

# Conflict on the Pajarito: Frank Pinkley, the Forest Service, and the Bandelier Controversy, 1925-32

by Hal Rothman

The Bandelier National Monument, established in 1916, was the focus of an important conflict between the National Park Service and the Forest Service. The conflict lasted from 1925 until President Hoover transferred the site from the Forest Service to the Park Service in 1932. Conservationist and preservationist values clashed over the tract, which included resources valuable to the constituencies of both. The 22,400 acres of national forest land in north-central New Mexico that became the Bandelier monument included important archaeological ruins of interest to the Park Service. From the Forest Service's perspective, the Bandelier also contained large areas of valuable timberland that Park Service management would prevent area residents from using.

Although the Park Service office in Washington worked to make a national park out of the Bandelier National Monument, Frank Pinkley, the Park Service superintendent of southwestern national monuments, prevented the conversion of the monument against the wishes of his immediate superiors in Washington. Pinkley strongly favored an identity for national monuments separate from that of the national parks. Pinkley's problem was compounded as the most spectacularly scenic national monuments were converted to national park status during the aggressive tenure of the Park Service's first director, Stephen T. Mather, and his chief advisor, Horace M. Albright.

By law, archaeological sites were designated as national monuments. Pinkley fought to keep them in that category, an idea that contrasted with the Mather-Albright ideal: making the best example of any kind of site into a national park. He was even willing to go against the prevailing Park Service sentiment to ensure that the category of sites for which he was responsible would, in the long run, get its due. Yet Pinkley believed that all the reserved archaeological sites should be administered *as national monuments* by the Park Service, which had begun to focus on providing educational services in the parks under the Mather regime. He saw the monuments as the class of areas designated by law to preserve the nation's archaeological treasures. As the field officer in charge of archaeological sites in the Southwest, when he informed Washington that the Bandelier was not suited for a national park, he forced a temporary conciliation between the Park Service and the Forest Service.

## Pinkley and the National Monuments

Authorized under the Antiquities Act of 1906, national monuments rapidly became a diverse category. Unlike national parks, for which specific legislation had to be passed by Congress, national monuments could be created by executive proclamation.<sup>1</sup> The hastily passed act divided the administration of national monuments among the War Department, the Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture, and the National Park Service in the Interior Department. Each was responsible for sites proclaimed from lands under its jurisdiction. As a result, each of the three departments had its own national monuments, which presented a problem for Pinkley's vision of the national monuments as a cohesive category by themselves. Pinkley objected particularly to Forest Service administration of four national monuments—Walnut Canyon and Tonto in Arizona and the Gila Cliff Dwellings and the Bandelier in New Mexico. Although the archaeological ruins found on these sites were within national forests,<sup>2</sup> Pinkley argued that the Forest Service could not interpret them to the public as well as the Park Service would.

By the early 1920s, an embryonic form of administration that was directed toward encouraging tourism began to emerge at Park Service archaeological sites other than Mesa Verde National Park. Frank Pinkley was largely responsible for this development. Unlike most Park Service personnel, he had a deep interest in the national monuments, and he also managed to achieve important results with the miniscule budget allotted them.

Born in Missouri in 1881, Pinkley came to Arizona after a bout with tuberculosis at the turn of the century. In 1902, he

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1. The Antiquities Act was not seriously challenged until the 1940s. It offered the National Park Service a way around uncooperative Congresses, so long as the sites they wanted to establish were on land administered by the Department of the Interior, giving them some semblance of control over the creation of new sites. The author would like to thank Sally K. Fairfax of the University of California at Berkeley for insightful comments on this question and many others which appear in the course of this article.

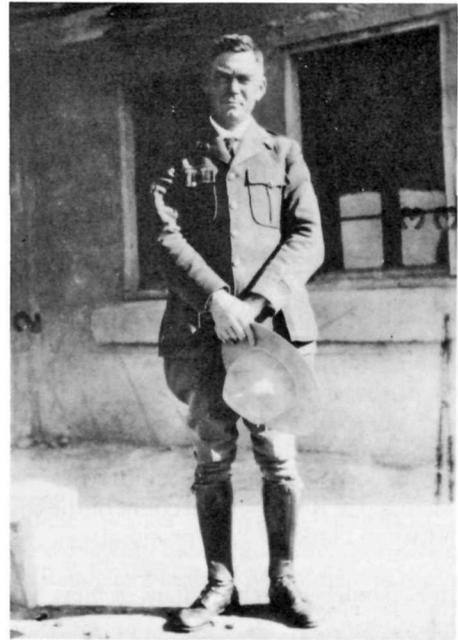
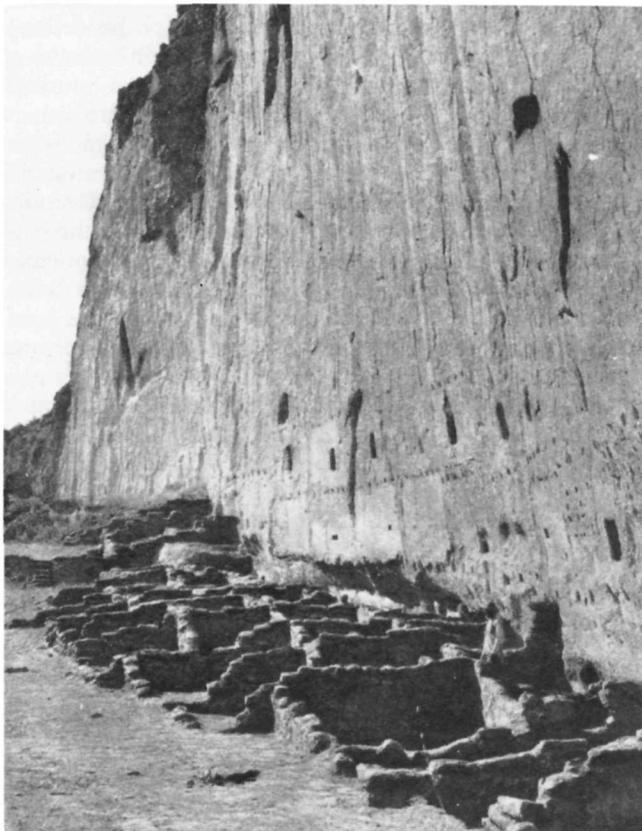
2. Hal Rothman, "Protected By a Gold Fence With Diamond Teeth: A Cultural History of the American National Monuments" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1985), pp. 35-55, 150-215.

