Abstract

**Wupatki National Monument:
Archeology and Tourism, 1900-1956**

Tyson Pendery

The pueblo ruins at Wupakti National Monument were preserved by President Calvin Coolidge under powers given to the executive branch by the Antiquities Act of 1906. The architecture and material culture of Wupatki and other prehistoric ruins in the Southwest have proven important cultural and scientific resources to the nation. The arid climate of the Southwest allowed these ruins to be well preserved for both scientific study and the enjoyment of the general public. The story of Wupatki's preservation and management during the first half of the twentieth-century reveals the relationship between archaeology and tourism in the United States.

It is argued in this thesis that from 1900-1956 the values of preservation archeology at Wupatki were increasingly sacrificed for the valued of archeological tourism. Three trends in American history allowed this process to manifest itself. First, as native peoples gained cultural importance, or a solidified place within the collective identity of Americans, U.S. citizens sought to experience Indian culture. Second, technological developments and nation-wide prosperity increasingly allowed more to visit preserves like Wupatki. Finally, early preservation politics codified a tradition of

bringing visitors to both scenic and historic places as a means to support preservation values.

Understanding the historical dynamics between tourism and the preservation of archeological ruins has the potential to allow current preserve managers and the National Park Service a better understanding of the roots of current management policy.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

The significance placed upon native cultures in the United States evolved significantly throughout the nation's history. Our ability to appreciate such cultures, either living or pre-historic, has also changed over time. As the nation moved west and the western frontier was pronounced closed, Indians seemed to be the last symbol of the pre-industrial past. What was once considered ugly and dangerous by the 1880s became intriguing and desired. Developments in transportation technology, including railroads in the 1880s, and automobile and road development in the 1920s allowed greater Economic prosperity, mobility and the growth of the middle class lifted economic barriers to visiting and experiencing these indigenous peoples. As architecture and material culture of natives gained cultural importance in the United States around the turn of the twentieth century, relics of prehistoric peoples were preserved as monuments to the past.

This thesis argues that three primary trends in American life perpetuated the use and development of preserves, like Wupatki National Monument, as tourist destinations at the expense of preservation archaeology. Over time, archaeological tourism, or tourism based upon the manipulated fascination and interest in archaeology, gained value over the ideals of preserving archaeology. Preservation archaeology sought the

protection of archaeological sites for current and future scientific study and observation. First, as native peoples gained cultural importance and increasingly became appropriated by Americans, U.S. citizens sought to experience Indian culture. Second, technological developments and nation-wide prosperity increasingly allowed more to visit places like Wupatki. Finally, early preservation politics codified a tradition of bringing visitors to both scenic and historic places as a means to support preservation values.

Upon contact with the New World, few Europeans found much significance in native cultures. They wondered who these peoples were, and most concluded that they were degenerate and corrupt cultures described in the Book of Genesis. Before the late eighteenth century, few noticed the relics of pre-historic peoples in North America. Overall, European cultures viewed native ones through an ethnocentric lens and doubted anything could be learned from them.[1]

This image of native cultures changed as the country moved west. When settlement reached west of the Appalachian Mountains in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, contact with prehistoric mound-building cultures changed the view that native cultures were invariably primitive. In the first-half of the nineteenth century, many Americans sought to find continental history that could rival Europe's rich past. This period saw the first widespread interest in describing prehistoric monuments and collecting artifacts. The commercial success of the best-selling *American Antiquities and*

[1] Bruce G. Trigger, A History of Archaeological Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 68-76.

Discoveries in the West (1833) signified the development of an audience for the interpretation and description of native cultures.[2]

Popularly, artists and authors created for the American public the first images of Native Americans. During the 1830s and 1840s, amidst the vanishing of the eastern Indians, artists such as George Catlin and author James Fenimore Cooper created images of the natives as noble savages in the manner established by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. These images portrayed a friendly, dignified, and vibrant Indian. Others followed the commercial success of both Catlin and Cooper. The result was an established national perception of native cultures.[3]

Until the 1870's, few Americans actually interacted with indigenous Americans. The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 slowly changed the situation. As the first rail tourists entered the plains, they had two divergent images of Indians. They knew them as noble savages from the likes of Catlin and Cooper, but Americans also increasingly became familiar with the war-crazed, bloodthirsty image of the Indian that came about as a result of the Great Plains wars of the 1860s and 1870s. Upon entering the Plains in the comfort of their Pullman cars, visitors expected to find the romanticized Indian and were almost always disappointed and sometimes angry. Most Indians at this point had been moved to reservations far from the rail and those that visitors witnessed

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[2] Ibid., 104-105.

[3] Anne Farrar Hyde, An American Vision Far Western Landscape and National Culture 1820-1920 (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 29-30.

were not viewed as noble or romantic additions to the landscape. As a result, they found these native cultures to be false, barbaric and degrading.[4]

Prior to the 1870s and 1880s little scientific or popular attention was placed upon the landscape or Indians of the Southwest. Previous to this period, few found the Southwest to be the sublime visual landscape that inspired awe in the Colorado Rockies or the Sierra Nevada. As a result, both scientific exploration and scenic tourism in the region lagged behind other regions of the West. The surveys of John W. Powell and Ferdinand V. Hayden during the 1870s brought a new attitude to native cultures. In 1874, quite by accident, photographer William Henry Jackson, leading a party of the Hayden survey, came upon the cliff dwelling of Mesa Verde. To Jackson the reaction was quick and powerful. He wrote that the cliff "was worth everything (he) possessed." The discovery signified the beginning of a period that saw growing interest in the prehistoric natives of the Southwest.[5]

The Southwest landscape and living Indians received growing attention from Americans in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Still in search of a national history and culture to challenge that of Europe, many looked to the Southwest. The desert regions of the West had received little attention from tourists, rail promoters and landscape enthusiasts until the 1880s, largely because they could not describe them. Landscape writing, painting, and photography since the 1840s had attempted to validate United States culture and history by comparing natural landscape to that of Europe. Anything that could not be explained in European terms or compared to European sites

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[4] Ibid., 45.

[5] Ibid., 203.

was omitted from the discourse of the scenic West. As Americans grew out of their insecurity in these decades, they looked beyond European similarities and sought American uniqueness. The desert, and specifically the Southwest, was a uniquely American landscape. The natives of the region figured into the emerging significance of the Southwest. Americans viewed the Hopi, Havasupai, Apache, and Navaho in a different light than the indigenous of the Great Plains and compared them favorably to the peasants of other nations. At the same time, discoveries such as Jackson's at Mesa Verde brought increased fascination to the pueblos, cliff-dwellings and material culture of prehistoric Americans.[6]

The development and evolution of the significance of native cultures within the larger United States culture was both symptomatic of and aided by the development of the scientific fields of anthropology and archaeology. Both disciplines came of age in the nineteenth century in a period when science and professionalization where gaining momentum in the East. Anthropology, as late as the 1840s, was still very much undefined and largely a romantic, religious, and cultural endeavor. But the nation's quest for knowledge and identity brought increasing amounts of money and attention to the fields of anthropology and later archaeology. Proponents of science found in the two emerging fields a means by which to bring the excitement and experience of the search for truth to a wider public for the purpose of bridging a perceived social, intellectual and moral gap in American society.[7]

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[6] Ibid., 191-215.

[7] Curtis M. Hinsley, The Smithsonian and the American Indian: Making a Moral Anthropology in Victorian America (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1981), 64-83.

Anthropology, crystallized into a scientific discipline in the 1890s, was representative of larger trends taking place in the eastern United States. Other scientific disciplines, especially medicine, by the last decade of the nineteenth century had developed credentials, schools and professional organizations to guide the field. In the 1890s the American Association for the Advancement of Science began to consider official sanction for anthropology. The first Ph.D in anthropology was granted in 1892 at Clark University and by 1899 the first comprehensive anthropology program was established at Columbia University.[8]

The emerging professional field, concerned for its legitimacy and professional standing, began to voice concern for unauthorized excavations by untrained pothunters and amature archaeologists. Because the excavation of Southwestern ruins predated the establishment of anthropology as a science, the struggle over rights to dig between emerging professionals and amateur archaeologists was one of validation and rights. Many of the new professionals had worked alongside and collaborated with amateur archaeologists. But the professionalization of the field, coupled with fears about the destruction of Southwest material culture by pothunters, mobilized anthropologists and archaeologists to create a campaign against pothunting and to secure the preservation of archaeological sites for professional investigation. But while the Southwest's landscape, natives, and prehistoric material culture began to gain recognition in the final decades of

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[8] Hal Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 13-14.

the nineteenth century, the nation was not yet ready to begin preservation of prehistoric ruins.[9]

By the turn of the century, advocates of preservation had established a cohesive and recognized campaign to protect prehistoric ruins. Pothunters, amateur archaeologists and weekend enthusiasts in the 1890s had significantly excavated and damaged sites. The scientific community attacked the behavior of pothunters, created periodic literature designated to their cause and successfully gained the attention of politicians in Washington. While at the turn of the century few felt the government should get involved in managing western land, by 1906 a large enough constituency for anthropology and archaeology existed to warrant protective legislation. As result, in that year President Teddy Roosevelt signed the Antiquities Act into law.[10]

From 1906 until the 1920s, when automobile travel reached the greater public, archaeological tourism was a primarily elite activity. Few could afford the time and resources needed to visit such monuments. But transportation developments, economic prosperity and the emergence of a leisure culture in the 1920s changed the isolated nature of both living and prehistoric native cultures, like those at Wupatki.[11]

At the same time that native culture grew in significance and transportation developments allowed more to visit such cultures, preservationists waged a political campaign to bring their values to a wider America. In the early nineteenth century, when

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., xi-xvii.

[11] Hal Rothman, Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth Century American West (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 23.

preservation ideas emerged in the United States, the idea of setting aside good productive land for aesthetic or cultural purposes was not a popular idea. The nation's land and resources seemed exhaustible. At the same time, scientific and technological advancements gave the perception that utilizing natural resources would only become easier in the future. To halt such progress seemed ill-informed and unpatriotic.[12]

Recognizing these conditions, early preservation advocates sought visitation as a means to "exploit" the resources of potential preserves. The advocates of the 1872 Yellowstone Park and the 1864 charter established to create a preserve at Yosemite all used visitation as a political tool to influence legislators. By 1913, the Hetch Hetchy controversy only bolstered preservationists' commitment to visitor or tourist preservation. The Hetch Hetchy valley of Yosemite Park was withdrawn from protection to develop a water source for San Francisco. Preservationists largely lost the battle because they argued only for the aesthetic and cultural importance of the preserve; They did not use an economic defense. Consequently, many realized that to not only preserve more land, but also to protect those spaces already preserved, an economic defense was needed. After Hetch Hetchy, preservationists grew increasingly committed to the development of tourism within such places.[13]

The creation of the National Park Service (NPS) in 1916 only helped to perpetuate this logic. The agency largely filled cultural rather than environmental needs. As such, the agency from the beginning promoted visitation within parks and monuments. In the 1930s, when New Deal monies entered the NPS, these resources were

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[12] Alfred Runte, National Parks: The American Experience (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 89-91.

[13] Ibid.

largely directed toward the accommodation and promotion of preserves as tourist destinations. Post-war management further perpetuated these trends as Americans came to the parks and monuments in alarming rates. By the mid 1950s the rate of public use, and sometimes destruction, of NPS preserves raised concern from both preservationists and the general public. The widely perceived problems of over-visitation and under-development necessitated NPS reaction. Their solution to the conditions present in the parks and monuments, Mission 66, proved only to allow more visitors to NPS sites. The challenges of the NPS to promote the use and preservation of parks and monuments persist today.[14]

Wupatki National Monument followed many of these same trends. Created in 1924, the monument was largely isolated physically and culturally for its first decade. Yet the emerging significance of native cultures, transportation developments and preservationist politics all contributed to an increasing focus upon archaeological tourism at the expense of preservation archaeology.

Upon initial establishment in 1924 Wupakti National Monument consisted of a two-piece area encompassing the Citadel/Nalakihu and Wupatki ruins, totaling 2,234 acres. The monument has been enlarged and modified several times throughout its existence and currently contains 35, 253.24 acres. Wupakti is about twenty-five miles northeast of Flagstaff, Arizona, and lies in the Little Colorado River Valley just south of the river. The most westerly ruins, those around the Citadel, are about five miles from Highway 89, the common approach used to access the ruins. Highway 89 moves north-

[14] Ibid., xx-8.

south between Flagstaff and Grand Canyon National Park. Sunset Crater National Monument, created in 1930, is just south of Wupakti. Another access road via Sunset Crater, commonly called the loop road, approaches Wupakti from the south.[15]

The architecture and material culture of Wupakti are significant for several reasons. Currently, archaeological thought recognizes the ruins at Wupatki to represent a cultural florescence or cultural frontier that took place during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Wupakti pueblo, the largest of the ruins in the region, is identified as a three-story Kayenta-Anasazi and Sinagua site with seventy ground level rooms. Near the pueblo are both an amphitheater and ball court. The Citadel and Nalakihu ruins are Kayenta Anasazi. The Citadel is a defensive-like structure built upon a small circular basalt butte and contains some thirty rooms.[16]

The first archaeologists and anthropologists to visit ruins like Wupatki in the Southwest, including Mesa Verde, Canyon De Chelly, Chaco Canyon and others, did not classify these peoples as Kayenta Anasazi or Sinagua. As late as 1927, when regional archaeologists and academic institutions created a master taxonomy chronology for Southwest archaeology known as the Pecos Classification, these prehistoric peoples were called pueblo or Basket Maker. It was during the 1930s that archaeologists and anthropologists began to "discover" distinct, yet interdependent, cultures such as the

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[15] Department of the Interior, Resource Management Plan, Wupatki National Monument, Flagstaff Area National Monuments Headquarters, 1977.

[16] Department of the Interior, Cultural Resource Overview, Wupatki National Monument, Flagstaff Area National Monuments Headquarters, Vertical File 2714, 1987.

Sinagua, Anasazi, Cohonina, Hohokam, Mogollon and others.[17] Archaeologists working in the post-war era at Wupatki found that the architecture and material culture seemed to represent the presence in the region of several of these cultures.[18]

Currently, archaeological thought suggests that a Sinagua culture resided near what is now Wupatki National Monument from the eighteenth through the fifteenth centuries. During its height, after the eruptions of Sunset Crater when the pueblos of Wupatki, Citadel and others were created, Anasazi, Cohonina and other cultures seem to have moved into the region creating a cultural frontier zone. The Sinagua and the immigrating cultures all incurred changes as a result of this coming together. Archaeologists have distinguished both distinct cultural architecture and architecture stages at certain ruins. It is important to note that archaeological thought relating to Wupatki and the Southwest region is still very much contested academically and slowly developing.[19]

The presence of pueblo and cliff-dwelling architecture and prehistoric material culture in the Colorado Plateau region brought little attention prior to the turn of twentieth century. Spanish explorers visited the region, but there is no evidence they saw or found importance in any pre-historic architecture. The United States began explorations of the Southwest after the Mexican-American War in 1846. The first European to view and describe the ruins at Wupatki was Lorenzo Sitgreaves in 1851. As part of the elite U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, his purpose in the region

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[17] Robert H. Lister and Florence C. Lister, Those Who Came Before (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1983), 16-49.

[18] Harold S. Colton, "The Sinagua," Museum of Northern Arizona Bulletin No. 22 (1946).

[19] Chrise Downum, "The Sinagua," Plateau 63 (1992): 2-31.

was to determine if a possible wagon route existed between the northern caravan route (popularly known as the Old Spanish Trail) and the southern route in the Republic of Mexico. The artist-cartographer of the expedition, Richard H. Kern, was the first American to make sketches west of Canyon de Chelly and created the first known images of Wupatki Pueblo.[20]

Three other major expeditions crossed the region in the mid-to-late -nineteenth century. Lieutenant Amiel Whipple led one in 1853 to find a transcontinental railroad line. Routes both north and south of northern Arizona seemed destined to favor their respected eastern counterpart and drew heated debate in the decade prior to the Civil War. Whipple never mentioned the ruins at Wupatki, but must have known of their presence, being very familiar with the Sitgreaves expedition and even employing their guide.[21] In 1857 Edward F. Beale crossed the region to survey a wagon route from Fort Defiance, New Mexico, to the Colorado River. He too did not mention the ruins although he must have come very near them.[22] Finally, in 1885 the famous one-armed Colorado

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[20] Andrew Wallace, "Across Arizona to the Big Colorado: The Sitgreaves Expedition of 1851," Arizona and the West (Spring 1984): 325; Lorenzo Sitgreaves, "Report of an Expedition down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers," Senate Executive Document 59, 32 Congress, 2 Session, 1853, 4-9.

[21] William H. Geotzmann, Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1993), 284; Grant Foreman, A Pathfinder in the Southwest: The Itinerary of Lieutenant A.W. Whipple During His Exploration For A Railway Route From Fort Smith To Los Angeles In The Years 1853 & 1854. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 162-170.

[22] Lewis Burt Lesley, ed., Uncle Sam's Camels: The Journal of May Humphreys Stacey Supplemented By The Report of Edward Fitzgerald Beale (1857-1858) (Glorieta, N.M.: The Rio Grande Press, 1970).

River runner John Wesley Powell visited the region and gave a detailed description of the Wupatki ruin later named Citadel.[23]

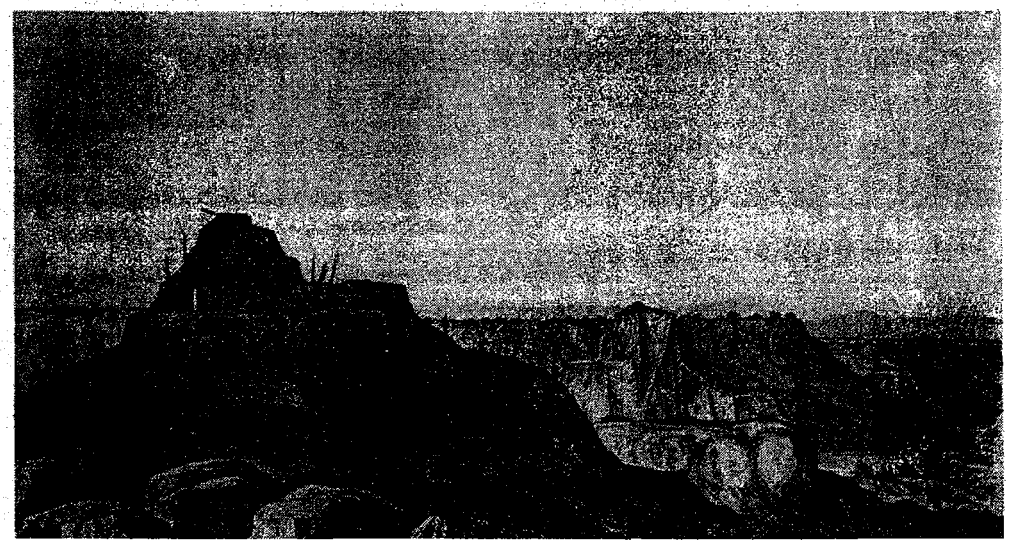

Fig. 1. Kern sketch entitled "Ruined Pueblos between Camps 13 and 14," –Sitgreaves Report, SED 59, 32-2, plate 12.

Prior to United States settlement of the region, two other groups called it home. The Navajo lived in the Wupatki and Colorado Plateau region since the early nineteenth-century. The Peshlakai family has lived in the Wupatki basin for over one-hundred years.[24] A Mormon settlement organized by Lot Smith also resided on the Little Colorado River just east of Wupatki in the 1870's. Although their attempt proved a failure, many including Lot Smith became very influential in the region Ranchers entered

[23] John W. Powell, "Exploration in Sandstone Villages" in Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1891), 18-38.

[24] Bruce A. Anderson, The Wupatki Archaeology Inventory Project (Sante Fe: Division of Anthropology, NPS, 1990), 6-5.

the region in the 1880s, but only recognized value in Wupatki pueblo as a temporary shelter.[25]

It was not until the 1890s that the architecture and material culture of Wupatki received any cultural attention. In that decade, Flagstaff resident Ben Doney began supplementing his search for the "Lost Mines of the Padres" by digging up and selling material culture to private individuals and museums. He was Wupatki's first-known pothunter. In 1900, Doney led Bureau of American Ethnography archaeologist Jesse Walter Fewkes to the ruins.[26]

From 1900-1924, Fewkes and Flagstaff locals moved to protect the ruins from vandalism and pothunters like Doney. But as a physically and culturally isolated place, the American public and Washington D.C. were not ready to take measures to protect Wupakti. It would only be with developments in transportation, roads and autos, and the recognition that Wupatki could brings tourists to the region, that designation could find enough constituents. In 1924, President Calvin Coolidge signed an executive order designating the creation of Wupatki National Monument.[27]

The monument's first thirteen years were characterized by management difficulties. The first custodian was only paid one-dollar a year and as such resided in Flagstaff and retained other employment. The monument's first full-time resident custodian did not arrive until 1934. During the monument's first two decades access was

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[25] Charles S. Peterson, Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonization Along the Little Colorado River 1870-1900 (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1973).

[26] Harold S. Colton, "Tracing the lost mines of the Padres," Plateau, 13, (October 1, 1940): 17-18.

[27] U.S. President. Proclamation. Proclamation 1721, (9 December 1924).

a tremendous issue. The entrance road from the "improved" highway 89 was little more than a trail covered in thick cinders that allowed only a difficult and time-consuming approach. The fact that the NPS allotted monies to parks and monuments based upon visitation only made management more difficult. Visitation and the development of a constituency for the monument were hindered by access, which could only be aided by more NPS monies, determined by visitation. To give the monument better financial footing, early NPS personnel made a considerable effort toward developing roads and promoting the monument as a tourist destination. Their work began to show results just prior to WWII, but the international conflict halted visitation to NPS sites throughout the country almost completely. The war-period found the monument again greatly neglected as the nation's resources were conserved for the war.[28]

The immediate post-war period, from 1945-1956, found the monument dramatically under-funded and under attack from what many saw as over-visitation. Litterbug tourists left trash, vandalized monument property, performed illegal digs and left with material culture souvenirs such as the daily prehistoric living material of pots, tools and clothing. Historically, the NPS solution to such problems was development and maintenance designed to attract and attend to more tourists, while gaining increased funding for individual sites. As might be expected, when the NPS completed the first paved road to the monument from highway 89 in the mid-1950s, more tourists came and their impact grew accordingly.[29]

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[28] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az., 1933-1955.

[29] Ibid.

The NPS solution, created by then director Conrad Wirth, was Mission 66. The goal was to gain a ten-year appropriation bill from congress designed to develop and maintain the parks and monuments for the anticipated growing numbers of tourists in the coming years. The project was to be completed by 1966, the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of the NPS. On the other hand, many preservationists advocated limiting tourists in NPS sites, the removal of automobiles, and other non-tourist related solutions to site problems. But the entrenched preservation politics and cultural value of scenic and archaeological monuments would not allow such limitation.[30] Consequently, the highways and other accommodations and promotions brought more tourists to Wupatki, only perpetuating the condition and leaving the situation largely unresolved for future generations.

The history of Wupatki National Monument illustrates the relationship between archaeology and tourism in the United States. From 1900-1956, the cultural value of the appropriation of Native Americans, transportation developments, and codified preservation politics found the monument increasingly dedicated to archaeological tourism at the expense of preservation archaeology. The following pages outline the story of archaeology and tourism at Wupatki National Monument during its first four decades.

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[30] Runte, National Parks, 173.

Chapter 2
The Movement to Preserve, 1900-1924

The movement to protect the ruins at Wupatki from pothunters and vandals lasted two and half decades and was aided by the effort of several individuals. The campaign began when Dr. Jesse W. Fewkes of the Smithsonian Institution brought the ruins to the attention of the scientific community in 1900. For the next twenty-four years, he and many others campaigned for the preservation of Wupatki. They performed scientific surveys, took photographs, organized the local community, and ultimately reached the goal of protection in 1924. The history of these important years parallels the history of archaeological preservation in the United States. When Fewkes exposed the ruins to the scientific community, few in the region knew of them, and even fewer could afford the time and energy to access them. However, by 1924, many local and national figures were aware of and concerned about Wupatki. From 1900-1924, three distinct developments resulted in the creation of Wupatki National Monument. First, preservationists developed public knowledge about the pueblos and raised concerns about pothunting. Second, they successfully verified a role for Wupatki as a source of education and national identity. Finally, preservationists demonstrated the potential for visitation at Wupatki. Ultimately,

all three developments demonstrate the relationship between archaeology and tourism at the monument and gave purpose to a previously perceived useless place.

The 1906 Antiquities Act gave the President of the United States the power to protect archaeological ruins on public land. Historians have recognized 1906 as the year of archaeology and the moment in American history when archaeological ruins were deemed important enough for legislation. Piecemeal attempts at archaeological preservation had taken place earlier, beginning with the reservation of the Casa Grande ruins in 1889, but the Antiquities Act was the first comprehensive effort to systematize such a process.[1]

Although the Antiquities Act is an important milestone for archaeological preservation, the ideas, motivations, and movements to protect such ruins began much earlier. Large historical processes such as the closing of the frontier, the Progressive movement, and a reliance on centralized government control all contributed to the passing of preservation legislation. The closing of the frontier created within the larger American culture an anxiety about its natural and cultural resources. This came at a time when many within the U.S. made the case that the natural and cultural wonders of the West could challenge those of Europe. Beginning in the late-nineteenth century, there also developed a Progressive-era desire for "scientific management and centralized authority over the resources of the nation."[2]

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[1] Hal Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), xi.

[2] Ibid.

The passage of the Antiquities Act codified the growing practice of centralizing power in a group of people presumed to have the interest of the public in mind. As such, the Antiquities Act is representative both of legislation signed into law during the Theodore Roosevelt Administration and others during the Progressive era. The legislation largely embodied middle-class values and envisioned an elite group of trained specialists who would act and manage on behalf of the greater public. The inclination for such legislation has widely been recognized as a response to the excesses of the private sector during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. [3]

While these larger processes began in the late-nineteenth century, the 1890s witnessed a growth in attention and concern for the native cultures and ruins in the Southwest. During this decade, two groups with seemingly antithetical goals became the first constituents of archaeological sites. First, the growing fields of archaeology, ethnography, and anthropology helped to create an educated group of concerned citizens whose values lay in scientific research and historical preservation. The second group of constituents was a growing, but still small group of amateur archaeologists, enthusiasts, and pothunters who excavated and collected for sale archaeological remains. The second group also consisted of Southwest tourists who sought the primitive in indigenous cultures and fed demand for the artifacts, knowledge, and experience of these cultures.[4]

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[3] Ibid., xiii.

[4] Ibid., 6-33; Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 145; Leah Dilworth, Imagining Indians in The Southwest (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1992), 2-20; Anne Farrar Hyde, An American Vision: Far Western Landscape and National Culture, 1880-1920 (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 191-243.

