income was nonessential since she was married. In truth, she and her second husband rarely lived together, and the marriage was already ending when Sallie lost her job with its GS-7 rate of $4330.00 per annum. "I WAS broke," Sallie recalled, but "it was again necessary for me to earn my own living, and I got a job as seasonal [ranger-naturalist] at Grand Canyon National Park and worked there the balance of the summer of 1954."[1412]

In November 1954, Sallie went back to work for Southwestern National Monuments—now under the superintendency of John M. Davis at headquarters in Globe, Arizona. She became the temporary park ranger-archeologist who alternated assignments by season: Casa Grande Ruins (winter) and Walnut Canyon (summer). In her off time—one to three months between postings—she conducted small but important archeological investigations on her own time and dime, including a north rim cultural survey in Walnut Canyon.[1413] Sallie enjoyed this seasonal arrangement and the independence it provided to pursue her own research, to the point that she turned down a full-time archeological position offered to her at Tonto National Monument. But in August 1956, the part-time position ended when John Davis asked her to transfer into a permanent ranger position at Montezuma Castle to cover outgoing ranger George S. Cattanach's transfer to Fort Union. The appointment paid at the

---

[1410] "Application for Federal Employment: Sallie P. Van Valkenburgh, 6/5/54," folder "Civil Service Exam Applications, Notices of Ratings, etc.: Sallie Pierce Brewer, 1933-1954," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122).

[1411] "New Mexico Ceremonies United Pair," *Arizona Republic*, February 27, 1952, pg. 17.

[1412] Dorothy Huyck, "Telephone conversation: Mrs. Sallie Pierce Brewer Van Valkenberg Harris," typescript interview notes, n.d., folder "Sallie Harris," Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122); Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 18.

[1413] Sallie performed this research at her own cost, with some exception: she lodged in an old cabin at Walnut Canyon and her relationship with the Museum of Northern Arizona as a long-time research associate meant she could borrow survey equipment. She later published her findings as "Archeological Site Survey at Walnut Canyon National Monument," *Plateau* 34, no. 1 (1961): 1-17.

GS-5 grade, $4480 per annum, a two-step downgrade from her 1951-1954 GS-7 position with the regional office.[1414] Sallie hesitated: "I explained that I would rather not as long as I could swing it financially with this seasonal business; but he said he would much rather I did, and of course you don't twice contradict the boss."[1415]

Sallie Pierce Brewer-Van Valkenburgh made her final career move in early 1959 when she accepted a promotion to Museum Curator/Specialist, GS-9 ($5985 per annum), in charge of the Preservation Laboratory archeological collections at Gila Pueblo's Southwest Archeological Center (SWAC) in Globe, Arizona. Her immediate supervisor was Gordon Vivian, head of SWAC and the archeology program for the Southwest region. Sallie remained in this position until she took early retirement due to disability in October 1967.[1416] Upon the occasion of her retirement, NPS Director Hartzog wrote to congratulate her for holding "the distinction not only of being one of the very few women archeologists in the Service, but also of being one of the very few women in the Service who ever held the title of Park Ranger."

After retirement, Sallie accepted a volunteer position as an NPS "Collaborator" for a Canyon de Chelly National Monument project. The assignment piggybacked on the involved conducting oral history interviews with Navajo elders, a project that she wrapped up around 1971. In 1965, Sallie married her third and final husband, William "Bill" Marvin Harris, Jr., a railroad engineer for Inspiration Consolidated Mines of Globe. The Harrises lived together in Six Shooter Canyon near Globe and the Southwestern Archeological Center. Sometime before 1981, they divorced and Sallie moved to Prescott, Arizona, to be near her brother's family. She never had children, by choice: "It just wasn't feasible at places like Wupatki and Navajo in those days," she later explained; "It didn't seem called for."[1417] In lieu, she enjoyed being Aunt Sallie to six nieces and nephews.

Sallie donated her personal papers to institutions that had supported her career: the University of Arizona (her alma mater) and the Museum of Northern Arizona, where she served as a research associate for the bulk of her professional life. She also donated her personal collection of Navajo jewelry to Northern Arizona University, and her Park Ranger fatigue jacket to the National Park Service history collection.[1418] Counting her CWA work at Montezuma Castle in 1933-34 and her

---

[1414] On February 14, 1958, she was bumped back up to GS-7 at $4660 per annum.

[1415] Sallie Van Valkenburgh, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 19.

[1416] Sallie suffered from a degenerative disc disease which prevented her from handling heavy boxes, etc. When SWAC terminated her assistant, the Museum Curator duties became too difficult to handle alone and she was granted early retirement.

[1417] Sallie Harris, transcript of Oral History Interview (1978), 2.

[1418] In 1978, Sallie gave her jacket to Dorothy Huyck at the time of her October interview, to be donated to the NPS history collection at Harpers Ferry Center. See an image of the jacket here: "50 Nifty Finds #17: Common Threads," NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center online (https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/50-nifty-finds-17-common-threads.htm).

many years as an HCWP alongside her first husband Jim Brewer, Sallie enjoyed nearly thirty-four years of service for the Park Service. During that period, she contributed to southwestern archeology through extensive field research, published reports, and cultural material curation. In addition, she wrote Navajo ethno-histories, a history of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument (1962), and a short biography on Frank Pinkley (1981).[1419] The Park Service has highlighted her historical importance as the first permanent female park ranger in the Southwest, but Sallie looked back most fondly on her HCWP years with the early Southwestern National Monuments outfit as, "much more interesting than those of female ranger later!"[1420] Sallie Pierce-Brewer-Van Valkenburgh-Harris died in Prescott on May 2, 1994, at 83 years old.[1421]

[1419] Sallie Pierce Brewer, "The 'Long Walk' to Bosque Redondo: As Told by Peshlakai Etsedi," *Museum Notes of the Museum of Northern Arizona* 9, no.11 (1937): 55-62; Sallie Van Valkenburgh Harris, "The Casa Grande of Arizona as a Landmark on the Desert, a Government Reservation, and a National Monument," *The Kiva* 27, no. 3 (Feb 1962); Sallie Brewer Harris, "'Boss' Pinkley, pioneer in the National Park Service," *Courier: The National Park Service Newsletter* 4, no. 4 (Apr 1981): 23-25.

[1420] Sallie wrote this opinion on the sleeve of a photograph she lent to Dorothy Huyck in the 1970s, titled "HCWP on the trail. 1940," now located in Box 1, NPS Wives, Polly Kaufman Collection (HFCA-01122), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1421] "Sallie Pierce Harris," *Arizona Republic*, March 6, 1994.



Figure 140. Ranger Sallie Pierce Brewer, sporting her World War II-era woman's uniform while interpreting Casa Grande Ruins for an interested visitor. Circa 1943-44. Source: WACC (62567)



Figure 141. Employee photograph of museum curator, archeology specialist, Sallie P. Van Valkenburgh at the Southwest Archeological Center in Globe, Arizona, in 1959. Photograph by Joel Shiner. Source: WACC (62652)

Erik Kellerman Reed (1914-1990)

~ Born: August 16, 1914, in Quincy, Massachusetts
~ Died: December 25, 1990, in Santa Fe, New Mexico
~ SWNM Association: SWNM (Roving Ranger, 1935); SWRO (Regional Archeologist, 1937-1954)

In a 1962 interview, career NPS archeologist Dr. Erik Kellerman Reed pointed to the 1934-35 Snaketown archeological expedition in Arizona as an epic turning point in his professional life. While conducting excavations at the site with Dr. Emil Haury, Reed met local legend Frank Pinkley, the "Boss" of Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM). Pinkley's headquarters at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument lay only a few miles from the expedition camp and Pinkley often stepped out to watch the archeologists at work; the archeologists, in turn, visited Pinkley at Casa Grande. "The Park Service men I met," Reed recalled, "struck me as pretty outstanding people that I liked and admired." Just a few months later, Reed joined Pinkley's outfit, becoming a temporary seasonal ranger for SWNM. Fast forward nearly thirty years, and a few rungs higher on the NPS career ladder, and Reed admitted that he still, at heart, worked for "Boss Pinkley" and nobody else.[1422]

The adult life of Erik Reed, played out in the Southwest, contrasted sharply with a youth spent largely in the eastern United States. Reed was born in Quincy, Massachusetts, the only child of Dr. Edwin C. Reed and Dr. Ivy Kellerman of Washington, D.C. Both of his parents had law degrees. His mother was also an accomplished linguist with four degrees covering expertise in several ancient and modern languages, including the universal Esperanto language. Along with her husband, Ivy Reed actively developed and promoted Esperanto until her death at age 91, when she was in the middle of translating the Esperanto edition of A.A. Milne's *Winnie the Pooh*.[1423] The highly-intellectual environment of Erik Reed's childhood shaped his career aspirations. A child prodigy, he learned to read at age two and his parents tutored him at home through grade school. At age nine, he entered high school and graduated three years later as the school's youngest graduate at the time. In fall 1927, just after his thirteenth birthday, Reed enrolled in George Washington University. A break in his undergraduate studies involved a couple years out west, attending the Deep Springs Preparatory and Collegiate School in California. In 1932, age eighteen, Reed wrapped up his G.W.U. studies and

[1422] Erik Reed, transcript of Oral History Interview of Erik Reed by S. Herbert Evison, December 11, 1962, 2, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1423] "Ivy Kellerman Reed, 1877-1968," *Newsletter of the Esperanto League for North America* 4, no. 1 (Feb 1968): 3; available online, La Bulteno de Esperanto-USA (https://bulteno.esperanto-usa.org/a/1968/01/00-pdf/bulteno.pdf : accessed 18 March 2025).

earned a B.A. in anthropology. Without pause, he enrolled in graduate studies in anthropology at Harvard (M.A., 1933; Ph.D., 1946).[1424]

Reed began archeological field work in the Southwest in the summer of 1933 under a research grant from the Laboratory for Anthropology, he participated in excavations at the Allantown site in Arizona with the Bureau of American Ethnology. Back at Harvard in 1934, he completed his doctoral courses and then returned to Arizona for summer field work with Emil Haury at the Harris site in Mimbres, followed by a 1934-35 winter expedition at Snaketown. A few months after the Snaketown expedition concluded, Reed found himself unemployed and running out of money, so he joined the Park Service as a temporary ranger, simply because he "needed a job and was offered a job."[1425]

Entering on duty July 19, 1935, twenty-year-old Erik Reed accepted Frank Pinkley's offer to serve as the 'guinea pig' for a new seasonal ranger position unique to the Southwestern National Monuments. As conceived, this temporary summer gig, dubbed "Roving Ranger," involved patrolling the remote, unmanned southwestern national monuments of the Four Corners region of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah. Reed recalled that,

> I got a telegram from the Southwestern Monuments headquarters at Coolidge asking if I would accept the temporary position for the summer of ranger in charge of Hovenweep, Yucca House, and Arches. I was delighted by this and of course accepted. I came back to Santa Fe, left my personal car, a little old beat-up Model A Ford, with Earl Jackson at Bandelier, and took a pick-up truck which the CCC people at Bandelier had repaired, and went to Aztec and reported in to [Custodian] Johnwill Faris. And while I waited for the truck to be fixed and things to arrive by mail from Coolidge, I put in a few days interpretive guiding under Faris as a volunteer, so to speak; I was supposed to go to work, but not on that job; and without a uniform. And that amounts to my Park Service training, really, in interpretive work: three or four days under the inspiration and guidance of Johnwill.[1426]

As conceived, the Roving Ranger rotated inspections of Yucca House and Hovenweep, and sometimes Arches. Traditionally, the custodian of Chaco Canyon occasionally inspected and maintained these monuments in addition to his regular duties. As the SWNM roving ranger, Reed took over the Yucca-Hovenweep inspections during the busy summer season at Chaco. He covered general protection and maintenance at Yucca House, Hovenweep, and Arches for about six weeks, checking on vandalism, patching gates and fences, enlisting community aid to protect archeological

---

[1424] Reed passed the doctoral exams in 1934 but did not complete all qualifications for the Ph.D. until 1946. See: Charlie R. Steen, "The Life and Times of Erik Kellerman Redd" *in* Albert H. Schroeder, ed., *Collected Papers in Honor of Erik Kellerman Reed*, Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico, Vol. 6 (Albuquerque: Archaeological Society Press, 1981), 1.

[1425] Erik Reed, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 3.

[1426] Ibid.

sites in the district, writing detailed reports on the conditions of ruins, roads, et cetera, and documenting area travel statistics.[1427] He also explored areas beyond the Yucca-Hovenweep district, looking for archeological sites in the region that might qualify for future national-monument status, or for addition as boundary annexations to current national monuments. He published his findings and recommendations in special reports appended to the SWNM August monthly report, titled "Monument Possibilities" and "Wanderings in Montezuma County, Colorado."[1428]

In late August 1935, Reed resigned prematurely as the SWNM Roving Ranger to accept a job offer as Assistant Archeologist with the ECW State Parks Division with regional headquarters in Goliad, Texas. He never returned to direct employment under Frank Pinkley and the Southwestern National Monuments. However, for the bulk of his career his duties overlapped with SWNM work, and he considered Frank Pinkley his boss. He conducted archeological fieldwork and ruins stabilization at the southwestern monuments, including working with Jim Brewer at Wupatki in fall 1936 to oversee the excavations of Room No. 7, Wupatki Pueblo. And as ECW Asst. Archeologist Reed regularly visited the southwestern areas to conduct routine inspections of archeological projects funded through public works funds. His ECW regional duties included oversight of the Historic Sites Survey, a program for assessing and recommending new national monuments. In 1941, for example, Reed recommended the expansion of Gran Quivira NM by means of the creation of a new national monument, "Salinas Missions National Monument," to include Gran Quivira and the other two major mission ruins in the region along with all associated pueblos.[1429]

In early 1937, Reed transferred to the CCC district office in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Later that year he slid over to the staff of the new NPS Region III office in Santa Fe as Associate Archeologist. Two years later, he was promoted to Regional Archeologist for Region III.[1430] When the Southwestern National Monuments office moved headquarters from Casa Grande Ruins National Monument to the regional-office complex in Santa Fe in fall 1942, the SWNM and Region III offices began operating, essentially, as one consolidated organization.[1431] At this time Erik Reed worked closely with the SWNM interpretive division, most of whom were also archeologists: Charlie Steen, Dale King, Earl Jackson, and Gordon Vivian.

Shortly after he transferred to Santa Fe, Erik Reed met Dorothy Gene Fisher (1910-1974), originally of Hannibal, Missouri; they married in Santa Fe on January 15, 1938. Frank Pinkley officially welcomed

---

[1427] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1935.

[1428] Recommended sites included Lake Canyon (UT), Alkali Ridge (UT), The Lowry Ruin (Colorado), Barker Arroyo (NM), among others. See: Erik Reed, "Monument Possibilities," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1935, 83-85.

[1429] Ivey, *"In the Midst of Loneliness"* (1982), 4. It took forty years for the expanded unit to be created, albeit revised, as Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument.

[1430] "State Capital Briefs," *Albuquerque Journal*, May 14, 1939, pg. 11.

[1431] Erik Reed, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 6.

Dorothy Reed into the Southwestern National Monuments outfit in the February monthly report, adding "we hope to see her often." From 1941 to 1943, Erik and Dorothy Reed had two children together, Patience and Timothy.[1432] The Reed family remained in Santa Fe during World War II while Erik Reed, like many of his colleagues, took military furlough. He enlisted in the U.S. Army in September 1943, reporting for active duty on October 5, 1943. During the war Reed participated in military intelligence operations in the American, European, and African-Middle Eastern theaters, earning a Good Conduct Victory Medal along the way; he was discharged at the rank of sergeant on March 19, 1946, from Fort Bliss, Texas.[1433] In 1944, while Reed was still serving in the army, Harvard University accepted his dissertation thesis, "An Archaeological Study of Mancos Valley, Southwestern Colorado," the final step toward his long-awaited doctoral degree.[1434]

After the war Erik Reed returned to Santa Fe and resumed his duties as Regional Archeologist. A renewed interest in historical interpretation of the Southwest meant that he functioned as the NPS historian for Region III as well. He also contributed to international archeological and park-development efforts. Notably, he participated in the first archeological explorations of the Galápagos Islands, Ecuador, in 1952.[1435] In 1954, the Park Service promoted him to Chief of Interpretation for Region III, and appointed SWNM colleague Charlie Steen to the regional archeologist position [see Bio File: Steen, Charlie]. Reed held the Chief of Interpretation role until stepping up as regional Chief of the Division of Interpretation in 1962, a position that involved supervising both the regional archeologist and the newly-created position of regional historian.[1436] A couple years later, he accepted a Washington position as NPS Research Archeologist but maintained his office in Santa Fe.

Erik Reed retired from the National Park Service on August 30, 1969, ending his thirty-two year tenure with receipt of a Department of the Interior Distinguished Service Award.[1437] His curriculum vitae included numerous special NPS reports and "interpretive notes" for Region III and over 130 publications in the form of journal articles, notes and reviews, technical papers, popular articles and monographs, many of them focused on archeological sites within the southwestern national monuments.[1438] In retirement, he continued to research and publish, and do a little adjunct teaching. Reed's personal life also transitioned after retirement. His marriage to Dorothy fizzled; they finalized

---

[1432] "Couple Weds in Santa Fe This Morning," *Albuquerque Tribune*, pg. 2.

[1433] "New Mexico, U.S., World War II Records, 1941-1945," entry for Erik K. Reed, Army Serial no. 38-583-021, digital image no. 228, online database, *Ancestry* (https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8867/records/25302).

[1434] Steen, "The Life and Times of Erik Kellerman Redd," 3.

[1435] "Galapagos – Reevaluation of the Evidence," Kon-Tiki Museet (https://www.kon-tiki.no/en/news/spring-favorites-kale-cj5k3 : accessed 19 March 2025).

[1436] After Reed became Chief of Interpretation at the Santa Fe regional office, he supervised a regional archeologist and a regional historian as part of his division. Robert Utley was appointed as the first regional historian at Santa Fe.

[1437] "Dr. Erick K. Reed Honored by Park Service Colleagues," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, August 17, 1969, pg. 19. See also: Steen, "The Life and Times of Erik Kellerman Reed," 4.

[1438] "Archaeoloigst Reed Retires," *Santa Fe New Mexican,* September 8, 1969, pg. 4.

their divorce in early 1970. In summer 1970 he remarried to WWII veteran Evelyn Irons Dahl-Poage (1909-1990), a curator at the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art in Santa Fe.[1439] Erik and Evelyn Reed lived in Santa Fe until Evelyn passed away in October 1990 and Erik followed suit two months later, December 25, 1990. He was buried alongside Evelyn in the Santa Fe National Cemetery.[1440]

[1439] "Marriage Licenses," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 10, 1970, pg. 3.

[1440] "Reed, Erik K.," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, December 27, 1990, pg. 5; *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/3879182/erik_kellerman-reed: accessed March 19, 2025), memorial page for SGT Erik Kellerman Reed (16 Aug 1914–25 Dec 1990), Find a Grave Memorial ID 3879182, citing Santa Fe National Cemetery, Santa Fe, Santa Fe County, New Mexico, USA, maintained by Graveyard Walker (contributor 47314881).

CAPITAL'S YOUNGEST GRADUATE TO ENTER COLLEGE NEXT FALL

Erik K. Reed, 12, Will Receive Diploma at Central High Wednesday.

Learned to Read at 2 and Tutored at Home, Mother Says.

Washington's youngest graduate with a full quota of credits of college certification value will receive his diploma at the Central High School graduation Wednesday night.

He is Erik K. Reed, 12-year-old son of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin C. Reed, who reside at Clifton Terrace East.

While Erik's accomplishment, according to educational experts, places him in the infant prodigy class, his parents make it plain they have never pushed their son, that he never has taken extra or Summer courses nor studied more than two or three nights in his lifetime.

Will Enter College.

Young Reed will be 13 years old next August, and will enter George Washington University next September.

Mrs. Reed proudly declared last night that Erik began to learn to read at the tender age of 2. She said that the fact he learned to read so early largely has been responsible for his progress.

"We have tutored Erik entirely at home, and he only entered Central High School three years ago," Mrs. Reed declared last night. "We have always presented his lessons to him as if they were 'play' instead of 'work.'"



ERIK K. REED.

Recently examined by Prof. Moss of George Washington University, the noted psychologist, young Reed was rated with the highest tenth of those who have been given his mental alertness test and above the average in his social intelligence test.

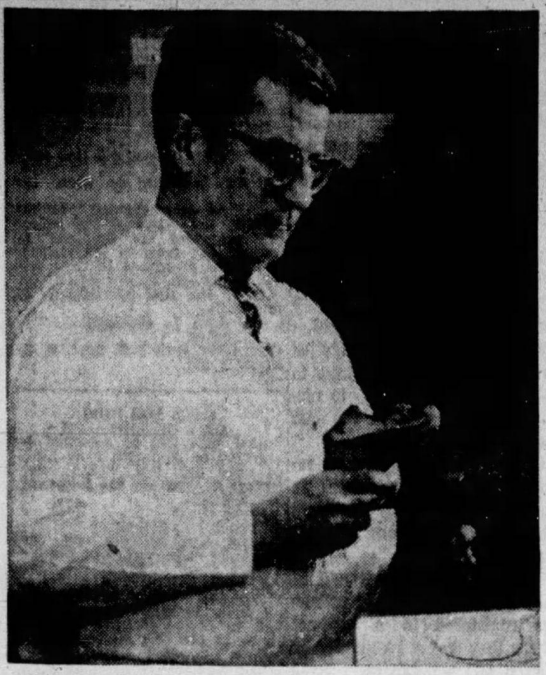
Erik can speak four languages, French, Spanish, Latin and Esperanto. His favorite subjects are chemistry and history.

Both the boy's father, who is an attorney, and his mother hold college degrees, and admit their own academic learning has been of great help to them in the tutelage of their precocious son.

Figure 142. Newspaper article featuring child prodigy Erik K. Reed, published in the Evening Star, June 19, 1927, upon Reed's graduation from Washington Central High School at age twelve. Source: Newspapers.com.

4 THE NEW MEXICAN Santa Fe, N.M., Monday, Sept. 8, 1969

Archaeologist Reed retires



ARCHAEOLOGIST RETIRES — Dr. Erik K. Reed retired from the National Park service Aug. 30 after 34 years of service. Reed will continue to live in Santa Fe, but has accepted a position as visiting professor at Southern Methodist University for the fall semester.

Dr. Erick K. Reed, research archaeologist, has retired after more than 34 years with the National Park Service.

Born in Quincy, Mass. in 1914, he attended Central High School in Washington, D. C., graduating in 1927 at the age of 13. He attended Deep Springs Preparatory and Collegiate School, California, and later George Washington University, where he graduated with an A. B. degree at the age of 18.

He attended the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University, obtaining his Master's Degree in 1933, and finished requirements for his Ph.D, except for his dissertation, in 1934 at the age of 20.

During World War II, he enlisted in the U. S. Army and served with the Military Intelligence Service headquarters in Paris and Germany.

Reed joined the National Park Service in 1935 as ranger in charge of Hovenweep, Yucca House, and Arches National Monuments in Colorado and Utah. Since 1937 he has been stationed at the Southwest Regional Office in Santa Fe, which he first visited in 1933. As regional archaeologlist from 1938 to 1954 he had charge of the archaeological program for National Park Service areas in Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah and southern Colorado.

He was promoted to regional chief of interpretation in 1954 and in 1962 to chief of history and archaeology for the region. In 1964 he was appointed as research archaeologist for the Washington office of the National Park Service with his office in Santa Fe.

Reed has published over 130 articles, notes and reviews, including both technical papers and semi-popular articles and two specialized monographs. He is now writing a book on Southwestern archaeologoy in general which will be completed shortly. He has served as assistant editor of two major archaeological periodicals, "American Antiquity" and "American Journal of Archaeology."

Reed has worked on archaeology surveys and excavations in Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado. In addition, he spent the winter of 1952 in a special study, on an Interior Department assignment, in the Marianas Islands and accompanied Thor Hyderdahl, of "Kon-Tiki" fame, on an expedition to the Galapagos Islands during the winter of 1953. In 1958 he was in Peru for a month on a special assignment for the United Nations as adviser for preservation of archaeological ruins.

He is a member of the Board of the Laboratory of Anthropology Inc., Santa Fe, and a member and past president of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society Inc., also in Santa Fe. He has served as President of the Society of American Archaeology, the national professional organization of North American archaeologists, in 1960-61.

Reed will continue to live in Santa Fe, but has accepted a position at Southern Methodist University in Dallas as visiting professor for the fall semester.

More damages seen from Great Lakes

DETROIT (AP) — With damages mounting and levels already near or surpassing high- Lake Erie's average July level was the highest for any July since the Lakes Survey District

Figure 143. Erik Reed's 1969 retirement announcement in the Santa Fe New Mexican. Source: Newspapers.com.

Roland von Steen Richert (1913-2000)

~ Born: December 18, 1913, in Newton, Kansas
~ Died: June 7, 2000, in Globe, Arizona
~ SWNM Association: Tonto (ranger-custodian, summer 1938); SWNM (Roving Ranger, summers 1939 and 1940); Tuzigoot (junior archeologist, 1946-1951); SWNM (Mobile Unit/RSU field director, 1951-1957)

In the southwest region of the National Park Service, Roland von Steen "Rick" Richert, aka "Big Smoke," served as the longtime director of the Southwestern National Monuments ruins stabilization Mobile Unit—composed mainly of an expert Navajo-mason crew. He helped lead the agency's specialized program of ruins stabilization into its professional future. From 1951 until well beyond his 1972 retirement, Richert devised and improved various stabilizing methods and techniques still in use today. When he retired from the Park Service, Richert stepped down as chief supervisory archeologist of the Ruins Stabilization Unit (RSU) at Southwestern Archeological Center in Globe, Arizona. Despite his long association with programmatic ruins stabilization in the Southwest, Richert—like many NPS personalities whose careers played out in the Southwest—first entered the Service as a park ranger for Frank Pinkley's Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM).

Roland Richert later recalled that "the fabulous Boss Pinkley" sought him out during an archeological dig in summer 1937, asking if he would consider seasonal work for the monuments. At the time, Richert was participating in Byron Cummings's University of Arizona field school at Kinishba, an ancestral Puebloan site in eastern Arizona. Richert asked to be reconsidered for SWNM work the following year after completing his field experience with Cummings.[1441] When Richert received the Pinkleyan call, he was just about to begin his second year in the graduate archeology program at the University of Arizona in Tucson. He had arrived with a bachelor's degree in biology ('36) from Bethel Mennonite College of Newton, Kansas, same town where he was born December 18, 1913. His parents were the school's legendary mathematics professor Dr. David "Uncle Davy" H. Richert and his wife Edith (née von Steen). Credit for Richert's academic jump from biology to anthropology goes to archeologists Waldo Wedel and Emil W. Haury, both alumni of Bethel College and sons of

[1441] Roland Richert, transcript of Oral History Interview of Roland Richert by S. Herbert Evison, December 14, 1962, including changes and corrections offered in letter [from Richert] of May 1, 1964, 2, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV. See also: John R. Welch, "'A Monument to Native Civilization': Byron Cummings' Still-Unfolding Vision for Kinishba Ruins," *Journal of the Southwest* 49, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 12 and 16.

founding faculty members.[1442] Haury became head of the archeology department at the University of Arizona and served as Richert's mentor.

In summer 1938, instead of attending another archeological field school, Roland Richert accepted Frank Pinkley's offer to join the Southwestern National Monument group as a seasonal park ranger. Pinkley posted him to Tonto National Monument in June. As temporary SWNM ranger-in-charge of Tonto for the summer season, Richert protected the site and handled visitor interpretation. In his limited spare time, he worked on road repairs and general maintenance and improvement of facilities; he also installed new monument directional signs at strategic junctions on nearby roads. His orientation to the job involved one day of introduction to the archeology and natural history of Tonto by SWNM naturalist Charlie Steen, and then he was alone on the job. The rhythm of "blood-freezing" mountain-lion screams at night, followed by daytime sightings of abundant bird species, quickly introduced Richert to Tonto's diverse natural setting.[1443] At the end of Richert's first month, Frank Pinkley noted that Richert had stepped into the position like a veteran guide, with his stats on visitor contact—giving monument tours and interpretive talks to visitors—holding up "very well."[1444] As ranger-in-charge, Richert contributed a monthly report on Tonto to the SWNM Monthly Report, including a couple special columns in the Supplement called "Tonto Tails" and "Tonto Nature Notes."[1445]

Richert returned to his graduate studies in Tucson in fall 1938. In May 1939, Dr. Haury signed off on Richert's master's thesis, "A Comparative Study of Southwestern Milling Stones," and the university handed Richert his degree. A month later, he returned to work for the Southwestern National Monuments, this time as Roving Ranger for two back-to-back summer seasons (1939 and 1940). The assignment—located at the remote Yucca House and Hovenweep National Monuments in southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah—contrasted starkly with Richert's 1938 Tonto experience. During each Roving Ranger summer, 1939-1940, Richert lived in isolation out of the back of a pick-up truck for three to four months, visiting the remote monuments under his watch in rotation every few days.[1446] The seclusion probably suited Richert; according to his sister Ethel Richert Schmidt, he was a "quiet man, 'not the kind of ranger who gave talks'."[1447] At each monument, Richert guided the rare visitor through the ruins, handled vandalism or repairs as needed, and submitted monthly reports to the SWNM office. In his ample spare time, Richert researched the field.

[1442] Roland Richert, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 2. Emil Haury became head of the University of Arizona archeology department in April 1937 during Richert's first year in the graduate program.

[1443] *Southwestern National Monuments*, July 1938, 74-75.

[1444] *Southwestern National Monuments*, June 1938, 487, 522.

[1445] "Tonto Tails" in the July 1938 monthly report, 74-75; "Tonto Nature Notes" in the October 1938 monthly report, 347-348.

[1446] Lister and Lister, *Aztec Ruins National Monument* (1990), 143.

[1447] "Richerts' 'drop in the bucket' totals more than $900,000," *Bethel College News*, September 11, 2017 (bethelelks.edu).

He collected sherds and explored the larger Four Corners area for additional archeological sites. Like the roving rangers before him, he helped map and survey the monuments' cultural features, and recommended that several unprotected groups of Ancestral Puebloan sites in the vicinity become national monuments or be incorporated into the current monuments' boundaries.[1448] Before ending his final season as Roving Ranger in September 1940, Richert designed an information leaflet for Hovenweep, which the SWNM office edited and mimeographed for distribution in October.[1449] A few months later, he submitted his narrative list on the fauna and flora of Yucca House and Hovenweep, from data collected during his two seasons as roving ranger; the SWNM office published it in the January 1941 issue of the SWNM Monthly Report.[1450]

Richert's roving ranger assignment ended in fall 1940, Richert returned to Tucson, where he worked at the Arizona State Museum as a museum assistant.[1451] War interrupted this work. In March 1941, the Pima County draft board called up Richert's name to serve in the U. S. Army.[1452] After boot camp with the Weapons Troop, Second Cavalry Brigade, at Fort Bliss, Texas, Richert served as an instructor at Camp Funston in Kansas. Following a year of continental service, the army deployed him to the Southern Pacific theater for the duration of World War II; he was stationed with a reconnaissance troop that involved combat duty in Australia, the Philippines, and New Guinea.[1453] In 1946 the army discharged him at the rank of 1st Lieutenant and he returned to Arizona. During the war, the Park Service had moved SWNM headquarters from Casa Grande Ruins to the NPS Region III office in Santa Fe. Upon Richert's return from military duty, the Region III director assigned him to serve as a temporary ranger at Montezuma Castle National Monument, June 7–September 7, followed by another temporary assignment on the monument's Major Repair and Rehabilitation project until the end of October.[1454]

[1448] In the 1940 summer season, Richert helped SWNM work on a boundary map of Hovenweep, including a proposed expansion of the monument's boundaries; he also inspected the Goodman Point archeological site in southwestern Colorado for the purpose of recommending it for national-monument status. Goodman Point was incorporated into Hovenweep's boundaries in 1951. See: *Southwestern National Monuments*, September 1940, 162.

[1449] *Southwestern National Monuments*, August 1939, 107, and October 1940.

[1450] Roland S. Richert, "Fauna and Flora of Hovenweep and Yucca House National Monuments," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1941, 55-60.

[1451] "State Museum Aids Appointed," *Arizona Republic*, September 10, 1939, pg. 12. See also the 1940 U.S. Census for Tucson, Arizona.

[1452] "75 Tucsonans Called Mar. 21," *Arizona Daily Star*, March 19, 1941, pg. 3.

[1453] *Southwestern National Monuments*, May 1941, 294; "Tucson Topics," *Arizona Daily Star*, November 11, 1942, pg. 5; "Schools and Colleges: Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas," *Mennonite Weekly Review*, February 15, 1945, pg. 8; "Homer F. Hastings, "Montezuma Castle National Monument," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1946, 2; digital book; "Deaths: Roland von Steen Richert," *The Iola Register*, July 1, 2000, 2.

[1454] Homer F. Hastings, "Montezuma Castle National Monument," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports, September 1946, 2.

After wrapping up the repair work at Montezuma Castle, Richert married Edna Mae Weide-Tuttle (1912-2003), November 2, 1946, in Wichita, Kansas.[1455] The couple honeymooned across the Southwest and northern Mexico before settling into their new home near Clarkdale, Arizona.[1456] Their marriage corresponded with Richert's transfer across the Verde Valley to Tuzigoot National Monument—as a permanent ranger, the monument's first. Custodian John L. "Jack" Cotter called November 15, 1946, "a red letter day for Tuzigoot when the first permanent ranger to be stationed at the Monument entered on duty, and the heartiest of welcomes went to Roland and Edna Richert." In the SWNM Monthly Report, Cotter introduced Richert as Tuzigoot's Junior Archeologist: "'Rick' brings to the Park Service and Tuzigoot a first-hand knowledge of the Southwest gained as a student of Anthropology at The University of Arizona, plus experience as a seasonal ranger in the Southwestern Monuments dating back to the days of 'The Boss'." Recalling his first year at Tuzigoot in 1940-42, when he, too, was a newlywed, Cotter added: "Rick is the second Park Service gent to essay a honeymoon at Tuzigoot. Something about the place, no doubt."[1457] Richert held the ranger post at Tuzigoot for five years. As archeologist, he supervised stabilization and repairs of over seventy rooms in the monument's ancient hilltop pueblo.[1458] As ranger, he guided visitors, gave ranger talks, developed a preliminary museum plan, and served as acting custodian when needed.[1459] Edna Richert assisted with the monument work, often helping in the museum, among other administrative tasks. During 1950-51, Richert worked long hours developing an interpretive exhibit plan for the monument's museum prospectus.

