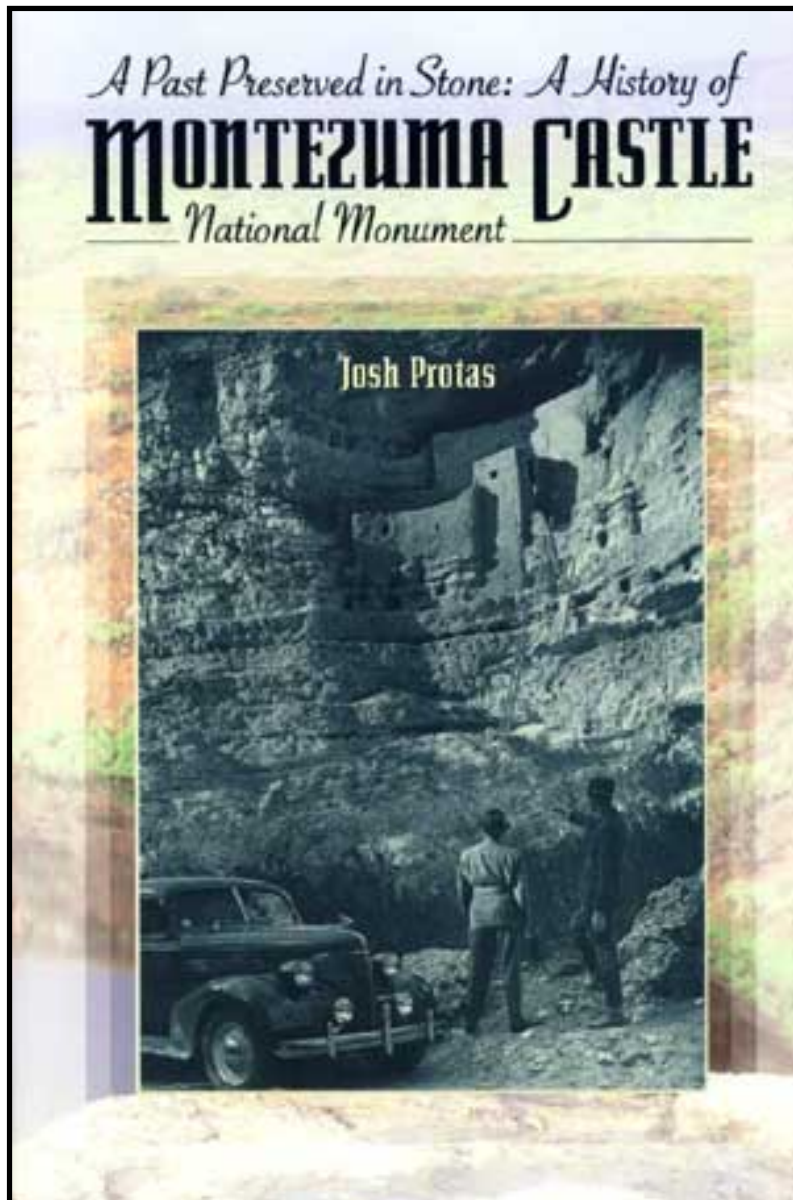


Montezuma Castle

National Monument



A Past Preserved in Stone: A History of
MONTEZUMA CASTLE
National Monument

Josh Protas

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A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument*

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Foreword

The prehistoric cliff house above Beaver Creek has been misunderstood since the 1860s, when the first vagabond groups of miners and soldiers visited the area and misnamed it after the Aztec emperor, Montezuma. A few years ago a young historian proposed trying to rectify that situation by preparing a history of the "discovery" of Montezuma Castle and Well, the designation as a national monument, and the subsequent management of this national treasure. Josh Protas's *A Past Preserved in Stone: A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument* is the successful result of those efforts.

My career at Montezuma Castle National Monument has spanned nearly three decades. Often, I have felt a kindred spirit with the early explorers of these ruins. There is much yet to discover and understand about the wonderfully intact Sinagua cliff house and its associated sites, irrigation systems and "Well." Many National Park Service managers—the Jacksons, Boss Pinkley, John Cook, Sr.—have wrestled with problems and opportunities since December 8, 1906, when President Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed Montezuma Castle a national monument, the first prehistoric ruin to be so designated under the 1906 Antiquities Act.

The philosophies for preservation and access were just evolving at that time. The early decisions described by Josh Protas help us understand some of the steps, and occasional missteps, in planning for the long-term preservation of this small part of the Sinagua culture, a people that once loomed large in the upper Verde Valley of central Arizona. There were many more subtle ruins lost to homesteading and expanding settlement. Even Montezuma Well was threatened until the 1943 Act provided for its acquisition and preservation. Water still flows from the Well in prehistoric canals, thanks to constant preservation maintenance and upkeep.

Once an isolated attraction off the main highway, Montezuma Castle National Monument is today one of the most highly visited monuments in the National Park Service system, thanks to a direct interstate highway link to northern Arizona from booming Phoenix. Visitation has brought renewed and increased interest to the site, but also has resulted in the need for more development at "the Castle," which always brings up the National Park Service's mission, that tricky balance between the protection of resources while providing for public use. Fortunately, some of the more negative proposals for tunneling behind or building stairways in front of the Castle were tabled, while present roads and parking lots are kept to a minimum. An unobstructed view of the Castle from below still greets the visitor.

Josh Protas's work provides the visitor as well as monument management an excellent review of the nearly century of preservation and protection issues. The hope is that the values "ethnological value and scientific interest" proclaimed worth protecting for the public good by President Teddy Roosevelt in 1906 will still be evident a century from now.

Glen Henderson
Superintendent
Montezuma Castle National Monument
2001

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In addition, my most sincere thanks go to the National Park Service (NPS) for giving me the opportunity to work on this project. Superintendent Glen Henderson granted me open access to the Montezuma Castle administrative files, provided me accommodations at the monument while I was conducting research, and answered many of my research questions. Chief Ranger Steve Sandell as well as Billie Owens- Helm and Kate James from the administrative office helped me sort through the various materials in the monument files and offered their friendly support and encouragement. Monument volunteer Jack Beckman shared his extensive knowledge of the history and wonder of Montezuma Well. Many thanks to all of the staff at Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments who took an interest in this project and whose work contributes to the ongoing preservation efforts at the monuments. My deepest gratitude goes to Bob Spude, program leader at the NPS Southwest Support Office, who believed in my ability to accomplish this project, obtained funding to cover research expenses, and offered his invaluable guidance and support at every step of the way. Also thanks to Mary Padilla in the NPS Southwest Support Office for her tireless photo research.

Special thanks to my graduate committee at Arizona State University. Dr. Peter Iverson, serving as committee chair, has enriched my experience in academia by sharing with me his intellectual curiosity, professional insight and integrity, and personal warmth and understanding. Dr. Karen Smith and Dr. Noel Stowe have provided tremendous support, advice, and encouragement toward the completion of this project. Thank you also to the other faculty and to fellow graduate students who have inspired me along the way. A grant sponsored by the Research Support Program at Associated Students of Arizona State University, the Graduate College, and the Vice President for Research

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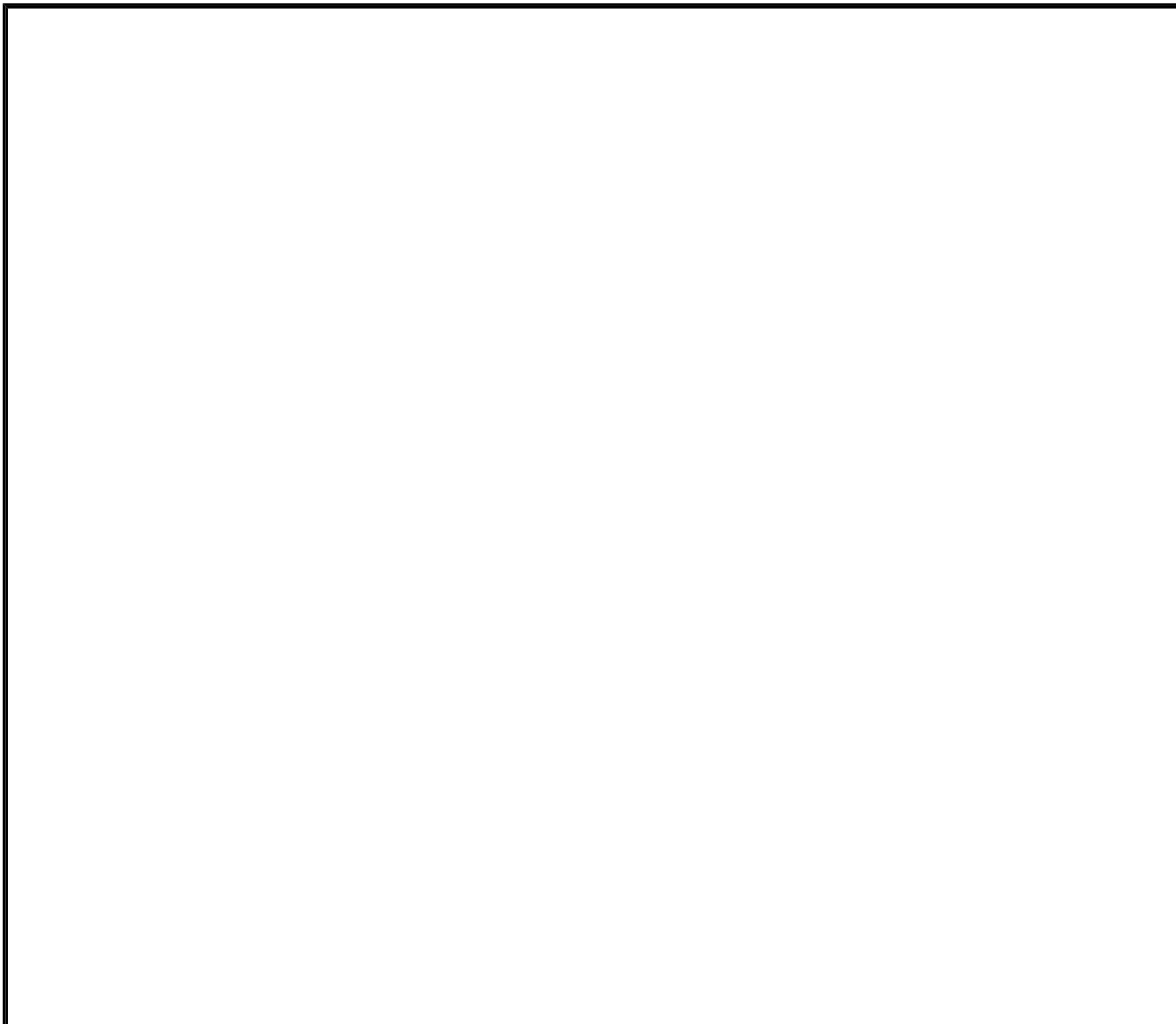
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Introduction

Set within a limestone cliff overlooking Beaver Creek in Arizona's Verde Valley (figure 1), the prehistoric ruin known as Montezuma Castle has stood for hundreds of years, a witness to great changes in the surrounding cultural and natural landscapes. The Castle, which the Sinagua people built and occupied from as early as a.d. 1200 until their mysterious departure from the Verde Valley more than two hundred years later, now serves as a reminder of the prehistoric cultures that once flourished in the region. Archeological evidence suggests a sequence of settlement by the Hohokam, Hakataya, and Sinagua peoples in the lush valleys and hills along the Verde River beginning around a. d. 900. Though these groups prospered, developing sophisticated cultures as well as agricultural and trade-based economies, they abandoned the Verde Valley entirely by a.d. 1425.



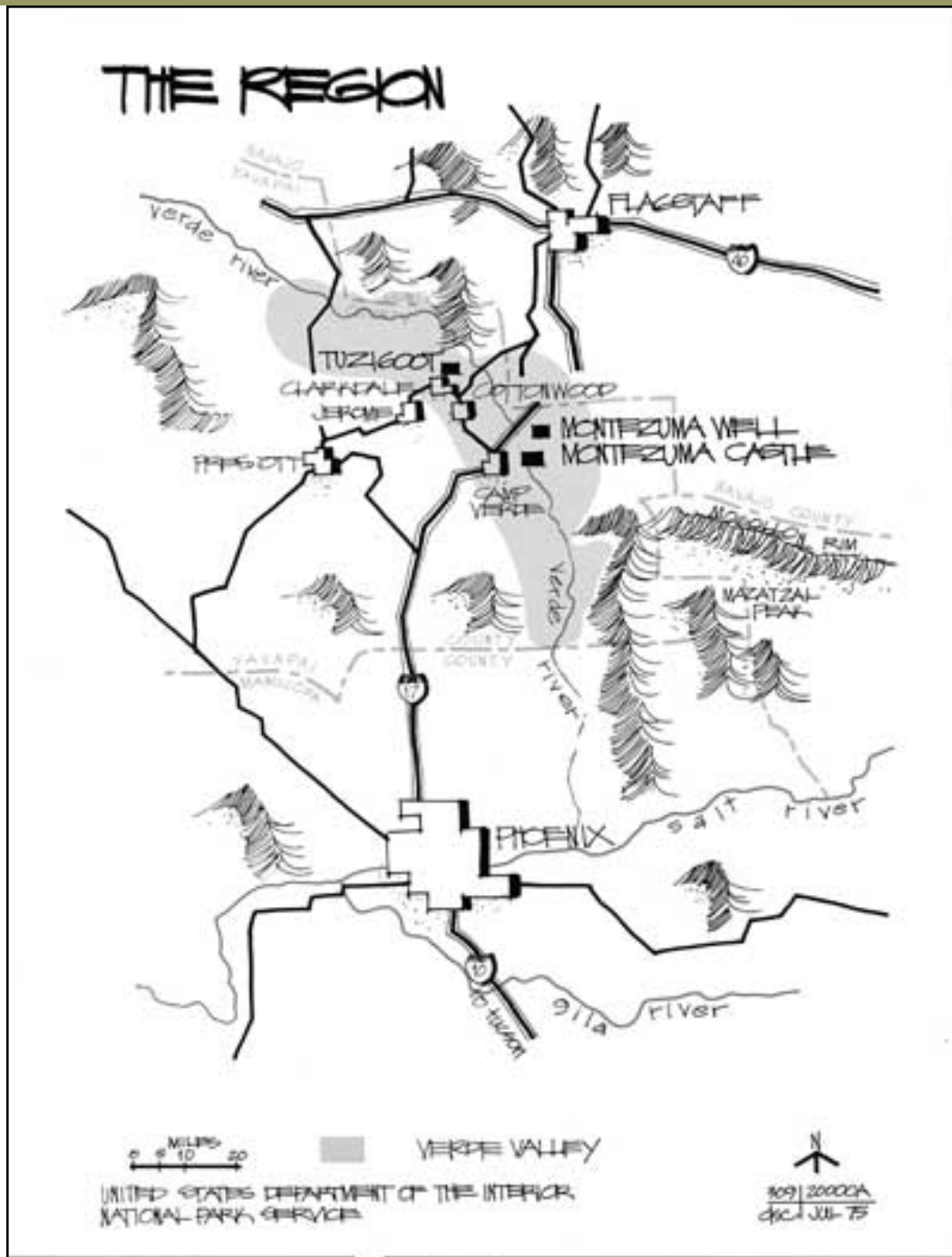


Figure 1. Site location map. From Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments Master Plan, 1975, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office.

Many years passed before visitors to the region reported their discovery of the remains of these vanished cultures. During the periods of exploration and settlement of the Verde Valley, Spanish explorers, fur trappers, surveyors, military officers, settlers, and tourists noted the impressive prehistoric structures and speculated on their origins, but the growing interest in and visitation to these "ruins" over time threatened their preservation. [1] Various individuals and groups became concerned about the destruction of these unique and fragile resources, and responded with efforts to

repair and protect them. Continued discussions at the local and national levels about the preservation of antiquities resulted in the establishment of Montezuma Castle National Monument on 8 December 1906 and later in the National Park Service (NPS) administration of the site.

This study examines in detail the perception and management of Montezuma Castle since the first historical account of visitation to the Verde Valley by Spanish explorers in 1583. It documents the changes in the condition of the ruins over time and explores the historical contexts in which these changes took place. As southwestern archeological sites began to receive increasing attention from various groups beginning in the late nineteenth century, Montezuma Castle experienced both threats to its stability and efforts to ensure its preservation. This history considers the attitudes, values, and ideas that informed these behaviors and the impact they had on the prehistoric ruins of the Verde Valley.

The primary focus of this study centers on the administration of Montezuma Castle National Monument. It begins with the history of the site before its incorporation into the NPS system and continues with an overview of the improvements and developments at the monument leading up to the start of World War II. Chapter 1 includes a discussion of the first historical contacts with Montezuma Castle and examines the impact on the ruins from the European American settlement of the Verde Valley. Chapter 2 looks at the increasing attention paid to archeological sites in the late nineteenth century and at the consequences of that attention. The time immediately following the establishment of Montezuma Castle National Monument is the subject of chapter 3. This period includes the nominal administration of the Castle by the General Land Office, the formation of the National Park Service and its management of the national monuments, and concerned citizens, and officials' efforts to increase the preservation activities at the Castle. Chapter 4 details the changes in the NPS administration of Montezuma Castle under the custodianships of Martin Jackson and Earl Jackson. During this time, the Castle received full-time care and protection, more substantial preservation activities, and significant developments to its programs and facilities.

In the postwar years, Arizona and the greater Southwest experienced a period of rapid alteration as a result of the influx of residents, the emergence of new industries, and the growth of tourism. These changes had a tremendous impact on Montezuma Castle National Monument and the surrounding Verde Valley. Chapters 5 through 7 focus on administrative activities at the monument in the last half of the twentieth century that have responded to these changes and have charted the course for the future of the monument. Chapter 5 documents the growing visitation to the monument and NPS plans, improvements, and developments designed to address the changing needs of the site. Consideration of the management of monument natural resources within the context of the emerging environmental movement, new federal legislative requirements, and changing NPS policies are the subjects of chapter 6. The study concludes with chapter 7, which explores the cultural resource management activities at the monument that have been influenced by advances in the field of archeology, the implementation of a host of federal regulations pertaining to prehistoric and historic resources, and the dramatic changes to the cultural landscape of the Verde Valley. In essence, this history of the administration of Montezuma Castle covers its transformation from a neglected prehistoric ruin to a developed and frequently visited national monument.

Notes

1. The term *ruins* is used to refer to the Montezuma Castle cliff dwelling and to the other prehistoric structures in the region. Visitors and local residents often used this term to describe the abandoned and frequently decomposed structures built by the prehistoric settlers of the Verde Valley.

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Chapter 1

EXPLORATIONS, IMPRESSIONS, AND EXCAVATIONS

The Prehistoric Ruins of the Verde Valley in the Nineteenth Century

"We were (and perhaps still are) attracted to ruins, no matter what their size or age. Their shabbiness served to bring something like a time scale to a landscape, which for all its solemn beauty failed to register the passage of time."

John Brinkerhoff Jackson, *A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time*

The prehistoric ruins of the Verde Valley have fascinated and impressed visitors to the region for centuries. As Europeans and European Americans gained knowledge of and explored these sites, however, they altered the context in which they existed. Ruins such as Montezuma Castle had remained well preserved up to this point largely because of the limited human contact and disturbance since the Sinagua inhabitants' abandonment of them. Yet as curious explorers, travelers, and researchers investigated the ruins, they brought with them their own values and understandings. The cultural lenses through which these visitors viewed prehistoric resources informed how they interpreted and treated them. Accounts of the early historical explorations of the ruins of the Verde Valley thus provide insights into their changing significance and use. Unfortunately, however, few records of these early explorations exist.

In the first of these documented journeys, Antonio de Espejo, following reports of rich mines, entered the Verde Valley in 1583. The Espejo expedition was initially organized to rescue two friars who had remained in New Mexico after the 1581-82 expedition headed by Captain Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado. The company of fifteen men set out from Valle de San Gregorio in Chihuahua, Mexico, and headed north along the Rio Grande to the Pueblo of Pualá in New Mexico, where they discovered that the friars had been murdered. Having a great interest in prospecting and seeking riches, the members of the party decided to explore the country before returning and journeyed from Santa Fe to Acoma, Zuni, and Hopi villages, where they heard rumors of distant mines. The party then split up, and Espejo and four others departed with Hopi guides to investigate the reports of the rich mines to the west. [1] It appears that these travelers were the first Europeans to enter the Verde Valley and describe the features of the region, including its ruins.

Two different records provide information about Espejo's trek to the mines: the journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, the chronicler of the expedition, and the account Espejo himself wrote shortly after

his return from New Mexico. Although there has been debate about the location of the mines and the route traveled, most scholars now believe that the party passed through the Verde Valley to reach mines in the vicinity of Jerome (figure 2). [2] Luxán's journal of this trip is considered to include an accurate description of the natural features of the Verde Valley and to support the theory of the presence of the expedition in the region. The following passage possibly refers to the Beaver Creek area: "This river we named El Río de las Parras. We found a ranchería belonging to mountain people who fled from us as we could see by the tracks. We saw plants of natural flax similar to that of Spain and numerous prickly pears. We left this place on the seventh of the month and after marching six leagues we reached a cienaguilla which flows into a small water ditch and we came to an abandoned pueblo." [3] The *cienaguilla* and small water ditch mentioned were probably Montezuma Well and the prehistoric irrigation canal flowing from its outlet. The abandoned pueblo could have been one of the large ruins beside the Well.

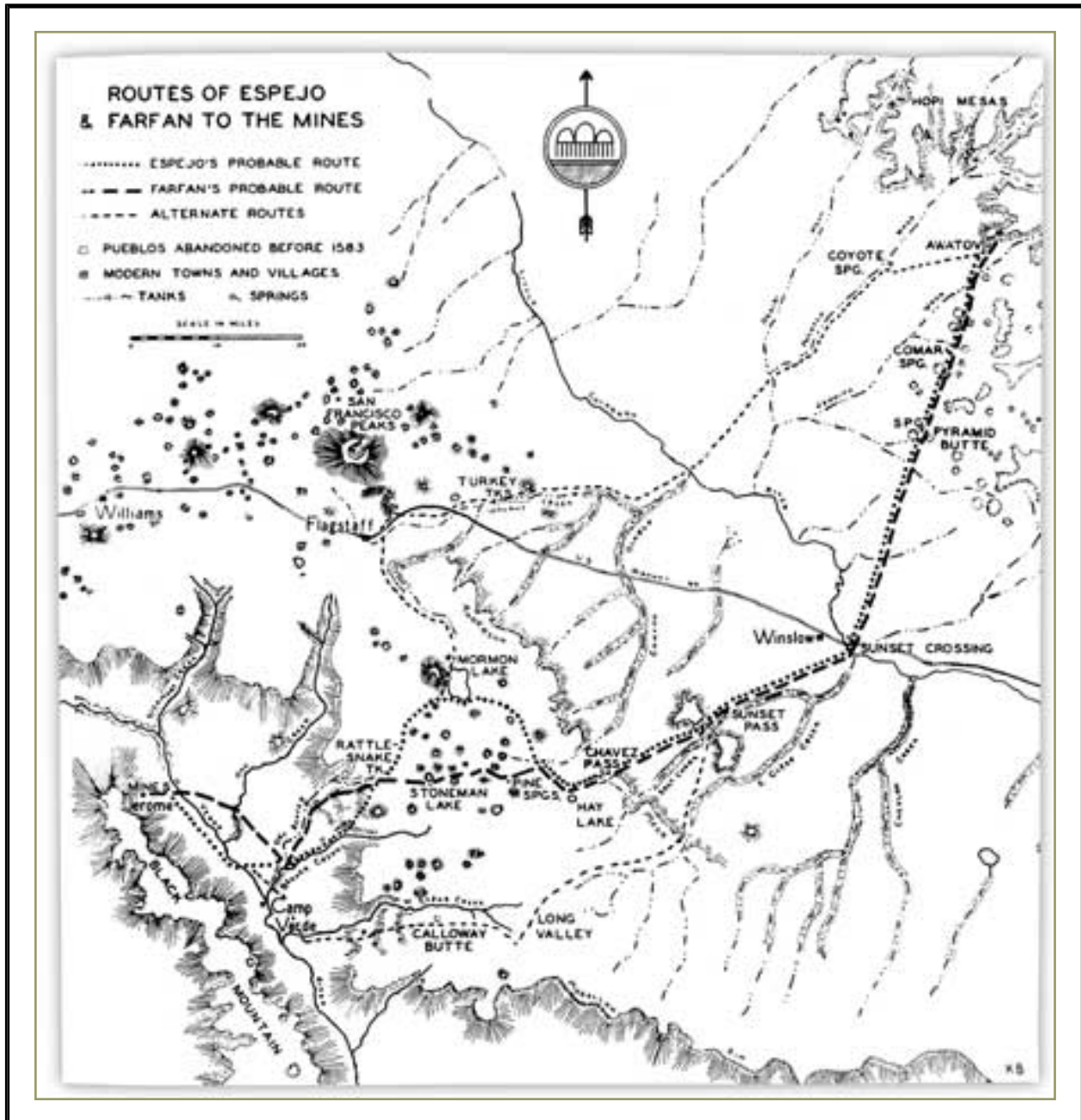


Figure 2. Routes of Espejo and Farín to the mines. From Katherine Bartlett, "Notes upon the Routes of Espejo and Farfan to the Mines in the Sixteenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* (January 1942), map following p. 24. ([click on image for an enlargement in a new window](#))

The account of the expedition that Espejo wrote later also describes an area with a striking resemblance to the Verde Valley and lends weight to the theory that the Espejo party traveled through the area:

The region where these mines are is for the most part mountainous, as is also the road leading to them. There are some pueblos of mountain Indians, who came forth to receive us in some places, with small crosses on their heads. They gave us some of their food and I presented them with some gifts. Where the mines are located the country is good, having rivers, marshes, and forests; on the banks of the river are many Castillian grapes, walnuts, flax, blackberries, maguey plants, and prickly pears. The Indians of that region plant fields of maize, and have good houses. They told us by signs that behind these mountains at a distance we were unable to understand clearly, flowed a very large river. [4]

Other references in the Espejo and Luxán accounts further substantiate the claim that the expedition journeyed through the Verde Valley. [5] These accounts thus document the first European presence in the valley and their probable encounter with Montezuma Well and its prehistoric ruins. Not overly inspired by the ores found in the mines, however, the small group returned to Zuni to meet the others in their party.

The next explorer to enter the Verde Valley was Marcos Farfán de los Godos. With eight companions and Hopi guides, he explored mines rumored to be to the west of the Hopi villages. Don Juan de Oñate, who had been awarded a contract for the conquest and settlement of New Mexico, sent Farfán on this expedition in November 1598. In all likelihood, Farfán followed the same route taken by the Espejo expedition of 1583. [6] Accounts of this expedition include several references to places that correspond to sites in the Verde Valley. These descriptions of the terrain suggest that the company traveled in the vicinity of Beaver Creek and made its way to the mines near Jerome. The rich veins of ores found in these mines duly impressed Farfán and company, and they staked out many claims. The records of this expedition, however, do not contain any mention of prehistoric ruins or structures. Oñate visited the region in 1604, following approximately the same route Espejo and Farfán took to the Verde Valley. His party passed through the valley and ventured west along what is now known as the Bill Williams River to the Colorado River, along which they descended until reaching the Gulf of California. In the accounts of his travels, Oñate made no reference to Montezuma Castle, Montezuma Well, or any other prehistoric ruin in the Verde Valley. Following these early visits to the region by Spanish explorers, there exists no known record of European visitation to the Verde Valley for more than two hundred years. [7]

The Espejo and Farfán expeditions found evidence of the mineral resources of the Black Hills near the present-day town of Jerome; Farfán's party even staked out claims on the mines. But the Spanish did not immediately settle the region. Through the 1600s and 1700s, the nearest Spanish outposts were located in what is now New Mexico, California, and southern Arizona, south of the Gila River. The isolated Spanish settlements, far from the major centers of power and wealth in Mexico, were largely self-sufficient and devoted much of their resources and energy toward survival rather than to continued exploration and expansion. Although the king of Spain granted his approval in 1726 to establish missions in the area between the Pimería Alta to the south and the Hopi villages, attacks by Apaches prevented further exploration of this territory. The Spaniards instead concentrated their efforts on their previously established settlements and missions. Historians are now discovering new information about activities in Arizona during the Spanish and Mexican periods. [8]

Fur trappers and mountain men were the first European Americans known to enter the region. In the early 1800s, these men followed many of the rivers of the Southwest in search of fur and adventure. Although only limited records of their explorations exist, a few accounts suggest that groups traveled along the course of the Verde River and nearby Beaver Creek. In 1826, a party of trappers worked their way up the Salt River to its junction with the Verde. At this point, the company divided. One group, following James Ohio Pattie, trapped the Salt to its headwaters in the White Mountains. The other, led by Ewing Young, followed the Verde to its source in the mountains southwest of the town of Williams. [9] Young reportedly trapped along the Verde again in 1829, this time taking a party of forty men, including a teenager named Kit Carson, from Taos toward the Salt River, known at the time for its fine trapping grounds. They trapped the Salt to the mouth of the Verde and from there "meandered that stream to its source." [10] With such a large outfit, it seems possible that some of the men followed Beaver Creek up far enough to have seen Montezuma Castle. However, whether any of the trappers and adventurers who came to the Verde Valley in the early 1800s saw Montezuma Castle or Montezuma Well remains unknown; they left no detailed records of their travels.

With the transfer of the Southwest to the United States after the Mexican-American War and the Gadsden Purchase, the federal government initiated explorations and surveys of its vast new domain. The publications from these expeditions included information about many previously undocumented prehistoric dwellings of the region. The earliest mention of the ruins of the Verde Valley was made in Lieutenant A. W. Whipple's "Report upon the Indian Tribes," which documents his 1853-54 survey for a railroad route to the Pacific. This report contains a passage from the journal of Antoine Leroux, a guide for the survey party, written during his return from California to New Mexico in May 1854. In this passage, Leroux describes the ruin sites he discovered while making his way up the Verde River:

We were struck by the beauty of some ruins, very likely those of some Indian town, and being in the centre of an open valley. The walls of the principal building, forming a long square, are in some places twenty feet high and three feet thick, and have in many places loop-holes like those of a fortress. The walls were as regularly built as those of any building erected by civilized nations; to judge by the decay of the stones, these ruins might be several centuries old, (maybe those of some Montezuma town).

Heaps of broken petrified vessels are strewn in all directions. Near camp are the ruins of another Indian village. Those ruins show that this country was once under cultivation; who were its inhabitants, and what became of them, is hard to tell. . . . The district passed over is mostly covered with old ruins. [11]

Although it is doubtful that Leroux describes Montezuma Castle in this entry the ruin is only twenty feet high and is located in an open valley it seems certain that he came upon some of the many prehistoric sites in the Verde Valley. Of note in this passage is his observation that the area was once under cultivation; he may have discovered the network of irrigation canals constructed by the prehistoric inhabitants of the valley. In his report, Lieutenant Whipple added his own interpretation to Leroux's observations of the Verde Valley ruins. He notes:

The river banks were covered with ruins of stone houses and regular fortifications; . . . From his [Leroux's] description, the style of the building seems to be similar to chichiticales, or red house, above the Pimas, rather than like the Indian towns of New Mexico. In other respects, however, Leroux says that they reminded him of the great pueblos of the Moquinos. The large stones of which those structures were built, were often transported from a great distance. At another place he saw a well-built town and fortification about eight or ten miles from the nearest water. He believes that, since they were built, the conformation of the country has been changed, so as to convert springs and a fertile soil into a dry and barren waste. . . . This conforms to the Indian traditions of the Montezuma era, attributing to the high mesas an arable soil; and also partially accounts for the desertion of some of the more recent pueblos of New Mexico. [12]

The mention of "some Montezuma town" and "Indian traditions of the Montezuma era" in Whipple's report reflects the popular belief of the time that Aztecs constructed the ancient ruins of the Southwest. Allusions to the Aztec leader in the naming of prehistoric ruins appeared as early as the eighteenth century. A report of a 1762 visit to the Casa Grande ruins in southern Arizona contains the first of many subsequent references to the "house of Montezuma." [13] The widespread use of this name is evidence of the commonly mistaken interpretation of southwestern ruins that persisted until the twentieth century. Around the 1850s, the name *Montezuma* became even more popular for places in the Southwest after veterans of the Mexican-American War marched home from the Halls of Montezuma Mexico City. Bostonian Walter Hickling Prescott's publication of his popular history of the Spanish defeat of Montezuma's Aztec empire also encouraged the use of the name. In his 1843 *Conquest of Mexico*, Prescott suggested the possible Aztec origins of the ruins of the Southwest when he mentioned that the Aztecs and Toltecs had come from the northwest, "but from what region is uncertain." [14]

In the 11 May 1864 edition of the *Arizona Miner*, an editorial written by a chief justice from El Paso exemplified the widespread acceptance of Prescott's theory of the Aztec's southwestern origins. The author recommended that the capital of the Territory of Arizona be named Aztlán in memory of the ancient Aztec empire that, he claimed, occupied the present location of the territory. [15] His

suggestion, however, was not accepted. Yet when New Englanders arrived to establish the new government of the Territory of Arizona in 1864, territorial officials platted a capital town that they named Prescott, "an appropriate commemoration of the great American authority upon Aztec and Spanish-American history." [16] The officials stuck with this theme when they named the main streets of the new town *Cortez* and *Montezuma*. Nearby, miners in the Agua Fria River Valley called their gold camp *Montezuma City*, and soon other miners gave the name to ruins to the east. By the late 1880s, however, historian H. H. Bancroft wrote in an infuriated tone that the haphazard misnaming of places in Arizona should be discontinued because evidence indicated that the prehistoric peoples of the Southwest were not the ancestors of the Aztecs. Bancroft attributed the origins of the Montezuma myth to the Spanish but noted that his and others' research dispelled this myth by pointing to the cultural differences between the Aztecs and the Pueblo communities. [17]

The naming of Montezuma Well has been associated with the exploits of King S. Woolsey's second expedition against a band of Apaches. Organized by Woolsey to prospect east of the goldfields around Prescott and to seek retribution for the theft and property damage that local settlers had suffered, the group of roughly one hundred men drew rations from Fort Whipple and set out for the Tonto Basin in late March 1864. This second expedition followed Woolsey's infamous Massacre at Bloody Tanks, an event better known as the "Pinole Treaty," in which Woolsey and his men murdered an estimated two dozen Apaches at what was supposed to have been a treaty negotiation. [18]

The second expedition was unsuccessful in its main goal the punishment of the Apache leader Wahpooetah (Big Rump), considered the principal perpetrator of the settlers' misfortunes. Running short of provisions, the party decided to head back to Woolsey's Agua Fria ranch after only three weeks in the field. [19] In his narrative of the expedition published in the *Arizona Miner*, Henry Clifton described the return journey. His account contains the first known published use of the name Montezuma Well:

We arrived at the Verde on the third day, nothing of note happening, except the discovery of a small lake, or more properly speaking, an immense spring, some two hundred yards in breadth, of circular form. The water was clear, and as blue as the sea. It was very deep, and on one side there flowed out a stream sufficiently large for two sluice heads. This spring is surrounded on three sides by high bluffs, and in these bluffs were caves either natural or cut out, which were walled up in front, with door ways and passages from one room to another. They were probably built by the Aztecs. We gave the name of Montezuma to the well. In the afternoon of the 16th we struck out from the Rio Verde, to Woolsey's Ranch on the Agua Fria, the gnawing of hunger urging us to a quick pace. [20]

It is unknown who in the party bestowed this name upon the limestone sink, but the appellation for the Well, and subsequently for the Castle, has endured since this incident. [21]

Whatever the origin of their names, Montezuma Well, Montezuma Castle, and the other ruins of the Verde Valley received increasing attention during the period of settlement in the area. In January 1865, a small party headed by James M. Swetnam set out from Prescott to explore the Verde Valley. [22] After traveling for three days, the men came to the bank of the Verde River and looked for potential farmland. They decided on a point at the confluence of the Verde and Clear Creek, and then went back to Prescott to make preparations for establishing their settlement. Despite warnings to abandon the venture, a group of nineteen men left Prescott with six wagonloads of supplies and reached the Verde four days later. They began construction of a stone fort forty by sixty feet atop the remains of a Sinagua ruin. The settlers then cleared the surrounding land, planted crops, and dug an irrigation ditch. However, the small community endured attacks by Yavapai and Apache Indians later that spring, and the settlers, fearing the loss of their crops and cattle, called on officials at Fort Whipple, the army post in Prescott, for military protection. [23]

With most of its regular troops engaged in the East at the end of the Civil War and with few volunteer troops available, the U.S. Army had difficulty in providing a garrison for the Verde Valley settlers. The first troops finally arrived in August 1865. Under the command of Lieutenant Antonio Abeytia, the eighteen men of the First Cavalry, New Mexico Volunteers, were poorly equipped and proved ineffective in protecting the settlement. For an undocumented reason, the settlers relocated the original camp at Clear Creek upriver to a site approximately a mile above the junction of Beaver Creek and the Verde River. Here, the army established a permanent post known as Camp Lincoln. The arrival in September 1866 of the first regular troops signified the army's commitment to the Verde Valley, and the European American population in the area surrounding the post grew as a result. [24]

Among the first troops assigned to Camp Lincoln was a peripatetic traveler by the name of Edward Palmer, who served as acting assistant surgeon for the post in 1865 and 1866. Palmer, who had emigrated to the United States from England in 1849, became an ardent student of botany and natural history, and routinely collected field specimens during his numerous adventures in South America, the American West, and Mexico. His natural curiosity and his zealotry in obtaining specimens earned Palmer a reputation as being "perhaps the nineteenth century's greatest botanical and natural history field collector." [25]

In addition to performing surgical duties and participating in scouting parties and raids against hostile Apache and Yavapai Indians while stationed at Camp Lincoln, Palmer actively explored the numerous prehistoric ruins located in the Verde Valley. Although other soldiers from the post visited prehistoric sites for the sake of curiosity or to obtain artifacts as souvenirs, Palmer's inquisitive nature directed him to a more scientific study of the ruins and the natural and cultural features surrounding them. In particular, his interest in botany led him to collect samples of preserved plant and food remains. These collections, and Palmer's speculations about the lives of the ancient people who cultivated them, have been credited with laying the foundations for the modern fields of ethnobotany and archaeobotany. [26] An example of such investigations can be seen in Palmer's notes from his 1866 explorations of ruins and caves located along the banks of Beaver Creek and Clear Creek, in which he described the types, distribution, and characteristics of preserved samples of corn and

grapes. From analyzing these specimens and comparing them with contemporary varieties, Palmer drew conclusions about the size of the prehistoric population of the area as well as the cultivation and land-use practices of its inhabitants. [27] Writing about his visit to what was most likely Montezuma Castle, Palmer applied his knowledge of natural history to describe the geologic features of the cave in which the Castle is located, the large timbers used in its construction, samples of textiles made from the fibers of a locally grown plant, and several corncobs found next to a human skeleton. [28]

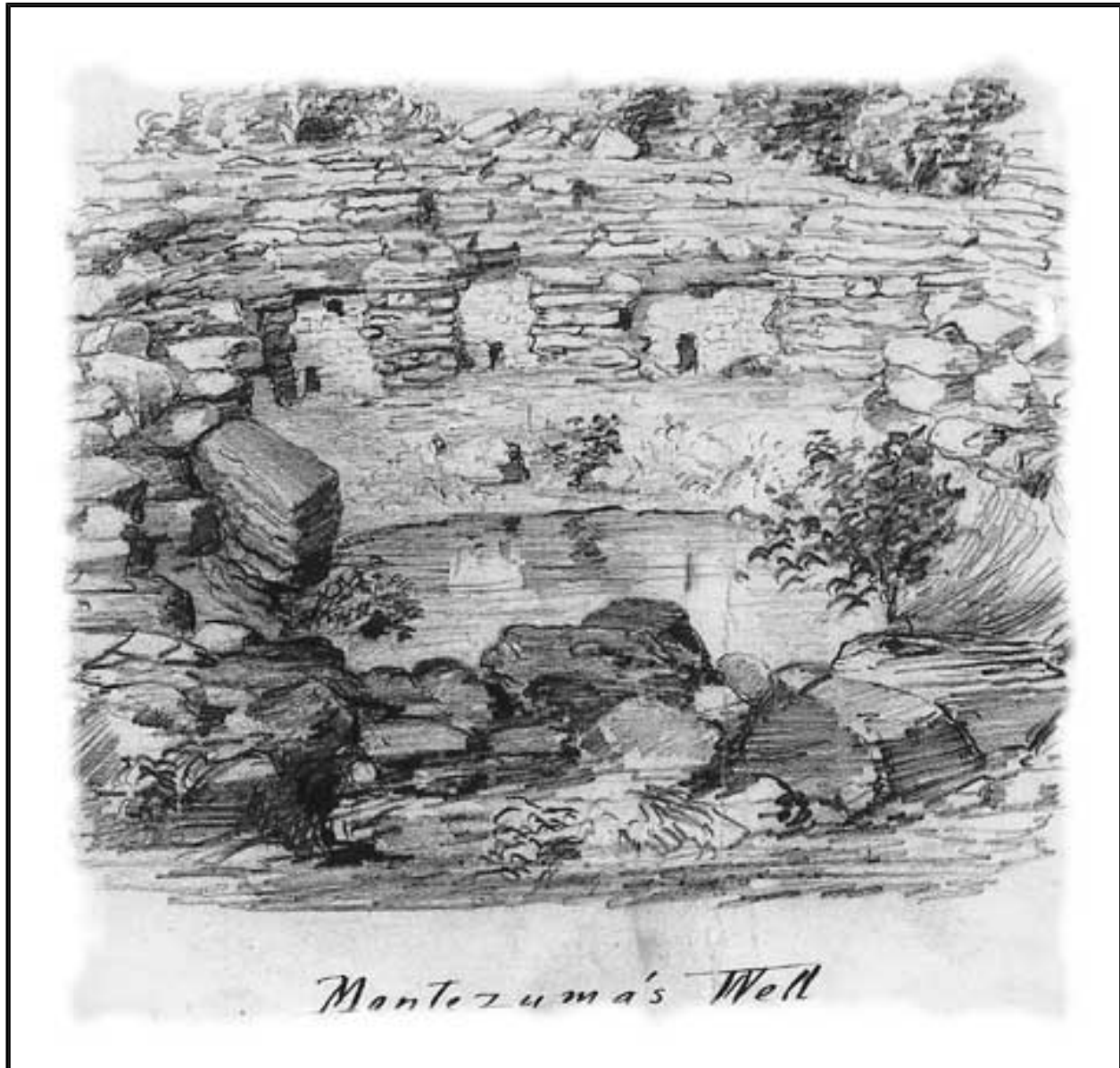


Figure 3. Sketch of Montezuma Well by Edward Palmer, ca. 1866. This sketch is among the earliest known images of the Montezuma Well ruins. It is of particular significance because of Edward Palmer's role as one of the pioneers of southwestern archeology.

Palmer also devoted his attention to studying the prehistoric cultural features that he observed during his explorations of the Verde Valley. His notes describe details of his investigations of several burial grounds, the dwellings and irrigation features surrounding Montezuma Well, and the four-story

structure conspicuously built into a cliff above Beaver Creek (undoubtedly Montezuma Castle). They include observations about construction techniques, architectural styles, uses and manufacture of different types of artifacts, and burial practices. His sketch of Montezuma Well, which accompanies these notes, is among the earliest known images of this site (figure 3).

Palmer's work in the Verde Valley has recently been considered to be of great regional significance. Archeologist Marvin Jeter, who has researched and written about Palmer's life and work, argues that his investigations of the ruins of the Verde Valley should be credited as the first scientific work in southwestern archeology. [29] Although Palmer did not receive professional training in archeology his fieldwork and writings predate formal education in the discipline in the United States his studies in botany and natural history led him into ethnobotany, which in turn directed him into the fields of archaeobotany and archeology. The notes from his studies of the ruins of the Verde Valley indicate that, even as early as 1865-66, Palmer employed approaches and techniques from the fields of archaeobotany and archeology. [30] In reference to Palmer's 1870 and 1875 investigations of prehistoric sites in southwestern Utah as well as his work as a field assistant for the Mound Exploration Division of the Smithsonian's Bureau of Ethnology during the early 1880s, Jeter makes the case that Palmer was ahead of his time with his early, albeit sometimes flawed, uses of archeological interpretive concepts such as archeological stratigraphy, association and context, formation processes, and ethnographic analogy. [31] It is likely that Palmer employed some of these innovative archeological techniques during his pioneering investigations in the Verde Valley.

Unfortunately, however, few of the products of these early efforts remain in existence today. Although it appears that Palmer gave a small number of artifacts and records to the Smithsonian he reported sending two preserved corncobs that he discovered in rock caves near Camp Lincoln, and researchers have indicated his contributions of maps, drawings, and photographs of sites in the Verde Valley (including Montezuma Castle) [32] the vast majority of his collections were tragically lost following his hospitalization at Fort Whipple in late 1866 to recover from symptoms of malaria and head injuries that he received when thrown from a mule earlier that year. [33] Palmer reported that he had assembled an extensive collection of artifacts from numerous ruins across the Verde Valley but, owing to his illness, was unable to transport these items with him to Fort Whipple. On leaving Camp Lincoln, he entrusted his collection to the post's new commanding officer, who promised that he would send them to Palmer at the first opportunity. Much to Palmer's consternation, his collection never arrived, and he later learned that the artifacts were either thrown away or taken by soldiers at the post. [34] After a few years of working and traveling across the country, Palmer returned to Camp Verde (formerly known as Camp Lincoln) in the summer of 1869, this time as a member of an expedition cosponsored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Army Medical Museum. [35] Failing to locate his earlier collection, Palmer hoped to make new explorations of the ruins in the area. His notes reflect his frustration about his inability to replace his lost collection, however: "Owing to Indian hostilities I could not travel without troops. It is vexatious to lose things after they have been obtained at such great sacrifices and privations; and once lost may not be gotten again, especially the articles from the ruined buildings in rocky ledges." [36]

The hostilities that prevented Palmer's efforts to replace his collections also affected new settlers to the region during the 1860s, and the military force gradually increased in size and effectiveness. In November 1868, in order to avoid confusion with other posts named after the assassinated president, Camp Lincoln was renamed Camp Verde (in 1879 the post was renamed Fort Verde). After continued problems with cramped quarters and outbreaks of malaria, the camp was moved in 1871 to its present location farther away from the river, and a new fort complex was constructed. Lieutenant Colonel George Crook became commanding officer of the Department of Arizona in June 1871 and used Camp Verde as one of his main bases. His campaigns against the Apache and Yavapai tribes were highly effective and forced the surrender in 1873 of Chalipun and 2,300 Apache and Yavapai people. [37]

With troops stationed at Fort Verde, more individuals explored and recorded their impressions of the area. Because of the proximity of the post to many prehistoric sites, soldiers frequented nearby ruins and published descriptions of them. In his reminiscence of the campaigns with General Crook, John G. Bourke described visits to a site not far from the military trail to the Mogollon Rim and related discoveries of other ruins in the valley. On one occasion, officers from Fort Verde escorted the territorial governor's party on an excursion through the valley, which included a trip through the cliff dwelling along Beaver Creek. [38]

In 1869, a group of military officials inspected various prehistoric sites, and an observer with the party wrote the first lengthy published description of the ruins at Montezuma Well and Montezuma Castle. In addition to noting the numerous cave dwellings in the bluffs along the Verde River and Beaver Creek, the author described in detail the ruins built into the cliffs surrounding the Well. The writer commented on the well-preserved masonry walls, the small entrances, defensive loopholes, smoke-blackened interior walls, hand prints preserved in plaster, and items found inside the ruins, such as corncocks, pieces of gourds, seeds, stone mortars, pottery sherds, and portions of cloth and twine. He also explored the Swallet Cave ruins at the Well's surface and noted similar details to those of the cliff ruin. Based on the discovery of foodstuffs and handmade goods, the author speculated that the former inhabitants of the site were an agricultural and manufacturing people. Judging from the traces of their prodigious activity and the number of ruins observed in the valley, the writer estimated that "this country was once as densely populated as any of the eastern States of the Union now are." [39]

The recorder of the party's explorations also described "the most perfect of any of these ruins," undoubtedly Montezuma Castle. The group investigated the rooms of the structure, although no mention is made of the ascent up the cliff. In describing the interior features of the Castle, the author attributed the excellent preservation of the building materials to their sheltered location and to the hot, dry climate of the country: "Were it not for this, nothing would have been known of these now extinct people." [40]

Another army officer, William C. Manning, wrote an article for the June 1875 edition of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in which he described the exterior and interior features of Montezuma Castle. Next to the larger cave, he observed, were "lower caves about ten feet from the bottom of the

cliff, and may be entered with some difficulty by climbing the projecting points of the bluff." These caves were probably the Castle A ruins, located adjacent to Montezuma Castle. Entry into the Castle was facilitated by ladders, "which have at best a precarious foot-hold on narrow ledges." However, no existing records document who installed these unsteady ladders, how long they were in place, and how many others entered the Castle by these means. In his article, Manning also observed ten to twelve inches of "bat lime" covering the floors of the rooms, irrigation canals, and ditches in the vicinity of the ruins, and the numerous pot sherds found in and taken from the Castle. The discovery and removal of artifacts unfortunately established a pattern that most of the later visitors to the Castle followed. In addition to visiting Montezuma Castle, Manning traveled to "an extinct volcano known as Montezuma's Well." Although he gave an erroneous location for the Well ("nearly fourteen miles *south* of Camp Verde"), he depicted its ruins and natural features fairly accurately. [41]

The regular presence of army troops and the increased settlement of the area provided more observers of the prehistoric ruins of the Verde Valley. [42] By the early 1880s, much of the land along the Verde River and Beaver Creek had been staked. As farmers moved to the valley bottom and cattlemen herded their stock to graze the surrounding rolling hills, Montezuma Well and land in the vicinity of Montezuma Castle were included in claims to homesteads and ranches. In the 1870s, Wales Arnold ranched in the area of Montezuma Well, built a home nearby, and kept a small rowboat in the Well. Sam Shull had the first squatter's right to Montezuma Well and the surrounding ranch property. After building a shack and living there for several years, he traded it to Abraham "Link" Smith for forty dollars, a pair of chaps, and one horse. In 1888, William B. Back acquired the ranch at Montezuma Well from Smith for two horses; Smith later recalled that he was pleased to have "doubled his investment" by the trade. In 1892, a short-lived post office called Montezuma operated at the Well, and three years later the Montezuma School District was organized. [43]

During this period of regional growth, descriptions and general impressions about the prehistoric ruins and people of the Verde Valley appeared more frequently in the national press and in popular books. Newspaper editors and reporters compiled travel and descriptive articles and began to publish books on places of interest in the Arizona Territory. Between 1877 and 1887, several such works included sections on the ruins of the Verde Valley. First to appear was *Arizona As It Is* (1877), a collection of newspaper articles written by reporter Colonel Hiram C. Hodge during his travels throughout the territory in the mid-1870s. [44]

Hodge noted the large number of ruins that extended throughout the Verde Valley and described in detail the walled dwellings along Beaver Creek, now known as Montezuma Castle and Montezuma Well. In contrast to Manning's report, Hodge noted the absence of ladders by which to gain entrance to the Castle. The difficult vertical ascent had to be accomplished "by clinging to poles and jutting points of rock, and occasionally obtaining an insecure foot-hold but a few inches wide." He added: "But a few whites have ever succeeded in exploring this cave, and it took us several hours to accomplish the feat in safety." Hodge's explorations inside the cliff dwelling turned up a few stone axes, metates, and other stone implements. He feared that future visitors would strip the ruins of their artifacts. This anxiety prompted him to recommend that the ruins be properly excavated in order to provide information about the mysterious ancient people who built and occupied them. [45]



Figure 4 (top). Picnic at Montezuma Well, ca. 1875. Photograph caption reads, "Crest of bluff around Montezuma Wells. Lt. Hyde (General); Mrs. Broyton; Lieut. W. H. Carter; Mr. Arnold; Mrs. Arnold; Indian boy; Dr. Reagles; Major Broyton; Left, under tree, Cpt. Adam Kramer, 6th Cavalry." From Wm. H. Carter Collection, National Archives, Still Photo Branch, Army Record Group 111-SC.

Figure 5 (bottom). Ruins along the rim of Montezuma Well in the late 1890s, photo by C.H. Shaw. These ruins of a pueblo at the rim of Montezuma Well were substantially more intact in the late 1890s than they are today. University of Arizona, Special Collections (Arizona Photos collection, N-7264).

Hodge also provided a careful portrait of Montezuma Well and the ancient dwellings nearby. He observed that the ground surrounding the Well was strewn with various bits of broken pottery. The scenic view and the curiosity sparked by the prehistoric ruins attracted many people to the Well. Hodge wrote: "This is a pleasant resort for picnic and other parties from Prescott, Camp Verde, and elsewhere. . . . Some large open-mouthed bottles have been placed on the shelving rock of the great cave with such inscriptions as seem appropriate to the time and place" (figure 4). However, as more visitors came to the Well, more and more artifacts were removed from the site by pothunters and souvenir collectors, and the ruins themselves suffered damage. The author described the walls of the pueblos at the edge of the Well as standing twenty feet high in places; the remains of these walls today are just a few feet from the ground (figure 5). Although Hodge called attention to the need for the scientific exploration of the ruins of the Verde Valley to shed light on their origins and history, he and other writers published articles that attracted curious visitors and created potential threats to such prehistoric sites. [46]

Prescott cowboy, politician, and editor of the *Hoof and Horn*, William "Bucky" O'Neill contributed another publication on these ruins. In *Central Arizona* (1887), a promotional book compiled for prospective settlers, cattlemen, miners, and health seekers, he portrayed in glowing terms the advantages of the region, its resources, and its antiquities. After presenting an inaccurate history of the area, which included a mythical description of a 1530s visit to the Verde Valley by Marcos de Niza, O'Neill described the ruins of the valley, the cliff dwelling on Beaver Creek (including a photograph of Montezuma Castle), and Montezuma Well. He wrote: "When and how this Aztec divinity became associated with the well is uncertain, as it has borne the title 'Montezuma Well' from a 'time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.'" These ruins thus offered a source of curiosity for travelers to and settlers of the Verde Valley alike. O'Neill understood the potential of such prehistoric resources and extended an invitation in his article to antiquarians and students of ethnology to visit Arizona to study and investigate its innumerable ruins. [47]

Even before O'Neill's invitation, more serious investigations of the Verde Valley had already begun, as government-sponsored surveys studied and evaluated the resources of the new territories in the West. In Ferdinand V. Hayden's *Tenth Annual Report of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey*, a section on ethnographic observations of the region written by Walter J. Hoffman includes a detailed description of a "large and imposing cliff fortress." In addition to listing details of its construction, Hoffman noted the condition of various elements of the Castle. Although the structure as a whole appeared in excellent shape, certain features showed signs of deterioration. The report mentioned rocks near the room entrances that were "gradually crumbling and breaking off in fragments through disintegration" and pieces of plaster that were falling off the outer walls. In contrast, however, Hoffman observed that the wooden lintels over the doorways were "in as substantial a condition as when first placed there." [48] The observed damage to the Castle may have resulted from natural erosion over time or from the recent influx of visitors.

C. S. Geological Survey.

Plate LXXIX.



Cliff Fortness.

Figure 6. Sketch of Montezuma Castle from 1878. From Walter J. Hoffman, "Ethnographic Observations," in Tenth Annual Report of the United States Geographical Survey of the Territories, Embracing Colorado and Parts of Adjacent Territories (*Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1878*), plate LXXIX.

Ascent to the Castle was apparently made by scrambling up the talus slope below and scaling a portion of the cliff walls. Hoffman did not mention ladders at the ruins, but he noted that the pile of broken rocks at the base of the cliff made the ruins more accessible than at the time they were originally inhabited, "when rope ladders or similar contrivances were probably necessary." Hoffman's report included the first known published image of the Castle (figure 6). The drawing captures the features of the Castle fairly well, but inaccurately depicts the surrounding landscape. The illustration not only makes the cliff look like a masonry wall constructed by giants rather than the limestone formation of which it is made, but also places the creek waters too close to the cliff walls. The drawing shows no ladders, and one can imagine a hardy soul clambering up the pile of broken rocks at the base of the cliff to gain access to the Castle interior. Despite its errors, this illustration furnishes a look at the condition of Montezuma Castle in the late 1800s and can be compared to later images of it. [49]

Dr. Edgar A. Mearns, an army surgeon stationed at Fort Verde between 1884 and 1888, produced the first published scientific study of the prehistoric ruins of the Verde Valley in his 1890 article in *The Popular Science Monthly*. He had developed an early interest in natural history while studying the flora and fauna around his home in Highland Falls, New York. When he arrived at Fort Verde, his curiosity concerning the people whose prehistoric buildings covered the Verde Valley led him to pursue a scientific investigation of these ruins.

In his article, Mearns referred to the large fortress structure on the right bank of Beaver Creek as "Montezuma's Castle," providing the first published record of the Aztec ruler's name being applied to the Castle. Previously it had been associated only with the name of the Well. Mearns also mentioned that four wooden ladders, which the post quartermaster of Fort Verde had provided, facilitated entry into the Castle. [50] With ladders providing easy access, there is no doubt that a greater number of people were familiar with and visited the ruins during the period of Mearns's investigations than at any previous time.

Mearns wanted to document the features of the ruin before they were further jeopardized by visitors and souvenir hunters. His detailed descriptions of the rooms, building materials, and features of the Castle reveal his astute perceptions and scholarly insights. Mearns's report also includes a photo of the ruins, precise ground plans of the five levels of the structure, and an account of his careful excavation of the Castle interior. Of this work, he noted:

Upon my first visit, in 1884, it was evident that nothing more than a superficial examination had ever been made. In 1886 I caused the débris on the floors to be

shoveled over. This material consisted of a quantity of dust and broken fragments of pottery and stone implements, together with an enormous accumulation of guano from bats that inhabited the building. This accumulation, in the largest room of the top floor, was four feet in depth. As no one had ever disturbed it, the floor was found in exactly the same condition in which it was left by the latest occupants. [51]

The excavations turned up a large quantity of assorted artifacts, which were then removed from the Castle: stone metates, axes and tools, shells and shell ornaments, paints, preserved foodstuffs, bone implements, pieces of cloth, basketwork, and pottery fragments. Mearns donated his collection of several thousand artifacts and his field notes from the explorations of Montezuma Castle to the American Museum of Natural History in New York. In addition, he sent the skeletal remains that were unearthed and taken from the ruins to the Army Medical Museum in Washington, D.C. [52] Although Mearns took detailed notes of his excavations, his removal of the artifacts denied later archeologists valuable clues about the lives of those who occupied Montezuma Castle. However, his investigations of the Castle did represent the most comprehensive and detailed research yet undertaken.

Mearns focused his attention primarily on Montezuma Castle, but he also surveyed other sites in the region. His article in *The Popular Science Monthly* included descriptions of several ruined pueblos in the vicinity of the Verde River and a map depicting the locations of ancient dwellings of the Verde Valley. His notes also contain valuable information about these other Verde Valley sites. One site he described is unquestionably now known as the Tuzigoot ruins: "Site # 49. Location Verde River and slough. Top of hill near a slough of the Rio Verde known as Peck's Lake. Description and remarks Fallen and ruined walls of a good-sized village. Near this place are interesting proofs of the engineering capacity of these people in conducting their irrigation ditches." [53] Mearns thus presented the first documented reference to the Tuzigoot site. Because the ruins were essentially buried under collapsed walls and rubble, nearly fifty years passed before they were carefully investigated. [54]

Mearns expressed concern that the increasing settlement of the region might threaten these resources and the information that they could provide properly trained researchers. He observed:

Before our departure from Fort Verde in 1888 three railroads had penetrated toward the heart of the wilderness by which we were surrounded. Settlers were thronging in to engage in lumbering, mining, or stock grazing in the mountainous portions, or to cultivate the soil of the irrigable valleys. Already the valley of the Verde begins to assume somewhat of the appearance that it presented centuries ago, when irrigated and cultivated by the populous cliff dwellers. [55]

Recognizing the vast prehistoric resources of the Verde Valley yet to be studied, Mearns advocated a "systematic exploration of the ruins to be undertaken at once, either through private enterprise or by some one of the educational institutions of our country, before the treasures contained in them

become scattered through the curiosity of unscientific relic-seekers." His experience with the Montezuma Castle excavation proved that considerable information and a large collection of valuable specimens could result from such a systematic examination. [56] The transition to more scientific studies of prehistoric ruins occurred around the time of Mearns's investigations. During this period, professional archeologists conducted new research on the resources of the area.

The period of the 1880s and 1890s saw southwestern archeology develop as a serious subject of study. The federal government contributed to the emergence of the discipline by sending archeologists and ethnologists into the field to collect data on the antiquities and cultures of the region. Cosmos Mindeleff and Jesse Walter Fewkes, archeologists with the Bureau of American Ethnology, conducted the first of these studies. [57] Created in 1879 and directed initially by Major John Wesley Powell, the bureau had the mission of gathering information on the cultures and histories of Native American tribes before they were lost in the wake of rapid westward expansion and development. In 1892, Cosmos Mindeleff surveyed the lower Verde River, covering the area from West Clear Creek to Beaver Creek. Although primarily concerned with masonry structures and cavate lodges, he also observed irrigation ditches, agricultural areas, and artificial depressions later identified as ball courts. Mindeleff understood the significance of the Verde Valley remains because of their unique location between the northern districts and the ruins of the Gila and Salt River Valleys. Yet at the same time, he noted the limited knowledge of the archeological region and the need for further studies. Mindeleff was the first trained archeologist to investigate the area. His work was published in the bureau's *13th Annual Report*, and his notes, maps, and photographs of the prehistoric resources of the Verde Valley are of special significance because agricultural and ranching activities in the area later destroyed much of what he surveyed. [58]

Archeologist Jesse Walter Fewkes came to the Verde Valley in 1895 to conduct a survey of the ruins near the headwaters of the Verde River and the upper valley, north of Camp Verde to the area around Sedona. He, too, was principally concerned with the survey and scientific analysis of the prehistoric resources of the region. Fewkes concentrated his study on the cliff dwellings around Oak Creek Canyon, but he also investigated several cavate lodges that Mindeleff had previously visited. His report includes a rather detailed geological, archeological, and cultural description of Montezuma Well and its ruins. In addition, he commented on the Hopi people's familiarity with the Well and the references to the site in their mythology. Fewkes collected data to support the claim of some Hopi that the ancestors of a particular clan came from an area to the south, which he thought to be the Verde Valley. He took photographs and sketched plans of many pueblos and cliff dwellings in order to document the ruins and to find a possible link between the Hopi and the builders of the prehistoric structures of the Verde Valley. After comparing the archeological styles of the two regions, he found no conclusive evidence to support the Hopi origin myth. Fewkes returned to the Verde Valley in 1906 to do further research on the Hopi connection to the ruins, but again found nothing definitive. [59] His studies, however, published in the Bureau of American Ethnology *Annual Reports*, expanded the knowledge of these ruins and documented their conditions at the time of his research.

The government ethnologists' surveys of the Verde Valley made an important contribution to the understanding of the archeology of the area and opened the door for later research. Mindeleff and

Fewkes completed only limited excavation. Their surveys were mainly directed toward determining the extent and significance of the archeological resources of the region. [60] After Fewkes concluded his research in 1906, serious study of Verde Valley archeology ceased for almost a quarter of a century. In the meantime, the ruins experienced increased popular interest and subsequent threats. These trends came to the attention of a group of concerned citizens and sparked the first efforts to preserve the ruins of the area.

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*A Past Preserved in Stone:
A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument*

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protas/chap1.htm 27-Nov-2002

Montezuma Castle

National Monument



Chapter 2

THREATS AND RESPONSES

The Preservation and Protection of Ruins in the Verde Valley

"With a little attention and care, it would stand for another five hundred years."

Charles F. Lummis, "Montezuma's Castle," *Land of Sunshine*

Interest in the ruins of the Verde Valley continued to grow after the initial professional studies, but more extensive explorations of regional prehistoric sites would not occur for many years to come. In the intervening time, however, articles describing visits to Montezuma Castle and Montezuma Well appeared in newspapers and popular magazines with increasing regularity. As these prehistoric sites became better known by the general public, they attracted both professionals with scientific inquiries and sight seekers curious to view the remains of a "lost civilization." The greater attention paid to the ruins brought on new threats as increasing numbers of visitors collected artifacts and caused structural damage; yet this attention also prompted citizens to take action to protect the prehistoric dwellings. This next period in Verde Valley history saw private and public efforts to repair ruins, make them accessible to the public, and preserve them for posterity, largely in response to the growing awareness of the destruction and loss of the prehistoric resources of the region.

An article by James W. Tourney of Tucson published in the November 1892 edition of *Science* typified the literature about the ruins appearing at this time. Tourney noted the wealth of interesting prehistoric sites to be found in the Southwest and especially in the Verde Valley. He speculated about the many secrets to be uncovered by archeological investigations in the region and claimed that such studies would "give to the world glimpses into the history of a people who are now lost in antiquity." [1] Among his observations of Montezuma Castle, the author pointed out that some of the timbers supporting the floors of the structure were decayed and several of the floors had fallen in. In addition to describing the construction and condition of the Castle, the author also commented on the surrounding landscape and the extensive canal system that the ancient inhabitants of the area had skillfully built. Tourney's summary of Montezuma Castle, Montezuma Well, the network of prehistoric irrigation ditches, and other Verde Valley ruins both spoke to the need for further research of the resources of the area and promoted the region to would-be visitors in a way characteristic of other contemporary accounts. [2]

Well-known boosters of the Southwest were among those who contributed to the publicity of the Verde Valley's archeological remains. In particular, articles by Charles Lummis and Sharlot Hall called attention to the ruins and enticed visitors to come see them. [3] Through the late 1880s and early 1890s, such articles described the cliff dwellings in detail and remarked on their accessibility to the average traveler (figure 7). Some authors used the artifacts discovered at the ruins as points of departure for speculating about the lives of the ancient people who had occupied these sites. Such musings stirred readers' imaginations and appealed to their notions of the wild territories of the American West. The early photographic images and sketches that appeared in these articles visually documented the written descriptions of the remarkable ruins.





Figure 7. Picnic party in front of Montezuma Castle prior to 1897.
(Photo from Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott.)

Photographic prints of natural and cultural attractions in Arizona became popular commodities at roughly the same time as the publication of many of these promotional articles, thanks in part to the small but growing number of photographers who came to the territory in the 1870s and 1880s. After establishing studios in towns such as Prescott, Phoenix, and Tucson, many of these pioneer photographers practiced their trade by traveling to diverse locales to capture images of booming mining camps, new community developments, beautiful natural landscapes, and scenic wonders. In addition to offering their services to produce portraits and carte-de-visite, photographers typically sold reproductions of their collected scenic views in various formats, including stereographs, photographic mount imprints, and cabinet cards. Montezuma Castle and Montezuma Well became popular subjects for such prints during the 1870s and 1880s. Among the well-known photographers who sold scenic views of the Verde Valley's prehistoric ruins at this time were D. P. Flanders of Prescott, Daniel Francis Mitchell and Erwin Baer of Prescott, and George Rothrock of Phoenix. To publicize his printed images of the site as well as his photographic services in general, George Rothrock went so far as to paint an advertisement on the cliff walls at Montezuma Well (figures 8 and 9). Rothrock's enduring advertisement and the images that he and other pioneer photographers captured recall the early days of tourism in the Verde Valley. As the numbers of visitors to the region increased over the years, however, the impacts to fragile prehistoric resources became overwhelmingly apparent. [4]

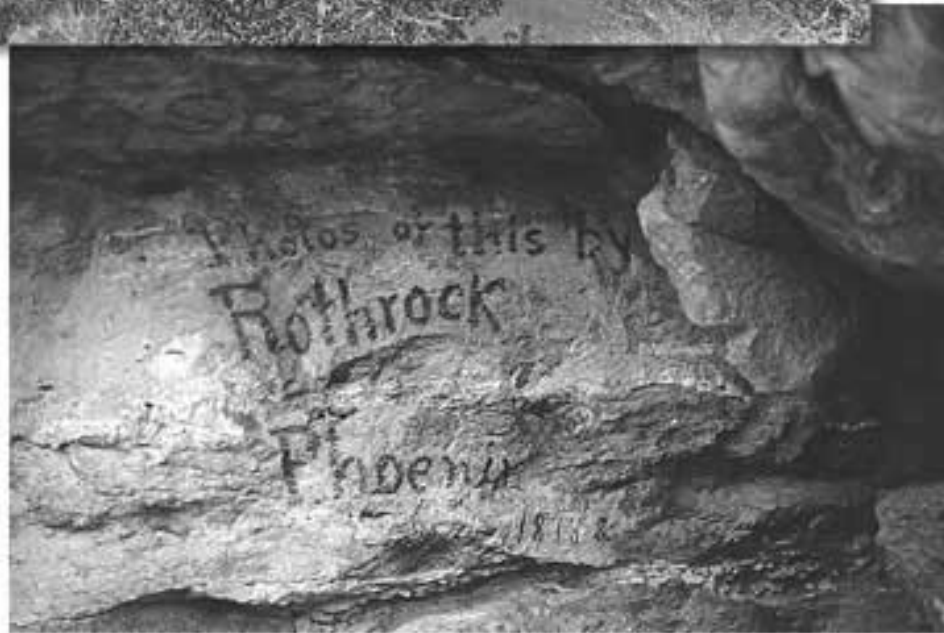


Figure 8 (top). Montezuma Well and cliff dwellings, photo by G. H. Rothrock. A well-known photographer, Rothrock added his own graffiti to the Well area in the form of advertising for photographic prints and services. University of Arizona Library, Special Collections (Arizona Photos collection).

Figure 9 (bottom). Rothrock's advertisement for his photography studio painted at Montezuma Well, photo by Josh Protas, 28 February 1997.

The growing awareness of the vandalism and destruction of prehistoric ruins led some writers to express concern regarding the preservation of threatened sites. Lummis concluded an article about Montezuma Castle with his thoughts on this matter. The damage that he witnessed inspired him to advocate a policy of responsible use and protection of the precious cultural resources of the Southwest. Of this situation at Montezuma Castle, he wrote:

As was briefly noted in these pages last month, this impressive ruin, which has weathered the storms of centuries, almost unchanged, is now threatened with destruction. Heedless relic-hunters have so undermined the walls that some of them are in danger of falling; and when the process begins, the whole castle will go very fast. With a little attention and care, it would stand for another five hundred years; and if this great, rich Philistine of a nation let it fall to wrack, the shame would be indelible. All these chief things among the historic monuments of the Southwest should be made government reservations as has been done for the ruins of Casa Grande with a modest appropriation for protection and occasional small repairs, and with sharp penalties for the two-footed cattle that play vandal. [5]

Although his suggestion that the government take responsibility for the administration of this historic monument was not taken up until almost nine years later, Lummis's concern about the protection of the ruins articulated sentiments beginning to be publicly expressed.

Much of the anxiety about the condition of the ruins stemmed from the abuse suffered at the hands of thoughtless visitors. Accounts of two early explorations of Montezuma Castle during the 1890s shed light on the damage suffered there. F. G. Steenberg, in his recollections of an 1894 visit to the Castle, claimed that he found broken pottery, arrowheads, and numerous corncobs. He admitted, "I brought home all I could tie up in my coat behind my saddle." [6] Remarking in 1937 about the changes he observed at Montezuma Well since his last visit, he noted, "It is too bad that the present owners of Montezuma's Well have done so much digging for the bones and old implements, for now it does not look like it did forty-three years ago." [7] Such instances of pothunting and excavating not only deprived the sites of valuable artifacts, but also potentially caused structural damage to the ruins.

S. L. Palmer's memories of his visit in 1896 reveal another instance of damage done to the Castle. Traveling with his family on a sightseeing trip, Palmer made the acquaintance of Richard Wetherill, the famous explorer of Mesa Verde and artifact collector, and with him visited several archeological sites where they did some excavating. The party arrived at Camp Verde in the spring of 1896, and Palmer later recalled of their visit to Montezuma Castle:

The ruins as we first saw it in 1896 appeared to have been thoroughly excavated, however we removed some accumulated rocks and loose material in the rooms but found nothing of interest other than fragments of ears of corn, broken animal bones, charcoal, feathers, and fragments of pottery. We had about decided that excavation was useless when we noticed that the dirt was undisturbed on a small ledge along the outer side of the ruin at a point where the upper ladder now enters. A shallow excavation revealed the burial of a number of bodies. This burial place was in rather an exposed position and had the appearance that part of the original space may have possibly broken away and fallen below. [8]

The excavation revealed, among the skeletal remains of several individuals, a child mummy wrapped

in cloth and buried with several artifacts. Palmer recalled removing the mummy and other items he found in the ruins. In addition, he took pictures of artifacts he excavated and of the Castle itself. Such photographs document the condition of the ruins at this time, and comparison of these photographs with later images reveals the damage and repairs that occurred over the years (figures 10 and 11).