The growing interest in archaeological material by these two groups illustrates the changing attitudes towards Native Americans that arose in the nineteenth century. Beginning with the first European contact with Native Americans, these peoples were perceived as primitive and static. Thus, for European cultures, there remained nothing to be learned from the natives, ruins or artifacts. But in the late-nineteenth century, Americans developed an appreciation for indigenous peoples and their culture.[5] The closing of the frontier and this new perception of Native American cultures created a nostalgic and primativistic image of Native Americans in U.S. culture. A growing urban America began to long for a simple, pre-industrial, pre-modern Jeffersonian agrarian life that many saw in native cultures. At the same time, as Anglo-Americans began to settle the Southwest, more people became aware of the material cultures left by these prehistoric peoples. Many also witnessed and decried the callous destruction of these cultural pieces. Pots were shot for sport, while buildings were dismantled for contemporary use.[6] Consequently, the American public increasingly viewed these native cultures, like the frontier, as a relic of the past worth saving or collecting.[7]

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[5] Bruce G. Trigger, A History of Archaeological Thought (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 104.

[6] Hal Rothman, Navajo National Monument: A Place and Its People: An Administrative History (Santa Fe: Southwest Cultural Resource Center, 1991), 13; Leah Dilworth, Imagining Indians in the Southwest, 2-20; Anne Farrar Hyde, An American Vision: Far Western Landscape and National Culture, 1880-1920 (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 191-243.

[7] Leah Dilworth, "Tourists and Indians in Fred Harvey's Southwest," in Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West. ed. by David M. Worbel and Patrick T. Long, (Boulder: University of Colorado at Boulder Press, 2001) 142-146.

Much of the fascination with the Southwest and native cultures was the result of the young nation's struggle for identity. Because identity is constructed by how we define ourselves in relation to an array of others, the United State's evolving perception of natives has often been an expression of its own identity. Throughout the history of the U.S., Indians and Indian-ness have been appropriated for the purpose of forming or adjusting national identity. In Phillip J. Deloria's *Playing Indian*, he aptly demonstrates the uses of Native Americans as a positive and negative "other" to construct the nation's, as well as individual, identity. The participants of the Boston Tea party assumed native dress and identity, preferring an idealized image of natives as instinctual and free, to perform the revolutionary episode in the nation's history. The event and the Indian dress allowed the participants and the nation to associate to "native-ness" as a means to connect with what was perceived as "the spirit of the continent," while creating a negative other of their European counterparts. Deloria suggests that this kind of playing Indian, associated with revolution, demonstrates one of two national paradigms. The second paradigm, associated with modernity, arose with the growing cultural significance, nostalgia, and fascination with natives in the second-half of the nineteenth century that was as much about identity as the Boston Tea Party Indians.[8]

The central question to be resolved in the waning years of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century was how to protect native cultures and negotiate their impact upon the nation's identity. This story and the debate that characterized it largely resembles the changes taking place at the turn of the century in the United States. The unregulated, laissez-faire nineteenth-century America was slowly changing into the

[8] Philip J. Deloria, Playing Indian (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998): 1-25.

progressive, federally-regulated, scientifically-managed, twentieth century. The two groups interested in ruins and material culture during this time largely represent the culture of these two centuries as well two distinct regions. Pothunters, collectors, cattle men, and other westerners wanted unfettered access to these sites while the growing community of scientists, largely educated in the East, wanted the spaces reserved for research and preservation.[9]

Before the 1890s, pothunters and scientists were not so distinguishable. The story of pothunter Richard Wetherill illustrates this point. Wetherill, a rancher from Mancos, Colorado, became interested, maybe even obsessed, in prehistoric cultures after discovering Cliff Palace Ruin in 1888. Initially, Wetherill excavated the ruins for personal interest but soon began to do so to supplement his humble existence. Eventually, he developed into the most knowledgeable Anglo of Southwest ruins. He parlayed this fact into a modestly successful business as an excavation guide and pothunter in the region. His knowledge of the area and financial backing soon warranted fear and jealousy from the growing fields of archaeology and anthropology. In an effort to defeat the unchecked advances of Wetherill in Southwest archaeology, the scientific community united in an effort to brand him a pothunter and outlaw his practices. Time would prove that the scientists had history on their side, and they ultimately succeeded in challenging the values of Wetherill's work and others like him. Their movement resulted in the passing of the Antiquities Act in 1906. Over the course of two decades, the value

[9] Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts, 6-33.

of archaeological material in the American courts and minds evolved significantly as a result of Wetherill, the scientists, and the now engaged federal government.[10]

The success of the values of archaeologists and other scientists over pothunters demonstrates the degree to which the nation's identity and history were linked to native cultures. The act of excavating by pothunters and scientists was essentially the same. The two groups sometimes differed little in actual knowledge of Southwestern prehistory or their contribution to that knowledge. Their essential difference revolved around how they were perceived to appreciate native cultures and aid in the construction of the nation's identity. Scientists wanted the collection, excavation and study of archaeological material culture to be federally-managed, scientifically-based, and kept in museums, while pothunters challenged the values of the scientific system.[11]

The kind of situation that gave the scientists momentum in their debate against the likes of Wetherill resulted from the knowledge that he aided a foreigner in excavating and shipping the treasures of the nation's identity overseas. In 1891, the Wetherill family guided a young Swedish man named Gustav Nordenskiold to excavate at Mesa Verde. When his collection appeared in Sweden, American scientists were outraged and employed nationalism in their argument against pothunting. What is interesting is that Wetherill, in the 1890s, knew of more locations in the Southwest than any other and could boost the discovery of the Basketmakers. Yet his untrained nature and willingness to sell material culture to the highest bidder, without input from the growing field of

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[10] Rothman, Navajo National Monument, 14.

[11] Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts, 6-33.

archaeology and scientific institutions, galvanized what Hal Rothman has called the "self-affirmed anthropology and archaeology clique" against him.[12]

Increasingly, over the last decade of the nineteenth century until protection in 1906, archaeologists and anthropologists successfully outlined their values in terms that more and more Americans could appreciate. By 1904, Edgar Hewett, a knowledgeable archaeologist and advocate of preserving prehistoric culture, was able to gather support for his goal of preservation in a loose coalition of scientists and government officials. In his circular of that year, he summed up his argument for archaeological preservation while gaining written support from the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, a forest officer, Acting Commissioner of the Office of Indian Affairs, Superintendent of the Pima Indian School, and Chief of Smithsonian Institute. The circular also contained a bibliography of works by the leading archaeologists and preservation advocates of Southwest prehistory. The document, already containing the signatures of very influential people in Washington, signaled at least the institutional support for preservation and against the culture of pothunting.[13]

Yet, it is important to note that the educated, elite voice expressed in the document was not completely representative of American attitudes. Wetherill and others continued their practice until legally ordered to stop after 1906, while others continued. At the same time, the activities of the "pothunter" were not always so negatively labeled. In the same year that Hewett published his circular, seemingly establishing a scientific and professional mandate for protection against pothunting, a tour-guide entitled *To*

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[12] Ibid., 18-19.

[13] Edgar Hewett, "Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest and Their Preservation," (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904).

California and Back ignored the negative label, preferring "collector" and suggested the innocence in such behavior. The guide's author even expressed that such behavior is natural. The author, almost warningly, informs the reader that only a few fragments of pottery can be found in the Walnut Canyon area near Flagstaff, having been already carted off by non-scientists. What is interesting is that instead of taking the scientific argument and chastising such a situation, they instead state that it is to be expected, "(a)t least, nothing of value is supposed to remain about those that are commonly visited."[14]

Still, advocates of prehistoric preservation only needed to continue expressing their message until it reached a large enough group and affected public sentiment about native cultures and their significance to the nation.[15] By 1906, the advocates of prehistoric preservation won their battle over pothunting. The 1906 legislation confirmed the nation's negotiation with prehistoric culture as a source of national history and identity. The thesis of Hewett and others prevailed: "These relics are priceless when secured by proper scientific methods and of comparatively little value when scattered about either in museums or private collections without accompanying records." At the same time, the act signaled the beginning stages of a widespread constituency for preservation archaeology and later archaeological tourism.[16]

At Wupatki, the early movement illustrates the changing values of archaeological material culture as well as the debate about how to appreciate it. Early ranchers and cowboys showed no interest in the ruins. It was only with the coming of the cultural

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[14] To California and Back (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1904), 52.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Hewett, "Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins."

changes in the 1890s that Wupatki's architecture and material culture brought much attention. During that decade, a local pothunter, like Wetherill and Nordenskoild, began excavating material culture to sell to private museums and collectors. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, scientists became alarmed by such practices and began a movement to protect the architecture and artifacts at Wupatki.

During the 1870s and 1880s, the area surrounding Wupatki was frequently used as cattle grazing land with little to no regard for the archaeological remains. Local Navajo, a Mormon Settlement and Anglo grazers all utilized the grassland around the Little Colorado River Valley. The 1882 completion of the rail into Flagstaff perpetuated the growth of the region's cattle industry. In 1900, a Christian missionary by the name of Reverend William Johnson of the Young Men's Christian Association moved with his wife to Tolchaco, just twenty miles south of present-day Wupakti. Johnson was very much concerned for the Navajo and aided considerably in the retention of some of their land and in getting additions to the reservation.[17] Johnson, ranchers, and the Mormons must have known of the ruins, but no evidence suggests they placed much value on them. Others within the Flagstaff community knew of the ruins, but never conceived of protecting or preserving them. They called the ruins later named the Citadel, "Aztec Fort" and others were mentioned as ruins near the Little Colorado River, Heiser Spring, or Black Falls. Newspapers found in the Wupatki Pueblo suggest that ranchers in the

[17] Anderson, The Wupatki Archaeological Inventory Survey Project, 6-11; J. Walter Fewkes, "Pueblo Ruins Near Flagstaff, Arizona. A Preliminary Notice," 423.

1880s and 1890s used the ruins as a temporary shelter. Apparently, no one knew of this or found fault in such behavior.[18]

In the 1890s, a local named Ben Doney began searching the region for the "Lost Mines of the Padres." Doney, a Civil War veteran, was one of the last surviving G.A.R. members in Coconino County. The tall thin man settled in Flagstaff in 1883, one year after the rail reached the mountain town. On Sundays, Doney would prospect in the San Francisco Mountains for a mine of quicksilver that the Spanish had rumored about after the pueblo revolt of 1680. Never found, the existence of the mine was legendary. In the 1930s, Harold Colton of the Museum of Northern Arizona found what Doney had marked and labeled as the lost mines and wrote of Doney's search in 1940. While Doney was not primarily interested in archaeological research and had no archaeological training, he supplemented his search for the mines by selling archaeological valuables found in the Wupatki area to collectors and enthusiasts. As a result, Doney became familiar with the area and even gave tours to locals.[19]

Doney's practice should be understood within the context of the search for the primitive and nostalgia that many began to find in Southwestern indigenous culture. The concept of the primitive, which is imagined as living in the past, had been used in Western culture since ancient times. But a loose collection of railroad promoters, ethnographers, artists, writers, photographers and tourist promoters made it their business in the late 1880s and early 1890s to perpetuate primitive aspects of Southwest indigenous

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[18] Harold S. Colton, "Names at Wupatki," Plateau 29 (July 1956): 22-24.

[19] Harold S. Colton, "Tracing the lost mines of the Padres," Plateau 13 (October 1, 1940): 17-18.

cultures. Sensing that modern, urban, industrial life was not authentic, many Americans viewed the constructed Southwestern native cultures as potential remedies.[20]

One of the first, most successful, and representative constructors and sellers of the primitive and native nostalgia was the Fred Harvey Company of New Mexico. The company's representations spoke to what has been called "imperialist nostalgia," or a longing for what one is complicit in destroying. Leah Dilworth in *Imagining Indians in the Southwest* argues that the constructed nature of Harvey's native suggests that the nostalgia sought by his tourists was for something that never existed. Harvey's Southwest experience created collectors out of visitors who wanted to bring home a piece of the primitive, both in his presentation and his own collections and vaults of native crafts. As historian Jackson Lears and others have pointed out, representations of Indians life spoke to American fears about the continuity of modern life and the significance of labor. [21]

While the perceived authentic was false, so too were the crafts and material culture that tourists and collectors sought. The whole process that Harvey perpetuated made the authentic unattainable. First, collecting brought the object out of its context and textualized it in subjective terms that only the collector understood. Second, the process of collecting depletes the culture one desires, only increasing its nostalgia and the collector's desire for the object.[22]

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[20] Leah Dilworth, Imagining Indians in the Southwest, 1-16.

[21] Ibid., 69-124; Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

[22] Leah Dilworth, Imagining Indians in the Southwest, 1-16; Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920.

This new relationship with the natural world and nostalgia for native culture and experience allowed Doney's practice. While he might not have held personal value for the material culture he found and sold, his ability to sell such objects and give tours to a small interested population demonstrates the nation's new relationship with the West and Southwest.[23] Just a decade or so before Doney's exploits, grazers and cowboys knew of the ruins near the Little Colorado River, but neglected and destroyed the material culture, finding more use for the ruins as temporary shelter and the area for grazing.[24] By the 1890s, interested collectors found in Native American artifacts not only a part of their national identity, but also personal psychic trophies. In amassing collections, they affirmed the nation's as well as their own individual identity.[25]

The importance of the pueblo world to the nation's identity is further illustrated by turn- of-the-century artistic impressions of natives. Lovers of nature and Eastern Indians found the eastern Indian world to be disjunctive, disruptive, and overall a disappointment. But Pueblo cultures seemed to be more cohesive and somewhat unchanged in modernity. Americans admired their belief system, specifically their connection to nature, and in honoring these people, a much romanticized image emerged. For instance, in the early 1900s, when Anglo-American artists began portraying the Taos natives, their presentation was quite interesting. Amid natives challenged by alcoholism,

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[23] Leah Dilworth, Imagining Indians in the Southwest, 1-16; Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920.

[24] Fewkes, "Pueblo Ruins Near Flagstaff, Arizona. A Preliminary Notice," 423.

[25] Hal Rothman, Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth Century American West, 33-41.

cultural depression, forced assimilation, and relocation to reservations, artists constructed native images of a happy and noble people. These resulting images filled a need within the artist, the viewer, and the nation as a whole. They needed to affirm - amid the industrial, technological world - that something had escaped the reaches of these forces.[26]

While probably not fully aware of his contribution, Doney certainly helped to perpetuate this negotiation of national identity by guiding interested parties to prehistoric ruins and selling material culture. In 1900, Doney led archaeologist Dr. Jesse W. Fewkes on the first scientific survey of the Wupatki region.[27] Fewkes was part of a relatively elite, federally-sanctioned group of archaeologists that had performed excavations and inventories in the 1880s and 1890s. He, as well as Victor and Cosmos Mindeleff and Dr. Walter Hough, performed excavations and surveys for the Bureau of American Ethnology. In the coming years, Fewkes undertook several projects for the federal government as a trained scientist and combatant of pothunting culture.[28]

As an archaeologist and scientist in the Southwest, Fewkes was representative of a growing population of middle-class, educated intellectuals in the West. During the

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[26] Rina Swentzell, "Anglo Artists and the Creation of Pueblo Worlds," in The Culture of Tourism, The Tourism of Culture ed. Hal K. Rothman, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 66-71.

[27] Albert H. Schroeder, "History of Archaeological Research," Handbook of North American Indians (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1979), 6.

[28] Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts, 15; Curtis Hinsley, The Smithsonian and the American Indian (Wahington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1981), 192, 201, 205, 266, 281. Fewkes was a Harvard trained scientist who worked extensively in the Southwest as an ethnographer and archaeologist. In 1889, Mary Hemenway replaced Frank Hamilton Cushing in the Hemenway South-Western Archaeological Expedition with Fewkes. In 1897, Fewkes joined the Bureau of American Ethnology. In 1906, Fewkes worked at Mesa Verde National Monument to prepare prehistoric architecture for public visits.

middle and late nineteenth century, amid the excesses and corruption of the Gilded Age, there arose, particularly in the urban Northeast, a concern about the moral state of society. Many Progressives, like Fewkes and others who would come to support preservation, after a liberal education in the conditions of modern society, felt obligated to get involved in social reform. For them, the remedy for social fraying and corruption began with education. They sought the creation of museums, schools, and other institutions. As a central player in the establishment of Wupatki, Fewkes represented middle-class aspirations and ideals about the ability of science, moral judgment, and the leadership of an educated elite to aid in the development of society.[29] He and others evoked images of the West as the birthplace of the nation's myth and the stage with which America could rival the castles and culture of Europe with the pueblo "castles" of the Southwest.[30]

In the same year as his first visit to Wupatki, Fewkes published "Pueblo Ruins Near Flagstaff, Arizona. A Preliminary Notice." In this account, Fewkes classified and named many of the ruins and points of interest. His "cursory examination," described three types of "Arizonian ruins... (1) cavate rooms, (2) cliff-houses, and (3) pueblos."[31] He provided maps, pictures, sketches of the ruins, and a description of the Wupatki

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[29] Curtis Hinsley ed. The Southwest in the American Imagination: The Writings of Sylvester Baxter, 1881-1889 (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1996), 9-11.

[30] Harold S. Colton, "Did The So-Called Cliff Dwellers of Central Arizona Also Build "Hogans"?," American Anthropologist 22 (1920):298-301. In this second archaeological publication of Colton's he refers to cliff dwellings as "castles; J. Walter Fewkes, "Pueblo Ruins Near Flagstaff, Arizona. A Preliminary Notice, American Anthropologist (1900): 434.

[31] Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Pueblo Ruins Near Flagstaff, Arizona. A Preliminary Notice," 422.

environment. The report also contains the first known use of the name "Citadel" for the Wupatki ruin, which until then was known by locals as "Aztec Fort."[32] Fewkes suggested this name was inappropriate and gave the name Citadel because of what he perceived as its defensive nature. He wrote that the ruin was "a most advantageous place of refuge for the inhabitants of the neighboring houses, as it had a commanding position, was difficult of access, and was well fortified." While it is clear that the ruin had no relationship to the Aztecs, Fewkes, like archaeologists of the time, felt it his duty and responsibility to give names to such ruins and take the lead in the construction of southwestern prehistory as well as the nation's identity and history.[33]

One of the stated goals of Fewkes was to bring attention to what he called "Ruins near Black Falls of the Little Colorado." He briefly outlined the regional visits of both Sitgreaves in 1851 and Powell in 1885. Both visited and noted the ruins, but as Fewkes pointed out, since 1885, literature of the Flagstaff region had been mostly confined to superficial popular newspaper articles and archaeologists who neglected Wupatki. In attempting to bring recognition to these little-known ruins, Fewkes evoked the image of the West that many of his contemporaries saw and perpetuated. That image of the West was one of monumentalism that challenged the cultural and structural institutions of Europe. He noted that the ruins were visible from a great distance and that they resembled "an old castle."[34]

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[32] Harold S. Colton, "Names at Wupatki," Plateau 29 (July 1956): 22-24.

[33] J. Walter Fewkes, "Pueblo Ruins Near Flagstaff, Arizona. A Preliminary Notice," 434.

[34] Ibid.

Fig. 2 Wupatki Pueblo in 1902, Northern Arizona University, Colorado Plateau digital Archives. This photo illustrates the probable condition of the monument when Fewkes first visited it two years before. What is visible at the top is the beginning of the third story of the ruin, levels one and two, almost completely covered in fallen stone.

While Fewkes probably appreciated Doney's help in navigating the Wupatki region, for the next twenty-four years he advocated for protection of these sites from people like Doney. Because Doney did not employ scientific methods and sold his pieces to private collectors, Fewkes, and later Harold Colton of the Museum of Northern Arizona, decried his practice. These two scientists felt that the work of "pothunters" and amateurs like Doney deprived the public of valuable information by selling material to the highest bidder - often out of state - and with no way of tracking the status and use of the artifacts. According to Fewkes, Doney possessed a large collection of artifacts that he

sold to private archaeology enthusiasts. Doney's collection, dug from Wupatki, included a desecrated infant body, a parrot, a dog, clothing, cigarette canes, clubs, seeds, turquoise ornaments, shells, and other material culture. Fewkes and others felt that artifacts such as these should be federally owned and under the supervision of trained scientists like himself.[35]

The first official effort to achieve recognition for Wupatki and thus preservation was Fewkes' article "A Cluster of Arizona Ruins Which Should Be Preserved," in the January 1904 issue of *Records of the Past*.[36] Nationally, the journal was instrumental in the preservation movement.[37] In Fewkes' article, he exposed the problems of pothunting and vandalism and attributed these dangers to a lack of a constituency, or an "intelligent popular interest in the subject." He surmised that the destruction of such "prehistoric monuments" by vandals and pothunters was the result of a lack of information available to the public about the scientific worth of these places for the nation. He too, as a representative of the progressive movement, reasoned that the best one to determine the need for protective legislation and education was himself, "the expert, who is familiar with the nature of the archaeological problems which these ruins will do so much to elucidate (8)."[38] Clearly, Fewkes' values in the ruins were firmly placed in their potential for archaeological research and national history. He attacked the practices of those like

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[35] Harold S. Colton, "Wupatki, Tall House," Museum Notes 5 (May 1933): 422-450.

[36] J. Walter Fewkes, "A Cluster of Arizona Ruins Which Should be Preserved," Records of the Past 3 (January 1904): 4-19.

[37] Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts, 35-36.

[38] Fewkes, "A Cluster of Arizona Ruins Which Should be Preserved," 8.

Doney and advocated for the creation of a monument at Wupatki.[39] His role, as he saw it, was to help educate the general public about these resources and the threats of vandalism and pothunting. When achieved, Fewkes envisioned protective status for ruins like those at Wupatki.

What Fewkes and others hoped to learn from the ruins and material culture of Wupatki is best illustrated within the context of the national preservation movement. While archaeological preservation seems much different than the historic preservation of Civil War sites, the roots of such movements are similar. Following the Civil War, there were several economic, social, and cultural catalysts for the preservation movement. Economically, the industrialization of the North during the war, as well as its economic benefits, allowed both money and concern for preservation. Socially and culturally there was an obvious need to unite the country after the bloody, bitter conflict. One way this was achieved was through the efforts of historic preservation. Following the war, regional and military preservation served the purpose of helping to mold the post-war national identity. Beginning in the 1880s, the previously eastern trend began to move West. The same goals and aspirations to protect national history and sustain national identity led to archaeological preservation in the Southwest.[40]

In his article prescribing preservation, Fewkes appealed to the scientific community and politicians by placing his observational findings within the context of Arizona prehistory. Fewkes outlined the many ways in which preservation and analysis at Wupatki could help scientists and historians better understand the Southwestern

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[39] Ibid., 4-19.

[40] Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts, 6-13.

prehistory. Specifically, Fewkes theorized about the relationship between the northern and southern prehistoric cultures in Arizona. He suggested that aboriginal ruins in Arizona were primarily "situated in the valleys of two rivers, and their tributaries."[41] The southern region he identified as the Gila River, the northern as the Colorado. He theorized that the ruins in the north, like those at Wupatki, were relatively younger than the southern ones near the Gila River. His evidence was the "character and size" of the southern ruins. He concluded that the southern Gila peoples at one time must have migrated north to the Colorado River Valley. Ultimately, Fewkes argued that preservation and excavation of the monument's prehistoric ruins could "add instructive chapters to the history of the Southwest."[42] While much of Fewkes' chronological theories were disproved years later, his analysis and attempt to make history of these prehistoric peoples were important for the development of archaeology, anthropology, and ethnology. Fewkes' effort also contributed to the development of public knowledge about Wupatki and its potential to add to both national history and identity.[43]

Unfortunately for Fewkes and the growing preservationist community, preservation of the ruins and creation of Wupatki National Monument were still two decades away. When the 1906 Antiquities Act passed, Wupatki was overlooked for designation. This was most likely due to its isolation. Adequate roads into the area were lacking and Flagstaff's first automobile came only in 1902.[44] The federal government

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[41] Fewkes, "A Cluster of Arizona Ruins Which Should be Preserved," 4.

[42] Ibid., 6.

[43] Ibid., 4-19.

[44] Richard and Sherry Magnum, Flagstaff Past and Present (Flagstaff: Northland Publishing, 2003), 56.

during these years would most often ignore preservation arguments until defenders could prove that knowledge and access to the ruins made them vulnerable. It was widely believed that if the ruins were physically or culturally isolated, then preservation was not warranted. Thus, visitation of the ruins was not yet practical. At the same time, the few in the nearby Flagstaff region who knew of the ruins could see little benefits in preservation. When Fewkes prescribed creation of a monument, rail travel to Flagstaff was only twenty-two years old. As such, the infrastructure for travel and potential for tourism at Wupatki was still years off. Fred Harvey's business was successful at this time, but his trips used rails, and few of his tourists were likely to ride twenty-five miles across cinder-covered rutted roads in horse and buggy to view the Wupatki ruins. In the 1890s, Flagstaff residents invested in the resources of nearby Grand Canyon, but not for tourism or preservation; their interest resided in mining. And while the mid-1890s saw the emergence of the canyon into a wide popular consciousness, tourist potential was hamstrung by inadequate transportation.[45]

At the same time, the aesthetic appeal of prehistoric archaeology and architecture must have played against the early preservation of Wupatki. In the writings of Hewett, Fewkes, and others, the emphasis upon ruins being "well-preserved" and scenic, reveals the extent to which the values of aesthetics pertained to archaeological preservation. Speaking of Chaco Canyon Hewett wrote, "(n)owhere else is there such a splendid group of prehistoric buildings in a fair state of preservation." While the import of these and other ruins for science is expressed, the selling point for preservation was more-often driven home in terms of aesthetics. The state of preservation that he and others

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[45] Rothman, Deveil's Bargains, 50-54.

described, refers to visual stimuli and those ruins that were not "well preserved" are less-worthy of preservation. "The buildings are not well-preserved," he wrote of ruins in the Tusayan district, "and there are probably no ruins in the district that demand permanent preservation.[46]

It certainly could be argued that the ruins at Wupatki and their immediate surroundings were less stimulating than others of their kind in 1906. While many scientists have found Wupatki Pueblo to be extremely important for scientific understanding of pueblo peoples, when one refers to the photo of Wupatki in figure 2, the ruin looks more like a huge pile of stones than an aesthetically appealing, picturesque pueblo. At the same time, the environment around Wupatki was probably not as appealing as others in the area. For instance, Walnut Canyon National Monument, located less than ten miles from Flagstaff, was designated nine-years before Wupatki and early travel literature suggests that its aesthetics made it more important as a tourist destination than Wupatki. Even before its designation, Walnut Canyon received more regional travel attention than Wupatki. In a 1904 guidebook, Walnut Canyon was described as remarkable and delightful, while Wupatki was not mentioned.[47] Hewett's "Circular" also placed more significance upon Walnut Canyon over Wupatki. He related that scientists have found the Walnut cliff-dwellings to be "the most important in the

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[46] Hewett, "Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest and Their Preservation."

[47] To California and Back (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1904), 52; Arizona Road Maps and Tour Book (Harry Locke, 1921), 26 and 108. In this 1921 guide Walnut Canyon is discussed and noted on two maps, while Wupatki is ignored.