became the caretaker of the Casa Grande Ruins reservation, near Florence, Arizona, the first federal lands reserved for archaeological reasons in the United States. Spurred by a desire to comprehend the civilizations that preceded the European presence in the New World, Pinkley trained himself as an archaeologist. With the inception of the Park Service, and the transfer of the Casa Grande to national monument status in 1918, Pinkley entered the agency and gradually assumed responsibility for most of the monuments in the Southwest. In 1923, as a token of Park Service appreciation for his dedication, Pinkley was appointed the first superintendent of the southwestern national monuments.<sup>3</sup> Within the agency, Assistant Director Arthur E. Demaray suggested giving Pinkley field responsibility for all the Park Service national monuments. Director Mather vetoed the idea because he wanted to retain a measure of central control over sites that the agency had no time, money, or inclination to develop during the 1920s.

Low on the list of Park Service priorities, national monuments rapidly became Frank Pinkley's personal domain. He oversaw excavation and stabilization at many of the sites and began aggressive educational campaigns to alert the public that national monuments existed. He also shaped monument service, establishing standards of conduct and

3. Rothman, "Cultural History," pp. 150–215.

Ruins of cave dwellings and a valley floor pueblo at El Rito de los Frijoles, included in the Bandelier National Monument. Photo taken by Charles F. Lummis to illustrate the 1918 edition of Bandelier's novel, *The Delight Makers*.



Frank Pinkley, supervisor of southwestern national monuments for the Park Service, in 1925. National Archives Photo

quality, making policy, and constantly devising ways to keep up with increasing tourism on an inadequate budget.

Pinkley wanted to give the national monuments their own identity, rather than allowing them to languish as a second-class category of parks. The Antiquities Act allowed the president to proclaim as national monuments "objects of . . . historic or scientific interest," as well as archaeological ruins on public land. As a result, there was much overlap with the national parks and many smaller scenic sites were reserved as national monuments, despite the fact that the Antiquities Act made no such provision. The problem of defining the characteristics of the national monument category was compounded as Mather began to push for converting some of the most spectacularly scenic national monuments to national park status. Because the term "scientific" in the wording of the Antiquities Act could be interpreted broadly, national monuments were often created to await favorable congressional conditions before they were made into national parks. Although a loyal Park Service man, Pinkley's position in the Southwest often gave him a different view of park and monument problems than that held by Washington administrators.

Despite his opinion that archaeological monuments should not be converted into parks, Superintendent Pinkley often argued that all the monuments should be consolidated under the Park Service's administration. Pinkley strongly believed that the monuments belonged under the care of the one government agency most suited to provide the tourist service that had become the main reason for its existence. In his estimation, Park Service standards and facilities were far superior to those of the Forest Service. Where preservation

## Points of View on the History and Preservation of the Pajarito Plateau Ruins

The series of quotations accompanying this article illustrates a variety of viewpoints from the 1920s and 1930s on the importance of the Bandelier National Monument in northwestern New Mexico. During this time, the ruins in the monument area were proposed as part of a Cliff Cities National Park that was never established. There are significant differences in interest and interpretation among these passages by two archaeologists who worked in the area (Edgar L. Hewett and Adolph F. Bandelier himself), a representative of the Park Service (Robert Sterling Yard), and a representative of the Forest Service (Frank A. Waugh). These differences foreshadow those analyzed in Rothman's account of the conflict over the Cliff Cities National Park proposals.

### Adolph F. Bandelier on the Indians of New Mexico

From *The Delight Makers*, a novel by Adolph F. Bandelier [New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1918 edition], first published in 1890:

The Queres of Cochiti . . . declare that the tribe to which they belong, occupied, many centuries before the first coming of Europeans to New Mexico, the cluster of cave-dwellings, visible at this day although abandoned and in ruins, in that romantic and picturesquely secluded gorge called in the Queres dialect Tyuonyi, and in Spanish "El Rito de los Frijoles."

Through the vale itself rustles the clear and cool brook to which the name of Rito de los Frijoles is applied. It meanders on, hugging the southern slope, partly through open spaces, partly through groves of timber, and again past tall stately pine-trees standing isolated in the valley. Willows, cherry-trees, cottonwoods, and elders form small thickets along its banks (pp. 2-4).

If the Indian is not an ideal being, he is still less a stolid mentally squalid brute. He is not reticent out of imbecility or mental weakness. He fails properly to understand much of what takes place around him, especially what happens within the circle of our modern civilization, but withal he is far from indifferent toward his surroundings. . . . His senses are very acute for natural phenomena; his memory is excellent . . . There is no difference between him and the Caucasian in original faculties . . . At the time we speak of . . . [e]ach clan managed its own affairs, of which no one outside of its members needed to know anything. . . . Consequently there grew a habit of not caring about other people's affairs unless they affected one's own . . . In the course of time the habit became a rule of education. Reticence, secrecy, discretion, are therefore no virtues with the Indian; they are simply the result of training (pp. 13-15).



