

GILA CLIFF DWELLINGS

Administrative History



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DEDICATION

To David, Maria, and Sharman.

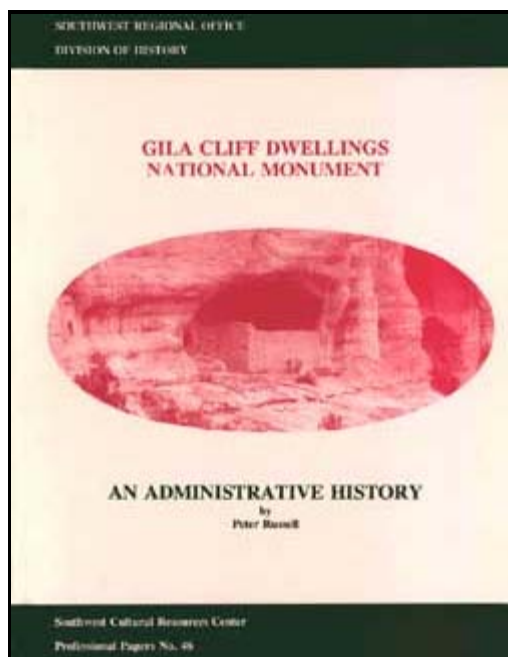
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Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument: An Administrative History

Peter Russell

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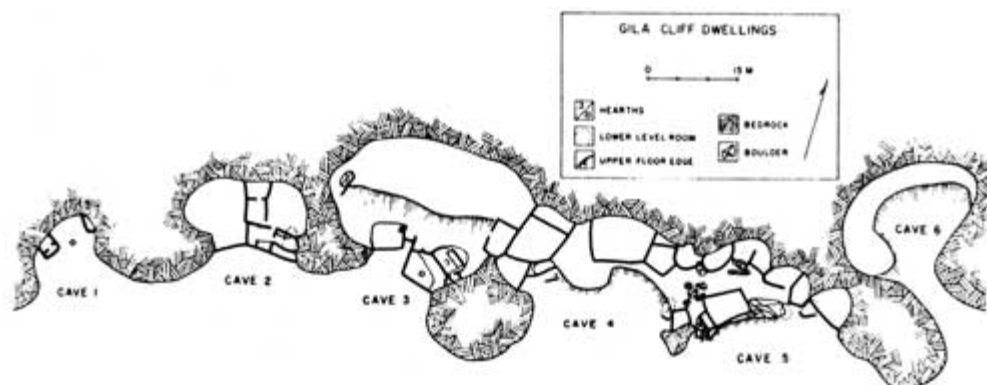
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INTRODUCTION



Floor plan of the caves sheltering the Gila cliff dwellings.
([click on image for an enlargement in a new window](#))

Summary: Significance of Cultural Resources

When Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was established in 1907 to protect the prehistoric architecture known at the time as the Gila Hot Springs Cliff-Houses, there had been little investigation of the local archeology. Furthermore, the general taxonomies of culture were still inadequate for the distinctiveness of these prehistoric remains to be recognized.

Since that time the Mogollon culture has been accepted as a distinct and important prehistoric culture that was endemic to southwestern New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and adjacent areas of northern Mexico and western Texas. Near the center of this culture area lie the headwaters of the Gila River and Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Since 1955, these headwaters have been recognized as an area of special archeological wealth, with more than 103 prehistoric sites identified within several miles of the West Fork-Middle Fork confluence. In 1962, the original 160-acre monument was nearly tripled in size and is now known to incorporate 45 of these sites, including the TJ Ruin, a open pueblo that contains perhaps 200 rooms.

In the system of national parks, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument is the only unit that contains Mogollon sites. The known prehistoric sites on the monument range from Archaic rock shelters through Early and Late Pit House and Classic Pueblo periods to an Apache [1] grave—a complete 2,000-year sequence of local cultural development, ranging from semi-permanent habitations to large villages with multiple spheres of influence and then to abandonment and later reoccupation of the area by nomads. The archeological resources of the monument may help scientists to trace and understand regional evolutions in subsistence strategies, settlement patterns, social organization, trade networks, and demography.

Although in the center of the Mogollon area, the monument lies on the periphery of the Mimbres branch, a subset of the larger culture that was centered in the Mimbres Valley and that is famous for its painted pottery. At the headwaters of the Gila, Mimbres populations

adjoined another more northern branch of the culture. The TJ Ruin, for example, is a Classic Mimbres phase pueblo; the cliff dwellings are Tularosa phase, the product of a prehistoric population that more commonly built near the present town of Reserve. Consequently, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument contains archeological resources that may also help to clarify the relationships between the various cultural branches and to understand the origins and dispersal of cultural innovations.

Finally, with the exception of the cliff dwellings, which had been more or less rifled before the turn of the century, the monument preserves sites that are nearly unique in southwestern New Mexico for their relatively undisturbed nature. An old and increasingly lucrative market in Mimbres pottery has led to the despoliation of 95% of Mimbres sites in the surrounding area. Lamented by professional archeologists since the 1920s, this vandalism continues today, destroying prehistoric architecture and the important context of associated artifacts. In other words, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument preserves an archeological resource that is vanishing rapidly elsewhere.

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Chapter I: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT

History of Tenure and Development Until 1933

"In that country which lies around the headwaters of the Gila River I was reared. This range was our fatherland; among these mountains our wigwams were hidden; the scattered valleys contained our fields; the boundless prairies, stretching away on every side, were our pastures; the rocky caverns were our burying places."--Geronimo. [1]

Not a single map records an Apache name for any place on the headwaters of the Gila River, which for at least 250 years was their domain: these names were lost when the land was lost. Apache words for the narrow beautiful place now called Cliff Dweller Canyon are no longer remembered, and the Apache presence is recorded only by a pictograph, drawn in characteristic thin black lines, a few sherds of pottery lying on two ledges, and a burial that has been vandalized. [2] These meager, even melancholic, artifacts give not the slightest hint of the fierce dominion Apaches once wielded over the Spanish borderlands, raiding throughout what is now New Mexico, Arizona, Chihuahua, and Sonora.

The word *Apache* appears to be a Spanish corruption of the Zuni word *Apachu* that means enemy and that reveals an early local assessment of these Athapaskan-speaking hunters who had drifted down the continent from what is now the interior of Alaska and northwestern Canada. [3] The duration of this migration is debated, but linguistic studies suggest that the Apaches arrived in the American Southwest around A.D. 1400 although there is no archeological evidence to confirm this date. [4] The first historical reference to a people that may have been Apache occurs in the journals of Pedro de Castenada, who accompanied Coronado on his expedition up the Rio Grande in 1540, searching for the seven golden cities of Cibola. [5]

In 1628, while ministering in San Antonio de la Senacu, not far from the present Bosque del Apache Wildlife Refuge, the traveling Franciscan cleric Fray Alonso de Benavides encountered a few visitors whom he specifically identified as Apaches del Xila from west of the Rio del Norte (Rio Grande). [6] The name of these people eventually appeared on a map published in 1650 by Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville and with a slight drift to the south remained on maps for the next two hundred years. [7] These people and Apaches in general, according to Alonso de Benavides, were a fierce people of superior intelligence with a marked aversion to lying, and there were a lot of them, enough to completely surround New Mexico and to commonly field armies of 30,000. Undoubtedly the Franciscan was wrong about the numbers, but the error probably reflects local concern about Apache potential for havoc.

Twelve years after the Great Pueblo Revolt in 1680, Gila Apaches were raiding Nuevo Vizcaya (present-day Chihuahua and Durango) from the north, beginning centuries of conflict. [8] These raids could be devastating. In the years 1771-1776, for example, 1,674 Spaniards were killed, 154 were captured, 100 ranches were abandoned, and 68,000 livestock animals were stolen. [9] Large retaliatory expeditions were launched into the headwaters of

the Gila by the Spanish military, starting in 1747 [10] and continuing at intervals almost for the next 40 years, but these expeditions were little deterrence to a people that dispersed quickly in the mountains, lived off the land, and favored guerrilla tactics.

Despite hostilities, some Gila Apaches made occasional peaceful visits to the Spanish frontier settlements. [11] These visits suggest the curious nature of conflict waged by a culture of roving, loosely affiliated bands that raided for booty, revenge, or personal status and not for conquest: an Apache band could be raiding one settlement and at peace and trading with another. Stolen livestock was the most common Apache trade commodity, and the preferred coin of exchange was liquor and arms. [12] Naturally, these trades could be volatile, but they were sufficiently lucrative that dread Apaches who came to sell horses could for the occasion be eagerly received. The ambiguities of the Apache system of conflict and intermittent or partial peace endlessly complicated, confused, and embittered relations between Apaches on the one hand and Spaniards, Mexicans, and finally Americans on the other.

Although retaliatory expeditions by the Spanish military were largely failures, they did provide opportunities to explore Apacheria. In 1756 and the following year as well, Father Bartolome Saenz accompanied two military forays around the upper Gila River, and he reported on the country to his Jesuit superior in Mexico City, noting good mission sites, commenting on the biota, and making observations about the Apache way of life. [13] Along the Gila at Todos Santos (near the present town of Gila), he also observed pueblo sites, which he correctly inferred to be ancient. Saenz was the first man to record the presence of prehistoric ruins on the upper Gila River. Narrow geography and boulder-strewn water discouraged the mounted expedition from ascending the river past Turkey Creek to the more remote country where Gila Cliff Dwellings lay.

Apaches blocked northern expansion by the Spanish Empire, and by the last decades of the eighteenth century the Spaniards tacitly acquiesced to this state of affairs. In 1786, Bernardo de Galvez, the new viceroy of Mexico and a former campaigner against Apaches, advocated a new approach to peace on the frontier: regular rations for good behavior by Apaches, vigorous and timely punishment for hostile acts, and a diplomacy calculated to quietly disrupt Native American alliances. [14] By the 1790s some Gila Apaches began to settle on reserves around frontier presidios like Janos, and for the next forty years raiding subsided into an uneasy peace. Even unpacified bands ranging on the headwaters of the Gila River more or less respected the accommodation. [15]

After independence from Spain in 1821, Mexico continued the same Apache policies. The new country radically changed another border policy, however, welcoming previously proscribed trade with Americans, and long ox-drawn caravans between Independence, Missouri, and Santa Fe soon began wearing ruts into the prairie. With the traders came fur-trappers, pursuing beaver in the untapped streams and tributaries of the Rio Grande, the Gila, and the Colorado.

Among the first on the Gila was a party of trappers that included Sylvester Pattie and his son James Ohio Pattie. [16] In 1825 the Americans stopped for one night at the Santa Rita mines, a fortified outpost built in 1804 to exploit well-known copper deposits. [17] On the Gila River the trapping party split up. Young Pattie and a companion ascended the river "sometimes on our hands and knees, through a thick tangle of grape-vines and under-brush" in dread of bears. [18] They passed the Gila Hot Springs, clambering finally two days along the West Fork before crossing over to the Middle Fork and descending the river to where Sylvester Pattie waited. If he saw cliff dwellings, James Ohio Pattie did not record them in his journal, but he did observe that there were not "beaver enough to recompense us for our trouble." [19]

A year later, four different bands of American trappers, numbering almost 100 men, also launched expeditions on the Gila River, [20] and until 1838, when the mines were abandoned because of flooding shafts and renewed Apache hostility, [21] Santa Rita became a well-known stop for men like Bill Williams, Michael Robidoux, Ewing Young, Kit Carson, and James Kirker. These trappers, who usually travelled in large groups, were intent on snaring beaver and watching for Apaches, and there is no record that they noticed prehistoric ruins.

In 1831, after 40 or so years of relative peace, the Mexican government ended the regular supply of rations to Apaches--as an economy--and raiding recommenced in earnest. [22] Despite a brief peace negotiated at Santa Rita in 1832, events spiraled into increasing viciousness, culminating with Sonora's renewed offer in 1835 of bounties for Apache scalps. A year after the abandonment of Santa Rita in 1838, the state of Chihuahua also started a bounty on scalps and contracted with James Kirker, who eventually earned 25,000 pesos on this contract and later claimed to have killed 487 Apaches during his entire career. [23] An account by George Ruxton who was traveling through Chihuahua in 1845 describes the celebration of a Kirker victory: "...with scalps carried on poles, Kirker's party entered Chihuahua [city]--in procession, headed by the governor and priests, with bands of music escorting them in triumph to the town." [24] The Apaches, of course, had their own program of revenge and counter-revenge, and the country drained by the headwaters of the Gila River, became an excellent place to avoid.

American soldiers entered this bloody scene in 1846, during the Mexican-American War. In October of that year, Kit Carson guided Brig. Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny and his troops through the Mimbres Mountains on their way to complete the conquest of California. Accompanying Kearny was Lt. William H. Emory, who in 1844 had constructed--often from inaccurate sources--a master map of the Southwest for the Army Topographical Engineers. [25] Emory was now able to survey with instruments the path of Kearny's expedition, observations that contributed to his development of another map, which became the standard reference for years. This map was published first in 1851 with the bold words *Unexplored Territory* across a void on the paper that corresponded to the headwaters of the Gila. [26]

Reporting on his work under Kearny, Lieutenant Emory also included some observations about the ruins at Pecos, Casa Grande on the lower Gila, and other sites along the same river, beginning "almost singlehandedly...the study of Southwestern archaeology." [27]

At the close of the Mexican-American War, under terms of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico ceded nearly half its territory to the United States, including the unpacified lands of Apacheria that contained Gila Cliff Dwellings. The discovery of gold that same year in California encouraged men to travel across the southern edge of the Apache lands, but it was acknowledged "exceedingly hazardous for any but large parties to attempt to pass through their country...." [28]

Over the next ten years, gradual and cautious encroachment by Americans only tattered the edges of Apacheria, and a moderate peace was negotiated. In 1860, however, a gold strike at Pinos Altos sent 700 miners swarming into mountains above Santa Rita, and the peace unraveled in a series of reprisals for stolen stock, dead Apaches, and the egregious public whipping of Mangas Coloradas, a leader of legendary ferocity. The advent of the Civil War, which preoccupied the western garrisons and siphoned troops to the east, and the cessation of the Butterfield Overland Stage line emboldened the Apaches, who drove the settlers out of the Mimbres Valley and effectively closed the mines at Pinos Altos and around Santa Rita. In 1862, following the expulsion of Confederate forces from New Mexico, Brevet Brig. Gen. James Henry Carleton launched a campaign of extermination against the Apaches that lasted beyond his own transfer to Texas in late 1866. [29]

Eventually the Apaches tired. Mangas Colorado was killed under a white flag, and by 1870 even the notorious but aging Cochise was negotiating for peace with the observation that "although [his people] had killed many whites, they had lost many braves so that now he had more women and children to provide for than with a war he could protect, that he desired peace, would talk straight...." [30] The site of these negotiations was Ojo Caliente, on the east side of the Black Range and just upstream from Canada Alamosa, a Mexican settlement and an outpost of Fort MacRae. [31] Ojo Caliente quickly evolved as an informal reservation, and within a year 1,000 Apaches were drawing rations there. [32] In the mid-1850s American authorities had sought to establish reservations for reluctant Apaches on the Mimbres River, and plans in 1860 to set aside 225 square miles around Santa Lucia and the Gila River had dissipated in the hot winds of war. In 1870, the year silver was struck west of Santa Rita, the development of suitable reservations for the Apaches became policy, and the Southwest was made many times safer for settlers--at the expense of Apache rights.

Canada Alamosa was only briefly a reservation, in part because Cochise refused to settle there. In 1872, he received a reservation in the Chiricahua Mountains, and the Mimbrenos were allotted a reservation along the Tularosa River, in unsettled country and far from the whiskey traders at Canada Alamosa. Disliked by the Mimbrenos and expensive to supply from the Rio Grande, Fort Tularosa was closed in 1874, and the Apaches were moved back to Ojo Caliente. Shortly afterwards, the United States government began a policy of closing smaller reservations in order to concentrate Apaches in one place. Within three years all Apaches west of the Rio Grande had been moved to the low country around San Carlos, Arizona.

In September 1877, however, Victorio, a powerful and discontented Mimbreno leader, stole horses from White Mountain Apaches and fled with his band towards the malpais below Fort Wingate. Although he surrendered shortly afterwards, Victorio refused to return to San Carlos, and his rebellion inaugurated nearly a decade of breakouts from that notorious reservation, deadly raids by broncho or "unpacified" Apaches out of Mexico, and relentless military maneuvers of pursuit. In 1880, Victorio was killed in Mexico, but as late as 1885, despite encirclement by mining and farming communities, the Gila headwaters were still remote enough to hide a few non-reservation Indians, who discouraged settlers.

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Chapter II: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT 1933-1955 EXECUTIVE ORDER 6166

On June 10, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 6166, an act that transferred to the Park Service control of "public buildings, national monuments, and national cemeteries." [1] The act was the culmination of many years of lobbying by Stephen Mather, the first director of the Park Service, and of his successor Horace Albright. This administrative reorganization effectively doubled the number of units managed by the agency. Included in the transfer was Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, as well as all the other national monuments administered by the Department of Agriculture and the Department of War.

Beyond the new prominence that is commonly proportional to size, the reorganization also gave the Park Service a substantial presence east of the Mississippi River, where most of the American people lived. At stake, Albright confessed years later, was the survival of the agency's political independence. Before 1933, the influence of the Park Service had been limited almost exclusively to remote areas in the largely unpopulated lands of the American West. Executive Order 6166 gave the agency a genuinely national scope and constituency as well as a new mandate, making "the Park Service a very strong agency with such a distinctive and independent field of service as to end its possible eligibility for merger or consolidation with another bureau." [2] Specifically, that "bureau" was the Forest Service, which since Gifford Pinchot's administration had challenged the necessity of its rival.

In addition to giving the Park Service jurisdiction over further natural and scenic resources, the reorganization and the Historic Sites Act that was passed soon afterwards gave the agency sole responsibility for preserving the nation's archeological and historical heritage, a field in which the Forest Service had no standing.

During the bureaucratic tug of war that had accompanied the establishment in 1916 of the Park Service, legislation to consolidate the administration of all the national monuments in the new agency had been challenged vigorously by the Forest Service. Later, the proposal had been dropped. In 1933, however, the Forest Service was slow in responding to Executive Order 6166, which again proposed consolidation. For largely unknown reasons, opposition was not formally expressed until late September, more than six weeks after Executive Order 6166 had become effective. Based on a loophole in the legislation, the secretary of agriculture appealed the transfer belatedly, observing that the monuments "were essential to the work of this department and should not therefore be transferred." [3]

Complicating the orchestration of clear and forceful opposition on the part of the Forest Service was a confusing dialogue that its staff was having with representatives of the Park Service. Initially, it seems, the Park Service did not propose to acquire all 16 of the monuments that lay within boundaries of the national forests. Precisely which monuments

were wanted, however, is not clear from the historical record. By different authorities, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument is cited as one the Park Service did want and one that it didn't want. [4] The administrative fates of Sunset Crater, Tonto, Walnut Canyon, and Chiricahua national monuments were clouded by the same ambiguity.

This confusion may also have stemmed from conflict within the ranks of the two agencies as well as between them. In the Park Service, for example, Frank "Boss" Pinkley, the notoriously independent superintendent of Southwest Monuments, certainly opposed the establishment of Saguaro National Monument, an acquisition the Washington office was actively promoting. [5] In this way, dialogue between agency officials at the local Southwestern level and their ensuing recommendations may have conflicted with the larger and political interests of the central bureaucracies. This conflict may have generated the kind of contradictory correspondence that has been preserved.

Whatever the complexities and perceptions may have been, the appeal was rejected and a negotiated division of jurisdiction over the monuments also failed. On January 28, 1934, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes reported that the administration of all the Forest Service monuments had indeed been transferred. [6]

An unfortunate legacy of the inconclusive dialogue between the two agencies was an embittered perception that the Park Service had reneged on a verbal agreement to take only some of those monuments. For years this sense of betrayal additionally strained an already contentious rivalry. [7]

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Chapter III: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT 1955 TO 1991

In the wake of the revised MISSION 66 prospectus, archeologists Steen and Vivian respectively drafted a formal report and an archeological resume that outlined the new importance of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument and the nearby ruins. [1] Steen concluded with a proposal that between 1,000 and 1,200 acres be added to the monument, in a narrow strip descending the river as far as and including the TJ Ruin. To Vivian's resume was attached a map of the newly proposed boundaries for the monument. All of this land was administered either by the Gila National Forest or the New Mexico Department of Game and Fish, which had purchased the Heart Bar Ranch in 1951 as part of a long-term project to reintroduce elk into the area.

In order to negotiate new boundaries for the monument that would be satisfactory to all agencies concerned, it was agreed to hold a joint meeting at the site in September 1956. Colonel Ely attended this meeting, as well. He reported that the Forest Service had no objections to the Park Service consolidating its holdings. [2] Actually, however, forest staff had already expressed opposition to including West Fork and East Fork trails within the extended boundaries, citing their reluctance to hamper access into the wilderness for recreation and hunting. [3] The game department shared this concern about access.

Eventually a compromise between agencies was reached. This compromise entailed dividing an expanded monument into two tracts: 320 adjacent acres of wilderness would be added to the 160 originally set aside as Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, and a separate tract of 140 acres at the TJ Ruin would be transferred to the Park Service, as well.

The proposed division appeared to accommodate everyone. The TJ tract, it seemed, was large enough to hold the proposed headquarters, parking, service areas, and exhibits for the monument; and most of the land in the river canyon between the TJ site and the cliff dwellings remained with the Forest Service and the game department. In addition, Homer Pickens, the director of the game department, informally agreed with the Forest Service to trade 35 acres of the Heart Bar Ranch in exchange for forest and Bureau of Land Management lands elsewhere in New Mexico. This Heart Bar site could then be used as a headquarters for the Wilderness District of the Gila National Forest. [4]

A minor glitch soon appeared, however. When the Park Service had the TJ area surveyed in 1957, the boundary corners did not match the original survey, a misalignment that delayed progress on the necessary withdrawals until after Homer Pickens retired. [5] In February 1958, a survey crew from the Bureau of Land Management re-set some missing section corners near Gila Cliff Dwellings and the TJ site; and five months later, when the West Fork was sufficiently low to cross in vehicles, representatives of the Park Service, the Forest Service, and the game department met again at the TJ site. [6]

Meanwhile, a new problem had arisen. A few days before the meeting, Sam Servis, from the supervisor's office of the Gila National Forest, and Gordon Hammon, from the regional office of the Forest Service, toured the TJ site together and agreed that the Park Service was asking for too much land. [7] If the much discussed Copperas road were built, a right-of-way might have to be established near the ruin. And recreational facilities as well as a forest ranger station might also have to be constructed. Servis and Hammon believed that the expanded albeit divided monument would still control the best sites for those developments.

In part, behind this new and more restrictive line was concern that the new director of New Mexico Game and Fish would not abide by the informal understanding to exchange the Heart Bar headquarters area for land elsewhere. [8] At the interagency meeting on July 8, the Park Service representatives could not agree to a reduced TJ tract, however, and the meeting adjourned inconclusively. [9]

Finally, in December 1958, the unraveling ends of the earlier understanding were gathered into a new compromise. Fred Kennedy, the regional forester, revealed at yet another interagency meeting that he was planning to proceed with the withdrawal of the land adjacent to the TJ Ruin for his own agency's administrative purposes. At that point, Harthorn Bill, the assistant regional director for the Park Service, suggested that the administrative site might be used jointly. [10] Subsequently, Bill's inspiration was accepted by both agencies. It was justified as an opportunity to avoid duplication of services, to reduce construction and operating costs, and to model cooperative relations.

In the final agreement, 53 acres around the TJ Ruin and 320 acres adjacent to the original 1907 withdrawal were to be added to Gila Cliff Dwelling National Monument. An easement 300 feet wide was also to be reserved along the West Fork for public travel, resolving the long-standing concern about access through the narrow canyon to the wilderness.

To legally revise the monument boundaries required either an act of Congress or a proclamation of the president, using the authority provided by the 1906 Antiquities Act. On April 17, 1962, Presidential Proclamation No. 3467 was signed. Its publication three days later in the *Federal Register* consummated the transfer of land. [11] For the sake of simplicity, this proclamation additionally transferred to the Park Service title to the original 160 acres. When the land had been reserved in 1907, it had been endowed with a dual status as national monument and as a property of the Gila National Forest. Curiously, the executive order in 1933 had not revoked the dual status.

Also, shortly before President John F. Kennedy signed the document expanding the monument, the Forest Service withdrew—by means of Public Land Order 2655—107 acres adjacent to the proposed TJ unit of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. [12] The interagency understanding to use this withdrawal as a joint administrative site was subsequently realized through a cooperative agreement that was formalized on July 22, 1964. [13]

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Chapter IV: HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY UNTIL 1962

The shelf of documented archeology at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument and the surrounding area is short: in brief, excavation was primarily to salvage artifacts and was usually a byproduct of efforts to stabilize architecture at the cliff site. The reasons for the brevity and informality of archeological investigation are relatively complex, however, and stem in varying proportions from remote geography, the historical and theoretical evolution of archeology in the Southwest, and common as well as official perceptions about ruins on the headwaters of the Gila River.

Amateurs, Vandals, And Mummies

The first published record of a cultural site on the upper Gila is the brief hand-lettered notation "Cliff Dwellings" on an 1884 subdivision map of Township 12 South Range 14 West of the principal base and meridian in the territory of New Mexico. [1] This map also depicts within two miles of the prehistoric site five cabins up and down the West Fork of the Gila River and a road between the mouth of the unnamed canyon that contained the dwellings and the cultivated and irrigated land of a man named Rodgers, not far from the present Heart Bar headquarters. In view of these improvements, the surveyor was obviously not the first citizen to see the cliff dwellings.

In fact, Henry B. Ailman had already visited these ruins in 1878 during a very informal prospecting trip to the headwaters of the Gila. In his memoirs, written years after the visit and published only posthumously in 1983, his description of the prehistoric site documents an unfortunate but common American activity: he looked for relics. [2] In this case, Ailman found only small corncobs, although the following year he reported that other men found the swaddled desiccated body of an infant, which was brought out of the wilds, photographed, and shipped to the Smithsonian Institution. There is no record, however, of those remains in Washington D.C. [3]

The record of amateur collecting at Gila Cliff Dwellings continues in the *Black Range Tales*, a memoir by James B. McKenna that was published in 1936. [4] He also was a prospector, and he had homesteaded on the Gila River above the Gila Hot Springs in 1884, the same year as the subdivision survey. By his recollection, he and friends found many artifacts at the dwellings: grooved hammers and axes of stone, finely crafted turquoise beads, and another infant mummy, wrapped in "cottonwood fiber," which also was reportedly sent to but never received by the Smithsonian. [5]

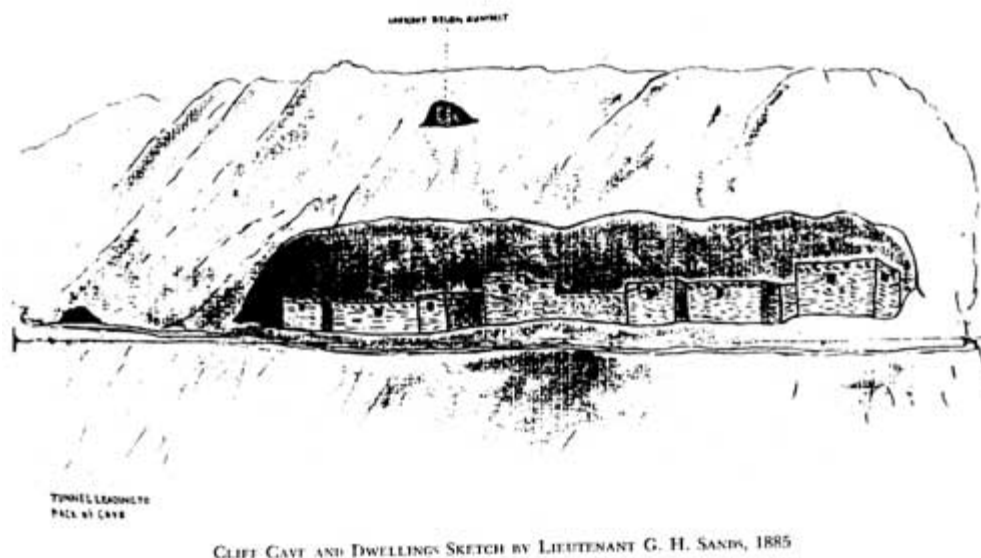
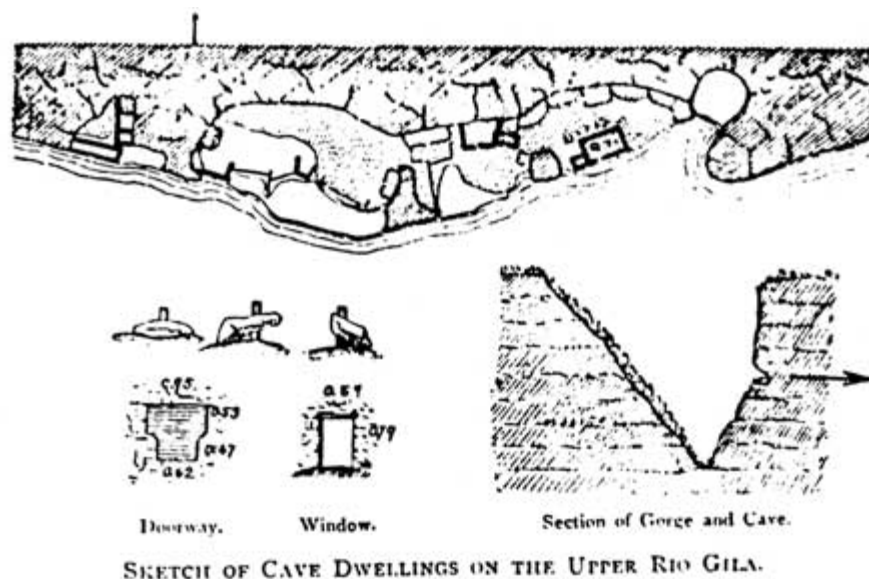
In the summer of 1885, Lieutenant G. H. Sands also paused to dig at Gila Cliff Dwellings as troops of the 4th and 6th cavalrys were maneuvering in the wake of an Apache raid that left 35 settlers dead along the tributaries of the upper Gila. Excerpted in *El Palacio* magazine in 1957, the account has an odd idyllic tone, at least in light of those then recent and dismal events, which were not mentioned in the account. [6] Nor is any mention made of the homestead cabins that were along the river, including an adobe house at the hot springs

where Sands only reported seeing wickiups. Our own assessment of the soldier's excited discovery of cliff dwellings in a narrow canyon romantically hidden by vines and through which he carved his way with a knife must include the fact that this canyon lay at the end of a wagon road that began about a mile downstream at irrigated fields. Despite the assault of a mountain lion that knocked off his hat, Lieutenant Sands—and some companions—explored the ruins, and digging with their knives turned up arrowheads and pieces of pottery that were decorated "by a peculiar and uniform system of lines and lozenges."

A sketch that bears little congruity with the ruins and the other anomalies may reveal more about selective and romantic idiosyncracies of memory than about Gila Cliff Dwellings. The account also reflects the influence of popular archeological literature such as John Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, the widely read magazine articles of Frank Cushing about his exotic and double life among the Zuni as an ethnologist for the Smithsonian Institution and as First War Chief of the tribe; [7] and the beautiful photographs taken by William H. Jackson of the mysteriously abandoned cities that he had discovered hidden in the cliffs of the American Southwest. Lieutenant Sands remembered an adventure, but the setting was probably drawn equally from the Gila River and from the library.

The Conquest of Peru by Walter Prescott had a more immediate and demonstrable effect on prehistoric remains along the Gila River, according to William French, a nineteenth-century rancher and memoirist. [8] He wrote of digging with a friend for golden pots and utensils in a cliff dwelling on the West Fork. [9] Having recently read Prescott's history of the Incas and of their treasure, French's companion presumed all ancient Indians to have had a surfeit of gold lying around, treasure likely to be discovered in cliff dwellings, as well. All the men found, however, were a few stone tools, painted bows, and corn that they were unable to smash with a rock.

"Those romantic historians had a lot to answer for," French concluded.



These drawings of Gila Cliff Dwellings were based on contemporaneous visits by Adolph Bandelier and Lieutenant Sands in the mid-1880s. The pictures reveal how the biases of interest, training, and memory shape perception.

In 1892, the *Chicago Tribune* printed an article about a third child-mummy that had been recovered three years earlier near Gila Cliff Dwellings, this time by the Hill brothers, who were operating a small resort at the Gila Hot Springs and already bringing tourists to the nearby archeological sites. [10] This story, which was also printed in St. Louis and Tucson, included a detailed description of an apparently deformed four-year-old and an interesting conjecture: the child had been abandoned and had died of starvation. Implicit in this conjecture is the idea that the mummy had not been dug from the earth; after all, a burial can hardly be construed as an abandonment. If the dead child lay exposed and in plain sight, on the other hand, a question arises as to why it hadn't been discovered by the ransackings of earlier visitors. One possibility entails the cultural site LA 10048, a vandalized Apache burial, [11] where a short yucca stalk platform still lays beneath an overhang, 150 feet or so up the canyon wall opposite the cliff dwellings. If the Hill brothers recovered their mummy from the hidden but possibly unscavenged yucca platform, and the word burial is more loosely interpreted as funereal, the issues of construed abandonment and of visibility despite late

discovery would become compatible.

Unfortunately, the location of these remains is also unknown. Like the other mummies, it was sent to the Smithsonian, where there is no record of it either. In this case, however, the dispatch of the remains is corroborated by a *Silver City Enterprise* account, which laments the fact that the newspaper was not able to acquire such an important relic for local edification, [12] and by Benjamin Elmer Pierce, the son of the Rev. R. E. Pierce who photographed the cadaver in 1892. [13] That none of the child-mummies dispatched to the Smithsonian arrived seems curious, and a brief inquiry into documentation reveals some additional parallels. While both Ailman's mummy and that of the Hill brothers were purportedly photographed, for example, the only photograph of a mummy in Ailman's scrapbook—presumably the one "which is in my reach as I write [the memoirs]"—is the one that Pierce made. [14] No photograph is known to exist for McKenna's despite its reported and presumably tempting display behind glass at Hinman's hardware store in Silver City. Furthermore, neither Ailman's mummy nor McKenna's has independent corroboration. According to the 1892 newspaper account, in fact, the Hill brothers' mummy is "the first one discovered which may reasonably be supposed to be one of the extinct race of cliff dwellers." The accounts of Ailman and McKenna were written years after their visits to the cliff dwellings, long after the well-reported discovery of a mummy. Is it possible that a good story was too much to resist including in a memoir and that only one child-mummy was ever discovered and sent and lost on its way to the Smithsonian?

The most sensationalized amateur find at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was the report in 1912 by Gila National Forest staff of a "fourth" child-burial that generated the article in *Sunset* magazine about an 8,000-year-old ancient race of dwarfs on the headwaters of the Gila River. "Zeke," as the magazine writer dubbed the mummy, was the first and only mummy to reach the Smithsonian, where it was described by Walter Hough as the body of an infant. [15]

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Chapter V: HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY 1962 TO 1991

Despite interest during the mid-1950s in the archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings and its vicinity, the first excavation did not occur until late 1962, more than 20 years after Charlie Steen had sampled the cliff ruins with two trenches. As before, this dig was very modest. Asked to mitigate a threat posed to visitors and the ruins themselves by a cracked slab of overhanging rock, Campbell—the custodian—built a short buttress wall of rock and cement in Room 31. [1] While excavating a short foundation trench all the way to bedrock, he screened the fill, collecting in the process seeds, fragments of cordage, 28 stone artifacts, corncobs, bones, and more than 100 sherds. [2] Only a very small portion of the fill had not been disturbed by pothunters in the past.

Vivian

In October 1963, shortly before the completion of the paved road into the Gila forks, Gordon Vivian began a month's work of excavation and stabilization at Gila Cliff Dwellings, aided by Dee Dodgen and a crew of six San Carlos Apaches. The main purpose of the excavation was to salvage cultural material and to stabilize some additional structural features before visitor traffic to the ruins increased substantially. Unfortunately, Vivian died before he could formally report his findings. He did, however, write a summary of his excavations, and field notes for roughly a third of the project still exist.

In his summary, Vivian reported that the contents of Caves 2, 3, 4, 5, and "adequate" samples from Cave 6 had been hand-screened—33 rooms altogether, using three-by-eight-foot screens, with smaller and finer screens used occasionally. The excavations in Cave 3, apparently the only ones Vivian mapped, were done with seven trenches, and his field notes show generally shallow (0-30 cm) fill with deeper pockets (up to 82 cm). The location of a partial human burial, some pieces of turquoise and shell, and a stretch of clay floor were recorded. In Rooms 10 and 10a, Vivian observed that each floor rested on earlier cultural deposits. Room 1 had at least part of two floors, which rested on yet a third level of cultural debris. All excavated areas were backfilled, with the exception of Room 10, which had a rectangular firepit and parts of benches that made suitable exhibits.

A substantial amount of floor in Cave 2 was not excavated, however. Vivian observed that visitors were not admitted to that area anyway, and this justification underscores the essentially salvage nature of the operation, as well as the tight budget that forced Vivian and Dodgen to forgo *per diem*.

In his summary, Vivian listed 450 entries in his field catalogue and registered a special interest in the perishables. Among other entries in his field catalogue were painted sherds, the majority of which he tentatively identified as Tularosa. Unfortunately, the provenience for all the pottery has been obscured. The painted pieces from the entire site are now mixed together, and the plainware is segregated only by cave. In fact, problems in cataloguing the collection have prevented distribution plotting for most of the artifacts that he recovered, thus

limiting the ability of subsequent researchers to make inferences.

After Vivian's death, the majority of his material was not analyzed for more than 20 years. A preliminary examination, however, of the tree-ring samples that he had taken—combined with samples collected previously by Richert, Steen, and King—did suggest a new chronology for the cliff dwellings, "placing the cliff sites in the Animas phase, in contrast to a rather complete and earlier sequence of the Mimbres branch of the Mogollon Culture in the Gila Cliff area." [3] With excavation, the true and anomalous nature of the cliff dwellings was beginning to emerge.

Highway Salvage

In 1966, construction of the final segment of the highway to Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument generated salvage excavations at four other sites in the right of way: the West Fork Ruin (LA 8675), the Graveyard Point Ruin (LA 6536), a small masonry pueblo (LA 6537), and Diablo Village (LA 6538). Although none of these sites occurs on the expanded national monument, they are the only systematically recorded excavations for the area other than the cliff dwellings themselves. Consequently, these sites provide an archeological context for the monument.

The West Fork Ruin was known for a long time. It was first identified by Watson in 1927 as the Adobe Corrals Ruin and subsequently by Campbell as Site No. 2 and 3. Excavation there by Ronald Ice revealed three components: Three Circle phase pit houses, Mangas phase pit and surface structures, and a three-room adobe homestead. [4] Excavation by Laurens Hammack at the Graveyard Ruin revealed more historic buildings, and at the small pueblo he found a Mangas phase component, the site's only occupation and probably a seasonal one. [5]

In the years since these salvage excavations, the term Mangas phase has elicited considerable controversy. First proposed by Gladwin in 1934 as a transitional period during which pit house construction was gradually replaced by surface architecture and for which Boldface Black-on-white was the ceramic indicator, the existence of the Mangas phase as a developmental stage has been denied since the early 1980s by archeologists who cite evidence from the Mimbres Valley and insisted upon by others who have surveyed the Gila Valley. The latter researchers suggest that the Mangas phase reflects differences in settlement patterns or population dynamics between the two valleys. [6]

At the Diablo Village site, Hammack also excavated Georgetown phase pit houses, which he deemed similar in architecture to other contemporary Mogollon branches. A Mimbres phase ceremonial structure was unusual, however, being a large, rectangular, and distinctly isolated subterranean room with two small surface rooms.

Eight years later and a little up the road from Diablo Village, salvage excavation at the Lagoon site by Joseph Janes, a Gila National Forest archeologist, revealed another isolated communal structure. This architecture was designated Georgetown phase, and its presence demonstrates a long history of isolated ceremonial structures in this locale. [7] This history conflicts with later correlations of population dynamics and the evolution of communal structures in the Mimbres Valley, and the discrepancy may further distinguish archeological remains around the Gila forks. [8]

Of course, variations in settlement patterns and population dynamics in southwestern New Mexico and their challenge to normative extrapolations from the Mimbres Valley have been perceived only gradually and with debate over the last two decades as additional archeological work occurred in the Cliff and Redrock valleys along the Gila River, as well as

in the Mimbres Valley. The issues themselves stem from a theoretical current in American archeology that began in the late 1930s in reaction to the apparently limited goals of mere chronological ordering. Analytical procedures developed for ethnography and social anthropology were applied to the study of prehistoric peoples, and topics of social organization, settlement pattern, demography, and ecological adaptation were increasingly weighted in archeological research.

To date material from the salvage excavations has not been analyzed. Since, for reasons that will be explained later, major excavation is no longer contemplated for sites in Gila Dwellings National Monument and additional salvage work is unlikely in the adjacent wilderness, the data from the highway project is a unique resource that may some day help to explain not just when people lived along the Gila forks but how and why.

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Chapter VI: CULTURAL AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Stabilizations At Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument

Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was established to protect what in 1907 was a single and very remote archeological site, and the withdrawal of a mere 160 acres was deemed sufficient for that purpose. Despite an expansion in 1962 to include additional archeological sites, the monument still comprises only 533 acres. As a result of the monument's original purpose and its small size, most attention applied to the management of resources has focused on cultural ones—specifically, stabilizing the cliff dwellings and mitigating the potential for damage to the prehistoric architecture that might be inflicted by visitors.

A brief overview of stabilization and interpretation activities—which overlap in their mission to protect the ruins—divides easily into four periods: 1907 to 1933, when the Gila National Forest initially administered the monument; 1933 to 1962, when the Park Service administered the monument prior to its expansion; 1962 to 1975, when the Park Service administered the monument after the expansion; and 1975 to the present, when administrative responsibility was returned to the Gila National Forest.

Stabilization I 1907 to 1933

Unfortunately, designation as a national monument in 1907 entailed no funds for halting the effects of time and vandals at Gila Cliff Dwellings. Nor was protecting prehistoric sites a clearly defined mission during the early years of the Forest Service, the agency responsible for administering that remote archeological monument until 1933. Protection of the site relied on posted cloth signs that designated the legal status of the cliff dwellings, the incidental patrols of the McKinney District ranger, and a wire fence that the ranger built with the help of cowboys from the TJ ranch. No stabilization activities were undertaken, although in 1917 the district ranger did obscure some graffiti with a mud slurry and occasionally with soot from burning pitch. [1]

Stabilization II 1933 to 1962

In June 1933, responsibility for Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was transferred to the Park Service. Nearly two years later, G. H. Gordon, an assistant engineer for Southwest National Monuments, drove 53 miles from Silver City, New Mexico, over increasingly worse roads to the Goforth Ranch on Sapillo Creek. There he mounted a saddle horse to cover the next 20 miles to the monument in the heart of the Gila Wilderness. The first employee of the Park Service to see this isolated monument, Gordon reported that the ruins were in fact

worthy of recognition [2] and he drew up a brief plan for developing the monument. [3] Among his recommendations were the inclusion of the prehistoric dwellings in "the plan for Ruins Stabilization" and the construction of a fence in Cliff Dweller Canyon. The fence was built as a cooperative gesture by the Gila National Forest Service in 1938, but the first activities to stabilize architecture at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument did not occur until 1942.

In March of that year, "Doc" Campbell was hired as a nominal custodian and directed as his primary duty to monitor the condition of the cliff dwellings. Four months later, Charlie Steen, a junior archeologist with the Southwestern National Monuments staff, arrived at the cliff dwellings to begin five days of stabilization work at the prehistoric site. With the help of a hired man, Steen chinked undercut sections of wall, built dry masonry supports under a few breached walls, and supported a cavity that threatened to undermine yet another wall. [4] Afterwards, the men measured for a ground plan using a Brunton pocket transit and a steel tape, dug two trenches to recover sherds, gathered and burned trash from the ruins, and cleared the trail leading to the ruins.

Unfortunately, activities by the Southwest National Monuments program were dramatically curtailed as funds were cut and staff joined the armed services during the Second World War. Gila Cliff Dwellings was not officially revisited until 1948, at which time Steen reported some structural damage that would require stabilization. Seven years passed, however, before funds were allocated for repairs.

Impetus for the next round of stabilization work at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument began in June 1954, when Marjorie Lambert, the curator of archaeology at the Museum of New Mexico, wrote to Erik Reed, who was the archeologist for Region III of the Park Service. [5] Accompanied by members of the Grant County Archaeological Society, Lambert had recently visited the ruins, which were managed as an uninterpreted reserve unit, and she was writing to express concern about damage to the prehistoric architecture caused by people walking on the tops of walls and otherwise touching the masonry. Lambert also expressed dismay about the defacing presence of graffiti on walls and pictographs.

In response to a subsequent inquiry by John Davis, general superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, "Doc" Campbell acknowledged the prevalence of graffiti, adding that this problem could not be controlled without supervising visitors. [6] He observed that some structural wear and tear did occur, especially in Cave 4, where people tended to walk on walls to avoid a dangerous ledge on the outside. Campbell's observations about access and safety drew attention. When Roland Richert, an assistant for the Ruins Stabilization Unit of the Park Service, arrived in July 1955 with five Navajo laborers to further stabilize the architecture of the monument, a wooden stile was built to facilitate passage over the east wall of Room 19, and two masonry steps were added on the far side of the wall. Along the dangerous sloping ledge outside of Rooms 21 and 22 in Cave 4, a three-foot-wide trail was built and stoutly supported by a steel-reinforced, tinted concrete retaining wall. [7] Providing safe and obvious paths through the ruin mitigated the most contemporary threat to the prehistoric architecture: people. In addition, Richert and his crew invested a little more than 10 work-days of labor improving the trail that climbed through Cliff Dweller Canyon to the ruins.

Repair and support of the architecture included the placement of integral or reinforcing members to span holes in the outer walls, capping some walls, resetting another wall undermined by pothunters, and patching large holes—one of which was also the product of pothunting. More than a dozen small holes gouged by visitors into other walls were also patched with tinted cement. [8]

The last stabilization activity before the monument was expanded and permanently staffed occurred in 1962, when "Doc" Campbell constructed a small buttress wall in Room 31 to support an overhanging rock slab that threatened to fall on visitors and the architecture. [9]

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Chapter VII: INTERPRETATION AND CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Interpretation of the cultural resources at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument has focused primarily on the cliff site. Until 1963, interpretation was largely incidental to the task of monitoring those ruins—initially by a nominal custodian and later by local men hired for the summer. For a long time, interpretation relied on discoveries made incidental to stabilization activities at the cliff site and on general observations about the Mogollon culture that were gleaned from the literature of excavations made at other—sometimes distant—sites. Despite a major excavation of the cliff dwellings in 1963, more specific interpretation of the site was constrained by the untimely death of Gordon Vivian, the excavator, before a formal report could be produced. Most of the items recovered by Vivian were not reported scientifically until 1986.

A brief review of interpretative activities divides easily into four periods: 1907 to 1933, when the Gila National Forest staff initially administered the monument; 1933 to 1962, when the Park Service administered the monument prior to expansion; 1962 to 1975, when the Park Service administered the monument after expansion; and 1975 to the present, when administrative responsibility was returned to the Gila National Forest. During this last period, formal plans to manage cultural resources were developed, as well.

Interpretation I 1907 to 1933

No formal interpretive program for Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was developed by Gila National Forest staff. In 1915, however, in response to a request from the Department of the Interior, a forest ranger did write a four-page description of the cliff dwellings, which included general directions for reaching the remote site. [1] Details of this description, after some editing, were included on the official 1915 map of the forest. [2] One of the memorable liberties taken by the editor was to attribute the cliff dwellings to an ancient race of dwarfs, an imaginative idea first reported in a 1913 issue of the popular *Sunset* magazine. [3]

The idea of ancient dwarfs was subsequently dropped for the more reasonable but vague attribution "ancient cliff dwellers," but the gist and most details of the original 1915 description continued for many years to appear in Gila National Forest publications and later in leaflets printed by the Park Service. As late as 1955, Dale King, a naturalist with Southwestern National Monuments, took exception to the numerous—and in his opinion belittling—inaccuracies of the description, [4] but a substantially better version was not written until 1963.