Southwest," while the architecture at Wupatki was ignored, the author noted only its wealth of pottery.[48]

Any formal movement to preserve Wupatki languished until the ruins were brought to the attention of Philadelphia zoologist Harold S. Colton in 1916.[49] His arrival in the region signaled the start of more than half-a-century's work in the region on behalf of science. His scientific education began much earlier and nearly 2,000 miles away. Colton was born in 1881 to an upper-middle class successful banker-stockbroker in Philadelphia. The Colton's economic situation allowed Harold to pursue his academic interests with little thought of money. In 1908, Colton received his Ph.D in Zoology from the University of Pennsylvania. For almost two decades, he did research and taught there. In 1910, Colton began making regular summer trips to the Southwest.[50]

As a Philadelphia Brahmin in the Southwest, Colton, like Fewkes, was representative of the scientific, intellectual in the West. He believed in the preservation of pueblo and indigenous culture for the sake of education and national identity. He too sought the creation of a museum to hold the material culture and knowledge of the region. This he achieved in 1928 when, with the help of the local postmaster and a women's club, he created the Museum of Northern Arizona. As a central player not only

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[48] Hewett, "Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest and Their Preservation."

[49] Lyndon Lane Hargrave, "The Review of Archaeological activities in the San Franciscan Mountain region," Museum Notes 5.7 (January 1933): pages.

[50] Jimmy Miller, The Life of Harold Seller Colton: A Philadelphia Brahmin in Flagstaff (Tsaile, Arizona: Navajo Community Press, 1991), 1, 30-37.

in the establishment of Wupatki, but also in its early administration, Colton, like Fewkes, represented the aspirations and ideals of science and centralized federal authority.[51]

Fig. 3 Harold S. Colton 1916, in Verde Valley. Colton's first approach upon Wupatki in the same year was also on horseback. While by 1916 automobiles had been in the Flagstaff region for a decade and a half, horse travel to places like Wupatki were still the norm and certainly held back potential tourist development. Northern Arizona University, Digital Archives.

In pursuing studies and life in the Southwest, Colton, like Fewkes, was part of new and emerging kind of tourism that sought the authentic amidst the backdrop of a less-appealing, Gilded-Age past. Their sense of what was real was based in an anti-modern consciousness. When Fewkes, Colton, and hundreds of others rode horses or drove in automobiles, camped, hunted, broke cattle, and dug in the dirt with their bare hands, they affirmed their quest for the authentic. They were individuals against themselves, roughing it in the harsh reality of the American West. While tourism of the

[51] Hinsley The Southwest in the American Imagination: The Writings of Sylvester Baxter, 1881-1889, 9-11.

previous period was urban-based and tourists traveled in railcars in comfort, ate the finest foods and slept in grand resorts, this new tourist experience was different.[52]

Fewkes, Colton and their peers sat around camp fires and discussed the origins of the Anasazi. The symbol of this quest for the authentic in archaeological terms was the trowel. This tool could be used by the scientist and amateur enthusiast alike to uncover truth from the past. In their writings, Colton and Fewkes evoked the image of the liberating dig with a trowel and sold this idea in popular and scholarly journals that were widely accessible.[53]

From 1910 until Colton's official move to the region in 1926, he and his wife Mary Russell Ferrell developed their interest and knowledge in Southwest prehistory. Colton first visited the region in 1910 as a bachelor and then in 1912 as a newlywed on his honeymoon. But it was their 1913 trip which truly excited the couple about prehistory in the region. Prior to that summer trip, Harold met Dr. Fredrick Munson at the University of Pennsylvania's faculty club called the Lenape Club. Munson introduced Colton to images and analysis of the Southwest's Navajo and Hopi cultures. This inspired Colton to do further research at the American Indian's Heye Foundation, which was engaged in excavations at Chaco Canyon, New Mexico. By 1916, with a newborn son, the Coltons were renting summer homes for their stay in the Flagstaff

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[52] Rothman, Devil's Bargains, 113-119; Earl Pomeroy, In Search of the Golden West, The Tourist in Western America (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990) 139-183. While Rothman discusses specifically archaeology tourism, in Pomeroy's chapter 5, "Americans Move Outdoors," he discusses the search for the authentic and a strenuous life in terms of emerging Southwest nostalgia in literature, dude ranching and rodeos.

[53]Rothman, Devil's Bargains, 113-119; Earl Pomeroy, In Search of the Golden West, The Tourist in Western America, 139-183.

region. During that summer, the Colton's son Ferrell picked up a potsherd while the family was picnicking east of Flagstaff. The find prompted the Coltons to board a train for Los Angeles and the Southwest Museum's fine archaeological library of Dr. Joseph A. Munk. Upon arrival in Southern California, Harold found little literature mentioning the sites near Flagstaff and no literature at all about smaller sights such as those in Northern Arizona. The Coltons returned to Pennsylvania and immediately began the life-long work of surveying the archaeology and natural environment of the region.[54]

The Coltons first visited the Wupatki ruins three summers later in 1919. Making the difficult approach on horseback and arriving at the Wupatki Pueblo, they described it as an "imposing red prehistoric ruin on the edge of the painted desert that had been visited by J.W. Fewkes in 1900." Of course, in 1919, Colton was one of a selected few who had knowledge of Wupatki and Fewkes' work there. The couple camped just south of the pueblo at the Old Heiser Ranch for a few days exploring the region and finding the ruin of Wukoki.[55]

While excavating at the Citadel ruin two summers later in 1921, Colton met J.C. Clarkee. The friendship developed by these two men was crucial for the preservation of Wupatki. Clarkee was born in Brownsville, Tennessee, in 1876 and moved to Flagstaff in 1912. He joined the postal service in 1919 and eventually became chief dispatching clerk.[56] Colton felt Clarkee to be a "very good amateur archaeologist" and was impressed by his assessment that Clarkee held the finest anthropological library north of

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[54] Harold S. Colton, "Racking My Brain, Vol. III," Unpublished Manuscript (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, Colton Collection), 60-75.

[55] Ibid., 50-51.

[56] Coconino Sun, 12 April 1932), p. 1, 3.

Phoenix. Clarkee had no official training, was self taught like Wetherill, but placed value in archaeology in terms of science and national history and identity. In this way, Colton and Clarkee saw archaeology in a similar light. Together, until the establishment of the monument, these men led the movement to preserve Wupatki.[57]

During these years, Colton and Clarkee discussed preservation, accessed information, and communicated with local groups such as the women's club, business organizations, and significant locals to gain public support for the monument. They, like Fewkes, regarded Wupatki as an important cultural and historic space for the nation and deemed it important for the development of public, national, and archaeological knowledge. In a letter published in the *Coconino Sun* in 1923, Colton asked Clarkee what the public reception to the creation of a monument to protect the Citadel ruin and Heiser Spring area would be. Colton noted that the Wupatki sites were "the finest ruins this side of the Little Colorado, and should be preserved." For this reason, Colton thought that the Smithsonian Institute would probably help to restore the ruins.[58] This discussion prompted Clarkee to gather information about who owned the Wupatki land. He found that the federal government owned the Wupatki Pueblo ruins. This fact would

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[57] Harold S. Colton to Jesse W Fewkes, July 15th, 1923, Colton Collection, Museum of Northern Arizona. Quoted in David O.W. Scott, "Wupatki and Sunset Crater: An Administrative History," (Northern Arizona University MA thesis, 1989), 64. Currently this letter is missing from the Museum of Northern Arizona.

[58] Coconino Sun, 16 February 1923, p. 1, 2. In the letters of Colton, Clarkee, Fewkes as well as the local histories there is little reference to individuals, organizations and other factors leading to the preservation of the monument. This lack of information is further perpetuated by the fact that letters once known to reside at the Museum of Northern Arizona are admittingly lost. To reference local participation see: Colton Corespondences at MNA, Richard and Sherry Magnum, Flagstaff Past and Present, 56; and Platt Cline, Mountain Town, Flagstaff's First Century (Flagstaff: Northland Publishing, 1994), 155-163.

make designation easier. The federal government could only designate ruins or land as monuments if it owned the land. Still, other ruins, such as Crack-In-Rock, were owned by the Babbitt family of Flagstaff. Thus, to acquire such ruins within a monument, the federal government would have to work for the purchase of the lands from the Babbitts. To drum up local support for preservation, Clarkee enlisted the help of the Rotary Club, a local Women's group, and the Chamber of Commerce for the project.[59] While Clarkee built local support for the preservation of Wupatki in 1923, Colton communicated with Fewkes to develop a national campaign. By 1923, Fewkes was director of the Bureau of American Ethnology and his support for preservation would be very persuasive in Washington.[60]

The fall of 1923 brought another scientist and institution into the movement to preserve the Wupatki ruins. In September, Clarke found Samuel A. Barrett, Director of the Milwaukee Public Museum, cleaning out, taking photos and measuring an old grave at the Citadel ruins. Barrett explained to Clarkee that until recently he had not heard of the ruins and was now very intrigued. Over the coming months Clarkee exchanged correspondences with the director and discussed preservation. He too kept Colton and the local community informed of Barrett's work. The fact that Barrett's "cleaning out" did not receive contempt from Colton and Clarkee, but was instead viewed as the actions

[59] Jesse C. Clarkee to Harold S. Colton, February 18, 1923, Colton Collection, Museum of Northern Arizona.

[60] Ibid.

of an ally, demonstrates the "cliché" nature of the fields of archaeology and anthropology.[61]

Barrett's major contribution to the movement came with his report in the Milwaukee Museum's annual publication. This scientific document brought needed attention to the issue of preservation at Wupatki. In the report, Barrett outlined the work of Fewkes, Colton, and Clarke in the area and provided information about the region and the ruins. He described the geology, the water resources in the region, and also provided a map of the Citadel ruin area as well as some 40 photographs. He described the ruins as "well preserved" and ultimately provided a case for preservation. In his report, Barrett appealed to the tourist and educational potential of Wupatki. He noted that with transportation improvements such as automobiles, rail lines, and road access, the potential monument would be an important tourist destination. He even advised that with the proliferation of the automobile, the Citadel ruins, which lay closest to highway 89, would be "a way station of the greatest interest to the automobile tourist." In the conclusion of his report, he suggested that preservation of the monument could be achieved with little effort.[62]

Barrett's work on behalf of preservation as well the work of Colton, Clarke and Fewkes made 1923 a decisive year in the movement to preserve the ruins at Wupatki. In that year, local support for preservation and public knowledge of the ruins emerged in the form of petitions collected by Colton from the Rotary Club and Chamber of Commerce.

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[61] Harold S. Colton to Jesse C. Clarkee, October 17, 1923, Colton Collection, Museum of Northern Arizona.

[62] Samuel A. Barrett, "Reconnaissance of the Citadel Group of Pueblo Ruins in Arizona," Yearbook of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee," 6 (1927): 7-58.

Colton sent these documents as well as two survey maps to Fewkes for a presentation to the National Park Service (NPS).[63] This new public recognition in Flagstaff was certainly aided by the development of preservation values and tourism at nearby Grand Canyon National Park.

The emergence of tourism at Grand Canyon National Park in the early 1920s and the recognition of tourist potential at places like Wupatki reflected many emerging national trends. Central was the removal of both physical and economic barriers to access preserved spaces. The development of roads, automobiles and the first American leisure culture all contributed to rising visitation at the Grand Canyon and the potential for such advances at Wupatki.[64]

Central to the development of the regional tourist industry at the turn-of-the-century was the development of better roads and the advent of the automobile. The first automobile arrived in flagstaff in 1902 and its potential for tourism was immediately recognized. Two days after arriving in the mountain town the car was used by local promoters to attempt an auto tour to the Grand Canyon to assess the potential of setting up a motor stage to the scenic canyon. The first attempt was a failure, but shortly thereafter a successful one-way trip took sixty-seven hours. This time as well the auto costs made commercial auto touring impractical at the time.[65]

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[63] Jesse C. Clarkee to Harold S. Colton, November 27, 1923, Colton Collection, Museum of Northern Arizona.

[64] Richard and Sherry Magnum, Flagstaff Past and Present, 56.

[65] Platt Cline, Mountain Town, Flagstaff's First Century (Flagstaff: Northland Publishing, 1994), 155-163.

Over the coming decades autos became more frequent in Flagstaff as they were increasingly more reliable and cheaper. By 1911 there were about forty cars in town and only the wealthy could afford them. A decade later the car was no longer a rich-man's possession. The assembly-line methods developed by Henry Ford had greatly reduced prices. In 1908 a Ford cost $1,500, but by 1914 the price had dropped to $425. The 1920s saw the real democratization of automobile ownership. In 1924 the price for a Ford was $260.[66]

While road development had been a concern since settlement, the proliferation of the automobile and recognition of the potential of a vibrant tourist economy drove local and regional demands for improvements. In 1909, with an eye on tourist development, Coconino County joined Maricopa and Yavapai counties to develop the state's roads. Their effort improved the travel time from Phoenix to Flagstaff to two days, certainly not a time that many could afford for the purposes of tourism. An important development for the potential preservation of Wupatki for the purpose of tourism came in 1911 when a grant was received to build a bridge over the Little Colorado River just north of the pueblos towards the Grand Canyon, further linking the two future National Park Service sites. During the teens, local residents throughout Arizona began advocating for a transcontinental highway to be built through northern Arizona. The Flagstaff community successfully advocated for passage through its town, much to the disappointment of Phoenix. The Federal Road Act took on the project in 1922 that eventually gave way to the development of Route 66.[67]

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[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

The potential for roads to aid in the development of tourism was summed up by famed author and sometimes Flagstaff resident Zane Grey in 1923 when he claimed that "tourist travel is going to give Flagstaff prosperity that will overshadow any development." Gray celebrated what he saw as progress in improved roads, urged further development, and foreshadowed the region's success in tourism.[68]

The regional tourism and transportation developments that many witnessed in Flagstaff was representative of social, technological, cultural and economic trends that took place nationally between 1900 and 1924. Road and transportation developments increased the ability of Americans to partake in tourism, while greater economic mobility and the availability of credit alleviated economic barriers. At the same time, social and cultural developments such as the rising importance of the self, increased nationalism, and the pursuit of the primitive and a strenuous life all contributed to the nationwide tourist industry.[69]

The advent and proliferation of the automobile is often used as symbol of the transformations that the nation witnessed during this period. The first transcontinental auto trip took place in 1903. Although the trip was expensive, costing eight thousand dollars, and was not very luxurious, the Vermont physician lost twenty pounds during

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[68] Ibid., 249.

[69] Earl Pomeroy, In Search of the Golden West, The Tourist in Western America, 125-150; Warren James Belasco, Americans on the Road, From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945 (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1979), 7-30.

nine weeks. Like most technology, the first users were wealthy. By 1910, U.S. citizens owned half a million cars. By 1920, the number had risen to eight million.[70]

By 1924, the year of Wupatki's designation, the automobile had made a dramatic impact upon the democratization of tourism. It is estimated that during that year fifteen million people were using this new technology for auto tours. The auto tour, unlike rail travel, was cheap enough for middle-class America to enjoy. Gas for the whole family to travel, by mid-decade, equaled the average price of one rail ticket. The success of auto camps demonstrates the changes that took place in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Previously to 1924, auto camps were created and maintained by city and local government for free use. Their success, by 1924, witnessed the first auto camps to charge a fee. *Sunset* magazine expressed the changes taking place that year when it expressed, "(t)he Automobile and the municipal camps have so cheapened travel that the wonders of the West's national parks today are accessible to hundreds of thousands who ten years ago had as much chance to see them as Hobson has of becoming admiral of the Swiss navy."[71]

Equally important to the lifting of economic and technical barriers by the automobile was what the automobile tour experience meant to Americans. Many felt rail travel limited their experience and their relationship to the landscape. The auto tour,

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[70] Earl Pomeroy, In Search of the Golden West, The Tourist in Western America, 125-150; Belasco, Americans on the Road, From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945, 7-30.

[71] Earl Pomeroy, In Search of the Golden West, The Tourist in Western America, 125-150; Belasco, Americans on the Road, From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945, 7-30; Sunset LIII (September 1924), 48-49. For further description and analysis of the impact of the automobile upon tourism and the American society see John A. Jackle, The Tourist, Travel in Twentieth Century America (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 101-170.

it was believed, was more authentic, free, and gave a better and easier chance to escape the urbanity that propelled many to take to the road. The outdoor experience generated by the auto tour also enabled those who sought the primitive in the West, Southwest and indigenous cultures. Many believed the experience was instinctual and part of human heritage. The ability to jump in one's auto and tour the nation's landscape was described as "primal wonderlust." At the same time, the tour spoke to America's search for the strenuous life that Teddy Roosevelt and others so advocated in the 1920s. The individual took charge and worked, camped in the open, was challenged by everyday tasks. It was believed that all this inevitably aided in the development of human character.[72]

The development of tourism, aided by the automobile, was also given nationalist pride with the advent of the "See America First" Campaign in the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1903 a Salt Lake City tourist promoter coined the phase when he began using the slogan, "See Europe If You Will, But See America First." The phrase embodied the imagination of western tourism and boosterism as well as nationalism. It caught on and in 1910 the Great Northern Railroad adopted it as their corporate logo and motto. Over the next few decades, many, including the NPS, utilized the popular and patriotic emblem, characterizing a generation of tourism. The term not only expressed the possibilities of the emerging industry, it also contributed to the dialog about the nation's identity. Those who heeded the call and took to the auto tour expressed their

[72] Earl Pomeroy, In Search of the Golden West, The Tourist in Western America, 125-150; Belasco, Americans on the Road, From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945, 7-30; Sunset LIII (September 1924), 48-49.

nationality, while negotiating their quest for the authentic, primitivism and the strenuous life.[73]

By December 9th of 1924, the efforts of Fewkes, Colton, Clarkee, and Barrett, facilitated by cultural and technological trends, were rewarded with the creation of Wupatki National Monument. Proclamation No. 1921 by President Calvin Coolidge stated, "(w)arning is hereby given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any of the features or objects included within the boundaries of this monument."[74] Monument status ultimately favored scientists such as Colton, Fewkes, and Barrett over pothunters like Doney at Wupatki. Scientists now had federal backing for the value and purpose they saw in places like Wupatki. Still, the effort to preserve the monument was not finished. Legislation and Presidential proclamation had given Wupatki a distinctly new value, but managing and preserving the monument would be an ongoing challenge. In the coming years, Barrett's suggestion that the ruins could be protected with little effort proved overly optimistic.

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[73] Marguerite S. Shaffer, "Seeing America First: The Search for Identity in the Tourist Landscape," Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West ed. by David M. Worbel and Patrick T. Long, (Boulder: University of Colorado at Boulder Press, 2001) 165-193.

[74] President, Proclamation, Proclamation 1721, (9 December 1924).

Chapter 3
The Early Monument Years, 1924-1937

The early purpose of the archaeological monuments, as advocated by the growing constituency of scientists and preservationists, was for archaeological preservation. But from 1924-1937 under-funding and under-staffing made preservation difficult. Ironically, at many sites throughout the nation, designation brought attention to archaeological sites, but often monies for protection were lacking. As result, increased vandalism and pothunting increased. Because the National Park Service (*NPS*) granted funds to sites based upon visitation numbers, Wupatki only looked to gain financial support if more visitors came. Consequently, local and regional advocates for the monument engaged in preservation politics and sought increased tourism. At the same time, the few who did come experienced and expressed the nation's growing fascination with native cultures.

By the time of designation though, access challenges dramatically impacted any attempt to bring tourists to the monument. With Route 66 nearly a decade from completion, so called "improved roads" were the only approaches to Wupatki. Leaving Flagstaff heading east on the Old Trail National Highway, almost the same path used by Sitgreaves and later that of Route 66, travelers drove about five-miles before heading

north on the road that would latter become highway 89. Leaving the Old Trail National Highway, travelers continued north another fifteen miles before leaving the "improved road" and turning east again, approaching the monument upon nearly ten miles of primitive roads or old horse trails. The trip would have taken a good part of the day and often burdened the travelers with difficulties along the way. Getting to the Citadel Ruin would have been difficult enough for the auto tourist, but the accessibility of the largest pueblo in the monument, Wupatki, was in many ways impractical. Colton's 1927 map of the region (fig. 4) and accompanying text does not even mention the existence of the badly rutted, non-improved road to Wupatki Pueblo. In fact, in the map, the Citadel is not even shown as being part of Wupatki National Monument.[1]

While the mid-twenties saw many barriers to travel either eliminated or dramatically lowered, traveling was still a relatively expensive and often troublesome affair. Colton described the roads around Wupatki and Northern Arizona as generally passable in most weather, but difficult in rain and drought. To prepare for travel on such roads, Colton advised all to bring necessary precautionary tools and aids. These included chains, a good jack, a good pump, a shovel, a small axe, a stout towline and cans of oil, gas and water. The need to bring such equipment and the time and effort needed to get to places like Wupatki, obviously limited development of an archaeology constituency and tourism.[2]

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[1] Harold S. Colton and Frank C. Baxter, Days in the Painted Desert and the San Francisco Mountains: A Guide (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1927), 1-23.

[2] Ibid.

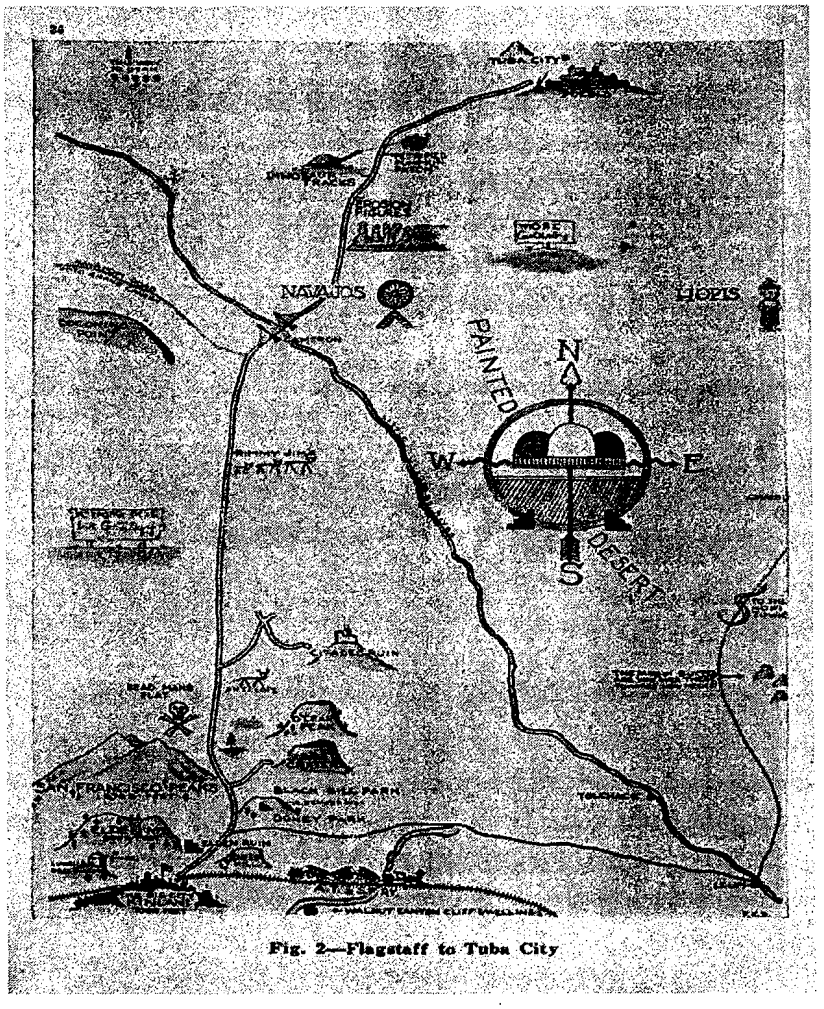

Figure #4 Flagstaff to Tuba City Map 1927, *Days in the Painted Desert* by Harold S. Colton and Frank C. Baxter.

While scientists and preservationists throughout the nation felt initially that the 1906 legislation was a victory for preservation, by the 1920s many realized the situation was a mixed blessing. The Antiquities Act gave some value to place by reserving it but little else. There was little money for protection against vandalism, and consequently many monuments experienced increased mistreatment after designation. The conditions of the 1920s at the nation's monuments warranted historian Hal Rothman to label these

the years of "warning sign protection."[3] For the NPS, monuments were anomalies in a system that focused on scenic monumentalism. Consequently, in 1923 the NPS created a regional management agency later called the Southwest Monuments Group (SWMG), to deal with these reserves in the Southwest.[4] But even with the creation of the SWMG, monuments lacked purpose and funds. The NPS largely envisioned them as "waystations" between the spectacular scenic spaces of national parks. This certainly was the case at Wupatki, which was about sixty miles from the Grand Canyon, one of the most impressive cultural destinations for those seeking the scenic West. As a result, such places were treated as insignificant layover points and lacked the funding for protection.[5] The situation was compounded by the recognition that most Americans were not educated about preservation archaeology and as a result many vandals and thieves did not recognize the faults of their behavior.[6]

The lack of a concerned, educated constituency and funds for protection were evident at Wupatki National Monument during its first decade. With the support of Colton and Fewkes, the head of the Southwest Monuments Association, Frank Pinkley, named J.C. Clarkee the monument's first custodian at the minimum salary of $1 per month, which made the job according to Pinkley one of "love and etc." Because of Clarke's meager salary, he continued work at the post office and was only able to visit

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[3] Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts, 74-88.

[4] Ibid., 119-121.

[5] Hal Rothman, "Second-Class Sites: The National Monuments and the Growth of the National Park System," Environmental Review 10 (Spring 1986): 52.

[6] Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts, 74-88.

the monument in his spare time. While Clarke felt that more resources and a full-time custodian were needed, he accepted the position because he felt that someone needed to oversee the ruins. His primary duties were to protect the monument from vandalism and pothunting, while overseeing archaeological expeditions.[7]

Unfortunately for preservationists, the oversight situation at Wupatki was not unique. The process for managing monuments before Wupatki's destination in 1924 established a poor record for the ideals of preservation. Most monuments, like Wupatki, were guarded by a loose collection of volunteers. At the same time, many politicians had grown accustomed to using the Antiquities Act as a holding category for future National Park designation. Wupatki, an isolated, less-than-scenic archaeological monument was not of park-quality, but was tied fatefully to the act and its politics. Illustrative of the monument's insignificance among the scenic reserves was the sum of $120 that each monument received in 1917 after the National Park Service was created. At the same time, the top positions at parks were titled "superintendents," while the equivalent position at monuments retained the title "custodian." Frank Pinkley and his associates at Southwest monuments worked diligently and vocally to change the situation, but it would not be until the legislation and monies of the New Deal that monuments received any significant respect within the system.[8]

During Clarkee's tenure he oversaw two archaeological expeditions. The first came in 1926-1927 and was directed by Andrew E. Douglas. Douglas' contribution to

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[7] Frank Pinkley to J.C. Clarke, 26 December, 1924, J.C. Clarke Collection, Northern Arizona University.