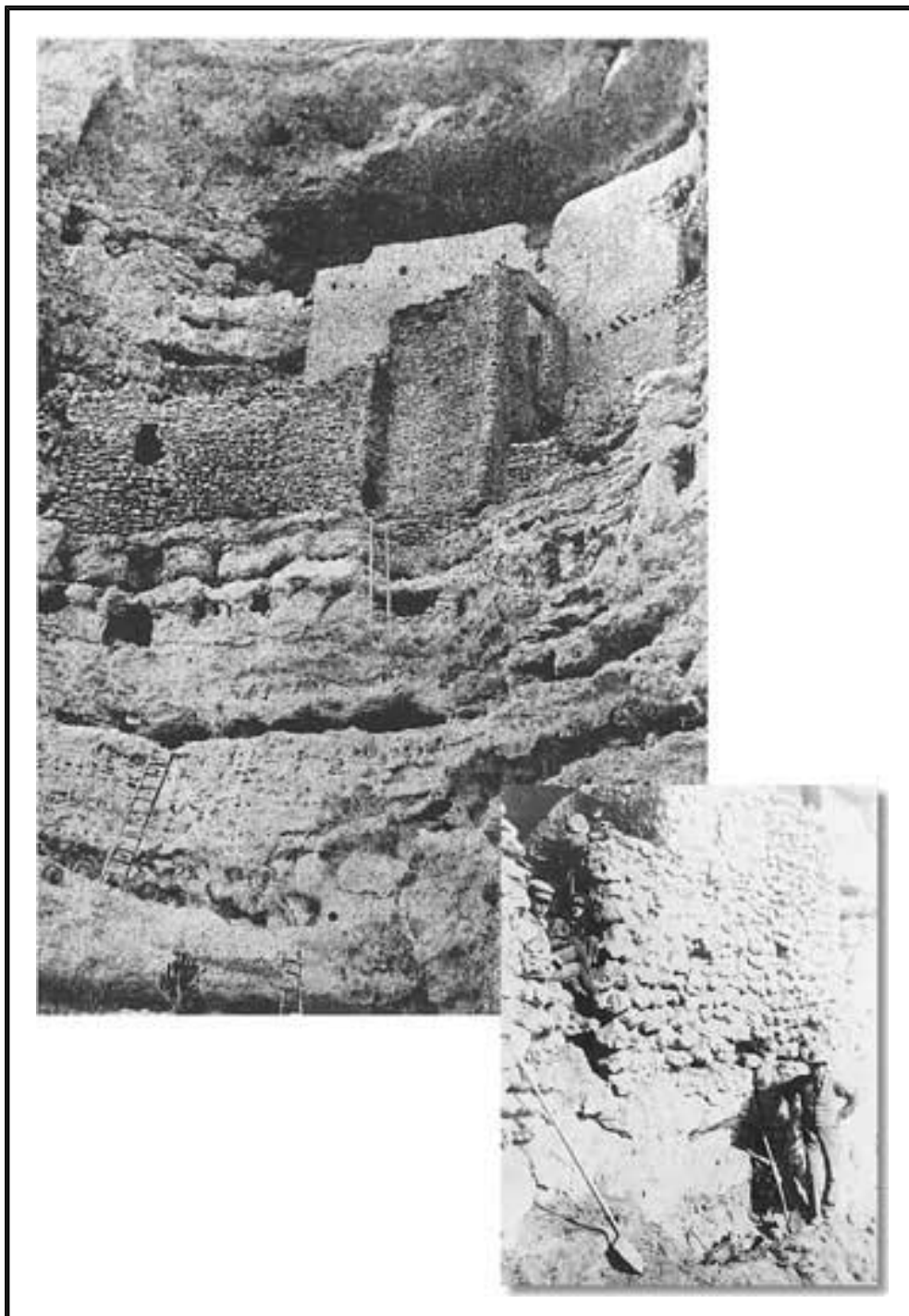


Figure 10 (above). Montezuma Castle in 1896. Photograph by S. L. Palmer, Montezuma Castle National Monument administrative office, photograph files.

Figure 11 (right). S. L. Palmer excavating burials from the midden on the ledge on Level 2 of the Castle. Note the women and children in the doorway to the left.

Richard Wetherill also wrote about his travels and visit to Montezuma Castle with the Palmer family in 1896. In one of his articles, which appeared in the *Mancos Times*, he commented on the different rooms of the Castle and described in detail the burials and child mummy that were discovered by the party. Wetherill came upon tools and other artifacts in his search through the Castle rooms and concluded his article by remarking, "I am highly elated at my success in finding relics here where so many had visited, and in a ruin that has always had especial mention made of it in works upon this deeply interesting subject." [9] As such visitation to the Castle increased over time, the ruins became stripped of their archeologically significant artifacts.

This type of reckless abuse of the archeological resources of the region was taking its toll. As greater numbers of people learned of the prehistoric sites and as travel to the area became more accessible, accounts of vandalism to the ruins grew more frequent. In local newspapers, articles began to document excavations made at various archeological sites. [10]

In response to the increasing loss of prehistoric relics and the destruction of archeological ruins, a group of concerned citizens from across the territory organized the Arizona Antiquarian Association in December 1895. [11] The primary purpose of the association was to form a representative collection of archeological resources from Arizona and preserve them for posterity in a museum-type setting. The association began to build its collection of artifacts through excavations by its members and the donations of private collections. The first president of the association, Dr. Joshua Miller of Prescott, who twice served as the superintendent of the Arizona Insane Asylum, had a great passion for learning about Arizona's ancient past and devoted much of his personal time and money to exploring various prehistoric sites around the state. [12] Over the course of many years, Miller had amassed an impressive collection of material illustrating the life and customs of many of the prehistoric and living tribes of Arizona. He hoped that this collection might form the foundation of a museum of the state's archeological treasures, which the association would attempt to establish. [13]

Under Miller's leadership, the association was active between 1897 and 1901 in the pursuit of various practical, educational, and scientific goals related to the preservation of Arizona antiquities. In addition to the looting of artifacts, the structural damage done to ruins at the hands of careless tourists and pothunters became a serious concern of the association's members. After unsuccessfully seeking aid from Congress, the group petitioned the Arizona legislature to pass a law protecting Arizona's prehistoric ruins from vandalism and providing funding for the establishment of a museum of antiquities. In February 1897, Representative John Cooper Goodwin introduced House Bill 63 in the

Nineteenth Legislative Assembly, entitled "An Act to Establish a Museum of Antiquities." As an incentive to pass this measure, Dr. Miller offered to donate his personal collection of more than one thousand articles of archeological and ethnological interest. An article appearing in the *Oasis* (1897) commented that "Our relics of such great ethnological value are fast being vandalized by unscrupulous tourists and it is high time to take the necessary steps for our own protection." [14] Despite such support in local newspapers for the association's cause, state lawmakers did not see the value of the proposed bill and opposed spending funds on such a project. Failing to win government assistance, the association appealed to the public for help. [15]

Frank C. Reid, vice president of the association and enthusiastic student of archeology, was the first to suggest that the group take up the repair and preservation of Montezuma Castle. After hearing reports that recent excavations had weakened the walls of the Castle and fearing the collapse of the ruins, Reid wrote letters to Drs. Merriam, Fewkes, and Fernow of the Bureau of American Ethnology to call their attention to the matter and to solicit the bureau's help in repairing the ruins. Although the ethnologists recognized the importance of Montezuma Castle and concurred with Reid on the terrible misfortune of its destruction, the bureau was not permitted to provide funds for the repair and preservation of the ruins. [16] Reid then wrote to area newspapers in the fall of 1896 and spring of 1897 urging citizens to become involved in the efforts to save Montezuma Castle. In a letter to the *Flagstaff Sun-Democrat* printed 1 April 1897, Reid explained the association's interest in the preservation of the Castle and requested private assistance toward this end:

Your readers may remember that I called attention some time last fall, through the columns of the *Sun* to the unstable condition of Montezuma Castle on Beaver Creek. An attempt was made to have an appropriation set apart by the lately adjourned legislature, for the purpose of establishing a museum of antiquities and of preserving aboriginal ruins. The attempt, however, was a failure. Therefore, whatever is done for the preservation of this grand old ruin, must be done by private contribution.

With this end in view a committee of Prescott gentlemen have taken the matter in hand and will receive subscriptions for the laudable purpose of putting the castle in repair. It is estimated that about \$150 will be required for this work, and the citizens of Flagstaff are requested to aid as they are able in contributing this amount. I will circulate a subscription paper among the principal business men early next week and will then leave it at the post office, so that any other persons who wish to help this good cause along may do so by leaving their money with Mrs. Ross. My limited time will not permit a canvass of more than the leading business houses, but I trust no one will stand back from assisting so good an enterprise as this simply because he has not been asked.

Certainly this is a "burning issue" with us, and we should realize it, as the time is fast approaching when the ravages of time and of vandalism will have entirely destroyed our ruins, if something is not done to protect them. [17]

The association succeeded in raising the needed funds and began repair work during the summer of

1897 under Dr. Miller's supervision. [18] In an article in the September 1897 volume of *The Antiquarian*, Miller described the features of the Castle, the damage done by vandals, and the repair work completed by the association. He noted that more than three thousand pounds of material had been used in the repair efforts, including natural country stone, iron rods (some of which were more than twenty feet in length and an inch thick) to anchor the structure to the cliff, and corrugated iron to cover the outer exposed rooms and replace the original roof. The work done included repairing breaks and niches in the walls, constructing stairs (possibly ladders?) to facilitate passage between stories of the ruin, replacing roofing over certain rooms, anchoring the approaches to the cliffs, and removing debris to clear paths for visitors. Miller noted of the group's efforts: "All this work has been done with the idea to restore and preserve what remains of this famous old ruin with as little change of appearance as possible." [19] At the end of the project, the association repaired the damage done to the ruins, stabilized and strengthened the structure, and made the site more accessible to future visitors. Thus, Montezuma Castle was preserved so that later generations could come to learn firsthand about the prehistoric cultures of the Verde Valley. Different individuals and institutions would undertake subsequent attempts to protect the ruins of the region with varying degrees of success. The efforts of the Arizona Antiquarian Association, however, set the precedent for their preservation.

Although the Arizona Antiquarian Association accomplished the repair of Montezuma Castle in 1897 and the excavation of the central mound at Pueblo Grande near Phoenix in 1901, the organization was only marginally successful in its larger goal of preserving Arizona antiquities overall and became inactive after a short time. However, its existence marked the growing interest in and popularization of archeology at the turn of the century and provided a foundation for later activities. Several of the prominent citizens who were part of the Antiquarian Association made contributions to the preservation of Arizona's antiquities as members of other organizations. One such group, the Arizona Historical and Archaeological Society, which was organized in 1912, brought together a group of concerned citizens to pursue interests formally represented by such dormant groups as the Arizona Antiquarian Association and the Folk Lore Society. One order of business for the newly created society was the purchase of Miller's collection of artifacts, then estimated to include some twenty-five hundred items. [20] After the legislature had refused to establish a museum to house the artifacts gathered by the Antiquarian Association, including those belonging to Miller, the collections had been placed in the natural history museum at the Normal School in Tempe in 1897. When Miller died on 22 July 1901, his wife inherited his collection and brought it with her to Phoenix, where she moved after remarrying. Though the Arizona Historical and Archaeological Society was unsuccessful in its effort to acquire the collection in 1912, the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society (which incorporated the previously organized Arizona Historical and Archaeological Society) was finally able to purchase the Miller collection for the reasonable sum of five hundred dollars in 1917. Byron Cummings, professor of archeology at the University of Arizona and director of the Arizona State Museum, was instrumental in obtaining the collection for the society, soliciting contributions for its purchase and arranging to have it curated by the State Museum. [21] Thus, Miller's dream of having his collection of antiquities permanently housed in a museum was eventually fulfilled, though well after his death. [22]

In the years following the initial Arizona Antiquarian Association repair expedition, visitation to Montezuma Castle resumed, and it appears that the stabilization of the ruins held up. Yet the damage already done to Montezuma Castle and the required repair emphasized the necessity of greater protection and care for the ruins. Because of the lack of response from state and federal officials to the threats to Montezuma Castle and other southwestern ruins, private organizations or individuals took up many of the initial preservation efforts. These efforts and the increasing public familiarity with prehistoric sites brought more attention to the protection of antiquities and sparked discussion about the government's responsibility for their preservation and upkeep.

During the early 1900s, reports of looting and vandalism of southwestern ruins, such as the accounts of Richard Wetherill's excavations at Chaco Canyon, spurred the growing concern for the protection of prehistoric sites and brought the issue to the national level. Several competing bills were proposed in Congress between 1900 and 1905 for the preservation of American antiquities, but strong personalities and sharply drawn political lines prevented their passage. A number of individuals and institutions proposed versions of bills that reflected their narrow self-interests and were caught up in controversial questions regarding the administration and preservation of the ruins. The Smithsonian, the Bureau of Ethnology, and the General Land Office (GLO) were among the groups to become involved in the fray that took place on the congressional floor and in committee chambers. Edgar L. Hewett of Santa Fe, a westerner with great interest and experience in archeology and with political connections in Washington, consulted with government officials and professional archeologists, and played a significant part in the eventual passage of a measure ensuring the protection of American antiquities. In particular, Hewett worked closely with Congressman John F. Lacey of Iowa, a strong advocate of the preservation of antiquities who had introduced related legislation in 1900. Hewett also coordinated efforts with GLO officials to evaluate the needs for the protection of prehistoric resources and to divide responsibilities among the various interested parties. Toward this end, Commissioner W. A. Richards of the GLO asked Hewett to provide an assessment of the archeological areas of the Southwest. [23]

In his *Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest and Their Preservation*, Hewett reported on the extent, condition, and need for protection of prehistoric sites in Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah. He identified four principal river basins in the region—the Rio Grande, San Juan, Little Colorado, and Gila—and subdivided these river basins into twenty districts that contained the majority of the known ruins. Hewett summarized the archeological resources in each district and provided a map that indicated the approximate location of all the sites. The report concluded with a list of key points submitted as a comprehensive plan for the preservation of all historic and prehistoric ruins in the public domain. To stop the trade of artifacts and the destruction of ruins, Hewett recommended that the Interior Department prohibit the excavation of prehistoric objects from public lands and Indian reservations except by those with a permit from the secretary of the interior. He further advocated the employment of custodians or inspectors at a number of districts in urgent need of protection, including the Rio Verde district. Hewett called for permanent withdrawal of lands from the public domain in some cases, but he suggested that the investigation and protection of many sites could be accomplished by the temporary withdrawal of the minimum number of acres necessary in many instances. However, he indicated the need for general legislation

authorizing the creation of national parks and national monuments, and providing for the excavation of prehistoric ruins in the interests of science only. He commented, "If a single cliff dwelling, pueblo ruins, shrine, etc., could be declared a 'national monument,' and its protection provided for, it would cover many important cases and obviate the objections made to larger reservations." [24]

Hewett's recommendations took into consideration the opposition to the withdrawal of large tracts of land and the creation of "inferior" national parks, proposing a balanced, realistic plan for protecting the ruins of the Southwest. [25] His circular was well accepted and influenced the GLO's administration of sites under its jurisdiction. In a letter expressing his appreciation for the report, Commissioner Richards noted the agency's compliance with several of the points Hewett specified, such as the support of attempts to pass federal legislation, the temporary withdrawal of areas in serious need of protection, and the assignment of Forest Service officers to patrol cultural resources located within forest reserve boundaries. [26]

These efforts to protect the archeological ruins on public lands had a direct impact on sites located in the Verde Valley. Richards remarked in his letter that certain tracts had been temporarily withdrawn in order to provide better protection until the passage of proposed legislation. Since the early 1890s, the GLO had used this policy of withdrawing from the public domain any sites with archeological, historical, or natural significance to prevent the development, exploitation, or destruction of their special features. Because the temporary withdrawal of a tract required only the signature of the GLO commissioner, the agency used this procedure to protect valuable resources until it could find a more permanent solution, such as the establishment of a national park. One area that had been withdrawn in such a way included the greater portion of the Rio Verde district lying outside of the Black Mesa Forest Reserve. GLO commissioner Binger Hermann (Richards's predecessor) had understood that Montezuma Castle lacked the spectacular scenery and congressional support to merit its consideration as a national park at this time. However, recognizing the significance of the site and the need for its protection, he had temporarily withdrawn Montezuma Castle from the public domain in December 1901 as part of the proposed Rio Verde Forest Reserve. [27]

Although this temporary withdrawal protected Montezuma Castle and the surrounding lands from settlement, the measure provided no directions for their management. In contrast, ruins located within the boundaries of previously established forest reserves received the care and attention of local forest service officials. In such an instance in the Verde Valley, rangers from the Black Mesa Forest Reserve looked after Montezuma Well and the surrounding ruins. Writing to the forest supervisor in Flagstaff about the historic and prehistoric ruins located within the San Francisco Mountains and Black Mesa Forest Reserves, GLO Commissioner W. A. Richards advised that the agency protect these sites by limiting excavations to recognized scientific and educational institutions that would have secured permission from the Interior Department for such activities. [28] Thus, before the Antiquities Act of 1906 and the establishment of the first national monuments, the General Land Office had a makeshift system in place for the protection of significant archeological ruins located within forest reserves.

However, Montezuma Castle was not included within the boundaries of an established forest reserve

and suffered continued damage. Despite numerous parties' attention and concerns, the GLO, which was nominally in charge of the site, made no serious effort to provide protection to the ruins until Governor Alexander Brodie wrote to Secretary of the Interior Ethan Hitchcock in 1904 suggesting that the Montezuma Castle lands be withdrawn with the view of creating a national park. Secretary Hitchcock directed the matter to the GLO and requested that a special agent investigate this possibility.

Special Agent George F. Wilson visited Montezuma Castle between June 28 and July 3, and made a report to GLO headquarters on 25 July 1904. Wilson was assisted in his investigation of the site by forest ranger W. H. Powers, who helped with making the location survey, and by C. M. Funstan of Flagstaff, owner of the *Coconino Sun*, who provided him with a copy of Dr. Joshua Miller's article about the Castle from the *Arizona Graphic* of 16 December 1899. Wilson noted that the Castle had been vandalized since the publication of this article: "In one of the upper rooms a charge of dynamite was used to break down an inner wall, in the search for relics." [29] The continued damage to the ruins, despite efforts to repair and stabilize them, emphasized the need for the protection of the site, and Wilson recommended that the area be proclaimed as a national park with a custodian. [30] He mentioned that there were no settlers in Sections 16 and 17 and that the nearest settlers were three miles from the Castle, which would indicate that the Castle and its surrounding lands were still part of the public domain, thus facilitating the process of creating a national park. [31]

Although no settlers occupied the land, many people visited the Castle during the late 1890s and early 1900s, and the traffic through the ruins left its mark (figures 12 and 13). Wilson reported that the ladders put up by the Arizona Antiquarian Association were no longer safe and recommended that steps with a rail be used to enter the Castle. The repairs made years before were beginning to wear, and he suggested that the agency undertake a new stabilization of the ruins. He further stated that if the corrugated iron roofing put on by the Antiquarian Association were to be replaced, it should be rebuilt in keeping with the original construction. Wilson provided an estimate of \$1,500 for the repairs and additions to the Castle: \$250 for repairs to the walls, \$175 for ladders and nails, \$25 for the ladder at the foot of the cliff, \$100 for the fencing of twenty acres with four wire fence, \$250 for one mile of ditch and flume, and \$700 for a house, stable, and outbuildings for a resident custodian. To support his recommendation for the repair of the Castle and the establishment of a national park, Wilson quoted in his report the portion of Miller's article dealing with the damage done by curio hunters. Judging by what he observed on his visit to Montezuma Castle, he felt that better supervision of and care for the ruins seemed the best way to ensure their long-term preservation. However, Wilson's ideas about government protection of the site were not immediately accepted. [32]



Figure 12. Montezuma Castle in the late 1890s, photo by C. H. Shaw. Note the metal roof over part of the ruins, which was installed by the Arizona Antiquarian Association in 1897 as a preservation measure. University of Arizona Library, Special Collections (Arizona Photos collection, N-7270).

Figure 13. Hand-tinted postcard of Montezuma Castle. This striking image of the attraction was published by Harry Herz, Phoenix, with coloring by C. T. American Artcolored. The date of its production is unclear. Of note, the image of the Castle shows the metal roof that was installed over part of the ruins as an early preservation measure. University of Arizona Library, Special Collections (Arizona Photos collection).

In addition to his report on Montezuma Castle, Wilson also wrote to the GLO about "another Arizona wonder known as Montezuma's Well," which he examined during the time of his visit to the Castle (figure 14). He remarked that the Well deserved the attention of the GLO and that the Interior Department might want to consider taking action for its preservation. For a description of the site and an overview of the status of ownership, Wilson included with his letter a sketch survey of the area showing the exact location of the Well, a copy of one of Miller's articles for the *Arizona Graphic*, two photographs, and a copy of the notice of the Back family water rights for the property. The Well was located just within the boundary of the Black Mesa Forest Reserve and was part of William Back's homestead. Wilson commented on the good condition of the Well ruins: "Mr. Back has undoubtedly preserved the dwellings in the cliff and cave from total destruction by vandals and curio hunters during the past dozen years or more, believing that the place would eventually belong to him . . . and that he would therefore, derive something of an income from it as a show place." [33] Impressed by the extraordinary natural and prehistoric features of the Well, Wilson proposed the possible withdrawal of the site by the Department of the Interior and the assignment of a custodian to watch over the area. If such a withdrawal were to take place, he suggested that Back should be compensated for the land taken from his homestead claim and for his past care of the site, that he be allowed use of the water and land on the property, and that he be appointed as custodian for the nominal salary of \$20 per month. The report noted that Back placed a value of \$2,500 on his water right, the eighty acres of land in question, and his past care of the place. Wilson commented that this was a very reasonable price for the property and that the government should seriously consider the acquisition and preservation of Montezuma Well. Wilson's recommendations, however, like those in his earlier report on Montezuma Castle, did not inspire a direct response, and no action was taken at the time to protect the Montezuma Well site.



Figure 14. Hand-tinted postcard of Montezuma Well, published by Harry Herz, Phoenix, with coloring by C. T. American Artcolored. University of Arizona Library, Specials Collections (Arizona Photos collection).

At the time of Special Agent Wilson's reports to the GLO, the options were limited for the preservation of places of archeological significance. Wilson advocated that Montezuma Castle be established as a national park because of its many visitors and the serious need for protection. Before the passage of the Antiquities Act of 1906, which created the national monument as a new category of federal reserve, the only permanent solution to such a situation was establishing a site as a national park. However, the creation of a national park required an act of Congress and needed strong support to ensure its passage. By 1904, the Department of the Interior had begun to express concern about inferior national parks and experienced difficulty in justifying the creation of new parks, especially if they lacked the prime criterion for preservationspectacular scenery.

Although ambiguously defined, the popular conception of the ideal national park included striking panoramic views and areas of natural beauty. Sites with archeological, historical, or scientific significancesuch as Montezuma Castle, Devils Tower, El Morro, and the Petrified Forestoften did not meet the standards of brilliant scenery that characterized the national parks and could not be placed in the same class as sites such as Yellowstone or Yosemite. Although such places were in need of and deserved protection, they were not considered worthy enough to be designated as national parks. No serious efforts were made to establish a national park at Montezuma Castlean isolated cliff dwelling without any remarkable scenerybecause its designation would have lowered the standards of the category. Further, at that time, Arizona had only a nonvoting territorial delegate in Congress and lacked the influence to present a strong case for making the ruins a national park. GLO Commissioner Binger Hermann understood that congressional action to establish Montezuma Castle as a national park was unlikely and temporarily withdrew the site from the public domain in December 1901 as part of the proposed Rio Verde Forest Reserve. It seems that Hermann authorized this provisional measure to protect the ruins until more permanent action could be taken. The proposed legislation of this period for the protection of American antiquities offered renewed hope for the long-term preservation of such endangered sites. [34]

Between this temporary withdrawal of Montezuma Castle from the public domain and the later proclamation of the site as a national monument, the question of its administration arose. Special Agent Wilson made clear in his 1904 report the need for a custodian to watch over and care for the ruins, but this suggestion was not immediately followed. Edgar Hewett, who had earlier prepared the circular for the GLO on the prehistoric ruins of the Southwest, wrote to GLO officials echoing Wilson's recommendation that a custodian be appointed to care for the Castle. [35] It seemed clear that the site needed someone to look after it, but there was some confusion about which department was responsible for the supervision of the Castle and who was to be selected as its custodian.

In response to a report made by Agent S. J. Holsinger of the Forest Service (a former GLO special agent) regarding the need to provide protection to four groups of prehistoric ruins located in Arizona,

Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson suggested that the ruins situated within or nearby forest reserves, including Montezuma Castle, be placed under the charge of the local forest ranger. [36] Although three of these ruins—Montezuma Well, Walnut Canyon, and Cave Dwellers Mountain—were situated within forest reserves, Montezuma Castle rested just outside the boundaries of the Black Mesa Forest Reserve and therefore fell outside the jurisdiction of the Forest Service. Although the temporary withdrawal of land for the proposed Rio Verde Forest Reserve included Montezuma Castle, the GLO retained responsibility for the site pending its official establishment as a forest reserve.

GLO officials anticipated the approval of the Rio Verde Forest Reserve and recommended that the Forest Service take charge of Montezuma Castle in order to ensure its immediate protection. Secretary of Agriculture Wilson consented to this request and instructed that a ranger from the Black Mesa Forest Reserve assume the custodianship of Montezuma Castle, in connection with his other duties, as of 1 March 1905. It seems that from this time the ruins were overseen by a forest ranger from the Black Mesa Reserve, who served as the first custodian of Montezuma Castle. [37] No records exist relating to the administration of the Castle until after it was formally established as a national monument. It would appear, however, that the ruins received at least minimal protection while under the appointed forest ranger's supervision. During this period in which Montezuma Castle was provisionally cared for, key political and archeological figures worked diligently to create legislation that would protect American antiquities and provide a better means to preserve sites such as Montezuma Castle. These efforts brought significant changes for the later protection and administration of prehistoric ruins.

In addition to assessing the historic and prehistoric resources in the Southwest and proposing a plan for their preservation in his circular for the GLO, Edgar Hewett was instrumental in drafting a bill for the protection of American antiquities. Drawing on his experiences in politics and archeology, he was careful to address concerns raised in earlier legislation and included measures that did not favor any specific group. Instead, he crafted his proposal to have a broad appeal to the various people and institutions involved with antiquities, including professional archeologists and academics, bureaucrats and government officials, as well as concerned citizens. Hewett's proposals delicately balanced the demands of competing interests and made compromises that satisfied most of the interested parties. The features of his proposed bill included an enlarged definition of protected resources to cover objects of historic and scientific interest, and the requirement that the federal Departments of War, Agriculture, and Interior guard any protected resources located on lands already in their jurisdiction. In addition, Hewett advocated the creation of a new category of federal reservation—the national monument. According to this proposal, the president would have the power to proclaim new monuments with the stipulation that they be limited to "the smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected." [38]

Hewett's draft of the bill enjoyed overwhelming support when he presented it at the joint meeting of the American Anthropological Association and the Archaeological Institute of America in 1905. The bill was so well received largely because of Hewett's careful consideration of the issues, institutions, and people involved. The inclusion of new resources to be protected, the involvement of several

federal agencies, and the creation of a new type of public reserve all helped to avoid the conflicts that had plagued earlier proposed legislation. Hewett presented his bill, entitled "An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities," to Congressman John F. Lacey, who then introduced it in the House of Representatives in January 1906. Senator Thomas Patterson of Colorado sponsored the same bill in the Senate, and after the concerns of some western congressmen were addressed, the measure passed through both houses and awaited presidential approval. On 8 June 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt signed the bill into law and ushered in a new era of preservation in the United States. This significant event had an almost immediate effect on the cultural resources of the Verde Valley. [39]

The passage of the Antiquities Act opened up new avenues for the protection and preservation of sites of prehistoric, historic, and scientific interest by creating the national monument as a new type of federal reservation. The broader conception of the monument category encompassed a wider array of sites than the high standards and narrow definition of the national park. Areas that had previously been overlooked for national park status were now provided a means of permanent government protection. The GLO commissioner had temporarily withdrawn some sites, such as Montezuma Castle, to protect them until a better system was in place. The Antiquities Act established a better system, and soon after its passage, efforts were made to convert into national monuments all those areas that had been temporarily withdrawn.

This process began for Montezuma Castle just weeks after the passage of the Antiquities Act. On 24 August 1906, the GLO sent the secretary of the interior a draft of the proclamation for Montezuma Castle National Monument. The secretary transmitted the draft proclamation to the president on 7 December, and on the following day, 8 December 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt officially proclaimed the establishment of Montezuma Castle National Monument. In accordance with the provision of the Antiquities Act that limited the size of national monuments to "the smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected," the monument contained only 160 acres surrounding the ruins. As the values and methods of preservation evolved over time, the boundaries of the monument would be enlarged to fit with the changing needs of the day.

In 1906, however, a giant step was taken to ensure the protection of Montezuma Castle and other areas of significance in the American West. Two sites were proclaimed as national monuments at the same time as Montezuma Castle: El Morro, a rock formation in New Mexico that featured on its face prehistoric petroglyphs as well as inscriptions of Spanish explorers, American soldiers, and westward travelers; and the Petrified Forest, encompassing large clusters of prehistoric petrified trees in eastern Arizona. [40] The diversity of these first monuments set a precedent for the types of monuments that would later be established. Montezuma Castle became the first of many prehistoric ruins designated as a national monument and was the first site in the Verde Valley to be formally protected.

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*A Past Preserved in Stone:
A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument*

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protas/chap2.htm 27-Nov-2002

Montezuma Castle

National Monument



Chapter 3

A CHALLENGE IN PRESERVATION

The Early Management of the Monument

"The monuments are not just a bunch of knots on the tail of the parks kite."

Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, to Stephen Mather and Horace Albright, National Park Service, 9 September 1920

The passage of the Antiquities Act and the establishment of Montezuma Castle National Monument on 8 December 1906 extended to the site official designation as a point of national interest and nominally promised a greater degree of protection. However, these measures resulted in few practical changes in the day-to-day management of the ruins. Although the Antiquities Act contained provisions for the protection of archeological resources on public lands, including national monuments, it did not give specific information about the management of such sites and offered little guidance as to the enforcement of the new regulations. Further, Congress did not appropriate funds for the administration of the national monuments. The newly established monuments received inadequate protection at the beginning of the century, and many years passed before the preservation of these sites approached the intentions of the designers of the law.

The Antiquities Act charged the General Land Office, Forest Service, and War Department with the responsibility for national monuments located on lands within their jurisdiction. These departments already had limited resources and staffs, and could hardly afford to take on the added responsibilities of overseeing national monuments. As a result, the monuments received only minimal attention, often in the form of infrequent inspection trips and posted warning signs. Although these actions did little to discourage vandals and looters from damaging sites and stealing artifacts, the establishment of national monuments did prevent law-abiding citizens from knowingly exploiting their resources. Unfortunately, however, many visitors were unaware of the special status of the monuments and continued to engage in destructive behavior. Without signs clearly indicating monument designation and formal supervision by trained personnel, the monuments continued to suffer damage and the loss of their unique resources. [1]

At Montezuma Castle, similar problems of administration marked the first two decades of the site's existence as a national monument. When the GLO drafted legislation for the establishment of Montezuma Castle National Monument, the acting commissioner recommended that responsibility

for the site be assigned to the GLO special agent in charge of the surrounding district and to the register and receiver of the local land office. [2] In this way, the GLO could provide official, albeit negligible, protection to the ruins without devoting considerable funds or resources to the cause. Although the Castle was located within the district of the proposed Rio Verde Forest Reserve, the establishment of the national monument superseded this temporary withdrawal and provided for the formal protection of the site. Because the forest reserve was never permanently established (the withdrawn lands, with the exception of the 160 acres forming Montezuma Castle National Monument, were restored to the public domain on 16 May 1910 by order of the secretary of the interior), the GLO resumed responsibility for the ruins upon the proclamation by President Theodore Roosevelt on 8 December 1906. [3]

The GLO commissioner appointed F. C. Dezendorf, chief of special agents in Arizona and New Mexico, in temporary charge of the national monuments on lands within the jurisdiction of the Santa Fe office. [4] In addition, the GLO designated the register and receiver of the U.S. Land Office in Phoenix as the temporary custodians of Petrified Forest and Montezuma Castle National Monuments. In his letter of appointment to the Land Office officials, the commissioner instructed them to "refuse all entries offered to be made within these reservations, and in general, exercise, in conjunction with the Chief of Special Agents, such supervision as will aid in preserving these monuments or in insuring such authorized exploration, excavation, and removal of prehistoric relics as the law and regulations provide." He included with these instructions a copy of the regulations approved by the secretaries of war, agriculture, and interior regarding the issuance of permits for exploration, excavation, and collection at national monuments. [5]

With these meager directions, the GLO ordered the ad hoc custodians to supervise and look after the newly created monument. No documents exist pertaining to these officials' administration of the site, but it appears that Montezuma Castle received little formal consideration and care for the next several years. During the early decades of the twentieth century, GLO officials did not rank the national monuments as high priorities. Without a bureaucracy to oversee the administration of these sites and with little staff and resources to spare for preservation activities, the agency sought ways to provide them nominal protection at minimal expense. The appointment of its officials as custodians of national monuments allowed the GLO a way to get by with this makeshift system of preservation. However, the agency's superficial efforts to protect the ruins at Montezuma Castle did little to reduce vandalism and the theft of artifacts; within a few years, the damage and abuse visitors had inflicted on the ruins again attracted the attention of concerned citizens.

In her diary account of a family trip to the Verde Valley in 1907, Lucy Jones described the group's ascent into Montezuma Castle and their explorations of its interior. She noted the numerous names written on the walls and timbers of the ruins and admitted that members of their party added their names on the prehistoric edifice. [6] Although few accounts of the condition of the Castle at this time survive today, it seems likely that other visitors engaged in similar destructive behavior. In the absence of active preservation efforts and the regular supervision of the monument by an on-site custodian, the ruins thus faced continued threats of damage and vandalism.

Taylor P. Gabbard, the superintendent and special disbursing agent of the Indian School at Camp Verde, echoed Jones's concern. In his letter to the secretary of the interior of 5 November 1911, he expressed his anxiety about the lack of protection for the cliff dwelling. [7] In response, Chief Executive Officer Clement Ricker of the Department of the Interior notified Gabbard that the general supervision of the monument was entrusted to Gratz W. Helm, a GLO special agent stationed at Los Angeles. Ricker acknowledged that this arrangement, although not effective from the standpoint of the protection of the ruins, was the most practical in light of Congress's failure to appropriate funds for the administration of the national monuments. He suggested that Gabbard file a report on the present condition of the ruins and any other information that would be of interest to the department. In addition, Ricker inquired if Gabbard would be able to look after the ruins in addition to his duties as superintendent of the Indian School; as one who resided closer to the site, Ricker reasoned, Gabbard could surely provide better care for the ancient monument than the present agent in charge. [8]

By this time, it had become clear that Montezuma Castle, like the other national monuments, suffered from neglect. The establishment of the monuments and their recognition as places of national interest and value represented the extent of federal action at these sites. The Department of the Interior set up no formal administrative process to ensure the upkeep of the monuments under its care and did not provide funds for their protection. Thus, monuments such as Montezuma Castle languished as a result of the government's empty promises of preservation. It was only after advocates and boosters made continued efforts on behalf of the sites that the federal government began to take a stronger interest in the national monuments and to establish an organized system for their protection and administration. [9]

More than two and one-half years after Taylor Gabbard's initial inquiry into the preservation efforts at Montezuma Castle, the Department of the Interior attempted to capitalize on his interest in the site. Assistant to the Secretary Adolph Miller wrote to the commissioner of Indian Affairs to determine whether Gabbard or his successor would be able to accept the duties of custodian of Montezuma Castle National Monument. In a statement that revealed the department's attitude about the preservation activities at such sites, Miller wrote, "Inasmuch as there is no appropriation available for protection of the Montezuma Castle National Monument, the service required as custodian of the monument from Mr. Gabbard will, of course, not make heavy inroad upon his time." [10]

The department appeared more concerned about the appointment of a site custodian than the quality of care provided. It is unclear whether the lengthy delay between Gabbard's first letter and the request for his services corresponded to the low priority of the national monuments for the Department of the Interior or to difficulties encountered by Special Agent Helm's long-distance supervision of the Castle. In either event, the commissioner of Indian Affairs brought the matter of monument custodianship to Gabbard's attention. In a clearly thought-out response, Gabbard indicated that he took no action to help preserve the Castle in 1911 because it would have been pointless without money for materials, labor, and other expenses. He struck at the heart of the issue, stating that he would be willing to look after the ruins "provided that sufficient funds for that purpose can be secured. But without funds it is impossible for the Superintendent of the Camp Verde Indian School

or any other person, to protect and preserve the Montezuma Castle which is now in need of substantial ladders and other necessary repairs." [11] Gabbard's reference to the need for repairs suggests that previous supervision of the ruins did not provide adequate protection. In addition, he understood that the token gesture of assigning a custodian to look after the Castle without the expenditure of funds for repair work amounted to a futile and meaningless preservation policy.

Officials from the Department of the Interior paid little immediate attention to Gabbard's insights on the protection of the ruins; as a result, Montezuma Castle continued to suffer from official neglect. The department merely asked Gabbard to make an inspection of the Castle and to file a report on the repairs and improvements he thought necessary, including a list of estimated costs. [12] Around this time, Special Agent Helm arranged for GLO mineral examiner Roy G. Mead to make an inspection trip and report on the condition of the ruins. Mead's report to the GLO commissioner, dated 29 May 1914, sheds light on the immediate impact of GLO neglect of Montezuma Castle. Among his observations of the monument, Mead noted the unsafe condition of the wooden ladders providing access to the cliff dwelling, the deterioration of interior walls as a result of the removal of lintels over doorways, and visitors' defacement of walls and timbers. He also indicated that a section of the front wall had weakened considerably and was likely to fall at any time, resulting in significant harm to the rest of the structure (figure 15). Mead recommended that immediate action be taken to make repairs in order to protect the ruins against further damage. He urged the commissioner to authorize funds to stabilize the front wall using iron tie rods and cement, install new ladders for safe and easy entry into the ruins, and place a register inside the Castle "so that visitors could leave their names instead of using the walls for that purpose." [13]



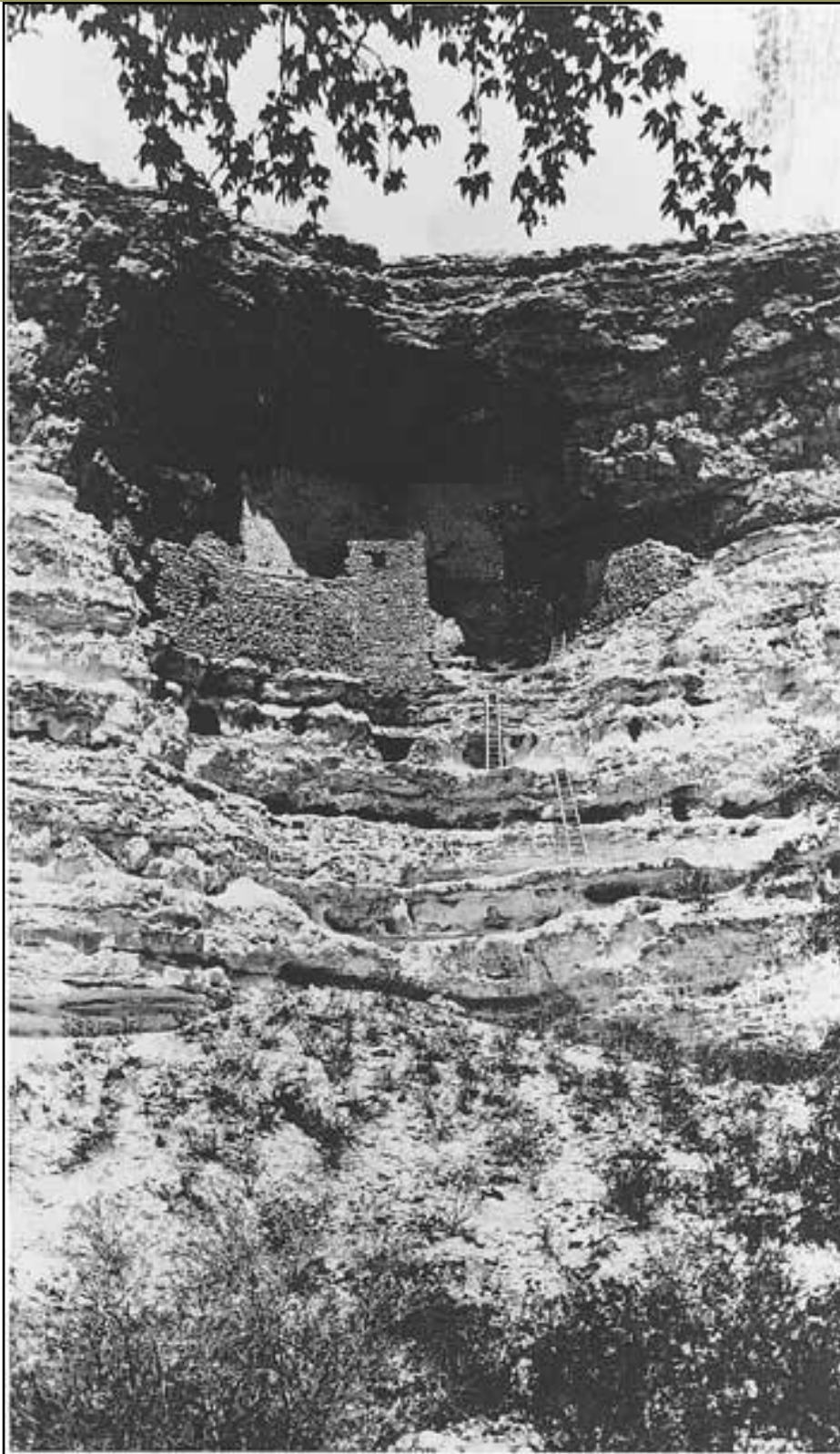


Figure 15. Views of needed repairs at Montezuma Castle, ca. 1914. Photographs by Roy G. Mead in report to General Land Office commissioner, 29 May 1914, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.

Mead estimated these repairs would cost more than one hundred dollars. However, he offered these

measures as a means to correct only the damage already done to the Castle. To protect the ruins against further destruction at the hands of visitors, the GLO needed to establish a better system of supervision. Mead suggested that naming a custodian in the vicinity of the monument would be the only way to prevent future acts of vandalism. By the time of his inspection trip, unscrupulous visitors had already removed "every fragment of pottery," taken timbers from within the structure, and written their names on the Castle walls. Mead emphasized the potential for new threats to the ruins: "A fine automobile road has recently been constructed from Prescott to Camp Verde, a small settlement three miles west of the Castle; and the trip from Prescott to the Castle and return can now be comfortably made in one day." Mead also reported that two garages in Prescott offered guided visits to the Castle. The garages charged parties between twenty-five and thirty dollars for the trip by car and for the service of the driver/guide. [14] This reference to tours represents the first documentation of interpretation at Montezuma Castle, but it also suggests the increasing popularity of the monument as a tourist destination. As greater numbers of people visited the unprotected monument, more destruction and vandalism could be expected.

Unfortunately for Montezuma Castle, the pattern of delay and empty promises continued for some time. Other reports and letters from concerned individuals did little to persuade the GLO to set aside funds for the repair and protection of the monument. Such correspondence underlined the worsening condition of the ruins as a result of increasing visitation and the lack of supervision. Letters sent to GLO and Department of Interior officials echoed previous recommendations that improvements be made at the monument before irreparable damage occurred. [15] Despite the public concern expressed on behalf of sites such as Montezuma Castle, the GLO did not provide funds for the upkeep of the national monuments under its care. This situation reflected the difficulties of the divided jurisdiction of the monuments and Congress's failure to allocate money specifically marked for the administration of the monuments. Since 1906, the GLO annually petitioned for appropriations to cover expenses at the monuments for small repairs and to employ local custodians at nominal salaries. These requests, however, had never been approved in appropriation bills, and the GLO opted not to use money from its Protection of Public Lands fund for these purposes. [16] Thus, the Antiquities Act charged the GLO with responsibility for the national monuments under its jurisdiction without providing the agency with the resources to care for them effectively. The lack of congressional appropriations and the limited GLO budget meant that national monuments such as Montezuma Castle continued to suffer from official neglect. [17]

In contrast to previous accounts of severe vandalism and damage done to Montezuma Castle, GLO mineral inspector L. A. Gillett reported in September 1915 that the ruins remained in the same state of preservation as he had observed during his last visit in 1898. He noted that visitors had caused little harm to the ruins beyond inscribing their names on the walls and made no recommendation for repairs to the structure. Gillett indicated, however, that the ladders providing access to the Castle were in poor condition and threatened visitors' safety. He further remarked that high waters from Beaver Creek had damaged the foot trail from the wagon road to the base of the cliff and that the road to the Castle from the state highway was very rough. To better accommodate visitors and ensure their safety, Gillett recommended that improvements be made on the ladders, trail, and entrance road. In his opinion, the ruins themselves were not in jeopardy of damage and needed little attention.

Concerning the management of the monument, Gillett reported that William B. Back acted as custodian of Montezuma Castle and visited the site nearly every week. Back had left his family home in Missouri and settled in the Verde Valley, where in 1888 he acquired the Montezuma Well property from Link Smith for two horses. Back's homestead entry was patented in 1907, and a few years later he began charging visitors fifty cents for tours of the magnificent natural wonder and the surrounding prehistoric dwellings. Back was personally familiar with tourism-related issues at archeological sites and lived within the vicinity of Montezuma Castle. He seemed to be the ideal candidate to look after the monument. [18] In Inspector Gillett's opinion, this arrangement appeared to provide adequate protection to the ruins: "That is the only supervision the Monument gets save the inspection by this office each year, and is all that it requires, provided the improvements recommended are made." [19] It is unclear why Inspector Gillett did not call attention in his report to the preservation issues that had so deeply concerned previous visitors to the Castle. Yet even if he had expressed the need for the repair and management of the monument, it seems doubtful that Department of Interior officials would have responded with a course of action. However, although the GLO remained unwilling at this time to take responsibility for the preservation of Montezuma Castle, Forest Service officials seemed eager to bring the site under its administration.

After the dangerous condition of the ladders and the disrepair of the Castle ruins came to the attention of Forest Service officials in 1915, a flurry of correspondence circulated on the subject of how to best take care of this endangered national monument. District Forester Arthur C. Ringland suggested that because the Castle had suffered under the control of the apparently disinterested Interior Department, the ruins would receive better protection if the secretary of the interior would authorize Forest Service supervision of the site. Although he commented that "these ruins were not of sufficient importance to warrant the assignment of a custodian specifically for this purpose," Ringland proposed to have a ranger from the nearby Beaver Creek Station periodically visit the ruins, noting that the Forest Service made similar arrangements in the case of the Gran Quivera ruins near the Manzano National Forest. He also recommended that the Department of the Interior allocate two hundred dollars for the installation of new ladders. [20]

Madison Grant, a prominent New York lawyer and chairman of the New York Zoological Society, also expressed concern about the condition of Montezuma Castle and suggested to Forest Service officials a very different plan for the protection of the ruins. Until such a time as the responsible government agency could provide the Castle the thorough and adequate protection it needed, he advised that no efforts should be made to make the site more accessible to the public. Grant recommended that the ladders be removed and access to the ruins made as difficult as possible pending the appointment of a custodian to watch over the monument and prevent acts of vandalism and destruction. He contended: "It is far more important that these ruins be preserved intact than that the curiosity of casual visitors be gratified." [21] "The mere setting aside of this area as a National Monument and giving it no protection whatever would be worse than useless," Grant concluded. [22] Convenient access to an unsupervised site only prompted the continued destruction and loss of the monument's unique resources.

Grant's proposals generated interest among Forest Service officials, yet Montezuma Castle remained under the jurisdiction of the General Land Office. Officials from the Department of the Interior did not respond favorably to the recommendation to close the ruins to visitors and questioned the reports that the Castle had suffered serious damage. In correspondence with Forester H. S. Graves on the subject of the administration of Montezuma Castle, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Bo Sweeney cited Mineral Inspector L. A. Gillett's report as evidence that little vandalism had taken place at the ruins and suggested that the removal of the ladders at the Castle was thus unnecessary. Sweeney justified the department's level of effort regarding Montezuma Castle by claiming that until Congress made funds available for the protection of the national monuments, it would be impracticable to appoint a custodian and repair the damaged ladders. The subtext of such correspondence revealed the department's defensive attitude regarding the preservation of the national monuments. Officials considered these sites low priorities, yet refused to accept responsibility for the consequences of their policy of neglect. In his correspondence with Forester Graves, Sweeney implied that little harm was caused by the department's minimal supervision of monuments such as Montezuma Castle; however, if the supervision of the ruins appeared inadequate, the blame could be attributed to Congress's refusal to allocate funds for the protection of the monuments. [23]

Despite his denial of any shortcomings in the GLO's management of Montezuma Castle, Sweeney consented to District Forester Ringland's suggestion that a forest ranger visit the monument from time to time, "as a measure of additional protection." Following this semiofficial agreement between the Department of the Interior and the Forest Service, Forest Supervisor John D. Guthrie instructed Alston D. Morse, a ranger in charge of the Beaver Creek District, to make trips to the Castle at least once a month and to post warning notices supplied by the GLO in the vicinity of the monument. [24] Thus, at this time, the Forest Service more actively participated in the protection of Montezuma Castle than did the GLO. Continuing to demonstrate this greater interest in the preservation of the Castle, Forest Service officials immediately began taking care of details that would facilitate administration of the monument. Forest Supervisor Guthrie forwarded to Ranger Morse copies of Department of the Interior regulations for the protection of national monuments and assigned him a variety of tasks, which included surveying and marking the monument boundaries, erecting large signs on the nearby roads, and posting notices on the rules and regulations at national monuments. Guthrie expressed his agency's attitude toward its assumption of the administrative duties at Montezuma Castle at this time, instructing Ranger Morse to "Please let it be known that the Forest Service now has charge of the Castle and that it will receive more protection than formerly." [25] Although the GLO maintained official jurisdiction over the monument, the Forest Service assumed responsibility for its protection at the practical level.

The condition of the ladders and the insufficient management of the monument continued to worry concerned citizens and Forest Service officials. Grace Sparkes, secretary of the Yavapai County Chamber of Commerce and active promoter of tourism and development throughout the county, brought the issue of the condition of the ladders to the attention of officials from the Forest Service, the Department of the Interior, and Arizona's congressional delegation. The replacement of the damaged ladders proved to be the first of many preservation causes in the Verde Valley that Sparkes championed in her lengthy career. Her attention to the matter lent support to Forest Service attempts

to obtain funding from the Department of the Interior to make needed repairs at the monument and generated considerable correspondence, which underlined the urgency of the situation. [26]

To improve the safety and security of Montezuma Castle National Monument, District Forester A. C. Ringland recommended the installation of new ladders and the construction of an iron fence across the approach to the Castle to limit visitor access to the ruins. Because the monument was not located within the boundaries of a national forest, however, the Forest Service could not furnish the funds necessary for these improvements. [27] Acting Secretary of Agriculture C. Marvin forwarded Ringland's suggestions to the secretary of the interior and offered the services of the local forest rangers to supervise the construction of the fence and ladders, provided that the Department of the Interior finance the work. He estimated the total expenses would not exceed two hundred dollars and noted that a similar arrangement had been made between the two agencies a few years back at Tumacacori National Monument in southern Arizona. At Tumacacori, the Department of the Interior provided funds for Forest Service employees to construct a high iron fence around the monument boundaries and arranged for a local resident to keep the key to the gate of the fence. [28]

Although such a cooperative agreement had been made in the past, assistant to the secretary Stephen T. Mather responded that Congress had never placed at the disposal of the Interior Department any funds for the development or protection of the national monuments. As a result, no money was available for such improvements to Montezuma Castle. Mather noted, however, that in its appropriation requests for fiscal year 1917, the Department of the Interior itemized one hundred dollars for repairs to the walls of the ruins and for new ladders. [29]

During the summer of 1916, Forest Service officials, local residents, Arizona's congressional representatives, and even an agent from the GLO expressed their concerns to Interior Department officials about the fate of the monument. This mounting pressure finally influenced the Department of the Interior to request funds specifically marked for improvements at Montezuma Castle.

In a report to the commissioner of the GLO on his trip to Montezuma Castle in June 1916, Special Agent W. L. Lewis submitted overwhelming evidence of the GLO's failure to provide adequate protection to the Castle and offered a list of recommendations to improve the situation. Lewis observed serious problems that threatened the convenience, accessibility, and safety of the ruins. Echoing sentiments previously expressed by other concerned individuals, he stressed the need to construct new ladders; to improve the trail to the base of the cliff; to provide a register book for visitors to sign (in place of signing the walls); and to repair the badly damaged walls, ceilings, and floors. The detailed descriptions and photographs in his report emphasized the severe condition of the ruins and the dire need for such improvements (figure 16). Agent Lewis's conviction that the national monuments were set aside as "instruments of education" informed his perspective on the condition of the Castle and his suggestions for improvements. Although he noted the dangers to visitor safety presented by the deteriorating walls, Lewis commented that the structure deserved protection for more fundamental reasons: "Aside from the gross negligence in leaving the walls in this condition, the desire to preserve the monument for its educational and historical features should be sufficient ground for strengthening such walls as exist" (figure 17). Supporting his belief in the educational

purpose of the monuments, Lewis also advocated that printed information on the historical features and points of interest at Montezuma Castle be made available so that visitors could derive the maximum benefit from their trip to the monument. [30]

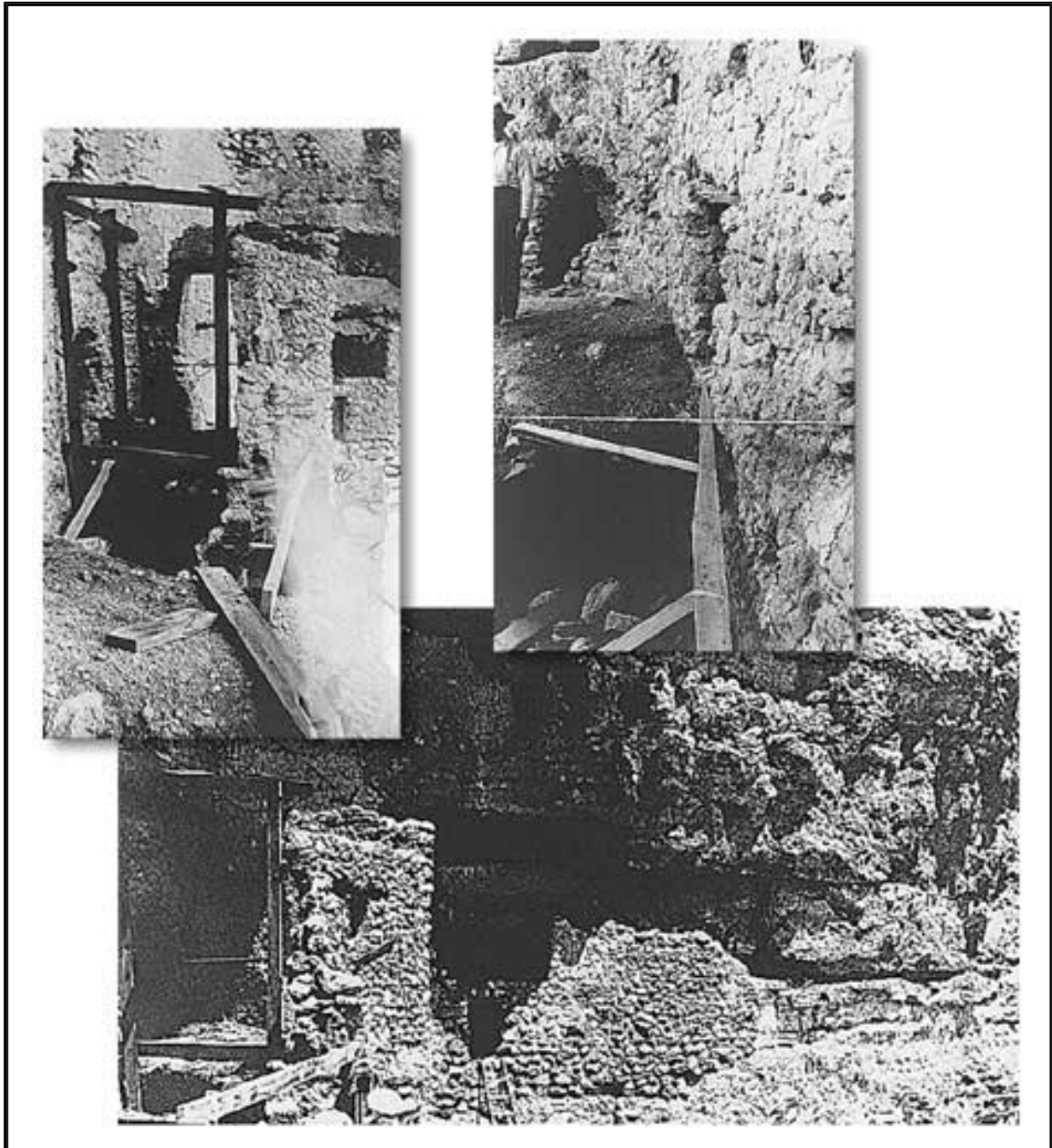


Figure 16. Weakened sections of Montezuma Castle, ca. 1916. Photographs by W. J. Lewis in report to the General Land Office commissioner, 11 July 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.

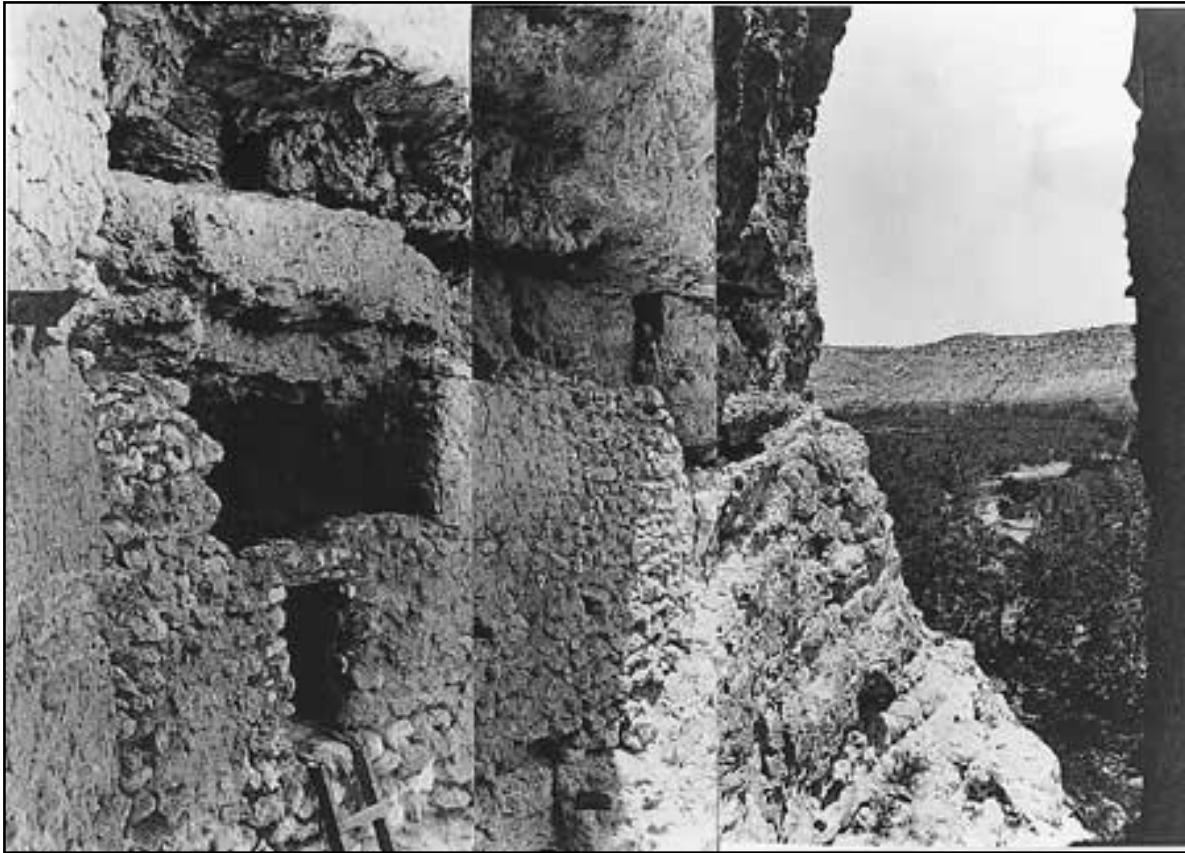


Figure 17. Panoramic view looking westward along the face of the Castle ruins. This photo also shows the top of the ladder where it enters one of the chambers, a portion of Beaver Creek in the valley far below, and the banks on the other side of the valley. Photograph (view no. 7) by W. J. Lewis in report to the commissioner, General Land Office, 11 July 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599, folder 1.

The wave of public outcry on behalf of national monuments such as Montezuma Castle represented the latest in attempts to get the Department of the Interior and the General Land Office to take responsibility for the threatened sites under their jurisdiction. At the time of these outbursts of correspondence, bureaucrats in Washington, D.C., were laying the foundations for a new branch of the Department of the Interior to administer the national parks and monuments. Though the passage of the National Park Service Act on 25 August 1916 established an official system of administration for the protected sites and raised the possibility of funding, the national monuments received little immediate benefit from this action. The vision for the newly created National Park Service (NPS), as developed by Stephen T. Mather and Horace Albright, the top officials in the agency, focused on the promotion and development of the national parks as tourist attractions. The national monuments, which lacked the awe-inspiring scenery and tourist appeal of the national parks, did not have a clearly defined place in the park system and were considered to be second-class sites. [31]

During this same summer, however, Congress allocated \$3,500 to the Department of the Interior for the administration of the national monuments under its care. Although a meager sum the total averaged to just \$120 for each of the department's twenty-four monuments this appropriation marked

the first monetary commitment to the protection and improvement of the national monuments. From this fund, Interior Department officials initially earmarked \$75 for repairs to the walls of Montezuma Castle and the construction of new ladders. When the allotments to Navajo and Papago Saguaro National Monuments were canceled, officials redirected the excess funds to Montezuma Castle, making \$325 available for repairs and improvements. Although this money would not cover all of the work necessary at the monument, it promised to help considerably with problems of visitor safety and the preservation of the ruins. [32] Joseph J. Cotter, the acting superintendent of the National Parks, instructed B. H. Gibbs, chief of the GLO Santa Fe Field Division, to arrange for the work to be done at Montezuma Castle. Citing the inspection report filed by Special Agent Lewis, Cotter recommended the repair and strengthening of the walls and roof of the ruin. He also suggested that a responsible person living in the vicinity of the monument be appointed as custodian for a nominal salary and noted that William B. Back, the owner of Montezuma Well, might consider accepting such an appointment. However, because the GLO did not have personnel to attend solely to the national monuments, the work at Montezuma Castle was not immediately undertaken. [33]

The Department of the Interior delayed using the newly allocated funds for improvements to Montezuma Castle National Monument, but correspondence from concerned citizens continued to call the attention of officials of that department to the subject of the protection of the prehistoric ruins. In particular, members of the Washington, D.C. based American Institute of Architects (AIA) acted as outspoken advocates for the preservation of the cliff dwelling. Letters from several AIA members underlined the vulnerability of the unprotected monument and urged the Interior Department to take immediate action to protect the site before its resources were lost to future acts of vandalism. Horace W. Sellers, the chairman of the AIA Committee on Preservation of Natural Beauties and Historic Monuments of the United States, communicated to the Department of the Interior the observations and suggestions of several members of the organization who had recently visited Montezuma Castle. [34]

Of special note, Sellers forwarded to Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane a copy of a letter received from Dr. Harold S. Colton of the Department of Biology at the University of Pennsylvania. Colton, who had a special interest in ancient Native American cultures, spent the summer of 1916 in northern Arizona visiting prehistoric ruins, including Montezuma Castle. [35] He considered the Castle "one of the best preserved and most interesting" ruins in the country. At the same time, Colton observed that frequent visitation and the lack of supervision threatened the preservation of the site. He advised that the responsible authorities reconstruct and stabilize portions of the ruins, and appoint a capable caretaker to prevent vandalism. In addition, he suggested that pending the employment of a permanent custodian of the monument and during the times of his absence, the removal of the lower ladder reaching up to the Castle would provide the most certain protection of the ruins. [36]

Despite Colton and Grant's advice, the Department of the Interior opted to accommodate visitors and keep the ruins open to the public. Offering another perspective on this matter, the U.S. assistant attorney wrote to Acting Superintendent Joseph Cotter, requesting the removal of the ladders until the repair and strengthening of the walls and floors of the ruin were completed. In its present condition, he suggested, continued access to the interior of the Castle would make worse the structural damage

that had already occurred and place visitors at risk of injury. Beyond contributing to the deterioration of the ruins, the policy of allowing unsupervised access to Montezuma Castle exposed visitors to personal danger and raised the issue of the government's liability. The assistant attorney recommended closing the interior of the Castle to the public and cited the GLO's barricading of the Lewis and Clark Cavern in Montana as a precedent for this action. [37]

By 1916, however, the newly established National Park Service had not yet articulated a clear vision of or purpose for the diverse group of national monuments. At sites such as Montezuma Castle, the policy of promoting tourism as a means of building support for the Park Service prevailed. Although Interior Department officials decided to keep the Castle ruins open to visitors at the expense of the preservation of its archeological resources, the influx of correspondence from various parties encouraged the department to expedite the repair work at the monument. By November 1916, GLO officials finally began making arrangements for the authorized improvements to the Castle.

In March 1917, Mineral Inspector H. W. MacFarren filed a report on Montezuma Castle in preparation for the repair work to be done. MacFarren noted that the appropriations for the monument had been increased to \$425 and estimated the following expenses for repairs and improvements: \$60 for the custodian's salary at \$5 per month, \$75 for new ladders, \$25 for the cleaning and repair of the "main part" of the Castle, \$100 for the cleaning and repair of the "addition" portion of the Castle, \$150 for the construction and improvement of trails, and \$15 for incidentals. He provided precise instructions about the procedures, materials, and arrangements for all of the work and explained at length the necessity of each recommended action. MacFarren also offered several ideas to facilitate the administration of the monument. He suggested that the future custodian arrange with the county board of supervisors to improve the roads leading to the Castle, post road and warning signs to direct and inform visitors, furnish a register for visitors to sign, make available some informational literature about the ruins, and mark the boundaries of the monument. [38]

A custodian was still needed to look after the monument and oversee the repairs and improvements. When William B. Back would not accept the custodianship, MacFarren contacted Alston D. Morse, a resident of Camp Verde. Morse seemed well qualified to take on the responsibilities of the position. He had served for the previous two years as a ranger at the Coconino National Forest and had been assigned to make inspection trips to Montezuma Castle in December 1915. Morse now lived within two miles of the Castle and recently had retired from the Forest Service. Observing Morse's commitment to the preservation of Montezuma Castle, MacFarren wrote that "he exhibits a heart-felt interest in seeing it protected and that has imbibed that spirit and habit so noticeable among Forest Service employees, of wanting to see places of general public interest and value protected." This statement is telling not only of Morse's personal dedication to protecting public lands, but also of the ethic of stewardship among local Forest Service employees at this time. MacFarren contrasted the administrative capabilities of the two organizations when he observed that "the Forest Service could handle the Castle immeasurably better than the Field Service of the General Land Office, since the natural organization, duties and methods of work of the latter service is particularly unsuited to caring for the Castle." However, because Montezuma Castle remained under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, the arrangements for the repair and improvements to the monument fell to

the GLO and the infant National Park Service. [39]

Horace M. Albright, the acting NPS director, offered Morse a contract to undertake work at Montezuma Castle, as specified by MacFarren. Morse agreed to construct and install new ladders, clean and repair the main part of the ruin, clean and repair the "addition," and remove all access to the unstable addition section for an estimated sum of two hundred dollars. Park Service officials decided that the recommended work on trails and roads should wait until the following year. They also stipulated that Morse's appointment as custodian of the Castle would occur after his completion of the contracted work, so that his nominal salary of five dollars per month would come under the 1918 appropriation for the monument. [40]

Morse started on the repairs and improvements to the monument during the summer of 1917. By 1 August, he finished construction of all the new ladders and had them securely installed. He continued work during the next several months cleaning out the ruins, repairing damaged portions of the structure, and scrubbing graffiti that had been chalked on the walls. He also placed a register book inside the Castle, which 435 visitors signed between 1 August and 19 November. [41] Early in 1918, NPS director Stephen T. Mather wrote to Morse to inquire about future improvements that would help the monument to better accommodate the anticipated increase in visitation and to arrange for his appointment as custodian of Montezuma Castle. Morse responded with a note indicating that he could not finish the remaining repair work due to his difficulty in obtaining iron rods for the stabilization of the walls. He also stated that the road and trail leading to the Castle needed considerable work, but indicated that he would be unable to complete these projects because he had been called for service in the war effort and did not know when he would return. [42]

For the first time since the establishment of Montezuma Castle National Monument, officials from the Department of the Interior expressed concern about the appointment of a custodian to oversee and protect the monument. Mather wrote to Arizona governor George W. P. Hunt soliciting his recommendation of a responsible local resident to replace the absent Morse. Governor Hunt forwarded the name of O. F. Hicks, a Prescott resident and deputy state game warden; by October 1918, Hicks assumed the duties as custodian of Montezuma Castle. Mather requested that Hicks make an inspection visit to the monument and report on its present condition as well as future improvements that seemed advisable. [43] Hicks commented on the need for further repair work, including better fastening of the ladders to the cliff, the stabilization of the "addition" section of the Castle, and the development of the approach road and trail. At this time, the Park Service entrusted the custodian with full responsibility for the monument.

However, Mather quickly lost confidence in Hicks's ability to perform as custodian. Shortly after his first inspection report, NPS officials wrote to Alston Morse's wife to determine when her husband was due to return from military service and whether he would still be willing to serve as the custodian of the monument. [44] It is unclear why the Park Service terminated its relationship with Hicks in favor of an arrangement with Morse. Perhaps the agency acted in response to Hicks's suggestion that he be appointed as custodian of all national parks and monuments in Arizona and

New Mexico. [45] At this time, the national monuments played a secondary role in the agency's vision of a tourism-oriented park system. Officials may have decided to find a less-ambitious custodian at Montezuma Castle who could take proper care of this specific monument.

Upon his return from the war, Alston Morse indicated to NPS officials that he would be unable to perform additional repairs at Montezuma Castle and recommended Martin L. Jackson of Camp Verde as a capable and willing replacement to undertake the needed work. [46] In the years following Morse's initial improvements in 1917-18, the Park Service made various arrangements to provide protection to the monument, but failed to find a reliable custodian to carry out the required duties. The instability of the supervision at Montezuma Castle during this time meant that decisions concerning the site were made by people with varying degrees of familiarity with and knowledge of the prehistoric ruins. The Castle received inconsistent care and protection, depending on the custodian at the time. Such sporadic administration of the national monuments was owing in large part to NPS policies.

By the 1910s however, Frank Pinkley, then custodian of Casa Grande and Tumacacori National Monuments, began to champion the cause of the national monuments with top NPS officials. Pinkley had been closely associated with the Casa Grande ruins since his appointment as custodian there in 1901 and had devoted a countless amount of time and energy to the protection, development, and publicity of this site. His fervent dedication to Casa Grande served as an example for the other custodians who faced similar challenges to the care of the monuments. Pinkley shared with NPS officials his thoughts and ideas about the condition of the national monuments and became involved with the administration at other southwestern sites. [47]

During the summer of 1919, the Park Service asked Pinkley to make inspection visits to Petrified Forest and Montezuma Castle National Monuments in connection with proposed improvements at each site. The agency expressed concern about the increased visitation and potential vandalism at Montezuma Castle as a result of the easier access to the ruins via the newly constructed ladders. In his instructions for Pinkley's inspection trip, Acting Director Arno Cammerer indicated that the agency desired to quickly appoint a local custodian at a salary of ten dollars per month as a means of preventing further damage to the now more vulnerable monument. He also remarked that up to four hundred dollars might be available if improvement work at the Castle seemed necessary. Thus, the Park Service charged Pinkley with finding the means to protect and improve Montezuma Castle using only the limited funds it was providing. [48]

Pinkley traveled to the Castle in September 1919, and in his report to Acting Director Cammerer, he offered estimates for the work needed at the monument. He also recommended that James Sullivan be appointed as custodian of the monument. Sullivan, the road supervisor of Yavapai County, owned a section of land adjacent to the monument boundary. Sullivan had previously discussed with Morse the possibility of providing labor and materials for road and trail improvements in exchange for the right to put an irrigation ditch and flume across a portion of the monument property. [49] Although Morse never made arrangements for this exchange, Sullivan continued to express his desire to divert water from the monument to irrigate his land. When Frank Pinkley approached him concerning the

custodianship of Montezuma Castle in 1919, Sullivan again suggested that some type of arrangement might be made in which he would receive permission to construct and use his irrigation ditch as compensation for his services as custodian.