Interpretation II 1933 to 1962

After the Park Service became responsible for Gila Cliff Dwellings, the site appeared in an official brochure promoting visits to all the southwestern monuments except Yucca House, which was reserved for future scientific research. Included in the 1940 brochure were rough hand-drawn maps to the various monuments, and conspicuously isolated in the midst of white paper was Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. [5] During the late 1930s, the Works Progress Administration supported a few unofficial descriptions and histories that relied on such various sources as Bandelier's report, the Silver City Chamber of Commerce, and plain imagination. [6]

In 1941, after his visit on horseback to the remote site, the new director of Region III recommended that visits to Gila Cliff Dwellings be discouraged and that the monument be managed as a reserve unit without interpretation. [7] Small numbers of visitors continued to tour the ruins, however, usually as part of their stay at one of the two nearby guest ranches—Lyons Lodge and the Gila Hot Springs Ranch—much as guests had done since the 1890s. "Doc" Campbell, the nominal custodian, owned the latter guest ranch and occasionally brought people to the monument himself. In 1947, casting about for more than the cursory information contained in the official leaflet, Campbell wrote to the Smithsonian Institution and subsequently to Erik Reed and Charlie Steen. [8] Ultimately, the responses were two brief overviews of the Mogollon culture that included contradictory attributions for the prehistoric cliff site: Reed guessed the dominant influence was Tularosa, Steen intuited a major Mimbres component, which was followed after a hiatus by an Anasazi presence.

This difference of opinion could have arisen for two reasons. For one, very little archeological research had taken place along the headwaters of the Gila. In 1949, Bandelier's description [9] from 60 years before of the cliff dwellings still stood as the most detailed scientific report. The only other formal report [10] about the vicinity was not published until 1947. It briefly described a season of salvage excavations that had occurred in the 1920s and that had skipped Gila Cliff Dwellings. Furthermore, no general overview had yet been written to integrate the still limited research that had taken place in the Mogollon area, a culture not identified until 1936 and still poorly understood and not universally accepted in 1949. Without a clear taxonomy of Mogollon cultural branches or sub-cultures, the distinction between Tularosa and Mimbres remained arguable. [11] In short, interpretation at the unexcavated Gila Cliff Dwellings was informal, unofficial, and—given the exceedingly small amount of research—vague.

In 1955, a year after Marjorie Lambert had expressed her dismay about vandalism at Gila Cliff Dwellings, "Doc" Campbell was hired for the summer as a uniformed seasonal employee. [12] At the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon, he set up a small desk that was shaded with a tent fly, but he spent most of his time monitoring visitors to the prehistoric dwellings. There were 711 in that year. Also in 1955, the quantity and value of archeological resources in the vicinity was reassessed when a proposal to abandon the monument triggered a closer look at its assets by Campbell, Richert, and his superior at the Mobile Stabilization Unit, Gordon Vivian. Together these men discovered material evidence for an unbroken 2,000-year sequence of prehistoric occupation along the headwaters of the Gila. [13] A formal interpretive program, however, was still not developed at the monument until eight years later. [14] Information about the cliff dwellings continued to rely largely on the very general cultural overviews written in the previous decade at Campbell's request and on what the nominal custodian gleaned from his own explorations and from his friendships with visiting archeologists. Each summer until 1963, Campbell—or when he was unavailable another seasonal—greeted visitors at the field desk or in the ruins.

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Chapter VIII: NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT AND THREATS TO THE MONUMENT

The wild beauty of the geography surrounding the cliff dwellings was recorded first by Bandelier in 1884, [1] and allusions to this subtle resource continue to crop up in archeological accounts. Shortly after the expansion of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, for example, E. B. Danson wrote to Conrad Wirth, the director of the National Park Service: Both Jess [Nusbaum] and I were completely captivated by the beauty of that walk [to the prehistoric dwellings]. A perennial stream meanders down along the path, the sound of water is constant and the vegetation is lush. It is one of the loveliest walks I have taken in many years...I don't know, Connie, when I have been more impressed with the potential of an area or more excited and thrilled by the beauty of the scenery and the flora. [2] To date, however, no formal surveys, inventories, or other studies have documented any of the natural elements at the monument or have provided a baseline for their management. [3]

After the arrival in 1963 of James Sleznick, the first ranger and subsequently the first superintendent, most attention focused on the construction of the visitor center, the stabilization of the ruins, and improvements to the trail. The most significant official acknowledgement of the monument's natural beauty was the decision—apparently still being debated during Danson's visit [4] —to keep the approach trail along the cool tree-shaded stream and not higher on the dry slopes of the canyon, where floods could not regularly cause damage. Otherwise, the management of natural resources has primarily been a coping issue directed towards the reduction of such hazards as dead tree limbs, loose rocks that threatened to fall onto the trail, and the repair of flood damage.

In the 1981 Resources Management Plan, the highest priorities were given to projects that would map and inventory the natural resources, but these were never funded, chilled by low budgets, and perhaps by the cold shoulder that environmental monitoring projects often received during the Reagan era. [5] Natural resource work at the monument continued to focus instead on maintaining and rebuilding the loop trail to the cliff dwellings, the only interpreted trail in the monument. The 1987 Resources Management Plan acknowledged the intrinsic priority of visitor safety and programs to protect capital improvements as well as cultural resources: ranked highest on the programming sheet were fencing out livestock and trespassing visitors, controlling erosion on the trail, and developing a fire management plan that included archeological considerations.

Threats

Long isolated and since 1924 almost completely encircled by officially designated wilderness, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument has been insulated from many of the modern encroachments that threaten parks and monuments elsewhere. A 1980 summary of threats to the monument deemed the number of concerns minimal. [6] Currently, threats include the

effects of visitors, floods, bedrock deterioration, livestock, aircraft, fire, and air pollution.

Visitors

Foremost among documented threats to the cultural resources that lie within the current bounds of the monument is and always has been visitors. Pothunting and other vandalisms, including even the burning of the cliff site, were commonly reported during the nineteenth century. Although this kind of activity tapered off after the designation of the monument in 1907, as late as 1958 "Doc" Campbell reported that hunters had built a fire among the cliff ruins and fueled it with prehistoric wood wrenched from the walls. [7]

In 1954, as we have seen, a less sinister form of destruction was reported that stemmed from people scrambling over the prehistoric architecture. The construction in the following year of a stile and a clear trail through the ruins mitigated this harm, and since then the control of visitor impacts has relied heavily on trail management: clear and solid demarcation, one-way flow to reduce congestion, and the construction of discreet barriers—including the elevation of prehistoric walls—to keep people from hazardous and sensitive areas. Currently, a uniformed ranger along the trail or in the ruins, signs, and the sweeping of trespass footprints contribute to the psychology of control. Graffiti, of course, has been a problem at least since C. Gerrish carved his name June 1, 1889, on a wooden slat in the cliff dwellings. [8] In 1917, Henry Woodrow, the McKinney District ranger for the Gila National Forest, obscured with a mud slurry graffiti incised on the prehistoric adobe. Today names and other inscriptions continue to be removed or obscured as soon as they are noticed, regardless of whether they are on prehistoric walls or new benches and trail markers.

A more difficult problem presented by visitors is their sheer numbers. In 1955, when the first MISSION 66 prospectus for the monument proposed its abandonment, 711 people toured the cliff site. Thirty-six years later, 60,000 annual visitors were projected to walk through the ruins, including 1,500 over Memorial Day Weekend. [9] Still unknown are the debilitating effects of that many people walking past the architecture—of the mere vibrations of their footsteps, much less the inevitable touching of and even leaning on walls that accompanies crowds confined in small places. In the 1987 Resources Management Plan, a study to determine the overall carrying capacity of the cliff dwellings was ranked third among 14 projects dealing with cultural resources. Great concern has been expressed about the cavity under Room 25: the visitor trail currently passes directly over the thin roof of the cavity, and a study to determine its structural stability was ranked second in the same resources management plan.

Currently, neither of these studies has been funded. The geologist [10] who examined in 1985 the cavity under Room 25 proposed that the trail be diverted from over the area, but this diversion would require the construction of a new exit from the ruins. In 1968, when only 25,000 people toured the cliff site, a partial closure of the ruins was debated and rejected, but the suggestion hovers in the background. An alternative suggested in 1980 was to limit each hour the number of visitors allowed into the cliff dwellings. This limitation has not been implemented, either, although monument staff rarely guide single groups of more than 25 people through the site. [11] In addition to damaging the prehistoric architecture—whether by accident, thoughtlessness, or mere numbers—visitors aggravate erosion along the trail by short-cutting. Also, unaware of the cumulative impact, they occasionally pick flowers and other plants, collect archeological artifacts, and harass wildlife—especially reptiles and amphibians.

Floods

Although the high sheltered location of Gila Cliff Dwellings protects those ruins from heavy

rains and ensuing floods, access to the site, bridges, and other improvements have often been impaired or damaged. As late as 1963, driving to the monument entailed fording the Gila River 14 times, [12] and the freshets that accompany violent rains or sudden thaws could strand travelers. Even after construction of a paved highway, floods have occasionally washed out the approaches to bridges—twice in 1978, once in 1983, 1984, 1985, [13] and most recently in 1988. [14] These washouts required the closure of the monument for periods ranging from two to six weeks. One of the 1978 floods submerged portions of the parking lot and undermined the contact station and the restrooms. In 1978 and again in 1984, a section of the road between the monument and the Forest Service's nearby Scorpion Campground was washed out. Repair and maintenance of the paved road and bridges for vehicular traffic are the responsibility of the New Mexico State Highway Department. [15]

Within the monument, floods several times prior to 1967, and in 1967, [16] 1972, [17] and 1978 washed out the footbridge over the West Fork of the Gila River. The bridges in Cliff Dweller Canyon have suffered intermittently. Currently, there are eight bridges in the canyon, all built between 1984 and 1989, and the spans and heights of supporting piers appear to have been increased sufficiently to avoid substantial flood damage. The trail, on the other hand, continues to require maintenance after heavy rains and even reconstruction in the section located along the stream in Cliff Dweller Canyon.

Bedrock Deterioration

In a 1979 stabilization inspection report, Larry Nordby, supervisory archeologist from the Southwestern Resources Center, observed that the bedrock was deteriorating beneath the outer walls of Rooms 1 and 4, a problem he tentatively attributed to percolating ground moisture. [18] For the future stabilization of those walls, he recommended that unamended mortar be applied at the base in order not to trap this moisture and in that way accelerate bedrock failure, architectural failure, or both. Beyond proscribing cement, Nordby recommended only that the area be closely monitored.

In 1985, after a five-ton boulder crashed down a canyon wall onto the approach trail, Bruce Wachter, a geologist, was contracted by the Park Service to further examine bedrock deterioration and the hazard of rock fall. [19] By and large, his observations recognized a general stability of the cliff faces and caves and only minor bedrock deterioration in Cave 2. He did recommend, however, that loose overhead slabs be pried down, that visitor traffic be barred or diverted from potentially threatening areas, and that monitoring for both architectural and geological failure continue.

Livestock

In the 1987 Resources Management Plan, fencing of the TJ Ruin and surveying and fencing the rest of the monument were given the highest priority on programming sheets for both cultural and natural resource projects. In 1884, Bandelier had noted the ugly presence of what he presumed was manure within the cliff dwellings. [20] In 1935, G. H. Gordon, who worked in the Southwest Monuments headquarters in Casa Grande, Arizona, recommended that the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon be fenced against drifting livestock, and in 1937 a Park Service team from the Region III Office again recommended fencing, adding that "cattle have climbed into the cave and done considerable damage there." [21] Shortly afterwards, staff from the Gila National Forest built a fence across the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon, with the help of cowboys from the nearby Heart Bar headquarters. At the TJ site, since at least 1955, the small size of the surface sherds of pottery has been commonly attributed to trampling by livestock. Better known in 1927 as the "polo field," this site may have endured more than just the perambulations of cattle.

In 1951, the New Mexico Department of Game and Fish purchased the Heart Bar Ranch, including its grazing allotment—known as the Glenn allotment—which it retired through a cooperative agreement with the Gila National Forest. [22] Livestock were withdrawn in order to reintroduce elk without overgrazing the grasses within the wilderness. Because both units of Gila Cliff Dwelling National Monument lie within the Glenn allotment, the depredations of cattle have been negligible over the last 40 years. Horses continue to be a minor problem. [23] Until 1988, the New Mexico Department of Game and Fish kept some horses in Heart Bar pastures along the Middle Fork and the West Fork, and this stock occasionally crossed the rivers through damaged water-gaps and strayed onto the TJ site. Recently, however, the game department has withdrawn its permanent staff and its stock from the Heart Bar. Occasionally, upstream from the contact station, riders still inadvertently cross with their stock over the unmarked boundaries of the larger unit of the monument.

Aircraft

A more contemporary encroachment on the monument occurs from aircraft. As early as 1980, concern was expressed about the effects of low-flying aircraft on cultural resources. [24] Eight years later, a survey [25] documented the occasional overflights by military aircraft, local administrative aircraft, and other aviation at elevations less than 2,000 feet above the terrain, as well as frequent overflights by commercial airlines at elevations greater than 10,000 feet. The noise of all these overflights was deemed objectionable. Of most concern, however, were the military flights in a training corridor that passes close to the monument at only 300 feet above the ground. Many of these aircraft practiced "Follow Terrain" procedures.

In 1989, Janet Hurley, the Wilderness District ranger and superintendent of the monument, reported an average of three near-misses between the military aircraft and helicopters coming into the Forest Service heli-base that is immediately adjacent to the TJ Ruin. [26] Aside from the issue of safety, Hurley expressed concern about the effects of the noise on local wildlife, the values of solitude in the adjacent wilderness, and the 700-year-old mud and rock walls of Gila Cliff Dwellings. The effects of this noise are not currently monitored in a formal way.

Fire

Until 1975, when the Park Service turned over management of the monument to the Forest Service, the two agencies held a cooperative plan for the management of fire on that site. [27] Currently, fire control for the monument is subsumed in the larger wilderness fire management plan, but Park Service staff have expressed concern that this plan may not adequately address the special requirements of cultural resources during fire suppression activities. The 1987 Resources Management Plan recommended the development of a fire management plan specific to the monument and gave this proposal a third priority on the natural resources programming sheets.

For a long time, the only recorded incident of an wildfire on the monument was a burning snag in 1968 that was extinguished by Don Morris and his stabilization crew, using hoses that brought water for their cement mixes. [28] In May 1991, however, the Grudgings Fire burned 515 acres on the West Fork, including 75 acres of the monument and the nearby eponymous cabin as well. [29] Although eight archeological sites were involved—with firelines lightly scratched through two of them—the overall impact on cultural resources by the fire and fire suppression activities was light. Undoubtedly, quick response by the Wilderness District staff prevented a larger fire and substantially greater damage. In the aftermath of this event, the fire management policy is being reviewed.

Air Quality

The major threats to air quality at the monument are smoke from the Phelps Dodge copper smelter forty miles south, in Hurley, and smoke from both wild and prescribed fires. In 1980, the National Park Service recommended that the air quality status at the monument be upgraded from Class II to a Class I. [30] This redesignation stemmed apparently from the monument's location in the heart of a wilderness area, which had automatically received a Class I classification as mandated by the 1980 Clean Air Act. [31] In 1979, the collection of monitoring and baseline data had already begun at the Wilderness District weather station. [32] Since 1986, photographs have been taken three times a day at the Copperas Vista to record visibility levels. [33] The effects of pollution on local flora and fauna are not monitored.

Responsibility for enforcing compliance with Class I clean air standards lies with the New Mexico Environmental Improvement Division. To date, no enforcement activities to protect air quality at the monument or the surrounding wilderness have constrained firing at the smelter or the use of prescribed fire in the Gila National Forest.

Conclusion

In 1933, when the Park Service assumed responsibility for Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, the site became one of the smallest units in the system of Southwestern monuments, and it was isolated in the middle of the largest wilderness area in the Southwest. Obviously, managing its resources was not easy. Initially held in a reserve status, with visits discouraged, the cliff ruins became the object of stabilization projects as funds became available. These projects compared favorably with those done at other monuments, and they have been continued as necessary through the present, enabling the architecture to withstand the cumulative stresses of more than 50,000 people who now visit the monument each year.

Interpretation has focused on the cliff site, which for a long time and for a variety of reasons was not well understood. The publication of *The Archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings* in 1986 has admirably filled that lacuna, and in recent years research has addressed the TJ Ruin and other nearby archeological sites, enhancing the larger interpretive potential of the monument. Despite proportionally huge numbers of visitors and a small professional staff, personal contact remains the primary source of interpretation.

The natural resources of the small monument are notable for their beauty, but little has yet been done to document them. On the other hand, threats to the monument's natural assets appear to be minimal, stemming primarily from the visitors themselves, who are restricted to a single interpreted trail that is one mile long.

GILA CLIFF DWELLINGS

Administrative History



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GILA CLIFF DWELLINGS

Administrative History



APPENDIX A

Executive Order

Executive Order

IT IS HEREBY ORDERED that the west half of the southwest quarter of section 1; the east half of the southeast quarter of section 2; the north half of the northeast quarter, the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter, and the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter of section 3; the southwest quarter of the northwest quarter and lot 4 of section 10; all in township 17 south, range 13 west; and the west tier of section 6, consisting of lots 4, 5, 6 and 7 of said section, in township 17 south, range 12 west; all lying north of the military reservation of Fort Bayard, New Mexico, and within the limits of the Gila National Forest as established by Proclamation of the President of July 21, 1905, be further withdrawn from sale or other disposition, subject to private rights if any there be, for military purposes to protect the water supply of Fort Bayard: *Provided* That this withdrawal for use by the War Department shall not revoke the withdrawal of the land as a part of the Gila National Forest made by the Proclamation of July 21, 1905, but both withdrawals shall stand together, the withdrawal for the War Department being the dominant one, and whenever the use of the land as a National Forest does not interfere with the protection of the water supply of Fort Bayard, such use shall not be interfered with, but the lands shall not be subject to appropriation under any of the public land laws.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,
July 23, 1908.

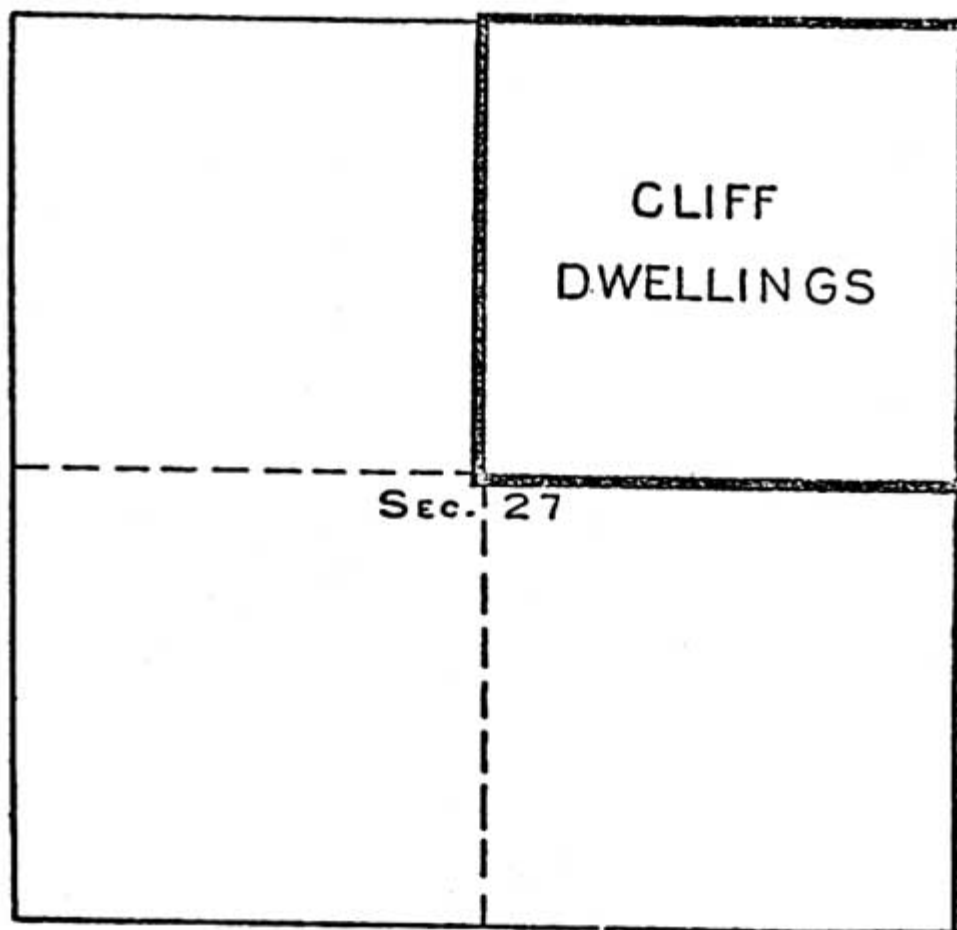
Gila Cliff-Dwellings National Monument Boundary

VIII. NAT. MONUMENTS—GILA CLIFF-DWELLINGS

GILA CLIFF-DWELLINGS
NATIONAL MONUMENT
WITHIN GILA NATIONAL FOREST
NEW MEXICO

EMBRACING N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ OF SEC. 27. T. 12 S. R. 14 W.
NEW MEXICO PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN AND BASE
FOREST SERVICE U.S. DEPT. OF AGRICULTURE
1907

 NATIONAL MONUMENT BOUNDARY



[DIAGRAM FORMING A PART OF PROCLAMATION
DATED NOVEMBER 16, 1907.]

Presidential Documents

Title 3—THE PRESIDENT

Proclamation 3467

ADDITION TO GILA CLIFF DWELLINGS NATIONAL MONUMENT, NEW MEXICO

By the President of the United States of America A Proclamation

WHEREAS, the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument in the State of New Mexico, established by Proclamation No. 781 of November 16, 1907, was reserved and set apart for its scientific and educational interest, being the best representation of the Cliff Dwellers' remains of that region; and

WHEREAS approximately three hundred and seventy-five acres of land near the present boundaries of the monument, under the jurisdiction of the Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, contain additional cliff dwellings and pit-house sites, which are needed to round out the interpretive story of the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument; and

WHEREAS it appears that the public interest would be promoted by adding to Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument these lands now within the Gila National Forest; and

WHEREAS these lands are essential for the proper care, management, protection, interpretation, and preservation of the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, JOHN F. KENNEDY, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 2 of the Act of Congress approved June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225; 16 U.S.C. 431), do hereby proclaim that, subject to any valid interest or rights, the following described tract of land, which comprises the original site of the monument and the additional lands needed for the purposes stated above, shall constitute the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument:

T.12 S., R.14 W, N. Mex. Prin. Mer.

Detach Section—T.J. Ruins

Section 25

S1/2S1/2SW1/4NE1/4

SE1/4SE1/4SE1/4W1/4

NE1/4NE1/4NE1/4SW1/4

E1/2W1/2SE1/4NE1/4NE1/4SW1/4

E1/2SE1/4NE1/4NE1/4SW1/4

E1/2NE1/4SE1/4NE1/4SW1/4

N1/2NW1/4SE1/4

N1/2S1/2NW1/4SE1/4

N1/2S1/2S1/2NW1/4SE1/4

Gila Cliff Dwelling Area

Section 22

S1/2SE1/4
SE1/4SW1/4
Section 27
NE1/4
E1/2NW1/4
NE1/4SW1/4
N1/2SE1/4

Proclamation No. 781 of November 16, 1907 (35 Stat. 2162) establishing the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument is amended accordingly.

The lands which pursuant to this proclamation comprise the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument hereafter shall not be administered as part of the Gila National Forest and they are hereby transferred to the administrative jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior.

The lands described above shall be subject to all the laws and regulations applicable to the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument : *Provided*, That any of the lands reserved for such national monument which lie within 150 feet, by horizontal measurement, of the center of the West Fork of the Gila River shall be available to the Secretary of the Agriculture as a route of ingress to or egress from the Gila National Forest and he may place such trails or roads thereon and permit such use thereof as he may find desirable or necessary for administration and protection of the national forest and utilization of the resources thereof, including use by the general public for passage and transportation of property for use on national forest lands. Public use of the area within 150 horizontal feet of the center of the West Fork of the Gila River is to be in accordance with such conditions of use as the Secretary of Agriculture after consultation with the Secretary of the Interior, finds necessary or desirable.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any of the features or objects of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands reserved by this proclamation.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

[SEAL] DONE at the City of Washington this seventeenth day of April in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-two and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-sixth.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

By the President:
Dean Rusk,
Secretary of State.

[F.R. Doc 62-3944; Filed, Apr. 19, 1962; 10:24 a.m.]

Public Land Order 2655

[Public Land Order 2655]
NEW MEXICO AND COLORADO

Withdrawing Lands for Use of the Forest Service for an Administrative Site
and Recreation Area

By virtue of the authority vested in the President, and pursuant to Executive
Order No. 10355 of May 26, 1952, it is ordered as follows:

Subject to valid existing rights, the minerals in the following described
national forest lands are hereby withdrawn from prospecting, location, entry
and purchase under the mining laws of the United States in aid of programs
of the Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, for utilization of the
surface as an administrative site, and for a recreation area, as indicated:

NEW MEXICO
[New Mexico 070229]
GILA NATIONAL FOREST
NEW MEXICO PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN
T J Administrative Site

T. 12 S., R. 14 W.,
Sec. 25, N1/2SW1/4NE1/4, N1/2S1/2SW1/4NE1/4,
N1/2SE1/4NW1/4, SW1/4SE1/4NW1/4, N1/2
SE1/4SE1/4NW1/4, SW1/4SE1/4SE1/4NW1/4,
W1/2NE1/4NE1/4SW1/4, W1/2W1/2SE1/4NE1/4
NE1/4SW1/4, W1/2NE1/4SW1/4, W1/2NE1/4
SE1/4NE1/4SW1/4, W1/2SE1/4NE1/4SW1/4,
SE1/4SE1/4NE1/4SW1/4, S1/2S1/2S1/2W1/4
SE1/4.

Containing approximately 107 acres.

COLORADO
[Colorado 069933]
SAN JUAN NATIONAL FOREST
NEW MEXICO PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN
Sultan Mountain Winter Sports Area

T. 41 N., R. 8 W.,
Sec. 13, N1/2S1/2.

Containing 160 acres.

JOHN A. CARVER, JR.,
Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

April 9, 1962.

[F.R. Doc. 62-3641; Filed, Apr. 13, 1962; 8:45 a.m.]

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GILA CLIFF DWELLINGS

Administrative History



APPENDIX B

Memorandum of Agreement between the National Park Service and the Forest Service

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT OF JULY 22, 1964
BETWEEN THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND THE FOREST SERVICE
RELATING TO JOINT RECREATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN GILA
NATIONAL FOREST

WHEREAS, the Forest Service has basic administrative jurisdiction as a part of Gila National Forest, New Mexico, over lands surrounding Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument and the detached section of the Monument known as T. J. Ruins site, which Monument is administered by the National Park Service, and

WHEREAS, it appears desirable and in the public interest that the two Services join in the planning and administration of the recreation and operating facilities of the Monument and Forest areas and for the accomplishment of these purposes that a cooperative agreement be entered into between the Forest Service and the National Park Service for joint use of certain lands; and

WHEREAS, under the Act of August 7, 1946 (Public Law 633, 79th Congress), appropriations for the National Park Service are authorized for the administration, protection, improvement, and maintenance of areas, under the jurisdiction of other agencies of the Government, devoted to recreational use pursuant to cooperative agreements;

NOW THEREFORE, the Forest Service and the National Park Service do hereby mutually agree as follows:

1. That this agreement shall apply to the following described lands withdrawn April 9, 1962 for use of the Forest Service for an administrative site and shown on the attached map numbered NM-GCD-7100-A:

New Mexico
(New Mexico 070229)
Gila National Forest

New Mexico Principal Meridian

T J Administrative Site

T. 12 S., R. 14 W.,
Sec. 25, N1/2SW1/4NE1/4, N1/2S1/2SW1/4NE1/4, N1/2SE1/4NW1/4,

SW1/4SE1/4NW1/4, N1/2SE1/4SE1/4NW1/4, SW1/4SE1/4SE1/4NW1/4,
W1/2NE1/4NE1/4SW1/4, W1/2W1/2SE1/4NE1/4NE1/4SW1/4,
W1/2NE1/4SW1/4, W1/2NE1/4SE1/4NE1/4SW1/4, S1/2SE1/4NE1/4SW1/4,
SE1/4SE1/4NE1/4SW1/4, S1/2S1/2NW1/4SE1/4.

Containing approximately 107 acres.

And in addition a site in the northwest quarter of the northwest quarter of Sec. 26, T. 12 S., R. 14 W., adjacent to the monument boundary to accommodate a ranger contact station structure and appurtenances.

It is understood that the Forest Service shall retain basic jurisdiction over the above-described lands as a part of Gila National Forest and that the lands shall remain subject to all laws applicable to such National Forest lands.

2. That under the authority of Public Law 633, 79th Congress, herein referred to, the National Park Service will construct separately or in conjunction with the Forest Service such headquarters facilities considered necessary and desirable by the two Services for the joint administration, protection, operation and maintenance of the Monument and the Forest.

3. That the fixed assets to be provided for public use be financed by the two agencies in approximately equal amounts. Annual maintenance and operation costs (including utilities) will be on the basis of a budget mutually agreed to by the two agencies. These costs will be financed by the Park Service, and the Forest Service will reimburse the Park Service for one-half the amount on the basis of quarterly billings.

4. The Park Service will employ a clerk-receptionist and a maintenance man whose time will be divided approximately equally between the two agencies. The Forest Service will reimburse the Park Service for one-half the salary of these two positions on receipt of a quarterly billing.

5. The Park Service will carry the joint office-visitor center on their real property records. The landscaping, roads and bridges will be carried on the real property records of the Forest Service. Each agency will carry dwellings, or other buildings constructed by them, on their respective real property records.

6. That this agreement shall become effective upon approval by the Regional Forester for the U.S. Forest Service and the Regional Director for the National Park Service and shall remain in force and effect until terminated by mutual agreement or until the enactment by Congress of legislation inconsistent herewith.

UNITED STATES FOREST SERVICE

Regional Forester
Southwest Region
Date: July 30, 1964

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Regional Director
Southwest Region
Date: July 22, 1964

Supplement to the Memorandum of Agreement of July 22, 1964 Between the National Park Service and the Forest Service

SUPPLEMENT TO THE MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT OF JULY 22, 1964 BETWEEN THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND THE FOREST SERVICE RELATING TO JOINT RECREATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN GILA NATIONAL FOREST

This supplemental agreement is not intended to supersede the basic agreement of July 22 1964 but only to modify certain portions of the agreement and to clarify each agencies responsibilities and duties as they relate to the overall management and administration of the Gila Center Complex.

Item 4 of the basic agreement will be deleted and the following substituted:

4.

(a) Park Service employ a full-time maintenance man whose time will be divided equally between the Park Service and Forest Service. Joint financing will be accomplished by the Forest Service reimbursing the Park Service for one-half of the salary. Supervision will be by the Park Service Superintendent with coordinational requirements being met by consultations between the Park Service Superintendent and the Forest Service District Ranger.

(b) Park Service employ a seasonal laborer for the period of June, July and August to supplement maintenance coverage of the Visitor Center and adjacent complex. Time will be divided equally between the Park Service and Forest Service. Joint financing will be accomplished by the Forest Service reimbursing the Park Service for one-half the salary. Supervision and coordinational requirements will be identical to the maintenance man.

(c) Forest Service employ a part-time (WAE) Receptionist that will handle receptionist and informational duties for the Visitor Center. Time will be divided equally between the Forest Service and Park Service. Joint financing will be accomplished by the Park Service reimbursing the Forest Service for one-half the salary. The period of employment will normally be full-time from April 1 through October 31 and part-time November 1 through March 31. Supervision will be by the Forest Service District Ranger with coordinational requirements for work schedules and Southwest Parks and Monuments Associations monies, being accomplished by consultations between the Park Service Superintendent, Park Service Interpretive Specialist, and Forest Service District Ranger.

- l. Visitor Center - Cooling System -10 year cycle @ \$200/year
Work due in FY 83
- m. Visitor Center - Floors -15 year cycle @ \$200/year
Work due in FY 83

In accordance with item 3 of the basic agreement these maintenance costs will be financed by the Park Service and the Forest Service will reimburse the Park Service for one-half the amount.

Concurred by:

District Ranger
Wilderness Ranger District
Gila National Forest
Date: 3/6/74

Superintendent
Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument
Southwest Region
Date: 3/6/74

Acting Supervisor
Gila National Forest
Date: 3/12/74

Deputy Regional Forester
Region 3
U.S.F.S.
Date: 3/25/74

Regional Director
Southwest Region
N.P.S.
Date: 3/28/74

Cooperative Agreement between the National Park Service, U. S. Department of Interior and the Forest Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture

COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR and the FOREST SERVICE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

THIS COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT, made and entered into by and between the National Park Service, U.S. Department of Interior, hereinafter referred to as the Park Service, and the Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, hereinafter referred to as the Forest Service under the provisions of the Economy Act of March 4, 1915, as amended (31 U.S.C. 686).

WITNESSETH:

WHEREAS, the Park Service has jurisdiction over lands comprising the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument and the Monument known as T.J. Ruins

(site), and the Forest Service has jurisdiction on the lands surrounding the Monument which are a part of the Gila National Forest; and

WHEREAS, it is desirable and in the public interest that the administration and management of the Monument and the Forest areas be performed by a single agency.

NOW THEREFORE, in consideration of the above premises, the parties hereto agree as follows:

A. The Park Service Shall:

1. Make available for Forest Service use those items of personal equipment as listed on the attached inventory of property. Continue depreciating equipment on the Park Service (personal) inventory and purchase replacement items when required. These funds will be reimbursed separately and apart from those under Clause C-3.
2. Provide listing of fixed (real) property and make property available for the use of the Forest Service.
3. Provide services of the Park Service audio-visual depot and Harpers Ferry slide and tape file for maintenance of the Park Service owned visual equipment and the displays located in the Visitor Center.
4. Provide all archeological salvage work when required within the Monument.
5. Furnish technical assistance and/or restoration crews in the event of major need for ruins stabilization caused by vandalism or natural disturbances.
6. Provide the Forest Service with all the necessary regulations and policy changes that apply to Monument operations.
7. Make available to concerned Forest Service personnel the training opportunities of the Park Service in Monument administration and operation.
8. Designate an individual or position in the Park Service Regional Office that Forest Service personnel may communicate with about administration under this Cooperative Agreement.
9. Develop a signing program to maintain Park Service identity at the Monument.
10. Maintain schedule for development projects and obtain necessary funding through the normal budgeting process.
11. Not require the Forest Service to collect fees, unless agreed to later by amendment to this Cooperative Agreement.
12. Reimburse the Forest Service for costs incurred under this Cooperative Agreement.
13. Provide funds to meet emergency conditions created by acts of nature such

as fire and floods.

- 14. Furnish supplemental funds over and above the amount agreed to under Clause C-3 to meet the Park Service share for cyclic maintenance when due.

B. The Forest Service Shall:

- 1. Provide the necessary personnel and administer and operate the Monument to standards as outlined in the Activity Standards - Resource Requirements Data, copy attached, and made a part of this Cooperative Agreement.
- 2. Enforce the laws and regulations governing Park Service Monument lands.
- 3. Maintain signing in accordance with the Park Service sign plan.
- 4. Furnish to the Park Service the necessary reports that are needed to meet their requirements.
- 5. Not undertake any new archeological salvage work within the Monument.
- 6. Be accountable for Park Service owned property as listed in the attached inventory.
- 7. Continue selling Park Service and Southwest Parks and Monuments Association publications under the terms and conditions outlined in the Association By-Laws, copy attached.
- 8. Bill the Park Service quarterly for services rendered or more frequently if necessary.

C. It is Mutually Agreed and Understood By and Between the Said Parties That:

- 1. This Cooperative Agreement shall apply to the following described lands in the State of New Mexico established by Proclamation No. 781 of November 16. 1907, and amended by Proclamation No. 3467 of April 17 1962.

T12S, R14W, NMPM
Detached sections — T.J. RUINS (53.125 acres)

Section 25

S1/2S1/2SW1/4NE1/4	10 acres
SE1/4SE1/4SE1/4NW1/4	2.5 acres
NE1/4NE1/4NE1/4SW1/4	2.5 acres
E1/2W1/2SE1/4NE1/4NE1/4SW1/4	0.625 acres
E1/2SE1/4NE1/4NE1/4SW1/4	1.25 acres
E1/2NE1/4SE1/4NE1/4SW1/4	1.25 acres
N1/2NW1/4SE1/4	20.00 acres
N1/2S1/2NW1/4SE1/4	10.00 acres
N1/2S1/2S1/2NW1/4SE1/4	5.00 acres

GILA CLIFF DWELLING AREA (480 acres)

Section 22

S1/2SE1/4	80.00 acres
SE1/4SW1/4	40.00 acres

Section 27

NE1/4	160.00 acres
E1/2NW1/4	80.00 acres
NE1/4SW1/4	40.00 acres
N1/2SE1/4	80.00 acres

The Park Service shall retain jurisdiction over the lands described in this subsection as a part of the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument and that the lands shall remain subject to all laws applicable to such Park Service lands. The Forest Service shall administer the Monument in accordance with this Cooperative Agreement and the annual Joint Operating and Financial Plan.

2. This Cooperative Agreement shall also apply to the following described lands withdrawn April 9, 1952, for use of the Forest Service for an administrative site on which the joint use Visitor Center is located. (Shown on the attached map numbered NM-GCD 7100-A):

New Mexico
(New Mexico 070229)
Gila National Forest

New Mexico Principal Meridian

T J Administrative Site

T. 12 S., R. 14 W.,
Sec. 25, N1/2SW1/4NE1/4, N1/2S1/2SW1/4NE1/4, N1/2SE1/4NW1/4,
SW1/4SE1/4NW1/4, N1/2SE1/4SE1/4NW1/4, SW1/4SE1/4SE1/4NW1/4,
W1/2NE1/4NE1/4SW1/4, W1/2W1/2SE1/4NE1/4SW1/4,
W1/2NE1/4SW1/4, W1/2NE1/4SE1/4NE1/4SW1/4,
S1/2SE1/4NE1/4SW1/4, SE1/4SE1/4NE1/4SW1/4, S1/2S1/2NW1/4SE1/4.

Containing approximately 107 acres.

And in addition, a site in the northwest quarter of the northwest quarter of Sec. 26, T12S., R14W, adjacent to the Monument boundary to accommodate a visitor contact station structure and appurtenances.

The Forest Service shall retain jurisdiction over the lands described in this subsection as a part of Gila National Forest and that the lands shall remain subject to all laws applicable to such National Forest lands.

3. Meet annually at a mutually agreed upon date to review the operational and safety plans, make necessary adjustments in work load standards, and prepare a Joint Operating and Financial Plan. This Plan should consider

the following items for the following fiscal year:

- a. Staffing
 - b. Supplies and material needs
 - c. Plan for replacing personal property
 - d. Overhead estimate
 - e. Agree on training needs and costs
 - f. Fixed (real) property maintenance schedule
 - g. Agreement of work plans for coming year
 - h. Transfer of station (split) costs
 - i. Procedure to handle emergencies
4. Each agency will carry fixed assets constructed by them on their respective real property records.
 5. Nothing herein shall be construed as obligating either party to expend or incur obligations for future payment of money in excess of appropriations authorized by law and administratively allocated for this work.
 6. No member of or delegate to Congress, or resident commissioner, shall be admitted to any share or part of this agreement, or to any benefit that may arise therefrom; but this provision shall not be construed to extend to this agreement if made with a corporation for its general benefit.
 7. The Memorandum of Agreement dated July 22, 1964, and its supplements are terminated as a result of this Cooperative Agreement.
 8. This agreement shall be effective upon execution by both parties hereto.
 9. It is recognized that the Secretary of Interior through the Director, Park Service, retains jurisdiction of the monument and the monument is subject to all laws and regulations applicable to the Park Service. The sole purpose for the Cooperative Agreement is to obtain the services of the Forest Service thereby resulting in considerable savings to the United States in personnel and appropriated funds necessary for the proper management of the monument.
 10. Either party may terminate this agreement by providing 90 days written notice to the other party. Unless terminated by written notice, this agreement will remain in force indefinitely or until the enactment of legislation inconsistent herewith.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have executed this Cooperative Agreement as of the last date written below.

Regional Forester
Southwestern Region
U.S. Forest Service
Date: 4/10/75

Regional Director
Southwest Region
National Park Service
Date: 4/14/75

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gicl/adhi/adhiab.htm
Last Updated: 23-Apr-2001

GILA CLIFF DWELLINGS

Administrative History



APPENDIX C

Assignment Agreement

ASSIGNMENT AGREEMENT

This agreement constitutes the written record of the conditions, parameters, restrictions, and basis for mutual understanding of an assignment agreement between the National Park Service, Southwest Region, U. S. Department of the Interior, and the U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Department of Agriculture.

The assignment agreement relates to the employment of a reassignment eligible employee (an employee who is already at or higher than the grade level of the position under consideration) from the National Park Service to be employed by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Gila National Forest, Wilderness Ranger District.

The position under consideration is a Park Ranger, GS-025-09, identified by position description number 3065050. The subject position description is attached to this agreement.

OBJECTIVES:

The following objectives are to be realized upon the consummation of this agreement:

1. the reassignment/transfer of a qualified National Park Service career/career conditional employee from the National Park Service, Southwest Region to the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, for a period of service of not less than 2 calendar years and not more than 3 calendar years;
2. upon accomplishment of the service period depicted, not less than 2 years and not more than 3 years, the reemployment of the National Park Service/Forest Service employee with the National Park Service, Southwest Region;
3. the continuance of the agreement as noted in this document or as modified by mutual consent of both the National Park Service, Southwest Region, U. S. Department of the Interior, and the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, for future reassignment/transfer personnel actions such as prescribed by Objectives 1 and 2 above.

CONDITIONS:

The National Park Service, Southwest Region, agrees to:

1. canvass available employees through appropriate means and in accordance with applicable rules, regulations, and policies & degree; to determine availability of employees for an assignment with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Gila National Forest, Wilderness Ranger District.
2. provide the appropriate officials of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Gila National Forest, Wilderness Ranger District, the names and employment applications (Standard Forms 171) of those employees who have indicated an interest and are available to serve with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Gila National Forest, Wilderness Ranger District, and perform the duties and responsibilities as prescribed in the position description identified as: Park Ranger, GS-025-09, identified by position description number 3065050.
3. to accept for reemployment the employee selected for the position identified as Park Ranger, GS-025-09, position description number 3065050, to the Southwest Region, National Park Service, upon that employee completing the assignment tour of not less than 2 years and not more than 3 years at the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Gila National Forest, Wilderness Ranger District, upon receiving the written request from the employee if the request from the employee meets the following conditions:
 1. such request is in writing directed to the Regional Director, Southwest Region, National Park Service; and
 2. such request is submitted not later than 120 days prior to the end of completion of the third year of assignment with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service.

The U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, agrees to:

1. accept the listing of employees referred to the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Gila National Forest, Wilderness Ranger District, for consideration of appointment to the position identified by Park Ranger, GS-025-09, position description number 3065050;
2. select a National Park Service employee for the position of Park Ranger, GS-025-09, identified by position description number 3065050 at the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Gila National Forest, Wilderness Ranger District;
3. release the employee accepted for the position of Park Ranger, GS-025-09, identified by position description number 3065050 at the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Gila National Forest, Wilderness Ranger District, upon completion of the tour of duty prescribed as not less than 2 years or more than 3 years with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Gila National Forest, Wilderness Ranger District, to the National Park Service, Southwest Region, upon written notification of the employee to the Regional Director, National Park Service, Southwest Region. This release is conditional upon the event said employee applies for and is accepted for a position with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, in accordance with applicable rules,

regulations, and policies.

CERTIFICATION(S) :

For: NATIONAL PARK SERVICE Southwest Region:	U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region
Regional Director Southwest Region	Regional Forester Southwestern Region

EMPLOYEE ASSIGNMENT AGREEMENT

AS ATTESTED TO BY MY SIGNATURE AFFIXED TO THIS AGREEMENT, I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT I AGREE TO THE CONDITIONS SET FORTH IN THIS EMPLOYEE ASSIGNMENT AGREEMENT:

CONDITIONS :

1. I will accept appointment to the position of Park Ranger, GS-025-09, identified by position description number 3065050 with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Gila National Forest, Wilderness Ranger District, for a period of service of not less than 2 calendar years and not more than 3 calendar years.
2. I acknowledge that during this period of service, that I am assigned as an employee of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Gila National Forest, Wilderness Ranger District, and subject to all rules, regulations, laws, and procedures which govern the conduct, performance, and standing of employees of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service.
3. I acknowledge that I will request a reassignment transfer to the National Park Service, Southwest Region, not earlier than 120 days prior to the expiration of the tour of duty defined as not less than 2 calendar years and not more 3 than calendar years. Such request is to be in writing and directed to the Regional Director, Southwest Region, National Park Service.
4. I recognize that during my period of tenure with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, that I am subject to certain conditions applicable to my reemployment privileges with the National Park Service, Southwest Region, e.g.,
 - a. I must apply for reemployment privileges in writing to the Regional Director, Southwest Region, National Park Service, not later than the 120 calendar days prior to the completion of my third year assignment with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service. Failure to apply for reemployment with the National Park Service, Southwest Region, will constitute disregard for this agreement and possible forfeiture of reemployment privileges with the National Park Service and subject me to potential adverse action such as reduction-in-force.
 - b. I may apply for reemployment privileges by writing to the Regional

Director, Southwest Region, National Park Service, not earlier than the beginning of the second year and prior to 120 calendar days before the completion of my third year assignment with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service.

- c. I will forfeit any reemployment privileges with the Southwest Region, National Park Service, upon resignation from the U. S. Forest Service or for separation from the U. S. Forest Service for reasons or causes which evidence my unsuitability for continued employment with the Federal service.
- d. I will accept a proper offer of reemployment to a position of similar pay and status within the Southwest Region of the National Park Service similar to that position from which I transferred in the National Park Service to accept the position of Park Ranger, GS-025-09, identified by position description number 3065050 with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, U. S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Gila National Forest, Wilderness Ranger District.