The Richerts left Tuzigoot in September 1951, when SWNM Superintendent John M. Davis promoted Roland to the position of field director of the SWNM ruins stabilization mobile unit at Chaco Canyon. Roland Richert worked under Gordon Vivian, the archeologist-foreman of the mobile unit since its establishment as a CCC program in 1937. For over twenty years, Richert and the Mobile Unit—composed mostly of expert Navajo masons and laborers, who called Richert "Big Smoke" for "the pipe he kept clenched between his teeth"—traveled to project sites in New Mexico and Arizona, where they preserved over 100 southwestern archeological ruins and historic structures.[1460] In general, Vivian and Richert recruited the Mobile Unit crew in March and then began

---

[1455] Edna Mae Weide was previously married to Bryce Tuttle in 1938.

[1456] "Richert-Tuttle Vows Are Read Here Saturday," *Wichita Eagle*, November 3, 1946, pg. 11, and "Couples United in Marriage Recently," *Wichita Eagle*, November 16, 1946, pg. 3.

[1457] John L. Cotter, "Tuzigoot National Monument," *Southwestern National Monuments*, November 1946, 1.

[1458] Richert worked with Felix Macias, the "expert repair man and adobe specialist" who conducted most of the specialized wall capping in 1946-47. When Macias moved to California in April 1947, Yavapai locals James Hood and Arthur Harris (the latter worked on the initial CWA stabilization of Tuzigoot in 1933-34) took over Macias's work. See: John L. Cotter, "Tuzigoot National Monument," *Southwestern National Monuments*, April 1947, 1.

[1459] SWNM later incorporated much of Richert's original draft museum plan into a final museum prospectus for Tuzigoot (updated and completed by Supt. Jim Brewer and archeologist Carroll Burroughs in December 1952).

[1460] "Requiescat in Pace: Roland von Steen Richert," *NPS Arrowhead* 7, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 9; "Richerts' 'drop in the bucket' totals more than $900,000," *Bethel College News*, September 11, 2017 (bethelelks.edu).

work at the northern monuments from about April to November/December and at the southern monuments during the winter months.[1461] The program required considerable advance planning each season:

> We usually go in advance to look at the area in question on the ground, determine roughly how long it is going to take and how many men will be required, before we ever demobilize or mobilize again with our crew, so that it works to the best advantage possible.

But at times, this well-planned operating program would be interrupted with emergency calls:

> For example, a wall at Tonto, a fine two-story wall, may be suddenly observed by the superintendent to have weakened, it is beginning to weave back and forth, thereby posing a loss to prehistoric architecture as well as a threat to visitor safety. So, fortunately, this is an area that we can work both in summer and in winter, so we will dash up to Tonto and fix this wall for the superintendent; and this will break into our regular operating program, but this is not serious, we expect these interruptions. In fact, one must look upon this work much like that of a private contractor, with the emergencies arising at any time and the schedule interrupted and work going on not always on schedule at any given area.[1462]

In addition to extensive ruins stabilization at Chaco Canyon, Richert's major ruins-stabilization projects for Southwestern National Monuments before its closure in 1957 included work at Tonto (1952; 1958), Wupatki (1952), Aztec Ruins (1953), Tuzigoot (1953), Casa Grande Ruins (1955), and Gila Cliff Dwellings (1955).[1463]

In 1956, the mobile ruins stabilization program moved its operational headquarters from Chaco to SWNM headquarters at Gila Pueblo in Globe, Arizona; at that time, the program was officially renamed the Ruins Stabilization Unit (RSU). When SWNM headquarters closed its doors in late 1957, the archeological division, including the RSU, continued under a new name: the Southwest Archaeological Center (SWAC). Gordon Vivian became head of SWAC and RSU Supervisory Archeologist. Richert stepped into Vivian's former position as the archeology-foreman (director) of RSU fieldwork. He and Edna moved to Globe and settled in employee housing on the grounds of the Southwest Archaeological Center (renamed Arizona Archaeological Center) at Gila Pueblo. Richert and his Mobile Unit crew continued to accomplish watershed stabilization at southwestern monuments, including at Betatakin, Keet Seel, and Inscription House sites in Navajo National

---

[1461] Richert, transcript of Oral History Interview (1962), 3-4.

[1462] Richert, 6-7.

[1463] Rothman, *Navajo National Monument*, 121.

Monument (1958). Edna Richert featured the historic work done at Navajo in an article on the mobile RSU program for the *Desert Magazine* in 1960.[1464]

In 1964, Richert assisted the City of Globe with the stabilization of Besh-Ba-Gowah, the Salado Culture pueblo on SWAC grounds. When Vivian died of leukemia in 1966, Richert took over as RSU Supervisory Archaeologist.[1465] In January 1969, Richert earned the Department of the Interior Meritorious Service Award for his contributions to the specialized field of ruins stabilization.[1466] "Mr. Richert," DOI Secretary Walter J. Hickel announced, "has personally directed repair and stabilization of many of the most famous historic structures in the Southwest"; millions of people, he added, will "owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Richert."[1467] Three years later, Richert retired from the Park Service. By then he and the RSU crew had preserved more than 100 archeological and historic sites. Richert produced illustrated manuscripts for each project.[1468]

After retirement, Roland and Edna Richert remained in Globe, where Richert continued to conduct ruins stabilization and archeological research. In 1974, he completed the NPS guide to ruins stabilization in the Southwest, a book project which expanded on the ruins stabilization manual that he had helped Gordon Vivian compile in 1962.[1469] A member of the Gila County Fine Art Association, Edna Richert spent her retirement years producing and exhibiting her artwork; she also participated in several civic organizations. As a retired couple, the Richerts enjoyed traveling, including taking NPS retiree cruises to destinations such as the Caribbean.[1470] After twenty-eight years of retirement, Roland died on June 7, 2000, at eighty-six years of age.[1471] Edna followed three years later on September 9, 2003.[1472]

[1464] Edna Richert, "The National Park Service's Ruins Stabilization Mobile Unit– –To the Rescue," *Desert Magazine* 23, no. 4 (April 1960): 42-44.

[1465] Roland S. Richert, "Richard Gordon Vivian, 1908-1966," *American Antiquity* 32, no. 1 (Jan 1967): 100-103.

[1466] "Center Employe Gets Award," *Arizona Record*, March 13, 1969.

[1467] Walter J. Hickel, "Citation for Meritorious Service: Roland S. Richert," January 24, 1969, folder "Richert, Roland S., January 24, 1969-March 13, 1969," Box 18, Subseries B: Employee Biographical Files, Series XVI: Records of the Employee & Alumni Association of the NPS, Assembled Historic Records of the NPS (HFCA 1645), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1468] "Deaths: Roland von Steen Richert," *The Iola Register*, July 1, 2000, pg. 2.

[1469] Roland S. Richert and R. Gordon Vivian, eds., "Ruins Stabilization in the Southwestern United States," *Publications in Archeology* 10 (Washington: National Park Service, 1974); digitized book, NPS History, Electronic Library and Archive (https://npshistory.com/series/archeology/10/report.pdf : accessed 7 Apr 2025).

[1470] "Retirees Cruise the Caribbean," *NPS Courier* 2, no. 5 (Mar 1979): 6.

[1471] "Roland von Steen Richert," *NPS Arrowhead* 7, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 9; and "Deaths: Roland von Steen Richert," *The Iola Register*, July 1, 2000, pg. 2.

[1472] "Edna Richert," *Iola Register*, October 7, 2003, pg. 3 (https://www.newspapers.com/article/the-iola-register/169887941/ : accessed 8 Apr 2025).



COUPLES UNITED in marriage recently are pictured here. They are: Mr. and Mrs. Winston Rogers, nee Joy Marie Williams, upper left; Mr. and Mrs. Dean Hauserman, nee Lulu Bell Stone, upper right; and Mr. and Mrs. Roland S. Richert, the former Edna Tuttle, lower photo.

Kansas Fields

to the upper chat horizon for a production test at the No. 2 Schroeder, in the se-se-ne-1 18-1w, in the Paden pool, where production is found from both horizons. Only a light show of oil was found in the Viola

Figure 144. Newlyweds Roland Richert and Edna Tuttle in their wedding garb, Wichita Eagle, November 16, 1946. Source: Newspapers.com.

Center employe gets award

Roland S. Richert, chief of the Ruins Stabilization Unit at the Southwest Archeological Center, is the recent recipient of the Department of the Interior's Service Award.

THIS AWARD, one of the highest given by the Department, was presented by Chester A. Thomas, chief of the Center, to Richert in recognition of contributions in the specialized field of ruins stabilization.

Richert has been stationed at the Center since 1958, and throughout his career with the stabilization unit, has built up an efficient technical field organization and maintained a consistently high level of performance in ruins stabilization, Thomas said. He has personally directed repair and stabilization of many of the most historic structures in the Southwest such as Pueblo Bonito ruin at Chaco Canyon National Monument, N. M., Casa Grande Ruins and Tumacacori Mission National Monuments. He has devised many new and improved work methods and techniques, and has documented every repair he has made, his chief added.

Through the years, he has become well known throughout West Texas, Arizona and New Mexico not only as a competent preservationist, but as an outstanding leader in the field of ruins stabilization.

HIS RECORDS of basic technical data on ruins stabilization now aid him in making sound estimates of costs of projects, regardless of size, at the present and these can be projected into the future.

In the citation presented with the award, Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel stated: "Millions of people who will view the great historic structures of the Southwest will owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Richert."



ROLAND S. RICHERT
. . . receives Meritorious Service Award from Chief Chester A. Thomas (r)

In 1938, Richert began his National Park Service career working as a seasonal park ranger at Tonto National Monument during the summer months. Again, as a seasonal park ranger, he spent the summers of 1939 and 1940 at Yucca House and Hovenweep National Monuments, Colo. After serving in the Army, Richert returned to the Service in the summer of 1946 as seasonal park ranger at Montezuma Castle National Monument. From Nov. 1946 to Sept. 1951, he was the archeologist at Tuzigoot National Monument. In 1951 he transferred to the ruins stabilization unit's field station at Chaco Canyon. Here, under the direction of the late Gordon Vivian, he learned ruins stabilization.

RICHERT WAS born at Newton, Kan., where he graduated in 1936 from Bethel College with a BA Degree in biology. In 1939 he attended the UofA where he obtained a MA Degree in anthropology. He is a member of the Society for American Archeology and a former member of Mu Alpha Nu Anthropological Fraternity.

In September and Oct. 1964, on behalf of the Service he assisted the City of Globe in the stabilization of Besh-Ba-Gowah, a Salado Indian ruin.

In 1964 he wrote "Excavations in a Portion of the East Ruin, Aztec," and in 1951 published a popular article on "The Story of the National Park Service." In 1962 he worked with Charles Voll on the manuscript on "Archeological Tests in San Buenaventura de los Jumanos, Gran Quivira National Monument, New Mexico." He has also done approximately 50 unpublished and special reports covering 20 Service areas.

He and his wife Edna live on the grounds of the Center. She is interested in art, sewing, cooking and general housekeeping and according to Richert does well in all. She has also written and published many popular articles on the work of the ruins stabilization unit during its travels to the many Service areas in Arizona.

Arizona Record
Globe, Arizona
March 13, 1969

Figure 145. In March 1969 Roland S. Richert, chief supervisory archeologist of the Ruins Stabilization Unit (RSU), received the Department of the Interior's Meritorious Service Award for his contributions to ruins stabilization. Source: NPS History Collection



Figure 146. Employee photograph of RSU supervisory archeologist Roland Richert at the Southwest Archeological Center in Globe, Arizona. Photograph by Joel Shiner, December 1959. Source: WACC (62652)

Charles Albert Richey (1904-)

~ Born: May 16, 1904, in Columbus Junction, Iowa
~ Died: July 26, 1970, Boulder City, Nevada
~ SWNM Association: SWNM (resident landscape architect, 1934-36; assistant superintendent, 1940-41; superintendent, 1942-1943) Region III (assistant regional director, 1943-1945)

Charles Albert "Chuck" Richey served as the superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments from 1941 through 1943, filling Hugh Miller's vacated spot. An Iowa native, he was raised in Columbus Junction, Louisa County, the middle of three sons born to Charles Curtis Richey (1872-1905) and Martha Cora Miller (1870-1948). Before his second birthday, Richey lost his father. The family remained in Columbus Junction until 1920, when the eldest son began attending the state college in Ames and they all moved to the city with him.[1473] Richey graduated from Iowa State College in 1930 with a B.S. in landscape architecture. He and his future colleague, Henry Schmidt (custodian, Arches) were roommates and fraternal brothers in Phi Kappa Alpha.[1474] A year after graduation, Richey became employed with the National Park Service at its western Branch of Plans and Design, located in the Underwood Building in San Francisco.[1475]

As an NPS junior landscape architect in the field in the early 1930s, Chuck Richey participated in preparing some of the earliest master plans for the development of national parks and monuments in the West and Southwest.[1476] From 1934 through June 1936, he served as resident architect for the SWNM headquarters office at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. As one of the organization's "General Field Men," which included a revolving number of NPS landscape architects, engineers, topographers, rodmen, and transitmen, Richey assisted NPS Landscape Architect Harry Langley with the inspections circuit of the southwestern monuments, proposing development and designing master plans.[1477] By fiscal year 1937, beginning July 1, 1936, Richey's title had been reclassified to NPS district

---

[1473] "News Briefs," *The Muscatine Journal*, August 25, 1920, pg. 7.

[1474] Henry Schmidt, transcript of Oral History Interview with Henry G. Schmidt by S. Herbert Evison, August 25, 1971, 15, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1475] "Degrees Given to 119 As I.S.C. Session Ends," *Des Moines Tribune*, August 26, 1930, pg. 13.

[1476] Senator Bible of Nevada, "The Retirement of Charles A. Richey, Superintendent of Lake Mead National Recreational Area," February 19, 1969, *Congressional Record (Bound Edition),* 91st Cong., 1st Sess., vol. 115, pt. 3: 3916 (https://www.congress.gov/91/crecb/1969/02/19/GPO-CRECB-1969-pt3-6-1.pdf).

[1477] Charles A. Richey, "Report to the Chief Architect Through the Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments," April 16, 1934, folder "207: Richey," Box 2068, "National Monuments: Casa Grande, 207-207.01," Central Classified Files, 1933-1949, Records of the National Park Service (RG79), National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

or associate landscape architect, serving out of the CCC district office in Santa Fe, and then the NPS Region III office after its establishment in fall 1937.

In 1940, Chuck Richey returned to Southwestern National Monuments headquarters as the assistant superintendent appointed to Hugh Miller.[1478] He and his wife, Ruth Helen née Alexander (1907-1986), whom he married in Seattle in November 1934, settled in Coolidge in September with their baby son, Charles A. "Chukker," Jr., in tow. The SWNM outfit happily reported the return of "one of the Boss' boys":

> Chuck and Ruth Richey and baby "Chukker" have joined the Service family at Headquarters and Chuck is now scratching his head over administrative problems. Chuck knows the monuments - he began working in the Southwest with the Boss in 1931 and has been in the Southwest ever since. His wide experience in Service policy and function, his intimate knowledge of the areas, and his comprehension of the traditions of the Southwestern Monuments combine to make very fortunate his selection to fill the post of assistant superintendent. Chuck was one of the Boss' boys - with whom he sometimes disagreed but always loved as a son. If the Boss could know, he'd say, "Fine! Chuck, you always were a scrapper, and I'm banking on you to do battle for the monuments and the grand bunch who work in them."
>
> Baby Chukker accepted the warm September weather with satisfying philosophy, and Ruth is still wide-eyed with wonder that she is actually the mother of that husky boy.[1479]

A year later in December 1941, Richey replaced Superintendent Hugh Miller in the capacity of acting superintendent of SWNM until his position became permanent on July 1, 1942.[1480] Richey served as SWNM superintendent through the tumultuous months leading up to October 1942, when the National Park Service uprooted SWNM headquarters from Casa Grande Ruins and merged it with the Region III office. In Santa Fe, Richey continued to serve as SWNM superintendent until the organization was deactivated on July 1, 1943. He remained in a supervisory position over southwestern national monuments as NPS Assistant Regional Director until fall 1945, when he and his family left the Southwest for Chicago, the NPS wartime headquarters, for his appointment as landscape architect in the Branch of Lands.[1481]

After the war, Richey transferred to Washington, D.C. as the agency's assistant chief of the Lands and Recreation Planning.[1482] During this time Richey spent three months in 1948 with General

---

[1478] "Ickes Appoints Monuments Aid," *Arizona Republic*, August 9, 1940, pg. 11.

[1479] "Personnel Notes," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1940, 192B.

[1480] "Monuments Chief Named," *Arizona Republic*, July 19, 1942, pg. 12.

[1481] *The Times Independent* (Moab, UT), October 25, 1945, pg. 4.

[1482] He was promoted into the position of "chief" in 1950. See: "Appointments, Awards Announced by Bureaus," *Times-Herald*, April 10, 1950, pg. 7.

MacArthur's command in Japan, surveying and reorganizing Japanese national parks.[1483] He retired from the National Park Service in February 1969 with thirty-seven years of NPS employment under his belt, the last fifteen of which (1954-1969) he spent as superintendent of Lake Mead National Recreational Area.[1484] Just before retirement, the Department of the Interior awarded him the Distinguished Service Award in recognition of his contributions to park planning and management.[1485] Richey died just over a year into his retirement on July 26, 1970, age 66; he was survived by Ruth and their two sons.[1486] Soon after his passing, the National Park Service established the Charles A. Richey Memorial Scholarship.

[1483] "Japan's Parks," *Arizona Republic*, May 18, 1948, pg. 12; and "Charles A. Richey, "National Parks of Japan," *National Parks Magazine* 23, no. 97 (Apr-Jun 1949): 16-20.

[1484] "Richey Looks Forward to Nevada Duty," *Reno Gazette Journal*, September 14, 1954; and "Park Employee Ends Career of 37 Years," *Arizona Republic*, February 4, 1969, pg. 9.

[1485] "Honored," *Arizona Republic* December 20, 1968, pg. 34.

[1486] "Charles Richey, Park Supervisor, Rosary Today," *Nevada State Journal*, July 29, 1970, pg. 21; "Bible Lauds Career of C. A. Richey," *Las Vegas Sun*, July 28, 1970, pg. 5; *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/65942589/charles_albert-richey: accessed April 11, 2026), memorial page for Charles Albert Richey (16 May 1904–Jul 1970), Find a Grave Memorial ID 65942589, citing Boulder City Cemetery, Boulder City, Clark County, Nevada, USA, maintained by ReconnectNow (contributor 47291893).

Thomas Edgar Rogers (1901-1933)

~Born: September 22, 1901, in Hot Spring County, Arkansas
~Died: October 16, 1933, at Bandelier National Monument, Sandoval, New Mexico
~SWNM Association: Petrified Forest (custodian, 1925-1926; seasonal ranger, 1925-1926, and 1929); Montezuma Castle (ranger, 1931-1932); Bandelier (custodian, 1932-1933); Tumacácori and Casa Grande (seasonal ranger, 1932-1933); SWNM (staff artist and Board of Survey, 1932-1933)

Thomas Edgar "Ed" Rogers served as a seasonal ranger and custodian at several national monuments between 1925 and 1933. He also served in the Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM) headquarters office as temporary staff artist in 1932-1933, turning out artistic covers for the SWNM monthly reports. His dedicated service to SWNM ended on October 16, 1933—the day he took his own life.[1487] Rogers's suicide confused his wife, friends, and colleagues. Sadly, the announcements of his death covered more newsprint than his life.

Ed Rogers entered the world on September 22, 1901.[1488] His parents were Thomas Diver Rogers (1869-1932) and Charlotte Radford Baker (1880-1979) of Malvern, Hot Spring County, Arkansas. Edgar was their firstborn; they welcomed John Earl, their second son and last child, in 1907. In his youth, Ed Rogers was active in the greater Malvern-Rockport community. He attended Rockport High School and served on the board of the Hot Spring County Boys Corn Club; in his spare time, he grew corn for annual Hot Spring County Corn Show contests and helped out on the family farm.[1489] In July 1919, a tragedy rocked his world when his twelve-year-old brother John drowned while swimming with friends in the nearby Ouachita River.[1490] Soon after, Rogers left the Malvern area and moved to Booneville, likely to teach school—he had earned his teaching license in April 1918; by 1923, he lived in Arizona.[1491]

[1487] "Curry, New Mexico, United States records," on-line database with images, *FamilySearch* (https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-DBT3-HLR), certificate of death for Edgar Rogers, October 16, 1933, Bandelier, N.M., Sandoval, New Mexico.

[1488] Edgar's death certificate did not provide a date of birth. The authors of this administrative history established his birth date from a memorial inscription to Edgar etched on his parents' headstone in the Rockport Cemetery of Malvern, AK. See: *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/5183938/thomas_d-rogers), memorial page for Thomas D. Rogers (9 Nov 1869–24 Jul 1932), Find a Grave Memorial ID 5183938, citing Rockport Cemetery, Malvern, Hot Spring County, Arkansas, USA, maintained by Arkieologist (contributor 47246586), with accompanying headstone photograph uploaded by Dennis Gibson on Feb. 2, 2012.

[1489] *Malvern Times*, November 16, 1916, pg. 3.

[1490] "Body is Recovered," *Arkansas Democrat*, July 9, 1919, pg. 15.

[1491] *Malvern Times*, July 22, 1920, pg. 5; *Malvern Times*, April 4, 1918, pg. 5; *Malvern Times*, March 25, 1926, pg. 5.

For the next several years, the Malvern newspapers reported that Ed Rogers lived at either the Grand Canyon or in Holbrook. During this period he met Frank Pinkley, Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM), either at the Grand Canyon or during one of Pinkley's national-monument field inspection trips—perhaps at Petrified Forest National Monument. In 1925, William Nelson, the custodian of Petrified Forest, hired Rogers as a seasonal summer ranger at $100 per month.[1492] When Nelson resigned the custodianship in fall 1925, Pinkley appointed Rogers to fill in as the full-time acting custodian under the title "Ranger-in-Charge." Rogers was the first NPS-selected custodian for Petrified Forest—all previous custodians had inherited the position by default, as owners of the Forest Hotel in Adamana.

In the official books, Rogers remained in charge of Petrified Forest until May 4, 1926, though his last active day was February 20, when he took his annual leave to visit family in Arkansas.[1493] During Rogers's absence, Pinkley installed Harry Phillips (former ranger at Grand Canyon) as the interim acting custodian.[1494] Phillips and his family lasted a month in the cramped, drafty log house that served as ranger's quarters; by April, they were gone and Pinkley appointed William Cox Buehler of Los Angeles as the resident acting custodian at the salary of $1260 per annum.[1495] Based on Buehler's monthly reports, Rogers returned to the Forest as a seasonal ranger for summer 1926. On July 29, Buehler wrote to Pinkley that Rogers was the best man he had on the job, the other seasonal rangers being eager but novice.[1496] Buehler dismissed Rogers and the other temporary rangers on September 30 at the close of the tourist season. But when Buehler reported the seasonal termination to SWNM, he expressed his hope that Pinkley could find a permanent position for Rogers at a southwestern monument.[1497] A permanent appointment did not materialize, and it remains unclear if Rogers continued seasonal ranger work at Petrified Forest. Buehler resigned the Petrified Forest custodianship in February 1928 and Pinkley replaced him with Norman McLeod, who reported nothing about employing a ranger named Rogers during his tenure.[1498]

[1492] William Nelson to Frank Pinkley, August 31, 1925, folder "Reports, 1919-1952," Box 52, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10 (ACC 681), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

[1493] *Malvern Times*, March 25, 1926, pg. 5.

[1494] George M. Lubick, *Petrified Forest National Park: A Wilderness Bound in Time* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 97.

[1495] William Cox Buehler to Frank Pinkley, April 14, 1926, folder "Correspondence, 1919-1947," Box 52, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10 (ACC 681), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

[1496] William Cox Buehler to Frank Pinkley, July 29, 1926, folder "Correspondence, 1919-1947," Box 52, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10 (ACC 681), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

[1497] William Cox Buehler to Frank Pinkley, September 30, 1926, folder "Correspondence, 1919-1947," Box 52, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10 (ACC 681), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

[1498] MacLeod resigned from the custodianship on July 15, 1929.

It appears Ed Rogers moved to northern New Mexico around 1928.[1499] In 1930, U.S. census takers recorded Rogers living in a boarding house in Santa Fe and working as a bus driver for the Santa Fe transportation company.[1500] Soon after the census, Rogers started working as a chauffeur for the Harvey Company's Indian Detours, a sightseeing business for tourists that launched excursions to Petrified Forest in 1930.[1501] That summer Frank Pinkley hired Rogers to chauffeur NPS Director Albright on a tour of southwestern monuments and parks; Rogers drove a "Harvey car" Cadillac for the occasion, suggesting that he was already an Indian Detours driver.[1502]

Also in 1930, Ed Rogers met Gay Cook, a twenty-three-year-old West Virginian who had been teaching public school in northern New Mexico for several years [see Bio File: Cook, Gay]. They married in Rogers's hometown of Malvern, Arkansas, on January 3, 1931.[1503] A few months later in July, Rogers reemerged in Southwestern National Monuments news when Frank Pinkley posted him to a permanent ranger position at Montezuma Castle National Monument in central Arizona. The newlyweds lived in the monument's ranger cabin, which Rogers landscaped with plantings of native trees and vines.[1504] As ranger, he not only guided visitors but also assisted custodian Martin Jackson on the installation and painting of new Castle ladders and general cleanup of the grounds, which had become overgrown with the noxious foxtail plant.

After a year, Ed Rogers transferred to Bandelier National Monument. In June 1932, he and Gay left most of their household goods in Arizona and left with just the minimum supplies needed for a temporary, four-month ranger assignment.[1505] When they arrived June 13th, Rogers entered the accounting books as the first NPS custodian of Bandelier; the monument had transferred from Forest Service administration into the National Park Service a few months earlier. The only housing for the young couple was a leaky old Forest Service station in Frijoles Canyon. They had just settled in for the summer when Rogers received news that his father was dying; he departed July 18 for Arkansas,

---

[1499] Ed Rogers's 1933 death certificate listed the length of his residency in Sandoval County, New Mexico, as "5 years," suggesting that he moved to northern New Mexico around 1928.

[1500] 1930 U.S. Census, Santa Fe County, New Mexico, sheet 11-A, entry for Nora Summers, digital image, *Ancestry.com*.

[1501] One of Rogers's obituaries described him as a Hunter-Clarkson driver. Hunter Clarkson, Chief of Transportation for the Fred Harvey Company, inaugurated the Indian Detours tourist excursions in spring 1926. Based at Santa Fe's La Fonda Hotel, the Indian Detours consisted of daytrip or multi-day sightseeing packages for passenger-train tourists. Indian Detours drivers (men) and couriers (women) met tourists at train depots and then chauffeured and entertained them in luxury touring cars and buses on single- or multiple-day tours of the "Great Southwest." In 1930, they added Petrified Forest National Monument to the sightseeing options.

[1502] Frank Pinkley, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1930.

[1503] "Hot Spring County, Arkansas, County Marriages, vol. June 1930-August 1932," p. 392, entry for Edgar Rogers and Gay Cook, 3 January 1931, database with images, *FamilySearch.*

[1504] Frank Pinkley, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, March 1932.

[1505] On October 18, 1932, the Rogers couple transferred to Tumacácori for a seasonal ranger appointment. On January 15, they transferred to Casa Grande Ruins. In April, they were briefly stationed at TUMA again to cover the Boundeys' furlough.

leaving Gay in charge of the monument. His father passed away July 24, and Rogers stayed in Malvern with his widowed mother for a few more weeks. During her husband's absence, Gay made a splash with her July monthly report and received a personal letter from NPS director Horace Albright praising her capable administration in Rogers's absence. In correspondence with Pinkley, Rogers admitted that "From what Gay writes, she makes a better ranger than I."[1506]

Ed Rogers returned to Bandelier mid-August 1932 and resumed his duties as custodian. Despite his month-long absence, he made significant improvements before the close of the season. He temporarily repaired the ladders leading up to Ceremonial Cave [Alcove House]—a sandstone alcove about 140 feet above the canyon floor, where Ancestral Puebloans had built a modest-sized 'apartment' house. Rogers also cleaned out the monument well and made trail repairs. In addition to guide services, he collaborated with NPS officials on a proposed access road into Frijoles Canyon and gave Verne Chatelain—the inaugural NPS Chief Historian—a tour of the monument and region during his first Southwest inspections trip. Frank Pinkley visited, too, and helped the Rogerses install a cook stove handpicked in Santa Fe. The installation involved carting the stove forty-one miles to the rim of Frijoles Canyon, and from there transporting it down 900 feet by a cable pulley system (operated by Frijoles Lodge owner George Frey) before hauling it another half mile up the canyon to their quarters.[1507] After September, visitor numbers at Bandelier waned considerably. Frank Pinkley, lacking the funds to keep staff at an off-season monument, instructed Rogers to head back to his ranger post at Tumacácori.

After the holidays, Pinkley temporarily reassigned Rogers to special ranger duty at Casa Grande, to relieve furloughed ranger Hurst Julian. In addition to providing guided visitor service, Rogers helped with clerical work in the headquarters office. In January 1933, Pinkley assigned Rogers to the new SWNM Board of Survey alongside naturalist Bob Rose and ranger Frank Fish, each tasked with inventorying the valuation and condition of property and equipment at headquarters and the various monuments. Rogers also took over Winnie Julian's job as unofficial staff artist in charge of illustrating the front covers of the SWNM *Monthly Report* and informational pamphlets.[1508] For the February report, Rogers's first artistic cover featured Ceremonial Cave and, below it on the floor of Frijoles Canyon, the circular Tyuonyi Pueblo—a site widely known as Rogers's 'pet ruin'.[1509] Rogers continued to design the front cover of the SWNM Monthly Report through September 1933. Pinkley considered his artwork perfect:

[1506] Edgar Rogers to Frank Pinkley, July 30, 1932, as quoted in Laura Soullière Harrison, "History and Significance," *Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico. Historic Structure Report: CCC Buildings* (1988), 8, digital edition (http://npshistory.com/publications/band/hsr-ccc.pdf; accessed November 6, 2023).

[1507] Frank Pinkley, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1932, 101.

[1508] Rogers also contributed illustrations to the Montezuma Castle and Bandelier informational pamphlets that the SWNM office developed that spring. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, April 1933, C.

[1509] Frank Pinkley, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1933.

> Ed fusses around with a stencil and a stylus and puts a line here and line there and then retouches it time after time and complains that this isn't right and that that is wrong and finally turns in his work with the remark well there it is and it should have been this way or that way' or 'I couldn't get this right or this is wrong' but when the stencil is finally put on the machine and sheets run off out comes a perfect work of art.[1510]

In addition to artwork, Rogers enjoyed conducting special studies of Casa Grande. In February, he researched the history of the legendary maze design in the Great House ruin and in March he produced a special report on the design and astrological function of its "sun holes." Pinkley referred to Rogers's observations of the sun holes and their relation to the sun's angle at the spring equinox, February 28 to March 16, as "the most careful observations" ever made of Casa Grande's rather famous sun holes.[1511]

In April 1933, the Rogerses returned to Tumacácori for their final weeks on assignment. Ed Rogers headed south into Sonora, Mexico, with Georgia Boundey—wife of custodian George Boundey of Tumacácori—and C. P. Russell, NPS Field Naturalist to study the Spanish missions as part of Russell's museum program for Tumacácori.[1512] When the Rogerses returned to Bandelier in May, they found conditions worse for wear. The ranger cabin had standing water from the leaky roof, and it appeared someone had broken in and occupied it during the winter. Around the monument they found collapsed archeological walls, broken ladders, and new visitor names graffitied into the ancient stonework. Pinkley and NPS Director Albright agreed that Bandelier needed the protection of a permanent, year-round resident custodian. They promoted Rogers to that position, effective in August. As full-time custodian, Rogers would also be available to supervise the monument's extensive CCC development, scheduled to begin in October, at the end of Bandelier's tourist season, with Army construction of a truck road into the canyon and a CCC camp for 200 enrollees.[1513]

Rogers was excited about the development that would give Bandelier new facilities and miles of new trails for visitor enjoyment. But he worried about every detail and became paranoid about the logistics of coordinating such a large project during winter weather, as laid out in a series of anxious letters to Pinkley in early October.[1514] Then he hit rock bottom. On the morning of Monday, October 16, 1933,

---

[1510] Frank Pinkley, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, June 1933.

[1511] Frank Pinkley, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, March 1933.

[1512] C. P. Russell, "Observations in Some Southwestern Monuments, 1933," folder 204-010 "C. P. Russell," Box 2066, 2nd Subseries, 1933-49: National Monuments, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Records of the National Park Service (RG 79), National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[1513] Edgar Rogers, "Bandelier," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1933, 2.