Acting Director Cammerer concluded that the agency could grant Sullivan a permit in exchange for his badly needed services. Cammerer asked Pinkley to ensure that the proposed ditch and flume would not appear to be "conspicuous in the monument landscape," and requested that Pinkley work out the terms of an agreement. Sullivan consented to serve as custodian of the Castle for the minimal salary of twelve dollars per year, which he would transfer to the NPS for the permit to run his ditch over the lower part of the monument. Cammerer approved Sullivan's appointment effective 9 October 1920. In subsequent correspondence to the new custodian, Cammerer emphasized the agency's primary concern with the prevention of vandalism at the ruins and provided an explanation of Sullivan's duties and responsibilities to enforce monument regulations. In addition, he noted that Pinkley had arranged for Martin L. Jackson, a local settler who resided on his family's homestead within a couple of miles of the Castle, to undertake improvements to the upper trail, the lower trail, and the drainage system over the cliff for a sum of \$180. [50]

In order to authorize the permit for Sullivan's proposed ditch, the NPS requested a plat map indicating the length of the ditch, its relation to the monument, and its general location. After reviewing a blueprint Sullivan had provided, Cammerer began to reconsider his decision to allow the ditch and flume to run across monument property. He noted the sizable portion of the monument grounds through which the waterway would travel and expressed concern that it would be conspicuous from different vantage points. Frank Pinkley insisted that the irrigation works, if properly built, would not interfere with the scenic views of the Castle. He also suggested that breaking the agreement with Sullivan would badly hurt the monument's relationship with the local community. [51] However, Pinkley then learned that Sullivan spent a considerable amount of time away from Camp Verde and Montezuma Castle. It seems that Mrs. Sullivan had died, leaving her husband to care for their fifteen children, at which time Sullivan had moved with his family to Prescott without notifying the Park Service. The agency responded to this changed situation by revoking his appointment in October 1921. [52]

During the brief period when Sullivan served as custodian of Montezuma Castle, Martin Jackson had completed all of the trail and protective work for which he was contracted. He finished construction of the lower trail, which led from the campgrounds to the Castle; the upper trail, which connected between the top of the cliff and the Castle; and the drainage ditch on the cliff above the Castle. In addition, he accomplished some improvement of the two rough roads that provided access to the monument from the nearby highway. Pinkley was extremely impressed by Jackson's initiative in altering the original work plans to better suit the needs of the monument. He was also pleased by Jackson's discovery of the remains of a rock ruin (the Castle A ruins) adjacent to the Castle. [53]

At the time of the NPS termination of its contract with Sullivan, Frank Pinkley enthusiastically recommended that Jackson be appointed custodian at a salary of ten dollars per month. Jackson agreed to inspect the ruins at least once each week. Although this arrangement did not provide the

same protection as would a resident custodian living on the monument grounds, the limited funds available to the NPS curtailed the administration of the national monuments. Yet as Pinkley emphasized in his report, the monument needed some type of immediate supervision. During his inspection visit in October 1921, he reported that vandals had broken two holes through the wall of a Castle room and dug out large amounts of debris and artifacts. The agency desperately needed a reliable custodian to prevent future acts of vandalism and to repair damage. Pinkley also indicated other necessary repair work, including the erection of road signs to mark the location of the monument, the painting of the Castle ladders, improvements to the monument roads and trails, and repairs to the structure of the Castle itself. He noted that Jackson could be contracted to undertake these various improvements after his appointment as custodian was approved. [54]

Pinkley took a special interest in the administration of Montezuma Castle and expressed his willingness to oversee Jackson's supervision of the site, including semiannual trips to the Castle to assist with larger repair projects. NPS officials, who had little time or energy to devote to matters concerning the national monuments, were happy to have Pinkley look after such "second-class" sites in the Southwest. Acting Director Arno Cammerer instructed the newly appointed custodian Jackson to report directly to Pinkley. [55] The Park Service recognized Pinkley's dedication to the protection and promotion of southwestern monuments and took advantage of his willingness to serve in this capacity. Cammerer wrote to Pinkley that "I would much prefer to handle these improvement matters through you as our representative, in order to maintain your friendly contact with the custodian at all times." [56]

Martin Jackson's appointment as custodian of Montezuma Castle and Frank Pinkley's commitment to oversee the administration of the site marked the beginning of a new era in the protection of the ruins. This arrangement promised to correct the problems of inconsistent supervision of and continued damage to the monument that had occurred since its establishment in 1906. The coming years would see greater efforts to make repairs and improvements at Montezuma Castle as well as plans for renovations and additions to the monument's facilities.

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*A Past Preserved in Stone:
A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument*

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Montezuma Castle

National Monument



Chapter 4

THE JACKSON YEARS

Development, and Promotion of Montezuma Castle National Monument

"In general I might say that the Castle is in very much better condition for the work we have done on it."

Frank Pinkley, superintendent, Southwestern Monuments, to Stephen Mather, director,
National Park Service, 1 August 1924

With the appointment of Martin Jackson as custodian of Montezuma Castle effective 16 December 1921, the monument began to receive substantially better care and protection than it had in the past. Despite the meager salary of ten dollars per month, Jackson demonstrated his dedication to the preservation of the prehistoric ruins and the emerging mission of the Southwestern National Monuments. During the course of his sixteen-year administration of the site, Jackson actively participated in the protection and improvement of the monument and made great advances in the development of its facilities. His efforts at the Castle were complemented by Frank Pinkley's tireless support and assistance. Pinkley served in 1921 as the custodian of Casa Grande and Tumacacori National Monuments, and had earned a reputation as the most outspoken advocate of the national monuments. During the mid-1920s, he made several lengthy visits to Camp Verde to assist with major repair and improvement projects at the Castle. As superintendent of the Southwestern National Monuments, Pinkley remained an ardent supporter of Montezuma Castle and continued to involve himself in issues pertaining to its administration. In a broader context, his enthusiastic campaigning on behalf of the system of national monuments generated increasing resources and attention, which helped with the ongoing efforts to protect, develop, and promote sites such as Montezuma Castle. Pinkley's vision for the national monuments and his commitment to work personally toward their improvement contributed greatly to the developments at Montezuma Castle during the administrations of Martin and Earl Jackson.

Soon after his appointment as custodian of Montezuma Castle, Martin Jackson accepted a contract for needed improvements at the monument. Frank Pinkley was impressed by Jackson's thorough completion of previous contracted work and felt confident in his ability to get the job done; it became clear that the Park Service had finally found in Jackson a reliable and capable person to manage the ruins. In early correspondence with the new custodian, Pinkley passed along some helpful hints to ease Jackson's initiation into the Park Service culture. True to his character, Pinkley emphasized his own vision of the national monuments and those responsible for them. In addition to giving advice

about filing reports, interacting with visitors, and promoting other monuments, he laid out his expectations: "You are not getting paid ten dollars a month just for making four trips over to the Castle. That is leg work, which will be the small part of your duty. I want you to carry the Castle around in the back of your mind and study its problems during your spare moments. If you are really interested this way in the monument, you will be worth many times ten dollars a month to the Service and we will get some good work done up there in the next few years." [1] Frank Pinkley set high standards and placed many demands on those responsible for the national monuments. Although Park Service officials in Washington did not highly value the eclectic assortment of national monuments and devoted few resources to their care, Pinkley prized these reserved sites and worked diligently to accomplish as much as possible with the limited staff and funds at his disposal. He set a personal example for the other custodians by his dynamic, energetic, and efficient management of the Casa Grande ruins. [2] Although Jackson served only as a part-time custodian at a nominal salary, he lived up to Pinkley's expectations and did much to improve conditions at Montezuma Castle.

Martin Jackson came to the Verde Valley in 1912 with his wife, Ada, and their two boys, Earl and Norman. During the roughly ten years before his appointment as custodian of the monument, Jackson lived near many of the region's archeological resources and developed an appreciation for them. He and his family resided on a homestead approximately one mile from Montezuma Castle along Beaver Creek and visited the ruins from time to time. The Jacksons made a living by truck gardening and raising chickens. A skilled house painter, Martin supplemented the family income by taking painting jobs around the Verde Valley. After accepting the custodianship of the Castle, he continued his work activities and began a routine of inspecting the monument once a week, interacting with visitors, and writing monthly reports. The periodic repairs and improvements at the monument also required some of his time and brought additional income to the Jackson household. [3]

The Park Service did not have funds to pay for resident custodians at most of the national monuments at this time; in 1921, for example, Frank Pinkley at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument served as the only full-time custodian. The agency reserved only a small portion of its budget for repair and improvement work at these sites. [4] NPS budgets from the 1920s reveal the disparity between the neglect of the national monuments and the development of the national parks. For example, in 1923, the agency budgeted only \$12,500 for the administration of the entire system of twenty-nine national monuments. By 1927, the situation had scarcely improved; less than \$15,000 was allocated to Frank Pinkley for the management of the eighteen southwestern monuments under his supervision. In contrast to the minimal funding for the monuments, some of the larger and more spectacular national parks received immense appropriations including Mesa Verde, \$72,300; Grand Canyon, \$132,000; and Yellowstone, \$398,000. Even national parks that attracted relatively few visitors and that NPS officials regarded as insignificant received more money and attention than all the national monuments together. [5]

The fiscal situation during the 1920s reflected the values of the agency's leadership, which advanced the goal of developing the national parks while ignoring the "second-class" monuments. Frank Pinkley frequently voiced his frustration with the blatant neglect of the national monuments and articulated his own vision of the protection and promotion of these sites. Although NPS officials did

little to directly address Pinkley's concerns about the overlooked monuments, they saw the opportunity to delegate to him responsibility for all of the monuments located in Arizona, New Mexico, southwestern Colorado, and southern Utah. Pinkley's resourceful management of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument and his constant attention to issues at the other monuments had already proved his commitment to the cause of the national monuments. His personal style, knowledge of the region, and strong belief in the value and potential of the neglected sites made him the ideal person to oversee their administration. After some internal discussion about his place in the agency and consideration of him for the post of superintendent at Grand Canyon National Park, officials appointed Frank Pinkley as superintendent of the fourteen Southwestern National Monuments during the NPS Superintendents' Conference at Yellowstone National Park in October 1923. By placing Pinkley in charge, Park Service officials relieved themselves of the trouble of managing these monuments and focused their attention on issues of development at the national parks. [6]

Pinkley's appointment marked only a symbolic commitment by the Park Service to the care of the national monuments; the funding and attention they received changed little during the next several years. Pinkley continued to plead with NPS officials about the need for greater resources to protect and preserve the vulnerable monuments properly, only to see them repeatedly overlooked in agency budgets. Yet the energy, enthusiasm, and dedication with which he approached his responsibilities as superintendent compensated for the lack of NPS resources and consideration. The example of his own efforts and his warm and sincere personality helped the "Boss," as he was affectionately called, motivate the crew of volunteer and part-time custodians to realize his vision of the Southwestern National Monuments. His combination of high expectations and personal support drew out the best in the men assigned to administer the various monuments.

Though the Park Service refused to finance a resident full-time custodian to manage Montezuma Castle National Monument, Pinkley was able to obtain limited funds for repair work. Shortly after his appointment as custodian, Martin Jackson accepted a contract for forty-five dollars to undertake various projects at the monument. By February 1922, he had repaired and cleaned the upper and lower trails to the Castle, improved the road between the state highway and the upper trail, reinforced and repainted the ladders leading up the cliff to the Castle, repaired the two large holes dug by vandals and restored the affected walls, extended the drainage ditch on the mesa directly above the Castle, and installed signs warning visitors of the dangerous conditions in the unstable "addition" section of the Castle. [7]

Such repair work proved a poor substitute for more consistent management of the site. Frank Pinkley observed: "We will never have things right at the Montezuma Castle until we have funds enough to put a resident custodian in charge, but with Mr. Jackson in charge on this part time basis, we are doing all we can now and the affairs of that monument are in better condition than at any time in the last twenty years I have known it." [8] Similar to the situation of most of the other southwestern monuments at this time, the administration of Montezuma Castle was sustained by the dedicated efforts of its part-time custodian and the constant support of Frank Pinkley. Repair work only corrected the severe problems at the monument and fixed the damage that vandals had done to the

ruins. The shortcomings of this policy became readily apparent; within a few weeks of his repair of the holes dug out by vandals, Jackson reported that someone had removed reeds from the ceilings of one of the interior rooms of the Castle. Stopgap measures did not replace the degree of protection afforded by a full-time custodian. Frustrated by the ongoing problem of vandalism, Jackson observed that "we don't stand much chance to catch these persons at their work when we keep a man in charge only one day in the week." [9]

The rising popularity of automobile travel in the 1920s and the subsequent increases in tourism to national parks and monuments added to the challenges of management at such sites. [10] Martin Jackson noted in his 1922 annual report that visitation to Montezuma Castle had doubled in each of the previous three years. After the completion of the new road linking the county highway to the foot of the Castle ladders in November 1923, the number of visitors continued to rise dramatically. [11] The increasing visitation to the monument meant a greater potential for vandalism and the heightened impact of more people traveling through the ruins.

In what was becoming an annual ritual during the 1920s, Frank Pinkley pleaded with the NPS leadership for more money for full-time custodians and improvements for the national monuments, only to be given minimal sums for their administration. He challenged the agency's priorities and justified his requests for expenditures for the monuments based on their inherent qualities, their need for preservation, and the significant numbers of visitors they attracted. However, the Park Service continued to favor the development of the system of national parks and granted only token appropriations for the administration of the national monuments. The agency allocated only \$175 for improvements to the trails and ladders at Montezuma Castle for the 1922 fiscal year. Such minimal funding covered only the superficial work needed; the general condition of the ruins continued to worsen.

In 1922, the Park Service did slightly enlarge the budget for the monument. Concerned about the neglect of Montezuma Castle and its unrealized potential as a tourist destination, Grace Sparkes, secretary of the Yavapai County Chamber of Commerce, wrote to Representative Carl Hayden to complain about the lack of NPS attention to issues at the site. Hayden took the matter up with Acting Director Arno Cammerer and inquired why the monument received such sparse funding. [12] At nearly the same time, Montezuma Castle became the subject of national interest when the ruins were selected as the setting for a major motion picture. The Universal Motion Picture Company obtained a permit from the NPS Washington office to film scenes for one of its upcoming Western action thrillers and sent a crew to the monument in July 1922. According to Earl Jackson, son of custodian Martin Jackson, the ladders leading up to the Castle were removed for a few hours during the filming of several scenes and were later replaced. When the film, *The Galloping Kid*, starring Hoot Gibson, played in Camp Verde in September 1923, unusually large crowds showed up to view it. The Castle also gained notoriety when the 1922 *Report of the National Park Service* featured a photograph and description of the prehistoric ruins. The local and national attention paid to Montezuma Castle at this time served in two ways to benefit the fiscal outlook for the monument: the publicity attracted greater numbers of visitors to the ruins, for whom additional resources would be needed; and the spotlight on the ruins emphasized the disrepair and dilapidation they had suffered, and supported a course of

action to rectify this situation. [13]

In response to this new attention and Frank Pinkley's persistent requests, the NPS raised the amount of funding for the administration of Montezuma Castle in order to take care of the long overdue stabilization and repair of the ruins. Not since the 1897 efforts of the Arizona Antiquarian Association had any large-scale stabilization of the Castle been undertaken. The subsequent impact of visitor traffic, damage by vandals, and erosion by natural forces had taken their toll on the prehistoric dwelling and made serious repair work imperative. The agency budgeted three hundred dollars for Montezuma Castle for fiscal year 1923. This sum proved insufficient for all of the needed work, but it allowed Pinkley and Martin Jackson to begin the repair of the most seriously damaged areas of the Castle. During the next three years, the two men used the annual NPS allotments for a number of different projects that contributed to the preservation of the ruins and to the safety and accessibility of the monument.

For several weeks each summer between 1923 and 1925, Frank Pinkley left his post at Casa Grande to assist Jackson with repairs at Montezuma Castle. Atop a tall, precariously placed ladder, they patched the front walls of the structure with buckets full of mud and rocks. The dangerous nature of the project scared away all potential contractors, leaving Jackson and Pinkley to do the work themselves. They hired a crew of three local American Indian men to haul the rock and mud supplies up to the Castle for use in the repair of the damaged walls. In the summer of 1925, Martin's son Earl, then just fifteen years old, was also hired to assist with the stabilization efforts. [14]

The National Park Service received much more than its money's worth for the immense amount of work done at Montezuma Castle during these three summers. With limited funds yet a wealth of dedication and enthusiasm at their disposal, Pinkley, Jackson, and crew significantly prolonged the preservation of the ruins. They repaired and replastered the front wall of the lower two-thirds of the Castle, strengthened the "addition" section, stabilized parts of the cliff ledges, repaired damaged wall and floor sections throughout the structure, restored doorways and lintels, removed the disfigured corrugated iron roof put in by the Arizona Antiquarian Association, rebuilt portions of the roof, cleaned out the interiors of the front rooms, and scrubbed off hundreds of names written on the walls. Certain aspects of the repairs proved to be extremely intense and dangerous, such as the "mudslinging" required to strengthen the front walls (figure 18). Frank Pinkley described the difficulties of this work: "It took 1,800 bucket loads of mud and rocks to do this and it was a rather ticklish piece of work looking up at the footing of that wall over our heads for nearly four days. We were working on a three foot ledge quite a ways up in the air and if the wall abovewhich was hanging to the cliff by its eyebrows let go without cracking or warning us we stood a fine chance to get brushed off onto the slope below with ten thousand pounds of material coming down on top of us." [15]

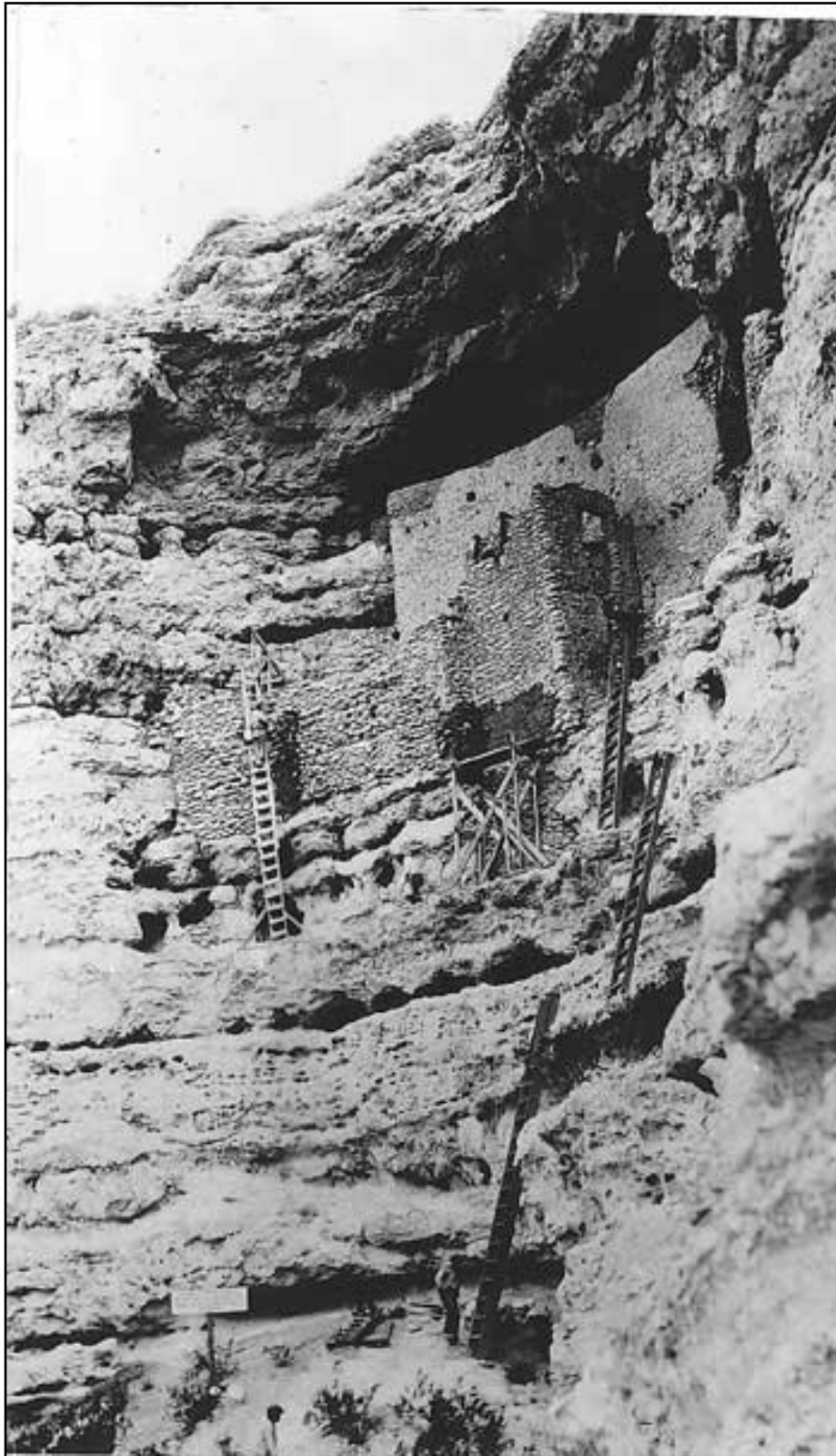


Figure 18. Repairing the Castle walls, ca. mid-1920s. Montezuma Castle National Monument administrative office, photograph files.

Despite the hazards and challenges of the job, both Jackson and Pinkley agreed that their efforts were worthwhile and greatly benefited the monument. The three summers of concentrated repair work

restored the ruins to their best condition in many years and prepared the site to handle better the growing numbers of visitors. The summer repairs called extra attention to the ruins, and the two custodians actively promoted the monument in the warm, personal style that was fast becoming the trademark of the Southwestern National Monuments. In a letter praising Pinkley's many contributions to Montezuma Castle, Jackson observed that "his presence here created a local interest and pride which has heretofore been somewhat lacking in this immediate vicinity, and you can realize what local pride means in the protection of the monument, especially when the custodian is not there all of the time, as is the case here." [16] Pinkley also expressed his satisfaction with the care Jackson gave to the monument and again recommended that the Park Service hire him as a full-time custodian. Agency officials continued to maintain that the expense of a permanent custodian was unwarranted at this time. In any event, the improved conditions of the ruins and the recent support from the local community signaled the beginning of better times for the monument. [17]

At the time of the repair of the prehistoric ruins, it became clear that the rest of the monument seriously needed other improvements. In the early 1920s, practically no infrastructure existed to accommodate visitors and facilitate their travel to the monument. Both Pinkley and Jackson recognized the need to develop facilities to make Montezuma Castle more accessible to the public. As soon as the agency made available some funds for development, Jackson began work to improve the general conditions at the monument. The construction of a new road was his first project. Before 1923, two primitive access roads connected the state highway to rough trails leading to the Castle. These roads presented numerous difficulties for visitors, especially in times of bad weather. Jackson contacted Yavapai County officials about the possibility of building a new road. Although it was to be located primarily within the boundaries of the monument, the county agreed to build and pay for its construction. In November 1923, the county road crew completed work on the new Montezuma Castle entrance road. It passed from the highway north of the Castle down around the cliff to the foot of the ladders. At this time, Jackson relocated the signs indicating the location of the monument to the new entrance. The new route to Montezuma Castle made travel easier and led to considerable increases in visitation. [18]

Jackson then turned his attention to other related matters. In 1924, he and son Earl began digging a well in front of the Castle because Beaver Creek, which did not flow year round near the Castle, had served as the only source of fresh water at the monument. After many complications and delays, Jackson finished the well and installed a hand pump in February 1926. He also built a campground for visitors and set up a display at his home for artifacts recovered during the cleaning and repair of the ruins. [19]

Jackson took a personal interest in the preservation and promotion of Montezuma Castle and went well beyond his duties as a part-time custodian to improve the conditions there and to make visitors' experiences as fulfilling as possible. In preparation for the busy summer tourist season, he devoted considerable time and effort to the annual cleaning and repairing of the Castle. He also earned local communities' respect and support by giving informational talks and tours of the ruins to various Verde Valley groups. However, Jackson regularly visited the monument only once or twice a week and could not provide the consistent care the ruins required. Continued reports of vandalism at

Montezuma Castle during the mid-1920s underlined the need for full-time supervision. Frank Pinkley persisted in his pleas to the Park Service for a full-time custodian at the monument. [20]

The agency allotted Jackson five hundred dollars in 1926 for the construction of a residence at the monument. It reasoned that if he and his family lived on-site and spent more time at the monument, the ruins would be better protected. The family purchased lumber with the money and donated their labor for the construction of a two-room shelter cabin located in the middle of what is now the monument parking lot. Built from lime mortar and boulders collected from Beaver Creek, the cabin served as the Jackson family home beginning in 1927 (figure 19). The Jacksons decided to exhibit various items of archeological interest for visitors and used their living room as a museum during the daytime. Earl Jackson recalled that the famous child mummy, found near the Clear Creek ruins, was placed in an orange crate shaped to fit the tiny body. During the day, the mummy was exhibited on top of the family's old Singer sewing machine; at night, to prevent damage to the mummy, Earl slid the crate under the cot on which he slept. The Jackson family, of course, wanted a private space for their living quarters, so after the completion of the shelter cabin, they built a new structure down the road and moved the museum displays there. Within a couple of years, the Jacksons began construction yet again, adding a two-bedroom house above and joining the rear of the new structure. At this point, they moved into the new building and fashioned the east end of the structure, below their residence, into a concession shop that sold postcards, hand-tinted photographs of the Castle, refreshments, and various American Indian arts and crafts to monument visitors. Ada Jackson oversaw the operations of the privately run shop, which included making trips to the Navajo and Hopi Reservations to purchase items such as jewelry, blankets, and pottery for resale in the store. Years later, the family converted the old shelter cabin for permanent use as a museum and office. [21]





Figure 19. Shelter cabin and later monument museum. Photograph by George Grant, 29 November 1945, Montezuma Castle National Monument administrative office, photograph files.

Shortly after the Jacksons moved onto monument land, Martin began to assist Frank Pinkley with various ruin stabilization jobs at other southwestern monuments. These projects assured Jackson employment with the Park Service and relieved him from trying to save the family's failing chicken business. However, as he became involved with these other jobs, Jackson had less time to devote to his duties at Montezuma Castle. To help out with the expected large summer crowds, Pinkley requested that a temporary ranger be assigned to the Castle for the summer of 1928, and Earl Jackson was hired as a seasonal ranger, becoming the first full-time employee of Montezuma Castle. For the formidable salary of \$125 per month, he worked twelve hours and more each day looking after the monument, guiding visitors through the Castle, and helping with the annual cleanup and repair of the ruins. At the end of the summer, however, Earl resigned from his position as ranger and returned to school at the University of Arizona. Shortly afterward, on 1 September 1928, Martin Jackson entered duty as the full-time custodian of the monument at a salary of \$1,860 per year. Finally, after years of inadequate management and countless requests to the Park Service for better funding, Montezuma Castle National Monument began to receive the care and protection it deserved on a regular basis.

[22]

As the Park Service began to provide the long-overdue resources for the management of Montezuma Castle during the late 1920s, archeological sites across the Verde Valley attracted much attention

from the general public and from professional archeologists. In January 1928, C. A. Clark, a resident of Prescott, brought a well-preserved child mummy wrapped in fragments of cotton cloth to Montezuma Castle for display in the monument museum. Later that year, Clark requested the return of the mummy, which he claimed to have found on private property. When Park Service officials learned that Clark had actually removed the burial from a site located on a national forest reserve, they refused his request and obtained permission from the Department of Agriculture to keep the mummy on display at the Castle. [23] This incident generated considerable publicity throughout the Verde Valley and prompted many local residents to search for prehistoric artifacts of their own. Martin Jackson commented on this unfortunate situation: "Ever since the mummy was found there has been an awful epidemic of digging by pot-hunters up and down the Verde Valley. Everybody and his dog has looked for a mummy, and I am sure that they were not all completely disappointed, even though they did not find a mummy. If something is not done soon, I am afraid there will be a sadly depleted number of interesting ruins in the Valley." [24]

The mummy incident had both negative and positive repercussions. The vandalism and pothunting inspired by Clark's find stripped many previously unexcavated ruins of their valuable archeological artifacts and led to the damage and destruction of many fragile sites. At the same time, the monument museum registered record numbers of visitors, most of whom came to see the famous child mummy. Jackson used the mummy display as an interpretive and educational tool for talks with the numerous visitors about the preservation of antiquities and the scientific information they yielded when excavated by properly trained authorities. In addition, local individuals donated to the museum interesting collections of artifacts and remains some of which may have been obtained during the recent excavations. The Park Service would have preferred that these objects remained unexcavated. Nonetheless, the donations helped to build the growing museum collection and furnished material for educational displays on the prehistory of the region. [25]

Local pothunters' wanton destruction of prehistoric sites captured the attention of professional archeologists and prompted a wave of new research efforts in the Verde Valley to salvage resources and collect information about the prehistory of the region before they were forever lost. During the late 1920s, however, debate erupted in the archeological community regarding jurisdiction of the resources located within Arizona. In response to the increase in the number of expeditions to Arizona by private and federal institutions that often removed artifacts out of the state, supporters of Arizona-based institutions pushed for greater state control over archeological explorations done in Arizona. They encouraged the introduction of State Senate Bill 97, "An Act to prevent further despoliation of the pre-historical sections of Arizona." Among its provisions, the revised version of this bill stipulated that 50 percent of all collections made on federal or state lands in Arizona be donated to some public museum located in Arizona and that any proposed exploration or excavation obtain a permit from the board of supervisors of the county in question and from the later-established state archeological commission. Governor Hunt signed the bill into law on 12 March 1927. In the midst of the controversies surrounding the interpretation of this law, a number of recently formed Arizona archeological institutions began competing for control of the state's prehistoric resources. The feuding between institutions, often stemming from regional differences, sparked the rise in archeological activity throughout Arizona in the late 1920s and early 1930s. [26]

During this time, individuals and institutions with different federal, state, and private affiliations began a variety of archeological projects in the Verde Valley. Although only some of these projects directly involved the ruins at Montezuma Castle National Monument, all of them contributed to the general understanding of the prehistory of the region and in some way affected the management of the monument. As researchers discovered more about the ancient people and cultures of the Verde Valley, the National Park Service expanded its preservation, promotion, and interpretation activities in the area. Thus, a summary of the more significant archeological research efforts from this period provides a picture of the context in which NPS advances occurred.

In the first of these projects, Earl Morris, representing the American Museum of Natural History, investigated the prehistoric Camp Verde salt mines in 1926, paying special attention to the recovered artifacts. To contextualize his findings, he also conducted a small-scale survey near Camp Verde and excavated one of the larger caves in the vicinity of the Clear Creek ruins. [27] The next project, undertaken during the spring of 1927, involved the partial excavation of the Castle A ruins located adjacent to Montezuma Castle. George Boundey, a ranger at Casa Grande National Monument, excavated the floor remnants and caves of the third, fourth, and fifth stories, and parts of the first and second stories of the ruins with the assistance of two unnamed engineers. Boundey placed the collected artifacts in labeled paper bags, but made no report of his work for the Park Service. [28] Within a year of Boundey's excavations, Frank Pinkley wrote the first comprehensive description of Montezuma Castle. The booklet offered his interesting interpretations of room use, construction, and building sequence. [29]

The early 1930s saw the first systematic surveys of portions of the Verde Valley. Earl Jackson, a graduate student under Byron Cummings at the University of Arizona and the son of the Montezuma Castle custodian Martin Jackson, performed an archeological survey of the entire Verde drainage area for his master's thesis. In this work, Jackson specified the location of numerous sites and made comparisons of sherds, burials, and artifacts that he discovered. [30] In a more focused survey, Winifred Gladwin and Harold S. Gladwin of the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation attempted to identify the different prehistoric cultural groups present in the Verde Valley. Their work represented the first effort to study the ceramics of the region closely and proposed some interesting ideas linking ceramic variation and cultural manifestation. [31] Other surveys done at this time in the region included Frank Midvale's investigations of the extensive system of prehistoric irrigation canals and W. G. Attwell's survey and mapping of the Clear Creek ruins near Camp Verde for the National Park Service. [32]

In addition to the survey work taking place, prominent prehistoric cultural sites in the Verde Valley and other locations in Yavapai County experienced a rise in the number of excavations performed in the early 1930s. Byron Cummings had an active hand in much of this work and helped arrange excavation projects by the Department of Anthropology at the University of Arizona and by the Arizona State Museum. One such project involved Clarence R. King's work at the Hidden House ruins. King, an amateur archeologist, received the backing of the University of Arizona Department of Anthropology and in 1933 conducted excavations of the four-room masonry structure located in

Sycamore Canyon in the Upper Verde Valley. King went on to assist Louis R. Caywood and Edward H. Spicer, graduate students who studied under Cummings, with their later excavation work at the King and Fitzmaurice ruins. At both of these sites, Cummings directed the research efforts and secured support for the projects from the Arizona State Museum and the Yavapai County Chamber of Commerce Archaeological Committee (YCCCAC). The sponsors of the excavations hoped to learn new information about the producers of Black-on-grey pottery and to recover artifacts for display in the recently opened Smoki Public Museum in Prescott. [33]

Similar motivations influenced the excavation of the Tuzigoot ruins sponsored by Arizona State Museum and the YCCCAC. This effort received federal emergency relief funds from the Civil Works Administration (CWA). The Tuzigoot project, led by Caywood and Spicer, accomplished between 1933 and 1934 the most complete excavation in the region to date, an analysis of the architecture of the pueblo, and the collection and processing of numerous artifacts and remains. The YCCCAC and the Smoki People, an organization of white Prescott businessmen and women dedicated to the preservation of aspects of Native American culture, also helped establish a Works Progress Administration (WPA) project for the construction of a museum building at the Tuzigoot site. Prompted by the active campaigning of Grace Sparkes and other Verde Valley boosters, the National Park Service assumed the protection and management of the newly developed site. President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the proclamation establishing Tuzigoot National Monument on 25 July 1939. [34]

During this period of concentrated archeological activity in the Verde Valley, the NPS also participated in the excavation of local ruins. Established as a CWA project, the excavation of Castle A at Montezuma Castle National Monument took place between December 1933 and April 1934 under the direction of Earl Jackson and Sallie Van Valkenburgh. The CWA research work employed a crew of ten people in addition to the two supervisors to excavate and remove dirt and fallen wall material from the base remnants of the large cliff dwelling located about one hundred yards southwest of Montezuma Castle. By the end of the project, the crew had excavated seven large rooms, cleaned out two previously excavated rooms, stabilized weak sections of standing walls, restored the walls and ceilings of one exemplary room, and test-trenched and excavated a small burial ground in front of the ruins (figures 20 and 21). The crew also contributed to the improvement of the monument grounds, using the large quantities of dirt and rock removed from Castle A to fill an arroyo that cut through the monument picnic grounds and had long been a nuisance. Most significantly, however, the excavation of Castle A supplied the Park Service with interesting new information about the ancient inhabitants of the area and offered another archeological feature at the monument for public presentation and interpretation. This endeavor, together with several subsequent federally sponsored projects, brought great changes to the management of Montezuma Castle National Monument. [35]



Figure 20. Castle A from the east, after the second tier of rooms was cleaned. From the report by Martin L. Jackson entitled, "Report on Montezuma Castle C.W.A. Work, Federal Project No. 5," National Archives, Record Group 79, box 2289, folder 619 (Civil Works).



Figure 21. Castle A ruins in the process of being cleaned, showing restored Room 5 (background) with other unrestored rooms (foreground).

The Great Depression and the New Deal programs of the Roosevelt administration had a tremendous impact on Department of the Interior and NPS operations. The national monuments benefited substantially from the large-scale federal involvement in emergency relief and development programs in the 1930s. The Park Service, which received increased appropriations and massive emergency funding, finally addressed the concerns Frank Pinkley had raised throughout the 1920s regarding the needs of the monuments. The agency began to rethink its previous policies toward the monuments and made provisions for the development and protection of many of the disregarded sites. The newly funded programs allowed national monuments such as Montezuma Castle to become integral parts of the Park Service system for the first time. The increase in expenditures of the 1930s also contributed to the movement within the agency toward greater centralized control and professional administration of protected sites. [36]

At the time of the excavations of the Castle A ruins, Montezuma Castle also received funding for several projects to improve the grounds and facilities at the monument. These projects prepared the monument to accommodate better the increasing number of visitors and helped compensate for the decades of NPS neglect. Yet the planning and implementation processes reflected the growing rift between the local Southwestern National Monuments staff and the new crop of agency specialists. Plans for the new developments at Montezuma Castle began soon after Frank Pinkley escorted a party of high-ranking NPS officials including Director Stephen Mather, Chief Landscape Architect Thomas Vint, and Grand Canyon superintendent Hillory Tillotson to Montezuma Castle in August 1930. The group noted that the parking lot, campgrounds, restroom facilities, and roads needed attention. Shortly after their visit, agency officials authorized the planning of monument developments and sent landscape architects and engineers to inspect the grounds and report on what they perceived to be the needed improvements. [37]

Agency specialists' plans, however, did not always agree with the ideas held by those with a more intimate knowledge of the Castle. In particular, Frank Pinkley voiced his displeasure with some of the decisions such "outsiders" had made about developments. Pinkley's frustrations stemmed from both his desire to implement his own plans for improvements and his annoyance with the increasing oversight and centralized control of matters pertaining to "his" group of monuments. Yet with the dramatic changes taking place within the agency in the early 1930s, Pinkley no longer had the same authority over the Southwestern National Monuments that he once enjoyed. In correspondence with NPS Chief Engineer F. A. Kittredge, he complained about the plans for Montezuma Castle laid out by the crews from the Landscape and Engineering Divisions: "I would like to put in my own estimate, using the Engineering and Landscaping Divisions as *consulting* divisions only, letting my estimates stand or fall before the Director and the Budget and then, after getting some of the money, call you and the Landscapers in to expend it, just as we get our other money, but I haven't time nor energy to protest against the method in use." [38]

Pinkley feared that the money would be lost if work did not commence, so he begrudgingly accepted the plans for the scheduled improvements for Montezuma Castle. However, he made clear that he wanted to have a more active role in future plans for the monument. In spite of Pinkley's objections, the Landscape and Engineering Divisions directed the planning and completion of the new developments at the monument. The improvements to Montezuma Castle loosely followed general plans Assistant Landscape Architect H. A. Kreinkamp had first laid out in 1931. He had suggested moving the parking lot from in front of the cliff in order to clear a "sacred area" for the viewing of the Castle, building an administration building and comfort station, constructing safer ladders for access to the Castle, and stabilizing cliff ledges that showed signs of weakening. Several of Kreinkamp's ideas were implemented at different stages of the developments at Montezuma Castle during the 1930s. [39]

In March 1932, the Park Service installed new ladders to replace the old ones that had been in use since 1916. A crew of four local men helped Custodian Jackson build and erect ladders to connect the base of the cliff with the entrance of the Castle. Jackson also had the ladders painted to match the color of the limestone cliffs. In April, he added a locking door on one of the entrance ladders to prevent people from entering the Castle without a guide, thus providing the ruins an extra degree of protection. Later that year, a contract was awarded to W. Edens of Cottonwood for the construction of new restroom facilities. The new comfort station, completed in September 1932, was built along the foot trail to the Castle and was designed to adjoin the planned administration building. [40]

NPS architects and engineers also made final plans for a large CWA project at Montezuma Castle. Agency officials utilized emergency relief money to hire local unemployed citizens to carry out the long-awaited developments at the monument. Walter Attwell, the NPS engineer in charge of the project, initially experienced difficulty working with the crew that the Yavapai County Reemployment Agency had selected for duty. At this time, numerous men faced unemployment because of the July 1931 closure of the United Verde smelter at Clemenceau, one of the largest employers in the region. Some of the men enthusiastically reported for work with the county relief agency, but many others signed up expecting to do little for their pay. Attwell fired all of the delinquent laborers, most of whom came from the towns of Cottonwood and Cornville. He finally secured a crew of dependable men from the Camp Verde area, including five American Indians. In a report on the progress of the Montezuma Castle project, he commented on his labor situation: "The County's dole system has taught the destitute that the man who works receives the same pay as the man who goes fishing or the man who looks for bee trees. We are using a few Indians from Camp Verde who have proven themselves to be the best laborers we have had. They work hard, do their work well and spread no radical propaganda." [41]

Between February 1933 and March 1934, the crew of forty-three men built a new parking lot that left clear the "sacred area" in front of the Castle, erected a rubble masonry wall around the new parking lot, constructed another rubble masonry wall to protect the enlarged picnic grounds, cleared space for a new campground, and rebuilt the dangerous sections of the entrance road to the monument. In addition, the crew constructed part of a flagstone trail, helped connect a light plant engine and a two-thousand-watt generator to the museum and ranger's residence, and installed a telephone box at the

monument. The one scheduled improvement that the workers did not accomplish was the construction of a revetment wall along Beaver Creek. However, Attwell purchased the necessary supplies and began work on the revetment as soon as he was able to secure more funds. [42]

New development of the facilities at Montezuma Castle continued in June 1934 as the Public Works Administration (PWA) sponsored additional relief projects. Under the supervision of Engineer Walter Attwell and Foreman Harry Brown, a crew of eight men hired through the county reemployment agency worked over the next several months on a number of needed improvements at the monument. By October 1934, the men had completed construction of the revetment wall to protect the Castle trail from the flooding of Beaver Creek, a garage and equipment shed for storage of a government car and monument supplies, a septic tank and sewer line, and an interpretive trail passing in front of the Castle cliff and the recently excavated Castle A ruins. In addition, the crew helped repair the still rough monument entrance road. [43]

The CWA- and PWA-sponsored projects gradually realized the plans NPS officials had drafted for Montezuma Castle. Assistant Superintendent Clinton Rose visited the Castle in 1933 and formulated a six-year development program for Montezuma Castle, building on the ideas H. A. Kreinkamp and others in the Landscape Architecture and Engineering divisions had suggested. With a larger budget and emergency funds at its disposal, the NPS began to implement elements of this plan between the mid-1930s and early 1940s. The development program shaped the infrastructure at Montezuma Castle and established the monument as a significant part of the Park Service system.

In 1939, the WPA contributed to the development of the monument by financing the construction of two new residences. The two large adobe homes provided comfortable living quarters for the families of the custodian and ranger, and allowed the former custodian's residence to be converted into needed office and museum space. The Jackson family finally had some privacy because their new home was more removed from the activities of the monument. The next few years also saw the completion of other portions of the development program, including a new campground and picnic area along Beaver Creek, a boundary fence to keep stray cattle out of the monument, a new electric system, and roads connecting the campground and residence areas. [44] The attention from the Park Service and the improvements funded by federal relief programs transformed Montezuma Castle from a "second-class site" into a first-rate monument.

These developments came just in time to prepare Montezuma Castle to accommodate better the growing visitation of the late 1930s. The influx of visitors at this time resulted, in part, from the recent improvement of the regional transportation network. After area promoters' persistent lobbying about the need to revamp miles of unpaved, weather-beaten roads in Yavapai County, public funds poured in during the 1930s and supported new highway projects, bridge construction, and road improvements. In particular, the completion of Highway 79 between Prescott and Flagstaff via Jerome and Sedona, the paving of the road between Phoenix and Prescott, and the construction of bridges crossing Beaver Creek, Oak Creek, and the Verde River all contributed to the increase in tourist traffic in the Verde Valley. Further, the tireless efforts of Grace Sparkes and the Yavapai County Chamber of Commerce promoted regional points of interest such as Montezuma Castle and

attracted even more visitors to the area. [45]

The development of the roads and highways in the surrounding area called attention to the poor condition of the approach roads at Montezuma Castle. Although various crews made efforts over the years to improve these roads, weather conditions took their toll on the unpaved surfaces and made travel difficult. The NPS eventually oversaw a WPA project to repair the routes leading to the monument. Between January 1940 and April 1941, WPA crews made improvements to the road linking the Castle and Camp Verde and to the road between the Castle and U.S. Highway 89A via Cornville. Some portions of the roads remained surfaced in gravel; others were oil coated, and their general condition was significantly improved. As these transportation developments made access to the monument easier, NPS officials began considering new strategies to deal with the influx of visitors. [46]

Earlier concern about the impact of increasing tourism and regional growth prompted NPS officials to take measures to provide better control over monument resources. In February 1934, Frank Pinkley advised the NPS administration that the addition of certain tracts of land to the monument would assist in the management of the site. At the time of its establishment as a national monument in 1906, political opposition to the withdrawal of large federal reserves limited Montezuma Castle National Monument to the smallest necessary size 160 acres. In the intervening years, however, NPS officials developed a better understanding of the management needs at the monument, including the land required to protect the resources effectively and accommodate visitors comfortably. Pinkley recommended transferring two parcels of land totaling 400 acres from Coconino National Forest to Montezuma Castle. Pinkley wanted the 160-acre parcel to the north of the Castle because it would place the entire stretch of the entrance road within monument boundaries; qualify for public works funds; simplify road maintenance; give the agency control of concessions along the main approach, which would help it to extend and preserve the character of the monument; and allow an erosion-control project to protect the Castle and other ruins from surface water runoff. The 240-acre section of land to the south and east would facilitate the maintenance of the southern monument boundary and add interesting natural and archeological features to the monument, including a mile stretch of Beaver Creek, a swimming hole, multiple acres of shade trees, several ruins sites, and prehistoric cultivated fields. [47]

The NPS administration backed Pinkley's proposal and sought the approval of Forest Service officials for the land transfer. Forest Service chief F. A. Silcox consented to the removal of 360 acres from Coconino National Forest for the expansion of Montezuma Castle, noting that 40 acres of the land proposed for transfer were subject to homestead application; he requested that these 40 acres be restored to the public domain. Silcox emphasized, however, that he was making an exception to agency policy in this instance. His remarks reflected the bitter rivalry at this time between the Forest Service and the Park Service over the management of the national monuments:

I have concurred in these two proposals because the areas are small and I do not wish to make an issue of these two minor transactions. As you know, however, I feel quite strongly that the administration of the National Monuments within the National Forests

should be restored to the Department of Agriculture in the interest of economy, efficiency, and avoidance of overlapping administrations. I do not wish my action in these two cases to be taken to imply any change in that fundamental belief, or otherwise to establish a precedent. [48]

Following the approval of the secretaries of the interior and agriculture, Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law the elimination of 360 acres from Coconino National Forest for the enlargement of Montezuma Castle National Monument on 23 February 1937.

Although this land addition assisted with the management and protection of the resources at Montezuma Castle, the increase in visitor traffic presented other challenges for the monument. By the early 1930s, NPS officials observed the damaging effects of the guided trips through the ruins and considered options to mitigate the problem. After visiting the monument in 1933, the assistant superintendent of the Southwestern National Monuments, Bob Rose, commented that the agency could either prohibit public access inside the Castle in order to preserve the ruins in their current state or strengthen the structure to withstand the impact of the frequent tours. The viewing and interpretation of the interior of this unique prehistoric cliff dwelling was an essential part of the visitor experience at Montezuma Castle at this time, and NPS officials did not wish to discontinue this practice. Hoping to balance the needs of preservation and tourism, Frank Pinkley came up with an incredible proposal to build a tunnel in the cliff behind Montezuma Castle so that "visitors could be conducted around behind the rooms to the Castle, allowed to look into the rooms and see everything, but still not get onto the original floors and ceilings, which are causing considerable worry for fear they may give way or be destroyed by constant traffic of visitors." [49]

Pinkley promoted his tunnel idea in the pages of *Southwestern Monuments Reports*, his popular monthly collection of site reports and personal "ruminations." He requested that the NPS Engineering Division evaluate the feasibility of building the tunnel and prepare sketches of construction plans (figure 22). [50] Engineer Attwell enthusiastically supported Pinkley's idea and claimed that it would better preserve the ruins, leave no conspicuous scar on the landscape, and improve the accessibility to and safety of the Castle for visitors. Attwell also noted the relative ease to build the tunnel and the tremendous benefits it would offer for both preservation and tourism purposes, writing, "It is just a few hundred feet of hole inside of a solid rock cliff. I know many miners who can easily and safely handle this project. . . . If the public were in a tunnel, they and the Castle would both be safe." [51]

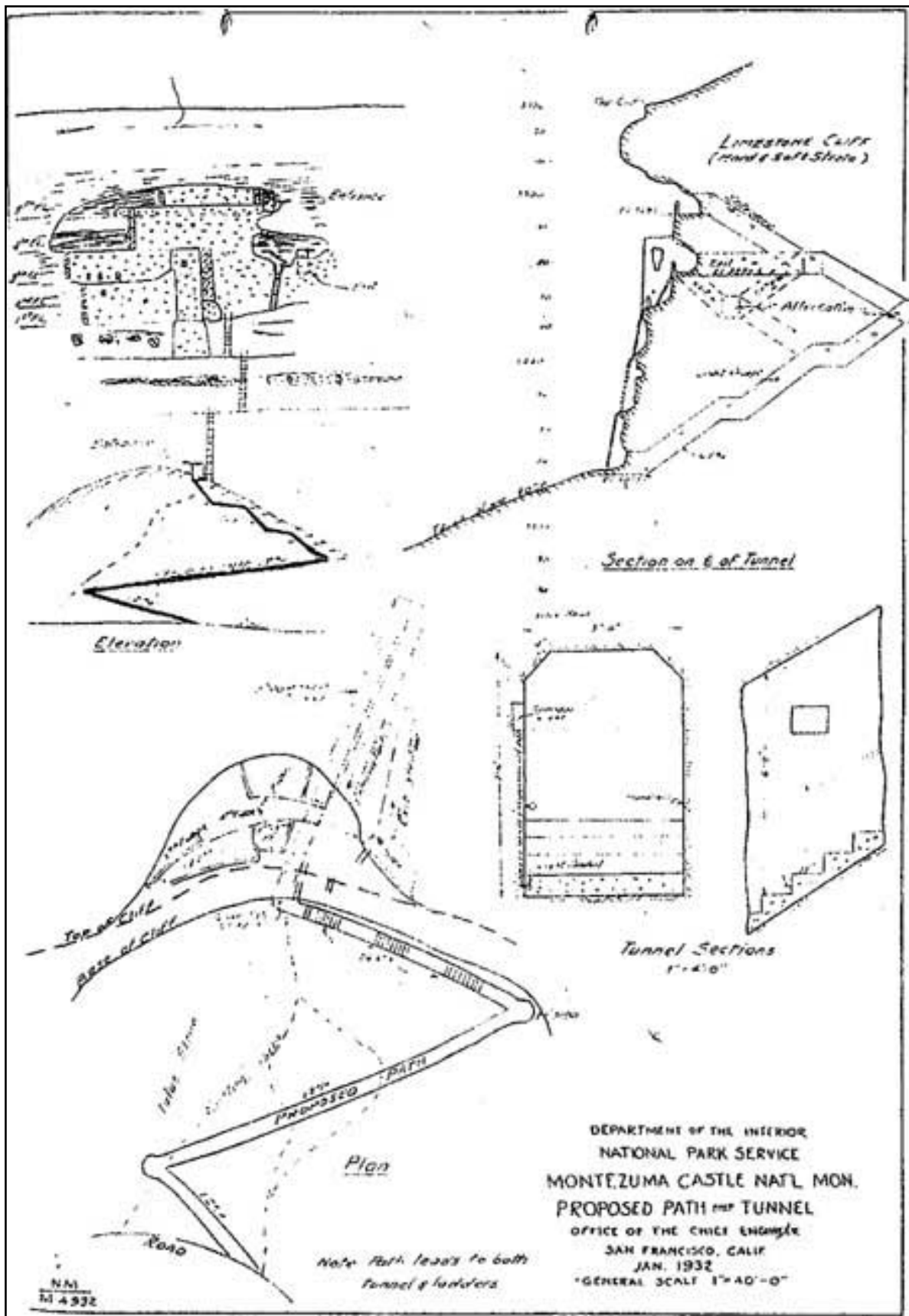


Figure 22. Proposed tunnel at Montezuma Castle. Sketch prepared by the office of the chief engineer in Southwestern Monuments Reports, supplement (August 1933).

Pinkley's tunnel idea attracted considerable attention among NPS officials, yet not everyone shared Attwell's positive appraisal of the proposal. Martin Jackson objected to building a tunnel in the cliff, claiming that the construction process might threaten the stability of the Castle. In addition, he argued that the tunnel would leave a visible blight on the cliff, would alter the backdrop of the Castle, and would deprive visitors of the experience of actually entering the rooms built by the prehistoric inhabitants. Chief Architect Thomas Vint opposed the tunnel idea because he felt it presented an "artificial way to reach the Castle." He instead favored a plan to guide visitors through the Castle interior by way of a prehistoric trail between the talus slope below the cliff and the base of the second ladder; the bottom ladder would then become unnecessary. He argued that the experience would be heightened if visitors entered the Castle in the same way as did the original inhabitants. In addition, Vint supported the idea of giving lectures about the Castle at the foot of the cliff, where the monument parking lot formerly stood, in order to reach more people especially those who did not go up into the Castleland to reduce the amount of traffic in the ruins. He reasoned that if rangers provided detailed information about various aspects of the Castle using prepared models and displays before ascending the cliff, many visitors would refrain from taking the guided trip through the ruins. [52]

The tunnel proposal reached the NPS Washington office for review, but agency officials decided against building a tunnel at Montezuma Castle on the grounds that it would be "an artificial entry to this cliff dwelling [and] would take away the feeling of [the] difficult approach." [53] Pinkley's bitter response to this decision reflected the growing rift between the local monument staff and NPS administration, especially in terms of their respective ideas about preservation. Pinkley expressed his opinions in *Southwestern Monuments Reports*:

Shall we continue to put visitors through the Castle and wear it out in the next fifty years or shall we let them look into it from the outside and preserve it indefinitely? The decision is that, because of aesthetic values, we will use models and keep some of the people out and thus lengthen the life of the ruin to a hundred years. Thus we will destroy the ruin at the end of a century, but in the meantime we will have saved this lovely feeling of difficult approach, which will no doubt be a great satisfaction to the people who would like to visit the ruin in the succeeding century! [54]

Following the rejection of the tunnel proposal, visitation through the Castle interior resumed, and the ruins suffered continued damage and deterioration. Concerned about the impact of visitor traffic, NPS officials directed Assistant Engineer J. H. Tovrea to produce a structural analysis of Montezuma Castle. In his report from March 1938, Tovrea noted several sections of the structure in need of serious stabilization and recommended that the NPS install a series of footpaths and rails to reduce vibrations caused by visitor traffic (figure 23). In the spring of 1939, the agency provided the funds to carry out the stabilization of Montezuma Castle and assigned Tovrea to supervise the construction of an elaborate system of support columns, concrete footings, ceiling braces, walkways, and handrails. The various components of this stabilization scheme were designed to lessen the impact on the walls and floors and to prepare the ruins to accommodate visitors better. During excavations in preparation for the repair work, Tovrea and Custodian Earl Jackson discovered a well-preserved child burial. At

Frank Pinkley's suggestion, Engineer Tovrea designed a cement box with a glass cover and battery powered light and established the burial as a feature of the Castle tour. In addition to the work Tovrea carried out, Earl Jackson patched up several deteriorated sections of the building and secured a weak cliff ledge underneath the Castle with angle irons and masonry. [55]

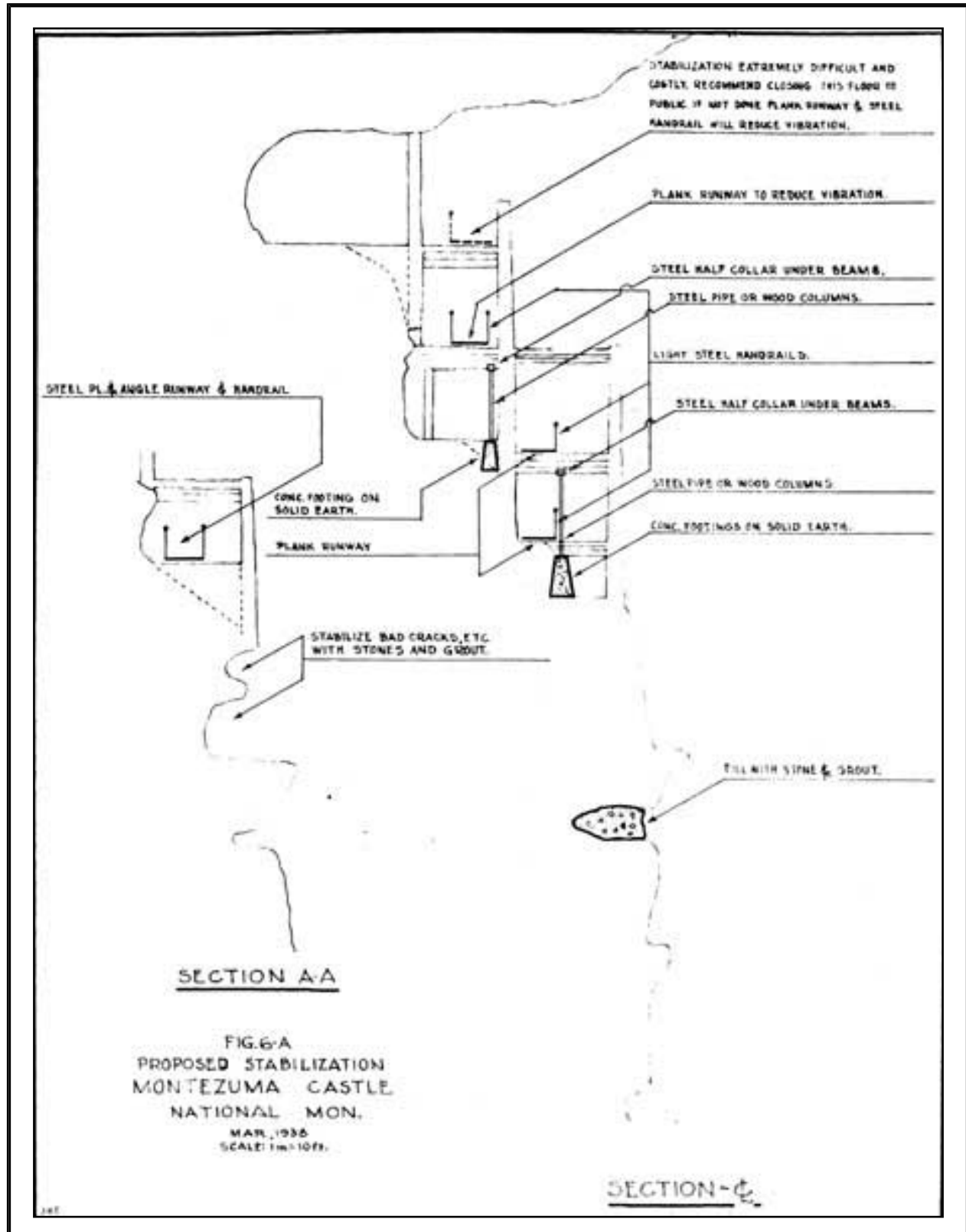


Figure 23. Stabilization plans, ca. 1938. Plans prepared by J. H. Tovrea, assistant engineer, in Structural Analysis Report of Montezuma Castle, Montezuma Castle National Monument, March 1938, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.

The stabilization and repair work undertaken in 1939 greatly improved the condition of Montezuma Castle, but visitor traffic continued to cause structural problems. The monument staff and NPS officials made several efforts to reduce further the impact on the Castle by limiting the number of visitors allowed to enter the ruin. Between 1938 and 1940, the agency implemented a schedule of hourly guided tours, restricted the number of people allowed to enter the Castle at one time to nine plus one guide, and began charging an admission fee of twenty-five cents. [56] These new policies regulated the volume of visitation inside the Castle, but they did little to address the fundamental problem: allowing people to walk through the ruins was gradually deteriorating the structure.

In August 1941, Associate Engineer Montgomery reported new stresses on the Castle caused by the system of rails and walkways, noting that "These walkways are, in effect, bridges, and being rather light, are subject to vibration from the impact of footsteps thereon; this vibration is transmitted to the walls by the handrails embedded therein, and damage to the structure is bound to occur." [57] Later that year, the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey prepared a report for the NPS on the safety and stability of the Castle. The survey crew and Custodian Earl Jackson performed a number of tests to measure the vibrations caused by people crossing the walkways through the ruins. The final report observed, "These catwalks serve to protect the floor, but they are supported by the walls, and use of the catwalks is the same as applying a blow upon the walls at the points of support." [58] Despite evidence of the dangers caused by visitor traffic, the debate about the closing of the Castle continued for many more years within the agency. Finally, on 1 October 1951, the National Park Service closed Montezuma Castle to visitors and assured the ruins a more secure future. Earl Jackson had anticipated this change in 1935 and suggested building a large-scale model of the Castle to represent the architectural features of the building and enrich the visitor experience. The year after the closing of the Castle, the NPS took Jackson's advice and installed a large diorama depicting the Castle interior on a path below the Castle cliff. [59]

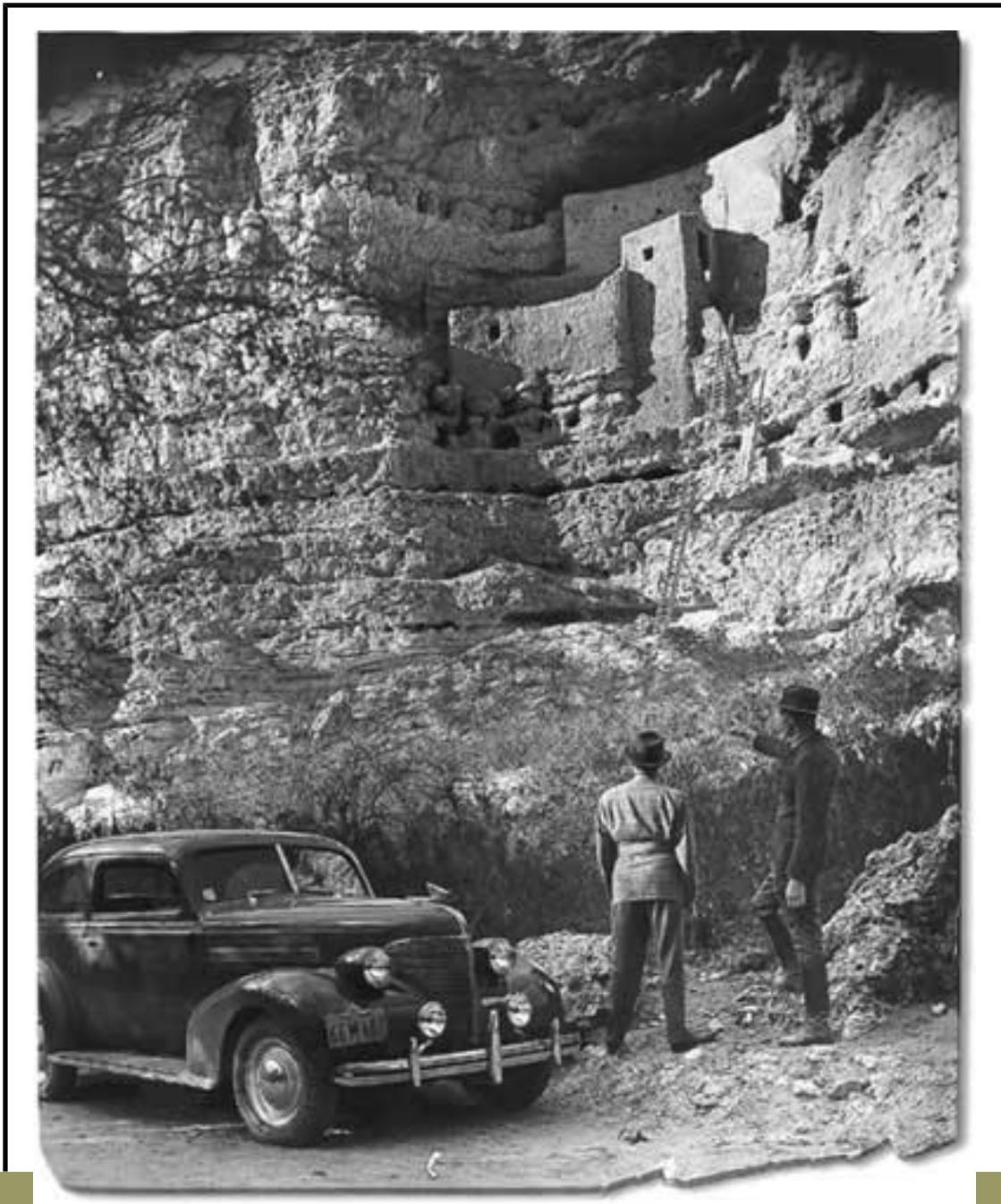
During the 1930s, the Park Service also began planning new interpretive programs for the monument. Interpretive programs at the national monuments had previously been delegated to the custodians in charge. Frank Pinkley had encouraged other custodians to share his vision of the southwestern monuments as places where visitors received the utmost personal attention; he had instilled in them an ethic of service. Pinkley advised his colleagues:

Be courteous always, but be a little more than courteous. Don't wait for the visitor to make the first advance. Meet him more than half way and make him feel that the Park Service is glad to see him come to your Monument. Let him see that it is a great pleasure to go around with him and give him the results of your study. And never let him get away without the gentle reminder that some other Monument or Park lies close

to his proposed line of travel and that he will make the mistake of his life if he doesn't visit it. And always invite him back and tell him to send his friends over to see you.

[60]

He cultivated a strong sense of loyalty among his close-knit staff and inspired them to work toward the common goals of protection, development, and promotion of the system of monuments. After his appointment as full-time custodian in 1928, Martin Jackson devoted much of his time to paying close personal attention to the interests and needs of visitors, including providing guided tours of the Castle (figure 24). In keeping with the spirit of the Southwestern National Monuments, he also worked to foster relationships with local schools and community organizations in the Verde Valley. To assist Jackson with interpretive duties during periods of high visitation, Earl Jackson, his son, served as a temporary ranger for the summer of 1928. Beginning in 1930, the agency began regularly hiring rangers to help with the various responsibilities at the monument. [61]






Figure 24. Custodian Earl Jackson showing Montezuma Castle to a visitor. Photo on file at Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office.

Jackson continued to emphasize personal interpretative experiences at Montezuma Castle until the early 1930s, when NPS officials began playing a more active role in the administration of the national monuments. At this time, the agency took on a more centralized and professional character, with college-educated specialists taking over the development of new policies and programs. One of the initiatives of this newly reorganized bureaucracy involved the formation of the Division of Education, which became responsible for the interpretive policies for the Park Service. [62]

Specialists visited Montezuma Castle and developed plans for a new museum and interpretive programs. NPS officials prepared three different proposals for new exhibits at the monument. The plans submitted by Park Naturalist Bob Rose, Bandelier National Monument custodian Earl Jackson, and Junior Park Naturalist Louis Caywood all reflected the growing emphasis on interpretation within the Division of Education and the Park Service. Each of these plans recommended broadening the scope of the exhibits to provide visitors with more information on subjects other than the Castle itself. They advised using artifacts, maps, charts, pictures, and models to interpret relevant topics such as southwestern archeology, ethnology, history, geology, and plants and animals of the monument. Consistent with the ideas of the Division of Education, these plans were designed to offer monument visitors a more comprehensive educational experience. [63]

The failure to build a new museum building at Montezuma Castle caused the Park Service to postpone implementing most of these interpretive plans for some time. However, the monument staff incorporated several ideas from these plans as they updated the existing museum facilities and initiated the development of new interpretive features. These improvements took place shortly after Martin Jackson retired as custodian of Montezuma Castle in December 1936. After spending more than fifteen years living in the shadow of the monument, Martin had grown weary of the routine of escorting visitors up the ladders and through the Castle. Not long before he decided to retire, however, his son Earl had developed symptoms of tuberculosis while serving as the custodian of Bandelier National Monument. Martin Jackson and Frank Pinkley decided to delay the former's retirement until his son was sufficiently recovered to take over duties at Montezuma Castle. Earl spent some time recuperating with his wife Betty at Byron Cummings's home in Tucson and then assumed the custodianship of the Castle in January 1937, where he remained until November 1942. After leaving Camp Verde, Martin and Ada Jackson moved to Las Vegas, where they bought and operated an old hotel. Martin Jackson died on 10 March 1939, and Ada Jackson on 7 July 1953. Their cremated ashes were scattered from the cliff above the Castle. This memorial tribute appropriately symbolized their many years devoted to the monument. [64]

After he assumed his new responsibilities at Montezuma Castle, Earl Jackson observed the lack of

visitor interest in the museum and began making small improvements. Most of the exhibits at this time consisted of artifacts collected from archeological excavations in the area. Jackson capitalized on his and his wife's interest in natural history to broaden the scope of the museum and to attract attention to more than the prehistoric features of the monument. Having only a minuscule budget and a small space, Jackson created several popular displays and fashioned the museum into a more important part of the visitor experience at Montezuma Castle. Between 1937 and 1940, he obtained donated display cases and filled them with a large-scale map of the Verde Valley, a miniature model of one of the Castle rooms, and specimens of local wildlife such as insects and snakes. In addition, Jackson began work on a small botanical garden and herbarium of indigenous plants and installed an aquarium stocked with native fish. Betty Jackson, an independent and vivacious spirit, also contributed to the interpretive developments at Montezuma Castle, playing an active part in many of the activities at Montezuma Castle and living up to Frank Pinkley's affectionate title for the wives of monument custodians: "Honorary Custodians Without Pay." Having previous experience as a bird-watcher, she recorded a bird list and began a bird-banding program at the monument. Her column "Bird Notes" became a regular feature in *Southwestern Monuments Reports* and formed the basis for a trailside exhibit on the birds of Montezuma Castle. [65]

The completion of the two new residences at the monument in 1939 permitted further improvements to the museum facilities. The museum had previously been located in a section of the concessionary building. After Earl and Betty Jackson moved into their newly built residence, they relocated the museum into the living room of the former custodian's residence. This new situation offered considerably more space for exhibits, a small laboratory, and an office for the monument administration. In 1940, the NPS appropriated five hundred dollars to remodel the old building for the purpose of a museum and to purchase and install standard museum cases. Archeologist Dale King spent part of the spring and summer of 1941 helping Jackson to revamp the new museum. They cleaned out the building, installed display cases and lighting, and designed and set up new exhibits. Complementing the new museum exhibits on regional archeology was a nature trail that had been developed in the spring of 1940. Named the "Sycamore Trail," after the trees lining the banks of Beaver Creek, this self-guiding tour followed the path between the concessionary building and the Castle cliff. The trail was marked with metal signs and supplemented with mimeographed booklets that described the flora and fauna of the region as well as features of Montezuma Castle itself. The Sycamore Trail impressed both monument visitors and NPS officials. [66]

At the time of these interpretive developments at Montezuma Castle National Monument, the Park Service began to express interest in the preservation and interpretation of additional sites in the Verde Valley. Organizational changes within the agency made consideration of the acquisition of sites such as the Clear Creek ruins and Montezuma Well more feasible during the 1930s. Local residents first notified Martin Jackson and Frank Pinkley of a large pueblo located on Clear Creek in 1923. After continued prompting by Jackson and Pinkley, more than ten years later the NPS began seriously investigating the possibility of acquiring this site. [67]

Associate Engineer Walter Attwell visited the site in March 1934 and proposed that the Park Service designate the Clear Creek ruins as a "research monument" affiliated with Montezuma Castle. He

observed that the ruins were one of the largest prehistoric pueblo structures in Arizona, and despite the destruction pothunters had caused over the years, the site offered a tremendous resource of archeological data. In addition, Attwell noted that because of its location, about seven miles away from Montezuma Castle, the site could be administered in conjunction with Montezuma Castle National Monument and would serve as an interesting interpretational contrast to the cliff dwelling. Although Attwell emphatically recommended the preservation of the Clear Creek ruins, the Park Service did not take immediate action. Associate Archeologist Erik Reed visited the site five years later and echoed Attwell's proposal to include the ruins as a detached section of Montezuma Castle National Monument. He commented that the value of the site had been recognized in an archeological survey conducted by Byron Cummings and Harold Colton in 1934 and that the ruins were badly in need of protection from continued pothunting and vandalism. Further, Reed noted that the Clear Creek ruins were located within the boundaries of Prescott National Forest and were federally owned, which would facilitate the process of establishing them as a national monument. [68]

The Park Service probably did not pursue the acquisition of the Clear Creek ruins because the agency was already involved in the preservation of two other archeological sites in the Verde Valley. At the Tuzigoot site, a hilltop pueblo that had been excavated and stabilized as part of a CWA project between 1933 and 1934, NPS officials negotiated a transfer of land with the Phelps Dodge Corporation, the owner of the site. Grace Sparkes facilitated this land transfer process, which was delayed by numerous complications. On 25 July 1939, President Franklin Roosevelt signed the bill establishing Tuzigoot National Monument.

At the time of Tuzigoot's entrance into the Park Service system, officials also endeavored to establish Montezuma Well as a detached unit of Montezuma Castle National Monument. Various groups and individuals had expressed interest in Montezuma Well as a tourist attraction since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Soldiers from Fort Verde and local settlers frequented the unusual geologic formation as a location for picnics and outings, and articles in popular magazines from the turn of the century touted the site as a natural wonder not to be missed. As the Department of the Interior and the General Land Office researched the preservation of Montezuma Castle at that time, GLO agents also went to inspect Montezuma Well. Their reports noted its spectacular geologic, prehistoric, and natural features, and advised the government to take action for the acquisition and protection of the Well. [69]

When they prepared the executive order establishing Montezuma Castle National Monument, GLO officials investigated the possibility of including the Well in the withdrawal. However, they discovered the area was covered by the homestead entry of William B. Back, who had moved with his family to the Well property in 1888 and irrigated crops using the lime-coated prehistoric ditches built by the Sinagua (figure 25). Back built a number of structures on the property, including the family home, a log smokehouse, a blacksmith shop in an old Sinagua cave, and a pig pen in another abandoned cave. Back's homestead entry was patented on 18 July 1907, and a few years later he opened the Well as a tourist attraction. Starting in 1910, he offered guided trips around the Well for fifty cents and charged visitors twenty-five cents for rides around the Well in his rowboat. [70]



Figure 25. Panoramic view of Mr. Back's ranch at Montezuma Well. Photograph (view no. 27) by W. J. Lewis in report to the commissioner, General Land Office, 11 July 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599, folder 1.

After Back died in 1929, the heirs to his family offered to sell the Montezuma Well property and expressed their interest in having the government take it over as a national monument. Park Service officials wanted to obtain the Well as a national monument, yet at this time federal funds could not be used to acquire privately owned land for the creation of national monuments. The Back family thus maintained ownership and continued to operate the site as a tourist attraction for the next decade. Bill Back Jr. moved to the Well in 1930 with his wife, May, and constructed a stone museum to house the numerous artifacts that had been recovered from ruins surrounding the Well. [71]

The Park Service continued to express interest in Montezuma Well and periodically sent officials to inspect the property in the event that it would be able to purchase the site later. The officials' reports praised the Well's features and strongly advocated that the agency take action before the owners sold it to someone else. [72] Grace Sparkes recognized the potential of Montezuma Well as a Yavapai County tourist attraction and championed the cause of its inclusion in Montezuma Castle National Monument. She corresponded frequently with public officials on the matter and prompted U.S. Senator Carl Hayden from Arizona to introduce legislation regarding the acquisition of the Well. After a great deal of negotiation between the Back family heirs and government officials, Congress approved a measure authorizing the purchase of the Montezuma Well property for the sum of \$25,000 on 19 October 1943. This act established the Well as a detached unit of Montezuma Castle National Monument and included the transfer of eighty acres from the Coconino National Forest to facilitate its administration. However, the Park Service had to wait until the end of the war before it could appropriate the money for the purchase of the Well. This delay created complications, as the Back family wished to sell it more promptly. Grace Sparkes and Earl Jackson's successor, Custodian Homer Hastings, obtained in 1945 an option for the purchase of the Montezuma Well property. Senator Hayden finally secured approval for the acquisition of the Well in the Interior Appropriation Bill for fiscal year 1947, and on 3 March 1947 the property passed into federal ownership and officially became included as part of Montezuma Castle National Monument. The acquisition of Montezuma Well made an important contribution to the preservation of Verde Valley resources. [73]

Under the custodianships of Martin and Earl Jackson, Montezuma Castle National Monument

experienced significant changes. For the first time since its abandonment by the Sinagua, the prehistoric cliff dwellings received badly needed supervision and repairs on a regular basis. Frank Pinkley's tireless efforts contributed to these improvements and included the Castle within the emerging system of Southwestern National Monuments. Despite the meager funding and relative lack of attention from the NPS administration, Pinkley and Martin Jackson effectively carried out the protection, development, and promotion of the monument.