SIGNATURE

TYPED NAME

DATE

WITNESSED BY:

SIGNATURE

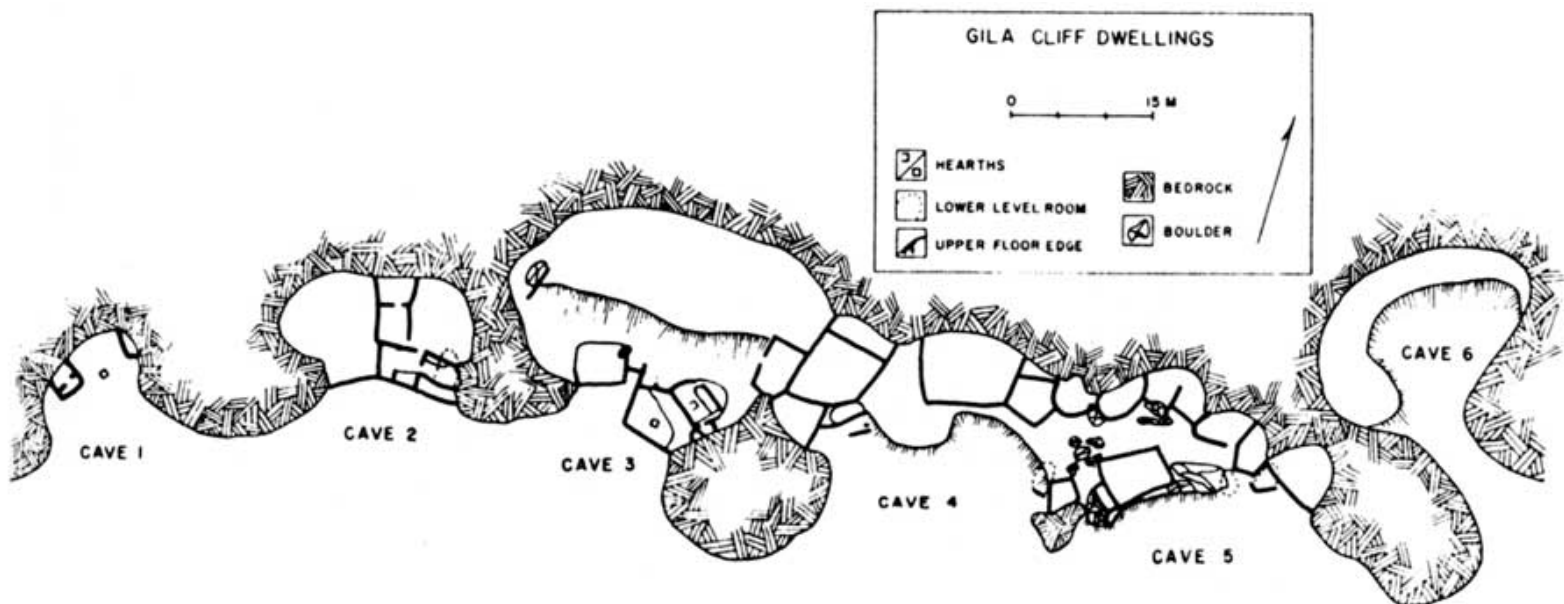
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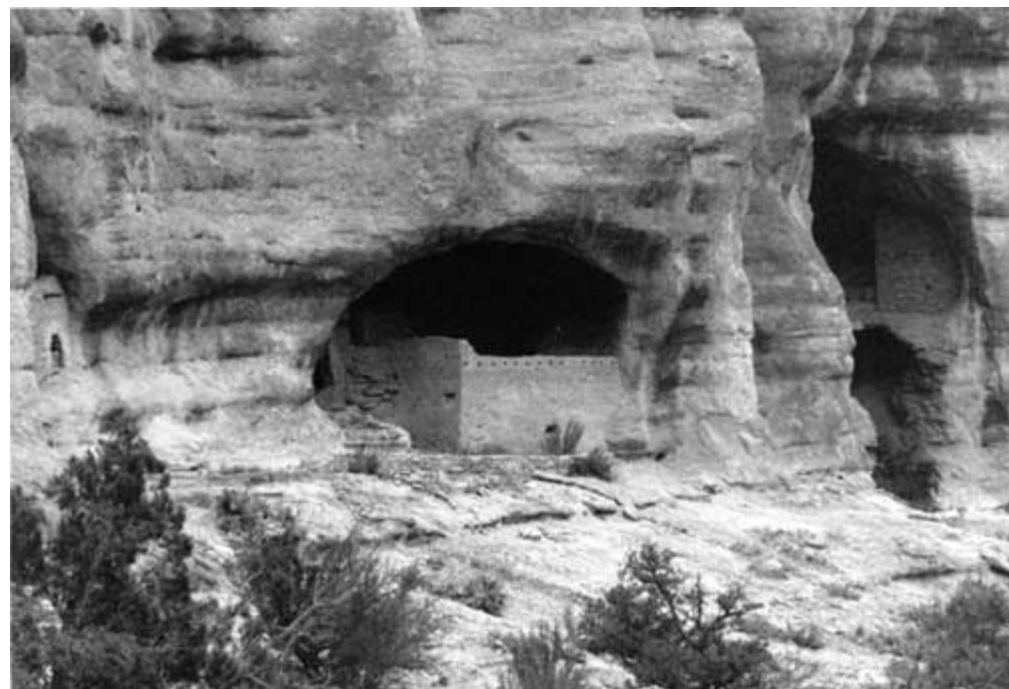
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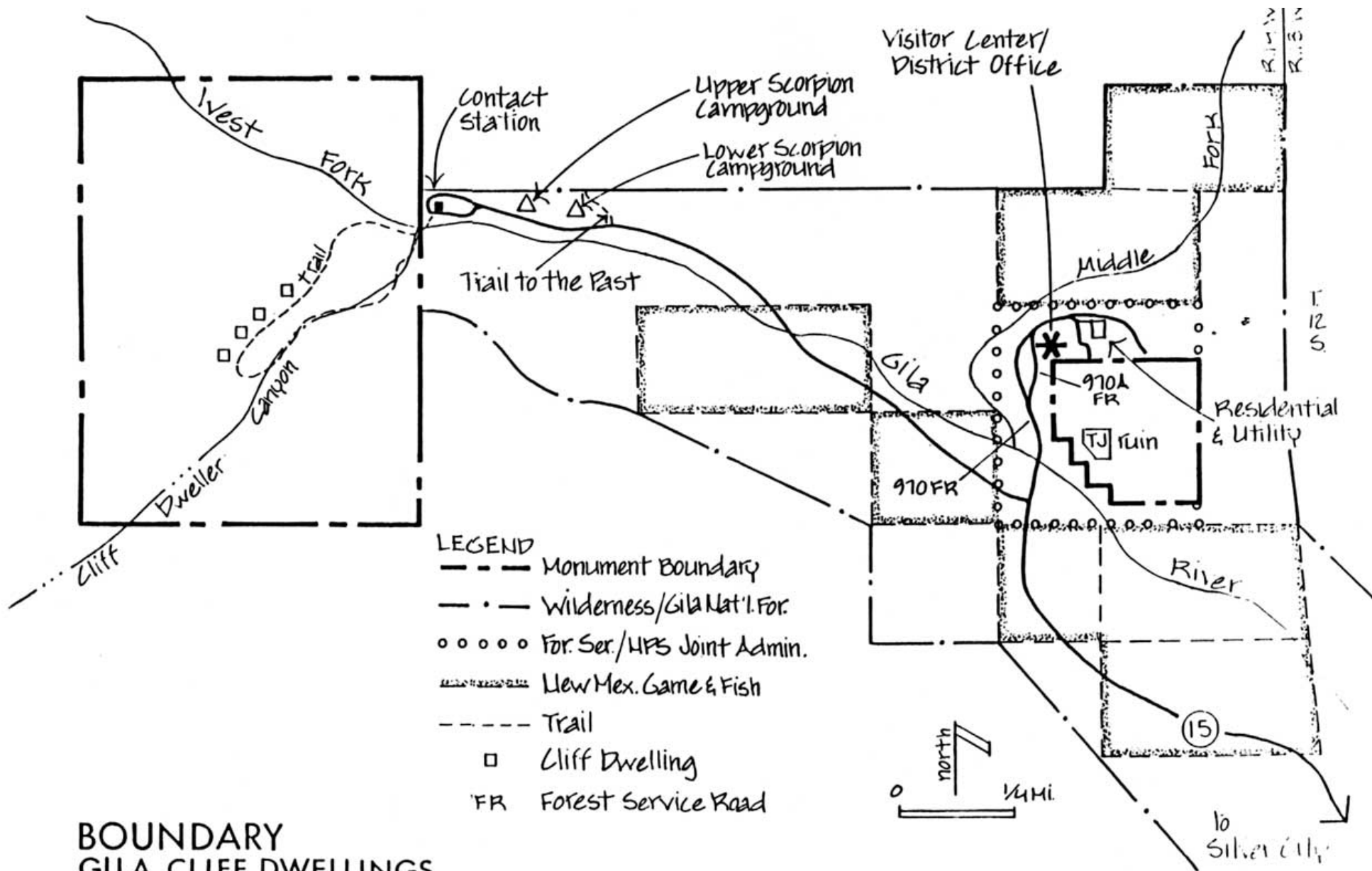
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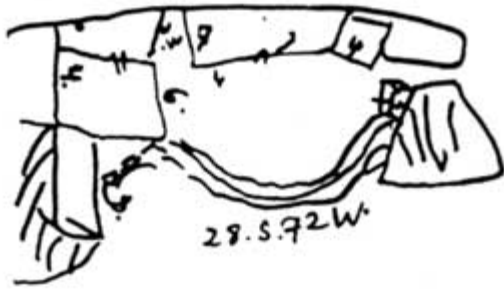


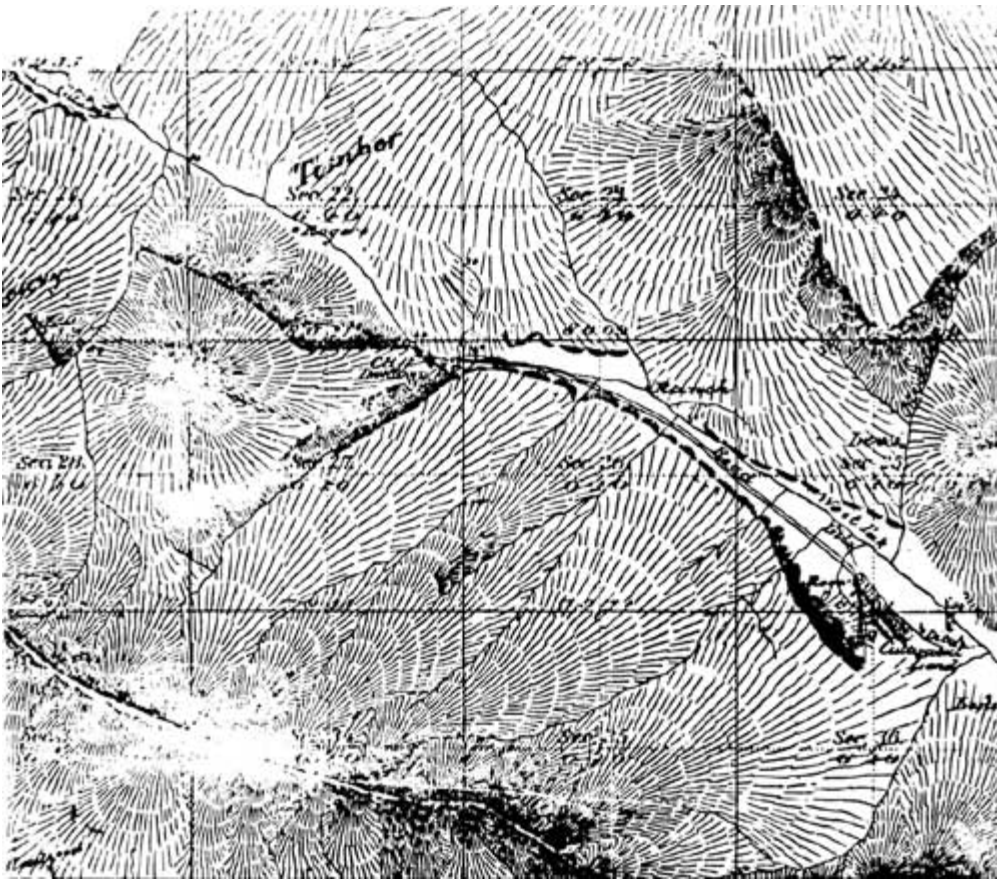






BOUNDARY
GILA CLIFF DWELLINGS
 national monument









Presumed
Boundary
of Gila
Cliff Dwellings
Nat'l Monument

West Fork
of Gila
River

Map traced from
original by Dawson
A. Campbell, Sept.
30, 1955. USKING

outline of
pit house

small ledge.
cobs, sherds
no walls

MAIN
DWELLINGS

Top of map is NORTH

Roof caved
in. Sherds.

Small ledge.
Nice site!

Small
ledge

Larger
ledge.
Sherds,
cobs.

Ledge.
Cobs. wall
(Potted) fragment

Cave site.

Long ledge. Sherds,
very large
cobs. Pot-
ted.

Cave site

Cave
site

Ledge site.
Cobs. Potted.
Cave site.

(Overlapping indicates
different levels.)

Ledge site - Pires in red
paint

Ledge sites

Small ledge
site - untouched

One-room dwelling in
cave. Perfect condi-
tion. Two doorways,
many openings.
12'x15'

NOTE: Approximately one mile of
Cliff Dweller Canyon shown in this
schematic map.

In addition to the main
dwellings of Gila Cliff Dwellings
National Monument, there are shown
here:

- 6 cave sites (none are inside
present boundary)
- 9 ledge sites (5 are inside)
- 1 red-painted pictograph "outline"
- 1 pit house (probably cut into

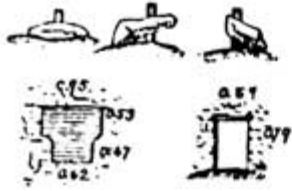
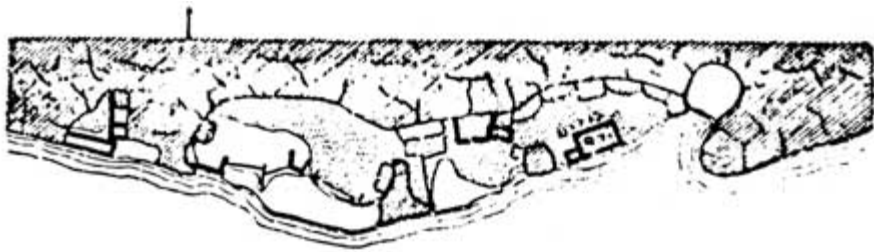






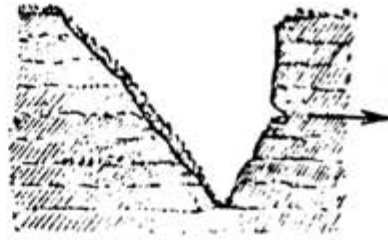






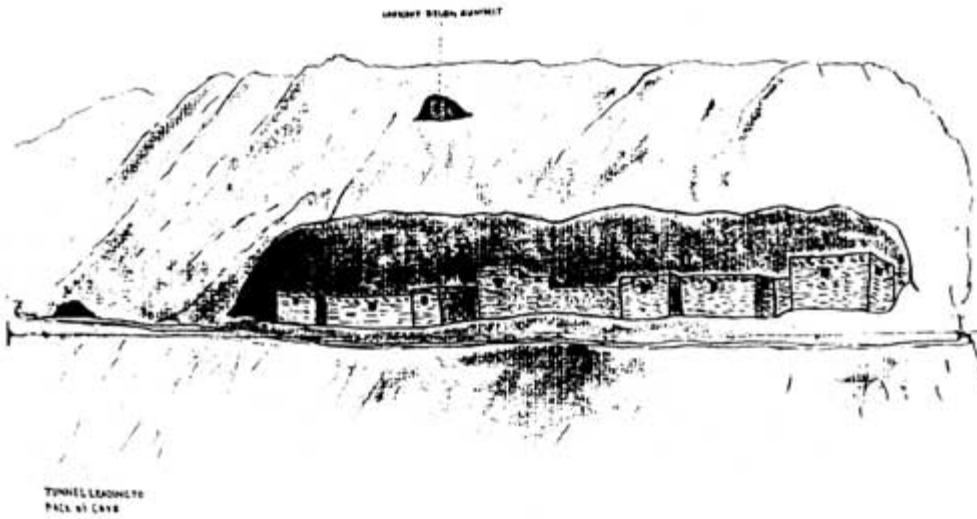
Doorway.

Window.



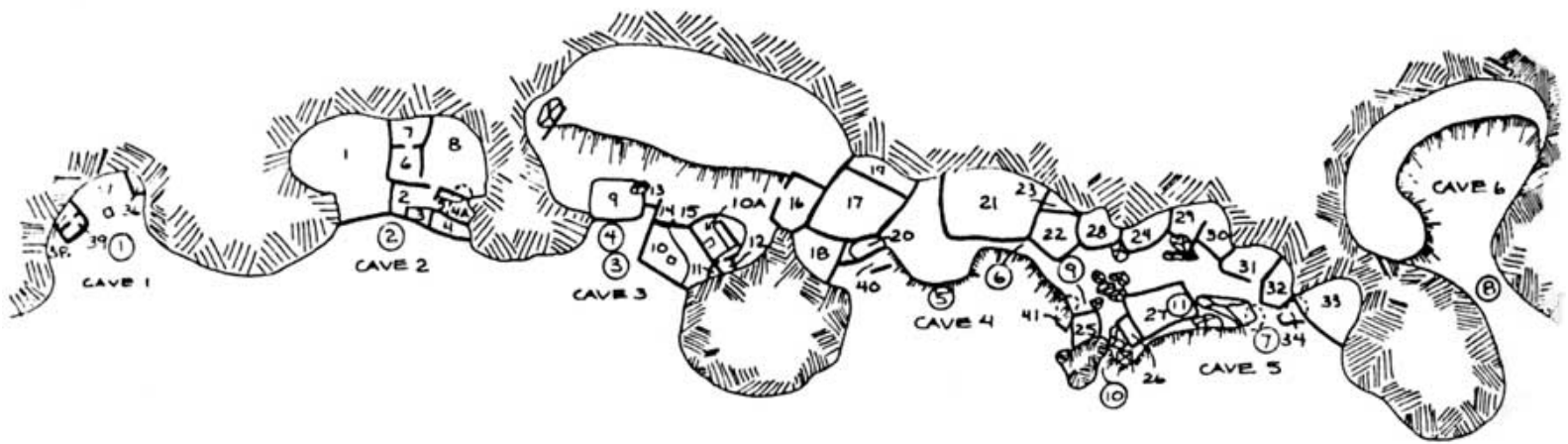
Section of Gorge and Cave.

SKETCH OF CAVE DWELLINGS ON THE UPPER RIO GILA.

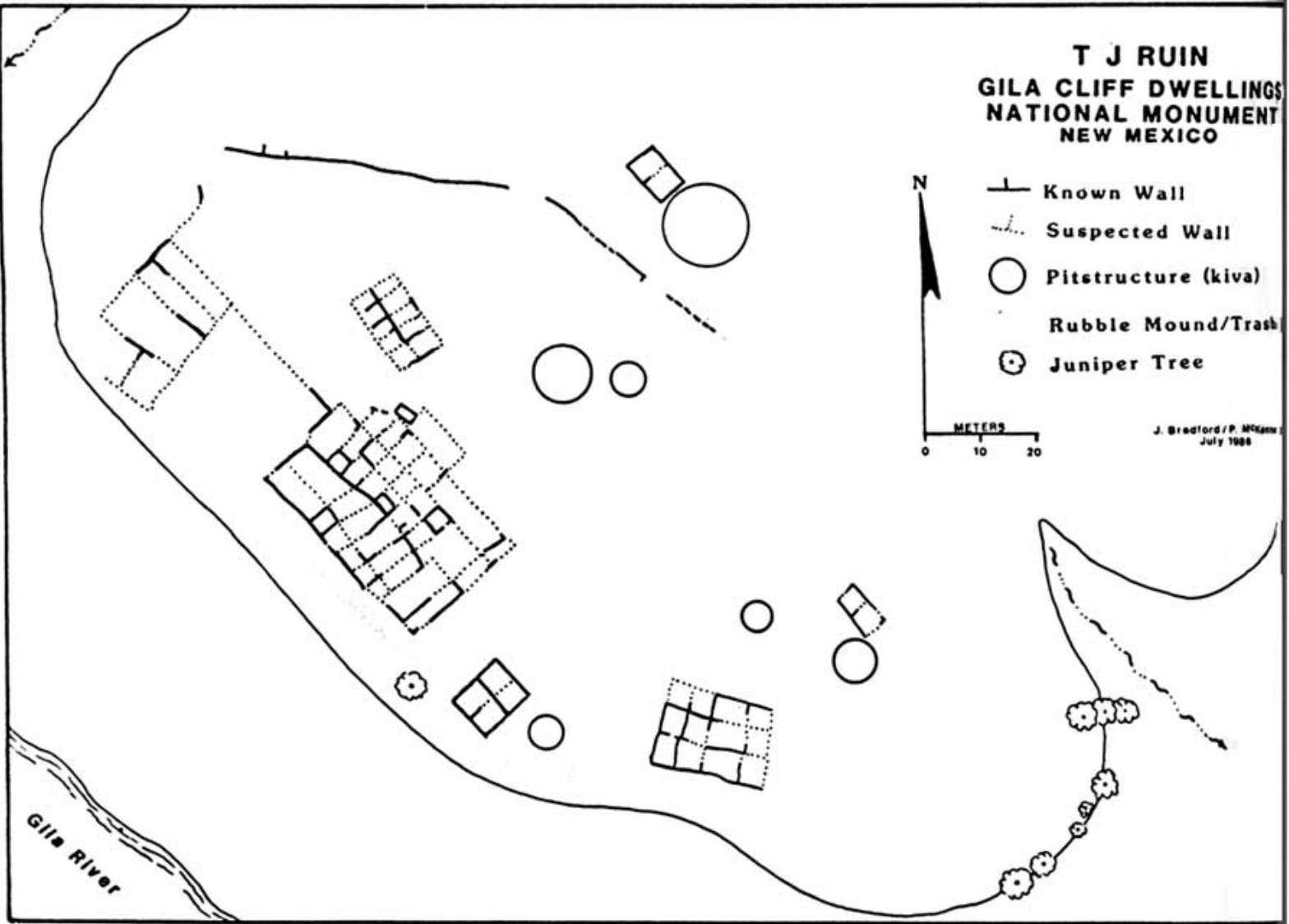
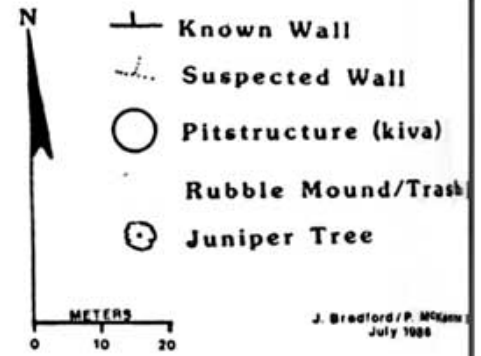


CLIFF CAVE AND DWELLINGS SKETCH BY LIEUTENANT G. H. SANDS, 1885





**T J RUIN
GILA CLIFF DWELLINGS
NATIONAL MONUMENT
NEW MEXICO**





GILA CLIFF DWELLINGS

Administrative History



ENDNOTES

Introduction

¹ Apachean affiliation is probable but can not be confirmed since human remains are no longer at the site.

² Apache fear of the dead and of things associated with the dead is commonly adduced as a reason for their not disturbing prehistoric sites. There is no published material dealing with Apachean attitudes towards prehistoric pueblo sites, however, according to Keith Basso, an anthropologist and an expert on the Western Apache. In fact, he has noted that Apaches do collect artifacts from these sites "although certain steps are taken." Keith Basso to Peter Russell, April 12, 1990, personal files of the author.

³ These measurements were taken at the gauging station at Gila Hot Springs. F. D. Trauger, Water Resources and General Geology of Grant County, New Mexico (Socorro: New Mexico State Bureau of Mines and Mineral Resources, Hydrologic Report 2, 1972), p. 48.

Chapter I

¹ Geronimo, *Geronimo's Story of his Life*, ed. S. M. Barrett, (Williamstown, Massachusetts: Corner House Publishers, 1973), p. 17.

² Keith Anderson, Gloria J. Fenner, Don P. Morris, George A. Teague and Charmion McKusick, *The Archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings*. Publications in Anthropology 36 (Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1986).

³ Donald E. Worcester, "The Beginnings of the Apache Menace of the Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review* 16, No. 1 (January 1941). Also see Linda S. Cordell, *Prehistory of the Southwest* (New York: Academic Press, 1984), p. 358.

⁴ Cordell, *Prehistory of the Southwest*, p. 358.

⁵ Worcester, "The Beginnings of the Apache Menace," pp. 2-3.

⁶ Alonso de Benavides, *Revised Memorial of 1634* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), p. 82.

⁷ James C. Martin and Robert Sidney Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest 1513-1900*

(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), p. 82.

⁸ William B. Griffen, *Apaches at War & Peace: the Janos Presidio, 1750-1858* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), p. 4.

⁹ Griffen, *Apaches at War & Peace*, p. 33.

¹⁰ John L. Kessell, "Campaigning on the Upper Gila, 1756," *New Mexico Historical Review* 46, no. 2 (1971):135.

¹¹ Griffen, *Apaches at War and Peace*. Also see William B. Griffen, *Utmost Good Faith: Patterns of Apache Mexican Hostilities in Northern Chihuahua Border Warfare, 1821-1848* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988).

¹² Ibid, p. 154.

¹³ Kessell, "Campaigning on the Upper Gila," p. 139.

¹⁴ Griffen, *Utmost Good Faith*, 1821-1848, p. 3.

¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 9-17.

¹⁶ Richard Batman, *James Pattie's West: the Dream and the Reality* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), pp. 118-129.

¹⁷ Billy D. Walker, "Copper Genesis: the Early Years of Santa Rita del Cobre," *New Mexico Historical Review* 54, no.1 (1979).

¹⁸ James Ohio Pattie, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie* (Cincinnati: John H. Wood, 1831; reprinted New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1962), p. 48.

¹⁹ Pattie, *The Narrative of James O. Pattie*, p. 49.

²⁰ Batman, *James Pattie's West*, p. 157.

²¹ Griffen, *Apaches at War & Peace*, pp. 173-176.

²² Ibid, pp. 139-221.

²³ Griffen, *Utmost Good Faith*, pp. 58-60.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 122 n. 8.

²⁵ William H. Goetzman, *Exploration and Empire* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), pp. 77, 253-55.

²⁶ Martin and Martin, *Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513-1900*, pp. 150-51.

²⁷ Gordon R. Willey and Jeremy A. Sabloff, *A History of American Archaeology* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1974), p. 59.

Dan L. Thrapp, *Victorio and the Mimbres Apaches* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), p. 22.

²⁹ Differences between the intent of this campaign and its implementation have generated different interpretations about its nature: extermination or relocation? Dan Thrapp, an authority on the history of nineteenth-century Apaches, came down decidedly on the side of extermination, writing that: "Carleton pursued single-mindedly his extermination against the exasperating Apaches and Navahos, but the results were not decisive." Thrapp, *Victorio and the Mimbres Apaches*, p. 83. Robert Utley, former chief historian of the Park Service, used a different but equally sinister term to describe this campaign, writing that: "...Carleton failed to realize his grand design of purging the Southwest of Indians and tapping its mineral wealth." Robert Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1973), p. 169.

³⁰ Thrapp, *Victorio and the Mimbres Apaches*, p. 129.

³¹ Ojo Caliente is currently being studied by the National Park Service as a possible area to commemorate the Apache culture. The area lies approximately 50 miles east of Gila Cliff Dwellings.

³² Ibid, p. 133

³³ Henry Wetherbee Henshaw, "Autobiographical Notes," *The Condor* 22, no.1 (January-February 1920):3-10.

³⁴ In November 1871, eight miles west of Wickenburg, a stagecoach carrying eight passengers was attacked by Apaches. Seven passengers were killed, including three members of Wheeler's survey. Dan L. Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 104.

³⁵ George M. Wheeler, *Report Upon United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian* (Washington, DC: U.S Government Printing Office, 1889).

³⁶ Don D. Fowler, *The Western Photographs of John K. Hillers: "Myself in the Water"* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), pp. 77-79.

³⁷ Willey and Sabloff, *A History of American Archaeology*, p. 49.

³⁸ Now a "ghost town", Georgetown lies about 15 miles east of Silver City, New Mexico.

³⁹ H. B. Ailman, *Pioneering in Territorial Silver City*, ed. Helen J. Lundwall (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), pp. 57-58.

⁴⁰ Beatrice Chauvenet, *Hewett and Friends: A Biography of Santa Fe's Vibrant Era* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), pp. 13-21.

⁴¹ Adolph F. Bandelier, *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier*, 2 ed. Charles H. Lange and Carrol L. Riley, (Albuquerque: University of Ne Mexico Press, 1966), pop. 193-194.

⁴² Bandelier located the ruin "directly opposite Mr. Jordan Rogers'[sic] new ranch, on a perfectly bare hill." A township survey completed less than a year after Bandelier's visit

located this ranch on the west side of the Gila River, just below the confluence of the West and Middle forks or roughly where the Heart Bar headquarters stand today--across the river and below the TJ site.

⁴³ Bandelier, *The Southwestern Journals*, p. 199.

⁴⁴ James A. McKenna, *Black Range Tales* (New York: Wilson-Erickson, Inc., 1936), p. 13.

⁴⁵ McKenna, *Black Range Tales*, pp. 47-50.

⁴⁶ Adolph F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Part II* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1892), pp. 359-362.

⁴⁷ Dan L. Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1967), pp. 267-310.

⁴⁸ Map Files, Gila National Forest, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁴⁹ Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria*, pp. 328-367.

⁵⁰ *Silver City Enterprise*, October, 21 1892. Article reproduced in *This is Silver City 1892 and 1893*, Vol. 5 (Silver City: Silver City Enterprise, Inc., 1971).

⁵¹ *Silver City Enterprise*, October 13, 1893.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ *Silver City Enterprise*, November 3, 1893.

⁵⁴ Henry Woodrow, "Henry Woodrow," in *The Early Days: a Sourcebook of Southwestern Region History, Book I*, Report No. 7, ed. Edwin A. Tucker, (Albuquerque: USDA Forest Service Southwestern Region, 1989), p. 199.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 199.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 201.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 201.

⁵⁸ Sharman Russell, "A Lion in the Gila," *New Mexico Magazine* 61, no. 8 (August 1983):25.

⁵⁹ Fred Winn, "West Fork of the Gila River," *Science* 64 (July 21, 1926):16-17.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ *Silver City Enterprise*, June 26, 1892.

⁶² *Silver City Enterprise*, August 7, 1891. Article reproduced in *This is Silver City 1891*, Vol. 4, (Silver City: Silver City Enterprise, Inc., 1967).

Silver City Enterprise, June 26, 1892.

⁶⁴ *Arizona Enterprise*, May 26, 1892. This article was reproduced in *Forever Frontier*. Elizabeth McFarland, *Forever Frontier, The Gila Cliff Dwellings* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1967), p. 41.

⁶⁵ As early as 1864, in his widely-read monograph *Man and Nature*, George Marsh had expressed concern about declining environmental conditions on the public domain. In 1881, as a partial consequence of these concerns among a growing number of people, the Division of Forestry was established in the Department of Agriculture. In 1891, by authority of the General Provision Act of 1891, the President began setting aside large forested areas of the western public domain, closing them to private development. The first such area designated in the Southwest was Pecos River Forest Reserve, which was established in 1892. By 1907, nearly all the forested lands in the public domain--with the exception of Indian reservations--had been set aside in New Mexico and Arizona. The vast forest drained by the Gila River was an obvious candidate for this kind of reserve. It was the fifth of 25 set aside in the Southwest by 1907, but the specific history of its designation has not yet emerged from the archives in a published form. For a general history of the Forest Service in the Southwest see: Robert D. Baker, Robert S. Maxwell, Victor H. Treat and Henry C. Dethloff, *Timeless Heritage: a History of the Forest Service in the Southwest*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S.D.A. Forest Service, 1988).

⁶⁶ *Silver City Enterprise*, July 13, 1900.

⁶⁷ Theodore F. Rixon, *Forest Conditions in the Gila River Forest Reserve, New Mexico*. Prof. Pap. 33, Series H, Forestry 11 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, 1905).

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 14.

⁶⁹ John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: a Critical History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1961), p. 148.

⁷⁰ Fowler, *The Western Photographs of John K. Hillers*, p. 79.

⁷¹ For a full account of the activities of Richard Wetherill and the controversy that he generated see: Frank McNitt, *Richard Wetherill: Anasazi* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1957, revised ed. 1966).

⁷² Walter Hough, *Antiquities of the Upper Gila and Salt River Valleys in Arizona and New Mexico*. Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin No. 35 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1907), p. 48.

⁷³ J. J. Brody, *Mimbres Painted Pottery* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977), pp. 6-8.

⁷⁴ For a full review of the legislative evolution of the Antiquities Act see: John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History*.

⁷⁵ For details of Edgar L. Hewett's career see: Beatrice Chauvenet, *Hewett and Friends*.

⁷⁶ "Report of the Acting Secretary", *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1906*

(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1907).

⁷⁷ Hough, *Antiquities of the Upper Gila and Salt River Valleys*.

⁷⁸ Hal Karl Rothman, "Protected by a Gold Fence with Diamond Tips: A Cultural History of the American National Monuments" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1985), pp. 91-93.

⁷⁹ In 1905 the forest reserves had been transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture, and the Bureau of Forestry had been reorganized as the Forest Service. In 1907, the forest reserves were renamed national forests. Baker et al., *A History of the Forest Service in the Southwest*, p. 40.

⁸⁰ Harold K. Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), p. 113.

⁸¹ R. C. McClure to the Forester, Forest Service, Washington, D.C., December 20, 1906, Folder L, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁸² James B. Adams to McClure, April 27, 1907, Folder L, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁸³ There exists a local vernacular tradition that Hugh Hodge, owner of the Diamond Bar ranch, was a cousin to Theodore Roosevelt and that this relationship was instrumental in bringing Gila Cliff Dwellings to the president's attention. In another version of this tradition, it was Hodge's first wife who had the influential relationship. This tradition is not supported by official contemporary correspondence, however.

⁸⁴ "Presidential Proclamation No. 781" (35 Stat. 2162), Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁸⁵ H. Calkins to District Forester, June 20, 1916, Folder L, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁸⁶ "McKinney" Park is now known as McKenna Park. The old ranger district is now divided between the Glenwood District, the Silver City District, and the Wilderness District.

⁸⁷ Joe Janes, "Administrative History of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument," undated manuscript, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁸⁸ Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1983), p. 16.

⁸⁹ A. F. Potter to Forest Officers, November 24, 1908, Folder L, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁹⁰ Frank E. Andrews to District Forester, December 9, 1908, Folder L, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁹¹ "National Forests as Playgrounds", *Harper's Weekly* 54 (September 10, 1910):26.

⁹² Don P. Johnson to District Forester, July 26, 1912, Folder L, Gila National Forest Files,

Silver City, New Mexico.

⁹³ Agnes C. Laut, "Why Go Abroad?" *Sunset* 30 (February 13, 1913):156-64.

⁹⁴ Walter Hough, *Culture of the Ancient Pueblos of the Upper Gila River Region, New Mexico and Arizona, Bulletin 87*, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1914), p. 133.

⁹⁵ Gila National Forest Map, Folder L, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁹⁶ Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service*, p. 114.

⁹⁷ Ibid, pp. 114-115.

⁹⁸ E. A. Sherman to District Forester Redington, June 5, 1916, Folder L, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁹⁹ Calkins to District Forester, June 20, 1916, Folder L, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City.

¹⁰⁰ Unrau and Williss, *Administrative History*, p. 35.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² H. G. Calkins to District Forester, September 25, 1916, Folder L, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

¹⁰³ Henry Woodrow to Forest Supervisor, January 18, 1917, Folder L, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

¹⁰⁴ For an account of the early activities of Aldo Leopold and the evolution of his ideas see Susan L. Flader, *Thinking Like a Mountain* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1974).

¹⁰⁵ In the early years of the Forest Service, the areas now known as regions were called districts. The Southwestern District is now Region III.

¹⁰⁶ Richard H. Spray, "The Gila Wilderness: Boundary Adjustments and Other High Jinks, 1924 to 1980" (Paper delivered at the Southwest Wilderness Conference, Western New Mexico University, Silver City, New Mexico, September 29, 1989), p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ Flader, *Thinking Like a Mountain*, pp. 98-102.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Dawson "Doc" Campbell, personal communication to the author, March 18, 1990.

Chapter II

¹ Unrau and Williss, *Administrative History*, p. 43.

² Albright as quoted by Alfred Runte. Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), p. 221.

³ Unrau and Williss, *Administrative History*, p. 69.

⁴ Unrau and Williss (p. 68) identify Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument as one of eight monuments the Park Service would like to see transferred. On the other hand, in his administrative history of Saguaro National Monument, A. Berle Clemensen writes that Gila Cliff Dwellings was one of six that National Park Service did not want. A. Berle Clemensen, *Cattle, Copper and Cactus: The History of Saguaro National Monument* (Denver: Denver Service Center, 1987), p. 122.

⁵ Clemensen, *Cattle, Copper, and Cactus*, p. 120.

⁶ Unrau and Williss, *Administrative History*, p. 69.

⁷ In 1921, the chief forester of the Forest Service had himself described the relationship between his agency and the Park Service as "open warfare." The aggravating perception of a bureaucratic betrayal in 1933 and its consequences were tentatively reported by John Ise in his history of national park policy. The tenacious nature of the interagency hostility, especially in the field, was reported by Unrau and Williss in their history of the Park Service's expansion in the 1930s; Ise, *Our National Park Policy*, p. 353. Unrau and Williss, *Administrative History*, p. 70.

⁸ Memorandum to Frank Pinkley, by Acting Director of the Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations, November 17, 1933, Folder Correspondence 1933-1955, Library, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 91.

¹¹ In 1938, this monument was expanded and renamed Olympic National Park.

¹² Rothman, "Forged by One Man's Will," p. 97.

¹³ G. H. Gordon, "Report on Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument" March 20, 1935, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹⁴ Six years later, a report by Hugh Miller, who succeeded Pinkley as superintendent of Southwestern Monuments, also suggests that opinions were divided about Gila Cliff Dwellings. In 1941, after his first visit to the site, Miller observed that he had "previously overrated its isolation and underrated its interest. I think some reports have been unduly pessimistic...." Hugh Miller, "Report of Inspection, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, September 10, 11, 1941," Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹⁵ In January 1937, the administration of the Park Service was divided into administrative regions. Region III was headquartered in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and included essentially all the monuments and parks in Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas, as well as Mesa Verde National Park in Colorado, three other national monuments in the

southwestern quadrant of that state, and Rainbow Bridge, Arches, and Natural Bridges national monuments in southeastern Utah.

¹⁶ Charles Gould, "Location and Area," *Report on Gila Primitive Area, New Mexico, September 17-26, 1937 and October 13-22, 1937*, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹⁷ Grand Canyon National Park and Bryce Canyon National Park.

¹⁸ For details about the interagency struggle over Bandelier National Monument, see Chapter Two of Rothman's administrative history of the monument. Hal Rothman, *Bandelier National Monument: An Administrative History* (Santa Fe: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Professional Papers No. 14, 1988), pp. 19-39.

¹⁹ About the wilderness movement, Assistant Forester Leon F. Kniepp noted in 1930 that "[t]here is a wide spread concern in the minds of many people and members of organizations with reference to the rapid modification of all parts of the United States leading to the elimination of the primitive conditions under which the pioneer growth of the Nation took form...The Forest Service has attempted to allay this feeling of alarm by the pledge that within certain selected and clearly defined areas the intrusion of the evidence of man's handiwork will be held to an irreducible minimum." Stephen Mather couldn't have summarized the mission of his own agency any better. Report for Claude Wood by Regional Forester, August 5, 1954, Folder 2760, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²⁰ Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service*, pp. 237-245.

²¹ Memorandum for the Director, National Park Service, by W. C. Mendenhall, January 22, 1940, Folder O-35, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²² In 1972, William Everhart noted that mining claims could still be filed in national monuments, a transaction prohibited in national parks. William C. Everhart, *The National Park Service*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), p. 49.

²³ Secretary of Interior to the President, no date, Folder L1417, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²⁴ "Excluding Certain Lands from the Gila National Forest and Reserving Them Together with the Lands Now Comprising the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument as the Gila National Monument-New Mexico, By the President of the United States of America, A Proclamation," Folder L1417, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²⁵ Memorandum for Superintendent Miller, Southwestern National Monuments, by Minor Tillotson, August 18, 1941, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²⁶ Russ Olsen, *Administrative History: Organizational Structures of the National Park Service 1917 to 1985* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985), p. 16. Olsen observed that Drury "disliked the rough and tumble politics of Washington."

²⁷ Memorandum to Acting Regional Director, from W. H. Wirt, October 28, 1937, Folder L,

Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²⁸ Memorandum for Forest Supervisor, Gila, from Frank Pooler, Regional Forester, November 27, 1937, L Folder, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²⁹ Charlie Steen, personal communication to the author, March 7, 1990.

³⁰ Memorandum for Superintendent Miller, Southwestern Monuments, by Minor Tillotson, August 18, 1941, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

³¹ "Doc" Campbell, personal communication to the author, March 18, 1990.

³² Hugh Miller, "Report of Inspection, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, September 10, 11, 12, 1941," Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

³³ Neil Clark, "Wilderness Family," *Saturday Evening Post*, (March 27, 1948):29.

³⁴ Memorandum for Custodian Dawson A. Campbell, by the Acting Superintendent, July 3, 1942, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Clark, "Wilderness Family," p. 29.

³⁷ "Doc" Campbell, personal communication to the author, March 18, 1990.

³⁸ Memorandum to General Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments, from the Superintendent, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, February 27, 1952, GICL File, Library, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

³⁹ Charlie Steen, undated and untitled manuscript, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁰ Erik Reed, "A Review of Upper Gila Prehistory," undated manuscript, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴¹ Both Dale King and Charlie Steen, for example, left their jobs with the Park Service in order to serve in the armed forces.

⁴² Charlie Steen, 1948 Estimates for Ruins Stabilization, October, GICL File, Library, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

⁴³ In response, for example, to an inquiry by the regional office asking whether the annual report for Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument had been overlooked, the acting superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments observed that "no annual reports are received from Capulin Mountain and Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monuments for the reason that these are very small areas with no full-time superintendents." Memorandum to Regional Director, by Acting General Superintendent Leslie Arnberger, June 12, 1952, GICL File, Library, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

⁴⁴ Marjorie Lambert to Erik Reed, June 28, 1954, Folder H3015, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁵ "U.S. Agency Takes Steps to Preserve Ruin," *Albuquerque Journal*, September 17, 1954.

⁴⁶ Memorandum to General Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments, from Superintendent, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, February 27, 1952, GICL File, Library, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

⁴⁷ The Gila Wilderness was originally established in 1924 under the provisions of a recreational working plan that was specific to the Gila National Forest. Over the next few years wilderness areas were established on other national forests using similarly local administrative mechanisms. In 1929, finally, the Washington office of the Forest Service announced a new official designation: Primitive Area. These areas were established under the new national guidelines of Regulation L-20, and they eventually included all the areas that had previously been classified locally as wildernesses. The Gila Wilderness was reclassified--and reduced, incidentally--as the Gila Primitive Area under Regulation L-20 in 1933. Later, concerns about incursions by motorized vehicles and the potential ascendancy of the Park Service in the arena of wild lands management induced the Forest Service to revive in 1939 the designation of wilderness area as a category that was more protected than primitive areas. These wildernesses were established under the provisions of Regulation U-1. Spray, "The Gila Wilderness." Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service*, pp. 153-56, 209-11.

⁴⁸ Fred Kennedy to Claude Wood, July 12, 1956, Folder 2760, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁹ Memorandum to the General Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, from Superintendent, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, February 27, 1952, GICL File, Library, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Arizona.

⁵⁰ To address local opposition that was emerging in the wake of the proposed reductions, the Forest Service called for a public hearing and the formulation of a committee of local citizens to study the proposals. Named the James Committee after its chairman Dr. Harlan W. James, the president of New Mexico Western College (now Western New Mexico University), this group consisted of 21 members, representing 19 different local organizations. The committee studied the proposals for several months and then made its recommendations at the public hearing, which was held on August 7, 1952. In brief, these recommendations outlined a wilderness boundary that essentially matches the current line. More important than the details of the boundary was the committee's unison of local opposition to the proposed reductions--with the exception of a corridor into the Gila forks. Also present at the hearing were New Mexico Senator Clinton Anderson and national representatives of the Wilderness Society, the Sierra Club, the Izaak Walton League of America, and the National Parks Association, all of whom also resisted wilderness reductions. After meeting again with the James Committee in September, the regional forester announced a six-point program that would entail a reassessment of the boundary proposals. For a complete discussion of the events in 1952, see Wealdon F. Heald's report in the autumn issue of the Wilderness Society's quarterly magazine. Wealdon F. Heald, "Report from the Gila," *The Living Wilderness*, 42 (Autumn 1952):26-39.

⁵¹ Richard E. McArdle to Clinton B. Anderson, January 12, 1953, Folder 2760, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁵² "All-Weather Road to Gila Cliff Dwellings Asked in House," *Silver City Daily Press*, 58 no. 297 (March 3, 1955):1. "Today's Comment," *Silver City Daily Press*, 58 no. 82 (September 29, 1955):6.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Although Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was actually in Catron County, the potential increase in tourism would benefit most Silver City, in Grant County, where the proposed road would begin.

⁵⁵ R. E. Rea to J. E. Gilmore, April 15, 1955, Folder 2760, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁵⁶ Runte, *National Parks*, p. 173.

⁵⁷ Memorandum to Chairman, MISSION 66, from General Superintendent, August 2, 1955, Folder A9815, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁵⁸ Memorandum to General Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments, from Acting Superintendent Campbell, Gila Cliff Dwellings, August 9, 1955, Personal Files of Dawson Campbell, Gila Hot Springs, New Mexico. Dawson Campbell to John Davis, August 9, 1955, Personal Files of Dawson Campbell, Gila Hot Springs, New Mexico.

⁵⁹ Memorandum to General Superintendent, from Dale King, Naturalist, November 15, 1955, GICL, Folder A9815, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

⁶⁰ Memorandum to General Superintendent, from Conrad Wirth, January 31, 1956, GICL, Folder 9815, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

⁶¹ Memorandum to General Superintendent, from Dale King, Naturalist, November 15, 1955, GICL, Folder A9815, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

⁶² These people were specifically identified as influential by Dale King, who had been sent to assess Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument by Office of Southwestern National Monuments. His visit had been prompted by a cautionary letter from Vivian after his own visit in August.

⁶³ Dawson Campbell, personal communication with the author, March 18, 1990.

Chapter III

¹ Memorandum to Regional Director, from Regional Archeologist, April 13, 1956, Folder 2760, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico. Gordon Vivian, "Gila Cliff Dwellings: Archeological Resume," March 29, 1956, Folder 2760, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

² Clyde Ely, "Today's Comment", *Silver City Daily Press*, 62 no. 73 (September 20, 1956):4.

³ Memorandum to Regional Director, from Supervisor, Gila National Forest, August 10, 1956, Folder 2760, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico. E. A. Schilling to Hugh Miller, August 15, 1956, Folder 2760, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁴ Memorandum to the Regional Forester, by R. E. Rea, Forest Supervisor, July 25, 1958, Folder 2760, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁵ Memorandum to File, by S. R. Servis, September 27, 1957, Folder 2760, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁶ R. E. Rea to Hugh M. Miller, May 19, 1958, Folder 2760, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico. Harthon L. Bill to R. E. Rea, June 25, 1958, Folder 2760, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁷ Memorandum to Regional Forester, by R. E. Rea, Forest Supervisor, July 10, 1958, Folder 2760, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁸ Memorandum to the Regional Forester, by R. E. Rea, Forest Supervisor, July 25, 1958, Folder 2760, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Memorandum to the Secretary of the Interior, from Regional Director, Southwest Region, Folder A44, Box 5, Denver Federal Record Center.