[1514] He wrote to Pinkley on October 1 and October 9, as quoted in Laura Soullière Harrison, "History and Significance," *Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico. Historic Structure Report: CCC Buildings* (1988), digital edition (https://www.npshistory.com/publications/band/hsr-ccc.pdf): "Custodian Rogers became anxious about the size of the project and wrote to Pinkley that he saw the winter camp as a mistake. He noted that the camp needed an enormous

Gay found him in the ranger's cabin with a self-inflicted gunshot wound to the head. She ran to Frijoles Lodge for Evelyn Frey, who went back to the cabin and discovered Rogers still alive, stretched out in his ranger uniform on the floor; she stayed with him until he passed.[1515] In the next monthly report, Pinkley pondered Rogers's fatal decision:

> We were never able to put our finger on a single cause for Ed's death. Everything, his financial affairs, his home life, his official affairs, seemed to be breaking in his favor. [...]Yet he had despondent streaks and I am inclined to think he [had] contemplated this action off and on for some time. With such a background, he needed no immediate cause for the last act. As simple a thing as digging around in his bag for something else and running into his gun might have snapped the final circuit in his mind and carried him over the line where he had often hesitated.
>
> He did his work well and we who knew him will miss him as we go about our duties and regret his passing.[1516]

National Park Service officials Walt Attwell, Tom Vint, and Chuck Richey were in the Canyon at the time of Rogers's suicide, and by Gay's side within an hour. Frank Pinkley and his chief clerk Hugh Miller arrived the following morning, having received a telegram about Rogers's death in Albuquerque the night before. Gay held her husband's funeral on Wednesday, October 19, at the Rising-Roberts Mortuary, in a drawing room filled to capacity with colleagues and friends including Rogers's fellow Hunter Clarkson chauffeurs, who served as his pallbearers.[1517] After the funeral, Pinkley notified Rogers's mother by telegram: "Seemed advisable bury Ed at Santa Fe this morning stop Committed suicide stop Apparently despondent over unfamiliar work stop No other reason discovered stop Letter follows stop Park Service extends fullest sympathy stop."[1518] That month, Pinkley left the cover of the October report unillustrated *in memoriam* to Rogers.

---

amount of wood to heat the temporary buildings. He reminded Pinkley that under CCC regulations only small truck trails necessary for protection could be built and that the entrance road was not yet approved. He fretted that he was not even certain what the CCC would do when it arrived so late in the year."

[1515] Mary D. Burchill, *Lady of the Canyon: Evelyn Cecil Frey, A Tribute* (Los Alamos: Otowi Crossing Press, 2001; reprint 2007), 30-31.

[1516] Frank Pinkley, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, October 1933.

[1517] "Funeral of Edgar Rogers," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, October 19, 1933.

[1518] As quoted and cited in Soullière Harrison, "History and Significance," fn 48: "Draft telegram handwritten by Pinkley on back of telegram received by Pinkley dated October 18, 1933, RG 79, file 200, DFRC."

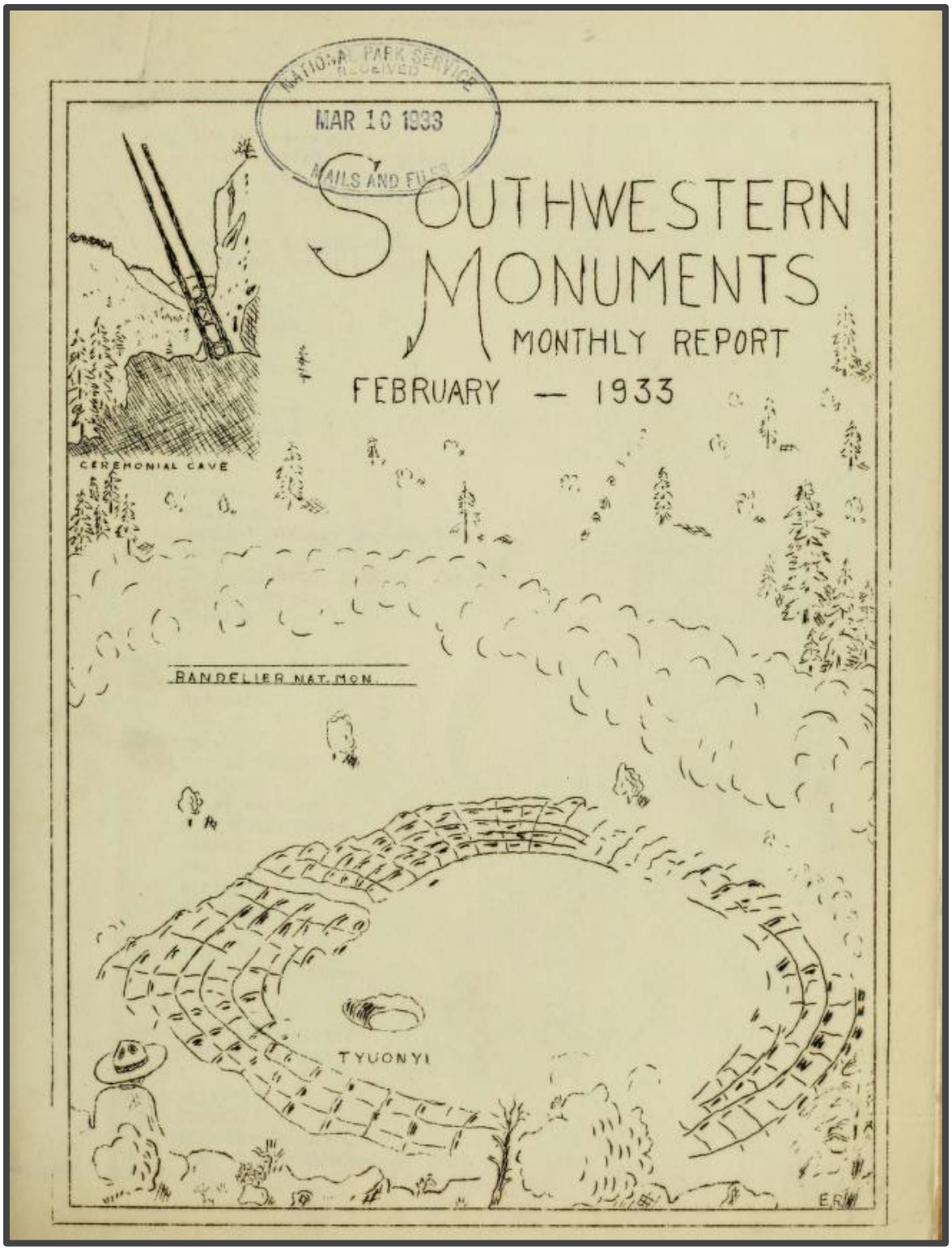
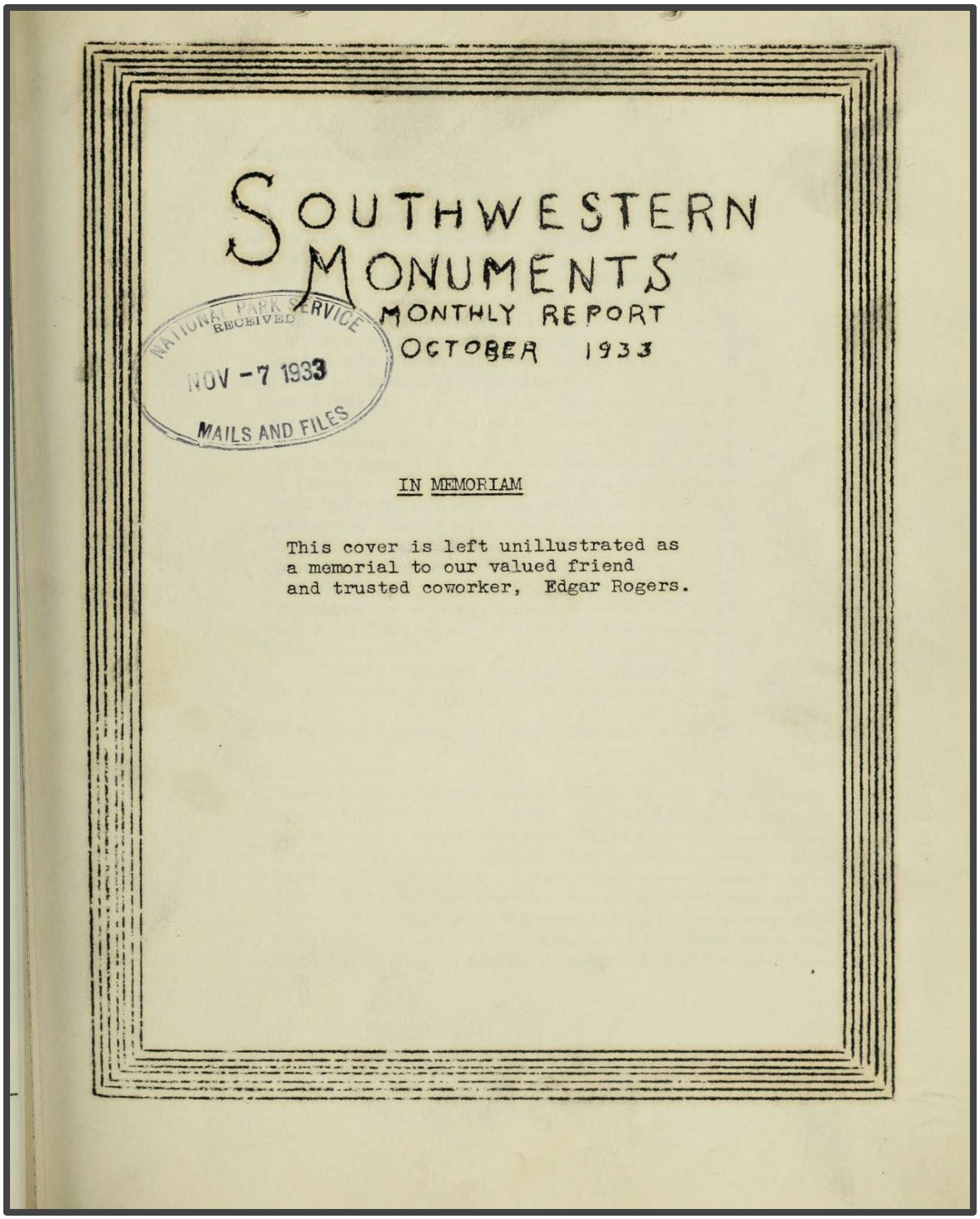


Figure 147. Cover of the February 1933 monthly report, featuring Bandelier, by Edgar Rogers. Source: Internet Archive.



SOUTHWESTERN
MONUMENTS
MONTHLY REPORT
OCTOBER 1933

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
RECEIVED
NOV -7 1933
MAILS AND FILES

IN MEMORIAM

This cover is left unillustrated as
a memorial to our valued friend
and trusted coworker, Edgar Rogers.

Figure 148, Cover of the October 1933 monthly report, in memoriam to Edgar Rogers. Source: Internet Archive.

Rose, Bob

Robert Harold Rose (1903-1977)

~ Born: March 31, 1903, in Otwell, Indiana
~ Died: October 16, 1977, in Lucerne, Switzerland
~ SWNM Affiliation: SWNM (assistant park naturalist, 1931-1937)

Robert "Bob" Harold Rose joined the Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM) staff in summer 1931 in the position of Assistant Park Naturalist.[1519] His arrival signaled the beginning of concerted interpretive programming in the southwestern national monuments. A university Ph.D. student in geology with seasonal ranger experience in the National Park Service, Rose arrived in Arizona prepared to draw upon an academic background that had "especially prepared [him to lecture] on trees."[1520] He reported for duty directly to the Petrified Forest National Monument in northern Arizona. There he worked one season as a ranger-naturalist developing interpretive exhibit panels for the monument museum under the supervision of NPS field naturalist Carl P. Russell. It was a dramatic start to his career, applying his education in geology at one of the most diverse petrified forests in the world. But when the snow arrived that fall, and Rose transferred down to SWNM headquarters office in arid southern Arizona, he quickly learned the real nature of his new position. From fiscal year 1932 through 1937, Rose served as the organization's educational expert on interpretive subjects relevant to museum development in the southwestern monuments—as he discovered, mostly archeology and history, and little to nothing on trees.

When he arrived in Arizona in 1931, Bob Rose was a long way from his native state of Indiana, where he was born in Otwell, Pike County, March 31, 1903, to Charles and Arra (née McLaughlin) Rose. Rose spent most of his childhood in Ottwell, with a four-year exception spent in southern Arkansas during his elementary years.[1521] Rose attended high school in Ottwell while working in the local flour mill. After graduating high school in 1920, Rose matriculated at Indiana University, Bloomington, where he became a record-breaking athlete in cross country. He took his time earning his bachelor's degree in physics with a minor in mathematics by teaching math and band in various southern Indiana

---

[1519] The title reflected pay grade, not level of seniority. The SWNM did not have a Park Naturalist that Rose assisted; he was the only naturalist in the office.

[1520] National Park Service, "Service Records of 1930 Ranger Naturalists: Robert Harold Rose," Box 114, 1st Subseries, 1907-32: General Records, Central Classified Files, 1907-1949, Records of the National Park Service (RG 79); National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[1521] His father briefly served as a plantation manager in southern Arkansas. Rose did not recall dates but remembered attending a one-room elementary school house in Arkansas for three or four years maybe through 6th grade. See: Robert H. Rose, transcript of Oral History Interview of Robert H. Rose by S. Herbert Evison, July 2, 1971, 2, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

elementary and high schools to earn his teaching credentials at the same time.[1522] He finally graduated from Indiana University in June 1926. In 1928, he enrolled in graduate studies at Stanford University, where he earned a master's degree in geology while pursuing a Ph.D. in the same field. During this time, he composed a song for his alma mater, Indiana University, that "took the university by storm," and was "played by the university band and sung by the glee club on nearly every occasion."[1523] Each summer during graduate school he worked as a seasonal ranger at Yellowstone and Yosemite.[1524]

During his last year of graduate work, 1931-32, Rose accepted the naturalist position with Southwestern National Monuments. In September 1931, after wrapping up his summer appointment to Petrified Forest he settled into his office space at SWNM headquarters at Casa Grande Ruins, Coolidge. He continued to work on the museum program for Petrified Forest and prepared a museum program for Casa Grande. Rose submitted his final museum-development reports for both monuments in April 1932 before taking annual leave.[1525] Upon his return, Rose helped install the Petrified Forest interpretive museum panels which he and Russell had designed. He also stepped up as acting custodian and acting superintendent during the absences of Hilding Palmer and Frank Pinkley. As summer approached, Rose resumed work on SWNM's educational programming, which involved a few days of field research spent at Montezuma Castle to check out the monument's museum collection and to study Martin Jackson's methods for handling visitors. That fall, Rose traveled with Frank Pinkley on a field inspection trip to New Mexico, visiting monuments Rose had not previously seen: Bandelier, Canyon de Chelly, Gran Quivira, and Capulin Mountain.[1526] By the close of his first year with SWNM in September 1932, Bob Rose had wrapped up educational plans for Casa Grande Ruins, Petrified Forest, and Montezuma Castle and started on a six-year interpretive program for the organization, completed in July 1934.[1527]

During his first year with Southwestern National Monuments, Bob Rose met Marie Theresa Awrey (1933-1976), a Tempe native teaching in the Coolidge public school district. They married June 1, 1933, in an intimate ring ceremony in the home of local rancher J. J. Jones, where Marie boarded during the school year; Frank Pinkley served as best man.[1528] A last-minute addition to the May 1933 *Monthly Report* welcomed Marie as "Assistant Superintendent Without Pay," a word play on the

---

[1522] Rose, transcript of Oral History Interview (1971), 3. See also: "Former Local Teacher's Song Very Popular," *Princeton Daily Clarion*, January 7, 1930, pg. 6.

[1523] "Former Local Teacher's Song Very Popular," *Princeton Daily Clarion*, January 7, 1930, pg. 6.

[1524] National Park Service, "Service Records of 1930 Ranger Naturalists: Robert Harold Rose." Rose talked extensively about his seasonal ranger appointments in his 1971 oral history interview with Evison.

[1525] He spent his leave at Stanford, probably to close out his graduate studies (he never finished the PhD). See: "Park Naturalist Report," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1932.

[1526] "The Park Naturalist's Month," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, October 1932, 5-9.

[1527] See: June 1933 and July 1934 monthly SWNM reports.

[1528] "Married," *The Coolidge Examiner*, June 2, 1933, pg. 1; and "Coolidge," *Arizona Daily Star*, June 9, 1933, pg. 12.

popular Honorary Custodian Without Pay moniker given to the wives of monument custodians.[1529] The couple took a short honeymoon trip before settling into their residence at Casa Grande Ruins in June. Their first month as newlywed employees included holding down SWNM office matters while Pinkley was on the road for his annual monuments inspections. That summer Rose also visited the library at the Arizona State Teachers College at Tempe (ASU) to study its cataloging methods—the Dewey Decimal System. He hoped to implement it in the SWNM library and in the Coolidge library, which Edna Pinkley had helped establish in 1926.[1530] In his monthly Assistant Superintendent report, Rose explained that the college librarian (Mr. Cookson) recommended SWNM submit a list of their copyrighted books, periodicals, and bulletins to the Library of Congress; in return, Cookson thought they could probably obtain LOC catalog cards to use in arranging and standardizing the headquarters library. Marie Rose helped prepare the list that summer.[1531]

During his six years posted to Southwestern National Monuments, Bob Rose's role in the organization remained fluid. He regularly fulfilled non-naturalist roles, serving as acting ranger, acting custodian, and acting superintendent, as needed. But the SWNM educational program remained his primary duty and he was often in the field studying and working at the various monuments to help develop their interpretive programs and museums. In 1935, he joined an NPS expedition into northern Sonora, Mexico, to survey the architecture of the "Kino Missions" in preparation to restore Tumacácori—also a Kino-era mission—to its original eighteenth-century appearance [see Bio File: Tovrea].[1532] And he spent considerable time in Berkeley, California, in 1936 and 1937 working directly with the NPS Field Headquarters team in historical research and design of Western Museum Laboratories exhibits for the museums of Aztec Ruins, Tumacácori, and Montezuma Castle.

In 1937, Bob Rose transferred out of Southwestern National Monuments when he accepted a position as naturalist and acting superintendent at Boulder Dam Recreational Area in Boulder, Nevada. From 1946 to 1952 he served as superintendent of Mesa Verde National Park, then transferred to Sequoia-Kings Canyon National Park as chief geologist. He wrapped up his career on the east coast as landmarks resource director in Philadelphia, 1957-1959, and chief geologist in the Washington office, 1959-1972.[1533] Rose retired in 1972 and returned to Moab, Utah, with Marie. He stayed active as a Mason and Rotarian, a board member for various library, museum, and civic groups, and a church choir singer. In 1976, Marie Rose passed away; Bob Rose followed a year later, October

---

[1529] Frank Pinkley, "Bulletin Last Minute Flash," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, May 1933.

[1530] In June 1933 the National Park Service approved use of the Dewey cataloguing system in NPS libraries. See: June 1933 SWNM Monthly Report, 12. See also, Bio File: Townsley, Edna.

[1531] "Report of the Assistant Superintendent," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1933, 11-12.

[1532] See [Bio File: Tovrea].The 1935 expedition report was published in 1993 as Buford L. Pickens, *The Missions of Northern Sonora: A 1935 Field Documentation* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993). See also: Stephen Christopher Baker and Joan M. Zenzen, *Tumacácori National Historical Park: An Administrative History*, December 2014, National Park Service History: Electronic Library & Archive (https://npshistory.com/publications/tuma/adhi.pdf).

[1533] National Park Service, "Robert H. Rose," *Courier* 1, no. 5 (Apr 1978): 15; *Courier* 1, no. 3 (Jan 1978): 15.

16, 1977, from complications of pneumonia while in Luzerne, Switzerland, on a Shriners tour of Europe. His daughters buried him next to his wife in the Sunset Memorial Cemetery in Moab.[1534]

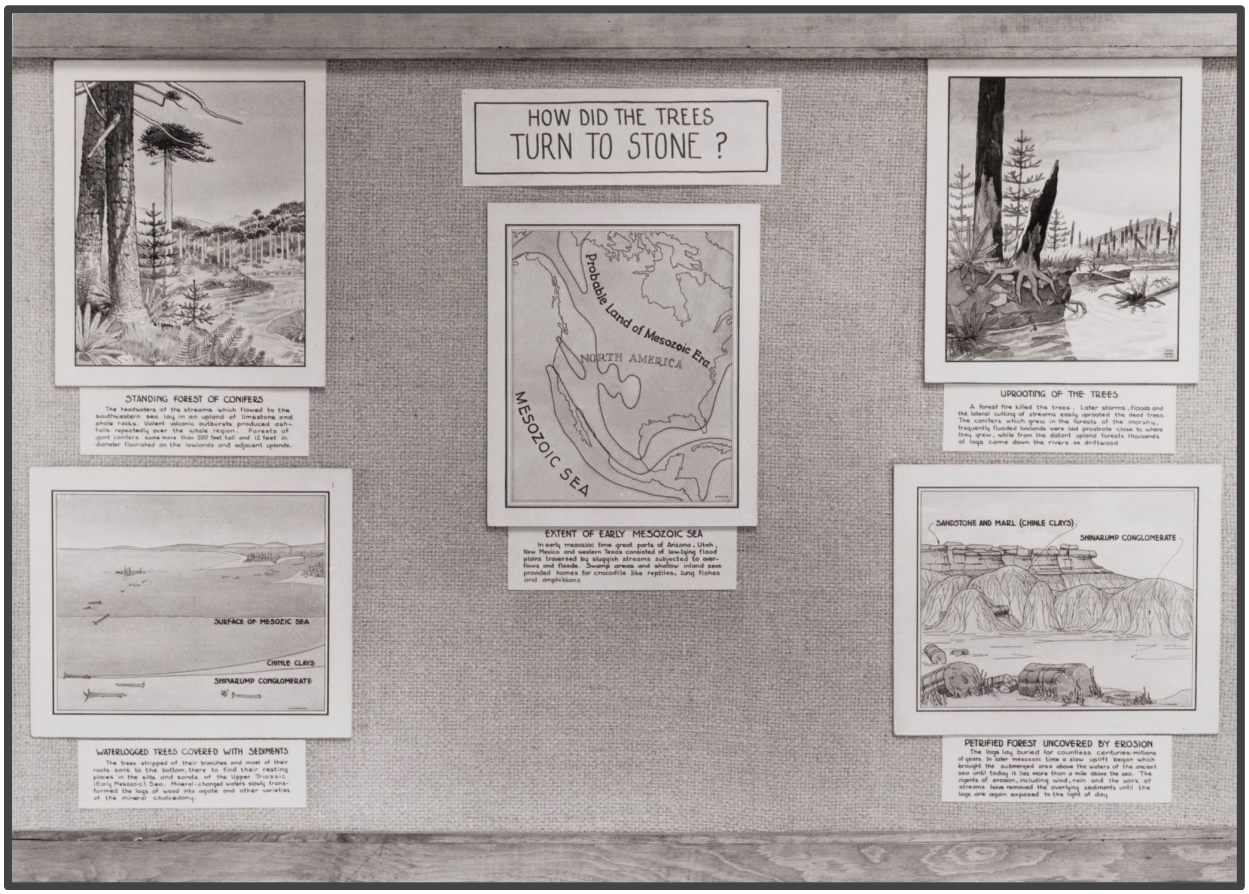


Figure 149. One of the interpretive exhibits at Petrified Forest National Monument designed and installed by SWNM ranger-naturalist Bob Rose in 1932-33. Source: NPS History Collection

[1534] "Robert H. Rose–Active Moab Retiree died in Switzerland," *The Times-Independent*, October 20, 1977, pg. 2.

ROBERT H. ROSE.
Name - (Type or Print.)

Feb. 4, 1930.
Date Submitted.

Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Educational Division

RANGER NATURALIST APPLICATION
(Submit in duplicate).



Name: Robert Harold Rose,

Present Address: Stanford University, Califor

Legal (Voting) Address: Stanford University, California.

Attach photo

Age: 26 3/4 Date of Birth: 3/31/'03.

Height: 6 Ft. Weight: 165.

Married or single: Single. Physical condition: Excellent.

Park in which employment is preferred: Yosemite Nat. Park; Yellowstone second choice.

Period during which applicant is available: June 15 to October 1st inclusive.

Education: Give (1) number of years university training with degrees, if any; (2) Major subject; (3) List of sciences in which you received general training. (Attach another sheet if necessary.)

University of Indiana, A.B. degree June 1926.

Stanford University, 1928 to 1930 inclusive; Graduate student in geology, with an A.B. in Physics to present as minor towards PhD req.

References: (Give names of at least two scientists to whom we can refer for information regarding your scientific work unless you are head of a department.)

Dr. J. P. Smith, Prof. Geology, (Name) Stanford University, California. (Address)

Dr. Wm. M. Davis, Prof. Emeritus (Harvard), (Name) Stanford University, Cal. (Address)

Figure 150. Bob Rose applied for a ranger-naturalist position with the National Park Service in 1930. Frank Pinkley hired him for the Southwestern National Monuments office the following summer. Source: NPS History Collection

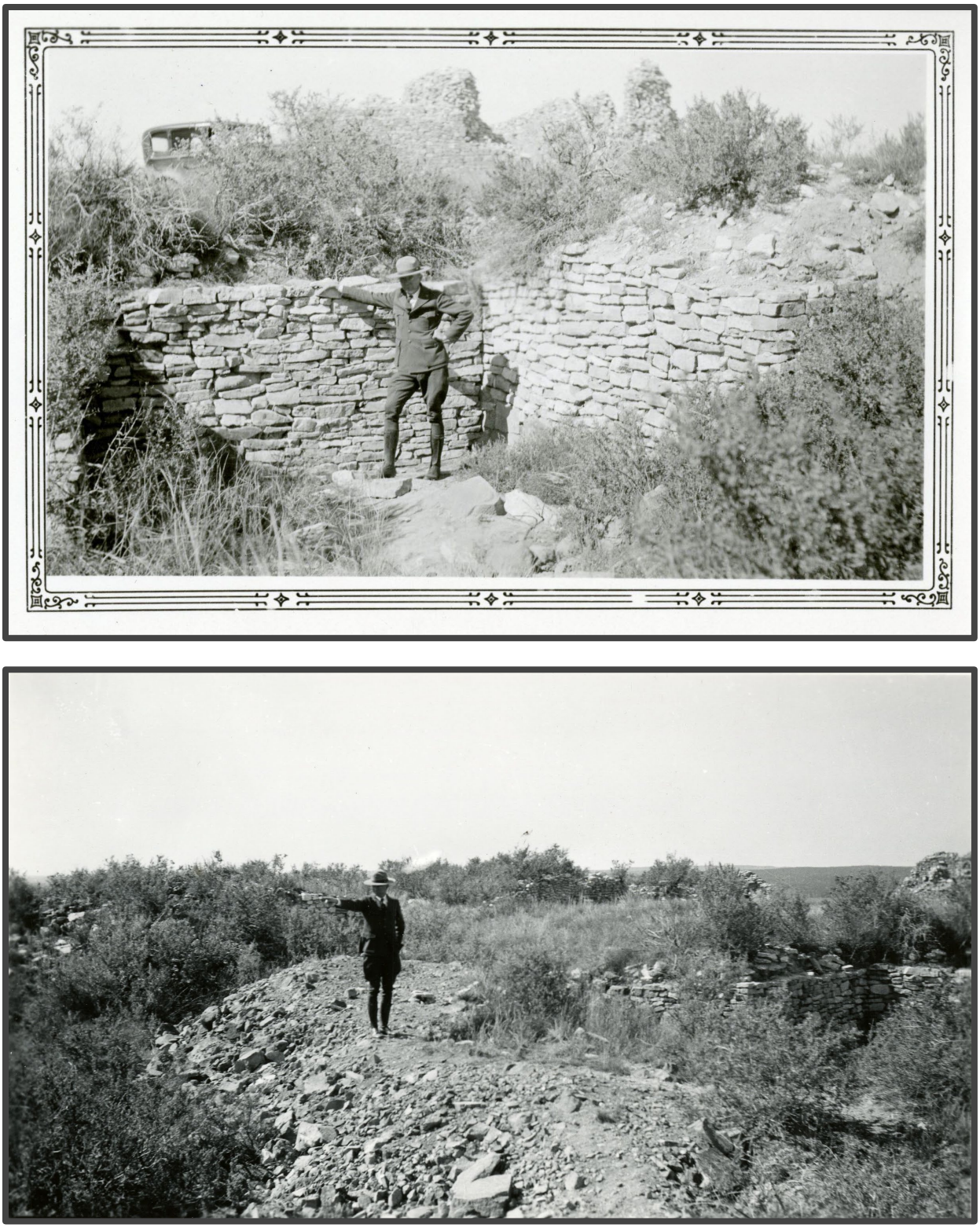


Figure 149. In October 1932, Bob Rose, SWNM naturalist, traveled with Supt. Frank Pinkley on a field inspection trip to New Mexico. Pictured here at the ruins of San Ysidro Mission, Gran Quivira National Monument, standing in

mission apse (top) and on debris from a treasure-digger's shaft (bottom). Photographs by Frank Pinkley. Source: WACC (00449 and 00091)

George Watson Rudy (1894-1962)

~Born September 19, 1894, in Maysville, Kentucky
~Died March 2, 1962, in Phoenix, Arizona
~SWNM Affiliation: SWNM [clerk-stenographer and ranger, 1927-1929]

Hired in October 1927, George Watson Rudy served as Frank Pinkley's first clerk in the Southwestern National Monuments office at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. Rudy hailed from Maysville, Kentucky, where he was born September 19, 1894, to Henry and Minnie Rudy (née Childers). He spent most of his childhood and youth in Covington, Kentucky, the location he provided as his home address when he registered for the World War I military draft in 1917. At the time, he worked as a clerk for the Adams Express Company of Cincinnati, Ohio.[1535] In 1918, Rudy enlisted in the U.S. Army from Missouri and served seven months as a machine gun sergeant.[1536] After discharge, he moved to his mother's home in Richmond, Indiana, and secured work as a laborer in a sheet metal factory.[1537]

Sometime between 1920 and 1923, Rudy moved to Phoenix, Arizona, where, on April 13, 1923, he married Marie S. Betts (1902-1953).[1538] In 1926, the Phoenix city directory listed Rudy as a salesman for Watson Bros. automobile dealership.[1539] During this period Rudy met Frank Pinkley, Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments. On October 7, 1927, the *Casa Grande Dispatch* announced that Mr. and Mrs. George Rudy of Phoenix were guests of the Pinkleys and that "Mr. Rudy" would be the new clerk at Casa Grande Ruins.[1540] As Pinkley's first clerk-stenographer, Rudy's primary responsibilities involved handling Southwestern National Monuments and Casa Grande Ruins administrative paperwork.[1541] Pinkley still served as custodian of Casa Grande at the time. Thus, in addition to clerical work, Rudy served as a ranger alongside Francis Seagoe (1927-1928) and Hilding Palmer (1928), guiding visitors, as needed, and assisting with other monument work,

---

[1535] "United States, World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918," entry for George Watson Rudy, June 5, 1917, online database with images, *FamilySearch*.

[1536] "221 Years' Service: 7 Postal Workers Enter Retirement," *Arizona Republic*, November 1, 1956, pg. 29.

[1537] "United States Census, 1920," Richmond, Wayne, Indiana, entry for Minnie Rudy and George Rudy (age 25), online database with images, *FamilySearch*.

[1538] "Arizona, U.S., County Marriage Records, 1865-1972," entry for George Watson Rudy and Marie Betts (1923), online database with images, *Ancestry*.

[1539] *1926 Phoenix City and Salt River Valley Directory*, 366, online database with images, Arizona Memory Project.

[1540] "Coolidge Items," *Casa Grande Dispatch*, October 7, 1927, pg. 8.