Increasing tourism and regional growth during the 1920s and 1930s, however, presented new challenges to the management of the Castle. The Roosevelt administration's response to the Depression had a profound impact on the operations of the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service. The enlarged NPS bud-get and emergency relief funding during the 1930s allowed the agency to undertake a number of improvements at Montezuma Castle, including the development of facilities, the excavation of prehistoric ruins, and the updating of interpretational efforts. The organizational changes within the NPS led to a greater emphasis on the previously ignored national monuments and brought a variety of trained specialists to oversee the development of facilities and programs at these sites. These changes, however, also marked the ending of Frank Pinkley's leadership of the Southwestern National Monuments. As the NPS paid closer attention to the monuments, agency officials and specialists exercised greater control over decisions affecting the administration of these monuments. Although Pinkley's style of personal, dynamic management shaped the southwestern monuments system until the mid-1930s, the agency reorganizations led to greater centralized and professionalized administration after this time.

The conflicts between Pinkley and the agency ended suddenly with Pinkley's untimely death on 14 February 1939 at a training session for the custodians of the Southwestern National Monuments. Despite the different philosophies and styles of management, Montezuma Castle benefited significantly from both Pinkley's efforts and the later developments sponsored by the NPS administration. By the early 1940s, Montezuma Castle had been transformed from a forgotten prehistoric ruin into a modern, well-developed national monument. The recent changes reflected the NPS expanded vision of the national monuments by providing new facilities to accommodate visitors, offering them a variety of interpretive programs, and ensuring the preservation of the protected resources of the site. The management of the Castle also benefited from the expansion of monument boundaries, the establishment of Tuzigoot National Monument, and the eventual acquisition of Montezuma Well. At the brink of World War II, Montezuma Castle National Monument stood in its best condition ever.

notes 

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*A Past Preserved in Stone:
A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument*

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Montezuma Castle

National Monument



Chapter 5

MOVING ON UP

The Modern Development of the Monument

"Wisely developed and staffed, Montezuma Castle National Monument will be able to continue to provide significant enjoyment in spite of heavy use, and even to retain the special enchantment that visitors for many years have been able to find here."

Mission 66 Prospectus for Montezuma Castle National Monument, National Park Service

The improvements and developments undertaken during the custodianships of Martin and Earl Jackson transformed Montezuma Castle from a neglected ruin into a first-rate national monument. For the first time, the National Park Service initiated a series of developments that were not in response to a lingering problem or need. The agency leadership began implementing long-term plans that helped bring Montezuma Castle more fully into the NPS system. By the early 1940s, the monument featured efficient accommodations and facilities, interpretive and educational programs, regular preservation activities, and an expanded network of related regional sites. In contrast to the results of earlier administrative efforts, by the brink of World War II Montezuma Castle National Monument stood well prepared to face challenges of the future.

A changing NPS system of management addressed these challenges. Frank Pinkley had resented the "interference" of NPS Washington office officials and feared that they would compromise his authority and control over the Southwestern National Monuments; but by the mid-1930s, the NPS administration was already in the midst of great changes that began to affect the management of the entire network of sites, including the national monuments. The 1933 transfer of nearly all of the remaining national monuments and historic sites to NPS jurisdiction led to an enlarged agency bureaucracy and set in motion the 1937 division of the NPS administration into five geographic regions. Although these organizational changes had less of an immediate impact on the Southwestern National Monuments during Pinkley's tenure the "Boss" maintained his own regional office to manage his group of monuments as he saw fit responsibility for these sites was transferred to the NPS Region Three office in Santa Fe in 1942. After this time, the administration of the Southwestern National Monuments was incorporated into the rest of the NPS system. [1]

Montezuma Castle and the other national monuments fared better under the new NPS system than

they had during the agency's early years. The reorganizations of the Park Service established a bureaucracy that addressed the individual management needs at the various sites under its jurisdiction, created plans for improvements and developments, and obtained funding for critical projects. This new administrative approach greatly benefited Montezuma Castle and helped erase the second-class status long associated with its national monument designation. [2] The ruins received greater attention from agency landscape architects, engineers, planners, education specialists, and interpretive designers whose help Pinkley had previously shunned. NPS specialists began systematically to evaluate the existing resources, potential values, and necessary improvements at Montezuma Castle, and created a series of master plans to guide the development of the monument. [3]

As the national monuments became better integrated into the NPS system in the 1940s and 1950s, such planning and development efforts occurred more frequently. The master-planning process, which was originally developed by Thomas Vint and the NPS Landscape Architectural Division in the 1930s, involved a thorough examination of each particular site from a management perspective. A typical master plan covered existing and proposed elements including the buildings, infrastructure, interpretive aids, sensitive resources, transportation, and staff facilities. NPS officials also considered how each site fit into the larger regional and national NPS system. [4] This broader outlook reflected the agency's renewed emphasis in the postwar years of building up a national network of areas to serve increasing numbers of visitors. As a result of its specific needs and the significant growth in population and tourism in the Southwest, Montezuma Castle National Monument began to receive significant attention from agency officials during the mid-1950s, culminating in the developments for the NPS Mission 66 program. The modern developments and improvements at Montezuma Castle National Monument thus reflect the evolving nature of the NPS administration and the changing context of the Verde Valley.

During the mid-1940s, few major changes took place at Montezuma Castle. The improvements and developments that had been undertaken as New Deal projects during the 1930s accomplished many of the recommendations outlined in early master plans and created facilities that could comfortably handle the current levels of visitation. In addition, U.S. participation in the war resulted in a period of relative inactivity at the national parks and monuments; visitation to sites dropped off dramatically, so the NPS reserved its reduced budget for items of pressing importance. [5] Improvements at Montezuma Castle proposed in earlier master plan documents and yet to be performed, such as the construction of a new museum and administration building and the creation of new interpretive exhibits, had to wait until they could be justified and funding was available.

In the years immediately following the war, only minor improvements and repairs were undertaken at Montezuma Castle. The monument facilities as a whole remained in good shape and provided adequate service to tourists as visitation quickly surpassed the prewar levels. Under the direction of Superintendent Homer Hastings, monument staff carried out routine maintenance of the roads, trails, public buildings, residences, and visitor facilities. Hastings was assisted in the management of Montezuma Castle by an enlarged staff of two park rangers and one archeologist. Albert H. Schroeder, the first archeologist assigned at the monument, spent much of his time working at the

newly acquired Montezuma Well property, where the most striking changes at the monument occurred during the late 1940s. [6]

One of Schroeder's earliest duties at Montezuma Well involved trying to clarify an unresolved question about the site's boundaries. In correspondence with NPS officials, Virginia and Paul Webb disputed the boundary line between their ranch, located south and east of Beaver Creek, and the Montezuma Well property, located on the other side of the creek in Lot 4, Section 31, Township 15 North, Range 6 East. It seems that when in 1908 William B. Back sold to Benjamin S. Witter the property later owned by the Webbs, the area was described as "that portion of Lot 4 lying south and east of Beaver Creek." The Webbs contended that in 1937 a major flood event resulted in the sudden change of the Beaver Creek channel, confusing the actual boundary location. Custodian Earl Jackson investigated the property boundaries in 1941 when the NPS first considered acquiring Montezuma Well but found no conclusive evidence to support the Webbs' claims. After the NPS purchased the Well, regional officials surveyed the site while Albert Schroeder and Custodian Homer Hastings researched the alleged change in course of Beaver Creek. Their efforts, however, did not bring about a resolution to the problem, and the dispute with Paul Webb (Virginia passed away in the early 1980s) continues to this day. [7]

In addition to dealing with boundary issues, the monument staff also had to decide what to do with the buildings located on the new Montezuma Well unit. At the time of its NPS acquisition in 1947, the Well property included several structures the Back family had built as part of their homestead and ranch. The main building on the site was the family residence. William B. Back constructed the original house in 1895, building the foundation with rocks from the ruins of a prehistoric wall he discovered in a nearby cave. After this home was destroyed by a fire in 1929, the family built a new four-room wood-frame house on the same location the following year. The Well facilities also included a log smokehouse, a twenty-five-foot well, a shed, a barn, a chicken coop, a privy, a workshop, and a network of prehistoric and modern irrigation ditches that watered the fields on the property. In addition to the structures supporting the ranch operations, William Back Jr. built two adobe guest cabins near the picnic grounds and a small stone-construction museum building in 1932 to accommodate visitors to the Well (figure 26). [8]





Figure 26. Top: The Montezuma Well museum with Ranger Albert Schroeder in doorway. Bottom: The old log smokehouse and Back residence. Photos taken in June 1947 by George A. Grant, on file in the Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, building data files.

As soon as the NPS officially added the Well property as a detached unit of Montezuma Castle National Monument in April 1947, Albert Schroeder began work to repair and modernize the facilities. Some of the buildings on the Well property, such as the rebuilt family house, the museum, and the guest cabins, were renovated to suit NPS plans for the site. Other structures including the

shed, barn, chicken coop, and privy served no real purpose for the monument and were eventually torn down.

Schroeder moved into the renovated residence in April 1948 and continued his work to improve the facilities at Montezuma Well. He adapted the guest houses into storage space and a car stall, fixed up the old museum building, and created new museum exhibits that explained the prehistoric features of the area to visitors. Schroeder's ongoing archeological investigations of the region added significant insights to the scholarship of the Verde Valley and provided the Well museum with abundant material for display. Other changes at Montezuma Well included the addition of a well and pump for domestic water and the leasing of tillable land on the monument property to the Montezuma Dairy Company for the production of forage crops. By the end of 1948, the facilities at Montezuma Well had been sufficiently renovated and offered a welcome addition to the monument. [9]

As Montezuma Castle and the new Montezuma Well unit became increasingly popular tourist destinations in the late 1940s, the monument administration began to consider means to enhance and facilitate the visitor experience at these sites. The small monument staff was already spread thin and could no longer provide the kind of individual attention afforded to visitors during the time of Martin Jackson's custodianship. The self-guiding Sycamore Trail and informational booklet that had been developed earlier at Montezuma Castle provided visitors with interpretive facts about the cultural and natural history of the site and allowed the monument staff to attend to other duties. In the early 1950s, the loop trail was enlarged and improved to guide visitors more comfortably through the Castle grounds, including the excavated Castle A ruins and the area in front of the caves along the cliff walls. In 1953, the monument staff made needed repairs to the Castle museum and enlarged the exhibit space by converting the old kitchen section of the building. The museum improvements included the addition of a layman's herbarium as well as new displays on other NPS sites in Arizona, the geology of the Verde Valley, Yavapai and Apache artifacts, and regional flora and fauna. [10]

At the time of these improvements at Montezuma Castle, construction began on a new Montezuma Well loop trail. Similar in concept to the Sycamore Trail, the loop trail was designed to lead visitors from the rim of the Well down to the water level and the ruins located there while providing interpretive information on trailside displays. After it was completed in 1951, visitors entered the loop trail after passing by the museum and contact station on the Montezuma Well entrance road. The loop trail proved to be enormously successful and was extended in 1952 to the Well outlet at the base of the cliff adjacent to Beaver Creek. The following year, stone steps were installed to replace the ladder that provided access to the outlet. The monument staff also improved the exhibits at the Well museum at this time. [11]

Although these trail and interpretive developments helped to accommodate the growing numbers of people visiting these popular sites, monument staff expressed renewed concern about the impact of guided tours on the physical structure of Montezuma Castle. The issue of closing the Castle interior to visitors had been discussed for many years, but the Park Service remained reluctant to discontinue the tours until some kind of interpretive substitute was in place. Superintendent Homer Hastings urged NPS regional officials in 1947 to take action to resolve this situation before the Castle

sustained any serious damage and to eliminate the risk of injury to visitors climbing the "unsafe" ladders. He also noted that by restricting to nine the number of people on the guided tours, as had been recommended in the 1941 U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey report, the small monument staff was able to provide interpretive services to a maximum of eighteen people per hour. Visitors frequently had to wait in long lines to take the guided tours of the Castle, and many left before being able to enter the ruins. The problem of interpretation at the Castle seemed certain to grow worse in the years to come as a result of the planned four-lane highway between Phoenix and Flagstaff. By 1948, the Black Canyon Highway was built halfway between Phoenix and Camp Verde; its completion would make travel to Montezuma Castle much more convenient and promised to bring record numbers of visitors to the already busy monument. [12] With these factors in mind, regional officials reconsidered plans for installing a scale model of the Castle along the interpretive trail, as Martin Jackson had suggested more than fifteen years earlier. [13]

During the next several years, NPS officials worked out the details of the design and construction of the trailside model display and continued the discussion about closing the Castle to visitors. The NPS Museum Laboratory in Washington, D.C., constructed the diorama model, and following its installation in a shelter structure built by a local contractor, Superintendent John O. Cook officially discontinued the guided tours through Montezuma Castle on 1 October 1951. [14] The model depicted the Castle building with the front walls removed, and rangers utilized it in their interpretive talks about the construction and usage of the Castle to groups of up to fifty people in the newly built surrounding amphitheater (figure 27). At the time of the closure of the Castle interior, the Park Service ended its policy of charging visitors a fee for guided trips through the ruins, which had been in effect since 1940. The regional director decided in June 1954 to begin charging a fee of twenty-five cents for admission to the monument and provided a supply of tickets for that purpose. The policy of charging for admission to Montezuma Castle National Monument continues to this day. [15]





Figure 27. Top: Superintendent John O. Cook pointing out the details of the new Castle model (Arizona Daily Sun, 21 September 1951.) Bottom: The model shelter after remodeling in 1958. Photos in the Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, building date files.

The diorama display installed at the monument did not completely compensate for the gap in the visitor experience left by the closure of the Castle. Rangers reported that visitors seemed bored by the model when they could view the actual ruins a short distance down the trail. In an effort to make the

interpretive display more eye-catching and engaging, the NPS Museum Laboratory created miniature wax figures depicting the prehistoric inhabitants engaged in a variety of their typical daily activities. These figures were installed in 1953 and helped attract more attention to the Castle diorama. [16]

The Black Canyon Highway (State Highway 79), which eventually linked the rapidly expanding Phoenix metropolitan area and transcontinental Highway 66 in Flagstaff, greatly facilitated access to Montezuma Castle and Montezuma Well, and contributed to the doubling of the annual visitation to the monument from 1955 to 1956. [17] The dramatic rise in visitation was also a function of the significant postwar growth experienced throughout the Southwest and specifically in Arizona's urban centers. The economic and social transformation of the American West during and after World War II sparked planning and development efforts across the region, created new industries and employment opportunities, and attracted record numbers of settlers. In Arizona, the state's two most urban counties experienced an almost 100 percent increase in population between 1940 and 1950. [18]

One result of these changes was the establishment of a large population of potential visitors within driving distance of many tourist sites across the Southwest. Newcomers showed great interest in the unique features of the region, and young middle-class families took advantage of their increasing leisure time by traveling to various natural and cultural attractions. Montezuma Castle National Monument, one hundred or so miles from Phoenix along the new Black Canyon Highway, became a popular day-trip destination and a convenient stopping point for people traveling to other sites in central or northern Arizona. Montezuma Castle and Well felt the effects of this tremendous regional growth most acutely during the mid-1950s. It became clear during this time that the facilities at the monument were not suited to handle the rising levels of visitation (figures 28 and 29). [19]

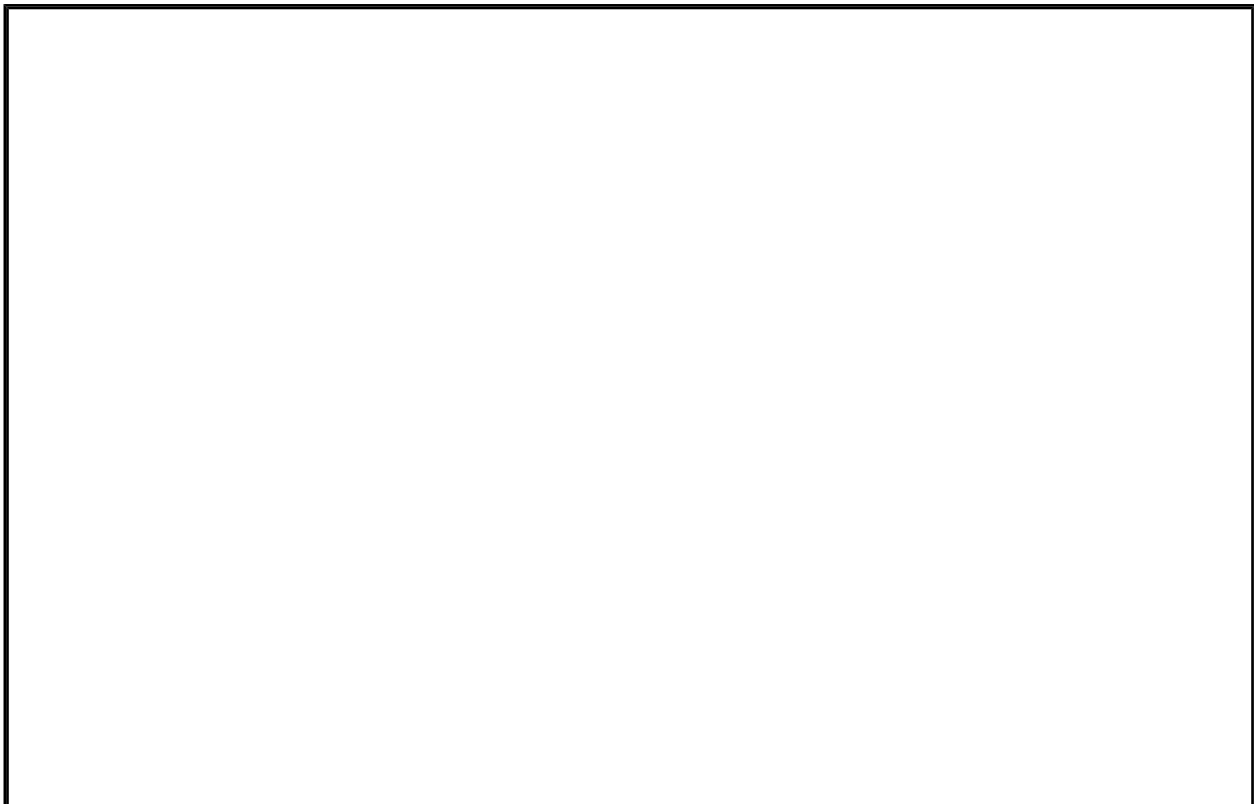




Figure 28. Example of the high visitation to the monument during the late 1950s. Photos of the parking lot and picnic grounds at Montezuma Well during a group event, in the Montezuma Castle National Monument Monthly Narrative Report, June 1957.

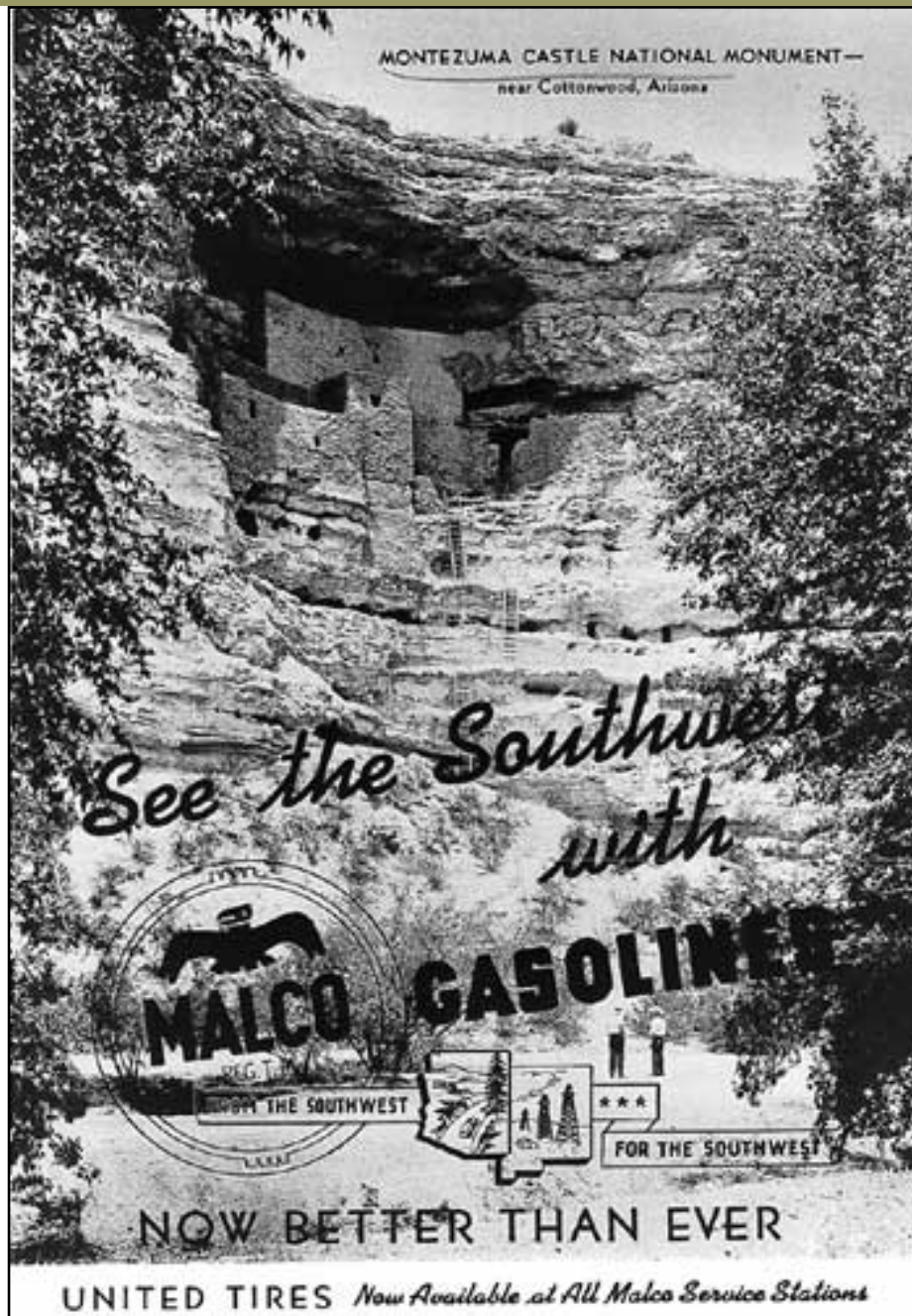


Figure 29. Image of Montezuma Castle used in an advertisement for Malco Gasoline. The ruins used here are an icon of the Southwest. Ironically, the automobile, which is related to the industry behind this advertisement, was in part responsible for the phenomenal growth in visitation to the monument and the new challenges in its management. National Archives, Record Group 79, box 2288, folder 501-2.

The structural and administrative needs at Montezuma Castle became increasingly apparent at a time that coincided with the onset of great changes within the NPS organization. During the directorship of Newton Drury between 1940 and 1951, the agency spent relatively little money on park development and repair projects. The significant postwar increases in visitation to sites throughout

the NPS system took their toll on overcrowded and aging facilities, and necessitated serious attention from the agency. In contrast to Drury's cautious and conservative leadership style, the subsequent director, Conrad Wirth, who had previously worked as a landscape architect and headed the NPS Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) operations, championed the causes of park development, access, and use. He actively promoted carefully planned development projects as means to meet the public demand for recreational tourism and properly handle large numbers of visitors without damage to protected resources. Wirth's most significant undertaking during his tenure as NPS director between 1951 and 1964 involved an extremely ambitious capital development and improvement program. Named "Mission 66" for the coincidence of its planned completion with the fiftieth anniversary of the National Park Service in 1966, the program resulted in the expenditure of a little more than one billion dollars on hundreds of different projects at NPS sites.

Under the Mission 66 program, agency officials considered the value of each site according to its popularity and public use rather than its designation within the NPS system. Mission 66 continued the trend of integrated management that had begun with the NPS reorganizations of the late 1930s. The national monuments, including Montezuma Castle, received considerably more attention and funding during Mission 66 than at any other time in the agency's history. This new program thus promised to address many of the problems encountered at parks and monuments as a result of the minimal funding and increasing visitation since World War II. Director Wirth envisioned Mission 66 as resuming the development of the NPS system that had begun with the New Deal programs of the 1930s. He hoped that his new initiative would compensate for the intervening period of inactivity and modernize the system to face the challenges of the future. Central to his vision for rebuilding the National Park Service was the Division of Landscape Architecture that had figured so prominently in the earlier New Deal development projects. Agency landscape architects' primary contribution to Wirth's Mission 66 program involved their work on master plan documents that dealt with all aspects of the new improvements and additions to Park Service sites. [20]

Beginning in 1956, a host of NPS landscape architects, engineers, and regional officials visited Montezuma Castle to outline the proposed Mission 66 projects. These agency professionals worked with Superintendent John Cook and his staff to evaluate the particular needs and problems on site, make revisions and updates to the master plan, and develop a prospectus to guide the monument through the implementation of the Mission 66 program. Most of the significant issues identified at this time related to the large increase in the number of visitors since the opening of the Black Canyon Highway. The following observations made in the Mission 66 prospectus for Montezuma Castle identify the primary challenges that faced the monument during the mid-1950s:

The problem is the impact of heavy traffic on a small monument, where natural topography limits the expansion of visitor-use areas and overcrowding can destroy and obscure its special values, and where physical developments and staffing have been inadequate for almost ten years. . . . Wisely developed and staffed, Montezuma Castle National Monument will be able to continue to provide significant enjoyment in spite of heavy use, and even to retain the special enchantment that visitors for many years have been able to find here. Over-development which tended to attract visitors for any

reason not directly connected with its primary values could result in traffic heavy enough to despoil the monument. Great damage to the area can also occur if visitor facilities and staffing are not soon brought up to date. [21]

Although officials noted the dire need to update the facilities at Montezuma Castle in order to accommodate the changing patterns of visitor use, they also expressed concerns about the impacts new construction projects would have on the resources within the restricted monument boundaries. Taking these site-specific issues into consideration, the creators of the Mission 66 plans for Montezuma Castle attempted to balance the needs of development and protection. Their planning efforts began with a systematic evaluation of monument needs, problems, and resources.

In their appraisal of the conditions at Montezuma Castle, agency officials and site staff emphasized the need for additional personnel, improved roads and parking areas, more efficient visitor facilities, and better interpretive resources to assist with the current and projected levels of visitation. In 1956, the entire permanent staff at the monument consisted of Superintendent John Cook, Archeologist Sallie Van Valkenburgh, Supervisory Park Ranger Gilbert Wenger, and Clerk-Typist Dennis Murray; these four employees were responsible for the interpretation, protection, and administration duties at both the Castle and Well units of the monument. As a result of this situation, frequently only one person was on duty at the Castle, and the Well was left unattended for at least two days each week. Facing the influx of visitors brought by the new highway, the limited staff did all it could to attend to the most basic functions at the monument, such as the sale of admission tickets. The overcrowding situation meant that personnel could devote little time to patrol the area to ensure the protection of the archeological ruins or to monitor the trails and provide personal contacts and interpretive services to visitors. Short-term recommendations to remedy this situation included improving the self-guiding trail and leaflets, making the Castle model more attractive, and encouraging the use of the trails by extending them closer to the parking area. However, elevated visitation continued to have an impact on the resources and the visitor experience at Montezuma Castle before the Mission 66 plans were implemented. [22]

In addition to the need for an enlarged staff, NPS officials identified the expansion of monument facilities as a major component of the Mission 66 plans. Guiding the plans for this development was a consideration of the changing patterns of visitor use and the limitations created by the size of the monument and the nature of its sensitive resources. Since the opening of the Black Canyon Highway, monument personnel observed that the majority of visitors to both the Castle and Well sections spent less than one hour viewing the primary site features before leaving. This trend became more apparent as bus tours began stopping at the monument as part of their Phoenix to Oak Creek Canyon to Flagstaff to Grand Canyon trips. The high volume of visitors and the short duration of their stay necessitated creating a system to move people more efficiently through the monument while providing sufficient information to make their experience worthwhile. The small monument boundaries and the variety of cultural and natural features located within them limited the areas that could be developed to accomplish this task. [23]

The NPS officials working on the Mission 66 plans formulated a number of recommendations to

address such management challenges at Montezuma Castle National Monument. First of all, it was clear that the development of a visitor center and museum was long overdue. Mission 66 plans called for the construction of a new facility to store and exhibit safely the archeological specimens from the region and to provide dynamic and effective interpretive displays for visitors. The new exhibits, planned to work in conjunction with the Sycamore Trail and the interpretive leaflets, would provide an introduction to the prehistory of the area as well as an overview of NPS sites in the region. In addition, NPS officials advocated expanding the museum displays at the Montezuma Well unit to interpret the geological, biological, and hydrological features of the monument.

The prospectus prepared for the monument museum emphasized the use of three-dimensional exhibits and visually engaging displays to attract visitors' attention and compensate for the lack of personal contact. One suggestion involved improving the appearance of the Castle model and making its interpretive message more self-explanatory. Plans for the new museum also indicated that a portion of the exhibit space should serve to educate first-time visitors to an NPS site about the nature of the protected resources and the proper use of the area. Such an instructional display, the prospectus reasoned, might prevent the unintentional misuse of trails and site resources, and would contribute to the preservation efforts at the monument. Another benefit of the new museum building had to do with its planned location between the parking lot and the trails leading to the Castle viewing area; it was hoped that from here monument staff would be better situated to make initial contacts and monitor visitor traffic and use of the area. [24]

Because of concerns about the limited space and the sensitive resources in the vicinity of Montezuma Castle, the Mission 66 plans initially placed many of the recommended developments at the Montezuma Well unit. To accommodate the enlarged monument staff, the plans called for the construction of four new residences for permanent employees and a three-unit apartment to house seasonal personnel at the Well area. The new housing at the Well would supplement the two existing adobe residences and the three proposed apartments at Montezuma Castle; the old Back family house at the Well was deemed to be in poor condition and was slated for removal. In addition, officials planned to move the monument administrative office from the old Castle museum building to a location near Montezuma Well, where there was more open space to expand the monument's facilities. The proposed new office building was to include a small visitor center, comfort station, and area for museum exhibits. Other facility improvements planned for the Well unit included the expansion of the picnic/lunch area (where new cottonwood trees were to be planted), the construction of a small utility compound, the improvement of the roads and parking areas, and the extension of the trails system. [25]

As NPS officials and monument personnel continued documenting the conditions at the monument and evaluating the recommended improvements during the late 1950s, the Mission 66 plans evolved. Although many of the initial proposals were eventually implemented, others were adapted in some way because of new considerations or changed perspectives. In the end, the Mission 66 program resulted in an almost complete renovation of the facilities at Montezuma Castle National Monument. The final improvements built around the functional components of the existing developments and complemented them with new buildings, an updated infrastructure, and facilities adequate to

comfortably accommodate an enlarged staff and the projected levels of visitation. Foy L. Young and Albert G. Henson, each of whom had served as superintendent of Montezuma Castle in the period between 1956 and 1962, oversaw the planning and implementation of these projects. Their dedicated efforts, as well as those of the other monument staff and NPS officials involved in the planning and development processes, made possible the improvements to the monument and significantly contributed to the ultimate success of the Mission 66 program. The monument projects went out for bid beginning in the fall of 1957, and most of the work was completed within the next three years. In all, nearly \$670,000 was spent on Mission 66 improvements at the two sections of the monument. [26]

The most striking of the additions was the new visitor center. This one-story block masonry building, roughly 2,500 square feet, included a spacious lobby, a museum exhibit room, two offices, a utility room, and a paved patio. A covered walkway connected the building with the previously constructed comfort station. Features of the visitor center included improved utilities systems, landscaped grounds, a new flagpole, and furniture for the lobby, patio area, and offices. The new museum space housed fifteen new exhibits that the NPS Eastern Museum Exhibits Planning Team designed and planned, and the agency's Western Museum Laboratory constructed. The attractive new exhibits covered a variety of topics, including the cultural and natural resources of the monument, and provided a welcome addition to the interpretive efforts at the site.

In a departure from the initial Mission 66 plans, which proposed constructing a new office building at Montezuma Well, the administrative offices for the monument were placed in the new building at the Castle unit, closer to most of the monument activities. The large and modern facility finally replaced the residence the Jackson family had built in 1926 and that had served for years as the monument office and museum. The old Jackson residence was demolished to make way for the enlargement of the parking area. The new visitor center addressed many of the needs that had long gone unmet at the heavily visited monument and became the focal point of the Castle unit; all visitors passed through the building on their way to see the ruins and here paid for their admission, received orientation and trail guides from monument staff, and viewed the museum exhibits and interpretive displays.

The visitor center was also the center of attention at the public celebration of the monument improvements carried out under the Mission 66 program. Public officials from across the state joined NPS representatives and citizens of the Verde Valley on 18 September 1960 to dedicate the new visitor center and call attention to the numerous enhancements to the monument facilities. Senator Barry Goldwater gave the principal address, and Jack McDonald of Arizona Public Service served as the master of ceremonies for the event. Other honorary guests on the program included Boyd Gibbons Jr., special assistant to Governor Fannin, and Thomas Allen, regional director of the National Park Service. Local groups also participated in the day's festivities, providing musical entertainment and helping with the ribbon-cutting and flag-raising ceremonies. The event turned out to be a great success; more than two thousand people visited Montezuma Castle during the day, and many Verde Valley businesses and organizations showed their appreciation for the monument renovations in notices printed in a special edition of the *Verde Independent* dedicated to the occasion (figure 30). [27]



Figure 30. Front page of the *Verde Independent* celebrating the dedication of the new Montezuma Castle visitor center building, *Verde Independent*, 15 September 1960.

The dedication ceremony provided the Park Service an opportunity to showcase the new visitor center and the other improvements to the monument. At the Castle unit, the new developments involved the expansion of facilities to accommodate both monument staff and visitors comfortably. For seasonal employees assigned to help with the influx of visitation at Montezuma Castle, a three-unit apartment complex was built adjacent to the two existing adobe residences. These one-bedroom apartments featured individual bathrooms, kitchens, and living rooms as well as a shared laundry room. The complex was built by Clyde Hutcherson of Flagstaff, the same contractor who had completed the new Montezuma Castle visitor center. The apartments provided a welcome addition to the housing facilities at the monument and created much-needed living space for the expanded staff. The improvement and enlargement of the water, sewer, and electrical systems were also undertaken as part of the Mission 66 activities at the Castle unit. Contractors dug a new 160-foot well for the water supply system in the Castle area and connected this well to a pump and a newly built 50,000-gallon storage tank. The old cesspools were also replaced at this time by a new system consisting of collection lines from all of the buildings in the Castle unit, a sump and pumping station to pump sewage under Beaver Creek, a 3,600-cubic-yard sewage lagoon, and a new 7,500-gallon septic tank. In addition, contractors installed 555 feet of underground cable for the electric and telephone systems

at the monument. [28]

In order to provide easy staff access to the residences and maintenance facilities, a spur road and paved service trail were constructed linking this area with the main Castle entrance road. Work on this project involved clearing and grading the area; installing concrete curbs, gutters, and walks; and surfacing and coating the roadway. Another improvement undertaken at the Castle unit was the expansion of the parking area so that it could handle the heavy vehicle traffic passing through the monument. This expansion included demolishing the old museum/administration building; excavating and grading the area; installing concrete curbs, gutters, and walks; erecting stone masonry guard and retaining walls; and surfacing the entire parking area. In addition, proper drainage features were incorporated into the parking lot design, and the surrounding area, including the parking island and planter areas, was landscaped. [29]

The facilities at the Montezuma Well unit also received a much-needed renovation under the Mission 66 program. One project that greatly facilitated access to the unit was the improvement of the entrance road leading from the county road to the Well and the picnic and residential areas. It should be noted that monument staff had already given its attention to the picnic area at Montezuma Well. During the spring of 1955, they significantly expanded the picnic area and planted a large number of shade trees to improve the grounds for the Verde Valley Pioneers Association and the other local groups that regularly used the picnic area. To provide adequate sanitary facilities to visitors and replace the pit toilets that had previously served the Well unit, a mobile comfort station was set up in a twenty-five-by-eight-foot trailer that was connected with sewer and electrical lines. Although the National Park Service planned to use this arrangement only until permanent facilities could be provided, the mobile comfort station served visitors to the Well unit for many years to come. NPS officials also had two new residences built at the Well unit to provide additional housing for the enlarged monument staff. The two frame construction, three-bedroom houses were prebuilt in Phoenix and transported to the foundations constructed at the monument. Day labor was used to construct the water, sewer, gas, and electrical systems for these residences. The monument staff also employed day labor to landscape around the homes, which included constructing cement walks in front and in back of each residence and planting lawns and native trees on the grounds. [30]

Two of the more interesting Mission 66 projects at the monument related to archeological sites at the Well unit. The first of these projects involved the construction of a fifty-by-thirty-six-foot shelter around the previously excavated Hohokam pit house located along the Well entrance road. The shelter provided protection to the exposed ruins and created space for the interpretation of a prehistoric feature built before the Sinagua occupation of the area. The other project provided funds for the excavation and stabilization of the Swallet Cave ruin, located inside the Well rim. The excavation was planned to salvage prehistoric artifacts from the site before wind, rain, and visitor vandalism caused further damage. In addition, the monument benefited from the project by acquiring recovered artifacts that could be displayed in the new visitor center and by stabilizing a portion of the excavated ruin as a trailside exhibit. The staff also at this time added new trailside displays and stabilized some of the other prehistoric features at the Well. [31]

Most of the Mission 66 developments had been completed in time to be showcased during the visitor center dedication celebration, but work on other projects took place after 1960. Improvements such as the construction of a three-stall garage and storage shelter in the Montezuma Castle maintenance area and the addition of lights and an automatic audio program to the Castle model display contributed to the efforts to upgrade the facilities and services at both the Castle and Well units. From the enlarged staff to the new visitor center to the improved roads and trails, the work performed in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the National Park Service gave Montezuma Castle National Monument a long overdue face-lift and enabled the site to meet many of the challenges it had experienced in the postwar years.

The Mission 66 improvements also altered the appearance of the facilities at Montezuma Castle and other sites throughout the NPS system. The designs for the new structures abandoned the rustic architecture that characterized earlier developments in favor of a more modern and urban style. Though many of the new projects throughout the NPS system received criticism for not being suited to their surrounding landscapes, the utilitarian buildings proved to be extremely efficient and relatively inexpensive qualities that the agency leadership found highly appealing. [32] Thus, in terms of appearance and functionality, the additions made under the Mission 66 program truly ushered Montezuma Castle National Monument into the modern era (figure 31).



Figure 31. The new apartment building at Montezuma Castle, one of the modern-style Mission 66 developments at the monument. Photo in the Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, building data files.

This modern era, however, came with its own set of challenges and problems. Despite the enormous impact of the Mission 66 program on monument resources, shortcomings of the site facilities soon became apparent. The master plan prepared for the monument in 1964 identified a number of areas that already needed attention. These recommendations resulted from both Mission 66 plans that had not been implemented and the strain that the continually increasing visitation placed on the new facilities. Most notably, the document emphasized the need to develop better visitor facilities at Montezuma Well, including a new visitor center specifically for that unit and an administration building (a project that Mission 66 plans had recommended earlier), updated utilities systems, improved interpretive devices and exhibits, and a paved entrance road. The need for additional personnel at each section of the monument was also noted. Although the staff had already been increased in recent years with permanent and seasonal employees, the particularly heavy travel season in the summer months necessitated additional staff to give adequate attention to both visitors and monument resources. To relieve the crowding in the Castle area, the plan suggested hiring a professional interpreter to develop group programs and indicated that a change was needed in the trail leading through the Castle A area to reduce visitor congestion and damage being done to the ruins. Other proposals for the Castle unit included expanding the visitor center to handle increasing visitation, replacing the comfort station with larger and more modern facilities, widening the entrance road to accommodate the higher levels of vehicle traffic, and improving the exhibits along the Sycamore Trail. [33]

Although several of the recommendations set out in the 1964 master plan were implemented in later years, there has not been another large-scale development initiative to impact Montezuma Castle significantly since the Mission 66 program. The improvements from this era thus have continued to serve as the primary site facilities the foundation upon which all other additions and enhancements have been built. In the years following the completion of the Mission 66 projects, the monument staff oversaw the regular maintenance of the site facilities, made general improvements as needed, and initiated new developments when absolutely necessary and when funds were available. Most of these later developments, however, came in response to a severe problem or need and had to wait until the required expense and effort could be justified.

Maintenance work at the monument included fixing damage caused by the periodic flooding of Beaver Creek. Although the completion of a revetment dam at the Castle unit in 1934 provided protection to the monument resources, water levels still reached the area in front of the Castle during large floods in 1938, 1951-52, 1970, 1978, and 1993. Repairs to the trails and picnic grounds had to be made after these major events. The flood that took place on 5 September 1970 also caused damage to the Castle model exhibit, dislodging the diorama housing and washing it one hundred feet down the trail. The model itself did not sustain significant damage, but the shelter structure had to be rebuilt entirely the following year. [34]

Some of the more routine maintenance and repair work at the monument involved the upkeep of the road and trail systems. Because of the heavy vehicle and foot traffic at both the Castle and Well units, staff regularly resurfaced the worn routes. They also made occasional repairs and adjustments over the years, including surfacing the trail through the Castle A area with concrete to strengthen the

floors of the ruins, adding stripes to the Castle entrance road to direct traffic better, and paving the Well entrance road from where it left the dirt county road in the northwest portion of the Well unit. In addition, the monument took advantage of labor provided by the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) during the late 1970s and early 1980s to install concrete trails and rock retaining walls at both monument units and to extend the interpretive trail to a scenic spot overlooking Beaver Creek at the Castle unit. [35]

The high impact to the monument resources caused by the continually increasing levels of visitation necessitated the ongoing maintenance and repair efforts, but also led to a rethinking of the management plans for the monument. By the mid-1970s, NPS officials started to view the operations of Montezuma Castle within the larger context of the changes taking place in the Verde Valley. The explosive growth of southwestern metropolitan centers had affected the region in the years immediately after World War II. Tourism became an increasingly important industry in the Verde Valley at this time, serving the recreational needs of these nearby cities. The Mission 66 program developments were planned to prepare Montezuma Castle, Montezuma Well, and the neighboring Tuzigoot National Monument to meet the challenges associated with the expanding tourism to the region. However, the Verde Valley soon began experiencing a rapid population growth of its own. [36] The pleasant climate and regional amenities attracted many new residents, and the demand for land rapidly grew. As interest in real estate increased and land values escalated, farmers and ranchers in the region, who previously were quite successful in their endeavors, found it difficult to make profitable use of their large property holdings and started to subdivide them for housing developments and trailer villages. Increasing numbers of visitors and new residents were transforming the area communities, which earlier had been characterized primarily by agricultural and mining activities. This regional development began to alter the setting of the monuments and natural features, and created new pressures on area resources. [37]

In the midst of these regional changes, it became clear that even the new visitor-use facilities at Montezuma Castle and Well were inadequate to serve the continually increasing levels of visitation, so NPS officials began looking for solutions to monument overcrowding. Yet whereas previous developments had been oriented toward making the monument units self-sufficient and independent of the surrounding area, current plans took into closer account the constraints of the monument boundaries and the limited financial resources available to the NPS, and they advocated coordinating new developments with the surrounding community. Proposals included exploring the possibility of developing intra- and interagency facilities and integrating visitor interpretation and outreach programs into a community-wide effort. The 1975 master plan for the monument stated the issue as such: "If the Verde Valley is to retain its natural and scenic character amid the pressures of exploding population and technological change, regional planning of the valley must begin immediately with participation at all levels of government and by private citizens." [38]

Such recommendations advanced ideas that had already begun to shape monument policies. Most notably, the NPS had combined the administration of Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments into a single management unit in order to increase efficiency and eliminate redundant administrative services. In September 1974, Glen Henderson was transferred from Tonto National

Monument to serve as the superintendent at Tuzigoot. Shortly thereafter, Montezuma Castle superintendent Edward Nichols was transferred to Golden Spike National Historic Site, and Henderson became the acting superintendent of the Castle and Well units. At the beginning of 1975, the NPS formalized this administrative arrangement and made Henderson the first superintendent in charge of both Verde Valley monuments. Although there had been a great degree of interaction and cooperation between the two monuments since the entry of Tuzigoot into the NPS system in 1939, their official joint administration allowed the monuments to make more efficient use of their shared resources and staff expertise, and to make management decisions that responded better to regional changes. This situation also helped in NPS efforts to coordinate the interpretive stories presented at the three Verde Valley monument units (Montezuma Castle, Montezuma Well, and Tuzigoot). [39]

Another significant change in policy, planned to help with the overcrowding at the monument units, involved moving the administrative offices and visitor orientation facilities to a location outside of monument boundaries. The 1975 master plan articulated the reasons behind the decision to combine monument services and situate them in the nearby community:

A reallocation of uses of the land and a realignment of functions is necessary to the implementation of the "Premise" and the "Visitor Experience Concept" of this plan. The managers must continuously reappraise the physical facilities of these monuments to determine the degree to which they are efficiently performing an essential function in an evolving world. Within the framework of this concept, facilities must be programmed for deletion, addition, and revision to serve program and administrative needs of the future. [40]

The master plan suggested that the interpretive programs continue to be carried out at each of the monument units, but recommended that other functions be relocated to a new structural complex in order to relieve congestion (primarily at the Castle unit) and to free up more space within the monuments to permit increased visitation "without diminishing the quality of the experience." NPS officials contended that the limited available space within monument boundaries would best be used only for necessary on-site functions. Two potential locations for a new complex to house the off-site monument services were a site on the mesa above the Castle ruins or the Yavapai-Apache Cultural Center, which was proposed to be built near Montezuma Castle at the Middle Verde Interchange on Interstate 17 (recently upgraded from State Routes 69 and 79). Ultimately, the agency decided to move the monument functions to the proposed Yavapai-Apache complex.

The National Park Service played an instrumental role in the creation of the cultural center. The impetus for the idea came from the passage of federal legislation in the mid- to late 1970s that authorized and encouraged agencies to provide economic assistance to American Indian communities. At this time, the Yavapai-Apache Nation, based out of the nearby Camp Verde, Middle Verde, and Clarkdale reservations, approached NPS officials about its plans to acquire and develop land near Interstate 17 and inquired if the agency would be interested in office and visitor space. Capitalizing on the new tribal assistance legislation, the NPS contributed funds to the development of the cultural center and, in doing so, also helped address some of the problems that had recently been

identified at the Verde Valley monuments. [41]

In the first phase of the project, completed in 1981, the Yavapai-Apache Nation built a regional visitor information center, a gasoline station and convenience store, and a one-hundred-unit RV campground. The National Park Service began leasing roughly six thousand square feet of the information center building from the nation to serve as the administrative headquarters and visitor orientation center for Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments. According to the terms of the lease, the nation provided maintenance and upkeep for the cultural center, and the NPS assumed responsibility for the custody, operation, maintenance, and design of exhibits and audiovisual programs orienting visitors to the monuments, as well as educational displays on the heritage of the Yavapai-Apache people. In keeping with the ideas set out in recent master plans, the new center represented a community-based partnership that offered visitors an introduction to the Verde Valley monuments as well as regional American Indian culture. The exhibits presented issues relating to human uses of natural resources of the Verde Valley in prehistoric, historic, and contemporary times, drawing connections between the legacies of the past and the challenges of the future in the region. [42]

More importantly, however, the transfer of the administrative and orientation functions to this new center opened up space within monument boundaries for additional site interpretation services, which were badly needed for the constantly increasing numbers of visitors. In evaluating the needs at Montezuma Castle, officials identified the most significant resources and services, and suggested that the monument would further benefit if non-site-specific functions could be relocated to outside of its boundaries. For example, planners called for the National Park Service to operate a public transportation system between the Yavapai-Apache Cultural Center and the Castle in order to alleviate the parking shortages and congestion frequently experienced at that unit. By utilizing parking space at the cultural center and providing shuttle service during the heavy visitor-use season, the NPS reasoned that it could restrict private vehicles from the monument itself and eliminate the circulation problems. The agency also entertained the idea of removing the staff housing facilities from Montezuma Castle in order to restore the riparian environment along Beaver Creek and open it to visitor use. Following the spirit of the 1975 master plan, officials reevaluated the land uses and facilities at the monument and determined that in light of the recent regional development and construction of local housing, there was no longer a need for the residences in their present location. They did, however, consider building a residence near a proposed gatehouse entrance to the Castle unit in order to assist with resource protection and patrol duties. Although the plans for removing the existing staff residences and using the Yavapai-Apache Cultural Center as a monument staging area never materialized, later developments initiated by the Yavapai-Apache Nation impacted the arrangement of monument facilities (figure 32). [43]

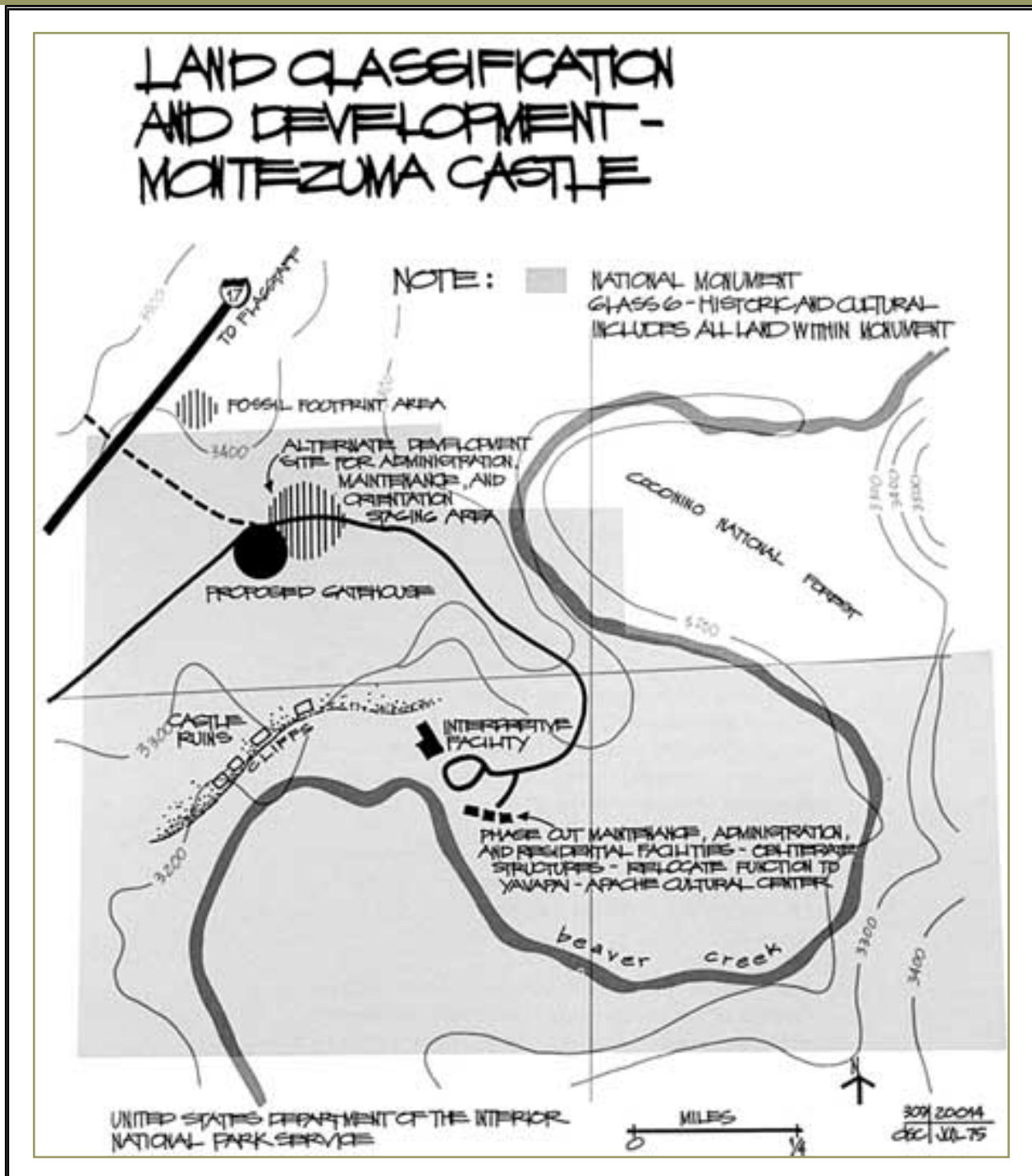


Figure 32. Proposed development changes at the Montezuma Castle unit. Final Master Plan, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, 1975, 24. *(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)*

The second phase of the Yavapai-Apache Cultural Center, completed in 1989, included the addition of an eighty-unit motel with a restaurant and conference rooms, and a large maintenance facility, consisting of a two-thousand-square-foot building and a fifteen-thousand-square-foot fenced compound. The NPS began leasing the entire maintenance facility as soon as this portion of the complex became available in 1985 and relocated most of its maintenance and shop operations for the monuments here. Although this arrangement potentially allowed the agency to remove the old

maintenance building at the Castle and use the area for other purposes, nothing has been done with this structure to date, and the NPS continues to lease the maintenance facility at the cultural center. The motel, managed for the nation by the Best Western Company, has contributed significantly to efforts to stimulate economic growth for the nation and has provided resources that have enabled it to play a more active role in regional issues. For example, tribal representatives have shown more interest in local politics and have participated more frequently in council meetings and in planning and zoning hearings in order to benefit the nation. One victory for the nation through these efforts involved having the reservation designated as a Class 1 air-quality area. [44]

The successes of the Yavapai-Apache Nation resulted in the continued expansion of the cultural center, which in turn affected the NPS lease of the information center building. As the nation became engaged in planning the new developments at the center and in securing the right to open a gaming enterprise there, monument officials felt that it failed to live up to its maintenance responsibilities at the information center and used its resources instead toward supporting future projects. The nation more ardently pursued its goal of opening a casino as part of the cultural center complex in the early 1990s and, as conflicts over the management of the information center surfaced, canceled its lease of this building to the NPS in November 1992 to make room for the gaming operations. The lease of the maintenance building and compound was unaffected by this decision and has continued to the present. [45] The nation utilized the former information center and newly constructed space for its Cliff Castle Casino, which opened its doors in May 1995. The first phase of the casino development featured eight thousand square feet of floor space, 375 electronic slot and video poker machines, and an eighty-four-seat restaurant and cocktail lounge. Subsequent construction phases have significantly enlarged the casino facilities and have brought additional economic gains to the Yavapai-Apache Nation. [46] The popular Cliff Castle Casino represented a new attraction in the Verde Valley that served to further increase visitation to the area monuments. And, as a result of the closing of the visitor information center in the cultural center complex several years earlier, the NPS was left without a valuable resource in its efforts to accommodate the monument crowds.

After the termination of its lease for space in the Yavapai-Apache Cultural Center, the NPS relocated the Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot administrative offices to a rented office building in Camp Verde, roughly five miles away from Montezuma Castle. The NPS continues to lease this space for the monument offices. However, the agency has not yet replaced the visitor orientation center formerly located in the tribal complex. This center provided visitors with information about the monuments and other regional attractions, and relieved the monument staff from many basic orientation functions; since its closure, these services have had to be provided on-site at the already crowded monuments.

To address this revisited problem and other related management challenges, the monument administration began meeting in the early 1990s with representatives from other public agencies about the development of a shared visitor and administration center. The proposed complex would feature a regional interagency visitor center, office space for staff from the various agencies, maintenance shops, and storage areas; it would offer tourist information and an orientation to the publicly managed area attractions, meet the administrative and maintenance needs of the participating

agencies, and enable them to share resources and expertise in the pursuit of their individual management goals. Such a cooperative effort would greatly benefit all of the agencies involved and would make responsible use of the resources of the Verde Valley, especially in light of the rapid growth and development of the region. After continued discussions about this idea, the Forest Service, Arizona State Parks Department, and the National Park Service signed an intergovernmental agreement expressing their commitment to work toward the development of the proposed complex adjacent to Interstate 17; however, no concrete steps have yet been made toward the fulfillment of this plan, largely because of the considerable cost it would entail. If the idea ever comes to fruition, the National Park Service will be better prepared to meet the current management challenges at its Verde Valley monuments. [47]

In addition to rethinking the placement of facilities and their relationship with the resources at Montezuma Castle, NPS officials recognized the need to make substantial changes at the Well unit. Though the National Park Service renovated the facilities at the Well shortly after its acquisition in 1947, many of the buildings had become outdated and no longer fit in with the agency's management goals for the site. The Mission 66 developments which included new residences, an expanded picnic area, a mobile comfort station, and displays of excavated archeological features improved conditions at the Well, but did not resolve all of the problems brought on by the growing visitation to the site. Further, these developments conflicted with land-use and -management values emphasized in later assessments of the Well unit. The 1975 master plan identified the perceived shortcomings of the existing facilities:

Visitor-use facilities have never truly been developed at the Well section. A limited road and trail system, and a picnic area located without regard to the prehistoric use of the land, together with staff housing that equally disregarded the resource, account for the development of this unit of Montezuma Castle National Monument. Except for the staff housing, which should be relocated if retained, the development of visitor-use and administrative facilities can start with a clean slate. [48]

This plan and subsequent monument plans offered recommendations for the improvement of conditions at Montezuma Well. These recommendations included proposals for the realignment of a portion of the county access road to control the interior circulation system and to eliminate the intrusion presented by the existing dirt road; the development of a visitor contact and interpretive facility to encourage appropriate exploration of the resources at the Well; the addition of limited administrative facilities to promote more regular on-site staff involvement; the improvement of the restroom facilities; and the removal of existing staff housing from the site of prehistoric Sinagua farmlands to a proposed gatehouse, patrol center, and residence facility to be situated near the north monument boundary (figure 33). [49]

LAND CLASSIFICATION AND DEVELOPMENT - MONTEZUMA WELL

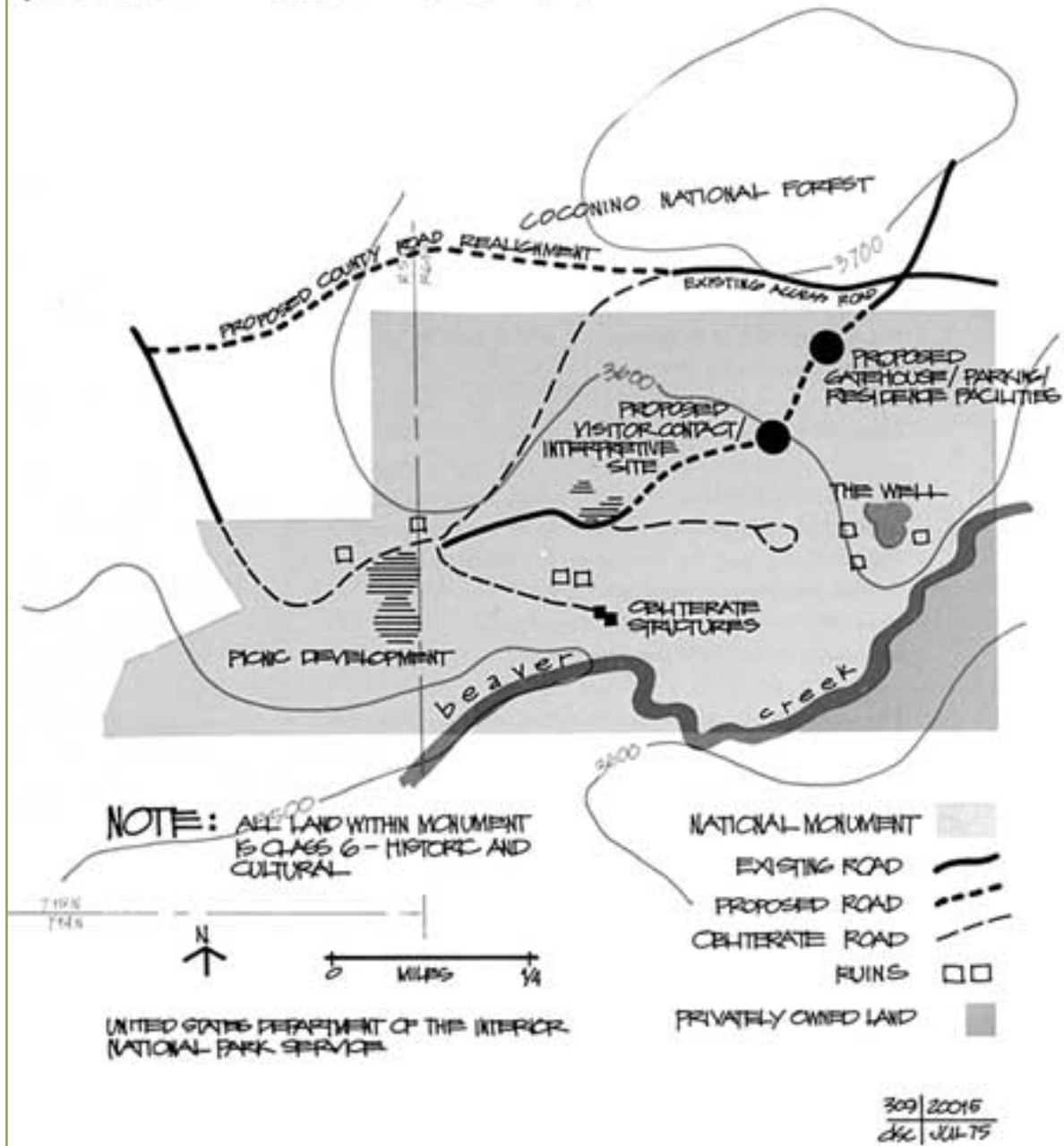


Figure 33. Proposed development changes at the Montezuma Well unit. Final Master Plan, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, 1975, 28. (click on image for an enlargement in a new window)

NPS officials advocated creating a comprehensive design plan to coordinate the proposed changes at the Well. Since its inclusion in the NPS system, Montezuma Well had suffered from the agency's

hopeful attempts to adapt existing facilities and its haphazard developments to address urgent issues. Despite the obvious need for such a comprehensive plan to guide changes at the Well unit, facility improvements occurred only when absolutely necessary and as funds permitted. In 1975, the NPS constructed a small frame-construction visitor contact station and a parking area at the trailhead to Montezuma Well to replace the old stone museum built by the Back family in 1932; the old museum structure was determined to be unsafe for occupancy and was closed in 1972. The new contact station was not large enough to house exhibits or for use as a visitor center, but at least provided a fixed public contact point. Although the agency recognizes the ongoing need for a strategically placed interpretive center, the tiny contact station continues to serve as the primary location for visitor outreach at the Well unit. Other changes at the Well included the removal of the remaining adobe guest house originally built by the Back family and the replacement of the old comfort station with a new trailer restroom in 1981. Aside from these improvements and regular maintenance and repair work, the facilities at Montezuma Well remain virtually unchanged from their condition at the completion of the Mission 66 projects. [50]

Similar to the situation at the Well unit, few major facility developments have taken place at Montezuma Castle since the 1960s, despite their obvious need. Monument planning and management documents called for dramatic changes for most of the site facilities and services to address the challenges associated with the rising visitation levels, but insufficient funds and agency priorities have prevented the administration from carrying out the full slate of proposals. As a result, improvements such as the leasing of space at the Yavapai-Apache Cultural Center had only a limited impact on monument operations. Though the agency did not provide the resources to make the large-scale changes envisioned for the Castle unit, it furnished money for small but critical repair, maintenance, and development activities. Such projects included rebuilding the shelter for the Castle model display following its destruction in the Labor Day flood of 1970; removing the old comfort station adjacent to the Castle visitor center and constructing a larger, more modern facility in its place in 1981; adding improved metal interpretive signs along the self-guiding trails in 1985; and performing necessary upkeep of the Castle roads, trails, and structures. [51] In addition, the monument administration worked with the Southwest Parks and Monuments Association on the partial expansion of the Castle visitor center in the mid-1990s to create extra space for the gift shop run by this nonprofit organization without impeding the flow of visitor traffic through the often congested building.

One improvement project came about as a result of concerns expressed by the local community and outside agencies. Following the 1979 flooding of Beaver Creek, which inundated the sewage lagoon serving the Castle and released raw sewage into the creek, the Northern Arizona Council of Governments requested that the National Park Service relocate the lagoon to higher ground. Subsequent studies evaluated this situation and recommended an alternate site and a sewage and disposal system to replace the existing flood-damaged lagoon. An environmental assessment report prepared in 1981 for the proposed new sewage treatment and disposal system indicated that the existing sewage lagoon created problems because of its location in a floodplain and that this facility was a possible source of groundwater pollution owing to its proximity to Beaver Creek and the monument domestic water supply. To alleviate this problem, in the mid-1980s, the NPS developed a

new sewage system consisting of four lined lagoons with an accompanying collection system and a sewage lift station. This new treatment and disposal system, placed southeast of the monument residential and maintenance area and outside of the floodplain of Beaver Creek, has resolved the potential problems caused by flooding and provides adequate service to the Castle area. [52]

The most recent plans for the monument involve the proposed redevelopment of the Castle museum and interpretive facilities. Most of the existing exhibits and displays have been in place since the completion of the Mission 66 projects and need to be updated or replaced. Though NPS officials created an interpretive plan as early as 1975 to address the shortcomings of these facilities, the agency did not make any significant changes until more than fifteen years later. At this time, interpretive specialists from regional and national NPS offices visited Montezuma Castle and four other Arizona monuments facing similar circumstances to evaluate existing resources and conditions, review travel patterns and the visitor experience, identify significant interpretive themes, and suggest a media design for a new interpretive program at each of the sites. The group's interpretive prospectus suggested that the following topics be explored at Montezuma Castle National Monument: the prehistoric settlement in the Verde Valley, the architecture and construction of Montezuma Castle, daily life of the Sinagua people, the Upper Sonoran Desert ecosystem and desert riparian habitats, prehistoric agriculture, Hohokam/Sinaguan cooperation, the geologic history of the region, the cultural and natural features at Montezuma Well, and the relationship of the monument to other NPS sites and to modern American Indian groups. In order to implement the proposed interpretive program, the prospectus called for updating the layout of the Montezuma Castle visitor center, revamping the museum exhibits there, modifying the loop trail at the Castle, and adding two new wayside exhibits at the Well unit. [53]

Glen Kaye of the NPS Southwest Support System Office translated the general ideas articulated in this prospectus into specific recommendations in the Montezuma Castle National Monument Exhibit Concept Plan. This report completely revised the design and content of exhibits in the visitor center at Montezuma Castle while taking into account the physical limits of the building and the patterns of visitor use at the monument. It called for the removal of the existing display cases and the total renovation of the museum area to prepare for the installation of the new exhibits and related structural improvements. The report also considered the placement of the visitor center wing proposed to make room for the Southwest Parks and Monuments Association gift shop and for free space for exhibit use and traffic flow. [54]

Nineteen specific exhibits were designed for the new museum area, covering many of the topics identified in the earlier interpretive prospectus. The updated interpretive story will build on current archeological and scientific research as well as changing perspectives on various aspects of the monument. The displays will feature a diversity of materials and presentations, including prehistoric artifacts, historic photographs, detailed maps, short video programs, a new model of Montezuma Castle, and a reconstructed room from the Castle. [55] It should be noted that the NPS evaluated the collections at the monument, including those to be included in the new exhibits, and took appropriate measures to be in compliance with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). [56] Agency officials consulted with affiliated American Indian nations on the design of

these exhibits to ensure that they accurately and sensitively interpret the features at the monument. In August 1997, the NPS authorized a \$45,000 contract with Turner Exhibits, Inc., to develop further the design concepts outlined in the Montezuma Castle National Monument Exhibit Concept Plan and to prepare final drawings for the visitor center museum. [57] The museum developments will be paid for with funds from the Southwestern Parks and Monuments Association. When these exhibits are finally completed and installed, they will offer a welcome addition to the monument resources and will help tremendously in the efforts to accommodate the rising levels of visitation.

Interestingly, one of the interpretive themes suggested for the new museum reflects on the prehistoric inhabitants of Montezuma Castle as well as the current situation of the monument. Looking at the Verde Valley through the lens of human ecology, the interpretive plan from 1975 proposed to explore the succession of prehistoric and historic cultures in the region by way of their cultural patterns, social organizations, technologies, and worldviews. Despite their many differences, these cultures including Hohokam, Sinagua, Yavapai-Apache, Spanish, and Anglo are linked by the fact that they have both shaped and been shaped by the Verde Valley. Drawing further connections between the prehistoric and modern contexts of the region, the plan emphasized the lessons to be learned from the past inhabitants of the valley:

Remnants of Sinagua material culture preserved in these monuments illustrate the fit, the balance between man and the earth's resources at the level of physical need and fulfillment. . . . The main purpose of interpretation in these monuments is to convert the meaning of this ancient pattern of culture into modern terms that is, into a pattern for modern times. For it is obvious that contemporary man, too, must strike a balance with his planet. . . . Today, accelerating imbalance between man and nature erodes and consumes the Verde Valley. Responding to this threat to an immediate environment, the visitor experience opportunities at Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monument offer perspective on the past, present, and problematical future of this region. With such a perspective, based on an understanding of cultural diversity, the visitors particularly the people of this region may elect to choose the culture pattern that shapes the future they really want. [58]

Perhaps such lessons will be instructive to the National Park Service as it prepares Montezuma Castle National Monument to face the challenges of the twenty-first century and its next one hundred years as a national monument. Situated amidst a context of rapid growth and development, the monument continues to struggle to meet the dual missions of preserving the unique and fragile resources of the area and accommodating tourism and public use. Although the modern developments undertaken since the 1940s have significantly improved the facilities at the monument and enabled the NPS to protect resources and serve visitors better, the continually increasing visitation and the regional changes have presented new management issues to be reconciled. The bevy of bus tours and constant traffic of visitors through the Castle and Well units now overwhelm the existing facilities and necessitate substantial improvements and changes. In addition to these development needs, future plans for the monument will be shaped by considerations regarding the natural and cultural resources of the area. During the past fifty years, research programs and resource management efforts have

evolved significantly and have provided insightful perspectives on the various resources at the monument. Chapters 6 and 7 trace the evolution of the natural and cultural resource management programs at Montezuma Castle National Monument within the context of the NPS administration and consider the effects of these programs on the development of the monument.

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*A Past Preserved in Stone:
A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument*

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Montezuma Castle

National Monument



Chapter 6

WITHIN A CHANGING LANDSCAPE

Managing the Natural Resources of the Monument

"Montezuma Castle National Monument is on the brink of many disasters, which, in aggregate, would destroy the setting of the two sites. . . . Here, as elsewhere, we have had the illusion that the white picket fence around our boundaries was enough. Obviously, it is not enough. Unless we learn, from this situation and similar ones affecting many other areas . . . we will continue to face disaster at the last moment as the finger curls around the trigger."

William E. Brown and Charles P. Clapper Jr., "Environmental Management Problems at Montezuma Castle and Well," November 1969

The significant population growth experienced in the Verde Valley and across the Southwest in the years after World War II prompted the National Park Service to develop the facilities at Montezuma Castle National Monument to keep up with the demands associated with the continually increasing levels of visitation. However, this pattern of regional growth also contributed to the alteration of the landscape encompassing and surrounding the monument units over time. These changes caused NPS officials to pay closer attention to the natural and cultural resources at the monument and to the effects of regional and site developments. Although still primarily concerned with accommodating recreational tourism and public enjoyment, the agency devoted increasing energy to understanding and protecting the prehistoric, historic, and natural resources at Montezuma Castle and Montezuma Well. The modern resource management efforts at the monument reflect advances in the fields of anthropology and the natural sciences as well as organizational and ideological changes within the Park Service in the postwar years. This chapter and chapter 7 summarize the various research studies, resource protection projects, and preservation initiatives undertaken at the monument during this period and consider these efforts within the contexts of regional, professional, and agency changes.

The modern resource management activities of the National Park Service follow a long line of previous human interactions with the environment of the Verde Valley. For thousands of years, different groups of people were drawn to the region and its central feature, the Verde River. The availability of water, the natural lushness of the land, and the temperate climate make the Verde Valley an ideal location for settlement. The topographic and environmental diversity further contribute to the qualities of this area bounded by the Colorado Plateau and mountains to the north and by the Sonoran Desert region to the south. The abundant resources of the valley attracted a

variety of human occupations and activities in prehistoric and historic times. The interactions of these groups with the regional environment were guided both by the quantity and types of natural resources present in the area as well as by the cultural perceptions, values, and attitudes that informed each particular group's vision and use of the landscape. The current form of the landscape is thus the product of the natural and human processes at play in the Verde Valley over time. As manager of a portion of this landscape, the National Park Service attempted to protect the existing natural and cultural resources at the monument while fostering an understanding of the complex historical processes that have shaped them. However, the agency's efforts themselves represent yet another set of human interactions with the environment of the Verde Valley. To make sense of this multifaceted terrain managed by the Park Service, it is helpful to consider both the factors that formed the regional landscape prior to the agency's activities as well as the perceptions, values, and attitudes that have informed them.