¹¹ Chief Forester Edward Cliff was advised that the proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* of April 20, 1962. Acting Assistant Director to Edward P. Cliff, May 18, 1962, Folder 1580, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

¹² Public Land Order 2655 was published in the *Federal Register* on April 14, 1962. *Statement for Management, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument* (Santa Fe: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southwest Regional Office, 1976), p. 4, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Memorandum to the Regional Forester, by R. E. Rea, Forest Supervisor, January 6, 1956, Folder 2760, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Dawson A. Campbell to Hon. Dennis Chavez, January 20, 1956, Folder A3815, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹⁷ Thomas J. Allen to Hon. Dennis Chavez, February 23, 1956, Folder A 3815, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹⁸ Dennis Chavez to Conrad L. Wirth, December 17, 1957, Folder D30-a, Box 3, GICL, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

¹⁹ Memorandum to Messrs. R. F. Lee, Price, Robinson, Thompson, Tolson, Vint and Davis, from Chief, MISSION 66 Staff, February 3, 1958, Folder A 98-c, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²⁰ Note attached to Memorandum: "Can we rush this thru? Tolson wants it yesterday." Memorandum to Regional Director, Region Three, from Acting Director, December 27,

1957, Folder D 30-a, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²¹ Notice of Approval, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument Prospectus, July 10, 1958, Folder A 9815, Box 8, GICL, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

²² Richard E. McArdle to Hon. Clinton P. Anderson, March 22, 1956, Folder 2760, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²³ Examples of these letters and other correspondence alluding to them are still included in the Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Clyde Ely to Howard Zahnizer, February 25, 1956, Folder 2760, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Clinton P. Anderson to Richard, E. McArdle, June 3, 1956, Folder 2760, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²⁴ Memorandum to the Gila, by E. A. Schilling, Assistant Regional Forester, March 30, 1956, Folder 2760, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²⁵ Memorandum to Chief, Forest Service, by Fred H. Kennedy, Regional Forester, June 21, 1956, Folder 2760, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²⁶ Clyde Ely, "Today's Comment," *Silver City Daily Press*, 62 no. 75 (September 22, 1956):4.

²⁷ Memorandum for Files, by S. B. Servis, November 14, 1957, Folder 2760, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

²⁸ Included in this delegation were Chancie Snyder, Clyde Ely and "Doc" Campbell.

²⁹ Request of the Silver City-Grant County New Mexico Chamber of Commerce, December 9, 1957, Folder D 30-a, Box 3, GICL, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

³⁰ Memorandum to Regional Chief, Division of Recreation Planning, from Regional Chief, National Park System Planning, December 11, 1957, Folder D 30-a, Box 3, GICL, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

³¹ Memorandum to Regional Director, from Assistant Regional Director, May 9, 1958, Folder D 30-a, Box 3, GICL, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

³² Ibid.

³³ Notice of Approval, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument Prospectus, July 10, 1958, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

³⁴ "Grant County Caravan Travels Rugged Route To Visit Cliff Dwellings," *Albuquerque Journal*, July 1, 1960.

³⁵ The road to Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was one of three included in a package. The other roads were the Red Lodge to Cooke City Road in Montana near the Wyoming border and the Staircase Road in Olympic National Park; consequently, sharing in interest in this road package were legislators from Wyoming, Montana, and Washington.

³⁶ To Commissioner of Public Roads, Bureau of Public Roads, from D. B. Dixon, March 15, 1961, Folder D 30-a, Box 3, GICL, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

³⁷ Fred H. Kennedy to W. J. Keller, March 17, 1961, Folder D 30-a, Box 3, GICL, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

³⁸ Hillory A. Tolson to Paul F. Royster, December 19, 1960, Folder D 30-a, Box 3, GICL, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

³⁹ Memorandum to G. M. Willimans, by K. S. Chamberlain, October 24, 1960, Folder D 30-a, Box 3, GICL, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

⁴⁰ Memorandum to Regional Director from Assistant Regional Director, June 23, 1958, Folder A5427, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴¹ "Doc" Campbell, personal communication to the author, March 18, 1990.

⁴² James Sleznick, *Master Plan of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument* (Santa Fe: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southwest Regional Office, 1964), p. 4.

⁴³ Memorandum to Regional Chief of Interpretation, from Regional Archaeologist, May 24, 1962, Folder A5427, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁴ Memorandum to Chairman, MISSION 66, from General Superintendent, August 2, 1955, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁵ Memorandum to Chairman, MISSION 66, from General Superintendent, November 16, 1955, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Fred H. Kennedy to Regional Director, National Park Service, November 30, 1960, Folder D 18-a, Box 1, GICL, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

⁴⁸ Memorandum to Chief, WODC, from Acting Regional Director, July 31, 1962, Folder D18-a, Box 1, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

⁴⁹ Memorandum to Chief Landscape Architect, WODC, from Landscape Architect Barnett, WODC, June 25, 1963, D 18-a, Box 1, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Memorandum to Director from Regional Director, February 14, 1964, Folder D 18-a, Box 1, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

⁵² Memorandum to Regional Chief of Operational Plans and Requirements from Park Planner, September 18, 1963, Folder D 18-a, Box 1, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

⁵³ James Sleznick, personal communication to the author, March 25, 1991.

⁵⁴ "Memorandum of Agreement of July 22, 1964, Between the National Park Service and the Forest Service, Relating to Joint Recreational Development in Gila National Forest,"

Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁵⁵ Notice of Approval, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, July 10, 1958.

⁵⁶ "Sleznick Named Cliff Dwelling Monument's First Superintendent," *Silver City Daily Press*, January 26, 1966.

⁵⁷ Sleznick attributed his unique classification to his own low GS-7 rank and the fact that the Park Service had not been able to attract to the remote monument a GS-9, which was the minimum rank necessary to qualify for Superintendent. James Sleznick, personal communication to the author, March 25, 1991

⁵⁸ James Sleznick, personal communication to the author, March 25, 1991.

⁵⁹ James Sleznick, personal communication to the author, March 25, 1991.

⁶⁰ Memorandum to Regional Director, SWR, from Supervisory Park Ranger, May 28, 1963, Folder A 2823, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁶¹ James Sleznick, personal communication to the author, March 25, 1991.

⁶² Memorandum to Regional Director, SWR, from Supervisory Park Ranger, August 27, 1963, Folder A 2823, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁶³ Memorandum to Regional Director, Southwest, from Supervisory Park Ranger, December 4, 1965, Folder A 2615, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁶⁴ Again, the monument's isolation helped Sleznick's career. The man slated to become superintendent at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument declined the assignment. To fill this superintendency, Sleznick was promoted. James Sleznick, personal communication with author, March 25, 1991.

⁶⁵ James Sleznick, personal communication to the author, March 25, 1991.

⁶⁶ William Lukens, personal communication to the author, April 7, 1991.

⁶⁷ William Lukens, personal communication to the author, April 7, 1991.

⁶⁸ William Lukens, personal communication to the author, April 7, 1991.

⁶⁹ "Inspection Report, General Integrating, Wilderness District, by Richard C. Johnson and R. E. Swigart, May 22-23, 1972," Folder 1440, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁷⁰ "Management Appraisal of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, New Mexico, November 6 and 7, 1968," Folder A5427, Box 5, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

⁷¹ William Lukens, personal communication to the author, April 7, 1991.

⁷² Joseph C. Rumburg, personal communication to the author, August 30, 1991.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Joseph C. Rumburg, Jr to William D. Hurst, September 13, 1974, Folder 1580, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁷⁵ "Forest Service Assumes Administrative Duties at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument," Gila Forest Press Release, April 21, 1975, Folder 1580, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

Memorandum to the Regional Forester, R-3, from Robert M. Williamson, January 9, 1975, Folder 1340, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ "Cooperative Agreement between the National Park Service, U.S. Department of Interior, and the Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, April 14, 1975," Folder 1580, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁷⁹ Memorandum to Regional Director, Southwest Region, from Associate Regional Director, Park Operations, SWR, October 13, 1987, Folder 1580, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁸⁰ "Annual Statement for Interpretation, Fiscal Year 90, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument," Folder SF190, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Mary Carter, personal communication to the author, August 26, 1991.

⁸³ "Assignment Agreement, August 18, 1986," Folder P30, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

Chapter IV

¹ Map Files, Gila National Forest, Silver City, New Mexico.

² Ailman, *Pioneering in Territorial Silver City*, pp. 57-58.

³ Susan Berry, "The Case of the Missing Mummies" *Frontier Days Magazine* 1982 (July 1982):32-35. Susan Berry is director of the Silver City Museum.

⁴ McKenna, *Black Range Tales*, pp. 47-50.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Col. G. H. Sands, "The U.S. Cavalry at the Gila River Cliff Dwellings, 1885," *El Palacio* 64 (11-12):340-346.

⁷ Frank Hamilton Cushing, "My Adventures in Zuni. Parts 1, 2." *Century Magazine* 25 (December 1882, February 1883): 191-207, 500-511.

⁸ William French, *Further Recollections of a Western Ranchman, New Mexico 1883-1899*, ed. Jeff C. Dykes (New York: Argosy-Antiquarian Ltd., 1965), pp. 380-387.

⁹ Although it is not clear by French's description that the ruin he visited was the interpreted one at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, his account has been used during campfire programs at the monument.

¹⁰ McFarland, *Forever Frontier*, pp. 41-42.

¹¹ Jim Bradford, an archeologist in the Regional Office of the Park Service, observes that this burial is probably Apachean but that the attribution has not been confirmed and is not currently demonstrable.

¹² See footnote 64.

¹³ Berry, "The Case of the Missing Mummies," pp. 32-35.

¹⁴ Susan Berry, personal communication to the author, May 10, 1990.

¹⁵ These human remains are still curated at the Smithsonian Institution (Cat. No. 273340 USNM).

¹⁶ In 1892 the *Silver City Enterprise* reported that William Taylor, on whose ranch lay the large Mimbres site known today as Old Town, could "go out anytime before breakfast and unearth one or two [Aztec] ancient citizens." The same article also recounted a day's digging in "Aztec Ruins" by George Hinman, in whose store window McKenna's mummy had reportedly been displayed. During this dig, Hinman found a child's skeleton, the skull of which had been covered by a bowl bearing a lizard decoration. More interesting than the pottery, apparently, were some anomalies about the skeleton. *This Is Silver City 1892 and 1893*, Vol. 5 (Silver City: Silver City Enterprise, Inc., 1971), p. 31.

¹⁷ "Circular No. 316."

¹⁸ "Report of the Secretary," *1879 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880), p. 38.

¹⁹ "Summary of Correspondence of the Smithsonian Institution previous to January 1, 1880, in Answer to Circular No. 316," *1880 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1881), pp. 428-429.

²⁰ "Report of the Secretary," *1882 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 26.

²¹ See Chapter One, p. 43.

²² Hough, *Culture of the Ancient Pueblos of the Upper Gila River Region*, p. 3.

²³ The portion of Hough's survey that occurred in New Mexico lay in what was then the Datil National Forest--outside of Andrew's purview.

²⁴ Albert Schroeder, Memorandum to the Superintendent of the Gila Cliff Dwellings National

Monument, July 13, 1956, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²⁵ Bandelier, *The Southwestern Journals*, p. 198.

²⁶ Incidentally, Bandelier's observation that "the plain on top is grassy" suggests that the open nature of the terrain predates the area's use as a pasture and polo field at the turn of the century, an environmental trait the origin of which has recently been pondered. Bandelier also found no metates, a paucity also observed recently, and one that must have occurred before 1884.

²⁷ Editha L. Watson, "Some New Mexico Ruins," *El Palacio* 23 no.11-12 (August 27, 1927):174-234.

²⁸ C. B. Cosgrove, *Caves of the Upper Gila and Hueco Areas in New Mexico and Texas* (Cambridge: Harvard University, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Anthropology and Ethnology 24, no.4, 1947, p. 22.

²⁹ Apparently the Cosgroves were confused about the scope of the national monument and believed it to only include the cliff dwellings themselves. Since one of the major incentives for their survey was to forestall the loss of archeological information that recent looting was causing, they may have ignored what they believed to be the national monument, which presumably already received special protection.

³⁰ C. B. and H. S. Cosgrove, *The Swarts Ruin: a Typical Mimbres Site in Southwestern New Mexico* (Cambridge: Harvard University, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Papers 15, no. 1, 1932.)

³¹ Erik Reed, "Prehistoric Features: Archaeology" in *Report on Gila Primitive Area, New Mexico, September 17-26, 1937 and October 13-22, 1937*, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

³² Winifred Gladwin and Harold S. Gladwin, *A Method for Designation of Cultures and their Variations*, Gila Pueblo Medallion Papers 15 (Globe, Arizona, 1934).

³³ Emil Haury, *The Mogollon Culture of Southwestern New Mexico*, Gila Pueblo Medallion Papers no. 20 (Globe, Arizona, 1936), p. 110.

³⁴ Erik Reed, "Prehistoric Features: Archaeology" in *Report on Gila Primitive Area, New Mexico, September 17-26, 1937 and October 13-22, 1937*, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

³⁵ Nearly all dendrochronological samples taken from Gila Cliff Dwellings cluster in the 1280s.

³⁶ Charlie Steen, untitled and undated manuscript, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Although the manuscript is undated, there exists a letter from Steen to Campbell telling the custodian that he had completed his overview and that it was enclosed with the letter. Charlie Steen to Dawson Campbell, April 7, 1949, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

³⁷ This sherd may have been a misidentification. Otherwise, it has since been lost.

³⁸ Roland Richert, "Ruins Stabilization Report, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, Catron County, New Mexico, 1956," Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

³⁹ The 1286 date was published in official descriptions of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁰ Subsequent examination of Steen's sherd sample revealed 213 sherds of Reserve or Tularosa ware, 8 sherds of unclassified white ware, and 20 sherds of Alma Plain.

⁴¹ Erik Reed, "A Review of Upper Gila Prehistory," undated manuscript, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Although the manuscript itself bears no date, a memorandum from Reed to Campbell tells the custodian that he has completed the overview. Erik Reed to Dawson Campbell, May 13, 1949, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴² David E. Stuart and Rory P. Gauthier, *Prehistoric New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984) p. 230.

⁴³ *Statement of Significance and Study of Alternatives, Mimbres Culture, New Mexico* (Santa Fe: United States Department of Interior/National Park Service, 1989), p. 8. The presence of Mimbres sites in the monument is acknowledged in the next sentence although the context implies that they are not important. The contradiction between the two sentences may hang from the confusion between Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, a 533-acre tract of 45 different archeological sites, and the cliff dwellings themselves, one site in the monument. It would not be the first time the site has been confused with the monument. See footnote 281.

⁴⁴ Roland Richert, "Stabilization Report, 1956," p. 7.

⁴⁵ Gordon Vivian Memorandum to General Superintendent, April 10, 1956, Folder H2215, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁶ E. B. Danson to Conrad Wirth, letter dated May 29, 1962, file H2215, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

⁴⁷ Memorandum to General Superintendent, from Archeologist Vivian, August 23, 1955, Folder H2215, Box 1, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

⁴⁸ Stephen H. Lekson, Lynn S. Teague, Robert W. Layhe and James E. Ayres, "A Technical Proposal For Class III Culture Resources Survey of the Upper Gila Water Supply Study, Central Arizona Project, Southwestern New Mexico" (University of Arizona: Cultural Resource Management Division, Arizona State Museum, 1986), p. 38.

⁴⁹ Joe Ben Wheat, *Mogollon Culture Prior to A.D. 1000*. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 82 (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1955), p. 185.

⁵⁰ Edward B. Danson, *An Archaeological Survey of West Central New Mexico and East Central Arizona*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 44, no. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1957), p. 98.

Chapter V

¹ Memorandum to Regional Archaeologist, Southwest Region, from Custodian, January 1, 1963, Folder H30, GICL, Box 15, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

² The ceramic assemblage is sorted by type. Anderson et al., *The Archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings*, p. 129.

³ Roland Richert to the Staff Curator of the Western Museum Laboratory, Southwest Archeological Center, Gila Pueblo, November 5, 1964, File D6215, GICL, RG 79, National Archives. For a variety of reasons, by the time Richert was writing, the Animas phase no longer designated a specific group of traits but rather the period of time that immediately followed the Mimbres abandonment.

⁴ Ronald Ice, "West Fork Ruin. A Stratified Site Near Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument," New Mexico Laboratory of Anthropology Notes 48, 1968. Without personally expressing an opinion, Ice reported a general belief that the ranch house was the original headquarters of the TJ ranch and that it was occupied through the 1890s. It is more likely, however, that the house was the original homestead of Charles A. Clifford, who patented in 1890 the land on which the West Fork Ruin lies. When C. A. Burdick consolidated the homesteads above the Gila Hot Springs under the TJ brand, it is more likely that he located his headquarters at the ranch of Rodgers, built in 1883 at the present site of the Heart Bar headquarters.

⁵ Laurens C. Hammack, "Diablo Highway Salvage Archaeology" Laboratory of Anthropology Notes 41, 1966. Possibly the cluster of houses is the small settlement of "Mexicans" noted by Theodore F. Rixon in his 1905 report *Forest Conditions in the Gila River Forest Reserve, New Mexico*. He recorded the site as being a short distance above the Gila Hot Springs resort, and he implied an unspecified relationship but undoubtedly operose relationship between the residents and the resort.

⁶ For a discussion of this controversy read Lekson et al., "A Technical Proposal for a Class III Cultural Resources Survey of the Upper Gila Water Supply Study," 1986, pp. 58-71.

⁷ McKenna and Bradford, *TJ Ruin*, p. 11.

⁸ McKenna and Bradford, *TJ Ruin*, p. 11.

⁹ The Southwestern Archeological Center is now known as the Western Archeological and Conservation Center

¹⁰ Anderson et al., *The Archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings*, p. 13.

¹¹ The historic sites do not occur within the boundaries of the monument.

¹² Anderson et al., *The Archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings*, p. 20.

¹³ Ronald E. and Pamela A. Everhart. "Report of a Human Burial, Gila Cliff Dwellings, New Mexico." undated manuscript, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, Tucson, Arizona.

¹⁴ Presumably the burials include the following: one adult by Vivian in 1963, one adult by

the Cosgroves in 1929, one infant by Morris in 1968, one infant by Vivian in 1963, one infant by staff of the Gila National Forest in 1963, and one infant by either the Hill brothers or McKenna--Ailman's report had not yet been published.

¹⁵ The sites used for comparison were: Starkweather Ruin, Higgins Flat Pueblo, Apache Creek Pueblo, Site 13, Site 9, Armijo and School Canyon sites, Whiskey Creek sites LA 4986 and LA 4988, Gallo Pueblo, and Hinkle Park Cliff Dwellings.

¹⁶ Anderson et al., *The Archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings*, p. 110.

¹⁷ Paul Martin noted, for example, for Higgins Pueblo, a site occupied for only 50 to 75 years, that "the people spent a fair amount of energy making architectural changes, such as additions and renovations." Paul S. Martin, John B. Rinaldo, Elaine A. Bluhm, and Hugh Cutler, *Higgins Flat Pueblo, Western New Mexico* (Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum Fieldiana: Anthropology 40), p. 188.

¹⁸ Although bison appear on faunal lists for the Mogollon, the shavespoke type of scraper recovered at the cliff dwellings appeared to be a Plains artifact and consequently a trade item.

¹⁹ Anderson et al., *The Archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings*, p. 266.

²⁰ Anderson et al., *The Archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings*, p. 300.

²¹ 1964 Priority List-Research Program completed by Vivian and Dodgen, Folder N2623-a, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

²² Jim Bradford, personal communication to the author, January 4, 1991.

²³ McKenna and Bradford, *TJ Ruin*, p. 37.

²⁴ Bradfield excavated at Cameron Creek in the 1920s. Unfortunately, he did not rebury or otherwise protect the architecture that he exposed, and over the years a substantial amount of the structures have been damaged by weather.

²⁵ Stuart and Gauthier, *Prehistoric New Mexico*, p. 353.

²⁶ William Lukens, personal communication, January 6, 1991. Although the need to bank sites may have contributed to Lukens' personal decision to withdraw the petition for excavating the TJ Ruin, as late as 1973 the regional office was still estimating the cost of that excavation. Only the following year, reports Ron Ice, did the influence of conservation archeology conclusive cause the idea of total excavation to be abandoned. Ron Ice, "Review of Administrative History of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument," received February 10, 1992, personal files of the author.

²⁷ Sabloff and Willey, *The History of American Archaeology*, p. 192.

²⁸ Paul S. Martin and Fred Plog, *The Archaeology of Arizona*, (New York: Doubleday), p. 33.

²⁹ McKenna and Bradford, *TJ Ruin*, p. 37.

³⁰ *Statement of Significance, Study of Alternatives, Mimbres Culture* (Santa Fe: United States

Department of the Interior, National Park Service, December 1989), p. 69.

³¹ Ice, "Review of Administrative History."

³² This work had originally been proposed by Superintendent Lukens for Don Morris to do in 1968 along with the site survey, but approval for the mapping task was denied since it was expected to be part of the excavation program for the TJ Ruin, which was still slated for 1970.

³³ Peter J. McKenna and James E. Bradford, "The TJ Ruin at the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument" (Paper presented at the 1986 Mogollon Conference, Tucson, Arizona, October 1986). Peter J. McKenna and James E. Bradford, *TJ Ruin, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, New Mexico*, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Professional Papers no. 21 (Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1989).

³⁴ James E. Fitting, C. B. Hemphill, and D. R. Abbe, "The Upper Gila Water Supply Study, a Class I Cultural Resources Overview." Manuscript by Hemphill Associates, Springfield Oregon, 1982, pp. 29-50.

³⁵ Although the challenge that Cliff-Gila and San Francisco archeology provides to normative views has become apparent with work beyond the Mimbres Valley itself, not everyone is prepared to accept two additional cultural branches. Most recently, for example, in the 1989 study to commemorate the Mimbres Culture only six are mentioned—the ones laid out by Joe Ben Wheat in 1955.

³⁶ Conversely, sites attributed to the San Francisco phase were not found by Morris around the Gila forks or by Fitting in Cliff-Gila Valley although they are present in the Mimbres and San Francisco drainages.

³⁷ McKenna and Bradford, *TJ Ruin*, p. 35. Variations in settlement pattern between the Mimbres and the Gila Valleys was initially proposed by James Fitting.

³⁸ Another possible Salado phase site occurs on national forest land between the visitor center and the cliff dwellings.

³⁹ Lekson et al., "Proposal for a Class III Cultural Resources Survey of the Upper Gila Water Supply Study," p. 80.

⁴⁰ Potholes in the TJ site had been first recorded in the revised 1955 prospectus.

⁴¹ Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument had been listed in the National Register of Historic Places since 1966.

⁴² Polly Schaafsma, *Indian Rock Art of the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980), p. 184, 191.

⁴³ Steven Lambert to John Krammer, March 12, 1990, Folder H2215, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁴ Dr. A. J. T. Jull to Keith Anderson, March 6, 1989, Folder H2215, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁵ Keith Anderson to Ron Ice, March 13, 1989, Folder H2215, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁶ This popularity has not limited itself to just laymen.

⁴⁷ Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, Tonto National Monument, Walnut Canyon National Monument, and Bandelier National Monument.

⁴⁸ Stephen Lekson to Keith Anderson, December 26, 1985, Folder H2215, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁹ Memorandum by Regional Director Tillotson to Superintendent Miller, August 18, 1941, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁵⁰ Memorandum by Regional Archaeologist Steen to Regional Director Miller, April 13, 1956, Folder A5437, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁵¹ Cosgrove, *Caves of the Upper Gila*, p. 164.

⁵² As late as 1956 Paul Martin felt compelled to refute the backwardness of the Mogollon culture, which he saw as extending from 2500 B.C. to A.D.1000. Martin et al., *Higgins Flat Pueblo*, pp. 191-192.

Chapter VI

¹ Memorandum to Forest Supervisor by Henry Woodrow, January 18, 1917, Folder L, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

² There had been some doubt about the worthiness of this monument. Recall, for example, the assessment reported at the 1911 Yellowstone Conference: "neither very large nor very important."

³ G. H. Gordon, Report on Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, March 20, 1935, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴ Steen and his helper built a rock-and-adobe support half way across the cavity beneath the south wall of Room 1, and they chinked with spalls and adobe 15 feet of an undercut section of outer wall in the same cave, presumably along the south walls of Rooms 2, 3, and 4. In Cave 3, dry masonry supports were placed under several breached walls, including a section under the west wall of Room 10.

⁵ Marjorie Lambert to Erik Reed, June 28, 1954, Folder H30, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁶ Even worse than the graffiti was the damage that could be inflicted by people, who in the absence of a monitor, camped in the ruins. In 1958, for example, Campbell reported that hunters had built a fire in the cliff dwellings and fueled it with prehistoric wood that they had wrenched from the architecture.

⁷ Roland Richert, "Ruins Stabilization Report, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument,

May 15, 1956," Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁸ Richert and his Navajo crew placed spanning integral members in openings in the south walls of Rooms 4, 9, and 10. In addition, they repaired an undercut portion of the south wall of Room 1, replaced Steen's dry masonry repair to the west wall of Room 10, capped the south wall of Room 22, patched large holes in the walls of Room 33, and reset a section of wall in Room 17.

⁹ Memorandum to Regional Archeologist by Dawson Campbell, January 1, 1963, Folder H26, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument files.

¹⁰ Memorandum to Regional Archeologist by Gordon Vivian, December 2, 1963, Folder H2215, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Memorandum to Regional Archeologist, SWRO, by William Gibson, August 9, 1967, Folder H30, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹³ Memorandum to Chief, Southwest Archeological Center, by Roland Richert, November 24, 1967, Folder H30, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹⁴ Memorandum to Director by Frank Kowski, December 22, 1967, Folder H30, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹⁵ Memorandum to Regional Interpretive Archaeologist, by Roland Richert, March 12, 1968, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Memorandum to Regional Director, Southwest, by William Lukens, March 23, 1968, Folder H30, Box 19, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

¹⁶ Don Morris and his crew capped walls in 32 rooms with masonry set in tinted cement, inserted a foundation under the badly sagging north wall of Room 27, and--to prevent the entry of visitors into Cave 2--raised the south wall of Room 1. The cavity below Room 1, in which Steen had built a rock-and-adobe support in 1942, was filled with additional masonry; the arch breaks in Rooms 7 and 10 were filled; and the arch break in the north wall of Room 4 was repaired with reinforcing steel and tinted mortar. Viga and savino sockets were repaired or re-formed in Rooms 9, 17, 20, and 32; and doorways were repaired in Rooms 17 and 25. The floor features in Room 37 were reinforced with tinted cement. Elsewhere, walls were patched with cement. All cement work was covered with a slurry of mud. Don Morris, Stabilization Report, 1968, Gila Cliff Dwellings, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, November 1968, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹⁷ Don Morris to Roland Richert, October 5, 1968, Folder H30, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹⁸ Memorandum to Director, Southwest Region, by William Lukens, November 5, 1970, Folder H30, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹⁹ "Cooperative Agreement between the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, April 10, 1975," Section A.2, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

Nordby, "A Stabilization Inspection, 1979," p. 4.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Memorandum to Chief, Division of Conservation, SWR, by John Morgart, February 19, 1987, Folder 1580, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico. Thomas Vitanza to David Dahl, May 7, 1987, Folder 1580, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

²³ In view of the danger presented to visitors by exfoliating rock in Cave 1, benches were removed from the interior, and a painted metal railing was constructed to deter entrance. A similar railing was placed across the west end of Cave 2 for the same reasons. Additional railings were positioned in front of the small cavity beneath Room 25 and across the entrance to Cave 6, and loose rock was removed from over the trail in Cave 5. Using mud, Mogart's crew of two repointed the fallen wall in Cave 1, regouted andÑwhere necessaryÑlay new stones in the bases of south walls in Rooms 1 and 4, where percolating ground moisture had deteriorated the bedrock. They repaired minor basal damage in Rooms 2, 5, 7, 9, 10, 16, 21, 22, 25, and 30. Much of the damage there was the product of rodents. The southwest corner of Room 21, which visitors had loosened over time, was rebuilt using a cement amended mortar, and a new lintel was installed in the upper-level doorway in Room 25, with a date stamped into the wood. The vigas in Room 17 were wedged tight with mud mortar, and throughout the ruin all wood was treated with preservatives.

²⁴ FY 90 Annual Statement for Interpretation, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, p. 9.

Chapter VII

¹ Forest Ranger Munro, "Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument", undated manuscript, Folder L, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

² Folder labeled "Neat Stuff", Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

³ Laut, "Why Go Abroad?" pp. 156-64.

⁴ Memorandum to General Superintendent, Southwestern Monuments, by Dale King, November 15, 1955, Folder A9815, Box 8, GICL, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

⁵ Southwestern National Monuments, Information revised as of June 1, 1940, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

⁶ Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, WPA Files #27, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

⁷ Memorandum to Superintendent, Southwestern Monuments, by W. Tillotson, August 18, 1941, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁸ Frank Roberts to Dawson Campbell, July 14, 1947, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Charlie Steen, untitled and undated manuscript, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Erik Reed, "A Review of Upper Gila Prehistory," undated manuscript, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Although

neither Steen's nor Reed's manuscripts are dated, they are accompanied by memoranda that tie the overviews to the year 1949. Memorandum to Superintendent, Gila Cliff Dwellings, by Charlie Steen, April 7, 1949, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Memorandum to Superintendent, Gila Cliff Dwellings, by Erik Reed, May 13, 1949, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁹ Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations*, pp. 359-362.

¹⁰ Cosgrove, *Caves of the Upper Gila*.

¹¹ Archeological research along the headwaters of the Gila and the evolution of archeological taxonomies are addressed more completely in Chapter IV and Chapter V.

¹² Dawson Campbell, personal communication to the author, March 18, 1990.

¹³ Gordon Vivian, "Gila Cliff Dwellings: Archaeological Resume," March 29, 1956, Folder A9815, Box 8, GICL, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

¹⁴ Reporting on an inspection trip made to the monument in 1958, the assistant regional director recommended that management still be directed primarily towards protection. Memorandum to Regional Director, by Harthon L. Bill, June 23, 1958, Folder A5427, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹⁵ "Management Appraisal of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, New Mexico, November 6 and 7, 1968," December 12, 1968, Folder A5427, Box 5, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch, p. 23.

¹⁶ Monthly Narrative Report to Regional Director, SWR, by James Sleznick, May 26, 1963, Folder A2823, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

¹⁷ James Sleznick, personal communication to the author, March 25, 1991.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Memorandum to Director, by James Sleznick, January 25, 1965, Folder K2621, Box 17, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Monthly Narrative Report to Regional Director, SWR, by James Sleznick, September 10, 1966, Folder A2823, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²² A self-guiding trail and the constant presence of a uniformed employee had been the original interpretive plan proposed in the second 1955 MISSION 66 prospectus, and this plan had been reaffirmed by comments on the 1964 Master Plan. Albert Schroeder, Comments attached to routing sheet, July 12, 1962, Folder D18, Box 1, GICL, Denver Federal Record Center.

²³ The number of visitors in 1968 was double what the Park Service had projected in a 1961 forecast of visitor use. Memorandum to Regional Director, by Rendel Alldredge, September 14, 1961, Folder A88, Box 13, GICL, Denver Federal Record Center.

²⁴ William Lukens to Frank Kowski, March 23, 1968, Folder H30, Box 19, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

²⁵ William Lukens to Frank Kowski, January 13, 1969, Folder A5427, Box 5, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

²⁶ Dick Morishige to Regional Chief of Interpretation and Visitor Services, July 1, 1969, File D6215, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

²⁷ <26/A> Ibid

²⁸ "Archeological Research Management Plan for Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, April 1969," Folder H2215, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²⁹ Don Morris, "A Preliminary Report of a Survey of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument and a Portion of the Gila National Forest," undated manuscript, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 3.

³¹ Memorandum to Chairman Mission 66, by John Davis, November 16, 1955, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

³² Jean Swearingen to Chuck Hill, June 9, 1969, Folder D6215, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

³³ In 1976, during the first year of management by the Gila National Forest, the primacy of personal contact as an interpretive strategy at the monument was noted by a visiting Park Service official, and this emphasis on personal contact was reiterated as recently as 1990 in that year's Statement for Management. Memorandum for the Curator, Division of Interpretation and Visitor Services by David Brugge, July 29, 1976, Folder A5425, Box 3, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch. "Statement for Management 1990," Folder 1580, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, p. 8.

³⁴ "Plan for Interpretation, Wilderness Ranger District, Gila National Forest, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, New Mexico," February, 1978, Folder K1817, Box 24, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

³⁵ "Interpretive Prospectus, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, Wilderness Ranger District, Gila National Forest, September 1981," Folder 1580, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

³⁶ Memorandum to Associate Regional Director, Park Operations, SWR, by Charles McCurdy, May 18, 1981, Folder A5425, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

³⁷ "Statement for Management, April 1986," Folder 1580, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, p. 24.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 3.

³⁹ "Annual Statement for Interpretation, February 1988," Folder 1580, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁰ Anderson et al.

⁴¹ Stephen Lekson, "Archeological Overview of Southwestern New Mexico (first draft)," prepared for New Mexico State Historic Preservation Division, Project No. 35-88-30120.004, September 5, 1989, Chap. 4, p. 72. Cultural Resources Library, Gila National Forest, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁴² Sharon Prell, "Resources Management Plan for Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument," September 1981, Folder 1580, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico. Theresa Nichols, "Resources Management Plan for Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument," December 7, 1987, Folder 1580, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁴³ "Natural and Historic Resources Management Plan, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument," undated manuscript, Folder N2215, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁴⁴ Memorandum to Associate Regional Director, Park System Management, SWR, by Mark Mosely, January 9 1975, Folder N22, Box 29, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

⁴⁵ Lists of the proposed projects are included in the appendices.

⁴⁶ McKenna and Bradford, *TJ Ruin*.

⁴⁷ The survey was performed in the fall and spring of 1988-89. The results have not yet been published.

Chapter VIII

¹ Bandelier, *The Southwestern Journals*, p. 193.

² E. B. Danson to Conrad Wirth, May 29, 1962, Folder H2215, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

³ R. B. Smith to David Dahl, June 11, 1990, Folder N2219, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.

⁴ E. B. Danson to Conrad Wirth, May 29, 1962, Folder H2215, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

⁵ Rick Smith, personal communication to the author, March 18, 1991.

⁶ Steve Reiser, "A Summary of Threats to Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument," January 18, 1980, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁷ Memorandum to Regional Director, Region Three, by Dawson Campbell, January 6, 1958, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

⁸ Anderson et al., *The Archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings*, p. 274.

- ⁹ Personal communication from seasonal ranger to author, June 9, 1991.
- ¹⁰ Bruce Wachter. See footnote 19.
- ¹¹ Eric Finklestein, personal communication to the author, November 20, 1990.
- ¹² Monthly Narrative Report to Regional Director, SWR, by James Sleznick, April 27, 1964, Folder A2823, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.
- ¹³ "Statement for Management, April 1986," Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, p.28.
- ¹⁴ Charles Sayre to Keith LeMay, October 20, 1988, Folder 1580, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.
- ¹⁵ Roads within the monument are carried on the inventory rolls of the Forest Service, which logically would be responsible for repair should damage occur that the state highway department could not address.
- ¹⁶ Sleznick noted that this flood was the fourth to wash out the bridge over the West Fork. Memorandum to Regional Director, by James Sleznick, August 17, 1967, GICL, Folder A7627, Box 9, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.
- ¹⁷ "Superintendent's Annual Report, 1973," Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.
- ¹⁸ Nordby, "A Stabilization Inspection, 1979."
- ¹⁹
- ²⁰ Bruce Wachter, "Bedrock Deterioration and Rockfall Hazard at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument: Report of Examination Trip of September 11, 1985," Folder 1580, Gila National Forest Files, Silver City, New Mexico.
- ²¹ Bandelier, *Southwestern Journals*, p. 195.
- ²² Memorandum to Acting Regional Director, by W. H. Wirt, October 28, 1937, Folder L, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.
- ²³ "U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Agreement with the New Mexico Game and Fish Commission, State of New Mexico, June, 28, 1951," Folder 2600, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.
- ²⁴ John Kramer, personal communication to the author, May 24, 1991.
- ²⁵ "Statement for Interpretation, 1980," Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.
- ²⁶ John Kramer, "Survey of Aircraft Flights over Wilderness, June 6, 1988," Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.
- ²⁷ Memorandum to Forest Supervisor, by Janet Hurley, March 15, 1989, Monument Files,

Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

²⁸ "Cooperative Fire Protection Agreement between the United States Forest Service, Gila National Forest, and the National Park Service, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, April 6, 1964," Folder Y14, Box 13, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

²⁹ Memorandum to Chief, Ruins Stabilization Unit, by Don Morris, August 30, 1968, Monument Files, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

³⁰ Eric Finklestein, personal communication to the author, June 11, 1991.

³¹ "Annual Statement for Interpretation and Visitors Services, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, 1980," GICL, Folder K1817, Box 29, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch.

³² Peter Stewart, personal communication to the author, March 10, 1991.

³² "Annual Statement for Interpretation and Visitor Services, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, 1980," Folder K1817, Box 29, GICL, National Archives, Fort Worth Branch, p.11.

³³ Peter Stewart, personal communication to the author, March 10, 1991.

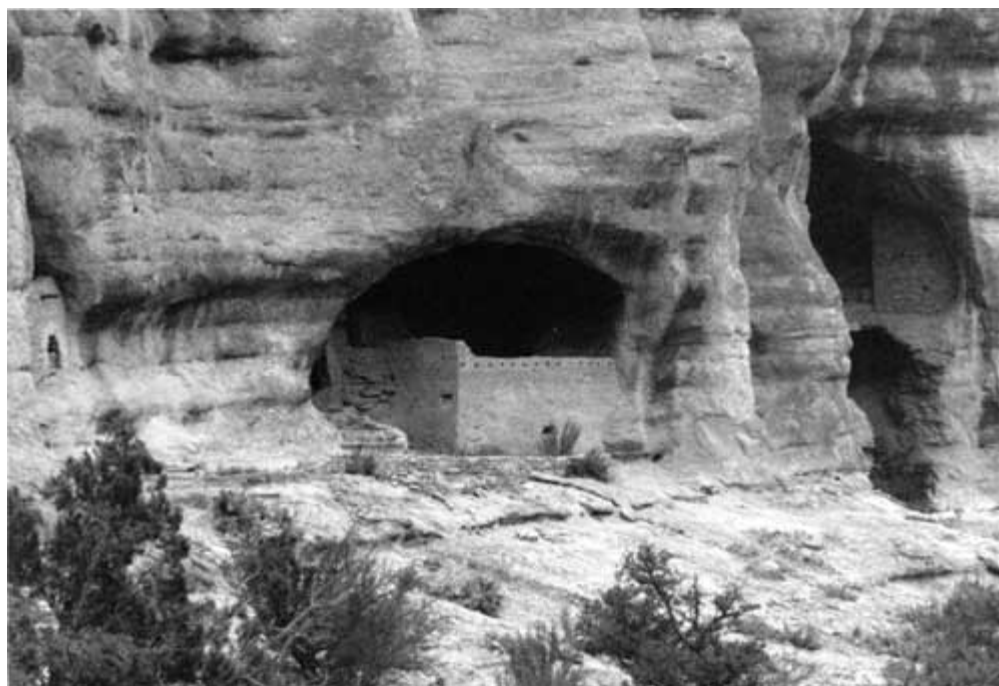
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GILA CLIFF DWELLINGS

Administrative History



INTRODUCTION



The well-preserved architecture of the Gila cliff dwellings dates from the late thirteenth century A.D. These photographs show the stabilized ruin from the exterior of Cave 3 and the interior of Cave 4.

Photographer—National Park Service.

Summary: History of Tenure and Development

For centuries, protection of Gila Cliff Dwellings was only the product of geography. Sheltered in six caves, the mud-and-stone architecture avoided the erosion of wind and water that by the 1880s had reduced a nearby mesa-top site to rubble. The remote, deeply incised canyons of the Gila River forks impeded intruders into the area. Even in the thirteenth century this country was isolated, with the cliff dwellings roughly marking the far southeastern edge of the Tularosa phase of the Mogollon culture.

Long after the cliff dwellings had been abandoned, Apaches drifted on to the headwaters of the Gila River, keeping the area additionally and dangerously remote. Evidence reveals that Apaches occasionally entered Cliff Dweller Canyon, but apparently—and for reasons not adequately developed in the anthropological literature—they did not seem inclined to disturb prehistoric pueblo sites. [2] At any rate, they left no trace in Gila Cliff Dwellings, and they largely kept everybody else out until the late 1870s. After the Apaches were expelled from the headwaters of the Gila River—the endemic bands were eventually shipped in freight cars to Florida—rough topography, poor economic prospects, and all the many miles to the nearest town continued to severely limit the number of people who came into the country.

Unfortunately, within six years of the first recorded visit to the ruin in 1878, the site was thoroughly rifled. After 1899, federal policies began to supplement the protection initially provided to the cliff dwellings by geography and Apaches. The establishment of the Gila River Forest Reserve in that year withdrew public land on the headwaters of the Gila from further settlement until 1906, and the designation in 1907 of the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument by presidential proclamation permanently withdrew the archeological site and 160 surrounding acres from private ownership. The proclamation also prohibited damaging or removing prehistoric artifacts.

Without specific funding, however, supervision of the ruin was only the incidental duty of a forest ranger who was seasonally headquartered 17 miles of river trail from the site. Well into the third decade of the twentieth century, protection of Gila Cliff Dwellings would still depend on the site's remote location, an isolation that was augmented in 1924 when a vast area of the surrounding forest was officially designated the Gila Wilderness.

In 1933, as the result of an administrative reorganization, jurisdiction over Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument passed over to the National Park Service, along with all the other national monuments managed either by the Department of Agriculture or the War Department. Briefly, in the last years of that decade, the Park Service sought to establish a national park around the headwaters of the Gila River, with a proposal that included 650,000 acres of the Gila Wilderness and the cliff dwellings. By 1940, the park proposal had been modified, however, and then it was abandoned.

In the same year, after an arduous visit to the remote monument, the Park Service's regional director recommended that Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument be managed as an archeological reserve and that visitation be discouraged. Two years later, a nominal custodian was appointed and the ruins were stabilized, but the larger policy of managing the area as an uninterpreted reserve lasted another 13 years.

In 1955, a draft MISSION 66 prospectus was developed in Region III (later the Southwest Regional Office) that suggested the monument be transferred to a state agency. After Dawson Campbell, the monument's custodian, and visiting archeologists from the Mobile Stabilization Unit of the Park Service pointed out many additional archeological sites in the vicinity, however, the prospectus was revised. New sites and another 273 acres were added to Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument in 1962, increasing its size to the current 533 acres.

In the same year, and for a variety of reasons that centered around limitations of the local geography, another 107 acres were withdrawn as a joint administrative site where the Park Service and the Forest Service could build facilities to manage their respective responsibilities.

In early 1963, shortly before the first paved road reached the forks of the Gila River, a full-time ranger was appointed by the Park Service to manage the monument. Over the next 13 years, the cliff dwellings were excavated and stabilized again, and a formal program of interpretation was finally established. Based on a 1964 memorandum of agreement and a master plan developed the same year, a shared physical plant was built on the joint administrative area. Costs were shared between the Forest Service and the Park Service, and the construction included roads, a visitor center, residences, a contact station, and a barn.

In 1975, for reasons of economy, daily management of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was transferred back to the Forest Service. As specified by the new cooperative agreement that accomplished the transfer, however, the Park Service retains jurisdiction, reimburses for costs of managing the monument, and provides relevant expertise in such areas as interpretation, preservation, and research.

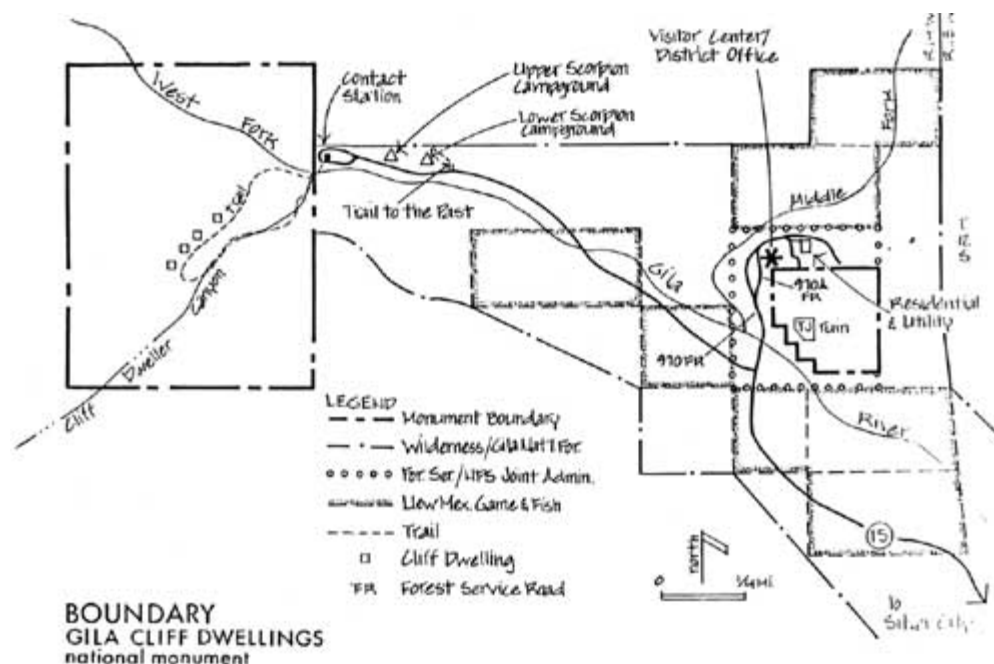
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GILA CLIFF DWELLINGS

Administrative History



INTRODUCTION



Boundary of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.
(click on map for larger size)

Summary: Setting

Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument is divided into two units that are located in Catron County, the largest county in southwestern New Mexico and the least populated in the state. Specifically, the two units lie in Township 12 South, Range 14 West. The western unit comprises 480 acres, includes the namesake cliff dwellings, and lies in sections 22 and 27. The TJ unit is about one mile farther south. Named for the TJ Ruin, which it encompasses, this unit measures 53 acres, and lies in section 25. The headquarters of the monument, a building that also houses the offices of the Wilderness Ranger District, lies on yet another 107-acre parcel that was withdrawn as a joint-use administrative site and that remains under Forest Service jurisdiction. This parcel is also located in section 25 and is adjacent to the TJ unit.

Geology

The predominant geology of the area stems from volcanic activity in the Oligocene epoch, beginning about 30 million years ago and lasting 20 to 25 million years. Approximately 1,000 to 1,200 feet of ash and other volcanic materials were deposited. The surrounding land then collapsed into the voids created by the volcanic outpourings, resulting in a phenomenon called a caldera. The near ubiquity of rhyolite and basalts reflect this geologic past, and so do hot springs along the river.

As the volcanic activity subsided, erosion—aggravated by block faulting—and subsequent deposit of the eroded materials created the Gila Conglomerate rock, in which the cliff dwellings are located. Continued faulting created the valley through which the river flows today. Uplifted blocks or horsts form the rolling mesas that stretch between the West Fork and the Middle Fork and the East Fork. The entire area is bordered on three sides by high mountains: the Mogollon Range to the west, the Black Range to the east, and the Pinos Altos Range to the south.

Geography

The monument lies at 6,000 feet, in a valley that is approximately a half-mile across at its broadest reach. The western unit occupies most of Cliff Dweller Canyon, which opens onto the West Fork of the Gila River. The TJ unit lies on a mesa, overlooking the confluence of the West Fork and the Middle Fork. Meandering through the valley, the river flows over gravel bottoms, at an annual average rate of 177 cubic-feet-per-second. [3] The greatest flows occur during the spring run-off in March and April, when water flows reach 354 and 386 cfs respectively.

Rainfall averages 18 to 20 inches annually at the cliff dwellings, with most of this precipitation coming in July and August. In the surrounding mountains, rainfall is higher, especially in the Mogollon Range, where elevations reach nearly 11,000 feet and precipitation averages 40 inches. A little more than 1,600 square miles of the nearby mountains is drained by the West Fork and the Middle Fork.

Within Cliff Dweller Canyon, about 100 yards below the eponymous ruins, there is a permanent spring and a perennial stream. Along the bottom of this canyon, ponderosa pine and Douglas fir grow, as well as narrow-leaf cottonwood, willows, and box-elders. The same riparian plants also grow along the Gila River, as do alders. Juniper, pinyon, yuccas, and often oaks occupy south-facing slopes of canyons and hills; ponderosa and Douglas fir grow on north-facing slopes; gramas are the predominant grasses.

Down the river from the cliff dwellings are pockets of soil adequate for farming. The slope and the breadth of valley mitigate the chilling effects of cold air that drains the higher surrounding country, and as a result, the valley has a growing season that averages 140 days. The last frost usually occurs in mid-May and the first in early October. In Gila Cliff Dwellings, the remains of eight varieties of cultivated plants were recovered during an excavation in 1963.

