

# *Becoming “America’s Pompeii”*

A Historic Resource Study of Casa Grande Ruins  
National Monument, 1539-1918



~Linnéa K. E. Caproni~



# BECOMING “AMERICA’S POMPEII”

---

A Historic Resource Study of Casa Grande Ruins National  
Monument, 1539-1918

Researched and written by Linnéa K. E. Caproni, PhD Candidate  
Public History Program  
School of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, Arizona State University  
Colorado Plateau Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit  
J8610100003/ASU-59

~  
May 2013

Cover illustration: Author's Corel Paint Shop rendering of "Casa Grandes, near the Gila River—Arizona," a painting by Henry Cheever Pratt (or John Russell Bartlett), July 12, 1852. Original digital image courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, <http://jcb.lunaimaging.com/>.

## ABSTRACT

This Historic Resource Study of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument covers the site's history after the ancient Sonoran Desert people of Arizona abandoned it in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The study begins with European legends and documentation of the ancient ruins in 1539 and ends with the site's designation as a National Park Service site in 1918.

The study includes an introduction, five chapters, and an epilogue. The first chapter (1539-1853) explores initial European and American documentation of the Casa Grande Ruins. This was a period of introduction, in which the ancient ruins of Casa Grande and the northern Sonoran Desert region—called the Pimería Alta by the Spanish, then later, Arizona—became known to the non-indigenous world through travel accounts, drawings, and maps. The chapter focuses on the earliest documented encounters with the Ruins during the Spanish and Mexican periods of the region, as well as the first American encounters with the Ruins. The documentation accompanying these encounters includes the first recorded traditions about the Ruins as gathered from the indigenous Akimel O'odham (Pima) people. The remaining chapters span Casa Grande's development as an American monument. The second chapter of the study begins with Arizona's transfer from Mexico to the United States as part of the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, and ends with the 1879 arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad main line at a point about twenty miles from the Casa Grande Ruins. In this period, journalists, soldiers, and photographers promoted awareness of the Ruins in their published works and reports.

The third chapter (1876-1889) focuses on the development of American archaeology and Casa Grande's role in that process. It is a crucial period for the site, as members of the first major archaeological expedition of Arizona surveyed, excavated, and helped secure federal protection and preservation of the site. Additionally, newcomers to Arizona began settling near the ruins and the landscape began to modernize. The fourth chapter (1889-1901) addresses Casa Grande's first decade as a federally protected archaeological reserve. It covers the site's initial government-directed preservation and the tenures of the Ruins' first two custodians. This chapter also introduces the local American communities' growing attachment to the famous landmark, and Arizona Territory's ill-fated plans to include the Casa Grande Ruins in its exhibitions at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. The final chapter covers a short but intense period, 1901–1908, of change at the Casa Grande ruins. During this period, Arizona not only entered the modern era but the Casa Grande reservation welcomed its first resident custodian: twenty-year-old Frank Pinkley, a Missouri native who lived onsite until his death in 1940. During his early tenure, Pinkley oversaw the first roof shelter constructed over the Casa Grande and the first extensive government excavations of the site in 1906-08. The success and popularity of these excavations led to the site's promotion as the “America's Pompeii.”

This Historic Resource Study concludes with a brief epilogue covering the years 1908-1918, Casa Grande's final decade before its creation as a National Park Service-administered National Monument in 1918. In this period, through the promotional efforts of Frank Pinkley and Arizona's growing communities, the Ruins continued to grow in popularity among American tourists and locals, who increasingly viewed the site as a beloved community landmark.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                                     |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| TABLE OF FIGURES.....                                               | vi |
| INTRODUCTION .....                                                  | 1  |
| The Casa Grande Ruins.....                                          | 2  |
| Organization of Chapters .....                                      | 7  |
| Recommendations for Further Research .....                          | 9  |
| Acknowledgements .....                                              | 10 |
| CHAPTER I: ENCOUNTERING THE GREAT HOUSE, 1539–1853 .....            | 11 |
| Legendary Encounters, 1539–40.....                                  | 11 |
| Accounts from New Spain, 1694–1821 .....                            | 15 |
| The Jesuits, 1694-1757.....                                         | 15 |
| The Franciscans, 1775-1796.....                                     | 22 |
| Americans at Casa Grande, 1824–1853 .....                           | 27 |
| “Mountain Men,” 1825-1832.....                                      | 29 |
| Soldiers in the Mexican-American War, 1846-48 .....                 | 31 |
| ‘49ers, Boundary Surveyors, and Other Adventurers, 1849-1854.....   | 39 |
| CHAPTER II: PUBLICIZING CASA GRANDE, 1854–1879 .....                | 47 |
| American Journalists at Casa Grande, 1864–1871.....                 | 47 |
| J. Ross Browne, 1864.....                                           | 47 |
| Samuel Woodworth Cozzens, 1859 (The Marvellous Country, 1874) ..... | 54 |
| U. S. Military, 1866-1871 .....                                     | 55 |
| Settling among Ruins, 1866–1871 .....                               | 58 |
| Early Surveys, Settlers, and John D. Walker.....                    | 59 |
| New American Towns: Adamsville and Florence .....                   | 63 |
| The Casa Grande Ruin in Photographs and Guidebooks, 1871–1878 ..... | 66 |
| First Photographs: Carlo Gentile, 1871 .....                        | 67 |
| Casa Grande in the Handbooks, 1877-1878.....                        | 69 |
| Casa Grande’s Changing Landscape.....                               | 75 |
| CHAPTER III: COLLECTING AMERICAN ANTIQUITY, 1876–1889 .....         | 79 |
| Archaeologists at Casa Grande, 1876–1886 .....                      | 80 |
| Alphonse Louis Pinart – French Savant: 1876.....                    | 81 |
| Henry G. Hanks – California Geologist: 1879.....                    | 85 |
| Herman F. C. ten Kate – Dutch Anthropologist: 1883 .....            | 90 |
| Adolph Bandelier – Swiss Anthropologist: 1883.....                  | 94 |

|                                                             |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Hemenway Archaeological Expedition at Casa Grande .....     | 97  |
| New Year Reconnaissance at Casa Grande .....                | 100 |
| “Archaeological Camping,” late January 1888 .....           | 102 |
| A Petition to Protect the Casa Grande Ruin .....            | 105 |
| America’s First Prehistoric Reserve .....                   | 108 |
| CHAPTER IV: PRESERVING A NATIONAL TREASURE, 1889–1901 ..... | 110 |
| The Repair of Casa Grande, 1889–1892 .....                  | 112 |
| Mindeleff Brothers .....                                    | 112 |
| Judge Walker’s Preservation Plan .....                      | 116 |
| Stouffer & White Repairs, 1891 .....                        | 116 |
| Professional Archaeologists at Casa Grande, 1891–92 .....   | 120 |
| Jesse Walter Fewkes, 1891 .....                             | 122 |
| Cosmos Mindeleff Maps Casa Grande .....                     | 127 |
| Monument to Arizona Agriculture .....                       | 133 |
| An Agricultural “Eden” .....                                | 133 |
| Casa Grande Goes to the Fair .....                          | 135 |
| A National Treasure .....                                   | 142 |
| CHAPTER V: CURATING A “DARNED GOOD RUIN,” 1900–1908 .....   | 145 |
| Frank Pinkley, Casa Grande’s First Resident Custodian ..... | 146 |
| Modest Beginnings .....                                     | 146 |
| Arizona: Tuberculosis Remedy .....                          | 148 |
| The Ruins’ New Resident .....                               | 150 |
| The Casa Grande Landscape at the Turn of the Century .....  | 151 |
| The Florence Canal and the Kenilworth Ranch .....           | 153 |
| Homesteaders in 1900 .....                                  | 158 |
| A Bonnet for Casa Grande .....                              | 160 |
| Shelter Construction, 1903 .....                            | 161 |
| Criticism: J. William Lloyd and the “Absurd Roof” .....     | 164 |
| Tourism, Vandalism, and the 1906 Antiquities Act .....      | 167 |
| Narrating an Alluring Ruin .....                            | 167 |
| Casa Grande in Southern Pacific Literature, 1895-1899 ..... | 170 |
| Rise of the Curio Trade .....                               | 174 |
| Development of the Antiquities Act .....                    | 177 |
| Pinkley’s Domain .....                                      | 181 |
| Home on the Sands .....                                     | 183 |

|                                                                         |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Love among the Ruins.....                                               | 187 |
| A Buried City: Fewkes Excavations, 1906–08.....                         | 192 |
| Season One, 1906-07 .....                                               | 194 |
| Season Two: 1907-08.....                                                | 204 |
| Conclusion: Unveiling America’s Pompeii .....                           | 215 |
| EPILOGUE, 1908-1918.....                                                | 219 |
| APPENDIX A: LIST OF NAMES ETCHED ON THE CASA GRANDE.....                | 236 |
| APPENDIX B: FRANK PINKLEY FAMILY TREES AND PHOTOS.....                  | 239 |
| APPENDIX C: WORDS AND MUSIC TO THE SONG “DEAR OLD CASA<br>GRANDE” ..... | 242 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY .....                                                      | 245 |
| Primary Sources .....                                                   | 245 |
| Secondary Sources.....                                                  | 254 |

## TABLE OF FIGURES

|                                                                                                                                |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Figure 1. The Casa Grande Ruin waterslide at Wild Horse Pass Resort .....                                                      | 2  |
| Figure 2. The Casa Grande Ruin and the southwestern ruins of Compound A as they look<br>today .....                            | 3  |
| Figure 3. Casa Grande Ruin in Compound A as it may have appeared ca1350-1450 .....                                             | 6  |
| Figure 4. Juan Mateo Manje's 1697 sketch of the Casa Grande ruin elevation and ground<br>plan .....                            | 17 |
| Figure 5. Detail of Padre Eusebio Kino's 1701 map of California, indicating the Casa Grande<br>ruin along the Rio "Hila. ....  | 19 |
| Figure 6. Pedro Font's 1775 ground plan of the Casa Grande compound [Compound A] ...                                           | 25 |
| Figure 7. John Mix Stanley's lithograph of the Casa Grande ruin, Nov. 10, 1846, 3 o'clock in<br>the afternoon .....            | 32 |
| Figure 8. Elevation and ground plan drawing of the Casa Grande Ruin by John Mix Stanley,<br>1846 .....                         | 33 |
| Figure 9. Elevation and ground plan of the Casa Grande Ruin according to A. R. Johnston<br>of the Kearny Expedition, 1846..... | 34 |
| Figure 10. A. R. Johnston's hieroglyph, 1846 .....                                                                             | 35 |
| Figure 11. A. R. Johnston's sketches of the Casa Grande "well" and Compound B pyramid,<br>1846 .....                           | 35 |
| Figure 12. Coco-Maricopa interpreter to Pima Chief Llunas, as sketched in 1846.....                                            | 36 |
| Figure 13. Portrait of Ephraim G. Squier.....                                                                                  | 39 |
| Figure 14. E. G. Squier's rendering of the Casa Grande, 1848 .....                                                             | 41 |
| Figure 15. "The Casa Grande of the Gila," a woodcut by Brantz Mayer, 1853 .....                                                | 41 |
| Figure 16. Portrait of John Russell Bartlett, ca1850s .....                                                                    | 42 |
| Figure 17. Bartlett's woodcut illustration, "Ruins of Casas Grandes, River Gila," 1852 .....                                   | 44 |
| Figure 18. "Casa Grandes, near the Gila River--Arizona," a painting by Henry Cheever Pratt,<br>July 12, 1852.....              | 44 |
| Figure 19. J. R. Bartlett's elevation and ground plans of the Casa Grande and southwestern<br>ruin .....                       | 45 |
| Figure 20. J. Ross Browne's 1864 drawing of Ammi White's Mill at Casa Blanca Station,<br>showing Fort Barrett .....            | 50 |

|                                                                                                                                                                       |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 21. Portrait of Antonio Azul, head chief of the Pimas, with his son and grandson,<br>ca1870 .....                                                              | 51  |
| Figure 22. Browne's portrait of Charles D. Poston, 1864 .....                                                                                                         | 52  |
| Figure 23. J. Ross Browne's 1864 drawing of the Casa Grande.....                                                                                                      | 54  |
| Figure 24. Cozzens' 1859 rendering of the Casa Grande .....                                                                                                           | 56  |
| Figure 25. Detail of the 1869 Public Survey Map of Arizona Territory, showing part of<br>Township 5S-Range 8E .....                                                   | 60  |
| Figure 26. Detail of the 1869 Public Survey Map of Arizona Territory, showing the town of<br>Adamsville .....                                                         | 65  |
| Figure 27. Carlo Gentile's "Ancient Halls of the Montezumas," ca1871 .....                                                                                            | 68  |
| Figure 28. "Ancient Halls of the Montezumas," ca1871 .....                                                                                                            | 68  |
| Figure 29. Richard J. Hinton's lithograph of Gentile's 1871 photograph of the Casa Grande<br>.....                                                                    | 71  |
| Figure 30. Engraving of Florence, Arizona in early March 1877.....                                                                                                    | 72  |
| Figure 31. Photograph of the Casa Grande by Enoch Conklin, 1877.....                                                                                                  | 74  |
| Figure 32. Lithograph of the Casa Grande in 1877 by photographer Enoch Conklin.....                                                                                   | 74  |
| Figure 33. The Casa Grande Ruin, as approached along the Florence-Casa Grande stage road<br>from the northeast, photographed by Carleton E. Watkins spring 1880 ..... | 78  |
| Figure 34. Portrait of Alphonse L. Pinart, ca1880, Paris .....                                                                                                        | 81  |
| Figure 35. Portrait of Henry Garber Hanks, State Mineralogist of California, 1880-1886 .....                                                                          | 86  |
| Figure 36. Henry G. Hanks' ground plan of the Casa Grande and "porthole," ca1879 .....                                                                                | 87  |
| Figure 37. Portrait of Frank Cushing in Zuni costume, ca1881.....                                                                                                     | 89  |
| Figure 38. Portrait of Herman ten Kate, Jr., ca1881.....                                                                                                              | 90  |
| Figure 39. Portrait of Adolph Bandelier, ca1891/92 .....                                                                                                              | 94  |
| Figure 40. Bandelier's 1883 ground plan of the Casa Grande ruin and its enclosure.....                                                                                | 96  |
| Figure 41. Portrait of Mary Tileston Hemenway.....                                                                                                                    | 98  |
| Figure 42. Portrait of Sylvester Baxter, ca1898.....                                                                                                                  | 103 |
| Figure 43. Portrait of Senator George F. Hoar, friend of American antiquities preservation<br>.....                                                                   | 107 |
| Figure 44. Portrait of Isaac T. Whittemore, no date.....                                                                                                              | 111 |
| Figure 45. Portrait of Cosmos Mindeleff, no date. ....                                                                                                                | 113 |
| Figure 46. Victor Mindeleff, later in life .....                                                                                                                      | 114 |

|                                                                                                                                                           |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 47. Cosmos and Victor Mindeleff at work in the modeling room of the Bureau of Ethnology, ca1880s.....                                              | 115 |
| Figure 48. Map of Township 5 South-Range 8 East, Gila and Salt River Base and Meridian, showing location of Casa Grande Reserve in sections 9 and 16..... | 118 |
| Figure 49. South façade of the Casa Grande Ruin in 1891, showing new brick underpinning and tie-rods .....                                                | 119 |
| Figure 50. Southeast corner of the Casa Grande Ruin in 1891, showing repair work. Photographer H. H. Burrell.....                                         | 119 |
| Figure 51. Cosmos Mindeleff's plans for the Casa Grande shelter roof, 1891 .....                                                                          | 121 |
| Figure 52. Dr. Jesse Walter Fewkes, ca1891-92.....                                                                                                        | 122 |
| Figure 53. Fewkes' ground plan of the Casa Grande Ruin, April 1891 .....                                                                                  | 123 |
| Figure 54. Lithograph image of the north room (Room A) of the Casa Grande, looking east through the gap in the northeast corner, April 1891 .....         | 124 |
| Figure 55. West wall of chamber A, April 1891 .....                                                                                                       | 124 |
| Figure 56. South wall of the Casa Grande's west chamber (B), showing the debris-clogged passageway to the south room (E), April 1891.....                 | 125 |
| Figure 57. South wall of the east chamber (D), showing the broken shared with chamber E, April 1891.....                                                  | 126 |
| Figure 58. West wall of chamber C, showing the circular cutout on the remnant wall of the fourth story, April 1891.....                                   | 127 |
| Figure 59. Mindeleff's topographical map of the Casa Grande group of villages, 1891-92..                                                                  | 128 |
| Figure 60. General View of Casa Grande from the northeast, showing stagecoach ruts, 1890-91 .....                                                         | 129 |
| Figure 61. Casa Grande's western façade, depicted before the 1891 repairs, ca1890/91 .....                                                                | 129 |
| Figure 62. Mindeleff's ground plan of the Casa Grande ruin, December 1890. ....                                                                           | 130 |
| Figure 63. Elevation sketches of the Casa Grande's inner room walls, 1891 .....                                                                           | 130 |
| Figure 64. Western wall of Casa Grande's north room, showing the circular opening of fourteen inches in diameter, 1891.....                               | 131 |
| Figure 65. South room of the Casa Grande, 1891 .....                                                                                                      | 132 |
| Figure 66. Ruins of partial standing walls in the southwestern corner of the Casa Grande enclosure, 1891 .....                                            | 133 |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                               |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 67. Portrait of William O. “Bucky” O’Neill, President of the Arizona Board of<br>World’s Fair Managers in 1891-93.....                                                                                 | 137 |
| Figure 68. George H. Curry and Gorham’s 1891 “Arizona Spoon,” featuring the Casa<br>Grande Ruins.....                                                                                                         | 139 |
| Figure 69. Portrait of Frederick Putnam, Chief of the Chicago World’s Fair Division of<br>Ethnology .....                                                                                                     | 140 |
| Figure 70. Portrait of Frances Newbury Bagley, member of the Board of Lady Managers for<br>the Chicago World’s Fair .....                                                                                     | 140 |
| Figure 71. Illustration from Bancroft’s “Book of the Fair,” depicting the Bureau of<br>Ethnology’s model of Casa Grande as displayed in the U.S. Government Building at<br>the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair..... | 142 |
| Figure 72. Frank Pinkley’s McGuffey reader with inside inscription dated Sept. 24, 1886 ..                                                                                                                    | 147 |
| Figure 73. Frank Pinkley at age sixteen, May 27, 1897. ....                                                                                                                                                   | 148 |
| Figure 74. Frank Pinkley’s first tent house at the Casa Grande Ruins, ca1901-02.....                                                                                                                          | 152 |
| Figure 75. Ruins of Adamsville during Pinkley’s early residency in the area.....                                                                                                                              | 153 |
| Figure 76. Map showing the Florence Canal and extent of irrigation.....                                                                                                                                       | 154 |
| Figure 77. Portrait of Richard E. Sloan .....                                                                                                                                                                 | 155 |
| Figure 78. Portrait of Thomas P. Davis.....                                                                                                                                                                   | 155 |
| Figure 79. Painting of the Kenilworth Castle ruins, by Georg Saal Schloss, 1866.....                                                                                                                          | 156 |
| Figure 80. Portrait of W.Y. Price .....                                                                                                                                                                       | 158 |
| Figure 81. Pinkley’s ground plan of the Casa Grande Ruin, Feb. 1902.....                                                                                                                                      | 162 |
| Figure 82. The first Casa Grande Ruin shelter, in construction August/September 1903...                                                                                                                       | 163 |
| Figure 83. The Casa Grande with its new shelter, ca1903-06 .....                                                                                                                                              | 164 |
| Figure 84. Comalk Hawk-Kih, or “Thin Leather,” a Pima traditionalist, ca1903 .....                                                                                                                            | 166 |
| Figure 85. Images of the Casa Grande Ruin .....                                                                                                                                                               | 171 |
| Figure 86. Interior view of the Casa Grande from Sunset Magazine, November 1898.....                                                                                                                          | 173 |
| Figure 87. First Sunset Magazine image of the whole Casa Grande Ruin.....                                                                                                                                     | 173 |
| Figure 88. The Pinkleys’ “Four Mile Post” in Blackwater, Arizona, and business letterhead<br>.....                                                                                                            | 185 |
| Figure 89. Possibly the interior of the Pinkleys’ “Four Mile Trading Post. ....                                                                                                                               | 186 |
| Figure 90. Pinkley on horseback near the well at Casa Grande Ruins, after returning from the<br>town of Casa Grande, no date .....                                                                            | 187 |