The impacts made on the Verde River over time reflect the changes in the regional landscape caused by various human activities. Between a.d. 600 and a.d. 1425, the Hohokam and Sinagua peoples settled the Middle Verde drainage and made extensive use of the water resources of the region. During this span of time, the native hunting/gathering population developed a strong irrigation-based horticultural economy, drawing on technological advances adopted from the Hohokam to the south and the Sinagua to the north. The river that they knew, however, differed significantly from the Verde River of today. Recent archeological research suggests that characteristics of the prehistoric river included a braided channel, a high water table, stable flow, dense riparian vegetation, the presence of beaver and muskrats, numerous marshes, and areas of stationary water. Historical descriptions of the Verde River by Spanish explorers and later by European American trappers and pioneers indicate that many of these natural features persisted well into the nineteenth century. [1]

But beginning in the 1860s, the intensive European American settlement of the region ushered in an era of significant change in the Verde Valley. The land uses and exploitation of resources that followed the European American occupation took a heavy toll on the river and dramatically altered the physical environment of the valley in a relatively short time. Today the Verde River is a channelized, fast-moving stream with only one remaining marsh and devoid of the rich vegetation that once graced its course. The striking alteration of the regional landscape in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resulted from the variety and intensity of the activities pursued by European American settlers activities informed by the perceptions, values, and attitudes that people brought with them and projected onto the landscape. Although the Sinagua and Hohokam people also left a mark on the Verde Valley by their use of the land, water, and natural resources of the area, their impact was modest compared to that brought about by the activities of the European Americans. The ideologies influencing the interactions of the prehistoric and modern inhabitants of the Verde Valley with their environments differ markedly and lend insight into their respective impacts on the Verde Valley. In the concluding chapter of the collection *Vanishing River: Landscapes and Lives of the Lower Verde Valley*, Stephanie Whittlesey points out the distinct relationships with place these two groups had: "Whereas aboriginal peoples had created a landscape heavy with meaning and rich with stories, bound up with heaven as much as with earth, Americans viewed the land in terms of profit." [2] In contrast to the balanced and respectful ways of the prehistoric indigenous people who

preceded them, the European Americans treated the resources of the Verde Valley as commodities to be exploited, controlled, and managed for personal gain. An overview of the behaviors that resulted from this attitude help to explain the transformation of the landscape and the "vanishing" of the Verde River since the late nineteenth century.

The first European American settlers in the valley began farming soon after the establishment of their community at the confluence of the Verde River and Clear Creek in 1865. They quickly set about clearing the surrounding land, digging an irrigation ditch, and planting crops. By 1880, eleven significant irrigation ditches had been built to divert water from the Verde River, including one constructed by the Yavapai, who were forcibly relocated onto the Rio Verde Reservation near Camp Verde. Agriculture continues to be an important economic activity in the region. The Cottonwood Ditch, which was completed in 1878, remains the primary irrigation feature in the valley, and today farmers divert a significant amount of Verde surface water for their crops through this canal and others. Over the years, modern farming and irrigation activities left their imprint on the Verde River and contributed to environmental changes such as erosion and the alteration of the river channel. [3] Unlike the prehistoric inhabitants who used the river primarily for agricultural purposes, however, European American settlers engaged in a variety of other activities that further taxed the resources of the Verde River and impacted the landscape.

The exploitation of the rich mineral resources of the region was one such activity European American settlers pursued that had a dramatic effect on the Verde Valley landscape. Although parties of Spanish explorers likely visited mines located near the present-day town of Jerome in the late sixteenth century, it was not until after the establishment of a European American settlement in the area almost three centuries later that mining activities were actively pursued. Large-scale mining operations began after Montana industrial giant William Clark purchased the fledgling United Verde Copper Company in 1888. In order to realize the potential of the Verde Valley's mineral resources, Clark financed the development of significant mining and smelting facilities in the town of Jerome and built a railroad line to transport the products to market. The prosperity of the mines led to the expansion of the United Verde operations; the company bought ranches and water rights along the Verde River where the town of Clarkdale was later established in 1912. This planned community provided housing for the mineworkers and served as the location of the new company smelter that began production in 1915. [4] Copper-mining activities continued in the Jerome area on and off until the closure of the mines and smelter in 1953. In addition to the obvious changes to the land resulting from the development of underground and open-pit mines, copper smelters, and the area communities, mining-related activities had other serious impacts on the Verde Valley landscape. The most striking of these changes were deforestation and the reduction of vegetation by fuelwood cutting, the severe air pollution from the smelters, the usage of water resources in the smelting process, and the creation of large piles of mine tailings near the river (figure 34). The industries that supported the mining operations also affected the regional environment; the railroads, power plant, and area residences and businesses consumed their share of natural resources over the years and contributed to the patterns of change in the valley. [5]



Figure 34. Environmental impact of mining in the Jerome area. The new Clarkdale smelter, c. 1917. (Photo from Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott.)

Perhaps the activity undertaken by European American settlers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that had the most destructive effect on the natural resources of the Verde Valley was grazing. Begun in the region in the 1870s, livestock raising quickly became a popular and profitable occupation. As the number of cattle and sheep in the valley peaked toward the end of the nineteenth century, the effects of overgrazing became apparent (figure 35). During a visit to the Verde Valley in 1896, Cosmos Mindeleff, an archeologist with the Bureau of American Ethnology, commented on this situation: "Within the last few years the character of the river and of the country adjacent to it has materially changed. . . . This change is the direct result of the recent stocking of the country with cattle. More cattle have been brought into this country than in its natural state it will support." [6] The intense grazing in the region resulted in the destruction of native grasses, deforestation and the loss of large stands of riparian vegetation, and the erosion of large quantities of topsoil from surface runoff. Although the intensity of grazing lessened by the early twentieth century, overgrazing remains a problem in some areas. More importantly, however, the earlier grazing practices continued to have long-term effects on the Verde Valley landscape. [7]



Figure 35. Verde Crossing, showing the intensity of grazing in the Verde Valley, 19 May 1901. Cline Library, Special Collections and Archives Department, Northern Arizona University (NAU.PH660.2.19).

The deforestation and erosion that resulted from grazing and other historic activities of European American settlers during the late nineteenth century exacerbated the damage caused by the periodic flooding of the Verde River. Repeated flood events led to the deepening of the river channel, the expansion of the floodplain, and the destruction of property, crops, and irrigation features along the Verde watershed. The wreckage caused by flood events over the years, combined with the increasing demand for water for domestic and agricultural uses in the growing Salt River Valley, prompted calls for flood protection and water storage developments on the lower Verde River. Completed in 1939 and 1946 respectively, Bartlett Dam and Horseshoe Dam were designed to help provide for the downstream water needs and offer protection from flood events. [8] A later proposal to build the Orme dam and reservoir on the Fort McDowell Reservation for additional flood control and storage of Central Arizona Project water for the Salt River Valley attracted much attention, but was never implemented.

The manipulation of the regional water resources, as evinced by the construction and management of dams and reservoirs, reflects the exertion of influence by the emerging Phoenix metropolitan area. As

this urban center expanded at extraordinary rates in the years following World War II, the Salt River Project made use of its water rights along the Verde River for the benefit of the growing population. Thus, urban perceptions, values, and attitudes were projected onto the Verde Valley landscape: the river was viewed and treated as a resource and commodity above all else. With portions of the Verde managed largely to serve the needs of the Phoenix metropolitan area, the natural environment along much of its course changed significantly. Historian James Byrkit once commented that though the Verde is the only perennial waterway remaining in Arizona, it has essentially been "tamed" through such exploitation of its resources. The recent attempts to conquer the desert and develop the Salt River Valley have come at the expense of the transformation of the Verde River. [9]

Other instances of the manipulation of the resources of the river offer evidence of the alteration of the Verde Valley landscape and the ideologies informing these activities. A power plant was completed at the town of Childs in 1909 to take advantage of the natural springs located on Fossil Creek. The operation included a dam and flume that diverted water from the creek to a man-made reservoir and then down a precipitous drop to run three hydroelectric generators before emptying into the Verde. The plant, which is still in operation, has provided electricity for years to many central Arizona communities. This diversion of Fossil Creek for the sake of power generation is indicative of the prioritization of the exploitation over the protection of the natural resources of the Verde River through most of the historic European American settlement of the region.

Tourism and recreation are two other activities that have exploited the resources of the river in some fashion. Near the Childs Power Plant, the Verde Hot Springs resort was built in the late 1920s. Although this resort, which burned down in 1958, did not have a significant impact on the landscape, its construction reveals the influence of European American ideas of leisure and health on the resources of the area. [10] More recently, the Verde River and some of its tributaries have become popular outdoor recreation destinations. In the areas that experience frequent usage, the river suffers from trampling, litter, paving for parking lots and facilities, water-quality problems, and strains on water supplies. [11] These impacts from recreational activities stand as further examples of how particular perceptions, values, and attitudes have informed the uses of natural resources and helped reshape the Verde environment in recent times.

While the Verde Valley became increasingly popular as a tourist destination in the postwar years, it also experienced significant residential growth. The boom in population during this time led to the fast-paced development of the area communities and created an enlarged demand for water. James Byrkit astutely observed how the built environment of the Verde Valley has been rapidly transformed during the past several decades to accommodate the new residents:

The area, once bucolic and serene, saw its first traffic light installed as recently as 1977. The signs of growth are everywhere. Subdivisions, real estate offices, mobile-home sales lots and shopping centers now command attention not wildlife, sunsets and green stream beds. Newcomers in a quest for simplicity, solitude and a haven from the crime and tensions of the city are changing the Verde Valley from a rural, slow-paced area into familiar suburbia. . . . These people are going to destroy the very thing they

come to enjoy. The invasion threatens to spoil permanently the Valley's fragile geographic and biologic attractions. [12]

In addition to the physical changes associated with the development of the valley communities, the regional growth has put strains on the available natural resources. As land previously used for grazing and agriculture was subdivided into concentrated residential and commercial areas, the local demand for water has increased. Because of the prior appropriation of all surface water rights in the Verde Valley, however, the area communities have had to depend on groundwater pumping for much of their water needs. This practice has not had a significant impact on the river to date, but concerns have been expressed about the impact of future regional growth and groundwater pumping on the surface flows of the Verde. The prospect of reduced water supplies inspired two different projects in the 1960s aimed at clearing the watershed of water-loving riparian vegetation that consumes valuable water resources. Both the project undertaken cooperatively by private land owners and the one initiated by the U.S. Forest Service were found to have mixed results in terms of water retention and were later discontinued. [13] However, continued concerns about the long-term water resources in the region have prompted other studies and activities, including the formation of the Verde River Corridor Project in 1989. This locally directed effort set out to examine the various uses and values of the river corridor and to develop a plan of action to conserve the river and its related resources in a way that is balanced with growth and economics. [14] The changing patterns of demand on the Verde River water resources highlight the tremendous growth and development that have occurred in the Verde Valley in recent years. These changes also reflect the ideologies and values that have accompanied the regional growth and have set the terms of people's interactions with the natural environment.

Ironically, one of the values that has most recently affected the Verde Valley landscape environmental protection has come about largely in response to the earlier activities that impacted the area environment. As studies on the quantity and quality of the natural resources in the valley appeared beginning in the 1970s, government agencies, nonprofit organizations, and private citizens recognized the need to take action to protect the wildlife and natural features of the region from future damage and overexploitation. Those active in supporting this cause have drawn from the inspiration and lessons of the well-established environmental movement. However, wilderness and environmental protection are by no means universal values. The conflicts that have arisen between advocates for environmental issues and those supporting other causes emphasize the contested ideological terrain that has often determined the fate of the physical landscape.

An example of such conflicting values regarding the use and management of natural resources can be found in the recent debates about the development of the Verde Valley Ranch. In the late-1980s, the Phelps Dodge Corporation announced a proposal to build a major housing development and golf course in the vicinity of Peck's Lake. The plans called for reclaiming and building on top of a tailings pond created from earlier mining activities. During public hearings, some local citizens and environmental groups expressed concerns about the possibility of hazardous materials in the tailings pond and the impact of the project on area wildlife, habitat, and water quality. The construction schedule was delayed amidst heated debates. Environmental groups filed numerous protests, and

state and federal agencies became involved in overseeing and regulating different stages of the development. Continued delays occurred while Phelps Dodge awaited the issuance of various permits related to project construction. Now, more than a decade after the introduction of the project proposal, the development of the Verde Valley Ranch is still far from finished. [15]

The severity of the ideological clashes over this proposed development is a testament to the power of cultural perceptions, values, and attitudes in shaping the physical landscape of the Verde Valley over time. Particular sets of ideological perspectives have also informed NPS natural resource management efforts at Montezuma Castle National Monument. To understand these perspectives, the scope of the agency's activities, and their impact on the landscape, it is important to consider them in light of the historical changes to the regional landscape and within the context of agency policies toward natural resources.

Although the federal government technically became responsible for the administration of Montezuma Castle upon its establishment as a national monument in 1906, many years passed before serious efforts were made to manage the natural resources of the site. The General Land Office, the first agency placed in charge of the Castle, and later the National Park Service, valued the monument primarily for its archeological features and focused on their preservation. However, as a result of these agencies' essential neglect of the monument, the officials first assigned to look after the Castle were overburdened by the basic protection and stabilization needs of the ruins and lacked adequate resources to do much about them. Faced with numerous management challenges relating to the threatened prehistoric structures, these officials viewed the natural resources at the monument to be of secondary importance and devoted practically no attention to their study or protection. This situation typified early NPS management of natural resources at many parks and monuments under its jurisdiction. Although the 1916 Organic Act that created the NPS stated that the purpose of the national parks was "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such a manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations," the fledgling agency interpreted this mandate loosely and acted primarily to promote recreational developments, tourist accommodations, and the protection of scenery. [16]

In his book *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, historian Richard Sellars documents the influence of biological science and ecological principles on NPS management policies over time. He notes that the years between 1929 and 1940 witnessed the agency's initial efforts to manage natural resources based on the principles of ecological science, including surveys of park wildlife, various research projects, and the creation of the Wildlife Division. However, these scientific endeavors, which came into being largely as a result of biologist George Wright's personal initiative and fortune, proved to be short-lived. [17] Despite a growing awareness of ecological ideas and the publication of specific wildlife management recommendations in the groundbreaking 1933 study *Fauna of the National Parks of the United States: A Preliminary Survey of Faunal Relations in National Parks*, the NPS administration renewed its emphasis on recreation and public use in its management policies during the 1930s and 1940s. The widespread development of park and monument facilities performed by New Deal programs further solidified the agency's commitment to the utilitarian use of

its sites at the expense of scientifically based approaches to management. As Sellars points out, however, many of the administrative efforts undertaken during the early years of the Park Service from recreational tourism development to the implementation of natural resource management initiatives primarily affected the national parks. Most of the national monuments received minimal NPS attention and remained outside the purview of agency policies. [18]

This situation accurately reflects the status of natural resource management activities at Montezuma Castle in the years prior to World War II. The Castle was basically neglected for years because of its designation as a national monument, and management efforts there suffered as a result. [19] One incidental benefit of this policy of neglect was the fact that the resources at the monument were spared from the impact of large-scale tourist facility developments, such as occurred at many national parks at this time. However, NPS officials considered Montezuma Castle to be first and foremost an archeological monument and paid scant attention to the natural resources of the site. Because the agency had no policy in place for the systematic study and protection of these resources, research on and protection of the natural features at Montezuma Castle depended on the personal interests and talents of the monument staff and their families and on the efforts of independent researchers.

Even though the NPS administration ignored the natural resources at Montezuma Castle for years, the lush riparian vegetation and diverse faunal populations found in this location along Beaver Creek were apparent to most visitors. Researchers Walter Taylor and Hartley Jackson from the U.S. Biological Survey recognized the scientific interest of the birds and mammals of the region, and in 1916 published the findings of a biologic survey they conducted throughout the Verde Valley, including areas within monument boundaries. This study includes information about the species that the biologists observed and is a useful document for examining the changes in the regional environment over time. [20]

Such a professional scientific study of the natural features at Montezuma Castle, however, was the exception rather than the rule for many years. Betty Jackson's study of birds was more typical of the informal research conducted during the early years of the monument. Soon after her husband, Earl, took over as the custodian at Montezuma Castle in 1937, Mrs. Jackson began watching and later banding birds at the monument and recorded her observations. Having a lifelong interest in natural history and anthropology, she started watching birds while earning her degree in geology at Vassar College and continued this hobby when she taught at a private school in New Mexico. Mrs. Jackson began the bird-watching and bird-banding program at Montezuma Castle out of personal interest and because of the potential scientific information she thought it could provide. Her column "Bird Notes" became a regular feature in the *Southwestern Monuments Reports* and inspired similar bird-watching projects at other monuments. She remembers that Frank Pinkley encouraged her in this pursuit and was extremely appreciative of the contributions she made to the monument. [21] Mrs. Jackson compiled extensive files that formed the foundation for the research on the birds of Montezuma Castle that continued long after the Jacksons were transferred from the monument in 1942.

This example of a personally initiated natural history study was typical of the research efforts at Montezuma Castle and other national monuments in lieu of an agency-wide program to deal with the

study and management of natural resources. During his assignment as the custodian of Montezuma Castle, Earl Jackson performed several studies of his own on subjects such as the reptiles, insects, and fish at the monument. Jackson's observations on these topics often found their way into his submissions to the *Southwestern Monuments Reports*, and he incorporated many of the specimens he collected into the popular natural history displays at the Castle museum. It should also be noted that Jackson began a program of rattlesnake elimination in areas of high traffic at the monument out of concern for visitor safety. Information gained from these studies was included in displays for the nature trail constructed at the monument. In addition, Ranger William Bowen spent time investigating the native plants of the region, collecting samples for the museum herbarium, and adding plants to the garden area along the nature trail. Reporting on his rare visit to Montezuma Castle in 1941, NPS regional biologist W. B. McDougall noted the numerous research and interpretation activities that the monument staff were pursuing. He was impressed by these accomplishments, especially considering the small size of the monument and what he considered to be the limited natural resources at this archeological site. McDougall wrote, "When there is a real, energetic will to do biologic work it can be done regardless of the locality or the size of the area at the worker's disposal." [22] Given the NPS lack of commitment to the scientific management of natural resources at this time, especially for the national monuments, the dedicated efforts of the Montezuma Castle staff had to suffice.

During the period of U.S. involvement in World War II and the immediate postwar years, the Park Service faced a drastic cutback in its budget, programs, and personnel. The agency as a whole was reduced to a "protection and maintenance basis," and issues concerning the study and management of natural resources, which were already a low priority, were pushed further back on the agency agenda. [23] However, the long-awaited acquisition of Montezuma Well following the conclusion of the war provided the staff at Montezuma Castle with a wealth of natural resources to study. The geological and biological features at the Well had attracted the curiosity of visitors and area residents ever since the Spanish exploration party led by Antonio de Espejo likely passed through the Verde Valley and recorded descriptions of them in the late sixteenth century.

Soon after the establishment of Camp Verde and the increasing European American presence in the Verde Valley, numerous articles and reports began to appear that described the unique natural and cultural features around Montezuma Well and suggested various theories about them. These accounts ranged from professional in nature (such as the reports prepared by archeologist Jesse Walter Fewkes on his observations at the Well) to promotional (such as the travel writings of Colonel Hiram C. Hodge and the articles penned by regional booster Charles Lummis) to mythical (as seen in the fanciful rumors that the Aztec ruler Montezuma dumped his treasures in the Well). [24] One of the more popular topics for speculation had to do with the origin of the Well, with claims indicating that it was really an extinct volcano or had been created by a falling meteor. [25] Authors also had various ideas about the depth of the Well; reported measurements taken over the years ranged from sixty feet to more than eight hundred feet without reaching bottom. [26]

During the time when the Back family owned the property, the natural features around the Well experienced some changes as a result of both natural occurrences and the family's activities there.

Natural occurrences reported at the Well included a fire in the early 1900s that destroyed most of the ash, walnut, alder, cottonwood, willow, and sycamore trees located inside the Well interior; an occasional bubbling of mud that appeared at the water surface; and the collapse of a portion of the rock wall that surrounded the Well. [27] Notable activities of the Back family that impacted the natural resources of the site included an unsuccessful attempt to stock the Well with catfish and bluegills, the periodic clearing of the outlet that affected the water level in the Well, and the reported blasting of part of the outlet cave to enlarge it. [28]

Although members of the Back family claimed that a number of different research efforts were conducted when they owned the property, the scientific studies of Montezuma Well undertaken after the site became part of the monument helped to dispel much of the misinformation that had circulated for years and provided useful information about the natural resources there. These studies, however, were not part of any agency initiative to better understand and manage the resources at this new addition to the NPS system; they came about as a result of the interests of non Park Service researchers. One such study took place in July 1947, when Dr. Harold Colton and Edwin McKee of the Museum of Northern Arizona (MNA) took soundings of the Well using a string with a weight attached at the end. The deepest measurement they recorded was fifty-five feet, near the center of the Well. Soundings in other locations indicated the bottom to be saucer shaped, with two steep drops occurring at different distances from the outer edges of the Well. [29]

Colton returned the following year to conduct further studies of Montezuma Well. This time the MNA sponsored H. J. Charbonneau, a former navy diver, to make a series of underwater explorations and gather information about the floor of the Well. With the assistance of Dr. Colton, Ferrell Colton, and Richard Suraunt from the MNA and of monument archeologist Albert Schroeder, Charbonneau made several descents into the Well on 15 May 1948 using a diving mask and compressed air (figure 36). The results of this research provided new data about the depth and bottom surface of the Well, but also raised additional questions. Eight years later, monument officials authorized another underwater study of the Well. Alice Schultz collected various plant and animal specimens while using an Aqua-Lung as part of a research project sponsored by Phoenix College. It seems, however, that Schultz did not produce a report on her findings. [30]





Figure 36. H. J. Charbonneau and monument staff preparing for diving research at Montezuma Well. Photos taken in May 1948 by Custodian Homer Hastings, on file in the Montezuma Well office.

In contrast to the earlier underwater studies at the Well, the Park Service directly supported more recent endeavors, indicating the agency's improved commitment to scientific research and management over the years. In 1968, George R. Fisher and a crew of NPS researchers used scuba gear to conduct an underwater archeological survey of Montezuma Well and look for deposits of artifacts at the bottom. Although the team recovered some ceramics and chipped stone materials that matched artifacts from Swallet Cave and the pueblo on the rim of the Well, the diving conditions in general were poor, and the project produced disappointing results. [31] The most recent diving research effort was undertaken in 1991, this time using more sophisticated equipment and research

techniques. The goals of this project, which involved a team of divers from the U.S. Geological Survey, included accurately mapping the bottom surface of the Well, determining the depth of the water, locating the springs that act as inlets, gathering information about the geological source of the water, collecting water samples, and studying the flow dynamics of water in the Well. The results of this project and the earlier studies added to the growing body of knowledge about the Well's geological, hydrological, and biological characteristics. [32]

Around the time of the MNA-conducted research at the Well, other activities at the monument also affected the natural resources of the area. In the late 1940s, monument officials authorized a lease of the tillable land at the Well unit to the Montezuma Dairy Company for growing oats. In later years, the monument leased twenty-seven acres of its irrigated farm and meadow land for hay crops and also allowed the incidental grazing of this area. One condition of this arrangement was that the lessee would maintain fences and irrigation ditches. Over the years, neighboring ranchers who owned some of the rights to the water from the Well also helped with the cleaning and repair of the prehistoric and modern irrigation ditches that delivered water to them (figures 37 and 38). [33] Also at the Well, Allen G. Hely from the Water Resources Branch of the U.S. Geological Survey measured the flow of water through the Well outlet. The readings taken between 1948 and 1951 found the flow to be between 1,340,000 and 1,800,000 gallons per day, depending in part on obstructions in the outlet. Through much of the 1950s, monument staff continued their informal natural history research and interpretation efforts at both of the units, including ongoing counts of birds in the region, the collection of native plants for an herbarium installed at the monument museum, and studies of the monument's geological features. [34]

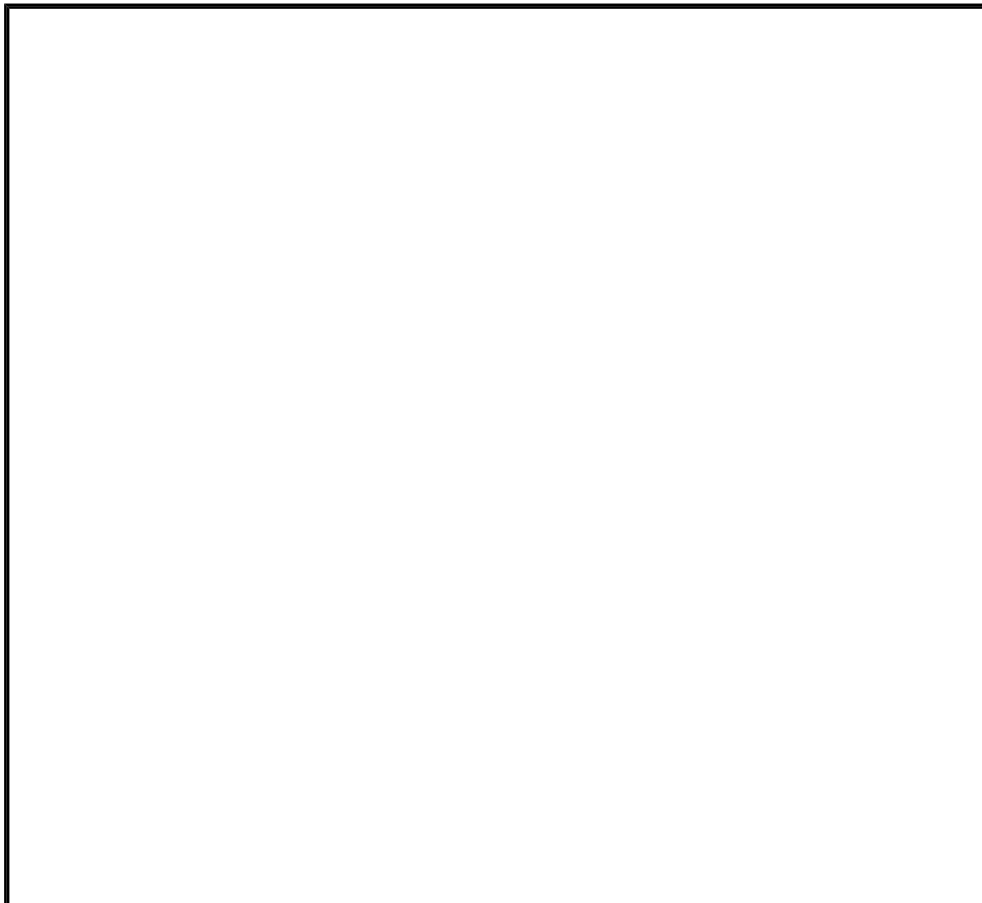




Figure 37. Top: Joint water users' ditch cleaning project at Montezuma Well. Bottom: Traces of the prehistoric ditch in the bottom of the modern ditch located during the ditch-cleaning project. Photos included in the Montezuma Well 1956 Review Pictorial Report, Montezuma Castle National Monument Monthly Narrative Reports, on file at the Montezuma Castle visitor center library.

The tremendous national growth of tourism in the postwar years that inspired the creation of the Mission 66 program and its plans for systemwide developments also resulted in new approaches to the agency's management of natural resources. In contrast to the rhetoric of the Mission 66 goals that indicated a strong commitment to research and the biological sciences, the NPS biology programs continued to languish and received just a fraction of the funding allocated for development and construction projects. And, in place of expanding its own programs for scientific research, the NPS continued its practice of encouraging outside research done by universities and other government agencies. [35] Yet despite the neglect of the NPS research programs, consideration of natural resources did figure into the Mission 66 plans formulated for the different parks and monuments during the late 1950s. At the outset of the program, agency officials viewed "controlled pattern developments" that is, containing public use to designated areas as the best way to limit the impact to natural resources and wilderness areas. This attitude reflected the influence of landscape architects in shaping Mission 66 plans and agency policies toward natural resources, as well as the weakness of the NPS biology programs. During the course of implementing the Mission 66 program, agency officials thus continued to prioritize the values of recreational tourism and public enjoyment over the scientific management of sites based on ecological principles. [36]

At Montezuma Castle National Monument, Mission 66 planning documents advocated that the proposed new facilities be restricted to the designated developed areas in order to minimize the impact to sensitive natural resources. Although the plans recognized the urgent need to expand the monument facilities to keep pace with the explosive increases in visitation, they also noted the importance of protecting and interpreting the natural features. Thus, by the careful placement of the planned developments, preferably near ones already in existence, officials hoped to concentrate the intensive use of the monument in specified areas without compromising the integrity of the unspoiled



Figure 38. Burro from neighboring lands looking for water in a prehistoric irrigation ditch. Photos included in the Montezuma Well 1956 Review Pictorial Report, Montezuma Castle National Monument Narrative Reports, on file at the Montezuma Castle visitor center library.

natural areas. Given the small size of the monument and the patterns of intensive visitation especially the recent trend of bus tours this proved to be a difficult task. Yet the landscape architects, engineers, and regional officials worked with the monument staff and agreed on a master plan that provided facilities to accommodate visitor use at the monument while setting aside undeveloped areas for the protection of the diverse vegetation, wildlife, and geological features along Beaver Creek. The master plan also contained ideas for improving the interpretation of the natural resources of the monument, such as the enlargement of nature trails and the creation of displays on the riparian habitat. Although in later years NPS officials reevaluated several aspects of this master plan in light of continued regional growth and different environmental values, the Mission 66 program improved the general status of the natural resources at the monument. [37]

It is interesting to note that the Mission 66 plans make only limited reference to research issues relating to the natural resources of the monument. As a result of NPS neglect of its own biological research programs, outside individuals and institutions had conducted most of the previous studies at the Castle and Well. In particular, the Museum of Northern Arizona contributed significantly to the natural history investigations of the area. In addition to its sponsorship of the earlier research on the hydrology and geology of the Well, the MNA cosponsored with the Western Speleological Institute in 1954 a detailed study of the outlet cave. Directed by Arthur Lange, this project involved mapping the cave interior and gathering data about the origin of the Well and cave. The MNA further demonstrated its commitment to the cause of regional research by publishing Myron Sutton's bird survey in its journal *Plateau* and by sponsoring a study of the plants at Montezuma Castle. [38]

Although the 1961 master plan notes the need for further scientific research at the monument, such studies would have to originate from outside of the NPS. On the research questions about the geology of the monument, the master plan stated that "The questions of larger scope must, in the main, be left to cooperating geologists; we can assist them with on-the-spot reporting, collecting, and recording of observations." [39] The agency's hesitancy to support ecological research hindered its ability to make management decisions based on empirical information about the resources of sites such as Montezuma Castle. Eventually, the NPS created the Cooperative Park Studies Unit (CPSU) program that linked NPS sites with university-based research offices and helped systematically address the agency's research needs. Yet prior to the establishment of the CPSU at Northern Arizona University in 1988, scientific research on the natural resources at the Castle and Well usually had to wait until an interested individual or organization took the initiative. Fortunately, researchers from Arizona's universities picked up where the Museum of Northern Arizona left off and helped fill in some of the serious gaps in the research program at Montezuma Castle National Monument.

As the NPS wavered in its commitment to ecological science in the 1960s, it advanced natural resource management programs that were typically more traditional in their perspectives, oriented around practical matters, and carried out by park rangers. [40] Examples of such resource management issues appeared in sections of the 1961 master plan for Montezuma Castle dealing with topics such as fire control, forest insect and disease control, grazing and browsing control, vegetation management, and soil and moisture conservation. Although ideally a solid foundation of scientific evidence usually informed these management concerns, this was not always the case. Especially at a

small archeological monument such as Montezuma Castle, many natural resource management activities were conducted when funding and staff permitted, never mind whether or not they were supported by research findings. However, for urgent issues such as fire control and insect and disease control, the monument provided training to staff, supplied necessary tools and equipment, and took preventative measures to ensure the protection of its resources from disaster. [41]

Other important resource management issues addressed by Mission 66 and later planning documents were the status of the monument boundaries and the impact of changes to the surrounding lands on its resources. Reacting to the rapid growth of regional tourism and the development of the Verde Valley communities in the postwar years, monument officials expressed concerns about activities at neighboring properties and their potential to detract from the scenic and environmental qualities at the monument units. Although much of the land surrounding the Castle and Well was included within the Coconino National Forest, grazing and rock-mining activities done under permit created visual distractions and threatened to affect the natural resources nearby. In addition, the recent subdivision of private properties along the approach roads and in places visible from the public-use areas of the monument raised concerns about incoming residential and commercial developments that would compromise the visual setting of the monument units. As it was, the boundaries contained only the bare minimum amount of land necessary for the inclusion of the protected monument features, with practically no buffer zone between these features and the neighboring properties. Moreover, the existing boundaries posed management problems for the monument staff; the irregularity of the perimeter lines and their location along portions of Beaver Creek made fence installation and maintenance extremely cumbersome, thereby also making it difficult to keep wandering cattle off of monument property. To resolve many of these problems, monument staff recommended the expansion of the boundaries at the Castle and Well units, and suggested that future on-site facilities be carefully planned to minimize the impact of private developments to the viewshed. [42]

Following these recommendations, the NPS drew up legislation for the enlargement of the monument boundaries in order to prevent any unwanted developments or activities from occurring on the privately owned lands immediately bordering the monument. Thus, by an act of Congress dated 23 June 1959, the boundary of the Castle unit was enlarged by 42.17 acres and that of the Well unit by 16.83 acres. This act also authorized the secretary of the interior to acquire the private inholdings within these revised boundaries. Though the NPS eventually purchased the two inholdings at the Castle without great difficulty, the acquisition of the inholding at the Well proved to be much more problematic. [43]

The origin of this problem dates back to 1908 when William B. Back conveyed to Benjamin S. Witter the property in question, described at the time as "that portion of Lot 4 lying south and east of Beaver Creek." This property eventually became part of the Soda Springs Ranch owned by Virginia Finnie Lowdermilk, who later married Paul Webb. When the NPS began investigations in 1946 regarding the acquisition of the Montezuma Well property, officials surveyed the area and established the location of Beaver Creek at this time. However, Mr. and Mrs. Webb disputed the findings of this survey, contending that the big flood in 1937 shifted the course of Beaver Creek, thereby altering the property boundaries. Despite NPS officials' numerous attempts over the years to

come to an agreement with the Webbs about this boundary, the issue has never been resolved. And Mr. Webb's (Virginia passed away in the early 1980s) refusal to sell this parcel to the Park Service despite its inclusion within the official boundaries of the monument in 1959 has created a managerial headache. The agency installed fences along the creek on a number of occasions in order to keep the boundary between the monument and the Webb property, but floods repeatedly destroyed them. The monument staff finally gave up trying to maintain a fence in the floodplain and instead erected one set back from the creek on higher ground. However, this situation has allowed Webb's cattle to cross unobstructed from his land onto monument property and forage in the lush riparian area along Beaver Creek. Thus, in addition to the agency's failure to date to acquire Webb's inholding and to secure for the monument its valuable scenic and natural features, the presence of Webb's cattle jeopardized the riparian corridor within the monument. [44]

The NPS was more successful in its efforts to acquire a small parcel of land located just outside the northwest boundary of the Castle unit. Monument officials became interested in this parcel because of the presence of an exceptionally well-preserved collection of Pliocene mammal footprints including those made by cats, camels, tapirs, and mammoth embedded in the former shoreline of the ancient lake located in the Verde Valley. Montezuma Castle ranger Myron Sutton identified these footprints, located within the Coconino National Forest, in his 1953 survey of the geology of the Verde Valley, and subsequently paleontologists and other researchers conducted a number of studies of the rare tracks. [45] Because of the isolated location of the mammal tracks and the infrequent visitation they received, the Forest Service provided minimal supervision and protection for this area, making the tracks subject to potential theft and vandalism. To compensate for the lack of staff devoted to this site, Forest Service officials decided in 1971 to construct a rail fence around the tracks for protection. [46] However, within one year it was determined that this fence provided little extra protection to the tracks and actually caused a negative impact to them. In addition, an article appearing about this time in a local newspaper attracted increased attention to the well-known tracks and aroused heightened concerns about the potential for vandalism. In place of the ineffective fence, the Forest Service covered the tracks with soil until a more permanent solution to their preservation and management could be worked out. [47]

In the early 1970s, officials from the Forest Service and the National Park Service discussed ways to provide better protection for the fossil footprints and make them into an interpretive feature for the public, but inadequate funding and staffing on the part of both agencies precluded any immediate action from being taken. One point of agreement, however, was both agencies' desire to transfer responsibility for the footprints to the National Park Service. The location of the footprints in an area removed from Forest Service developed areas made it difficult for the Forest Service to provide adequate interpretation and protection; further, the proximity of the Montezuma Castle unit of the monument made it logical for the NPS to assume responsibility for them. In a 1972 letter to Montezuma Castle superintendent Edward Nichols, John Schafer of the U.S. Geological Survey noted the unique qualities of the fossil footprints and articulated the following reasons why the NPS should assume their management:

I believe that the locality is uniquely worthy of inclusion in the National Monument

and of interpretation and protection. This is so for such reasons as the extraordinary vividness of the phenomena; the striking contrast between the circumstances of formation of the tracks and present conditions; the ease of presentation in a detailed geologic background (the 5-million-year-old Pliocene lake); and the immediate proximity to the existing National Monument. I cannot overstate my convictions that this is ideally suited for inclusion in the National Park System, and that properly displayed it would be an outstanding attraction to visitors. [48]

Although the Forest Service officials expressed their willingness to have the NPS assume the protection and interpretation of the fossil footprints, the transfer or exchange of lands between two federal agencies required an act of Congress, which typically involves a lengthy process.

The two agencies began efforts in the mid-1970s to seek authorization for this land transfer. The urgency of this transfer was emphasized by the arrest of two visitors in 1977 who were attempting to remove a set of fossil camel tracks from the deposit on Forest Service land; until better supervision and protection of the footprints could be provided, they remained vulnerable to acts of vandalism. While waiting for the land transfer to become official, staff from Montezuma Castle lent their assistance to the Forest Service in the protection, interpretation, and management of the tracks. Eventually the agencies agreed on a land exchange, whereby Montezuma Castle National Monument would receive the roughly thirteen-acre parcel containing the fossil footprints and the Coconino National Forest would receive the nearly five-acre parcel of land lying north of the right-of-way where Interstate 17 crosses the northwest corner of the monument. After the successful completion of compliance requirements, the land exchange between the two agencies was made official by Public Law 95-625 dated 10 November 1978 (Appendix F). This exchange proved to be mutually beneficial: the NPS was able to provide better management of the fossil footprints and no longer had its property bisected by the interstate; and the Forest Service, which already administered other property affected by Interstate 17 rights-of-way, built on its working relationship with the Arizona Department of Transportation and was relieved of caring for the isolated fossil feature. Administrative efforts for both agencies were facilitated by this land exchange. [49]

After the NPS acquired the fossil footprints, monument officials worked on plans to develop an interpretive exhibit with some type of shelter. To serve the proposed new interpretive area, a small parking area was built nearby when the Castle entrance road was reconstructed. However, this is the only development that has occurred to date. A lack of funding prevented the construction of the planned trail and exhibit, and the site was once again covered with soil to protect the footprints. In light of the nearly one million annual visitors to Montezuma Castle in recent years and the potential high traffic at the site of the mammal tracks, the monument administration is reconsidering the wisdom of creating an interpretive exhibit there. The current levels of visitation already put serious strains on the resources at the monument; the addition of a new interpretive feature removed from the main visitor center area would only increase the need for more monument staff and instigate more funding challenges. At present, then, covering up the fossil footprints seems to offer the best solution to their preservation. [50]

Even after the earlier enlargement of the monument boundaries in 1959, officials continued to express concerns about the changing context of the Verde Valley and the potential impacts to monument resources. In particular, they identified the problems created by the encroachment of rapid development of residential subdivisions in areas adjacent to both monument units and the Interstate 17 interchange proposed to be constructed in the northwest corner of the Castle unit. Studies conducted in the late 1960s noted the various threats to the monument at this time and suggested that the NPS foster cooperative relationships with private landowners and local, state, and federal agencies to coordinate planning efforts and minimize the impacts to regional resources. [51]

In December 1969, a joint NPS/U.S. Forest Service task force was formed and produced the study entitled "An Environmental Integrity Plan, Montezuma Castle National Monument." This study made recommendations regarding the resource management issues facing the monument and resulted in a memorandum of agreement between the two agencies for the purpose of protecting and preserving the environmental integrity of the area. The agreement established the Montezuma Castle Backdrop Management Unit, an environmental scenic zone surrounding the monument on lands within the Coconino National Forest. It further stipulated that both agencies would mutually pursue an active program to acquire all private inholdings within the monument and the Backdrop Management Unit. In addition, the agreement provided for the annual review of the environmental quality at the monument and allowed for changes in the Backdrop Management Unit to be made as needed (figure 39). [52]

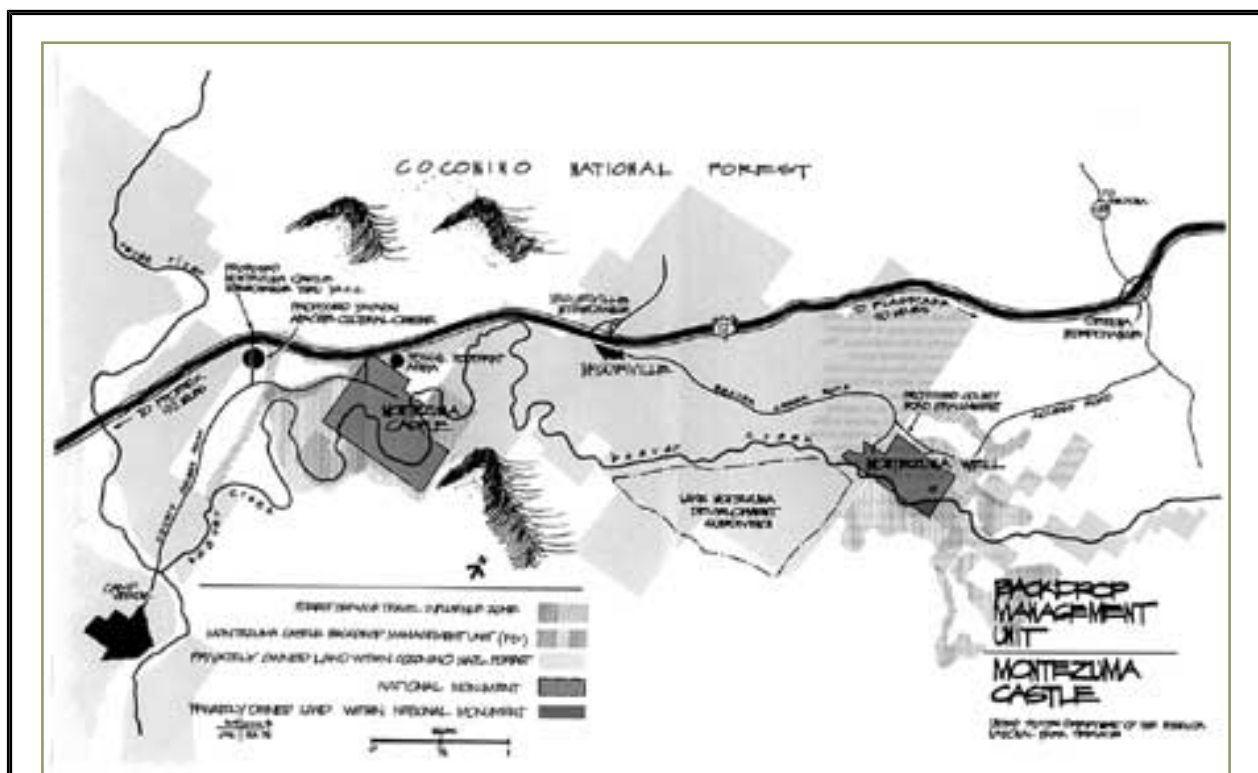


Figure 39. Montezuma Castle National Monument Environmental Backdrop Unit. Included in Final Master Plan, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, October 1975, 34. *(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Both responses to the regional changes taking place as a result of the growth and development of the Verde Valley as well as values and ideas from the emerging environmental movement informed the concerns about the natural resources at the monument and the creation of the Montezuma Castle Backdrop Management Unit. The activism of environmentalist groups during the 1960s and 1970s fostered a greater awareness within the Park Service and the general public about the ideas of ecological science. Yet the NPS was not immediately receptive to some of the environmentalists' challenges. The agency received sharp criticism at this time for the impact of the Mission 66 developments on park areas, the inappropriateness of the modern design of many of the new facilities, and its development of new recreation areas. NPS Director Conrad Wirth, a landscape architect by training and an ardent supporter of developing and managing parks for recreational tourism and public use, resented the questioning of the agency's priorities and continued the practice of dealing with resource management issues through controlled pattern development. However, the issuance in 1963 of findings from two different independent studies pointed out the agency's marginal commitment to ecological principles and scientific research in the past and engendered a rethinking of the purpose and policies of park management. The Leopold Report and the National Academy Report advocated the integration of ecological perspectives in resource management decisions and contributed to the heightened role of scientific research within the agency during the 1960s and 1970s. [53]

The changing attitudes toward environmental issues at this time lent support to new ideas about resource management at Montezuma Castle and Well. Although the creation of the Backdrop Management Unit helped protect the environmental integrity of the area surrounding the monument units, the continued growth and development of the Verde Valley and the steadily increasing visitation to regional attractions (including the Castle and Well) placed added strains on the monument facilities and caused NPS officials to reconsider the placement and nature of the physical developments within the monument. Taking into consideration this altered regional context and the need to maximize the efficient use of space and facilities, the master plan prepared in 1975 called for a reappraisal of the physical developments of the monument as they related to the present and future program as well as to administrative needs.

In contrast to earlier ideas of self-containment that guided monument developments, this plan recommended that only facilities performing essential on-site functions remain within the monument boundaries. Other functions, such as staff housing, maintenance operations, visitor orientation, and parking could be moved to proposed shared community facilities. By removing some of these functions to off-site locations, space within monument boundaries would be freed up to reduce congestion and to accommodate more efficiently the intensive visitor use of both units.

The proposals made in the 1975 master plan also promised to benefit indirectly some of the natural resources and features at the monument. For example, the implementation of a public transportation system between the Yavapai-Apache Cultural Center and the monument would improve air quality in addition to reducing visitor traffic and congestion. The proposed relocation of the maintenance, administration, and residential facilities at the Castle unit would allow for the restoration of the

riparian area along Beaver Creek, thus protecting valuable habitat and creating an interesting new interpretive area. And the removal of the staff residences at the Well would clear the ancient Sinagua farmlands of all modern developments in order to protect the natural and cultural resources there and provide an opportunity to interpret another aspect of the prehistoric setting at the monument. In addition to these proposed structural changes, the master plan recommended incorporating new themes into the monument interpretive program to explore issues of past, present, and future relationships between humans and nature in the Verde Valley. Despite these ambitious ideas, the only major change that took place was the relocation of the administrative, visitor orientation, and maintenance functions of the monument to the new Yavapai-Apache Cultural Center. [54]

Although many of the proposals from the 1975 master plan were not implemented, the ideas expressed in this document reflect the growing influence of ideas and values from the environmental movement on NPS management efforts at this time. The environmental debates of the 1960s and 1970s caused the agency to rethink its responsibilities to nature conservation and engendered renewed resource management and research science activities within the system. Another product of the environmental activism from this era was the passage of legislation that affected the activities of federal agencies in a variety of different ways. The new laws included the Wilderness Act (1964), the Endangered Species Act (1973), the Clean Air Act (1990, as amended), the Clean Water Act (1972, as amended), the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act (1964), and the National Environmental Policy Act (1969). These laws established new regulations and compliance criteria governing the management of natural resources and required federal agencies to devote substantial time and energy toward their fulfillment. In particular, the National Environmental Policy Act has had a profound impact on the theory and practice of NPS resource management efforts. This act mandates that all federal agencies take account of any adverse environmental impacts that would result from a proposed undertaking and consider them alongside the impacts from alternative actions. The spirit of this act seeks the preservation of important historic, cultural, and natural aspects of our national heritage and calls on agencies to support this cause by following established procedures in their decision-making processes. This legislation also promotes efforts to enrich the understanding of ecological systems and encourages the use of scientific research to provide baseline knowledge about environmental resources so that potential impacts can be better monitored, analyzed, and, ideally, avoided. [55]

As a result of the National Environmental Policy Act and the other environmental legislation of the 1960s and 1970s, the National Park Service found itself with greater responsibilities to research and resource management. To comply with these laws, agency officials incorporated perspectives from both the natural and social sciences in their study of existing natural conditions, the historic changes to them, and the resource management needs for each unit in the NPS system. The information gained from this approach contributed to the preparation of resource management plans, environmental assessments, land protection plans, and other required management documents.

At Montezuma Castle, such plans and reports resulted in a notable increase in the attention devoted to the natural resources at the monument. In particular, the preparation of natural and cultural resource management plans in 1975 and 1996 increased the emphasis of ecological and environmental

perspectives in management decisions. The staff at the monument has also completed environmental assessments that carefully evaluate the effects of proposed actions and present alternative management and development proposals. The initial instances of such efforts represented the first time that the NPS systematically considered the protection of the natural resources at Montezuma Castle. The philosophies and mandates set out in the environmental legislation of the 1960s and 1970s continue to shape the current management approaches at the monument and have been complemented over the years by amendments, new legislation, and new NPS policies. The resulting plans and reports have added to the understanding of the natural resources of the monument and have identified challenges to their long-term protection. [56]

Yet despite the increased consideration of environmental issues in these documents, the limited budget and staff for the monument have severely compromised the implementation of natural resource management programs and the realization of the stated goals at Montezuma Castle. The Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan prepared in February 1996 addresses these shortcomings:

Montezuma Castle National Monument has a small staff, with no single position having full-time responsibility for either cultural or natural resources planning or protection. Current staffing levels are sufficient to allow for the continuance of minimum levels of natural resource protection through such activities as pest management, tree hazard removal and other vegetation management activities, program administration, and the preparation of a management plan for prehistoric Sinaguan fields. . . . An indication of the resource funding shortage at the monument is provided by the fact that the total project funding for both cultural and natural resources programs in the last five years at Montezuma Castle has been only about \$55,000. This funding has come entirely from cultural cyclic maintenance, natural resource regional rotating base funds, cultural resource preservation funds, and fee enhancement funds. Increased base funding is needed by the monument to adequately do the job at hand. [57]

This plan additionally notes the dire need for a full-time professional resource manager to address the various cultural and natural resource issues at both Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments. However, until the National Park Service commits substantial funding to increase the base funding for resource management programs at the monument, this situation will likely change little. [58]

In lieu of a more active program for dealing with major threats to the natural resources at Montezuma Castle, the agency has had to resort in recent years to indirect means to provide provisional protection. In one such attempt, Superintendent Henderson and the monument staff divided the Castle and Well units into four different management zones. These zones natural, historic, development, and special use take account of the locations of the important monument resources and attempt to limit adverse impacts to them by restricting intensive activities and uses to specified areas. Reminiscent of the controlled pattern developments NPS officials advocated during the Mission 66 era, these

management zones provide only limited protection and reflect the continued influence of tourism and visitor use in shaping monument management policies. [59]

Another recent pursuit concerning natural resources involves the rethinking of the interpretive story at the monument to emphasize more strongly the relationship between the regional environment and cultural developments over time. NPS officials have identified the lush resources of the riparian areas along Beaver Creek as important features that can serve to foster an understanding of the prehistoric setting and cultural activities of the Verde Valley. In addition to protecting these areas for their inherent natural qualities, administrators for the monument reason that because of their interpretive and educational potential, "it is essential to protect and preserve the ecological processes that created the cultural setting." Interpretive developments that would explore the connection between the natural landscape and cultural features of the monument have been proposed for the riparian corridor that passes through the Castle unit and at the prehistoric Sinaguan fields at the Well unit. However, little beyond the initiation of management studies has been accomplished to date to realize these interpretive plans. [60]

As noted earlier, the Verde River is the central feature of both the cultural and natural setting for the Verde Valley. NPS officials as well as representatives of other agencies and community groups have duly given their attention to the river and the other water resources of the region. Over the past two decades, much of the natural resource management program at Montezuma Castle and Well has centered around issues relating to these water resources. The changing patterns of regional land and water use during this time have raised concerns about water rights, water quality, aquifer protection, floodplain regulation, instream mining, instream flow, riparian habitats, wildlife, and endangered species. The need for greater study of the regional water resources was called into sharp relief in 1979 when the Northern Arizona Council of Governments identified the Verde Valley as the area with the highest water-quality planning priority in northern Arizona. This determination precipitated several subsequent regional hydrological research endeavors sponsored by groups such as the Arizona Department of Water Resources, the U.S. Geological Survey, and the National Park Service. Concerns about the regional water resources also prompted the formation in 1989 of the Verde River Corridor Project, a planning effort involving numerous local, state, and federal participants. [61]

Playing a role in these regional efforts, the National Park Service has sponsored research on the hydrogeology and on both the surface water and groundwater resources of the area. In cooperation with the U.S. Geological Survey, the agency has also monitored the discharge from Montezuma Well. Plus, the monument administration oversees the water claims on the discharge from the Well and coordinates the distribution of this water through the network of prehistoric and historic irrigation ditches. Because of the increasing demands that urban growth, agriculture, and commercial uses have placed on water resources, the coordination of water rights in the Verde Valley has grown more complicated and contested. The monument staff has attempted to balance, on the one hand, the delivery of discharge from Montezuma Well to downstream users and, on the other, the protection of the aquatic and riparian habitats at the monument. In recent years, the Water Resources Management Plan developed for Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments in 1992 has guided these efforts. This document takes into consideration the characteristics of the water resources, the

legislative requirements, the various demands for water, the management goals and objectives for the monument, and the results of previous research on changes in the quantity and quality of the regional water resources. [62]

The growing body of technical literature and the management policies affecting the water and other natural resources at Montezuma Castle and Well have benefited notably from the various scientific research efforts conducted at the monument during the past thirty years. However, as a result of the National Park Service's wavering ideological and fiscal commitment to supporting research science and ecological principles during this time, investigators affiliated with universities, institutions, and other government agencies have done much of this research. In particular, natural history studies conducted at Montezuma Well by professors from universities in Arizona began to address the research needs of the monument in the years following the completion of the Mission 66 projects. In some sense, this new wave of research resumed the earlier work done by the staff from the Museum of Northern Arizona. The resulting studies have added a wealth of new data about the natural resources at the monument and have informed management policies and activities over the years. The bibliography of this literature dealing with the natural resources at Montezuma Castle National Monument has expanded tremendously since the mid-1960s. [63]

Two researchers stand out for the exceptional contributions they have made to the scientific understanding of the natural resources at Montezuma Well: Dr. Gerald A. Cole, a professor of zoology at Arizona State University, and Dr. Dean W. Blinn, a professor of biological sciences at Northern Arizona University. Dr. Cole began his limnological studies of Montezuma Well in 1960 with the assistance of a two-year grant from the National Science Foundation. The final report from this research project included a detailed mapping of the Well basin and technical data about the geology, water chemistry, flows, and biotic activity within the Well. [64] Cole's subsequent studies at the Montezuma Well unit have dealt with topics such as the value of the irrigation ditch system, the unique features of the area habitat, characteristics of the water chemistry and flow, and endemic species of amphipods found in the Well. Since the early 1980s, Dr. Blinn has actively researched the zoological and botanical species found in Montezuma Well. He has coauthored a number of articles and reports detailing the unique characteristics and interactions of organisms at the Well, including varieties of algae, amphipods, water scorpions, and leeches. These studies have provided valuable information about unusual life forms that have evolved and adapted to the aquatic environment in the Well.

However, despite the research conducted by Cole, Blinn, and others, significant gaps remained in understanding the monument ecosystems and threats to them. Because NPS science programs revolved largely around resource management and compliance issues in the 1960s and 1970s, the agency offered little direct support to scientific research efforts, particularly at national monuments such as Montezuma Castle that were primarily regarded in terms of their cultural resources. NPS officials therefore continued to encourage and capitalize on research conducted by outside agencies and institutions. In 1970, the agency formalized arrangements to meet its research needs when it established at the University of Washington the first Cooperative Park Studies Unit, a university-based scientific research office that drew upon the resources and skills of the university community to

address the particular research problems that NPS units faced. [65]

Montezuma Castle National Monument benefited from the establishment of the CPSU at Northern Arizona University in October 1988. Conceptualized for coordinating research efforts on an ecosystem basis, the Colorado Plateau Research Station (CPRS), as it became known following its transfer to the National Biological Service in 1993, serves thirty-three Park Service units located within the Colorado Plateau. Although late in coming, the creation of this CPSU signaled the agency's recognition of the natural resources of the area and its growing commitment to incorporate ecological principles in its management policies. The CPRS utilizes the physical resources and faculty expertise at Northern Arizona University to provide scientific and technical guidance for the effective management of the natural and cultural resources at the NPS units within its jurisdiction. [66]

The staff from Montezuma Castle and the CPRS worked together to target the most serious research needs at the monument and developed a plan to address them. Despite earlier research efforts, there were still critical deficiencies in the baseline information about the flora, fauna, water, soils, air, and geology at the monument units. These deficiencies became particularly apparent as the ongoing growth in monument visitation threatened to impact the natural resources. The National Park Service's prior consideration of Montezuma Castle mainly in terms of its cultural resources and its lack of fiscal and staff support for resource management programs precluded earlier systematic studies of natural resources that could have helped guide management policies and prevented damage to the resources. According to Superintendent Glen Henderson, had such research efforts been initiated earlier, resource protection efforts would have been greatly facilitated over the years, and management plans would have focused greater attention on issues concerning particular natural resources. [67]

Although the lack of funding and staff continues to challenge the natural resource management goals at Montezuma Castle, the CPRS has made a tremendous contribution to understanding and protecting the natural resources. The ongoing CPRS research projects include natural resource inventories and monitoring, bibliographic and archival overviews, and the mapping of resources. Reports have been completed to date on fish and aquatic herpetofauna, aquatic invertebrates and plants, historic photos, and small mammal communities at the monument. Studies in progress treat topics such as terrestrial invertebrates, vegetation mapping, information management, and birds. This CPRS-conducted research helps the monument staff to fill in the gaps in the baseline data on the natural resources of the monument and to extend the minimal NPS funding devoted to natural resource management issues.

The information collected from these recent research efforts will help to shape management policies affecting the natural resources at Montezuma Castle National Monument well into the twenty-first century. Considering the dramatic changes that have already taken place in the Verde Valley in the years since World War II, it is imperative that action be taken quickly to gain an understanding of and to protect these resources before they are forever lost. It is also important that NPS officials incorporate the results of this research into the development of a vision for the future of the

monument. This vision should attempt to anticipate changes in the regional population and development, the demand for resources, the visitation to and use of the monument, and the possibilities for partnerships with other stakeholders in the region. Yet though such a vision looks ahead to the future, it also reflects the attitudes, values, and perceptions that shape our present relationship with the landscape. The management activities affecting the natural resources at Montezuma Castle are but the latest in a long line of human interactions with the environment of the Verde Valley. Hopefully we can learn from the successes and failures of those who preceded us here to create a balanced relationship that respects the natural features of the area and nurtures a vibrant and prosperous regional community.

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*A Past Preserved in Stone:
A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument*

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Montezuma Castle

National Monument



Chapter 7

FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

Cultural Resource Management at the Monument

"The Middle Verde Valley of Central Arizona presents an unusually fruitful field for the study of man's relation to his environment under varying conditions."

Albert Schroeder, "Man and Environment in the Verde Valley"

The same tremendous growth in the Verde Valley and the dramatic increases in visitation to Montezuma Castle and Montezuma Well that prompted National Park Service efforts to protect the natural resources of the monument in the years following World War II also presented new challenges to the management of its cultural resources. The recent patterns of regional development and changes in land use have posed serious threats to the documented and undiscovered prehistoric and historic features across the Verde Valley. Though the protection of the cultural resources at the monument was not a new responsibility for the in the postwar years Montezuma Castle was the first archeological site established as a national monument in 1906 and was set aside specifically for the protection of its spectacular prehistoric cliff dwelling the conceptions of cultural resources as well as the methods of resource management began to change significantly during this time. The modern cultural resource management activities have thus responded to the threats associated with regional changes taking place and have been influenced by advances in anthropology, changes in the organization and priorities of the National Park Service, and new legislation affecting the responsibilities of federal agencies. These activities have primarily involved archeological research investigations, preservation and ruins stabilization efforts, and interpretation and outreach initiatives. This chapter begins with a discussion of the historical changes to the cultural landscape of the Verde Valley, then offers an overview of the modern cultural resource management activities affecting Montezuma Castle National Monument in light of the contextual factors that have influenced them.

The previous chapter detailed the changes that the various occupants of the Verde Valley have wrought upon the natural resources of the region over time. In the course of interacting with and manipulating these resources, people left traces of their presence on the terrain. These traces evince the human alteration of the natural environment, but also themselves constitute another layer of the regional landscape the human or cultural landscape. Like the natural dimension of the landscape, the cultural landscape is composed of specific features and resources such as artifacts, sites, and other cultural expressions or indicators of use that are subject to the perceptions, values, attitudes, and actions of those who later come into contact with them. The earliest prehistoric occupants of the

Verde Valley created the first layers of this cultural landscape, leaving signs of their presence on the land. Subsequent groups have interacted with the existing natural and cultural features, and have added their own signature to the cultural landscape, in the process sometimes destroying or modifying previously created cultural features. The surviving record of the cultural landscape thus reflects the human presence on the land and the sum of the changes to the cultural features that have taken place over time.

Archeological evidence suggests that the human presence in the Verde Valley dates back as far as the Archaic period nearly ten thousand years ago, though the earliest occupation of the area now included within the monument boundaries appears to have taken place much later, during the Squaw Peak phase (a.d. 1 700). The archeological features from this phase are characterized by the remains of pit houses with plastered floors and hearths, bell-shaped storage pits, and the absence of ceramics. Although there has been considerable debate among archeologists regarding the interpretation of the sequence and activities of the prehistoric cultures of the Verde Valley, it is clear that over time the settlement patterns and the types of locally made goods became more sophisticated, and trade items were introduced to the region in greater abundance. [1] Advances in agriculture and the expansion of trade encouraged population growth and cultural changes during the Camp Verde (a.d. 900 1125) and Honanki (a.d. 1125 1300) phases. Features from these phases include large pit house structures, transitional surface masonry architecture, irrigation networks, and various types of utility and decorated ceramics.

More significant cultural changes took place in the Verde Valley in the Honanki/ Tuzigoot phase (a. d. 1125 1400) when the regional population became concentrated in densely settled communities. New types of architecture, including cliff dwellings (Montezuma Castle) and hill-top pueblos (Tuzigoot), were developed at regular intervals along the major drainages in the Verde Valley, and diagnostic ceramics such as Jeddito Yellow ware and Homolovi Polychrome appeared in the area. The Honanki/Tuzigoot period represents the climax of the prehistoric occupation of the Verde Valley; sometime around a.d. 1425, the residents of Montezuma Castle and the other area sites abandoned the Verde Valley for reasons unknown. The archeological record stops after this time until the historical entry of the Spaniards in the region in the sixteenth century.

When Spanish explorers entered the Verde Valley in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, they observed traces of the prehistoric cultures and also made contact with the contemporary occupants of the region. In his journal documenting the travels of the expedition led by Antonio de Espejo through what was likely the Verde Valley, Diego Pérez de Luxán wrote of the peaceful rustic people in the area who lived in houses made of branches. [2] Espejo made similar observations in his personal accounts of the expedition. He remarked on the mountain Indians who greeted his party, commenting on their "good houses" and planted fields of maize. He also pointed out that these people wore small crosses on their heads. [3] The Spaniards had most likely encountered the Yavapai.

Anthropologists have advanced several hypotheses about the origins of the Yavapai, but most

generally agree that by the time of the Spanish arrival, the Yavapai occupied a vast territory that included the middle Verde Valley. [4] The Yavapai had only limited contact with the Spaniards and the mountain men who later came to the region in the early nineteenth century, and it seems that their way of life did not change substantially as a result. Historical sources suggest that beginning in the early eighteenth century the Tonto Apache began moving into the Yavapai's eastern range, and references specifically mentioned the Apache in the Verde Valley by the 1850s. The Spaniards and European Americans showed considerable confusion about the identity of the Yavapai and the Apache, and the two groups were often mistaken for one another or thought to be the same. [5] The cultural similarities of the two groups and their close relations with one another no doubt contributed to this confusion. [6]

A recent archeological investigation at Montezuma Castle National Monument revealed evidence of Apache and/or Yavapai occupation in the area after 1750. During this 1988 survey of the monument, researchers discovered diagnostic ceramics at four sites in the Well unit and at one site in the Castle unit. Several of these sites consisted of rock shelters or masonry structures, and, as the project report comments, it is highly likely that the Apache reused these rock shelter sites. [7] The Yavapai, too, made adaptive reuse of caves and prehistoric rock shelters in the Verde Valley and also constructed pole-domed brush huts that were partially covered with dirt and skins (figure 40), larger mud-covered houses that required more time and labor to build, and ramadas that provided shade during the hot summer months. [8] It thus appears that the historical Indian groups in the Verde Valley not only added their own layer to the regional cultural landscape, but also modified some of the existing prehistoric resources to serve their needs.



Figure 40. Photograph of Yavapai domed brush houses by A. F. Randall, before March 1888.

From Sigrid Khera and Patricia S. Mariella, "Yavapai," in *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, vol. 10 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 50.

In addition to building habitations and structures, the Yavapai engaged in a variety of subsistence activities that made use of the diverse natural resources of the region. Archeological features and accounts recorded by Spanish explorers during the late seventeenth century suggest that the Yavapai and their possible prehistoric ancestors had earlier practiced intensive agriculture. However, by the time European American settlers came to the Verde Valley, the Yavapai depended primarily on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Women were responsible for gathering and processing a wide variety of wild plant foods, and men hunted large and small game using bows and arrows, throwing sticks, traps, and animal drives. Ethnographic sources indicate that bands of Yavapai formerly planted crops of corn, beans, squash, and tobacco, but intertribal warfare with the Pima and Maricopa and later conflicts with the United States Army disrupted the agricultural aspects of the Yavapai subsistence cycle. [9] The subsistence cycles and cultural activities of the Yavapai and Apache living in the Verde Valley were further disrupted as growing numbers of European Americans entered the region and placed new demands on its resources.

The situation of the Yavapai and Apache changed significantly with the arrival of European American settlers beginning in the 1860s, as did the appearance of the cultural landscape of the area. The newcomers' appetites for land and resources had quick and dramatic effects on the prehistoric features and contemporary indigenous groups of the region. As already noted in chapters 1 and 2, prehistoric sites throughout the Verde Valley suffered terribly at the hands of vandals, pothunters, and thoughtless visitors. In a gesture telling of their attitudes toward the ruins in the area, the first group of European Americans who settled in the Verde Valley established their community on top of the remains of a prehistoric Sinagua structure. Subsequent settlers claimed land in the area for farming, ranching, or other activities, and did little to protect the prehistoric features located on their property. Although some individuals and groups made efforts to study and preserve the prehistoric resources of the Verde Valley beginning in the late nineteenth century, the patterns of reckless abuse and destruction continued for many years. Although the establishment of the national monument and the eventual provision of full-time supervision afforded protection to the ruins at Montezuma Castle, other prehistoric sites on private or unsupervised public lands were subject to the actions of unscrupulous individuals. As the descriptions of numerous incidents of vandalism and looting in previous chapters attest, many area residents and visitors thought of prehistoric artifacts as objects of personal curiosity or profit. The actions that resulted from these attitudes led to the destruction of prehistoric sites across the Verde Valley, thereby robbing the region of irreplaceable examples of its cultural heritage and depriving archeologists of valuable research opportunities. Many prehistoric features of the cultural landscape of the valley were thus lost as a result of apathy, personal greed, and the desire to clear space for new uses of the land.

In a similar fashion, the European American newcomers transformed the social landscape of the Verde Valley. These settlers came with dreams of making new lives for themselves on the western frontier, and the values and ideologies that they brought with them shaped their perceptions of and interactions with the people and environment of the area. As observed in chapter 6, many of the newcomers treated the natural resources of the Verde Valley as commodities to be exploited, controlled, and managed for personal gain. In their quest for profit, the settlers engaged in activities such as farming, mining, and ranching that had serious impacts on the natural environment of the region. They also paid little attention to the Yavapai and Apache who lived in the region, disrupting their traditional ways of life. Following a pattern set during the establishment of the community of Prescott and many other frontier towns in the American West, the new settlers disregarded the Indians' uses of the land and resources in the Verde Valley and claimed the "unoccupied" region for themselves. [10] However, when the settlers' economic pursuits infringed on the hunting and gathering grounds of the local Indians, conflicts ensued.

Following the discovery of gold along the banks of the Hassayampa River in 1863, the Yavapai and Apache in the vicinity of what later became the town of Prescott felt pressure on their access to traditional territories and resources. European American prospectors flooded into the area seeking wealth and usurped these tribes' resources, sometimes by acts of aggression. The Yavapai and Apache fought back to protect what they considered rightfully theirs and sought revenge for the hostilities they suffered. The violence between them and the European Americans escalated as each new incident inspired retaliation. Brigadier General James Carleton, who ordered the military campaign to remove the Navajo people to a remote reservation at Bosque Redondo, established Fort Whipple in the Chino Valley in 1863 to protect the mining interests and to subdue the American Indian uprisings in the area. But despite the presence of the fort, which was moved south with the territorial capital to the new town of Prescott in 1864, conflicts between European Americans and American Indians continued for years. [11]

As the community of Prescott expanded and profit seekers began to explore the surrounding territory for mineral and other resources, military troops and civilian militias carried out brutal campaigns against the Yavapai and Apache to safeguard the growing European American presence in the region. The violent expeditions led by the famous Indian fighter King S. Woolsey, as described in chapter 1, reflect the tense atmosphere in central Arizona in the mid-1860s. Shortly after the establishment of the first European American settlement in the Verde Valley at the confluence of Clear Creek and the Verde River in 1865, U.S. Army troops arrived to protect the settlers and their interests. Although undermanned and poorly equipped at first, the military force at Camp Lincoln (renamed Camp Verde in 1868) increased in size and effectiveness in keeping the Yavapai and Apache at bay. Yet as more settlers arrived and made use of land and resources in the area, the efforts to protect them became more difficult; by 1870, the civilian European American population of the Verde Valley had grown to 172 men and 2 women. [12]

The military efforts to subdue the Yavapai and Apache in the Verde Valley intensified in June 1871 when General George Crook assumed the position of commanding officer of the Department of Arizona and used Camp Verde as one of his primary bases. General Crook hoped to place the tribes

peacefully on the Rio Verde Reservation that had been established by executive order in November 1871. There, the tribes would be protected, issued rations, and educated in the white man's ways. The expansive reservation extended for ten miles on both sides of the Verde River from the northwest side of the Camp Verde Military Reservation to the old wagon road going toward New Mexico nearly forty miles away (figure 41). Although nearly six hundred Indians received rations at the Rio Verde Reservation in the month after it was established, continued reports of attacks and raids prompted Crook to attempt to force the remaining American Indians into submission. [13]

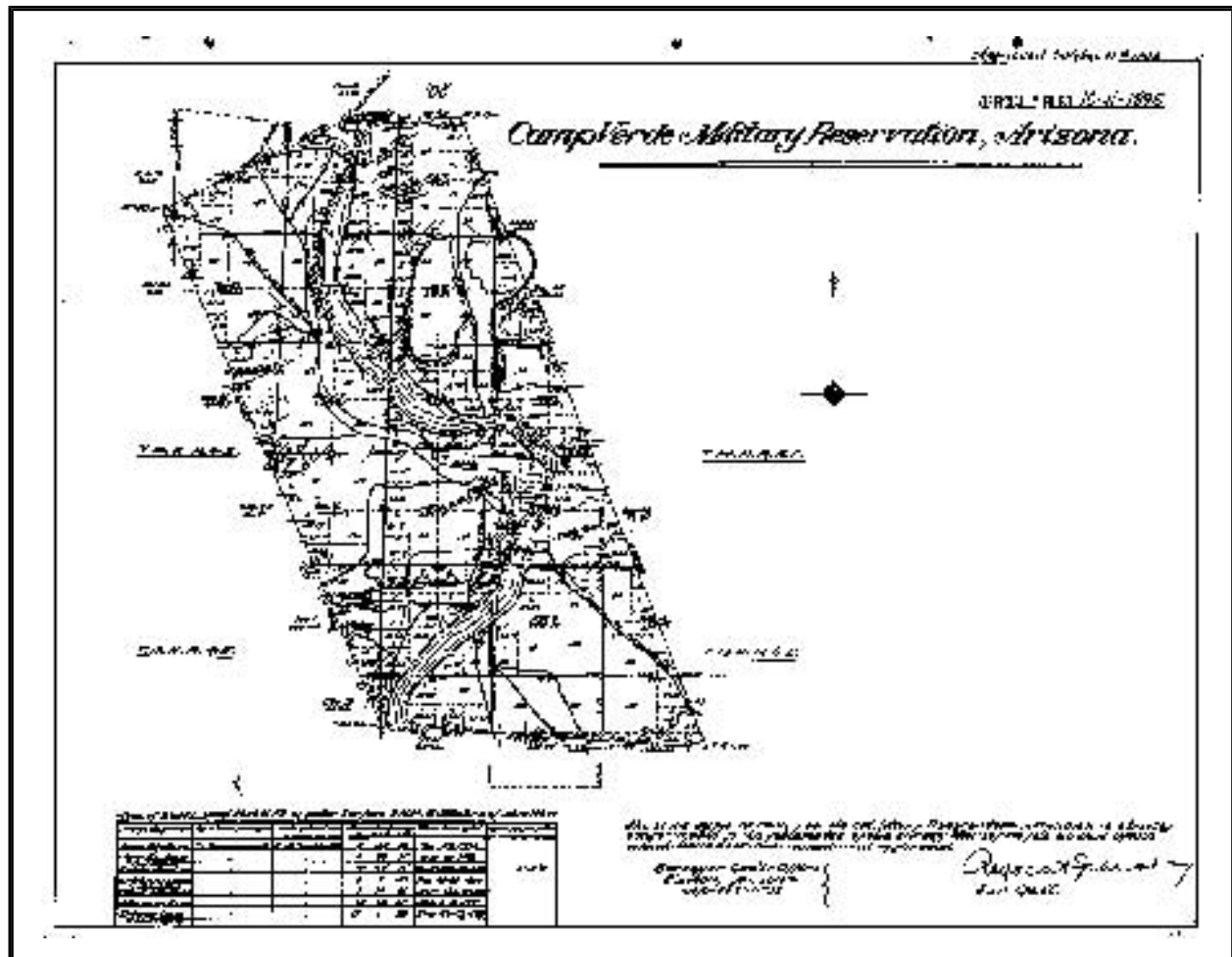


Figure 41. Camp Verde Indian Reserve, map on file at the Bureau of Land Management Office, Phoenix.