In addition to agriculture, the moderate climate and the well-watered land of the valley support a diversity of wild plants suitable for gathering. From the cliff dwellings, 24 wild taxa have been identified. The valley, its waters, and the highlands together support abundant wildlife, as well, including mountain lion, mule deer, elk, beaver, numerous small mammals, ducks, herons, turkeys, doves, and a lot of other birds. Today, fishermen often cast for trout—stocked rainbows—in the beaver ponds just up the West Fork from Cliff Dweller Canyon. No discernable fish bones have been found in the ruins, but remains of 22 wild mammalian species and 23 avian species have been excavated, including samples of all the animals named above. In short, the valley is a lush, sheltered, and beautiful place, and these attributes have often been noted in the historical record.

Since 1924, the monument has been essentially surrounded by the Gila Wilderness, the first officially designated in the country and still the largest in the Southwest. A single road reaches the monument from the south, through a corridor that was eliminated from the wilderness in 1953. This paved road—State Highway 15—extends 19 miles through the wilderness, and a motorist must drive another 18 miles, largely through the Gila National

Forest, to reach Silver City, which is the nearest incorporated town. Because the road winds and the grades are steep, a one-way trip takes approximately 2 hours, and a visit to the monument is usually a full day's outing. The monument contains no camping facilities, but there are several nearby campgrounds managed by the Forest Service and one that is privately owned.

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Chapter I: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT

(continued)

Discovery

The record of archeological discovery on the Gila headwaters is the product of two movements in American exploration, one scientific and the other vernacular. Shortly after the Civil War, the government renewed its support for scientific expeditions to inventory the unknown resources of the American West and to map the country. By the 1870s four of these field surveys were underway, led by professional men who collaborated with the great natural scientists of the age to make important discoveries in geography, geology, biology, paleontology, and archeology. Private scientific organizations supplemented these activities. At the same time, the western frontier continued to lure men and women with visions of free land, adventure, and gold, a demographic movement so important in the nineteenth century that Frederick Jackson Turner--in a famous and still influential essay presented in 1893--attributed to it the creation of America's national character and even of American democracy. In southwestern New Mexico, during the 1870s, the relocation of wandering and marauding Apache bands to reservations opened "new" country to both kinds of discovery, although a recurring threat of renegades made the explorers cautious.

Wheeler Survey

The first scientific description of a prehistoric pueblo ruin on the upper Gila River was written by Henry Wetherbee Henshaw, a self-taught ornithologist, who served from 1872 to 1879 as a naturalist and field collector with Lt. George Montague Wheeler's Geographical Surveys of the Territories of the United States West of the 100th Meridian. [33] In the summer of 1874, Henshaw traversed the Gila country just as the reservation on the Tularosa River was closing down and the Apaches were being transferred back to Ojo Caliente on the east side of the Black Range. Because Apaches had killed a member of the survey several years earlier in a famous incident west of Wickenburg, Arizona, [34] Wheeler required each of his staff to each carry a revolver, a cumbersome precaution that Henshaw found worse than useless since these guns accidentally killed one member of the survey and disabled another. Although a lot of disgruntled Apaches, still "somewhat in their primitive state," were about, the ornithologist apparently did not see any on the Gila headwaters.

Eight miles from the mouth of Diamond Creek, an early name for the West Fork of the Gila River, Henshaw and a companion recorded only as Howell saw and explored the two-room cliff dwelling that is known today as Three-Mile Ruin. The floor was covered two feet deep in rat droppings. More interesting was a large pile of broken bows and more than 1,000 reed arrows, at least one with an obsidian point still affixed. Heavy stones had been placed on the artifacts, Henshaw observed. A search for skeletons in the floor was quickly given up for want of something better than hands and sticks with which to dig, and after taking some measurements, the two men left, rarely being able to spend more than a day or two at any

single locality because of the survey's enormous scope.

The discovery was incidental to most of Henshaw's work this field season, which he spent primarily in southern Arizona shooting birds with a breech-loading shotgun and dissecting them on his saddle. In his field report, published in 1875, Henshaw did include a description of his archeological find, however, and the description was included in the last volume of Lieutenant Wheeler's definitive geographical report, which was published in seven volumes in 1889. [35]

Also during the 1874 field season, another party of scientists attached to the Wheeler survey, one that included the famous paleontologist Edward D. Cope, was exploring Anasazi ruins along the San Juan River. The same year, under the auspices of the Hayden Survey--which was sponsored by the Department of the Interior--William H. Jackson and his photographic crew were hauling large-format cameras up the cliffs of Mancos Canyon in Colorado to capture the first views of the numerous cliff dwellings along the still undiscovered edge of Mesa Verde. Altogether it was an auspicious year for American archeology, foreshadowing a scientific--and popular--interest that grew very quickly over the next few years.

Jackson's large black-and-white photographs of cliff dwellings and models that he made elicited broad popular interest when they were displayed at the Centennial Exhibition that opened in Philadelphia on May 10, 1876. [36] Not long afterwards, scientific interest in archeology was invigorated by the appearance of the *American Antiquarian* magazine and the founding of several important societies, including the anthropology section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Archaeological Institute of America, and the Anthropological Society of Washington. In 1879, John Wesley Powell, leader of a third major scientific survey of the West--also sponsored by the Department of the Interior--established the Bureau of Ethnology, incorporating it as an arm of the Smithsonian Institution. When the four western surveys were combined the same year into the United States Geological Survey, Powell retained his position as chief of the Bureau of Ethnology and laid in the coming years "the empirical foundations of archaeology in the United States." [37]

Henry Wetherbee Henshaw joined the Bureau in 1879, working as an ethnologist and later as editor of the *American Anthropologist*, which was founded in 1888.

Prospectors

The first known visitor to Gila Cliff Dwellings was Henry B. Ailman, an early emigrant to southwestern New Mexico whose "only hope for success lay in finding something rich sticking out of the ground." In the summer of 1878, already prosperous and the co-owner of the Naiad Queen silver mine in Georgetown, [38] Ailman found his name along with those of several friends on a jury list. To avoid serving they hastily organized a prospecting trip to the headwaters of the Gila River. At this time the bands of Loco and Victorio, which had fled the San Carlos Reservation the previous September, were on their best behavior, waiting anxiously in Ojo Caliente for a decision about their fate. The prospectors saw no Apaches.

Below is Ailman's account of the trip thirty miles from any settlement:

Following the west or larger [creek] up two or three miles, we came upon a specimen of an old Cliff Dweller's village situated, as was their custom, in a crevice where there was good protection afforded by a wide, overhead ledge of projecting rock. In this case, from floor to roof was about eight or nine feet. The walls were of small, flat stones laid in common mud, with no door or window frames. The walls lacked twenty inches connecting with the roof, to give the

smoke a chance to escape. They had fireplaces in the center of the apartments.

In searching for relics, the only thing we could find was corncobs, very small, four to five inches long, and only in thickness like your largest finger. A fair sample of these I took with me. This dwelling was about two hundred feet up a steep hill from the creek. We concluded that they selected such sites for protection. Needless to say, Miss Virginia [soon to be his wife] got the corncobs.... [[39](#)]

The next season, Ailman wrote, another party from Georgetown visited the same ruins and, beneath a loose stone, found the desiccated body of an infant, which the explorers believed to be prehistoric. A friend of Ailman's eventually photographed the body, and years later--long after he had sold his mine, lost his fortune, and moved to California--he still had the picture. Apparently he also had some familiarity with the construction of cliff dwellings, a knowledge implied by his words "as was their custom." It is impossible to say whether this knowledge was contemporary with his trip or retrospective erudition.

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Chapter I: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT

(continued)

Wilderness

Although a benign neglect characterized Forest Service policies towards the cliff dwellings, another management policy for the Gila National Forest would have a profound effect on the future of the national monument: the establishment of the Gila Wilderness in 1924. The idea of a large roadless area in a national forest was originally proposed by Aldo Leopold, a graduate of the Yale Forestry School who had begun working in the Southwestern District in 1909. [104] An assistant district forester in charge of grazing by 1915, Leopold was also a sportsman with a consuming interest in game management, a nascent field that later made him a national figure. In that same year, Congress passed an Agricultural Appropriations Act that for the first time established recreation as a legitimate use of the multiple-use forest policies, and Leopold was given the task of planning recreation in the Southwestern District. [105] This work primarily consisted of planning campgrounds, plotting subdivisions for summer homes, and developing commercial policies. In 1920, however, in the *Journal of Forestry*, Leopold proposed something grander: a national hunting ground in a roadless area "big enough to absorb a two-week pack trip."

In 1922, Leopold surveyed possibilities in the Gila National Forest with Supervisor Fred Winn and returned to Albuquerque with a proposal, in the form of a recreational plan, for a roadless or wilderness area of approximately 750,000 acres. Frank Pooler, the district forester, signed the recreational plan on June 3, 1924, thereby designating the first official wilderness in the world. [106]

In the heart of this wilderness lay Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Since the new recreational plan essentially prohibited the construction of new roads through the wilderness, the monument remained isolated at the end of a very rough nineteenth-century wagon trail. The few residents on the Gila forks were permitted to use this unmaintained track, but only trucks with special gearing could manage the terrain. Although grazing was still permitted, logging was proscribed, mining inhibited, and the construction of public recreational facilities prohibited. As a result, the forks of the Gila remained undeveloped, far eddies on a remote stream.

The recreational plan that created the Gila Wilderness was modified in the late 1920s in a way that would again--although only years later--affect Gila Cliff Dwelling National Monument. On the east side of the wilderness, reconstruction began on the North Star Road, an old military trail first built to control Apaches during the Fort Tularosa Reservation period. Pressure to reopen this road by ranchers and logging interests had been resisted until 1929, when a tremendous growth in the population of deer occurred. Fearing a repetition of the Kaibab disaster, where thousands of deer on the north rim of the Grand Canyon had died of starvation, Frank Pooler, on the recommendation of a committee convened to address the problem, authorized the road reconstruction so hunters could better get into the remote

country to reduce the herds. [107] The road was completed in 1931. Although Leopold and Winn urged that the road be closed to public use except when necessary, the North Star Road remained open year around, cutting off the Black Range from the rest of the Wilderness.

The same committee of representatives from the Forest Service, the U.S. Biological Survey, the state game department, and the Silver City Game Protective Association that had recommended the reconstruction of the North Star Road also recommended improving the Gila Hot Springs Road as far as the Gila Flats--only half way to the Hot Springs and the cliff dwellings beyond. Eventually this improvement was also made. [108] Although a locked gate at Gila Flats prevented uninvited visitors from continuing on the rough private track that the new owners of Lyons Lodge maintained to the Gila River, this road and the North Star Road set precedents that would embroil Gila Cliff Dwellings in controversy twenty years later. For the time being the national monument remained isolated, however. Only residents on the Gila forks had keys to the locked gate, and the lock stayed until shortly before the end of the Second World War. [109]

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Chapter II: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT 1933-1955 EXECUTIVE ORDER 6166 (continued)

Pinkley And The Southwestern National Monuments

Less than a week after the September appeal had been formally denied, Pinkley was notified by his superiors in Washington that Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument had been transferred to his jurisdiction. He was directed to inquire whether Forest Service funds or personnel should be transferred along with the monument. [8] As it turned out, neither men nor money was to supplement Pinkley's new responsibilities.

The superintendent of the Southwestern National Monuments, however, was a man long accustomed to limited budgets. [9] With few assets beyond his own rough charisma, "Boss" Pinkley had in the preceding 10 years organized the widely scattered and largely volunteer custodians of those Department of the Interior monuments that were in the Southwest into a professional staff that accommodated a large number of visitors on a near pittance. In 1927, for example, 270,000 people visited the Southwestern Monuments for which the Park Service had allocated only \$15,000; in the same year, Grand Canyon National Park, which drew only 162,356 visitors, received more than \$132,000. [10] Obviously, Pinkley had to be tight with his money. Equally apparent, to Pinkley and to contemporary historians as well, was a disproportion in funding that signaled a hierarchical distinction at the time between national parks and mere national monuments.

Meager funding was not Pinkley's only administrative problem. Before and after his appointment as superintendent of Southwestern Monuments, the more scenic monuments were gradually being elevated to the superior status of parks. Eventually, it seemed, the monuments might only represent the culls of the Park Service properties. Certainly, Pinkley's concern had substantial justification: eight of the 12 national parks currently designated for the American Southwest began as national monuments, including Grand Canyon, Bryce Canyon, Zion, and Carlsbad Caverns national parks, which were all redesignated during Pinkley's tenure with the Park Service.

This evolution of status had its root in a very utilitarian feature of the Antiquities Act of 1906, the original enabling legislation for designating national monuments. These monuments were decreed by executive order of the president of the United States—independently of congressional authorization. National parks, on the other hand, were the legal products of substantial and often lengthy wrangling in Congress, where the interests of potential resource developers and the foibles of several hundred individual congressmen complicated the legislative mechanics of preservation.

The facility of an executive order had quickly attracted the attention of those interested in preserving American landscapes. In 1908, for example, President Theodore Roosevelt used

his authority under the Antiquities Act to set aside a little more than 800,000 acres as Grand Canyon National Monument and a year later 600,000 acres as the Mount Olympus National Monument. [11] In these cases, Roosevelt possibly exceeded the originally envisioned scope of the Antiquities Act. But the creative application of this legal instrument did protect threatened land quickly and for a long time without effective challenge. Later, in a more leisurely way, many of the properties were negotiated up to the status of national park through the uncertainties of partisan agencies, congressional loyalties, and other political hurdles.

In short, during the formative years of the Park Service, the directors of that agency favored large scenic parks over monuments and allocated far more money and attention towards developing the former category. Meanwhile, monuments commonly languished unless there were plans for eventually transforming the property into a park.

Unfortunately, by the time Executive Order 6166, the Historic Sites Act, and other New Deal measures provided the Park Service with increased funds and a dominant role in the preservation of the nation's historic and prehistoric heritage, Pinkley's embittered frustration over years of meager budgets and the erosion of his administrative demesne had isolated the "Boss" from the Washington office, where he had come to be viewed as a "cantankerous, aging iconoclast." [12] By 1933, Pinkley no longer had sufficient weight and influence to successfully balance his own agenda against the agency's new tilt towards the more populous East. There, the inspiring legacies of the American Revolution and Civil War simply drew more interest and dollars than remote Indian sites.

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Chapter II: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT 1933-1955 EXECUTIVE ORDER 6166 (continued)

1955: Roads And MISSION 66

In February 1955, the New Mexico legislature unanimously approved a house memorial—a non-binding form of legislation—that asked the State Highway Commission to construct an all-weather road from the Sapillo crossing to Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. [52] The urgency of this project, according to a contemporary newspaper account, stemmed from a growing popular interest in the monument and the wilderness. [53] Unlike the rough, privately financed road that had been bulldozed to the Gila Hot Springs subdivision in 1949, the new proposal sought public allocations for the construction of a road that would attract more tourists to Grant County. [54] Enticed by the prospect of more tourism, the Silver City Chamber of Commerce was already actively boosting the road proposal, and the Grant County Commission was exploring the pertinent costs of its construction. [55]

Also in February 1955, as a matter of coincidence, the American Automobile Association hosted a dinner in Washington, D.C., to inaugurate MISSION 66, a new 10-year program of the Park Service that was geared toward the construction of enough roads, visitor centers, and other facilities to accommodate the number of tourists projected to visit units in the park system in 1966—the 50th anniversary of the bureau. [56] The largest development program since the 1930s, MISSION 66 happened to require a prospectus for each of those areas, outlining its significance, its problems, and its potential.

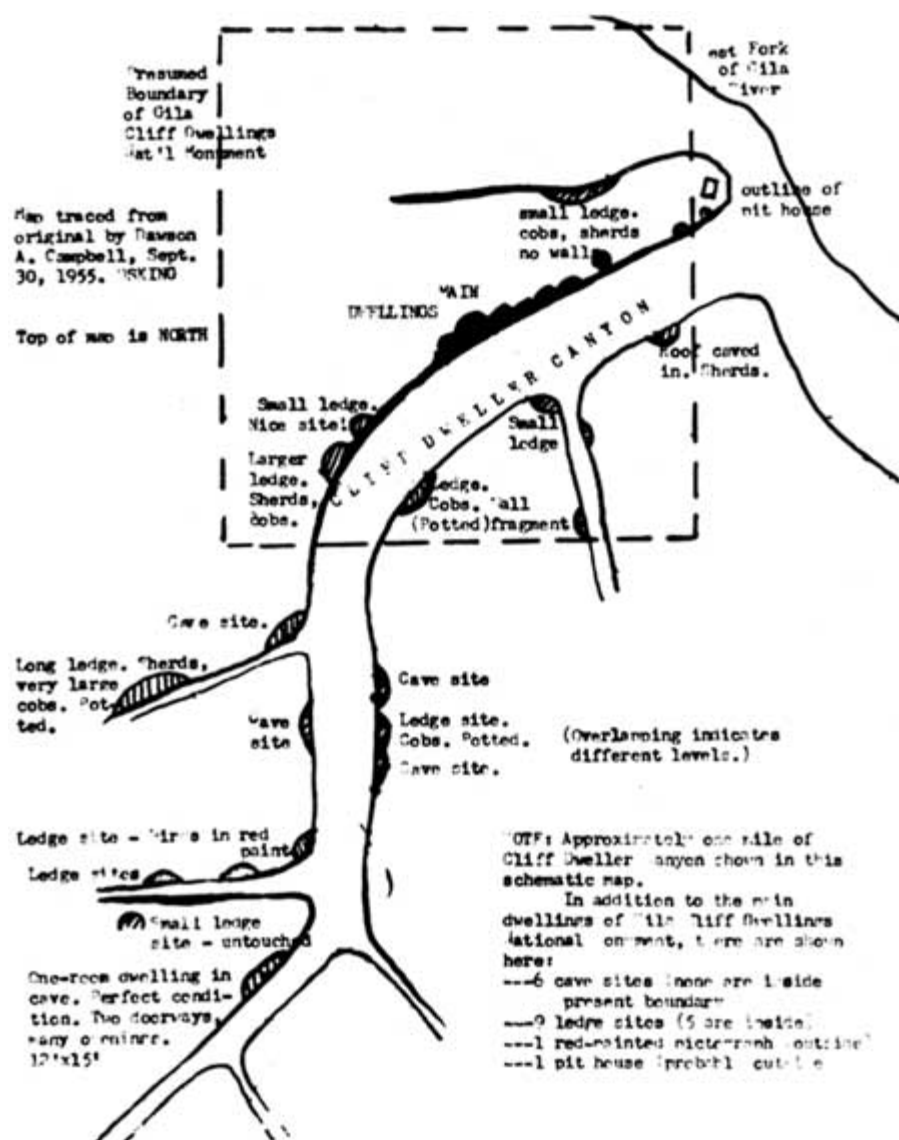
For Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, Southwestern National Monuments developed a prospectus that echoed the earlier assessments of Tillotson and Miller, who was now director of the regional office:

The dwellings' well-preserved architecture and beautiful wilderness setting have combined to quiet any misgivings an analyst might develop concerning the adequacy of their national significance. [57]

Since the significance of these cliff dwellings was linked to their isolated setting, it followed then that the road memorialized by the New Mexico Legislature would diminish their status to "just another nice cliff dwelling." Therefore, the prospectus recommended that the Park Service consider transferring the archeological site to the New Mexico park system should the road ever be constructed and acquiring instead a large Mimbres pueblo site.

Campbell, who was working his first summer as a uniformed seasonal ranger, received the prospectus in early August. Recording his consternation in a memorandum and a more pointed letter sent on the same day to the general superintendent, he challenged the validity of the prospectus, noting among other things that the largely undocumented archeology of the

area was far more extensive than commonly assumed and deserved a closer look. [58] With the help of Francis Parsons, president of the Grant County Archaeological Society, Campbell also identified near the monument just the kind of large Mimbres pueblo site in which the prospectus had expressed interest. In addition, he began drawing maps of all the other sites he could find. He also showed these sites to Roland Richert, a visiting archeologist from the Mobile Stabilization Unit who was supervising the stabilization work that Marjorie Lambert's 1954 lament had engendered.



Map drawn by Custodian "Doc" Campbell. This map denoted the approximate location of far more prehistoric cultural sites in the vicinity of the monument than most people knew existed. Through Campbell's knowledge, this and other maps that he drew, and his efforts guiding professional archeologists to these sites, the initial MISSION 66 proposal was revised. Instead of suggesting a transfer of the site to a state agency, the revised proposal lead to the 1962 expansion of the monument.
(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

With grab samples in hand, Richert enticed his immediate superior, Gordon Vivian, to spend some of his annual leave on the forks of the Gila River, beginning in this way a rapid sequence of letters and staff visits that led in November to a revised prospectus. [59] The revision was dramatic. The suggestion to transfer the monument was deleted. And the new prospectus recommended substantially expanding the unit to include new sites and especially

the large and nearly pristine TJ Ruin at the confluence of the West and Middle forks. Earlier apprehensions about the national significance of the vandalized cliff dwellings yielded to a new recognition: on the upper Gila was a thickly clustered sequence of prehistoric sites, the rich legacy of a culture that was not represented elsewhere in the national park system. Not long afterwards, Conrad Wirth, the director of the Park Service, asked that the monument custodian be complimented for the vigilance that culminated in the revision of the prospectus. [\[60\]](#)

An interesting current also flowing through this administrative sea change was a discreet but repeated concern about the friends of local development, some of whom resided at Gila Hot Springs, and who—it was noted in the prospectus—"are exceedingly potent, who keep a close watch on National Park Service operations, and who will, whether the Service approves or not, see to it that Gila Cliff Dwellings is place prominently in the limelight, as needing preservation, interpretation, and development." [\[61\]](#)

Two of the well-connected friends of development were "Colonel" Clyde Ely, the editor and publisher of the *Silver City Daily Press*, and Chancie Snyder, who was president of the New Mexico Game Association and whose best friend and business partner was the campaign manager for Senator Clinton Anderson. Less wired politically but equally energetic was Francis Parsons, a retired architect from Massachusetts, who divided his time between the local archeological society, the city council, the chamber of commerce and boy scouts. [62\]](#) Both Ely and Snyder had summer houses at Gila Hot Springs, where other influential people lived as well. "At the time we sold this land," recalled Campbell more than 40 years later, "we had a president or active member—had past presidents—of every service organization [in Grant County]. [\[63\]](#)

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Chapter III: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT 1955 TO 1991 (continued)

Clinton B. Anderson Memorial Highway

The expansion of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was negotiated in a quiet collegial manner between federal agencies and with participation by the New Mexico Department of Game and Fish. The road from Sapillo Creek to the monument, on the other hand, was the clamorous product of local citizens and their community organizations lobbying with letters, telegrams, petitions, resolutions, editorials, and caravans. Because the Copperas road and development at the monument were linked, progress on both projects advanced in tandem but with a jarring cadence.

Not long after the second MISSION 66 prospectus had been produced in November 1955, advocates for an improved road to the forks of the Gila sought support from the New Mexico congressional delegation, as well as from the offices of Southwestern National Monuments and of the Gila National Forest. [14] Chancie Snyder, in particular, spoke with Russell Rea, the local forest supervisor, inquiring about potential help and noting that representatives of the Park Service were very interested in having a road built. Rea's cautious response stood for the next four years: "[the Forest Service] would be glad to see a road built into the area but [was] not in any position to help on such a project because we had no funds or personnel available." [15]

A letter in January 1956, by "Doc" Campbell to Dennis Chavez, New Mexico's senior senator, took a different and more aggressive tack. Noting that "Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, on the Upper Gila, has been the stepchild of the U.S. Government for 49 years," he entreated the senator as a person of national renown to champion the development of the area in the interests of archeological protection, tourist dollars, fire control, and recreational use. [16] Routed by Chavez to the director of the Park Service, Campbell's letter elicited a cautious reply that further study was needed before committing to a development program at the monument. [17]

Based on different sources and repeated with different sympathies, Snyder's version of the Park Service interest in the Copperas road, Campbell's darker implications, and the tepid official response to Senator Chavez created a useful kind of confusion. As its consequence, advocates for the road could tailor their arguments to any audience and corroborate their points with appropriate documents and anecdotes. Speaking, it seemed, not only in the best interests of the community but in the best interests of the Park Service and even the Forest Service, these advocates enlisted the kind of congressional interest in the road and the monument proposals that nudged them both towards development.

In December 1957, Senator Chavez again wrote the Park Service, indicating that he was "hopeful that either one or both of your agencies will try and work out ways and means of

making this very essential road improvement." [18] This letter was based on presumption and the kind of circular logic that had advanced the cause of development: (1) the road was important in order for the monument to be developed, and (2) the monument should be developed because a road was going to be built. The presumption, of course, was that the Park Service wanted to implement the second MISSION 66 proposal, which was still only a tentative plan, after all. In fact, in 1957, the Region III Office was still uncommitted to development at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. For one thing, it was still negotiating boundaries with the Forest Service.

The presumption of the letter from Senator Chavez, an independent inquiry from Senator Anderson, and consequent memoranda about strong congressional interest [19] in the still remote monument encouraged officials of the Park Service to accelerate their planning process. [20] In July 1958, Conrad Wirth finally approved the revised MISSION 66 prospectus. [21] The cautious—hypothetical, even—support for the Copperas road that Russell Rea acknowledged to Chancie Snyder was enhanced more or less in the same way as the issue floated through the channels of the Forest Service.

Although endorsements for the Copperas road from the Forest Service and the Park Service were important, a more immediate problem in 1956 had been the issue of a road in the Gila Primitive Area. The residents on the Gila forks had built a road based on their rights of ingress and egress, but a public road to the cliff dwellings had no legal basis, according to the chief forester of the Forest Service. [22] In fact, he added, it would be inappropriate for his agency "to construct or to participate in any way in the construction or promotion of a road in a Wilderness or Primitive area."

Colonel Ely took immediate issue with the chief forester's pronouncement, referring to the 1952 recommendations of the James Committee, which had endorsed the extension of a road corridor through the primitive area as far as Gila Cliff Dwellings. In a series of irate letters and editorials, Ely accused the Forest Service of reneging on a compromise that the Washington office had not approved. [23] The colonel's irritation appeared to mystify staff at the regional office of the Forest Service, [24] who again referred to his undeniable ingress-egress rights as a resident at Gila Hot Springs; nevertheless, Ely's letters drew the weighty attention of Senator Clinton Anderson.

After a few months of correspondence with Anderson, who had personally helped to negotiate the earlier boundary compromise for the Gila Wilderness, the regional office of the Forest Service recommended the formal extension of the corridor, citing the continuing controversy over the road into the Gila Primitive Area and the recommendations of the James Committee. [25] The extension process, however, entailed a petition, a notice of intent to modify the primitive area, and a six-month waiting period. Unhappy about the processual delay, Ely finally explained in a September editorial the source of all his irritation—unless a public road were quickly designated through a corridor in the primitive area, Ely feared that federal funds could not be appropriated for future improvement. [26] In spite of the colonel's displeasure, the full procedure for deleting land from a primitive area was observed, and a corridor to Gila Cliff Dwelling National Monument was not formally established until July 15, 1957.

Once the corridor had been clearly established, efforts of the local road lobby were applied towards acquiring federal appropriations. Coordinating these efforts for the Silver City-Grant County Chamber of Commerce was Francis Parsons, who was president of the Grant County Archaeological Society and who took a special interest in the monument, having helped "Doc" Campbell identify the TJ Ruin as a Mimbres site and having guided Lambert to the cliff dwellings a year earlier. [27] In December 1957, at a public hearing in Albuquerque, New Mexico, [28] Parsons presented the first formal request for support to a group of U.S.

senators. [29] Asking that they help make possible "the greater Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument" in order to promote tourism at a time when low prices for metals were dragging down the local economy, Parsons also cited the potential benefits that a road would bring the New Mexico Department of Game and Fish, the Forest Service, and recreationists in general.

Afterwards, Leslie Arnberger, the regional chief of Park System Planning, reported that very little official interest in the road proposal had been evidenced, but he noted with some prescience that strong political pressure could change this prospect. [30] Indeed, within five months, Senator Chavez sent a representative from his Committee on Public Works to meet with officials of the New Mexico Highway Department, the Bureau of Public Roads, the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and others, including Francis Parsons, who again made the case for a road from Sapillo Creek to the forks of the Gila River. [31] Reporting on this meeting, Harthorn Bill, the assistant regional director of the Park Service, noted that all parties said they were favorably inclined towards construction of the road but that for a variety of reasons none had the funds to do it: the Forest Service was already maintaining a 1,000 miles of gravel road with insufficient funds, the Grant County Road Department had given other roads priority, and his own agency could only appropriate funds for work within the boundaries of the monument.

Bill also reported that "there was an obvious effort to place responsibility for sponsoring the construction of the road on either the U.S.F.S. or N.P.S." [32] Believing that an acquiescence to this responsibility would entail financial obligation as well, he advised a cautious economy. This caution was manifested soon afterwards in the final version of the MISSION 66 prospectus for Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument: development at the monument was specifically contingent on the construction of an approach road by another agency. [33]

As the funding dialogue moved into the offices of federal agencies, Parsons continued to draw attention to the road issue by organizing annual jeep caravans to Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Starting in 1958, the caravans attracted increasing numbers of visitors to the monument and a lot of publicity. In 1960, for example, the Albuquerque Journal reported that on the third annual caravan 260 people had driven in a column of army transport trucks, jeeps, and pick-up trucks "through one of the scenic southwestern wonderlands," and the article highlighted not only the isolated monument but other attractions of the wilderness. [34]

Eventually, funding for improvements to the Copperas road was secured through its inclusion in the state's system of secondary roads. Once the jeep track road was sketched onto the inventory, Senators Chavez, Anderson, and other interested legislators secured for its construction \$1,000,000 of Federal Lands Highway Funds, [35] by means of the Federal Highway Act of 1960. The next year, the state of New Mexico allocated another \$200,000 towards the project. [36] All of these funds were applied for construction from Sapillo Creek to the monument. In addition, the Forest Service agreed to spend \$100,000 improving the road from the forest boundary north of Pinos Altos to the Sapillo crossing. [37]

The Park Service did not contribute toward the road. In fact, even after the federal appropriations had been made, Hillory Tolson, the acting director, reported to the Bureau of Public Roads "that the objective of reaching Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument does not appear to rank of sufficient importance in comparison with the costs involved." [38] Granted, Tolson was attempting to parry a renewed request to help pay for this road, which was still underfunded. But this financial sidestep revealed a larger discontinuity: road advocates were now justifying a million-dollar appropriation in the name of a monument that officials of the Park Service did not think merited the expense.

More bluntly, the regional engineer for the Bureau of Public Roads observed at the time that

none of the federal or state agencies involved was very interested in the road and that pressure for the road was almost entirely from the area around Silver City. [39] For a long time, it had been easy to underestimate the efficacy of that pressure. Construction on the Copperas road began in 1961 and continued in three phases, reaching the monument in early 1967.

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Chapter III: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT 1955 TO 1991 (continued)

Forest Service Management Of The Monument

To date, the 1975 Cooperative Agreement has functioned well. As they have done since 1964, representatives of the Forest Service and the Park Service meet once a year to review issues of management, maintenance, and preservation; to resolve any problems; and to settle on an appropriate budget. In 1987, the associate regional director of park operations noted that "the working relationship has seemed to improve with each year." [79]

As agreed, forest staff manage the day-to-day administration of the monument, and these positions are funded by the Park Service. In addition to interpreting the monument, keeping it physically up to standard and implementing recommendations made by the Park Service, the Forest Service has contributed significantly towards planning for the future by producing two well-received plans for resources management, the 1976 Statement for Management, and the 1986 Statement for Management. For its part, the Park Service has since 1975 sponsored three stabilization studies and performed two stabilizations, one of which was a site in the Gila National Forest. It contracted the development of an interpretive prospectus as a guide for improving the interpretive program, the visitor center, and the contact station. It contracted the research necessary to document the monument for the National Register of Historic Places. And it has also programmed funds and time for its own staff to research and publish a detailed analysis of artifacts recovered earlier at the cliff dwellings; to map and sample the surface of TJ site and to publish the attendant facts; and to resurvey all archeological sites on the monument.

In short, the transfer of daily administrative responsibility has not at all diminished the professional stewardship of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. The ruins continue to receive appropriate and timely measures of protection, the physical plant is maintained regularly, and interpretation has been substantially enhanced by the increasing amount of research. At the same time the Park Service has again saved money. The number of people permanently and exclusively employed—and therefore paid—for the benefit of the monument has declined from four in 1974 to a park ranger and a lead guide in 1990, who spend most of their time on interpretation. [80] To administer resource management and maintenance programs, the Wilderness District ranger, who doubles as the superintendent of the monument, and the district resource assistant now divide their time between the monument and more typical duties. [81] In turn, the Forest Service has been able to expand its staffing on the short-handed Wilderness District—just as Supervisor Robert Williamson had hoped. With new funds and an additional mandate, the district staffing increased from four permanent positions in 1974 to 11 within three years. [82]

The only real problem stemming from the transfer of administrative responsibility was the novelty of archeological interpretation in the Forest Service. Since there was no clearly

defined career track for that role within the bureaucracy, one interpreter—an ambitious and conscientious employee—labored under the ill-fitting title of park historian for nearly 10 years and under three different district rangers before another suitable position opened elsewhere.

This problem was finally resolved in 1986 with yet another interagency agreement. [83] The Park Service agreed to canvas its own employees for assignment as park ranger at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, and the Forest Service agreed to hire one of those applicants. In addition, it was understood between the two agencies that this ranger would be re employed by the Park Service after a tour of duty at the monument lasting not less than two years and not more than three. Since 1986, two permanent employees of the Park Service have accepted the limited transfer to the Forest Service.

Undoubtedly, the transferal of administrative responsibility in 1975 was facilitated by a history of interagency cooperation that had increased gradually and in clear increments. Rumburg's signature was just another step down a trail first blazed when Frank Pooler directed the supervisor of the Gila National Forest to build a fence to protect a rival agency's monument. Inevitably, the narrow constraints of canyons and flood plain pushed the agencies closer together as each contemplated developing cultural and recreational resources on the forks of the Gila River. After years of accommodation in a small place, the applied mandates of the Forest Service and the Park Service now fit comfortably together.

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Chapter IV: HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY UNTIL 1962 (continued)

Early Scientific Archeology

The distinction between professional and lay interest in prehistoric remains is vague for the years before American archeology emerged as a scientific discipline. The initial inclination even of Henry W. Henshaw, the naturalist who first recorded cliff dwellings on the West Fork, had been to dig as Lieutenant Sands did with a knife and fingers. Henshaw dug for skeletons as ranchers along the Mimbres River also did not too long afterwards. [16]

In 1878 a fifteen-page circular [17] was published by the Smithsonian and thousands of copies were distributed in an effort to mitigate the isolated and disconnected nature of archeological work occurring. [18] It outlined standardized techniques of recording data and also solicited the contribution of specimens that had been so documented. The long-range goal of the circular was to produce "an exhaustive work upon our North American antiquities." From the upper Gila area, a collection was sent and a correspondence begun that same year by Lt. Henry Metcalf, a local rancher who had explored Greenwood Cave on a tributary of the Gila River. [19] The following year, H. H. Rusby, a botanist from New Jersey who had come west "in search of botanical novelties" and to investigate natural history and archeology in New Mexico also made a collection of relics for the National Museum from Greenwood Cave, between jobs and before his departure for Mexico. [20]

The disparate backgrounds of Lieutenant Metcalf and Rusby and the incidental nature of their collections—only part of the soldier's went to the National Museum, for example—underscores the essentially random character of archeological data that was being sent east for preservation, display, and study.

In 1879, the year following the Smithsonian circular, systematic archeological research finally began in the American Southwest. The Bureau of American Ethnology was established, with John Wesley Powell as its chief, and such scientific societies as the Archaeological Institute of America were organized. Powell immediately dispatched a group of ethnologists to an area that he had visited during his own explorations of the Colorado River: the western pueblos of the Southwest, including Zuni. A junior member of that expedition was 22-year-old Frank H. Cushing, who stayed at Zuni for five unanticipated years, assimilating himself into the tribe—a novel and professionally unsanctioned venture in the years before Malinowski staked his tent and his reputation in a village of South Sea Islanders and formalized the precept of participant observation.

Meanwhile the Archaeological Institute of America asked the renowned anthropologist Henry Lewis Morgan to develop a plan of research. Shortly afterwards, his protege, Adolph F. Bandelier was hired to survey ruins in the Southwest. Older and less flamboyant than Cushing, Bandelier was still equally intrepid, and he spent five years, usually on foot, wandering about the still dangerous territories of New Mexico and Arizona in search of ruins, armed only with a steel yardstick, a pen, and paper.

For years after the initial work of Cushing and Bandelier, Southwestern archeological activity was guided by techniques of ethnological analogy, direct historical approach, and the unilineal theories of cultural evolution expounded by Henry Lewis Morgan. According to these theories all of the Southwestern pueblos would represent a single level of culture and would be essentially identical. One effect of these theories and methods of research, especially when combined with ethnocentric attitudes about architectural scale and technique, was to concentrate later archeological expeditionary work in the Four Corners area, where the largest abandoned cliff dwellings and pueblos occurred—not far from still occupied pueblos that could be studied as explanatory models. Unfortunately, with most research taking place in the northern part of the state, the archeology of the upper Gila River was essentially neglected for nearly half a century.

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Chapter IV: HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY UNTIL 1962 (continued)

Richert, Campbell, And Vivian

In July 1955, Roland Richert, who assisted Gordon Vivian on the Mobile Stabilization Unit based at the Chaco Canyon Field Station, came to Gila Cliff Dwellings for three weeks to stabilize the ruins with the help of five Navajo laborers. On Sundays, while his crew rested, Richert scouted the national monument and its vicinity, collecting grab samples from six different sites, which he later sent to Emil Haury for identification.

From the cliff dwellings, he picked up 15 decorated sherds, which were eventually sorted in the following categories:

Bold Face B/W	20%
Three Circle B/W	13%
Tularosa B/W	53%
Reserve	7%
Heshotauthla	
Polychrome	7%

Based on these ceramics and the architecture of the cliff dwellings, Richert stated in his stabilization report that the cliff dwellings exhibited the climax of the Mimbres phase of the Mogollon culture and modified Steen's earlier inferences, which he had read, by pushing the initial dates back to A.D. 900 and the last dates to perhaps as late as A.D. 1400. Richert acknowledged the small size of his sampling but felt that additional "representative collections" from several nearby surface ruins did substantiate a Classic Mimbres occupation of the area and "a later influence from the north, possibly Tularosan in character." [[44](#)]



The TJ Ruin lies on a bluff overlooking the Gila River, near the confluence of the West and the East forks.

One of the nearby surface ruins from which Richert had also taken a sherd sampling was the TJ Ruin, and based on these ceramics the site was identified as Mimbres "into and beyond the classic period." [45] In other words, the multi-component nature of the site was finally recognized, and appreciation of the ruin began to rise. When E. B. Danson visited the area for the first time in 1962, he expressed such interest in the anticipated excavation of the TJ site that excavation at Gila Cliff Dwellings was almost an afterthought. [46]

Not long after Richert returned to Chaco Canyon, his supervisor, Gordon Vivian, took personal leave in order to visit the Gila Cliff Dwellings, where he followed "Doc" Campbell up and down enough hills until he had a sense of the archeological wealth of the area—much as Bandelier had done 70 years earlier. The urgency of Vivian's and Richert's interest in the local archeology stemmed, of course, from the 1955 MISSION 66 prospectus from the regional office, which arrived at Campbell's while Richert was supervising stabilization of the ruins. In view of potential improvements to access into the Gila forks area, the prospectus proposed abandoning Gila Cliff Dwellings (i.e., donation to the state of New Mexico) and acquiring a site more representative of the "prehistoric culture of Southwestern New Mexico." Upon his return, Vivian cautioned the general superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments that the area should be thoroughly studied before abandoning it. [47] His memorandum supported a previous letter by Campbell, the custodian, who was meanwhile drawing maps.

One of Campbell's maps, first made for Richert during his stabilization work, was a sketch of Cliff Dweller Canyon. The map noted nine other sites within the national monument in addition to the cliff dwellings themselves and another 13 sites still in the canyon but beyond the monument boundaries. Another map located 13 other sites, including the TJ Ruin and the West Fork Ruin, along the West Fork and within a mile and a half of the monument. Although these surveys were informal, the importance of many of the sites was soon corroborated by Dale King, who had been sent from the regional office in response to Campbell's and Vivian's letters, and within a year by then Regional Archeologist Steen. Combined with Richert's samplings, Vivian's reconnaissance, and the solicited opinions of such prominent authorities as Danson, the Campbell's maps helped to bring informed attention to a sequence of local prehistory that appeared to cover nearly 2,000 years, a span

apparently greater than any area managed by the National Park Service.

In 1956, when Vivian wrote an archeological resume of the Gila forks locale, he classified the cliff dwellings as a Classic Mimbres phase site. Coupling this classification with a line from Erik Reed's 1949 overview about zoomorphic pottery designs completed the normative tendency to extrapolate "from the Mimbres Valley to fill in the enormous lacunae in knowledge about the Upper Gila." [48]

Vivian's classification was based on Richert's sherd samplings, of course, and elsewhere he acknowledged possible late influence at the cliff dwellings by the Tularosa culture, an affiliation based on the ceramics, a suggestion by Danson, and an unexplained reference to style in architectural rebuilding. In 1955, most of the country along the San Francisco River and the Tularosa River was about to be parsed from the Mimbres branch, which would establish Reserve and Tularosa phases as distinctly non-Mimbres in the Mogollon taxonomy. This division was intimated in Joe Ben Wheat's general synthesis of the Mogollon culture, published the same year [49] and stated flatly by Danson two years later. [50]

The purpose of Vivian's resume was not, however, to clarify obscurities of territory and potential subdivisions of culture. He was arguing instead for an expansion of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument in order to include "a unique and valuable sequence of Mimbres culture from beginning to end." The operative word, so to speak, was sequence. He focused on sites representative of each phase of the Mimbres branch, marshaling authoritative corroborating support and adding as a fillip to his argument the threat of inevitable despoliation at the Heart Bar (TJ) Ruin, the last best Mimbres ruin. Apparently for the sake of simplicity, Vivian skipped over the issue of Tularosa influence in his resume, eliding the word even from his quotation of Reed. He closed his sequence of phases with two scenarios: a proposed late migration into the Gila forks by Salado people, possibly from the more northern Pinedale-Cibola area; and a declining but continued occupation by Mimbres people under Salado influence, an idea that he tentatively endorsed with the A.D. 1286 date for the cliff dwellings and with late pottery from the TJ site. The significance of this dendrochronological date had been shifted from being the last Tularosa date to an early Salado date.

The resume and a new consensus about the importance of archeology around Gila forks led ultimately to the expansion of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument in 1962.

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Chapter V: HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY 1962 TO 1991

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Morris

On July 2, 1968, Don Morris, an archeologist with the Southwestern Center for Archeology, began supervising another round of stabilization work at Gila Cliff Dwellings. [9] Aided by a crew of ten Navajo laborers, Morris excavated four rooms (36, 37, 38, 39) in Cave 1, where "only a jumble of collapsed masonry indicated architecture." There he uncovered a slab-lined firepit, and beneath the foundations of Rooms 38 and 39, he found sherds and stone artifacts, a distribution that suggested occupation of the site previous to the wall construction.

To better support the sagging north wall in Room 27, Morris dug a trench for a foundation and uncovered another slab-lined hearth as well as an infant burial. Wrapped in cloth embroidered with red and blue decorations and swaddled in two other cloths, the body had been laid on two stone slabs, covered with twill matting, and buried in the floor. Above the floor was 14 cm of cultural debris that contained, among other things, seeds, string, bone beads, and cloth. Beneath the floor, at least along the north wall, was another 50 cm of refuse. In Room 40, which was filled with refuse, Morris found turkey feather cordage and a plaited yucca sandal with lacings. All of the recovered material was sent to the Southwestern Archeological Center.

The stabilization report, which Morris wrote as the project progressed, is the first detailed room-by-room description of the architecture and its condition. After completing the stabilization work and at the request of the superintendent of the expanded Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, Morris conducted an "archeological survey of a circular area, one mile in radius from the Gila Visitor Center, located at the junction of the West Fork and Middle Fork of the Gila River." [10] Assisting this survey were staff from the monument and from the Gila National Forest, including Joe Janes.

Altogether 106 sites were located, 33 of which lay within the boundaries of the monument. Specifically, the survey located eight chipping areas, with one site containing artifacts that resemble Cochise material; 31 pithouse villages that ranged from Georgetown to Three Circle phases; 25 cliff shelters, including three sites (LA 10056, LA 10057, LA 10059) with Apache pottery and another (LA 10048) with what is presumed to be a disturbed Apache burial; 32 masonry units, none of which yielded any sherds of "Tularosa Fillet Rim and no appreciable amounts of Reserve and Tularosa Black-on-White...a startling contrast with the Gila Cliff Dwellings"; three checkdams; five pictograph areas, with no petroglyphs; two wall fragments; and three historic dwellings, including Grudgings' and Huffman's cabins, and another cabin foundation of unknown origin. [11]

Surface collections were made from each of the surveyed sites, and relevant information was recorded about their location, vegetation, architecture and other features, including the degree of vandalism. The LA numbered sites were tagged, and all the sites were plotted on stereo-

paired aerial photographs or on sheets of preliminary USGS quadrangles (1:24,000). These records and all of the samplings were sent to the Southwestern Archeological Center.

In the summary of his report, Morris noted the great spread in dates for the monument and its vicinity. These dates ranged from possibly 1000 B.C. to the historic period and corroborated Richert's and Vivian's reconnaissances in the 1950s. Morris also noted the unique nature of ceramics at Gila Cliff Dwellings and of the late ceramics at the TJ Ruin. For the latter site, he suggested a "dominant Mimbres occupation, a hiatus during the Tularosa phase and a limited occupation during the Salado period." [12] In addition, he was interested in settlement patterns and noted two trends: (1) pithouse villages were more common on the north side of the West Fork while Mangus and Mimbres phase sites were more common on the south side, and (2) pithouse villages were located on ridge crests while the later habitations were usually located off the eastern side of crests, on ridges with "appreciable soil."

Before leaving the Gila forks area, Morris helped Superintendent Lukens draft an archeological management plan. Noting the monument's significance as the only unit in the national park system with Mogollon sites, they identified as a major interpretive theme the interaction of the Mogollon with their mountain environment and the evolution of "progressively more successful cultural adaptations." The archeological resources were outlined in the plan, as well, and the brief but dominant nature of the Tularosa occupation at the cliff dwellings was formally recognized. Based on Vivian's recovery of an atlatl fragment, the possibility that an earlier archaic component existed there was also reported—40 years after the Cosgroves' excavation in Cave 6. Regarding the TJ Ruin, an enclosed courtyard was recorded for the first time, as well as the presence of several pit structures that might be ceremonial. Other archeological resources documented the sequence of prehistory and history already in the report of Morris' survey.

Everhart

On August 16, 1970, visitors to Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument discovered a human skull and skeleton while climbing the designated trail to the ruins. Apparently the skull had been partially exposed by recent rains, and seasonal rangers Ronald and Pamela Everhart performed a salvage excavation of this burial several days later. [13] The burial, a primary inhumation flexed at its hips and knees and laid on its right side, was exhumed, bagged, and sent to Arizona State University, where the remains were identified as those of a robust female, aged 20 to 25 years old and typical of Southwest plateau Pueblo Indians. No artifacts were recovered with the burial. In their report on the salvage operation, the Everharts postulated that the talus slope southwest of the caves may have served as a cemetery. They noted that six other burials had previously been discovered at the cliff dwellings: two adults and four infants. [14]

Anderson, et al.

In 1986, Keith Anderson, Gloria Fenner, Don Morris, George Teague, and Charmion McKusick published *The Archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings*, the first systematic report of the ruin that had been in scientific literature for nearly 100 years and that had been a national monument for nearly 80 years. Based on the salvage work and the reconnaissances of Steen, Richert, Campbell, Vivian, and Morris, the purpose of this report was to provide information for interpreting the site to visitors.