[8] Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts, 89-115.

archaeology at Wupatki and other Southwestern sites was significant. He conceived of tree-ring dating in 1911 and by the late 1920s and early 1930s his work had dramatically impacted the understanding of Southwest pre-history. Prior to Douglas' method, chronologies of pre-historic cultures lacked a unified scientific approach and were thus highly contested.[9] At the monument, Douglas excavated three rooms in Wupatki Pueblo and was able to perform tree-ring analysis on recovered wood beams. As a result of this study, Douglas estimated the date of creation of the ruins at 1087-1197. While later scientists using newer technologies would find more accurate estimations, Douglas' findings were significant at the time. The second expedition took place in 1931 and was organized by Colton and the Museum of Northern Arizona. While the excavation was thorough, there remains no record of its findings.[10]

In these early days, as would be expected, Clarkee's work at the monument was minimal and public recognition was lacking. For the first ten years, work at and visitation to the monument were so minor that the resident Navajo population was relatively undisturbed.[11] This was largely the result of the often-inaccessible roads and a lack of public knowledge about the ruins.[12] Accessibility was historically an issue for the public recognition of preserved spaces. It was not until the railroad reached both Yellowstone and the Grand Canyon in 1883 and 1901 respectively that either place

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[9] Christian E. Downum, "Southwest Archaeology: Past, Present, And Future," The University Museum Magazine of Archaeology and Anthropology (1), 8.

[10] Dana Hartman and Authur H. Wolf, Wupatki: An Archaeological Assessment (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1977), 7.

[11] Anderson, The Wupatki Archaeological Inventory Survey Project, 6-14.

[12]Frank Pinkley to J.C. Clarke, 12 January, 1926, J.C. Clarke Collection, Northern Arizona University.

received the attention of a general public.[13] Monument reports indicate that accessibility was a continuous issue at Wupatki until the 1960s.[14] Early correspondences between Clarkee and Pinkley note that activity at the monument was so slow during those first few years that Clarkee had little to nothing to write in his monthly reports.[15] At the same time, Wupatki's access roads were omitted from at least one regional NPS map and this caused Pinkley concern.[16] He expressed his concern for promotion and visitation in January 1925 when he wrote Clarkee that "the more advertisement the better."[17] Consequently, these conditions hindered the development of a public constituency.

At the local and national level, those concerned with preservation archaeology were involved in a discourse about the issues of the monuments. For them, the central issue was the lack of a concerned popular constituency. The groups that solidly supported the monument idea were scientists and preservationists, specifically archaeologists. Yet increasingly, archaeologists were arriving at monuments after pothunters and an uninformed public who had destroyed the archaeological remains.[18] Colton, who was named custodian at the same rate after J.C. Clarke's death in 1932,

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[13] Rothman, Devil's Bargains, 45-55.

[14] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff, Az. Reports from the monument monitor and detail the issue of roads and access until the early 1950s.

[15] J.C. Clarke Collection, Northern Arizona University.

[16] Frank Pinkley to J.C. Clarke, 12 January, 1926, J.C. Clarke Collection, Northern Arizona University.

[17] Frank Pinkley to J.C. Clarke, 17 January, 1925, J.C, Clarke Collection, Northern Arizona University.

[18] Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts, 74-88.

voiced concern over the inconsistencies between the goals of preservation and the commitment of the NPS, "(w) hen someone's name is down as Custodian, the higher-ups think that the place in protected, so no money is provided for protection. It's best to be honest and state that there is no custodian."[19]

Many concerned with preservation felt that the only way to draw more money from Washington for protection was to develop a more tourist-centered NPS. While many scientists and preservationists were initially reluctant to support a tourist-centered park experience, the Hetch Hetchy controversy in 1913 and the death of John Muir spurred new thinking among preservationists. In that year preservationists lost a battle with utilitarians over the protection of the Hetch Hetchy valley. The region was pulled from protection in Yosemite National Park and designated as a source of water for the San Francisco area. The primary arguing point for preservationists was the scenic nature of Hetch Hetchy. In the end conservationist and utilitarian values prevailed. The Hetch Hetchy debate revealed to the preservationists that parks and monuments could no longer be defended upon scenic merit alone. Water was an economic issue in the West and preservationists could not make any economic arguments for preservation of the area in 1913. As a result, preservationists learned that economic issues must also be considered to organize an effective preservation campaign. Consequently, preservationists adopted

[19] Harold S. Colton to A.E. Demaray, National Park Service, 3 August 1934, Colton Collection; Quoted in David O.W. Scott, "Wupatki and Sunset Crater: An Administrative History," (Northern Arizona University MA thesis, 1989), 77-82. Currently this letter is missing from the Museum of Northern Arizona.

tourism to make more monies for the parks, develop a greater constituency, and ultimately a means of protecting more land.[20]

Colton, during the 1920s and 1930s, promoted public appreciation and visitation of archaeological monuments like Wupatki through various written publications. By 1946, he was the foremost authority on archaeological theory in the area and as a result wrote scientific articles about the region's archaeology and anthropology. Through the Museum of Northern Arizona's publication *Museum Notes* and the northern Arizona journal *Plateau*, Colton also wrote articles designed to educate and inform a general public in an effort to build a constituency for archaeological and other forms of tourism. By 1940, he had written some forty articles about Wupatki and the region's natural and cultural resources. One obvious objective was to give the public knowledge enough to appreciate and visit Wupatki. He wrote of the region's early explorers, Doney's assaults on the material culture of Wupatki, the origin of its names, and many others topics.[21]

In 1927, Colton with friend Frank C. Baxter published *Days in the Painted Dessert and San Franciscan Mountains: A Guide*. The book describes the area's wealth of natural and cultural wonders, attacks the efforts of pothunters, lists state and federal laws concerning archaeological sites, and gives directions to various locations. He, like other promoters of archaeological and NPS tourism, appealed to reader's romanticism about native cultures and the West and nostalgia for the past. In an anecdotal story about the challenges of access in the region, Colton described an "old traveler," who tired and

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[20] Alfred Runte, National Parks: The American Experience (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1987), 82-88.

[21] Colton and Baxter, Days in the Painted Desert and the San Francisco Mountains: A Guide, 1-23. This was the primary source with which Colton attempted to aid tourists in the region. For a complete list of Colton's works about Wupatki see the bibliography.

skeptical of the desert suddenly comes upon a scenic vista and finds "all the beauty a man could hope for." Colton suggests that travel in the region, with all its burdens and worries will reward visitors who persist to find what he writes is "close at hand." His language is romantic and his goal, to get more visitors to places like Wupatki, is clear.[22]

Yet, Colton as scientist, was reluctant to support whole-heartily a tourist-centered NPS philosophy. By the 1930s, the NPS was firmly committed to accommodating tourists. Colton decried tourist accommodations as the only NPS objective, and advocated for a commitment to preservation archaeology. When Clarke passed away in 1932, Colton became, like his predecessor, the distant custodian. He accepted the position but consistently advocated for a full-time ranger. Without one Colton noticed that pothunting was on the rise. The situation was representative of many monuments at the time. The fact that the NPS awarded appropriations to sites based upon visitation did not help the matter and infuriated Colton.[23]

Colton resigned as custodian within a year of his appointment. In short, he became aware of the fact that Petrified Forest National Monument was registering every car that passed by on Route 66 as a park visitor. The goal of Petrified Forest National Monument was to inflate visitor numbers to draw more federal monies. Colton, however, believed that monies should be allocated to the monuments with the most potential for archaeological sites and research. Colton's protest seems to have been effective. Jim Brewer was hired as the first full-time custodian of Wupatki National Monument in

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, Nation Park Service, Flagstaff Az., 1933-Aug. 1934.

August of 1934. As was customary at the time, his wife Sallie accompanied him, aided in management, but received no pay outside of Jim's paycheck.[24]

The Brewer's both had backgrounds in archaeology and previous NPS experience. Both received archaeology degrees from the University of Arizona and before being assigned to Wupatki they worked at Walnut Canyon National Monument for a few months in early 1933. Jim worked for the Civil Works Administration (CWA) and the Museum of Northern Arizona (MNA) in 1933 and 1934 before becoming custodian.[25]

Jim and Sallie Brewer's arrival at Wupatki coincided with the small, but growing emergence of Wupatki as a tourist destination. NPS statistics and comments by both Pinkley and Colton attest to the materialization of an early tourist constituency just prior to and during Brewer's tenure. In 1932 Colton recorded that 850 people visited the monument. By the time Brewer left his position in 1937 the number had more than doubled even amid the economic troubles of the Great Depression. Pinkley recognized the trend in early 1933 and suggested that the monuments were getting their "fair share" of visitors and that the trend should continue. Later that year, Colton, reporting to a conference for archaeologists and local advocates on archaeological work being done at the monument, marveled at the numbers traveling "forty-five miles to Wupatki over

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[24] Harold S. Colton to A.E. Demaray, National Park Service, 3 August 1934, Colton Collection; Quoted in David O.W. Scott, "Wupatki and Sunset Crater: An Administrative History," (Northern Arizona University MA thesis, 1989), 77-82. Currently this letter is missing from the Museum of Northern Arizona.

[25] Sallie Harris Brewer Interview, June 1989, Wupatki National Monument, Video 169; Sallie Harris Brewer Diary August 1934-May 1935, Wupatki National Monument, VF 4044; Watson Smith, "Two Worlds of Wupatki," Wupatki National Monument, VF 1402?; Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff, Az., Aug, 1934.

twenty-five miles of Highway badly rutted and dusty." He celebrated the situation and the effort of those like himself stating, "one must conclude that this interest (in archaeology) is there."[26]

Growing tourist numbers at Wupatki during the middle 1930s were representative of larger national and regional transportation trends. Just as the period from 1900-1924 brought transportation improvements that allowed for tourist potential at Wupatki, 1924-1937 saw the first realization of archaeological tourism. Developments in automobiles and roads were the primary catalyst for both national and regional tourist growth during this period.[27]

While automobiles continued to drop in price, and thus allowed a greater proliferation of travel, road improvements were the crucial development during this period. The condition of the nation's and the region's roads in 1924 did not entirely aid in tourist growth. At that point there was no national or state organization coordinating the building or maintaining of roads. There was no numbering system and signage varied form state to state and county to county. Road numbers and names changed over short distances and signs were often little more than paint on a fence and were thus very confusing. In 1924 the American Association of State Highway Officials convinced the agriculture secretary to do something about the situation and centralization of highway coordination and maintenance began the next year. The so- called "highways" that did

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[26] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az., Feb.-Oct., 1933.

[27] Ibid., 1933-1937.

exist in the country were almost all unpaved and only the best "improved roads," or roads that had been drained, ditched and graded, seemed suitable for widespread travel.[28]

In Arizona during the second half of the 1920s and early 1930s highways and signage were as bad, if not worse, than other states and regions in the nation. In the early 1920s the route used by Sitgreaves in the mid-nineteenth century, that later became the rough path for both Route 66 and highway 40, was not even a road by contemporary standards. Travelers leaving Los Angeles found that in the middle of the Arizona desert this path ended in sand. Even with the development of Route 66, road development came slow and was often tedious as mules were used for grading road surfaces. Outside of Hackleberry, Arizona, a section of Route 66 went through a creek that obviously hindered travel during certain times of the year. As late as 1929, the stretch of Route 66 through the Southwest from New Mexico to California contained only 64.1 paved of 1,221 total miles of road. During this pre-paved period the auto trip from Flagstaff to Winslow, Arizona, took all day. All of these conditions certainly impacted potential tourism.[29]

But during the ten years after Wupatki's designation, road improvements grew in frequency and effort. The centralization of highway numbering and signage certainly aided road development, but physical improvement most impacted travel. Road surfacing and highway improvements were demanded by the driving public and civic and business leaders heeded the call. The mileage of surfaced roads in the United States doubled between 1921 and 1930 and again by 1940. This had an obvious and immediate

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[28] Susan Croce Kelly, Route 66 (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1988), 3-18; John A. Jackle, The Tourist, 120-123.

[29] Kelly, Route 66, 22-30.

impact. In terms of tourist access it brought places closer together as driving time dramatically dropped. In 1916 a motorists was lucky to drive 125 miles a day, but by 1936 that same traveler could travel 400 miles a day.[30]

The growth of roadside services and highway commercialism during this period is representative of the growing automobile tourist industry. When automobile camping became an institution in the mid-1920s, entrepreneurs could not resist expansions of campgrounds and later camp cabins. Roadside service in the form of gas stations, motels and restaurants all grew tremendously during this period. By 1935 there were nearly ten-thousand auto courts in the U.S. At the same time, corporations, recognizing the importance of traveling culture, began a campaign to take advantage of the presence of the traveler and placed advertisements in the form of billboards and signs alongside of them.[31]

Upon arrival, Jim Brewer began in earnest to develop the monument for the tourist potential that many saw as inevitable with transportation improvements. He built and repaired signs and aided in the road development project. Both efforts he hoped would bring more tourists to the monument. Signs he hoped would help tourists in distinguishing between sheep camps, Navajo Hogans, and the pueblos. Road improvements he thought would encourage more to take the trip to Wupakti. When visitation increased in September of 1934, only a month after accepting the position, he

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[30] Kelly, Route 66, 3-18; Jackle, The Tourist, 127-1947.

[31] Jackle, The Tourist, 127-1947; Belasco, Americans on The Road, From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945, 129-173.

wrote with pride to Boss Pinkley and explained that signs, pamphlets, and roads developments were the cause.[32]

Like traveling in general during this period, road improvements were of the most concern to NPS personnel. Brewer followed engineers on survey and planning visits and reported back to Pinkley with enthusiasm at what he saw as progress. One of the utmost concerns for Brewer and other NPS officials was developing an improved entrance road from highway 89. When Brewer took the position as custodian, the entrance was poorly signed, maintained and sat over ten miles from Wupatki Pueblo. They certainly saw this distance and road conditions as a barrier to visitation. Signage Brewer could tackle, but large scale road improvements required engineers and/or considerable monies and labor. Brewer was able to assist in the planning of an improved entrance road by pointing out the scenic views and picturesque nature of some potential road paths. What is interesting is that monument reports by Brewer on a couple occasions note the scenic qualities of potential road paths, but he never discusses utilitarian or practical values for potential roads.[33]

The tendency for Brewer to find value in scenic roadways at the monument was not unique within the NPS; instead it was part of an NPS mandate that historian Richard West Sellars calls "façade management." For him and others critical of the NPS in its historic commitment to tourist accommodation at the expense of natural, historic and archaeological preservation, "façade management" has been the central dilemma of NPS

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[32] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az., Aug-Sept, 1934; The NPS has no record of the signs and pamphlets used by Brewer.

[33] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az., July 1934- June 1935.

management. In essence, he faults the park service for manipulating landscape and natural life for the accommodation of tourism without knowledge and research concerning ecological impacts. The NPS built roads, destroyed native habitat and waged a war against predator and undesirable animals, without concern for ecological consequences or the goals of preservation. Time would prove that these policies badly effected both natural and cultural resources.[34]

While some during this time voiced concern for the NPS's policy of "façade management," a majority, including Brewer, found no fault in their action and saw their effort in terms of a commitment to developing a tourist constituency to better protect the monument and educate the public about its significance. While Brewer and others within the NPS might not have foreseen the potential impacts of their behavior, the situation codified a tradition of aesthetic landscape construction that even the current environmentally conscious age of the present has difficulty remedying. Parks and monuments whose infrastructure was created with this kind of "façade management," not only unnecessarily impacted native vegetation and wildlife, they also created a culture of tourist appreciation that has embedded itself in the tourist and the NPS. With a nearly one-hundred year history of providing scenic landscape for its "customers," the NPS has created an image and construction of its "product" that is not easily changed.[35]

The Brewers' life at Wupatki, while not scripted in the same manner as the roads, certainly impressed visitors to the monument and in many ways represented the tourist aspirations of travelers. On a very basic level, the Brewers' life resembled the quest for

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[34] Richard West Sellars, Preserving Nature in the National Parks (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 1-28.

[35] Ibid.

the authentic that many Americans sought in the West. Almost immediately upon arriving at Wupatki, the couple moved into room 36 at Wupatki pueblo and began a life that Sallie described years latter as "pioneery." They received a meager salary from the NPS and Sallie was able to get by on $30/month. The NPS could only afford their salary for three seasons and the Museum of Northern Arizona paid them $90/month during the winter months. With no modern amenities, they lived cheaply, cooking on a Coleman wood-burning stove in a CWA cook-shack several yards from their residence. They initially carried water from a tank supplied by pipe from a spring about one-half mile away.[36]

Their life was certainly rustic, but they found romance and self-affirmation in the challenges. To reach their home they climbed in "pueblo style" on a ladder and used an outhouse described as "a thoroughly modern one-holer hidden by large Meoncopi Sandstone boulders."[37] While the cooking and cleaning were tedious and time-consuming, Sallie still described them fondly and in reminiscent terms. The conditions allowed them to use their own ingenuity and skill to overcome the primitive-like conditions. Sallie utilized the cool open spaces in the ruin for a makeshift refrigerator, and Jim developed it into quite the modern ruin-apartment. He built shelves, a tool pit,

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[36] Jimmie Brewer Diary, Spring 1936, Wupatki National Monument, VF 2400; Sallie Harris Brewer Interview, June 1989, Wupatki National Monument, Video 169; Sallie Harris Brewer Diary August 1934-May 1935, Wupatki National Monument, VF 4044; Watson Smith, "Two Worlds of Wupatki," Wupatki National Monument, VF 1402?. All four documents outline the Brewers' experience at Wupatki. Many contain description of like events, often in the same words. Watson Smith's unpublished article is largely made of Sallie Harris Brewer's Diary.

[37] Watson Smith, "Two Worlds of Wupatki," Wupatki National Monument, VF 1402, 79-84.

skylight, roof drainages and even a second room. But the most remembered and documented development Jim made was that of running water in the ruin. Initially, the Brewers carried water in buckets from the water tank to their ruin-home and used the water from the bucket. But Jim soon devised what Sallie described as an ingenious water system. He buried a 55-gallon drum in an elevated room next to their room and made a hole in the wall for water to come through. No pump was needed for either drawing water in the ruin or filling the 55-gallon tank. Jim mounted another 55-gallon tank in the back of his NPS pickup, and after filling would drive to an elevated side of the pueblo above the resident tank and allow gravity to take it course.[38]

The fact that the Brewers were living in and modernizing an archaeological ruin that they were paid to protect, offers considerable insight into the goals and motivations of both they and the NPS. They were present at the monument to protect it from pothunters, but one might wonder how their behavior was any different. They were scientists and NPS officials, but manipulating and modernizing a thousand-year old ruin seemingly caused irreversible damage to a native heritage site.[39]

The ruin's manipulation and modernization demonstrated its appropriation, textualization, and the creation of an inauthentic spectacle of prehistoric culture. The

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[38] Jimmie Brewer Diary, Spring 1936, Wupatki National Monument, VF 2400; Sallie Harris Brewer Interview, June 1989, Wupatki National Monument, Video 169; Sallie Harris Brewer Diary August 1934-May 1935, Wupatki National Monument, VF 4044; Watson Smith, "Two Worlds of Wupatki," Wupatki National Monument, VF 1402?.

[39] Jimmie Brewer Diary, Spring 1936, Wupatki National Monument, VF 2400; Sallie Harris Brewer Interview, June 1989, Wupatki National Monument, Video 169; Sallie Harris Brewer Diary August 1934-May 1935, Wupatki National Monument, VF 4044; Watson Smith, "Two Worlds of Wupatki," Wupatki National Monument, VF 1402.

Brewers appropriated the ruin for a home, for their own utilization, but also to "play Indian" in a nostalgic, anti-modern sense. Using their hands and ingenuity to develop the ruin and live in a manner that might have resembled the prehistoric occupants, they expressed their desire for the authentic. When plastering walls in the ruin, Jim sought the help of a local Navajo and explained in his monthly reports to Pinkley that the development was in part done by "native hands." Brewer wanted to live in the ruin and develop it, but he also wanted the ruin to be some kind of authentic place and experience. But the modernized ruin could not have been farther from its authentic state or presentation. Developing the ruin was a spectacle of sort. It might have been practical for the Brewers, but it also textualized the ruin. They collected the ruin for their shelter and for the presentation to visitors, but by doing this they destroyed what they and others sought in the ruin, the authentic. Ultimately they denied the ruin a truth and aesthetic of its own.

They also represented their nostalgia for the past, a quest for the authentic, and a tendency toward the primitive in their relationship with the local Navajo that evoked "shades of the Old West." [40] They nostalgically saw the natives, amid the theft of their land and sheep by the whites, as persistent and dignified. The Brewers attempted to learn some Navajo words, but suggested that few Navajos sought the English language because they were too dignified. In a 1989 interview, Sallie suggested that the Navajo were the

[40] Sallie Harris Brewer Diary, August 1934-May 1935, Wupatki National Monument, VF 4044.

best part of Wupatki and voiced regret that the current visitor no longer can view and experience their life.[41]

Sally Peshlakai (Photograph by Rex Fleming)

Clyde Peshlakai (Photograph by Rex Fleming)

Fig # 5 Sally and Clyde Peshlakai in 1930s, from Lisa B. Rappaport's Letters From Wupakti. They were some of the only Navajo neighbors that the Brewers had during their stay at Wupatki.

The Brewers experienced the natives and their culture in many ways. As their only neighbors, the couple became very intimate with the Navajo. They shared spring water with the Navajo, who drank and washed their hair with it. They also traded with the Navajo, ate their food and stayed in their hogans. Sally Peshlakai, a Wupatki Navajo, became Sallie's best friend despite the absence of a common language. At the same time, the Brewers experienced the spirituality and cultural practices of their neighbors. The

[41] Jimmie Brewer Diary, Spring 1936, Wupatki National Monument, VF 2400; Sallie Harris Brewer Interview, June 1989, Wupatki National Monument, Video 169; Sallie Harris Brewer Diary August 1934-May 1935, Wupatki National Monument, VF 4044; Watson Smith, "Two Worlds of Wupatki," Wupatki National Monument, VF 1402?.

helped to bury and morn the Navajo dead, learned the art of Navajo rug spinning, and tried shearing sheep.[42]

The Brewer's willingness and excitement to both live among and as "Indians," while attempting to preserve and advertise native culture, represents the Brewers' belief in primitivism. This belief revolved around the often-imagined and utopian idea that a simpler and more superior life existed in the past. The concept goes back as far as ancient time in Western culture and is, as historian Leah Dilworth explains, the "interplay between the civilized self and a desire to reject or transform it." The perceived fragmented society of modern life led many to seek primitivism, the strenuous and the authentic as a cure. The Southwest became a particularly important region for the manifestation of the primitive. With its abundance of native culture and rugged landscape, the region was a place of the unique, handmade, rural and authentic in relation to the urbanization, industrialization, and homogenization taking place in other parts of the nation.[43]

The Brewers were not the only ones that sought and found the primitive in Wupatki's Southwest. Visitors were delighted by the couples' experience at Wupatki. Tourists were intrigued by this "crazy white couple," living among the Indians. They

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[42] Jimmie Brewer Diary, Spring 1936, Wupatki National Monument, VF 2400; Sallie Harris Brewer Interview, June 1989, Wupatki National Monument, Video 169; Sallie Harris Brewer Diary August 1934-May 1935, Wupatki National Monument, VF 4044; Watson Smith, "Two Worlds of Wupatki," Wupatki National Monument, VF 1402?.

[43] Jimmie Brewer Diary, Spring 1936, Wupatki National Monument, VF 2400; Sallie Harris Brewer Interview, June 1989, Wupatki National Monument, Video 169; Sallie Harris Brewer Diary August 1934-May 1935, Wupatki National Monument, VF 4044; Watson Smith, "Two Worlds of Wupatki," Wupatki National Monument, VF 1402; Dilworth, Imagining Indians in the Southwest, 4.

enjoyed the ruins, but were fascinated by the living culture of the Navajos they found. For those who could stay the night, the opportunity arose to visit with the Navajos and observe their culture. The images and the whole experience "took them (tourist) back a little," in Sallie's words, to a different, less-complicated, simple and primitivistic time. Sallie described the reaction as a desired, scripted goal of the Brewers. Sallie noted that they were trying to impress upon visitors this experience.[44]

The NPS by the early 1930s had an established history of utilizing and manipulating local Native Americans as tourist attractions. Three of the largest scenic parks, Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Glacier, all had natives living within their boundaries that tourists came into contact with. The Blackfeet at Glacier and the natives in Yosemite were early-manipulated pawns in the NPS tourist industry. Blackfeet at Glacier could be found dancing at train stations and hotels and hauling around tourist's golf bags for the visitors. At Yosemite in 1916, NPS personnel utilized the fascination generated by natives to create the Indian Field Days in late summer to draw more tourists during a period when the spectacular waterfalls were drier and less spectacular.[45]

But as Mark David Spence argues in *Dispossessing the Wilderness*, natives were used and utilized by the NPS and central to the white man's conception of parks as long as they represented what white men wanted to see in them. Yosemite natives brought

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[44] Jimmie Brewer Diary, Spring 1936, Wupatki National Monument, VF 2400; Sallie Harris Brewer Interview, June 1989, Wupatki National Monument, Video 169; Sallie Harris Brewer Diary August 1934-May 1935, Wupatki National Monument, VF 4044; Watson Smith, "Two Worlds of Wupatki," Wupatki National Monument, VF 1402; Dilworth, Imagining Indians in the Southwest, 4.

[45] Mark David Spence, Dispossessing the Wilderness (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 83-100 and 115-132.

concern from park officials for gambling and drinking. The NPS accepted the Indians wholeheartedly for two day a year during the Indian Field Days when they could closely monitor and manipulate their presentation, but for the rest of the year they cautiously sought to keep the natives out of the tourist gaze. Blackfeet from Glacier were welcomed as entertainers and a source of constructed nostalgia, but they too were kept from view in the "real" wilderness in which they lived.[46]

The Brewers as stewards of the NPS certainly fed the tourist search for nostalgia and the authentic, but a few factors seemed to have made the Navajo experience different from those at other NPS sites. Instead of the Wupatki Navajos detracting from the view of scenic wilderness as virgin and pristine, they added to the constructed experience. The Southwest pueblo people in general evoked a kind of nostalgia sought by tourists and the experience at Southwestern monuments was specifically cultural as opposed to scenic tourism. Visiting Wupatki's Navajo bolstered the tourist experience and the sense of the land and its people as timeless and representative of an idealized primitive past.[47]

At the same time, Wupatki Navajo never generated NPS concern for misrepresenting idealized images of natives or seriously impacting flora or fauna. In all the monthly reports, journals, and other primary sources, no serious concern for Navajo behavior was reported. Some Navajo children were caught stealing from the NPS and Park Service officials occasionally were called to aid in family disputes, but none of these events prompted NPS policy reaction. At the same time, while the Brewers certainly

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid; and Hal Rothman, Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth Century West (Urbana: University of Illinois), 113-142.

appropriated the Navajo and their culture for tourism, there is no evidence to suggest that they attempted to manipulate to any significant degree their presentation to the public.[48]

Archaeologically, Jim Brewer's placement as custodian coincided with the arrival of New Deal programs designed to stimulate the economy through important civil works projects. The NPS as a whole, and the monuments specifically, benefited greatly from these economic relief programs. The primary impact came in the form of labor and monies generated from the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the Works Progress Administration programs (WPA). For nearly a decade, previously unemployed men were employed within parks and monuments. The NPS singled out monuments with tourist potential as candidates for relief. The CCC and WPA laborers performed several duties within the NPS, such as resource conservation, archaeological stabilization and excavation, monument maintenance/development and the guiding of tourists.[49]

New Deal legislation had a particularly large impact within the state of Arizona. Initially, funding and personnel came from the CWA. The NPS received 680 CWA men and $171,039 at Grand Canyon National Park and monuments throughout the state by the end of 1933. The Grand Canyon received the bulk of the funds, $51,528 and 207 men, while the monuments received between $3000 and $20,000 and between sixteen and eighty-three men. Wupatki received $5,599 and 21 men. Within the Park Service, monuments were elevated in status as a result of this program. The CWA in 1933 launched one of the largest publicly funded excavation programs in the history of the

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[48] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff, Az., 1933-1955.