|                                                                                                                                               |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 91. Pinkley's tent house with its alterations, including its roof and adobe fireplace additions, ca1906.....                           | 188 |
| Figure 92. Blackwater Day School on the Gila River Indian Reservation, ca1904-1910 .....                                                      | 188 |
| Figure 93. Edna Townsley, at her 1902 graduation from the University of South Dakota. She wore this dress again for her wedding .....         | 189 |
| Figure 94. Frank Pinkley and Edna Townsley with their wedding party and family on October 3, 1906.....                                        | 190 |
| Figure 95. Edna Townsley Pinkley, in front of the newlyweds' tent house at Casa Grande Ruins, ca1906.....                                     | 191 |
| Figure 96. The Pinkleys' original tent with second tent and ramada addition, ca1906-1907 .....                                                | 192 |
| Figure 97. The Pinkleys' complex of three tents, ca1908-1910.....                                                                             | 193 |
| Figure 98. Inside one of the Pinkleys' tent (probably the original), ca1908-1910 .....                                                        | 193 |
| Figure 99. Fewkes' birds-eye and general views of the Casa Grande Group of Ruins.....                                                         | 196 |
| Figure 100. (Top) Pima Indians assisting the 1906-07 excavations at Casa Grande, and Frank Pinkley and Fewkes on site during excavations..... | 197 |
| Figure 101. Fewkes' 1906-07 ground plan sketch and birds-eye view of Compound A.....                                                          | 200 |
| Figure 102. West wall of Font's room before excavation ca1906 and after excavation ca1907 .....                                               | 201 |
| Figure 103. Ruins in Southwest corner of Compound A, after excavation in 1906-07.....                                                         | 201 |
| Figure 104. Ceremonial chambers near the Casa Grande, after excavation in 1906-07 .....                                                       | 202 |
| Figure 105. Picnickers at the Casa Grande Ruins ca1906 before excavation of the ceremonial chambers in Compound A .....                       | 203 |
| Figure 106. The Pinkleys' Thanksgiving Dinner menu, 1907.....                                                                                 | 205 |
| Figure 107. Compound B terrace mound before excavations, ca1907 .....                                                                         | 206 |
| Figure 108. Fewkes' ground plan of Compound B, after excavation.....                                                                          | 207 |
| Figure 109. Northeast corner of Compound B, showing subterranean rooms with clay-pits .....                                                   | 207 |
| Figure 110. Compound B subterranean rooms .....                                                                                               | 208 |
| Figure 111. Sample of stone idols found in Compound B, west of Pyramid A, 1907-08.....                                                        | 209 |
| Figure 112. Maze symbol for the Pima game "House of Tcuhu" .....                                                                              | 209 |
| Figure 113. Fewkes' ground plan of Compound C.....                                                                                            | 210 |

|                                                                                                                                            |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 114. Fewkes' ground plan of Compound D .....                                                                                        | 211 |
| Figure 115. Handprints on wall of Compound D house, ca1907-08 .....                                                                        | 211 |
| Figure 116. Compound walls as they appeared before the Fewkes' excavations. ....                                                           | 212 |
| Figure 117. Birds-eye views of Clan-House 1, from the northeast.....                                                                       | 213 |
| Figure 118. Clan-House 1 ruins from Pinkley Family Album .....                                                                             | 213 |
| Figure 119. "Throne" in room M of Clan-House 1, 1907-08 .....                                                                              | 214 |
| Figure 120. Fewkes' ground plan of Clan-House 1 .....                                                                                      | 215 |
| Figure 121. Photograph of the southwest ruin in Compound A by Edward S. Curtis, 1907<br>.....                                              | 216 |
| Figure 122. Edward S. Curtis' photograph of a corner of the Casa Grande Ruin, 1907.....                                                    | 217 |
| Figure 123. Model of Compound A in modeling room at the Smithsonian Institution,<br>ca1908-09 .....                                        | 220 |
| Figure 124. The Pinkleys' 1910 two-bedroom house plus tents .....                                                                          | 224 |
| Figure 125. The Pinkleys' basket collection, ca1912.....                                                                                   | 225 |
| Figure 126 Interior of Pinkleys' house, pre-1923.....                                                                                      | 225 |
| Figure 127. Pinkley and Townsley family portraits on Thanksgiving Day, 1912 .....                                                          | 226 |
| Figure 128. Samuel Townsley and Casa Grande Valley schoolchildren at the "School on the<br>Gila Desert" near Casa Grande Ruins, 1913 ..... | 227 |
| Figure 129. Compound A from the southwest, showing the Pinkleys' house ca1915 .....                                                        | 228 |
| Figure 130. Compound A from the north, showing the Pinkleys' house toward the south.                                                       | 228 |
| Figure 131. Portrait of Frank Pinkley ca1914-1915. ....                                                                                    | 230 |
| Figure 132. The Pinkley family outside their home at Casa Grande Ruins, in the new Ford,<br>ca1918 .....                                   | 234 |
| Figure 133. Photos of Frank Pinkley's children as adults. ....                                                                             | 241 |
| Figure 134. "Dear Old Casa Grande" sheet music, as originally sold in Massie & Sons "Son's<br>Shop," Phoenix, Arizona .....                | 244 |

## INTRODUCTION

For over 650 years I have withstood the forces of nature.  
I have served the people well.  
In my chambers, the voices of the *Old Ones* still linger.  
I am crumbling with increasing age.  
My surfaces have been marred by man.  
In his quest for knowledge about me, I have been poked, stroked and fondled.  
Alas, I will not succumb to his demands.  
I will remain silent as the darkness of night.  
I will remain a mystery to all who come to see me.  
I will remain unknown until they stop to listen.

~Nathan Allen (Akimel O’odham), “Excerpts from: Keepers of the House”

At the Sheraton Wild Horse Pass Resort & Spa near Phoenix, Arizona, just off the Interstate-10 freeway, guests in the resort’s outdoor pool area frolic on and around a rather unusual waterslide. The structure looks like an ancient ruin. It lacks a roof, and its sagging walls, seemingly composed of a sun-dried mud-like substance, appear greatly fissured from age [Fig. 1]. Probably few of the water frolickers question the meaning of this structure. It is not really made of mud but some sort of weatherproof plastic appropriate for the 111-foot slide. Visually, it provides a fitting backdrop for vacationers’ perceptions of Arizona as a sunbaked place of unusual cacti, critters, and Indian relics. Yet, in the adjacent patio café, a curious diner, reading the resort’s brochure, may notice the description of the waterslide as “a replica of the nearby ancient Casa Grande Ruins” and may inquire about its significance. The resort, owned by the Starwood group of hotels but located on the tribal lands of the Gila River Indian Reservation, promotes itself as thematically representative of the local Akimel O’odham (Pima) and Pee-Posh (Maricopa) Indian heritage and culture, with numerous details celebrating their “architecture, design, art and legends.”<sup>1</sup> One of the café servers, many of whom belong to the Gila River tribes, may therefore explain to the inquiring diner that the waterslide is a replica of the much larger “Hottai-Ki,” a multistoried “great house” that their ancestors built circa 1300-1350 CE and abandoned around 1450.

This ancient great house, or “Casa Grande” as the Spanish dubbed it in 1694, is located about forty miles southeast of Wild Horse Pass Resort in the city of Coolidge. In 1889, the American federal government reserved the ruin as the nation’s first federally protected archaeological site, and in 1918, it became part of the U.S. National Park system as Casa Grande Ruins National Monument.<sup>2</sup> Today, in a reserved area of 472.5 acres, the

---

<sup>1</sup> Sheraton Wild Horse Pass Resort & Spa, <<http://www.wildhorsepassresort.com/>> (accessed 08 April 2013).

<sup>2</sup> At the time of its designation in 1918, the monument was called Casa Grande National Monument. It became Casa Grande *Ruins* National Monument in 1926, the same year it donated 7.5 acres along its southwest boundary for construction of the Pima Lateral Canal. The boundary change reduced the Monument’s acreage from its original 480 acres to 472.5.



Figure 1. The Casa Grande Ruin waterslide at Wild Horse Pass Resort. Author's private collection.

Monument protects the famous Casa Grande ruin and at least sixty other documented archaeological sites.<sup>3</sup> The Monument memorializes the remarkable archaeological remains of the ancient Sonoran Desert people who cultivated this region several centuries past, and has served as their architectural and agricultural legacy for generations of Arizonans [Fig. 2].<sup>4</sup>

### **The Casa Grande Ruins**

A ruin since at least the 1500s, the Casa Grande great house stands in the center of a walled village or compound about a mile south of the middle Gila River, on a broad mountain-ringed plain in the northern Sonoran Desert. The famous edifice with its adjacent village ruins of buildings, plazas, monumental ballcourt, and irrigation structures (canal,

---

<sup>3</sup> In 2010, the National Park Service proposed a bill to expand the Monument's boundaries to include other related nearby Hohokam sites. These were, namely, the Grewe site—a large tenth-century Hohokam village that preceded the Casa Grande village as one of its original settlements—and a large portion of the Adamsville site, a Pre-Classic Hohokam village located upstream of Casa Grande near the historic ghost town of Adamsville. The boundary expansion would have added over 400 acres to the Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, but the bill failed in the House.

<sup>4</sup> The Ancient Sonoran Desert people evolved into the agricultural people associated with the Hohokam culture around 300 CE. At this time, they not only began producing pottery known as red-on-buff but they also learned to irrigate their fields—first, from water gathered from mountain run-offs and rivers, and then around 400-500 CE by designing an extensive system of canals that diverted water from rivers, namely the Salt and Gila Rivers, directly to their agricultural communities.

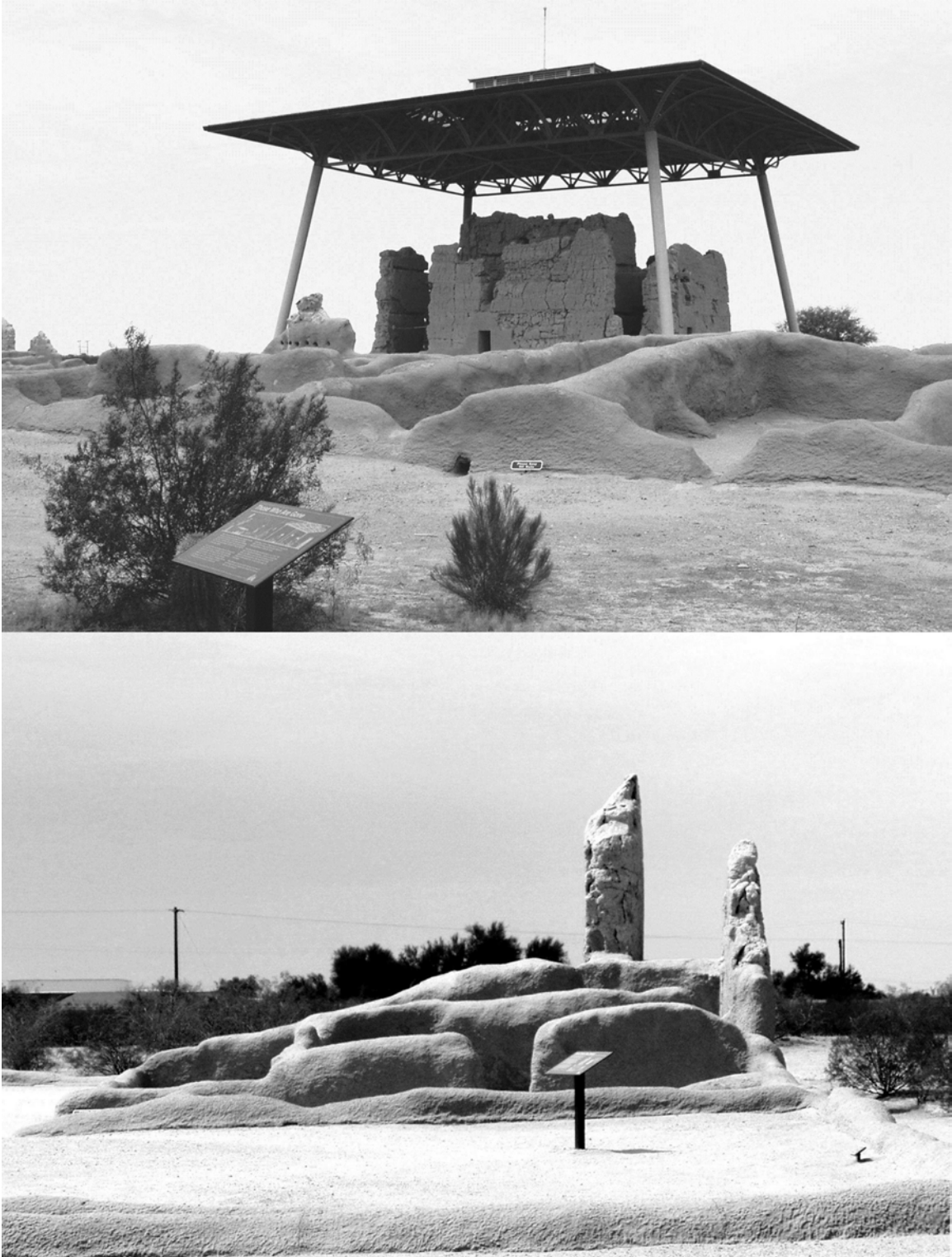


Figure 2. The Casa Grande Ruin (top) and the southwestern ruins of Compound A (bottom) as they look today. Shelter roof over the Casa Grande is a Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. design from 1932. Courtesy Author's private collection.

reservoirs, etc.), was one of several platform-mound settlements that its builders—a Gila River branch of the ancient Sonoran Desert people, known archaeologically as Hohokam<sup>5</sup>—constructed at regular intervals along a major canal that ran south of the Gila River.<sup>6</sup> Archaeologists refer to this twenty-two-mile canal as the Casa Grande Canal or Grewe-Casa Grande Canal, and the collection of settlements it serves—the Casa Grande settlement, four platform-mound villages established contemporaneously upriver, and several smaller sites—as the Casa Grande irrigation community.<sup>7</sup> They have identified the Casa Grande Canal as one of the longest canals in the Hohokam landscape of Arizona, and the Casa Grande irrigation community as the “most complex.”<sup>8</sup> Within this system, archaeological evidence suggests that the Casa Grande settlement served a special function within its irrigation community, as well as control over three other irrigation communities, each served by a separate canal system: Blackwater, Chee Nee, and Escalante.<sup>9</sup>

The architecture of the Casa Grande settlement reflects its special local and regional function. The newest village site on the settlement, called Compound A, encloses at least

---

<sup>5</sup> Hohokam is a poor English transliteration of the O’odham word Huhugam, which, simply translated, means “those who have perished,” referring to past and future generations of ancestors. Over time, people of European descent researching and/or living in Arizona erroneously used the term Hohokam to refer to both the O’odham ancestors as well as their archaeological sites. Yet, Hohokam is not a native word; it is a descriptor with roots in American archaeology and it pertains specifically to the ancient Sonoran Desert people associated with particular *material* culture, such as red-on-buff pottery, multistoried architecture, ballcourts, and platform mounds, produced between around 300 CE to 1450. The modern O’odham acknowledge the practicality of retaining the English-derived Hohokam as an archaeological tradition and descriptor of certain ancestral material culture remains. At the same time, they avoid using it in reference to their actual ancestral people, the Huhugam. Instead, they prefer that non-Native Americans refer to the O’odham ancestors as the “ancient Sonoran Desert people.” See: Barnaby V. Lewis (O’odham Elder of the Gila River Indian Community) and Glen E. Rice in Glen E. Rice and John L. Czarzasty, *Las Cremaciones: a Hohokam Ball Court Center in the Phoenix Basin* (Phoenix: Pueblo Grande Museum, 2008), xvii-xix.

<sup>6</sup> William H. Doelle, “Testimony of Dr. William H. Doelle, President & CEO, Center for Desert Archaeology, RE: H.R. 5110: Casa Grande Ruins National Monument Boundary Modification Act of 2010,” Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests and Public Lands, U.S. House of Representatives, June 10, 2010. See also William H. Doelle, “Hohokam Heritage: The Casa Grande Community,” *Archaeology Southwest* 23, no.4 (Fall 2009).

For more information on the Hohokam ballcourts, see Douglas B. Craig, “The Casa Grande Ballcourt,” *Archaeology Southwest* 23, no.4 (Fall 2009): 12-13.

<sup>7</sup> These include the Grewe site adjacent to Casa Grande, as well as Pueblo Bisnaga, Adamsville, Florence Pueblo, and Pueblo Pinal. David A. Gregory, “Casa Grande Irrigation Community,” *Archaeology Southwest* 23, no.4 (Fall 2009): 7.

<sup>8</sup> Gregory, “Casa Grande Irrigation Community,” 8.

<sup>9</sup> The Blackwater community and its respective canal lay northwest of the Casa Grande settlement. Chee Nee lay on the north side of the Gila across from Blackwater. Escalante—identified today by the Escalante Ruin—lay on the north side of the river to the northwest of present-day Florence. It is not clear whether Escalante was a separate irrigation community, or part of the Casa Grande community. Gregory, “Casa Grande Irrigation Community,” 8. See also the Prehistoric Hohokam canal systems map in *Archaeology Southwest* 23, no.4 (Fall 2009): 10-11.

three multistoried buildings including the Casa Grande “great house” [Fig. 3]. The other multistoried structures include the ruins of a three-story building in the compound’s southwest corner and a two-story room east of the great house. The Casa Grande was the largest building in the village compound. It possessed four stories and a rectangular floor plan oriented to the north and south along its longest length. In the 1890s, archaeologists discovered that the Casa Grande’s builders had artificially filled in the building’s first semi-subterranean floor; this served as a platform upon which they constructed three additional stories.<sup>10</sup> Two of these three stories contained five rooms each: two long east-west rooms, and three shorter north-south rooms. The uppermost story was a single room centered in the middle of the building. In all, the Casa Grande contained eleven rooms. Its walls were unusually thick, about four feet thick on the first and second floors before thinning as the building tapered inward toward the upper story. Archaeologists believe that the Casa Grande may have been one of the largest prehistoric structures in North America.<sup>11</sup>

Constructing the Casa Grande was no minor feat. The Casa Grande’s builders constructed it in one episode using nearly 3,000 tons of caliche—a natural concrete-like material located about eight feet beneath the topsoil of the Sonoran Desert region.<sup>12</sup> After extracting the caliche, they temporarily softened it by mixing it with water. This produced a pliable mud-like consistency that they then “puddled” or hand-molded *in situ* to form the layers of the Casa Grande’s walls.<sup>13</sup> As the substance dried, it hardened like cement. The builders also used regional timber, saguaro ribs, and river reeds for the Casa Grande’s floors, ceilings, and roof. They gathered mesquite, ponderosa pine, white fir, and juniper trees from distances as far as sixty miles up the Gila River, floating some of these timbers down the river to their destination.<sup>14</sup> Various theories exist on the purpose of the Casa Grande ruin. These range from a domestic use as a multifamily dwelling to considerations that it may have served as an elite residence or a public building with a managerial or religious function. It may have also served as an astronomical observatory. Along the east and west walls of the building’s upper stories, several carved round holes align with the spring and fall equinoxes and the summer solstice.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Due to its artificially filled ground floor, archaeologists have categorized the Casa Grande as a special variation of a middle Classic Period “platform mound.” The Classic Period of the Hohokam culture dates from around 1150 to 1450 CE. David R. Wilcox, “The Mesoamerican Ballgame in the American Southwest,” in Vernon L. Scarborough and David R. Wilcox, eds., *The Mesoamerican Ballgame* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991), 120.

<sup>11</sup> Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, “History & Culture,” <<http://www.nps.gov/cagr/index.htm>> (accessed 10 Apr 2013).

<sup>12</sup> This measurement converts to about 6 million pounds.

<sup>13</sup> Casa Grande Ruins National Monuments, “The Casa Grande,” <<http://www.nps.gov/cagr/forkids/the-casa-grande.htm>> (accessed 11 Apr 2013).