In the introduction, Anderson identified two primary components of the cave site: one prior to A.D. 500, based on archaic-style artifacts—including the fragments of Vivian's atlatl—and on heavy smoke-blackening that apparently preceded architecture; and a second of the Tularosa phase, based largely on the ceramic assemblage and supported by tree-ring dates

that cluster around the mid-1280s. In addition, Anderson cautiously hedged that a few Mimbres Bold Face and Mimbres Classic sherds might indicate an earlier Mimbres phase occupation of the cave.

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Chapter V: HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY 1962 TO 1991

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Conclusion

Questions of research and issues of research potential lead to the first of two concluding observations about archeology at Gila Cliff Dwellings. The first observation hinges on a remark about public archeology made in the *Prehistory of New Mexico*. The authors, Stuart and Gauthier, noted that archeological sites fall into two categories: "those that contain information and those that are susceptible of being preserved and interpreted in place." Sites in the second category are more self-explanatory and consequently more interesting or pleasurable to the general public. Obviously, there may be considerable overlap between these categories; nevertheless, and without laboring over the precision of fit, the distinction is useful, helping to explain the long popularity of cliff dwellings with their sheltered and therefore well-preserved architecture and their romantic locations. [46]

At Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, the interpretive value of the cliff dwellings is apparent. In 1990, 55,000 people walked through the ruin, a number that compares favorably with visitation at the equally isolated but many times larger Chaco Culture National Historical Park. In addition, the popular and historical interest elicited by all cliff dwellings helps to account for their early designation within the national forest system as national monuments: the decision was based at least initially on the recommendations of local forest supervisors, who were untrained in archeology and who would naturally share the popular bias. All four of the national monuments set aside to protect archeology in the Southwestern national forests were cliff dwellings or had a major cliff dwelling component. [47]

The TJ Ruin, on the other hand, is still uninterpreted and largely unvisited although so prominent an authority as Stephen Lekson suggests that it may be the more significant unit of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. [48] In this case, significance clearly means research potential. Only as this potential came into resolution did the rubbled site become important. Visited in 1884 by Bandelier, who did not bother to include its description in his formal report, the ruin was not even worth looting by the men who culled mummies and corncobs from the nearby cliff dwellings, and even as late as 1937 Erik Reed had dismissed it as not very important. Only twenty years later, after rampant pothunting had destroyed most large Mimbres phase sites, did the size and—by then—uniquely pristine condition of the TJ Ruin as well as the efforts of Campbell, Richert, and Vivian lead to a reassessment of the site, to its inclusion in the national monument, and possibly to the very preservation of the monument itself, considering the first MISSION 66 prospectus that proposed abandonment.

For reasons already explained, the TJ Ruin was not excavated and now appears too valuable to substantially excavate, at least for interpretive purposes. As an ironic result, although expanded to include a nearly unbroken sequence of the Mimbres culture, the monument is represented by an intrusive architecture that was occupied for perhaps 50 of the nearly 2,000

years of prehistory protected there. This irony contributes towards the previously noted tendency in archeological literature to mistakenly perceive the entire monument as a predominantly Tularosa phase archeological district. It can only be hoped this error will be allayed by the published report of the TJ Ruin mapping project and, in the near future, of Bradford's resurvey of archeological sites in Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

The second observation acknowledges the tremendous effect of isolation on the evolution of Gila Cliff Dwellings as a public archeological site. Although these cliff ruins were among the first of the prehistoric sites to be set aside in this country under the Antiquities Act, their interpretive value was a long time being officially recognized. In large part, this delay stemmed from isolation. By the time the Park Service assumed responsibility for Gila Cliff Dwellings in 1933, the site's isolation in the heart of the 750,000-acre Gila Wilderness had been mandated in presumed perpetuity, with only a nineteenth-century wagon road leading in from the rest of the world. In 1941, the regional director of the Park Service, who had ridden horseback to the ruins, observed that he "would not consider it worthwhile to visit them in view of their inaccessibility and the cost and time involved," [49] and soon afterwards the cliff dwellings were designated a reserve unit, an uninterpreted category of national monument for which visitation was discouraged.

Visitor access was not the only issue, of course. Not only were they difficult to reach, the ruins were small compared to those at Mesa Verde, Tsegi Canyon, and Frijoles Canyon—other cliff dwellings representative of what was for a long time thought to be a single Cliff Dweller Culture. An apparent consequence was the presumption not long after their protection that Gila Cliff Dwellings was of little significance. In 1911, at the national park conference held in Yellowstone, the site was deemed not very important, and 30 years later the regional director valued it not worthwhile—or more precisely not worth the effort to see. As late as 1955, John Davis, the general superintendent of Southwestern Monuments, suggested in the first MISSION 66 prospectus that the cliff dwellings were more significant for their remote beautiful setting than for their archeological attributes, and Charlie Steen observed a year later that he had always believed that "attractive and pleasing as they are, the cliff dwellings are of insufficient importance to warrant the development of an interpretive program." [50]

In the last instance, the confession was a prologue for Steen's new professional—as opposed to aesthetic—enthusiasm for prehistory on the Gila forks. This enthusiasm that had been elicited by Campbell's maps, Richert's grab samples, and Vivian's tantalizing vision of the entire Mimbres cultural sequence corralled in a single monument.

This epiphany had been a long time coming. The problem was that very little archeological work had occurred on the Gila forks. Only the Cosgroves had dug more than two trenches in the area for scientific purposes, and their interest focused on Archaic populations. Furthermore, their analyses had been limited by the taxonomy of that day, which was inappropriate to the locale. Although the Cosgroves reported trouble fitting artifacts excavated from sites near the cliff dwellings into the Pecos Chronological Sequence, they wrongly attributed this difficulty to a local lag in prehistoric development; [51] in other words, they perceived the upper Gila to have been a backwater even in Archaic times, and that is a perception that lingered. [52] Even after a separate Mogollon sequence was first proposed in 1934, debate continued over its various manifestations and even its very existence well into the 1940s. Haury, Martin, and Danson, the pre-eminent Mogollon authorities in the three decades after Gladwin's framework of classification, never surveyed along the isolated Gila forks; after Haury's work at the Harris site in the Mimbres Valley, the cultural area of what became the Mimbres branch was largely abandoned by archeologists as a known area.

In short, not only was the archeology of the Gila forks barely studied, the entire Mimbres cultural area was neglected, as well, and it was not until 1955 that a general synthesis of the Mogollon culture was produced. Coincidentally, 1955 was the year the first MISSION 66 prospectus triggered a reassessment of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Finally and with fortuitous timing, a conceptual framework was available to begin evaluating the monument's significance.

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Chapter VI: CULTURAL AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT (continued)

Stabilization III 1963 to 1975

In April 1962, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was expanded to incorporate more archeological sites, including the TJ Ruin, which became a detached unit of the monument. This expansion ultimately stemmed from brief explorations of Campbell, Richert, and Vivian seven years earlier. In 1962, construction also began on a paved road to the remote site that was expected to bring in a lot of visitors. As part of preparations for the anticipated increases in visitation, Vivian and Dee Dodgen excavated most of the site to salvage what archeological material remained. Although their work was primarily scientific, some stabilization work was performed. The excavation of Room 10 required that the trail entering the ruin be moved from that room to Room 9. Sani-soil, a dust palliative, was applied to the rest of the trail in Cave 3. A plate and turnbuckle was set in Room 27, anchoring the northeast corner to a large boulder across the room. [10]

By his own admission Vivian's stabilization was stop-gap, but the archeologist felt that more thorough work should await the planned development of a better trail system through the ruins. [11] In August 1967, however, William Gibson, acting superintendent of the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, reported that the northeast corner of Room 27 was again deteriorating. [12] After visiting in November to assess the condition of the ruins, Richert, by then chief of the Mobile Stabilization Unit, recommended a general program that included repairing undercut areas, capping walls, tightening masonry around openings, some replastering, and trail work. [13]

Richert's major concern was controlling the flow of visitors, which had increased from 711 in 1955—the last time he had visited the cliff dwellings—to 25,000. He even suggested that staffing shortages might necessitate partially closing the fragile ruins to adequately protect them from further deterioration.

Trails and the control of visitors subsequently became a major topic of discussion as Richert's recommendations for stabilization were reviewed, and opinions divided on the issue of partial closure. In the regional office, some suggested that the visitors' trail terminate in Cave 3, with a viewing platform in Room 19. The wooden stile could be removed and the east wall raised to prevent entry into Caves 4 and 5; after looking into the farther caves, visitors would then turn around and exit through Room 9, the same way they had come into the ruins. [14] Other staff members—including Richert, who had raised the issue initially, and William Lukens, the new superintendent at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument—felt the proposal to close the ruins beyond Room 19 was too severe a measure, one that might aggravate bottlenecks in the flow of traffic and that would surely and perhaps unnecessarily compromise the interpretation of the prehistoric site. [15] They favored a one-way trail

through the caves, beginning in Room 9 and exiting just west of Room 25 by means of steps cut into the rock or with a wooden ladder.



The archway in Cave 3 was stabilized with a metal rod and cement in 1963. Visitors enter the ruin through this arch. In 1968, the addition of a ladder descending from Cave 4 permitted a one-way path for people to walk through the ruins. Note the threatening cavity beneath the two-story structure.

Ultimately, staff at the regional office concurred with the trail recommendations of Richert and Lukens. The ruins were kept open, and the current trail through the architecture, with the wooden ladder descending from Cave 4, has remained essentially unchanged since Don Morris and a crew of San Carlos Apaches improved it in July 1968. Although soil cement had been proposed as a trail surface, a heavy application of Sani-soil to packed earth was found to sufficiently alleviate the problem of dust kicked up by visitors.

The ruin itself was extensively stabilized, [16] and Morris deemed the cliff site able to withstand heavy visitation for years to come, although he cautioned that the impact of visitors should be carefully observed, "particularly in Room 25, which could offer real difficulties should collapse ever threaten." [17] After stabilizing the ruin, the trail that had been built to pack construction supplies to the site was improved so that visitors leaving the ruins would not have to return the same way they came, reducing congestion on the canyon trail by half.

In November 1970, Lukens wrote to the regional director, requesting permission to stabilize the cave area below Room 25, where runoff from the mesa above had undermined four boulders. [18] These threatened to roll off the cliff onto the trail below. Since Lukens's proposal entailed some excavation, he suggested that it be performed by George Chambers, the archeologist at Wupatki National Monument, who was slated to visit Gila Cliff Dwellings soon. After fixing the boulders in place sufficiently to act as a retaining wall, Chambers reinforced with iron rod the lintel of the doorway in Room 27.



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Chapter VI: CULTURAL AND NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT (continued)

Stabilization IV 1975 to the present

Although administrative responsibility for the monument reverted to the Gila National Forest in 1975, the cooperative agreement specified that the Park Service would "furnish technical assistance and/or restoration crews in the event of major need for ruins stabilization...." [19] As a result of this clause, stabilization procedures and programming at the monument have not changed.

In late 1977 or early 1978, for reasons of safety, a short length of wooden railing was built south of Room 27, where the trail abruptly dropped 40 feet on one side. [20] At the same time, another wooden railing was constructed to block access through a collapsed section of the west wall into Room 17, where visitors had been marring the original plaster with graffiti and prying at the vigas. [21]

In 1987, four weeks of additional stabilization work at the cliff dwellings was supervised by John Morgart, an exhibit specialist with the Southwest Regional Office of the Park Service. [22] The scope of work was based on stabilization inspections in 1979, 1983, 1985, and 1986, as well as on a 1985 report by Bruce Wachter, a contract geologist who had examined the deterioration of bedrock in and around the caves. The stabilizations nearly 20 years earlier of Morris and his crew were still relatively intact, and the new work was largely devoted to reducing the hazard of rockfall along the trail through the ruins and to implementing preventative maintenance, including the repair of basal damage to walls caused by rodents and visitors. [23]

In 1989, additional work was done to reduce rockfall hazard along the trail that entailed the removal from near Cave 6 of a five-ton rock slab that threatened to fall. Currently, projects to stabilize the prehistoric architecture and the caves themselves are scheduled according to need. [24]

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Chapter VII: INTERPRETATION AND CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT (continued)

Interpretation 1963 to 1975

In March 1963, a few months before paving of the Copperas road reached the confluence of the East and Middle forks, James Sleznick was assigned to Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument as its first ranger and its first professional interpreter. As the road improved, visitation to the monument increased. In 1963, 10,000 visitors toured the site—more than 12 times the number of visitors in 1955. [15]

In May 1963, a trailer for the ranger office was moved to the edge of the monument, replacing the field desk and tent-fly. [16] Years later, Sleznick recalled that he would greet visitors at the trailer, direct them to the trail up Cliff Dweller Canyon, and then run up a back way to the ruins. There he again met the visitors and interpreted the site. [17] The following summer a seasonal ranger was hired to help the undoubtedly breathless Sleznick. In December 1965, a second full-time ranger—William Gibson—was hired. [18] Sleznick reported that interpretation at the cliff dwellings was limited primarily to spontaneous talks by himself or the seasonal ranger at the ruins. [19] In the dwellings, Vivian's excavation the year before had cleared a room with several fire-pits, and these were used for interpretation. At the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon, Sleznick planted a demonstration garden of corn, squash, and beans—vegetables believed typical for the Mogollon. The TJ site was closed to visitors except by appointment. A single-sheet mimeographed leaflet provided additional information for visitors. This leaflet was a simple resource that could be amended as additional information became available. Sleznick noted that expansion of the interpretive program would rely on reports about the recent 1963 excavation. [20] Little new archeological information was forthcoming, however, because Vivian, who had excavated the ruin, died before his report could be written. The excavation at the cliff dwellings was not formally reported until 1986.

In 1966, Ranger Gibson developed a self-guiding trail and an accompanying booklet for the increasing number of visitors who came to see the cliff ruins. [21] Keyed to numbered stakes along the trail, the typed booklet briefly described likely prehistoric uses of the local natural resources, and it drew attention to interesting architectural features of the ruins. Still relying on the overviews of Steen and Reed, this written interpretation suggested 250 years of occupation for the cliff site (A.D.1100-A.D.1350), with two distinct components—both Tularosa but the second heavily influenced by Anasazi. The booklet suggested that most of the rooms had once been roofed and that the smaller rooms at the east end of the site may have been the first ones built.

All of the previous architectural inferences have been discarded or radically revised in the years since. Obviously, without a report on Vivian's excavation, interpretation for Gila Cliff

Dwellings was difficult and still relied on insufficient information.

In 1968, interpretive policies were established for Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument that are essentially guiding principles today for the deployment of interpreters and the display of exhibits. To interpret the cliff dwellings, Superintendent Lukens proposed in early 1968 the presence of a uniformed employee every day, starting in April and lasting through October—the peak visitor season. [22] Lukens' primary concern was still protection of the ruins, which were often unattended because the staff was too busy dispensing [23] information from the contact trailer at the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon. For the winter season, Lukens planned to initiate guided walks for groups of 20. [24] A year later, Lukens had abandoned the idea of guided walks, noting that twice as many visitors could be accommodated along the narrow trail and the close confines of the ruins by roving interpreters—350 visitors a day as opposed to 160 during the off-season, and 650 a day as opposed to 320 during the summer. [25] Lukens' system of roving interpretation is essentially the policy practiced today.

In 1968 the visitor center began operations. New brochures and other information previously dispensed from the contact trailer became available in the lobby, and exhibits for the 600-square-foot display room were installed in time for the 1969 dedication of the center. These exhibits reflected the dual nature of the visitor center as an instrument of the Park Service and of the Forest Service. Some of the exhibits were displays of archeological artifacts and specimens relevant to Gila Cliff Dwellings and the prehistoric Mogollon culture in general. Artifacts and information pertinent to the historic era of the Chiricahua Apaches were included, as well. Other exhibits comprised maps and photographs of the surrounding Gila National Forest and its wilderness. In addition, there were representations of local flora and a narrated slide show. After a very brief introductory summary of local geology and the arrival of miners in the 19th century, the slide show focused on wildlife typical to the forest, with a quick series of photographs depicting animals and their specific habitats. Archeology was not discussed in the slide show. With only a few minor exceptions, the exhibits installed in 1968 are those that inform the visitor today.

During the planning of the exhibits, it was noted that interpreting Gila Cliff Dwellings remained difficult given the lack of specific archeological information about the Mogollon people of the immediate area. The initial plan called for a very general archeological exhibit that could be filled out with artifacts recovered from the proposed TJ excavation. [26] For the time being, some employees found the display cases "stark and empty." [27] The sparseness of the display denoted an old problem, of course. The lack of substantive archeological research on the forks of the Gila still constrained interpretation of the monument's prehistory. Nevertheless, in 1968, shortly before the visitor center opened, an archeological research management plan was formulated that did at least outline an official theme for interpretation. This research plan was written by Superintendent Lukens and Don Morris, [28] who had just finished stabilizing the cliff dwellings and surveying archeological sites around the visitor center.

This survey identified 106 archeological sites, 33 of which occurred within the boundaries of the monument. [29] Based on these archeological resources as well as the new more sociological orientation in the discipline, Lukens and Morris identified the monument's principal archeological theme as "[t]he development of the Mogollon culture over time as a result of the complex interplay among the cultural and ecological factors of their total environment." [30] The theme highlighted changes in settlement patterns, improvements in subsistence techniques, progressive refinements of material culture, and the increasing complexity of Mogollon society. In short, it looked back to the reasons proposed in 1955 for expanding the monument—namely, to encompass a nearly 2,000-year sequence of cultural development.

Obviously, this theme looked forward, as well. The scale of interpretation anticipated formal analysis of the excavation that had already occurred, additional digging at the TJ Ruin, and the opening of more sites to visitors. Unfortunately, almost none of those expensive projects was financed—at least not for years. Although no sites other than the cliff dwellings were prepared for interpretation on the monument, in 1968 a two-room ruin was developed not far away by Gila National Forest staff. The ruin in Adobe Canyon was stabilized and included on a self-guiding "Trail to the Past" that began at the pictographs near Scorpion Corral.

The value of interpreting these pictographs and small ruins between the TJ site and the cliff dwellings had been noted in the revised 1955 prospectus, [31] but the land between the TJ Ruin and Gila Cliff Dwellings was not transferred to the Park Service during the expansion of the monument. On their own initiative, staff of Gila National Forest developed the self-guiding trail, and later the ruin was roughly stabilized with concrete mortar. In 1969, as an informal cooperative gesture, the southwest regional curator for the Park Service assessed the "Trail to the Past" project for Wilderness District ranger. [32] Ever since this initial and informal cooperation, the "Trail to the Past," its small ruin, and the large panel of red pictographs have been included in the monument's interpretive program as complementary sites and as alternative destinations for people arriving too late to see Gila Cliff Dwellings. These archeological sites are now part of the regular Park Service stabilization program, having undergone repair by that agency as recently as May 1991.

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Chapter VII: INTERPRETATION AND CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT (continued)

Interpretation 1975 to the present

After 1975, when the Gila National Forest began managing the monument again, the interpretive program changed very little from the policies established in the 1960s. By cooperative agreement, the Park Service continues to maintain the displays located in the visitor center. Roving uniformed staff also continue to be the primary interpretive resource for visitors to Gila Cliff Dwellings. [33] Furthermore, the monument rangers have been hired since 1986 from the ranks of the Park Service, in order to bring to the monument that agency's formal interpretive training as well as experience. These employees are transferred to the Forest Service for the duration of their assignment to the monument, which must last at least two years and not extend past three years.

In 1978, to assess the current program of interpretation and to make recommendations for improvements in the future, an Interpretive Prospectus was drafted by Jane Harvey, a planner with the Park Service's Harpers Ferry Center. [34] Three years later and after some revisions the prospectus was approved. [35] Recommendations in the prospectus focused more on interpretive media than personal services, and most of these comments addressed the visitor center. The prospectus recommended a greater concentration on exhibits that displayed the material culture of the Mogollon, a recommendation that echoed observations about sparsity and vagueness made 10 years earlier. In addition, for the slide show, a broader vision of the wilderness was suggested to explain environmental processes as well as to summarize terrain. To date, no specific plans have been scheduled to fully implement the changes recommended in the Interpretive Prospectus.

One sizable change at the monument was the replacement in 1980 of the old contact trailer with a new trailer at the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon. [36] The contact station's function, however, remained the same: to dispense information about the monument and about the surrounding wilderness. The new trailer is regularly manned by a uniformed interpreter in the summer, and it also contains a few exhibits "of the 'home-made' variety," [37] including replicas as well as a few authentic prehistoric tools, a scale model of the cliff ruins, and displays relating to natural history. Audio tapes that interpret the cliff dwellings are available at the contact station, and so is a Spanish translation of the trail guide. The English version is available at the bridge just past the contact station.

Deleted from the 1978 draft of the Interpretive Prospectus were suggestions to develop interpretation of the TJ Ruin, a revision generated by the decision to hold the site in reserve for the future. A partial consequence of the decision not to excavate at the TJ site and elsewhere has been an informal but substantial scaling back of the monument's theme of interpretation as proposed in 1968. No longer aspiring to interpret nearly two millennium of

Mogollon development and the evolutionary interplay of environment and culture, the primary purpose of the monument was formulated in the 1986 Statement for Management as providing visitors "a glimpse of the homes and lives of the people who lived in the area in the 13th and 14th centuries." [38] Later, in the 1988 statement for interpretation, the monument's archeological theme was reduced to "[t]he world of the Prehistoric Cliff Dwellers," [39] a scope that excludes all but one or two of perhaps 40 generations represented on the monument.

One thing that has very much enhanced the interpretation of the cliff dwellings was the publication in 1986 of *The Archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings*, [40] which includes the first formal descriptions of items recovered by Vivian in 1963. Unfortunately—for reasons that include the brevity of the architecture's occupation, its anomalous character, its intrusive cultural affiliation, previous looting, and problems with the records of provenience—it seems that Gila Cliff Dwellings "is a site with few implications for regional prehistory." [41]

In addition to the Interpretive Prospectus, two additional documents important to the long-term management of cultural resources have been drafted since responsibility for the monument was transferred to the Gila National Forest: the 1981 and the 1987 resources management plans. [42] There were some antecedents to these plans—including the 1968 archeological research management plan, and a three-page plan developed in 1973 [43] —but these were brief. Reporting on the resource management program in 1975, the superintendent wrote that the program was so limited that "the value of a summary (Form 10-401) would be negligible." [44]

The 1981 and 1987 plans were more extensive. Each described 14 distinct projects for the improved management of cultural resources, and both plans sought to balance the needs of preservation and protection with the interests of research. [45] Constrained by limited budgets, not all of the proposed projects have been funded, of course, and as a result there is considerable overlap between the two plans. For practical reasons, the work that was funded has occasionally subsumed several of the proposals into one project. To date, the TJ Ruin has been mapped and a limited collection of surface samples from that site analyzed. [46] The entire monument has been resurveyed for archeological sites with an accompanying assessment currently in draft form, [47] and this administrative history is a product of the 1987 plan, as well. Notably, these projects contribute to a broader interpretive potential for the monument. They also provide specific information needed to plan and assess strategies to protect cultural resources.

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Chapter I: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT

(continued)

Bandelier

A scientific description of the cliff dwellings that Ailman visited was not made until the winter of 1883-84, when Adolph F. Bandelier spent a few days on the headwaters of the Gila. The son of a prosperous Illinois banker who had emigrated from Switzerland, Bandelier developed an early interest in Mexico and the American Southwest, and through family connections and a series of scholarly monographs he managed to attract the attention of Henry Lewis Morgan, author of the seminal book *Ancient Society*, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the foremost anthropologist of his time. [\[40\]](#)

In 1879, Morgan had been asked by the newly organized Archaeological Institute of America to develop a plan for research in the American field, and in 1880 his paper "Study of the Houses of American Aborigines" was included in the society's first annual report. The paper urged the scientific exploration of ruins in the American Southwest and in Central America. Morgan privately urged the executive committee of the society to appoint Bandelier to conduct special research in New Mexico. With an annual stipend of \$1,200, Bandelier arrived in Santa Fe in 1880, and for the next five years traveled through New Mexico, Arizona, and Mexico visiting pueblos and exploring hundreds of ruins. His *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885* was published by the Archaeological Institute in two parts, Part I in 1890 and Part II in 1892.

On January 2, 1884, after spending a few days in the Mimbres Valley talking with settlers and exploring ruins, Bandelier departed alone and on foot for the headwaters of the Gila River, where he had heard there were sandstone cliffhouses. At the Gila Hot Springs, he was received by Niels Nelson, a Danish immigrant who made a house available to the explorer, providing him with a bed and even board. The country that had been empty when Ailman visited five years earlier was quickly being settled. In fact Ailman himself now had a ranch near the head of the Sapillo trail into the Gila.

Bandelier's journal entry for January 5 reveals that a romantic sense of place accompanied the scientist's meticulous attention to topography and archeology.

The tops of the high mesas of the Divide are volcanic, making a horrible trail. The mouth of the Sapillo is about 20 miles west of here, and is a deep canon; so is the whole course of the Gila for nearly 40 miles west and high up to the source which is 40 miles northeast from here. There is no snow visible on any mountain, and the tall grass has its stalks still green. The Rio Gilita [East Fork] empties into the Gila a mile south of the Ojo Caliente. All these tributaries flow in deep stately canons, very narrow and grand, but there is vegetation everywhere. On

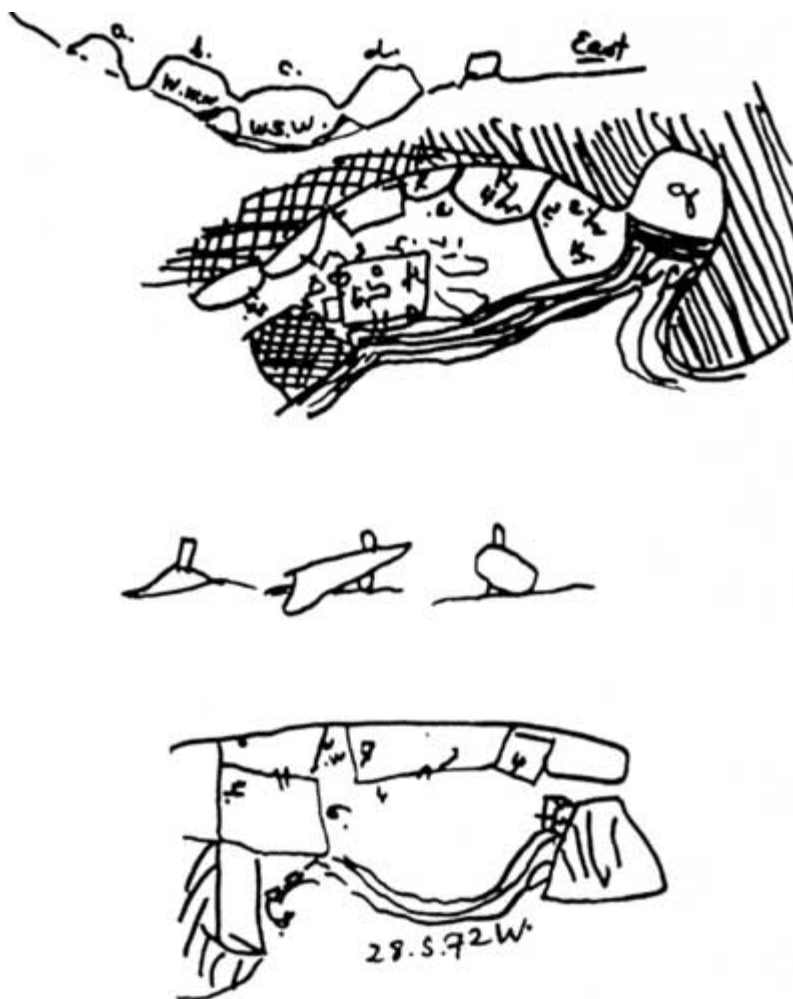
the whole it is a beautiful spot. The hot springs are right opposite, on the banks, oozing out of the declivity. Some of them steam very strongly....

Started for the caves about 8:30 A.M. The valley winds around, past the springs, to the west, and then forms a bottom scarcely a half mile wide, heavily timbered with pines and cottonwood, also oak, which extends, accidentally wandering, and leaving very fertile bottoms, all timbered along the river, for nearly four miles. These bottoms were originally timbered, and there are cleared spaces where Mr. Williams and Mr. Rogers [sic] have their ranches. The river, beyond the latter runs near to the West side and the mountains are picturesque vertical crags. [41]

The caves were in a thickly-wooded side canyon, sheltered beneath an overhanging bluff that protected the prehistoric dwellings from weather. "As a place of concealment," Bandelier observed, the site was also well-chosen, protecting the inhabitants from observation and direct assault, as well. The location's major drawback, he conceded, was the facility with which an enemy could deprive access to water that flowed 100 feet below.

Bandelier noted in his journals that some of the dwellings had been constructed without roofs, a fact that he attributed to the mild climate and the perfect shelter of the caves. Other rooms had roofs that had been destroyed with fire, reportedly by Apaches. Aside from a lot of corn cobs, he also noted, there were few prehistoric remains left on the site--very little pottery and none of the stone axes that others had apparently found in abundance.

After recording some architectural dimensions, Bandelier hobbled out of the ruins on a very sore foot, returning to his lodgings where he spent a painful and lonely night. It was his wedding anniversary. Over the next few days, Bandelier explored the hills around Nelson's house, noting and drawing small ruins, including a pueblo site that is the TJ site. [42]



Sketches of the Gila cliff dwellings that Bandelier made in his notebooks, in January 1884. These mnemonic artifacts are the first representations of this prehistoric architecture and were later reproduced with greater draftsmanship and more detail in his *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Part II*.

The detail of Bandelier's journal entries and the unrevised immediacy of their style--almost stream-of-consciousness--give an unchallengeable authority to his observations: in early 1884 there were very few artifacts in Gila Cliff Dwellings, a fact he attributes to rifling. Indeed, a few days later on his way back to the Mimbres, he visited a man who showed him "a fine collection of sandals, about seven pieces, which he dug out of the cliffhouses on the Gila, also a ring for carrying water, and a piece of pita wound around with rabbit skin, evidently for a mantle similar to that made and worn by the Moqui [Hopi]!" [43] It is also clear from the journals that many people knew about the Gila cliff dwellings by 1884. Bandelier heard about the site from several informants in the Mimbres Valley and along the Sapillo and also from the settlers around the Gila Hot Springs, at least three of whom he mentioned by name. The first survey of the township, completed in the fall of the same year, also locates the ruins.

As Bandelier rode on a burro back to the Mimbres Valley, the bands of Nachez, Chato, Mangas, and Geronimo were slowly straggling into San Carlos from the Sierra Madre in Mexico as they had agreed after their surrender to Brig. Gen. George Crook in May 1883. Bandelier--who "traveled armed only with a stick a meter long and graduated for measuring ruins" and who had once escaped an encounter with raiding Apaches by feigning insanity--saw no Indians.

McKenna

Another early visitor to Gila Cliff Dwellings was James A. McKenna, a miner from a silver camp in the Black Range, who suffered in 1883 "from a touch of lead poisoning and decided to go with a party of miners and muckers for a few baths in the Gila Hot Springs." [44] After three weeks of bathing, hunting, and fishing on the headwaters of the Gila, he returned to Kingston, settled his affairs and filed a homestead claim on 160 acres of government land close to the hot springs. In the summer of 1884, by his own reckoning, McKenna visited the cliff dwellings with his friend Jason Baxter.

They explored the ruins in four caves, noting especially the solidity of construction. Still intact were the roofs, which were formed of pine beams covered with twigs and grasses and a layer of adobe plaster, and even the floors were in good condition, with adobe mortar sealing any cracks. Within the ruins, McKenna found many "stone hammers and war axes," turquoise beads, and ollas painted with images of bear, elk and deer, as well as other designs.

In addition, he found a "perfect mummy" with cottonwood fiber woven around it.

The sex signs had either decayed or been removed, but all who saw the mummy believed it to be the remains of a female. The length of the figure was about eighteen inches. It lay with knees drawn up and the palms of the hands covering the face. The features were like those of a Chinese child, with high cheek bones and coarse, dark hair. The age of the child at the time of death was thought to be two years. The body was kept for weeks in the show window of a store in Silver City. [45]

This relic soon afterwards disappeared when it was lent to a man representing himself as an agent of the Smithsonian Institution. McKenna later opined in his autobiography that the body had been sold to a private collector.

One interesting issue in McKenna's account is the comments he made about the roofs: he found them intact while Bandelier found them burned. Since Bandelier's observations are too precise to be mistaken, it is possible that McKenna visited the cliff dwellings before the fire that brought down the roof and therefore earlier than Bandelier--in 1883 and not a year later as suggested by the memoirs, which, after all, were written nearly 50 years after the visit.

Curiously, Bandelier himself implied in his final 1890 report that the roofs were intact, contradicting the more immediate evidence of his journals. [46] Twice in his entry for January 5, Bandelier had written that Apaches had burned the roofs, a repetition that possibly reflects the insistence of his informants and the immediacy in January 1884 of the event. That Apaches would burn the roofs of a cliff dwelling, however, is also curious--unlikely even given the fact that apart from several brief raids around Tombstone and Lordsburg Apache renegades spent most of 1883 on the lam and in another country. [47]

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Chapter I: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT

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Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument

In 1906, President Roosevelt set aside by authority of the Antiquities Act four national monuments: Devil's Tower in Wyoming, Petrified Forest and Montezuma Castle in Arizona, and El Morro in New Mexico. The Southwestern sites had already been withdrawn from settlement by the General Land Office until a way to make their preservation permanent could be found. [78] Meanwhile the Forest Service [79] circulated Forest Order 19 that directed forest supervisors to report on historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of scientific interest located on the forest reserves. [80] In December, Gila Forest Supervisor R. C. McClure reported to the chief forester in Washington, D.C., that although the forest abounded with ruins and "hieroglyphics", the only structure known to him warranting preservation by the national government was the cliff dwellings four miles above the Gila Hot Springs. [81] He observed that the site was exceedingly well-preserved although many artifacts had been carried off since its discovery in the 1870s by hunters and prospectors. With an eye toward commercial threats, he further observed that the area was free of minerals (and hence not in conflict with potential resource use). Finally, he recommended that a half-mile stretch of fence--with a good gate--close off the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon and that it be the special duty of the forest ranger to see that the ruins were not despoiled. McClure enclosed a map.

In April 1907, the acting chief forester wrote McClure for clarification about the exact location of the cliff dwellings, requesting "an accurate description of the precise tract which should be withdrawn as a National Monument." [82] The Forest Service had concurred with McClure's recommendations for the cliff dwellings. Whether or not this decision was based solely on the comments of the Gila Forest Supervisor is unknown, but the name Gila Cliff Dwellings cropped up sufficiently in the contemporary scientific literature that anyone seeking further justification for establishing a national monument would find support. [83] On November 16, President Roosevelt by executive proclamation set aside a quarter section of land containing the "Gila Hot Springs Cliff-Houses" as Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument.

The 1907 proclamation creating Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument specifically prohibited settlement on the reservation and damage or appropriation of any of its features. Roosevelt's proclamation also stated that the reservation of the monument was "not intended to prevent the use of the lands for forest purposes under the proclamation establishing the Gila National Forest, but so far as the two reservations are consistent they are equally effective." [84] In short, the Forest Service would continue to manage the 160 acres set aside as a monument.

Forest Service Management Of The Gila National Monument

Unfortunately, the designation of a national monument did not automatically make it a priority. In 1916, Hugh Calkins, the Gila forest supervisor, wrote to his district forester that the national monument received "very little attention from the forest service other than keeping it posted with cloth signs." [85] One of the major problems in managing the site was its remoteness. The cliff dwellings were included among the remote sections of the McKinney Park Ranger District, [86] which was operated during the summer from the old Jenks cabin, 17 roadless miles farther up the meanders of the West Fork. In addition, the cabin itself was 25 miles of trail from Gila, the nearest settlement, where the ranger lived in the winter, operating from his house. Other problems were time, money, and staff. The established priorities of the Forest Service were to control fires, manage timber, and regulate grazing.

Nevertheless, in the early years Henry Woodrow, the McKinney district ranger, was able to persuade cowboys from the Heart Bar Ranch, formerly the TJ Ranch, on whose grazing allotment the cliff dwellings lay, to help fence off the archeological site from the cattle that liked to shelter in the caves from harsh storms. [87]

In all fairness, neglect engendered by isolation and short budgets was not just a problem of the Forest Service. To supervise the Montezuma Castle, Petrified Forest, Tumacacori, and Navajo national monuments, for example, the General Land Office appointed one man, whose offices were in Los Angeles in 1913. [88]

A year after the establishment of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, Albert F. Potter in the capacity of acting forester, wrote to all forest officers, asking them to cooperate with the Bureau of American Ethnology's survey of historic and prehistoric sites and places of scientific interest that were located on national forests. [89] He further instructed that such sites were not to be listed under the Homestead Act of June 11, 1906, legislation that reopened to settlement lands formerly closed by the establishment of the forest reserves. Acting Gila Forest Supervisor Frank Andrews wrote back that the only object of historic or scientific interest on the Gila National Forest was the Gila Hot Springs Cliff Houses, which was already protected by proclamation. [90]

Andrews did not agree with McClure that the forest abounded with ruins. Distinguishing significant prehistoric sites was difficult without training, however, and aside from the much earlier and brief work of Bandelier and Henshaw no survey of archeological sites had occurred within the boundaries of the Gila National Forest. Unfortunately, the response given by Andrews foreshadowed official views for almost the next 50 years.

Two years later, Gila Cliff Dwellings made a cameo appearance into the public view. In a September 1910 article, *Harper's Weekly* noted the growing recreational use of the national forests by people attracted to such wonders as the Grand Canyon National Monument, Glacier National Park, and Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. [91] Accessible only by foot or on horseback, however, the cliff dwellings did not attract many people who could compare the scale of the attractions.

An interesting discovery at the cliff dwellings in 1912 brought the ruins more national attention. Forest Service employees found a burial, already half-disinterred, which they brought to the supervisor's office in order to prevent further vandalism. Forest Supervisor Don Johnston, in a letter to the district office, described the body "as approximately 24 inches in length and apparently fully developed." [92] Johnston also asked that a member of the discovery party, who was conversant with the facts, be permitted to write press notices. Not long afterwards, an article appeared in *Sunset* magazine, rhapsodizing about a race of dwarfs that had inhabited Gila Cliff Dwellings 8,000 years ago, during the last Ice Age. [93] Beyond describing the little body--grey-haired and with a full set of adult teeth--the author advanced

her theory by pointing out those little doorways in the cliff dwellings "that would not admit anything but a dwarf race."

"Zeke," a name the *Sunset* writer applied to the burial, had been sent to the Smithsonian, and a scientific assessment was eventually published in 1914 in the Smithsonian's Bulletin 87: a child a few months old. [94] The episode would be merely curious except for the fact that on the 1915 Gila National Forest map, under a picture of Gila Cliff Dwellings, there is a paragraph describing for the benefit of travelers those ruins as the former dwelling place of a prehistoric race of dwarfs. [95]

In 1916, new official interest in Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was finally engendered by the long birth of a new federal bureau, the National Park Service. As far back as 1900, efforts had been made to establish an agency that could manage in a coordinated fashion the growing number of national parks and later of national monuments. Gifford Pinchot, whose vision and influence had essentially "created" the Forest Service, had strongly opposed the establishment of a park bureau in the Department of the Interior, believing that his own bureau in the Department of Agriculture could best manage the national parks. [96] He may also have realized that many future national parks would be carved out of the national forests. Indeed, immediately before the establishment of the Park Service in 1916, Lassen Peak National Monument and nearby Cinder Cone National Monument in California, both originally administered by the Forest Service, were incorporated as the Lassen Volcanic National Park and transferred to Interior. Even after his ouster as chief forester in 1910, Pinchot's views were still influential and were shared by subsequent chief foresters. [97]

As a parks and monuments bureau became increasing inevitable, however, advocates of the Forest Service retrenched, arguing that at least the national monuments then administered by the Department of Agriculture not be transferred and that all new parks created from the national forests not be transferred either. By 1916, only the transfer of the national monuments was being contested, when the assistant forester circulated a letter to the districts, asking essentially what objections might be developed regarding the transfer of the monuments. [98] In June, Hugh G. Calkins, the Gila forest supervisor, reported-as mentioned before--that Gila Cliff Dwellings got very little attention from the Forest Service and added that unless the service received a special appropriation the monument would be better administrated by the Department of the Interior. [99]



Early visitor to Gila Cliff Dwellings.
Alex Thomas photo., 1912 or 1913.

Also in June, the Washington office staff of the Forest Service, commonly known as the Service Committee, heard a report from Albert F. Potter that urged better management of the national monuments in the forests. [100] Potter, the same man who had instructed forest supervisors to survey their prehistoric assets in 1908, had just returned through the districts and reported that "[we] were not giving some of the smaller national monuments, such as the Cliff Dwellers of the Gila Forest, the proper care and supervision to which they were entitled." [101] Potter recommended that a plan of improvement be worked out for each national monument. His comments and the ensuing discussion are the extent--on record at least--of attention at the Washington level given to the management of the monuments on national forests between the years 1916 and 1933.

When the enabling legislation for the Park Service was signed in August, the monuments in the national forests stayed with the Department of Agriculture. That fall forest supervisors finally developed management plans for the monuments in their respective forests. For the Gila, Supervisor Calkins reported that designated camping sites and shelters were unnecessary at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument since there were few visitors and since those who did visit camped elsewhere for lack of livestock forage. [102] His plan of improvement provided for new cloth posters for posting the boundary, a foot path from the West Fork, a sign warning against defacing the ruins, and most importantly the obliteration of the names visitors had scratched, carved, and otherwise written on the walls of the caves and ruins. In January, Henry Woodrow, the ranger on the McKinney Park District, reported that he had spent a day at the cliff dwellings posting the boundaries and the trail and working on a foot path and that another two days would be needed to finish the trail. [103] He added that the graffiti could be best removed by rubbing them with mud, a task that might take another half of a day.

And so it went. Between 1907 and 1933, when the Park Service assumed responsibility for Gila Cliff Dwellings, the monument lay at the far end of the McKinney Park District and--unbudgeted and unstaffed--at the end of the forest management agenda. Attention was almost always incidental to the other duties of the ranger and his forest guards, but when applied it was competent: the remote and well-sheltered cliff dwellings did not significantly deteriorate.

No visitor records were kept, and estimates about the number of visitors varied: Supervisor Johnston, when reporting the discovery of "Zeke" in July of 1912, wrote that many people visited the ruins in that season; four years later, in his management plan, Supervisor Calkins wrote that the ruins were not visited by a large number of people. Undoubtedly, most visitors came from the nearby hostelry at the Gila Hot Springs or from Lyons Lodge and viewed the ruins as part of a day's excursion.

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Chapter II: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT 1933-1955 EXECUTIVE ORDER 6166 (continued)

Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument

In 1934, isolated in the heart of the largest legislated wilderness in the Southwest, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was the most remote of the monuments under Pinkley's jurisdiction. Although in earlier years he had argued the merits of transferring control of all prehistoric sites to the Southwestern Monuments group, Pinkley's ambition was constrained by the site's inaccessibility, low budgets, a small staff, and possibly the initial confusion over the monument's status.

Not until the following year did Pinkley even send an agent to assess the monument he had inherited from the Forest Service. In March 1935, G. H. Gordon, an assistant engineer for Southwestern National Monuments, became the first employee of the Park Service to see Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Gordon arrived on horseback after riding 20 miles through the wilderness. Subsequently, he said in his report that the ruins were indeed worthy of recognition, [13] a comment suggesting a debate that has largely faded from the record. [14]

Included in Gordon's report were a ground plan of the ruins and five recommendations for the development of the monument: (1) constructing an approach trail; (2) formally mapping the ruins and including them on the stabilization program; (3) building a fence across the canyon, above and below the ruins; (4) surveying the area of the monument; and (5) appointing a local "dollar-a-month" custodian.

No immediate administrative action sprang from these recommendations.

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Chapter II: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT 1933-1955 EXECUTIVE ORDER 6166 (continued)

Gila Forks: Roads And The Primitive Area

Since 1941, based on Regional Director Tillotson's recommendations, Southwestern National Monuments had more or less officially relied on the cliff dwelling's isolation in the heart of the Gila Wilderness to protect it from vandalism. In the years between Tillotson's visit and Lambert's, however, the degree of isolation had begun to decline. In 1944, the lock was removed from the gate on Copperas Mountain, making the road accessible to anyone who had a sufficient vehicle, and during his visit in 1948, Steen observed that the wilderness fence itself had been moved by the Forest Service nearly to the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon. The following year, "Doc" Campbell subdivided his Gila Hot Springs Ranch, and property owners along the river petitioned the Forest Service for permission to bulldoze—at their own expense—an alternate route to their inholdings, citing their protected rights of ingress and egress. The improved route descended along the "old military road" to the confluence of the East and Middle forks of the Gila River, a shortcut that eliminated some of the steep grades of the road into Lyons Lodge, as well as several river crossings.

The consequences of the improved access were predictable: whereas only six of the 196 people who signed the monument register in 1942 had provided their own transportation. In 1950, 186 of the 291 signatories reached the prehistoric site on their own; and in 1951, the proportion was 236 of the 302 visitors. [46] Although the total number of visitors was still small, the proportion of visitors unaccompanied by guides from the nearby guest ranches like Campbell's was rising dramatically, a temptingly unmonitored situation that led to idle digging in the ruins by hunters, fishermen and others, as well as the kind of graffiti that commemorated their visits.

Meanwhile, the Forest Service had begun reassessing the boundaries of the Gila Wilderness as the agency prepared to reclassify the area's protective provisions from Regulation L-20 to the more restrictive Regulation U-1. [47] Regulation L-20 was vague about the construction of roads, and by a textual omission it permitted motor vehicles into the protected areas. Regulation U-1 did not. Approved in 1939, the application of this regulation had been delayed by World War II.

In 1945, the supervisor of the Gila National Forest had been petitioned—also by residents on the forks of the Gila—to delete from special status the east side of the Gila Primitive Area, which included the road leading to the cliff dwellings. [48] In 1952, the Forest Service presented a proposal for new wilderness boundaries, which reduced the 563,000-acre L-20 Primitive Area to 375,000 acres of U-1 Wilderness. Most of the deleted area was north and east of the Middle Fork, where a lot of roads had been unofficially rutted into the easy terrain. Again, the Copperas road was included in the proposed deletion. More provocative

was the proposed elimination of the well-timbered Iron Creek Mesa from the northwest side of the wilderness. Inevitably, the proposed revisions drew the prompt attention of such national organizations as the Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, and the National Park Association, all of which opposed modifications to the wilderness boundaries and especially challenged the Iron Creek withdrawal.

As nominal custodian, "Doc" Campbell kept Southwestern National Monuments informed about the debate regarding roads and the reclassification of the Gila Primitive Area—and a little more. In 1949, for example, after reporting the increased likelihood of visits to the monument as a result of his subdivision, the new road to it, and an airstrip he had constructed, Campbell also prodded for development of the reserve. Three years later, he asked for "a definite commitment from your office on the Wilderness Area revision...", noting that he was in favor of the proposed reductions. [49] John Davis, the general superintendent of Southwestern Monuments, acknowledged Campbell's personal stake in the wilderness debate but emphasized the agency's neutrality in the debate about boundaries—as long as the monument itself was retained within the wilderness, an indirect reiteration of Tillotson's policy of isolation.

Ultimately, the debate over the wilderness revision was resolved in a compromise mediated by Clinton Anderson, New Mexico's junior senator and by a local *ad hoc* group that the Gila forest supervisor had appointed—the James Committee. [50] In early 1953, the boundaries of the area protected by Regulation U-1 were announced by the Forest Service: Iron Creek Mesa was retained in wilderness and most of the area east of the Middle Fork was retained under Regulation L-20 as a primitive area until "such time as further study and discussion with local people could resolve the differences of opinion." [51]

As an immediate result, the monument was no longer in the heart of the wilderness; instead, it was now on the administrative edge, buffered on the south only by the ambiguities surrounding motor vehicles in a primitive area. There was also a newly bladed road that nearly reached the ruins. In addition, the James Committee had specifically recommended that the Copperas corridor be formally extended to Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Although the recommendation was not included in the wilderness plan, a conceptual linkage between the prehistoric site and the construction of a good road was established—one that would provide considerable leverage in the near future.