[1541] Clemensen, *A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve, 1892-1992* (1998), 169.

including repairs. In July 1928, Rudy and Palmer discovered a cremation burial containing an olla and covered dish while digging a shallow trench to change the drainpipe near the ranger's quarters.[1542]

As clerk, Rudy primarily worked at headquarters. On occasion, he also traveled to other monuments to provide clerical assistance. In December 1928, Pinkley sent Rudy to Montezuma Castle. There Rudy reviewed a proposed interpretive handbook to the Castle, which Martin Jackson and Pinkley had developed from notes written up over the course of yearly monument inspections. Rudy stayed a few days to become acquainted with the Castle's administration and how it compared with the administration of Casa Grande Ruins. His long visit at Montezuma Castle enabled him to build up his knowledge of the Castle's history and archeology to pass on to interested visitors at Casa Grande who might consider visiting Montezuma Castle as their next stop.[1543]

George Rudy worked for Southwestern National Monuments for sixteen months. During that time, he and his wife became close friends with other SWNM personnel, especially Martin and Ada Jackson of Montezuma Castle, with whom the Rudys often spent holidays. Locally, Marie became a member of the Coolidge Woman's Club (est. 1926) alongside Frank Pinkley's wife, Edna Townsley Pinkley. The Rudys were growing roots in central Arizona. Not surprisingly, when Frank Pinkley offered George Rudy the custodianship of Tumacácori in southern Arizona, near the U.S.-Mexico border, in February 1929, Rudy declined and resigned from the National Park Service. He turned instead to a career in the U.S. postal service from the Phoenix main post office. For nearly twenty-seven years, Rudy served as a dead-letter postal clerk, handling the disposal of the 250 to 500 letters Phoenix received daily that were undeliverable and unreturnable.[1544] In 1930, he and Marie had a daughter, Betty Jean, born in Phoenix.[1545] Marie died of cancer in 1953, and George Rudy on March 2, 1962, in Phoenix, where he was interred in the Greenwood Memorial Park cemetery.[1546]

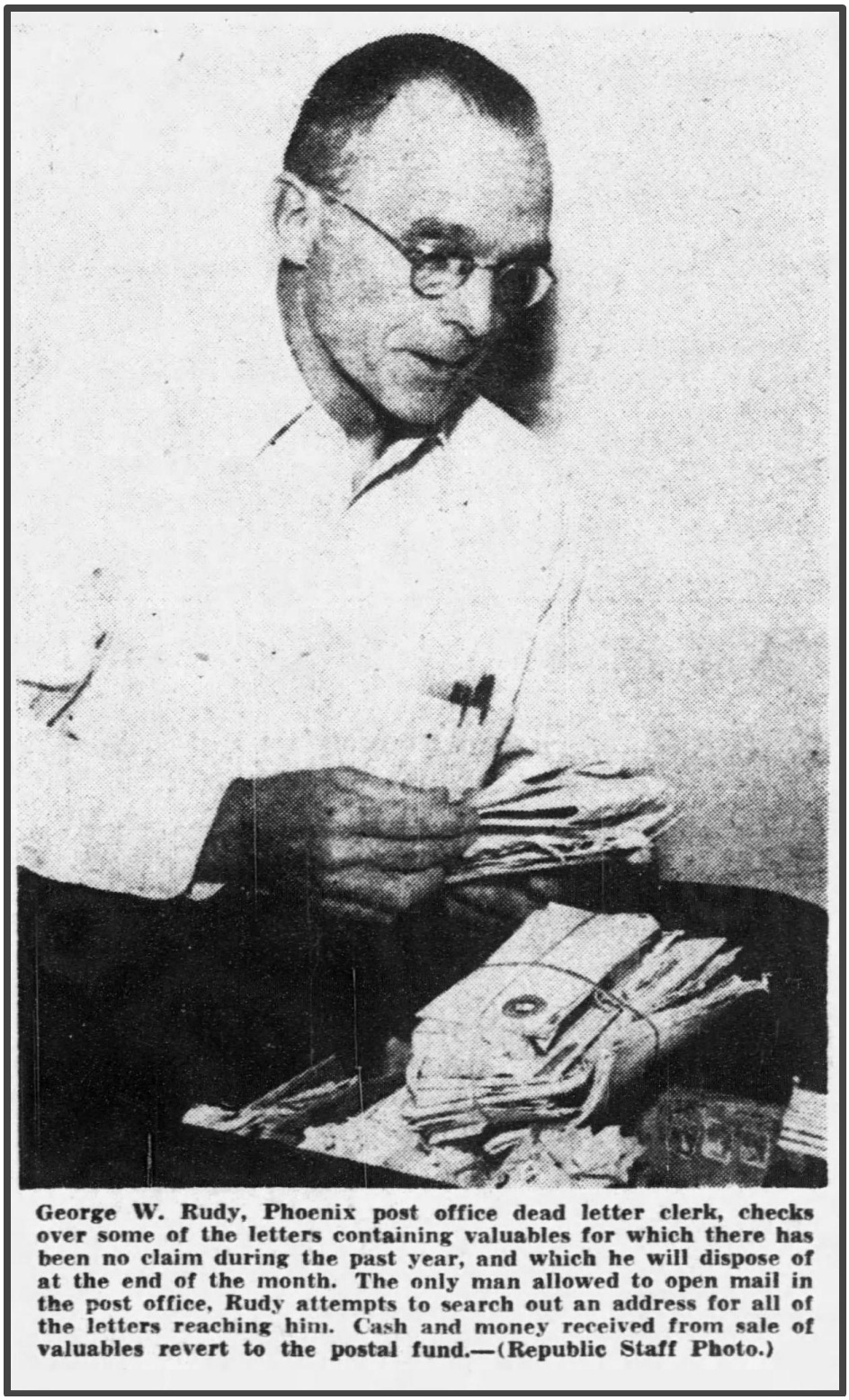
[1542] *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports*, July 1928.

[1543] *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report*, December 1927, 2.

[1544] "Dead Letter Clerk Finds Valuables In Undeliverable, Unreturnable Mail," *Arizona Republic*, Jun. 21, 1948, pg. 1.

[1545] In 1953, Betty married Kenneth Dean Lewis, a marine stationed on Treasure Island, San Francisco. They had five children. She passed away in 2020.

[1546] "Deaths, Funerals: George W. Rudy," *Arizona Republic*, March 3, 1962, pg. 19; *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/164984669/george_watson-rudy: accessed February 24, 2026), memorial page for George Watson Rudy (19 Sep 1894–2 Mar 1962), Find a Grave Memorial ID 164984669, citing Greenwood Memory Lawn Cemetery, Phoenix, Maricopa County, Arizona, USA, maintained by Leonard J. McCown (contributor 46807025).



George W. Rudy, Phoenix post office dead letter clerk, checks over some of the letters containing valuables for which there has been no claim during the past year, and which he will dispose of at the end of the month. The only man allowed to open mail in the post office, Rudy attempts to search out an address for all of the letters reaching him. Cash and money received from sale of valuables revert to the postal fund.—(Republic Staff Photo.)

Figure 150. George Rudy, first Southwestern National Monuments clerk under Supt. Frank Pinkley in 1928-1929, pictured during his post-NPS career as a dead-letter clerk in the central Phoenix post office. Source: Arizona Republic, June 21, 1948.

Francis Albert Seagoe (1904-1953)

~Born: November 25, 1904, in Charter Oak, California
~Died: July 18, 1953, in Wickenburg, Arizona
~SWNM Affiliation: Casa Grande Ruins [ranger, 1927-1928; temp ranger, 1928-1934]

Francis Albert Seagoe was one of Frank Pinkley's earliest permanent employees. Pinkley, at the time serving as both custodian of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument and superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, hired Seagoe as the monument's permanent ranger effective April 1, 1927. Seagoe lasted less than a year in the full-time position, but, as a local Coolidge-area resident, remained available for on-call work at Casa Grande for several years. A California native, Seagoe had lived in Arizona for seven years. In 1920, his father Clement O. Seagoe purchased the Rose Ranch at Kenilworth a few miles south of Casa Grande and, in 1925, he and neighboring ranchers surveyed part of the Seagoe property for the original townsite of Coolidge (est. 1926).[1547] Francis Seagoe was a schoolmate and close friend of Addison Pinkley, son of Frank Pinkley. Seagoe often visited the monument and participated in events, such as playing the part of a 16th-century Spanish soldier in the inaugural Arizona Pageant play held on monument grounds in 1926.[1548]

When Francis Seagoe became the ranger at Casa Grande in 1927, he was twenty-two years old and recently married to Dollie Leona Rawls Robinson (1909-1998), whose parents had recently leased the Seagoe ranch.[1549] The newlyweds moved into the monument's rustic ranger quarters with "Baby Betty," Leona's daughter from a previous marriage.[1550] The marriage fizzled quickly. Before the end of the year, Leona had moved out and Seagoe's widowed mother Clara Johnston Seagoe (1866-1951) moved in, to help with housekeeping.[1551] This, too, was short-lived. In February 1928 Seagoe resigned the ranger position to manage the Coolidge Mercantile Store.[1552] Seagoe remained in the Coolidge area through the mid-1930s. As needed, he took on temporary work at Casa Grande during understaffed or high tourist-traffic periods, helping with ranger-led tours, museum improvements, and other general work. In 1933, he remarried to Alva Scott Krauss, a Coolidge-area divorcee with one young son. They

[1547] Clement O. Seagoe committed suicide in April 1926. Francis Seagoe was a student at the University of Southern California at the time. After the family tragedy, he abandoned university studies and returned to Coolidge to help his widowed mother with the family ranch.

[1548] "Arizona Pageant Opens Friday at Casa Grande Ruins," *The Arizona Republican*, October 31, 1926, pg. 12.

[1549] "Coolidge," *Arizona Republican*, February 24, 1927, pg. 8.

[1550] "Coolidge," *Arizona Republican*, April 14, 1927, pg. 14. "Baby Betty" was Betty Evelyn Robinson (b: 1926 in Tucson).

[1551] In December 1928, Leona remarried to Rex Brown in Phoenix.

[1552] "Coolidge," *Arizona Republic*, February 16, 1928, pg. 8.

eventually moved to Palo Verde Valley, California, where they became prominent alfalfa and cotton ranchers near Blythe.[1553] Seagoe died in 1953 in a Wickenburg, Arizona hospital, age 48.[1554]

[1553] "Demand for Land Reflected in Sales Valued at $16,225," *Palo Verde Valley Times*, January 11, 1940, pg. 1.

[1554] See: "Arizona Deaths," *Arizona Republic*, July 21, 1953, pg. 4.

Dr. William Henry Smith (1871-1953)

~Born: March 23, 1871, in Mauckport, Indiana
~Died: February 1, 1953, in Alamogordo, New Mexico
~SWNM Association: Gran Quivira (custodian, 1923-1936)

Dr. William Henry "Doc" Smith joined the Southwestern National Monuments group on October 1, 1923, as the first official custodian of Gran Quivira National Monument. He was born in Mauckport, Indiana, but lived in Missouri and other places before landing in Scott County, Arkansas, where he married Minnie Alice Wilson (1873-1937) in 1894.[1555] He and Minnie remained in Arkansas until at least 1911. Smith, a trained physician, provided medical services for the local communities. By 1916, he and his wife lived in Texas, where they welcomed their eighth and final child, Opal, on May 1. Before the 1920 U.S. Census they moved again, this time to Torrance County, New Mexico, to a 640-acre homestead about twelve miles north of Gran Quivira National Monument.[1556]

At the time of his appointment as custodian, Doc Smith served as postmaster of the Gran Quivira post office.[1557] In summer 1923, perhaps at the post office, Smith met Frank Pinkley during the latter's Southwest monument inspections trip on behalf of the National Park Service. Pinkley asked whether Smith would be interested in serving as custodian of Gran Quivira National Monument, should the Park Service agree to appoint one. Smith expressed interest, and Arno Cammerer, NPS Acting Director at the time, followed up in September with an official letter to Smith offering a part-time custodial position at the nominal salary of $12 a year. With that sum he expected Smith to check conditions at least monthly and report on any vandalism and general repair work needed.[1558] Smith agreed and Cammerer sent him his letter of appointment a few weeks later, along with a list of instructions and rules and regulations covering the national monuments. He directed Smith to

---

[1555] *FamilySearch*, open family-tree database (https://www.familysearch.org/en/tree/person/details/LVZP-W73), profile for William Henry Smith (1871-1953), p.i.d. LVZP-W73, contributed by various users.

[1556] According to BLM General Land Office online records, Smith homesteaded the south half of Section 28 and the north half of Section 33 of T3N-R8E. He received a patent for his homestead on August 18, 1922. See: Bureau of Land Management, "Land Patent Details," online database (https://glorecords.blm.gov/).

[1557] The location of the historic post office was at 34° 15′ 49″ N, 106° 6′ 7″ W, at the intersection of highways 41 and 55, just before the entrance sign to Gran Quivira. See Gran Quivira Post Office (historical), Torrance County, New Mexico, United States, https://www.mindat.org/feature-5469750.html (accessed 4 Nov 2023).

[1558] Arno Cammerer to W. H. Smith, September 8, 1923, folder "General Correspondence, 1923-1932," Box 44, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10 (ACC 681), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

communicate any "complications or vexing problems" to Pinkley, "the official of the Service whom [they depended] upon in general in connection with Monument matters arising in the Southwest."[1559] In July 1924, Smith communicated a 'vexing problem' to Frank Pinkley, by this time Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments. Smith admitted that he could not make a living on his current $12 per annum salary and would have to resign as custodian. He had given up his job as Gran Quivira postmaster since he could not handle the confinement and no longer had a base salary. Smith enjoyed the custodianship—the work proved both "pleasant and healthy"—and he shared that if he could just get "a small wage out of it," he would devote his time to it.[1560] Pinkley discussed the matter with Smith while inspecting Gran Quivira in August 1924. Following the trip, Frank Pinkley's wife Edna took up the matter directly with the Park Service. She addressed the matter of Smith's salary in a compelling letter to NPS acting director Arthur Demaray in Washington:

> We are a little afraid we will lose [Mr. W. H. Smith] as he is not making much of a living and a dollar a month does not help much in keeping the wolf away. He would give us practically full time service if we could pay him even $25.00 per month.[1561]

By November, the issue of Smith's salary had been noted and adjusted. Demaray wrote that the NPS would raise Smith's salary to $20 a month, for a total annual salary of $240, beginning on January 1, 1925.[1562] When Pinkley relayed the good news to Smith, he emphasized that the increase in salary meant that they would need to see a corresponding increase in Smith's service at the monument. He did not expect Smith to live at the monument without water or house but would pursue both options soon. Meanwhile, Smith was to live as close to the monument as possible—the village or otherwise nearby—to keep the round-trip walk to inspect the ruins within three miles, and the trip to the boundary fence within five.[1563]

It is unclear when exactly Smith moved to Gran Quivira National Monument, though by the start of FY 1929, July 1, 1928, the Park Service had reclassified his appointment to permanent custodian with

---

[1559] Arno Cammerer to W. H. Smith, September 29, 1923, folder "General Correspondence, 1923-1932," Box 44, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10 (ACC 681), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

[1560] W. H. Smith to Frank Pinkley, July 15, 1924, "General Correspondence, 1923-1932," Box 44, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10 (ACC 681), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

[1561] Edna Pinkley to Arthur Demaray, August 27, 1924, RG79, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, National Monuments, General, National Monuments, Miscellaneous (Parts 6-9), 1923-32 (box 565), NARA, College Park, MD.

[1562] Arthur E. Demaray to Frank Pinkley, November 18, 1924, folder "General Correspondence, 1923-1932," Box 44, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10 (ACC 681), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

[1563] Frank Pinkley to W. H. Smith, November 25, 1924, folder "General Correspondence, 1923-1932," Box 44, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10 (ACC 681), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

a full-time salary less a small amount for "rent," suggesting that Smith resided at the monument full time in government quarters.[1564] In October 1929, the SWNM monthly report mentioned the completion of an addition to Smith's house. In 1932, the Park Service built a new custodian's house at Gran Quivira. Pinkley worked with the NPS engineers to determine the location of the residence, and construction began July 20 under Kreinkamp's general supervision with foreman J. H. Millage in charge of the project. They completed the house around September 1, minus some appliances and other finishing touches. Smith's original residence became the Tool and Storage House.[1565] Like the new custodian's house at Tumacácori, the new house at Gran Quivira had a unique glitch—the front door swung outward and thus could not accommodate a screen door. This irregularity became a joke in the monthly reports.

Living on the monument was likely easier for Smith and his family, who often filled in for him. When he injured his eyes in September 1926, his daughter handled the monument work. At other times, one of his sons would step into the role of acting custodian when their father was away, sick, or on annual leave. In September 1930, for example, son Irvin E. Smith served as the acting custodian and during his spare time collected butterfly specimens to display in the museum at Gran Quivira.[1566] This arrangement continued until Smith retired from the custodianship in April 1936. After retirement, Smith and his family may have moved to Portales; his wife Minnie died there in August 1937. By the 1940 U.S. census, Smith had settled in Alamogordo, where he remarried to Hattie Estelle Britt Nash (1894-1963) around 1944. Smith died in Alamogordo on February 2, 1953, just shy of his eighty-second birthday.[1567]

[1564] G. T. Nichols to Frank Pinkley, September 4, 1928, folder "General Correspondence, 1923-1932," Box 44, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10 (ACC 681), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

[1565] Frank Pinkley to W. H. Smith, September 11, 1932, folder "General Correspondence, 1923-1932," Box 44, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10 (ACC 681), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

[1566] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1930, 3.

[1567] *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/34894275/william_henry-smith: accessed February 20, 2026), memorial page for Dr William Henry Smith (23 Mar 1871–2 Feb 1953), Find a Grave Memorial ID 34894275, citing Round Top Cemetery, Torrance County, New Mexico, USA, maintained by Graveyard Walker (contributor 47314881).



Figure 151. W. H. “Doc” Smith, custodian of Gran Quivira National Monument from 1923-1936, shown at the monument (middle, wearing ranger hat) with a group of visitors in 1925. Source: WACC (07095)

Parke Wilford Soule (1907-1995)

~ Born: May 19, 1907, Farmington, Utah
~ Died: August 22, 1995, Tacoma, Washington
~ SWNM Association: SWNM (chief clerk, 1938-1942); SWNM–Region III (chief clerk, 1942-1943)

Parke Wilford Soule served as Chief Clerk, Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM), during the organization's final years headquartered at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, 1937-1942. A Utah native raised on a farm in St. Anthony, Idaho, Soule returned to his roots to attend the University of Utah in the 1920s. He graduated in spring 1930 with a B.A. in Mathematics and English. Knowing that good-paying jobs would be hard to find with the Depression underway, Soule grabbed the first opportunity that made sense: an accounting position in a storehouse at Yellowstone National Park. The job announcement required that he show up June 2 or not at all, which meant skipping his college commencement—a 'no-brainer' for Soule, who chose to "ignore the diploma and go for the cash."[1568] The decision translated to nearly forty years working for the federal government.

At Yellowstone, Parke Soule eventually moved into the position of Senior Clerk and Bookkeeper for the park. During his tenure he also took the Civil Service exam for "Tax Gauger," which opened up a position for him in December 1934 with the U.S. Treasury Department's IRS Alcohol Tax Unit.[1569] The job was based in Denver, but Soule traveled constantly, generally moving every few months to a new assignment in one of several states: Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Arizona, and New Mexico. In Bernalillo, New Mexico, in 1935, Soule married Pocatello, Idaho-native Genevieve "Jean" Chapman-Nelson (1908-1992), the widow of Soule's Yellowstone colleague, Keith Nielson.[1570]

After marriage, Jean and her five-year-old son Peter (1930-2021) took up Soule's itinerant lifestyle, including one rapid-paced year where the family transferred to different locations (usually breweries or distilleries) every month for twelve months. During one of their "quick switches" between Phoenix and Nogales, Arizona, the Soules stopped at the Southwestern National Monuments headquarters at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument to see what it was all about. Parke Soule noticed Hugh Miller's name on a door in the administration building and went in to say "Hello," having met Miller

---

[1568] Parke Soule, transcript of Oral History Interview of Parke Soule by S. Herbert Evison, March 7, 1973, 2-3, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1569] Parke Soule, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 9. See also: Roger W. Toll, "Administration," *Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park, 1935*, 5.

[1570] Some family histories online say they were married in Juárez, Mexico. In his oral history interview with Evison, Parke Soule said they married in the small town of Bernalillo, near Albuquerque, New Mexico. See: Parke Soule, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 10.

once at Yellowstone. It happened that Miller—at the time SWNM Assistant Superintendent—was looking for a replacement chief clerk; he asked Soule whether the position interested him, and Soule, recalling his national park experience at Yellowstone fondly, applied to Miller on the spot.[1571]

Parke Soule's transfer from the Treasury Department to the Interior became finalized in September 1937. By November, he and his family had settled into their quarters at Casa Grande Ruins.[1572] As the last chief clerk to serve under Frank Pinkley, Soule's SWNM experience became a special chapter in his career. "It was the Southwestern National Monuments, and 'Boss' Pinkley, and it was really something," he later recalled; "it was marvelous." SWNM personnel "were the cream of the crop," he thought, out doing "more things with less money than anyone else [they] knew." At headquarters, Soule worked "from dawn till dusk," and often into the night: "There was no such thing as hours...you just had a job to get done and you relished seeing it done."[1573] Occasionally, Soule traveled into the field, to help the monuments staff with paperwork and other clerical organization such as setting up filing systems. At the first Custodians' School of Instruction at Casa Grande Ruins in February 1940, Soule gave several presentations on clerical and human-resource policies and procedures for the custodians in attendance; he did the same a year later, at the 1941 School.[1574] Like all SWNM staff, Soule stepped in to help with maintenance around headquarters and the monument, demonstrating that he could be "just as much at home with a pick and shovel as with a typewriter and adding machine."[1575] Jean Soule helped out where needed, too. She took up "pottery restoration" as a hobby and volunteered to repair broken pottery in the Casa Grande Ruins museum, along with "Mrs. Gipe." Jean also helped cut stencils for setting the mimeographed issues of the SWNM *Monthly Report.*[1576]

When Southwestern National Monuments headquarters merged with the NPS Region III office in October 1942, Parke Soule and his family, newly expanded to include infant son Stephen, moved to Santa Fe along with the rest of the SWNM staff. Soule's tenure at Region III lasted less than a year. In September 1943, after the NPS deactivated the Southwestern National Monuments office, he transferred back to his first agency post, Yellowstone National Park, this time as chief clerk. The family left Arizona on September 20. Soule admitted he hated "to leave the Southwest" but looked forward to returning to his "old stomping ground."[1577] Soule remained at Yellowstone until July 1945, when he

---

[1571] Parke Soule, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 10-13.

[1572] *Coolidge Examiner*, November 25, 1937, pg. 8.

[1573] Parke Soule, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 14-15.

[1574] Parke Soule, "Informal Notes of Southwestern National Monuments Meeting: February 14, 1940," folder "National Park Service–Custodians' School of Instruction, Correspondence, 1939-1940," Box 15, Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10 (ACC 681), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

[1575] "Personnel Notes," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1940, 243c.

[1576] See the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report for April, 322, May 1938, 412, and July 1938, 64-e.

[1577] "Personnel Notes," *Memorandum for the Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments*, September 1943, 24.

accepted a position as administrative assistant in the regional accounting office at Omaha, Nebraska.[1578]

Soule remained in Omaha for fifteen years. In 1961, he moved to the capital to serve in the agency's Washington office as the budget officer. In 1965, tired of capital politics, he applied for early disability retirement.[1579] Soule's retirement papers were issued just as he learned of a field opportunity at Grand Canyon National Park as the administrative officer. He decided to delay retirement and move back to the Southwest.[1580] In fall 1968, needing a change of altitude for his wife's health, Soule transferred to Santa Fe to serve on the Servicewide Quarters Review Committee.[1581] The job involved a few weeks of travel to parks and monuments to inspect quarters and determine rental rates, followed by a week's break back home in Santa Fe. He and Jean enjoyed getting out in the field and meeting both old and new colleagues, but the travel soon proved tiresome and risky; he had ruptured a disc early in 1968. Soule retired soon after in February 1969.[1582] He and Jean immediately bought a house in Sun City, Arizona. During retirement, they co-founded the Sun City Clay Club and spent many years teaching pottery wheeling and glazing to fellow residents.[1583] Jean Soule died in Sun City in 1992; Parke Soule followed three years later, passing away in Tacoma, Washington, in August 1995.[1584]

[1578] *Coolidge Examiner*, July 6, 1945, pg. 1.

[1579] "Region Park Officer Going to Washington," *Evening World-Herald*, February 24, 1961, pg. 2.

[1580] "New Administrative Officer Here," *Williams News*, September 2, 1965, pg. 8.

[1581] "Farewell Coffee for Parke Soule," *Williams News*, September 26, 1968, pg. 9; and "Park Personnel Changes," *Arizona Daily Sun*, September 6, 1968, pg. 2.

[1582] Parke Soule, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973).

[1583] "Clay Club Had Early Success," October 11, 1999 *in* Jane Freeman, *Sun Cities Area Historical Society Notebooks, 1999*, 22, Arizona Memory Project (https://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/nodes/view/247744).

[1584] "Deaths," *The News Tribune*, pg. B4.

Charles "Charlie" Rupert Steen, Jr. (1908-1994)

~Born: October 16, 1908, in Washington, D.C.
~Died: February 4, 1997, in Albuquerque, New Mexico
~SWNM Association: Wupatki (CWA archeologist, 1934); Tonto (ranger, 1934-1935;); SWNM (ranger, 1935-36; junior naturalist, 1936-1942); SWNM–Region III (asst. naturalist/archeologist, 1942-1943 and 1945-1954; regional archeologist, 1954-1968)

In 1983, the professional colleagues of archeologist Charles "Charlie" Rupert Steen, Jr., honored his career contributions with an edited volume of collected papers. Colleague Marjorie F. Lambert described Steen's ongoing record of achievement as "the most distinguished" among Southwestern anthropologists: "He has been, and still is," she boasted, "a field archaeologist, a conservator, a teacher, writer, and lecturer."[1585] An impressive résumé has impressive roots. Steen's thirty-four-year career with the National Park Service launched in July 1934, followed by a second career as an archeological consultant and professor. That month, he became one of the select few to work with Superintendent Frank Pinkley and the Southwestern National Monuments group during the bustling 1930s. As he did with all his staff, Pinkley had Charlie Steen wearing many hats. As a result, Steen—a new degree-holding anthropologist—banded birds, studied cacti, guided visitors, and planned museum exhibits, all in addition to staying focused on archeological research and ruins stabilization. He enjoyed a mobile career, both figuratively and literally. Steen traveled a lot, collaborated with many different institutions, and built up a wide network of friends and colleagues during his rapid rise as an expert in southwestern archeology. Similarly, he spent the bulk of his childhood on the road, exploring.

Charlie Steen and his three younger sisters were raised in a military family. At the time of Charlie's birth on October 16, 1908, his father, Charles Rupert Steen, Sr., was stationed at the U.S. Navy Yard in Washington, D.C. as a hospital corpsman. The Navy custom of "two years on shore, two years at sea" became the Steen family rhythm, with postings in the U.S. Virgin Islands, on battleship stations at sea, and at various navy yards and proving grounds up and down the Atlantic seaboard of the United States.[1586] In 1920, they were stationed in St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands. For the school year 1920-21, Steen lived with his maternal grandparents in Everett, Massachusetts, just outside Boston. When his father retired from the Navy in 1921 and moved the family to Colorado, Charlie Steen, Jr. joined his

---

[1585] Marjorie F. Lambert, "Charlie R. Steen, Jr.," *in* Nancy L. Fox, *Collected Papers in Honor of Charlie R. Steen, Jr.* (Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 1983), 1, ASNM website (https://archaeologicalsocietynm.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/8-fox.nl-1983-asnm-collected-papers-in-honor-of-charlie-r.-steen-jr.pdf).

[1586] Charlie R. Steen, Jr., "The Steen Family History," unpublished typescript .pdf, n.d., *Ancestry.com*, public family tree (accessed February 12, 2022).

family there. A year or two at Denver, and then the Steen family settled near Fort Lyon, where Steen, Sr. worked for the V.A. hospital. Charlie Steen, Jr. graduated from Las Animas high school, and then went on to Denver University, where he studied anthropology under E. B. Renaud.

After graduating with a B.A. in May 1933, a friend of his father's, who served on the Civil Service Commission, sent Charlie Steen an application form for the Archeologist Civil Service exam and encouraged him to apply.[1587] Steen passed the exam, and that fall Dr. Harold Colton offered him a job with the Museum of Northern Arizona as an assistant archeologist on the F-68 CWA Work Project No. 4 excavations at Nalakihu Pueblo, Wupatki National Monument.[1588] Steen worked with future Park Service colleagues Jim Brewer (foreman of the Wupatki Pueblo excavations) and Dale S. King, who, as foreman of the Nalakihu project, supervised Steen's work. During their CWA employment, Steen and King traveled down to Coolidge to talk to Frank Pinkley at his headquarters about permanent positions with Southwestern National Monuments; they each left a resume on Pinkley's desk. That summer Pinkley offered King a permanent job as Junior Park Naturalist at headquarters but started Steen out as a seasonal summer ranger—first as a relief ranger-in-charge at Montezuma Castle and then as acting custodian at Tonto National Monument, which had recently transferred into the National Park Service from the Forest Service.[1589]

In September 1934, Steen settled in at Tonto. He lived in the small stone house constructed by the Southern Pacific Railroad for its Apache Trail tours. Half of the structure served as living quarters, the other half as a visitor center/museum. For groceries and mail, he walked three miles to the Frazier Store in Roosevelt; once a month, he jumped on the mail stage to Globe and spent a night enjoying the 'city'.[1590] His seasonal gig and paychecks stopped in mid-October, but Steen stayed on at Tonto through the winter as a volunteer with Pinkley's consent. In January 1935, Pinkley figured out a way to pay Steen for his off-season work. He assigned trail funds to Tonto and hired Steen to develop the monument trails. The seasonal ranger position resumed in June. In total, Steen spent about eleven months as resident custodian of Tonto. During that time, he conducted seminal work in identifying the monument's archeological sites. He also studied the monument's interpretive needs and established the beginnings of a museum. In August 1935, Frank Pinkley reassigned Charlie Steen to Casa Grande Ruins as a permanent park ranger.[1591] Announcing Steen as his selection for Casa

---

[1587] Charlie R. Steen, transcript of Oral History Interview of Charlie R. Steen by S. Herbert Evison, April 3, 1973, 6, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," NPS Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1588] Project No. 4 was originally planned for a Walnut Canyon survey and restoration of cliff dwellings, but severe winter conditions forced Colton to transfer the project to Nalakihu Pueblo at Wupatki.

[1589] Technically, Charlie Steen first entered on duty at Tonto on July 19, 1934, but left almost immediately when, two days later, SWNM engineer Walt Attwell picked him up to take him to Montezuma Castle to fill in as acting custodian for about six weeks during custodian Martin Jackson's sick leave.

[1590] Steen, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 15-16.

[1591] Steen, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 12-13.

Grande's new permanent ranger, Pinkley reported: "Charlie comes to us with an excellent record at Tonto, and his high position on the Civil Service eligible list made his selection indubitably a wise one."[1592]

Charlie Steen's National Park Service career took a sharp upward trajectory after he moved to Casa Grande Ruins and began working closely with the SWNM staff. Pinkley recognized Steen's investigative skills and natural talent for interpretation from the outset. While a ranger at Casa Grande Ruins, Steen traveled often to the other southwestern monuments, either on inspections with Pinkley and other SWNM staff, or to provide temporary relief to the custodians. In many ways, he functioned more like a relief ranger for SWNM than permanent ranger at Casa Grande Ruins. Not surprisingly, in April 1936 Pinkley transferred Steen into the SWNM office to assume the traveling Junior Park Naturalist position vacated by Louis Caywood, who had transferred to Tumacácori as custodian.[1593] "Charlie Steen," Pinkley reported that month, "shifts across the porch at Casa Grande from Ranger, Casa Grande National Monument to Junior Park Naturalist, Southwestern Monuments, and thus becomes the shuttle which, flying back and forth, will strengthen the web of our organization during the coming year."[1594] Casa Grande's custodian W. J. Winter added: "The Monument is now entirely minus the services of Charlie Steen. So now Don Carlos is the Juniorest of the Junior Naturalists."[1595]

During his first year as part of the SWNM interpretive team, Steen assisted Frank Pinkley in setting up a ruins stabilization program for the monuments. In January 1937, Pinkley and Steen began laying the groundwork for a cooperative project between the CCC Indian Division (CCC-ID) and the National Park Service to develop a CCC camp of Navajo enrollees entirely dedicated to ruins stabilization. Early in the negotiations, Pinkley suffered a major heart attack, forcing him to leave work for several weeks. In his place, Steen stepped in to handle the "preparation of a tentative schedule for the proposed ECW mobile unit for ruins stabilization."[1596] With his fellow junior park naturalist, Dale King, away on educational furlough, Steen independently saw through to completion the creation of the Indian CCC Mobile Unit. It consisted of a crew of twenty-five Navajo CCC enrollees. Under the terms of the agreement, the National Park Service provided automobiles, equipment, and an engineer and an archeologist to supervise the work. The CCC-ID furnished enrollees, a CCC camp, and camp

---

[1592] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, August 1935, 81.

[1593] In the monthly reports, Steen's position was also referred to as Junior Park Archeologist.

[1594] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1936, 287.

[1595] Park Ranger Don Erskine of Walnut Canyon transferred into Steen's position at Casa Grande Ruins in May 1936, just as the desert temps exceeded 100. His wife Marie accompanied him. They lived in Frank Pinkley's old 1910 house, converted to serve as both ranger quarters and offices for the SWNM Branch of Education (the naturalists). Erskine installed a homemade swamp cooler in the ranger's quarters, attracting quite a bit of attention for how well it worked: "It is a window set-up which involves drawing air through dripping water and blowing it into the room with a fan. These coolers became very popular throughout southern Arizona last year." Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, May 1936, 341.

[1596] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1937, 105.

provisions. The Indian CCC Mobile Unit launched at Chaco Canyon on July 7, 1937, under the direction of engineering foreman Robert Harris, the NPS field engineer Steen had worked with on Wupatki's Nalakihu Pueblo-CWA project several years earlier.[1597]

A year after his promotion to the Junior Park Naturalist position, Charlie Steen married Mary Brown Onstott (1912-1991). The ceremony took place at the Grace Episcopal Church in Tucson on October 9, 1937. A native of Memphis, Tennessee, Mary Onstott had lived in Tucson with her family since at least 1920. She attended St. Joseph's Academy and then the University of Arizona, where she earned B.A. and M.A. degrees in English Literature. For many years, she wrote poetry for newspapers and popular magazines such as *Harper's* and edited the society column for *The Tucson Daily Citizen.* Steen met Mary Onstott during a trip to Gallup to attend the Navajo Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremony in August 1937. They probably connected through Mary's brother Thomas B. Onstott, who became acting ranger-in-charge at Tonto National Monument earlier that year. At the time of her marriage to Steen, Mary Onstott worked as the secretary to the university registrar in Tucson; she chose to remain working after marriage to complete the semester. In January 1938, she settled in with Steen at Tumacácori National Monument, where he was serving as temporary ranger.[1598]

The Steens jumped around from monument to monument frequently. In April 1938, Steen left Tumacácori and returned to his regular duties at headquarters, settling into a rental house in Coolidge with Mary. From his home base he frequently hit the road to assist the various monuments with educational and interpretive tasks. The following winter, January 1939, the Steens deployed for a month to Berkeley, California, to monitor the NPS Western Museum Laboratories museum planning for White Sands National Monument.[1599] A few months later, June 1939, Charlie Steen returned to Tumacácori on special assignment to help set up the new museum; he and Mary settled into an apartment in Nogales and he commuted to the monument daily.[1600] In January 1940, Steen headed to Tonto National Monument for a ruins stabilization project. Along with SWNM engineer J. Howard Tovrea and six Navajo members of the ruins stabilization CCC Mobile Unit, Steen excavated and stabilized rooms in the monument's Upper Cliff Dwellings. Mary Steen joined her husband for the four-month project. The Steens lived in a canvas tent, which they left behind at the end of the project to serve as the monument's temporary ranger's quarters.[1601]

In fall 1940, after they had returned to Coolidge, Charlie and Mary Steen welcomed baby Anne Allison to the family; son Charles "Yazzie" Rupert Steen, III, arrived two years later on New Year's Eve 1942, also in Coolidge. A few months before their son's arrival, the Southwestern National

---

[1597] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1937, 44-45.