<sup>14</sup> National Park Service, “Casa Grande Ruins National Monument,” <[http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/cultural\\_diversity/Casa\\_Grande\\_National\\_Monument.html](http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/cultural_diversity/Casa_Grande_National_Monument.html)> (accessed 10 Apr 2013).

<sup>15</sup> Berle A. Clemensen, *A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve, 1892-1992: Administrative History, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona* (Denver: National Park Service, 1992), 134.



Figure 3. Casa Grande Ruin in Compound A as it may have appeared ca1350-1450. Original color painting by Frank Worth. Courtesy Casa Grande Ruins National Monument.

Interpretation of the Casa Grande Ruins' prehistoric past is important. After the settlement's abandonment in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the buildings and other structures gradually fell into ruin, such that by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the last intact standing building in the Casa Grande village was the multistoried great house. Although it had likewise deteriorated, it remained the last relatively well-preserved example of the "great house" architecture of the Hohokam. As such, the Casa Grande Ruin has long been a source of scientific curiosity. Its preservation and archaeological study since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century has contributed greatly to modern knowledge of the ancient Southwest. Yet, the Monument is equally important as a historic resource. A dramatic cultural landmark in the Gila River area of the Sonoran Desert, the Casa Grande Ruin has featured prominently in travelers' writings since Europeans first encountered and documented the ruin in the 1690s (possibly as early as the 1530s). After Arizona became an American territory in the 1840s, the Casa Grande dominated American journalism and tourism of the Southwest, and played a significant role in developing the field of American archaeology. As a symbol of the possibilities of desert agriculture, it also contributed to Arizona's civic and economic advancement during the territory and state's early phases of American development. It is the objective of this Historic Resource Study to document and narrate the important historic role and broad contexts of the Casa Grande site from initial European contact to the Ruins' designation as a National Monument in 1918.

## Organization of Chapters

To accomplish this scope, the pre-U.S. period of Arizona—the 16<sup>th</sup> through mid-19<sup>th</sup> centuries—has been consolidated into the first chapter. While this chapter covers a long period, in which the region of Arizona underwent three major changes in its history of exploration and settlement (Spanish, Mexican, and American), the author has focused primarily on documented encounters with the Casa Grande. The early accounts of Casa Grande are significant in that they later piqued public imagination and became part of American myth as Arizona transitioned from “terra incognita” to American territory during the first half of the nineteenth century. At the same time, these accounts were few and sporadic across time; as a result, the chapter skips across time from one traveler’s account to the next. Chapter I begins in the 1500s, with legends of Spanish explorers who may have visited the Casa Grande. The narrative then proceeds to 1694. In that year, Father Kino, a Jesuit missionary to the Spanish northern frontier, provided the first genuine documentation of the Casa Grande, including sketches of the ruin and its depiction on a map of the pre-Arizona territory, which he called the Pimería Alta. Other accounts from Spanish religious and military figures follow, until the chapter reaches the Mexican period of Arizona, when American trappers, 49’ers, and boundary surveyors ventured through Arizona for the first time and visited the Casa Grande. The chapter ends with Americans surveying the region as part of the United States’ 1853 Gadsden Purchase of southern Arizona from Mexico.

Chapters two through five span Casa Grande’s development as an American monument. Chapter II covers the period of 1853 to 1879, Arizona’s first major period of development as a U.S. territory. In this chapter, journalists, soldiers, and photographers contribute to Casa Grande’s American public debut through publications about their Arizona tours. These include San Francisco journalist J. Ross Browne, photographer Carlo Gentile, and members of the U.S. military. Browne published his Arizona experiences, including a personal account of Casa Grande, in a series of articles for *Harpers Weekly* before consolidating them into a book on Arizona. Carlo Gentile captured the first photographic views of the Casa Grande, while various military soldiers and officers, writing to audiences back east, narrated their impressions of Arizona’s desert landscape, marveling about ancient ruins such as Casa Grande. Chapter Two also addresses American settlement and transportation developments. In this period, U.S. surveyors applied the baseline-meridian grid to Arizona, and Casa Grande earned a geo-political designation as part of Section 16 of Township 5 South-Range 8 East. New towns emerged in the Casa Grande valley, namely, Adamsville and Florence, and locals began to promote the ruin along with their enterprising communities. An important settler in this period, as well as in subsequent chapters, was John D. Walker, who lived less than a mile from the ruin. A friend and member (by marriage) of the local Pima tribe, Walker served as a resident that newcomers and travelers turned to for information on the local landscape, the indigenous culture, and the ancient story as embodied in the Casa Grande ruin. He later became county engineer for Pinal County (est. 1875) as well as a county probate judge. Chapter II ends with the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad about twenty miles southwest of the Casa Grande, where the S. P. built a station. A town quickly grew around the station, aptly named Casa Grande after the famous ruin.

Chapter III, 1876-1889, focuses on the development of American archaeology and Casa Grande’s role in that process. During the first part of this period, both European and American anthropologists and other types of scientists showed an interest in excavating and studying the ruin. Their motives included gathering prehistoric objects for display in

European and regional American museums and studying the ruin for what its architecture, buried human remains, and other material culture might reveal about Mesoamerican origins or the ancient Southwest in general. In this period, American archaeology emerged as a popular and highly competitive field that spurred the establishment of American anthropological institutions, including the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology and the Archaeological Institute of America. The 1880s was an especially important decade, as the first full-fledged archaeological expedition of Arizona's ancient ruins occurred: the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, 1886-1888. The Expedition, sponsored by wealthy Boston philanthropist Mary Hemenway and directed by the young and eccentric Frank Cushing of the Smithsonian Institute, set up multiple campsites and archaeological digs in the Salt River Valley near present-day Tempe and at the Casa Grande ruins. As the first formal excavation of the ancient Casa Grande settlement, the Hemenway Expedition influenced the United States' 1889 preservation of Casa Grande Ruin, when it reserved the ruin and its surrounding 480 acres as a federally protected archaeological site.

Chapter IV, 1889-1901, addresses the story of Casa Grande's first decade of preservation. It begins with the designation of the Ruin's first custodian, a newly arrived Presbyterian minister from Illinois named Isaac T. Whittemore. Whittemore served as a dedicated curator of the ruin until 1899. During Whittemore's tenure, Smithsonian architects and archaeologists Cosmos Mindeleff and Jesse Walter Fewkes studied the Casa Grande ruins and published invaluable detailed studies on the site's prehistoric architecture and natural setting. The first preservation efforts occurred under Mindeleff in 1892 by means of the \$2,000 appropriated by Congress in 1889. With the appropriation, Mindeleff secured local contractors to remove debris from within and around the Casa Grande Ruin and to reinforce its walls with brick underpinning, lintel restoration, cavity filling, and rod and tie braces. At this time, the issue of a roof to shelter the ruin emerged. Mindeleff drew up plans, but ultimately, the appropriation proved insufficient for the roof construction. Interestingly, during Mindeleff's preservation work, Judge John D. Walker, the popular "go to" settler who had settled among the Pimas in the 1860s and then become Pinal County probate judge, offered his own proposal for preserving the Casa Grande Ruin. Judge Walker's proposal, as published in a local newspaper, reflected locals' growing attachment to the famous landmark and their thinly disguised resentment toward the federal government's involvement. Chapter IV concludes with a section on Arizonans' attempts to incorporate the Casa Grande Ruin and Arizona's ancient agricultural landscape in the Territory's exhibition at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. Arizona made plans to work with the prestigious Peabody Museum of Harvard, but opponents of the project—most of whom favored promoting Arizona as a mining and ranching economy—eventually won. Arizona fair organizers thus shelved the ancient ruins and agriculture project.

Chapter V spans the shortest period of this Historic Resource Study: 1901-1908. Yet, it is the longest chapter, for, during this period, Arizona not only entered the modern era but the Casa Grande Ruin reservation welcomed its first resident custodian: twenty-year-old Frank Pinkley, a Missouri native and tuberculosis survivor who settled in a tent near the ruins in 1901 and lived onsite until his death in 1940. During the first years of his tenure, Pinkley oversaw the first roof shelter constructed over the Casa Grande and the first government-sponsored excavation of the Casa Grande ruins settlement. Jesse Walter Fewkes directed the excavations, which occurred right after the establishment of the 1906 American Antiquities Act—a long-awaited law that formally protects archaeological resources from vandalism and unauthorized excavations but also sets the framework for U.S. presidents to set aside exceptional scientific or cultural resources and designate them as national

monuments, without congressional approval. A touching episode of the Pinkley-Casa Grande story also occurred after passage of the Antiquities Act. In fall 1906, Pinkley married Edna Townsley, the daughter of a South Dakota schoolteacher who taught school on the Gila River Indian reservation for a year, 1902-03. Pinkley began courting Edna in 1903 and the two married in Vermillion, South Dakota in 1906. The happy occasion allowed Pinkley to take a month-long hiatus—his first real vacation since arriving at Casa Grande in 1901. Instead of a honeymoon, the newlyweds returned to Casa Grande just in time for Fewkes' arrival and the start of season one of the excavations. During the excavations' two seasons, Fewkes and his team of volunteer archaeologists and paid Pima Indian laborers excavated the Casa Grande compound as well as compounds B and C, and another type of multi-roomed ruin that Fewkes labeled a "clan house." As the outlines, walls, and buildings of Casa Grande's various prehistoric villages emerged, Fewkes promoted the dig as the unearthing of "America's Pompeii." Newspaper editors ran with the imagery and documented nearly every phase of the Fewkes' excavations for the reading public. At this time, under Pinkley's custodianship and Fewkes' enthusiastic scientific authority, the Casa Grande Ruins began to develop into a major national tourist destination.

The Historic Resource Study concludes with a brief epilogue. This short chapter summarizes the final decade, 1908-1918, leading up to Casa Grande's designation as a National Monument under the newly created National Park Service (est. 1916). Locally and nationally, it was a crucial era. Arizona earned statehood, and national tourism received a boost when, in the years leading up to and during World War I, the United States asked Americans to keep their dollars at home and "See America First" before Europe. Yet, for Frank Pinkley, it was a decade of frustrations. After the hype of the Fewkes' excavations, Pinkley tried, without luck, to convince federal administrators to fund continued preservation, maintenance, and new development. With his petitions for further funding rejected repeatedly, Pinkley used his own resources to build an adobe house for his growing family, all while continuing to host visitors with his well-known personal guided tours. In 1914, perhaps due to his increasing frustration with the Casa Grande's federal administration, Pinkley campaigned for a seat in the lower house of the Arizona State Legislature. After winning, he and his family left Casa Grande. During this time, James P. Bates took over as custodian. Bates marked his short tenure with ill management of the site, including theft of material culture. When the National Park Service designated Casa Grande a National Monument in 1918, they asked Frank Pinkley to return and gave him additional regional responsibilities as custodian of the Tumacácori National Monument—the Spanish, Father Kino-era mission south of Tucson that is now a National Historical Park. This Historic Resource Study concludes in that year, with the beginning of National Park Service administration of Casa Grande.

### **Recommendations for Further Research**

Berle E. Clemensen continues Casa Grande's story as a National Park Service site with chapter three of his administrative history *A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve, 1892-1992*. The study, produced in honor of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument's 100-year anniversary as a federally protected archaeological site, concludes in 1992. The author of this Historic Resource Study recommends an updated administrative history in the near future, perhaps in 2018, for the Monument's centennial. An updated administrative history should incorporate administrative changes since 1992 and employ the

methodologies of a Historic Resource Study, providing broader context in order to understand Casa Grande's administrative changes in national, regional, and local contexts. In addition, a thorough biography of Frank Pinkley should be scheduled. Dr. Dietmar Schneider-Hector has published a fine start in *Sundipped Memories of Frank Pinkley: A "Man on the Lone Post at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona"* (Hillsboro: Percha Creek Press, 2003), and this Historic Resource Study contributes new research, but Pinkley's story deserves further research and a stronger narrative. Another useful study would explore Casa Grande's role in developing American archaeology, beyond the early history of the Ruins as an object of American archaeological interest. Since then, the field of American archaeology has advanced by "leaps and bounds," with the Casa Grande Ruins retaining significance to the field's development. An archaeological history of Casa Grande should span the 1880s through 1960s, perhaps even as recently as 1980, to cover David Wilcox and Lynnette Shenk's comprehensive studies of the Casa Grande architecture and its interpretation.<sup>16</sup>

### Acknowledgements

This Historic Resource Study would not have been possible without the professional assistance of various archivists throughout Arizona. The Casa Grande Ruins National Monument staff allowed me free reign of the small yet richly packed Monument library, while Khaleel Saba of the Western Archaeological and Conservation Center (WACC) in Tucson, Arizona, contributed much time to sending me digitized copies of finding aids, Pinkley-related material, and numerous photographs. Other Arizona archives that aided the completion of this study include the Arizona Historical Society Library branches at Tucson and Coolidge, and the Arizona State University special collections at Hayden Library. The Bancroft Library at the University of California-Berkeley also assisted, by lending scanned copies of eighteenth-century writings about Casa Grande through interlibrary loan. Other archivists that deserve recognition include Leslie Tobias-Olsen of the John Carter Brown Library, who graciously granted permission to use the Henry Cheever Pratt image for the front cover of this study, and Sarah Hanson of the University of South Dakota Archives and Special Collections, who scanned Pinkley family-related photographs and manuscripts from the Mabel Townsley collection. Special thanks go to Bob Spude, recently retired historian of the National Park Service, who supervised, reviewed, and provided invaluable feedback on most of the chapters of this study. Bonnie Houston of the National Park Service Intermountain Regional Office also deserves mention for her quick yet thorough review of Chapter V. Thanks also to Paul Chattey of the Intermountain Regional Office, and to Nancy Dallett, Erica Cottam, Meaghan Heisinger Sickman, and Nathan Hallam of the Public History Program at Arizona State University, for their encouragement.

---

<sup>16</sup> See: David R. Wilcox and Lynette O. Shenk, *The Architecture of the Casa Grande and Its Interpretation*, Arizona State Museum Archaeological Series no.115 (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1977); and, David R. Wilcox and Charles Sternberg, *Additional Studies of the Architecture of the Casa Grande and Its Interpretation*, Arizona State Museum Archaeological Series no. 146 (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1981).

## CHAPTER I

### ENCOUNTERING THE GREAT HOUSE, 1539–1853

The Casa Grande is a four story building, as large as a castle and equal to the largest church.

~*Father Eusebio Kino, 1694*

It stands alone with legends, not history, and when I turned away, footsore and weary, from the grand old edifice, curious questions about the hands that built and the people that inhabited it naturally forced themselves upon me.

~*"Gashuntz," 1st U. S. Cavalry, 1871*

During the sixteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries, Europeans and Americans entered the region now known as Arizona and encountered ancient ruins. Of these, the great houses that lay deteriorating along the banks of the Salt and Gila Rivers featured prominently in descriptions of the landscape. Viewing these ruins for the first time, conquistadores, missionaries, traders, adventurers, soldiers, surveyors, artists, and journalists imagined that they were the sole remaining vestiges of a once vast empire. Informed by myriad native and European legends, many early travelers linked the ruined buildings and their supporting network of ancient canals and reservoirs with Aztec fables and lost cities of gold. American anthropologists would eventually refute many of the ruins' mythic associations. Nonetheless, the intriguing early descriptions and legends about these prehistoric great houses—as introduced in scientific reports, newspapers, and magazines—piqued public imagination, becoming part of American myth as Arizona transitioned from Hispanic to American in the first half of the nineteenth century. From the outset, a commanding, naturally well-preserved example of the region's great-house ruins attracted great curiosity. Located near the south banks of the middle Gila River, the Casa Grande, as it came to be known, evoked the setting of a once-flourishing people long faded from memory. Travelers, seeing this remarkable ruin, often wondered about the hands that built it. As they sought answers, they revived local folklore, fashioned their own stories, and in the end created enduring impressions about Arizona, past and present.

#### Legendary Encounters, 1539–40

According to present knowledge, sixteenth-century Spanish expeditionaries, traveling through Arizona during the height of New Spain's expansionary efforts in its northern frontier, were the first non-native groups to hear about the great houses. Rumors of ancient ruins began in the provincial city of Culiacán in 1536 when four survivors of the disastrous Narvaez expedition into Florida (1528) reported learning about wealthy, populated centers along an expansive river on the northern fringe of the Mexican realm. The surviving expeditionaries were newfound celebrities. They had recently found their way back to Mexico after a harrowing shipwreck in the Gulf of Mexico near New Orleans, enslavement for two years, and then a few years spent wandering the Spanish borderlands—the areas now delineated as Texas, southeastern Arizona, and northern Mexico. Amidst the fanfare of their remarkable return, they recounted their experiences to the Spanish viceroy, Don Antonio de

Mendoza, and from this exchange a rousing, albeit embellished, tale emerged. According to the expeditionaries, as they passed through the southeast portion of present-day Arizona, they had encountered natives who spoke of a vast powerful province to the north, in the land of the Zunis, called Cíbola. According to the hearsay, the Cibolan province boasted seven rich cities, each comprising houses four to five stories high. Translating “rich” as “gold,” many who heard the reports believed Cíbola might be Aztlán, the mythic place of Aztec origins, or perhaps the long sought Seven Cities of Gold, legends of which dated to eighth-century Moorish Spain.<sup>17</sup>

Eagerly, Viceroy de Mendoza began organizing a large expedition that would explore and conquer the fabled region for its gold. Expedition plans included sending out a preliminary scouting party to confirm the existence of the Cibolan riches. A Franciscan friar, Marcos de Niza, led the reconnaissance trip, which set out in March 1539 from Mexico City, entered present-day Arizona, and headed north. Estévan, an African slave and one of the Florida-expedition survivors, accompanied De Niza at first but soon after abandoned his companions and plunged northward to Cíbola. Legend claims that Estévan attracted great attention for his looks and soon gathered a native following befitting a chief. As his ego grew, his temperament worsened, and he began to mistreat the residents of the various villages through which he journeyed. Eventually, news of his infamy preceded him, and when he reached his destination—a large pueblo allegedly at the western boundary of Cíbola—he met his death by a barrage of arrows. Returning to Mexico in September, De Niza claimed he had followed the ill-fated Estévan, and glimpsed the celebrated province from a safe distance. The friar described seeing cities larger than Mexico City—trade centers for precious metals, where turquoise adorned the doors of every house. De Niza’s account triggered a flurry of excitement and soon stretched into a tall story whereby every jewel known to the world decorated the doors of Cibolan houses.<sup>18</sup> Viceroy Mendoza, uncertain about the friar’s reliability, sent out yet another scouting expedition into the borderlands but ultimately, could not delay the full-fledged expedition until their return.

Instead, in February 1540, pressured by myriad competing factors, the viceroy reluctantly launched one of the most infamous Spanish-American expeditions. Chartered to discover and conquer, the ill-fated Coronado Expedition—so called for its leader, the

---

<sup>17</sup> According to the “original” European legend of the Seven Cities of Gold, in eighth century A.D. the archbishop of Porto, Portugal set sail from Iberia with six other Catholic bishops and a group of colonists to flee the invading Moors. The bishops reached land but burned their ships to prevent anyone returning to Spain. Each bishop then built a rich city. Early Spanish cartographers believed these cities were located on an island in the Atlantic Sea called Antilia, though later expeditions failed to uncover any evidence. As European civilization expanded westward, the legend morphed. Over time, the mythical cities became associated with Aztec lore and with the great land mass now known as the American Southwest. Spanish conquistadors headquartered in New Spain (Mexico) conflated The Seven Cities with Chicomoztoc—the mythical origins of the Aztecs, the place of the Seven Caves north of Mexico from which seven tribes, including the ancestors of the Aztecs, had emerged before beginning their alleged southward migration to central Mexico (Tenochtitlan). See: Richard Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada* (Albuquerque: New Mexico University Press, 2008), 19-21.

<sup>18</sup> Peter O. Koch, *Imaginary Cities of Gold: The Spanish Quest for Treasure in North America* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2009), 97.