[49] Colton, "Racking My Brain," 43; Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts, 162-186.

nation. Major excavations took place at Wupatki as well as Montezuma's Castle, Casa Grande, and Tuzigoot. By the end of 1933, twenty-six men were employed at the monument.[50]

The New Deal had the effect of elevating the status of the monuments within the NPS. While previously the monuments were largely ignored throughout the NPS, New Deal monies brought important money and research to the monuments for the first time. Besides archaeological work, the CWA and CCC performed tasks such as refuse collection, restoration, construction, road building, and several other activities. They too aided with protection and interpretation programs at archaeological monuments. The CWA and CCC worked to conserve natural resources by implementing wildlife conservation, forest maintenance, fire protection, and trail construction programs. All of these contributions had the lasting impact of blurring the distinction between the parks and monuments. In essence, the monuments were no longer "second-class" sites.[51]

At Wupatki National Monument, the CWA contributed significantly to archaeological research and stabilization during Brewer's tenure. Upon arrival in December of 1933, the CWA continued the archaeological work of the Museum of Northern Arizona at Wupatki Pueblo. There they excavated twenty-one additional rooms.[52] They also conducted excavations at Nalakihu Ruin, at the base of the Citadel Ruin. They performed excavations, stabilization and archaeological surveys at the ruins

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[50] William S. Collins, The New Deal in Arizona (Phoenix: Arizona State Parks Board, 1999), 64-68.

[51] Ibid., 201.

[52] Hartman and Wolf, Wupatki: An Archaeological Assessment, 7.

from December 27th 1933 until April 12th 1934. Two surveyors, two semi-skilled laborers and one unskilled laborer aided Dale S. King. The Museum of Northern Arizona provided tents for the crew.[53] King theorized from this work that there were three stages of building at the ruin and that the architecture was either Kayenta or Sinagua; this observation would contribute to the archaeological knowledge of the region and monument's interpretation program in the years to come. The work ultimately contributed to what MNA archaeologist Lyndon Hargrave hoped would eventually become "One Grand History of Flagstaff Archaeology."[54]

While the "One Grand History" never really materialized, the work of King and others represented the kind of scientific and educational potential that Edgar Hewett sought in his 1904 *Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins Of The Southwest And Their Preservation.* He and other early advocates of preservation archaeology recognized the potential for the development of important historical and educational media relating to United States' prehistory. The tree-ring dating of Douglas and the dating of the eruption of Sunset Crater by McGregor gave hard scientific evidence that allowed archaeologists and anthropologists a greater ability to date and periodize prehistoric development.[55]

Still, in his report published fifteen years later, King was unsatisfied with the project. While his report rendered eighty-one illustrations, noted animal remains, pits,

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[53] Dale S. King, "Nalakihu," Museum of Northern Arizona Bulletin, No. 23 (1949).

[54] Ibid; and Chris Downum, "One Grande History: A Critical Review of Flagstaff Archaeology, 1851 to 1988," (University of Arizona Ph. D. dissertation, 1988), 121-137.

[55]Downum, "One Grande History: A Critical Review of Flagstaff Archaeology, 1851 to 1988," 121-137; Hewett, "Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest and Their Preservation."

burials, and a wealth of material culture, he concluded that the project illustrated how not to do archaeological work. His major misgiving was the lack of resources allocated by the government for analysis and publication.[56] Thus, while the New Deal monies certainly aided in the development of archaeology within the park service, by King's archaeological standards, the project was ill-funded.

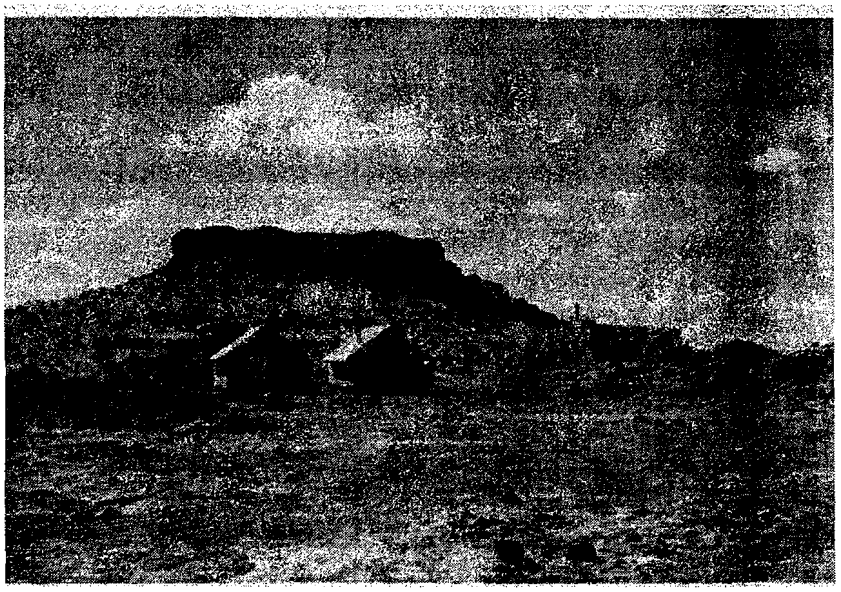

Fig # 6 Wupatki's CWA camp at the base of Citadel ruin and next to Nalakihu 1933/1934, from King's book-length report produced by the MNA, *Nalakihu*. King's project no. 4 crew, funded by the Museum of Northern Arizona and the CWA, set up camp in 1933.

The CWA and CCC also focused their efforts upon the NPS's desire to develop and maintain Wupatki as a tourist destination. Monument records and archaeological survey notes indicate that increasingly over their nine-year stay, the monies and resources that came from the New Deal were shifted away from preservation archaeology towards tourist-centered activities. While the CWA project during the first year contributed

[56] King, "Nalakihu."

greatly to the goal of archaeological preservation, monies for an "in-depth study" of the materials recovered would come 30 years later.[57]

One of the most revealing aspect of the relationship between archaeology and tourism, that was further perpetuated by King and the CWA, was that of ruin "stabilization." The term implies work designed to help a structure stand or to prevent further decomposition or destruction. Yet this process actually involved re-building pueblo ruins at the monument. King and his staff used fallen stones and others from nearby to re-construct the monument as they felt it might have looked during prehistoric occupation.[58]

This process of "stabilization" or more accurately re-building is representative of the movement towards popular science that the Smithsonian Institution perpetuated in the last half of the nineteenth -century. When first created, a major goal of the institution was scientific research, yet many realized the need for and the power of education and entertainment with respect to anthropology. Similar to the politics of preservation, a debate about the relationship between scientific research, education and entertainment took place during the 1860s. Those who advocated for the educational benefits of anthropology as opposed to a purely research-driven approach at the institution won victories in the 1870s. During that time, the institution as a leading force in anthropology and archaeology began to emphasize a palatable, popular and a more entertainment-based approach.[59]

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[57] Dale S. King, "Nalakihu"

[58] Ibid.

[59] Curtis Hinsley, The Smithsonian and the American Indian, 39, 64-86.

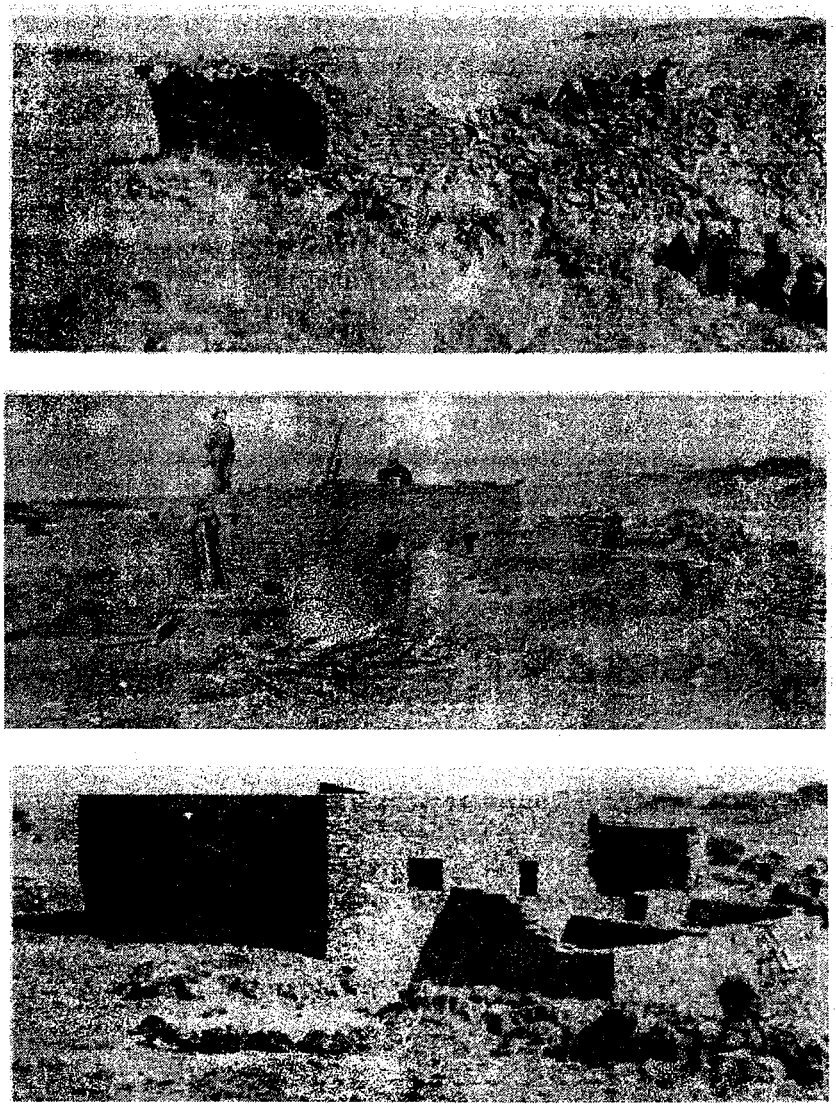

Fig. # 7The "Stabilization" of Nalahiku in 1933/1934., from King's *Nalakihu.* These three photos from King's project illustrate the various steps to their work from top to bottom. As can be seen, the final stabilization of the ruin in the bottom picture is almost completely archaeologist made.

Museums, as the tool of popular science, established presentations that emphasized order and aesthetics. Curtis Hinsley has recognized that in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, museums, against the anxiety of the modern, industrial world, became institutions that embodied "imposed order." This was largely the result of their goal of educating and entertaining the public. King's work

demonstrates the expression of this philosophy in Wupatki's "stabilization." The first photo in the series of three above embodies no order at all. It resembles a pile of rocks with a partially erect wall in the process of crumbling. The work of King and the CCC gave order and essentially more accessible meaning to the general tourist. The last image demonstrates the final "stabilization" in which the ruin is supposed to be as it was upon prehistoric occupation. While the final "stabilization" certainly lost any authenticity that it previously had, it does reach its objective. While the scientist might be more interested in the state of the ruin in the first image - for the purpose of research - the final image gives more meaning in a short amount of time and is accessible to the laymen tourist. In essence, the work of archaeology and specifically "stabilization" becomes a process of aesthetics designed to perpetuate "sensitivity to positive public response."[60]

Wupatki National Monument's first thirteen years were often a mixed blessing and wrought with challenges to protect its resources. For the first decade, the monument was without a resident custodian. Pothunters, the one distinguished foe of the Antiquities Act, were able to collect in larger numbers. All early managers, Pinkley, Clarke, Colton, and Brewer, sought visitation as the cure for physical and cultural isolation. All felt, like their preservationist predecessors, that more visitors would bring more monies for protection and a greater consciousness for the significance of the pueblo ruins and culture. Their goals were honorable. The experience of the few who visited Wupatki was culturally important and exhilarating for them. It is understandable that as access

[60] Ibid.

improved and barriers to visitation destroyed, more visitors would come in search of the authentic experience that they saw in the Brewers' existence. But none of the early preservationists could have foreseen a public appreciating the monument to death by mid-decade. Yet, hindsight would prove that allowing greater access to visitation, coupled with the growing appreciation of native cultures, the monument would come under attack from visitation.

Chapter 4
Visitation and Development, 1937-1945

The period from 1937 to 1945 brought significant developments to the monument. Davey Jones took over custodianship in 1937 signaling a brief period of increased visitation. Road developments, increasing automobile traffic on Route 66 and a concerted promotion and accommodation effort developed a constituency for the monument and brought more visitors to the pueblo. With hurdles to access removed, Americans increasingly expressed their quest for native cultures and the authentic. During this period, the National Park Service (NPS) increasingly funneled New Deal monies, in the form of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), toward tourist objectives. Although they did aid in archaeological preservation and excavation, NPS personnel quickly deployed CCC labor to tourist related jobs when the need arose. At the same time, custodian Davey Jones and wife Courtney coordinated a significant promotional effort. They wrote articles, gave interviews and worked with civic organizations and the general public to bring more visitors to the monument. All such efforts were rewarded just prior to WWII and overwhelmed NPS and CCC workers. The onset of the war had the effect of setting development and visitation back to the conditions of the 1920s.

National conservation efforts and the global crisis briefly halted the growing significance of archaeological monuments like Wupatki.

Non-NPS archaeology continued at Wupatki and in the region until WWII and added important information to the understanding of regional archaeology. McGregor's 1930 discovery that the eruption of Sunset Crater happened during prehistoric occupation of Wupatki was the significant discovery. From then until the war period, archaeologists further gathered evidence and theories related to McGregor's discovery. Dr. Colton of the Museum of Northern Arizona, proved to be doing the most significant work. During the early 1930s he had begun to formulate his ideas about the mulching effects on the prehistoric peoples after the eruption. In short, he suggested that the eruption benefited the populations in the area by creating a mulch-rich and agriculturally productive soil.[1]

The work of other archaeologists in the region supported his claims to the extent that by 1946, with his publication of *The Sinagua*, Colton's theory became scientifically accepted. During the preceding decades archaeologists had amassed a wealth of material culture from the region and began to classify various articles by age and cultural affiliation. The result was the official recognition of newly named cultures such as the Sinagua, Cohonina, and Hohokom. Archaeologists found the material culture and architectural designs from all these newly "discovered" cultures at Wupatki. Colton and others noticed what was later called a "cultural florescence," or immigration, by these cultures into the area after the eruption. Colton analyzed the collections of others and theorized that after the eruption the "mulching effect" caused cultures from around the

[1] Chris Downum, "One Grande History: A Critical Review of Flagstaff Archaeology, 1851 to 1988," (University of Arizona Ph. D. dissertation, 1988), 106-137.

region to move to Wupatki for the advantageous agricultural conditions. This period and especially the work of Colton proved significant to archaeological understanding of the region as his theory went unchallenged until the late 1960s and early 1970s.[2]

While archaeological work at Wupatki and in the region proved significant during the 1930s and early 1940s, NPS archaeology declined significantly. After the work of the Civil Works Administration in its first year, New Deal monies were increasingly moved away from archaeological preservation and no other NPS work was performed. Jones documented regularly the contributions of the New Deal CCC resources. During its stay at the monument, the CCC worked on roads, guided tourists, worked on interpretive exhibits, and built and repaired signs. Only when these projects were satisfied did the CCC perform archaeology-related work. Even this work was largely tourist-oriented.[3] In November of 1938 the CCC was trained in stabilization.[4] But as illustrated in chapter 3, stabilization, while led by archaeologists, was primarily an activity of aesthetics for the viewer. This process revealed no new scientific knowledge, nor did it seek to extract any archaeological material. Although the goal was to preserve the state of a site, no preservation was performed by this activity, instead ruins were reconstructed. In effect, stabilization preserved nothing of the original nature and authenticity of the ruin. In fact, the process, by manipulating and rebuilding, actually negated the potential in the future to preserve anything authentic about the prehistoric architecture. In the months following

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[2] Ibid; Harold S. Colton, The Sinagua (Flagstaff: Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, 1946).

[3] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az., December, 1937-1942.

[4] Ibid., November 1938.

their training until their departure in March of 1942, the CCC boys utilized their training a surprisingly few times.[5] According to Jones in May of 1941 there simply was not enough money for stabilization. While Jones notified his superiors of this lack of resources, the CCC, Jones, and hired Navahos put a considerable amount of effort towards the accommodation and promotion of Wupatki for tourism.[6]

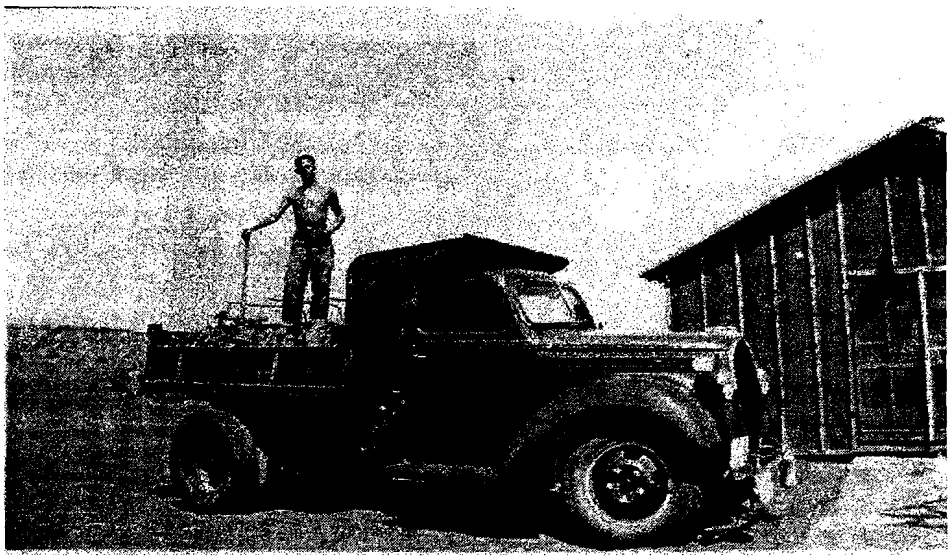

Fig. # 8 CCC youth at work near Heiser Spring area in 1939, Flagstaff Area National Monuments Headquarters, Library, Photo # 16655.

Of the two tourist-centered activities, promotion and accommodation, the administration of Wupatki during this period put more energy into accommodation. While the process of accommodation took many forms including sign construction, guided tours, education exhibits and more, the most significant form was road improvements. It was widely believed at the monument and in the community that such work, within and surrounding the monument, would bring more tourists and money to

[5] Ibid., March 1942.

[6] Ibid., May 1941.

Wupatki.[7] In a newspaper article entitled "Improvements at Wupatki Ruins," the community's tourism concerns and hopes were exposed. The article detailed the poor conditions of one of the roads leading to the monument and discussed planned improvements to all roads and the entire facility. The article, written in a celebratory tone, stated that many improvements, including a parking lot, museum, residence, utility building, and further stabilization of ruins would bring an unprecedented estimate of 10,000 visitors a year to Wupatki.[8] The NPS put all New Deal resources, hired Navajos, and any borrowed equipment from the National Forest Service they could get toward road improvement. Still, the public was not satisfied with the road improvements by May of 1939 and pushed for further work.[9]

The pressure to get more tourists out to Wupatki was compounded by the need to satisfy those who visited the site. Jones admitted on several occasions that the roads were dangerous. In June of 1939, he recorded several complaints about them from unhappy visitors.[10] That same month he suggested that the average visitor to the monument spent as much time dealing with and complaining about the roads as they did taking in the ruins. By October of 1940, Jones recorded the first of what was to become a reoccurring theme. During that month he encountered an unhappy but vocal tourist who complained about the roads, signs, and general state of the monument. The one difference for this

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[7] Ibid, 1937-1942. In the following monthly reports Jones acknowledges the connection between visitation and road conditions: Oct. 1937, July 1938, Oct. 1938, May 1939, June 1940, and July 1940.

[8] "Improvements at Wupatki Ruins," The Coconino Sun 56 (October 7, 1938): 1.

[9] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az., May 1939.

[10] Ibid,. June 1939.

occasion was the tourist's note that he was going to call his local and federal representatives to see what could be done about the matter. As would become evident in the coming years, a new public constituency was developing at Wupatki.[11]

At the national level, the NPS put a considerable amount of effort towards promoting and advertising parks and monuments. Although many had long advocated the tourist potential and values for the parks and monuments, the movement to promote these spaces as tourist destinations took off between the years of 1913-1917. Prior to this time, the railroad industry, John Muir, Robert Underwood, a host of local "boosters," civic organizations, and chambers of commerce promoted the visitation of the nation's preserves. But these individuals and constituencies were not unified by a single purpose or set of values. Stephen Mather, the NPS's first director, set out to change this. Immediately upon entering office, Mather put all of his energy, as well as some of his own resources, toward the organization and implementation of an advertising campaign of behalf of the parks and monuments.[12]

Mather utilized his contacts in business, politics, and the conservation movement to permanently establish a place and process for promoting the reserves within the federal government. He lobbied for an office of promotion within the park service and contacted editors of important periodicals and newspapers. He also took to the road and visited and promoted these spaces himself. Between 1917-1919, Mather's efforts seemed to be

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[11] Ibid., June 1939, June and October 1940. In the October 1940 monthly report Jones indicates that many visitors explained to him that they were concerned with the state and accessibility of the monument and planed to contact political representatives.

[12] Peter Blodget, "Selling the Scenery: Advertising the National Parks, 1916-1933," in Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West ed. David M. Worbel and Patrick T. Long, (Boulder: University of Colorado at Boulder Press, 2001) 271-275.

paying off as an astonishing 1,050 articles were written about the NPS and their reserves in American periodicals. While the NPS spent money to promote the parks and monuments, Mather also succeeded in persuading local and national businesses and business groups that a promotional campaign of their own would benefit them and the park service.[13]

Nationwide the promotional campaign was a huge political and economic success, but it began to draw criticism by 1937. Initially, Mather's primary motive was political. He hoped to prove to congress that parks and monuments had a constituency and a place in American life. Yet after 1933, the motives were largely economic, as the NPS hoped to benefit local communities.[14] The success of this campaign by the late 1930s resulted in criticism from the Sierra Club and the Audubon Society who saw the NPS moving away from the ideas of preservation.[15]

At Wupatki, the local promotional campaign mirrored this pattern. During Jones' custodianship, he increasingly noted and recorded the promotional campaign that was being undertaken by a group of local, public, and private individuals and groups. This network, which grew into maturity from 1938-1942, took three primary forms: (1) community boosterism, (2) administrative outreach, and (3) tourist publications.[16]

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Donald C. Swain, "The National Park Service and the New Deal, 1933-1940," Pacific Historical Review 41 (August 1972): 317.

[15] Ibid., 327.

[16] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az., June 1938-1942.

Community boosterism for Wupatki largely took place in Flagstaff and was coordinated by the Chamber of Commerce and the Rotary Club. In 1938 the Chamber of Commerce signaled its growing appreciation for tourism by hiring a tourist hostess. This individual was educated about the surrounding tourist opportunities and was expected to pass this information on to visitors. In an attempt to access the effectiveness of this move for Wupatki and surrounding sites, the hostess kept names of visitors and passed them on to administrators who compared the list with their records.[17] The Chamber in 1940 even held a tourist school for local merchants to educate them about the surrounding destinations.[18] The Rotary Club was also involved in boosterism during these years, but its involvement was limited.[19] Still, the willingness of community organizations and businesses to increasingly support the administrations of such monuments and parks for the sake of tourism indicates the growing importance of the tourist economy in the Flagstaff and Four Corners Region.

Administrative outreach during these four years was also an important and relatively new promotional tactic. Every year from 1938-1940 the monument staff performed at least one slide show presentation for the local community of Flagstaff. Subjects displayed and discussed ranged from geology and park service management to Navajo history. Jones and his staff even presented a slide show in March 1940 for gas station attendants. The purpose was to educate these workers about the Wupatki area so this information could be passed on to tourists. At the same time, the monument

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[17] Ibid., May 1938, August 1938.

[18] Ibid., May 1940.

[19] Ibid., September 1939.

increasingly experimented with printed promotional material. Leaflets were created for the Chamber of Commerce as were informational packets for general use; both were analyzed for effectiveness.[20]

The third form of promotion, periodical publications, represented the interests of both the business community and monument administration. Local businessmen and tourists helped to supplement and purchase these publications while the administration at Wupatki cooperated with journalists and wrote articles themselves. Between 1938-1942 Jones recorded in the monthly reports the existence of articles from a number of sources including *Southwest Tourist News*, *Arizona Highways*, *The Coconino Sun*, *Desert Magazine*, as well as other local and regional publications. For the most part these articles dealt with tourist subjects, but many capitalized upon the now widespread nostalgia for native populations and cultures.[21]

The Native American tourism that was beginning to take hold at Wupatki was relatively established in the Southwest. An important symbol of this industry and the growing cultural importance of native cultures in the U.S. was the Fred Harvey Company of New Mexico. The vision of the Southwest that the company propagated was that which many visitors saw in Wupatki: one inhabited by peaceful, pastoral peoples who were living ruins and represented an earlier time in civilization. Romanticized and nostalgic images of the Southwest and its prehistoric and historic natives existed before Harvey. What Fred Harvey did for contemporary and future Southwest tourism was

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[20] Ibid., July 1938, Nov 1939, March 1940, December 1940.