[1598] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1938, 59.

[1599] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1939, 52.

[1600] "Personnel," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, June 1939, 441.

[1601] A ranger cabin was constructed at Tonto in 1943.

Monuments office moved all administrative operations to the NPS regional office in Santa Fe—except the Steens. With his son's due date imminent, Charlie Steen remained at Casa Grande Ruins as a relief ranger in the position vacated by ranger Peter Shuft, out on military furlough. Steen prepared and installed temporary exhibits in the Casa Grande museum, and prepared written plans for permanent exhibits. He also completed the initial phase of a large ruins stabilization project in Compound A. In mid-March 1943, Charlie Steen and his family finally transferred to Santa Fe.

In Santa Fe, Steen maintained his role as archeologist, but his official title changed from SWNM Junior Park Naturalist to Assistant Regional Naturalist under Natt Dodge; in the monthly reports, he was informally referred to as the regional archeologist. His duties prioritized the southwestern national monuments activities but also overlapped with NPS regional work. In his first full month in Santa Fe, for example, he began the huge project of revising and updating the regional photo files, while spending the rest of his time on SWNM museum work.[1602] The following months were devoted almost exclusively to preparing ruins stabilization surveys and inspections for the monuments. Seven months after moving to Santa Fe, Steen enlisted in the army. From October 1943 to December 1945, he served with the Army Corps of Engineers—eleven months on continental duties and then fifteen months overseas in the China-Burma-India Theater with the bulk of his time spent in northern Burma. His wife and two children remained in Santa Fe during his military furlough.

Steen completed his military duties in early December 1945. After an honorable discharge with a Victory Medal for good conduct in the Asiatic Pacific Theater, Steen returned to Santa Fe and entered back on duty in the regional office on December 28. Steen continued to serve as Assistant Regional Naturalist/Archeologist (under Dale S. King), with heavy involvement in Southwestern National Monuments work. He traveled frequently to handle archeological excavations and ruins stabilization at southwestern national monuments and parks to develop postwar plans for stabilization, including special assignment to Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1949-1950. Mary Steen often accompanied her husband and participated in on-site artifact processing, et cetera.

Around 1951, Steen began working directly under archeologist Erik Reed on the regional archeological salvage program. In 1954, he was promoted to Reed's former position as Regional Archeologist after Reed became Chief of Interpretation. In 1963, he returned to where his NPS career began—Casa Grande Ruins, to excavate Compound A. A few years later in 1966, Steen joined the NPS Jordan Planning Team on the preparation of master plans for park development and ruins preservation in Jordan and Turkey. The 12-man team under the direction of George F. Baggley focused on the historic areas of Amman (ancient Philadelphia), Petra, Jerash, Qumran, Jericho, and Sebastya. Steen also had the opportunity to write stabilization plans for Corinth, Greece, on behalf of the American School of Classical Studies, and for the Byzantine site of Göreme (Turkey).[1603] Mary

[1602] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1943, 1.

[1603] National Park Service, "Park Planners in Middle East," *NPS Newsletter* 2, no. 12 (Jun 1967): 4.

Steen accompanied her husband. In Jordan she began editing a U.S. Immigration Service (USIS) magazine for the U.S.-trained Jordanian USAID participants, but she published only the inaugural issue before being forced to evacuate at the onset of the Six-Day War in 1968.[1604]

Following the Jordan project, Steen was transferred to the Ruins Stabilization Unit at Gila Pueblo in Globe, Arizona, 1969-1970. In a strange twist of events, he ended up in archeologist Roland Richert's supervisory position, with Richert demoted to assist Steen. Steen found it awkward. He also disliked both the Gila Pueblo office environment and the Globe area; he and Mary never acclimated to life there.[1605] Steen asked the Washington office for a transfer, and subsequently he became Historic Preservation Advisor for the new National Register of Historic Places, working under William "Bill" J. Murtaugh. The job involved "doing field work in the West" for the National Register program, allowing Steen to choose his home base; he and Mary selected Santa Fe, where they already owned a house. In this position, Steen traveled to Israel on a short assignment to serve as an NPS ruins stabilization advisor for an iron-age wall located at the Tell Ashdod excavations. Following the assignment, Steen presented on stone and adobe stabilization experiments at the fourth International Conference on Conservation of Stone.[1606] When Murtaugh asked Steen to move to Washington in 1970 to be closer to the action, Steen declined, choosing instead to retire from the Park Service just shy of his 40-year goal, with thirty-seven years under his belt.[1607] The following year, the Department of the Interior awarded him the Distinguished Service Award for his contributions to anthropology.[1608]

After retirement, Charlie Steen focused his attention on researching ruins stabilization methods. In addition to publishing reports, he taught archeology part-time at the College of Santa Fe. He also accepted a few contract jobs in ruins stabilization, including as an archeological consultant for the Los Alamos Laboratories, 1973-1981. During this period, he surveyed and excavated hundreds of archeological sites at Los Alamos, including the Tsirege Pueblo, which he researched extensively.[1609] Like her husband, Mary Steen remained civically active during retirement. In addition to her involvement with the Park Service Women's Club, she was a member of the Santa Fe Branch of the American Association of University Women, an organization she had affiliated with since the early 1950s.[1610] In 1971, she participated in the Nixon Administration's White House Conference on Aging, after which she edited New Mexico's report on the conference. In 1977 she was elected president of the Santa Fe Archaeological Society (AIA branch), which she and Charlie helped establish in 1971. Around 1988, the Steens moved to Albuquerque, where Mary Steen died on February 1,

---

[1604] National Park Service, "Jordan Park Planning Team Coming Home," *NPS Newsletter* 3, no. 24 (Nov 1968): 2.

[1605] Steen, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 46-47.

[1606] "Santa Fe Archaeologist Assigned Task in Israel," *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 19, 1970, pg. 4.

[1607] Steen, transcript of Oral History Interview (1973), 47-49.

[1608] Lambert, "Charlie R. Steen, Jr.," 4.

[1609] See: Charlie R. Steen, "Pajarito Plateau Archaeological Surveys and Excavations, vols. I and II" (Los Alamos, 1977).

[1610] "AAUW Honors Mrs. Steen via Named Fellowship Gift," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, April 30, 1972, pg. 23.

1991.[1611] Charlie Steen survived his wife by six years, almost to the date. He passed away on February 4, 1997, survived by his two children and four grandchildren.[1612]

[1611] "STEEN–Mary Onstott Steen, 78," *Albuquerque Journal*, February 3, 1991, pg. G8.

[1612] Carlos Salazar, "Steen Worked to Preserve Pueblo History," *The Albuquerque Tribune*, February 7, 1997, pg. D12.



Fig. 6.

The field party: left to right, Smithson and Sansom, laborers; Harris, survey instrument man; King, foreman and archeologist; Steen, survey archeologist and rodman; and Hyde, laborer.

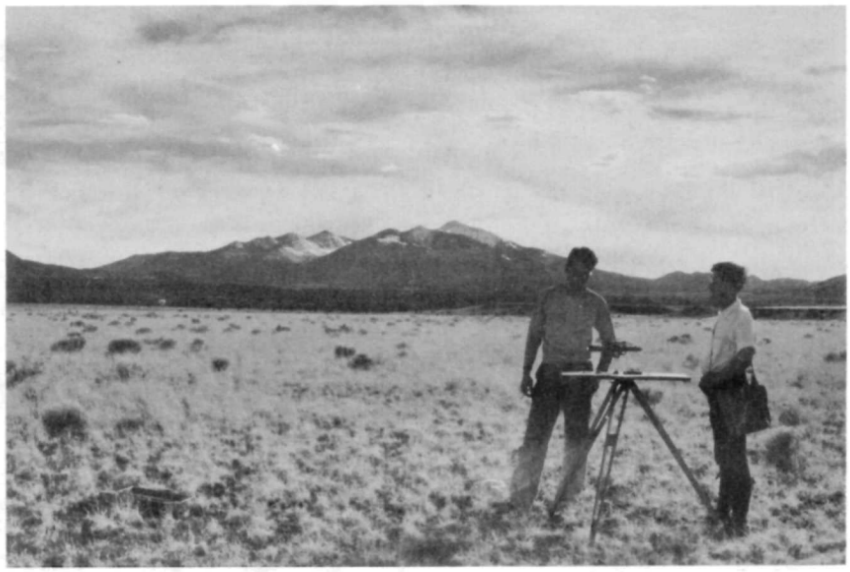


Fig. 7.

Steen and Harris completed an intensive archeological survey of 20 quarter sections and helped with excavation of Nalakihu.

Figure 152. Photographs of Charlie Steen at work during the Nalakihu Pueblo-CWA project in winter 1933-34. Source: King, "Nalakihu" (1949).

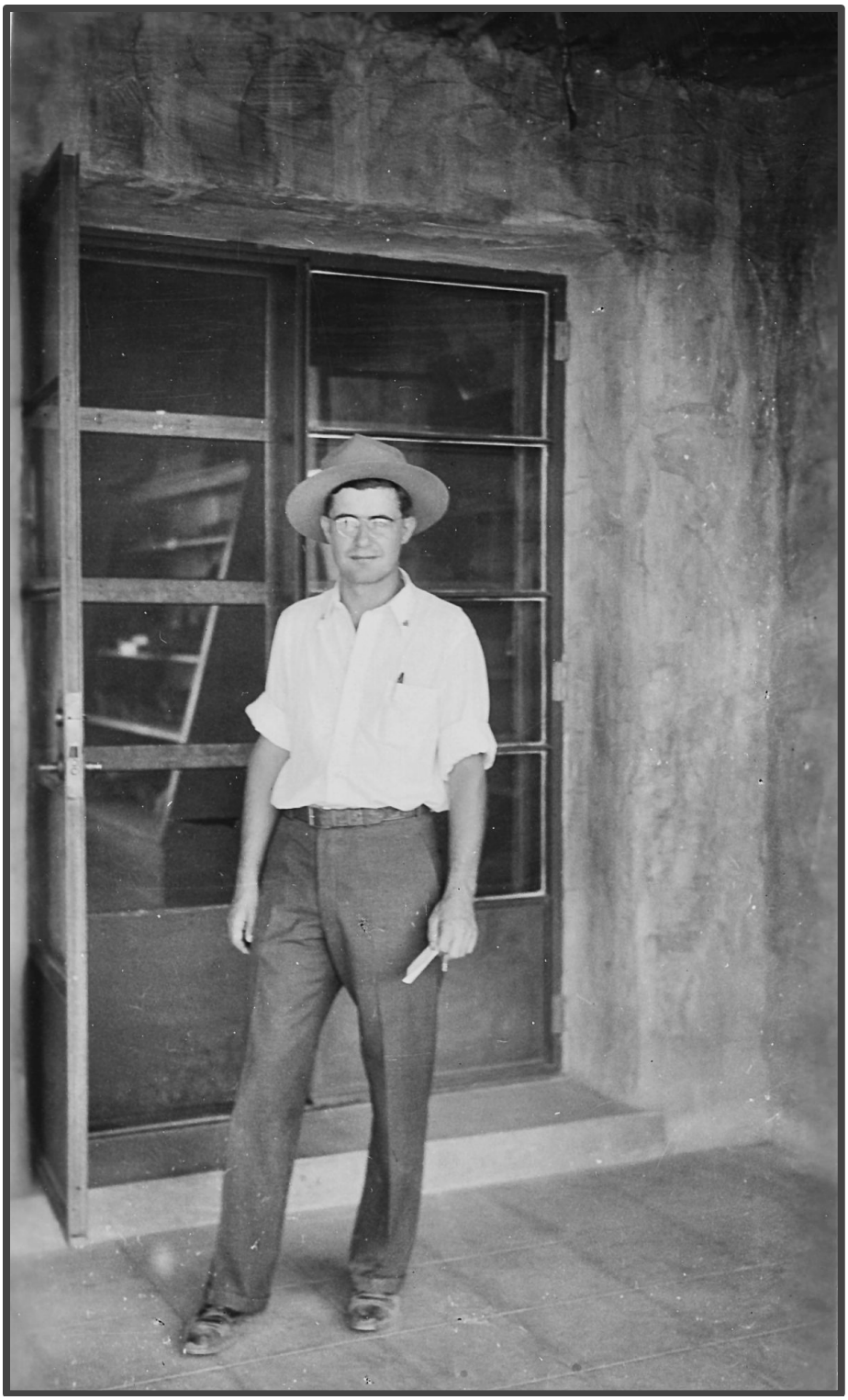


Figure 153. Archeologist Charlie Steen, in front of the museum door at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, shortly after Frank Pinkley, superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, hired him as permanent ranger to replace Louis Caywood. Photograph by Frank Pinkley, 1935. WACC (00224)



Figure 154. Charlie R. Steen, Jr., former naturalist under Frank Pinkley's Southwestern National Monuments and longtime NPS regional archeologist based in Santa Fe, pictured at his retirement in 1971. Source: Steen family private collection, used with permission.

William Ross Supernaugh (1905-1981)

~ Born: February 20, 1905, in Lyons, Kansas
~ Died: April 18, 1981, in Joshua Tree, California
~ SWNM Association: Organ Pipe (custodian, 1939-1942; custodian-superintendent, 1943-1954)

William Ross "Bill" Supernaugh served as the first custodian of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument in southern Arizona. He was appointed October 3, 1939, as soon as Southwestern National Monuments received funds for the monument's protection and development—more than two years after Organ Pipe became a national monument. Supernaugh left Organ Pipe briefly in 1942 when furloughed for military duty; he returned in 1943 and devoted another eleven years to the monument before transferring out of SWNM in 1954 to become superintendent of Platt National Park [Chickasaw NRA] in Oklahoma.[1613] When Frank Pinkley, superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, selected Supernaugh as custodian for Organ Pipe, he deviated from his usual approach. Rather than selecting a custodian known to him—someone from within the SWNM outfit—he chose an 'outsider', a park ranger from Rocky Mountain National Park. The gamble paid off. Supernaugh dedicated fourteen years to the protection, development, and interpretation of his remote borderland assignment. Archeologist Julian Hayden—Pinkley's first candidate for the Organ Pipe custodianship—referred to Supernaugh as a "good man": "He stayed there," Hayden recalled, "and he built the monument. He traveled all over it, which no administrator has ever done since. When the war came, he was drafted into the Ski Troops and sent to Denver of all places. Of all the damn places to send a desert man."[1614] Bill Supernaugh, wrote Natt Dodge in 1941, was the "Godfather of the Organ Pipes."[1615]

Bill Supernaugh was born in central Kansas, February 20, 1905, to farmers William Franklin Supernaugh and Mary Hadassah Ross. The family, which included older daughter Leona, moved around Kansas a bit. In 1919 Supernaugh graduated from Butler County common schools—a rural public-school district located outside the cities of El Dorado and Augusta.[1616] Soon after, he moved with his family to Halstead, Harvey County, where he attended high school while working for the music department of Quiring Furniture Store. Supernaugh and a friend soon purchased the department and reopened it as a standalone music store called "The Music House"; it failed within

[1613] Wilton Hoy, "Organ Pipe Cactus Nat'l Monument: Historical Research Administrative," October 1970, no pagination, National Park Service History: Electronic Library and Archive (https://npshistory.com/publications/orpi/hra.pdf).

[1614] Julian Hayden, *Field Man* (2011), 165.

[1615] Natt N. Dodge, "Godfather of the Organ Pipes," *Arizona Highways Magazine* (Apr 1941): 10-15.

[1616] "Program Completed for Big Annual School Commencement," *Walnut Valley Times*, July 2, 1919, pg. 6.

two months.[1617] In 1923, Supernaugh shifted gears and entered law school at Washburn College in Topeka. He graduated in 1926—with a degree in forestry, not law.[1618] A year later, he married Anne Williams in Denver. They later divorced.[1619]

Bill Supernaugh's government career began during college, when he worked "as an 'axeman' with the Department of Agriculture," before shifting over to the National Park Service as a seasonal ranger at Rocky Mountain National Park.[1620] The ranger position became permanent around 1936. In 1939, he made a huge move when Frank Pinkley hired him as custodian of the 516-square-mile Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument (est. 1937) in southern Arizona, near the U.S.-Mexico border. Organ Pipe had few facilities at the time. Supernaugh lived off the monument, with his residence and office in Ajo. Within a month of entering on duty, Supernaugh found himself busy preparing for a new fencing project in cooperation with the Division of Grazing; by December, the work of clearing had begun to build a twelve-mile fence along the north boundary of the monument, near the proposed administration area.[1621] At the close of the 1939-40 fiscal year, Supernaugh received a Bureau of the Biological Survey permit for bird banding at Organ Pipe, with plans to build a station soon after—bringing the total number of southwestern monuments expected to be actively banding birds in 1940-41 to twelve.[1622] By the end of his first year on the job, he had a well nearing completion as well as several contractor bids in hand for construction of an access road through the monument.[1623] And many hours of monument patrolling—both day and night—scoping for hunters, treasure diggers, cactus thieves, and fire.

The adjustment from his previous digs at 9,000 feet in altitude in Colorado, to the hot arid climate of the Sonoran Desert borderlands proved an adjustment, but Supernaugh successfully completed his probationary year in fall 1941. He celebrated by getting married. The December 1941 SWNM *Monthly Report* announced that "the headquarters staff and families were happy to welcome 'ANN'

[1617] "New Music House to Open Soon," *Halstead Independent*, June 9, 1921, pg. 1; and "The Music House Has Sold Out," *Healstead Independent*, August 11, 1921, pg. 1.

[1618] Hoy, "Organ Pipe Cactus Nat'l Monument."

[1619] The 1930 and 1940 U.S. censuses listed Supernaugh as unmarried and divorced. The Arizona newspapers reported a divorce finalized between William R. Supernaugh and Anne Williams Supernaugh in 1941. They may have had a son together. See: Ancestry, "Texas, U.S., Birth Certificates, 1903-1932," entry for Richard Supernaugh, December 13, 1928, son of Wm Ross Supernaugh and Anne Williams (https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/2275/records/419383).

[1620] "Profile: William R. Supernaugh," clipped article from the *NPS Newsletter*, n.d., folder "071: Supernaugh, William K., July 29, 1954-January 25, 1971," Box 21, Subseries B: Employee Biographical Files, Series XVI: Records of the Employee & Alumni Association of the NPS, Assembled Historic Records of the NPS (HFCA 1645), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1621] "Personnel," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, October 1939, 305.

[1622] "Bird Banding in the Southwestern National Monuments in 1940," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement for July 1940, 51.

[1623] William R. Supernaugh, "Organ Pipe Cactus," *Memorandum for the Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments*, October 1941, 25-26.

Supernaugh into the Southwestern National Monuments family New Year's morning," when the newlyweds stopped by on their way back to Organ Pipe.[1624] The honeymoon period proved short. In June 1942 Supernaugh left Organ Pipe for military furlough with the 89th Infantry Division, stationed at Camp Carson, Colorado, as a platoon sergeant; Anne Supernaugh lived near her husband in Colorado Springs, about six miles from his barracks.[1625] In early 1943 he transferred to Officers Training in Virginia, then to Ordnance, Amphibian Command, at Camp Edwards in Massachusetts, while Anne headed off to her native Illinois, to stay with family.[1626] By June 1943, Supernaugh had completed his year of active duty and returned to Arizona. He hoped to slide back into the custodianship of Organ Pipe, but instead he and Anne found themselves on special assignment to Saguaro National Monument to help fight a wildfire. They finally returned to Organ Pipe in August to relieve Bates Wilson, the acting custodian of Organ Pipe during Supernaugh's furlough.[1627]

When Bill Supernaugh transferred out of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument and the Southwestern National Monuments group in 1954, he could look back at considerable achievement. During his fourteen-year tenure he pioneered interpretation in the park—building the first 'museum' with ranger Ray Ringenbach out of timber they found lying around, and making a few hundred dollars stretch to cover the installation of several interpretive trails and wayside exhibits.[1628] He participated in seminal studies of the monument's archeology and geology, and created invaluable inventories of the monument's diverse vegetation, including the discovery of new plant species. And he oversaw extensive physical development of the monument during his tenure.

Between 1954 and 1958, Supernaugh completed brief stints as superintendent and assistant superintendent at Platt National Park and Lake Mead National Recreational Area, respectively. In 1958, he became superintendent of Joshua Tree National Monument near Twentynine Palms, California, and settled in for thirteen years of pioneering protection and development of another desert monument.[1629] Supernaugh retired from Joshua Tree on March 20, 1971, after nearly thirty-four years of NPS service.[1630] In retirement, he and Anne remained in the Twentynine Palms area. Supernaugh sat on the board of directors for Joshua Tree Natural History Association and also served

---

[1624] "Personnel Notes," *Memorandum for the Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments*, December 1941, 32.

[1625] "Personnel Notes," *Memorandum for the Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments*, August 1942, pp. 25-26.

[1626] Anne Elizabeth née Smith, was born March 5, 1910, the daughter of James C. Smith and Mary Peyo of Antioch, Illinois. See: "Death Notices: Smith," *Chicago Tribune*, March 8, 1972, pg. C15.

[1627] "Personnel Notes," *Memorandum for the Custodians, Southwestern National Monuments*, June 1943.

[1628] Ray B. Ringenbach, transcript of Oral History Interview of Ray B. Ringenbach by S. Herbert Evison, February 21, 1973, 12, "S. Herbert Evison's National Park Service Oral History Project, 1952 -1999," Series II, National Park Service Oral History Collection (HFCA 1817), NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Archives, Charles Town, WV.

[1629] Profile: William R. Supernaugh," clipped article from the *NPS Newsletter*, n.d.

[1630] "Joshua Monument Head To Retire," *The Desert Trail*, March 17, 1971, pg. 1; and "National Park Officials Here to Honor Supernaugh," *The Desert Trail*, March 24, 1971, pg. 1.

as a volunteer interpreter in the monument visitor center. Ten years after retiring, Supernaugh passed away from respiratory illness. Anne died at her home in Green Valley, Arizona, in 1999, age 89.[1631]

[1631] National Park Service, "William Supernaugh," *Courier* 4, no. 7 (July 1981): 31; "Anne E. Supernaugh," *The Desert Trail*, August 5, 1999, pg. 7.

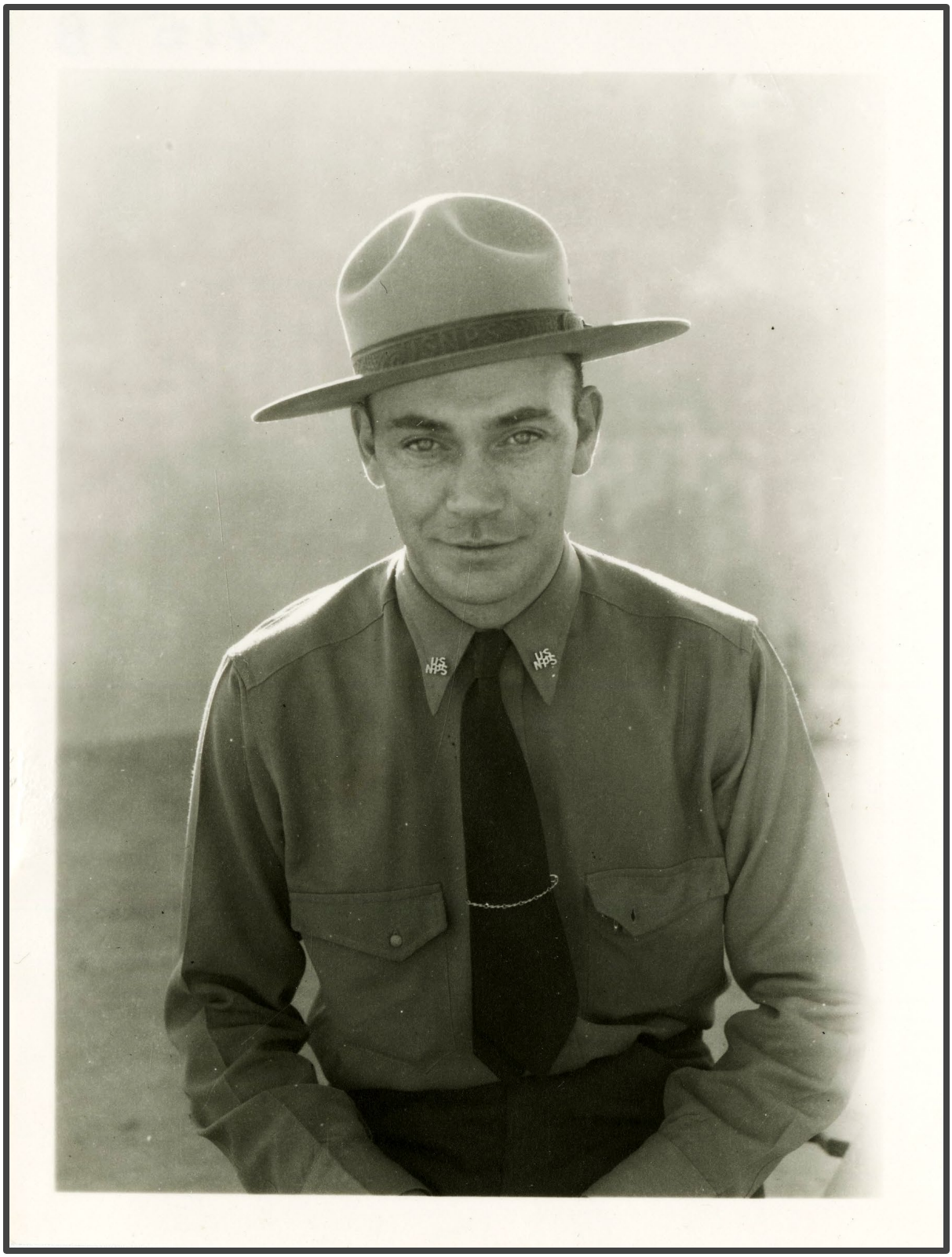


Figure 155. Portrait of William R. Supernaugh in October 1939 when he entered on duty as first custodian of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge. Source: WACC

Joyce Howard Tovrea (1904-1979)

~ Born: July 10, 1904, in Los Angeles, California
~ Died: June 10, 1979, in Prescott, Arizona
~ SWNM Association: NPS Field Headquarters (chief engineering aide, 1934-1936); SWNM (assistant engineer, 1936-1940)

NPS engineer Joyce Howard Tovrea—known mostly as Howard, or by the nickname "Tov"—worked out of the Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM) office as engineering aide for over five years. During this time, he designed the iconic SWNM "seal" that adorned the cover of the group's *Monthly Report* from 1935 through the early 1940s. He was also responsible for designing and implementing much of the New Deal-era historic restoration and modern development plans for Tumacácori and Chiricahua national monuments, among others.

Howard Tovrea was born on July 10, 1904, in Los Angeles, to Arizona residents John Charles "Charley" Tovrea and his wife Katherine "Kittie" née Harter. At the time of his birth, his parents lived in the mining town of Congress, Arizona, where his father—a butcher—owned and operated the Congress Meat Market and later served as deputy sheriff. After a brief stint in Phoenix between 1912-1916, Tovrea moved with his father and brother to the southern Arizona border town of Nogales; by then his parents were divorced and his mother remarried. In Nogales, his father established the Tovrea Meat Market and, later, the Arizona Packing Company. Tovrea attended Nogales High School, where he played both football and tennis before graduating with the Class of 1923.[1632] In fall 1923, he matriculated at the University of Arizona in Tucson to pursue a degree in civil engineering from the College of Mines and Engineering. At Arizona, Tovrea played on the men's basketball team and engaged in a range of social and fraternal activities.[1633] He graduated with a B.S. in Civil Engineering in spring 1928.[1634]

[1632] J.C. Tovrea was the brother of Phoenician Edward A. Tovrea, member of the 1910 Arizona Constitutional Convention for statehood, founder of the Tovrea Packing Company and Stockyards, and owner of the iconic Tovrea Castle.

[1633] *The Border Vidette*, May 26, 1923, pg. 3; "Strong Squad Will Face Bisbee '5' in First Game of Year at Armory," *Arizona Daily Star*, January 12, 1924, pg. 1; "Tovrea's Turks Beat the Frosh in Fast Battle," *Tucson Citizen*, February 19, 1925, pg. 5; "Intra-Mural to Have Own Cups," *Arizona Daily Star*, October 21, 1927, pg. 6; "Wildcat Cagers in Fast Playing Trim," *Arizona Republic*, February 4, 1928, pg. 9.

[1634] "225 Bachelor Degrees to Be Given at U List Made Public by Registrar's Office," *Arizona Daily Star*, April 26, 1928, 8.

A year after graduating, Tovrea started working as the manager of architect Merritt H. Starkweather's Tucson Blue Print Company.[1635] On the heels of his new employment, Tovrea married Pauline ("Polly" or "Fritzie") Gerhardt Rosenblatt (1905-1994), whom he had met at the University of Arizona. They married in a quiet, spontaneous ceremony on December 28, 1929, while Tovrea attended Rosenblatt's Christmastime family reunion in Prescott.[1636] Rosenblatt—daughter of Arizona territorial pioneers Paul Gerhardt and Dora Leach Rosenblatt—had graduated from the university in 1927. At the time of her marriage to Tovrea, she was teaching at a school in Pearce, Arizona. She declined a scholarship to attend the Julliard School of Music—for her talents as a pianist—because she preferred to marry sooner rather than later.[1637] After marriage, the couple settled together in Tucson, where Tovrea continued to work with Starkweather. In 1930, Tovrea's design for a Spanish Revival-style home for the Beta Phi chapter of his college fraternity, Sigma Chi, finished construction at Vine and First.[1638]

In early 1934, Tovrea dissolved his working partnership with Starkweather and secured government employment as an ECW engineer for New Deal development in national parks and monuments.[1639] In June 1934, he was assigned as the engineering foreman for the CCC Camp NM-2-A at Chiricahua National Monument. Working closely with NPS engineer Robert S. Harris and several NPS architects and landscape architects, Tovrea spent his first year at Chiricahua completing surveys, proposals, and designs for a public campground and comfort station, parking lots and a topo map for Sugarloaf Mountain Summit, an amphitheater, speakers rock and parking road system for Massai Point, and parking areas for Echo Canyon.[1640] The Southwestern National Monuments office, headquartered at Casa Grande Ruins in Coolidge, Arizona, with Superintendent Frank Pinkley at the helm, administered Chiricahua National Monument. Consequently, SWNM considered Tovrea part of its headquarters office personnel; the organization's monthly reports for 1934 listed Tovrea in its personnel roster under the category "General Field Men."

Tovrea's working relationship with SWNM became more integrated in December 1934 when he switched jobs with Harris. Tovrea filled Harris's shoes as the NPS engineering aide assigned to the

---

[1635] "Tucson Blue Print Company Formed," *Tucson Citizen*, July 25, 1929, pg. 5.

[1636] "Tucsonians Are Married During Holiday Visit," *Tucson Citizen*, December 29, 1929, pg. 2; "Son of Nogalian Wed at Prescott," *Nogales International*, December 31, 1929, pg. 1; and "Pauline Rosenblatt Weds H. Tovrea in Quiet Ceremony," *Arizona Republic*, January 5, 1930, pg. B2.

[1637] "Pauline (Rosenblatt) Tovrea (b. 1905 - d. 1994)," Territorial Women's Memorial Rose Garden Collection (MS-39), Sharlot Hall Library & Archives (https://la.sharlothallmuseum.org/index.php/rgbio-pauline-gerhardt-rosenblatt-tovrea).

[1638] "Sigma Chi Has Its New House," *Arizona Daily Star*, November 18, 1930, pg. 6.

[1639] Tovrea filed a suit against Starkweather in February 1934 to dissolve their partnership and resolve accounting. See: "Public Records," *Arizona Daily Star*, February 2, 1934, pg. 2.

[1640] Robin Lothrop Pinto with R. Brooks Jeffery and Mike Lovato, "Chiricahua National Monument Historic Designed Landscape, Cochise County, Arizona," National Register of Historic Places, Continuation Form, 78-79 (https://capla.arizona.edu/sites/default/files/CHIR%20Historic%20Designed%20Landscape%20Nomination.pdf).

technical staff at SWNM, and Harris became the engineering foreman at Chiricahua. Tovrea, who worked under senior NPS "field men" such as architects Walter G. Attwell and Harry Langley and engineer John Diehl, was responsible for inspecting, surveying, and implementing many of the development plans that Southwestern National Monuments proposed for the national monuments within its group. Since 1931, the National Park Service had assigned field specialists to Casa Grande Ruins and other national monuments on a semi-permanent resident basis to oversee development projects. At times both Attwell and Diehl spent weeks to months in residence at SWNM headquarters while implementing project plans. Similarly, it made sense for Tovrea to work from SWNM headquarters. In January 1935, he and Polly moved to Coolidge to be close to the office for a period of a few months; ultimately, this arrangement lasted several years, with Tovrea remaining at SWNM headquarters until the termination of the CCC camp in 1940.[1641]

Tovrea, like other field men assigned to SWNM headquarters, resided at SWNM headquarters but traveled widely throughout the Southwest during the New Deal era of development. From his new home base, Tovrea continued to work with Harris on development plans for Chiricahua, surveying and proposing designs for buildings and other engineering features in the 1930s monument headquarters, residential, and utility areas. He also designed "the overhaul of Bonita Canyon Highway" in 1936, including some complicated engineering feats such as "drainage, sloping, and road stabilization improvements as well as alterations to the bed of Bonita Creek." Some historians regard Tovrea as influencing "the development of Chiricahua National Monument" more than any other architect or engineer during the historic CCC era; he was personally responsible for at least twenty-five percent of "the more than 80 plans developed for Chiricahua" during this six-year period.[1642]

In July 1936, Tovrea replaced John Diehl as NPS associate (or assistant) engineer and his role in SWNM became more fixed. Though he drew his salary from ECW funding, Tovrea became as much a member of Boss Pinkley's legendary "Outfit" as those who received paychecks through the SWNM appropriation.[1643] Tovrea's SWNM colleagues nicknamed him "Tov" and included him in their infamous Taurian Sessions—the spontaneous, afterhours meetings held at Casa Grande Ruins to discuss any topic on the minds of personnel in attendance. During one of these sessions, held late at night on February 9, 1935, soon after he had settled into residency at Casa Grande Ruins, Tovrea suggested that the SWNM *Monthly Report* needed a logo, or "great seal," to adorn its cover. By this point the report had become an impressive, detail-packed missive whose subscription list extended way beyond the National Park Service organization. Tovrea whipped up a design for the seal by the following day.[1644] The circular design featured symbols representing the various types of monuments within the Southwestern National Monuments Group: archeological (ancient ruins), historic (Spanish

---

[1641] "Coolidge," *Casa Grande Dispatch*, January 11, 1935.