Spanish conquistador Francisco Vázquez de Coronado—departed Compostela, New Spain with Marcos de Niza as guide, for the northern frontier. The exact course of the 1540 Coronado Expedition remains uncertain. Some scholars suggest that the expedition attempted to follow De Niza’s route from the year prior. In this scenario, Coronado would have entered Arizona from the southeast, by means of a long-established Indian trading route that ran northwesterly along the San Pedro River to the Gila, and from this riverine junction, headed straight north. Regardless of the exact route, Coronado and his men were well on their way, resting in the present-day state of Sonora, Mexico, when they finally heard from the second scouting party sent out several months before. The news was dismal. Melchior Diaz, one of the scouting expeditionaries, had gathered from native informants that Cibola’s cities were but modest settlements each a short day’s journey from the next. They contained numerous houses, enough to suggest a large population, as De Niza maintained, but the informants claimed to know nothing about any precious metals, specifically gold. Diaz therefore concluded that the great houses were unadorned with gems, the province likewise deficient in gold, and therefore valueless to the Europeans.<sup>19</sup> When the scouts’ bleak news reached Coronado, he forwarded the reports to the viceroy in Mexico but ultimately, he and his men clung to their feeble dreams of gold and marched onward to Cibola. Shortly thereafter, perhaps as a small concession to his troops’ mounting trepidation, or to narrow the recipient pool should they locate gold, Coronado released the majority of his expedition and forged north with only an advance guard.

On July 7, the reduced expedition arrived at Hawikku, the westernmost city of Cibola where Estévan had met his death and that Fray Marcos had supposedly seen gleaming from afar. Although forewarned, Cibola’s minimalism stunned Coronado and his company. A crowded, unpretentious Zuni pueblo met their eyes; devoid of gold and clearly not bejeweled, it was three to four-stories in height with compact, rustically-worked mud buildings connected and stacked one upon another. In his travel journal, Pedro de Castañeda, the expedition’s primary chronicler, wrote that at this point the bitterly disappointed soldiers turned livid and hurled many curses upon De Niza, such that Castañeda feared for the friar’s life.<sup>20</sup> Adding to the overall bitterness, approximately two hundred armed native warriors awaited the expeditionaries. The Spaniards, following the royal program of conquest, battled the warriors, ultimately capturing and pillaging the pueblo while surviving residents fled to prepared hillside fortresses. After this disappointing conquest, the conquistadors set out to the northwest in search of other rumored trade centers, but the Hopi villages likewise disenchanted; even the “divine abyss,” the Grand Canyon, failed to inspire. After two more years pillaging villages as far away as central Kansas, desperately seeking gold and the mythical cities, the unsuccessful, dejected conquistadors trudged back to Mexico City.

Ultimately, despite its failure to find the legendary golden cities its members sought, the Coronado Expedition inadvertently placed Casa Grande on the map. While en route to Cibola, Coronado’s men had journeyed for twelve to fifteen days through a *despoblado*, or wilderness, in southeastern Arizona; in this desolate place, they visited a site featuring an

---

<sup>19</sup> Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest*, 40-41.

<sup>20</sup> Pedro Reyes Castañeda, et al, and George Parker Winship, ed., *The Journey of Coronado, 1540-1542* (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1904), 23.

ancient multi-storied house called *Chichilticale*, meaning “of red earth.” Fray Marcos had visited this place in his reconnaissance and, as usual, assured Coronado that they would find a great city at this location; instead, the expeditionary party encountered an abandoned building in ruins. It was a single, strongly fortified edifice made of a bright red mud-like substance; three to four stories high, it stood out among a spread of smaller more dilapidated buildings. To its observers, the ruin’s construction details and setting suggested the splendor of its past inhabitants, of a once highly organized and warlike society; yet, as Pedro Castañeda penned, time had reduced it to a ruined roofless house.<sup>21</sup> Over the following centuries, as new waves of travelers passed through Arizona and encountered the Casa Grande of the Gila River, they noted its similarities to the “Chichilticale” described in the Coronado account. Coronado’s infamous misfortune and wakes of destruction had lent great fame to the conquistador as well as places associated with his expedition. By default, therefore, and despite its clearly non-red color and vague origins, subsequent travelers, seeing that, like Chichilticale, Casa Grande was a large ruined and roofless house set among the ruins of a previous civilization, drew enthusiastic though erroneous conclusions that it was the red house of Coronado legend. In doing so, they associated Casa Grande with both Coronado and legends of Aztec gold, and set a myth in motion that the conquistadors had been the first Europeans to see the Gila’s fabled ruin.

Such legendary imagery heightened Casa Grande’s popularity over time. During the American period, especially, as military personnel and boundary surveyors captivated Eastern audiences with stories about encountering the ruins of Spanish legend, the Casa Grande, also known by its *nom de plume* Casa Moctezuma, began to feature prominently in East-coast travel writings, popular journals, and newspapers.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, scholars affiliated with the emerging field of American archaeology disproved the myth of Casa Grande as *Chichilticale*, the red house of Coronado, and negated the long-held belief that the conquistadors had been the first Europeans to encounter the great house.<sup>23</sup> Accordingly, the earliest verifiable record of non-native contact with Casa Grande now dates to 1694, long after Coronado, when, on a warm autumn day, an Italian priest kneeled and said mass within its walls.

---

<sup>21</sup> William K. Hartmann and Betty Graham Lee, “Chichilticale: a Survey of Candidate Ruins in Southeastern Arizona,” in Richard Flint, ed., *The Coronado Expedition: From the Distance of 460 Years* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 83. See also chapter IX of Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, et al, *The Journey of Coronado, 1540-1542* (1904).

<sup>22</sup> Beginning in the late 1600s, ruins of unknown origins in this region were often associated with the legendary Aztec Montezuma, and therefore called Casas de Montezuma or Moctezuma. See: Elliott Coues, ed., *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés (Missionary Priest), in His Travels through Sonora, Arizona, and California, 1775-1776, Vol. I* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900), 89 n30.

<sup>23</sup> For early studies on the topic, see: Prof. Henry W. Haynes, “What is the True Site of ‘The Seven Cities of Cibola’ Visited by Coronado in 1540?” *American Antiquarian Journal* (Oct 1881): 434; and, F. S. Dellenbaugh, “The True Route of Coronado’s March,” *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 29, no. 4 (1897): 410. Recent studies strongly suggest that the burned Kuykendall Ruin in eastern Sulphur Springs Valley, Arizona was the Chichilticale known to 1500s expeditionaries. See Nugent Brasher, “The Chichilticale Camp of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 82, no.4 (2007): 433-68.

## Accounts from New Spain, 1694–1821

### *The Jesuits, 1694-1757*

After Coronado's failed attempt to find the lost cities of gold, New Spain's expansionary program for the Tierra Incognita, the vast areas of unknown North American lands, began shifting away from a policy of military conquest to one of cultural assimilation through religious conversion. Native resistance and a series of revolts limited Spain's missionization plans to an area called the Pimería Alta, meaning, "Land of the Upper Pimas." This mission landscape roughly encompassed the whole Sonoran Desert area of present-day southern Arizona and the state of Sonora, Mexico.<sup>24</sup> In Arizona, the middle Gila River area marked the Pimería Alta's northern boundary. In this region in 1687, nearly 150 years after the Coronado Expedition, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino (1645-1711) arrived and launched an intense period of colonization. His missionary work involved establishing a network of "Christianized" Indian mission communities called *visitas*—missions without a resident priest but which itinerant missionaries visited regularly. While the Italian-born Kino (Chino, in Italian) was a missionary fundamentally, he also applied his German training in cartography and cosmography to explore, map, and cultivate the area. Kino introduced European ranching techniques, livestock, and crops such as wheat to the region and used his cartographical skills to verify for the western world that Baja California was not an island as previously believed, but a peninsula. In late November 1694, this missionary-explorer added the "discovery" of ancient ruins to his lengthening roster of accomplishments.

Earlier that year, Pima Indians had told Lieutenant Juan Mateo Manje, the Spanish commander of Kino's military escort and nephew to the newly appointed governor of Sonora, that, at five days' journey north, large abandoned houses with uncommonly thick high walls lay collapsing next to a great river; according to Manje's native informants, *Caribes* Indians had once occupied the dwellings.<sup>25</sup> In his diary, Lt. Manje wrote that he relayed the news of the structures to Kino but that "his Reverence" did not believe Manje's report until converted Indians from San Xavier del Bac, the mission-village Kino had established near present-day Tucson in 1692, verified their existence several months later.<sup>26</sup> Thus convinced, Kino set out from Misión Dolores to discover the great houses and nearby river. Manje, embroiled in military campaigns against the Apaches and their allies, the Uto-Aztecan groups

---

<sup>24</sup> Pimería Alta derives from the Spaniards' title for the O'odham Indians as the "Pima." Even before Kino, the earliest Spanish travelers in the region had recognized a number of distinct Northern Piman groups, all of whom spoke dialects of the same language and shared certain common views about life and the world. The *Gileño* group lived in the Gila River valley area near Casa Grande. See: Thomas E. Sheridan, "Kino's Unforeseen Legacy: The Material Consequences of Missionization among the Northern Piman Indians of Arizona and Sonora," *The Smoke Signal* 49-50 (1988): 153.

<sup>25</sup> In the Spanish world at that time, the term "Caribes" referred, geographically, to certain West Indies native groups. "Carib," is the origin of the word which translates into English as "cannibal"; but, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word's European connotation at the time also translated as "brave or daring" (see: *Oxford English Dictionary* online, 2nd edition, 1989).

<sup>26</sup> Juan Mateo Manje, and Harry J. Karns, ed., *Unknown Arizona and Sonora, 1693-1721, from the Francisco Fernández del Castillo version of Luz de Tierra Incógnita by Juan Mateo Manje* (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1954), 41 and 50.

of northern Mexico known as the Sumas, Mansos, Janos, and Jocomes, could not accompany the missionary-explorer on the excursion.<sup>27</sup> Kino traveled instead with the San Xavier Indians as guides. The Jesuit recorded his first impressions of Casa Grande a few years later in his *Favores Celestiales*, a personal narrative.

In his reminiscences for November 27, 1694, Kino explained that he, his servants, and some justices of the Pimería traveled forty-three leagues from San Xavier del Bac and found a prominent great house, a *casa grande*.<sup>28</sup> It lay along a large river called “the Hila,” which flowed out of New Mexico from its source near Acoma. Kino and his traveling party reached the dwelling around noon. Kino recalled that the *casa grande* rose up four stories—as large as a castle and equal to the largest church in Sonora. Noting thirteen smaller and more dilapidated houses nearby, as well as many other types of ruins, and having heard of their legendary connection to Montezuma, Kino deduced that, in ancient times this had been a great settlement, one of the Seven Cities:

It is said that the ancestors of Montezuma deserted and depopulated it, and beset by the neighboring Apaches, left for the east or Casas Grandes, and that from there they turned towards the south and southwest, finally founding the great city and court of Mexico ... On this occasion and on later ones I have learned and heard, and at times have seen, that further to the east, north, and west there are seven or eight more of these large old houses and the ruins of whole cities ... These certainly must be the Seven Cities mentioned by the holy man, Fray Marcos de Niza.<sup>29</sup>

Importantly, Kino’s pointed reference to the legendary De Niza-Coronado expeditions suggests that he conformed to the myth that held that the *casas grandes* region was the traditional place of origin for the people who later migrated southward and established Mexico. This myth perpetuated despite the conquistadors’ failure to corroborate such events 150 years prior. After this initial visit, Kino visited Casa Grande twice more, both times accompanied by Manje.

The first joint Kino-Manje expedition (1697) produced the earliest known sketch of the great house; it also offers the first and still most-cited early description of the ruin’s physical dimensions, its surrounding ruins, and the Piman stories of its creation [Fig. 4]. On November 18, 1697, more than two weeks after departing Dolores, Mexico, the Kino-Manje expedition and a military escort under Capt. Cristobál Martín Bernal and twenty-two soldiers began approaching Casa Grande from the east, on a course that paralleled the Gila River

---

<sup>27</sup> Thomas E. Sheridan, *Arizona: a History* (Tucson: the University of Arizona Press, 1995; rev. 2012), 40.

<sup>28</sup> The “league” is an ancient method of measurement that equaled the distance an average person walks in about an hour. The Spanish league was about 2.6 miles; thus, Kino and his companions calculated the distance between San Xavier and Casa Grande as approximately 111 miles. Today, the distance by interstate or state highways ranges from between 76 and 97 miles.

<sup>29</sup> Eugene Herbert Bolton, ed., *Kino’s Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta, Vol. I* (Cleveland: the Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919), 128-129.

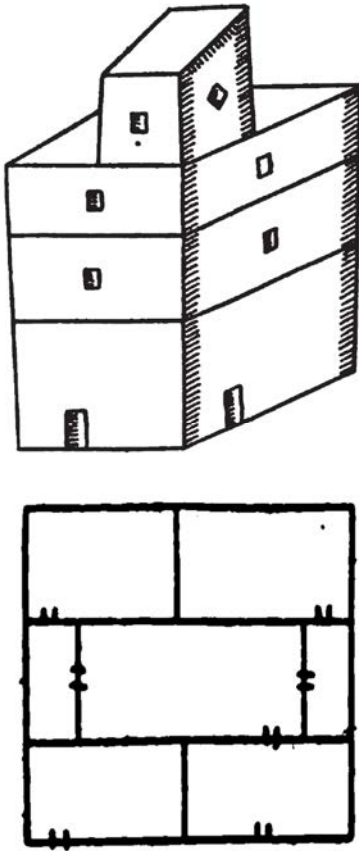


Figure 4. Juan Mateo Manje's 1697 sketch of the Casa Grande ruin elevation and ground plan. Fewkes, "Casa Grande, Arizona" (1912).

near its left (southern) banks.<sup>30</sup> At about twelve miles distant, they observed a large dilapidated structure on the north side of the Gila; some of the soldiers crossed the river to inspect it, and returned to report that they had found the ruins of a square building of ancient construction, the walls composed of strong dried mud a *vara* and a half thick.<sup>31</sup> After this brief diversion, the Kino-Manje expedition resumed its westward trek and shortly thereafter came across the Casa Grande. Manje recalled that they

Reached the *casa grande* at noon. Father Kino said Mass in it. It is a very large building ... The main room is in the center and the other four — each three stories high — flank it, as though they had been added to it. All the walls are two *varas* thick ... These walls are so smooth and polished (*lisas y bruñidas*) that there is not the slightest

<sup>30</sup> Manje referred to the Gila as "Río Grande" in his 1697 account. For a current reconstruction of the route to Casa Grande on Nov. 18, 1697, see Fig. 10 of Ronald L. Ives, "Father Kino's 1697 Entrada to the Casa Grande Ruin in Arizona: A Reconstruction," *Arizona and the West* 15, no. 4 (Winter 1973): 345-370.

<sup>31</sup> This was likely the ruin now known as the Poston Butte ruins. A *vara* is an old Spanish unit of measurement, approximately equivalent to an English yard (3 feet).

dent in them. Likewise, the edges of the windows and doors are so straight and in line that they seem to have been planed and polished to a pretty gloss.<sup>32</sup>

Near this ‘planed’ and ‘polished’ edifice, Kino and Manje also observed twelve smaller houses, half-tumbled down and in ruins. These ‘half-tumbled down’ ruins lay scattered within a circumference of about six miles from the Casa Grande; one still possessed an intact roof and a ceiling fashioned from large beams, while the site of each contained fragments of highly artistic, multi-colored painted earthenware.<sup>33</sup>

Local folklore held that Casa Grande’s builders “had come with many followers from the north—from the seven caves,” led by their governor, a chief named Ciba (*El Siba*), ‘the cruel and bitter man’. After losing a great number of their own during incursions with warring Apaches,<sup>34</sup> they abandoned Casa Grande and dispersed, fleeing either southeasterly or to the northern caves from which they had come.<sup>35</sup> The natives told Manje that the sites of their northern communities, located only “a day’s journey towards the north” on the other side of the river, exhibited ruined buildings of similar character and construction. Manje noticed that many inferred from the information that those who migrated south were the ancestors of the Mexican people. On this subject, Manje reserved opinion: “Only God knows the truth,” he declared, “everyone may have his opinion; [but] I withhold my judgment.” Nonetheless, upon contemplating the *casas grandes* remains, Manje conceded that, at the very least, these were the vestiges of a large settlement where resourceful people with “a certain degree of civilization and government” once dwelt.<sup>36</sup>

Manje’s conclusions about the resourcefulness of the long-past people relied greatly on the evidence of a network of engineered canals. In this first known survey of Arizona’s prehistoric canals, the expeditionaries documented what appeared to be the remains of a major canal that had channeled water from the river over the plain; it formed a great circle three leagues in circumference, ten *varas* wide and four deep. The ancient Casa Grande and its surrounding partially collapsed ruins stood within the center of this circular canal. From

---

<sup>32</sup> Manje in Ernest J. Burrus, ed., *Kino and Manje, Explorers of Sonora and Arizona: Their Vision of the Future* (St. Louis: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971), 221-22.

<sup>33</sup> Manje in Karns, 287.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 86, and Burrus, 221-22. Ethnologically speaking, ‘Apache’ is a collective reference for several culturally related Native American groups of the American Southwest. Related linguistically to Athabaskan-speaking tribes in Alaska and western Canada, these diverse bands of hunter-gatherers migrated south of the Rockies around 1000 CE, where they eventually formed into six regionally separated groups. In this account, the Pimans may have been using a literal sense of the term “Apache”—it is the Yuman word for “fighting men,” and the Zuñi word for “enemy.” Many scholars believe that as relative newcomers to northern Arizona at the time of the Spanish Entrada in the 1500s the Apache did not migrate south of the Little Colorado and into the Pimería Alta region of Arizona until the 1600s. It is therefore unlikely that Apaches destroyed the *casas grandes* communities. See: Sheridan, *Arizona: a History* (2012), 38-39.

<sup>35</sup> Lt. Manje is referencing the legend of the Seven Caves. See fn16 of this study.

<sup>36</sup> Manje in Karns, 86 and 287-288; and Burrus, 222.