During the winter of 1872, General Crook launched a military offensive that incorporated tactics aimed at keeping the local tribes on the run and reducing their access to food resources. In addition to the special mobile units that he organized, Crook employed cooperative Yavapai and Apache men who knew the locations of traditional winter camps. In this campaign, Crook and his men killed hundreds of the Yavapai and Apache foes and destroyed a number of their settlements. The surviving Yavapai and Apache were left destitute and starving, and by April 1873 the renegade chief Chalipun surrendered to General Crook at Camp Verde. Soon thereafter, most of the Yavapai and Tonto Apache were forcibly settled on the Rio Verde Reservation. [14]

Life on the reservation was extremely difficult for the nearly 2,250 people living there. Distrust between certain Yavapai and Tonto Apache contributed to a tense social atmosphere, and epidemics of malaria, smallpox, and dysentery had a devastating impact on the people's health, reducing the reservation population by one-third. The surviving Yavapai and Apache excavated an irrigation ditch using traditional tools and produced several productive harvests. Unfortunately, however, the success of these farming ventures soon brought negative consequences; a group of Tucson contractors who supplied Indian reservations felt threatened by the self-sufficiency of the Rio Verde Reservation and successfully lobbied federal officials to transfer all of the Yavapai and Apache to the San Carlos Reservation in eastern Arizona. In 1875, the federal government abolished the Rio Verde Reservation and restored the land to the public domain. Also in this year, most of the Rio Verde Yavapai and Apache were forcibly marched nearly 180 miles to the San Carlos Reservation over rough terrain and through difficult winter conditions. According to Dr. William Corbusier, the post surgeon at the Rio Verde Reservation, 115 Indians died during the journey. [15]

By the military conquest and later forced removal of the Yavapai and Tonto Apache of the Verde Valley, the U.S. government drastically altered the cultural landscape of the region. European Americans settlers' usurpation of land and resources led to the rapid decline of traditional subsistence cycles and cultural activities, and the removal of the Yavapai and Apache essentially erased their physical presence on the land for many years. [16] While at San Carlos, the American Indians from the Verde Valley underwent continued social and cultural changes. Traditional tribal organizations were altered to facilitate the government's distribution of rations, and intermarriage between Yavapai and Apache took place. In addition, they learned to adapt to the conditions at the San Carlos Reservation and took up farming and ranching to support themselves. Although they lived peacefully there, many Yavapai and Apache longed for their homelands, and after petitioning government officials for permission to leave San Carlos, numerous families returned to the Verde Valley by the 1890s. Hundreds of other Yavapai and Apache remained at San Carlos and remained part of the reservation community there. [17]

Those who returned to the Verde Valley found the region greatly altered during their absence. European American homesteaders had claimed some of the best lands in the valley, and the returning Yavapai and Apache were forced to make their new homes in desolate camps. Because they no longer enjoyed open access to the lands and natural resources that once supported their traditional subsistence activities, many of them turned to alternative pursuits to make a living. Some are reported to have rented plots of farmland from European American settlers, and others participated in the growing regional cash economy by working as farm laborers, ranch hands, miners, smelter crew, and construction workers. [18]

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) grew concerned about the condition of the Yavapai and Apache living in the Verde Valley and attempted to improve their situation. In 1907, the BIA opened a day school to serve the local American Indian population, and in 1910 the agency purchased 40 acres near Camp Verde for an agricultural community. However, only 18 acres of this land were suitable for farming, and the individual parcels proved to be too small to support adequately the families that received them. This situation perpetuated the Yavapai and Apache's dependence on wage labor,

forcing many to seek work outside of the tiny reservation. The copper mines and smelters at the nearby towns of Jerome and Clarkdale employed so many American Indians at one time that the BIA established a Clarkdale day school in 1912. The copper industry continued to provide jobs to a number of Yavapai and Apache until the decline in copper prices resulted in a slowdown of mining and smelting operations in the Verde Valley in the 1930s and 1940s. [19]

At the time that the mining industry was active in the region, only a small number of Yavapai and Apache families moved eight miles west of Camp Verde to the 448 acres that had been added as the Middle Verde tract of the reservation. This property was purchased as two separate parcels in 1914 and 1916, and included water rights and some 280 acres of cultivable land. Although this enlargement of the reservation presented new opportunities for agriculture and ranching, especially after the decline of mining operations in the Verde Valley, most Yavapai and Apache continued to earn their living from off-reservation employment. In 1969, the Yavapai-Apache Reservation was expanded again with the addition of a 60-acre tract near Clarkdale. This portion of the reservation was established for the Yavapai and Apache who had been living in the Clarkdale area while working for the mines, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development helped provide new housing for the community. Most recently, the Yavapai-Apache Reservation was enlarged with the acquisition of property at Rimrock (3.75 acres) and along the entrance road to Montezuma Castle National Monument from Interstate 17 (75 acres), the latter of which is the site of the tribe's recently developed Yavapai-Apache Cultural Center complex (see chapter 5). The tribe has recently attempted to acquire some 6,400 acres as an addition to the reservation, but political issues have hampered its efforts. [20]

In the nearly 135 years since European Americans' settlement of the region, a rapid and severe transformation of the cultural landscape of the Verde Valley has taken place, and the Yavapai and Apache of the Verde Valley have experienced tremendous changes to their way of life. The years of conflict and epidemics of disease that followed the first European American settlers drastically reduced the population of the local American Indians from thousands to hundreds. Profit-seeking settlers' usurpation of land and resources forced these American Indians to the margins of the valley and threatened their traditional subsistence cycles and cultural activities. The forced removal of the Yavapai and Apache to San Carlos literally separated the people from the land and, despite their later return to the Verde Valley, further problematized their access to the land and resources that they had earlier used. The traditional territory of the Yavapai and Apache of the Verde Valley shrank from millions of acres to several hundred acres located on the isolated parcels of the reservation established for them. And, because of the limited land resources available on the reservation, most tribal members no longer support themselves by hunting and gathering, farming, or ranching, and now depend on wage labor. [21]

By their various activities over the years, the European Americans who came to the Verde Valley significantly altered the material situation of the Yavapai and Apache. Despite the many changes that they experienced, however, these groups maintained a special relationship with the region. This relationship, which is shaped by the Yavapai and Apache peoples' values, ideologies, and spiritual beliefs, constitutes another dimension of the cultural landscape of the region. The Yavapai and

Apache worldview continues to draw meaning from certain sacred places in the Verde Valley and informs their perceptions of and interactions with the landscape. One of these sacred places is Montezuma Well, from which both groups trace their origins. According to Yavapai cosmology, Montezuma Well is one of several places in the middle Verde Valley and Sedona area associated with specific events that occurred during the four ages of the world. The Yavapai believe that all beings once lived in an underground world and emerged to this world by means of the first maize plant. Following their ascension, the hole through which they passed filled with water, becoming what we now recognize as Montezuma Well. [22]

Over the years, many Yavapai and Apache have regularly visited Montezuma Well and other sacred places in the Verde Valley to pray, perform religious ceremonies, and collect water or other items for spiritual practices. William Back Jr. recalled that in the 1930s, when his family owned the Montezuma Well property, Apache and Hopi people came and told legends about the Well and its spiritual significance. [23] Since the National Park Service officially assumed the administration of Montezuma Well in 1947, Yavapai, Apache, Hopi, and Navajo people have been reported to frequent the site for spiritual reasons. Longtime monument volunteer Jack Beckman has spoken with many of these different American Indian visitors and observed the rituals they perform at the Well. For instance, he notes that members of fourteen different Hopi clans have indicated to him that Montezuma Well was the ancestral home of their people. Members from some of these clans come to pray at the Well and leave prayer feathers, sprinkle sacred cornmeal, or collect water to be used in annual rain ceremonies. Beckman also relates his interactions with members of the Navajo and Yavapai-Apache tribes who have come to pray at the Well and collect water for ceremonial uses. They, too, have shared stories about the spiritual importance of the Well to them. [24]

Long before the National Park Service became involved in the administration of either Montezuma Castle or Well, anthropologists speculated on possible connections between the prehistoric ruins of the Verde Valley and contemporary American Indian groups. In 1892, Cosmos Mindeleff, an archeologist with the Bureau of American Ethnology, conducted a survey of the prehistoric ruins of the Verde Valley and, based on a comparison with antiquities from the Colorado Plateau and the Salt River Valley, concluded that they had cultural ties with sites to the north. Three years later, another archeologist from the Bureau of American Ethnology, Jesse Walter Fewkes, began his own investigations in the Verde Valley. One of Fewkes's research objectives involved gathering archeological data from the valley that might relate to Hopi origin myths and legends concerning their migration to their present territory. In particular, Fewkes hoped to find evidence to support some Hopi people's claim that the ancestors of the Water House Clan came from an area far to the south, which he suspected might be the Verde Valley. During the summer of 1895, Fewkes collected extensive information on the prehistoric architecture of the Verde Valley for comparison with architectural styles found in the Hopi area. He wrote detailed descriptions, took photographs, and prepared schematic plans of numerous pueblos, cliff houses, and cavates. Although Fewkes found that the Verde Valley ruins closely resembled those near the Hopi villages, he did not find the evidence conclusive enough to substantiate the Hopi origin and migration myths. [25]

After Fewkes's investigations, little further research was conducted to correlate the archeological

features of the Verde Valley with aspects of Hopi cosmology. One researcher who did contribute to this pursuit, however, was Albert Schroeder, the first full-time archeologist assigned to Montezuma Castle National Monument. Schroeder visited with Hopi priests in 1949 and showed them sketches of ruins from the area around Montezuma Well, which seemed familiar to them. Schroeder wrote the following about the Hopi priests' responses:

They reminded me of a legend that had formerly been related to me of how the Snake arose from a great cavity or depression in the ground, and how, they had heard, water boiled out of that hole into a neighboring river. The Hopi have personal knowledge of the Well, for many of their number have visited the Verde Valley, and they claim the ruins there as the home of their ancestors. It would not be strange, therefore, if this marvelous crater was regarded by them as a house of Paluluken, their mythic Plumed Serpent. [26]

Based on Fewkes's and Schroeder's findings and on the stories and legends that numerous and varied tribal visitors to the monument have shared, NPS officials long ago recognized the spiritual connections linking contemporary American Indian groups with the prehistoric and natural resources of the monument. Records and correspondence in monument administrative files document relationships between tribal members and monument staff dating back many decades. Over the years, the agency has tried to make special arrangements for tribal members and groups to facilitate visits of a spiritual or ceremonial nature. These arrangements have included granting permission for the collection of water from Montezuma Well for ceremonial purposes, scheduling specially guided tours of features at the monument, and providing private access to portions of the monument for the performance of spiritual ceremonies. [27]

In addition to such administrative policies that address the spiritual dimension of Montezuma Castle National Monument, the NPS actively manages some of the more tangible elements of the cultural landscape of the Verde Valley. For example, the agency oversees the various archeological research projects at the monument units. This has not always been the case, however. As noted in earlier chapters, the Park Service for many years provided only minimal funding for the basic management of Montezuma Castle and dedicated few resources specifically for research. Because of the agency's prioritization of recreational tourism and visitor accommodation and its relative neglect of resource management activities, private institutions and university anthropology departments conducted much of the archeological research in the region prior to World War II. In particular, archeological projects undertaken by Byron Cummings and his graduate students from the University of Arizona and the Arizona State Museum (ASM), and by Harold Colton and his colleagues from the Museum of Northern Arizona (MNA) made significant contributions to the understanding of the prehistory of the Verde Valley. An overview of the various research projects conducted between the mid-1920s and early 1940s appears in chapter 4. [28]

Following a relative period of inactivity during the war years, the field of southwestern archeology was reinvigorated with a surge of new ideas and research directions, advances in technologies and methods, and the advent of salvage archeology. Archeological activity in the Verde Valley was

affected to some extent by each of these trends. In 1946, Harold Colton of the MNA published a synthesis of his longtime work on the prehistoric cultures of northern Arizona. In *The Sinagua: A Summary of the Archaeology of the Region of Flagstaff, Arizona*, Colton presented his revised ideas about the northern and southern Sinagua cultures and established the framework for future MNA research. Although the MNA-sponsored projects in the 1950s and 1960s were smaller in scale than the broadly conceived investigations Colton had directed in earlier years, they continued to explore his research interests in the connections between the northern and southern Sinagua. [29]

Concurrent with Colton's archeological studies of the region, NPS archeologist Albert Schroeder was also developing new theoretical ideas about the prehistoric cultures of the Verde Valley. In a 1947 publication, Schroeder suggested that the Sinagua people settled the Salt River Valley and introduced northern cultural traits to the Hohokam. [30] He also presented an interpretation of the archeology of the Verde Valley that focused on a sequence of migrations by the Hohokam, Sinagua, and Yavapai cultures. [31] In later years, Schroeder advanced his theory of the Hakataya, an indigenous folk culture that occupied an extensive territory that included the Verde Valley. [32] Colton's and Schroeder's ideas influenced later Verde Valley archeological studies, including investigations of the resources at Montezuma Castle National Monument.

The archeological research that the MNA and other institutions conducted in the Verde Valley benefited a great deal from technological advances made in the postwar years. Most notably, new dating methods became available that helped researchers to estimate cultural chronologies and the dates of site occupations more accurately. The application of carbon-14 dating to prehistoric resources and the use of archeomagnetism and fluorine techniques allowed archeologists to date a greater range of materials and build on the chronological and paleoclimatological data compiled from dendrochronological studies done at the Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research at the University of Arizona since 1937. Researchers were also able to gather detailed information about prehistoric environments and environmental change through methods in archeobotany and palynologythe study of pollen. Additionally, recent trends involving interdisciplinary investigations have enabled archeologists to borrow approaches and techniques from various fields of the physical, natural, and social sciences in their search to learn about the prehistoric past. [33]

Southwestern archeologists found numerous opportunities to test their theories and research questions and to apply newly developed techniques thanks in large part to the emergence of salvage archeology projects. These projects came about in response to the rapid postwar population growth in the Southwest and the accompanying development of reservoirs, highways, and urban infrastructure. The concept of salvage archeology originated in the mid-1940s during discussions concerning the impacts to archeological resources from major construction projects being planned by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. These discussions between officials from various federal agencies and representatives of the professional archeological community resulted in the formation of the Inter-Agency Archaeological Salvage Program (commonly referred to as the River Basin Survey), which initially provided funding to survey crews from the Smithsonian to do reservoir salvage work in the Missouri River Basin. The National Park Service arranged to have similar work done outside of the Missouri Basin, and soon the number and types of salvage archeology projects

increased. [34]

Consulting Archeologist Jesse Nusbaum of the Department of the Interior set the precedent for what has since become known as "contract archeology," "public archeology," or cultural resource management projects when, in 1950, he negotiated to have archeological survey and salvage work done as part of the construction of a pipeline by the El Paso Natural Gas Company. The success of this pipeline project and the earlier River Basin Survey contributed to the expansion of salvage archeology. In 1954, the New Mexico State Highway Department instituted a highway salvage program, and two years later, provisions in the Federal Aid Highway Act called for archeological salvage work to be done on all federally financed highway projects. The passage of the Reservoir Salvage Act in 1960 established additional requirements for the salvage of archeological resources on publicly sponsored reservoir projects. As one archeologist who was involved in the development of the first public archeology programs observed, "Reservoir salvage work and, after 1956, highway salvage, constituted the major federally funded involvement with archeology until the mid-1970s." [35] The Reservoir Salvage Act, the Federal Aid Highway Act, and the later legislation concerning environmental and historic preservation issues made the federal government one of the primary sponsors of archeology in the Southwest and created many new opportunities for research and cultural resource management projects.

Since the mid-1940s, a number of different archeological projects have been undertaken in the Verde Valley, mostly consisting of salvage archeology projects; private institutions, university-affiliated archeologists, and the National Park Service have conducted some additional research investigations. The impetus for many of these projects came from salvage requirements and general concern about the destruction of prehistoric resources resulting from the patterns of rapid growth and development across the valley. These investigations varied in type and included surveys, testing programs, artifact analyses, and a few excavations; they dealt with a wide range of resources dating from the Archaic to historical periods, including habitation sites, resource procurement features, prehistoric irrigation canals, architectural ruins, ball courts, burial grounds, and archeobotanical resources. Although archeologists have completed many different projects in the Verde Valley during the past fifty years, much work remains to be done. In their 1977 publication about the state of archeology in the Verde Valley at that time, Paul Fish and Suzanne Fish comment on this situation:

In spite of the large number of investigators who have demonstrated an interest in the Verde Valley, research in this area can be best described as sporadic and low-key. Most studies have been on a very general exploratory level emphasizing construction sequences and the delineation of archaeological "cultures" and their affiliation with better known areas. Studies relating to most contemporary archaeological interests such as community organization, subsistence patterns and technology, demography or human ecology are, for practical purposes, absent in the history of regional research.

There are many reasons for the absence of both substantive and theoretical contributions. Almost without exception, projects have been seriously limited by funds, time and the immediate requirements of salvage. No individual or institution has been

willing to focus on the Verde Valley for a sufficiently long period to build upon the accomplishments of predecessors or to develop a unified research design for the region. [36]

As Fish and Fish point out, the majority of the archeological investigations in the Verde Valley have primarily considered the temporal, spatial, and cultural attributes of the particular resource(s) being studied and have thus made few contributions to answering some of the broader research questions about Verde Valley prehistory. One reason for the lack of a more comprehensive understanding of the region is the fact that archeologists have long considered the Verde Valley as a peripheral or culturally transitional area and have not directed large-scale projects there. As a result, there are major gaps in the archeological research on topics such as the cultural chronology for the region, the distribution and types of sites, social organization, community layout, subsistence, and the paleoenvironment. [37]

Most of what is known about the prehistory of the Verde Valley comes from smaller salvage projects that were extremely narrow in scope and from archeological surveys that yielded mainly small quantities of surface data. Though the findings from these projects added to the overall knowledge of prehistory of the region, they have been of limited relevance to other sites and resources because they have no strong theoretical framework to guide their interpretation. Thus, for the purposes of this study, the discussion to follow emphasizes research projects directly related to the prehistoric resources of Montezuma Castle National Monument. [38] This discussion provides an overview of the different archeological investigations at the monument units during the past fifty years, with comments about particular factors that affected the course of research activities. Table 7.1 presents summary information about these projects.

Table 7.1. *Summary of Archeological Research Projects at Montezuma Castle National Monument Since 1945* [39]

Project Year(s)	Description	Author (Date of Publication)
1946-50	Survey of Beaver Creek, including Castle and Well property	Albert Schroeder (1960)
1947	Discovery of basket	Homer Hastings (1947)
1948	Underwater exploration of Montezuma Well by H. Charboneau	Albert Schroeder (1948), NPS (1949)
1950	Archeobotanical study of collection from Castle and two other sites	Hugh Cutler and Lawrence Kaplan (1956)
1952	Survey and mapping of Castle and Well by Schroeder, White, and Pierson	NPS (1953), Albert Schroeder (1960)

1954	Swallet Cave mapped by Western Speleological Institute (WSI) and MNA	WSI and MNA (1954), Arthur Lange (1957)
1958	Testing at burial ground and pit house site	Albert Schroeder (1958), David Breternitz (1960)
1958	Excavation at pit house site	David Breternitz (1960)
1960	Salvage excavation of Swallet Cave	Edmund Ladd (1964)
1968	Underwater survey and collection at Montezuma Well	George Fisher (1974)
1975	Clearance survey for contact station and culvert removal	David Johnson (1975)
1975	List of Classified Structures survey	W. E. Sudderth et al. (1976)
1977	Clearance survey for comfort station	Don Morris (1977)
1978	Clearance survey for widening trail	Don Morris (1979)
1979	Clearance survey for flood control	Don Morris (1980)
1979	Clearance for new entrance sign	Don Morris (1979)
1980	Clearance for sewage lagoons	Don Morris (1981)
1986	Clearance for road construction at Montezuma Well	Martyn Tagg (1986)
1986	Clearance for experimental corn-growing plot	Martyn Tagg (1986)
1986	Clearance for leach field construction	Martyn Tagg (1986)
1986	Salvage of baby burial from Montezuma Castle	Martyn Tagg (1986)
1986	Archeobotanical study of burial from Montezuma Castle	Lisa Huckell (1986)
1988	Survey of Montezuma Castle National Monument	Susan Wells (1988)
1988	Architectural study of Montezuma Castle	Keith Anderson (1988)

The postwar archeological research activities at Montezuma Castle differed from earlier investigations as a result of more dedicated NPS efforts to identify, study, and protect the cultural resources at the monument units. Although in the 1920s and 1930s the NPS supported a small number of different research projects, they were of secondary importance to the development of the monument facilities and the stabilization of damaged portions of the ruins. Further, the agency sponsored such projects only when extra funding became available (as with the CWA-funded excavation of Castle A in 1933) or when staff from other units in the NPS system came specially to the monument (such as George Boundey's 1927 excavations and Frank Pinkley's descriptions and interpretations of the Castle interior from the late 1920s). Thus, prior to World War II, most of the prehistoric resources at the Montezuma Castle unit of the monument received little attention from NPS researchers, and many had not yet even been identified.

At Montezuma Well, which did not officially become the responsibility of the National Park Service until 1947, the prehistoric resources suffered as a result of the lack of formal research, the activities of pothunters, and the Back family members' amateur investigations. For example, William Back Jr. recalled in a 1947 interview how he had excavated numerous burials in the vicinity of the Well and from these assembled a sizable collection of ceramics and other artifacts. Other activities of the family disturbed prehistoric resources, such as in 1940 or 1941, when Norval Cherry, William's brother-in-law, stabilized the foundation of one of the cavates at the Well with cement. William Back Jr. also remembered his father removing the stones of a prehistoric wall that he found across a large smoke-blackened cave in order to use them for the foundation of the family house. When tearing down the wall, Back discovered a skeleton, which he apparently removed from the site. The family later used the space in this cave as a blacksmith shop and pigpen. [40]

Although some of the staff assigned to Montezuma Castle in the years before World War II showed an interest in archeology or had received some type of formal training, their official duties seldom included archeological research. For example, Earl Jackson, the custodian of the monument between 1937 and 1942, had earlier been a graduate student in archeology under Byron Cummings at the University of Arizona. In 1933, he conducted an archeological survey of the Verde River drainage area for his master's thesis and soon after codirected with Sallie Van Valkenburgh the CWA-sponsored excavation of the Castle A ruins. However, while he served as monument custodian, the various administrative needs of the site required most of his attention, and he could devote very limited time to research projects. Jackson and some of the other early monument staff conducted occasional archeological investigations when time permitted or during their personal time. In contrast to the haphazard research efforts done at Montezuma Castle and Well before the war, the NPS demonstrated a greater commitment to studying the prehistoric and historic features at both units with its hiring of Albert Schroeder as the first full-time monument archeologist in 1946. Although archeological research and cultural resource management projects continued to be of lesser importance than activities related to visitor accommodation, the assignment of a professionally trained archeologist to the monument ensured that its cultural resources began to receive more regular attention.

Like Jackson, Albert Schroeder also received his training in archeology at the University of Arizona. In the early 1930s, he moved to Tucson to attend the university after hearing a lecture Byron Cummings gave in New York. Schroeder soon became actively involved in southwestern archeology, participating in the university-sponsored excavations at Kinishba Ruin and working on projects with Lyndon Hargrave at the Museum of Northern Arizona. Later researchers have frequently cited his master's thesis, which examined the stratigraphy of Hohokam trash mounds in the Salt River Valley, for its detailed recordation of sites and its definition of the Hohokam Classic period red ware ceramics. After working for a short time for the U.S. National Museum in Coahuila, Mexico, and then serving in the army during World War II, Schroeder began his lengthy and distinguished career with the National Park Service with his assignment to Montezuma Castle National Monument, where he served as the monument archeologist between 1946 and 1950. Schroeder joined the growing ranks of trained professionals who took responsibility for the management of cultural resources at NPS units and made significant contributions to their respective disciplines. By the end of his thirty years

of service with the agency, he had twice been honored with prestigious awards from the Department of the Interior and attained the position of chief of the Division of Interpretation in the Southwest Regional Office. Schroeder participated in numerous archeological projects for the NPS throughout the Southwest over the years and contributed more than two hundred publications on a wide variety of topics. As mentioned earlier, one of Schroeder's research interests involved his theory of the Hakataya culture, which he developed partially in response to findings from research he conducted in the Verde Valley. [41]

Schroeder began his archeological investigations in the Verde Valley soon after arriving at Montezuma Castle. Although his official duties involved a variety of different tasks not necessarily related to archeological research for example, researching boundary questions, rehabilitating the former Back family structures, and providing public interpretation at the Well unit, where he spent much of his time Schroeder devoted many of his off-duty hours to researching archeological sites in the Beaver Creek drainage on the east side of the Middle Verde Valley. Between November 1946 and January 1950, he surveyed this area, including the Castle and Well units, and identified forty-six previously unrecorded archeological sites, eighteen of which were located within monument boundaries. This survey project, which was cosponsored by the National Park Service and the Museum of Northern Arizona, was aimed at providing data that could shed light on the prehistoric cultures of the Middle Verde Valley. In 1952-53, Schroeder and later monument archeologists Lloyd Pierson and Arthur White performed additional surveys of the Castle and Well units, and prepared base maps showing the locations of all archeological sites in the monument. Based on the analysis of the survey results and existing information from the MNA files, Schroeder developed a general outline of the cultural sequence in the region and suggested ideas about the relationships between the Hohokam and Sinagua cultures. His research involving the prehistory of the Verde Valley also inspired some of the interpretive ideas he advanced in later publications, including his theory of the Hakataya culture. [42]

While stationed at Montezuma Castle and later when he served as an archeologist for the NPS Southwest Regional Office in Santa Fe, Schroeder conducted many investigations that contributed to the understanding of the cultural resources of the monument. For example, during the late 1940s, he interviewed local residents, reviewed court records, and performed reconnaissance surveys in order to locate and map components of the extensive network of prehistoric and historic irrigation canals in the area around Montezuma Well. This research added to the data gathered by Frank Midvale between 1929 and 1967 during his sporadic surveys of the prehistoric irrigation systems of the region; it additionally yielded valuable information about the land uses and activities of settlers in the Verde Valley during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Schroeder's other work at the monument includes constructing the first interpretive exhibits for the Well museum, assisting the researchers and diving team from the MNA during their studies of Montezuma Well, preparing the text for a new visitor guide booklet that provided interpretive information for both monument units, and performing archeological testing at the Well unit of a site that included several prehistoric pit houses and of the burial ground that William Back had excavated earlier. [43]

Following the discovery of the pit house features during Schroeder's testing in April 1958, Dale

Breternitz, curator of anthropology at the Museum of Northern Arizona, led the excavation of this site in the fall of the same year. The project, which was sponsored by the MNA, involved the excavation of the pit house site at Montezuma Well and two other sites outside of the monument in order to provide cultural information about the prehistoric inhabitants of the Verde Valley during the period between a.d. 700 and a.d. 1100. The project crew excavated four pit houses and trash areas at the Well unit and numerous pit houses and features at the other two sites. The data gathered from these excavations helped Breternitz to construct a cultural phase sequence for the Middle Verde Valley and made an important addition to the prehistoric record for the region. [44]

At the conclusion of the excavation work at the Well, monument staff suggested that one of the pit houses be preserved as an on-site exhibit to help interpret the prehistoric story of the region for visitors. Breternitz supported this idea, and in a letter to NPS officials he praised the excellent state of preservation of the site. The largest of the pit houses was selected (the other three were backfilled following the excavation), and monument superintendent Albert Henson secured Mission 66 funds for the stabilization of the feature and the construction of a fifty-by-thirty-six-foot protective ramada over it in 1960 (figure 42). The new pit house exhibit made an important contribution to the interpretive resources of the monument by its addition of a feature that predated the prominent cliff dwelling, rock shelters, cavates, and pueblo ruins found elsewhere in the monument units; Breternitz determined the exhibited pit house to be a community structure from the Camp Verde phase (a.d. 900 1125). [45]

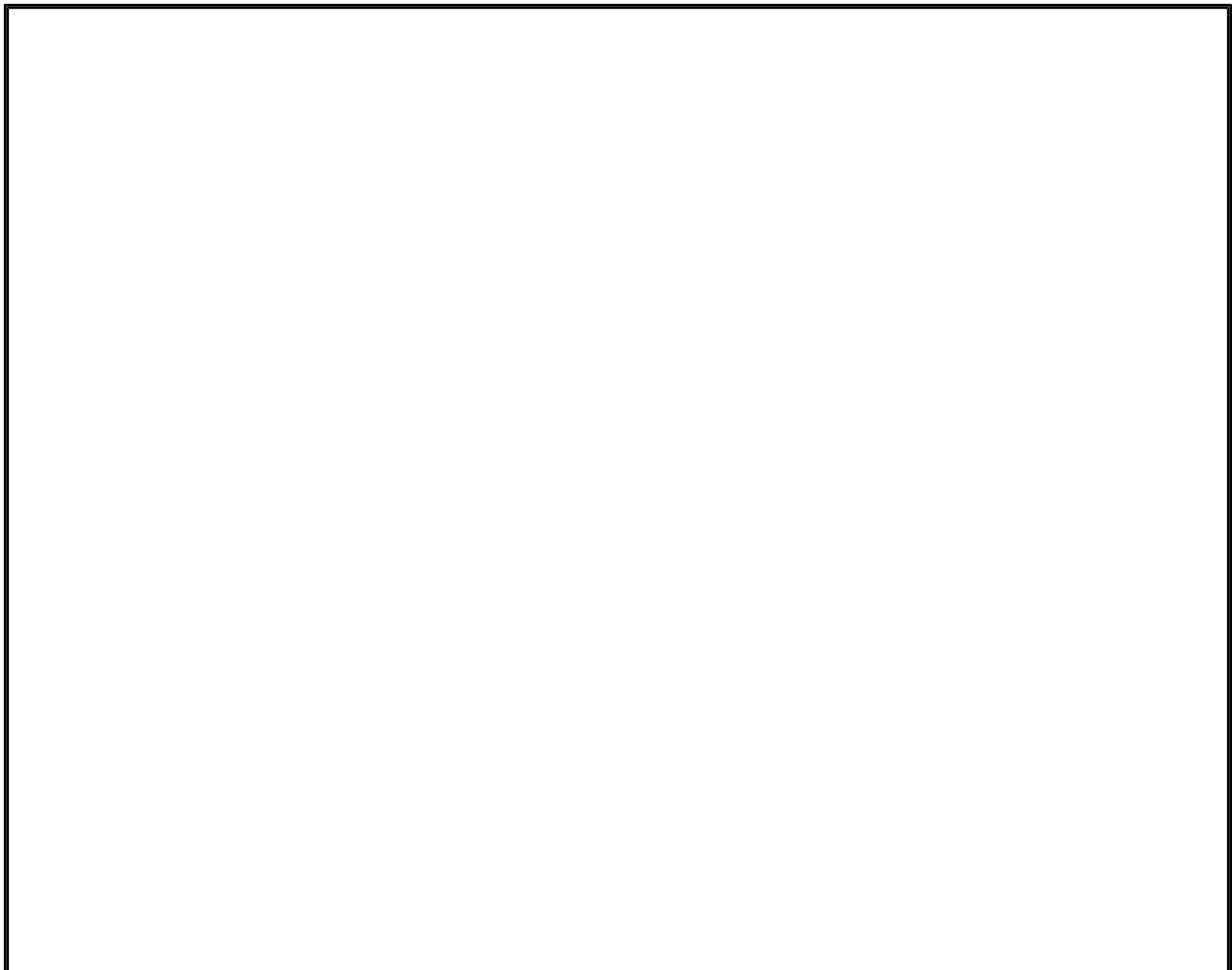




Figure 42. Pit House 3 after excavation. Photograph by Foy Young, 1958. From Susan J. Wells and Keith M. Anderson, *Archeological Survey and Architectural Study of Montezuma Castle National Monument* (Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1988), 69.

Another Mission 66 funded archeological project involved the excavation and stabilization of Swallet Cave, a nine-room pueblo built within a natural recess in the cliff walls in Montezuma Well. Members of the Back family, pothunters, and vandals had significantly disturbed this site in the years prior to the NPS acquisition of the Well property. Even after 1947, reports of vandalism and looting continued. The first official study of the site occurred in 1954, when the Western Speleological Institute (WSI) and the Museum of Northern Arizona sponsored a project to map the cave interior and gather data about the origins of the cave and the Well. Ongoing concern about the loss and destruction of the cultural resources within the cave prompted monument superintendent Albert Henson to dedicate a portion of his Mission 66 budget for the salvage excavation of Swallet Cave in the fall of 1960. The project, which monument archeologist Edmund J. Ladd directed, involved the excavation of seven rooms of the cave. The crew recovered a diverse assortment of artifacts, including ceramics, chipped and ground stone artifacts, bone tools, an unusual painted sandstone slab, shell jewelry, and an assortment of floral and faunal food remains. In addition, the excavation led to the discovery of one adult burial and one infant burial in the cave. Based on the results of this project, Ladd estimated that Swallet Cave was occupied between a.d. 1160 and a.d. 1275. The NPS

later stabilized a portion of the excavated ruin to serve as a trailside exhibit. [46]

The analysis of collections generated by archeological investigations and the publication of findings from earlier research done at Montezuma Castle National Monument further advanced the understanding of the prehistoric cultures of the Verde Valley in the postwar years. In 1950, Hugh Cutler and Lawrence Kaplan conducted archeobotanical studies of plant remains from Montezuma Castle and two nearby caves located along Dry Beaver Creek. Lisa W. Huckell performed additional analysis of archeobotanical remains in conjunction with the removal of a child burial from the floor of a room inside the Castle in 1986. These two studies helped identify plant species associated with the cultural occupation of the region and provided clues about prehistoric land use and agricultural activities. [47] In 1954, the Southwestern Monuments Association published Earl Jackson and Sallie Pierce Van Valkenburgh's report about the CWA-funded excavation of Castle A they led in 1933 and 1934. The appendix to their report contained the results of Katherine Bartlett's study of crania recovered from burials located within the monument. Although published long after the completion of the projects, the findings from this volume made important contributions to the literature on the archeology of the Verde Valley. In 1954, the Southwestern Monuments Association also published Kate Peck Kent's study of textiles from Castle A in 1937-38. The textiles Kent analyzed were those George Boundey recovered during his testing of the Castle A ruins in 1927. The publication of these studies made research findings available to a wider audience and presented new information on specific topics of study at the monument. [48]

Since the late 1950s, only a few notable archeological research projects have been done at the monument. One of these projects involved the unusual attempt to perform an underwater survey of Montezuma Well and collect cultural artifacts from the bottom. In 1968, George Fischer and his crew set up a grid system in specific locations in the Well and used scuba equipment to dive in search of archeological deposits. Although they recovered nearly seven hundred items, these mainly consisted of ceramics and chipped stone artifacts similar to those found in Swallet Cave and in the pueblo ruins on the rim of the Well. The survey failed to reveal any exciting new information about the prehistoric cultures of the area and turned out to be of little consequence. [49]

A more significant project involved the 1986 removal of a burial from Montezuma Castle. At the request of Superintendent Glen Henderson, Archeologist Martyn Tagg of the NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center (WACC) supervised the excavation of a child burial that was left exposed in a third-floor room of the Castle. When the burial was discovered during the course of stabilization work in 1939, Frank Pinkley, superintendent of the Southwestern National Monuments, suggested that it should be uncovered and left in situ for public display. To create a protected exhibit space, Assistant Engineer J. H. Tovrea constructed a covered cement box around the burial with a battery powered light. This feature became a popular part of the Castle tour until the interior of the ruin was closed to visitation in 1951. After this time, periodic unlawful entries into the Castle raised concern about the destruction of its prehistoric features and prompted the decision to remove the burial. [50]

The excavation and removal of the child burial was conducted on 24 March 1986 by three

archeologists from WACC. The crew carefully documented the location and condition of all skeletal material and artifacts before their removal. Included in the recovered material were the cranium and long bones of the burial that WACC archeologist Don Morris had removed in 1983 and returned to its cement box a short time later. In addition to the nearly complete remains of a child approximately three years old, the excavation produced a cotton blanket and twilled mat found with the burial, as well as several ceramic sherds, lithic artifacts, and botanical materials found in the burial fill. The final report for this project provides specific details about the skeletal remains and associated artifacts, and concludes that this child burial from Montezuma Castle is very similar to others recovered in archeological contexts from other areas in the Verde Valley. An appendix to this report includes the results of Lisa Huckell's analysis of archeobotanical remains recovered during the excavation of the burial. As noted earlier, this archeobotanical study reveals valuable information about domesticated and wild plant species that the prehistoric cultures of the Verde Valley possibly used. [51]

This same report also presents the results of three small-scale surveys done at Montezuma Castle National Monument. As discussed below, these archeological investigations and others at the monument resulted from a series of laws passed beginning in the mid-1960s that mandated federal agencies to take specific measures to manage cultural resources under their jurisdiction. The performance of clearance surveys prior to undertakings that could potentially impact cultural resources was one of the practices the NPS implemented to comply with the new legislation. An example of such a clearance survey is briefly described in the burial removal project report. Although the crew of WACC archeologists were at Montezuma Castle to excavate the child burial, the monument administration also asked them to survey a 2.5-acre parcel of land adjacent to the sewage lagoons for archeological clearance for the construction of a proposed leach field. The crew observed only a few isolated artifacts and gave clearance for the leach field construction. [52]

Included in a separate chapter of the same project report are the findings of two additional clearance surveys WACC archeologists conducted at the monument in March 1986. One survey covered a tiny 0.5-acre plot at the Montezuma Well unit that the administration hoped to use for an experimental corn-growing plot. The survey crew located no cultural resources on this land, so they granted archeological clearance for the project. The other survey involved a proposal to widen Beaver Creek Road from where it enters the monument on the western end to its junction with the secondary road that leads to the Well and residential area. The monument administration asked the crew of WACC archeologists to survey the area and locate cultural resources that might be disturbed by the proposed construction. During the survey, the crew identified three prehistoric Sinagua sites, two isolated finds of artifacts, and an irrigation ditch in the vicinity of the road-widening area. After careful review of the construction plans and the site locations, the archeologists issued a conditional clearance for the widening of Beaver Creek Road, provided that the portions of two sites identified as being potentially impacted by the project would be avoided. [53]

The archeological clearance surveys described above are examples of cultural resource management activities required of federal agencies following the passage of certain historic preservation and environmental legislation beginning in the mid-1960s. The impetus for much of this new legislation

came in response to the consequences of the widespread growth and development that accompanied the postwar national prosperity. In particular, government-funded programs designed to stimulate urban renewal and expand the interstate highway system had significant adverse impacts on archeological, historical, and environmental resources in communities across the country. Growing public concern about the loss of these resources as a result of federal development projects contributed to the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966 and of later legislation.

The NHPA contains provisions similar to those in the earlier salvage archeology legislation that require consideration of adverse impacts to archeological resources from federal development projects. However, the NHPA is much more far-reaching in its scope; the act deals with both archeological *and* historic resources and established a detailed set of compliance procedures for all federal agencies and for projects with any type of federal funding or permitting. Other features of the NHPA include the creation of the National Register of Historic Places, the authorization of the system of state historic preservation officers, and the establishment of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation to provide oversight for the preservation and compliance activities of federal agencies. The NHPA requirements directly affect NPS efforts to manage cultural resources. For example, the agency is required to nominate all archeological and historic properties under its jurisdiction to the National Register of Historic Places. Section 106 of the act (as amended in 1976 by Public Law 94-422) further mandates the NPS to consider the effects of its undertakings on properties listed in and eligible for the National Register, subject to review by state historic preservation officers as well as by the Advisory Council. [54]

The passage of the NHPA resulted in the listing of Montezuma Castle National Monument on the National Register in 1966; all of the prehistoric sites within the monument are considered as contributing properties. Since this time, the monument administration has been required to consider the potential impacts of its undertakings on historic and prehistoric resources. W. E. Sudderth's 1975 survey of "classified structures" helped identify for the NPS the various significant cultural resources located within the monument. The clearance surveys listed in table 7.1 reflect the monument administration's efforts to comply with Section 106 of the NHPA. It should be noted that in 1967 the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) was established within the NPS. The chief of the Interagency Archeology Services Division of the OAHP serves as the departmental consulting archeologist for the Department of the Interior. Despite the creation of this office within the NPS, monument and regional NPS staff continued to conduct most of the agency's resource management and research activities at Montezuma Castle.

Additional legislation passed since the late 1960s has further directed NPS resource management activities at Montezuma Castle and the other sites within the NPS system. These activities have included investigations, inventories, and surveys that have uncovered new information about the natural and cultural resources of the monument and have brought the agency into compliance with its legal requirements. An example of this legislation is the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969, which established a legal process for integrating environmental values into the decision-making processes of federal agencies. The act requires the federal government to use all practicable

means to preserve important historic, cultural, and natural aspects of our national heritage; every federal agency is obligated to follow the legal procedures set forth by this act to examine the environmental effects of its proposed actions.

At Montezuma Castle, environmental assessments and environmental impact statements completed as required under the NEPA have considered aspects of the cultural and natural environments of the monument and the effects on them that would result from various proposed undertakings. As noted in the previous chapter, in their efforts to comply with NHPA, NEPA, and other related legislation, agency officials have incorporated perspectives from the natural and social sciences in their study of existing conditions of protected resources, the historic changes to them, and the management needs at the monument. The NEPA has also provided a forum for public participation in the consideration of the impacts of proposed actions on monument resources. The information gained from these compliance efforts has led to a richer understanding of monument resources and contributed to the preparation of a variety of management documents.

More recent laws have prompted further investigations of the cultural resources at Montezuma Castle National Monument and other NPS sites. Issued in 1971, Executive Order No. 11593, which reiterates much of Section 110 of the NHPA, requires all federal agencies to assume responsibility for the preservation of historic properties under their jurisdiction. The responsibilities of the agencies include the inventory of historic and prehistoric properties, the nomination of these properties to the National Register, and the planning for and use of these properties in ways that contribute to their preservation. The Archeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974 (also known as the Moss-Bennett Act) authorizes federal agencies to expend funds on archeological excavations, testing, and associated research and publication of project results. Although to date the NPS has devoted limited funding to archeological research of this type at Montezuma Castle, in theory this act makes such funding possible. To protect archeological resources from vandalism and unlawful investigations, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) of 1979 established a system for permitting research activities and regulating the treatment and curation of collections. In addition to protecting resources, this act was designed to "foster increased cooperation and exchange of information between governmental authorities, the professional archaeological community, and private individuals having collections of archaeological resources and data which were obtained before the date of the enactment of the Act." Thus in spirit, ARPA seeks the professional sharing of ideas and research about cultural resources that could significantly contribute to NPS efforts to understand and manage sites such as Montezuma Castle. [55]

In order to fulfill its legal responsibilities for managing the cultural resources at Montezuma Castle National Monument, the National Park Service assigned WACC archeologists to conduct an inventory survey of the monument in 1988. Although the monument had been surveyed in earlier years, the data collected during the previous investigations were often incomplete and lacked adequate map information. The 1988 project provided the opportunity to survey the monument with 100 percent coverage, to record systematically all previously recorded and new archeological sites in a detailed fashion, and to resolve any problems with the old site records. The survey crew recorded a total of seventy archeological sites, thirty of which were new additions to the site inventory; all of

these sites are located inside of the monument boundaries except for three, which are just outside the Castle unit within sight of the NPS fence. The survey report includes detailed information about the artifacts collected as well as the types, descriptions, and ages of the seventy archeological sites recorded. The report also states that the condition of most of the sites is generally good, but notes evidence of recent vandalism at one site within the monument and at two of the sites located outside of the Castle unit. The extensive data collected from the 1988 survey provided a baseline inventory of archeological sites within the monument that will assist with future management decisions. Reflective of the agency's increasing prioritization of site-based resource management activities over regional research investigations, the survey project focused on the monument as a discreet entity rather than as a part of the larger context of the Verde Valley. [56]

Concurrent with the 1988 inventory survey, a crew of WACC archeologists conducted another monument-based investigation that involved an architectural study of the Montezuma Castle cliff dwelling. This project consisted of the detailed description of architectural features of the Castle, photographic documentation of the room interiors, analysis of roofing materials, and recording of historic graffiti that appears on the walls, posts, and beams of the Castle. The report of the study provides a comprehensive and systematic documentation of construction and condition of the Castle rooms and their features. The final chapter also suggests interpretive ideas about the room functions and the structural development of the Castle. In addition to documenting the physical details of the Castle structure, the project report serves as a useful management tool, with helpful information pertaining to stabilization, restoration, and reconstruction activities. [57]

Since the inventory survey of the monument and the architectural study of Montezuma Castle completed in 1988, the Park Service has conducted no significant archeological research projects at the monument. Despite the numerous investigations conducted at the monument and at other locations in the Verde Valley over the years, the lack of recent projects calls attention to the many gaps that remain in the understanding of the prehistory of the region. In their 1977 review of archeological research in the Verde Valley, Paul Fish and Suzanne Fish offer some suggestions for future research to address these gaps. They note how the rapid growth and development of the region emphasize the need for research before prehistoric resources are destroyed or disturbed. They advocate the development of a comprehensive research program by all involved federal agencies and by the archeological community. Such a coordinated program would function to identify and preserve appropriate sites and districts for future investigations and would employ specific unifying themes, such as an ecotone concept or changing human institutions over time, to guide and interpret these research activities. [58]

In addition to their suggestions for the region as a whole, Fish and Fish make several specific recommendations regarding research at the three Verde Valley national monument units: Montezuma Castle, Montezuma Well, and Tuzigoot. They first note the need to perform an evaluation of the research potential of the various cultural resources at the monument units. Although the 1988 inventory survey accomplished the identification and evaluation of all sites located at the Montezuma Castle and Well units, little has been done to evaluate the research potential of collections generated from previous investigations. Fish and Fish suggest that "compilations should be assembled of the

present location, condition, provenience records, and brief physical descriptions of all materials previously excavated at the monuments." [59] They argue further that all of this collected information should be made available to universities and other appropriate institutions to encourage research, and, where possible, monument administration should initiate programs to reassemble scattered collections and records. At Montezuma Castle and Montezuma Well, where a number of early privately sponsored excavations resulted in artifacts being dispersed to a variety of locations, such an effort to identify and, if possible, reassemble collections from the monument would greatly benefit future research efforts. Fish and Fish also suggest that well-provenienced collections excavated prior to the advent of techniques such as palynology, flotation, and systematic recovery methods for floral and faunal remains should be reanalyzed using these techniques to optimize their research potential.

The analysis of the various collections from the monument units would contribute to specific research themes pertaining to the monument in particular and to the region in general. Fish and Fish identify themes such as prehistoric subsistence patterns and the aggregation of population into large and complex settlements as topics that might benefit from such analysis and lead to a more sophisticated understanding of the prehistory of the region. As they point out, studies oriented around such specific themes centered at the monument units could provide useful data for the regional research program. To provide unique information about subsistence parameters in the Verde Valley, Fish and Fish even suggest that NPS personnel maintain experimental fields on land within the monument. According to them, the experimental fields would provide invaluable data about prehistoric agricultural crops and techniques, and serve as an educational exhibit for monument visitors. However, Fish and Fish also emphasize that such research efforts must not stop at the monument boundaries, arguing that the cultural resources at Montezuma Castle and Well do not exist apart from their regional setting. The study and interpretation of these resources would only benefit from the thematic regional investigations that they advocate. [60]

Building on their idea of a comprehensive research program for the entire Verde Valley, Fish and Fish propose that the facilities and personnel of the three national monument units be employed to coordinate the regional research effort:

One of the monuments might serve as a focal point of such efforts and the office of a regional coordinator. . . . Monument facilities could be developed as centers for regional research. By offering a base of operations to archaeologists engaging in Verde Valley projects, regional study could be furthered. Monument staffs could also encourage the constructive participation of local amateurs, provide them with training and advice, serve as a repository of donated collections, and systematically record the personal knowledge of area residents. [61]

Despite the obvious need for a coordinated regional research program, however, no efforts have been made to date to make this idea a reality.

In connection with the more recent inventory survey and architectural study done at Montezuma

Castle National Monument, WACC archeologists Susan Wells and Keith Anderson added several suggestions of their own for future research at the monument to the ideas presented in Fish and Fish's 1977 overview of Verde Valley archeology. One recommendation involves performing a detailed mapping of the prehistoric and historic irrigation canals at and adjacent to the Well unit before development activities disrupt and possibly destroy them. Such a project would build on the earlier investigations into the extensive regional canal network initiated by Frank Midvale and Albert Schroeder. [62] Another idea for future research centers on the lack of accurate dating information for many of the sites in the monument. Wells suggests applying more advanced dating techniques, such as archeomagnetic analysis, to materials collected from previously disturbed sites and raises the possibility of testing previously undisturbed sites to recover datable material when nondestructive techniques become available. To maximize the research potential of the existing collections from the monument, Wells echoes Fish and Fish's idea to inventory, assess, and study these materials at the various locations where they are curated. She also advocates doing archival research to learn more about historical-period ownership and usage of land within the monument. [63]

Other suggestions for future research included in Wells and Anderson's 1988 report focus on further architectural research needed at the Castle unit. Anderson indicates that additional studies should be done on the details of wall construction at Montezuma Castle. He notes that such investigations might examine differences in construction methods and finish in specific sections of the Castle as they possibly relate to preferences of the individual(s) responsible for building them. Anderson also recommends that the detailed mapping and recording at the Castle itself be performed at the numerous smaller cavate rooms and other structures located nearby to provide a fuller range of data about the community to which Montezuma Castle belonged. A final suggestion was prompted by the mysterious Spanish inscription "Yo Don" discovered on a roof beam in a room of the Castle during the 1988 architectural study. Recognizing the possibility that a previously undocumented Spanish explorer made this faint inscription, Anderson advocates reexamining it under different lighting to find clues about its origin. [64]

The many gaps in the understanding of the prehistory of the monument and surrounding region indicate the National Park Service's limited commitment to archeological research at Montezuma Castle National Monument. The agency has been more supportive, however, of efforts to protect and preserve the cultural features at the monument units. This policy reflects its prioritization of values associated with visitor accommodation and tourism; the attention directed toward maintaining the main interpretive features at the monument supported the NPS practice of managing its sites to emphasize the visitor experience. As visitation to Montezuma Castle skyrocketed in the years following the conclusion of World War II, NPS officials grew concerned about the impact of increasing traffic on the prehistoric resources of the monument and attempted to stabilize them to better withstand the high use they experienced. In particular, Superintendent John Cook and the monument staff made efforts during the mid- to late 1940s to minimize the damage to the features of Castle interior. They performed ongoing repairs to portions of the ruin, applied a mixture of creosote and fuel oil on bat roosts to drive bats from the Castle, installed iron pipes and a cobble masonry column to support a weak ledge below a portion of the Castle, and resurfaced portions of the floors with a mixture of soil and bitumuls. Despite these efforts, however, the continued damage to the cliff

dwelling proved too great, and, as noted in chapter 5, the NPS finally decided close the Castle interior to visitors in 1951. Prior to the closure of the ruins to the public, Cook and regional NPS official Dale King carefully photographed the features of the Castle to assist in the manufacture of the diorama model that would later be used to interpret the Castle interior and to document in detail the condition of the ruins at this time. [65]

In the years after the Castle interior was closed, the National Park Service continued to manage the prehistoric features of the monument for the dual purposes of preserving its fragile cultural resources and maintaining them as interpretive features that added to the visitor experience. Although some work was done on other ruins, such as the 1954 stabilization of the lower walls of Castle A and the later stabilization of the Swallet Cave ruins and of an excavated pit house at the Well unit, the agency's efforts primarily involved the repair and stabilization of portions of the Montezuma Castle cliff dwelling, the central interpretive element at the monument. During the 1950s and early 1960s, rangers, interpreters, archeologists, and maintenance crews from the monument and the Ruins Stabilization Unit from the Southwestern Archeology Center (SWAC) periodically inspected the Castle and performed a variety of minor stabilizations and improvements such as repairing damaged sections of the roof and floors, filling cracks found throughout the structure, applying pest-control materials, and removing bat guano. In addition to the repairs to the ruin itself, monument archeologist W. E. Sudderth in 1972 completed work on the ledge below to help stabilize the Castle and conceal the support structure from view. After the repairs done at the Castle by the SWAC Ruins Stabilization Unit in 1964, the NPS made no major modifications to the appearance of the ruin for many years. [66]

The monument administration recognized the numerous challenges associated with the preservation and use of prehistoric resources and considered ways to address these challenges in various master plans and management documents over the years. For example, the master plan prepared for the monument in 1965 noted the impact of both weathering and visitation on different resources and established a schedule for monument personnel to inspect and stabilize the ruins biannually. For features that received especially intensive use, such as the Castle A and Swallet Cave ruins that were exposed to the public, stabilization, repair, and supervision activities were recommended on a continual as needed basis. The master plan also suggested that the SWAC Ruins Stabilization Unit undertake more significant stabilization projects every five years and visit the monument at least once every three years to lend its expertise to the staff. [67] Other management documents prepared for the monument identified the potential threats to cultural resources from vandalism and advocated that the regular patrol and inspection of vulnerable prehistoric features supplement preventative measures such as visitor education and interpretation. [68]

As discussed in chapter 6, NPS officials also utilized controlled pattern developments as a management strategy to minimize the impact to both cultural and natural resources at the monument. Agency landscape architects formulated Mission 66 and later development plans with consideration of the sensitive resources and restricted proposed new developments to designated areas. The practice of land classification and the strategic placement of developments helped with efforts to preserve fragile cultural resources, while at the same time expanding monument facilities to meet the needs of

the ever-increasing visitation. Despite such efforts to integrate resource protection considerations into the planning process, agency officials continued to prioritize the values of recreational tourism and public enjoyment in their management of Montezuma Castle and Montezuma Well; above all else, the NPS operated the monument to accommodate visitors, and resource protection issues were of lesser importance than this primary goal.

More recently, the preservation activities at the monument have been strengthened by the passage of certain key pieces of legislation since the mid-1960s. As discussed earlier in this chapter, laws such as the NHPA, the NEPA, and the ARPA increased the responsibilities of the National Park Service and other federal agencies to identify and protect cultural resources under their jurisdiction. At Montezuma Castle National Monument, such legislation has reinforced the mandates for the NPS to consider potential adverse impacts to cultural resources and to take action to minimize these impacts.

Concurrent with these stepped up efforts at the monument, a general trend of increasing professionalization within the preservation community has also resulted in part from the wave of new legislation. Although the NPS Ruins Stabilization Unit had been performing stabilization work at sites throughout the Southwest for many years, the growing cadre of resource managers and other preservation specialists within federal agencies began to rethink the philosophies and practices of preservation and stabilization beginning in the 1970s. Some of the changes resulted from legislative requirements, such as the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation set forth in the NHPA. Among its many other provisions, the NHPA directed the federal government to establish professional qualification standards for employees and contractors, thus increasing the professionalism of the resource managers, archeologists, and preservationists working at the federal level. Within the NPS, such trained specialists refined the methods and practices of ruins stabilization to reflect the more current emphases on resource protection, minimal structural intervention, and the preservation of scientific and heritage values from the original construction. They updated the agency's stabilization manual to include new approaches to preservation, such as the use of multidisciplinary teams to take on the different steps of the revised preservation process.

On paper, the legislative mandates and the rejuvenated preservation and stabilization programs within the NPS had an immediate effect on the management of Montezuma Castle National Monument. Statements for management, master plans, environmental assessments, cultural and natural resource management plans, and other administrative documents prepared since the mid-1970s have identified the sensitive cultural resources at the monument, discussed the conditions that potentially impact them, stated management objectives related to their protection and use, and provided program statements that include recommendations for specific resource management activities. Although theoretically these planning documents charted the way for an active resource management program at the monument, the lack of funds and staffing has prevented such a program from being realized in any substantial way until very recently. In a 1997 interview, current superintendent Glen Henderson recalled that when he first assumed the leadership at the monument in 1974, the greatest obstacle he faced was the scarcity of resources to manage the site properly. He cited in particular the ruins preservation program at the monument that was weakened by these limitations. [69]

During most of his tenure at Montezuma Castle National Monument, Henderson has faced the continually mounting challenges of cultural resource management with negligible support from the NPS. The tiny monument staff has been primarily occupied with accommodating the patterns of high visitation and is usually spread thin taking care of administrative tasks, visitor needs, and maintenance duties. Because there is currently no staff position devoted to cultural resource protection and planning, only basic responsibilities such as conserving museum objects, museum collection management, and program administration are carried out on a routine basis. In addition to these staff activities, the ruins preservation specialist of the NPS Southern Arizona Group Office provides cyclical preservation assistance, and WACC helps with archeological site management and the curation of museum objects. [70]

In recent years, however, heightened concerns about the condition of Montezuma Castle in particular and southwestern prehistoric ruins in general prompted new NPS initiatives directed toward more involved cultural resource management activities. At the Castle, a 1994 inspection visit by NPS archeologist Don Morris revealed considerable erosion to the exterior mortar and plaster of sections of the Castle caused by wind, water, and the burrowing activities of digger bees. Morris recommended immediate treatment for the Castle to repair the existing damage and to maintain the stability of the ruin, and made arrangements to bring an experienced crew from Mesa Verde National Park to the monument to perform these necessary preservation tasks. Montezuma Castle National Monument funded this project, which involved the coordinated efforts of the Mesa Verde preservation crew led by Supervisory Archeologist Kathleen Fiero, the entire staff at Montezuma Castle, as well as Jim Rancier (archeologist) and Dave Evans (historian) from the NPS Southern Arizona Group Office.

The project, which represented the most substantial preservation work done at the monument for some time, was completed during two different sessions that took place from 15 October to 1 November 1996 and from 6 October to 24 October 1997. In general, the scope of work for this endeavor included the following activities related to the preservation and stabilization of the Castle ruin: replacement of missing, eroded, and badly deteriorated mud mortar and stones from portions of the face of the ruin; replacement of deteriorating sections of plaster originally applied by Frank Pinkley in the 1920s; repair of other small areas throughout the site where stones were loose or the mortar was severely eroded; and treatment of sections of exposed wood in the ruin. Summary reports written at the end of each of the two working sessions offer details of the work that was accomplished (figure 43). [71]

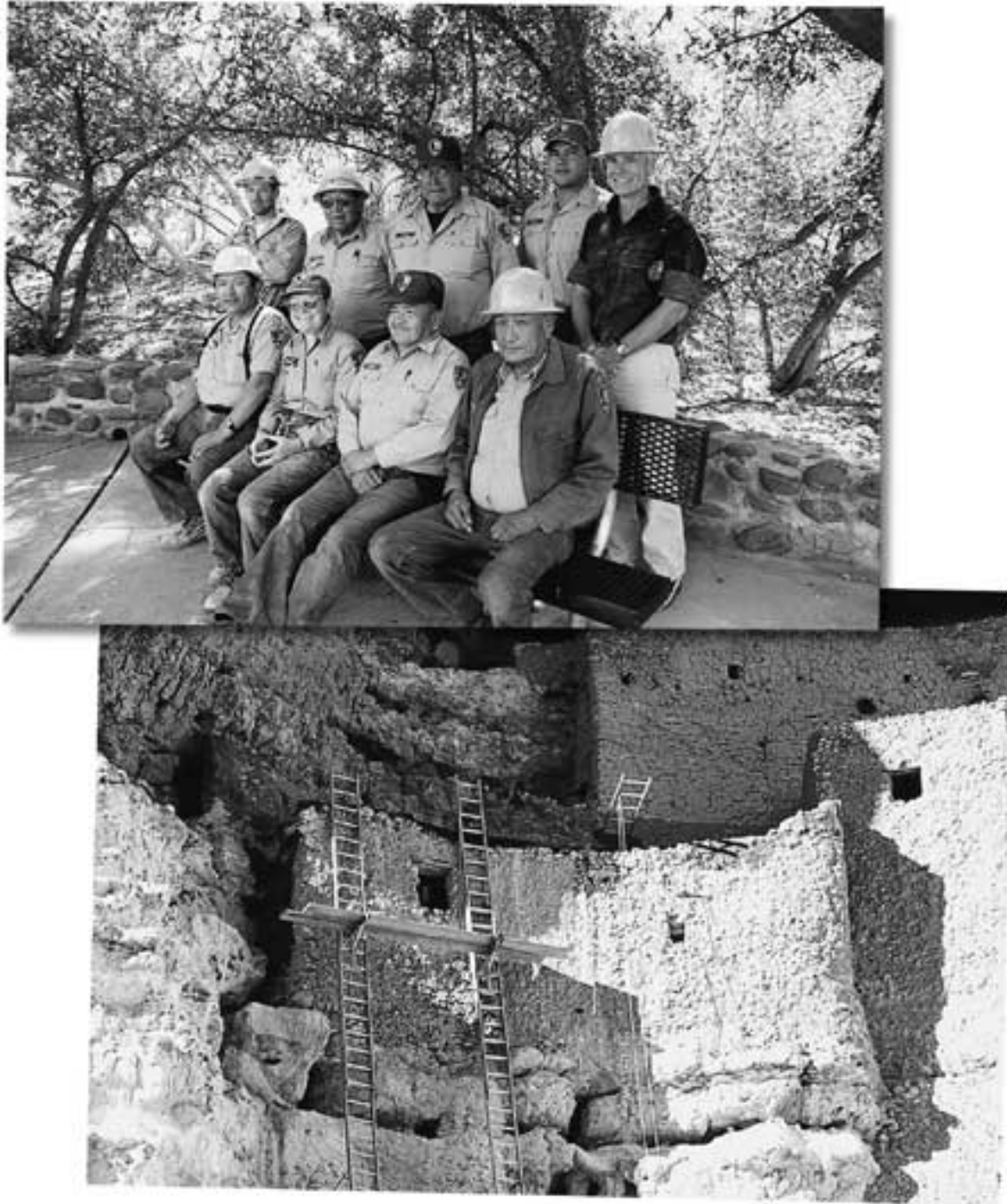


Figure 43. Above: 1996 stabilization project crew. Top row, left to right: William Dale, Kee Charley John, Raymond Begay, Ruben Avalos, Dave Evans. Bottom row, left to right: Vernon Barney, Kathy Fiero, Gene Trujillo, Willie Begay. Below: View of the Castle and scaffolding during plaster project. Photos from Kathleen Fiero, "Preservation Maintenance, Montezuma Castle National Monument," May 1997, 16, 56 (report on file at the Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office).

It is interesting to note that a controversy arose during the course of this project concerning the team's decision during the 1996 session to replaster entire wall surfaces instead of just the most eroded areas

in order to stabilize various portions of the cliff dwelling. Representatives from the Arizona State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) took exception to the replastering efforts because they felt that the mortar color of the newly plastered walls did not match the color of original construction closely enough. The SHPO contended that the project should involve stabilization and repair efforts only to portions of the ruin requiring them and that these activities should be done with as little modification to the *appearance* of the structure as possible. In the end, a compromise was reached, and in 1997 the project team altered its repair approach and techniques to address SHPO concerns. Although the use of different techniques to replaster sections of the Castle resulted in a variance of appearance from wall to wall, the 1997 report noted that "the total effect is compatible with a desire to modify the appearance as little as possible and yet insure that the site is in stable condition for the foreseeable future." [72]

Although the 1996 and 1997 stabilization sessions helped repair damage sustained by Montezuma Castle over the course of many years, it has become clear that more regular efforts are badly needed at this site and others to ensure their long-term preservation. To address these needs, the National Park Service recently unveiled its Vanishing Treasures Initiative to provide funding for a wide variety of preservation and research projects at NPS sites throughout the Southwest. This initiative indicates a stronger commitment on the part of the agency to take on the cultural resource management responsibilities at its various sites and to comply with the spirit of the legislation that directs their management. The administration of Montezuma Castle National Monument has attempted within the past few years to tap into available agency funding in order to take care of some of the preservation needs that have long gone unmet. For example, Superintendent Glen Henderson and his staff submitted project proposal requests for fiscal year 1998 to pay for the second session done by the Mesa Verde preservation crew and to provide much-needed repair and stabilization work at the pit house and ruins at the Montezuma Well unit. [73] The monument was to benefit additionally from the Vanishing Treasures Initiative in fiscal year 1999 when funding was to be set aside to create two full-time resource management positions. These new staff positions will provide invaluable help with the various resource management needs of the monument. [74] At long last, the NPS will be able to address these needs at the Castle and Well units in a regular, systematic manner. If the Vanishing Treasures Initiative is an indicator of NPS commitment to the ideals and practices of cultural resource management, then the future looks auspicious for the protection and preservation of the cultural resources at Montezuma Castle National Monument.

In addition to the wave of legislation enacted since the mid-1960s, other recent legislation has influenced NPS efforts in its interpretation of sites, consultation with Native American tribes, and curation of artifacts. In particular, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1978 and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 have had a tremendous impact on the agency's cultural resource management activities. These two laws have engendered higher standards of sensitivity when dealing with contemporary American Indian tribes and issues related to their past.

As noted earlier in this chapter, the NPS has long recognized the spiritual connections of several American Indian tribes to the prehistoric resources within Montezuma Castle National Monument

and has made arrangements to facilitate special access to these sites for religious or spiritual purposes. Such practices continue today in a more official capacity as a result of AIRFA. The administration has also made efforts to consult regularly with the tribes claiming an affiliation with the monument resources on issues ranging from development plans to interpretive museum labels. Chapter 5 of this study includes a discussion of the recent proposed exhibit concept plan for the Montezuma Castle museum and the consultations that took place with American Indian tribes during its preparation. The proposed interpretive story for the new exhibit takes into consideration the perspectives and interpretations of these tribes and attempts to provide a sensitive, balanced portrayal of the prehistoric and historic past of the monument.

The exhibit plan designers also carefully considered what artifacts would be placed on display to interpret the resources of the monument. To comply with NAGPRA provisions, all artifacts associated with human remains or burials and those considered to be sacred objects were removed from museum displays and excluded from the plans for new exhibits. In 1995, the monument staff, with assistance from archeologists at WACC, compiled an inventory of artifacts from monument collections that fall under the purview of the NAGPRA legislation. These inventories were submitted to the tribes claiming an affiliation with the resources in the monument to initiate the process of repatriation of the artifacts in question. However, to date none of the tribes have responded with claims. In the meantime, all of the artifacts identified as NAGPRA items were removed from display and storage at the monument and transferred to the curation facilities at WACC, where they will remain until the repatriation process advances. [75]

The artifacts in the monument collections, much like the archeological sites from which they were recovered, constitute an important part of the cultural landscape that the National Park Service manages. Ever since its designation as a national monument in 1906, the land and resources within Montezuma Castle National Monument have been set aside and, at least in theory, treated differently than those situated outside of the monument boundaries. The monument status confers a special recognition of the cultural resources of the site and carries with it requirements regarding their protection and preservation.

The National Park Service has assumed responsibility for these requirements at Montezuma Castle for most of its history as a national monument. The agency has also managed the monument as a tourist attraction and taken great pains to make its prehistoric resources accessible to the public. Although the goals of preservation and visitor accommodation may appear to be mutually exclusive, the NPS has attempted to balance them throughout the course of its administration of the monument. In seeking this balance, its management practices have changed considerably over time, informed by different values, perspectives, and ideologies. The record of cultural resource management practices presented in this chapter offers a glimpse of some of the agency's most recent activities and the ideas that have inspired them. However, these actions represent just the latest example of thousands of years of human interactions with this multilayered terrain. Ironically, in its efforts to protect the traces of past cultures on this landscape and to share them with the public, the NPS has left its own mark. New layers of human interaction with the landscape of Montezuma Castle National Monument will continue to be added as the National Park Service finds new strategies to meet the needs of

resource protection and visitor accommodation in the future. Hopefully, the lessons from the past management of the monument will help guide the way as the challenges of the future present themselves.

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Montezuma Castle

National Monument



Appendix A

MONTEZUMA CASTLE NATIONAL MONUMENT

ANNUAL RECREATIONAL VISITATION [1]

1920	2,500
1921	4,500
1922	6,000
1923	7,400
1924	7,500
1925	9,000
1926	12,385
1927	15,400
1928	16,232
1929	17,824
1930	19,298
1931	14,411
1932	14,000
1933	13,899
1934	18,619
1935	14,919
1936	10,654 [2]
1937	9,813
1938	10,645
1939	7,887 [3]
1940	8,078
1941	10,077
1942	4,713
1943	2,715
1944	3,161

1945	6,039
1946	15,801
1947	22,517 [4]
1948	26,918
1949	36,261
1950	44,157
1951	47,898
1952	52,105
1953	64,317
1954	57,200
1955	60,700
1956	138,200
1957	162,100
1958	152,700
1959	175,400
1960	177,700 [5]
1961	208,800
1962	221,300
1963	231,700
1964	222,000
1965	232,300
1966	235,700
1967	245,200
1968	288,400
1969	309,200
1970	370,900
1971	372,600
1972	402,658
1973	361,900
1974	337,800
1975	488,100
1976	492,900
1977	495,200
1978	457,986
1979	382,085

1980	413,885
1981	472,306
1982	454,985
1983	479,722
1984	528,413
1985	545,624
1986	642,027
1987	738,047
1988	802,819
1989	835,802
1990	852,678
1991	876,093
1992	902,010
1993	946,262
1994	923,687
1995	926,631
1996	1,029,336
1997	947,062
1998	853,821
1999	823,489
2000	789,131

Notes

1 The Annual Recreational Visitation statistics are compiled by the National Park Service's Public Use Statistics Office.

2 For the 1936 travel year, the register was removed from the inside of the Castle and placed in front of the museum. It was found that between one-third and one-half of all visitors to the monument climbed the ladders into the Castle and signed the register books. Previous to this time, monument staff estimated visitor statistics by multiplying the number of register entries (signed by those who entered the Castle) by a factor of two or three. The decrease in visitation figures between 1935 and 1936 reflects the change to a more accurate counting system.

3 In May 1939, the National Park Service began collecting an entrance fee of 25¢ at eight Southwest National Monuments, including Montezuma Castle. Fees were collected at the checking station,

which was moved from the museum to the grounds in front of the Castle. At this time, the monument staff also implemented a schedule of hourly guided trips through the Castle between 8:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. The entrance fee, which proved to be extremely unpopular, likely contributed to the decrease in visitation between 1938 and 1939. In July 1939, the Park Service changed its policy and charged the admission fee only to those who climbed the ladders to enter the Castle itself. In June 1940, the policy was amended once again and fees were charged only to visitors who took guided trips through the Castle. When the Park Service closed the Castle interior to visitors in 1951, admission fees were suspended.

4. Travel figures to Montezuma Well were figured into the official monument visitation counts beginning in May 1947. After this time, annual visitation statistics included counts for *both* Montezuma Castle and Well.

5. The annual visitation totals after 1960 were calculated by adding a percentage of the Well travel figures plus the total Castle travel figures. This calculation was decided upon in order to avoid double counting visitors who visited both sections of the monument on the same day.

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Appendix B

MONTEZUMA CASTLE NATIONAL MONUMENT

1906 ESTABLISHMENT PROCLAMATION

1906 ESTABLISHMENT PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA A PROCLAMATION

[No. 696 December 8, 1906 34 Stat. 3265]

WHEREAS, it is provided by section two of the Act of Congress, approved June 8, 1906, entitled, "An act for the preservation of American antiquities," "That the President of the United States is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to declare by public proclamation historic land marks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as a part thereof parcels of land, the limits of which in all cases shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected";

AND, WHEREAS, the prehistoric structure known as Montezuma's Castle in the Territory of Arizona, situated upon public lands owned by the United States, is of the greatest ethnological value and scientific interest and it appears that the public good would be promoted by reserving this ruin as a national monument with as much land as may be necessary for the proper protection thereof;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by section two of the aforesaid Act of Congress, do hereby set aside as the Montezuma Castle National Monument the prehistoric structure aforesaid and for the proper protection thereof do hereby reserve from settlement, entry or other disposal, all those certain tracts, pieces or parcels of land lying and being in the Territory of Arizona, and within, what will be when surveyed, the tracts particularly described as follows, to wit:

The northwest quarter of the northwest quarter of section sixteen, the north half of the northeast quarter and northeast quarter of northwest quarter of section seventeen, township fourteen north, range five east, Gila and Salt River Meridian, as shown upon the map hereto attached and made a part of this proclamation.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all persons not to appropriate, excavate, injure or destroy said monument or to settle upon any of the lands reserved by this proclamation.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and cause the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the city of Washington this 8th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and six, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty first.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

By the President:
ELIHU ROOT,
Secretary of State.

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Appendix C

MONTEZUMA CASTLE NATIONAL MONUMENT

1937 PROCLAMATION EXPANDING MONUMENT BOUNDARIES

1937 PROCLAMATION EXPANDING MONUMENT BOUNDARIES BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA A PROCLAMATION

[No. 2226 February 23, 1937 50 Stat. 1817]

WHEREAS the area in the State of Arizona established as the Montezuma Castle National Monument by Proclamation of December 8, 1906, has situated thereon prehistoric ruins and ancient cliff dwellings which are of great interest to the public; and

WHEREAS it appears that there are certain government-owned lands reserved by Proclamation of September 29, 1919, as a part of Coconino National Forest, adjacent to the boundaries of the said monument, which are required for the proper care, management, and protection of the said prehistoric ruins and ancient cliff dwellings:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 1 of the act of June 4, 1897, ch. 2, 30 Stat. 11, 36 (U. S. C., title 16, sec. 473), and section 2 of the act of June 8, 1906, ch. 3060, 34 Stat. 225 (U. S. C., title 16, sec. 431), do proclaim that, subject to all valid existing rights, the following-described lands in Arizona are hereby excluded from the Coconino National Forest and reserved from all forms of appropriation under the public-land laws and added to and made a part of the Montezuma Castle National Monument:

GILA AND SALT RIVER MERIDIAN

T. 14 N., R. 5 E., sec. 8, S1/2SE1/4, S1/2NW1/4 SE1/4, SE1/4SW1/4, S1/2NE1/4SW1/4;
sec. 16, E1/2NW1/4, SE1/4SW1/4NW1/4, N1/2SW1/4NW1/4;
sec. 17, N1/2SE1/4NE1/4, N1/2SW1/4NE1/4, SW1/4SW1/4NE1/4, SE1/4NW1/4,
containing 360 acres.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of this monument as provided in the act of Congress entitled "An Act To establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes", approved August 25, 1916 (ch. 408, 39 Stat. 535, U. S. C., title 16, secs. 1 and 2), and acts supplementary thereto or amendatory thereof: *Provided*, that the administration of the monument shall be subject to the withdrawal for the Salt River Irrigation project, Arizona.