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Chapter III: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT 1955 TO 1991 (continued)

Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument 1955-1963

Meanwhile, as negotiations flowed between state and federal agencies, senators, and citizens interested in the monument's expansion and the construction of an approach road, the prehistoric site remained an official backwater. After visiting the site for the first time in 1958, Harthorn Bill reported that "it is probably the most difficult National Monument in the continental United States for people to reach." [40] Observing that its reserve status had stemmed from this inaccessibility, he recommended that management of the monument for the time being concentrate only on protecting the cliff dwellings.

Three years earlier, for that very purpose, "Doc" Campbell had been hired as a seasonal ranger, and for the next eight summers someone in uniform greeted visitors and monitored the ruins daily. As recommended in the second MISSION 66 prospectus, Campbell was provided with some "office facilities," which in this case comprised a typewriter and a filing cabinet. On his own initiative and with his own money, Campbell additionally established a modest visitor contact station at the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon, using a tentfly, a telephone, and an army field desk. In 1990, Campbell recalled his improvisations:

Well, after the Forest Service phone line—the magneto line—went through the monument, I took a field phone and hung it on a tree—a spike in the tree—so we had communications up there. And then we put up a fly. We made tables and bought a field desk...And then we got an appropriation—I think I got another \$150—and we built some benches and put them along the trail. Built nine benches and a picnic table from the mouth of the cliff dwellings canyon up to the cliff dwellings, clear up to the monument where people could stop and rest and enjoy the scenery.

Also, the Forest Service had put down by Scorpion Corrals an outhouse. We took a Ford tractor and hauled that outhouse up to where people were stopping, and put it in. We put it on Forest Service land just below there. Anyhow, I didn't ask anybody. I just did it and then cleared out to where they couldn't go to the bushes...So that helped out with sanitation around there. And that's the way things were done. [41]



The first contact station at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was assembled by Custodian "Doc" Campbell, using a tent-fly, an army field desk, a typewriter, and a telephone that he hung from a no. 9 magneto line that belonged to the Forest Service. The lower photograph shows Campbell at his office.

From his tent-fly station, Campbell dispensed information to visitors who then drove or waded across the river to visit the prehistoric site. In the years between 1955 and 1962, the number of these visitors increased moderately from around 500 a year to approximately 1,500. [42] In addition to greeting people, Campbell continued to maintain the canyon trail and to report damage to the ruins. In late 1962, he even stabilized a small portion of the site at the request of the regional archeologist. [43]

In the summer of 1962, as construction of the improved road advanced towards the Gila forks, Campbell declined the seasonal position to prepare his business for the expected surge of tourists. He still remained the nominal custodian, however. In his stead, a school teacher

was hired for the summer, who worked under the tarp at the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon and camped nearby in a wall tent. The discovery by this man's wife of two rattlesnakes inside the tent on the same day is still cited locally as a benchmark of dirt-floored rusticity.

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Chapter III: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT 1955 TO 1991 (continued)

Transfer To The Forest Service

Meanwhile, far from the headwaters of the Gila River, an important controversy was unfolding around the acquisition by the Park Service of two large tracts of land—the Gateway National Recreation Area outside of New York and the Golden Gate National Recreation Area near San Francisco. Critics were concerned that the expensive operation of these urban recreational facilities had essentially been allotted to the Park Service by default, that these "gateways" benefited only the local population, and that they should consequently be managed by other agencies, preferably state or regional ones. Although the "Gateways" remained in the national park system, the director formally responded to the concerns by revising in 1975 the criteria for future parks. In short, the Park Service no longer—or at least not ordinarily—proposed to acquire areas that another agency could adequately protect without severe limitations to public access.

Even before the criteria were revised, George B. Hartzog, Jr., who had presided over the Park Service during the "Gateway" expansions, suggested to his regional directors that they watch for opportunities to reduce their administrative burdens by identifying assets that might logically be operated by other agencies. [72] Joseph Rumburg, the Southwestern Regional Director, recognized in Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument just the kind of place Hartzog seemed to have in mind. [73] Already, the monument's headquarter facilities were shared with the Forest Service. The daily cooperation of staff was well-known, and the two agencies had demonstrated the compatibility of their management policies during the coordinated development of the monument, the Scorpion campgrounds, and the joint administrative site.

In August 1974, the retirement of Elroy Bohlins, who had a few years earlier replaced Lukens as superintendent, presented an opportunity to experiment with Hartzog's suggestion. Within a month, Rumburg wrote to the regional forester, proposing that the Forest Service assume primary responsibility for operations at the monument. He cited as justification the elimination of needlessly duplicated efforts, financial economy, and the proportionally deeper commitment to the area that managing the Southwest's largest wilderness required of the Forest Service. [74] A joint feasibility study in October revealed that \$35,000 in annual operating costs could be saved were the monument to be managed by a single agency. [75]

In January 1975, Robert Williamson, supervisor of the Gila National Forest, endorsed the study. [76] Concurring with Rumburg's justifications, he also noted that the assumption of administrative responsibility at the monument was an opportunity to increase much needed district staffing, an increase that would "benefit the complete rangerment of the Wilderness District, especially as it relates to Wilderness recreation and range resources." [77]

Ultimately, a new cooperative agreement was drawn up between the Forest Service and the Park Service, and Rumberg's signature on April 14, 1975, consummated the transfer of administrative responsibility for Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. [78] The new agreement terminated the 1964 document, although it called for the Forest Service to operate the monument according to Park Service standards, a responsibility that entailed providing all staff, enforcing appropriate laws and regulations, and preparing regular reports. In turn, the Park Service agreed to make available all property that it carried on the monument's books, to provide technical assistance for interpretive displays and archeological stabilizations, to train personnel, and to reimburse the Forest Service for all costs that it incurred under the cooperative agreement. Furthermore, the Park Service was to perform all archeological salvage and to maintain a schedule for development projects, as well, which would be funded through its own normal budgeting processes. In other words, the Forest Service was to be responsible for the daily operation of the monument, and the Park Service would provide money, expertise, and strategic planning services.

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Chapter IV: HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY UNTIL 1962 (continued)

Bandelier, Hewett, And Hough

Bandelier's long survey was exhaustive and included all of the American Southwest and substantial portions of northwestern Mexico. The cliff dwellings on the upper Gila, not far from the Gila Hot Springs, were described in the document that he eventually prepared for the Archaeological Institute of America and that was published in 1892 as his *Final Report of Investigations among Indians of the Southwestern United States, Part II*. By 1907, when Gila Cliff Dwellings were made a national monument, he had written the only formal description of the site, based on a four-day visit in January 1884.

His official report of the dwellings included measurements of wall thickness and the diameter of ceiling beams, a sketched plan, a room count, and an assessment of the architecture's condition which he deemed "quite well preserved." The site was evaluated for its defensive capabilities, a common explanation for cliff architecture, and its vulnerability to siege was noted. In addition, Bandelier made some very general comparative observations: a hearth was similar to those at Pecos; the construction of the roofs was "of the pueblo pattern." These and other similarities concerning the sandals, baskets, prayer-plumes and prayer-sticks that he found—combined, of course with the unilineal evolutionary ideas of his mentor Morgan and with his own observations made at the Santo Domingo and Cochiti pueblos—contributed to Bandelier's conclusion "that their makers were in no manner different from the Pueblo Indians in general culture."

In fact, he thought that the architecture, which in his estimation only accidentally approached two stories, might even provide a useful model for the development of terraced houses among the northern Pueblos.

Years later this 1892 description prompted Edgar L. Hewett, who was temporarily employed by the Smithsonian as an assistant ethnologist, to include a picture of the cliff dwellings in a 1904 Smithsonian report entitled "A General View of the Archaeology of the Pueblo Region," and to indicate in the text that the site was "of sufficient importance to demand permanent preservation." [21]

Following Hewett's initial report, the Smithsonian published a series of bulletins to consolidate archeological data from the Southwest and to further facilitate the protection of sites. Bulletin No. 35, *Antiquities of the Upper Gila and Salt River Valleys in Arizona and New Mexico*, which was written by Walter Hough and published in 1907, reprinted Bandelier's report on the Gila Cliff Dwellings as well as that of Henshaw. Most of the sites recorded, however, were (1) those that had been noted by Hough's colleague Jesse Walter Fewkes around the Casa Grande ruins in Arizona and along the nearby rivers, including the Gila as far as Safford, and (2) those observed during Hough's own Gates-Museum 1905 expedition, which had been designed to extend the earlier work of Fewkes by surveying tributary waters of the Gila in eastern Arizona and western New Mexico—specifically the

Blue River and headwaters of the San Francisco. [22] That Hough didn't ascend the main stem of the Gila instead is a historical happenstance, shaped perhaps by difficult geography, roads, finances, and the limited knowledge of his guide.

As a partial result, when the Forest Service participated in 1908 with a survey sponsored by the Bureau of American Ethnology to locate and protect historic and prehistoric sites and places of scientific interest on public lands, Gila Forest Supervisor Frank Andrew could report inaccurately but without challenge that the only such site was Gila Cliff Dwellings, which was already protected by proclamation. [23] In 1911, at the national park conference held at Yellowstone National Park, it was then further misreported that Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument "consists of a group of hot springs and cliff houses in the Mogollon Mountains, neither very large nor very important, but are located in a district in which few prehistoric ruins are found." [24] Just the phrase about hot springs, which do not exist on the national monument, suggests how little the site was known.

Some other inaccuracies of that assessment could have been demonstrated with journal entries that Bandelier made during his brief visit to the upper Gila, informal documents that only emerged into public view gradually, starting in the 1960s. The official report regarding archeological sites on the upper Gila differed from the journal entries by degrees of concision and formality, with a consequent loss of detail. For example, Bandelier excluded from his official document local reports of artifact collecting and his own observations about the rifled condition of the cliff dwellings. More importantly, Bandelier left out descriptions of other sites visited near the cliff dwellings, including what is the TJ Ruin, for which he described the following location:

The ruins are directly opposite Mr. Jordan Rogers' [sic] new ranch, on a perfectly bare hill, about sixty-five meters high over the river. The main Gila there hugs the hills close. The ascent is rather steep, and there is a good deal of loose lava rock, but a good trail, though steep, leads up to it.* This trail is not old, it leads to the Gilita [East Fork] and to a cattle ranch situated on that stream. On the very brow of that hill, facing south, south-southwest and southwest to west even, the ruins are situated, completely overlooking the whole valley, an admirable position for defence and observation, as it is a depressed plain, perfectly bare, so that for nearly a mile, on the elevation itself, not a mouse could move without being seen from the pueblo. The latter is small.... [25]

There Bandelier measured a broken mano, sketched a few sherds, and noted that the walls of volcanic rock laid in earth had all fallen, obscuring the plan of the ruin. He saw enough of the architecture, however, to comment on its similarity in style and design—on a smaller scale—with ruins in the Mimbres Valley. Apparently, the scale was sufficiently smaller so that Bandelier did not include this site in his final report. [26]

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Chapter IV: HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY UNTIL 1962 (continued)

Steen

With the abandonment around 1940 of a proposal to elevate the Gila Primitive Area to national park status, the official assessment of Gila Cliff Dwellings declined, as well. In 1941, the superintendent of Southwestern Monuments concurred with the regional director that those ruins, despite their charm, be regarded as only a reserve monument and that visitation be discouraged. The cliff dwellings had, however, been placed on the general stabilization plan as Gordon had suggested in 1935, and a "non-recurring allotment" of \$390 was scheduled for fiscal year 1942, an amount that compares favorably with the \$200 recommended for Aztec National Monument, for example, or the \$240 for Chaco Canyon National Monument in 1938.

In July 1942, stabilization finally began at Gila Cliff Dwellings when Charlie Steen drove to the Gila Hot Springs Ranch in a "Chevy truck with a panel body and a granny gear." A junior- grade archeologist, Steen had started working for "Boss" Pinkley eight years earlier as a custodian at Tonto National Monument in Arizona and later at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. He spent nearly five days at the cliff ruins, with a hired laborer, taking measurements for a ground plan and core samples from the beams, shooting photographs, reinforcing with dry masonry the foundations of several walls in Caves 2 and 3, cleaning the site, and building a trail from the small stream in the canyon to the cavesheltered archeological site. Steen also dug two trenches to recover sherds—one along the south wall of Room 10 and another on a north-south axis in the middle of Room 17. With the single exception of a Mesa Verde black-and-white sherd, according to Steen's report, all the other pieces of pottery were Tularosa wares.

Several years later, at the request of "Doc" Campbell, the monument's custodian, Steen and Erik Reed both provided the custodian with brief overviews of upper Gila prehistory. Relying heavily on Haury's 1936 description of the Harris site, Steen repeated the supposition that the Mimbres culture after A.D. 900 was an amalgam of the Anasazi, Hohokam, and Mogollon. [36] The cliff dwellings, Steen proposed, had been built by these Mimbrenos around A.D. 1000, deserted and then possibly but only briefly reoccupied by Anasazi around A.D. 1300. The latter supposition was based on ceramics—presumably the Mesa Verde Black-and-white sherd [37] — and some signs of rebuilding. [38] Undoubtedly, he was aware of King's dendrochronological sample, which postdated the general Mimbres abandonment mentioned in his overview. [39] In addition, the Mimbres component at Gila Cliff Dwellings was partly inferred from sherds although by Steen's own admission they were all Tularosa ware [40] — ceramic types then well-known as products from the upper San Francisco valleys and not of the Mimbres Valley. Part of the problem, of course, was that in 1949 the boundaries of the Mimbres branch were still drawn around the headwaters of the San Francisco drainage. Although material cultures in the two areas were known to differ, the distinction was obscured by limitations of taxonomy. Mimbres construction was invoked, with A.D. 1000 as the generally accepted date for the shift from pithouse to surface architecture, and the true

nature of archeological components at Gila Cliff Dwellings would be obscured for another 15 years.

Reed's overview was more cautious. [41] Drawing from the 1937 report of his visit to the upper Gila, he noted the meager amount of archeological reconnaissance and the virtual absence of excavation in the area, and mentioned without comment prevalent pottery types—Mimbres Black-on-white, Tularosa, other Black-on-white types, and Gila Polychrome. Deeper into the overview, Reed distinguished Mimbres from Tularosa cultures based on ceramic firing technique, with the latter showing greater Anasazi influence. Generally without mentioning specific sites, he also described architectural styles, which included small cliff ruins in little caves and moderate-sized open pueblo ruins. The open sites he recognized as "apparently that of the Mimbres." The cave sites he associated with Tularosa, citing the A.D. 1286 date from Gila Cliff Dwellings as the latest known for that people.

Obviously familiar with the then recently published results of the Cosgroves' cave survey, he mentioned the presence on the upper Gila of "Basketmaker" sites, a term he subsequently interpolated as San Pedro phase of the Cochise culture that was and is still believed to have engendered the Mogollon sequence, and he substantiated this phase designation with a list of material culture traits. In the same way, he had associated the "Pueblo" artifactual assemblages with "the Tularosa phase." That San Pedro phase ("Basketmaker") and Tularosa phase ("Pueblo") components had been documented in a cave adjacent to the cliff dwellings and part of the national monument is a fact that he did not mention. Possibly he was not aware that West Fork Cave No.2 lay in the monument—the Cosgroves had not been, after all.

Both written about the same time, Reed's cautious overview differed in style, scope, and conclusion from that of Steen, who for one was prepared to draw some conjectures about the initial history of the cliff dwellings. The cultural affiliation of the cliff dwellers was not resolved until after the ruin was excavated in 1963 and after Mogollon taxonomy had been further refined. The weight given the question of identity, however, seems to have overwhelmed Reed's early—perhaps offhanded but at least initially useful—distinction between open sites and cave sites. After some reconnaissance in 1955, Park Service archeologists were inclined to use Mimbres phase ceramics from open sites to support inferences about a dominant Mimbres phase component at Gila Cliff Dwellings. After additional tree ring analyses and excavation brought into resolution a single Tularosa phase construction and occupation of the cliff architecture, there has been an occasional tendency for inferences to flow the other way. In 1981, for example, a report developed to aid the evaluation and identification of the state's prehistoric resources identified the entire monument as Tularosa phase. [42] Most recently, in a Park Service study for suitable commemoration of the Mimbres Culture, Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument was identified as "a Tularosa site, with no Mimbres or earlier material represented." [43]

Because allocations to the National Park Service declined during the Second World War, Gila Cliff Dwellings was not officially revisited until 1948, when Steen reported structural damage. Seven years passed, however, before funds were allocated for repairs.

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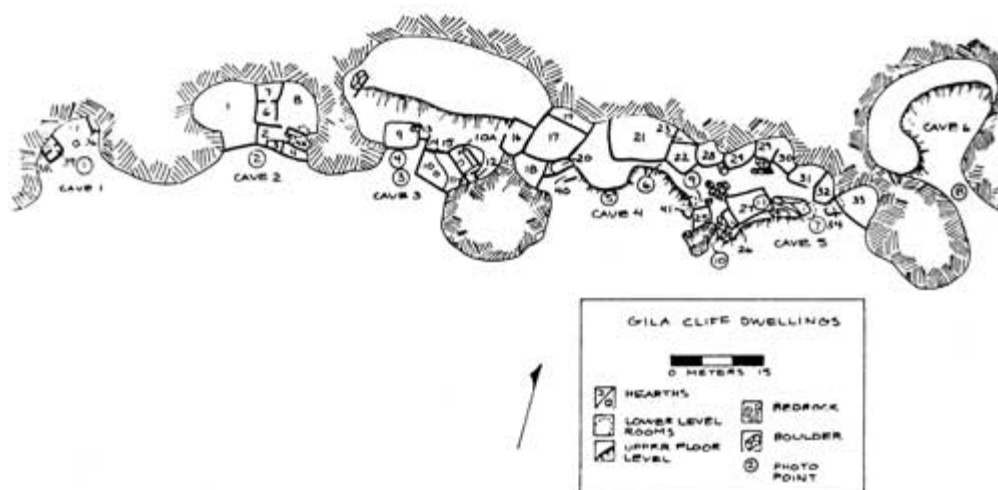
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Architecture

Anderson suggested that the cliff dwellings themselves had been built quickly—in perhaps as few as 11 years, according to the tree-ring dates. He reported that they had sheltered 40 to 60 people for about a generation and had then been abandoned. Without good provenience, artifact clustering could not be used to infer activity locations, but room size, floor and wall features, the presence of roofs, the number of openings, and the use of plaster were analyzed to determine the use of rooms (Table 1). The number of hearths, for example, suggested the number of households—eight to ten. Using an estimate of five to six people per household, Anderson arrived at a population figure.

Although the cliff site constrained the architecture and complicated comparison, Anderson observed that the proportion of apparent storage space to living space conformed remarkably with other excavated Tularosa phase ruins. [15] He inferred that the cliff dwellings were a complete village, with "all rooms and space necessary to sleep in privacy, work comfortably, store food, and hold communal gatherings and rituals." [16] Since the communal rooms had been built last, a conclusion based on the sequence of wall construction, Anderson also inferred that the cliff dwellings had begun not as a ceremonial site but as a new settlement. The lack of definable room suites, a trait shared by other Tularosa sites, in this case suggested further that the residents had arrived together and almost at once instead of gradually, family by family. Although the duration of Tularosa occupation at the site is unknown, its brevity was suggested to Anderson by the very small amount of architectural remodeling: no walls and only three doors had been modified. [17]



Plan of Gila Cliff Dwellings keyed to Anderson's matrix of room features represented on the following page.

(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

Artifacts

Provenience problems hampered the analysis of artifacts. When possible, objects were associated with specific components, and a few inferences were made, but observations were often limited to noting similarities between specific assemblages and collections made at other Mogollon sites. Only a few new items were added to the Tularosa material trait list. Stone artifacts recovered at the cliff dwellings did substantiate two distinct phase assemblages: Archaic and Tularosa phases, with the more numerous, bigger, and presumably Archaic projectile points suggesting a large early occupation.

Since all materials for the stone artifacts were available within 40 miles of the cliff dwellings, elaborate trade networks were not conjectured. An unusual variety of shell artifacts, on the other hand, scarlet macaw feathers (*Ara macao*), and an anomalous spokeshave type of scraper made from a bison (*Bison bison*) rib did suggest trade with northern Mexico and the Great Plains. [18] In addition, stylistic analysis of the pottery suggested for the cliff dwellings slightly more contact with the Mimbres-Animas area than settlements along the San Francisco drainage apparently experienced.

With the exception of the bison rib beamer or scraper, bone artifacts from Gila Cliff Dwellings were largely typical of Tularosa phase assemblages. Also typical for the same phase were most wood, reed, and gourd artifacts, cordage and fabric, as well as fibrous artifacts. New items for material trait lists included a worked mountain lion claw, wrapped and/or filled split tubes (bone), a fragment of tie-dye cloth, and embroidered cloth, which had swaddled the infant burial recovered by Morris. Wickerwork and multiple-warp sandals, an atlatl fragment and pieces of darts, bits of gourd vessels, a wood trowel, a variety of pahos, wood die, a bark pendant, and a juniper berry skewer were all attributed to the earlier occupation of the cliff site. Inadequate provenience records, however, complicated attributions for some artifacts that may represent early styles used through the Tularosa phase.

Subsistence

Faunal remains at Gila Cliff Dwellings, which could not be distinguished by component, suggested a heavy reliance on mule deer and—curiously—bison (38.76% of the meat consumed). The reliance on mule deer represents a subsistence pattern apparently basic to the Mogollon rim for perhaps 1,600 years. [19] Of special interest was the avifaunal collection, which accorded closely with that of the thirteenth-century Grasshopper Pueblo in Arizona as well as that of Zuni Pueblo during the historic period.

The use of wild plants could not be separately analyzed for the Archaic and Tularosa components, either, in part because the same seeds, nuts, fruits, berries, and leaves were in all likelihood used during both occupations. Only macrobotanical specimens were sought during Vivian's excavation of the cliff dwellings, among which twenty-four taxa of wild plants were identified.

The assemblage of domestic plants was typical of later San Francisco and Tularosa phases and, based on the volume and variety of remains (eight taxa), provided evidence of a well-developed agriculture that included maize, three varieties of squashes, and at least five varieties of beans. Historically, the most commonly reported item at the cliff dwellings was corncobs, which occurred in such quantities that Vivian stopped collecting them in 1963. Instead, he filled a room with the cobs as an interpretive display. Whether any of this assemblage stems from the Archaic occupation is unknown. In the absence of cultural association and without radiocarbon dates, the analysts merely observed that "Gila Cliff Dwellings maize displays a great deal of variability." [20]

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Chapter V: HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY 1962 TO 1991

(continued)

National Historic District

In 1986, the entire national monument was documented as an archeological district in the National Register of Historic Places, [41] with the preparation of forms contracted to Southwest Archaeological Consultants, Inc, a firm located in Santa Fe, New Mexico. In 1987, the documentation was approved. Based on Morris' 1968 survey and a draft of *The Archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings*, the inventory of sites for the proposed district included a brief chronology of cultural history for the area around the Gila forks. The chronology relied largely on the phase sequence worked out by Fitting for the Cliff-Gila Valley, and included summaries of diagnostic architectural and ceramic traits and of population dynamics for each phase. Where possible, phase descriptions were linked to representative sites in the national monument. As of 1991, this brief overview is the most complete account of cultural history specific to the Gila forks since Vivian's in 1956.

More or less as Vivian had argued 30 years earlier, the significance of the archeology was attributed to the uniquely undisturbed presence of Mimbres sites that ranged in size and phase sufficiently to encompass nearly every manifestation of that cultural branch—although in this case the anomalous and intrusive nature of Gila Cliff Dwellings was noted. Also included was a summary of the monument's research potential, the most important federal criterion for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places according to Stuart and Gauthier, who wrote the book on the subject—at least for New Mexico. The list of research potentials included 19 general problems of chronology, settlement and subsistence, social organization, and demography.

Archeological Survey

In 1988 and 1989, Bradford resurveyed archeological sites in the national monument, using techniques that have improved since the 1968 survey, as well as standardized site forms and photo documentation. His intention was to produce a more detailed report than Morris had and to draw a base map on photogrammetric or orthocontour projections. His report will be forthcoming in 1992.

Other Archeological Research

In her 1980 study *Indian Rock Art in the Southwest*, Polly Schaafsma included brief allusions to pictographs in the caves of Gila Cliff Dwellings. [42] She dated the designs to the thirteenth century, believing them to have been drawn by people standing on roofs. Schaafsma classified the images as a Mogollon Red, which is a style that appears most commonly in the drainages of the San Francisco River, the upper Gila River, and in extreme south-eastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico.

In 1988, Dr. Steven Lambert of Sandia Laboratories in Albuquerque, New Mexico, offered to analyze several samples of geological substances present at Gila Cliff Dwellings. The proposal originated informally during a passing conversation with the ranger on duty at the cliff site, and the analysis was funded by Sandia Laboratories. In March 1990, Dr. Lambert reported the results of his studies. [43] Two samples of the black coating on a cave ceiling—one shiny and one dull—were analyzed by x-ray diffraction. The shiny sample appeared to be "rich in amorphous carbon" and was presumed to be soot from resinous smoke, confirming previous suppositions. The dull substance did not contain enough carbon to show up in the x-ray, but was also presumed to be the product of smoke. A sample of the shiny coating found on many of the rocks in the caves contained weddellite (dihydrated calcium oxalate), whewellite (monohydrated calcium oxalate), and uric acid hydrate, a layered mineral assemblage that was presumed to be the product of repeated human urination. An alternative suggestion was that human urine may have been applied to hides stretched on the flat rocks during the tanning of leather, a processual technique known to occur during the historic period. Finally, a powdery inflorescence, collected farther up the canyon from the cliff site, was analyzed. This sample was largely quartz and trona, which is a mineral commonly formed by the weathering of silicate rocks such as the local conglomerate.

Another laboratory project initiated in 1988 was the radiocarbon dating of one of 11 Metcalf bean (*Phaseolus metcalfei*) found during Vivian's 1963 excavation of the cliff dwellings. First proposed by Karen Adams, who had written the ethnobotanical section of *The Archeology of Gila Cliff Dwellings*, the project was intended to reveal whether or not the beans dated from the prehistoric period, a possibility that would represent the second known occurrence of that bean at a Southwestern prehistoric site. Submitted by Terry Nichols, at the time park ranger for Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, the dating project was financed by the Southwest Regional Office's Division of Anthropology, coordinated by the Western Archeological and Conservation Center, and performed by staff at the University of Arizona.

The bean sample (#72A) was given a C-14 age of 670+/-45 years BP (before present), with a 95% probability for a calibrated age of A.D. 1261-1394, [44] a date that Anderson of the Western Archeological and Conservation Center observed to be "suspiciously in perfect accord with the age of the cliff dwellings." [45]

A second bean (#44-39-7B) from the same group was dated a little more than a year later and broke the synchronicity. That sample was given a C-14 age of 405+/-60 years BP, with a 95% probability for a calibrated age of A.D. 1410-1640, a time substantially later than that proposed for the abandonment of the cliff dwellings.

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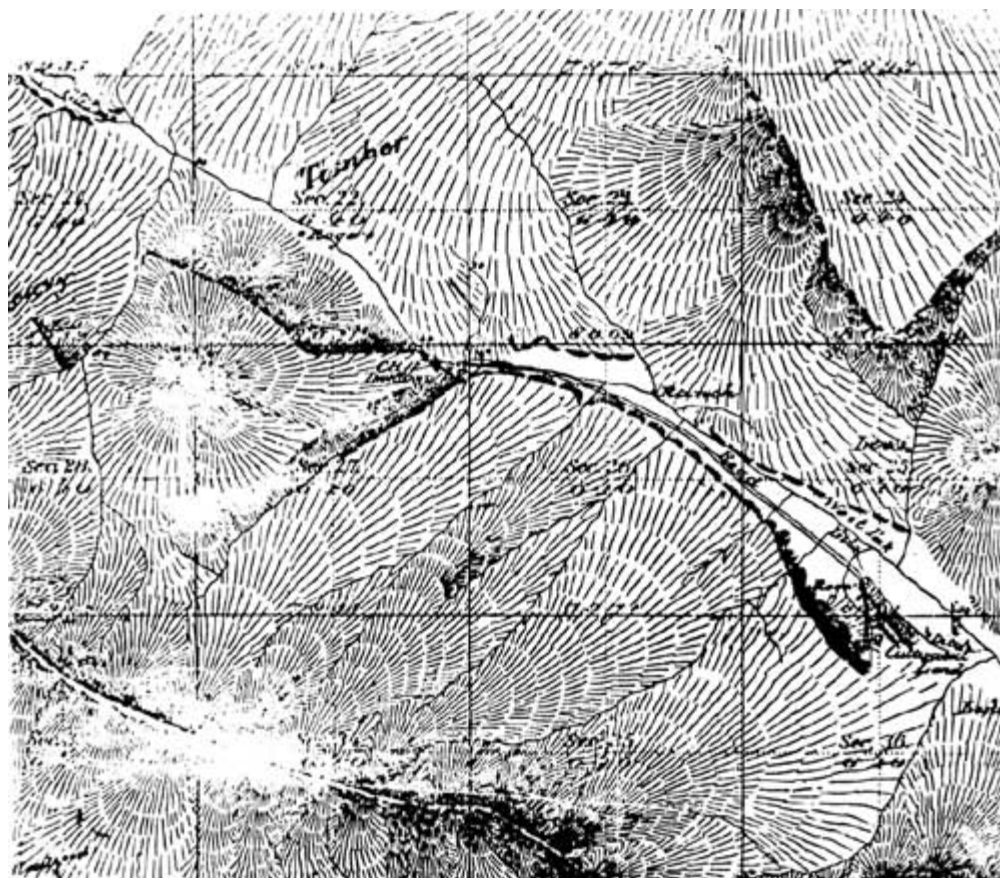
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Chapter I: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT (continued)

Settlers

McKenna also mentioned finding many grooved stone hammers and war axes, which Bandelier did not see. The scientist did write, however, that many stone axes had been carried off, and this information again must have come from the local settlers, of which McKenna was one. That Ailman failed to see stone tools can perhaps be explained if he collected only from the surface. Bandelier's later report includes both physical and anecdotal evidence of excavation at the cliff dwellings, and as late as the mid-twentieth century axes like those McKenna described were recovered from soil within the ruin. The miner may have dug up axes. At any rate, since McKenna claimed to have recovered a lot of artifacts and to have seen intact roofs, the early despoliation of the Gila Cliff Dwellings might date from around 1883, the same year that the first homestead was patented in the area.



Sketch from the government survey completed in 1884. The map denotes the location of the Gila cliff dwellings in Section 27, Township 12 South, Range

14 West. Already at least three settlers have located five cabins within two miles of the prehistoric architecture, and a road leads from the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon to cultivated fields.

After the removal in 1877 of the Mimbres band of Apaches to the San Carlos reservation in Arizona, and despite periodic assaults by renegades, settlers began moving cautiously into the mountains around the Gila headwaters. James B. Huffman, who had settled on 160 acres near the mouth of the Middle Fork, was the first to "prove up" a homestead on the forks of the Gila, receiving his patent in 1883 for land that coincidentally contained the TJ site. [48] The five-years-of-residence requirement places his arrival no later than 1878, possibly after Ailman's visit in July of the same year to the cliff dwellings.

Eighteen eighty-three is the same year that James McKenna filed a homestead on 160 acres not far from the Gila Hot Springs, where he had "boiled out" a touch of lead poisoning not long before with a bunch of miners and muckers from Kingston. Already, according to his memoirs, the hot springs were well-known. The Hill brothers, who were developing the waters, had built bathhouses and a sixteen-mile road from Sapillo Creek to their spa and had twenty-five acres under cultivation, a small herd of cattle, and an adobe house with a good supply of groceries. This building is the same one that sheltered Bandelier. One hundred and sixty acres of land that included these hot springs were ultimately patented by Spencer Hill in 1890. Other local homesteaders known to McKenna in 1883 included Jordan Rodgers, John Lester, a man named "Grudgins" who worked for him, and a Tom Wood who had settled with a wife and six children near the mouth of the East Fork. Farther up the forks of the river and on the mesas were John Lilley, Thomas Prior, Presley Papenoe, and another man named Tom Woods, who was unrelated to the married settler on the East Fork. Country that had been empty five years earlier, when Ailman visited, was filling up fast.

In the government survey of 1884, when the subdivisional lines for T12S R14W were laid out to facilitate homestead claims, Richard Powell, the U.S. deputy surveyor, also noted the location of Gila Cliff Dwellings and the presence of a road that led from the cultivated fields of Rodgers more or less to the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon. Although still remote, the cliff dwellings were increasingly accessible.

McKenna spent two years prospecting and market-hunting game for miners in Silver City, before suddenly abandoning his homestead in the summer of 1885--not long after a desperate escape on the upper West Fork from a band of Apaches, who killed his best friend, Jason Baxter. Sixteen other people in southwestern New Mexico were also killed in May. Late in the fall of the same year, Papenoe, Lilly, and Prior were killed in the Mogollons, along with 35 others between the Rio Grande and the San Pedro rivers. The killers were a band of nine warriors, who rode out of the Sierra Madre on a 1,200 mile raid led by Josanie, a Mimbreno and a younger brother to Chihuahua. Josanie's furious raid marked the last Apache attack in New Mexico: three months later, in April, captive Chiricahua and Mimbreno bands began their long trip in freight cars to Florida, and their broncho relatives followed after their surrender in September to Brig. Gen. Nelson Miles, who had ferreted the last resisters out of the Sierra Madre. [49]

Violence on the headwaters of the Gila did not end with the exile of the Apaches, however. In 1892, the young son of Tom Woods who ranched far up the Middle Fork and a Mexican companion were mysteriously murdered while asleep in their camp about two miles above the Grudgings' cabin on the West Fork. [50] A year later, William Grudgings, who had worked for McKenna years before, was shot and killed. James B. Hoffman (Huffman) claimed to have witnessed the assault and swore out a warrant of arrest for Tom Woods, stating that the accused, disguised but still identifiable under a headdress of weeds, had ambushed Grudgings. [51] Shortly afterwards, at his arraignment in Mogollon, Woods

acknowledged that he had indeed cut down Grudgings because the man had killed his son. [52]

In a curious turn of events, Woods was released in a nearby canyon by a citizen, who had somehow gained custody of the accused and who the same night went on to kill a former partner in a wood contract. Woods escaped in the confusion. [53] Years later, Woods claimed to have spent the next two years hunting down William Grudgings' brother, Tom. One day, emerging with a greeting and a leveled gun from a canebrake in Louisiana, Woods shot Grudgings, who was about to cross a river in a canoe. [54]

Woods himself crossed into folklore. There are several variants to the Woods-Grudgings feud that favor both sides and that involve death by fast draw, a rifle shot in the back, or an axe. Although Woods eventually stood trial and was acquitted for William Grudgings' death, the trial papers have been lost. The only hard and uncontested facts of the case are carved in stone:

William
Grudgings
WAYLAID AND
MURDERED
BY
Tom Woods
OCTOBER 8, 1893
AGE
37
YEARS 8 MONTHS

The foot of this grave lies just outside the northern boundary of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Beside this tombstone is the grave of William B. Huffman, the first settler on the forks of the Gila, who was killed not long after the Woods-Grudgings feud by his neighbor Jordan Rodgers, concluding in this way a disagreement about cattle ranges. Rodgers was also acquitted. [55]

Not long after Huffman was killed, the settled land around the forks of the Gila began to change hands--and character. C. A. Burdick, who owned the large O-Bar-O outfit a little farther north, bought out Lester, Rodgers, another man named Clifford, and the heirs of Huffman, consolidating their marginal homesteads under the TJ brand. [56] Shortly afterwards, John Converse, a Princeton graduate and the son of a wealthy Philadelphia locomotive builder, bought the TJ Ranch, reportedly for \$80,000. [57] Included in Converse's vision of the West was a string of polo ponies, which he reportedly exercised on the site of the TJ Ruin. A little farther east, along the streams feeding the East Fork, a friend of Converse's who was also a Philadelphian and a graduate of Princeton to boot, Hugh Hodge, bought up patented land from debt-ridden homesteaders to build the Diamond Bar Ranch. Eventually he acquired the old Tom Wood homestead on the East Fork, as well. In 1899, Thomas Lyons of the huge LC Ranch and Cattle Company bought a 160-acre patented homestead just upstream from the Wood place, where he built for \$50,000 a hunting lodge with accommodations for 30 or 40 guests. [58] In just over a decade, the small hard-scrabble homesteads around the cliff dwellings were yielding to the interests of wealthy men.

Unhappily, the cattle these men brought to the Gila headwaters in the years between 1885 and 1895 severely damaged the area's range and riparian ecologies. The thick tangles of growth noted by Pattie and the lush beautiful vegetation that Bandelier had seen were eaten and trampled until there was "scarcely a vestige of grass for miles" in 1927. [59] In the river where trout could formerly and easily be taken, "there [was] a sluggish and unshaded stream,

filled from bank to bank with flood waters during the summer rainy season." [60]

Meanwhile during the 1890s, at the Gila Hot Springs, the Hill brothers were serving game, fish, and wine to parties that came for the baths--"vapor, Turkish, Russian, hot, cold or temperature as one may prefer." [61] Although the resort was small, life was surprisingly gay with the grounds laid out for games, dances held at night, and the society reported on by the *Silver City Enterprise*. Fishing trips were occasionally organized to go up the West Fork, where the ladies of at least one group decorated with wildflowers the grave of Jason Baxter, who had been killed there by Apaches only six years earlier. [62]

Another place familiar to the Hill brothers was Cliff Dweller Canyon, where parties were entertained with lunches among the cave ruins. [63] Several years earlier, in 1889, the brothers had also found a burial at the cliff dwellings: the desiccated body of a child who appeared to be about four years old. Wrapped in cloths and bound to a piece of wood, the body was well preserved with still perfect fingernails, intact teeth, and soft black hair. Reportedly, the body was sent to the Smithsonian despite efforts of the *Silver City Enterprise* to purchase the relic. [64]

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Chapter I: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT

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Gila River Forest Reserve

In March 1899, President William McKinley withdrew from settlement the Gila River Forest Reserve, the sixth such reservation of forested public land in the Southwest and the second in New Mexico. [65] On the forks of the Gila, this reservation effectively limited patented land around the cliff dwellings to the TJ Ranch, the Gila Hot Springs Ranch, Lyons Lodge, and the XSX Ranch--Grudgings' cabin was returned to the public domain in 1901 by quit-claim. Two of these four holdings catered specifically to people seeking recreation, people who could be entertained by visits to cliff ruins.

A year after the withdrawal, M. Belden arrived in Silver City charged with management of the forest reserve, a task that included, according to the *Silver City Enterprise*, preserving the cliff dwellings from vandalism. [66] Protection could only be incidental, however, to the forest supervisor's more central task of controlling fires and surveying and managing the timber. An inventory of the Gila Forest Reserve conducted by the U.S. Geological Survey in 1903 and published in 1905 as *Forest Conditions In The Gila River Forest Reserve, New Mexico* did not even mention the cliff dwellings, for example. [67] The author did observe, however, the popularity of the Gila Hot Springs resort and "in consequence a small settlement of Mexicans...a short distance above the springs." [68]

Antiquities Act

Protection throughout the Southwest of ruins like Gila Cliff Dwellings was complicated by the fact that no laws specifically prohibited the collection of prehistoric artifacts. On public lands, including the forest reserves, trespass charges were the primary instrument of punishing vandals, [69] but surveillance of the sites was incidental to the regular duties of the employees of the Interior and Agriculture departments.

By the turn of the century, vandalism of Southwestern archeological sites was reaching alarming proportions. As early as the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876, professional collectors had been commissioned to provide artifacts for the display. [70] In the following years, people without academic qualifications began excavating, as well, and selling the recovered artifacts. Often, these excavations entailed the destruction of architecture as well as stratigraphy, with walls being pushed down in the search for buried pots, tools--and mummies, which seemed to have especially popular appeal. Particularly rankling to scientists were the activities of Richard Wetherill, who excavated at Mesa Verde, Grand Gulch, and later Chaco Canyon, where he filed a homestead claim on land that included Pueblo Bonito, the largest Pre-Columbian building north of Mexico. [71]

On the upper Gila River and along the Mimbres drainage, despoliation in 1900 was still principally the product of ignorance, consisting of nearly ubiquitous "potting" by the curious,

the carting off of stones from the prehistoric architecture for reuse on contemporary structures, and damage by livestock. In 1884, in addition to noting the "rifled" condition of Gila Cliff Dwellings and the purported Apache vandalism, Bandelier noticed black matter that looked suspiciously like manure, an ugly observation that foreshadowed trouble for unfenced sites. The withdrawal 15 years later of the Gila Forest Reserve protected the cliff dwellings from some of the more heinous vandalisms like that of a cliff dwelling on the Blue River, where a settler kept his goats corralled within ruins on his patented land. [72] And, of course, large-scale destruction of architectural sites in southwestern New Mexico did not really begin in greedy earnest until after 1914, when E. D. Osborne of Deming sold his first collection of Mimbres pots to Dr. Jesse Walter Fewkes of the National Museum and the cash value of the local prehistory was established. [73]

In 1900, the same year that Belden arrived on the Gila River Forest Reserve, a bill was introduced into Congress that authorized the preservation by law and the regulation of prehistoric sites and natural formations of scientific and scenic interest, setting these places aside as parks or reservations. Although no action was taken on this bill, Congress wrestled for the next five years with the language, intent, and the technicalities of responsibility in similar proposed legislation, finally passing in June 1906 a bill introduced by Rep. John F. Lacey of Iowa, a long-time conservationist and chairman of the House Public Lands Committee. [74]

Under the Act for the Preservation of Antiquities, also known as the Antiquities Act, the president was authorized to set aside by executive order land that contained prehistoric and historic ruins and "other objects of scientific interest." These reservations were called national monuments and were to be managed by the Interior, Agriculture, and War departments, depending on which agency had controlled a particular site before it was withdrawn.

Hewett

Instrumental in drafting the Antiquities Act was Professor Edgar Lee Hewett, formerly president of the Normal University at Las Vegas and one of the founders of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico. [75] He was an early and ardent advocate of archeological preservation, and the investigations that led to the curtailment of Richard Wetherill's excavations in Chaco Canyon in 1901 stemmed from complaints by Hewett and his Archaeological Society. Hewett wrote on New Mexican archeology for the 1901 and 1902 Reports of the Governor of New Mexico to the Secretary of the Interior and published studies on the ruins at Pecos and later the ruins on the Pajarito plateau in the *American Anthropologist*.

In 1902 Hewett guided Representative Lacey through the ruins on the Pajarito, which strengthened the congressman's resolve to protect Southwestern archeology. When Hewett's university contract was not renewed in 1903, he decided to pursue his archeological interests on a full-time basis and departed for Switzerland, where he studied archeology at the University of Geneva, proposing a dissertation on the archeology of the American Southwest. In 1904, he was back in the United States working as an assistant ethnologist in the Bureau of American Ethnology, when the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution proposed that Hewett coordinate the various efforts of different organizations and institutions to protect Southwestern ruins.

During and even before the long congressional debate that finally resulted in the Antiquities Act of 1906, the Bureau of American Ethnology had been compiling an archeological map of the United States with an accompanying card catalogue of the various sites. In 1905, Hewett published in the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution "A General View of the

Archaeology of the Pueblo Region," a summary of the types and locations of prehistoric pueblos and a prescription for their preservation. Included on his shorter list of sites recommended for permanent preservation were Gila Hot Springs Cliff Dwellings, undescribed but accompanied by a photograph. In 1906, to assist the various departments of government that were charged by the Antiquities Act with preserving prehistoric sites, the Bureau of American Ethnology continued to compile its archeological card catalogue and planned the publication of a series of bulletins "devoted to the fuller presentation of all that is known regarding these antiquities." [76] The next year the Smithsonian published Bulletin 32, a survey by Hewett on the antiquities of the Jemez Plateau, and Bulletin 35, a survey by Dr. Walter Hough of the antiquities of the upper Gila and Salt River valleys. [77] Hough's publication was based in part on an expedition that he had organized in 1905 to visit the San Francisco and Blue rivers and, although he did not visit the Gila headwaters, included the early description by Bandelier of Gila Cliff Dwellings and Henshaw's 1874 description of Three-Mile Ruin. No first-hand archeological work had been done on the headwaters of the Gila for a long time, but the name of the cliff dwellings was being repeated in important places at an important time.

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National Park

The next official visit to Gila Cliff Dwellings did not occur until the autumn of 1937, when a team of Park Service staff came down from the new regional office in Santa Fe [15] to assess the merits of creating a national park on the headwaters of the Gila River. In their report, the team recommended establishing a park and suggested that it take in 563,000 acres of the Gila Wilderness—essentially all of the wilderness west of the East Fork. [16] Subsumed in the proposal was Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, the ruins of which were judged by Erik Reed, the regional archeologist and a member of the team, to not merit national park status. They would, in his opinion, make interesting supplements to a park that preserved a dramatic natural area of canyons and pristine forests, however.

The preserved record of this proposal is sparse, and the proximate causes of its failure must be deduced from a larger context and a little close reading. Undoubtedly, the greatest obstacle to the creation of the national park was the fact that the very large tract of land being considered was administered by the Forest Service. In the Southwest, the Forest Service had already seen more than a million acres transferred from its jurisdiction through the establishment of national parks. [17] Recently it had vigorously and successfully resisted the creation of Cliff Cities National Park at what is now Bandelier National Monument, a proposal that would have entailed yet another large withdrawal. [18] Given the perceptions of betrayal that had accompanied the absorption of all national monuments previously administered by the Forest Service and the contemporaneous inter-agency struggles over Olympic National Park and King's Canyon National Park, it was inevitable that any proposal entailing a national monument, large tracts of land, and the creation of a new national park would be viewed through extremely narrowed and wary eyes.

Furthermore, the land proposed for Gila National Park already had unique status as the nation's first wilderness area and as the largest in the Southwest. The Gila Wilderness was a showpiece of Forest Service restraint, demonstrating a commitment to recreation and to the preservation of natural values that matched the efforts of its rival agency. [19] Transferring this wilderness would not only reduce the Gila National Forest by 25%, it would also usurp the efforts of the Forest Service to display clearly and imaginatively its mandate beyond watershed protection and the mere economy of resource development.

Finally, an image of independent responsibility and consequence was especially important during the late 1930s, when Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes was lobbying actively and with substantial—even presidential—support to transfer the Forest Service from the Department of Agriculture to his own agency. [20] Even a tacit acknowledgement that the Department of the Interior could do a better job managing the natural values of the Gila

headwaters or of any other reach of national forest might be seen as damaging.

In 1938, the proposal for establishing Gila National Park was made. A year later, this proposal had been modified. Instead of a new large national park, an even larger national monument—650,000—was proposed that would again include the current Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. [21] Unclear is whether this modification was an accommodation to the 1,500 acres of patented mining claims, which could then still be legally developed, [22] or was instead the well-known legislative back door that would transfer most of the wilderness by executive order, avoiding in this way opposition that the Forest Service might already have mustered in Congress. Designation as a national park could always come later.

In January 1940, the acting director of the National Park Service circulated drafts of a letter of transmittal to be signed by the Secretary of the Interior [23] and of a presidential proclamation that excluded approximately 654,400 acres from the Gila National Forest. It was, the proclamation stated, "in the public interest to reserve such lands, together with the lands now comprising the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument as a National Monument, to be known as the Gila National Monument." [24] Neither document was ever signed.