[1642] Pinto, et al, "Chiricahua National Monument Historic Designed Landscape, Cochise County, Arizona," 78-79.

[1643] The September 1936 SWNM monthly report referred to him as an "ECW Engineer."

[1644] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, February 1935, 1.

mission), geological (a volcano), and natural (cactuses). The seal, and its second version created in 1937, introduced each issue of the *Monthly Report* until 1942. Within the *Monthly Report*, Tovrea maintained a Branch of Engineering monthly report, detailing the various activities of the NPS field men assigned to development projects at the southwestern national monuments. He also served as the art advisor for the Southwestern Monuments Association, the non-profit cooperative organization that produced literature and other educational materials for SWNM.[1645]

Pinkley and Tovrea became particularly close, bonding over their mutual interest in the architectural history of Tumacácori National Monument. They spent many hours together studying the architecture of the mission and exploring its nooks and crannies. Pinkley wrote, "how much fun we had climbing around over the top of the tower, the dome of the sanctuary, and so on."[1646] A few months earlier, Tovrea had participated in the 1935 NPS "Tumacacori Mission Research Project" as a technical specialist. The mission project—a field expedition of colonial Spanish mission architecture in Arizona and Sonora, Mexico—was initiated by staff of the NPS Field Headquarters in San Francisco: NPS associate architect Scofield DeLong of the Branch of Plans and Design and NPS associate architect Leffler B. Miller of the Field Division of Education. With pending plans to build a visitor center-museum for Tumacácori National Monument that would authentically reflect colonial Spanish mission architecture and history, DeLong and Miller proposed a research trip to the chain of twenty-odd seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Kino-era missions extending from San Xavier del Bac into Sonora, Mexico, as far south as Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Renewed interest in Spanish Borderlands history, particularly due to the scholarship of historian and Berkeley professor Herbert E. Bolton—who served on the Advisory Board of the Department of the Interior in 1934-35—inspired the expedition, which was funded through the National Emergency Council.[1647]

In addition to DeLong, Miller, and Tovrea, the 1935 Sonora missions expedition included SWNM naturalist Bob Rose, NPS official photographer George Grant, and NPS associate laboratory technician Arthur Woodward. The party of six traveled in two government cars with the permission of the Mexican government. The party worked fast at each mission to sketch, survey, and photograph the architecture since travel between missions consumed the bulk of their time. Road conditions were poor, and they faced a significant "amount of official [government] clearance to be obtained at each site."[1648] The timing of the trip, October 12-29, 1935, occurred just as intense political unrest and insurrections erupted across the state of Sonora, leading to the murder of the "*presidente municipal*

[1645] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, November 1942, 2.

[1646] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January 1936, 40-8.

[1647] Buford Pickens, ed., *The Missions of Northern Sonora: A 1935 Field Documentation* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993), xxiii-xxiv.

[1648] J. H. Tovrea, "Report on Mission San Jose de Tumacacori," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, Supplement, January 1936, 41.

and the chief of police of Santa Ana."[1649] The irony of the two simultaneous events—one academic, the other anarchic—did not escape the notice of the media.[1650] Though swiftly procured, the architectural and historical data that Tovrea and the other expeditionists collected during the missions survey answered questions not previously solved in earlier, preliminary studies of the so-called Kino Chain of Missions, such as the field surveys conducted by Frank Pinkley in 1920 and Carl P. Russell in 1934. The 1935 documentation—including Spanish colonial-era documents translated by clerk Luis Gastellum in the Southwestern National Monuments office—informed the design of the 1939 Tumacácori museum and exhibits and helped unravel "some of Tumacácori's architectural problems."[1651] In February 1939, Tovrea's wife Polly cited the 1935 Sonora Expedition in an extensive, illustrated newspaper article describing the new Tumacácori museum.[1652]

Since 1938, Polly Tovrea had helped publicize the southwestern national monuments as a correspondent to the *Arizona Daily Star*. Her articles covered housing at Wupatki, a biography of Frank Pinkley, and Navajo CCC stabilization work at Chaco Canyon, among a range of other subjects.[1653] Polly continued to serve as a newspaper correspondent after Tovrea resigned as NPS engineer in November 1940 to take up overseas service in Ancón, Panama. While Tovrea worked as a structural engineer for the Panama Canal Service, helping to improve the defensive infrastructure of the canal works, Polly served as a correspondent for *The Panama American* newspaper, writing headlines and stories pieced together from radio and cable reports.[1654] In a letter home to her Southwestern National Monuments colleagues in September 1941, Polly captioned the Tovreas' life in Panama as "From Desert Dust to Jungle Mildew," or "How the Torrid Tropics Cooled Two Scorched Southwesterners." She was surprised, she wrote, to find the isthmus so mountainous, rising to peaks of 3,400 ft. on each side of the Panama Canal. She found the role of wives also differed greatly from what she had experienced in Arizona as the wife of an SWNM employee. The concept of the Honorary Custodian Without Pay, the wife who worked hard alongside her custodian husband, except without compensation—common through the SWNM organization—was a foreign concept in Panama-American culture:

[1649] National Park Service, "Park Briefs," *Courier* 33, no. 2 (Feb 1988): 36.

[1650] "Officers Push Mission Study–Alleged Revolt Fails to Trouble Park Service Group," *Arizona Daily Star*, October 20, 1935, 2.

[1651] Tovrea, "Report on Mission San Jose de Tumacacori," 41. DeLong and Leffler completed a full trip and findings report of the 1935 expedition. Digital copies are available at California Revealed.org.

[1652] Pauline Tovrea, "Tumacacori Mission and Museum Depict Romantic Era," *Arizona Daily Star*, February 24, 1938, Annual Rodeo Edition, pp. 9 and 11.

[1653] "Oldest Pueblo Replaced by Modern Custodian's House," *Arizona Daily Star*, October 16, 1938, pg. 5; "Navajos Aid U.S. Park Service to Save Ruin," *Arizona Daily Star*, December 4, 1938, pg. 1; "For 35 Years Frank Pinkley's Guidance Has Graced Service," *Arizona Daily Star*, June 18, 1939, pg. 3.

[1654] *The Coolidge Examiner*, May 15, 1942, pg. 5. See also: "Pauline (Rosenblatt) Tovrea (b. 1905 - d. 1994)," Territorial Women's Memorial Rose Garden Collection (MS-39), Sharlot Hall Library & Archives (https://la.sharlothallmuseum.org/index.php/rgbio-pauline-gerhardt-rosenblatt-tovrea).

> There is no such animal [HCWPs] here – the wife just keeps house – or if she is capable works as a clerk or stenographer, or if in the Army or Navy entertains a great deal. Her husband's duties are entirely his and discussions about his work discouraged in most cases – forbidden in the case of engineers or lock workers and, of course, never mentioned by Army or Navy wives.[1655]

In November 1943, Tovrea joined the U.S. Navy "Seabees," with training held at Camp Peary in Norfolk, Virginia; a few months later Polly left Panama and returned to the United States.[1656] She first secured employment with the U.S. Weather Bureau in Phoenix, then, in June 1945, she transferred to Casa Grande Ruins National Monument as a park ranger to replace Jessica Shearwood.[1657] That same month, Howard Tovrea shipped out from the navy base in Hawaii to Okinawa. In Japan he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Commander in charge of a "stevedore outfit" of 300 soldiers who battled destructive typhoons while attempting to build camps, piers, and other military structures.[1658] Polly resigned her ranger position at Casa Grande in December 1945 to reunite with Tovrea once the Navy officially discharged him, January 18, 1946.[1659] After the war, the Tovreas settled in Seattle, where he set up an engineering office and founded the Olympic Blueprint Company; they also established a Polled Hereford ranch in Graham, Pierce County. In 1969, the Tovreas left Seattle and retired to Arizona, settling first in Carefree before moving back to Polly's childhood hometown of Prescott in 1978. Howard Tovrea died in Prescott a year later, Polly in 1994.[1660]

[1655] *The Roundtable* 2, no. 2 (Sep 1941): 2.

[1656] "Personnel Notes," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1943, 18-19; "Howard Tovrea Lieutenant in Navy Seabees," *Nogales International*, November 12, 1943, pg. 5.

[1657] "Casa Grande National Monument," *Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region Three*, June 1945.

[1658] "With Zonians in the Service," *The Panama American*, October 29, 1945, pg. 4, Digital Library of the Caribbean (https://dloc.com/AA00010883/05870/images/3).

[1659] "Casa Grande National Monument," *Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region Three*, January 1946.

[1660] *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/121171642/joyce_howard-tovrea), memorial page for Joyce Howard Tovrea (10 Jul 1904–10 Jun 1979), Find a Grave Memorial ID 121171642, citing Mountain View Cemetery, Prescott, Yavapai County, Arizona, USA, maintained by LeRoy Krsiean.



Figure 156. Members of the NPS Sonora Missions Expedition, pictured at Dolores mission: (l to r) Bob Rose, George Grant, Leffler Miller, Howard Tovrea, Arthur Woodward, and Scofield DeLong. Photograph by Mrs. Leroy Salisburg, October 1935. Source: WACC (04924)



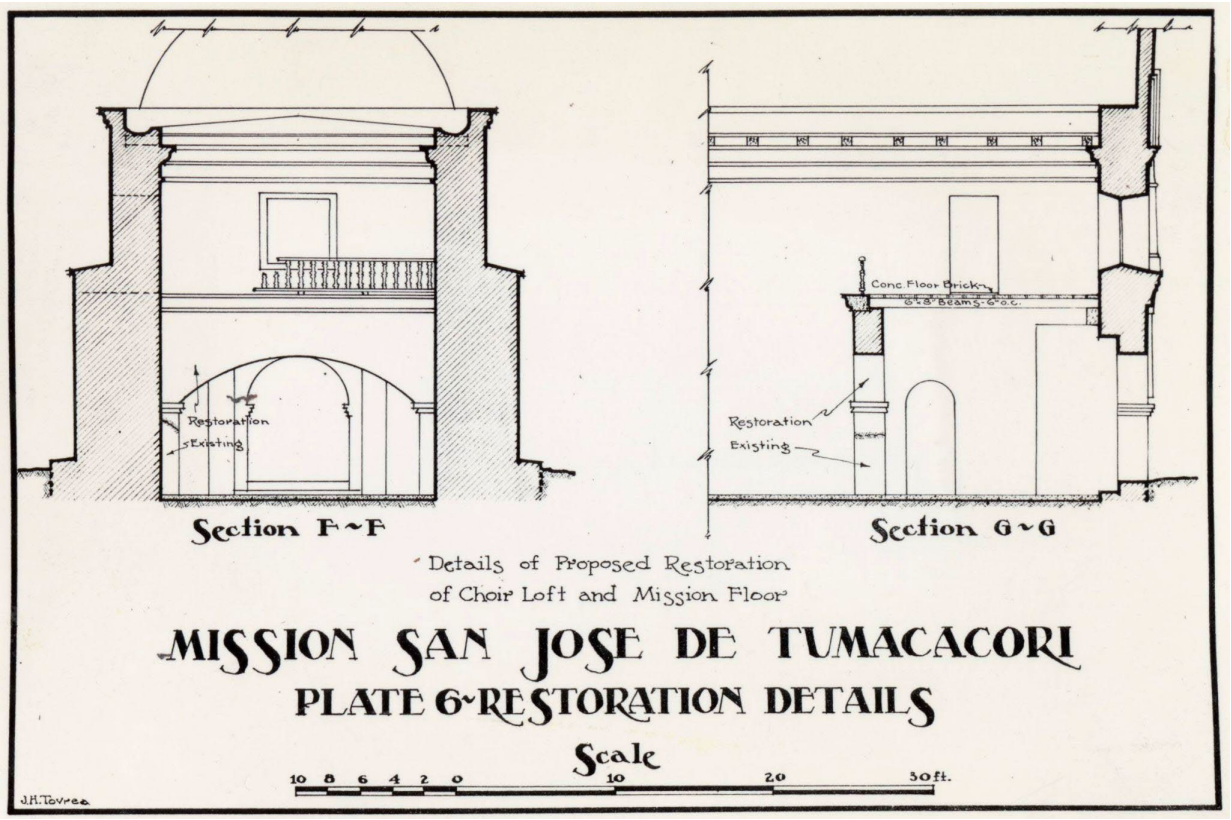


Figure 157. NPS chief engineering aide J. H. Tovrea, stationed at Southwestern National Monuments, designed the restoration plan drawings for Tumacácori National Monument, based on data he and his colleagues collected during the 1935 Sonoran Missions Expedition. In January 1936, he and Frank Pinkley inspected Tumacácori, climbing all over the historic mission. Pictured (top) Tovrea on top of belltower looking northwest, and (bottom) one of his restoration sketches. WACC (00671 and 01095)



Figure 158. SWNM field engineer, J. H. Tovrea, sketching the historic corral at Rainbow Bridge National Monument. Photograph by Hugh Miller, 1937. Source: WACC (00946)

Lucy Edna Townsley Pinkley (1881-1929)

~Born: June 27, 1881, or 1883, in Columbus City, Iowa[1661]
~Died: November 13, 1929, in Coolidge, Arizona
~SWNM Association: Casa Grande Ruins (HCWP, 1901-1914 and 1918-1929; custodian, 1914-1915)

Lucy Edna Townsley served as Frank Pinkley's wife, business partner, and co-custodian of the Casa Grande Ruins for twenty-three years—the original Honorary Custodian Without Pay before the catchy title existed. She developed the embryonic museum program at Casa Grande and contributed extensively to its interpretation and of several other southwestern national monuments. A published author with natural curiosity and a sense of adventure, friends and colleagues remembered Edna as a good conversationalist who was "as merry as the day is long." When she died—young, and unexpectedly—she was in the middle of preparing a manuscript for a book on the southwestern national monuments, to be published by Stanford University Press. The National Park Service praised her for her many contributions, adding that she had been "as loyal, enthusiastic, and hard-working a member of the organization as anyone officially on its rolls."[1662]

Edna was born in Columbus City, Louisa County, Iowa, in 1881 or 1883, to Samuel S. Townsley (1852-1928) and Margaret "Maggie" Eliza Leech (1853-1936). Shortly after her birth, her schoolteacher father moved the family, including Edna and her older siblings Mabel and Boyd, to Knoxville, Iowa, where he became Superintendent of Schools. As a career public-school administrator, Samuel Townsley uprooted his family "as often as a Methodist minister."[1663] The family, which grew to include Edna's brothers Arthur and Paul in 1884 and 1889, respectively, moved around Iowa several times (Storm Lake, 1887-1889; Hampton, 1889-1892; and Decorah, 1892-1894) before finally settling in Vermillion, South Dakota, in 1895. In Vermillion, Edna's parents bought property near the University of South Dakota in the new Bigelow's Addition and built an eight-room Queen Anne

---

[1661] Edna's birth year and age at death have generally been given as 1881 and 48 years old, respectively, in family genealogies, her obituaries, and her death certificate. It is hard to believe that Edna and her family would have been mistaken about the year of her birth; however, the Louisa County, Iowa, Return of Births for 1884 very clearly recorded her birth year as 1883. See: "Iowa, U.S., Births (series) 1880-1904, 1921-1944 and Delayed Births (series), 1856-1940," database with images, *Ancestry* (https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/61441/records/302508736 : accessed March 26, 2024), digital image no. 1433, "Return of Births...Year Ending October 1, A.D. 1884," 104, entry for Lucy Edna Townsley, June 27, 1883, Columbus City, Louisa County, Iowa, line no. 1054, citing "Iowa Birth Records, 1880-1904," State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa.

[1662] National Park Service, *Park Service Bulletin,* no. 48 (Nov 1929): 1.

[1663] Mary Margaret Frank, *Samuel S. Townsley: Schoolboy, Professor, and Grandfather* (1974), unpublished booklet, 2, Box 1, Series IV: Printed Materials, 1905-1974, Mabel Townsley Papers (MS-158), University of South Dakota, Archives and Special Collections, Vermillion, SD.

architectural beauty; the first house in the Addition, it stood surrounded by a field of oats.[1664] Edna's father held the school-district superintendency in Vermillion until 1897, the year he lost his job. To make ends meet, Samuel Townsley became a traveling salesman of encyclopedias, among other goods, while his wife Maggie took on student boarders in their Vermillion home.[1665]

Edna Townsley attended Vermillion High School and graduated early in 1896. After graduation, she, like several of her siblings, attended the University of South Dakota in Vermillion. Edna completed two years of preparatory school in the "Sub-Freshman" advanced-placement program before matriculating in the standard Bachelor's degree program in 1898. In May 1902, she earned her diploma in pedagogy, followed by a year of student teaching at the Komstad school in Clay County. While teaching, she made plans for post-graduate studies in "domestic science."[1666] Then fate intervened. Her father accepted a one-year teaching position—from January 1903 to January 1904—with the Sacaton Indian Agency on the Gila River Indian Reservation in Arizona. Edna decided to delay graduate school. In summer 1903 she joined her father as his teaching assistant at the Blackwater Day School, the agency school located in the Pima (Akimel O'odham) village of Blackwater on the eastern edge of the reservation, about six miles from Casa Grande Ruins. The Office of Indian Affairs authorized a small salary for Edna under the auspices of "housekeeper" for Samuel Townsley, though her hometown newspaper reported that she had "assumed the duties as matron in the government Indian school."[1667]

Edna likely met Frank Pinkley, custodian of the "Casa Grande Ruin Reservation," within weeks of her arrival in Arizona in 1903; he and his father ran a trading post near Blackwater called Pinkley & Son. Before the year's end, Edna and Pinkley were courting. When Samuel Townsley's teaching position concluded in January 1904, he returned to South Dakota but Edna stayed back in Arizona to apply for a "territorial certificate"—an entry-level teaching diploma granted upon proof of a university diploma and at least one year of pedagogical training; the Arizona Board of Education granted her the certificate in June 1904.[1668] Edna made plans to teach in the Florence schools for the upcoming academic year.[1669] Then, for undocumented reasons, she returned to the Midwest and took on an

---

[1664] See: "Former Pioneer Educator Here Buried Sunday," *Vermillion Plain Talk*, August 16, 1928, pg. 1. The Townsleys' house still stands at 103 North University Street, Vermillion.

[1665] Frank, *Samuel S. Townsley* (1974), 30.

[1666] *The Volante*, May 9, 1898, pg. 10; June 9, 1898, pg. 5; October 7, 1902, pg. 7.

[1667] Department of Interior annual reports show Townsley's appointment began Jan. 26, 1903. Samuel earned $72 a month, and Edna $30. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1903-04, Vol. II, Part I: Indian Services* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 678, digital book, *Hathi Trust* (babel.hathitrust.org; accessed March 26, 2024). See also: *The Volante*, September 29, 1903, pg. 5.

[1668] Arizona Territory, Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Arizona Territory for the Biennial Period Ending June 30, 1904* (Phoenix: H. H. McNeil Co. Press, 1904), 40.

[1669] "Board of Education," *Arizona Republican*, June 22, 1904, pg. 5.

assistant teaching position at the high school in Hartley, Iowa, where her brother John Boyd Townsley lived. She taught in both Hartley and Vermillion over the following two years, while maintaining a long-distance courtship with Frank Pinkley.[1670]

Bright and early on the morning of October 3, 1906, Edna Townsley and Frank Pinkley were married at her family home in Vermillion. It was a small intimate ceremony held at 7 o'clock a.m. and witnessed by just family and a few close friends. Two hours later, "amid a shower of rice and the benediction of the entire city," they headed off on their 'honeymoon': the 9:30 a.m. train to Arizona.[1671] The Bureau of American Ethnology had scheduled the launch of its first season of excavations at Casa Grande Ruin for the end of October, and the newlyweds needed to prepare. The first order of business involved upgrading Pinkley's 'house', simply a glorified tent. Since its first rustic edition of 1901, Pinkley had spiffed up the tent with board flooring, wainscotting, frame siding, a cast-iron roof, and an adobe fireplace. But when Edna moved in, the tent proved crowded with Pinkley's fixed box couch, desk, two chairs, and bookcases, and the new additions of Edna's oil stove, dish cupboard, trunk, and cot—all of which they had to drag outside each morning. A chance visitor, seeing their cramped quarters, joked, "Say, you-alls have to go out doors to change your minds, don't you?"[1672]

Intending to stick around at "the Ruins" (so-called by locals) for only a year or so, the Pinkleys decided to expand their living arrangement by constructing a second tent, rather than a more permanent house. The new 1906 tent functioned as the kitchen-dining room, while Pinkley's original tent became the "library," where the book collections of both Pinkleys made "a brave showing around the fireplace."[1673] Between the two tents, they erected the "sine qua non" of the southwestern desert: a ramada, with a brush roof of saguaro cactus ribs, arrow weed, straw, and dirt, attached to vertical mesquite support posts; this shelter served as both a walkway between the two tents as well as their living room for most of the year and their sleeping porch year-round.[1674] The two-tent cluster sufficed for a year until Frank came down with a serious tubercular episode; the loss of their first child at birth followed.[1675] Needing space to recoup while continuing to accommodate a "constant stream of

---

[1670] *The Volante*, November 29, 1904, pg. 3, and, April 11, 1905, pg. 3. See also: *Hartley Herald*, August 23, 1906, pg. 5.

[1671] *Vermillion Plain Talk*, October 4, 1906, pg. 7.

[1672] Edna Townsley Pinkley, "Our Desert Home," *Sunset Magazine* 51, no.4 (Oct. 1923): 66.

[1673] Edna T. Pinkley, "The Evolution of a House," typescript, ca1922, pg. 2, in folder "Writings by Edna Pinkley," Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (ARG-34), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

[1674] Townsley-Pinkley, "The Evolution of a House," 1.

[1675] The Pinkleys welcomed their first child, Fred Arthur Pinkley, on August 7, 1907, only to say goodbye the same day. In the 1910 census, they marked "1" under children no longer living. According to an obituary for Edna, newborn Fred was buried in the Florence Cemetery. For his name and birthdate, see: Unpublished typescript, Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (ARG 34); NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ. Lacking a death certificate, "stillborn" as cause of death is presumed, especially since scientists have found a connection between biological fathers with tuberculosis and a higher risk of stillbirth. See: Qi Sun, et al, "Increased Risk of Stillbirth among Women whose Partner

guests," including the second season of BAE archeologists, the Pinkleys built a third tent in 1907 or early 1908. This final tent offered a larger space for the living-room library, while Pinkley's original 1901 tent—which Edna affectionately called "Bob's tent"—became the official bedroom.[1676] All three tents displayed the creative handiwork and hobby collections of both Pinkleys: handmade redwood furniture and stenciled muslin hangings positioned alongside the couple's ever-growing library and collection of local Pima baskets.[1677] Edna fondly called the tent complex their "home upon the sands."[1678]

The Pinkleys considered each tent addition a temporary measure until they could move "to some more civilized place," but with each passing year they decided to stay "just a little longer."[1679] Finally, in 1910, with newborn daughter Nancy Margaret (1910-1979) in tow, they built a two-room single-story adobe house in place of the 1906 kitchen-dining tent.[1680] The constant "opening and closing [of] two doors" while crossing the "open space in sun or rain or dust storm" to reach the other tents—all while holding a baby—had needlessly complicated their lives. They unsuccessfully requested $2,500 from the General Land Office to cover the costs of building an official custodian's residence and museum. The GLO did not approve their request. Desperate for new living quarters, the Pinkleys used their savings to build a modest house, spending about $600 including hired labor from their Pima neighbors. The 1910 adobe house had exposed rafters and beams, and walls coated with "Indian plaster," a combination of "sand and screened 'dobe clay rubbed down with a trowel." The house offered a combined living room-library-office with fireplace plus a kitchen and dining room. The two remaining tents served as the master bedroom (1907 tent) and a spare bedroom for guests (the 1901 tent). In 1914, 1919, and 1922, the Pinkleys enlarged the house with additions, eventually replacing all of the tents with adobe walls. In 1923, Edna published a magazine article describing their many upgrades and additions to both the tent-complex and house, commenting that the house finally seemed finished, though they "dare not be too sure about it."[1681]

Has Tuberculosis," *BioMed Research International* (14 Sep. 2021); accessible online, *National Library of Medicine* (https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC8459173/).

[1676] Townsley-Pinkley, "The Evolution of a House," 2. Edna's nickname for Frank Pinkley was "Bob," and she called their son Addison "Bobby Junior." See: Ibid, 2-3.

[1677] For full details and a complete chronology on the development of the Pinkley tent complex and the construction & additions to the 1910 adobe custodian's house, see: Townsley-Pinkley, "The Evolution of a House," 1-5.

[1678] Edna entitled a scrapbook she made for Frank—with pictures and memorabilia from their early married years at the Casa Grande Ruins (pre-1910)—"Our home upon the sands." It is located in the Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (ARG 34), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

[1679] Pinkley, "Our Desert Home," 67.

[1680] Nancy Margaret Pinkley (1910-1979) was born at the Casa Grande Ruins on April 23, 1910. For the newspaper announcement of Nancy's birth, see: "Historic Birthlace[sic]," *Arizona Daily Star*, May 7, 1910, pg. 3.

[1681] Edna Townsley Pinkley, "Our Desert Home," *Sunset Magazine* 51, no.4 (Oct. 1923): 66-67, 75.

The Pinkley residence hosted numerous guests from inception to completion.[1682] In summer 1914, Frank, Edna, and Nancy Margaret welcomed baby boy Addison Boyd (1914-1944) to their desert abode. Around the same time, Frank Pinkley campaigned for a seat in the Lower House of the Arizona State Legislature and was elected. His custodianship of Casa Grande proved to be a conflict of interest, and he stepped down as custodian. The General Land Office hired Edna as his replacement. Her father, Samuel Townsley came to live with the Pinkleys for the school year, 1914-15, while she served as custodian; he taught Nancy Margaret and the local children of the rural "Ruins District" in a school tent located adjacent to Casa Grande's "Great House" ruins. Frank Pinkley's grandfather, James Graham, also lived with them from 1912-1915; he died in their home in July 1915. Soon after his death, the balancing act of the custodianship, Frank Pinkley's political career, and the family trading-post businesses became too much. In fall 1915, the Pinkleys resigned the Casa Grande custodianship and abandoned their hand-built adobe home.

In April 1918, the Pinkley returned to Casa Grande when the National Park Service rehired Frank Pinkley as custodian. When the Pinkleys took up residence in their 'new' old house, Edna was devastated to see the changes wrought to the house and yard by the interim custodians—the "vandals," as she preferred to call them; namely, she grieved the loss of her favorite mesquite tree, which had been reduced to a stump. The tree had stood just outside the southern kitchen window and brought her daily joy. She loved watching it provide shade to quail and rabbits, while thrashers and wrens nested on its outspread branches.[1683] The missing tree made space for the Pinkleys to construct an addition to the house—where the southern kitchen window had been—but Edna never forgave or forgot the tree's slaughter, bringing it up in her writings years after the fact.

Within the relatively small National Park Service at the time, Edna Townsley Pinkley gained a reputation as a talented writer. The Washington office enjoyed her narrative reports on monuments inspections trips and encouraged her to publish them. She also published articles on the background and preservation history of various southwestern monuments or on southwestern topics such as food storage and cooking during the hot desert summers. In 1924, Edna began to explore the logistics of publishing interpretive booklets on the southwestern national monuments; in her correspondence with NPS director Stephen Mather, she admitted that they had "calls every day [there] at the Ruins for

[1682] In addition to revolving visits from grandparents, parents, and other relatives, their resident guests included Montana fur trader and noted author James Willard Schultz—also a historian of the Blackfoot Indian tribe and father of equally noted Arizona artist Hart Merriam Schultz (aka "Lone Wolf") —who, in 1906-1907, lived at the Ruins while assisting with the Fewkes excavations. Edna's parents, Samuel and Margaret Townsley, frequently visited for durations up to one year. Samuel Townsley retired in 1912, and he timed his Arizona visits to coordinate with the school year so he could volunteer-teach. In 1912-13, the Townsleys lived at the monument from September to June, and Samuel taught eleven local children of the rural "Ruins District" in a tent converted as a "schoolhouse" adjacent to the great-house. He returned again in 1914-15 and 1920-21 to teach.

[1683] Pinkley, "Our Desert Home," 75.

something of the sort."[1684] In 1926, she completed the first interpretive booklet on Casa Grande National Monument (est. 1918), published by the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society. She began working on a second booklet two years later.*

Edna contributed significantly to the administration of Casa Grande National Monument [renamed Casa Grande *Ruins* National Monument in 1926]. In the early years, before Frank Pinkley hired rangers and other personnel, Edna often stood in for him as unofficial "acting custodian" during his absences or as a second set of hands to help with visitors, paperwork, maintenance, et cetera. She also helped secure invaluable museum acquisitions. Occasionally, she sent off dispatches to the Washington office with requests, reports, retorts, or replies to correspondence; at other times she wrote the monthly reports on Frank Pinkley's behalf, signing his name accompanied by her initials, "E. T. P." She called herself Casa Grande's "general errand boy"—a role made easier in 1924 when the National Park Service gave Frank Pinkley a second vehicle for general monument use.[1685]

Locally, Edna was an invested member of the rural community she had called home since 1906. Like Frank Pinkley, she actively participated in the Florence chapter of the co-ed Masonic Order of the Eastern Star, serving as worthy matron for a term. She also sat on Pinal County planning boards, including the county fair committee, and she was a key member of the local woman's clubs—first in Florence, and then in Coolidge after the town was established in 1926. Edna co-founded the Coolidge Woman's Club. Her donation of twelve books to the club library served as the foundation for the Coolidge circulating free library, which later became the Coolidge city library (est. 1956).[1686]

It was therefore with great sorrow that Edna's neighbors read the news of her sudden death on the morning of November 13, 1929. Like any other day, she rose and began to prepare breakfast; then, just before 7:00 a.m., she dropped unconscious to the floor, passing away within minutes of the doctor's arrival.[1687] The coroner recorded the cause of death as a cerebral hemorrhage—a paralytic stroke; she was only forty-eight years old.[1688] Frank, Nancy Margaret, and Addison held Edna's funeral at the Presbyterian Church of Florence on Friday afternoon, November 15; the Order of the Eastern Star

---

[1684] Pinkley to Mather, March 6, 1924, folder "0-35: Casa Grande National Monument," Box 571: Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27, Central Classified Files, 1907-49 (RG79), National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

[1685] Pinkley to Mather, February 17, 1926, folder "0-35: Casa Grande National Monument," Box 571: Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27, Central Classified Files, 1907-49 (RG79), National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

[1686] "Dirt Scooped for Library," *Arizona Republic*, April 29, 1969, pg. 14.

[1687] *Park Service Bulletin,* no. 48 (Nov 1929): 1.

[1688] Possibly forty-six years old, if the 1883 Louis County birth register for Edna is correct.

conducted the service.[1689] Edna's remains were afterward interred in the Florence Cemetery, where she and Frank had buried their infant son Fred twenty-two years earlier.[1690]

Edna's death followed years of suffering from chronic illness. By 1927, even Frank Pinkley—generally quiet about his family life in official records and even in his personal correspondence—began to reference "Edna's health," and how it kept her from certain tasks.[1691] In 1928, local news reports circulated that Edna had been sick for several weeks, despite a summer of respite on the southern California coast while Frank and the Pinkley children traveled the Southwest for the annual monuments inspections trip.[1692] In correspondence dated December 1928, Edna mentioned offhandedly that an attack of pleurisy had confined her to bed.[1693] Despite her history of illness, Edna's death a year later was abrupt, hitting her family and friends hard. Just a month earlier, she had joined her husband at Yellowstone National Park to attend the annual NPS superintendents conference with him.[1694]

Edna Pinkley was deeply missed as a wife, custodial partner, mother, friend, and a contributing member of the local community.[1695] The National Park Service especially grieved the loss of her intelligence and dedication to the agency's development. On the first page of the November 1929 NPS *Bulletin*, the editor mourned the death of "a strong supporter," adding that, "Many members of the Park Service family knew Mrs. Pinkley personally, and to all these she was a very dear friend. All mourn her passing." In conclusion, the editor noted that Edna had been "in communication with the Stanford University Press regarding the publication of her book shortly before her death."[1696] Her literary skills and knowledge of the southwestern national monuments proved a common thread in the many obituaries printed in the newspapers. The editor of the *Tucson Citizen* lauded Edna's devotion

---

[1689] "Dies in Arizona," *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune,* November 13, 1929, pg. 4; "Death Takes Mrs. Edna Pinkley of Casa Grande Ruins," *Casa Grande Dispatch*, November 14, 1929, pg. 1; "Mrs. Edna Pinkley, Casa Grande Poet, Answers Last Call; Was Contributor to Lore of Historic, Indian Ruins," *Tucson Citizen*, November 15, 1929, pg. 19; "Mrs. Edna Pinkley, Authority on Casa Grande Ruins, Dies," *Arizona Republican*, November 15, 1929.

[1690] "Mrs. Frank Pinkley Died Very Suddenly," unnamed newspaper clipping, n.d., in "S. S. Townsley Scrapbook, 1887-1941," pg. 38, Series V: Scrapbooks, 1887-1941, Mabel Townsley Papers (MS-158), Mabel K. Richardson Collection, University of South Dakota, digital image, *Digital Library of South Dakota* (https://explore.digitalsd.org/digital/collection/richardson/id/14631/rec/12 : accessed April 1, 2024).