[21] Ibid; Jones notes the creation or existence of articles related to Wupatki National Monument in the following monthly reports: August 1938, November 1938, November 1939, June 1940, August 1940, November 1940, May 1941, July 1941, and February 1942.

establish a benchmark for the commodification and construction of Native Americans for consumption. Harvey's Native Americans spoke to what Renalto Rosaldo has called "imperialist nostalgia," or a longing for what one is implicit in destroying. Leah Dilworth in her work of Southwestern tourism has used Rosaldo's term, but suggests that Harvey and his patrons were in fact nostalgic for a Native American that did not exist. In an effort to sell tickets and other tourist related commodities and services, Harvey and the railroads fed middle-class desires and presented a sellable Indian. The persistence of Harvey's business over three decades demonstrated both the success of his approach to Native American tourism and the abundant demand for indigenous experience.[22]

The many published articles and correspondences about Wupatki both perpetuated and fed the demand for Native American tourism. One kind of article that the administration promoted detailed the lives and practices of the Navajo community living in and around the monument. The local success of the Navajo Exhibition in 1936 by the Brewers and visitor fascination with the Navajo propelled the Joneses to further promote the Navajo culture. One such article was "A Navaho Weaver in her Home," created in 1940 by Courtney Jones.[23] In this article and others, Jones expressed her nostalgia for these "uncivilized" people because they "retained their old customs and morals."[24]

The Joneses, like the Brewers, presented their own nostalgia for native culture and experience in monthly reports, articles and correspondences. The fact that the Joneses, as

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[22] Dilworth, "Tourists and Indians in Fred Harvey's Southwest," 142-143.

[23] Courtney Jones, "A Navaho Weaver in Her Home," Pow Wow Program (1940).

[24] Courtney Jones, quoted in Lisa B. Rappaport, Letters From Wupatki (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), xviii.

did the Brewers, lived in a room in the Wupatki Ruin was well documented and commented upon. In fact, a local unnamed publication called this occupied ruin the "oldest inhabited house in the world" in 1938.[25] While custodian Davey Jones doubted such misleading information, Courtney still wrote a piece on behalf of the monument about their residential experience for the *Christian Science Monitor* in 1940 that capitalized upon the growing intrigue and publicity.[26]

Davey recorded the couple's nostalgia for their residence in the monument's monthly reports. In May of 1939, on the eve of an attempted move out of the ruin, he reported that he was not ready to leave the ruin, in part because he was beginning to feel a connection with the original inhabitants and spirits of the ruin. "At present," he wrote, "there is a bond between us and the 'old people' in that it is our home too." He felt that by moving out of the ruin they would have less of an opportunity to contact the prehistoric inhabitants he called "our visitors."[27] The thought of moving out brought him to reflect upon what must have been a simpler time when pre-historic people had occupied the ruin. Frustrated with the complications of cleaning, cooking, and the general industrial household, Jones noted that in "those days" living was a simpler matter and more pleasurable. A large part of his critique of modern society was the many "things" that one then needed to live. There were no refrigerators, running water, power,

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[25] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff, Az., November 1938.

[26] Courtney Jones, "Life in a Ruin," Christian Science Monitor (July 24, 1940).

[27] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az., May 1939.

or other aspects of the industrial household in those days.[28] While Jones longed for these simpler times he actually had moved a refrigerator into the ruin and made other modern developments. In this sense, Jones, like a tourist, was willing to experience native cultures, or "play Indians," to a certain point. The couple was not completely committed to shed the burdens of modern life but nostalgically longed to do so.[29]

The irony of the Joneses situation can be explained by what Philip J. Deloria in *Playing Indian* has suggested is the relationship between primitivism and progress in the dialectic of the modern. The search for the authentic relates to what is perceived as the inauthentic "other." In the case of Jones, the inauthentic "other," was the so-called civilized, modern world. As such, primitivism and progress were wedded in a contradictory, but interactive manner. Jones could not seek or find the authentic in "primitive" without his modern life and surroundings. Giving up his symbols of progress would have negated his desire to seek the authentic.[30]

The Joneses as anti-modernists and representatives of the dynamic between primitivism and progress is illustrated by the construction of their ruin home. By viewing the photo above in Figure #9, we see this dynamic in work. An ignorant observer would probably not realize the fact that their home is in an eight-hundred year old ruin. The room is decorated with native art and material culture, but it also has desks, chairs, lanterns and a modern bed. What we can not see in the picture is the refrigerator

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[28] Ibid., March 1941.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid; Philip J. Deloria, Playing Indian (New Haven: Yale University, 1998), 95-127.

Fig # 9 Davey and Courtney Jones living in Wupakti Peulbo ruin room in 1940, from Letters From Wupatki by Lisa B Rappaport.

and the Jones-built modern roof. In the photo below in Figure #10, Courtney is seen cooking in the kitchen. Again, the sight seems completely normal for early twentieth century standards. There is a sink, counter top, table and cabinets. While the Brewers also felt compelled to "modernize" the ruin-home, the Jones' work renders the ruin more a symbol of "modern" as apposed to "primitive." Still, they manage to find the primitive. This is possible because their concepts of "primitive" and "progress or "authentic and inauthentic" necessitate the ironic co-existence of the two.[31]

[31] Ibid.

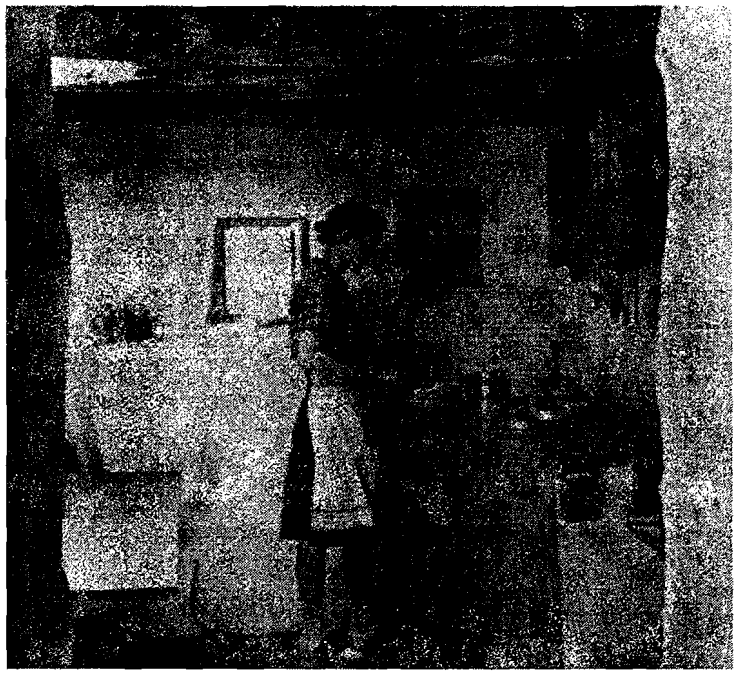

Fig # 10 Courtney cooking in pueblo ruin kitchen 1940, from Letters From Wupatki by Lisa B Rapapport.

Archaeological literature and interpretation programs also demonstrated the cultural role of archaeology and anthropology within the larger society. Historically, the development of literature pertaining to archaeology and anthropology was closely associated with commercialism, fashion, and boosterism. Before 1900, American science played a significant role in shaping the Southwest. The region's rugged land, scenic open spaces, and indigenous cultures beckoned the knowledge of science. At the same time, archaeologists and anthropologists used the area prior to the turn of the twentieth century as a place to professionalize and validate their disciplines. In reconstructing the prehistory of the Southwest, archaeologists and anthropologists found their goals wedded with those of the railroads. The railroad industry recognized that they came to benefit significantly from the visitation of the parks and monuments. Their well-established promotional campaigns could only aid in the development of the two scientific

professions. The railroad's illustrations, lantern slides and mythologized writings could give archaeologists and anthropologists the status and recognition they badly desired. Their objectives united, railroads and scientists cooperated to publicize scenic preserves and archaeological monuments.[32]

The resulting publications came to fill an important void in turn of the century American society. The tandem rise of industrial capitalism and Darwinism cast off the shackles of religious authority and created a void that allowed the general public to pursue any avocation or set of ideas. As challenges to social Darwinism coupled with growing societal inequities arose in the late nineteenth century, many searched for answers in the past. The tame, often unscientific archaeology and anthropology literature of scientific journals and railroad promotions filled the void for many.[33]

Scientific literature previous to these developments followed the taxonomy traditions began by Swedish naturalist Carolus Linnaeus. The system was hierarchical, measured, and contained a kind of scientific objectivity. Archaeological and anthropological literature departed significantly from this standard. The bland, highly scientific methods of taxonomy would find few readers in the late-nineteenth century U.S. At the same time, the scientific, taxonomy style did not create popular interest in archaeology. Readers of this medium were already archaeologists or science enthusiasts. Thus, the medium had little potential to draw new interested observers. Under such conditions archaeologists followed the lead of railroad and tourist promoters in the manner of Fred Harvey and adopted a highly romanticized, simplistic literature. The

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[32] Rothman, Devil's Bargains, 113-126.

[33] Ibid.

result was a "scripted fiction" that played to the desires and feeling of potential readers and viewers, while ignoring the highly speculative nature of the two scientific disciplines.[34]

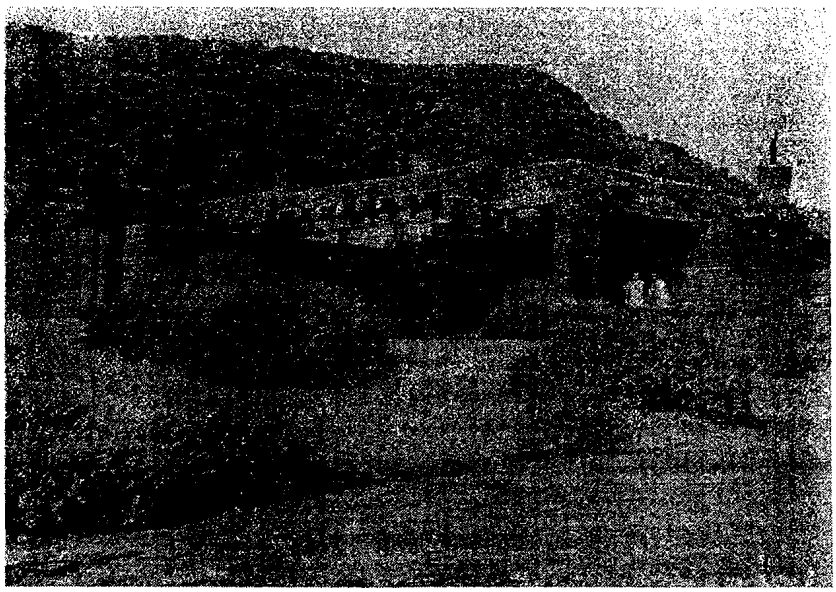

Fig # 11 Wuaptki's new visitor center and custodian residence in 1941, from Letters From Wupatki by Lisa B Rapapport. While the Joneses moved out of the above rooms in Figures #9 and #10, one could be easily convinced that the interior ruin rooms and the exterior of the residence are the same structure.

Wupatki's promotional campaign followed the regional trends of the discipline. While interpretive guides from this period are lacking, articles created by park personnel give us insight into the content of the largely verbal interpretive program. Two articles written by Davey Jones in 1940 and 1945 illustrate the nature of Wupatki's interpretive program and its ties to the romanticized scripted fiction mentioned above.[35]

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Davey Jones, "Red Ruins in Black Cinder," Arizona's National Monuments, Southwest Monument Association Popular Series, No. 2 (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Department of the Interior, 1945): 1-7; Davey Joney, "Red Ruins in Black Cinder," Arizona Highways,

In the scripted fiction of the Jones' articles, he speaks to potential tourist desires for the authentic. He juxtaposes tourist's anxiety about the "inauthentic other" of modern life with a description of what is designed to be perceived as the "authentic" in the primitive, prehistoric life. First, the harsh nature of the Southwest and particularly the cinder-covered region around Wupatki is a place where resourcefulness, hard work, and ingenuity were necessary to survive. Second, the prehistoric people worked with their hands and made highly individualized material culture. Third, they worked in a communal, intimate nature. These three constructed attributes of the prehistoric natives spoke to: (1) the belief that modern conveniences have both devalued work and life, (2) that "authentic" handicrafts and trade work was giving way to mass produced "inauthentic" products, and (3) that society and community were fracturing in the modern world. Jones suggests that even without the modern conveniences of his day the prehistoric peoples were better off. Prehistoric Wupatki is described as a region of "fantasy," where food was plentiful, trading widespread and with general prosperity for all. even amid Jones' expression of nostalgia for the primitive, he constructs the idea of progress for the prehistoric inhabitants. He suggests that the Pueblos were a social advancement from the pit houses that were previously used. They also are constructed as examples of progress that would cause jealously from the prehistoric peoples who have not yet made the transition and a source of pride from those who have. Jones hesitated to explain, if he perceived at all, that prehistoric pueblo inhabitants at some point might have longed for the "authentic" in the pit house days.[36]

18.11 (1947): 16-21, 40; Davey Jones, "Wupatki, a Village Built By a Volcano," Pow-Wow Program, Wupatki National Monument, VF 2432.

[36] Ibid.

Fig # 12 Wupatki Pueblo in 1937, from Letters From Wapatki by Lisa B Rapapport.

Fig # 13 Wupatki Pueblo in 1939, from Letters From Wupatki by Lisa B Rapapport. The effects of stabilization by the CWA and CCC are evident from the photo.

Jones also presents his scripted story of Wupatki as truth, never suggesting that his is an interpretation of only recently emerging artifacts and ideas. He suggests the truths of this civilization would have lain underground had it not been for the curiosity of archaeologists. Only they, with "spade and brush," have the ability and knowledge to expose truth and pass it on to the viewer or reader. The focus on truth is certainly

astounding. Beginning the 1945 article entitled "Red Ruins in the Black Cinder," Jones starts: "Black night hung over the pueblo. Most of the Indians had retired and the only light flared fitfully upward from the hatchway of the kiva in the central plaza when the old man began his story. This was the burden of his narrative."[37]

Jones continues, "(i)t was along time ago," and proceeds to tell the eruption story and how the narrator's civilization grew out of the ashes of the Sunset Crater eruption, obviously evoking a Western creation myth. The story continues for more than ten paragraphs before Jones interrupts his creative, scripted narrative to explain, "(s)uch a story might have been told at some time....for this volcano did erupt and did cause the greatest land boom that has ever taken place in northern Arizona." After introducing the reader unknowingly to a "scripted fictional" account of Wupatki's story, Jones cannot hesitate a full sentence before returning to the truthful foundation of archaeological interpretation at Wupatki. It is obvious that if Jones had described both the uncertainty and contested nature of these ideas, they would have become less appealing to a potential tourist seeking the authentic. It would be hard to sell an authentic theory of a highly inexact science.[38]

Jones also directly states that Wupatki in its best form is a tourist destination. This is of course very much inherent in the aspects of the story mentioned above, but also finds expression elsewhere. The rugged landscape of Wupatki's pueblos, it is explained, sits just in sight of the "breath-taking view of the Painted Desert." In concluding the 1945 article, Jones wrotes that "you have preserved, for your enjoyment outstanding

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[37] Jones, "Red Ruins in Black Cinder," 5.

[38] Ibid.

evidence of this unique chapter in the archaeology of the Southwest." He not only places value in Wupatki's ability to entertain and create enjoyment, but also subtly places credit and thus responsibility for preservation and thus visitation in the hands of the general public, or potential tourist.[39]

The effects of the New Deal by the late 1930s helped in part to bring more tourists to NPS sites as the national economic recovery began and specifically impacted the West. Historian Richard Lowitt in *The New Deal in the West* demonstrates how FDR's programs "offered the West a chance to transform itself." Previously reliant upon agriculture, mining and Eastern capital, the West, transformed by federal funds, initiative, and planning began in the late 1930s to develop into an industrial and agricultural empire. Natural resource planning, conservation, reclamation and the building of power installations all laid the foundations for the West's transformation. These developments spread throughout Western society and necessarily impacted the economy, travel and thus tourist potential.[40]

The New Deal, transportation technologies, and other developments resulted in significant tourism development in the U.S. between 1934-1941. Even amidst the national economic situation, auto travel, tourism and roadside accommodations grew prior to WWII. Tourist courts, hotels, restaurants, gas stations, and other amenities grew consistently during this period. The American Automobile Association reported that after the travel lull in 1932-1933, expenditures grew until the 1938 recession and then

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[39] Jones, "Red Ruins in Black Cinder," 1-7; Jones, "Wupatki, a Village Built By a Volcano."

[40] Richard Lowitt, The New Deal in the West (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 218-228.

continued to grow to new heights until 1941. Tourist courts grew from 9,800 in 1935 to 13,500 in 1939. The number of motels doubled between 1938-1948. The *National Petroleum News* found it difficult to explain what the catalyst for auto camp improvements were:

> The Question is to whether these [deluxe] camps are the result of the demand for such conveniences on the part of the motorist, or whether the camps developed in the motorist a taste for such accommodations-it is a lot like which came first, the chicken or the egg controversy.

In all, travel and tourism continued to grow during the late 1930s and early 1940s.[41]

Transportation developments, increased popularity in tourism, promotional efforts, and economic stimulation all brought Wupatki increasingly larger numbers of tourists and a growing constituency in the years prior to WWII. By March of 1940, less than a year before Davey's nostalgic comments, there was an unexpected tourist boom at the monument that continued for nearly two years. Jones acknowledged that Wupatki was no longer a relatively isolated monument. He recorded that these increases continued until the threat of an international crisis became real in September of 1941. At the same, increased visitation brought concern about the monument's protection and access (see figure 17 on page 135 for visitation statistics during this period). In October of 1940, one gentlemen visitor noted that his experience at Wupatki prompted him and other locals to

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[41] Warren James Belasco, Americans on the Road, From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945 (Cambridge: The MIT press, 1979), 166,196; John A. Jackle The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 155-173.

contact their representatives in governments to voice concern about the accessibility of the monument and deteriorating status of the ruins.[42]

When the U.S. entered WWII in December of 1941, the beginnings of big changes within the park service were beginning to take place. The CCC and WPA left the parks and monuments in 1942 and domestic preservation issues gave way to national defense. All resources were drastically reduced. Funding and staffing for the park service was cut by more than 50 percent. In 1941, the park service employed 5,963 personnel nationwide and by 1944 that number had dropped to 1,573. NPS director Newton Drury stated that during WWII the park service was reduced to a "protection and maintenance basis."[43]

The most significant and immediate impact of the global crisis at Wupatki was a dramatic drop in the once rising visitation numbers. These numbers began to concern Jones in September of 1940, but quickly stabilized until the U.S. entered the war. Six months into the conflict in June 1942, visitation was down 40 percent when compared to the previous year. For the remainder of the war, visitation continued to decline. This condition reached its worse in July of 1944 when visitation was a total of four individuals for a month that saw 502 and 563 visitors for 1939 and 1940 respectably.[44]

These staggering drops in visitation, coupled with other developments during WWII, resulted in a further commitment to the values of accommodation and promotion

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[42] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az., March 1940, May 1940, September 1940, October 1940.

[43] Richard Sellars, Preserving Nature in the National Parks (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 149-154.

[44] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az., September 1940, June 1942, July 1944.

at the monument. The CCC left Wupatki in March of 1942 and there was no longer any money to pay Navajo day laborers for roadwork. The lack of resources, coupled with pressure from the local community to further develop the monument for tourism, meant that the limited resources were even further directed towards tourism. In February of 1942, before the CCC left, Jones recorded the growing unease among the merchants in the region as a result of a decrease in highway traffic and tourist visitation. At the same time, the fact that monuments were allotted monies based upon visitation required Jones to direct a majority of the limited resources towards accommodation. As far as the relationship between archaeology and tourism, this had obvious consequences that were apparent to Jones. In September of 1942, he wrote in his monthly report that work towards tourism was being done at the expense of archaeological preservation. The next month he noted that all the work done on the monument was tourist-centered.[45]

While conditions during the war favored tourism, the conflict also negatively impacted archaeology research. Both of the primary contributors to archaeological research were unable to continue work during the war. Dr. Colton of the Museum of Northern Arizona and an unaffiliated archaeologist by the name of Mr. Buchenberg ceased work during the war years.[46] As a result, the next major excavation or archaeological project did not begin until 1948.[47] The fact that the limited sources for archaeological research at the monument were absent during the war only helped to

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[45] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az., February 1942,March 1942, September 1942.

[46] Ibid., Sept. 1940.

[47] Hartman and Wolf, Wupatki: An Archaeological Assessment, 8.

perpetuate the growing influence of tourism over preservation. The Wupatki experience mirrored the national trend as archaeological research all but stopped during WWII.[48]

During the period from 1937 to 1945, Wupakti experienced significant changes. Transportation developments and road improvements again allowed increasing numbers to visit the ruin. At the same time, administrative accommodation in the form of road improvements and guided tours grew. New Deal policies and the economic recovery made travel increasingly practical for a growing number of Americans, while roadside accommodations ensured they found the resources they needed. Monument promotion by the Joneses and others tapped into the growing cultural importance of native cultures in the United States and ensured that those who wanted to knew about the monument. In all, these years proved to be the truly formative years of constituency development and visitation at the monument. While WWII greatly impacted all NPS sites, post-war visitation would again find Wupatki a popular tourist destination.

By the end of WWII a tourist-centered philosophy was firmly entrenched at Wupatki National Monument. The cultural and recreational importance of places like Wupatki were solidified both at the national and local level. Nationally, the federal agency responsible for preservation was fully engaged in the business of tourism. As an extension of its philosophy, monuments and parks were continually rewarded with money and resources based upon their tourist constituency. At the local level, the Flagstaff community was developing a real stake in the tourist potential for places like Wupatki. The success of tourist businesses, rising visitation numbers, and the ever expanding advertising of tourist destinations is evidence to the fact that by the end of WWII

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[48] Downum, "Southwest Archaeology: Past, Present, And Future," 8.

Wupatki had established a popular public constituency. Yet, this once desired constituency for preservation, realized by the start of WWII, was a tourist constituency with tourist values. In the years following WWII, the success of the campaign to develop tourism would actually cause problems at the nation's parks and monument resulting in a re-evaluation of the purposes and values of these preserves.

Chapter 5
The Post-war Monument, 1945-1956

The postwar era at Wupatki brought lasting changes to the administration and use of the monument. During the war, the federal government and the National Park Service (NPS) neglected parks and monuments. A lack of resources for their development and protection greatly affected the preserved spaces. But post-war prosperity, advances in transportation, increasing fascination with native cultures and the nation's quest to affirm its historic and cultural heritage brought an exponentially growing number of people to NPS sites. The parks and monuments struggled under these conditions, since appropriations for the NPS remained at wartime levels while visitation grew tremendously. Within a decade of the end of the war, preservationists and conservationists inside and outside of the NPS began to voice concern for the future of NPS reserves. Some suggested closing the spaces until monies could be allocated to protect them, while others wanted the public to supplement the parks and monuments by raising visitation dues. The one issue most could agree upon was that drastic measures were needed to protect and save the parks and monuments.[1]

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[1] Devereux Butcher, "Resort or Wilderness," The Atlantic Monthly, February 1961, 45-51; Charles Stevenson, "The Shocking Truth About Our National Parks," Reader's Digest, January 1955, 45; Bernard DeVoto, "Lets Close the Parks," Harper's Monthly,

At Wupatki, these conditions and the NPS commitment to archaeological tourism meant that maintenance and development were the primary foci in the post-war era. By the mid-1950s the NPS needed to take action. Its effort and direction stayed true to its early philosophy of tourism. Instead of heeding the word of those like Edward Abbey and protecting the parks and monuments from the kind of industrial tourism he outlined in his 1968 work *Desert Solitaire*, the NPS committed an overwhelming amount of time and energy toward the accommodation of what was expected to be growing numbers of tourists.[2]

The impact of WWII upon the NPS cannot be overstated. NPS director Conrad Wirth described those years as "very discouraging and trying times." Some of the best NPS men left for the war while gas and rubber rationing at the national level brought little visitation and attention to the parks and monuments. At the same time, monies given to the NPS during these years could not cover the cost of preservation alone. In 1940, the NPS budget, supplemented by CCC monies, was $33,577,000. By 1945, the budget amounted to only $4,740,000. By 1950, the budget had not yet reached its prewar levels. The appropriations during the war could barely keep the NPS intact. Many out-of-the-way places were left completely unattended during the war. Nearly a decade of neglect had done considerable damage to NPS facilities. The maintenance of roads, structures and communication had all but stopped during the war. Moreover, the NPS had lost a considerable amount of personnel and many never returned to the organization. While NPS funding gradually increased after 1945, by 1950 twenty additional parks had

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October 1953, 50-52; Edward Abbey, Desert Solitaire A Season in the Wilderness (New York: Ballantine Books, 1968).

[2] Abbey, Desert Solitaire A Season in the Wilderness.

been added and visitation had doubled since 1940. At the same time, while the war against the Axis powers had finished, the new Cold War against communists left little money and attention for the NPS.[3]

Logically, if pre-war funding and NPS philosophy facilitated the growth of tourism at the expense of archaeological preservation, post-war reductions in funding only served to further develop the trend. Limited resources went to tourist accommodation and promotion. Archaeological studies suffered and would continue to fall among NPS priorities.[4]

The troubles facing the NPS in the postwar era were evident at Wupatki National Monument. Davey Jones returned to the Monument in January of 1946 after serving his country and quickly began to document the effects of WWII. According to Jones, the most neglected aspect of Wupatki during the war years was the roads. A lack of money and labor meant that road maintenance was completely neglected during the war. By April of 1946, Jones believed the roads to be in the worst condition ever. His concerns were echoed by visitors who again threatened to contact their representatives over the poor transportation conditions at the monument. By June, Jones' frustration with the conditions of the roads, constant visitor complaints, and the lack of response by the NPS prompted him to respond in his monthly reports. There he expressed his feeling that if Wupatki was important enough for monument status, than it should be important enough for road maintenance. While Jones worried about the preservation and protection of the pueblos and material culture, his passion and empathy were with tourists. It was not until

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[3] Conrad Wirth, Parks, Politics, and People (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 226-234.

[4] Ibid.

November of 1946 that Wupatki got its first road attention in six years. By November 1948, Wupatki's post-war condition warranted local *Arizona Daily Sun* editor Platt Cline to visit the monument to access the problems.[5] Clearly the public in Flagstaff shared Jones' value in the monument as a place to be visited. It, like Jones, continued to hold to preservationist politics that had been exposed after Hetch Hetchy, primarily that preserves should be sold as tourist destinations.

In the post-war era, NPS sites like Wupatki experienced a great rise in visitation that did not help the neglected nature of their resources and infrastructure. In 1940, 17 million people visited the nation's parks and monuments. By 1955, that number had more than tripled to over 56 million visitors.[6] Several factors brought increasingly large groups of people to the parks and monuments throughout the nation. There was a steady increase in population throughout the nation, and a significant amount of that growing population was residing in urban centers. General population increases and a growing urban population attributed to the demand for outdoor recreation and experience. The growing society in the postwar years had also become affluent. Paid vacations, WWII savings, and retirement plans afforded Americans a decrease in the work week and allowed them time to partake in a variety of new recreational activities. The average work week declined from 44 hours to 36 hours a week from 1940-1960. As hours on the

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[5] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az, Jan. 1946, April 1946, June 1946, July 1946, October 1946, Nov. 1946.