A portrait of Adolph F. Bandelier, used as the frontispiece of the 1918 edition of his novel, *The Delight Makers*.

was the chief value of a tract of land, Pinkley was confident that he could do a better job than the Forest Service.<sup>4</sup> The superintendent's real focus was upon the four archaeological monuments administered by the Forest Service in the Southwest. It only seemed logical that the Bandelier, Gila Cliff Dwellings, Walnut Canyon, and Tonto national monuments would fare better under his care.

The preeminent national monument administered by the Forest Service was the Bandelier, a collection of archaeological ruins and tracts of scrub forest about forty miles from Santa Fe. The site was named after Adolph Bandelier, an eminent anthropologist/archaeologist in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who popularized the Southwest with his fictional portrayal of the area's pre-European culture in his novel, *The Delight Makers*. The monument attracted relatively large numbers of visitors because of its proximity to Santa Fe. Established from national forest land in 1916, the monument's administration fell to the Forest Service by virtue of what Pinkley called the "gentlemen's agreement," the unwritten aspect of the Antiquities Act that allowed each department to maintain control over land it had previously administered after a national monument was established.

Bandelier was the perfect site for Pinkley to administer. His programs were designed to reveal the nature of pre-historic Indian life on the North American continent as well as teach Americans to appreciate the aboriginal Indian culture. Few sites provided a better opportunity to convey this kind of information than did the Bandelier. Although he

4. Circular letter 5, December 1927, Casa Grande file 12-5 and Pinkley to Horace Albright, 27 July 1932, *ibid.*, Tonto National Monument file 12-5, Series 6, Record Group 79, National Archives. All subsequent references to files in the National Archives (NA) are to Series 6, R.G. 79.

always regarded the ruins as less impressive than those at Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde, Pinkley long recognized how useful the site would be in the southwestern monument group. Situated in a heavily touristed central location, a well-managed Bandelier could serve as an entry point into his well-organized system of prehistoric and historic sites. It could pique the interest of visitors who knew little of the monuments in general.

Under the Forest Service's administration, Bandelier did none of these things, which greatly irked Pinkley. The monument was administered through the Santa Fe National Forest and although visitors were not actively discouraged, neither were there educational programs of any kind. The ruins were anomalies on Forest Service land, managed by people more concerned with grazing leases, fire trails, and timber management than with the remains of a prehistoric civilization. Although he never doubted the Forest Service's competency in matters of forestry, in Pinkley's mind, the wrong bureau was managing the ruins. Archaeology was his specialty, as forestry was the Forest Service's. He was sure he could do a better job informing visitors to the monument of its cultural significance.

Although Forest Service management of the Bandelier was a serious problem for Pinkley, the ever-present prospect of conversion of the monument to national park status was even more of a direct threat to his conception of a clearly defined national monument category. Mesa Verde, a series of archaeological ruins in southwestern Colorado, had received national park status shortly after the passage of the Antiquities Act in 1906, but Pinkley had been able to hold the agency to his narrower definition since he entered the Park Service in 1918. Pinkley had continually tried to convince Albright, who often acted as Mather's proxy on these questions, that the archaeological sites were legally national monuments and should remain that way. If Bandelier followed the Mesa Verde to national park status, however, it would negate much of the superintendent's work. The definition of parks and monuments would again be an issue, and the boundaries between the categories of public reservations would be blurred. Bandelier easily fit the Antiquities Act definition of a national monument. If it became a national park, it would shatter the integrity of the category that Pinkley worked so hard to build, as well as confirm the sense that all significant monuments were eventually headed for park status if Congress could be convinced to pass appropriate legislation.<sup>5</sup>

### The Forest Service and the Park Service at Bandelier

The conflict between the Forest Service and the Park Service over the status of Bandelier National Monument almost accidentally gave Pinkley himself a key role in de-

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5. Pinkley's information series in July 1924 and June 1927, Casa Grande file 12-5, NA.

terminating its fate. The history of archaeological excavation and political maneuvering at this site typified the general controversy over the monuments.

A one-day round trip from Santa Fe, the oldest settlement west of the Mississippi River, Bandelier's value, much like that of Muir Woods National Monument near San Francisco, was predicated as much on its accessibility as on its content. *The Delight Makers* had done much to imprint a picture of the monument and its wonders in the public eye. To tourists from coastal cities rapidly losing their self-affirmed traditional cohesiveness in the wake of unprecedented immigration, the ruins of the Southwest represented cultures that had maintained their continuity over generations in a forbidding environment. Paradoxically, these same ruins also implicitly validated Anglo-American nationalism by showing the American public evidence of the final demise of these "weaker" aboriginal cultures.

Edgar Lee Hewett had begun excavating what would become the Bandelier National Monument in the late 1890s. The region was first proposed as a national park in 1900 and came under repeated consideration for park status throughout the first decade and a half of the twentieth century. Proclamation of the monument temporarily halted the process, for the Bandelier itself was a consolation prize for one of the failed national park efforts.<sup>6</sup>

Despite Pinkley's strong feelings about the legal differences between a national monument and a national park, there was strong sentiment within the Park Service to enlarge the size of the monument to take in more ruins and some natural features and convert it into a national park. After all, Mather had convinced Congress to give park status to Zion and other national monuments. When Herbert Gleason, an Interior Department inspector, recommended park status for Bandelier in 1919, it quickly became Park Service policy to advocate a national park in the Bandelier vicinity.

In 1925, the prospects for achieving park status looked as good as they ever had. In September of that year, Dr. Jesse L. Nusbaum, the superintendent of Mesa Verde, went to central New Mexico as the Park Service representative to the Congressional Coordinating Commission on National Parks and Forests. The commission, headed by Congressman Henry W. Temple of Pennsylvania and including Arthur Ringland, who had been the forester in charge of the Grand Canyon National Monument during the Forest Service tenure there, was considering one of the many park proposals. Nusbaum made the trip in order to gauge local sentiment about the Pajarito and Cliff Cities National Parks proposed for the Bandelier region.