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

DONE at the City of Washington this 23d day of February in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and thirty-seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty-first.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

By the President:
CORDELL HULL,
The Secretary of State.

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Appendix D

MONTEZUMA CASTLE NATIONAL MONUMENT

1943 ADDITION OF MONTEZUMA WELL PROPERTY TO THE MONUMENT

1943 ADDITION OF MONTEZUMA WELL PROPERTY TO THE MONUMENT

An Act To provide for the addition of certain land in the State of Arizona to the Montezuma Castle National Monument, approved October 19, 1943 (57 Stat. 572)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Secretary of the Interior, on behalf of the United States, is authorized to acquire, in his discretion, certain lands located in the State of Arizona known as the Montezuma Well property, containing approximately one hundred and eighty acres and situated within section 36, township 15 north, range 5 east, and section 31, township 15 north, range 6 east, Gila and Salt River meridian. Such lands, when acquired, shall become a detached unit of Montezuma Castle National Monument.

(B) Effective on the date of the acquisition of such property, the south half of the northwest quarter of section 31, township 15 north, range 6 east, Gila and Salt River meridian, containing eighty acres of land owned by the United States, shall also become a part of such national monument.

SEC. 2. All laws, rules, and regulations applicable to such national monument shall be applicable with respect to the lands described in the first section of this Act upon the addition of such lands to such national monument. The title to real property acquired pursuant to this Act shall be satisfactory to the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 3. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary but not to exceed \$25,000 to carry out the provisions of this Act.

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Appendix E

MONTEZUMA CASTLE NATIONAL MONUMENT

1959 REVISION OF MONUMENT BOUNDARIES

1959 REVISION OF MONUMENT BOUNDARIES

An Act To revise the boundaries of the Montezuma Castle National Monument, Arizona, and for other purposes, approved June 23, 1959 (73 Stat. 108)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to facilitate the administration and protection of the Montezuma Castle National Monument, Arizona, the boundaries thereof are hereby revised to include the following described lands:

GILA AND SALT RIVER BASE AND MERIDIAN

Township 14 north, range 5 east: section 9, that portion of the southwest quarter southwest quarter located south and west of Beaver Creek, comprising about 2 acres; and section 16, southwest quarter southwest quarter northwest quarter and section 17, southeast quarter southwest quarter northeast quarter and south half southeast quarter northeast quarter, comprising about 40 acres.

Township 15 north, range 6 east: section 31, that portion of the northwest quarter southeast quarter located south and east of Beaver Creek and not heretofore included in the Montezuma Well section of the said monument, comprising approximately 17 acres.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire by purchase, donation, with donated funds, or otherwise and subject to such terms, reservations, and conditions as he may deem satisfactory, the land and interests in lands that are included within the boundaries of the Montezuma Castle National Monument as revised by section 1 of this Act. When so acquired, they shall be administered as part of the Montezuma Castle National Monument, in accordance with the provisions of the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), as amended.

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Appendix F

MONTEZUMA CASTLE NATIONAL MONUMENT

1978 BOUNDARY CHANGES

1978 BOUNDARY CHANGES

PUBLIC LAW 95-625 NOV. 10, 1978 TITLE III BOUNDARY CHANGES

REVISION OF BOUNDARIES

SEC. 301. The boundaries of the following units of the National Park System are revised as follows, and there are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary, but not exceed the amounts specified in the following paragraphs for acquisitions of lands and interests in lands within areas added by reason of such revisions:

(13) Montezuma Castle National Monument, Arizona: To add approximately thirteen acres, and to delete approximately five acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Montezuma Castle National Monument, Arizona", numbered 20,006, and dated April 1978.

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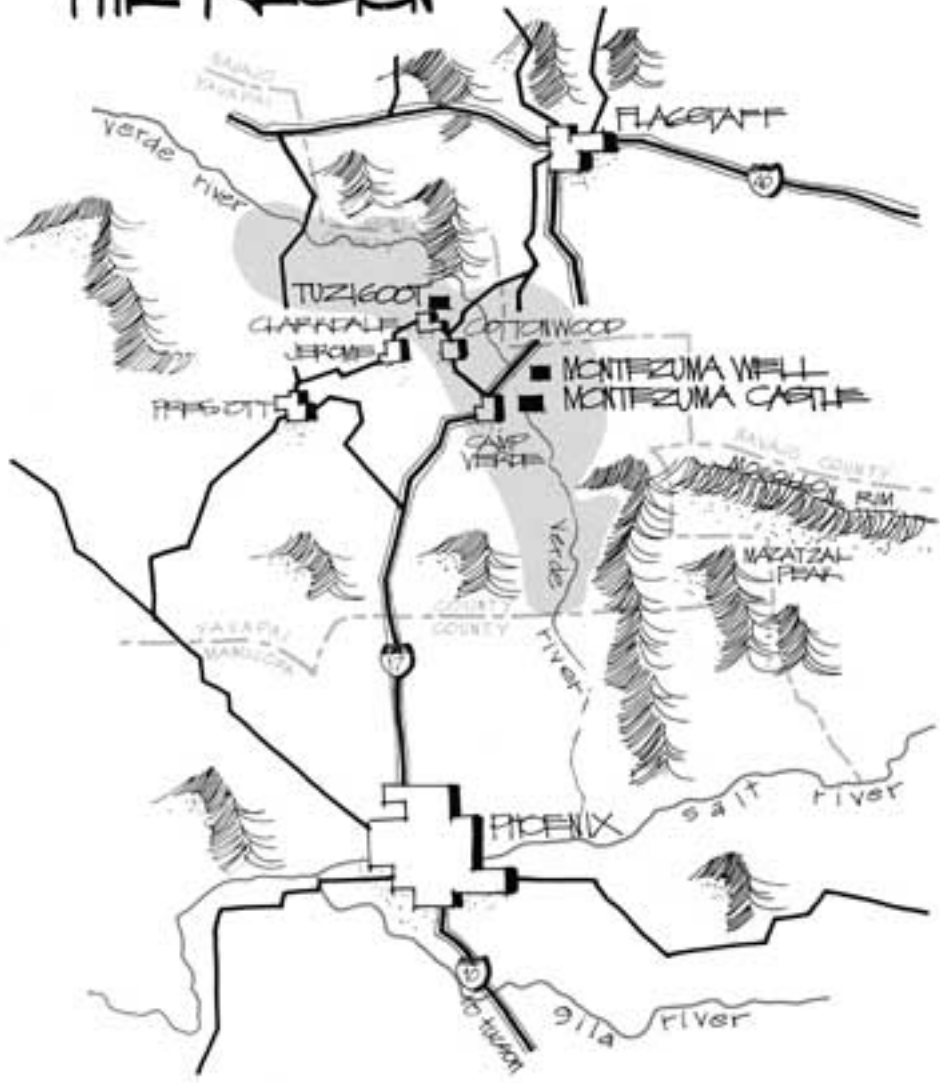
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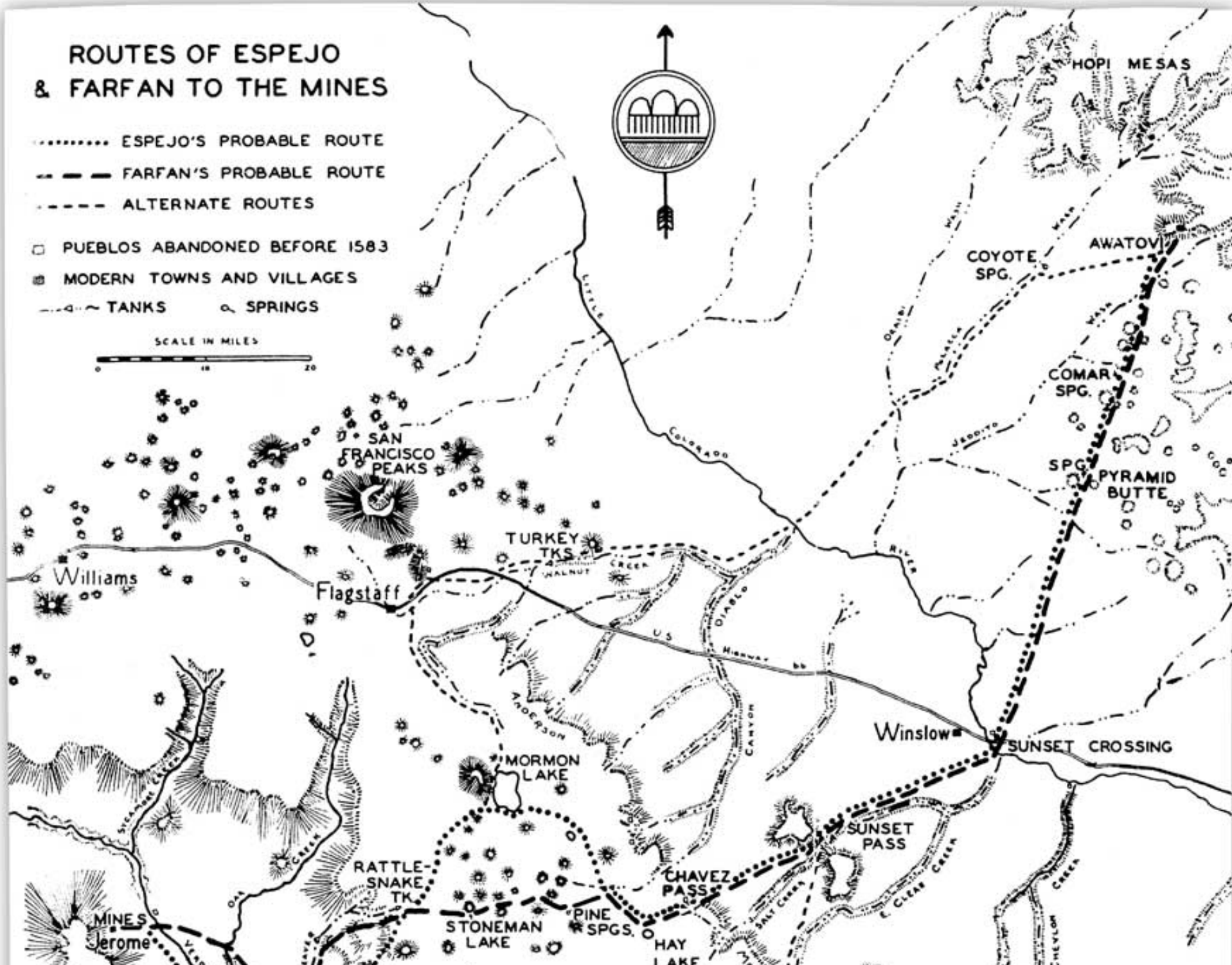
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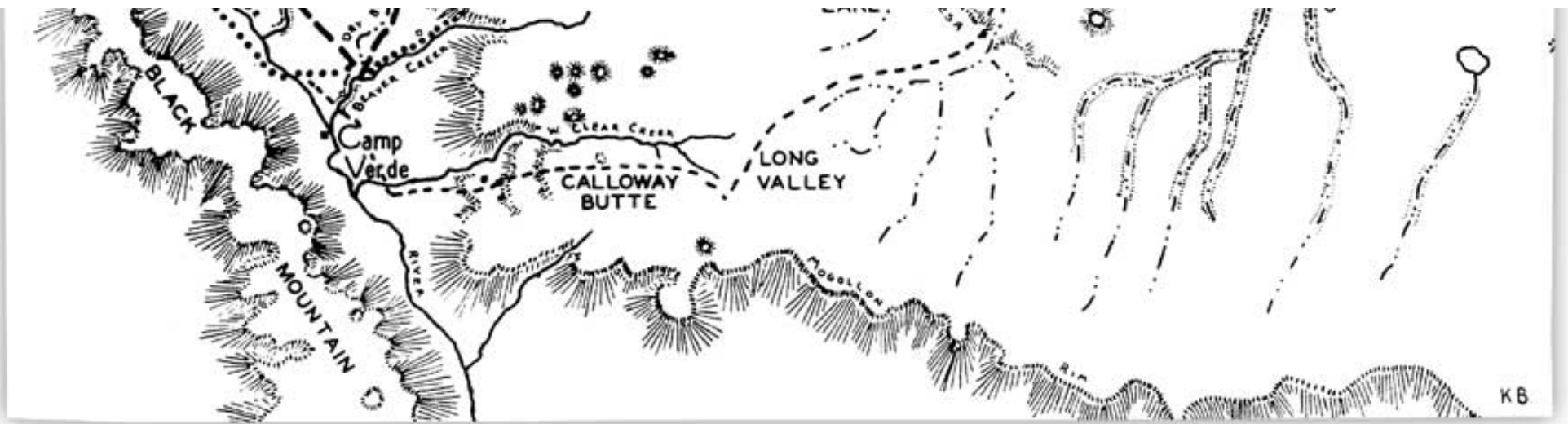
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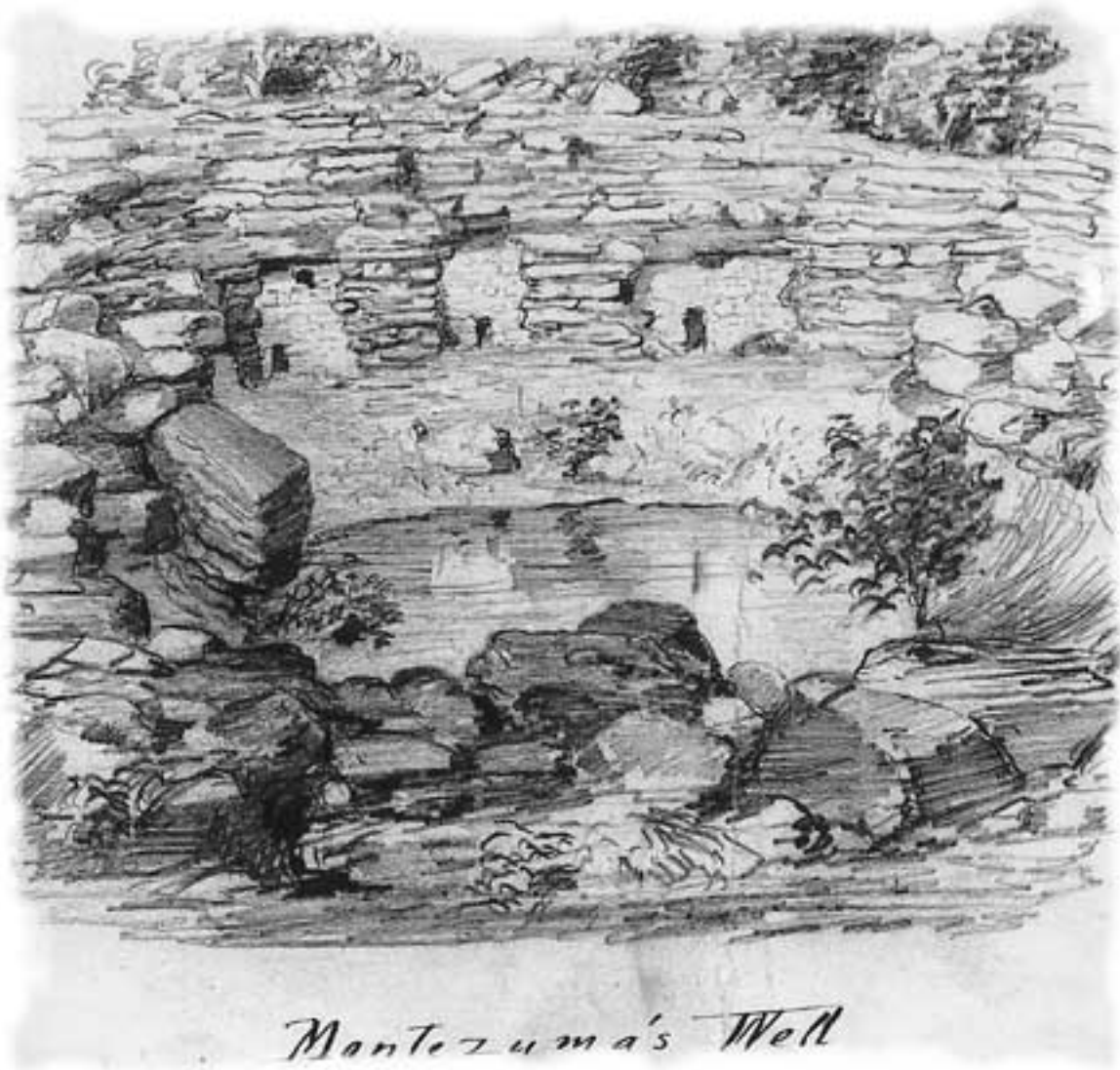


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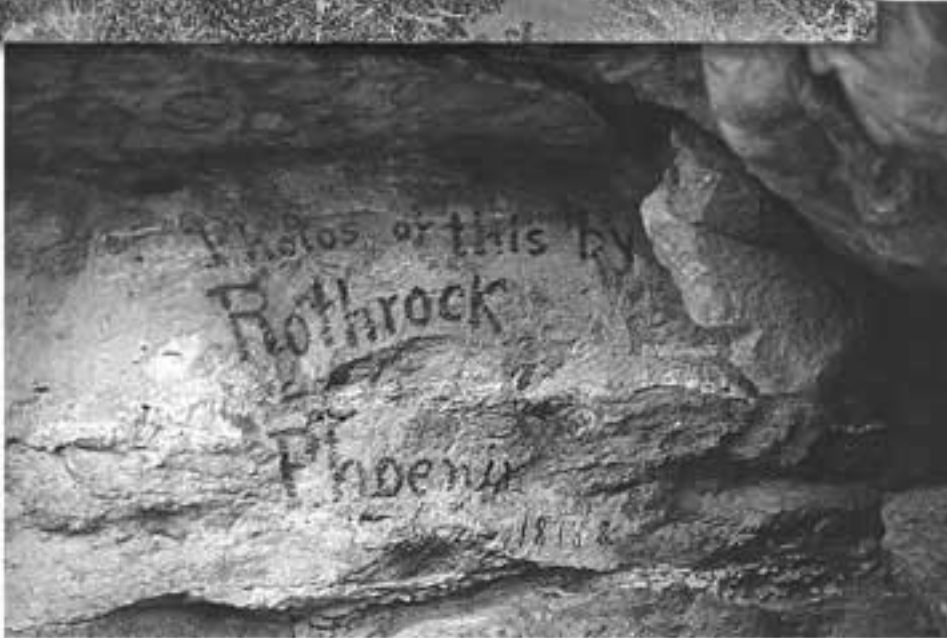
Montezuma's Well





Cliff Fortness.

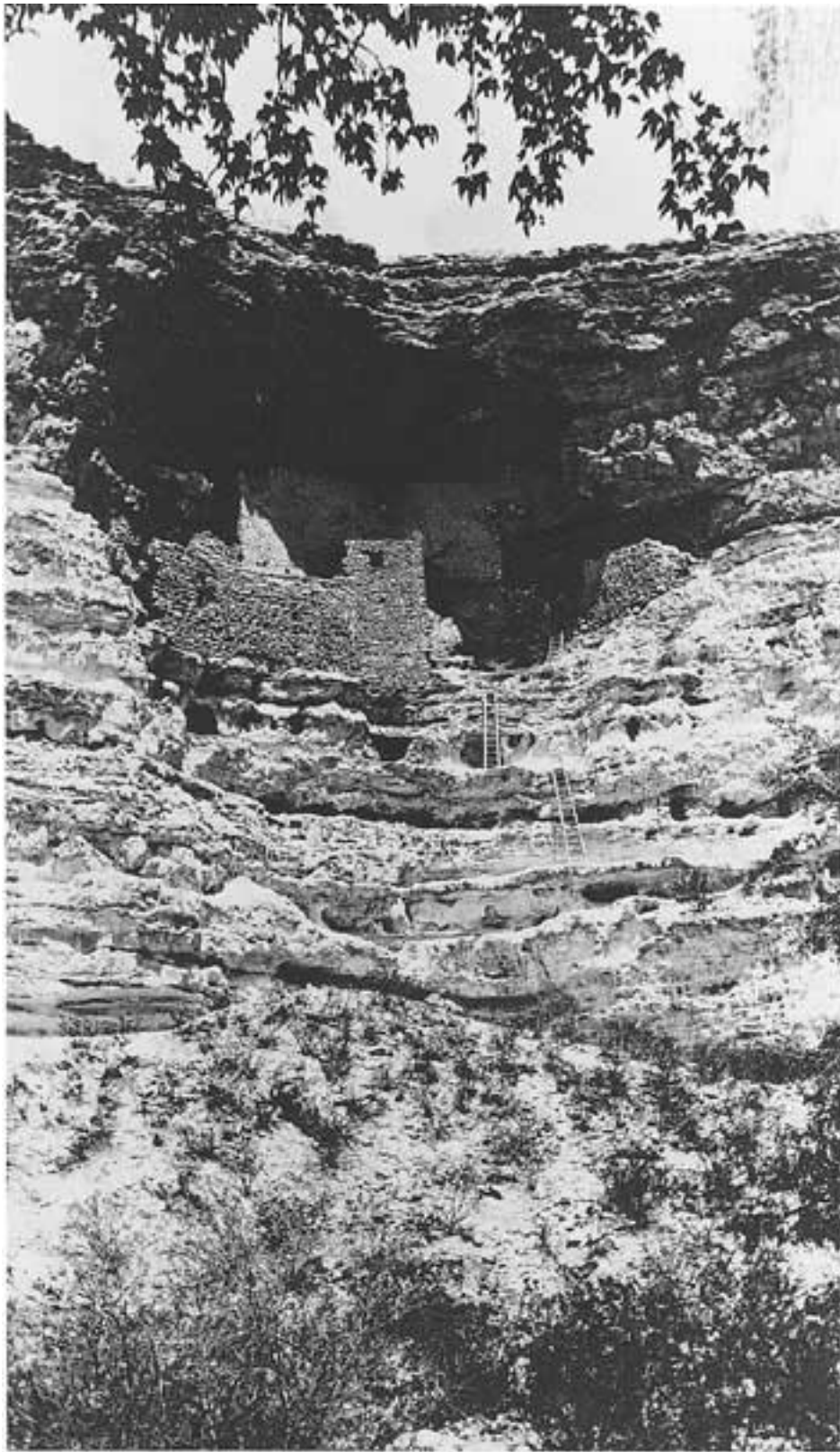


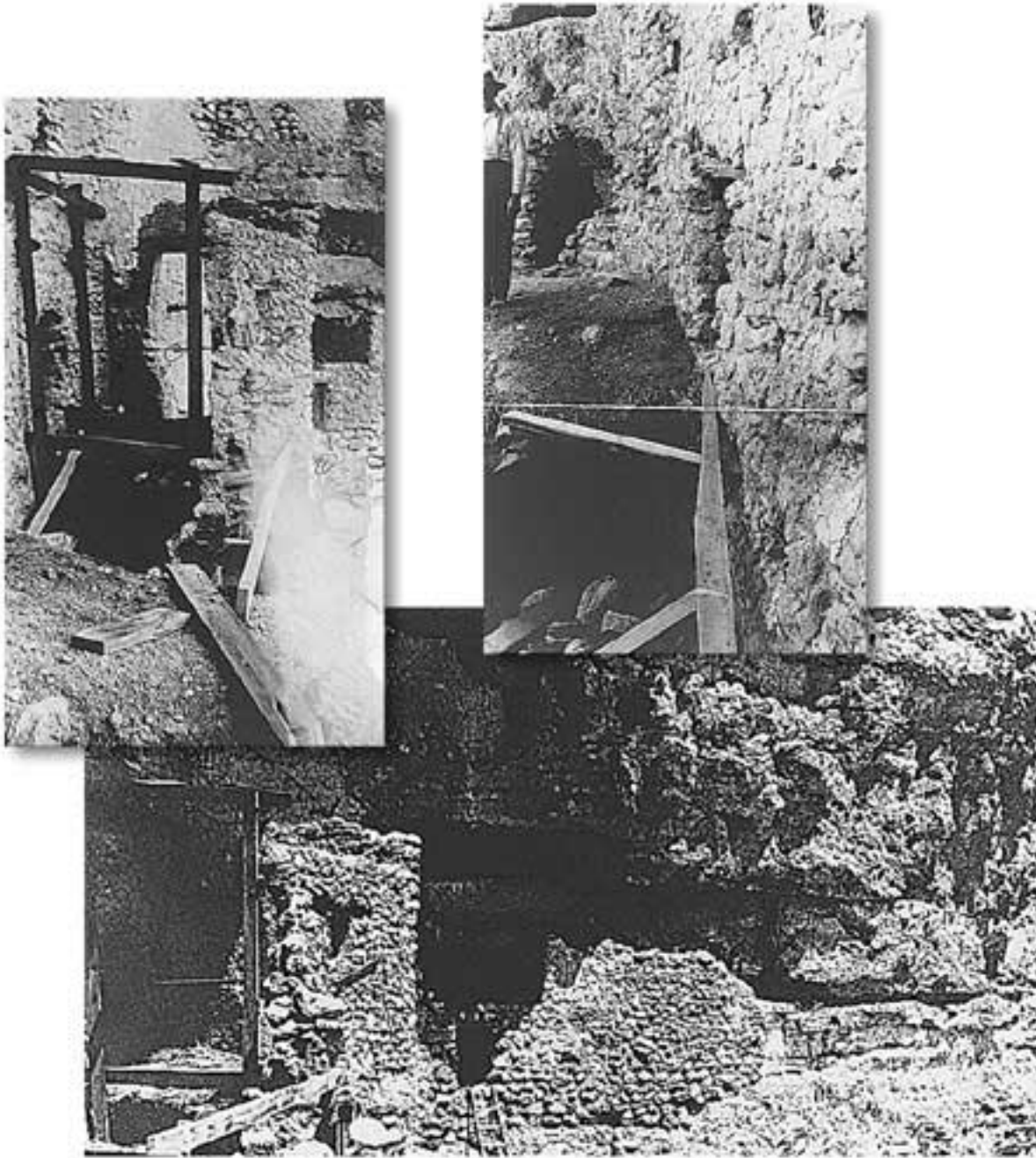


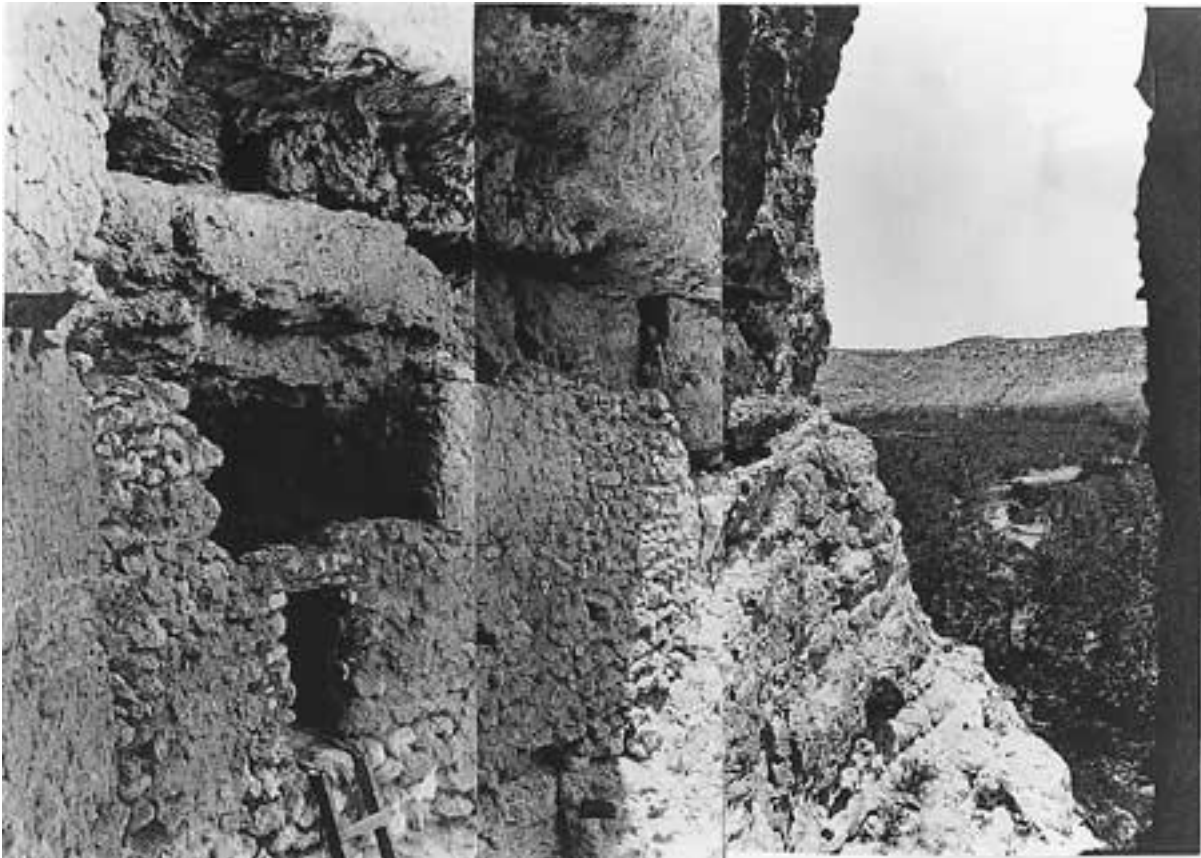


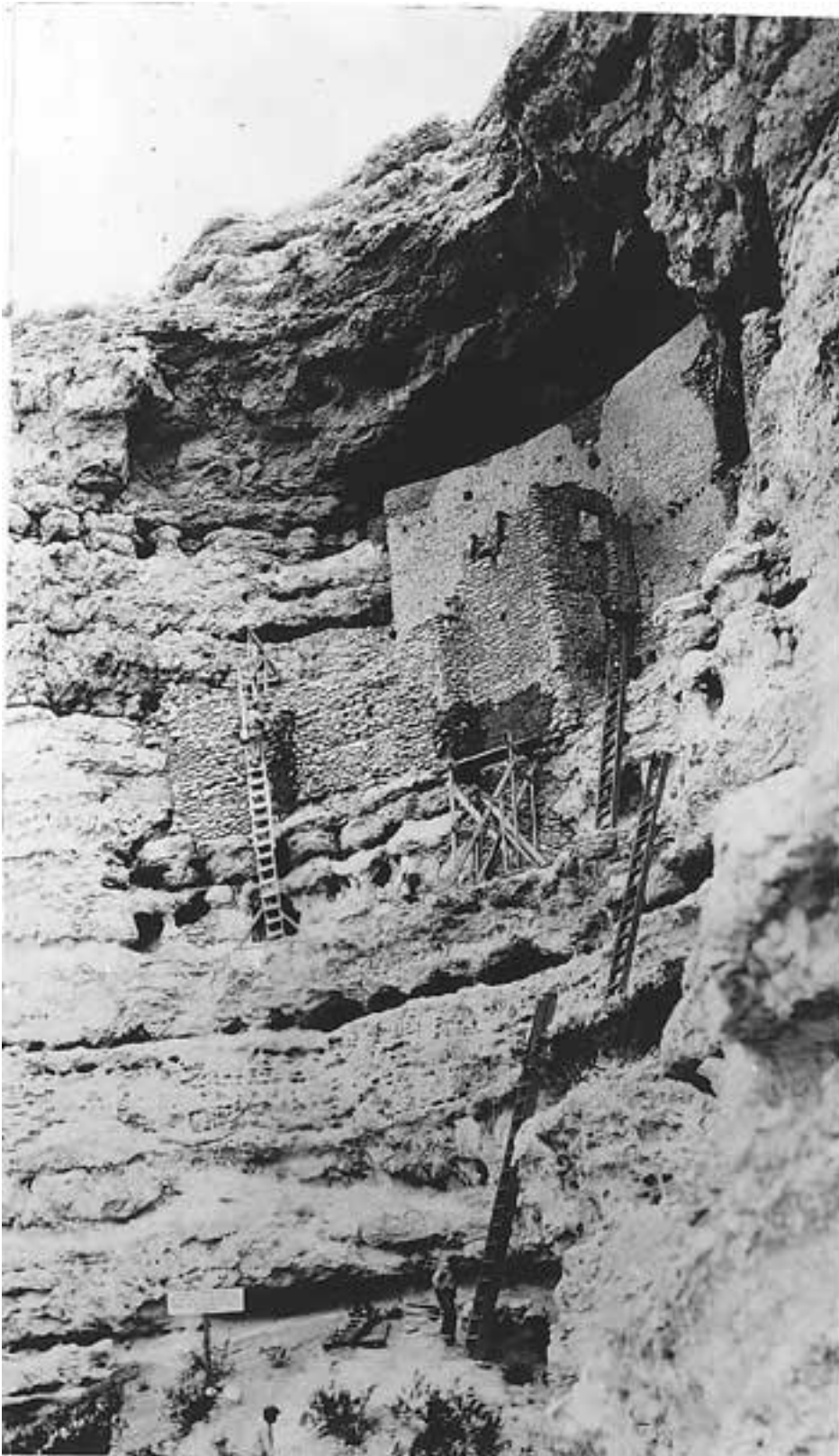








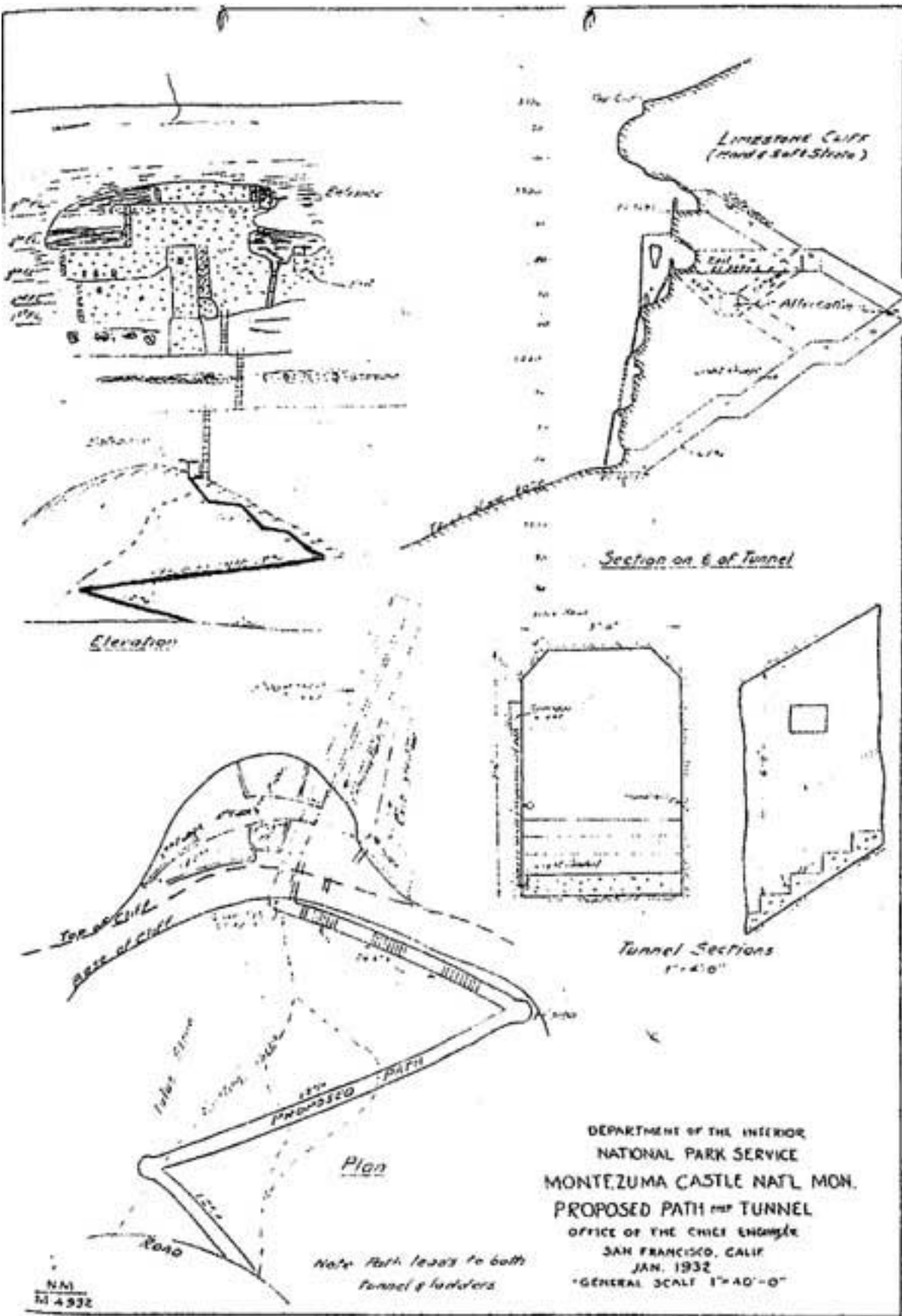


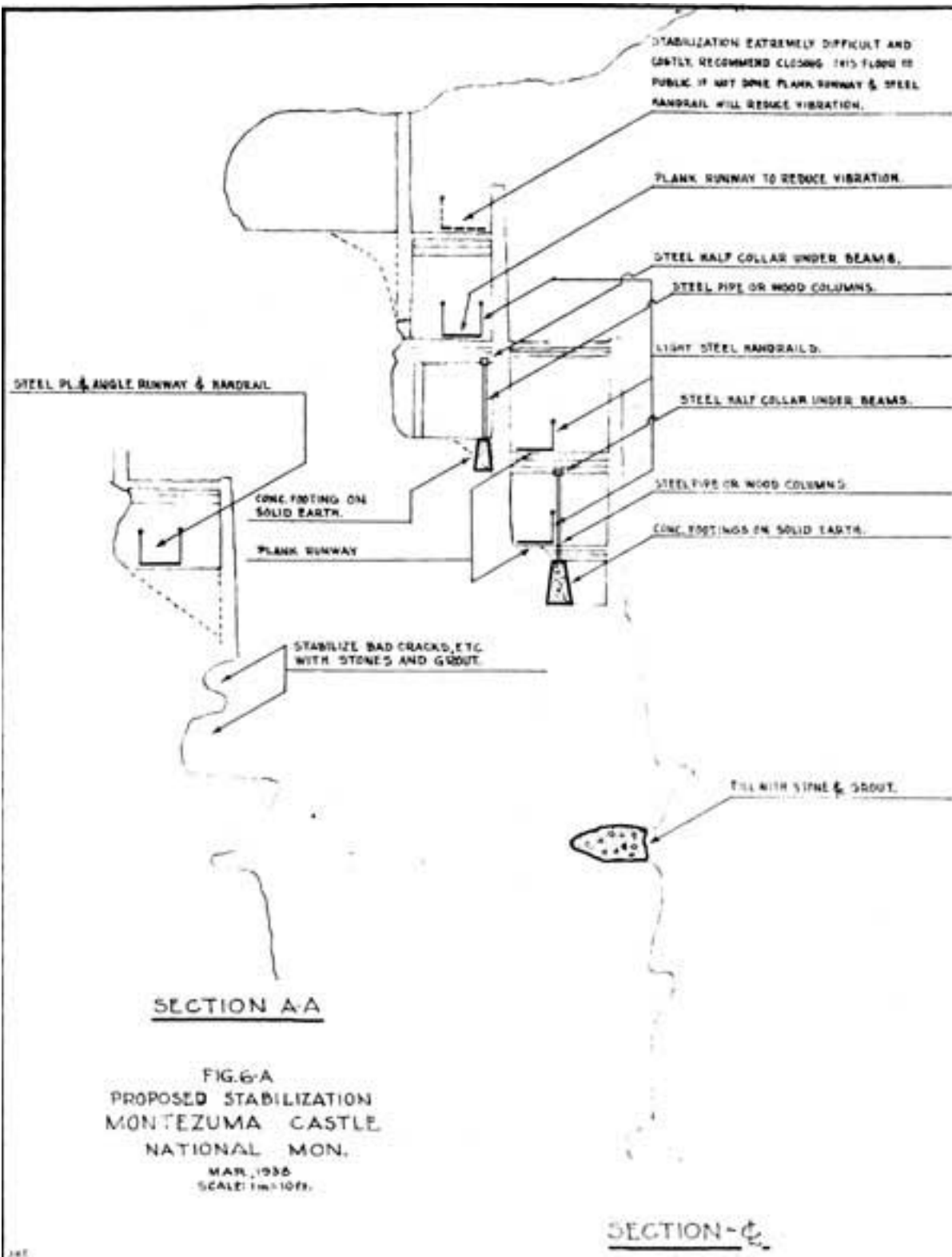


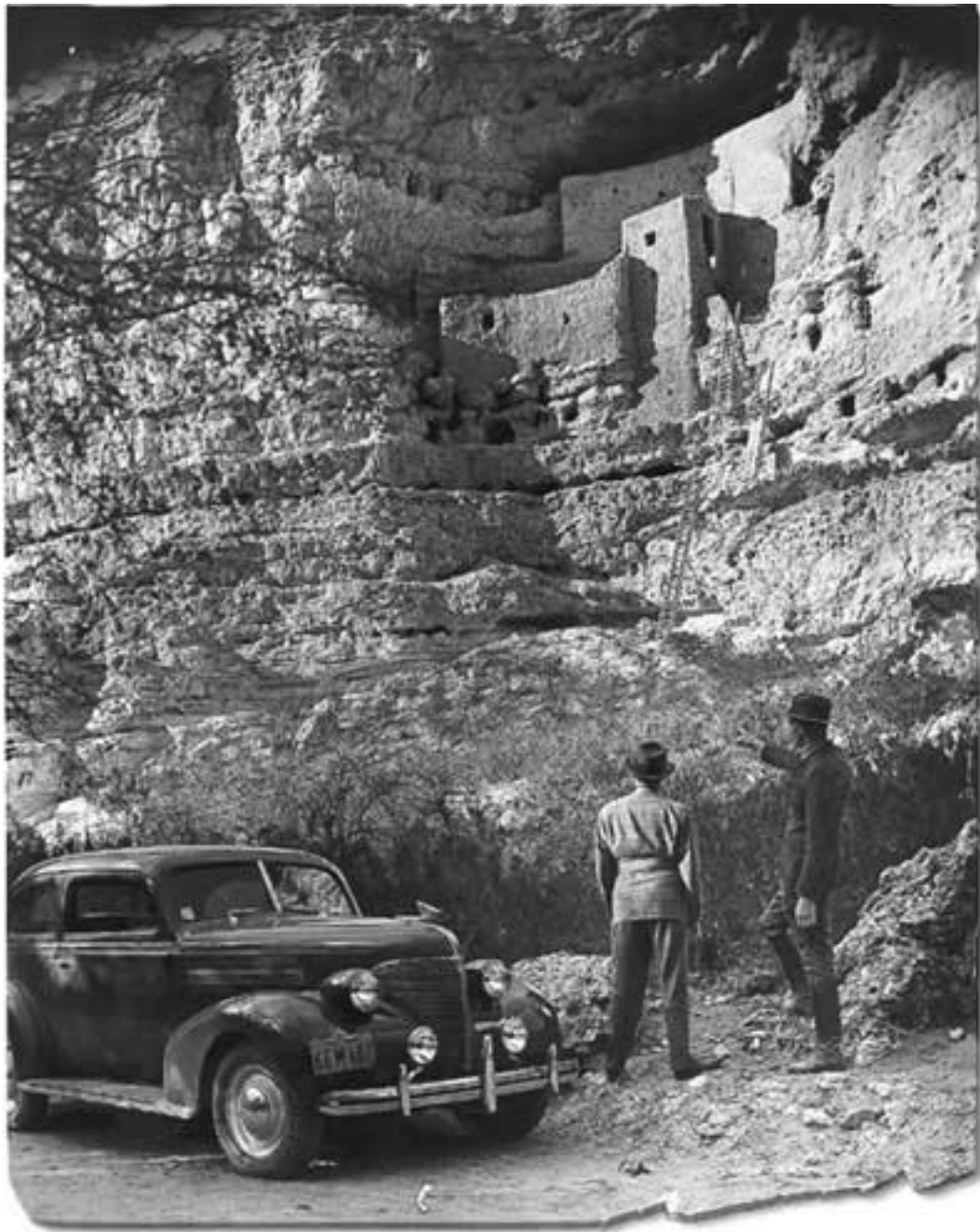








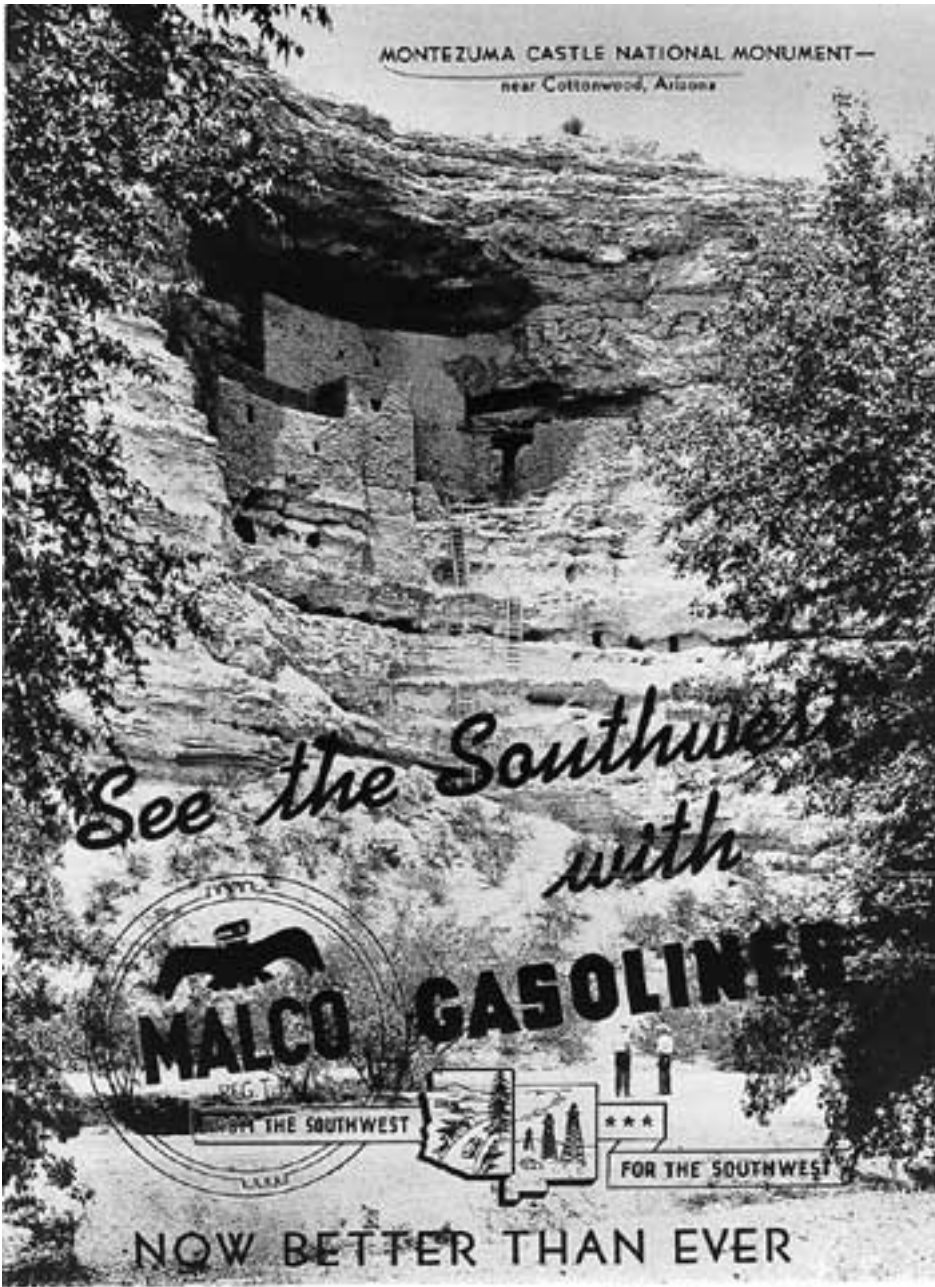












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THURSDAY, SEPT. 25, 1949

Verde Valley Salutes Montezuma Castle



VISITOR CENTER—This handsome structure was built at Montezuma Castle National Monument...

Dedication Of New Visitor Center Other Improvements Scheduled Sunday

U. S. Senator Barry Goldwater will present the principal address at the dedication of the new Visitor Center at Montezuma Castle National Monument Sunday at 2 p. m. Montezuma Castle National Monument, in the Verde Valley of Central Arizona, projects one of the best preserved and most interesting cliff dwellings in America. The famed castle, built by Pueblo Indians more than 600 years ago, was designated a national monument by presidential proclamation in 1906.

The five story 20-room structure sits in a huge limestone cave, 100 feet above the valley floor.

Constructed about 1100 A. D. by the now extinct Hopewell and Mogoné tribes, the dwelling was so skillfully engineered that more than 90 percent of the original work is still intact.

Archaeologists estimate Montezuma Castle was home for 60 to 90 people who mysteriously left the area in early 1400 A. D., never to return.

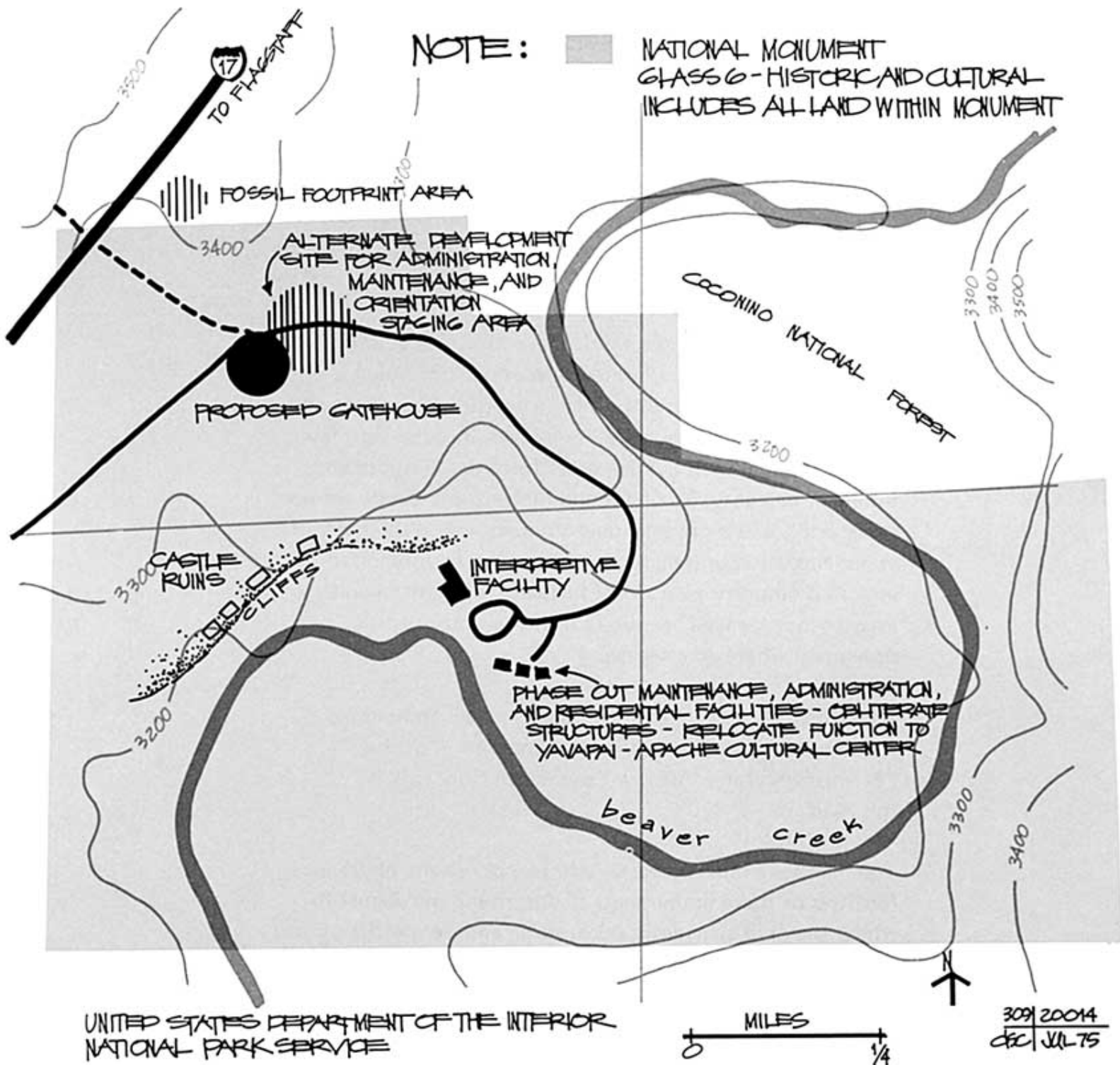
The National Park Service, the U. S. Department of the Interior, the Verde Valley Chapter of Conservation and the Camp Verde Improvement Association are jointly sponsoring the dedicatory services for improvements made at the monument under Master Plan. Master Plan is a 10-year improvement and development program.



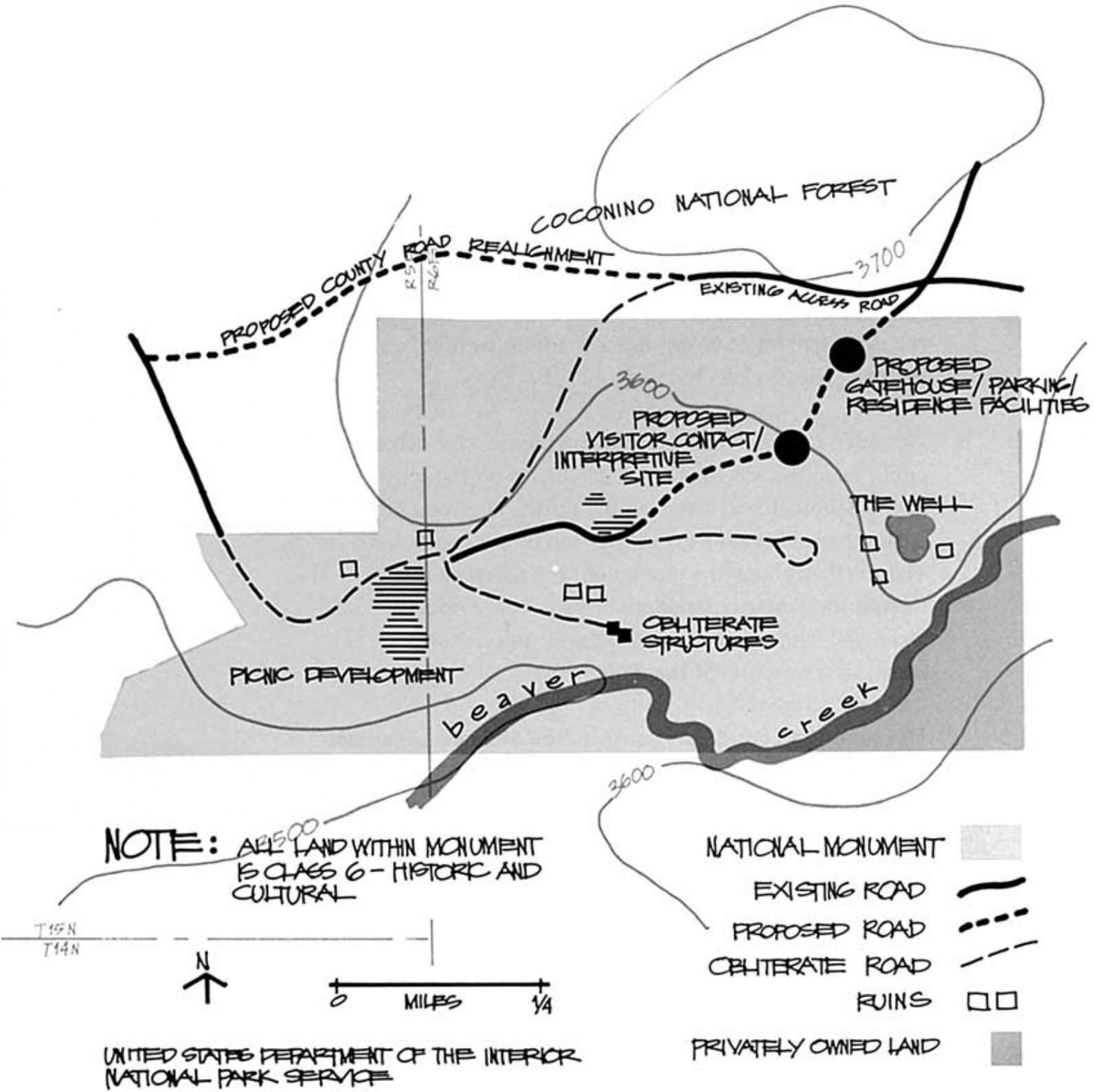
BARONIAN U. S. Senator Barry Goldwater



LAND CLASSIFICATION AND DEVELOPMENT - MONTEZUMA CASTLE



LAND CLASSIFICATION AND DEVELOPMENT - MONTEZUMA WELL



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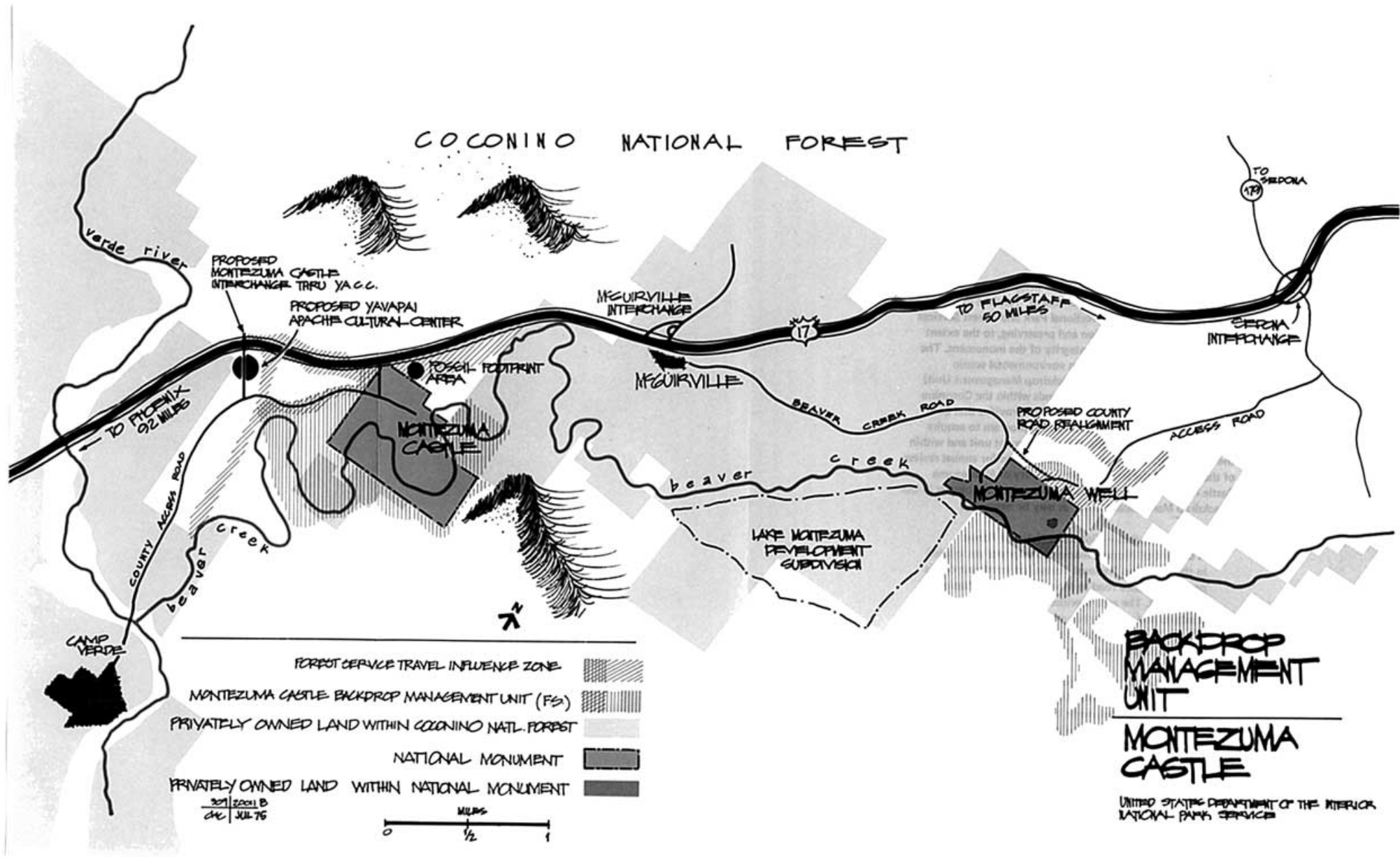




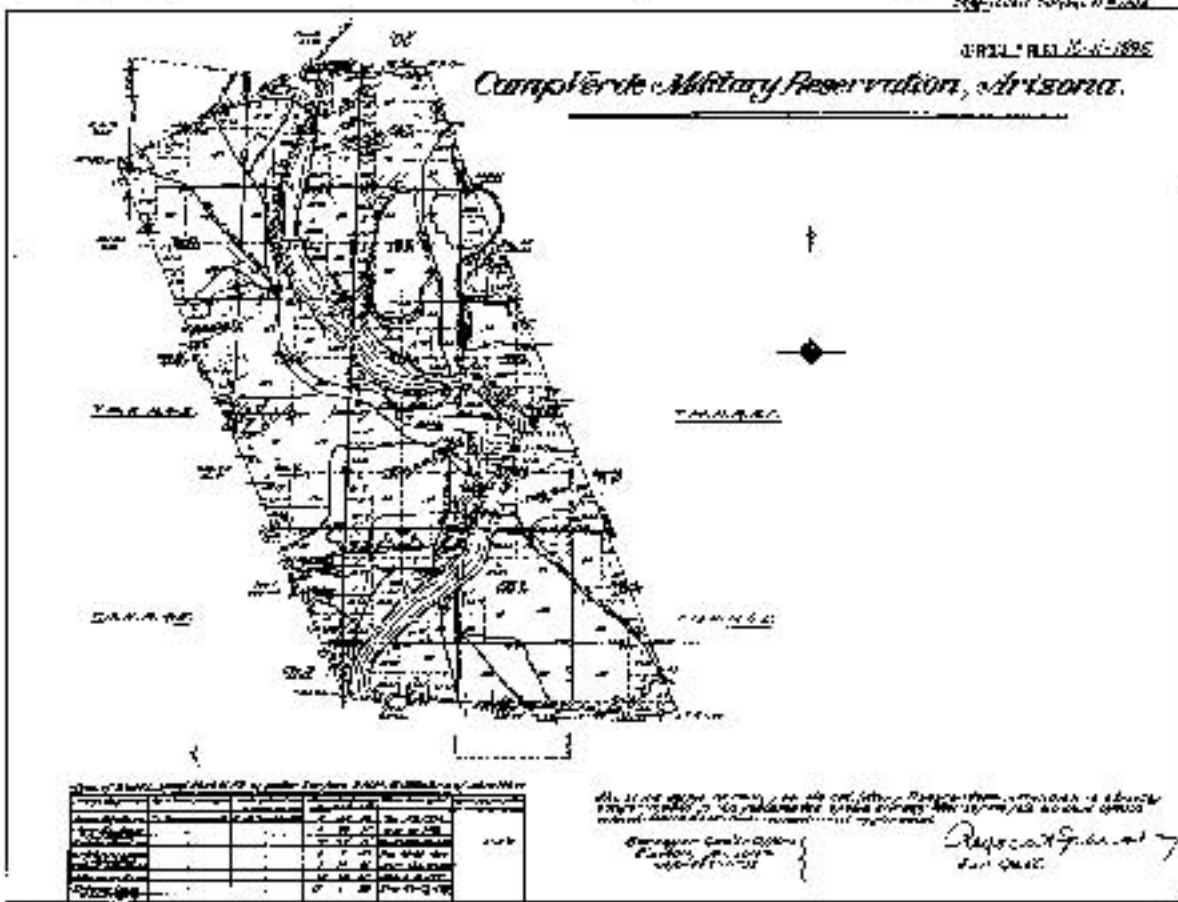
















Montezuma Castle

National Monument



Chapter 1

EXPLORATIONS, IMPRESSIONS, AND EXCAVATIONS

The Prehistoric Ruins of the Verde Valley in the Nineteenth Century

Notes

1. Katharine Bartlett, "Notes upon the Routes of Espejo and Farfan to the Mines in the Sixteenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* (January 1942): 21-23; George Peter Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo, 1582-1583, As Revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, a Member of the Party* (Los Angeles: Quivira Society, 1929), 36-38.
2. See Bartlett, "Notes," for a summary of the speculations made by historians Hubert Howe Bancroft, Herbert Eugene Bolton, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey regarding Espejo's route. Bartlett makes a strong case that Espejo and party traveled through the Verde Valley and provides detailed notes illuminating Luxán's journals.
3. Hammond and Rey, *Expedition*, 105-6.
4. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 187. In this work, Bolton assembles a variety of primary documents relating to Spanish explorations, including those of Espejo, Farfán, and Oñate. This passage, written by Espejo, describes a region with features similar to those of the Verde Valley.
5. Bartlett, "Notes," 28-35. Bartlett's notes match Luxán's observations with existing features of the Verde Valley.
6. *Ibid.*, 35-36.
7. For accounts of Oñate's journey through the Verde Valley on the way to California, see Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 117-275; and Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 269-71.

8. For examples of recent research on the Spanish and Mexican periods of Arizona history, see Simmons, *The Last Conquistador*; James E. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona, 1536-1856* (Tucson: University Press, 1987); David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992); David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); John L. Kessel, *Friars, Soldiers and Reformers: Hispanic Arizona and the Sonora Mission Frontier, 1767-1856* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976); Thomas E. Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986); Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, S.J., eds., *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History, Volume I, 1570-1700* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986); Charles W. Polzer, S.J., and Thomas E. Sheridan, eds., *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History, Volume 2, Part I: The Californias and Sinaloa-Sonora, 1700-1765* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997).
9. Robert Glass Cleland, *This Reckless Breed of Men: The Trappers and Fur Traders of the Southwest* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), 182.
10. *Ibid.*, 228.
11. Lt. A. W. Whipple, "Report upon the Indian Tribes," in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean 1853-54*, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1856), 14-15.
12. *Ibid.*, 14-15.
13. A. Berle Clemensen, *A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve, 1892-1992: Administrative History of Casa Grande National Monument* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1992), 13.
14. Walter Hickling Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico* (New York: Random House, 1843), 13.
15. "The Land of the Aztecs," *Arizona Miner*, 11 May 1864.
16. *Arizona Miner*, 25 May 1864, quoted in Pauline Henson, *Founding a Wilderness Capital: Prescott, A.T., 1864* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1965), 155.
17. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), 4-5. The proliferation of such misnaming is exemplified in Will C. Barnes, *Arizona Place Names* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), which lists a dozen Montezuma place names. Susan Wallace, wife of the 1880s governor of New Mexico, offered an apology for perpetuating the Montezuma myth by the frequent use of the name in her book *The Land of the Pueblos* (New York: John B. Alden, 1890). Although the repetition of the name seemed a glaring

error after Bancroft's strong opinion, Wallace kept the references to Montezuma in her work because of the widespread familiarity and association with the name.

18. Edmund Wells, *Argonaut Tales: Stories of the Gold Seekers and the Indian Scouts of Early Arizona* (New York: The Grafton Press, 1927), 396 400.

19. For details of Woolsey's second expedition, see John S. Goff, *King S. Woolsey* (Cave Creek: Black Mountain Press, 1981), 40 42.

20. Henry Clifton, "The Woolsey Expedition," *Arizona Miner*, 25 May 1864.

21. The fact file at Montezuma Castle National Monument contains the following information provided by Mrs. Virginia Laudermilk in 1946. She related an account that she obtained from Edmund Wells regarding the naming of Montezuma Well. Wells told her of a time when he was with a party from Fort Verde that was pursuing a band of Apache, and they came upon a large well. "The soldiers knew the Aztec Indians had attained a high plane of culture and that Montezuma was once their chieftan [*sic*] so they facetiously suggested the spring be called Montezuma's Well. Mrs. Laudermilk was careful to point out that the word 'facetious' was used by Mr. Wells." However, it seems that Wells arrived in the Camp Verde area around 1865 67, shortly after the events of Woolsey's second expedition. Further, Wells's name does not appear on a list of members of the Woolsey Party that was published in the 6 April 1864 edition of the *Arizona Miner*. It could be that he heard the stories from the Woolsey expedition of the naming of the Well and repeated them to Mrs. Laudermilk. Wells also described the discovery and naming of Montezuma's Castle by a small party, including himself, in his book *Argonaut Tales*, 347. Yet because of the date of his arrival in the Verde Valley, it seems doubtful that Wells was the first to come upon these ruins and name them.

22. Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 4 (San Francisco: Filmer Brothers Electrotpe, 1916), 215 17. The other members of this party were William L. Osborn, Clayton M. Ralston, Henry D. Morse, Jake Ramstein, Thomas Ruff, Ed A. Boblett, James Parrish, and James Robinson.

23. Stephen C. Shadegg, "Camp Verde," Stephen C. Shadegg Collection, box 1, folder 6, Arizona Historical Foundation, Tempe; Robert W. Munson, "Territorial Verde Valley," *Plateau* 53 (1981): 25 29.

24. Munson, "Territorial Verde Valley," 25 29.

25. Marvin D. Jeter, ed., *Edward Palmer's Arkansas Mounds* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1990), 3.

26. Marvin D. Jeter, "Edward Palmer: Present before the Creation of Archaeological Stratigraphy and Associations, Formation Processes, and Ethnographic Analogy," *Journal of the Southwest* 41 (Autumn 1999), 336.

27. University of Arizona Library, Special Collections, Edward Palmer Manuscript Collection, AZ 197, part 2. In an article published in 1871, Palmer describes details of the corncob specimens he had retrieved from ruins in the Verde Valley. This article reflects Palmer's pioneering work in the fields of ethnobotany and archaeobotany. See Edward Palmer, "Food Products of the North American Indians," *U.S. Department of Agriculture Annual Report for 1870*, 404 28.
28. University of Arizona Library, Special Collections, Edward Palmer Manuscript Collection, AZ 197, part 3.
29. Jeter, *Edward Palmer's Arkansas Mounds*, 46.
30. University of Arizona Library, Special Collections, Edward Palmer Manuscript Collection, AZ 197, parts 2 and 3.
31. Jeter, "Edward Palmer," 335 54.
32. Palmer, "Food Products of the North American Indians," 420; Don D. Fowler and John F. Matley, *The Palmer Collection from Southwestern Utah, 1875*, University of Utah Anthropological Papers, No. 99 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1978), 20.
33. Jeter, *Edward Palmer's Arkansas Mounds*, 46.
34. University of Arizona Library, Special Collections, Edward Palmer Manuscript Collection, AZ 197, part 2.
35. Jeter, *Edward Palmer's Arkansas Mounds*, 48 49.
36. Ibid.
37. Munson, "Territorial Verde Valley," 28 29.
38. John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 149, 210 12 (page references are to reprint edition); The governor's visit to the ruins is described in Wallace W. Elliott, *History of Arizona Territory Showing Its Resources and Advantages* (San Francisco, 1884; reprint, Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1964), 126 (page reference is to reprint edition).
39. "Curious Ancient Dwellings in Arizona," *The Friend*, 43 (7 December 1869), 134.
40. Ibid.

41. William C. Manning, "Ancient Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 51 (June 1875): 327 29.
42. The map used in Richard J. Hinton's 1878 *Hand-book to Arizona: Its Resources, History, Towns, Mines, Ruins, and Scenery* (San Francisco: Payot, Uphan and Co.; New York: American News Co., 1878), which shows the locations of ruins in the area, was based on military maps of the time. Increasing military presence in the valley led to more visitation to ruins sites by officers and civilians alike.
43. For information on the history of the ownership of Montezuma Well and surrounding area, see *Pioneer Stories of Arizona's Verde Valley* (n.p.: Verde Valley Pioneers Association, 1954), 68, 147 48; Jack E. Beckman, "A History of Montezuma Well" (unpublished manuscript), 17 18; Til Lightbourn and Mary Lyons, *By the Banks of Beaver Creek* (Nappanee, Indiana: Evangel Press, 1989), 17 18, 22 24. The Montezuma Post Office is listed in John Theobald and Lillian Theobald, *Arizona Territory: Post Offices and Postmasters, 1863 to 1912* (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1961), 114.
44. Hodge's descriptions were extensively copied by other writers, such as by California journalist Richard J. Hinton in his *Hand-book to Arizona* (1878), 382 83 and 418 22, or abridged, as in Prescott editor Patrick Hamilton's *The Resources of Arizona* (Prescott: n.p., 1881), 351, and in *The History of Arizona Territory* (San Francisco; W.W. Elliot and Co., 1884), 125 26. The authors use the name Montezuma Well, but refer to the cliff dwelling on Beaver Creek without using a name.
45. Hiram C. Hodge, *Arizona As It Is* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1877); reprint, *Arizona As It Was* (Chicago: The Rio Grande Press, 1967), 191 95 (page references are to reprint edition).
46. *Ibid.*, 240 41.
47. William "Bucky" O. O'Neill, *Central Arizona: For Homes, for Health, for Wealth* (Prescott: Hoof and Horn, 1887), 9-11, 30-33, 120.
48. Walter J. Hoffman, "Ethnographic Observations," in *Tenth Annual Report of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories. Embracing Colorado and Parts of Adjacent Territories* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1878), 477 78.
49. *Ibid.*, 477 79.
50. Edgar Alexander Mearns, "Ancient Dwellings of the Rio Verde Valley," *The Popular Science Monthly* 37 (October 1890): 751.
51. *Ibid.*, 755.