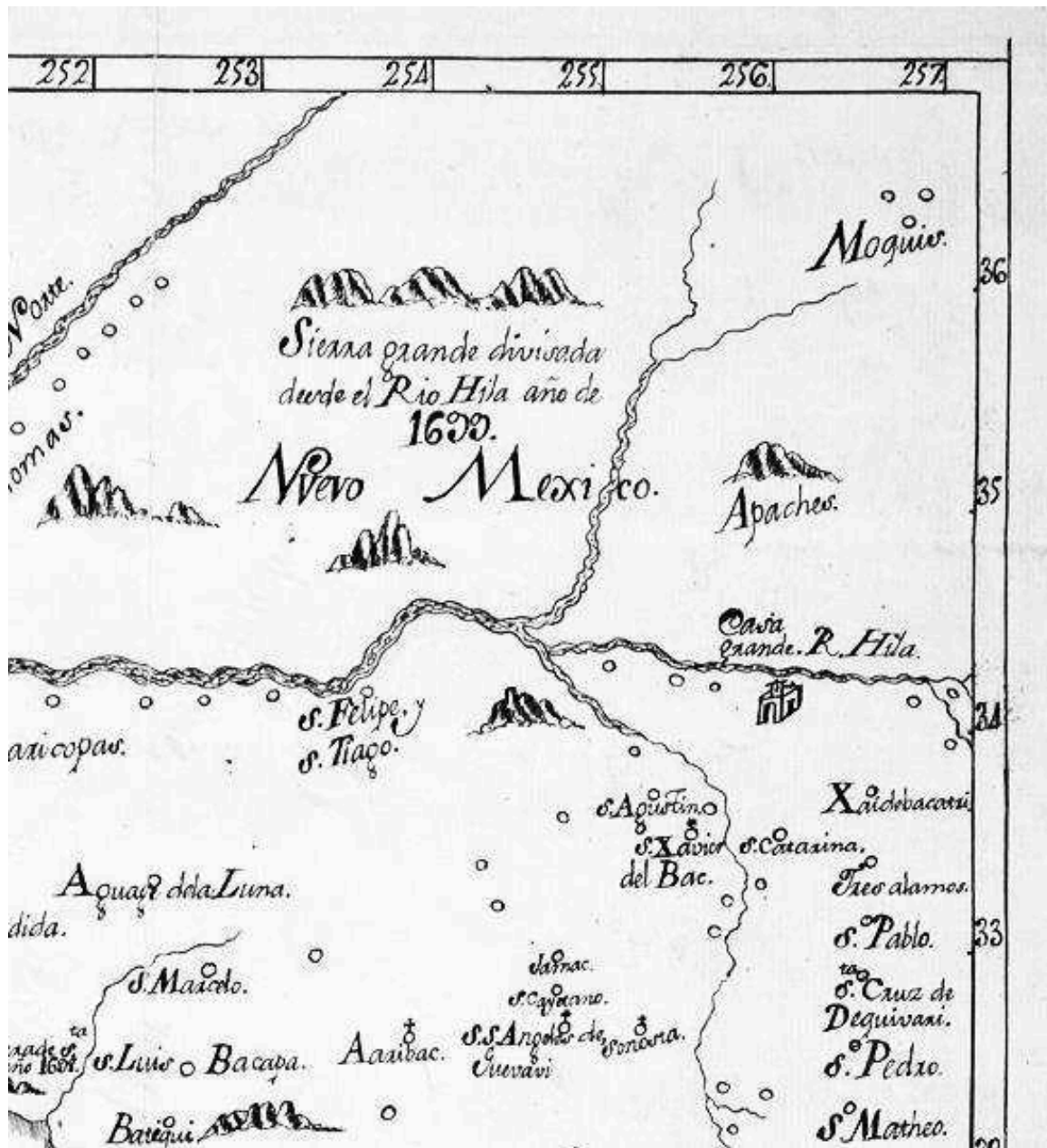


Figure 5. Detail of Padre Eusebio Kino's 1701 map of California, indicating the Casa Grande ruin along the Rio "Hila." Courtesy Museum of New Mexico Media Center.

his observations, the lieutenant concluded that half the water from the canal would have diverted into a defensive moat and a reservoir, all part of a channel system likely intended to direct water to suburban areas and to irrigate neighboring fields.<sup>37</sup> Kino judged that with ease

<sup>37</sup> This first known survey of Arizona's prehistoric canals closely corresponds with modern archaeological findings. In the 1970s, scholars conducted a study in which they checked Manje's records against Frank Midvale's map of the prehistoric irrigation canals in the Casa Grande area

one could not only restore and reroof the Casa Grande but also repair the main canal, and in this way transform the ancient urban scene into a modern pueblo.<sup>38</sup>

Two years later, Kino and Manje passed by the Casa Grande for the last time but recorded no further observations. Kino-era records of Casa Grande concluded with Kino's 1701 map of the passage by land to California [Fig. 5]. He first drew the map in 1695, Essentially a compendium of geographical and ethnological features and information based on firsthand study, the friar's map served as the first comprehensive map of the region, also the first to feature Casa Grande, which is indicated with a diminutive sketch and the description.<sup>39</sup> After Father Kino's death in 1711, the Pimería Alta experienced a lull in missionary recruitments. While Father Agustín de Campos, resident priest at Mission San Ignacio, in whose presence Father Kino died in 1711, likely visited Casa Grande, specific references to the ruin subsided.

A constantly volatile and difficult area to subdue, Pima uprisings in 1695 had launched a period of precarious cultural relations within the Pimería Alta. Father Kino's energizing force and charisma, to which the local natives had generally responded warmly, had kept some of the unrest at bay. Yet, after his death, succeeding Jesuits gradually abandoned the northern outposts. The Jesuit mission program for northward expansion continued to recede until the 1730s, when Jesuit reinforcements from northern Europe began filling the roles of the earlier Spanish Jesuits in the region historian Herbert E. Bolton, Father Kino's biographer, has termed the "rim of Christendom."<sup>40</sup> As a result, in 1736, 1744, and 1757, respectively, further accounts of seeing the Casa Grande ruins appear in new Jesuit writings of the region, specifically in those of the German-born Jesuits, Ignacio Keller, Jacobo Sedelmayr, and Gottfried Middendorff, each of whom retraced Father Kino's journeys and attempted to revitalize the northern Pimería Alta missions and *visitas*.

Keller's account of visiting the Casa Grande contributes little in the way of description, only mere mention of seeing the edifice in passing. Sedelmayr, on the other hand, recorded a full description of Casa Grande in his *Relación* (1746), a report on the feasibility of establishing missions and settlements along the Gila and Colorado rivers.<sup>41</sup> The

---

(1965) and against new aerial photographs that disclosed important additional data since Midvale's '60s study. The '70s findings demonstrated that Manje's more than 300-year-old description and assumptions agree remarkably with modern archaeology. See: Ives, "Father Kino's 1697 Entrada to the Casa Grande Ruin in Arizona," 364.

<sup>38</sup> Kino in Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir*, Vol. I, 172.

<sup>39</sup> In 1695, Kino drafted an earlier version of his California map, and included it in his biography of Father Saeta, a Jesuit martyr. The map showed California as an island. In 1700 and 1705, Parisian cartographer Nicolas de Fer plagiarized Kino's 1695 map for his *Atlas Curieux*. On Fer's map, the text "Descubierta le 27·Nov·1694" accompanies Kino's denotation of the Casa Grande. For more information on Kino's cartography, see Ernest J. Burrus, "Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain," in Charles W. Polzer, et al, eds., *The Jesuit Missions of Northern Mexico* (New York and London: Taylor & Francis, 1991).

<sup>40</sup> See: Herbert E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1960).

<sup>41</sup> Sedelmayr visited the Casa Grande in 1744 and wrote a description of it in his *Relación*, a report to his superiors in Mexico City dated February 1746. He intended that the narrative would aid his petition for more workers in order to establish missions along the Gila and Colorado rivers.

description of Casa Grande in the *Relación* closely parallels Manje's account, suggesting that the German friar drew upon secondary sources for his survey of possible new mission sites. Sedelmayr's account also reflects the ideas already circulating about Casa Grande's alleged association with Moctezuma. In Sedelmayr's opinion, "the great Casa Grande was the residence of Moctezuma, while the buildings on either bank of the Gila were the residences of his governors," adding that it "is always the case" that "among these ruins one building stands out and dominates the rest."<sup>42</sup> Political motives served as Sedelmayr's primary reason for calling his superiors' attention to the Casa Grande. At the time, the Spanish had a *visita* near Casa Grande, meaning a relationship with the resident Pimas whereby the priest from San Xavier del Bac would occasionally visit and minister; yet Sedelmayr supported the idea of a full mission at the location, for defensive purposes as well as for immersive evangelism. In the conclusion to his description of Casa Grande, Sedelmayr therefore recommended that Spain establish a mission at Casa Grande for converting the Pima Indians of the district.<sup>43</sup> The Pimas were "good fighters," he explained to his superiors; they would be useful as guides, messengers and escorts for New Spain's expansionary efforts northward into the Moquí (Hopi) region, as well as for subjugating additional natives.<sup>44</sup>

More than a decade later, 33-year-old Father Middendorff, the first resident missionary at Misión San Agustín de Tucson, and a group of soldiers stumbled upon the Casa Grande, and provided the next firsthand account of the ruin. Traveling home after detaining a group of rebel Papago and Cocomarcopa Indians accused of plotting the death of a San Xavier del Bac missionary, Middendorff and the soldiers encountered what they described as "two remarkable palaces" on the Gila River. One lay on the river's north banks and the other on its south. Modern scholars have verified Casa Grande as the south-bank 'palace'. Yet, Middendorff neglected to refer to the Gila's south-bank ruins as "Casa Grande" or even allude to it as an already well-known regional feature; thus, he likely lacked pre-visit knowledge of it. However, the friar's short description of Casa Grande, located in the earliest known letter written from Tucson, depicts the structure consisting of four stories, each of which contained four bedchambers six feet high, accessible solely by ladder from the exterior. While previous travelers had found the ruin vacant, on this occasion, to the Middendorff party's surprise, the ruin sheltered a living resident; the upper story revealed a sleeping *foz*, a coyote, which the soldiers proceeded to capture alive.<sup>45</sup>

---

Sedelmayr urged the establishment of Spanish missions and settlement along these corridors to diminish the continual threat of Apache raids in Sonora. See: Ray H. Mattison, "Early Spanish and Mexican Settlements in Arizona," *New Mexico Historical Review* 21, no.4 (Oct 1946): 276-77.

<sup>42</sup> Sedelmayr in Peter Master Dunne, ed., *Jacobo Sedelmayr, Missionary, Frontiersman, Explorer in Arizona and Sonora: Four Original Manuscript Narratives, 1744-1751* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1955), 23.

<sup>43</sup> The Pima villages in the Casa Grande vicinity were *visitas* under the jurisdiction of Mission San Xavier del Bac. See: George P. Hammond, "Pimería Alta after Father Kino's Time," *New Mexico Historical Review* 4, no. 3 (July 1929): 229.

<sup>44</sup> Sedelmayr in Dunne, 34.

<sup>45</sup> Gottfried Bernhard Middendorff to Father Antonio de Balthazar, 3 March 1757. Pacific and Western Manuscripts Collection, Vol. 1, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California. For background on this letter, see: Arthur D. Gardiner, "Letter of Father Middendorff, S.J., Dated from Tucson 3 March 1757," *Kiva* 22, no.4 (June 1957): 1-10.

The last Jesuit account of Casa Grande occurred in a narrative dating to circa 1762. Originally labeled *Descripción de Sonora* and long explained as an anonymous account, it now bears the title *Rudo Ensayo*, meaning “rough essay,” and scholars have attributed its authorship to Juan Nentvig, a tall 48-year old dark-complexioned Jesuit priest in residence at the Sonoran mission of Huásabas (Guásabas), New Spain at the time of the essay’s authorship.<sup>46</sup> One of the earliest attempts at a complete historical geography of the Sonoran province, scholars also consider the *Rudo Ensayo* the finest eighteenth-century history of present-day Sonora and southern Arizona. A general history, it relies considerably on secondary accounts. Its description of Casa Grande, therefore, does not add new detail or analysis but instead synthesizes what contemporaries knew about the ruin at the time:

One league south of [the Gila’s] left bank is the Casa Grande, named after Moctezuma. There is a tradition current among the Indians and the Spaniards that the Mexicans, on their long transmigration, rested there. The building is four stories high with the roof supported by cedar or tascal beams. Its walls are of a very solid material ... It has many rooms and living compartments of sufficient capacity to lodge a traveling court. Three leagues from this house there is another Casas Grandes on the north bank, much dismantled.<sup>47</sup>

Like Manje, Nentvig viewed the ruined landscape with its large irrigating canals and deduced that, regardless the plausibility of the native traditions, “the dwellers [of these *casas grandes*] were not at these places merely in transit.” Instead, he believed that the region’s network of *casas grandes* and ancient canals evidenced a more permanent infrastructure, one intended to sustain a community generationally. A copy of the *Rudo Ensayo* reached Mexico City in 1763 along with a map of Sonora jointly designed and sketched by Nentvig and Middendorff; the map delineates the *casas grandes* on both banks of the Gila River.<sup>48</sup>

#### *The Franciscans, 1775-1796*

Jesuit activity in New Spain halted in 1767 when Spain’s King Carlos III expelled the religious order from the empire. The king’s move reflected New Spain’s political shift away from conquest by means of missionization to a period of secularization in which Spain’s subjugation of native groups focused on converting mission communities into economically vital pueblos and exploiting local resources. The Jesuits’ ardent protection of their converted Indians against the exploitation and slavery associated with this emerging new world economy clashed with Spain’s political goals to gain capitalistic control of land and labor. Thus, Spain maintained the Pimería Alta missions as hubs from which to secure native lands and resources for Spanish settlement and expansion but replaced the unyielding black-robed

---

<sup>46</sup> Juan Nentvig in Alberto Francisco Pradeau and Robert R. Rasmussen, eds., *Rudo Ensayo: A Description of Sonora and Arizona in 1764* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980), xx. Available on the University of Arizona “Books of the Southwest” website, <<http://southwest.library.arizona.edu/rudo/>> (accessed 03 Feb 2011).

<sup>47</sup> Nentvig in Pradeau and Rasmussen, 13-14.

<sup>48</sup> The original map is located in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, but a retouched copy has been reprinted in Pradeau and Rasmussen (1980).

Jesuits with the more politically minded grey-clad Franciscans. Of these “Greyfriars,” Pedro Font and Francisco Garcés were among the first to serve as missionaries in the Pimería Alta and to write about Casa Grande after the Jesuit expulsion.

In October 1775, along with Franciscan friar Tomás Eixarch, Font and Garcés journeyed to the already-celebrated edifice as members of a Spanish colonizing expedition led by Lieutenant Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza, senior commander of the region’s sole military presidio at Tubac (est. 1752). The expedition was traveling to the colonized areas of northern California. A week earlier, the expedition had departed Tubac with approximately 240 people—the commander, soldiers and their wives, Franciscans friars, a supporting staff of muleteers, cowboys, servants, interpreters and a commissary, and civilians of both sexes and all ages.<sup>49</sup> Traveling with the group were about 1,000 head of cattle, oxen, and mules. Intending to reinforce the Royal military presence in Monterey and establish the port of San Francisco, they comprised the second Anza expedition to California but the first to traverse the Pima Villages area of the Gila River region. On October 30, the Anza expedition halted at a lagoon within ten miles of the Casa Grande, and made camp. At this place, called Camani [Camarí], large numbers of Papago and Pima Indians and their governors from the villages of Equituni, Quitoa, Sutaquison, and Uturitúc met and welcomed the expeditionaries with the gift of two scalps from their longtime nemesis, the Apache. Wary after seven days’ travel, Commandant Anza declared that his footsore outfit should take the next day off for rest. Anza and the friars, however, decided to make use of the respite by exploring the area; in particular, they wished to see *La Casa Grande*, the ancient edifice that they had heard local natives refer to as the house of Moctezuma.<sup>50</sup> Thus, the next morning after Fr. Font had said Mass, the adventurous expeditionaries departed camp. Some Pimas and the Governor of Uturitúc accompanied them and told stories about the Casa Grande while en route.<sup>51</sup> One of Anza’s attendants, serving as the sole Piman interpreter for the expedition, translated the governor’s stories into Spanish, which Font then transcribed and recorded in his journal.

Both Font and Garcés considered the natives’ traditions about the ruins remote and confusing—mere fiction mingled with some truths of the Catholic faith.<sup>52</sup> One such “fiction” claimed that ancient Mexicans had built the “Palace of Moctezuma” five hundred years prior while migrating to the Promised Land of Mexico; in the course of this migration, the devil led them through various countries where they would stop for long durations, building settlements and erecting edifices such as Casa Grande. In a longer origins story,

---

<sup>49</sup> Juan Bautista de Anza in Herbert E. Bolton, *The San Francisco Colony: Anza’s California Expeditions, Vol. III* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), 1-2.

<sup>50</sup> Elliott Coues, ed., *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés (Missionary Priest), in His Travels through Sonora, Arizona, and California, 1775-1776, Vol. I* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900), 66.

<sup>51</sup> In his journal, Anza called Uturitúc “Juturitucam.” According to Bolton, it was a Pima village about 18-20 miles west-northwest of Casa Grande Ruin, just east of the present-day Akimel O’odham (Pima) town of Sweetwater. See footnote 1 in Bolton, *The San Francisco Colony*, 17. Other scholars have suggested it was the predecessor of the Pima community of Blackwater, only a few miles northwest of the Ruins.

<sup>52</sup> Pedro Font, and Frederic J. Teggart, ed., “The Anza Expedition of 1775-1776: Diary of Pedro Font,” *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History* 3, no. 1 (Mar 1913): 19.

similar to the folkloric tale recounted to Manje in 1697, the Governor of Uturitúc told the travelers that a prince called *El Amargo*, or “The Bitter Man,” built the Casa Grande in ancient times. Font transcribed this story in a style that allegedly closely reflected the way in which the Indians expressed themselves orally:

[The Governor of Uturitúc] said that in very olden time there came to that land a man who because of his evil disposition and harsh sway was called The Bitter Man; that this man was old and had a young daughter; and that in his company there came another man who was young, who was not his relative nor anything, and that he gave him his daughter in marriage, who was very pretty, the young man being handsome also; and that the said old man had with him as servants the Wind and the Storm-cloud. That the old man began to build that Casa Grande and ordered his son-in-law to go and fetch beams for the roof of the house. That the young man went far off; and as he had no ax, nor anything else with which to cut the trees, he tarried many days and at the end he came back without bringing any beams. That the old man was very angry and told him that he was good for nothing; that he should see how he himself would bring beams. That the old man went very far off to a mountain range where there are many pines and that, calling on God to help him, he cut many pines and brought many beams for the roof of the house.<sup>53</sup>

Over the next century, the story of Bitter Man would become, along with its myriad versions, the most recognized folkloric explanation of the ruin’s construction. Font noted in his diary that the Governor of Uturitúc claimed other origin stories existed. He intended to recount these to the friars another day, but ultimately reneged on his promise. Font confessed that he and Garcés had made jest of the Piman leader’s seemingly far-fetched storytelling. Clearly offended, the governor consequently claimed ignorance of any other tales.<sup>54</sup> Shortly thereafter, the sightseeing group reached the fabled edifice and set the *faux pas* aside.

The ruin stood about a league from the river, on all sides surrounded by level country. Anza and the friars carefully inspected the ruin, taking its thorough measurements with a lance—later calculated to geometrical feet—and recorded Casa Grande’s latitude for the first time, at 33° 03′ 30″. Similar to Manje in 1697, Font sketched an ichnographic plan (ground plan) of the Casa Grande compound, a miniature of which, titled “Casa de Montezuma,” he and Garcés later superimposed on their map of the region [Fig. 6].<sup>55</sup> Both

---

<sup>53</sup> This is an excerpted section from the long origins story. For the full version, see: Jesse Walter Fewkes, “Casa Grande, Arizona,” *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 30 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912): 60. Fewkes translated a copy of the original manuscript of Font’s Diary owned by the John Carter Brown Library. The Bureau of American Ethnology archives housed the copy Fewkes consulted at the time.

<sup>54</sup> Fewkes, “Casa Grande, Arizona,” 61.

<sup>55</sup> In his notes, Font identified this compound with an ‘A’. Today, it is similarly designated as Compound A. Font’s account with accompanying sketch is considered more insightful and useful than Anza’s; even Garcés suggested this in his diary, when he referred readers to Font’s description of the ruin’s present condition. Like Manje in 1697, Font offered an original detailed description not reliant on earlier sources or hearsay. Combined with Manje’s seminal observations, Font’s

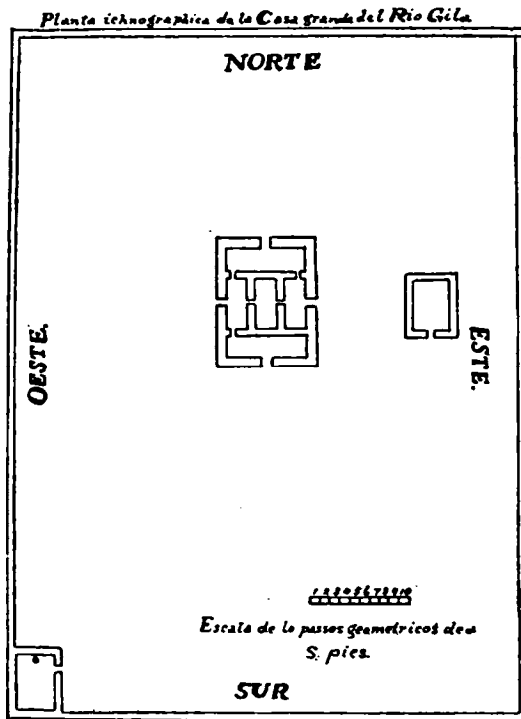


Figure 6. Pedro Font's 1775 ground plan of the Casa Grande compound [Compound A]. Fewkes (1912).

Anza and Font observed that the structure was nearly square with the four cardinal points, east, west, north, and south, and that it stood in the center of a rectangular complex bounded by what appeared to be a ruined defense or enclosure wall approximately 420 by 260 feet in dimension. Anza believed he saw evidence of bastion-like structures at the complex's four corners; to Font, these appeared to be the ruins of an interior castle or set of watchtowers, especially at the complex's southwest corner where a ruined portion still stood "with its compartments and an upper story."<sup>56</sup>

The main ruin itself comprised five interior rooms, three smaller ones in the middle, and two large rooms on each end; externally, it measured at seventy feet from north to south, and fifty feet east-west. The exterior walls appeared to have an upward curving slope; they tapered inwards as they rose from their thick base.<sup>57</sup> In front of the eastern door, separate from the casa grande, Font recorded the remains of a single-roomed house, twenty-six feet from north to south and eighteen feet east-west, that still had one wall partially standing. Archaeologists would later call this "Font's Room," since he so accurately described it.<sup>58</sup> The expeditionaries also documented a theretofore-unrecorded detail: unusual circular holes carved into the walls of the structure, each directly facing the east or west. Font believed that these were likely the circular holes described in the Governor of Uturituc's story about Bitter Man. According to the tradition, the architect of the Casa

---

measurements and descriptions would later offer American archaeologists important comparative data on the ruins' changing condition within a two-century period of observation.