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6. John Ise, *Our National Park Policy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1961), p. 289; Rothman, "Cultural History," pp. 33-55. John J. Cameron, "The Proposed National Park of the Cliff Cities" (Proposed Cliff Cities National Park file 0-32, NA) is the best summary of legislative attempts to create a national park on the Pajarito Plateau.

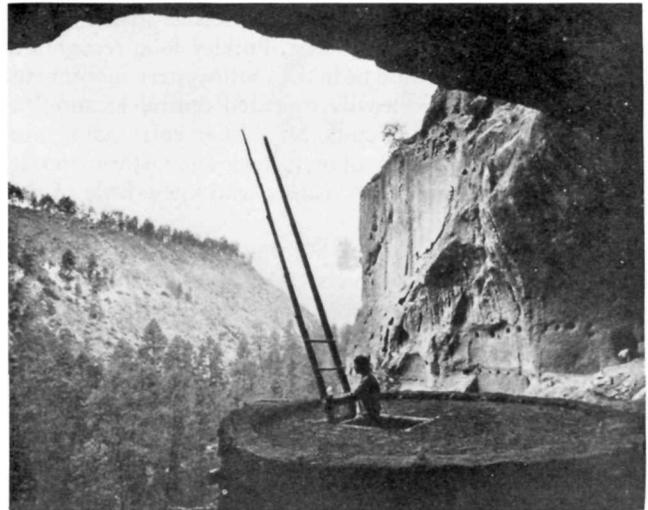
Nusbaum found a sympathetic audience in Albuquerque, where all who came to a public meeting “desired a National Park or Monument area and were not hesitant about saying so.” He decided that the people of Albuquerque recognized the economic value of the proposed park. He wrote a strident, nineteen-page confidential report to Mather, arguing that popular support kept the two Forest Service representatives from offering any substantive opposition to the proposal at this meeting.<sup>7</sup>

The hearing the following night in Santa Fe, chaired by Edgar Lee Hewett, began similarly. Hewett traced the history of the various prior efforts to create a park in the region, pointing out the deficiencies of each attempt. Congressman Temple stood up to explain the purpose of his committee and to make clear that he wanted to get a reading of local sentiment on the park question. As Temple sat, the Forest Service representatives took their cue, and the efforts to stymie the establishment of a national park in the central New Mexico region began in earnest.

In the months preceding the committee’s visit, A. J. Connell, a former Forest Service employee who ran a boys’ school in the Bandelier vicinity, apparently had “started a campaign of defamation of the Park Service and the National Park idea.” Nusbaum heard that Connell had also threatened to close his school if a national park was created and “in the course of his talk [at a local gathering] and in subsequent talks, made public personal statements which any person knowing anything of the Park Service would know as absolute falsehoods.” Among other mistruths, Connell convinced some area landholders that the Park Service would seize their land, that no one would be allowed to collect even dead firewood, that private cars would be banned from the park, and that visitors would be forced to pay “to ride in the shrieking yellow busses of the transportation monopolies.”<sup>8</sup>

Nusbaum felt that Connell had maliciously misstated the objectives of the park project and the policies of the National Park Service in an attempt to stop the creation of the national park. In fact, the Park Service had long allowed any reasonable compromise that furthered the procurement of land in a region for which a national park was proposed. Grazing had been allowed in the Yosemite in a unique multiple-use agreement and the precedent for allowing dead timber to be collected for private use was established at Mukuntuweap (later Zion) National Monument in 1914. But Connell had been able to muster strong and vocal resistance to the idea of a national park on the Pajarito Plateau by ignoring all these earlier policies.

Nusbaum found himself in a sticky situation, as he reported afterwards: “The Forest Service had all the objectors to the plan lined up for the meeting.” Hewett, at that point



One of the ceremonial caves at El Rito de los Frijoles, showing the spectacular setting of the caves. Photo taken by Charles F. Lummis to illustrate the 1918 edition of Bandelier’s novel, *The Delight Makers*.

#### Edgar Lee Hewett on the American Indian’s Relations with Nature

From *Indians of the Rio Grande Valley*, by Adolph F. Bandelier and Edgar L. Hewett [Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1937], part 1, “The Rio Grande Pueblos Today,” ch. 1, “On the American Indian in General”:

. . . we of the white race have been so long dominant that we have accustomed ourselves to look upon those who are less advanced in material agencies as “inferior,” forgetting that it takes several factors to constitute a fully developed, civilized people, and that in some respects those whom we have called primitive, or savage, or uncivilized, have been far in advance of ourselves ( pp. 11–12).

Perhaps in nothing else does the superiority of the Indian culture appear to such advantage as in its outlook on nature and life. The Indian conceived himself to be, not a master of creation, ordained to conquer and rule all other creatures, but rather a single factor in the whole scheme of life. . . . The Indian conceived of a great life principle permeating all things, in which he shared with beasts, birds, rocks, trees, flowers, waters, and skies, and everything else in nature. He observed the orderly procession of the seasons, of day and night, of light and darkness, of heat and cold, and ordered his own life in harmony therewith. This singularly fine outlook upon the world, the exact antithesis of the egocentric point of view of the Caucasian, accounts for all the major achievements of the Indian (p. 14).

7. Dr. Jesse L. Nusbaum, confidential report to Director Mather, 10 September, 1925, Proposed Cliff Cities National Park file 0-32, NA.