[1691] Frank Pinkley to Addison B. Freeman, November 21, 1927, folder 5 "Personal Correspondence of Frank Pinkley," Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (ARG 34), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

[1692] *Arizona Republican*, August 24, 1928, pg. 4.

[1693] E. T. Pinkley to George L. Boundey, December 28, 1928, folder 24 "Aztec Ruins, 1923-1932," Box 2, Archival Records of Frank Pinkley, Record Group 34 (ACC 546), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

[1694] *Great Falls Leader*, September 23, 1929, pg. 6.

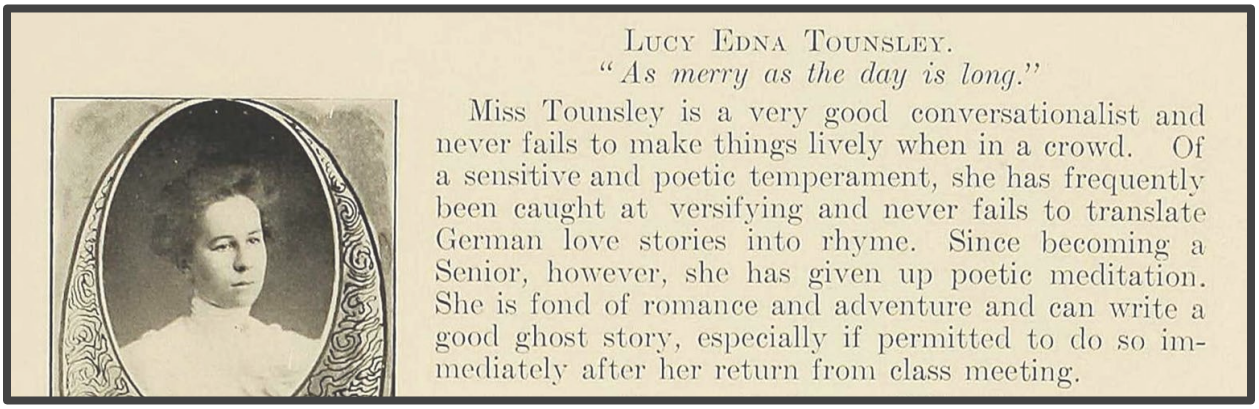
[1695] The Coolidge Woman's Club chose to honor Edna's role as a founding member by planting an Italian Cypress tree in her honor at the entrance to their club.

[1696] National Park Service, *Park Service Bulletin,* no. 48 (November 1929): 1.

to "the study of these ancient monuments," a commitment, he added, "said to be as keen as that of her husband":

> She was the author of a booklet and poem on the ruins read by thousands. At the time of her death, Mrs. Pinkley was busily engaged in writing a bulletin which would cover all of the national monuments in the southwest. This was to have been published by the University of California.[1697]

It is unclear whether Edna finished a draft of her proposed southwestern-monuments manuscript before her death. Frank Pinkley did not discuss his wife's passing in writing—not a single word in the monthly Southwestern Monuments reports, nor in any other official correspondence. In 1931, he published a revised interpretive booklet on Casa Grande Ruins and credited the historical research to Edna Townsley Pinkley; otherwise, he remained silent. The silence spoke volumes about their relationship and his grief. Years later, in fewer than ten words, Pinkley indirectly referenced his valuable partnership with Edna: "There is a tendency among the Southwestern National Monuments for the wife to be more of a partner in the job than is common in the outside world, and this tends toward a fine team spirit for both of them. I know this was true in my own case."[1698]



LUCY EDNA TOUNSLEY.

"As merry as the day is long."

Miss Tounsley is a very good conversationalist and never fails to make things lively when in a crowd. Of a sensitive and poetic temperament, she has frequently been caught at versifying and never fails to translate German love stories into rhyme. Since becoming a Senior, however, she has given up poetic meditation. She is fond of romance and adventure and can write a good ghost story, especially if permitted to do so immediately after her return from class meeting.

Figure 159. Edna's senior-year profile in the University of South Dakota yearbook for 1902-03. Source: Ancestry.com

*Indefinite list of Edna's published works:

~Edna Townsley Pinkley, "How the Other Half Lives," *American Cookery* 27, no. 3 (Oct 1922): 186-187.

[1697] "Mrs. Edna Pinkley, Casa Grande Poet, Answers Last Call; Was Contributor to Lore of Historic, Indian Ruins," *Tucson Citizen*, November 15, 1929, pg. 19.

[1698] Frank Pinkley to Arno B. Cammerer, "Ruminations: About the Finest Women I Know," *Supplement to the* Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1939, pg. 80, Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports: 1923-1956 (ACC-01404), NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

~Edna Townsley Pinkley, "Our Desert Home," *Sunset Magazine* 51, no.4 (Oct 1923): 66-67, 75.

~Edna Pinkley, "Gran Quivira and its Past," *School Publication* (Los Angeles School District, 1925).

~ [possible title, "Motoring Over Padre Serra's Trails,"] *American Motorist* (Feb. 1925)[1699]

~Edna T. Pinkley, "Was There a Masonic Order 800 Years Ago?" *Scientific American* 133, no. 2 (Aug 1925): 131.

~Edna Townsley Pinkley, "The Shrine of the Children (A Papago Folk Tale)," *El Palacio* 20, no. 7 (Apr 1926): 117-122.

~Edna Townsley Pinkley, *Casa Grande: The Greatest Valley Pueblo of Arizona* (Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society, 1926).

~Edna T. Pinkley, "Preserving American Antiquities: The History and Romance of Early America is Vividly Recorded in our Southwestern National Monuments," *American Forests and Forest Life* 32 (Aug. 1926): 467-471, and 511.

~Edna Townsley Pinkley, "The Casa Grande as National Monument," *Masterkey* 1, no. 8 (Mar-Apr 1928): 26-28.

~Edna T. Pinkley, "Montezuma Castle, Arizona," *American Forests and Forest Life* 34 (Jul 1928): 398-400.

~Frank Pinkley, with historical data by Edna Townsley Pinkley, *The Casa Grande National Monument in Arizona* (March 21, 1931).

[1699] Cited in Demaray to Pinkley, February 7, 1925, folder "0-35: Casa Grande National Monument," Box 571: Proposed Monument, Casa Grande, Miscellaneous (Parts 1-4), 1902-27, Central Classified Files, 1907-49 (RG79), National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD. A typescript version of this article—written for family and friends—is available in the Mabel Townsley Papers, Richardson Collection, University of South Dakota, digital image, *Digital Library of South Dakota* (https://explore.digitalsd.org/digital/collection/richardson/id/10634/rec/47).



Figure 160. (Top) The Townsley family, circa 1900, with Edna standing on the left. (Bottom right) Edna and her sister Mabel, n.d. (Bottom left) Portrait of Edna on her college graduation day, May 1902. Source: Richardson Collection, Digital Library of South Dakota.

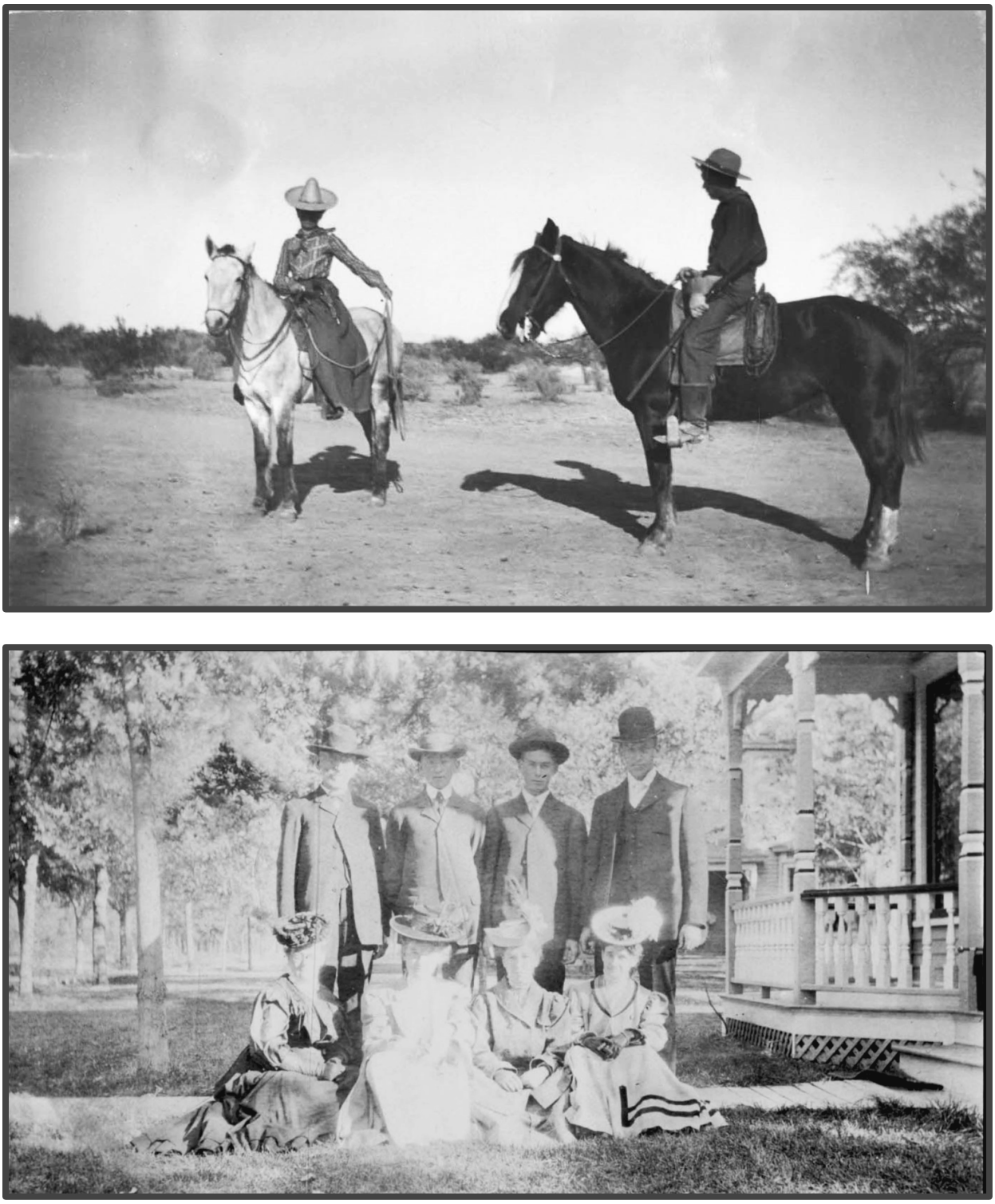


Figure 161. (Top) Edna and Frank on horseback in Arizona, n.d. (Bottom) Edna Townsley and Frank Pinkley's wedding day, October 3, 1906, at the Townsley family home: Frank and Edna (middle right) pictured with Edna's brother John Boyd and wife (far right), sister Mabel and husband (middle left), and their parents (far left). Source: WACC (ARG 34).

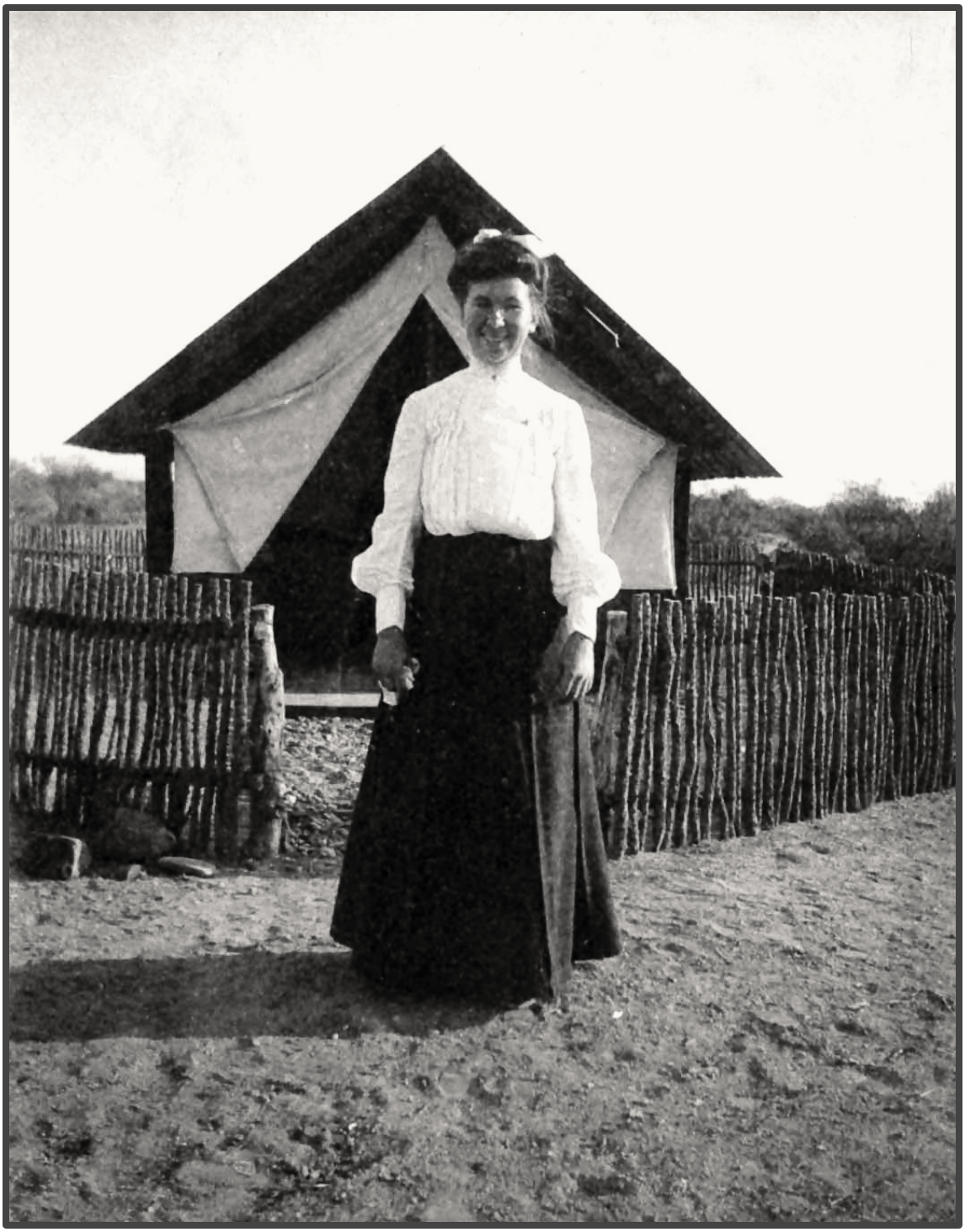


Figure 162. Edna Townsley Pinkley in front of Frank Pinkley's tent at Casa Grande Ruin Reservation, circa 1906. Source: WACC (ARG 34)

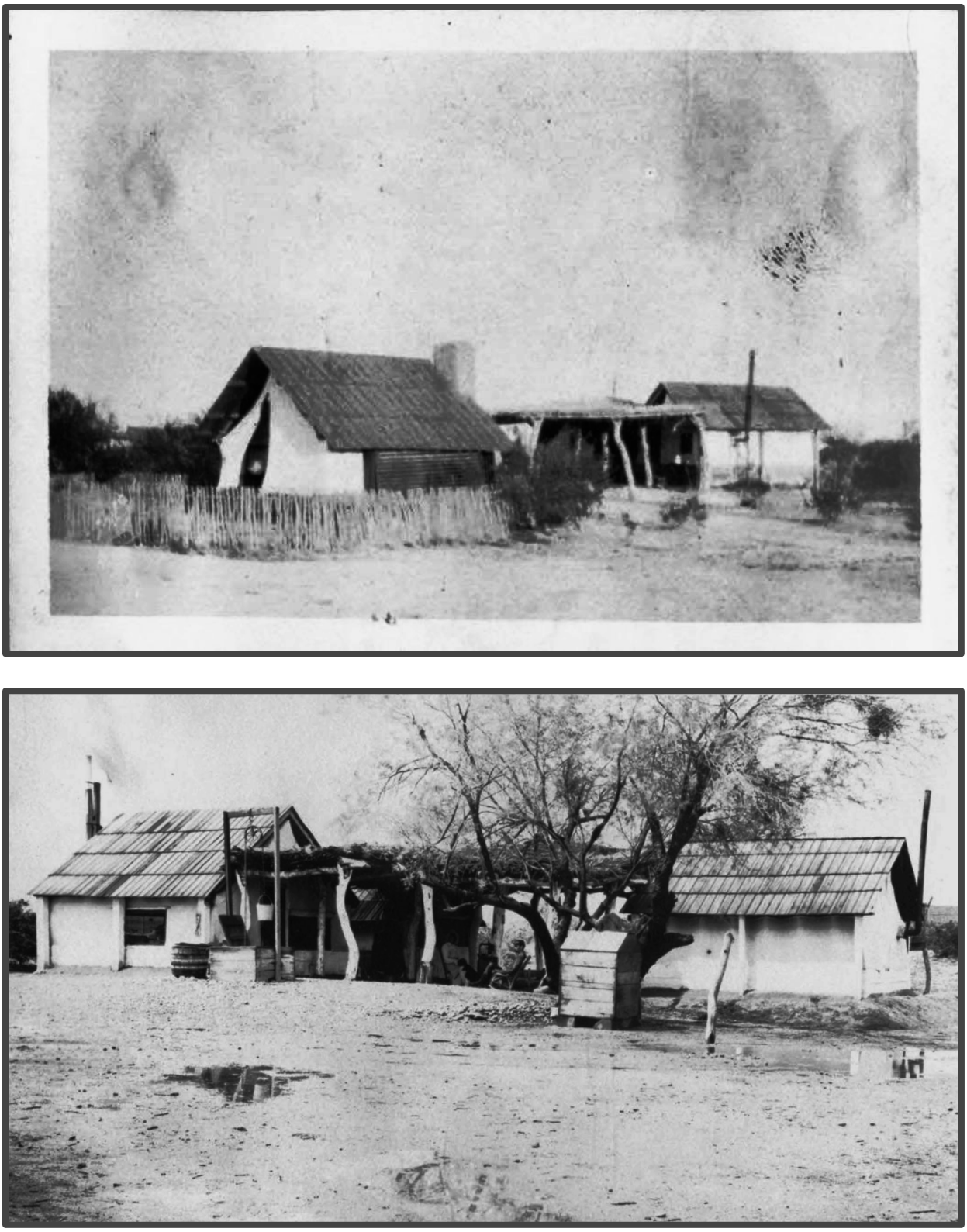


Figure 163. (Top) The Pinkley two-tent complex with ramada, 1906-07. (Bottom) The three-tent complex with brush ramada, 1907-1909. Source: WACC (ARG 34)

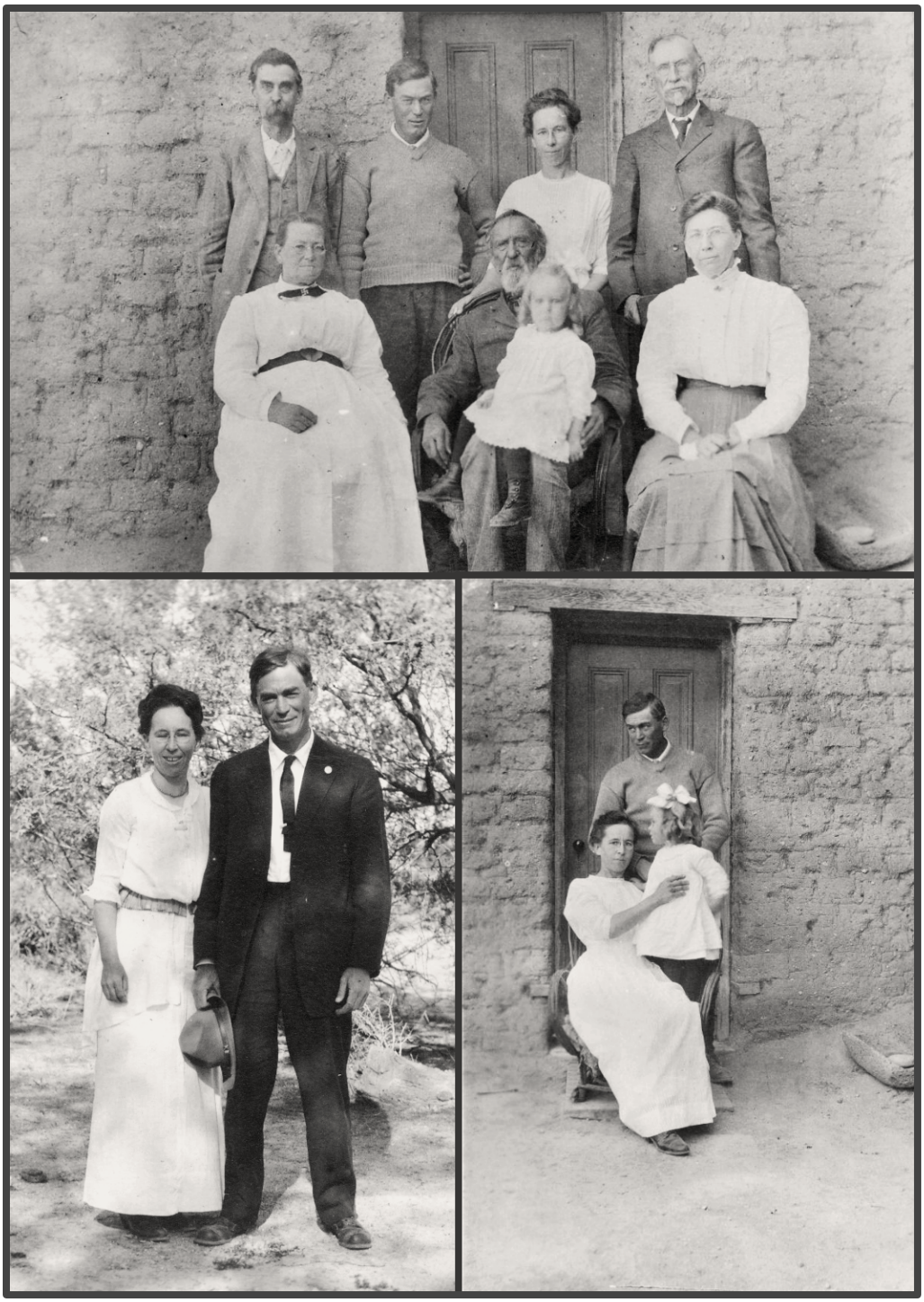


Figure 164. Pinkley and Townsley family photos. (Top) Frank and Edna Pinkley with Grandfather James Graham (seated, holding 2-year-old Nancy Margaret); Townsley family on left and Pinkley family on the right. Thanksgiving Day, 1912. (Bottom left) Frank and Edna Pinkley, n.d. . (Bottom right) Frank, Edna, and Nancy Margaret Pinkley, 1912. Source: Richardson Collection, University of South Dakota.



Figure 165. Edna Townsley Pinkley, circa late 1910s or early 1920s. Source: Richardson Collection, University of South Dakota.

Richard Gordon Vivian (1908-1966)

~ Born: August 27, 1908, in Laurium, Michigan.
~ Died: April 29, 1966, Globe, Arizona
~ SWNM Association: SWNM (CCC Mobile Unit field director, 1937-1942; NPS Mobile Unit/RSU supervisory archeologist, 1951-1957)

R. Gordon Vivian oversaw the National Park Service ruins stabilization program for southwestern national monuments from 1937 until his death in 1966. Notably, he served as the field director (archeology-foreman) of the Navajo CCC Mobile Unit ruins stabilization crew from its establishment by Southwestern National Monuments in summer 1937 until he handed over the field direction to Roland Richert in 1951. The Mobile Unit, under Vivian and Richert, conducted ruins stabilization at archeological monuments across the Southwest, particularly at Chaco Canyon National Monument, where its operations were based until moved over to Southwestern National Monuments headquarters in Globe, Arizona, in 1956, and renamed the Ruins Stabilization Unit (RSU). The RSU continued to handle all the ruins stabilization in the Southwest until, gradually, some parks and monuments, like Chaco Canyon, began to establish their own preservation crews in the 1970s.[1700]

Gordon Vivian was born in Laurium, Michigan, on August 27, 1908, to Stanley Johnson Vivian and Camilla "Millie" née York. When Gordon was about nine years old, the Vivian family moved to Albuquerque, New Mexico, settling in the Ranchos de Atrisco community on the west banks of the Rio Grande. His father found employment as a pattern maker for a local foundry; the family also raised Duroc Jersey pigs.[1701] As a young boy, Gordon Vivian attended the Ranchos de Atrisco elementary school and participated in the school's Pig Club.[1702] His father eventually established a dairy farm on Five Point Road near the river.[1703] In Albuquerque, Vivian graduated from Washington Junior High and Albuquerque High, and then matriculated at the University of New Mexico in 1927, where he studied under Edgar Hewett. During college he participated in the School of American Research summer field school at Battleship Rock in Jemez Canyon; the field school involved several weeks of lectures and archeological excavations while camped out near the confluence of the Rio

---

[1700] National Park Service, "History," Finding Aid for the Gwinn Vivian Collection, 1901-1993 (CHCU 41042), 1, Chaco Culture National Historical Park, 2009.

[1701] "United States Census, 1920," Ranchos de Atrisco, Precinct 4, Bernalillo, New Mexico, sheet no. 4A, entry for Stanley Vivian, online database, *FamilySearch* (https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9RXN-F46).

[1702] "Ranchos de Atrisco Pupils Enthusiastic Regarding Club Work," *Albuquerque Journal*, April 9, 1919, pg. 6; and "The Rancho de Atrisco Pig Club," *The Albuquerque Tribune*, August 10, 1918, pg. 9.

[1703] "United States Census, 1930," Rio Grande, Bernalillo, New Mexico, sheet no. 9A, entry for Stanley J. Vivian, online database, *FamilySearch* (https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9RZG-YW7).

Jemez and East Fork—"one of the most beautiful and healthful spots in the Rocky Mountains."[1704] After graduating with a B.A. in archeology and a minor in geology in 1931, he went on for a master's degree in archeology at UNM.[1705] Summers involved studies at UNM's first Chaco field school and researching the archeological history of the ancient Tiguex Province in the Rio Grande Valley for his thesis. After earning his master's in 1932 Vivian continued to be associated with UNM and the School of American Research. In addition to assisting with the excavations and student activities at the Jemez summer field school, Vivian directed a CWA archeological ruins-stabilization project in Chaco (winter 1933-34) at Pueblo Bonito, Chetro Ketl, and the Talus Unit; his CWA crew also worked on engineering the stream channel at points where the arroyo was shifting and threatening the ruins.[1706] In 1934-35, he co-directed two FERA excavations (1934-35) of ancient Tiguex Province sites on the west banks of the Rio Grande: the Puaray and Kuaua, associated with the ancestral Puebloan Tiwa culture.[1707]

Gordon Vivian's association with Southwestern National Monuments developed gradually, through his connection with Chaco Canyon archeology and, specifically, his specialty in ruins stabilization—"the science of excavating, rebuilding and reinforcing ancient landmarks to prevent their further decay and preserve them for posterity."[1708] After a one-year trial teaching school at Hockaday College in Dallas, Texas, 1935-36, Vivian called it quits and returned to New Mexico to help construct a permanent field headquarters for UNM and School of American Research archeological programs at Chaco. His return poised him to participate in the launch of the new southwestern ruins stabilization program under Frank Pinkley, SWNM superintendent. In July 1937, Pinkley hired Vivian as the archeology foreman of the cooperative CCC Indian Division (CCC-ID) and National Park Service mobile ruins stabilization program—called the CCC-ID Mobile Unit. Under the terms of the agreement, the National Park Service provided automobiles, equipment, and two foremen—an engineer and an archeologist—to supervise the work. The CCC-ID furnished a crew of twenty-five Navajo enrollees, a CCC camp, and camp provisions. From January to July 1937, SWNM naturalist Charlie Steen, under Pinkley's direction, coordinated the establishment and preparations for launching the Mobile Unit. It was finally up and running at its operational base at Chaco in July, under the direction of engineering foreman Robert Harris, an NPS field engineer, and Gordon Vivian.[1709] Harris resigned after three months, leaving Vivian in charge of the Mobile Unit, with the occasional assistance of SWNM headquarters staff like Steen.

[1704] "Jemez Archaeological Camp Opens; 60 Students Present," *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, August 16, 1929, pg. 6; The Schools of American Research, Archaeological Institute of America, "The Field Program," *Annual Report, 1934*, 10.

[1705] Roland Richert, "Richard Gordon Vivian, 1908-1966," *American Antiquity*, 32. no. 1 (Jan 1967): 100.

[1706] Alden C. Hayes, David M. Brugge, and W. James Judge, *Archeological Surveys of Chaco Canyon, New Mexico*, Publications in Archeology 18A, Chaco Canyon Studies (Washington: National Park Service, 1981), 12.

[1707] The Schools of American Research, Archaeological Institute of America, *Annual Report, 1934*, 11-14.

[1708] "Well Known Archaeologist Dies in Globe, Ariz.," *Albuquerque Journal*, May 1, 1966, pg. D1.

[1709] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1937, 44-45; D. S. King, "Notes and News," *American Antiquity* 4, no. 1 (Jul 1938): 70-71.

Set up to move from monument to monument as needed, the Mobile Unit, under Vivian's direction, spent its first year working at Chaco Canyon exclusively, focusing its efforts on stabilizing and repairing Pueblo Bonito and Klin Klizhin, with no restoration contemplated.[1710] Vivian started out with a pair of expert masons—"the two old Chaco Canyon standbys, Charlie and Agapito Atencio"—and then, "one new man at a time," they trained up new masons until, by September 1937, they had a "more or less" permanent force of nine working masons, with a goal of twelve to fourteen.[1711] Vivan kept copious notes and photographic records of the work, including ground plans and profile drawings, which followed Historic American Building Survey standards. Like other CCC programs at southwestern monuments, the Mobile Unit accomplished major ruins stabilization in just months, projects that would have taken the National Park Service years to achieve without the federal relief program.[1712]

While growing his career, Gordon Vivian carved out time to start a family. He married fellow UNM graduate Myrtle Aldine Perce (1907-1972) in Santa Fe in November 1934. From their home in Albuquerque the following year, the newlyweds welcomed son Richard Gwinnet; daughters Ann and Ruth followed, completing the family. The Vivian children were constantly surrounded by archeologists. Gwinn was under two years old when the Mobile Unit launched at Chaco; by age three, he had already experienced his first archeological dig. His mother, a public-school teacher, had also studied anthropology in college.[1713] Archeology was second nature to the Vivian family. Naturally, Gwinn Vivian followed in his parents' footsteps, becoming a widely known expert in Chaco Canyon prehistory as well as a well-rounded archeologist with contributions in myriad sub-fields of southwestern archeology, including museology, historic preservation, and cultural resource management.[1714]

During the war, the National Park Service deactivated the ruins stabilization Mobile Unit program and Gordon Vivian exited the agency to serve with the Army Engineer Corps in Pecos, Texas. While the experience "proved valuable later at Chaco Canyon in testing materials most suited to ruins repair and stabilization," Vivian happily returned to National Park Service employment in 1946.[1715] His first postwar appointment was temporary—a summer ranger gig at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, while he waited for the agency to reauthorize the ruins stabilization program. The Mobile

---

[1710] D. S. King, "Notes and News," *American Antiquity* 4, no. 1 (Jul 1938): 70-71.

[1711] Gordon Vivian, "Mobile Unit," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, September 1937, 219-220.

[1712] "Mobile Unit," Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, July 1937, 45.

[1713] Richert, "Richard Gordon Vivian, 1908-1966," 101.

[1714] National Park Service, "History," Finding Aid for the Gwinn Vivian Collection, 1901-1993 (CHCU 41042), 1, Chaco Culture National Historical Park, 2009.

[1715] Richert, "Richard Gordon Vivian," 102.

Unit resumed operations from its base at Chaco in November 1946, with Vivian as field director once again and James Lancaster serving as his aide.[1716]

In 1951, John M. Davis, General Superintendent of the newly-reinstated Southwestern National Monuments office—paused during the war and merged with the regional office—promoted Vivian to supervisory archeologist of southwestern monuments ruins stabilization, with an office based in Albuquerque. Davis transferred Roland Richert, SWNM ranger at Tuzigoot National Monument, into Vivian's former position as field director (archeology-foreman) of the SWNM ruins stabilization Mobile Unit. Vivian and Richert worked together for fifteen years. On March 7, 1953, the National Park Service presented Vivian with the agency's Meritorious Service Award in recognition of his pioneering contributions to ruins stabilization and archeology.[1717] Vivian accepted the award at a banquet dinner at the new Southwestern National Monuments headquarters (est. 1952) at Gila Pueblo, Globe, Arizona.[1718]

In 1956, the Mobile Unit was renamed the Ruin Stabilization Unit (RSU) and its base of operations transferred from Chaco to SWNM headquarters at Gila Pueblo, Globe, Arizona. When the National Park Service closed SWNM permanently in 1957, the agency kept the RSU office at Gila Pueblo, which, in 1958, became the offices and laboratories for the Southwest Archeological Center (SWAC). Gordon Vivian became head of SWAC, in charge of archeology for the Southwest region, and Richert stepped into the RSU supervisory archeologist position. Vivian remained active at SWAC until six weeks before his death from leukemia in 1966. When he died, he had at least fifteen publications on archeology and ruins stabilization to his name, and many more co-written publications and unpublished field reports. Together with Richert, in 1962 Vivian began preparing a *Prehistoric Ruins Stabilization Handbook*—a manual of standards for field use; after Vivian's death, Richert expanded and completed the effort.[1719] Gordon Vivian was survived by his mother, wife, and three children, who laid him to rest in the Sunset Memorial Park of Globe.[1720]

[1716] "November 1946 Monthly Narrative Report for Naturalists of Southwestern National Monuments," *Memorandum for Assistant Regional Director John M. Davis*, December 16, 1946, 3.

[1717] Richert, "Gordon Vivian," 103.