[6] Wirth, Parks Politics and People, 238.

job diminished and with a growing deposable income created, more and more people took to the road in search of NPS destinations.[7]

Increased visitation can also be attributed to continued advancements in transportation technology. Automobiles continued to be more affordable to a growing number of people and improved upon earlier models. The New Deal, WWII and the beginning of the Cold War had the effect of bolstering the development of the nation's highways for economic and defense purposes. The Four Corners region benefited especially from these improvements.[8]

Local road improvements also contributed to the growing tourist community. The completion of Route 66 and the regional road development that took place in late 1930s and 1940s contributed significantly to tourist development. Colton in his updated version of *Days in the Painted Desert* in 1940 illustrated the improvements. Highway 89 was surfaced and straightened between Flagstaff and Salt Lake City, and similar improvement took place at highway 79, the Navajo-Hopi road and the road from Oriaibi to Tuba City. Ultimately, the straightening and improving of highway 89 shortened the distance to the monument and made travel faster. This, coupled with improved automobiles, meant that what in 1924 would have been a half-day journey to Wupatki, now took half the time. The state of the roads also warranted Colton to omit the list of precautionary tools needed for early auto travel. Travel to Flagstaff and Wupatki from the south was also improved with road development. During the 1930s, motorists traveling from Phoenix to Flagstaff took a 217-mile route that went west toward Prescott before it went north or south.

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[7] Arthur Gomez, Quest for the Golden Circle (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 131-135; Jackle, The Tourist, 185-186.

[8] Gomez, Quest for the Golden Circle, 98-113.

Construction on what would later be highway 17 began in 1947 and when completed would nearly cut in half the mileage between Flagstaff and Phoenix. This allowed more people from the urban center to travel to northern Arizona faster and with more ease.[9]

Dramatic increases in visitation at Wupatki developed immediately after the war. In the spring of 1946, Jones began reporting successive record-breaking visitor turnout for each month. This trend continued for nearly a decade. The April 1946 monthly record of 351 visitors came when the roads, according to Jones, were in their worst condition ever. He noted, not yet a year after the war, people seemed to be "vacationing early this year." He observed that visitors more than ever consisted of families on vacation. Only two decades prior, few outside of the archaeologist and preservation community took time to visit places like Wupatki. Consequently, the travel year of 1946/1947 brought the most visitors that Wupatki had ever seen.[10]

While growing visitation represented national and local transportation and economic trends within the U.S., it also represented the transformation of the West after WWII. The West, according to historian Gerald D. Nash was "profoundly transformed" by WWII. Over forty-billion dollars of both federal and private money was invested in the West during the war years. As a result, what many had previously considered a colonial economy in the West, dominated by the east, changed forever. Defense spending spurred a mass migration to western cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Salt Lake City, Denver, and Phoenix. Towns turned to cities during the

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[9] Colton and Baxter, Days in the Painted Desert and the San Francisco Mountains: A Guide; Cline, Mountain Town: Flagstaff's First Century, 357-393.

[10] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az, Apr. 1946, Aug. 1946, Sept. 1946, and Sept. 1951.

transformation. Ultimately, road improvements, the trend toward urban and civic planning, mass amounts of investment capital and even a new image of the West helped to lay the foundations for another population boom after the war. Nash expressed that the transformations that took place during the war would have taken forty years in times of peace.[11]

Arizona and specifically Phoenix took part in the western transformation. The population of the state grew by nearly twenty-percent from 509,000 in 1940 to 602,000 in 1945. Total income nearly tripled in the state and personal income doubled from 1940-1948. Phoenix's growth was largely the result of the building of defense bases and defense spending. In 1941, building started on Luke Air Force Base, which brought an estimated three and one-half million dollars a year during the war to local businesses.[12]

Flagstaff experienced growth as well as a result of WWII. Flagstaff historian Platt Cline identified the Navajo Ordinance Depot at Bellemont, the timber industry, and the growing tourist economy in the region as the largest contributors to both population and economic growth. Its population grew from 5,080 in 1940 to 7,663 in 1950 and almost reached 9,000 by 1955.[13]

The growth of the West and Arizona enabled more to visit places like Wupatki, but more tourists also came because of what a visit brought them spiritually and culturally. Prosperity, pent-up demand, the growth of the middle class and individual

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[11] Gerald D. Nash The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War (Bloomington: Indians University Press, 1985), 17, 37-40, 56-58, 201, 221-223.

[12] Ibid.; and Thomas E. Sheridan, Arizona, A History (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1995), 270-273.

[13] Cline, Mountain Town: Flagstaff's First Century, 357-388.

freedom were also coupled with a new importance and desire to seek the perceived authentic. After the war, automobile ownership was a "badge of middle class status" and an increasing number of people sought the pleasures of middle-class leisure. A two-week vacation in the summer, often exploring the nation's parks and monuments, became the norm for this growing middle class. The lifting of transportation and economic barriers to travel, accompanied by the new fashion that stressed further intellectual and conceptual consumption by the middle class, heightened the cultural importance of tourism. Hal Rothman has identified this as a national shift from heritage tourism to leisure tourism.[14] The expression of this middle-class fashion, the search for the authentic, and the nation's psychic history are found in the writings of those who visited Wupatki. Over the course of the post-war period, visitors, NPS employees, locals and others felt moved to describe their experience to the wider public. In these pieces, three primary themes are expressed: (1) the nostalgia and romantic interpretation of native cultures, (2) U.S. historical imagery is manifest, and (3) the visitors promote Wupatki as place that is increasingly accessible and worthy of visitation.[15]

The use of nostalgic and romantic descriptions of Wupatki and U.S. historical imagery demonstrates the degree with which archaeology and native cultures permeated American popular culture in the mid-twentieth century. Visitors described the pueblo

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[14] Rothman, Devil's Bargains, 202-205.

[15] I. Costello, "We Visited an Indian Ruins," Better Home and Gardens, March 1955, 21; "You'll Find These ancient "apartments" just 30 miles north of Flagstaff," Sunset, October 1961, 40; Mrs. I.C. Hamilton "Here We Sit in Brooklyn Moping," Arizona Highways, 17.6, 1941, 49; Davey Jones, "Wupakti," Arizona Highways, July 1946, 22; David J. Jones, "Red Ruins in Black Cinder," Arizona Highways, 18.11 1942, 16-21,40; Betty Fennemore Kraus, "Wupatki National Monument," Arizona Guide 9.1 1947, 12-14; N. Murbarger, "Arizona's First Land Rush," Natural History, Jan. 1945, 37-41; W.B. Sandborn, "Crack-in-Rock," Natural History, Jan. 1955, 25-27.

peoples as having built their extraordinary homes "before William of Normandy crossed a far-away channel to conquer England." The reference suggests that the United States and its continental history are equal to, if not superior to, that of Europe. Writers expressed their desire for the authentic and interest in the primitive when they referred to Wupatki's inhabitants as "experimental primitive farmers" whose work yielded a civilization in a previously uninhabitable land.[16]

The extent to which Americans wished to appropriate the history and culture of natives is evident in the nostalgic and romantic images they portrayed. In the "enchanted canyons" of the Southwest they expressed their inability to "describe the lure and mood of Wupatki," yet they attempted to do so. Visitors had the ability to explore the "impenetrable veil of the past," and retrace the footsteps of prehistoric peoples by climbing ladders like the ones primitive natives "originally used." These descriptions clearly demonstrate that the visit was as much about self discovery and search as anything else. The primitivism that they saw and experienced was out of their grasp, impenetrable and indescribable, yet more and more came, heeded by the echoes of visitors before and NPS promotion.[17]

What is most interesting is that the articles discussed here, in almost their entirety, regurgitate and express the promotional message of the NPS. As illustrated in the previous chapter, archaeological literature developed along largely romantic, nostalgic terms designed to market experience. The writings scripted archaeological experience and told the reader what they wanted to hear. Post-war monument promotional literature

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[16] "You'll Find These ancient "apartments" just 30 miles north of Flagstaff," 40.

[17] Costello, "We Visited an Indian Ruins," 21

followed the trends of the pre-war era. Western exceptionalism, U.S. historical imagery and romantic, nostalgic descriptions characterized interpretive mediums. The fact that visitors returned home and wrote of their visit to Wupatki in the same manner, language and nostalgia that characterized the NPS's promotional literature, only demonstrates the popular success of archaeological and anthropological literature that began with the like of the Fred Harvey Company and the railroads.[18]

As illustrated in the previous chapter, Davey Jones in promotional writings scripted the Wupatki experience to play upon the modern anxieties of tourists and their search for the authentic. His description of Wupatki, while guided by recent archaeological thought, is explained in a way that tourists can understand and appreciate. It is he and others in the Southwest Monument Group who created the popular image of pueblo culture. Jones impressed upon visitors and readers the extent to which Wupatki can be viewed as a "region of fantasy," a prehistoric place of "prosperity," and one that existed before "Columbus discovered America." At same time, Jones evoked the national images of a "land rush" and "melting pot of cultures" that he explained took place after the eruption of Sunset Crater and harkened in this romantic era.[19]

But Jones did not have to rely upon his writing alone to script, commodify, and homogenize the Wupatki experience. Promotional writers associated with various tourist industry publications also gave potential tourists descriptions that spoke to such desires. Writers from Arizona guidebooks, regional tourist books, newspapers and other sources effectively established themselves as spokesmen for Wupatki and other monuments.

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[18] Ibid.; You'll Find These ancient "apartments" just 30 miles north of Flagstaff," 40.

[19] Jones, "Wupakti,", 22; Jones, "Red Ruins in Black Cinder," 40.

Non-NPS writers from *Arizona Highways*, *Arizona Guide*, *Natural History* as well as others perpetuated the nostalgic, authentic and primitive aspects of Wupatki that can be scripted and sold to the public. These writers echoed Jones' rhetoric about the "Land of Promise" that the prehistoric peoples apparently found in life at Wupatki. They evoked both the "land rush" and the "melting pot" images as outlined by Jones and perpetuated both the authentic and primitive in Wupatki.[20]

These articles also express the seemingly paradoxical relationship between primitivism and progress in the dialectic of the modern that Philip J. Deloria illustrates in *Playing Indian*. The authors speak to the reader's interest and quest for the primitive, but also outline the aspects of progress in the prehistoric civilization. It is a modern anxiety of over-civilization, urban corruption and general in-authenticity generated by mass-production, societal fracturing and other perceived ills of industrial America that lead many to places like Wupatki. Yet, promotional writings emphasize the aspects of progress and modernization of prehistoric peoples at Wupatki. They emphasize the building of "cities" and describe how Wupatki's inhabitants apparently transformed a wilderness into a highly-populated civilization. The pueblos they build are described as vast improvements to the pit-houses that previously functioned as shelter. In general, the promotional writings play upon this dialectic of the modern that is so crucial to the marketing and success of Native American tourism.[21]

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[20] Kraus, "Wupatki National Monument," 12-14; Murbarger, "Arizona's First Land Rush," 37-41; Sandborn, "Crack-in-Rock," 25-27.

[21] Kraus, "Wupatki National Monument," 12-14; Murbarger, "Arizona's First Land Rush," 37-41; Sandborn, "Crack-in-Rock," 25-27.

Tourist publications such as *Desert Magazine* also contributed to the commodification, appropriation and romanticism of living as natives through their articles. In a particularly revealing article by Richard Van Valkenberugh entitled "Don't Knock on a Hogan Door," he advises potential tourists and provides map about how and where to approach the Navajo People. The author describes the Navajo as "humorous, dignified and loyal friends." They too are sympathetic, honest and generally agreeable citizens. He openly invites his readers to explore the Navajo culture and suggests they find a trader to make the introduction. He suggests that a relationship of seventy-five years "dispensing medicine, giving first-aid, mediating family quarrels, interpreting and writing letters, burying the dead and creating markets for Navajo products," makes the trader a perfect intermediary. Valkenburgh explains to the reader that after work at Wupatki National Monument he became friendly with the local Peshlakai family and that every visit with them "opened the Navajo door a little wider."[22]

The author's description is detailed as an insider's knowledge about the culture and how to appreciate it respectfully, yet he essentially treats the natives as "spectacle" in the manner that Leah Dilworth explains in *Imagining Indians in the Southwest*. There she suggests that this relationship creates a discourse between tourists and Indians that renders them as a primarily visual commodity made subjective by the tourist gaze and ultimately presented as static. Valkenberugh provides the reader with nostalgic, primitive, visual and textual images of the natives, while subjectifying them through a series of cultural lessons for the reader. The reader receives "understanding" about the Navajo in examples of how not to enter their homes, approach their religion, understand

[22] Valkenburgh, "Don't Knock on a Hogan Door," 9-13.

their culture and more. He also takes liberty with interpreting their culture. He discusses the process by which secret ceremonial names are given to children by the mother, but explains that this is as close as he came interpret it. In all, the author plays Indian and Indian expert and in his publication creates the native as an exotic "other" to be experienced and commodified. He even gives the reader a map for aid so that if they want to take his advise and seek out the noble, exotic and primitive culture they can.[23]

Accordingly, in light of the growing cultural importance of places like Wupatki, tourist-related businesses lost no time taking advantage of the situation. In August of 1946, Jones noted that the local merchants were becoming more aware of the tourist potential in the region. The travel year of 1950/1951 brought Wupatki its first 10,000 visitor season. Within less than five years, visitation reached this mark for individual months.[24]

The growth of tourism became evident throughout the West and specifically in the four-corner region. Prior to the war, tourism had only a little effect upon the local economies when compared to post-war development. The dramatic rise in visitation and monies flowing into local communities warranted increased attention in the post-war era. Consequently, local business leaders and civic organizations continued to develop the campaign to promote the tourist potential of their regions. In Flagstaff, the community promoted itself as the "gateway to the Grand Canyon." While Wupatki and other monuments were not viewed and visited to the extent of the Grand Canyon, the

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[23] Ibid; and Leah Dilworth, Imagining Indians in the Southwest, 79.

[24] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az, Apr. 1946, Aug. 1946, Sept. 1946, and Sept. 1951.

promotion of the Four Corners region as a "Golden Circle" of parks and recreation did draw more visitors to less "significant" places like Wupatki.[25]

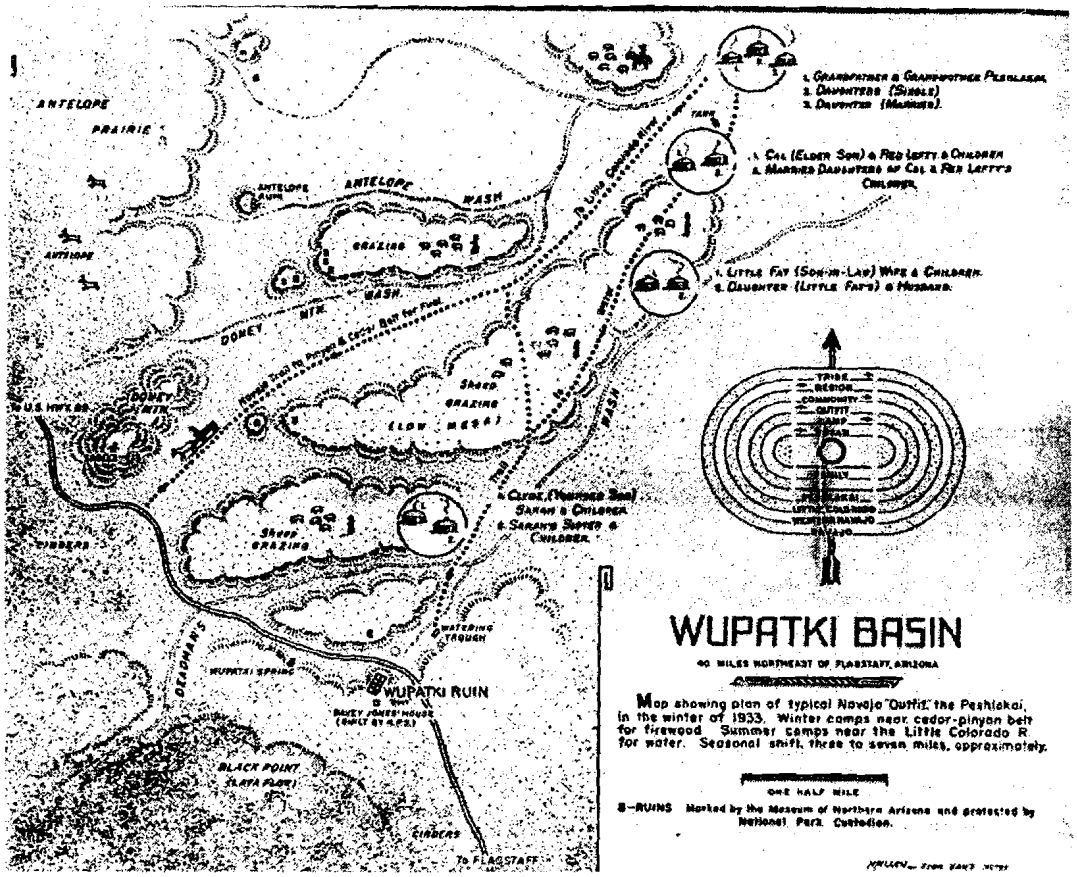

Fig. # 14 Wupatki Basin Navajo Hogan Map 1933, from "Don't Knock on a Hogan Door," in Desert Magazine, October 1947.

Local promotion of Wupatki by the community of Flagstaff took many forms. The local Chamber of Commerce visited Wupatki to become more familiar with the monument and began a new program designed to attract tourists to the region. The local newspaper, *The Arizona Daily Sun,* kept locals knowledgeable about road conditions, development and the general state of the monument. The late 1940s and early 1950s saw

[25] Gomez, Quest for the Golden Circle, 120.

the use of radio and television to promote the monument. Jones and other superintendents documented the various forms of publicity in the monthly reports.[26]

While the NPS had long sought visitation as a tool to create a political constituency for the parks and monuments, post-war visitation caught the NPS and Wupatki personnel off guard. At Wupatki, the need to service visitors, orient them with park resources, and answer questions meant that maintenance and emergency road work suffered. Archaeological preservation all but disappeared. By the summer of 1947, the impact of increased visitation upon the monument began to show up considerably in monthly reports. In July and August, Jones reported that visitor contact took undue and unforeseen time. By that fall, the trend really took off. A year later, Jones was communicating to his superiors that the only way to attend to more visitors, would be to hire another ranger. [27] By the winter of 1949/1950, the typical winter travel lull had stopped. The winters had generally been used by the NPS, and specifically places with access issues like Wupatki, as down time to prepare for the next visitor season. But in February 1950, the new superintendent reported that winter visitation had limited his ability to prepare for next season. The next month, personnel struggled to service visitors and performed emergency roadwork, resulting in only 66 percent of visitors receiving tours. By NPS standards, Wupatki's administration was not happy with these numbers.[28]

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[26] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az, 1946-1955.

[27] Ibid., June 47-Sept 47, Oct 48.

[28] Ibid., June 47-Sept 47, Oct 48, Feb. 1950, Mar. 1950.

Early interpretive philosophy, as outlined by Frank Pinkley of the Southwest Monuments Group, emphasized personal contact with visitors. In the 1930s, Pinkley advised monument personnel to give visitors the utmost personal attention. He advised, "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."[29] He and NPS naturalist Robert H. Rose advised custodians to situate their residence or headquarters to facilitate such contact. As such, reaching only 66% of visitors was not adequate contact and necessitated attention.[30]

Increased visitation, coupled with the desire to contact as many visitors as possible, resulted in new monthly documentation at Wupatki. Recognizing the decrease in visitor contact, superintendents began recording the number of cars, persons per car, number of visitors contacted, time spent with visitors, as well as other statistics. The lack of resources to reach interpretive and contact standards required attention and a new system.[31]

The NPS and the Southwest Monument Group promoted interpretation and education as a tool of preservation. Visitors needed to be educated about the value of the cultural resources at the monument, as well as the proper way to appreciate the ruins and material culture. Prior to and during the war, little was completed with respect to written

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[29] Josh Protas, A Past Presented in Stone: A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument (Tucson: Western National Parks Association, 2002), 111.

[30] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az, 1933.

[31] Ibid., 1945-1950.

interpretive programs at the monument. Efforts had increased and developed significantly just prior to the war, but the conflict retarded any such effort. In the post-war era, monument and NPS staff created informational packets, self-guided tours, paved trails, built new exhibits and museums, and developed the general communication of information about the prehistoric ruins to the public.[32]

All of these interpretive developments sought was to educate the tourist in light of diminishing personal contact. With a commitment to education and interpretation and staggering numbers of tourists entering the parks every year, the NPS chose to consider self-guided tours and museums at the parks and monuments (See figure 17 on page 135 for visitor statistics). While personal contact might have been preferred, fiscal restraints restricted the ability of park officials to pursue such a policy. As a result, self-guided tours increasingly became the center of monument interpretation. Consequently, un-guided tourists tended to be less conscious and more destructive visitors.[33]

Interpretation inspections by the NPS began after the war and focused on the development and analysis of these self-guided tours. NPS naturalist and former WPA and CCC archaeologist Dale S. King was one of the many NPS personnel who inspected the program at Wupatki. In April 1950, King spent two days going over the interpretation program and working on self-guide leaflets for the Wupatki Pueblo ruins. On May 16 1950, the Wupatki Ruin Trail self-guided tour was opened, and over the next few months monument reports suggested they were well received by the public.

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[32] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az, 1946-1955.

[33] Ibid., 1946-1955.

Monument staff even found that some people stayed longer at the monument when they guided themselves through the ruins. This, of course, was viewed as a success. By September, the Nalakihu-Citadel ruins had self-guiding literature, a registration box, as well as a five-easel display. The NPS and Wupatki personnel increasingly viewed the self-guided tour as a necessary success. Accordingly, the interpretive style still dominates NPS strategy today.[34]

Examining the self-guided tour booklets reveals their distinctness from the promotional articles described above. While promotional articles and even monument brochures, handed out at the monument and other locations, express Western exceptionalism, U.S. historical imagery and nostalgic/romantic images, the self-guided booklet is decidedly different. The themes above are entirely absent as the booklet is more scientific, objective, and portrays archaeology as an often un-exact science. At the same time, the self-guide booklet deals significantly with the delicate nature of cultural resources and warns against the harmful appreciation of such resources, something completely absent in promotional literature.[35] This broad focus of interpretation originated in the 1930s, when park naturalist began a comprehensive effort to bring more of the monument's natural surroundings into the realm of interpretation. The philosophy

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[34] Ibid., 1950.

[35] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Wupatki National Monument, Nalakihu-Ciadel Self-Guide Booklet, 1966; U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Wupatki National Monument, Wupatki Ruin Trail Guide.

was consistent with interpretive models outlined by the educational division of the NPS that focused upon offering the visitor a more comprehensive educational experience.[36]

The more-scientific and objective nature of the writing is apparent upon first glace at these booklets. The guidebooks are broken down by numbers that correspond with flagged points along the visitor trail. The textual descriptions note archaeological studies of various points, material culture found, possible uses of various architecture, and adds pictures and drawings to supplement these descriptions. Instead of the romantic "land rush" story that is exacted as a story of fact, the self-guide booklets suggest that archaeological studies only provide a little evidence with which archaeologists use to hypothesize. For instance, dating techniques, in the self-guided booklet, only give cause to believe certain hypotheses; they do not in fact portray truth. Drawings are noted as "possible constructions stages," and uncertainty is professed when the need arises.[37]

One explanation for the dramatic difference in the two types of literature is that one is primarily market-oriented and the other only marginally so. Promotional articles by design were aimed to attract and bolster the cultural importance of such places, while the self-guide booklets no longer had to do these things. By the time a visitor is at the monument, it is no longer entirely necessary to sell the importance of place at Wupatki. Thus, the self-guide tour, reaching a different demographic - the already interested - uses a more scientific description. Both mediums seek to educate to some extent, but the

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[36] Protas, A Past Presented in Stone: A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument, 112-113.

[37] Ibid.

nature of the two readers, coupled with the fact that both mediums are market-driven to different ends, means that their content and rhetorical appeal is significantly different.[38]

At the same time, the distinctions between the promotional literature and self-guide booklets are illustrative of the early anthropological museum philosophy as created by the Smithsonian Institution. Early on in the creation of the institution's museum, a delicate balance between science, education and entertainment was developed and evolved over time. Early officials found scientific research and the encouraging of research to be the institution's primary objective. Yet over time, education and entertainment gained significance. While the promotional literature was decidedly a medium of entertainment and maybe marginally educational, the outdoor museum of the pueblo was the place to focus upon science, encouraging research and validating the work already done there.[39]

The romantic, nostalgic images of promotional literature gave way to more scientific, yet still comprehendible self-guide literature. In these self-guide pamphlets, romantic photos or recreations are absent, while scientifically-valid drawings describe the archaeological process. Readers are introduced to scientific processes and thinking; "By observing how the walls of various rooms butt against each other we can deduce that the rooms at the secondary doorway constitute the oldest part of the pueblo." The description is presented in laymen's terms and is scientific, yet still has the potential to spark interest. Many visitors would have likely been fascinated by the ability of science to inform and could use the interpretations to further inspect the ruin, while "playing

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid; and Curtis Hinsley, The Smithsonian and the American Indian (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1981), 18-39, 64-66, 83-84, 92.

scientist." Artistic demonstrations of possible construction stages gave the reader further information to employ in their visit to the ruin. Deductions, processes and visual images of construction stages allowed a visitor to use this information to see if they too can "find" the first walls of the pueblo. The admittance that archaeologists and interpretation specialists are still uncertain about why or how something came to be at the ruin, created intrigue and suggested that more scientific research will yield more answers. This, coupled with pictures of scientists digging and discovering bones and material culture, created an image of archaeology as intriguing, yet practical work. Surely many visitors left the ruin thinking how exciting and validating it would be to help contribute to the understanding of archaeological thought. The promotional literature creates fascination for sure, but it scripts specifically toward the desire of the tourist, while self-guide literature also speaks to the scientist or potential scientist in the visitor.[40]

Increasing tourist numbers and a commitment to self-guided visitation required trail development and maintenance. Trails had been built and somewhat maintained prior to the war, but their unpaved nature made long-term development difficult. Experimentation with soil cement on trails was conducted by Buchenberg during the summer of 1947.[41] But this trial stage progressed slowly. Beginning in October of 1951, the administration began a comprehensive effort to develop paved trails for the public. By April of 1952, the whole Wupatki Pueblo trail was paved from the parking lot. Not long afterwards, the maintenance of dangerous and eroded trails became an issue. The Wupatki pueblo trail brought tourists within reach of the architectural monument and

[40] Ibid.