8. Nusbaum to Mather, 10 September 1925.

the major Santa Fe advocate of a national park in north-central New Mexico, felt compelled to remain neutral because of his role as meeting chairman. Caught unprepared, the park advocates were leaderless and comparatively unorganized. Barrington Moore, a former Forest Service employee and the editor of *Ecology Magazine*, the official publication of the Ecological Society, and Assistant Forester Leon F. Kneipp mercilessly pounded Nusbaum with “leading questions,” while Ringland, who originally worked to have the Bandelier set aside as a monument in 1915, was “apparently . . . bored to death [by talk of the region], and every remark he made belittled the area as a national park.”<sup>9</sup>

The entire meeting proved uncomfortable for Nusbaum and the park constituency. Even with the support of New Mexico Congressman John Morrow and Pennsylvania Congressman Temple, Nusbaum felt the evening a failure. He had been ambushed because of his own unpreparedness, and as a result, he felt the Cliff Cities National Park question was weighed publicly on the basis of innuendo and propaganda, not on the merits of devoting a national park to this important piece of the American archaeological past.

The Forest Service opposed creation of the national park not on the grounds that the foresters should administer the ruins, but for the sake of commercial resource use on the Pajarito Plateau. As long as the Park Service insisted that effective preservation of archaeological ruins required that area residents be denied the commercial use of large tracts of forestland, the Forest Service intended to oppose the project. Its constituency was comprised of local residents, not tourists from afar, and its position dictated that the economic value of forestland was at least equal to the cultural value of archaeological sites. From the local perspective, it contended, the timber resources were far more important than the strict preservation of large areas of the plateau with comparatively little scenic significance. If the archaeological ruins could be administered in conjunction with the commercial resource use of the forestland, then perhaps a compromise could be worked out. However, a large national park restricting the use of the Santa Fe National Forest’s timber and pasture resources was out of the question.<sup>10</sup>

Although it was a despondent Nusbaum who continued with the committee to visit the ruins the following day, the damage to his cause, excepting public embarrassment, was minimal. Temple and Morrow remained strong proponents of the national park, although Morrow was surprised at the Forest Service’s resistance.<sup>11</sup> Despite the public battering Nusbaum took, it appeared that there was going to be a national park in central New Mexico. The Forest Service

representatives knew that Temple’s support of the proposal put them at a disadvantage. Opponents of the park could only win their case by convincing Temple, as chairman of the relevant congressional subcommittee, that a large national park was not a good idea.

The group ended up at the cottage where Congressman Temple was lodged. Kneipp claimed that the Forest Service could do everything the Park Service could and more, for less money. He questioned the need to sacrifice large areas of forestland to allow a national park big enough to fit the arbitrary standards that Mather and Albright had established earlier in other cases. Nusbaum then reiterated the Park Service position, that the large area was necessary to protect the ruins and the unique physical features of the region. The time to deal with the question head-on arrived. “Maps were laid down” and the process of orchestrating an acceptable agreement began.<sup>12</sup>

The two services had very different ideas of what constituted an acceptable size for the proposed national park. The Park Service envisioned a large area, including the existing monument, the Otowi ruins, the Puye ruins on the Santa Clara Indian reservation, and the Baca Crater. “The boundaries I laid,” Nusbaum wrote Mather, “made the Forestry people gasp.”<sup>13</sup>

Decades later, Ringland did not recall this heated session, but he remembered well his first inspection of the Bandelier area in 1915. He and Will Barnes, chief of grazing, saw an “extraordinary exhibition of ruins and cliff dwellings of the prehistoric pueblo era.” Their primary mission in 1915 had been to determine Forest Service policies for administering these archaeological treasures. They discussed whether national park status was merited, and Ringland felt that it was not. As a result of this trip, however, Barnes had made the original suggestion to name the site for Bandelier.<sup>14</sup>

The Forest Service’s counteroffer to the Park Service in 1925 was still influenced by the 1915 Barnes-Ringland expedition. It included only the existing monument, the Otowi ruins, and a corridor connecting the two. Nusbaum immediately rejected this proposal because it did not fit the Park Service’s image of the size and stature of a national park. The Forest Service made a second counteroffer, which included “the area east of the Los Alamos school, on a north and south line running about one quarter mile west of the Otowi, Tsankawi and Pu-Ye [Puye] ruins” and portions of the national forest between the Santa Clara Indian Reservation and the Ramon Vigil Grant, which bordered the existing monument.<sup>15</sup> This compromise offered the Park Service substantially more land, including most of the important ruins, but Nusbaum turned this back in hopes of being able to get everything the agency wanted at a later date.

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9. Ibid.; also see Arthur C. Ringland, *Conserving Human and Natural Resources*, oral interview by Amelia R. Fry et al. (Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, 1970), pp. 95–98.

10. Nusbaum to Mather, 10 September 1925; Ringland, *Conserving Resources*, pp. 95–98.

11. Jesse L. Nusbaum to John Morrow, 12 September 1925, Proposed Cliff Cities National Park file 0-32, NA.

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12. Nusbaum to Mather, 10 September 1925.

13. Ibid.

14. Ringland, *Conserving Resources*, pp. 95–98.

15. Nusbaum to Morrow, 12 September 1925.

The bargaining continued until well after midnight, spurred by Temple's declaration that a national park was necessary to "preserve a tremendous outdoor Museum." Nusbaum, a lower-ranking official than his Forest Service counterpart, suggested that they table any permanent agreement until a meeting in Washington when Director Mather could attend. But the Forest Service representatives, feeling that their advantage lay in the field, pressed hard for a settlement. Nusbaum refused, and Temple, tired after a long day and a longer evening, suggested that the delay might be a good idea, so that "others could be heard from."<sup>16</sup>

### Pinkley as Arbitrator

Despite the often extravagant claims of both sides in this debate, the argument was really over the comparative values of different kinds of resources. A certain economic value could be placed on the land in the disputed part of the Santa Fe National Forest; a much less tangible value could be attributed to a national park filled with archaeological ruins. Each agency felt its use and constituency should take priority and neither was above mudslinging to attain its goals.