[1718] "Gordon Vivian To Be Honored," *Albuquerque Journal*, February 25, 1953, 19.

[1719] Roland S. Richert and R. Gordon Vivian, eds., "Ruins Stabilization in the Southwestern United States," *Publications in Archeology* 10 (Washington: National Park Service, 1974), digital book, NPS History Electronic Library and Archive (https://npshistory.com/series/archeology/10/report.pdf).

[1720] *Find a Grave*, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/64065552/richard_gordon-vivian: accessed April 12, 2026), memorial page for Richard Gordon Vivian (27 Aug 1908–29 Apr 1966), Find a Grave Memorial ID 64065552, citing Sunset Memorial Park, Albuquerque, Bernalillo County, New Mexico, USA, maintained by 1ProgBase 47278889 (contributor 47278889).



Figure 166. Gordon Vivian received the NPS Meritorious Service Award on March 7, 1953, at a banquet at Southwestern National Monuments headquarters in Globe, Arizona (top). Pictured (bottom) with his wife Myrtle and his extensive, bound ruins-stabilization notes. Source WACC (SWNM 57996 and 57999).

Evon Zartman Vogt, Sr. (1880-1943)

~Born: March 20, 1880, in Sandusky, Ohio
~Died: January 26, 1943 in Black Rock, New Mexico
~SWNM Association: EL Morro (custodian, 1917-1936)

Evon Zartman Vogt, Sr. was associated with El Morro National Monument from 1916 until his retirement as custodian in 1936. In many ways, Vogt's life trajectory paralleled Frank Pinkley's. A Midwesterner, he was born in Sandusky, Ohio, only a year before Pinkley. Like his boss, Vogt came to the Southwest because of a tuberculosis diagnosis—in Vogt's case, discovered during his junior year at the University of Chicago. In 1905, he moved to New Mexico to see if the arid climate would give him respiratory relief. There he boarded with a family in Albuquerque, staying in a tent in their orchard and doing chores in exchange for board.[1721] The area's layered history intrigued Vogt—by most accounts, he helped influence the creation of El Morro National Monument in 1906. Around that time, he was working at a sheep ranch in Estancia. Shortly after, he moved to the upper Pecos area and managed the Glorieta Post Office and store from 1907 to 1909. Next, he homesteaded at San Mateo and became half owner of the Merino Sheep Company. He sold out in 1914. After a summer's adventure in Europe, Vogt returned to New Mexico and acquired significant acreage a mile south of Ramah; this became the well-known Vogt Ranch, to which he brought his bride, Shirley Bergman, in 1915, and where they raised four children.[1722]

Remnants of the ancient past marked the landscape around the Vogt Ranch. Ancient ruins neighbored his property, and El Morro National Monument lay just eleven miles to the southeast. Vogt became a hobby historian and amateur archeologist. He joined the New Mexico Archaeological Society and developed relationships with scientists and scholars who used his ranch as a base camp for their scholarly field investigations. Vogt's ranch lay on the road connecting the town of Ramah to El Morro, giving him regular and exclusive opportunity to observe how many visitors drove out to the famous "Inscription Rock."[1723] Some stopped and asked for information, and on occasion Vogt offered to escort them to El Morro.[1724]

[1721] Barbara Vogt Mallery, *Bailing Wire and Gamuza: The True Story of a Family Ranch Near Ramah, New Mexico, 1905-1986* (New Mexico Magazine, 2003), 18.

[1722] The Vogts' eldest child, a daughter (b: 1917), died from meningitis at age one. They had four more children.

[1723] Rothman, *America's National Monuments: The Politics of Preservation* (1989), 112-114.

[1724] A. Dudley Gardner, *Wind, Water, and Stone: The Evolution of El Morro National Monument,* unpublished report, (Santa Fe Regional Office, National Park Service, April 1995), 151.

Since 1906, El Morro had been loosely administered by the General Land Office. The creation of the NPS in 1916 launched an attempt to professionalize administration of parks and monuments, including renewed efforts to preserve the historic inscriptions at El Morro.[1725] Vogt's proximity to El Morro, along with his many scholarly and well-placed connections, put him in mind when the General Land Office began considering the appointment of a custodian for El Morro in 1916. The GLO recommended him to the National Park Service when the monument was transferred to the agency later that same year. As a sheep rancher with seasonal income, Vogt needed supplementary income. He already kept an eye on the comings and goings of El Morro's visitors, and he had an interest in its preservation; the custodianship seemed a logical next step. Vogt commenced his official tenure on February 1, 1917. His starting salary sat at $36 per annum ($3 a month), enough to make the arrangement official in the government accounting books.[1726] On July 1, 1919, Vogt's salary increased to $240 per annum, and by Fiscal Year 1925 he earned $384 per annum.[1727]

Except for a nine-month departure from the custodianship in 1921-22—when Clare T. Smith temporarily assumed the custodianship—Vogt remained El Morro's custodian until 1936.[1728] He was very popular. Vogt had "an unusual combination of sophisticated urban and backcountry skills. He carried a tuxedo in his saddlebags for weekends with the wealthy merchants of Albuquerque and Las Vegas yet scrambled for jobs during the Depression."[1729] More importantly, he was a productive custodian. During his custodianship he initiated and supervised numerous improvements and developments at the monument, and he advocated for good access roads and regional highways. Well-connected, Vogt established unique arrangements with various commercial businesses to help cover the costs of publicity and interpretation of El Morro—such as the collaboration with TransWorld Airlines in which the company produced El Morro informational pamphlets so that airplane passengers could learn about the monument when they flew over it. Vogt also authored articles about the monument and other nearby sites—such as his pet project the El Malpais ice caves—for local newspapers and regional magazines and journals.[1730] While developing and promoting El Morro he also worked hard to preserve it. Vogt spent years testing methods for preventing deterioration and types of chemical preservants to apply to the historic inscriptions. In 1926, His pioneering approach at

---

[1725] Gardner, *Wind, Water, and Stone*, 49.

[1726] Equivalent to about $75 a month in 2025. See: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Official Register of the United States: 1917 Directory* (Washington: Department of Commerce, 1918), 831.

[1727] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Official Register of the United States: 1925 Directory* (Washington: Department of Commerce, 1926).

[1728] Vogt temporarily vacated the custodianship during the period December 29, 1921 through August 31, 1922. He sold his livestock at the end of 1921, leased his ranch, and in early January 1922 moved the family to Los Angeles, where he planned to engage in the livestock loan business. See: "E. Z. Vogt and Family Move to Los Angeles," *Albuquerque Journal*, January 3, 1922, 5.

[1729] Joan M. Jensen, "Beyond Pie Town: Mapping West Central New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 90, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 60.

[1730] For a list of most of his publications, see Mallery, *Bailing Wire and Gamuza*, 93-95.

times proved controversial, such as the removal of inscriptions made post-1906 by scraping them off the sandstone with an ax.[1731]

Evon Z. Vogt, Sr. probably would have continued as custodian beyond 1936. When Frank Pinkley finally received authorization from the Park Service to upgrade the El Morro custodianship to a permanent full-time position, he hoped to promote Vogt. But new federal regulations mandated that Pinkley select a permanent custodian from the Civil Service list. Vogt was too old to take the ranger exam and therefore ineligible.[1732] Forced to retire, Vogt turned to newspaper publishing and editing.[1733] In 1937, he bought the *Gallup Gazette* and rented an apartment in Gallup that served as his office until 1942.[1734] His son Evon Z. Vogt, Jr., an off-and-on temporary ranger-naturalist for Southwestern National Monuments, managed the family ranch. After the newspaper venture, Vogt secured a paid position working with the Ramah-area Navajo community as an Indian Service [Bureau of Indian Affairs] supervisor. It was a natural fit. Vogt had been working and socializing with the Navajos as their neighbor and friend for decades. The Indian Service job, plus his ranch work and active participation on various civic boards, kept Vogt busy—probably too much so. On January 26, 1943, Vogt suffered a major heart attack while pushing his pickup through the mud; he died later that day, age 62.[1735]

[1731] Taryn Marie D'Ambrogi, "The Writing on the Wall: A Cultural Landscape Study and Site Management Recommendations for Inscription Trail Loop, El Morro National Monument," M.S. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2009.

[1732] Mallery, *Bailing Wire and Gamuza*, 93.

[1733] Vogt's custodianship ended October 31, 1936. Unofficially, it ended months earlier. His son, Evon Z. Vogt, Jr., served as temporary ranger-in-charge during the summer of 1936 while Vogt was in Nevada on a gold mining venture. In November 1936 the NPS hired Robert Budlong off the Civil Service list to serve as El Morro's permanent custodian.

[1734] Mallery, *Bailing Wire and Gamuza*, 87.

[1735] Mallery, 113.

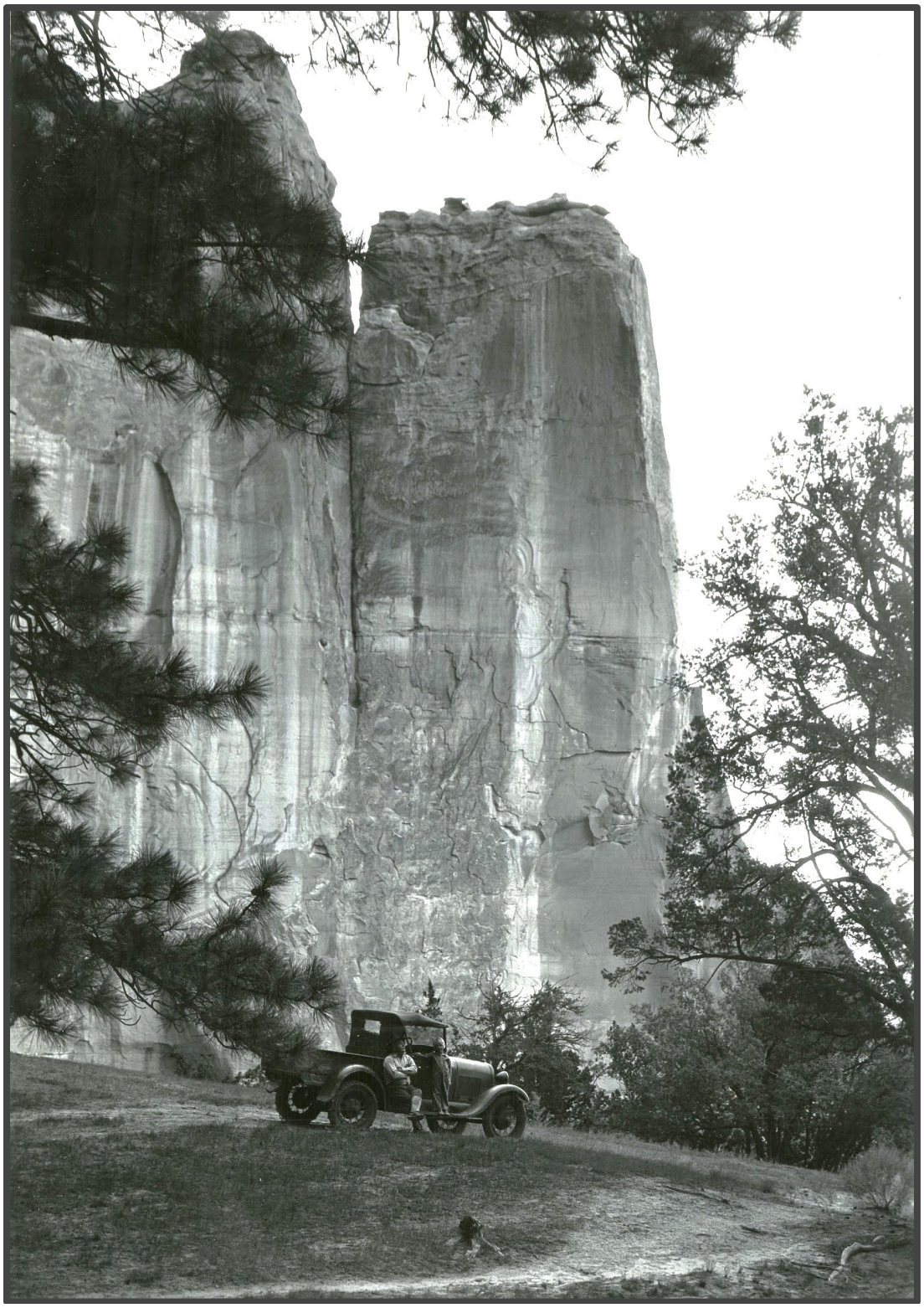


Figure 167. Evon Z. Vogt, Sr., custodian of El Morro National Monument, and his daughter Joan, pictured on the east side of Inscription Rock, by the cliff campgrounds. Photograph by George A. Grant, July 29, 1929. WACC (00496)

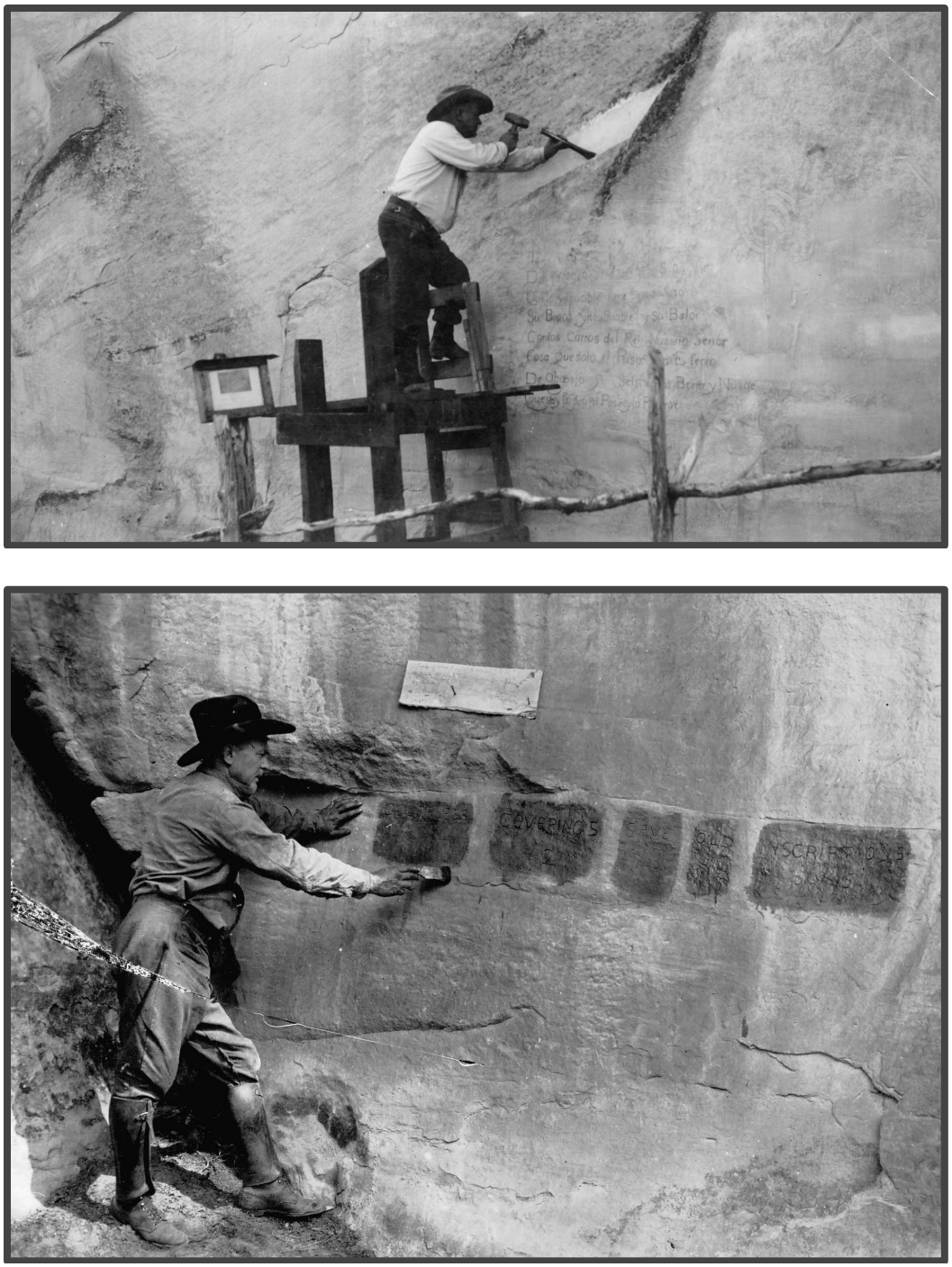


Figure 168. In the 1920s, El Morro custodian Evon Z. Vogt, Sr., chiseled grooves in the sandstone to reroute water away from the pre-1906 historic inscriptions (top). In 1926 Vogt tested five types of colorless consolidants on non-historic inscriptions at El Morro. Source: NPS photos



Figure 169. Evon Z. Vogt, Jr., son of the longtime custodian of El Morro, served as temporary ranger at several southwestern national monuments during the 1930s. Pictured in the middle between (left) ranger Francis Elmore and (right) Irving McNeil at Bandelier National Monument in 1939. Photograph by Natt N. Dodge. Source: WACC (00962)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albright, Horace M., and Marian Albright Schenck. *Creating the National Park Service: The Missing Years.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.

Albright, Horace M. "Isabelle Story: Talented Writer-Editor." *Courier* 4, no. 12 (December 1981): 22.

Baker, Steven Christopher, and Joan M. Zenzen. *Tumacácori National Historical Park: An Administrative History,* 2014.

Baur, John E. *The Health Seekers of Southern California, 1870–1900*. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1957. Reprint, 2010.

Bernardini, Wesley, et al., eds. *Becoming Hopi: A History.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2021.

Bingaman, John W. *Guardians of the Yosemite: A Story of the First Rangers.* Yosemite National Park: National Park Service, 1961.

Booth, Peter MacMillan. "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona, 1933-1942." M.A. Thesis, University of Arizona, 1991.

Bostwick, Todd W. *Byron Cummings: Dean of Southwest Archaeology.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2022.

Browman, David L. *Cultural Negotiations: The Role of Women in the Founding of Americanist Archaeology*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013

Brugge, David M. *A History of the Chaco Navajos*. Albuquerque: National Park Service, 1980.

Bryant, Harold C., and Wallace W. Atwood Jr. *Research and Education in the National Parks.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932.

Burchill, Mary D., with Colleen Olinger. *Lady of the Canyon: Evelyn Cecil Frey: A Tribute.* Los Alamos: Otowi Crossing Press.

Burns, Ned J. *Field Manual for Museums.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

Burtner, Marcus. "Crafting and Consuming an American Sonoran Desert: Global Visions, Regional Nature and National Meaning." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Arizona, 2012.

Caproni, Linnéa K. E. *Becoming "America's Pompeii": A Historic Resource Study of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, 1539–1918*, 2013.

———. "Casas Montezumas: Chorographies, Ancient Ruins, and Placemaking in the Salt and Gila River Valleys, Arizona, 1694-1868." Ph.D. Dissertation, Arizona State University, 2017.

Chandler, Alfred D., Jr. *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the Industrial Enterprise.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1961.

———. *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977.

Clayton, John. "Stephen Mather and the Founding of the National Park Service: 100 Years of Brand, Strategy and Self-Less Service." *Magic Magazine*, July 25, 2016.

Clemensen, A. Berle. *A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve, 1892–1992: Administrative History, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona.* Denver: National Park Service, 1992.

Conard, Rebecca. "John F. Lacey: Conservation's Public Servant." In *The Antiquities Act*, edited by David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley, 60–61. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006.

Dallett, Nancy. *Crooked River: The Creation and Preservation of Tuzigoot National Monument and Heritage Tourism in the Verde Valley.* VVAC Press: Camp Verde, Arizona.

D'Ambrogi, Taryn Marie. "The Writing on the Wall: A Cultural Landscape Study and Site Management Recommendations for Inscription Trail Loop, El Morro National Monument." M.S. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2009.

Dodge, Natt N. "Seven Star Superintendent: The Story of 'Boss' Pinkley, Part I." *National Parks Magazine* 32 (July–September 1958): 101–105.

———. "The Story of 'Boss' Pinkley, Part II." *National Parks Magazine* 32 (October–December 1958): 160–164.

Doelle, William H., ed. "The Casa Grande Community." A Special Issue of *Archaeology Southwest* 33, no. 4 (2019).

Douglass, A. E. "Dating Pueblo Bonito and Other Ruins of the Southwest." *National Geographic Society Technical Papers: Pueblo Bonito Series*, no. 1 (1935): 16.

Einberger, Scott. "The Triumph of Manic Mather: A Tale of Bipolar Disorder From the Annals of American History." *Psychology Today*, January 10, 2021.

Fewkes, J. W. "Casa Grande, Arizona." In *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 25–179. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912.

———. "Excavations at Casa Grande, Arizona, in 1906–07." *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 50 (October 1907): 290–293.

Foust, Ray C. "Frank Pinkley: National Park Service Pioneer." Unpublished seminar paper, University of Arizona, May 18, 1964. Folder 19, "Foust, Ray: Frank Pinkley NPS Pioneer 1964." Box 1, Series 1: Southwest National Monuments Materials, 1926–1956. Southwest Regional Office Library Archives (SWRO ACC 109). Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ.

Fowler, Don D. *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846–1930.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000.

Gart, Jason H. *A Narrative History of the Civilian Conservation Corps at Chiricahua National Monument, Cochise County, Arizona.* Mesa: History International, Inc., 2001.

Gastelum, Luis A. "Memories of My Youth at Tubac: From the Old Homestead to Adulthood." *Journal of Arizona History* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 1-32

Gladwin, Harold S. "Our First Expedition." *California Southland*, April 1927.

Glimpses of Our National Monuments. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930.

Harmon, David, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley, eds. *The Antiquities Act: A Century of American Archaeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006.

Harris, Sallie Brewer. "'Boss' Pinkley, Pioneer in the National Park Service." *Courier: The National Park Service Newsletter* 4, no. 4 (Apr 1981): 23-25.

Harris, Sallie Van Valkenburgh. "The Casa Grande of Arizona as a Landmark on the Desert, a Government Reservation, and a National Monument." *Kiva* 27, no. 3 (February 1962): 1–31.

Harrison, Laura Soullière, Randall Copeland, and Roger Buck. *Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico: Historic Structure Report, CCC Buildings.* Denver: National Park Service, 1988.

Hartman, Dana, and Arthur H. Wolf. "Archeological Assessment of Wupatki National Monument," Museum of Northern Arizona and the National Park Service, Feb. 1977, 7.

Haury, Emil W. "Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation: A History and Some Personal Notes." *Kiva* 54, no. 1 (1988).

Hayden, Julian D. *Field Man: Life as a Desert Archaeologist*. Edited by Bill Broyles and Diane E Boyer. Tucson: University Of Arizona Press, 2011.

Hayes, Alden C., David M. Brugge, and W. James Judge. *Archeological Surveys of Chaco Canyon, New Mexico*. Publications in Archeology 18A, Chaco Canyon Studies. Washington: National Park Service, 1981.

Hewett, Edgar L. *Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest and Their Preservation.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.

Hosmer, Charles B. "Verne E. Chatelain and the Development of the Branch of History of the National Park Service." *The Public Historian* 16, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 25-38.

Ise, John. *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961.

Jensen, Joan M. "Beyond Pie Town: Mapping West Central New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 90, no. 1 (Winter 2015).

Jewell, Donald P. "Frank Pinkley's Pioneering." *Desert Magazine* 22, no. 9 (Sept 1959): 12-13.

Jones, Courtney Reeder. *Letters from Wupatki*. Edited by Lisa B. Rappoport. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995.

Kaufman, Polly Welts. *National Parks and the Woman's Voice: A History*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006

King, Dale S. *Arizona's National Monuments.* Southwestern Monuments Association Popular Series, no. 2. Prescott: Prescott Courier, 1945.

———. "Notes and News." *American Antiquity* 4, no. 1 (July 1938): 70–71.

Lamb, Susan. "Toward Public Understanding of the National Parks: The First Seventy Years of Western National Parks Association." Western National Parks, 2008.

Lee, Lloyd L. *Nihikéyah: Navajo Homeland.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2023.

Lee, Ronald F. *Family Tree of the National Park System*. Philadelphia: Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1972.

Lewis, Ralph H. *Museum Curatorship in the National Parks, 1904–1982.* Washington: National Park Service, Curatorial Services Division, 1993.

Lister, Florence C., and Robert H. Lister. *Aztec Ruins National Monument: Administrative History of an Archeological Preserve.* Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1990.

Lubick, George B. *Petrified Forest National Park: A Wilderness Bound in Time.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996.

Mackintosh, Barry. *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1986.

———. ed. *The First 75 Years: Preserving Our Past for the Future*. Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1990.

———. "The National Park Service Moves into Historical Interpretation." *Public Historian* 9, no. 2 (1987): 51-63.

———. *Visitor Fees in the National Park System: A Legislative and Administrative History.* Washington: National Park Service,1983.

MacVaugh, Frederick Earle. "Preserving the Underground: The Creation of Carlsbad Caverns National Park, 1922-1930." M.A. Thesis, University of Texas, 2000.

Makeda, Lillian. "A Fly in the Amber: Route 66 Architecture at Petrified Forest National Monument." *Buildings & Landscapes* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 53-81.

Marx, Fritz Morstein. "The Bureau of the Budget: Its Overview and Present Role, I." *American Political Science Review* 39, no. 4 (August 1945): 653–668.

McClatchy, Leo. "'The Boss' at Casa Grande Ruins." *Desert Magazine* 2, no. 9 (July 1939): 18-20.

McClelland, Linda Flint. *Building the Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997

Meringolo, Denise D. *Museums, Monuments, and National Parks: Toward a New Genealogy of Public History.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012.

Michigan: *A Centennial History of the State and Its People.* Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1939.

Miller, Kristin A. *Behind the Adobe Wall: An Administrative History of the Southwest Regional Office.* Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1990.

Moore, Will. *Southwestern National Monuments: Frank Pinkley and the Rise of the National Park System.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2025.

———. "Stabilization: Park Ranger Charlie Steen and the Southwestern National Monuments through the Depression and War." *Journal of Arizona History* 62, no. 1 (Spring 2021): 39-69.

Nash, Stephen Edward. "A History of Archaeological Tree-Ring Dating." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Arizona, 1997.

National Park Service. *Southwestern National Monuments.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937.

Olberding, Susan Deaver. "Telling the Story: The Museum of Northern Arizona." *Plateau*, New Series, no. 2. Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, Harold S. Colton Research Center, 1997.

Olsen, Russ. *Administrative History: Organizational Structures of the National Park Service, 1917 to 1985.* Washington: National Park Service, 1985.

Otis, Alison T., William D. Honey, Thomas C. Hogg, and Kimberly K. Lakin. *The Forest Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942.* Washington: Department of Agriculture, 1986.

Pendery, Tyson. "Wupatki National Monument: Archaeology and Tourism, 1900-1956." M.A. Thesis, Northern Arizona University, 2005.

Phillips, Steven J., and Patricia Wentworth Comus, eds. *A Natural History of the Sonoran Desert.* Tucson and Berkeley: Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum Press and University of California Press, 2000.

Pickens, Buford L., ed. *The Missions of Northern Sonora: A 1935 Field Documentation.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993.

Piekielek, Jessica. "Creating a Park, Building a Border: The Establishment of Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument and the Solidification of the U.S.-Mexico Border." *Journal of the Southwest* 58, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 1-27

Pinto, Robin L. "The Civilian Conservation Corps at Chiricahua National Monument: A Cultural Landscape For Interpretation." *In* Samantha Weber, ed., *Engagement, Education, and Expectations: The Future of Parks and Protected Areas: Proceedings of the 2015 George Wright Society Conference on Parks, Protected Areas, and Cultural Sites*. (Hancock, Michigan: The George Wright Society, 2016), 77.

———, and R. Brooks Jeffery. *The History of Ranching at Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument Pima County, Arizona: A Thematic Context Statement*. Tucson: Desert Southwest Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit, 2009.

Protas, Albert H. *A Past Preserved in Stone: A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument*. Tucson: Western National Parks Association, 2002.

Purcell, David E. *An Administrative History of Arches National Park*. Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 2019.

Richert, Roland. "Richard Gordon Vivian, 1908-1966." *American Antiquity* 32, no.1 (Jan. 1967): 100-103.

———, and R. Gordon Vivian, eds. "Ruins Stabilization in the Southwestern United States." *Publications in Archeology* 10. Washington: National Park Service, 1974.

Righter, Robert W. "National Monuments to National Parks: The Use of the Antiquities Act of 1906." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (Aug 1989): 281-301.

Rothman, Hal. *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

———. *America's National Monuments: The Politics of Preservation.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994.

———. *Bandelier National Monument: An Administrative History.* Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1988.

———. "Conflict on the Pajarito: Frank Pinkley, the Forest Service, and the Bandelier Controversy, 1925–32." *Journal of Forest History* 29, no. 2 (April 1985): 68–77.

———. "Forged by One Man's Will: Frank Pinkley and the Administration of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1923–1932." *The Public Historian* 8, no. 2 (Spring 1986): 83–100.

———. "Second-Class Sites: National Monuments and the Growth of the National Park System." *Environmental Review* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 44–56.

———. "'A Regular Ding-Dong Fight': Agency Culture and Evolution in the NPS–USFS Dispute, 1916–1937." *Western Historical Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (May 1989): 141–161.

Rucker, Daniel J. "Negotiating Ruins Preservation: Collaboration and Social Change at the Flagstaff Area National Monuments." M.A. Thesis, Northern Arizona University, 2013.

Runte, Alfred. *National Parks: The American Experience.* 3rd ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Russell, Peter. *Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument: An Administrative History*. Santa Fe: Southwest Cultural Resources Center, 1992.

Salmond, John A. *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942: A New Deal Case Study.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1967.

Sánchez, Joseph P., with Bruce A. Érickson and Jerry L. Gurulé. *Between Two Countries: The Story Behind Coronado National Memorial.* Albuquerque: Spanish Colonial Research Center, 2001.

Scherer, James A. B. "The Southwest Museum, First Expedition 1927—Lower Gila Basin, Arizona." *California Southland*, April 1927.

Schneider-Hector, Dietmar. *Frank Pinkley and the Southwestern National Monuments, 1923–1957: The Clouds Are Rolling By.* Hillsboro, NM: Percha Creek Press, 2021.

———. *Frank Pinkley: The Boss on the Lone Post.* Hillsboro, NM: Percha Creek Press, 2021.

———. *Sundipped Memories of Frank Pinkley.* Hillsboro, NM: Percha Creek Press, 2003.

Sellars, Richard West. *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997.

———. "Historic Preservation in the National Park System and the 1916 National Park Service Act, Part I." *National Parks Traveler*, July 30, 2012.

Shankland, Robert. *Steve Mather of the National Parks.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954.

Schroeder, Albert H., ed. *Collected Papers in Honor of Erik Kellerman Reed*. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico, vol. 6. Albuquerque: Archaeological Society Press, 1981.

———, and Homer F. Hastings. 1958. *Montezuma Castle National Monument*. Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1989.

Scott, David O. W. "Wupatki and Sunset Crater: An Administrative History." M.A. Thesis, Northern Arizona University, 1989.

Smith, Watson, and Benjamin W. Smith. "One Man's Archaeology." *Kiva* 57, no.2 (1992).

Sontag, William. *National Park Service: The First 75 Years*. Philadelphia: Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1990.

Sproul, David Kent. *A Bridge between Cultures: An Administrative History of Rainbow Bridge National Monument*. Denver: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2001.

Story, Isabelle F. *The National Parks and Emergency Conservation*. Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1933.

Stoutamire, William. "Creating the Monuments: Exploiting, Owning, and Protecting the Past in Flagstaff, Arizona." Ph.D. Dissertation, Arizona State University, 2013.

Tibbits, Timothy J. and Gloria J. Maender, eds. *First Conference on Research and Resource Management in Southern Arizona National Park Areas, Extended Abstracts*. Ajo, AZ: National Park Service, 1998.

University of South Dakota, University Libraries, Archives & Special Collections. Mabel Townsley Papers, 1887-1968. Vermillion, South Dakota.

Unrau, Harland D., and G. Frank Williss. *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s.* Washington: National Park Service, 1983.

Vivian, R. Gordon. *Manual for Ruins Stabilization.* National Park Service Administrative Manual, No. 23. Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1949.

Waiwood, Patricia. "Recession of 1937–38." *Federal Reserve History*. November 22, 2013.

Weber, Samantha, ed. *Engagement, Education, and Expectations: The Future of Parks and Protected Areas: Proceedings of the 2015 George Wright Society Conference on Parks, Protected Areas, and Cultural Sites*. Hancock, MI: George Wright Society, 2016.

Wegman-French, Lysa. *Chiricahua National Monument: Faraway Ranch Special History Study.* Intermountain Cultural Resource Management Professional Paper no. 72. Santa Fe: National Park Service, Intermountain Region, 2006.

Welsh, Michael E. *Dunes and Dreams: A History of White Sands National Monument*. *Administrative History.* Intermountain Cultural Resource Center Professional Paper no. 55. Santa Fe: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1995.

Wilcox, David R. "Seizing the Moment: Collaboration and Cooperation in the Founding and Growth of the Museum of Northern Arizona." *Journal of the Southwest* 52, no. 4 (Winter 2010): 456-460.

William, Gerald W. *The USDA Forest Service—The First Century.* Washington: Department of Agriculture, 2005.

Winks, Robin W. "The National Park Service Act of 1916: A Contradictory Mandate." *Denver Law Review* 74, no. 3 (January 1997): 575–623.

Winslow, David C. "Army Paradise." *National Parks Magazine* 17, no. 72 (January–March 1943): 5.

Wirth, Conrad L. *Parks, Politics, and the People.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

Wolfe, Jenette L. "Salinas Pueblo Missions: The Early History." M.A. Thesis, University of New Mexico, 2013.

Woodbury, Richard B. "Looking Back at the Pecos Conference." *Kiva* 48, no. 4 (Summer 1983): 257–268.

Workman, R. Bryce. "Ironing Out the Wrinkles, 1920–1932." National Park Service Uniform Series, no. 3 (1995).