52. *Ibid.*, 755 57. Mearns's field notes and artifact collection from his Montezuma Castle excavations are still housed at the American Museum of Natural History in New York.
53. Albert H. Schroeder to Custodian, Tuzigoot National Monument, 25 December 1947, Tuzigoot National Monument Fact File, Clarkdale, Arizona. Schroeder's memo was based on information he gathered while looking through the notes and collections made by Dr. Mearns in the Verde Valley in the 1880s, now located in the American Museum of Natural History, New York.
54. The Tuzigoot site was next investigated in 1933 when the Yavapai County Chamber of Commerce sought prehistoric materials for display at the planned Smoki Museum in Prescott. Earl Jackson originally proposed the Tuzigoot site, and the excavation work was completed under the direction of Louis Caywood and Edward Spicer.
55. Mearns, "Ancient Dwellings," 746.
56. *Ibid.*, 763.
57. Mindeleff was the first professional archeologist to do work in the Verde Valley, but it appears that both Frank Cushing of the Smithsonian and Adolph Bandelier were in the area in the early 1880s. Reference to their presence in the area can be found in *Weekly Arizona Miner*, 29 July 1881, 3, and *Arizona Silver Belt*, 19 May 1883, 3.
58. Cosmos Mindeleff, "Aboriginal Remains in the Verde Valley, Arizona," in *13th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 179 261.
59. Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Archeological Expedition to Arizona in 1895," in *17th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), 519 46. His later research appeared in "Antiquities of the Upper Verde River and Walnut Canyon Valleys, Arizona," in *28th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912).
60. Robert H. Lister and Florence C. Lister, *Those Who Came Before* (Tucson: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, 1983), 143 44.

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Montezuma Castle

National Monument



Chapter 2

THREATS AND RESPONSES

The Preservation and Protection of Ruins in the Verde Valley

Notes

1. James William Tourney, "Cliff- and Cave-Dwellers of Central Arizona," *Science* 20 (11 November 1892), 269.
2. *Ibid.*, 269 70.
3. Among the articles on the ruins appearing during this period were Charles Lummis, "Montezuma's Castle" and "Montezuma's Well," both of which appeared in his column "Strange Corners of Our Country," *St. Nicholas* 19 (July 1892): 701 8; Sharlot M. Hall, "The Cliff-Dwellings of the Lower Verde Valley, Northern Arizona," *Archaeologist* 3 (April 1893): 119 22; Charles F. Lummis, "Montezuma's Castle," *Land of Sunshine* 6 (January 1897): 70 73; Charles F. Lummis, "Montezuma's Well," *Land of Sunshine* 6 (February 1897): 103 6; Sharlot M. Hall, "Prehistoric Fancy-work," *Land of Sunshine* 8 (April 1898): 221 23; "The Rescue of Montezuma's Castle," *Land of Sunshine* 10 (December 1898): 44 45.
4. For more on the early photographers of Arizona, see Jeremy Rowe, *Photographers in Arizona: 1850-1920: A History and Directory* (Nevada City, Calif.: Carl Mautz Publishing, 1997) and Robert L. Spude, "Shadow Catchers: A Portrait of Arizona's Pioneer Photographers, 1863-1893," *Journal of Arizona History* 30 (autumn 1989): 233 50.
5. Lummis, "Montezuma's Castle," *Land of Sunshine* 6 (January 1897), 73.
6. F. G. Steenberg, "Montezuma Castle in 1894," *Southwestern National Monuments*, supplement (November 1937), 400.
7. *Ibid.*, 401.

8. S. J. Palmer Jr., "Montezuma Castle in 1896," *Southwestern National Monuments*, supplement (January 1940), 63.

9. The *Mancos Times*, 20 March 1896, quoted in Frank McNitt, *Richard Wetherill: Pioneer Explorer of Southwestern Ruins* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 332-33.

10. Articles on the discovery of prehistoric sites and the removal of valuable artifacts were featured in papers such as the *Coconino Sun*, which also ran coverage on the efforts to protect ancient cultural resources. The looting of sites was common during the 1880s and 1890s, and was frequently written about in the papers because readers were curious about the type and value of discovered artifacts. Examples of such articles include "Aztec Remains Result of Excavations Being Made on the Verde," *Arizona Gazette*, 8 November 1880; "An Ancient Burying Ground: What It Yielded Up to a Prospector for Relics of Antiquity," *Coconino Sun*, 31 December 1898; "Pre-Historic Arizonans: Some Remarkable Discoveries Made in the Vicinity of the Verde Valley," *Coconino Sun*, 8 April 1899.

11. The incorporators of the association were Dr. Joshua Miller (president), Dr. James McNaughton (secretary and treasurer), Col. Charles W. Johnstone Sr., Harry Z. Zuck, Edmund W. Wells Jr., Thomas G. Norris, and C. W. Crouse. (Source: David Wilcox's personal notes on the Arizona Antiquarian Association.)

12. One of Miller's exploration trips was detailed in his article "A Visit to Tusayan," which appeared in *Arizona Educator* 2 (October 1895): 9-10. Miller noted that he was required to secure a permit from the Department of the Interior for the excavation of the Tusayan ruins, which were on public lands. However, it seemed that others had previously been to the site; he wrote that except for the artifacts in his personal collection, most other items from the Tusayan ruins ended up in "eastern or foreign museums" or in the hands of curio dealers. Such experiences surely made Miller feel more strongly about preserving Arizona antiquities and precipitated his involvement with the Arizona Antiquarian Association and the efforts to establish a museum for the preservation and display of artifacts from around the territory.

13. Byron Cummings, "Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society, 1916-1917," Manuscript Series 200, box 6, folder 69, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.

14. Article appearing in the *Oasis*, 1897, quoted in David R. Wilcox, *Frank Midvale's Investigation of the Site of La Ciudad* (Phoenix: Arizona Department of Transportation, 1987), 16.

15. An excellent overview of the activities and members of the Antiquarian Association is provided in Wilcox, *Frank Midvale's Investigation*, 16-19. Other references are found in "The Arizona Antiquarian Society," *Natural Science News* 1 (1 February 1896), 4; "The Arizona Antiquarian Association," *Arizona Educator* 1 (10 January 1896), 10; "The Arizona Antiquarian Association," *Land of Sunshine* 6 (January 1897), 93-94.

16. Frank C. Reid, letter to the editor of the *Coconino Sun*, 12 November 1896.
17. Frank C. Reid, letter to the editor of the *Flagstaff Sun-Democrat*, 1 April 1897.
18. It is unclear who took part in the Montezuma Castle repair expedition besides Miller. A brief note on the association's work in a newspaper from 7 April 1897 mentioned Gus Williams (J. A. Rokohl) and Mr. DeMora as two of the people helping to make repairs to the Castle. Source: Sharlot Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona, clippings file, folder 21.
19. Dr. Joshua Miller, "The Montezuma Castle Repair Expedition," *The Antiquarian* 1 (September 1897): 228.
20. The ledger book for the Miller Collection, now held at the Arizona State Museum, lists artifacts gathered from Montezuma Castle as well as from other sites in the Verde Valley.
21. David R. Wilcox, *Frank Midvale's Investigation*, 16-19; for a history of the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society (and the Arizona Historical and Archaeological Society), see Bernice Johnston, "Fifty Years of the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society," *Kiva* 32 (December 1966): 42-53. A list of contributors for the purchase of the Miller Collection is noted in Byron Cummings, "Arizona Archaeological and Historical Association." Seventy dollars was turned over by the defunct Historical and Archaeological Society for the acquisition of the collection. Individual members of the society made up the difference, with contributions of between ten and one hundred dollars.
22. An interesting contrast to Miller is contemporary Dwight Heard, who purchased property with archeological sites, excavated these sites, and then created the well-known Heard Museum in Phoenix. For a discussion of Heard's activities in archeology and the founding of his museum, see Ann E. Marshall and Mary H. Brennan, *The Heard Museum: History and Collections* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 1995).
23. For a detailed discussion on the background and creation of the Antiquities Act, see chapter 3 of Hal Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989). A good discussion of the Antiquities Act in regard to southwestern archeological sites can also be found in chapter 3 of George M. Lubick, *Petrified Forest National Park: A Wilderness Bound in Time* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996).
24. Edgar L. Hewett, *Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest and Their Preservation* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 12.
25. Sites such as Montezuma Castle, Petrified Forest, and Devils Tower did not have the dramatic scenery that characterized already established national parks and were considered to be an "inferior"

class of park. For a discussion about Interior Department concern regarding inferior national parks, see chapter 4 of Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*.

26. W. A. Richards, Washington, D.C., to Edgar L. Hewett, Washington, D.C., 5 October 1904, reprinted in Hewett, *Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest*, 12 13.

27. The proposed Rio Verde Forest Reserve had been temporarily withdrawn by Secretarial Order on 14 December 1901. A 16 May 1910 Secretarial Order eventually restored the land to the public domain, except for the portion that was part of Montezuma Castle National Monument. This information is recorded in the Bureau of Land Management plat maps and historical indexes, Phoenix office.

28. W A. Richards, Washington, D.C., to F. S. Breen, Flagstaff, 15 October 1904, reprinted in Hewett, *Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest*, 13 14.

29. Special Agent George Wilson to General Land Office, Washington, D.C., 25 July 1904, report at the National Archives, Record Group 79, box 593.

30. An article appearing in a journal about American Indian culture and issues in 1904 expressed concern regarding the destruction of the ruins and provided further evidence of the damage sustained by the Castle at this time. The article noted that "One of the principal rooms in the great pile was completely ruined last year by blasting open the supposed burial vaults there in hope of getting relics for exhibition at the Pan-American exposition, and during the past four months a great wall, which undoubtedly would have endured a thousand years longer, fell with a crash into the canon below, because of undermining by reckless curio seekers." See "Vandals Destroy Our Treasures of Science," *Papoose* I (March 1903): 12.

31. There is some question regarding the status of the ownership of Montezuma Castle in the early 1900s. The Bureau of Land Management plat mats and historical indexes list no homestead entries or patents of this property. No mention of settlers in Sections 16 and 17 in Wilson's report would seem to support this. However, Mr. J. A. Rokohl (a.k.a. Gus Williams) of Prescott was reported to be the owner of the landmark. In an article from 31 August 1899 on Rokohl's marriage to Miss Carrie Collins, a reporter noted that the couple left "to spend their honeymoon in Montezuma's castle which Mr. Rokohl owns and which also he has preserved." (Source: Sharlot Hall Museum Archives, clippings file, folder 21). Another article referred to Rokohl as "the First King of Montezuma Castle" (article from 7 April 1897, Sharlot Hall Museum Archives, clippings file, folder 21). Mr. Rokohl was a member of the Arizona Antiquarian Association and apparently did help with the repair expedition at the Castle. Interestingly, however, another newspaper story noted that a large metate removed from Montezuma Castle by J. A. Pewette on 8 December 1897 was on display at Rokohl's saloon in Prescott (Sharlot Hall Museum Archives, clippings file, folder 21). That a member of the Antiquarian Association would display an artifact taken from Montezuma Castle seems odd. However, there is no clear evidence about Rokohl's claims to ownership of the Castle.

32. Wilson to General Land Office, 25 July 1904.
33. Special Agent George Wilson to General Land Office, 13 August 1904, report at the National Archives, Record Group 79, box 593. William Back acquired the Well and began homesteading there in 1879, but did *not* receive the deed for the property until 1907.
34. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 57 59.
35. Edgar L. Hewett to General Land Office, Washington, D.C., 25 January 1905, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 593.
36. Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson to secretary of the interior, 12 December National Archives. Record Group 79, box 599.
37. John McPharl, General Land Office, to commissioner, General Land Office, 23 February 1905, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599; Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson to secretary of the interior, 6 March 1905, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
38. *US. Statutes at Large* 34 (1906), Stat. 225.
39. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 43 48.
40. Devils Tower was established as the first national monument, proclaimed on 24 September 19116.

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Montezuma Castle

National Monument



Chapter 3

A CHALLENGE IN PRESERVATION

The Early Management of the Monument

Notes

1. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 74 75.
2. GLO acting commissioner to secretary of the interior, 24 August 1906, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
3. Bureau of Land Management historical indexes, Phoenix office.
4. The monuments under Dezendorf's charge at this time included El Morro, Chaco, Montezuma Castle, and Petrified Forest. Notes on this appointment come from Albert Schroeder, "Montezuma Castle Area History Data," Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, file H-14.
5. GLO commissioner to Register and Receiver, U.S. Land Office, Phoenix, 22 March 1907, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
6. Diary of Lucy Proudfoot (unpublished), Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, file H-14.
7. Taylor P. Gabbard, superintendent and special disbursing agent, Camp Verde Indian School, to secretary of the interior, 5 November 1911, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
8. Clement Ricker, chief clerk and chief executive officer, Department of the Interior, to Taylor P. Gabbard, superintendent and special disbursing agent, Camp Verde Indian School, 11 November 1911, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
9. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 83 84.

10. Adolph C. Miller, assistant to the secretary of the interior, to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, 10 April 1914, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
11. Taylor P. Gabbard, superintendent and special disbursing agent, Camp Verde Indian School, to commissioner of Indian Affairs, 24 April 1914, National Archives, Record Group 79, Box 599.
12. Lewis C. Laylin, assistant secretary of the interior, to commissioner of Indian Affairs, 19 May 1914, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
13. Roy G. Mead, GLO mineral examiner, to General Land Office commissioner, 29 May 1914, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
14. Ibid.
15. Such correspondence expressing concern about the Castle included an August 1914 report on the condition of the monument by Joe J. Taylor, superintendent of the Camp Verde Indian School; letters from Malcolm Fraser, secretary of the Prescott Chamber of Commerce; and correspondence between Forest Service officials regarding the need for repairs and an on-site custodian. National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
16. Commissioner, General Land Office, to the chief clerk, Department of the Interior, 9 September 1914, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
17. For more on the challenges of administering the national monuments at this time, see chapter 5, "'Warning Sign' Preservation," in Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*.
18. Lightbourn and Lyons, *By the Banks of Beaver Creek*, 23, 34 35; William L. Back, interview by Albert H. Schroeder, 24 May 1947, Memorandum for the Custodian of Montezuma Castle National Monument, National Park Service Western Archeological Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18.
19. L. A. Gillett, GLO mineral inspector, to commissioner, General Land Office, 25 September 1915, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
20. Arthur C. Ringland, District Forester, to the forester, 18 September 1915, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
21. Madison Grant, chairman, New York Zoological Society, to Arthur C. Ringland, district forester, 20 October 1915, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
22. John D. Guthrie, forest supervisor, to Arthur C. Ringland, district forester, 20 September 1915, Coconino National Forest administrative office, Flagstaff, Arizona, Montezuma Castle site file.

23. Bo Sweeney, assistant secretary of the interior, to Forester H. S. Graves, 24 November 1915, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
24. John D. Guthrie, forest supervisor, to B. H. Gibbs, chief, GLO Field Division, 14 December 1915; John D. Guthrie, forest supervisor, to Ranger Alston D. Morse, 14 December 1915, Coconino National Forest administrative office, Montezuma Castle site file.
25. John D. Guthrie, forest supervisor, to Ranger Alston D. Morse, 14 December 1915, Coconino National Forest administrative office, Montezuma Castle site file.
26. Grace M. Sparkes, secretary, Yavapai County Chamber of Commerce, to Franklin K. Lane, secretary of the interior, 5 August 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599; Grace M. Sparkes, secretary, Yavapai County Chamber of Commerce, to Senator Henry F. Ashurst, 5 August 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599. Sparkes also sent copies of this last letter to Senator Marcus Smith and Representative Carl Hayden on the same date.
27. Arthur C. Ringland, District Forester, to the Forester, 25 March 1916, Coconino National Forest administrative office, Montezuma Castle site file.
28. C. Marvin, acting secretary of agriculture, to the secretary of the interior, 25 April 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
29. Stephen T. Mather, assistant to the secretary of the interior, to the secretary of agriculture, 29 April 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
30. W. L. Lewis, GLO special agent, to commissioner, General Land Office, 11 July 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
31. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 87-91. See chapter 6, "Second-Class Sites," for an in-depth discussion of the creation of the National Park Service in 1916 and the limited impact on national monuments that followed.
32. F. G., Department of the Interior, to Joseph Cotter, 23 October 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
33. Joseph J. Cotter, assistant superintendent, National Park Service, to B. H. Gibbs, chief, GLO Santa Fe Field Office, 30 October 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
34. In letters to Secretary of the Interior Franklin Knight Lane dated 12 October 1916 and to Superintendent R. B. Marshall of the Department of the Interior from 13 and 27 November 1916, Sellers supported the recommendations made by Dr. Harold Colton of the University of Pennsylvania

and by AIA members Ernest Coxhead and Ed Kemper (National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599). Sellers's active letter writing led Interior Department officials to pay closer attention to the situation at Montezuma Castle and precipitated a more prompt response.

35. Dr. Colton later moved to Flagstaff, Arizona, where he and his wife Mary-Russell Ferrell Colton founded the Museum of Northern Arizona in 1928. As director of the Museum, Dr. Colton went on to do considerable anthropological research on the Sinagua, the builders and inhabitants of Montezuma Castle.

36. Harold S. Colton, professor of biology, University of Pennsylvania, to Horace W. Sellers, AIA, 5 October 1916; R. B. Marshall, superintendent, Department of the Interior, to Horace W. Sellers, AIA, 5 December 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.

37. Assistant attorney to Joseph Cotter, acting superintendent of the National Parks, 23 September 1916, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.

38. H. W MacFadden, GLO mineral inspector, to B. H. Gibbs, GLO chief of Field Division, 31 March 1917, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.

39. Ibid.

40. B. H. Gibbs, chief, GLO Santa Fe Field Division, to Joseph J. Cotter, acting superintendent, National Park Service, 13 April 1917; Horace M. Albright, acting director, National Park Service, memo entitled "Specifications for Repair and Improvement of Montezuma Castle National Monument," no date; Horace M. Albright, acting superintendent, National Park Service, to B. H. Gibbs, chief, GLO Santa Fe Field Division, 3 May 1917; National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599. Mention of the NPS plans for Montezuma Castle also appear in continued correspondence regarding the willingness of the Forest Service to oversee the monument: Bo Sweeney, assistant secretary of the interior, to the secretary of agriculture, 23 June 1917, National Archives, Record Group 48, box 1979.

41. Reports filed by Alston D. Morse to the National Park Service on 6 August 1917, 19 November 1917, and 8 January 1918, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.

42. Alston D. Morse to Stephen T. Mather, assistant director, National Park Service, 8 May 1918; Stephen T. Mather, assistant director, National Park Service, to Alston D. Morse, 21 May 1918. National Archives, Record Group 79. box 599.

43. Stephen T. Mather, director, National Park Service, to Governor George W. P Hunt, 16 August 1918; Stephen T. Mather, director, National Park Service, to O. F. Hicks. 25 October 1918. National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.

44. Horace M. Albright, Acting Director, National Park Service, to Mrs. Alston Morse, 6 December 1918, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
45. O. F. Hicks to Stephen T. Mather, director, National Park Service, 9 November 1918, National Archives, Record Group 79, box, 599.
46. Alston D. Morse to Horace M. Albright, Acting Director, National Park Service, 27 January 1919, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
47. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 109 16.
48. Arno B. Cammerer, acting director, National Park Service, to Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande National Monument, 13 August 1919, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
49. Alston D. Morse to the National Park Service, 2 December 1918. National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
50. Arno B. Cammerer, acting director, National Park Service, to W. J. Sullivan, 9 October 1920 and 12 October 1920, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
51. Arno B. Cammerer, acting director, National Park Service, to Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande National Monument, 19 January 192 1; Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, director, National Park Service, 2 January 1921. National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
52. Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande National Monument, *to* Stephen Mather, director, National Park Service, 18 October 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
53. Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande National Monument, to Stephen T. Mather, director, National Park Service, 10 September 1920, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
54. Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande National Monument, to Stephen T. Mather, director, National Park Service, 18 October 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
55. Arno B. Cammerer, acting director, National Park Service, to Martin L. Jackson, 28 October 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
56. Arno B. Cammerer, acting director, National Park Service, to Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande National Monument, 25 October 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.

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Chapter 4

THE JACKSON YEARS

Development, and Promotion of Montezuma Castle National Monument

Notes

1. Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande National Monument, to Martin Jackson, 16 November 1921, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
2. See Clemenson, *Casa Grande Ruins National Monument*, for a discussion of Pinkley's many activities as custodian of Casa Grande.
3. *Southwestern Monuments Reports* (October 1955); Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle and the Jackson Family," Archival Record Group 18, National Park Service, Western Archeological Conservation Center, Tucson.
4. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 116.
5. Lubick, *Petrified Forest National Park*, 88; Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 127-28.
6. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 120-23.
7. Martin Jackson, custodian, Montezuma Castle National Monument, to Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande and Tumacacori National Monuments, 28 November 1921; Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande and Tumacacori National Monuments, to Stephen Mather, director, National Park Service, 1 February 1922. National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599. Pinkley suggested that Jackson paint the Castle ladders "the standard Park Service green." The ladders subsequently offered a striking contrast with the pale limestone cliffs surrounding the ruins.
8. Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande and Tumacacori National Monuments, to Stephen Mather, director, National Park Service, 1 February 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.

9. Ibid.

10. For more on the growth of automobile travel and tourism during this time, see John A. Jackle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), and Earl Spencer Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957).

11. Montezuma Castle National Monument administrative office, fact file H-14. Though complete annual visitation figures do not exist for Montezuma Castle until 1925, the guest register inside the Castle ruins, signed by approximately two-thirds of the monument visitors, frequently listed several hundred names per month during the early 1920s. See appendix A for annual travel statistics.

12. Arno Cammerer, acting director, National Park Service, to Carl T. Hayden, U.S. House of Representatives, 12 September 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599. In 1916, Sparkes had first expressed her concern about the condition of the ladders at the Castle. Over the years, she continued to involve herself in other preservation issues and remained an active force in the promotion and development of sites in Yavapai County.

13. Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande and Tumacacori National Monuments, 4 August 1922, and Martin L. and Ada Jackson to Stephen Mather, director, National Park Service, 15 September 1923, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599; Montezuma Castle National Monument fact file H-14; "Recent Publicity for Montezuma's Castle Is Given," *Arizona Republican*, 27 January 1923. In remarking to Director Mather on the large crowds that attended the showing of *The Galloping Kid*, Martin Jackson expressed his surprise because "the film was nothing extra either."

14. Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle and the Jackson Family," Archival Record Group 18, National Park Service Western Archeological Conservation Center, Tucson. In the various reports about the repair work at Montezuma Castle, there is no mention of the names of the three American Indian laborers. It should be noted that this summer job marked the beginning of Earl Jackson's long career with the National Park Service, which included the custodianship of Montezuma Castle.

15. Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande and Tumacacori National Monuments, to Stephen Mather, director, National Park Service, 12 August 1923 and 1 September 1923, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599. Pinkley filed a series of painstakingly detailed reports on all of the repair work done at Montezuma Castle between 1923 and 1925. These reports documented the many accomplishments of the small work crew and served to justify to NPS officials the requests for future appropriations for the care of the monument. Here, Pinkley articulated his belief that the agency needed to continue to provide enough upkeep money for the Castle to protect the newly restored ruins.

16. Martin Jackson, custodian, Montezuma Castle National Monument, to Stephen Mather, director, National Park Service, 15 September 1923, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599. In this letter, Jackson recommended that "Mr. Pinkley be made Supervisor of all the monuments of the

South West, that they may all have more of his time and derive more benefit from his knowledge, ability and conscientious work. . . . You could not find anywhere a man so well fitted and so badly needed as is Pinkley for the supervision of the National Monuments."

17. Arno B. Cammerer, acting director, National Park Service, to Frank Pinkley, superintendent, Southwestern Monuments, 29 September 1924, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599. Cammerer suggested that appointment of a full-time custodian and the construction of a residence at Montezuma Castle should wait until after the agency received a larger appropriation for care of the monuments. He also indicated that the position of a full-time custodian seemed more critical at that time at Chaco Canyon and that the custodians at Casa Grande and Petrified Forest National Monuments deserved to have adequate residences built for them first.

18. Earl Jackson, memo, "Area History Outline for Fiftieth Anniversary," 21 November 1956, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, file H-14; Montezuma Castle fact file.

19. Martin L. Jackson, "Montezuma Castle National Monument 1923 Annual Report" (unpublished agency report); Frank Pinkley, superintendent, Southwestern Monuments, to Stephen Mather, director, National Park Service, 1 August 1924, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.

20. *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports* (May 1924).

21. Earl Jackson, memo, "History of 'Museum' Building and 'Museum-Store' Building," 30 November 1956, Montezuma Castle National Monument administrative office, file H-14; Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle and the Jackson Family," Archival Record Group 18, National Park Service Western Archeological Conservation Center, Tucson. It seems that the Jacksons built the second building on the monument which later housed the concession shops sometime before 1928 and added the two-bedroom home to this structure between 1929 and 1930, though no exact date is listed. The Jacksons eventually relocated the monument office and museum to the old shelter cabin in August 1939. Ada Jackson and later Norman Jackson (Earl's brother) ran the store until it was closed in August 1942. Recollections about the concession shop can be found in Betty Jackson, interview by Joshua M. Protas, 18 April 1997, Oral History Project, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, Camp Verde, Arizona.

22. Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle and the Jackson Family," Archival Record Group 18, National Park Service Western Archeological Conservation Center, Tucson; Earl Jackson, memo: "Area History Outline for Fiftieth Anniversary," 21 November 1956, Montezuma Castle National Monument administrative office, file H-14.

23. John E. Edwards, assistant secretary of the interior, to the secretary of agriculture, 23 June 1928, National Archives, Record Group 48, box 1979; *Southwestern Monuments Reports* (January, March, and September 1928).

24. *Southwestern Monuments Reports* (March 1928).

25. For specific references to the high visitation rates at the Montezuma Castle museum and the donations of collections by local individuals, see *Southwestern Monuments Reports* between 1928 and 1930.

26. David R. Wilcox, "The Changing Context of Support for Archaeology and the Work of Eric F. Schmidt," in *Eric F. Schmidt's Investigations of Salado Sites in Central Arizona*, ed. John W. Hohmann and Linda B. Kelley (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1988), 21-25. Wilcox's chapter provides a detailed account of the movement for states' rights in archeological matters, the origins of the Arizona Antiquities Act of 1927, and the conflicts that emerged as institutions and individuals fought for control over the state's archeological resources. Correspondence on these issues can also be found in National Archives, Record Group 48, boxes 571 and 1980. Of notable interest in these files is correspondence, signed by many representatives from prominent archeological institutions both within and outside of Arizona, recommending that Frank Pinkley be designated as the Department of the Interior archeologist for Arizona (18 April and 12 June 1931). Although the department never acted on this suggestion, the proposal reflects the frustration of archeologists working on federal lands in Arizona who had to obtain permits through the unresponsive Department of Interior archeologist Jesse L. Nusbaum.

27. Earl H. Morris, "An Aboriginal Salt Mine near Camp Verde, Arizona," *Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History* 30, pt. 3 (1928) : 75-97; Paul R. Fish and Suzanne K. Fish, *Verde Valley Archaeology: Review and Prospective* (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1977), 5. The report by Fish and Fish includes a helpful section with project summaries for all of the major archeological projects done in the Verde Valley. Additional summary information on archeological research in the Verde Valley can be found in Calvin R. Cummings, "A Survey of the Archaeological Potential of the Upper Verde Valley, Arizona," Montezuma Castle National Monument library, Camp Verde.

28. Earl Jackson, naturalist, to superintendent, Montezuma Castle National Monument, 7 August 1957, Montezuma Castle National Monument administrative office, file H-14; copy of notes made by George Boundey, Montezuma Castle National Monument administrative office, file H-14. Jackson recalled that Boundey left the excavation project early, saying, "I am kept awake by the Old People. They talk to me and I can't sleep and can't rest. So I've got to go." Although Boundey stored the artifacts from the excavation in paper bags in the basement of the monument headquarters, Jackson noted that by the time he began work on the CWA excavations of Castle A in 1933-34, rats had destroyed most of the bags, and the material was scattered all over the basement floor.

29. Frank Pinkley, *Montezuma's Castle*, copyrighted brochure (n.p.: National Park Service[?], 1928); Susan J. Wells and Keith M. Anderson, *Archeological Survey and Architectural Study of Montezuma Castle National Monument* (Tucson: National Park Service, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1988), 140.

30. Earl Jackson, "A Survey of the Verde Drainage" (M.A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1933).
31. Winifred Gladwin and Harold S. Gladwin, *An Archaeological Survey of the Verde Valley*, Medallion Papers, no. 6 (Globe: Gila Pueblo, 1930); Fish and Fish, *Verde Valley Archaeology*, 32-33.
32. Midvale sporadically worked on his survey of the canal network between 1929 and 1967, and never produced a report of his findings. Attwell's investigations of the deteriorating ruins led him to propose the establishment of Clear Creek Ruins as a national research monument. The National Park Service did not pursue this suggestion. Fish and Fish, *Verde Valley Archaeology*, 5, 33.
33. Fish and Fish, *Verde Valley Archaeology*, 33-36; Cummings, "A Survey of the Archaeological Potential."
34. For an overview of excavation, development, and establishment of Tuzigoot National Monument, see Josh Protas, "Grace Marion Sparkes: Promoter and Preservationist of Yavapai County's Archaeological Resources," paper presented at the Second National Women in Historic Preservation Conference, 14 March 1997, Tempe, Arizona; and "Tuzigoot," *Sharlot Hall Gazette* 11 (October 1984) : 1-5.
35. Martin L. Jackson, Report on Montezuma Castle C.W.A. Work, Federal Project No. 5, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 2289; Earl Jackson and Sallie Pierce Van Valkenburgh, *Montezuma Castle Archeology*, Southwest Monuments Association Technical Series, vol. 3, no. 1 (Globe, Ariz.: Southwestern Monuments Association, 1954). The total budget for the excavation project amounted to more than three thousand dollars. It should be noted that a few years later the Park Service removed the restoration of Room 5 that had been done as part of this CWA project.
36. For more on the changes in the National Park Service during the 1930s, see Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, chapter 9, "The New Deal and the National Monuments."
37. *Southwestern Monuments Reports* (August 1930).
38. Frank Pinkley, superintendent, Southwestern Monuments, to F. A. Kittredge, chief engineer, National Park Service, 24 January 1932, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18, 1:6.
39. H. A. Kreinkamp, Report to Chief Landscape Architect, through the Superintendent of the Southwest Monuments, 15 September 1931, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18, B1, F16.
40. *Southwestern Monument Reports* (March-September 1932).
41. *Southwestern Monuments Reports* (March 1933).

42. Martin L. Jackson, Report on Montezuma Castle C.W.A. Work: Federal Project No. 5, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 2289, F619; *Southwestern Monuments Reports*, 1933 annual report.
43. Walter G. Attwell, Final Construction Report: Montezuma Castle National Monument Garage and Equipment Shed, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18; *Southwestern Monuments Reports* (April October 1934).
44. *Southwestern Monuments Reports* (October 1938 August 1939); Betty Jackson, interview by Josh M. Protas, 18 April 1997, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments Oral History Project, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monument administrative office.
45. *Southwestern Monuments Reports* (1931 41).
46. Montezuma Castle National Monument fact file; *Southwestern Monuments Reports* (1933 41). Correspondence relating to the needed improvement of the Castle approach roads can be found in National Archives, Record Group 79, box 2289, folder 638.
47. Frank Pinkley, superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, to the director, National Park Service, 16 February 1934, Coconino National Forest administrative office, Flagstaff, Arizona, boundary files.
48. F. A. Silcox, chief, National Forest Service, to the director, National Park Service, 16 April 1936, Coconino National Forest, boundary files. The other proposal to which Silcox refers in this letter involved the transfer of a small parcel of land from Tonto National Forest to Tonto National Monument.
49. *Southwestern Monuments Reports*, supplement (May 1933).
50. *Southwestern Monuments Reports* (May August 1933). Sketches of the proposed tunnel, prepared by the office of the chief engineer of the NPS, appeared in the August 1933 edition of this publication.
51. Walter G. Attwell, associate engineer, to F. A. Kittredge, chief engineer, 8 November 1933, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18.
52. Ibid.; Thom. C. Vint, "More About Tunnels," *Southwestern Monuments Reports*, supplement (January 1934); Walter G. Attwell, associate engineer, to F. A. Kittredge, chief engineer, 26 June 1933, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18.
53. *Southwestern Monuments Reports*, supplement (1934), annual report. This supplement includes a portion of the letter explaining the decision motto build the proposed tunnel as well as Frank Pinkley's thoughts on this situation.

54. Ibid.

55. J. H. Tovrea, Structural Analysis of Montezuma Castle, March 1938, National Archives, Record Group 79: *Southwestern Monuments Reports* (April-December 1939).

56. In May 1939, the NPS began collecting an entrance fee of twenty-five cents at eight southwestern national monuments, including Montezuma Castle. Fees were collected at the checking station, which was moved from the museum grounds in front of the Castle. At this time, the monument staff also implemented a schedule of hourly guided trips through the Castle between 8:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. The entrance fee, which proved to be extremely unpopular, likely contributed to the decrease in visitation between 1938 and 1939. In July 1939, the Park Service changed its policy and charged the admission fee only to those who climbed the ladders to enter the Castle itself. In June 1940, the policy was amended once again, and fees were charged only to visitors who took guided trips through the Castle.

57. Associate Engineer Montgomery, field report on Montezuma Castle, 24 July 1941, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18.

58. U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Montezuma Castle National Monument Vibration Report, 17 October 1941, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18.

59. Montezuma Castle National Monument fact file.

60. Frank Pinkley, *The Epitaph*, November 1922, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 571. *The Epitaph* was Pinkley's first effort to print a circular with information about current issues at each of the southwestern monuments. This informal publication later evolved into the *Southwestern Monuments Reports*, which included short updates from each of the monument custodians.

61. For examples of Jackson's typical activities as custodian of Montezuma Castle, see his monthly contributions in *Southwestern Monuments Reports*.

62. For more on the institutional reorganizations of the Park Service during the 1930s and the development of the Division of Education, see Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, chapter 9, "The New Deal and the National Monuments." This chapter includes an interesting discussion of Frank Pinkley's resentment of the more centralized administration of the national monuments.

63. Robert H. Rose, Montezuma Castle National Monument Museum Development Plan, September 1932, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson. Archival Record Group 18; Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle Museum Discussion," *Southwestern Monuments Reports*, supplement (February 1935); Louis Caywood, "Proposed Museum Exhibits Plan for Montezuma Castle." *Southwestern Monuments Reports*, supplement (March 1936).

64. Earl Jackson, "Montezuma Castle and the Jackson Family," Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18; Betty Jackson, interview by Josh M. Protas, 18 April 1997. When Martin and Ada Jackson left Montezuma Castle, they put their other son, Norman, in charge of the concession store. He and his wife, "Honey," lived in the residence above the gift shop and operated the store until 1942.
65. Betty Jackson interview; *Southwestern Monuments Reports* (1937 40).
66. Montezuma Castle National Monument fact files; *Southwestern Monuments Reports* (1940 41).
67. Frank Pinkley, custodian, Casa Grande and Tumacacori National Monuments, to Stephen Mather, director, National Park Service, 24 February 1923, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599; Mrs. John L. Heath, Clear Creek. to Frank Pinkley, 16 June 1932, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18.
68. Walter G. Attwell, associate engineer, "Proposed Research Monument Number One, Clear Creek, Arizona, Clear Creek Ruins," 9 April 1934, Montezuma Castle National Monument, site files; Erik K. Reed, associate archeologist, "Special Report on the Clear Creek Ruin, Arizona," 1 June 1939 Montezuma Castle National Monument, site files.
69. A good example of a GLO report evaluating Montezuma Well is George F. Wilson, GLO special agent, to commissioner, General Land Office, 13 August 1904, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.
70. Jack Beckman. "A History of Montezuma Well" (unpublished manuscript); William Back, interview by Albert Schroeder, NPS archeologist, 24 May 1947, transcript, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson.
71. Ibid.
72. Roger Toll to the director, National Park Service, 22 March 1932, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599; Regional Geologist Gould to regional director, Comments on Appraisal of Well Property, 18 May 1939, Montezuma Castle National Monument library; Erik Reed, associate archeologist, Special Report on Montezuma's Well, 1 June 1939, Montezuma Castle National Monument library.
73. Extensive correspondence on the acquisition of Montezuma Well exists in several locations, including the Carl T. Hayden Papers, Arizona Collection, Hayden Library. Arizona State University; Grace Sparkes Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson; Montezuma Castle National Monument, administrative files; and National Archives, Record Group 79, box 599.

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Montezuma Castle

National Monument



Chapter 5

MOVING ON UP

The Modern Development of the Monument

Notes

1. Clemenson, *Casa Grande Ruins National Monument*, 176.
2. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 222. Rothman discusses how the organizational changes of the Park Service in the 1930s led to a new system of integrated management that helped erase the previous importance placed on the designation of NPS sites.
3. The first long-term planning document for Montezuma Castle National Monument was written by Assistant Landscape Architect H.A. Kreinkamp in 1931. In subsequent years, NPS specialists directed increasing attention to various issues at the monument and produced additional master plans, studies, and reports.
4. For more on the NPS Landscape Architecture Division and its role in the development of master-planning and regional-planning procedures, see chapter 5 of Ethan Carr, *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998). This book offers an insightful historical account of how landscape architects shaped the development of the NPS system in the early twentieth century.
5. The visitation figures for Montezuma Castle during the war years reflect the significant decrease in tourism at this time. In 1941, there were 10,077 visitors to the monument. These numbers dropped in 1942 to 4,713 visitors, in 1943 to 2,715 visitors, and in 1944 to 3,161 visitors.
6. Albert Schroeder began his work in anthropology as a student of Byron Cummings and Emil Haury at the University of Arizona. His master's thesis, which is still considered to be an important study of the archeology of the Salt River Valley, involved one of the first systematic examinations of Hohokam sites north of the Gila Basin. After serving in the army during World War II, Schroeder went on to a long and distinguished career in archeology with the National Park Service, beginning with his assignment at Montezuma Castle National Monument in 1946. He eventually reached the

rank of chief of the NPS Division of Interpretation in the Southwest Regional Office in Santa Fe before retiring in 1976. His accomplishments include a prodigious record of scholarly publication, numerous archeological survey and excavation projects, and extensive archival research on Spanish colonial and American territorial period documents. He was well known for developing the theory of the prehistoric Hakataya culture of western Arizona. A more detailed discussion of Schroeder's archeological research in the Verde Valley appears in chapter 6 on resource management. For more information on Schroeder and his work with the NPS, see Todd W. Bostwick, "Albert Schroeder 1914 1993," *Kiva* 60 (spring 1995): 443 45; and Charlie R. Steen, "Albert H. Schroeder Always Working," in *Southwestern Culture History: Collected Papers in Honor of Albert H. Schroeder*, ed. Charles H. Lange (Albuquerque: Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico, no. 10, 1985), 1 13.

7. Various correspondence about the Webb boundary dispute can be found in Lands, Water, and Recreation Planning files at the Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office and at the Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18, 1:5 7. Further discussion about the impact of this dispute appears in chapter 6 on resource management issues at the monument.

8. Jack Beckman, "A History of Montezuma Well" (unpublished manuscript); William Back Jr., interview by Albert Schroeder, NPS Archeologist, 24 May 1947, transcript, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson. Beckman's history of Montezuma Well and the transcript of Schroeder's interview with William Back Jr. contain many interesting stories about the Back family's ownership and development of the Well property, including topics such as daily life on the ranch, tourism at the Well, excavations of various nearby features, and the settlement and growth of the region.

9. Annual Report for the 1948 Fiscal Year, National Archives, Record Group 79, box 2288 F-207; Montezuma Castle National Monument administrative office fact file.

10. Montezuma Castle National Monument fact file, Interpretation. Another improvement to the monument grounds included the removal of the old Castle store building, which had ceased to be used in 1942. The furniture and fixtures from the store were sold and the building itself was sold to R. W. Wingfield of Camp Verde in 1949. After the structure was removed, the site was restored to its original appearance. The removal of the Castle store is referred to in *Montezuma Castle National Monuments Monthly Narrative Reports* (24 March 1949).

11. Montezuma Castle National Monument fact file; *Montezuma Castle National Monuments Monthly Narrative Reports* (26 November 1950).

12. Various correspondence between Homer F. Hastings, custodian, Montezuma Castle National Monument, and Region Three National Park Service officials, August 1947 October 1948, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18, 1:20.

13. The first mention of the idea to build a miniature reconstruction of Montezuma Castle is referred to in Robert H. Rose, park naturalist, Southwestern Monuments, Montezuma Castle National Monument Museum Development Plan, 1932, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18, 1:22. In this plan, Rose notes that Martin Jackson suggested that a scale model of the Castle be installed to interpret the ruins to the many visitors unable to climb the ladders. In subsequent years, as concern about the condition of the Castle intensified, Earl Jackson once again brought this idea to the attention of NPS officials. However, the Park Service did not begin to pursue this idea seriously until the late 1940s.

Apparently at least two previously constructed models of Montezuma Castle were used to interpret the ruins at locations other than the monument. The Montezuma Castle National Monument fact file includes a reference to a diorama, made by the Western Museums Laboratory around 1937, which was on permanent loan to the San Diego Museum of Man. This plaster model, roughly four feet by five feet in size, remained on display in the museum's Pueblo Hall until 1993, when it was put in storage. In 1996, the museum sold the model to R. G. Munn Auctioneers, who then auctioned it to a private collector. (Linda Fish, registrar, San Diego Museum of Man, personal communication, 7 October 1998; Ron Munn, R. G. Auctioneers, personal communication, 8 October 1998.) Another replica of Montezuma Castle is still on display at the Smoki Museum in Prescott. This model was constructed in 1933 by the same CWA crew that built the Smoki Museum building in the early 1930s. Mrs. Edward S. Tanner of Prescott restored the display in 1967. The model, which is four feet six inches high by seven feet eight inches wide by three feet deep, depicts the prehistoric residents of the Castle engaged in various daily activities and includes miniature artifacts and natural landscape features. The Smoki Museum files suggest that the CWA crew built several of these models; however, it is unclear what happened to the other Castle displays (Joanne Cline, collections chair, archivist, Smoki Museum, personal communication, 9 October 1998). An additional reference to a diorama of Montezuma Castle is made in a newspaper clipping from Prescott dated 30 June 1941 (Sharlot Hall Museum Archives, Prescott, Arizona, clippings folder 21). The article mentions a replica of the Castle exhibited in the offices of the Yavapai Associates in Prescott. The author claims that this model was built by "CCC Corps" and was used by the county promotional organization to attract the attention of tourists and direct them to the monument. This model was possibly one of those built by the Smoki Museum CWA crew.

14. It is interesting to note that John O. Cook, who served as superintendent of Montezuma Castle between 1949 and 1956, began a family legacy with the National Park Service. Cook began his NPS career at the Grand Canyon in 1936 as a laborer in the Sanitation Department before later transferring to Montezuma Castle. Cook's son, also named John, followed in his father's footsteps in the agency. He served as an administrator over Montezuma Castle in his position as superintendent of the Southern Arizona Group Office in Phoenix and, until his retirement in 1999, held the position of NPS regional director of the Intermountain Region.

15. Montezuma Castle National Monument fact file; Nicholas Eason, "History of Montezuma Castle National Monument" (unpublished manuscript), 64 65, Montezuma Castle National Monument library. It should be noted that although the Back family charged fifty cents for admission to

Montezuma Well when they owned the property, the Park Service has never implemented a fee for admission to this unit of the monument.

16. Various correspondence from January 1952 to October 1953, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18, 1:21.

17. In 1955, the combined visitation for Montezuma Castle and Montezuma Well was 60,700; in 1956, the total visitation jumped to 138,200.

18. In 1940, the populations of Maricopa and Pima Counties, which include the municipalities of Phoenix and Tucson, were 186,193 and 72,838 respectively; in 1950, they increased to 331,770 and 141,216. Source: Henry P. Walker and Don Bufkin, *Historical Atlas of Arizona, Second Edition* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 61 62.

19. For a detailed overview of the changes in the West during and after World War II, see Gerald D. Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).

20. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 222; Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 184 85.

21. Mission 66 Prospectus for Montezuma Castle National Monument, National Park Service Prospectus, 3 4, 6, quoted in Eason, "History of Montezuma Castle," 69, 71 72.

22. Gilbert Wenger, acting superintendent, Montezuma Castle National Monument, to general superintendent, 18 April 1956, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18; Luis A. Gastellum, assistant general superintendent, to general superintendent, 9 August 1956, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18.

23. Montezuma Castle National Monument Museum Prospectus, ca. 1956; Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Montezuma Castle National Monument, Arizona, 1961, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, development files.

24. Montezuma Castle National Monument Museum Prospectus, 1956(?), Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18.

25. 1957 Master Plan Development Outline for Montezuma Castle National Monument, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, development files.

26. Eason, "History of Montezuma Castle," 70. For detailed information about each of the specific improvements, including project descriptions, names of contractors, total costs, and dates of completion, see Narrative Completion Reports in the Development Files at the Montezuma Castle

and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office.

27. *Verde Independent* (Cottonwood), 15 September 1960; Monthly Narrative Report, Montezuma Castle National Monument, 1 October 1960.

28. Mission 66 Narrative Completion Reports, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, development files. The completion reports for the Mission 66 improvements contain project specifications, contractor information, and cost figures. These reports provide a useful record of all of the development projects going on at this time.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.; Montezuma Castle National Monument, fact file. Details of the archeological work done at Montezuma Well appears in chapter 6 on resource management at the monument.

32. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 185-87.

33. 1964 Master Plan Narrative, Montezuma Castle National Monument, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, development file.

34. Montezuma Castle National Monument fact file.

35. Ibid. The monument fact file also contains a record of other maintenance activities, development issues, and repairs at the monument.

36. The postwar population statistics for all of Yavapai County reflect the pattern of growth in the Verde Valley communities. In 1950, the population for the county was 24,991; in 1960, it was 28,912. By 1970, the population had grown to 36,837, and by 1980 it had soared to 68,145. Source: Walker and Bufkin, *Historical Atlas of Arizona*, 61.

37. Montezuma Castle National Monument Statement for Management, 1978, 10, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office. Further discussion of the impact of regional growth on area resources appears in chapter 6 on the monument and resource management issues.

38. Final Master Plan, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, 1975, 9, on file at the Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office.

39. Glen Henderson, interview by Josh M. Protas, 11 April 1997, Montezuma Castle National Monuments Oral History Project, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office. The transcripts of this interview contain details of Henderson's career with the

- Park Service and some of the major issues he has dealt with as superintendent of Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments. As of January 2001, Glen Henderson continued to serve as the superintendent of these monuments.
40. Final Master Plan, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, 1975, 23.
 41. Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, development files.
 42. Ibid.
 43. Final Master Plan, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, 1975, 25 26; Statement for Management, Montezuma Castle National Monument.
 44. Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, development files; Glen Henderson, interview by Josh M. Protas, 11 April 1997.
 45. Glen Henderson, interview by Josh M. Protas, 11 April 1997: "Visitor Center Is Closed to House Casino," *Journal* (Camp Verde), 18 November 1992.
 46. Brian T. Fitzgerald, 'Yavapai-Apache Casino Opening Set.' *Journal* (Camp Verde), 3 May 1995.
 47. Statement for Management, Montezuma Castle National Monument, 1995, 3, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office.
 48. Final Master Plan, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments. 1975, 27.
 49. Ibid., 27 29.
 50. Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, fact file; Statement for Management, Montezuma Castle National Monument. 1995, 9.
 51. Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, fact file.
 52. Environmental Assessment, Montezuma Castle National Monument Sewage Treatment and Disposal System, November 1981; Statement for Management, Montezuma Castle National Monument, 1995, 9
 53. Combined Interpretive Prospectus for Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Montezuma Castle National Monument, Montezuma Well Unit, Tuzigoot National Monument, Tonto National Monument, and Walnut Canyon National Monument, 1993, 1 5, 15 25. On file at Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office,

54. Montezuma Castle National Monument Draft Exhibit Concept Plan, 1997. On file as Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office.

55. Ibid.

56. A more detailed discussion of NAGPRA issues at Montezuma Castle appears in chapter 6 on resource management.

57. Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, interpretation files.

58. Final Master Plan, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, 1975, 14, 16.

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Montezuma Castle

National Monument



Chapter 6

WITHIN A CHANGING LANDSCAPE

Managing the Natural Resources of the Monument

Notes

1. Stephanie M. Whittlesey, "The Vanished River," in *Vanishing River: Landscapes and Lives of the Lower Verde Valley*, ed. Stephanie M. Whittlesey, Richard Ciolek-Torrello, and Jeffrey H. Altschul (Tucson: SRI Press, 1997), 29-30. This essay provides a detailed account of historical-period impacts to the Verde River as reflected in documentary records and relates these changes to those experienced by other rivers in southwestern desert landscapes as a result of historic human activities. The term *vanished river* is used to contrast the characteristics of the prehistoric Verde River with those of the altered river of historic times. Historic changes to Arizona's rivers, including the Verde, are also discussed in Barbara Tellman, Richard Yarde, and Mary G. Wallace, *Arizona's Changing Rivers: How People Have Affected the Rivers* (Tucson: Water Resources Research Center, College of Agriculture, University of Arizona, 1997).
2. Stephanie M. Whittlesey, "Landscapes and Lives along the Lower Verde River," in *Vanishing River*, ed. Whittlesey, Ciolek-Torrello, and Altschul, 718.
3. Tellman, Yarde, and Wallace, *Arizona's Changing Rivers*, 46. In reference to the irrigation ditch built by the Yavapai, Sigrid Khera and Patricia Mariella observe: "Despite a serious epidemic and other adverse conditions typical of forced settlement of a conquered people, these Yavapai, mainly by means of their aboriginal tools, managed to excavate an irrigation ditch and produce several successful harvests (Corbusier 1969:17). A group of Tucson contractors who supplied reservations was alarmed by the growing self-sufficiency of the Rio Verde Reservation population. These contractors pressed for a government order to transfer these Indians onto the Apache Reservation at San Carlos (Corbusier 1969:260)." Sigrid Khera and Patricia Mariella, "Yavapai," in *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, vol. 10 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 41. Citations within the quotation are from William T. Corbusier, *Verde to San Carlos* (Tucson: Dale Stuart King, 1969).
4. Herbert V. Young, *They Came to Jerome: The Billion Dollar Copper Camp* (Jerome: Jerome

Historical Society, 1972), 29 32.

5. Tellman, Yarde, and Wallace, *Arizona's Changing Rivers*, 45 46.

6. Mindeleff, "Aboriginal Remains," 190 91.

7. Whittlesey, "The Vanished River," 36; Tellman, Yarde, and Wallace, *Arizona's Changing Rivers*, 47.

8. Whittlesey, "The Vanished River," 37.

9. James W. Byrkit, "A Log of the Verde: The 'Taming' of an American River," *Journal of Arizona History* 19 (spring 1978): 31, 48 49.

10. *Ibid.*, 45.

11. Tellman, Yarde, and Wallace, *Arizona's Changing Rivers*, 49.

12. Byrkit, "A Log of the Verde," 41 42.

13. Tellman, Yarde, and Wallace, *Arizona's Changing Rivers*, 47.

14. Water Resources Management Plan, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, 1992, 41, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office.

15. *Verde Independent* (Cottonwood), 3 May 1995.

16. Hillory A. Tolson, *Laws Relating to the National Park Service, the National Parks, and Monuments* (Washington, D. C.: Department of the Interior, 1933), 9 11.

17. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 91. For a more comprehensive treatment of the natural resource management ideas and policies within the agency during this time, see chapter 3, "The Rise and Decline of Ecological Attitudes." This book as a whole offers a detailed account of NPS fluctuating commitment to ecological thinking and the scientific management of natural resources throughout the course of the agency's history. It provides an excellent background on the people, politics, and principles that shaped NPS policies toward natural resources and helps contextualize many of the activities undertaken at particular parks and monuments.

18. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 14.

19. For more on NPS neglect of Montezuma Castle during the early years of its management, refer to

chapters 3 and 4 of this study.

20. Hartley H. T. Jackson and Walter P. Taylor, *Biological Survey Reports, Verde Valley, 1916* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1916).
21. Betty Jackson, interview by Josh M. Protas, 18 April 1997, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments Oral History Project, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monument administrative office.
22. W. B. McDougall, regional biologist, Special Report on Montezuma Castle National Monument, 30 March 1940, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18.
23. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 150 51.
24. For more about these early publications and others concerning the features at Montezuma Well, refer to chapters 1 and 2 of this study.
25. Manning, "Ancient Pueblos of New Mexico," 329; "Montezuma's Castle Greatest of Prehistoric Structures," *Arizona Journal Miner*, n.d., on file in clippings folder at the Museum of Northern Arizona library.
26. Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, fact file. The fact file contains a list of a number of different reports on the depth of Montezuma Well; additional references to the depth of the Well are made in articles cited in chapters 1 and 2 of this study. Many of these reports repeated information from questionable sources. It is unclear how some of the more outrageous measurements were obtained; some reports even stated that the Well was "bottomless."
27. William Back, interview by Albert Schroeder, NPS Archeologist, 24 May 1947, transcript, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson; Beckman, "History of Montezuma Well." Both of these sources contain interesting information about the activities at Montezuma Well during its ownership by the Back family. The monument fact file contains a note indicating that Bill Back discontinued giving boat rides at the Well after an occurrence of the surface water bubbling in 1927. In his interview with Albert Schroeder, William Back Jr. noted that at a later time a sample of the bubbling mud was taken to the laboratory of the United Verde Extension Mine in Clemenceau, where analysis revealed it to be composed of limey mud.
28. William Back, interview by Albert Schroeder, 24 May 1947; Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, fact file. The monument fact file includes a reference to Basil Back's claim that his father, who used to be able to crawl through the cave opening at the outlet, decided around 1917 to open it further as he became more "corpulent." Also of interest, William Back Jr. indicated in his interview with Albert Schroeder that a man once approached his father with the idea of building a tunnel through the west side of the Well under the ledge ruin and pumping

water up through it to the flats for irrigation, but that this project was never attempted.

29. Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, fact file.

30. Memorandum to the custodian, Montezuma Castle, from Albert Schroeder, archeologist, 17 May 1948, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18; *Montezuma Castle National Monument Monthly Narrative Report*, 24 April 1956.

31. Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey*, 13. The results of this project appear in George R. Fisher, "Underwater Archeological Survey of Montezuma Well" (unpublished manuscript on file at the Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson).

32. Jean Clark, "Divers Explore Depths of Montezuma's Well; Seek Answers to Hydrology of Natural Wonder," *Verde Independent* (Cottonwood), 29 May 1991.

33. Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, fact file; Eason, "History of Montezuma Castle," 96.

34. Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, fact file; Eason, "History of Montezuma Castle National Monument," 90 91. Former monument ranger Myron Sutton produced several reports on the natural resources in the region around this time, including "Geology of the Verde Valley: An Interpretive Treatment" (1953), "A Preliminary Checklist of Insects of Montezuma Castle National Monument" (1954), and "Birds of the Verde Valley: An Interpretive Treatment" (1954); these reports are on file at Montezuma Castle National Monument library.

35. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 168 69.

36. *Ibid.*, 192, 202.

37. Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Montezuma Castle National Monument, Arizona, 1961, Montezuma Castle National Monument administrative office. For more details on the Mission 66 developments at the monument, refer to chapter 5 of this study.

38. Arthur Lange, "Studies on the Origin of Montezuma Well and Cave, Arizona," *Cave Studies* 9 (18 November 1957), 31 45; Myron L. Sutton, "Bird Survey of the Verde Valley," *Plateau* 27, no. 2 (1954), 9 17; H. S. Haskell and W. B. McDougal, *Seed Plants of Montezuma Castle National Monument*, Museum of Northern Arizona, Bulletin 35 (Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, Inc., 1960).

39. Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Montezuma Castle National Monument, Arizona, 1961.

40. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 222.
41. Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Montezuma Castle National Monument, Arizona, 1961; Master Plan Narrative, Montezuma Castle National Monument, chapter 3, Management Programs, 1965, Montezuma Castle National Monument administrative office.
42. Boundary Status Report, Montezuma Castle National Monument, 1 October 1956; Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Montezuma Castle National Monument, 1961.
43. This act of Congress appears in appendix E of this study.
44. Correspondence relating to Montezuma Well boundary issues, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, Archival Record Group 18, box 1, file 7; John Dougherty, "Park Rancher," *New Times* (18 24 April 1996): 25 30.
45. Examples of research containing references to this deposit of mammal tracks include: L. F. Brady and Philip Seff, "Elephant Hill," *Plateau* 31, no. 4 (1959): 80 82; C. F. Royce and J. S. Wadell, "Geology of the Verde Valley, Yavapai County, Arizona," in *Guidebook to the Four Corners, Colorado Plateau, and Central Rocky Mountain Region* n.p.: National Association of Geology Teachers, Southwest Section, 1970), 35 39; Myron Sutton, "Geology of the Verde Valley: An Interpretive Treatment" (unpublished manuscript, 1953); F. R. Twenter, "New Fossil Localities in the Verde Formation, Verde Valley, Arizona," in *New Mexico Geological Society, 13th Field Conference, Mogollon Rim Region, East Central Arizona* (n.p.: New Mexico Geological Society, 1962), 109 14.
46. Multiple Use Survey Area, Prehistoric Elephant Tracks Protection Area, Coconino National Forest, Beaver Creek Ranger District, 20 August 1971, Coconino National Forest office, Flagstaff, site files.
47. Robert B Gilles Jr., district ranger, to Dale Nations, assistant professor of geology, Northern Arizona University, 11 April 1972, Coconino National Forest office, Flagstaff, site files.
48. John P. Schafer, U.S. Geological Survey, to Edward Nichols, superintendent, Montezuma Castle National Monument, 24 February 1972, Coconino National Forest office, Flagstaff, site files.
49. Coconino National Forest office, Flagstaff, Montezuma Castle National Monument site file.
50. Glen Henderson, interview by Josh M. Protas, 11 April 1997, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments Oral History Project, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monument administrative office.
51. Correspondence relating to the environmental management issues at Montezuma Castle and

Montezuma Well, Montezuma Castle National Monument file, Coconino National Forest office, Flagstaff. Included in this file are correspondence between NPS and USFS officials and reports on

52. Environmental Integrity Plan for Montezuma Castle National Monument, April 1970.

53. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 214-17. For a more detailed discussion of the changing role of NPS scientific research and natural resource management policies during this era of environmental activism, refer to chapter 6 of *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*.

54. Final Master Plan, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, 1975. For a more detailed discussion of the recommendations made in the 1975 monument master plan, especially those relating to the reallocation of land use and the monument facilities, see chapter 5 of this study.

55. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 233-35.

56. The numerous monument plans, statements of management, and compliance reports completed for Montezuma Castle since the late 1960s are on file at the Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office. These documents provide more detailed information than can be included in this study about the particular issues and activities that have affected the natural resources at the monument units in the recent past. They feature discussions of management objectives, research needs, and resource management programs.

57. Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan, Montezuma Castle National Monument, February 1996. pp. 1-21, 1-22.

58. Glen Henderson, interview by Josh M. Protas, 11 April 1997. Henderson noted that one of the greatest challenges he has faced since becoming superintendent of Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments in 1974 involves obtaining the funding and staffing necessary to protect the sensitive natural and cultural resources at the monuments. During his twenty-five years at these monuments, Henderson has observed a greater awareness and appreciation of the natural features. However, because of budgetary and bureaucratic constraints, these resources have not received the research and protection attention that they deserve.

59. Statement for Management, Montezuma Castle National Monument, 1995, Montezuma Castle National Monument administrative office.

60. Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan, Montezuma Castle National Monument, February 1996. administrative office, files I-13, I-22.

61. Examples of such research and planning documents on the water resources of the Verde Valley include Sandra J. Owen-Joyce and C. K. Bell, *Appraisal of Water Resources in the Upper Verde Area, Yavapai, and Coconino Counties, Arizona*, Bulletin 2 (Tucson: Arizona Department of Water

Resources, 1983); Sandra J. Owen-Joyce, *Hydrology of a Stream-Aquifer System in the Camp Verde Area, Yavapai County, Arizona*, Bulletin 3 (Tucson: Arizona Department of Water Resources, 1984); Water Resources Management Plan, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, September 1992, Montezuma Castle National Monument administrative office; A. D. Konieczki and S. A. Leake, *Hydrology and Water Chemistry of Montezuma Well in Montezuma Castle National Monument and Surrounding Area, Arizona*, Water-Resources Investigations Report 97-4156 (Tucson: U.S. Geological Survey, 1997).

62. Water Resources Management Plan, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, September 1992. This plan provides a comprehensive discussion of the various water resource management issues facing the two Verde Valley monuments in the recent past. It includes helpful back ground information on management objectives, legislative requirements, environmental and resource descriptions, and summaries of NPS management programs.

63. The monument staff, in conjunction with researchers from the Colorado Plateau Research Station, are in the process of compiling a comprehensive database of the various research studies on resource-management issues at Montezuma Castle. This database will include a detailed inventory of reports and publications and will serve as a useful management tool for officials by facilitating access to information about monument resources. Preliminary versions of this database, on file at the Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, reflect the significant increase in research studies that has occurred within the past thirty years.

64. Eason, "History of Montezuma Castle," 93; Dr. Gerald A. Cole, Final Report to Montezuma Castle National Monument of Investigations of Montezuma Well (1965), unpublished report on file at the Montezuma Castle National Monument library.

65. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks*, 235.

66. Laura E. Ellison and Charles van Riper III, *A Comparison of Small Mammal Communities at Montezuma Castle National Monument*, Technical Report NPS/NAUMOCA/NRTR-96/11 (Flagstaff: Colorado Plateau Research Station, 1996), inside cover.

67. Glen Henderson, interview by Josh M. Protas, 11 April 1997.

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Montezuma Castle

National Monument



Chapter 7

FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

Cultural Resource Management at the Monument

Notes

1. Archeologists have proposed several different theories about the prehistoric peoples of the Verde Valley. These theories speculate about the presence, activities, and interactions of the Hohokam, Sinagua, and Hakataya groups in the region. A brief discussion of some of these theories accompanies the section in this chapter on recent archeological research activities. A more detailed treatment of these topics is best left to the archeological literature. Studies that deal with the prehistory of the Verde Valley include David A. Breternitz, *Excavations at Three Sites in the Verde Valley, Arizona* (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1960); Harold S. Colton, *Prehistoric Culture Units and Their Relationships in Northern Arizona* (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1939); Harold S. Colton, *The Sinagua: A Summary of the Archaeology of the Region of Flagstaff, Arizona*, Bulletin no. 22 (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1946); Christian E. Downum, "The Sinagua," *Plateau* 63, no. 1 (1992): 2-32; Fish and Fish, *Verde Valley Archaeology*; Peter J. Pilles Jr., "The Southern Sinagua," *Plateau* 53, no. 1 (1981): 6-17; Albert H. Schroeder, "Man and Environment in the Verde Valley," *Landscape* 3, no. 2 (1953): 16-19; Albert H. Schroeder, *The Hohokam, Sinagua, and the Hakataya*, Archives of Archeology no. 5 (Menasha, Wis.: Society for American Archaeology; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960); Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey*.
2. Hammond and Rey, *Expedition into New Mexico*, 105-6; Albert Schroeder, "A Brief History of the Yavapai of the Middle Verde Valley," *Plateau* 24, no. 1 (1952), 112.
3. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 187.
4. Three different hypotheses about the origins of the Yavapai are summarized in Khera and Mariella, "Yavapai," 39-40.
5. Examples of such confusion between Yavapai and Apache groups are presented in Schroeder, "A Brief History."

6. Khera and Mariella, "Yavapai," 40 41.

7. Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey*, 103.

8. Khera and Mariella, "Yavapai," 49.

9. Khera and Mariella, "Yavapai," 45 47.

10. The classic example of the attitude that viewed American Indians as little more than features of the vacant frontier landscape waiting to be settled and improved is articulated in Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." A reprint of this essay, along with a foreword by historian Wilbur R. Jacobs, is included in Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986).

11. Thomas E. Sheridan, *Arizona: A History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), 69 71.

12. Munson, "Territorial Verde Valley," 27.

13. Pat Stein, "The Yavapai and Tonto Apache," *Plateau* 53 (1981), 21.

14. Munson, "Territorial Verde Valley," 28; Stein, "The Yavapai and Tonto Apache," 21.

15. William T. Corbusier, *Verde to San Carlos* (Tucson: Dale Stuart King, 1969), 17, 184, 260, cited in Khera and Mariella, "Yavapai," 41; Stein, "The Yavapai and Tonto Apache," 21 23.

16. Although most of the American Indians living on the Rio Verde Reservation were relocated in 1875, Kera and Mariella ("The Yavapai," 41) note that some Yavapai escaped during the trip to San Carlos, while others remained behind. Those who remained behind stayed within their traditional territories and earned meager livings by farming or working for European American settlers.

17. Khera and Mariella, "Yavapai," 41; Stein, "The Yavapai and Tonto Apache," 23.

18. Khera and Mariella, "Yavapai," 41 42.

19. *Ibid.*, 43.

20. Khera and Mariella, "Yavapai," 43; Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Indians: Of Arizona, of Nevada, of Utah, an Informational Profile* (Phoenix: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1994), 81 82, cited in Teresita Majewski, "Historical Profiles of the Apache and Yavapai Reservations in Arizona," in *Vanishing River: Landscapes and Lives of the Lower Verde Valley*, ed. Stephanie M. Whittlesey,

Richard Ciolek-Torrello, and Jeffrey H. Altschul (Tucson: SRI Press, 1997), 329 30.

21. Stein, "The Yavapai and Tonto Apache," 23.

22. Khera and Mariella, "Yavapai," 51.

23. William Back, interview by Albert Schroeder, NPS archeologist, 24 May 1947, transcript, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson.

24. Beckman, "A History of Montezuma Well." In the third chapter of this manuscript, Beckman presents details of his interactions with American Indians who have visited Montezuma Well during the past thirty-odd years. He shares some of the legends and stories that they told and describes the different rituals they performed while visiting the Well.

25. Mindeleff, "Aboriginal Remains," 179 261; Fewkes, "Archeological Expedition," 519 46; Fish and Fish, *Verde Valley Archaeology*, 31 32; Lister and Lister, *Those Who Came Before*, 172.

26. Schroeder's account of his visit with Hopi priests is quoted on pages 34 35 of Jack Beckman's unpublished manuscript "A History of Montezuma Well."

27. Montezuma Castle National Monument, administrative files, H-14.

28. For a more detailed discussion of Cummings and Colton's contributions, see Stephanie Whittlesey, "An Overview of Research History and Archaeology of Central Arizona," in *Vanishing River: Landscapes and Lives of the Lower Verde Valley*, ed. Stephanie Whittlesey, Richard Ciolek-Torrello, and Jeffrey H. Altschul (Tucson: SRI Press, 1997), 66 71.

29. Colton, *The Sinagua*; Whittlesey, "An Overview," 69.

30. Albert H. Schroeder, "Did the Sinagua of the Verde Valley Settle in the Salt River Valley?" *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 3 (1947): 230 46.

31. Albert H. Schroeder, "Man and Environment in the Verde Valley," *Landscape* 3, no.2 (1953): 16 19.

32. Albert H. Schroeder, "The Hakataya Cultural Tradition," *American Antiquity* 23 (1957): 176 78; Schroeder, *The Hohokam, Sinagua, and Hakataya*.

33. Albert H. Schroeder, "History of Archeological Research," in *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, vol. 9 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, W C. Sturtevant, general editor (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 11 13.

34. Charles R. McGimsey III, "Head Waters: How the Post-War Boom Boosted Archeology," *Common Ground: Archeology and Ethnography in the Public Interest* 31, no. 2 (summer fall 1998): 18 20.
35. McGimsey, "Head Waters," 20; Schroeder, "History of Archeological Research," 12.
36. Fish and Fish, *Verde Valley Archaeology*, 6.
37. Whittlesey, "An Overview of Research History," 60 61; Fish and Fish, *Verde Valley Archaeology*, 25 26.
38. For information about archeological investigations in the Verde Valley at sites outside of Montezuma Castle National Monument, see Fish and Fish, *Verde Valley Archaeology*; Whittlesey, "An Overview of Research History"; and Calvin R. Cummings, "A Survey of the Archaeological Potential of the Upper Verde Valley, Arizona," (unpublished manuscript, 1966), on file at the Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office.
39. The information presented in this table is from Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey*, 10 12. More detailed information about these projects and earlier archeological research projects done at Montezuma Castle National Monument is on file at the National Park Service Western Archeological and Conservation Center in Tucson, Arizona.
40. William Back, interview by Albert Schroeder, NPS Archeologist, 24 May 1947. In this interview, Back relates details of the many different excavations he did over the years in the vicinity of Montezuma Well. Of special interest, he recalled excavating twenty-eight vault burials "in the flats" and thirty-two child burials on the south side of the Well near the small pueblo. At the end of the transcript, Albert Schroeder provided descriptions of some of the artifacts in Back's collection, including ceramics, a wooden paddle, portions of woven baskets, and woven sandals. This interview contains detailed accounts of many of the natural and prehistoric features around Montezuma Well and the Back family's historic activities in the area. The fact file at Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office mentions Back family members' activities prior to 1947 and later reports of vandalism that impacted prehistoric resources in the vicinity of Montezuma Well.
41. Todd W. Bostwick, "Albert Henry Schroeder (1914-1993)," *Kiva* 60, no. 3 (spring 1995): 443 45. For a good overview of Schroeder's theories about the Hakataya culture, see Albert H. Schroeder, "Prehistory: Hakataya," in *Southwest*, edited by A. Ortiz, vol. 9 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 100 7.
42. Fish and Fish. *Verde Valley Archaeology*, 36 37; Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey*, 9.
43. Montezuma Castle National Monument, fact file; Fish and Fish, *Verde Valley Archaeology*, 33; Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey* 9.

44. Fish and Fish, *Verde Valley Archaeology*, 37. Details about the results of Breternitz's excavations are included in Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey*, 67 69.
45. Breternitz, *Excavations at Three Sites*; Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey* 67; "Pithouse Reveals Previous Culture," *Verde Independent*, 15 September 1960, sec. 1. 6.
46. Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey*, 46 48; Fish and Fish, *Verde Valley Archaeology*, 38.
47. Hugh Cutler and Lawrence Kaplan, "Some Plant Remains from Montezuma Castle and Nearby Caves (NA4007B and C on Dry Beaver Creek)," *Plateau* 28, no. 4 (1956): 98 100; Lisa W. Huckell, "Archeobotanical Remains from Montezuma Castle National Monument, Arizona," appendix to *The Tuzigoot Survey and Three Small Verde Valley Projects*, by Martyn D. Tagg, Publications in Anthropology, no. 40, (Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1986), 135 49.
48. Earl Jackson and Sallie Pierce Van Valkenburgh, *Montezuma Castle Archeology Part I: Excavations and Conclusions*, Technical Series, no. 3 (Globe, Ariz.: Southwestern Monuments Association, 1954); Katherine Bartlett, "Crania from Montezuma Castle and Well," appendix in Jackson and Van Valkenburgh, *Montezuma Castle Archeology Part I*; Kate Peck Kent, *Montezuma Castle Archeology Part II: Textiles*, Technical Series, no. 3 (Globe, Ariz.: Southwestern Monuments Association, 1954); Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey* 29.
49. Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey* 13.
50. Tagg, *Tuzigoot Survey* 99 105.
51. Tagg, *Tuzigoot Survey* 106 12, 133 34; Huckell, "Archeobotanical Remains," 135-48.
52. Tagg, *Tuzigoot Survey* 99.
53. Tagg, *Tuzigoot Survey* 113 30.
54. For more specific details about the passage of the NHPA and the implications of its various provisions, see Barry Mackintosh, *The National Historic Preservation Act and the National Park Service: A History* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, History Division, 1986); William J. Murtaugh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (New York: Sterling, 1993); and James A. Glass, *The Beginnings of a New National Historic Preservation Program, 1957 to 1969* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1990).
55. For additional information about these laws and others related to NPS cultural resource management activities, see Napier Shelton and Lissa Fox, *An Introduction to Selected Laws*

Important for Resource Management in the National Park Service (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1994), 21; and the NPS website with information on public archeology in the United States: <http://www.cr.nps.gov/aad/timeline>.

56. Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey* 1 2, 111 16.

57. Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey* 121, 223 29.

58. Fish and Fish, *Verde Valley Archaeology* 25 27. It should be noted that this 1977 report was funded by the National Park Service and contracted to the Museum of Northern Arizona. Because the report was prepared for the NPS Fish and Fish directed most of the recommendations to the agency in regard to its management of the Verde Valley national monument units,

59. *Ibid.*, 28.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*

62. In fiscal year 1999, the monument administration provided funds for the study of these prehistoric irrigation canals, as Wells and Anderson recommended. Archeologists from the NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center are performing the work and are expected to complete it by the end of the year 2000.

63. Wells and Anderson, *Archeological Survey* 117.

64. *Ibid.*, 228 29.

65. *Ibid.*, 143-AS.

66. SWAC was one of the few remaining portions of Frank Pinkley's original Southwestern National Monuments unit that was not absorbed by the NPS regional office in Santa Fe. SWAC operated out of Globe, Arizona, and sent out crews to provide archeology and stabilization services to regional NPS sites before eventually moving to Tucson as the Western Archeological and Conservation Center (WACC). Clemenson, *Casa Grande Ruins*, 176; Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office, fact file,

67. Montezuma Castle National Monument Master Plan, 1964 65, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office.

68. Such suggestions are included in draft versions of monument master plans from 1958 and 1961 on file at the Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office,

69. Glen Henderson, interview by Josh M. Protas, 11 April 1997. Montezuma Castle National Monuments Oral History Project, Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office.
70. Montezuma Castle National Monument, Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan, February 1996, p. I-21; Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office.
71. Kathleen Fiero, Preservation Maintenance, Montezuma Castle National Monument, May 1997; Kathleen Fiero, Draft Preservation Maintenance, Montezuma Castle National Monument, December 1997. Copies of both of these reports are on file at the Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office. The report from May 1997 includes numerous photographs of the project work.
72. Kathleen Fiero, Draft Preservation Maintenance, Montezuma Castle National Monument, December 1997, 1. This report includes a detailed discussion of the controversy surrounding the replastering work done at Montezuma Castle.
73. Vanishing Treasures Ruins Preservation Program, Montezuma Castle National Monument Project Proposal Form, FY98, on file at the Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments administrative office.
74. Glen Henderson, personal communication, 27 March 1999.
75. Glen Henderson, interview by Josh M. Protas, 11 April 1997.

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