But the pendulum was slowly swinging in the Park Service's favor. Congressman Morrow was already a long-time supporter of the various Pajarito Plateau proposals and state government officials were also showing interest. The New Mexico governor's office asked Edgar Lee Hewett to provide a comprehensive report on the situation.<sup>17</sup> Hewett, presenting a preliminary report to Temple's committee on 8 December 1925, indicated that he still supported Nusbaum's conception of a park, which had "made the Forestry people gasp." His report to the governor reaffirmed this stance, strongly emphasizing the need for more than just the archaeological ruins to make the area a national park of the first order. Hewett, an old ally of the Park Service, was echoing that organization's mainstream perspective, which at the time seemed likely to prevail.

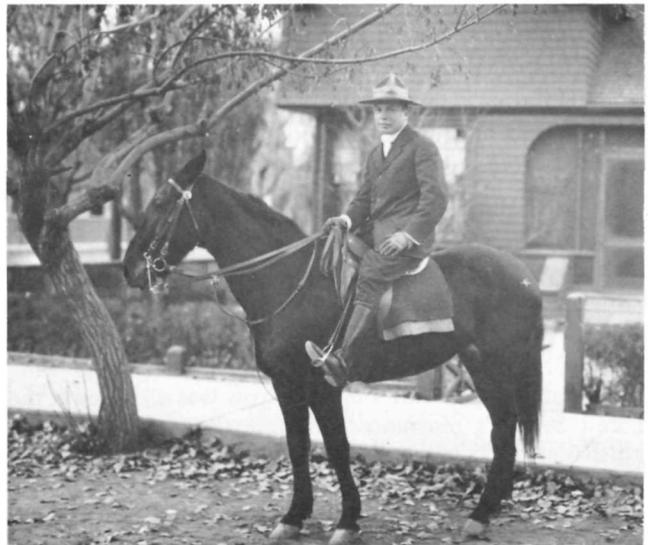
Under the auspices of the Coordinating Commission, conciliation became the order of the day. But even with representatives of the Park and Forest services trying to work out an acceptable solution, there was little progress made throughout 1926. Neither agency would offer concessions suitable for compromise. But the commission's funding for inspection tours was due to expire 1 July 1927. Early in that year, Ringland, who served as the commission's secretary, became impatient with the lack of progress. He informed Hewett that the National Park Service was going to send a "Park Officer . . . to determine the feasibility of a National Park in the [Bandelier] region."<sup>18</sup> Ringland suggested that

### A Forest Service Point of View on the National Monuments in 1918

From *Recreation Uses on the National Forests*, by Frank A. Waugh [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service, GPO, 1918]:

In our scheme of legislation and administration the National Monuments are frankly a makeshift. The man in the road finds the idea a puzzle. Let it be explained therefore that each National Monument is created presumably for the preservation of some natural wonder or some historic or prehistoric relic. The land including the objects to be preserved is withdrawn from the usual status of public lands. . . . This withdrawal is made by presidential proclamation, and herein lies an important difference between a National Monument and a National Park, which can be created only by act of Congress.

Here is another inconsistency which troubles the average man, in that some of the National Monuments are administered by the Department of the Interior while others are under the management of the Department of Agriculture, and two are under the authority of the War Department. The practical explanation of this discrepancy is to be found in the fact that some of the Monuments were erected out of lands already under administration of the Department of Agriculture as National Forests, and the proclamations which altered the status of the lands did not disturb the existing administration of those lands (pp. 13-17).



Arthur Ringland, shown here in Albuquerque, New Mexico in 1912, made a 1915 inspection tour of the Pajarito Plateau with Will Barnes for the Forest Service. The expedition's findings influenced later proposals for a national park in the area. FHS photo collection

16. Nusbaum to Mather, 10 September 1925.

17. Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the Coordinating Commission on National Parks and Forests, 8 December 1925, Proposed Cliff Cities National Park file 0-32, NA.

18. Arthur Ringland to Edgar L. Hewett at San Diego, 25 March 1927, Bandelier National Monument file 12-5, NA.

Hewett offer any further information directly to the Park Service.

Frank Pinkley was the only man with the degree of knowledge and the level of responsibility this job demanded; he also had impeccable Park Service credentials. His devotion and loyalty were unquestioned, for he had been an integral part of the agency's most difficult decade. On 4 April 1927, he wired his acceptance to the Park Service's associate director Arno B. Cammerer. After receiving the files concerning the monument and the range of park proposals, Pinkley embarked on an inspection tour that included most of the leading southwestern national monuments as well as the Pajarito Plateau.

Although Pinkley's autonomy and outspokenness had occasionally made the agency uneasy, the Park Service's central administration had great confidence in the superintendent. They expected that, as a good Park Service man, Pinkley would echo the departmental line on the proposed park; that he would visit the region and report that a large park, containing more than archaeological ruins, was essential. Anything less than a park including everything of interest on the Pajarito Plateau, from Puye to Otowi to the Baca Crater, was unacceptable. The park concept as promulgated by Director Mather and his assistant Albright meant that a national park on the Pajarito must be both archaeologically significant and scenically spectacular. This put the Park Service in the position of not being able to compromise about land if it wanted to achieve park status. If it did, it might be left with a national park parallel to Platt or Wind Cave, noticeably inferior to the likes of the Grand Canyon, Yellowstone, and Yosemite. From the central administration's perspective, the Pajarito was an all-or-nothing proposition.