[41] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az., July 1947.

material culture. While an expression of NPS philosophy and tradition, the situation proved detrimental to both natural and cultural resources.[42]

At the same time, post-war trends and NPS commitment to visitation required further development of Wupatki's infrastructure. This process took many forms. Tourist facilities and personnel housing were built, developed, and maintained. To accommodate both visitors and personnel, the modernization of utilities and services was undertaken.[43]

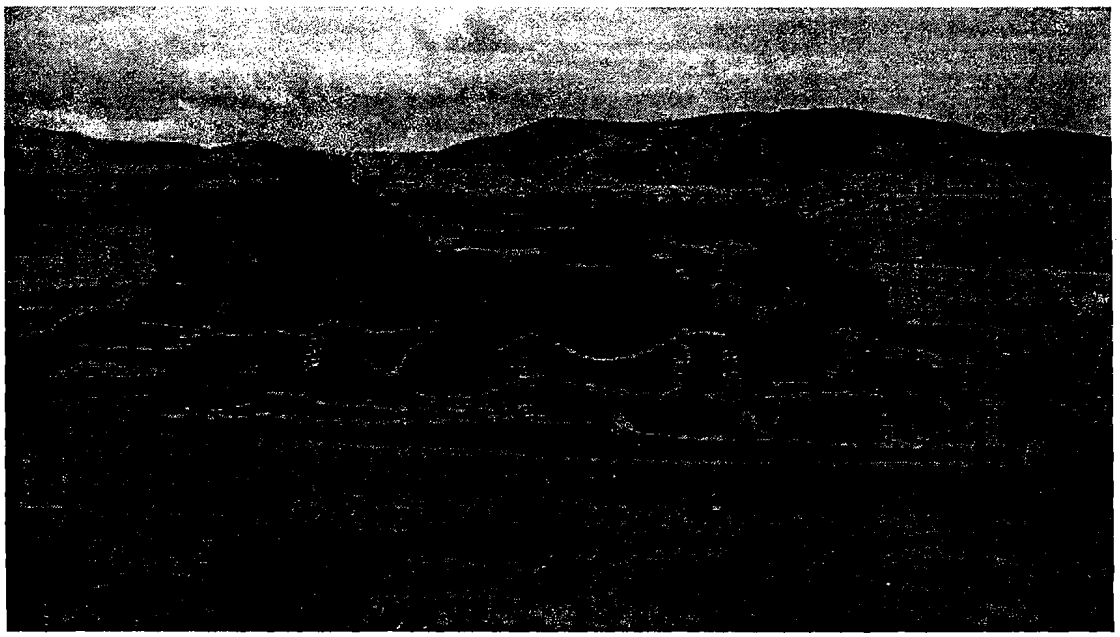

Fig. # 15 Wupatki Pueblo 1954, Northern Arizona University Digital Archives. This image of Wupatki Pueblo shows the development of the trail system designed for the self-guided tour.

The development and maintenance of tourist facilities grew tremendously during the post-war era. The NPS built new bathrooms, toilets, and drinking fountains. They also needed to maintain and service these amenities. For instance, the painting of

[42] Ibid., Oct 1951-April 1952.

[43] Ibid., 1946-1955.

facilities and infrastructure was an ongoing job at Wupatki. Sewage systems backed up and sometimes overflowed. In September 1953, a clogged sewer required the attention of NPS personnel for two man/days. While some large building projects were hired out, most maintenance like this was conducted by the same men who once focused upon visitor tours. Similarly, dry toilets required the spraying of fly spray to make them tolerable. Drinking fountains sometimes required monthly repair and maintenance. Water, always a crucial resource in the Southwest, required particular maintenance. In August of 1952, a complaint about the drinking water by a visitor necessitated monthly analysis by the Department of Health as to the safety of the water. While reports over the next few years showed no problems with the water, tests were performed almost monthly. In June 1955, a report showed the drinking water needed treatment for a high fluoride content that could harm the teeth of children.[44] On the whole, the development and maintenance at the monument in the post-war era brought many new challenges that certainly did not aid in the effort to combat pre-war preservation challenges and protect cultural resources.

Among the new challenges was the growing need to further develop its residences, offices and storage centers. The Heiser maintenance area just south of Wupakti Pueblo saw particular development in the decade following WWII. In November of 1947, the area, formally used as a CCC barracks, was cleaned up and made ready for the residence of Ranger Upton. It was further developed for seasonal rangers and road crews. A March 1950 NPS inspection began a period of rapid development and maintenance at the monument. The conclusions of the inspection suggested that Wupatki

[44] Ibid., Aug. 1952, Sept. 1953, June 1955 and May 1955.

needed to continue development and maintenance of the superintendent's residence, office and basement. Monument personnel built a new roof, dining alcove and bathroom within the year at the residence. General organization and maintenance continued in January. Over the next few years, maintenance continued on an almost monthly basis. If new facilities were not being built, they were being maintained.[45]

Similarly important developments came in the effort to modernize the facilities at the monument. At the end of the war, Wupatki had no electricity and received its water from two springs in the area. April 1947 brought electric lines to the monument and running water for stabilization, both important developments. A light power plant at Heiser and later a diesel plant near the superintendent's residence brought power to the monument. In August of 1952 the monument's gas storage capacity grew from 500-1500 gallons. The period also saw developments in its capacity to hold and store water. In September of 1954, the NPS installed automated traffic counters at the entrances to better estimate the number of tourists and for the ability to adjust services accordingly.[46]

All these amenities aided in the management of the monument. But in the years following the war, a considerable amount of attention was needed to maintain service and repair these technological devices. The consistent effort to keep the power plants running attests to this point. Several monthly reports noted the frequency of breakdowns. In February of 1952, the superintendent noted that a considerable amount of attention was given to power plant repair. The work resulted in the plant running for a week without a breakdown. In sarcastic excitement, he noted that this successful week-long run "was

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[45] Ibid., 1946-1955, and Nov. 1947, Mar. 1950, and June 1954.

[46] Ibid., April 1947, August 1952, and September 1954.

probably a record." An apparent attempt to better the situation came in September 1952 when the monument received its first 3KW Diesel Power Plant. That month it was reported that while louder, the plant seemed to perform great. By the spring of that next year, oil leaks, fuel leaks and other problems began to necessitate continuous maintenance that lasted for months. By October of 1955, the superintendent was engaged in discussions with the Arizona Public Service Commission about the potential of getting commercial power to Wupatki. It would cost the NPS $30,000 to bring power to the monument.[47]

Roads had always been an issue at Wupatki. Increased visitation brought further pressure from locals and visitors alike to further develop and maintain roadways. While conditions were not stopping visitors, they were generating a considerable amount of discussion. The *Arizona Daily Sun* in April of 1949 documented the concerns of visitors and community alike in an article about the poor conditions of Wupatki's roads. In July 1950, a visitor to the monument left a note at the gate to warn future visitors that "this road for helicopters only." That same month the superintendent's report noted that it was the consensus of most visitors that Wupatki had no roads. Monument personnel sympathized with these complaints and felt the situation unpardonable. The administration posted "Poor Road" signs and dedicated themselves to the repair and maintenance of roads and trails, but more was needed.[48]

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[47] Ibid., 1946-1955 and Apr. 1947, Aug. 1952, Feb. 1952, Sept. 1952, Sept. 1954, and Oct. 1955.

[48] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az, 1946-1955, and April 49, and July 50.

The situation left NPS personnel in a tough position. The NPS, civic organizations, private merchants and visitors all wanted visitor accommodation, most notably better roads. But it became increasingly obvious that the NPS could not protect the monument and serve the visiting public. Vandalism, visitor accidents, and the general need to serve visitors attested to this fact. Prior to the extensive development of transportation at many NPS destinations, isolation and the ignorance of the public to these sites protected them. But this was not the case after the war.[49]

At Wupatki, the issue most reflective of these post-war challenges in the NPS was the growing amount of vandalism, theft, and the general nuisance of visitors at the monument. Jones reported in October of 1948 that vandalism continued to rise at the monument. He indicated that rising visitation and a lack of personnel were to blame. At Wupatki and other monuments, self-registration boxes were broken into and money stolen. Careless visitors stole equipment, disregarded road signs, took to unsafe roads, got stuck and consequently necessitated NPS assistance until the late hours of the night. Distress calls required attention. Signs were destroyed, run over, and shot at. And visitors needed medical attention. In April of 1954 alone, a newlywed fell down a trail and took the skin off her knee, and a mother accidentally slammed her daughter's head while trying to close the trunk of her car. Situations like this were aided by the thrifty and pragmatic nature of NPS personnel. Rangers doubled as mechanics, plumbers and carpenters, while a house painter doubled as a nurse. Still, the NPS, visitors, and the

[49] Ibid., 1946-1955.

public continued to advocate for accommodation, specifically road improvements.[50] Many recognized the problems of over exposure, but prosperity, the growing middle class and the growing cultural importance of scenic spaces and archaeology made the trends too powerful for preservation-minded individuals to be heard.[51]

Thus, in the summer of 1952, administrative attention was given to the roads at Wupatki, beginning a year of "improvement" at the monument. In June, NPS director Conrad Wirth visited the area and inspected the roads of the NPS sites in the Four Corner region. He agreed with civic leaders and visitors; the roads needed attention. By that fall, road inspections began. That spring was spent amassing equipment and going over the new road project. Construction began on March 2, 1953. By the next spring, nine miles of paved road from the highway to Wupatki Pueblo were completed. The result of this development must have been foreseen. It brought a "tremendous increase in travel." In June of 1954, 6,350 visitors saw the Citadel, while 2991 continued on to Wupatki Pueblo. The two previous Junes had set records with 2003 and 2384 visitors respectively. A partially-paved road, from one direction, brought a nearly 300% increase in visitation, while management funding and staffing was static. The second access road from Sunset Crater was still not paved. Further development in the coming years would have obvious impacts.[52]

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[50] Wupatki National Monument, Superintendent Monthly Reports, National Park Service, Flagstaff Az, 1946-1955, Oct. 1948, and April 1954.

[51] Ibid., 1945-1955, Oct. 1948, April 1954,.

[52] Ibid., 1946-1955, Jun. 1952, Mar. 1953, and June 1954.

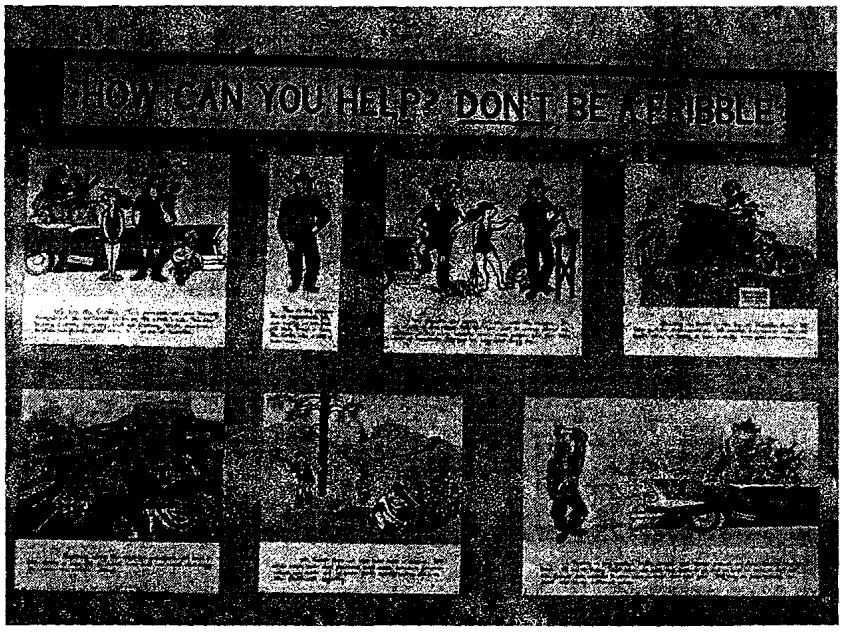

Fig. # 16 1956 Wupatki display advising tourists on how they can avoid negatively impacting the monument, Flagstaff Area National Monuments Headquarters, Photo #127350004.

As a result of road development, increasing vandalism and destruction followed suit. By July, the superintendent noted that considerable time was spent on roadside cleanup, picking up after "litterbug" tourists. In August, one visitor broke the top off a water hydrant in an attempt to get some water, resulting in the loss of 1000 gallons of the precious resource. That same month, illegal diggings were performed at the Citadel ruin, requiring NPS staff to place signs at the ruins explaining the unlawful nature of such action. All these situations prompted the superintendent of the monuments to create a new heading in his monthly report, "Protection, Accident, and Vandalism." The spring of 1955 brought more occurrences of vandalism to the monument.[53]

[53] Ibid., 1946-1955, July 54, and Aug. 1954.

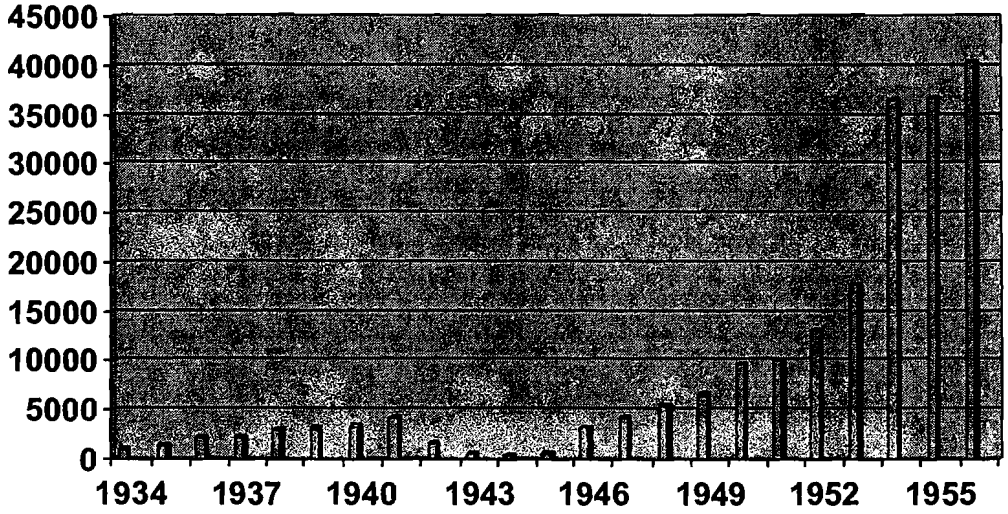

Fig. 17*The following bar graph outlines the growth of visitation at the monument from 1934-1956.
X= year, Y=number of visitors

The magazine *Arizona Highways,* a partner in the monument's promotion, summed up the situation in its slogan: "civilization follows the highway." Unfortunately, this was all too true at Wupatki. What twenty years before was a largely inaccessible, un-modern, unvisited, and even unappreciated monument, was now, by many assessments, too accessible, too developed, and over appreciated. The highway brought civilization as well as the ills of modern urban development to Wupatki. By the 1950s the wider American public was privy to NPS conditions.[54]

The situation prompted many to voice criticism about the NPS's ability to protect and preserve the parks and monuments. Famed nature writer Edward Abbey, who witnessed these developments first hand as a seasonal ranger at Arches National

[54] Arizona Highways, January 1946.

Monument in the 1950s, concluded that the only dangerous animals at the parks and monument were "tourists." He attacked this age of "Industrial Tourism" and criticized the assumption that paved highways had to be built in these natural areas. He had only one solution. "No more cars in the national parks. Let the people walk. Or ride horses, bicycles, mules, wild pigs – anything - but keep the automobiles and the motorcycles and all their motorized relatives out."[55]

Others besides the radical Abbey voiced concern. Even Director Wirth in 1955 suggested that the public was "loving the parks to death" and that "patch on patch is no longer possible."[56] The situation was bluntly explained in an article entitled "The Shocking Truth About Our National Parks" by Charles Stevenson printed in *Reader's Digest* in 1955. Stevenson explained that, during 1955, one of every three Americans was expected to visit the parks and monuments. He also warned, "(y)our trip is likely to be fraught with discomfort, disappointment, even danger." He went on to explain that visitor services could not be provided for and sanitary conditions kept at many NPS sites.[57] Bernard DeVoto suggested anecdotally that the federal government should close the most costly parks until monies were allocated for their protection. He recognized the situation of places like Wupatki and applauded the effort of rangers and NPS personnel whom he described as "patient, frustrated and solely harassed."[58] He acknowledged that

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[55] Abbey, Desert Solitaire, 65.

[56] Wirth, Parks, Politics, and People, 234.

[57] Stevenson, "The Shocking Truth About Our National Parks," 45.

[58] DeVoto, "Lets Close the Parks," 50-52. DeVoto discussed the issue of the parks and monuments in Harper's Monthly in his "Easy Chair" serial and other periodicals.

"superintendents, not having a plumber, will send a ranger to clean out a toilet," thus limiting their resources and placing undue time in inappropriate work. Clearly, the NPS and the federal government needed to combat the situation brought about by the tremendous rise in visitation and lack of funding at the nation's parks and monuments.[59]

The period from 1945-1956 at Wupatki National Monument, like other NPS sites, was wrought with challenges. Inadequate funding after the war left the NPS site in neglect. Roads, visitor services, infrastructure and personnel were all insufficient for the monument's commitment to tourist accommodation. Vocal tourists, the local community and tourist-related businesses all put pressure upon the NPS to further develop the monument for rising tourist numbers and for future growth. The most demanding improvements regarded roads, and by the early 1950s major road construction began at the monument. Road improvements meant a further increase in visitation accompanied by a rise in vandalism, unauthorized digs, littering and other negative visitor impacts. It was a cycle of improvement followed by visitor impact that many felt would only perpetuate. By 1956, preservation advocates and the general public throughout the nation began to voice concern over the future of the nation's parks and monuments.

[59] Ibid.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

The NPS solution to the problems in the nation's parks and monuments, Mission 66, was established in 1956. Then NPS director Conrad Wirth conceived of the program as a response to what he saw as NPS under-funding and undeveloped NPS infrastructure. He began to think about NPS funding problems and solutions in 1955. He wondered what Congress wanted to hear from the agency about future budgets. He came to the conclusion that to get the funding they wanted and needed to protect the preserves and maintain accessibility for tourist enjoyment, then long-term funding beyond the current yearly allotments was necessary. He reasoned that other bureaus such as the Bureau of Public Roads, Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Corps of Engineers got money year after year because they had big projects to complete that could not possibility be done within one year. At that point, NPS projects considered for the federal budget were so small that legislators could easily cut out such projects without them being thoroughly reviewed. Wirth envisioned sending the budget committee a long-term comprehensive plan that demanded review and would be more difficult to cut outright. At the same time, if individual Congressmen knew that over a period of time their constituencies and

sites would also receive attention then they would be more likely to vote for such a measure.[1]

After receiving positive feedback, Wirth put together a Mission 66 committee that, in his words, would represent "the major functions" of the NPS, and that the members would be such important people that they would be badly missed elsewhere. The Mission 66 Steering Committee's first memorandum stated the committee's goals: (1) to intensively study the problems of protection, public use, and interpretation as well as others, (2) use this information to produce a comprehensive and integrated program of use and protection, and (3) the ultimate objective was to complete the implementation of the program by the golden anniversary of the NPS in 1966. President Eisenhower and later Congress both supported the program, and over the period from 1957-1966 the NPS received over one-billion dollars for the program's objectives.[2]

Once implementation began, preservationist's fears were realized and Mission 66 proved to be a development-oriented program. It ultimately focused more upon use than protection. While many advocated for the restriction of visitors and thus impact in the parks and monuments, Mission 66 developed NPS sites for increased visitation. The program sought to increase carrying capacity. More roads, visitor centers and other accommodations were the real objectives of the program.[3]

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[1] Conrad Wirth, Parks, Politics and the People (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 237-244.

[2] Ibid., 242.

[3] Alfred Runte, National Parks: The American Experience (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 173.

In the 1956 policy booklet entitled "Mission 66 for the National Park System," Wirth explained his vision of the program. There he suggested that because preserved spaces were resources, then the primary justification for the NPS "lies in its capacity to provide enjoyment.[4] He, like others, also suggested that visitor growth in the post-war years represented a fundamental social and cultural need. The problem as he identified it was that the NPS was "no longer capable of giving its users the degree of enjoyment and satisfaction needed." As such he intended to lead the NPS in studying recreational needs, while developing dining, over-night and other visitor accommodations. All parks and monuments were to create wish lists or development needs for the ten-year program.[5]

Understandably, Wupakti's personnel found many development needs for the monument. The monument's 1957 *Mission 66 Prospectus* stated that the monument was "not developed at present to handle current visitation."[6] Monument personnel described the current 100 square feet of administrative and public use space as not enough and recommended a new visitor center. They also proposed more self-guided exhibits, a self-guided driving tour, a water well, increased storage for water and sewage, the addition of commercial power and telephone service as well as the development of permanent NPS housing. [7]

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[4] Wirth, Mission 66 for the National Park System, iii.

[5] Ibid., 10.

[6] Department of the Interior, Mission 66 Prospectus, Wupatki National Monument, Revised Edition, Oct 7th 1957, 3.

[7] Ibid.

The prospectus overwhelmingly professed a commitment to tourist accommodation. A picnic area was requested because in recent years visitors had expressed concern over the lack of such an area. The itemized budget estimates predicted that development would require 1.6-1.9 million dollars. The budget excluded research needs that were regulated to the appendix, exposing the perceived value of such work. It was also proposed to excavate at the Citadel because visitors found the ruin to be "a jumble of rock," and would often leave the monument before visiting Wupatki pueblo. Excavation, they reasoned, would bring more tourists to other parts of the monument. Finally, Wupatki personnel expressed on several occasions that increased development would bring more visitors and consequently more vandalism, thus more protection would be needed. The situation represented a cycle of development and abuse that continued for decades. In all, the Mission 66 program was able to satisfy many of the personnel's recommendations. Roads were paved and a greatly-expanded visitor center was created.[8]

At NPS destinations across the country, visitors inevitably came in higher numbers as a result of Mission 66. From 1955-1974, visitation more than tripled in the NPS. National monuments visitation grew from roughly five million to more than seventeen million.[9] At Wupatki, the 1970s saw visitation above one-hundred thousand for the year, and two years saw over two-hundred thousand visitors.[10] Mission 66 only perpetuated the trends that began many years ago. By allowing and planning for more visitors, they came and obvious consequences resulted.

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Runte, National Parks, 173.

[10] U.S. Department of the Interior, Proposal/ Environmental Assessment, Wupatki National Monument, august 1981, 15.

The story of the pueblo ruins at Wupatki National Monument from 1900-1956 demonstrates the evolution and extent to which preservation archaeology gave way to archaeological tourism. This thesis has argued that three primary trends in American culture from 1900-1956 increasingly perpetuated archaeological tourism over the initial values of archaeological sites as illustrated by the 1906 Antiquities Act and the movement that resulted in the legislation. First, the growing importance of native cultures to Americans in this period solidified the extent to which these cultures resided in the collective identity of the nation. Second, technological developments and nation-wide prosperity enabled a growing percentage of people to appreciate these cultures. Finally, codified preservation politics established a tradition of bringing visitors to preserved sites as means to support preservationist values.

When in 1900 Walter J. Fewkes first brought the attention of the ruins to the public, the above trends were not yet established to the point that warranted preservation or tourism. Native Americans had increasingly gained cultural significance since the mid-nineteenth century, and preservation advocates had developed tourism potential as a means to protect places like Yellowstone and Yosemite. But a lack of transportation and infrastructure development in the West made accessing these ruins by both pothunters and tourists a challenging affair. The 1890s witnessed the emergence of the first true popular cultural significance of pueblo and other prehistoric cultures in the West, but many successfully argued that isolation negated the need for federal protection. "Archaeological enthusiasts" such at Ben Doney at Wupatki did excavate for sale prehistoric material culture, but a campaign to effectively label them "pothunters" and gain federal protection for archaeological culture did not find success until 1906. For

isolated ruins like those at Wupatki, monument designation seemed only to come when access enabled both pothunters and tourists to visit such places in a controlled manner.

Between the passage of the Antiquities Act in 1906 and Wupatki's designation in 1924, several technological advances and the increased significance of native culture made designation practical. By 1924, automobiles, while not widely owned, allowed people the opportunity to take to the road for day-trips and auto tours of NPS sites. Local communities throughout the West recognized the emerging tourist industry and sought parks and monument for their communities. Flagstaff recognized the real potential of a tourist economy around the turn of the century at the Grand Canyon. Locals attempted to create an auto tour service from town to the canyon, but bad roads and early auto technology hindered its initial development. This experience as well as generally poor roads in the region, prompted regional, civic and business leaders to create a campaign to improve the roads in Northern Arizona, as well as throughout the nation, and centralize their coordination in 1924. Thus, by the time of Wupatki's creation, improved roads, increasing travel and potential for tourism were established regional issues that certainly aided in the movement to preserve the ruins.

At the same time, this period saw the emerging codified practice of advocating visitation as a means to "exploit" preserved sites. Previous to 1913, some had advocated for tourism as a political and economic alternative to resource extraction and private ownership of potential preserves, but the Hetch Hetchy controversy of that year firmly established the practice. Thus, when the National Park Service was created in 1916, it began early to seek political and cultural capital for parks and monuments by advertising and selling them as tourist destinations.

After designation in 1924, Wupatki's advocates also sought to bring visitors to the monument to gain political and economic capital for the site. Upon designation, the monument's budget was $1 a month and afforded only a distant custodian that lived and worked in Flagstaff and visited the monument in his spare time. The situation did not allow the custodian the time and proximity to protect against pothunting or to contact and record visitors. Because monuments were rewarded monies based upon visitation, Wupatki was in a peculiar position. If it was not for the dedication and voice of Dr. Harold S. Colton of the Museum of Northern Arizona, the situation might have persisted longer. But, in 1934 the monument received its first resident custodian.

The period from 1934-1945 brought lasting changes to Wupatki. In essence, the three trends mentioned above came together and signaled the period that witnessed the transformation from preservation archaeology to archaeological tourism. While appreciation for native cultures and preservation politics both encouraged the visitation of Wupatki's ruins, it was only during this period that the barriers to visitation were lifted to the extent that archaeological tourism could become the primary value of the NPS at Wupatki. Once all three trends united and Wupatki became a popular tourist destination for a wider public, visitors began to frequent the monument to an extent that the NPS was not fully prepared to handle. Just prior to WWII, tourists came in numbers that caught monument staff off-guard. But the surge in visitation lasted less than two years as the global conflict rang in a period of resource conservation that limited visitation.

The post-war era from 1945-1956 once again saw tourists coming to the monument in numbers that challenged the NPS's ability to protect the site. This was further complicated by the fact that post-war funding remained at war-time lows for the

first few years of this new period. What is interesting is that the once desired tourist constituency for the monument, now realized, was overwhelming the NPS. Yet, the entrenchment of tourist accommodation and promotion persisted. While some spoke out for the limiting of tourism in NPS sites and the end to accommodation, the post-war constituency wielded so much power in the age of recreational tourism that limiting visitation was politically and culturally impractical. Instead, as noted above, in 1956 the NPS sought increasing funding for the accommodation of more visitors. The Mission 66 program sought to develop the parks and monuments for the increased visitation it planned for in the future. The visitation came, but in greater numbers than the NPS had predicted.

Mission 66 and beyond for the National Park Service and Wupatki meant a persistent commitment to archaeological tourism at the expense of preservation archaeology that persists today.

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