<sup>56</sup> Font in Bolton (1930), 215.

<sup>57</sup> As Bolton explains, the technical term for this curving slope is "battered." See: Bolton, 216.

<sup>58</sup> Fewkes (1912), 91.

Grande designed the holes to serve as a sort of calendar; from these holes, he would daily observe the sun as it rose and set, and salute it.<sup>59</sup> In the next century, these circular holes would pique great touristic and scientific interest.

The era of Spanish clerics encountering the Great House and recording their observations waned with the closing of the 1700s. The last known written reference to Casa Grande dates to 1796, in a report presented to the king of Spain by Fray Diego Miguel Bringas de Manzaneda y Encinas in 1796. A Sonora-born *criollo*,<sup>60</sup> graduate of the University of Mexico, and noted Franciscan friar, Bringas had spent the year of 1795 on a commission to inspect the *visitas* of the northern Pimería Alta along the Gila River and scout out suitable locations for new permanent missions and presidios.<sup>61</sup> Bringas' travel notes and maps depicted the features he encountered in meticulous detail. Scholars believe he relied heavily on secondary descriptions and sketches of the region to embellish his excellent maps, not only for features that lay outside his known itinerary and route but for those he personally visited as well.<sup>62</sup> For instance, Bringas' minute depiction of the Casa Grande on his map closely resembles the ichnographies produced by the Anza expeditionaries in 1775. This reliance on secondary sources allowed Bringas to stay within his itinerary schedule and routes without reducing the quality of his mapmaking process.

Ultimately, Bringas' close inspection of the Gila River area compelled him to recommend that Spain establish a new presidio nearby the ancient edifice. The proposed "Casa de Moctezuma Presidio," would, Bringas believed, be "a new obstacle to the incursions of the barbarians into the Province" and, in cases of urgent need, provide New Spain's Papago and Pima allies with convenient access to a chain of presidios from Tucson to as far north as the Gila River.<sup>63</sup> Bringas' suggestion that Spain use the Casa Grande site for contemporary purposes echoed Sedelmayr's 1746 recommendation that Spain build a mission at the ruins; it also evoked Kino's informal 1697 remarks that one could, with ease, restore the Casa Grande ruins and transform the site into a modern pueblo. Since the earliest Spanish documentation of the Pima villages along the middle Gila River region, travelers had noted the river's importance to the socioeconomic health of the region's native communities. The Gila corridor's two growing seasons provided a favorable environment for cultivating a variety of crops and sustaining a wholesome diet and economy in the harsh desert; likewise, the river's thick riparian canopy of cottonwood, willow, and mesquite

---

<sup>59</sup> Teggart, 23.

<sup>60</sup> The term "criollo" referred to people of full Spanish descent ("Españoles") born in Spain's American colonies, as opposed to those born in Iberian Spain—called "peninsulares."

<sup>61</sup> This route between Tucson and the Gila River area villages and ruins would become a well-trodden road for travelers on horses and wagons in the nineteenth century, and then later serve as a major corridor for public mass transportation. Beginning in 1879, the Southern Pacific railroad, and then later Arizona's first north-south state highway (1910s), closely followed this same route.

<sup>62</sup> Paul H. Ezell, "Fray Diego Bringas, a Forgotten Cartographer of Sonora," *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956): 155.

<sup>63</sup> Father Diego Miguel Bringas de Manzaneda y Encinas, O. F. M., with Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana, eds., *Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain 1796-97* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977), 113 and 118.

attracted diverse species of fish, fowl, and fauna, adding to the Pimas' overall quality of life and stable village-based culture.<sup>64</sup> Despite the Pimas' long history of successful cultivation and agricultural enterprise in the Gila River zone, in the end Spain built neither mission nor presidio at Casa Grande.

As the eighteenth century concluded, the need for military control of native lands and peoples in the northern frontier lessened. Faced with mutual economic interests and a need for security against their common Apache enemies, Spanish and Indian leaders formed tenuous alliances, which opened up new and safer trade routes between frontier communities, such as Tucson, Santa Fe, and San Antonio.<sup>65</sup> Choosing "bad peace" over "good war," they fostered a thin "mantle of peace" that cloaked northern New Spain until insurgent colonists declared independence from Spain on September 16, 1810 and launched the Mexican War of Independence.<sup>66</sup> As royalists and insurgents sparred during New Spain's bloody, decade-long revolution, they extracted resources from the northern frontier and compromised the established means for buying peace. Alliances with native groups subsequently weakened, arresting ecclesiastical and economic developments in the region. In 1821, when Spain yielded independence to New Spain under the Treaty of Córdoba, the "Nuevo Mexico" territories, which included Arizona, became part of the newly established Mexican Empire. Arizona remained Mexican until the 1853 Gadsden Purchase, when the United States acquired the portion of present-day Arizona that is south of the Gila River.

### **Americans at Casa Grande, 1824–1853**

Despite Arizona's status as Mexican territory until 1853, it is in American accounts that descriptions of visiting or seeing Casa Grande during this period primarily occur. Contributing factors to the lack of Mexican documentation of the ruins include limited Hispanic settlement north of Tucson, and the lack of resources and political strength to establish a military presence in the area. Even during the Spanish period, Hispanic settlement in Arizona had not extended northward beyond Tucson. The Spanish had probed the area periodically and considered establishing permanent missions along the Gila River and a presidio near Casa Grande and the Pima villages but Hispanic settlement never followed.<sup>67</sup> The pattern continued under Mexican jurisdiction of Arizona. While Mexico settlement would expand into southeastern Arizona in the 1830s, the young nation faced too many financial and social woes to extend itself northward. The revolution had bankrupted colonial industries, leaving Mexico without the resources from which New Spain had formerly drawn to maintain peace with the indigenous groups in the region. By the mid-1820s, therefore,

---

<sup>64</sup> David H. DeJong, "None Excel Them in Virtue and Honesty": Ecclesiastical and Military Descriptions of the Gila River Pima, 1694-1848," *American Indian Quarterly* 29, no. 1/2 (Winter/Spring 2005): 31.

<sup>65</sup> David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America: the Brief Edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 175.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 174.

<sup>67</sup> David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: the American Southwest under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 4.

Apache raids had resumed. At the same time, Mexico established itself as a Republic—as the United Mexican States. This further weakened its hold on the northern frontier. The Mexican states frequently acted independently of one another, turning centralized leadership and coordinated military campaigns into mere “vestiges of the colonial past” and disintegrating nearly every institution that had held the Spanish frontier together before the New Spain colonies dissented.<sup>68</sup> Early on, Mexico also repealed Spanish restrictions against foreign residents and commerce. This action, together with civil disunion and border strife, left the Northern Pimería Alta open to American expansion. Under these conditions, Arizona remained part of Mexico but briefly.<sup>69</sup>

American interest in the former northern provinces of New Spain had intensified since the success of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase; with Mexico’s attention diverted after 1824 on states’ issues and border raids, tapping the vast commercial potential of the region seemed feasible goal. Initial American exploration of the New Mexico territories (including Arizona) followed immediately on the heels of Mexican independence with a vanguard of Anglo traders and trappers that, during the 1820s through ‘30s, entered the borderlands areas and initiated the processes that would transform the region into the fabled American Southwest.<sup>70</sup> Across what is now Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico, traders created a dynamic route of commerce between the American city of St. Louis and Mexico’s Santa Fe; fur trappers, popularly termed “mountain men,” searched the region’s rivers for beaver and stimulated trail building westward into Arizona.<sup>71</sup> By the time the United States finalized acquisition of Arizona between 1846 and 1853, Anglo settlement of the region was imminent.

Much of the Anglo “trailblazing” across Arizona from 1846-1853 followed the Gila River. Military troops, gold seekers, boundary and railroad surveyors, and a range of other adventurers crossed Arizona in large numbers, treading a course from what is now southeastern Arizona northwestward to the Gila River, which they then followed over to California. The courses across Arizona loosely followed portions of ancient Indian trading routes as well as trails that earlier Spaniards, namely the Anza expeditionaries of 1774-1775, had forged. These various trails, known broadly as the Gila Trail since they more or less followed the Gila across Arizona, proved the fastest southern overland route to California.<sup>72</sup> One popular path across the New Mexico territory to California crossed the Sierra Madres at

---

<sup>68</sup> Sheridan, *Arizona: a History* (2012), 51 and 55.

<sup>69</sup> David J. Weber, “The Spanish-Mexican Rim,” in Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O’Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss, eds., *The Oxford History of The American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 71.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 71-73.

<sup>71</sup> Pat H. Stein, *Historic Trails in Arizona from Coronado to 1940: A Component of the Arizona Historic Preservation Plan* (Phoenix: Arizona State Historic Preservation Office, 1994), 8.

<sup>72</sup> For more information on the development of the southern overland Gila route, see: Odie B. Faulk, *Destiny Road: The Gila Trail and the Opening of the Southwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Ralph Moody, *The Old Trails West* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1963); and, Benjamin Butler Harris, *The Gila Trail: The Texas Argonauts and the California Gold Rush* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1960).

Guadalupe Pass (Texas-New Mexico border), swung down to the Santa Cruz Valley in southern Arizona, passing through Tumacácori, Tubac, and Tucson, as it headed north along the wagon road carved out by General Cook's Mormon Battalion in 1846. It could be an excruciating, sometimes deadly journey; the Trail included two ninety-mile stretches without much water, between Tucson and the Gila River and across the Mojave Desert west of the Colorado River, as well as a potentially treacherous passage through Apache territory.<sup>73</sup> As the southernmost of three cross-country routes from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the Gila Trail guided new waves of travelers to the *casas grandes* of the ancients.

Like the Spanish before them, the American travelers crossing Arizona via the Gila Trail encountered the Casa Grande ruins and produced new site descriptions and artistic renderings. Unlike the Spanish, however, they did not propose building upon the site. During this period of initial American exploration into the Southwestern territories, few Americans tarried long or settled in Arizona—most passed through the region for commercial or military purposes elsewhere, and deemed it “no-man's land,” an Indian-laden desert wasteland and a bothersome obstacle between Santa Fe and San Diego.<sup>74</sup> Thus, Casa Grande would not assume significant local meaning until the 1870s, when noteworthy population growth occurred in Arizona alongside railroad development and irrigation ventures.<sup>75</sup> Yet, the few who took time to ponder the history the ruin harbored within its silent walls and jot down their thoughts for eastern metropolitan areas helped foster early national interest in American antiquities. This public awareness would escalate after the Civil War, when southwestern travel accounts began reflecting on the structure's deteriorating condition and the feasibility of preserving it. For the most part, however, the travelers who encountered Casa Grande during the 1820s through '50s halted but briefly at the site before shortly commencing their westward trek.

#### *“Mountain Men,” 1825-1832*

The earliest American encounters at Casa Grande Ruins may have begun with two fur trappers. “Mountain men” had been moving among Arizona's Indian groups and drawing on their native knowledge of trails and water sources since the early 1820s, learning a great deal about the area's geography and culture but committing little of their acquired knowledge to paper. In 1824-25, the Kentuckian trapper James Ohio Pattie, traveling the Gila-Salt River basin area with his father Sylvester Pattie as part of a large trapping expedition, became the first American to chronicle this river corridor from personal experience. The Patties likely visited the Casa Grande while passing through the area; yet, neither referenced it specifically. According to James Pattie's personal travel narratives (1831), his party hunted along the Gila's southern banks on March 25, 1825. The location

---

<sup>73</sup> Sheridan, *Arizona: a History* (2012), 63.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>75</sup> By the early 1870s, various groups including those locally in Arizona began to realize that prehistoric ruins served as potential economic and cultural resources and they began considering ways to study, preserve, and exhibit them. At this time, they also began to consider the meaning of Casa Grande with a view towards its broader cultural landscape. See: Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox, “Arizona's First Sacred Site: The Mystique of the Casa Grande, 1848-1889,” *Bilingual Review* 25, no. 2 (Jun 2000): 135.

was within a mile of the Casa Grande, and likely provided a clear vantage point from which they could not have missed a distant glimpse of the eye-catching ruin that the Spanish had found so riveting. Pattie's lack of commentary on the prehistoric landscape could relate to issues of memory or disinterest, or both, for the trapper had not kept travel notes. Drawing on his memory, Pattie later produced an entertaining but factual error-laden memoir. Highly exaggerated, it also possesses a fictional air about it, compelling scholars in general to conclude that Pattie cared more about producing a fantastic narrative than a useful account. Still, while Pattie's narratives do not reference the Casa Grande specifically, he did recollect seeing some ancient ruins and relics. His recollections for March 28, three days after the trappers had departed the Casa Grande vicinity, reveal that during the trappers' hunting experience in the *Helay*[sic] country, they had noted the area's aspect of ancient settlement. Pattie discovered broken pottery scattered liberally over the terrain alongside "distinct traces of ditches and stone walls, some of them higher than a man's breast, with very broad foundations."<sup>76</sup> This brief description of the Gila region's 'aspect of ancient settlement' serves as one of the earliest American references to the cultural landscape archaeologists have since classified as Hohokam.

The other fur trapper who allegedly visited Casa Grande likewise neglected to mention the ruin in his travel accounts. This traveler, however, differs from Pattie in that the great house harbors apparent evidence of his visit; on one of the Casa Grande's interior walls, his knife-etched name and date, "P. Weaver, 183-," remains legible. This inscribed signature and time stamp suggest that Powell "Pauline" Weaver, a rough, tobacco chewing, half-white and half-Cherokee fur trapper originally from Tennessee, may have stood within the ruined walls sometime during the 1830s.<sup>77</sup> Weaver first visited Arizona between 1831 and '32 while journeying between Taos, New Mexico and California in the company of traders who intended to purchase horses and mules in California and then sell them in New Mexico upon their return to Taos. Thus, if Weaver visited Casa Grande, it would likely have been during the year 1832 on the return trip to New Mexico, at which time his party traveled through the ruin's vicinity. Yet, some scholars hesitate in attributing the inscription to Weaver, as an unresolved question about the trapper's level of literacy hovers over his memory.<sup>78</sup> Since Pattie and Weaver's alleged encounters with Casa Grande remain unverifiable, the earliest American encounter may not have occurred until the advent of the Mexican-American War in 1846.

---

<sup>76</sup> James O. Pattie, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky* (Santa Barbara: Narrative Press, 2001), 91, available online at, <<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/librarytitles/Doc?id=5003626>>.

<sup>77</sup> [For a partial list of travelers who have inscribed their names or marks on the Casa Grande, see Appendix A]. Either Weaver or the Mexicans referred to Powell as "Paulino" in the interest of the Spanish language; the Americans then Anglicized this to Pauline, the name by which he became commonly known. Edwin Corle, *The Gila: River of the Southwest* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), 33.

<sup>78</sup> Some pioneer biographies such as James Byrkit's *The Story of Pauline Weaver: Arizona's Foremost Mountain Man, Trapper, Gold-Seeker, Scout, Pioneer* (Phoenix: Sierra Azul Productions, 1993) have suggested that the trapper did not carve the name and date evident on the Casa Grande because he was allegedly illiterate. However, illiteracy would not exclude the possibility that Weaver visited Casa Grande, for a literate traveling companion could have sketched Weaver's name for him. Other scholars argue that, even if illiterate, Weaver may have known how to sketch or write his name.

*Soldiers in the Mexican-American War, 1846-48*

In the fall of that year, en route to California after seizing New Mexico for the United States, Brigadier-General Stephen Watts Kearny and his reluctant guide, Christopher Houston “Kit” Carson, well-known fur trapper and army dispatch rider, led an advanced guard of the “Army of the West” across Arizona by way of the Gila route and Casa Grande.<sup>79</sup> Kearny’s guard included Lt. William H. Emory, U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers, and a unit of soldier-engineers commissioned to study and map the army’s route. After departing Santa Fe, the army met Kit Carson while he was on his way from California to Santa Fe to dispatch the important news to Washington that California had already surrendered. Upon hearing these tidings, Kearny ordered Carson to turn around and guide him back along the Gila Trail to California; he also decided to reduce his guard to approximately 120 dragoon officers, though he maintained Emory and his topographers. At the time of this march, Emory, a West Point graduate, was well on his way to becoming one of the key contributors to 19th-century western mapping, joining the ranks of the renowned duo, Lewis and Clark. During this expedition, Emory and the other engineers, including field artist Lt. William H. Warner and John Mix Stanley, a famous traveling landscape painter recruited as the army’s “draughtsman,” would produce the latest of three route maps of the Trans-Mississippi West up to that point.<sup>80</sup> They would also create seminal topographical notes on the region’s botany, wildlife, and ethnology, including its prehistoric ruins, and become the first verifiable Americans to write about and sketch the Casa Grande.

Emory and his soldier-engineers greatly anticipated seeing the famed building the Indians called Casa Montezuma. Since late October 1846, upon entering the ancient Gila region made famous centuries past, the troops had spurred their unwilling brutes ‘round every bend and ascended every butte with breath abated, expecting to see the ancient edifice loom upon the horizon. The recent discovery of ancient mounds and earthworks in the Ohio Valley, as well as Americans’ quixotic fascination with Old World antiquities rendered exotic by artistic imagery, fueled the soldiers’ hunt for similar relics of the past in the American Southwest; yet, reality often disillusioned.<sup>81</sup> Once, as Emory and the army turned round a sharp hill, they beheld the bold outline of what appeared to be a castle, at last the

---

<sup>79</sup> Kearny’s army split up in Santa Fe, with a detachment staying back to occupy and defend New Mexico and another detachment sent to Mexico to fight the war there, while the detachment under Kearny proceeded to California. The detachment sent to Mexico—Lt. Col. Cooke’s famous Mormon battalion—became famous for capturing and temporarily occupying the Presidio of Tucson in December 1846.

<sup>80</sup> Emory’s map, titled *Military Reconnaissance of the Arkansas Rio Del Norte and Rio Gila*, would serve as the basis for subsequent maps of the southwestern region over the next decade. See: Dennis Reinhartz and Gerald D. Saxon, *Mapping and Empire: Soldier-engineers on the Southwestern Frontier* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 95.