Horace Albright had not counted on Pinkley's commitment to the concept of a distinct category of national monuments as defined by the Antiquities Act. "Boiled down," Pinkley wrote after his trip, "my report on the proposed Cliff Cities National Park is that the scenery is not of park status and ruins do not make a national park, not in any number, kind or quantity; they make a monument." The superintendent reiterated his long-standing contention that the ruins were inferior to those at the Chaco Canyon and the Mesa Verde and thought that perhaps Bandelier was of more interest to scientists than the general public. "It would be," he continued, "a distinct anti-climax for the average visitor to come from the Mesa Verde to the proposed Cliff Cities National Park," and there was little in the way of exceptional scenery in the proposed area. Most of it could "be duplicated several times over throughout the southwest." Since the principal ruins (at El Rito de Los Frijoles) were already protected as a national monument, Pinkley thought it best that the Park Service simply take over administration of the existing monument. But, he asserted, "I would rather see them left as a monument under [the Forest] Service than be transferred to ours as a Park."<sup>19</sup>

Pinkley had discussed the issue with Santa Fe area supporters of the park and found that they thought of the "proposed park in monument terms for when I suggested that we make a monument out of Puye and Frijoles [Canyon] and let them make a park out of the fine scenery which . . . was back on the Jemez Mountains to the west and south, they immediately said that such an idea would weaken the park proposition." When Pinkley suggested that the ruins were national monument material, the park supporters pointed to Mesa Verde as evidence to the contrary. "I could only reply that national monuments are clearly defined by the [Antiquities] Act . . . while parks are not clearly defined, so if Congress in its wisdom wanted to make a national park out of a duck pond that could be done but it would be no argument for making a national park out of every duck pond in the country."<sup>20</sup>

As far as Pinkley was concerned, the scenery and the ruins on the Pajarito were second-class, national monuments and national parks were two separate concepts, and the Bandelier conversion attempt represented an effort to minimize the legal and conceptual differences between the two. He believed that, in its attempt to establish the Cliff Cities National Park, the Park Service was violating the high standards it previously had set. The scenery was not exceptional and the ruins made the site a national monument by law. Pinkley could not condone the park effort. He felt as threatened by the acquisition attempt as did the Forest Service. The park idea was inflexible; it left no room for compromise; in Pinkley's opinion, the area simply did not live up to established standards.

Pinkley's report came as something of a surprise to the strong propark element in the National Park Service. As the leading proponent of the Cliff Cities National Park within the agency, Horace Albright thought the superintendent took too narrow a view of the question, seeing it from an archaeologist's perspective instead of from the "broader standpoint of a national park executive." In a blatantly partisan move, Albright suggested Nusbaum, of whose support he was assured, as a more qualified judge of the situation. He hoped to replace Pinkley's judgement with that of someone he could count on.<sup>21</sup> But Nusbaum, exhausted by the earlier fray, was too busy at Mesa Verde to take on added responsibilities.

The rift in the ranks posed a problem for the advocates of the Cliff Cities National Park on the Pajarito Plateau. They could not go on promoting the proposal as if they had the unanimous support of the agency. They could not even approach the Coordinating Commission, for they lacked the unified front that would be necessary to convince the still-

19. Frank Pinkley to A. E. Demaray, "Report on the Bandelier National Monument," 23 May 1927, Bandelier National Monument file 12-5, NA.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Horace M. Albright to Stephen T. Mather, 8 June 1927, Bandelier National Monument file 12-5, NA.

intransigent Forest Service people that this was not just another acquisitive move by the Park Service. As a result, the Park Service simply stalled through the rest of 1927, keeping Pinkley's report out of the public eye. Even friends of the service were kept in the dark. On 17 January 1928, Hewett wrote the Park Service to find out if the project was still under consideration. Over half a year after Pinkley's report, the Park Service's most important friend in the region did not even know the visit had been made.<sup>22</sup> Director Mather responded to Hewett's inquiry by complaining that "the lack of a definite proposal" hurt the project immeasurably and if Hewett had a clearly defined proposal, "we would be glad to present this for some definite action."<sup>23</sup>

The question hung in the limbo imposed by the Park Service until 10 February 1931 when Dr. Clark Wissler, of the American Museum of Natural History and the Committee on the Study of Educational Problems in the National Parks, filed a report suggesting that the Park Service should "emphasize the archaeological function of the proposed park . . . [which] relieves us of the necessity to combat the argument that the area lacks distinctive natural scenery. . . . The park can scarcely be defended on scenic grounds." Associate Director Cammerer expressed both disappointment and optimism in a memo he attached to Wissler's letter two days later. "On the basis of this letter, if it stood alone," he wrote, "there would be no justification for more than national monument status for this area. From what I have heard, however, a good point could be made on scenic values. . . . I should like to inspect some time with just that point in view."<sup>24</sup> The Park Service was not yet ready to give up the project.

Roger Toll, superintendent of Rocky Mountain National Park, was also the primary inspector of proposed sites in the West. He concurred with Wissler's judgement later the same year. Toll suggested that the existing monument would "make a splendid addition to the archaeological national monuments . . . even if no other area were included." The Forest Service, he continued, was "agreeable to turning over . . . the administration of the prehistoric ruins, [but] they did not wish to lose any more area from the Santa Fe National Forest than was necessary for the protection of the ruins."<sup>25</sup> Transfer of the monument offered an acceptable compromise to both sides, and Toll recommended accepting the Forest Service's offer.

If it could not get a national park, at least the Park Service could get what Pinkley desired—administrative control of

### A Park Service Point of View on the Bandelier National Monument—1920

From *The Book of the National Parks*, by Robert Sterling Yard [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920]:

. . . the Indian civilization of our southwest began very many centuries before the arrival of the Spaniard, who found, besides the innumerable pueblos which were crowded with busy occupants, hundreds of pueblos which had been deserted by their builders, some of them for centuries, and which lay even then in ruins.