A little more than a year later, Minor Tillotson, the new director of Region III of the Park Service, recommended that Gila Cliff Dwelling National Monument "be left as a reserve area with no attempt to popularize it and promote visitation." [25] The gap between this recommendation and the presidential proclamation that had circulated not much earlier is profound; unfortunately, it can only be spanned with inferences based on the broader territorial struggles between the Forest Service and the Park Service, on the specific logic of conflict over the Gila Wilderness, and possibly on the appointment during the hiatus of Newton B. Drury as director of the National Park Service. Drury was a man who quickly proved to be considerably less expansionist than his predecessors. [26]

The idea of Gila National Park failed, and its only documented consequence was the construction in 1938 of a fence to bar cattle from the ruins in Cliff Dweller Canyon. This project stemmed from a complaint made by a member of the park assessment team about livestock trampling the site. [27] Following an exchange of letters, Frank Pooler, the regional forester directed an initially recalcitrant Gila National Forest supervisor to comply with the request for a fence. [28]

Pinkley never saw Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. [29] Given his well-known disinclination to see archeological sites become parks instead of monuments, however—an attitude that he demonstrated over the issue of Cliff Cities National Park—and given his expressed frustration over the elevation of Carlsbad Caverns from national monument to national park, Pinkley's feelings about the proposed Gila National Park can probably be intuited. Perhaps his likely intransigence contributed to the fact that no member of his Southwestern National Monuments staff was included on the 1937 park team to assess the Gila proposal, a curious and provocative omission. At any rate, after 1935 no funding and no staff were allocated to this monument for the rest of Pinkley's life. Pinkley died before the issue of the larger Gila National Monument was shelved.

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Decline

After 1942, the limitations of small, wartime budgets and a staff depleted by military enlistments [41] as well as the termination of the Civilian Conservation Corps program forced the Southwestern National Monuments office to scale back its management activities throughout the region to mere protection and maintenance. After the Second World War, the backlog of work at the larger, more visited national monuments further delayed the next official visit to Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument. Finally, in 1948, Steen was again dispatched to assess the condition of those ruins. Unfortunately, he reported substantial deterioration of the prehistoric architecture, noting that most of the damage had been caused by visitors. [42] Although he recommended excavation as well as another round of stabilization activities, no funds were allocated for this work.

As the most remote unit in the system of Southwestern National Monuments, with few visitors, no permanent staff, and only a reserve status, the prehistoric site in the Gila Wilderness suffered the kind of administrative desuetude that is occasionally the product of limited budgets, competing projects, and a long list of priorities. [43]

In June 1954, Marjorie Lambert, the curator of archaeology for the Museum of New Mexico, drew professional attention to the monument. Writing to Erik Reed, she complained about the condition of the ruins, which she had recently visited with members of the Grant County Archaeological Society. [44] Specifically concerned about damage caused by visitors walking on the walls, an activity she had apparently witnessed, she also lamented the amount of graffiti inscribed on walls, beams and pictographs, noting that "[t]hese ruins are one of the saddest examples, in the Southwest, of this sort of vandalism."

Lambert's letter triggered an inquiry from Southwestern National Monuments that led, in the following year, to the hiring of "Doc" Campbell as the first seasonal ranger at the monument and shortly afterwards to a six-week visit by the Mobile Stabilization Unit to remediate damage inflicted on the prehistoric site. [45]

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Chapter III: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT 1955 TO 1991 (continued)

Development Planning

In mid-1962, prompted by the recent expansion of the monument and the imminent completion of the Copperas road as far as the Gila River, work began on developing a package master plan for the monument. The initial MISSION 66 prospectus had recommended that "a modest public building" be constructed at the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon regardless of whether the area became a state monument or remained with the Park Service. [44] The revised prospectus reported that the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon was prone to flooding, and it recommended that a slightly more elaborate but still modest building be located within walking distance of the TJ Ruin. [45] This building, it was suggested, "should house the permanent superintendent's office, an attractive lobby, possibly with room for a continuous recorder projector orientation presentation, one ample display room, a workroom with a small dark room in one corner, and a storeroom." [46]

Following the proposal to jointly occupy the TJ administrative site, Fred Kennedy, the regional forester, drafted a letter to his counterpart in the Park Service. Kennedy outlined some planning specifics, including recommendations that the architectural design and building specifications be done by the Park Service as the predominant user. His own agency would review the plans, of course. [47] He also suggested that the administrative building have a lobby arranged so that both agencies could install exhibits. Until a cooperative agreement was signed in July 1964, Kennedy's letter served as a basis of understanding between the two agencies, and—along with the MISSION 66 prospecta—it guided the process of developing a master plan.

During the planning process, the most debated topic was the location of the visitor center. At an interagency meeting in July 1962, Volney J. Westley, a landscape architect with the Region III office the Park Service, recommended that the center be located east of Cliff Dweller Canyon near the tent-fly headquarters, observing that most drivers would pass up the TJ road spur and continue directly to the cliff dwellings. [48] Housing and utility buildings could still be located on the joint administrative site near the TJ Ruin, he added. Complicating this proposal, however, was the fact that the site he specified for the visitor center was Forest Service land, and its development would require a special-use permit or even a joint agreement like that proposed for the TJ administrative area.

Given the limited amount of space at the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon and the hazard of windfall from a grove of large cottonwood trees, Sam Servis, then assistant supervisor of the Gila National Forest, also recommended at the same meeting that a camping area not be developed there but instead near Scorpion Corral, a location on Forest Service land that might also mitigate a potential problem of overcrowded parking at the monument.

A year later, the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon had again been abandoned as a location for the visitor center because of flood danger, and three other sites had been eliminated for the same reason as well—Scorpion Corral, Doc's Cienega, and Pine Flat. [49] Only the TJ area and a site called Pine Terrace appeared to be safe from floods, and the latter site was not appropriately located.

In June, however, during a meeting between agencies at the Heart Bar headquarters, yet another location for the visitor center was proposed to the director of the New Mexico Department of Game and Fish. [50]

The proposal was complicated. If the Forest Service could trade grazing rights in northern New Mexico for title to some of the Heart Bar land, then it would enter into a cooperative agreement with the Park Service, permitting the latter agency to locate a visitor center/administration building near the Heart Bar headquarters. Included in this building would be space sufficient for a district headquarters for the Gila National Forest and at least one office for the game department. All three agencies would share exhibit space in the lobby. In addition, all utility buildings and residences could be located on the TJ administrative site or on other nearby land that was managed by the Forest Service.

This proposal appeared to solve a lot of problems for the Park Service. The location was clear of the flood plain, the main approach road to the monument would pass close by, room for parking was ample, good drinking water was easily available, and there were pleasant views of the TJ area. The proposal foundered, however, on the issue of property values, [51] the reluctance of the local game commissioner, [52] and the need to obligate money before the start of the new fiscal year. [53]

As a consequence, the original TJ administrative withdrawal area was again designated the best location for the visitor center—by default. The long dialogue between agencies was not in vain, however, having shaped the final plan for development in several ways. One improvement, for example, was the planned addition of a contact station at the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon, an addition that addressed earlier concerns about drivers who might bypass the TJ road spur. Another improvement carried over from the failed Heart Bar proposal was the idea that headquarters for the Wilderness District of the Gila National Forest be included in the visitor center. A headquarters was a more substantial need than had been anticipated in 1960, when only temporary quarters for a crew of four to six men, a utility building, and corrals were proposed. In short, the final Master Plan for Gila Cliff National Monument evolved as a product of site constraints, changing perceptions on the part of both agencies about their own needs, and a lot of very cooperative and creative dialogue.

The 1964 Cooperative Agreement essentially divided responsibility for developing specific projects specified by the master plan. The agreement permitted the Park Service to develop a contact station on Gila Forest land near Cliff Dweller Canyon, and it authorized a joint headquarters at the TJ site, which both agencies would finance together and in equal amounts. Specifically, the Park Service would pay for the visitor center/administrative building and carry that structure on its property records; the Forest Service would pay for landscaping, roads, and bridges and carry those improvements on its property records. Each agency would carry on its own property records any other buildings that it had constructed, including residences, barns, corrals, etc. [54]

Although first proposed as a compromise between competing needs for the limited space on the forks of the Gila, the joint occupation of the TJ administrative site did indeed save money for each agency, as well. In mid-1958, before joint occupation had been proposed, the Park Service tentatively approved the expenditure of \$423,700 for capital improvements at the monument. [55] Ten years later, the agency had only spent \$350,000 to complete its share of

development at the administrative site, which included two residences. In a similar way, initial projections for five permanent staff were reduced by 1968 to a superintendent and a ranger. Also employed by the Park Service were a receptionist and a maintenance man, but their services were shared with the Forest Service, as was the obligation for their salaries.

Bidding for the first contracts to develop the joint administrative site were closed in June 1964. The visitor center was completed in 1966, but remained closed to the public until 1968, when a bridge across the Middle Fork was completed.

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Chapter III: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT 1955 TO 1991 (continued)

Transition And Development

In April 1963, James Sleznick arrived at Gila Cliff Dwelling National Monument as its first full-time employee. [56] Previously a ranger at Lake Mead National Recreation Area, he came to the cliff dwellings as supervisory park ranger, a unique classification within the Park Service. [57] "Doc" Campbell continued as nominal custodian until the following January, when he retired.

For the first few months—until a bulldozer opened a track wide enough to haul an office trailer to the mouth of Cliff Dweller Canyon—Sleznick operated out of the Gila Hot Springs Ranch, where parking space had also been rented for two other trailers, one of which served as his residence. Typically, the accommodations were spartan, but in this case there were idiosyncracies, as well. After Campbell's generator broke in the summer of 1964, for example, there was no electricity in the government housing for 18 months. Years later, Sleznick recalled that he and his wife used candles at night, preferring dim light to the hissing of a Coleman lantern. [58] Refrigeration was provided by a Servel unit that was powered by propane; unfortunately, it had an electric thermostat. The only way to operate the refrigerator without freezing everything was to fire up the unit at dark and then shut it off at bedtime. Forgetfulness meant a hard breakfast. To the surprise of visitors, the toilet was plumbed to distinctly hot water from the ranch's namesake springs, and in the winter cold water had to flow all the time to keep pipes from freezing. When "Doc" finally installed another generator, a light also had to be left on to provide the "load" required for efficient operation.





In 1963, James Sleznick arrived at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument as the first full-time staff. Initially designated a supervisory ranger because the monument was too small to merit a superintendent, Sleznick was promoted to superintendent in 1966 as visitation to the remote monument increased. One of Sleznick's early capital improvements was a more substantial contact station, which he heated with a Coleman lantern during the winter and shaded in the summer with juniper boughs spread over a ramada.

After the office trailer was moved, Sleznick forded the river four times every day to get there and home again. In the winter, he had to spray his frozen wheels each morning with hot water from the garden hose, and before he could drive home he had to crawl under the pickup and heat the wheels again with a propane torch. The first winter, he also kept a lighted Coleman lantern under his desk for warmth.

By late April 1963, the approach road had nearly been completed as far as the confluence of the East and Middle forks. The imminence of that event, in fact, coupled with anticipations of a huge turnout for the annual jeep caravan, had dictated the timing of Sleznick's transfer to the monument. [59] When he arrived, however, the first bridge had not yet been built, and Sleznick had been forced to park his car at the confluence and accept a ride for the last five miles, crossing the river 14 times. Still, 433 other people also reached the cliff dwellings within the month. [60] Beyond the rough passage, these visitors had to contend with two closed gates through the Heart Bar Ranch and only a hand-lettered sign to confirm their route. [61] Some people wandered a long time along the dirt road that was State Highway 527 looking for the monument.

In August, after the bridge at the confluence had been opened, the approach road completed as far as Little Creek, and the easement through the Heart Bar more clearly signed, 2165 people toured the prehistoric site. [62] As the road continued to improve, more and more visitors arrived. In 1966, the target year for the MISSION 66 program, 24,000 people toured the cliff dwellings, nearly twice the number the Park Service had forecast six years earlier.

In addition to monitoring the ruins and interpreting them to a rapidly growing number of visitors, Sleznick participated in drafting the master plan and later troubleshooting on the construction grounds. Each summer, a seasonal employee was hired to help with interpretation, and in late 1965, after the annual number of visitors had approached 15,000, William Gibson was transferred from Morristown National Historical Park to provide

additional interpretive support. [63] Shortly afterwards, Sleznick was promoted to superintendent. [64]

Naturally, there were plenty of problems for Sleznick to troubleshoot in developing an area that was for all practical purposes entering the twentieth century nearly 60 years later than the rest of the country. When construction began on the visitor center in 1964, for example, contractors had to haul their materials 40 miles through the mountains, and road improvements did not extend beyond Little Creek—four miles and one river crossing short of the administrative site. In fact, this last stretch of road was not completed until early 1967 so even the installation of utilities and the construction of employee housing, as well as the barn, were also difficult. Occasionally, floods required work to stop altogether. And there were the usual kinds of construction problems: poor concrete required foundations to be removed and redone by a different contractor, blasting to enlarge the parking lot at Cliff Dweller Canyon threw boulders through the outhouses, gas lines were broken by a bulldozer.

Compounding the physical isolation of geography was an unreliable telephone system that made the coordination of development projects particularly difficult. For any important calls, Sleznick had to drive 50 miles. Other calls were made on a no. 9 magneto-wire that stretched from the Heart Bar headquarters through "Doc" Campbell's ranch to the Mimbres Valley, where it tied into a commercial system. Shortly after Sleznick arrived at the monument, however, the local telephone company upgraded its equipment and the new system would no longer accept the magneto-wire transmissions. "So we needed 40 miles of new telephone wire," Sleznick recalled years later.

Since members of the Upper Gila-Sapillo Telephone Company, which included the Park Service and the Forest Service, did not have enough money to buy the wire, Sleznick found some free surplus wire at Fort Bliss. With local help, he began unrolling the wire between the Mimbres District Ranger Station and the monument.

[W]e would take a reel of wire and put it in a jeep and drive off to a point where we had ended with the last roll. Then we would tie the cable to a horse with a rider, and the horseback rider would pull the cable until the quarter-mile was used up. When we saw the cable had come to the end of the reel we had a pistol—we didn't have radios—and we fired a shot. The cowboy would hear the pistol report and stop the horse, drop the cable, and we would find him with the next roll....

[The cable] was laying on the ground. We never did get it in the trees. What happened was we laid it all out, got it all soldered, hooked up—and it didn't work. [65]

When the Forest Service required him to remove the useless wire, Sleznick ran an advertisement in the *Silver City Daily Press* that 40 miles of wire was lying on the ground between the Mimbres and Gila Cliff Dwellings and that the wire would be free to anyone who went out and got it. Slowly, the wire disappeared. Another line was run, but the phones still did not work reliably when Sleznick transferred in 1967 to the Virgin Islands. Although the telephone system resisted his resourcefulness and resolve, those traits did contribute directly to the successful development of the monument under very difficult circumstances. By the time Sleznick left, construction had essentially been completed, the trailers moved from Campbell's ranch, and the residences opened to the superintendent, his ranger, and their families.

Replacing Sleznick was William Lukens, who arrived at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument in September 1967. [66] Although he had to contend with some additional

problems of construction—underground electric cables were shorting out, for example—Lukens spent most of his time improving the interpretive program at the monument. He coordinated the ongoing development of exhibits for permanent display in the visitor center, supervised their installation in 1968, and organized the ceremonial dedication of the building a year later. Lukens also participated in planning a major stabilization of the cliff ruins, which occurred in 1968 and included the construction of the current one-way loop trail from the contact station through the ruins and back.

A new factor in managing the monument was the occupation by staff from the Gila National Forest of their assigned offices in the visitor center. They had arrived shortly after commercial power and telephone systems did, in early 1968. [67] Although the Park Service and the Forest Service had previously cooperated amiably and very effectively during the earlier planning and construction phase of the monument improvements, Sleznick and his staff had nevertheless enjoyed a relative independence, which their physical isolation had entailed. Lukens, in addition to his professional responsibilities, now had to meet the daily challenge stemming from the occupation of one small site by staff of two large and historically rivalrous agencies.

Despite close quarters, overlapping duties, and the novelty of interdependence, cooperation between the two agencies was exemplary. Visitors to the monument, which was managed by the Park Service, often stayed overnight at the Scorpion Corral Campground, which was managed by the Forest Service, and both agencies alternated in hosting campfire presentations. When Don Morris, an archeologist with the Park Service, came to survey prehistoric sites around the visitor center, he was helped by Joe Janes, the naturalist for the Gila National Forest. At the request of the Forest Service, Morris also made recommendations regarding the preservation of Grudgings Cabin, a historic site near the monument. Not long afterwards an exhibit specialist from the Park Service's Harpers Ferry Center wrote a thoughtful assessment of a nature trail that the Forest Service had developed between the pictographs at Scorpion Corral and a two-room ruin farther up a side canyon. In 1968, Joe Janes interpreted the cliff ruins while Lukens and his ranger were called to fight a wildfire. In short, interagency cooperation at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument ranged from implementing coordinated strategies for more effective resource management to coping with unplanned contingencies.

Once a year, the regional directors of the Park Service and the Forest Service met to coordinate their budgets for operating and cyclic maintenance expenses. Lukens made his budget and management recommendations to his superiors in Santa Fe, but he commonly sought advice and the resolution of quotidian problems from the forest supervisor in Silver City. "Dick Johnson was almost the same as my supervisor," recalled Lukens in 1991. "If I had a problem, it was easier to work with Dick than the region because of "Doc" [Campbell's] radio-phone." [68] The radio-phone made calls to Silver City easier than calls to the regional office in Santa Fe, which entailed a long drive to a phone with an adequate long-distance connection.

There were, of course, a few cracks in this solidarity. A 1972 inspection report prepared by the forest supervisor acknowledged some frustrations in the "growing up stages" of the joint occupation. [69] The report noted that the cramped living conditions were conducive to a kind of edginess commonly associated with cabin fever. It also included a laconic observation about the complicating effect of the Park Service possessing a superior position in an office building that was on Forest Service land. Earlier, a management appraisal by the Park Service had noted that the 1964 Memorandum of Agreement did not clearly define jurisdiction and lines of authority. [70] Although both agencies recognized the potential for greater conflict, frictions were minimal.

In 1971, when his children were ready for school, Lukens transferred to the less remote Chiricahua National Monument in southern Arizona. Replacing him on the upper Gila was Elroy Bohlins, who continued the cooperative nature of the monument's management program. [[71](#)]

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Chapter IV: HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY UNTIL 1962 (continued)

Watson And The Advent Of Historical Particularism

In 1927, *El Palacio*, a magazine founded by Edgar L. Hewett and the New Mexico Archaeological Society to promote archeology and Southwestern culture in general, published a survey by Editha L. Watson of 104 archeological sites along the upper Gila River, some of its tributaries, the Mimbres River, and around the general vicinity of Pinos Altos, an old mining town just north of Silver City. [27] The most detailed site description (#20) was of Gila Cliff Dwellings, the first published description of the place since Hough's reprint of Bandelier's report, and a photograph of the ruins illustrated the title page of the August 27 issue. Corncobs were still plentiful, and Watson also noted the presence of red pictographs, about which she wrote "they are supposed to be the work of later tribes." The source of this supposition is unknown, although she may have discussed the pictographs with Wesley Bradfield, an archeologist with the School of American Archaeology who had begun several years earlier to excavate at a Mimbres ruin near Silver City—work that was also reported in *El Palacio*—or with C. Burton and Harriet Cosgrove, amateurs from Silver City who were digging at the Swarts Ruin and who would write a report that stood for years as the best description of a Mimbres cultural site.

Like the Cosgroves, Watson was not a university-trained archeologist, but she had a significant collection of Mimbres mortuary pottery that brought her to the attention of Jesse Walter Fewkes, drawing her at least peripherally into professional archeological circles. Fewkes himself had been drawn to the Mimbres area by E. D. Osborne, another local and amateur collector of prehistoric pottery, who had begun a correspondence with the Smithsonian Institution just as Lieutenant Metcalf had more than 30 years earlier.

In her survey, Watson included the TJ Ruin (#23), which was "across the river from the [Heart Bar Ranch] house, on what is called the 'Polo Grounds,'" and noted that the pottery sherds were different from those elsewhere in the Heart Bar range (the West and Middle forks of the Gila) which appeared to have been thickly settled at one time. This observation contrasted with the previously noted assessments of the Forest Service and the Park Service. She also reported without comment that Mr. T. L. Perrine, the manager of the Heart Bar, had excavated another site on the ranch "range" that yielded burials but not the valuable mortuary pottery. Pothunting was common, Watson had written in her introduction, and she recommended that all the sites she identified be excavated or preserved.

Seven years after the 1907 publication of *Antiquities of the Upper Gila and Salt River Valleys in Arizona and New Mexico*, Jesse Walter Fewkes had commented that "we know practically nothing about the prehistoric cultures of the Upper Gila," and Alfred Vincent Kidder had reiterated the observation, practically word for word, in his *Introduction to the Study of Southwestern Archaeology*, published another ten years later. In this near void, Watson's survey, which identified many sites that Hough and his informants had not recorded, had little impact and few echoes—not until the 1980s did it even appear in a scientific

bibliography. The popular bias of the magazine in which the survey was reported may have contributed to the professional silence, but a larger reason was probably a change that was happening in the theoretical framework of archeology: historical particularism.

The ascendancy of Franz Boas and the influence of his empirical approach to anthropology, actual excavations at Pecos, Pueblo Bonito, and ruins in the Four Corners area, and the new procedures of stratigraphic records and ceramic seriation developed around the time of the First World War shifted professional attention in the Southwest to the creation of relative chronologies for prehistoric sites. This trend was formalized in 1927 as the Pecos Classification System: Basketmaker I, II, III, and Pueblo I, II, III, IV, V. In brief, typologies of architecture and artifacts that had previously been developed for descriptive purposes and the presence or absence of particular traits or phenomena at excavated sites—evidence of agriculture or cranial deformation, for example—were used to sequence chronologically the evolution of pueblo culture.

Published the same month and year of the first Pecos conference, Watson's survey echoed the intent of Hough's 1907 work—the legal protection of antiquities. Twenty years after the passage of the Antiquities Act, her approach was dated. The cursory information was only of anecdotal interest, nearly irrelevant to the new issue of cultural history, and ultimately overshadowed by excavations in 1927 at the Cameron Creek Ruin and along the Mimbres River at the Swarts and Galaz sites.

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Chapter IV: HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY UNTIL 1962 (continued)

Park Service: Gordon, Reed, And King

In March 1935, almost two years after the official transfer of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument from Forest Service to Park Service management, "Boss" Pinkley, superintendent of Southwestern Monuments, was finally able to send someone to look over the new acquisition. G. H. Gordon, an assistant engineer, was guided by Leslie Fleming of the Gila Hot Springs Ranch on an 18-mile horseback ride to the cliff dwellings. There Gordon made a sketch plan of the cave-sheltered ruins. He also gathered a small surface collection of fragmentary artifacts and later reported some evidence of digging. Within the previous month, reportedly, amateur diggers from a nearby CCC camp had visited the ruins, and three or so years earlier "a party visited the dwellings and did more or less digging and...found a bead necklace, after they had pushed over a wall." Despite these ransackings, Gordon suggested that the floor fill might still contain a great deal of prehistoric material, and he felt the architecture was well made and worthy of recognition. Among other recommendations, he suggested the ruins be included in the plan for ruins stabilization. During his stay he visited two extensive "Pueblo III" pithouse sites. Unfortunately, he did not specify their location other than as "in this locality."

Two years later, Erik Reed, an assistant archeologist for the regional office in Santa Fe, accompanied a team of Park Service investigators to inspect the Gila Primitive Area and to assess the entire area's potential—600,000 or so acres—for national park status. With the exception of Gila Cliff Dwellings, Reed reported that none of the other numerous archeological sites was of popular appeal and that they hardly constituted a "primary reason for the establishment of a National Park" although they would be features of interest in a park, especially since the area had never been extensively studied. [34] An allusion to the TJ site and the passing observation that only the cliff dwellings were of any importance underscores how much study remained to be done. At the cliff dwellings themselves, the investigators debunked the rumor of a recent collapse of an archway within the walls, using as a base for comparison photographs of the site that had been published in Hough's 1907 survey.

In 1939, Dale S. King, a Park Service naturalist working out of the Southwestern National Monument office in Casa Grande, Arizona, visited Gila Cliff Dwellings, where he took a dendro-chronological sample from one of the beams. Emil Haury, who was then working at the University of Arizona, dated the sample as A.D. 1286, providing the first scientifically derived date specific to the site. Two years later, archeologists from Gila Pueblo took additional samples, but these were not analyzed until the 1960s. [35]

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Chapter V: HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY 1962 TO 1991

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Research Priorities

Anderson concluded the summary of his report with a recommendation that no further excavation occur at Gila Cliff Dwellings until seminal research questions are posed that cannot be answered without it. This recommendation underscores a shift in archeological priorities over the years since the monument was expanded, a change that has especially affected plans for research at the TJ Ruin.

When Vivian excavated Gila Cliff Dwellings in 1963, there had been two research priorities: excavation at the cliff site, in this case a salvage operation to prepare for increased visitation; and excavation of the TJ Ruin, which yielded in the budget to the imminent need of the cliff site. [21] In 1966, Superintendent Selznick began the long process of budgeting and planning the excavation of the TJ site. Later the 1968 archeological management plan for the monument, developed by his successor Bill Lukens in collaboration with Don Morris, listed excavation of the TJ site as the most important research need. In September of the same year, however, Lukens changed his mind.

Concerned about protecting an excavated TJ Ruin without enough staff to interpret that site and the cliff dwellings and to manage the visitor center, as well, he withdrew the request for excavation—a \$100,000 project already scheduled for fiscal year 1970. Despite the expressed chagrin of the chief of the Southwestern Archeological Center, the regional interpretive archeologist in Santa Fe concurred—at least for "the next year or so."

To date this ruin has not been excavated, and large excavation is no longer even proposed in the resources management plans. Part of the reason is financial: each year the cost rises for a major excavation that includes analysis and a full report, and exposure of the TJ architecture for interpretive purposes would entail an additional and perpetual expenditure of funds for protection and stabilization of the open site. [22] Lukens, of course, had also been specifically concerned about having enough staff to interpret and protect the TJ site, an additional funding issue.

But money was not the only issue. Lukens' change of heart also reflects tension between the mandates to interpret and to preserve archeological sites. On the one hand, it has been observed, meaningful evaluation and interpretation of the TJ Ruin depends on a program of excavation. [23] The components of Gila Cliff Dwellings only emerged after Vivian's 1963 work, for example. On the other hand, excavation threatens the resource on two levels—the physical structure itself and the information the site contains.

First and obviously, architecture exposed through excavation must be stabilized—often at great expense at an open site. Otherwise the site must be reburied or it will decay, the unfortunate consequence of Wesley Bradfield's work at the Cameron Creek site. [24] Nor is

weather the only concern. The mere passing footsteps of visitors—to mention the most innocuous impact—repeated thousands and thousands and thousands of times can destabilize ancient and fragile adobe-and-cobble construction that remains exposed for interpretive purposes.

Moreover, excavation destroys stratigraphy and the contextual association and distribution of artifacts. Although that data is usually tabulated carefully, the record is inevitably limited by the current knowledge, interest, and perceptions—not to mention technologies—of the excavating archeologist. [25] The provenience problems of material from Gila Cliff Dwellings may stem largely from this limitation. The best records were kept for the articles that most interested Vivian, the perishables. Similarly the Cosgroves failed to keep samples of wood from the Swarts Ruin, unaware in the late 1920s that techniques of dendrochronology would soon be able to provide absolute dates for the Mimbres Valley site. That charcoal or undisturbed hearths could be dated were possibilities that rely on technologies unimagined at that time.

A partial response to these problems, to the rapid improvement in archeological technologies after the Second World War, and to the accompanying expectation of even greater advances in the future was a theoretical current that welled in the 1960s for the conservation of archeological sites—banking them for the future, so to speak, until better techniques, new questions and a new generation can elicit more information from a site than currently possible. Recently, Lukens said that interest in banking the TJ Ruin and concern about the still uncompleted report of Vivian's excavation at the Gila Cliff Dwellings had additionally contributed to his decision to withdraw Selznick's petition for excavation on the mesa. [26]

Also in the 1960s, influenced by the increasingly scientific orientation of anthropology in technique and theory, American archeology underwent another major change that—among other things—linked excavation to the testing of hypotheses. [27] In other words, specific questions were to govern which sites were to be dug and the kind of information sought. [28] One effect of this new orientation was to limit especially the scale of excavation, with a practical emphasis on just enough testing and sampling to prove or disprove a hypothesis and a reluctance to dig up an entire site.

Anderson's reluctance to see further excavation at Gila Cliff Dwellings reflects an additional need to weigh the value of a question against the scarcity and unknown potential of the resource.

As for the TJ Ruin, Lukens' concerns in 1968 stalled the momentum for major excavation just long enough for the proposal to be overtaken by rising costs and the new professional attitudes about scale, the purpose of digging, and the need to preserve sites for the future. In 1989, archeologists from the Region III office of the Park Service could "forecast no foreseeable plans...to excavate the [TJ] ruin." [29] In the same year, a study of alternatives to commemorate the Mimbres culture—noting the pristine nature of the TJ site and the scarcity of large Mimbres sites in that condition—recommended that "only limited research be allowed, with the major part of the site banked for the future." [30]

Of 14 research projects proposed for Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument in 1981, only one—next to last in priority—entailed even minor excavation, and four of the first five priorities revolved around the protection and preservation of the physical archeological resources. The most current plan places priority on protection and preservation, with limited testing and surface collecting ranked 11th of the 14 proposals.

Despite low priority, it should be observed that limited excavation at TJ Ruin is still primarily constrained by inadequate funding. If a university wished to make test excavations at the site

or donated money were available, the regional office would approve an appropriate sampling project. [[31](#)]

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McKenna And Bradford

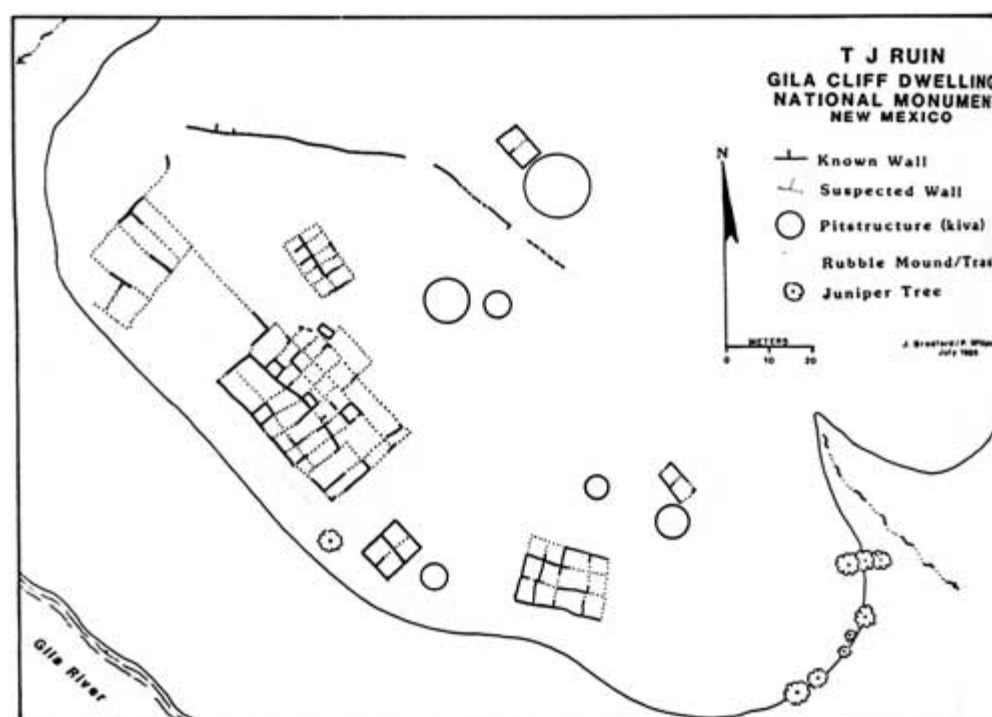
Not all archeological research entails excavation, however, and in July 1986, Peter McKenna and Jim Bradford, Park Service archeologists with the Southwest regional office, began mapping the TJ Ruin, using an alidade and a plane table to record structural mass and individual alignments of the architecture. [32] Limited samples of ceramic sherds and lithics were collected, as well, to establish chronologies and material resources. The results were reported in 1986 at the Sixth Mogollon Conference and published in 1989. [33]

Five distinct roomblocks were documented at this open-air pueblo. More or less aligned along the steep southwest edge of a mesa, the prehistoric structures are oriented towards a plaza that was created by a partially enclosing wall. In the report, roughly 200 rooms were estimated for the entire site, a count that varied according to the measures used to make the calculation: wall alignment vs. rubble mass to determine square footage, for example (see table 4). The central roomblock is the largest structure, has the greatest variation in room size, and may even have had two stories. The peripheral roomblocks appear to be more regular and to have larger rooms. Although only 10 rooms were clearly definable, they averaged 20 square meters each—nearly twice as large as the 12-square-meter average proposed for Mimbres phase sites in the Mimbres Valley. Seven pithouse structures were also discerned, two or three of which appeared to be communal structures containing Mimbres phase refuse. Most of the masonry was cobble or slab set in adobe, and the architecture appeared to date from A.D. 900 to A.D. 1150. A single possibly Salado phase adobe structure was tentatively identified. Surface artifactual material was extensive and evenly distributed, and no definitive refuse area was located.

Ceramics provided evidence for 900 years of occupation at the TJ Ruin, ranging from Georgetown through Salado phases, with a major occupation during the Mimbres phase and the late Mangus phase. Reserve and Tularosa phase ceramics suggested greater contact with populations along the San Francisco drainage than was common for Mimbres Valley pueblos although without studies of ceramic sourcing it could not be determined whether those ceramics represented trade or occupation. All of the lithic material was available from immediately local sources, although some of the obsidian nodules recovered at the TJ site resembled Mule Creek samples.

The mapping project also sought to weave the TJ Ruin into a more subtle regional context than was conceived in the mid-1950s, when the site was definitively recognized by Vivian, Richert, and Steen as an important multi-component Mimbres site. The new context had been initially proposed by James Fitting. In 1982, based on his work in the Cliff Valley and on perceived differences between the archeologies there and in the Mimbres Valley, Fitting had suggested parsing the Mimbres branch into three distinct cultural sequences identified by watersheds—a San Francisco branch, a Cliff-Gila branch, and a more circumscribed

Mimbres (Valley) branch. [34]



Plan of TJ Ruin as mapped by Peter McKenna and Jim Bradford in 1986.
(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

The distinctiveness of the San Francisco sequence, which culminated with the Tularosa phase, had long been observed in various and confusing ways, of course, but the Cliff-Gila branch was essentially new. [35] Fitting's distinctions were used in 1986 for studying the TJ Ruin.

In 1955, ceramics from the TJ site had already suggested substantial northern contacts, and the 1986 study proposed that surface architecture further reflected the site's boundary position between Mimbres populations and those in the San Francisco drainage, combining elements characteristic of both areas: scattered roomblocks, for example (Mimbres branch-Mimbres phase), with an enclosing wall at least partially around the plaza (San Francisco branch-Reserve/ Tularosa phases).

Based largely on the prominence accorded the cliff dwellings, Fitting had recognized the boundary position (Mimbres branch/San Francisco branch) of archeological sites at Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, and he consequently concluded that they were very different from those in the Cliff-Gila Valley. McKenna and Bradford, on the other hand, suggested substantial archeological continuity between the Gila forks area and the lower Gila valleys around Cliff and Redrock. They based their suggestion on phase sequences and settlement patterns: 1) Mangus phase, which is apparently present in the Gila forks and Cliff-Gila Valleys and is absent in the Mimbres Valley; [36] and 2) concordance of the TJ Ruin's size and location with the "Gila River pattern of greater aggregation and more widely spaced large sites than is found in the Mimbres Valley." [37]

In addition, the presence of communal structures at the TJ Ruin—features presumed to have been abandoned in the Mimbres Valley during the Mimbres phase—also link the national monument site with the Woodrow and the Cemetery sites farther down the Gila River, where communal structures appear to have continued through the Mimbres phase. The study noted, however, that the congruity of the communal structures is not complete. Those at the TJ Ruin appear to be circular and those at the Woodrow and the Cemetery sites rectangular.

Of course, other differences between these archeological sites along the Gila River were observed, as well. Aside from the Tularosa phase encroachment into the Gila forks area, which did not apparently occur in the Cliff-Gila and Redrock valleys, there is a substantial disparity between Salado phase manifestations along the river. The TJ Ruin is one of only two sites on the Gila forks with a possible Salado phase component, [38] an apparent fact suggesting a large decline in population similar to one proposed during the same period for the Mimbres Valley, which has few Salado phase sites. In the Cliff-Gila sequence, however, "[t]he Salado phase is the most spectacularly evident archeology." [39] In short, the TJ Ruin appears to be a unique site, with a mix of traits that suggest affinities to cultural sequences in each of the San Francisco, the Cliff-Gila, and the Mimbres valleys.

To clarify the significance of the TJ Ruin, McKenna and Bradford recommended an archeological reconnaissance to provide a gross overview of settlement patterns along the river between the national monument and Turkey Creek, which flows into the Gila just a few miles above the Woodrow Ruin. In addition, they recommended a remote sensing survey of the TJ Ruin with magnetometer and with areal imagery; the salvage of vandalized rooms—one in Roomblock 5 and another in Roomblock 1; [40] limited testing with pits and trenches to help delineate the basic site structure and to provide materials with discrete proveniences; and an archival search as well as local interviews to establish the history of activities at and collections from the ruin.

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GILA CLIFF DWELLINGS

Administrative History



Chapter II: HISTORY OF TENURE AND DEVELOPMENT 1933-1955 EXECUTIVE ORDER 6166 (continued)

Campbell And The Reserve Monument: 1942-1955

Originally from Pennsylvania, Campbell had come to the Southwest in 1930—when he was 17—for adventure and relief from hay fever. Drawn by New Mexico's largest wilderness, he had ridden a burro the same year to the forks of the Gila River and trapped fur all winter—without much success. In the spring, he found more reliable employment wrangling a pack string on the Gila Hot Springs Ranch, the small resort that had been developed by the Hill brothers in the 1890s and the same place at which Bandelier had stayed during his visit to Gila Cliff Dwellings in 1884. Later, Campbell worked eight years on the XSX Ranch on the East Fork before purchasing in 1940 the 320-acre Gila Hot Springs Ranch, which he continued to operate as a guest ranch and base for his guide service into the wilderness. [33]

On April 1, 1942, based on Miller's recommendation, Campbell was appointed nominal custodian of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, a responsibility that entailed inspecting the ruins once a month for structural damage and advising ranchers and other local guides about rules that prohibited digging for artifacts, knocking down walls, writing graffiti, "and other vandalisms or thoughtless practices which might be destructive to the ruins." Damage was to be reported immediately to the Southwestern National Monuments office in Casa Grande, Arizona; otherwise, a monthly report sent on a regular date would be sufficient. All in all, he was advised:

We want you to be our local representative to keep us constantly in touch with the situation at the Gila Cliff Dwellings by acting as a combination godfather and wet nurse to those somewhat neglected but very valuable and interesting dwellings. [35]

In return for these services, Campbell received a check twice a month for 46 cents—that is, a dollar a month, less an eight-percent deduction for his retirement fund. [36]

In 1990, Campbell recalled the early years of his nominal employment at Gila Cliff Dwellings with the following observations:

[W]e made several trips up there. Sometimes once a month, sometimes much oftener. We filed a monthly report. We answered the mail. Now they did furnish stationary and envelopes—stamped envelopes—and they did have...an information sheet that we could enclose. Mrs. Campbell had been a secretary in the civil service, and so she did the typing. We had a portable typewriter, and she did the typing to respond to [inquiries...]

Now, in those days—particularly in wintertime—you didn't get mail very often. We might get a letter once in a while...I wrote [the Washington office of the Park Service] a letter and told them how things were out here, and I mentioned the fact that we sent mail in sometimes when anyone was going in the general direction of the post office [in Silver City]. I got wires out of Washington relayed by telephone: "Where's that report?" That stopped that. But anyhow, we did make the reports—how many visitors and what had happened....

And we maintained that trail. And the trail was maintained as a family. We'd usually go have a picnic, and go up there and rake the trail and fix it up—put in water bars, build some steps...It just went up the canyon, and it was a beautiful trail. People enjoyed it....

And then remember, we had no appropriation so any tools we used on the trail was our tools. We had no typewriter except our own. In other words, this was the way it was, and that was the way it had been by other rural areas. This was just kind of customary, I guess [37]

In his role as a wilderness guide, Campbell also provided tours of the ruins for the paying guests who stayed at his ranch. In 1942, for example, the same year he was appointed custodian, all but six of the 196 visitors who signed the register had either been guests at his own Gila Hot Springs Ranch or at the nearby Lyons Lodge. [38] Ultimately, the coincidence of Campbell's custodial and hospitable responsibilities as well as his own curiosity elicited the first archeological overviews of Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, one from Charlie Steen [39] and one from Erik Reed, [40] who were staff archeologists with the Park Service. Both overviews had been researched and written at Campbell's specific request.

Beyond the fortuitous hiring of Campbell, who had a personal interest in the ruins, the Southwestern National Monuments office limited its investment in the isolated monument to the minimal recommendations of Tillotson. No visitor facilities were constructed, but the ruins were stabilized, using \$390 that had been allotted to that end. Although modest, this figure compares favorably with the \$240 spent in the same year at Chaco Canyon.

In July 1942, an archeologist—Charlie Steen, in fact—was dispatched from Casa Grande to Gila Cliff Dwellings, where he spent five days with a hired man, shoring up walls with dry masonry, measuring for a ground plan, taking core samples of the beams, cleaning the site, and building a trail from the small stream in the canyon to the ruins. Also, he dug two exploratory trenches for sherds that could be used to infer cultural affiliations of the prehistoric site.

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Chapter IV: HISTORY OF ARCHEOLOGY UNTIL 1962 (continued)

Cosgroves And The Further Evolution Of Historical Particularism

In 1929, two years after Watson's article in *El Palacio*, C. Burton and Harriet Cosgrove, the local husband-and-wife team of archeologists sponsored by the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, were on the headwaters of the Gila River, surveying cave and rock shelters and occasionally salvaging the associated prehistoric artifacts. Concerned about the prevalence of vandalism and looting at these kind of sites, their fieldwork eventually included caves in the Hueco Mountains in Texas, caves in far southwestern New Mexico, and Chavez cave on the Rio Grande in southern New Mexico.

Despite extended fieldwork around the forks of the Gila and for reasons not explained in their published analysis, the Cosgroves examined only one site that lies in the national monument—a cave adjoining "on the north the group containing the cliff houses of the Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument," [28] which by description is now known as Cave 6 of the linked caves at the monument. [29] At any rate, behind a large boulder, a disturbed burial was found, the remains of a prehistoric male adult whose skull showed artificial occipital flattening. Using the classification system developed at the 1927 Pecos conference—which they had attended—the Cosgroves were the first to record for Gila Cliff Dwellings two components, or distinct occupations, one of which was very early. This observation was only recognized in the adjoining caves years later and independently of their work. In addition to the skeleton, they recovered artifacts that they identified as of Pueblo or Basketmaker origin, including (Pueblo origin) broken reed arrows, a miniature ceremonial bow, feather cloth, "gaming sticks," sherds of Tularosa fillet-rim and Tularosa Black-on-white and (Basketmaker origin) a wood dart foreshaft. A shell gorget, reed cigarettes, and vegetal remains were of ambiguous origin. Collotypes of some of these objects were included in the analysis, which was finally published in 1947.

Better known for their excavation of Swarts Ruin in the Mimbres Valley, [30] the Cosgroves subsumed the cave surveys into their 1932 report on the Swarts site by drawing the boundaries of the Mimbres culture, at that time still viewed as a variant of the general pueblo culture, to include in the north all of the West Fork and Middle Fork of the Gila River. These boundaries notably excluded the upper San Francisco River and the Tularosa River—the area explored by Hough during the Gates-Museum expedition. In the final report of the cave survey, they did record the presence of Tularosa ceramics at Cave 2 on the West Fork (Cave 6) and at five other cave sites between the confluence of Sapillo Creek with the Gila and the cliff dwellings along the Middle Fork, artifacts "indicating more northerly contacts."

Although neither *Caves of the Upper Gila* nor *Swarts Ruin* contains a description of the TJ pueblo site, the Cosgroves had apparently seen the ruin: they recommended in 1934 that it be studied by the National Resources Board, [31] a new organization that had been created by executive order to study resources, including needs for state and national parks.

The same year that the Cosgroves were climbing into caves on the upper Gila, the goal of a general cultural history of the Southwest was complicated at the third Pecos conference when the relevance of Pecos classification to locales below the Mogollon rim was challenged. Two years later, at a conference held at the Gila Pueblo archeological foundation in Globe, Arizona, a second classification framework was developed for a southern prehistoric culture (Hohokam). In 1934, yet a third culture (Mogollon) was recognized for southwestern New Mexico by H. S. Gladwin, founder of the Gila Pueblo, and formally described in 1936 by Emil Haury, whose archeological excavations at Mogollon Village and the Harris site had been sponsored by Gila Pueblo.

Already dissatisfied with the Pecos classification sequence, Gladwin suggested in 1934 a new and universal system of classification, using a genealogical tree as the organizing metaphor. [32] The roots of this tree were the principal recognized Southwestern cultures, at that time Hohokam, Caddoan (subsequently labelled Mogollon), Basketmaker (subsequently labelled Anasazi), and Yuman (subsequently labelled Patayan and later Hakataya). The stems were regional variants of the roots (San Juan stem of the Basketmaker root, for example). The branches were still smaller geographical variants within stems (Chaco branch of the San Juan stem of the Basketmaker root). Each branch could further be divided into phases that represented distinct developmental stages. Regarding the Anasazi, the Pecos classification sequence could still be used for that level of division, but for branches of other roots a plethora of new names was required to identify specific phases that were ultimately recognized by finely grouped traits of material culture. The four roots are still used as a conceptual framework to classify the prehistory of the Southwest.

The Gladwinian "genetic-chronologic" system of classification and the conceptual fragmentation of the previously "general" pueblo culture had three long-term effects on the archeology of the upper Gila. First, no one knew how far the culture root might extend geographically. As a result, research in southwestern New Mexico shifted from relatively well-excavated sites on the Mimbres drainage to the headwaters of the San Francisco River and to sites farther west in Arizona, new country suggested by Gila Pueblo. Although Hough had noted many sites 30 years earlier around Reserve, with one brief exception they were still unexcavated in the late 1930s. Chief among Hough's successors in the area were Paul Martin and his colleagues, whose work was sponsored by Chicago Natural History Museum, and later Edward Danson, whose survey of west-central New Mexico and eastern Arizona was sponsored by the Peabody Museum. After Haury published in 1936 a phase sequence for the Mogollon, [33] no additional research formally occurred in the Mimbres area, including the forks of the Gila, until salvage operations at Gila Cliff Dwellings in 1963.

Second, as cultural boundaries were researched, the Mogollon root began to be parsed into more and more branches based on increasingly fine artifactual distinctions. For example, in 1947, Haury reported three branches (Mimbres, Forestdale, and San Simon); by 1955 Joe Ben Wheat noted six branches and possibly two additional ones (Mimbres, Pine Lawn—possibly a northern Mimbres subset—Forestdale, San Simon, Black River, Cibola, Jornada, and possibly another as yet un-named branch in Chihuahua, Mexico). As a result, discussion of the "Mogollon problem" became increasingly burdened with taxonomies and the lists of material traits needed to distinguish the various branches, all of which had largely separate sequences of phases that required more lists as well.

The third effect was more subtle. With attention focused on new areas, there was a tendency to overlook or not to perceive complexities, variations, or anomalies within already described branches, some of which had been described on the basis of excavation at a single site. Given the very limited amount of archeological work on the Gila River and the initial concentration of research in the Mimbres Valley, the effects of this normative tendency were pronounced during the first years of Park Service management at Gila Cliff Dwellings National

Monument.

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