<sup>81</sup> The troops’ expectations for southwestern antiquities would have stemmed from traditional frames of reference regarding ancient ruins, such as nineteenth-century landscape paintings that often depicted antiquities in dramatic lighting and composition, often with crumbling, shadowed walls, much like abandoned medieval castles. James E. Snead, *Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 6, which had generated the myth of the Mound Builders and the romantic notion that a civilized race had inhabited North America before being driven off by hostile Indians,

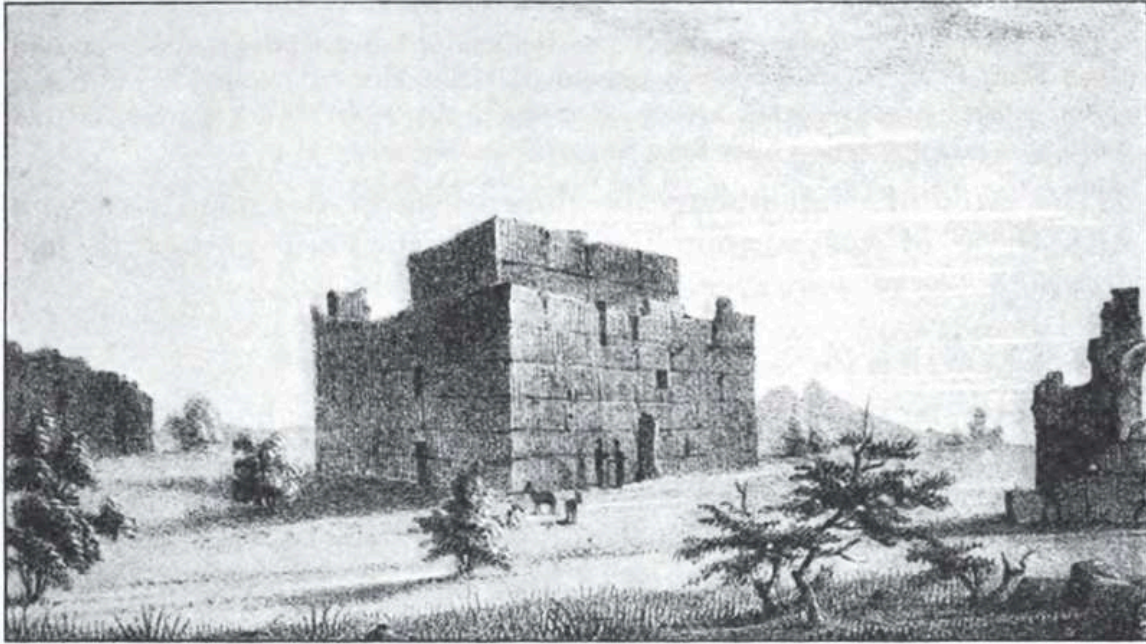


Figure 7. John Mix Stanley's lithograph of the Casa Grande ruin, Nov. 10, 1846, 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Fewkes (1912).

famed building; yet, as Emory pulled out his telescope to magnify the distant structure, only a mere clay butte filled his lens. Likewise, as Carson conveyed the army towards the actual Casa Grande on November 10, 1846, around the noon halt, expectations rose high but soon dropped. Having approached the fabled ruin through a beguiling introduction of a valley strewn with the remains of *zequias*, pottery, and other evidence of a once-densely populated country, they expected unparalleled grandeur to follow.<sup>82</sup> Yet, as Emory gazed upon the ruin for the first time, he registered it as little more than “a large pile,” the remains of a three- or four-story “mud house,” walls four feet thick, pierced for windows and doors.<sup>83</sup>

Despite initial disillusion, the site quickly piqued the engineers' scientific interests, for it offered one of the best-preserved examples of ancient architecture yet encountered in the region. Hence, John Mix Stanley settled in to sketch an elaborate drawing emphasizing the Casa Grande's massive size and crumbling walls, evoking Old World imagery, as well as a ground plan sketch of the carefully measured ruin [Figs. 7-8]. Kearny's aide-de-camp, Capt. Abraham R. Johnston, drew elevation sketches and another version of the ruin's ground plan, stylistically akin to botanical drawings [Fig. 9]. Alongside these artistic endeavors, Emory searched the site for ancient household items and works of art, but found only a rustic corn-grinder and seashells cut into ornaments. Within the ruin itself, Capt. Johnston

<sup>82</sup> *Zequias* were irrigation ditches (acequias) or canals. See: David H. DeJong, “‘Good Samaritans of the Desert’: The Pima-Maricopa Villages as Described in California Emigrant Journals, 1846-1852,” *Journal of the Southwest* 47, no. 3 (Autumn 2005), 465.

<sup>83</sup> William H. Emory, J. W. Abert, Philip St. George Cooke, and A. R. Johnston, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, Including Part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers* (Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1848), 81.

and Emory noted round, unhewn timber joists burnt out of their seats in the walls, down to about six-inch juts apiece; not only these joists but also the building's whole interior appeared burnt out, its walls being "much defaced," and thus evidencing little of their original glaze-like coating. Johnston noticed that the walls curved inwards from bottom to top, and that their whitish color seemed a result of the construction material, a sort of white earth and pebble mixture that he guessed contained lime.<sup>84</sup> On the interior north wall, second story, Emory and Johnston found a hieroglyph and traced it; Emory recorded the tracing as "lost" in his report to the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers in 1848, but Johnston's journal, appended to the 1848 report, includes it [Fig. 10].<sup>85</sup>

After examining the casa grande and its immediate surroundings, Captain Johnston rode the grounds in a northerly direction, recording other ancient remains. Two hundred yards distant, Johnston discovered a circular mound; twenty-five yards in diameter, its ground surface sloped inwards and down toward a round hole; he supposed it an ancient well.<sup>86</sup> A few yards further to the north, the captain noticed a 100x70-yard terrace about five feet high; upon this elevated terrace, the ruins of an apparent pyramidal structure rose towards the sky; at its highest point, it measured eight feet high, 25 yards in diameter.<sup>87</sup> After sketching miniature ground plans of both the "well" and the pyramid, the captain rode to the pyramid's top surface where, astride his horse, he paused awhile to observe the vast plain spreading northeast and west between the casa grande ruins and the Gila's left bank [Fig. 11]. It had the appearance of about fifteen square miles of previously

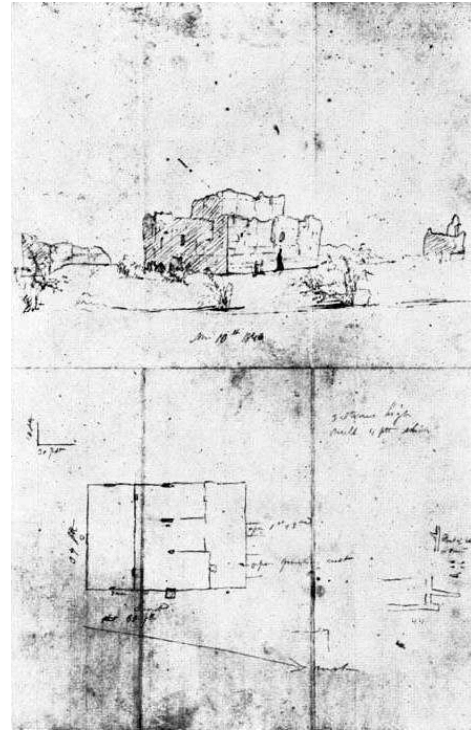


Figure 8. Elevation and ground plan drawing of the Casa Grande Ruin by John Mix Stanley, 1846. Pinkley and Pinkley (1931).

<sup>84</sup> Capt. A. R. Johnston in Fewkes, "Casa Grande, Arizona," (1912): 65.

<sup>85</sup> Emory, et al, 82. John Russell Bartlett, who surveyed the middle Gila area in the early 1850s, also included a tracing of the Casa Grande hieroglyphics in his account of 1852. See section "49ers, Boundary Surveyors, and Other Adventurers, 1849-1854" of this chapter. Bartlett's tracing seems similar to the description provided by Emory. See section "49ers, Boundary Surveyors and Other Adventurers, 1849-1854" of this chapter. See also, John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua. Vol. II* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1854), 273.

<sup>86</sup> This "well" has since been identified as a prehistoric ballcourt.

<sup>87</sup> Modern scholars have identified these ruins as part of Compound B, located to the northeast of Compound A's Great House. See: Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Excavations at Casa Grande, Arizona, in 1906-07," 312.

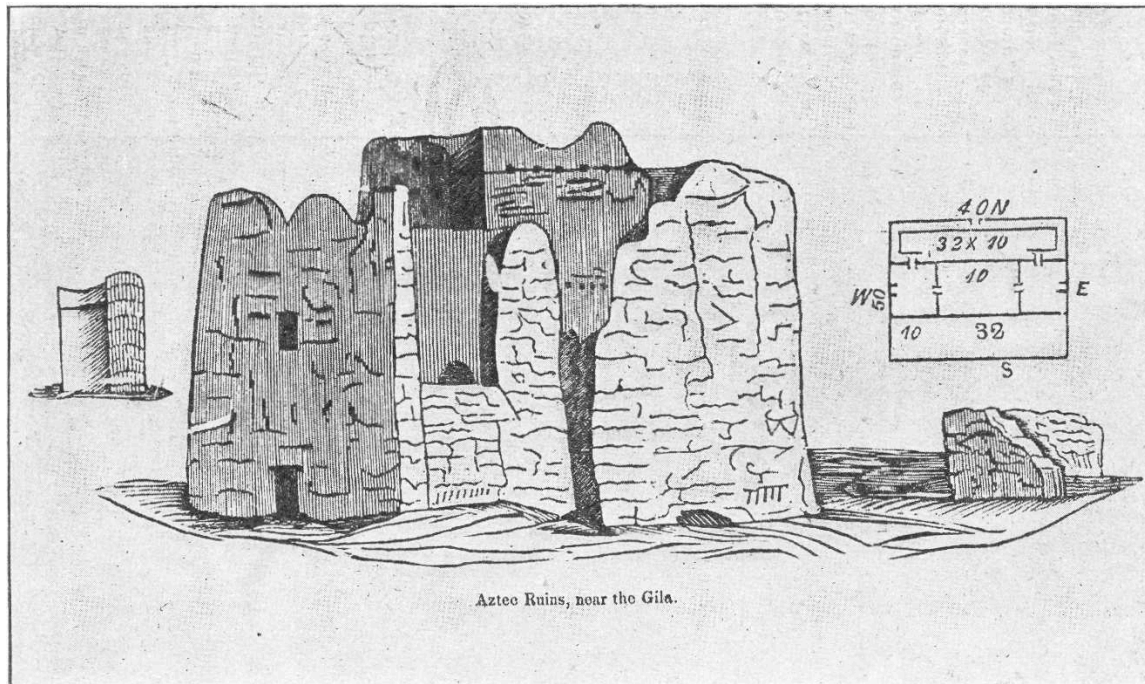


Figure 9. Elevation and ground plan of the Casa Grande Ruin according to A. R. Johnston of the Kearny Expedition, 1846. View of the west and southern façades. Fewkes (1912).

cultivated space, once irrigated by the Gila's waters. Before descending the pyramidal ruin, Johnston noticed a broken quartz crystal on the ground; after collecting this, he departed.<sup>88</sup>

That night, at the army encampment, nine miles distant from the Pima villages, the soldiers inquired into local traditions about the Casa Grande. Pimas had been passing in and out of the camp for hours, curious about the soldiers and interested in trading their corn, beans, honey, *zandias* (watermelon) and molasses for "beads, red cloth, white domestic, and blankets"; the molasses, made from the fruit of either the prickly pear or saguaro cactus, tasted akin to preserved quinces.<sup>89</sup> The first group to enter the strangers' camp comprised a mounted guard with one man running on foot. The runner, who appeared "to keep pace with the fleetest horse," informed the Americans after catching his breath that he was the interpreter for Pima chief Juan Antonio Llanas [Fig. 12]. Hearing this, the American soldiers invited their unannounced guest to unwind with them over a drink of French brandy; the interpreter, a Cocomaricopa (Pee-Posh) by birth, accepted the soldiers' invitation with

<sup>88</sup> Johnston in Fewkes (1912), 65. This would be one of 31-year-old Johnston's last adventures; in less than a month, he would die during the bloodiest battle fought on California soil during the Mexican-American War, at San Pasqual, California.

<sup>89</sup> Emory claimed that the molasses came from the fruit of the *Cereus Giganteus* (the Saguaro Cactus), but the detachment's surgeon, Dr. John Strother Griffin, wrote in his diary that the molasses came from the "prickly pair [*sid*]" fruit, and tasted like preserved quinces. See: Dr. John S. Griffin in George Walcott Ames, Jr., ed., *A Doctor Comes to California: The Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon with Kearny's Dragoons, 1846-1847* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1943), 33; and Emory, et al, 84.



Figure 10. A.R. Johnston's hieroglyph, 1846. Emory, et al (1848).

apparent pleasure. Once relaxed, the soldiers asked him to share what he knew about the origins of the ruins they had earlier observed.<sup>90</sup>

A genial fellow, the Cocomaricopan sat back and narrated a traditional Piman tale about the intriguing structures. The tale began in bygone days, when a woman, a virgin of “surpassing beauty” who resided in the mountains near where the soldiers camped, gave birth to the ancestor of the people who built the ancient structures. All men admired and courted this beautiful matriarch, the storyteller continued, giving her the tributes of their devotion in the form of grain, skins, and etcetera. Yet in return, she gave them neither love nor other favors, being equally firm in virtue and in her determination to remain unmarried. Then one year, disaster struck:

There came a drought which threatened the world with famine. In their distress, people applied to her, and she gave corn from her stock, and the supply seemed to be endless. Her goodness was unbounded. One day, as she was lying asleep with her body exposed, a drop of rain fell on her stomach, which produced conception. A son was the issue, who was the founder of a new race which built all these houses.<sup>91</sup>

As the interpreter concluded his story, the Americans asked their friendly visitor to tell stories of the other houses the mythic people had built; unwilling, he suggested instead that they visit the ruin of one located nearby on the Gila's north banks. They scheduled the outing for the following day. Before bidding farewell to go convey the soldiers' peaceful intentions to his chief, the interpreter added that he had once known the Casa Grande in better preservation. Yet, even then, it had burnt too long ago for his people to recall its original appearance. At this point, Johnston showed him the hieroglyph he had traced from the ruin's interior walls, but it held no meaning for the interpreter.<sup>92</sup> The next morning, the soldiers toured the site of the other Casa Montezuma; while completely deteriorated, being no more than a large mound, it interested the soldiers to see another “well” and a spread of pottery and shells akin to Casa Grande's.<sup>93</sup> During the excursion, Emory asked the interpreter if he believed



Figure 11. A.R. Johnston's sketches of the Casa Grande “well” and Compound B pyramid, 1846. Emory et al (1848).

<sup>90</sup> Emory, et al, 82 and 599.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 82-83.

<sup>92</sup> Johnston *in* Ibid, 599.

<sup>93</sup> The explorers found the structure on the north side of the river in complete ruin, a mere pile of broken pottery and black-basalt foundation stone that formed a mound fifty yards by six- to ten-feet high. Emory, et al, 83 and 600.



Figure 12. Coco-Maricopa interpreter to Pima Chief Llanas, as sketched in 1846. Emory et al (1848).

the origins story earlier recounted; “‘No,’ said he, ‘but most of the Pimos do. We know, in truth, nothing of their origin. It is all enveloped in mystery’.”<sup>94</sup>

The Mexican-American War period of Casa Grande accounts concluded at war’s end in 1848, with dragoons Cave Johnson Coutts and Samuel Emery Chamberlain providing the bookend to this era of description. Lt. Coutts and Lt. Chamberlain saw the Casa Grande on October 29, 1848, while traveling from Monterrey, Mexico to Los Angeles, California with their ill-tempered and inebriate commander, Major Lawrence P. Graham, to reinforce the newly won territory.<sup>95</sup> They recorded their visit while in camp near the Pima Villages on the 31st. Coutts, the nephew of Cave Johnson, one of U.S. President James K. Polk’s closest friends, recalled that on the 29<sup>th</sup>, at seven in the morning, the troops departed the Picacho area and began an arduous twelve-hour march

north towards the Gila River.<sup>96</sup> During the day’s march, they passed within sight of what Coutts exaggerated as an “Aztec Castle or temple” seven stories high, with walls ten to twelve yards thick. Coutts’ journal entry does not indicate whether he or any other dragoon inspected the ‘Aztec Castle’ closely, merely that they passed within sight, perhaps explaining the inflated measurements. Even from a distance, Casa Grande impressed Coutts enough that he included it on his itinerary map and recounted a story of the ruin’s origins gathered from some Pimas while the column encamped near their villages.<sup>97</sup> One of the oldest men of the Pima villages told the curious dragoon that the elders believed Casa Grande was “left by their grandfathers as a sacred place” at an unknown time. It was ‘sacred’, the old man explained, because it had issued all the races, “whites from one side, Mexicans from another, Indians from another,” and so forth. In his journal, Coutts concluded that, more likely, the Aztecs built it during their southward migration to the Valley of Mexico.<sup>98</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> Emory, et al, 83.

<sup>95</sup> The Graham military expedition is one of the least known overland journeys and military movements; it remained virtually unknown until the mid-twentieth century. See editor’s introduction to Henry F. Dobyns, ed., *Hepab! California: The Journal of Cave Johnson Coutts, from Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico to Los Angeles, California During the Years 1848-1849* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers’ Historical Society, 1961), 7.

<sup>96</sup> Coutts would also participate in the U. S. and Mexican Boundary Survey of the early 1850s.

<sup>97</sup> A copy of Coutts’ itinerary map may be seen in Dobyns (1961).

<sup>98</sup> Cave Johnson Coutts in Dobyns, 63-64.

Chamberlain's account differs greatly from Cout's. In his far-fetched, 'wicked book' of recollections titled *My Confession: Recollections of a Rogue*, completed in 1905 but not circulated until its *Time-Life* publication in 1956, Chamberlain claims to have deserted the column just outside of Tucson and joined the infamous Glanton's gang of Indian-scalp hunters. After desertion, he allegedly traveled with the gangsters to the Grand Canyon before turning south to the Gila River and the Pima villages, where the gang camped for two days and, ostensibly, visited the Casa Grande.<sup>99</sup> Modern scholars doubt the veracity of Chamberlain's *Confession* primarily because in fellow soldier Cout's account of the dragoon's Mexico-to-California journey he records Chamberlain remaining with the military column; in addition, no other evidence exists to place Chamberlain with Glanton. Yet, whether he stayed with his dragoon or renegaded with Glanton, Chamberlain's description of the Casa Grande ruins suggests he personally inspected the site.<sup>100</sup> In *My Confession*, Chamberlain describes the site as the remarkable remains of three houses made of "mud with coarse gravel mixed in forming a kind of concrete" and, according to his Piman guides, built by Montezuma.<sup>101</sup> Chamberlain described the surrounding landscape as a display, in all compass directions, of oblong and circle stone patterns—which he assumed were the ancient remains of houses and corrals—and of broken pottery that mantled the terrain. Chamberlain sketched the scene before leaving, to the wonderment of his guides.<sup>102</sup>

The military evidence of ancient ruins in Mexico's northern frontier corresponded with the nearly forgotten Spanish accounts detailing encounters with great antiquities in the former *terra incognita*. Scholars interested in the history and anthropology of the Mexican nation had lately resurrected some of these accounts, namely those of the Franciscans Font and Garcés. Before the U. S. Army encountered Casa Grande, for example, Eduard Mühlenpfordt—a German civil engineer working for the English-based Mexican Mining Company from 1826 to 1836 in Oaxaca, Mexico, and later as State Director of Roads—resurrected the Spanish writings of Font and Garcés in his study on Mexican culture. From his German-language writings, it appears that Mühlenpfordt did not visit the Casa Grande in

---

<sup>99</sup> For more information on John Glanton and his gang, as well as a fictional rendering of Glanton's exploits, see Sheridan, 64-65, and Cormac McCarthy, *Blood Meridian, or, The Evening Redness in the West* (New York: Random House, 1985).

<sup>100</sup> Scholars generally conclude that Chamberlain inserted himself into a fantastical rendering that reflects either the way he wished his experience had played out or the fashion in which he preferred the public to remember him. If he did not visit Casa Grande, Chamberlain may have generated his site description from a close reading of the secondary accounts and site histories available before 1905, the year he completed *My Confession*.

<sup>101</sup> Samuel Emery Chamberlain, with William H. Goetzmann, ed., *My Confession: Recollections of a Rogue* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), 321.

<sup>102</sup> While determining the authenticity of both Chamberlain's narrative and illustrations, William H. Goetzmann, editor of the 1996 unabridged edition of *My Confession*, noticed similarities between Chamberlain's illustration, titled "Casas Grandes on the Gila," and J. R. Bartlett's 1852 depiction [see Fig. 18]. Goetzmann concludes that if Chamberlain did not personally see the Casa Grande, he may have illustrated an interpretation of it based on Bartlett's later work. Goetzmann, 21.

person.<sup>103</sup> Instead, to support his thesis that the origins of the Mexican people lay to the north, he relied on earlier secondary descriptions detailing the many antiquities found between Chihuahua, Mexico and the Gila River. He therefore helped revive some of the earlier Spanish accounts, mainly the Franciscan friars' writings, but contributed little new knowledge, except for asserting that the Spanish had drawn upon the Piman word "Hottai Ki," meaning "great house," when they labeled the big house ruins "casas grandes."<sup>104</sup> In the same year as Mühlenpfordt's publication, American historian Brantz Mayer—prominent 19th-century American historian and former Secretary of the U.S. Legation to Mexico—also revived the Franciscan accounts of the Casa Grande in his history of Mexico (1844). His descriptive sketches of the ancient ruins and relics that were "sprinkled over the Mexican territory, from [as far north as] the Rio Gila" contributed to publicizing the southwestern ruins to the American public.<sup>105</sup> Published in English, the descriptions were therefore more accessible to American readers than Mühlenpfordt's German writings.