The desertion of so many pueblos with abundant pottery and other evidences of active living is one of the mysteries of this prehistoric civilization. No doubt, with the failure of water-supplies and other changing physical conditions, occasionally communities sought better living in other localities, but it is certain that many of these desertions resulted from the raids of the wandering predatory tribes of the plains, the Querechos of Bandelier's records, but usually mentioned by him and others by the modern name of Apaches. These fierce bands continually sought to possess themselves of the stores of food and clothing to be found in the prosperous pueblos. The utmost cruelties of the Spanish invaders who, after all, were ruthless only in pursuit of gold, and, when this was lacking, tolerant and even kindly in their treatment of the natives, were nothing compared to the atrocities of these Apache Indians, who gloried in conquest (pp. 378–79).

. . . the Bandelier National Monument . . . lies within a large irregular area which has been suggested for a national park because of the many interesting remains which it encloses. The Cliff Cities National Park, when it finally comes into existence, will include among its exhibits a considerable group of prehistoric shrines of great value and unusual popular interest (pp. 379–81).

the archaeological ruins on the Pajarito Plateau. Negotiations with the Forest Service for transfer were expedited by a rapid increase in tourist travel to the monument following the completion of a new approach road to the monument boundaries. The Forest Service realized that it was not really prepared for the onslaught of tourists that the new highway would bring, and its policy regarding the monument changed. Forest Service chief R. Y. Stuart wrote Albright that he was prepared to transfer the existing monument and 4,700 additional acres from which "[all woodland] cutting of green timber has been completed," as long as the access roads through the additional acreage were to remain open for the use of local residents. The additional tract no longer fit into the Forest Service's commercial resource plans and it was willing to cede it to the Park Service, removing the pressure to make large sections of the Santa Fe National

22. Edgar L. Hewett to Arno B. Cammerer, 17 January 1928, Bandelier National Monument file 12-5, NA.

23. Stephen T. Mather to Edgar L. Hewett, 24 January 1928, Bandelier National Monument file 12-5, NA.

24. Clark Wissler to Horace Albright, 10 February 1931, Bandelier National Monument file 12-5, NA; Cammerer memo for the files, 12 February 1931, Bandelier National Monument file 12-5, NA.

25. Roger W. Toll to Horace Albright, 3 December 1931, Bandelier National Monument file 12-5, NA.



A cliff *estufa*, or ceremonial chamber, of the Snake Clan at El Rito de los Frijoles. Photo taken by Charles F. Lummis to illustrate the 1918 edition of Bandelier's novel, *The Delight Makers*.

Forest into a national park. On 25 February 1932, the Park Service assumed administrative responsibility for the new Bandelier National Monument, which included 3,626.2 of the offered 4,700 acres.<sup>26</sup>

Despite his long-standing disdain for Forest Service monument policy, Pinkley and the Forest Service had briefly become inadvertent allies in an effort to prevent the creation of a national park on the Pajarito Plateau. The creation of a national park in north-central New Mexico was anathema to both, but for very different reasons. The Forest Service did not see the need to reserve large areas of forestland to make a national park out of archaeological ruins, while Pinkley was not prepared to let the Park Service take a valuable archaeological site from his monument category to add another gem to the string it had acquired largely at monument expense in the 1920s. He felt that the Park Service was better off with a first-class national monument than with a second-class national park. Although Pinkley and the Forest Service would not have agreed on

which of their positions took precedence, both agreed on one crucial point. The Pajarito Plateau as a whole ought not to be reserved as a spectacular scenic area. Other more important values outweighed the questionable scenic impact of the region.

To the Park Service's central administration, the issue had become a paradox. The man it had considered most loyal to the Park Service cause initiated the campaign that in the long run led many of them to new conclusions about the status of Bandelier and other similar sites. Their project had failed in large part due to internal resistance. After a time, it appeared that the failure to create a national park on the Pajarito saved the National Park Service from the potential embarrassment of having elevated an inferior site to its most prestigious designation.

It was also a major victory for Pinkley. He had drawn and held the line on the integrity of the national monuments. As the result of the Bandelier case, the superintendent finally made his definition of what constituted a national monument stick. Archaeological sites, at least, were and would remain national monuments. Pinkley had held out for distinguishing national parks from national monuments as two separate kinds of entities. No longer would he have to worry that the best of his archaeological sites would become national parks. Although his budget problems would continue, Pinkley's national monuments were safe from assaults from within the Park Service.

No matter how they were packaged, the scenic qualities of the Bandelier paled in comparison with Zion, Yosemite, Yellowstone, the Grand Canyon, and even such later national parks as Canyonlands. Pinkley's unlikely alliance with the Forest Service perspective shows that commercial resource use and archaeological preservation, at least, were not necessarily mutually exclusive, particularly when contrasted to the threat scenic preservation presented to both. This was an important step in bridging a very wide gap. The Antiquities Act, the cause of much of the Forest Service-Park Service strife, also provided a middle ground from which to work toward compromise.

Ironically perhaps, Pinkley's successful defense of Bandelier as a monument rather than a park eventually undermined his own position within the Park Service. From the perspective of some Park Service officials interested especially in the monuments, the more than a quarter of a million people who visited the southwestern monument group annually made those sites too important to be left to the whims of a cantankerous, aging iconoclast like Pinkley. Throughout the 1930s, Pinkley and the Park Service central administration were at odds over a variety of issues. A self-trained generalist, Pinkley soon came to view the Park Service as dominated by armchair specialists. Although he remained as superintendent of the southwestern monuments until his death in 1940, his power to influence Park Service policy was greatly diminished after the Bandelier controversy. ▲

26. H. C. Bryant memo for the files, 26 February 1931, Bandelier National Monument file 12-5, NA; United States Forester Major R. Y. Stuart to Horace Albright, 10 November 1931, Bandelier National Monument file 12-5, NA; Executive Proclamation 1991, 25 February 1932, United States Statutes at Large, L. 47, Stat. 2503.