The shroud of 'mystery' enveloping the recently "discovered" ruins in America's exotic locales especially appealed to American audiences, for it complemented the era's romantic notions about national imperialism. As "touchstones of the imagination," the imagery of ruins symbolized the rise of a new civilization upon the ashes of the old; in America, they also provided a romantic backdrop for imperial expansion.<sup>106</sup> Importantly, the firsthand military accounts and general histories of Mexico's northern frontier also furthered scientific inquiry into the origins of ancient America; in particular, the military accounts helped anthropologists institutionalize and programatize the study and research of American ethnology.<sup>107</sup> This scholarly advancement was a fringe benefit of war that even opponents of the Mexican-American engagement, such as Albert Gallatin, could appreciate. Gallatin, cofounder of the new American Ethnological Society (est. 1842), despite criticizing the War, viewed the military's scientific agenda—to document the botanical and cultural landscape of Mexico's northern frontier—as a major advancement for his field. He often requested advance copies of Emory's topographical reports to read to colleagues at American Ethnological Society meetings; mostly, Gallatin used the incoming ethnological data to finish "Ancient Semi-Civilization in New Mexico," a forty four-page essay that he published before the official release of Emory's reports and which rejected the prevailing idea that the ancient

---

<sup>103</sup> The author of this Historic Resource Study has relied on a translation of Mühlenpfordt's work by Linda Tenney, native German speaker and friend.

<sup>104</sup> Mühlenpfordt did not reveal his source for this new ethnolinguistic knowledge. See: Eduard Mühlenpfordt, *Versuch Einer Getreuen Schilderung der Republik Mejico, Besonders in Beziehung auf Geographie, Ethnographie und Statistik, Vol. II* (Hanover: C. F. Kius, 1844), 435-36 and 538.

<sup>105</sup> Brantz Mayer, *Mexico as It Was and as It Is* (New York: J. Winchester, 1844), 239 and 253.

<sup>106</sup> Snead, 6; and, Brad D. Hume, "The Romantic and the Technical in Early Nineteenth-Century American Exploration," in Edward Carlos Carter II, ed., *Surveying the Record: North American Scientific Exploration to 1930* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1999), 303-04.

<sup>107</sup> Robert W. Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas: The Mexican War in the American Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 159.



Figure 13. Portrait of Ephraim G. Squier. Courtesy National Park Service.

*casas grandes* communities were pre-Aztec.<sup>108</sup> Pioneering American archaeologist Ephraim G. Squier also drew upon Emory's reports to criticize Gallatin for rejecting the prevailing Aztec connection and to forward his own developing notions on the origins and evolution of "aboriginal" populations in New Mexico and California [Fig. 13]. In an article for *The American Review* (Nov 1848), Squier included a lithograph of the Casa Grande that, while distinct, closely resembles Stanley's 1846 drawing of the ruin [Fig. 14]. In the end, the military documentation of ruins instigated systematic anthropological analysis in the United States and inspired formal development of the field of American anthropology, namely, the subfield of southwestern archaeology.

*'49ers, Boundary Surveyors, and Other Adventurers, 1849-1854*

After the Mexican-American War ended in 1848, five years passed before any significant travel accounts about Casa Grande surfaced. In the interim, the U.S. government annexed most of the New Mexico territory except the portion of Arizona south of the Gila River, and a new set of adventurers lured by California gold journeyed across Arizona. Most of the gold seeking '49ers traveled to California by way of the California Trail—a route leading from Missouri through the Great Basin region to various points in California. It was a long trail prone to unpredictable weather. Alternatively, the more impatient, determined, or adventurous gold seekers could follow the southern Gila Trail, which offered a treacherous yet dry all-season route.<sup>109</sup> Writing in 1850, historian Brantz Mayer recognized the attraction of the desert route despite its unpleasantness, and feared the havoc that increasingly large numbers of passersby might wreak upon the ancient

<sup>108</sup> Johannsen, 159; and Don D. Fowler and David R. Wilcox, "From Thomas Jefferson to the Pecos Conference: Changing Anthropological Agendas in the North American Southwest," in Edward Carlos Carter II, ed., *Surveying the Record: North American Scientific Exploration to 1930* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1999), 205. Many of Gallatin's conclusions have held through twenty-first century archaeology; namely, that insufficient linguistic evidence exists to draw a conclusive ethnic connection between native Mexicans and indigenous groups of the Southwest. See: Don D. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 66-69.

<sup>109</sup> Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: the California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), n.16, 318; and, Peter Blodgett, "Introduction to the Second Edition," in George W. B. Evans, and Glenn S. Dumke, ed., *Mexican Gold Trail: the Journal of a Forty-Niner* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 2006), xxii.

landscape. Hopefully, he added, “steam [would soon] open rapid communications with the east, and travelers [would] not be compelled to pass either the desert or those more southern regions where the mouldering[sic] ruins of the Casas Grandes denote the ancient seat of Indian civilization” [Fig. 15].<sup>110</sup> With Mayer’s wished-for rail travel still thirty years distant, a sizeable minority of ‘49ers, anywhere from 3,000-8,000, traversed the Gila Trail. In all probability, they traipsed across the Casa Grande and carried off souvenirs. Yet, with the exception of ‘49er Asa B. Clarke, most gold seekers, if literate enough to document their journey, neglected to mention the ruins.

On June 7 1849, while en route to make his fortune as a merchant to gold miners, Clarke, a member of the Hampden Mining Company and former New York schoolteacher and apothecary owner, recorded that he found the Gila valley scattered with the ruins of “very ancient adobe houses” each referred to as a “Casa Montezuma.”<sup>111</sup> Clarke assumed they were of Aztec origins, and gave little credence to Piman traditions regarding the *casa*. The “present occupants [nearby Pimas and Maricopas],” he explained, had “no certain knowledge of their more powerful predecessors,” except for “some very vague traditions and legends...which the more intelligent among them” did not believe.<sup>112</sup> Clarke’s assessment that the Pimas’ great-house stories indicated a certain lack of intelligence recalls Font and Garcés’ amused reactions to the Governor of Uritutuc when he recounted the Casa Grande legends. Such skepticism reflected a measure of Anglo racial superiority but primarily exhibited ignorance of the culturally unique ways with which native groups explain their history and the world around them.<sup>113</sup> Not all American passersby dismissed the Indian traditions. Some travelers, such as U. S. boundary surveyor John Russell Bartlett, who visited Casa Grande in 1852, questioned the prevailing Aztecan connection and advocated further research and scholarship.

In 1852, John Russell Bartlett—Rhode Island bookseller, amateur ethnologist, and co-founder of the American Ethnological Society alongside Albert Gallatin—traveled within Arizona as U. S. Commissioner for the Joint United States and Mexican Boundary Commission [Fig. 16]. After the 1846-48 war, the Department of the Interior had charged Bartlett and key military figures such as William H. Emory and Amiel Weeks Whipple with demarcating a new international boundary.<sup>114</sup> Similar to Emory’s earlier commission with the

---

<sup>110</sup> Brantz Mayer, *Mexico, Aztec, Spanish and Republican: A Historical, Geographical, Political, Statistical and Social Account of That Country from the Period of the Invasion by the Spaniards to the Present Time... Vol. II* (Hartford: S. Drake, 1853), 396. See also: Clemensen, 17.

<sup>111</sup> Asa Bement Clarke, *Travels in Mexico and California* (Boston: Wright & Hasty’s Steam Press, 1852), 92.

<sup>112</sup> Clarke, 92.

<sup>113</sup> Anthropologist Donald M. Bahr argues that, in general, native peoples have, and have seemingly always had, a body of origins stories that they accept as “unverifiable, imperfect, but possibly true,” and they are therefore “loath to stray from them.” Donald M. Bahr, *The Short, Swift Time of Gods on Earth: the Hobokam Chronicles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 3.

<sup>114</sup> Coursing across the southwestern borderlands in a straight line, the plan for the new U.S.-Mexican boundary line divided California (Alta and Baja), the Gila River, New Mexico’s southern and western portions, and the Rio Grande. A seemingly simple plan, it proved confusing and politically controversial, and the United States made use of the political quagmire to negotiate the boundary

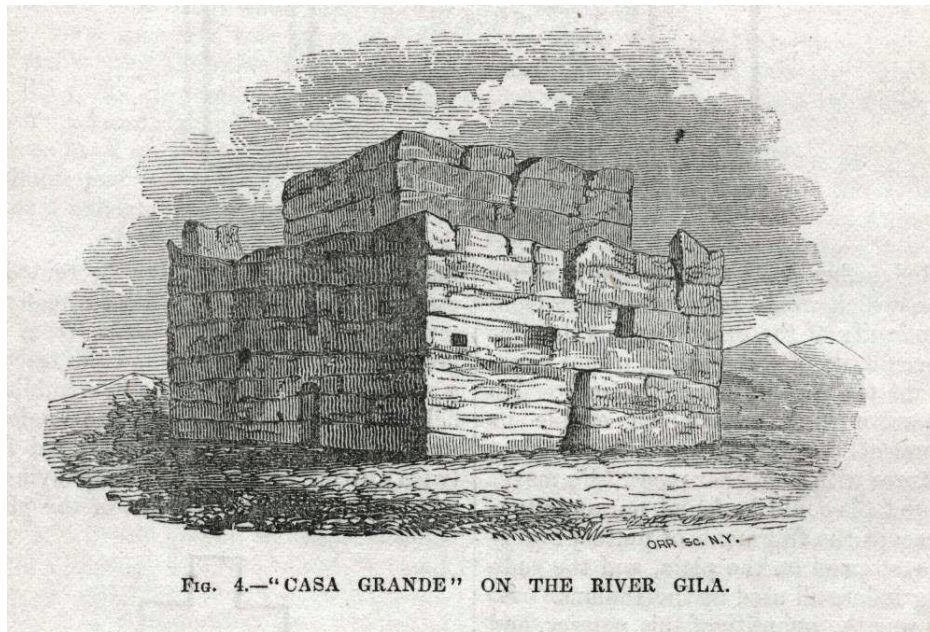


Figure 14. E. G. Squier’s rendering of the Casa Grande, 1848. *American Review* (Nov. 1848).

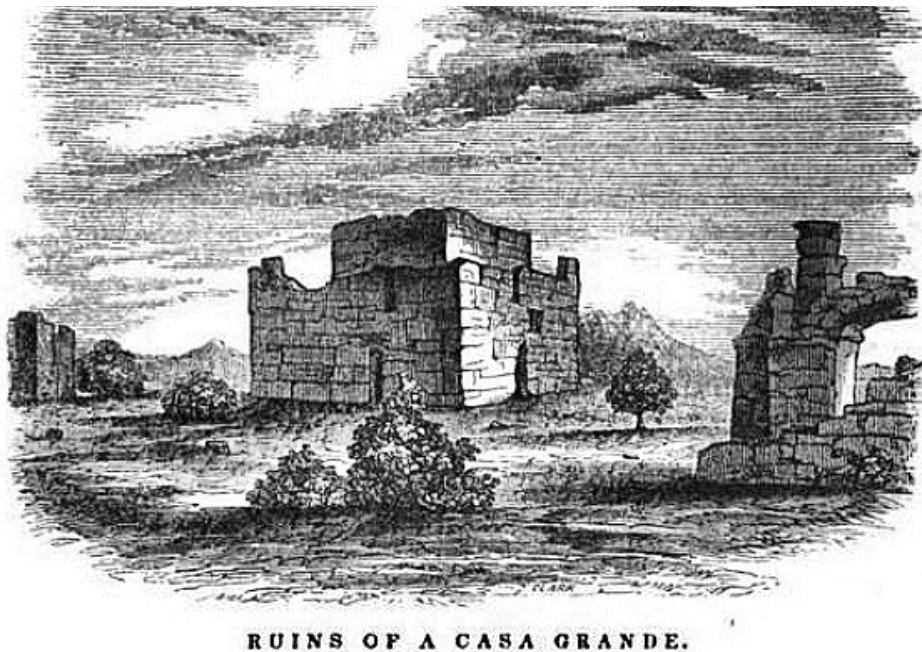


Figure 15. “The Casa Grande of the Gila,” a woodcut by Brantz Mayer, 1853. Likely based on Stanley’s 1846 drawing.

---

placement further south, in the process acquiring all of present-day Arizona (Gadsden Purchase, 1854). Bartlett’s antiquarian interests served a central role in muddling what should have been a straightforward process. Joseph Richard Werne, *The Imaginary Line: A History of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, 1848-1857* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2007), xiii.

Army of the West, the Interior also directed the boundary commission to collect data on the region's geography, natural history, and ethnology as often as possible without hindering the survey. Unlike Emory, Bartlett exploited the official directive; led astray by personal wanderlust, an avid desire to study the borderlands' ethnic groups and ancient remains firsthand, he took long exploratory side trips and greatly delayed the survey. As a result, the Gila River portion of the survey could not begin until April 1852, though Whipple had been camped in the area for eight months.<sup>115</sup> Despite his gallivants, Bartlett produced informative descriptions of the landscapes he explored—some of the best generated during the mid-19th century; his description of Casa Grande, for instance, joined the ranks of those penned by Manje (1697), Font (1775), and Emory (1846).

Bartlett surveyed Casa Grande on July 12, 1852 during a recreational excursion of the vicinity. He departed the commission's Gila camp at around ten in the morning accompanied by two Piman guides, longtime friend and commission secretary Dr. Thomas H. Webb, commission botanist George Thurber, and Henry Cheever Pratt—the commission's official artist. Astride mules, the small entourage headed east, following Kearny's '46 trail for most of the eleven-mile journey. D-Still deep and distinct from the narrow wheels of the army howitzer, Bartlett mused that contemporary use of the trail to cross Arizona would preserve it as a monument to that remarkable campaign for some time. Bartlett's party remained on the trail until a point just a few miles from the ruins. Soon after, they began to observe broken pottery and the traces of ancient irrigating canals. Then the ancient edifice met their eyes. It rose "above a forest of mezquit," its bright walls presenting a striking contrast to the "deep green foliage" of the surrounding trees.<sup>116</sup> Mesmerized, Bartlett and Pratt proceeded to capture the picturesque impression in drawings [Figs. 17-18].<sup>117</sup>



Figure 16. Portrait of John Russell Bartlett, ca1850s. Courtesy New York Public Library, nypl.org.

<sup>115</sup> Bartlett's gallivants in northwestern Mexico and along the Rio Gila critically delayed the survey work in its initial year. When he and Whipple finished the Gila portion of the Survey in August 1852, for example, eleven months had passed since Whipple first set up camp there in September 1851, the result of Bartlett postponing his arrival until April '52. Bartlett's delays continued throughout the survey's duration and impeded survey goals along with other Commission conflicts, such as the controversies about where to lay a transcontinental railroad. By the time the Boundary Commission began applying final touches to the survey maps in 1857, Mexico and the United States were already rushing toward civil war. Werne, 48, 91, 118, 122, and xi.

<sup>116</sup> Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, 271-272.

<sup>117</sup> Bartlett's report does not record Pratt accompanying them to the ruins, and yet Pratt's illustration lists the date as the same day as the Bartlett excursion: July 12, 1852. While most scholars attribute Fig. 19 (see below) to Pratt, others believe it yet another version of Bartlett's 1852 drawing.

Bartlett's inspection of Casa Grande offered a more scientific rendering. He began his report with a summary of the features previous travelers usually recorded—the number of stories, the wall construction and thickness, the hieroglyph that Emory and Johnston had noticed, the approximate site measurements, and general descriptions of the environs. On the southwest, Bartlett examined the second ruin noted by Font in 1775, but commented that little remained of the walls to trace its original form—just enough to judge that the structure once had a central room about two stories high, and an outer one-story space or wall. Bartlett outlined the elevations and ground plans of the two main buildings, indicating the standing walls with dark lines, the fallen walls with fainter lines [Fig. 19]. To the northeast, he noticed a smaller building in near utter decay. He supposed it had been a watchtower. Northwest of the Casa Grande, at about two hundred yards distant, Bartlett discovered a circular embankment. Eighty to one hundred yards in circumference, it was open in the center like an animal corral. In every direction, “as far as the eye [could] reach,” Bartlett observed “heaps [mounds] of ruined edifices with no portions of their walls standing,” and a plain strewn with red, white, black, and lead colored pottery shards as well as numerous *metates*, or corn-grinders.<sup>118</sup>

Returning to the Casa Grande, Bartlett surveyed its ground plan and recorded long, narrow interior apartments with no noticeable windows and few doors. Forwarding a new theory on its original use, he suggested that the ancient people had used the rooms as storerooms for grain, probably corn; conceivably, he added, they had designed the whole building as a granary. Remarkably, the ruin's overall condition showed little change since the first missionary accounts. It remained unhurried in its deterioration except for the large fissures on the south exterior wall that were enlarging too rapidly. Bartlett reckoned that without intervention the wall would soon collapse. The greatest deterioration seemed to be occurring at the base, particularly the corners, likely from collected moisture. Entertainingly from a perspective of time, Bartlett prescribed a preservation solution that involved a mere couple of days' labor spent restoring the walls with a mud and gravel mixture. A quick fix, he judged the so-called restoration would “render this interesting monument as durable as brick, and enable it to last for centuries.”<sup>119</sup> While unsophisticated, Bartlett's preservation scheme was nonetheless the first recommendation that involved preserving the ruins, not reconstructing.

Bartlett concluded his account with a discussion on the site's long-held presumed Aztec connection. During the approximately two weeks spent among the Pimas, Bartlett had vigilantly sought yet discovered no plausible explanation for the identity of the people who built the ancient *casas grandes* settlements. In his estimation, people were too quick to ascribe all ancient remains to the Aztecs. The tradition has consequently developed, promulgated widely, and settled into “fact.”<sup>120</sup> Yet, the traditions giving rise to the standard Aztec explanation were not only vague but also linguistically and culturally unverifiable.

---

<sup>118</sup> Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, 273.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 274-75.

<sup>120</sup> Bartlett, 274-275. In this passage, Bartlett holds the ethnologists Torquemada, Boturini, and Clavigero responsible for promulgating, without hard evidence, the idea that the *casas grandes* were Aztec halts along a southward migration.



Figure 17. Bartlett's woodcut illustration, "Ruins of Casa Grandes, River Gila," 1852. From Bartlett's *Personal Narrative*. Courtesy Southern Methodist University, Central Libraries, DeGolyer Library.



Figure 18. "Casa Grandes, near the Gila River--Arizona," a painting by Henry Cheever Pratt, July 12, 1852. Some scholars attribute this to John Russell Bartlett. Courtesy John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

“No analogy has yet been traced,” Bartlett argued, “between the language of the old Mexicans and any tribe at the north in the district from which they are supposed to have come; nor in any of the relics, ornaments, or works of art,” that suggested a connection between the Aztecs and the ancient Sonoran Desert people.<sup>121</sup>

Bartlett believed the oldest generations of Pimas were not the source from which such traditions had settled upon the *casas grandes*. Bartlett considered it plausible that they had assumed the myth of Montezuma and patented the great houses “de Montezuma” not from any ancient tradition of their own but from relatively recent contact with Spaniards and Mexicans. To make his case, Bartlett demonstrated that in response to his relentless inquiries into who built the great houses local natives would often concede, “Quien sabe?—Who knows?,” or reply more caustically, such as his guide’s comeback when asked to identify Montezuma: “Nobody knows who the devil he was; all we know is, that he built these houses.”<sup>122</sup> It flummoxed Bartlett that a people advanced enough to build houses several stories high and to construct miles-long canals had left no trace or tradition by which to know their identity or fate. Yet, in the end, Bartlett believed that further linguistic research would reveal their origins.<sup>123</sup> The cultural artifacts scattered across the valleys and plains told of a dense population that had once occupied this vast space, and that the race had been distinct from the ancient Mexicans. Bartlett thus dismissed the subject of the Aztec (Mexican)-Southwest connection, shelved it for future research, and ended his inspection. Back at camp by three o’clock, after a five-hour excursion and some of the hottest hours he had ever experienced, he discovered that the mercury in the shade beneath some trees read 119° Fahrenheit.

A year later in 1853, Bartlett published his Casa Grande report. The timing of its publication corresponded with the Gadsden Purchase—the United States’ acquisition of southwestern New Mexico and the portion of modern day Arizona south of the Gila River

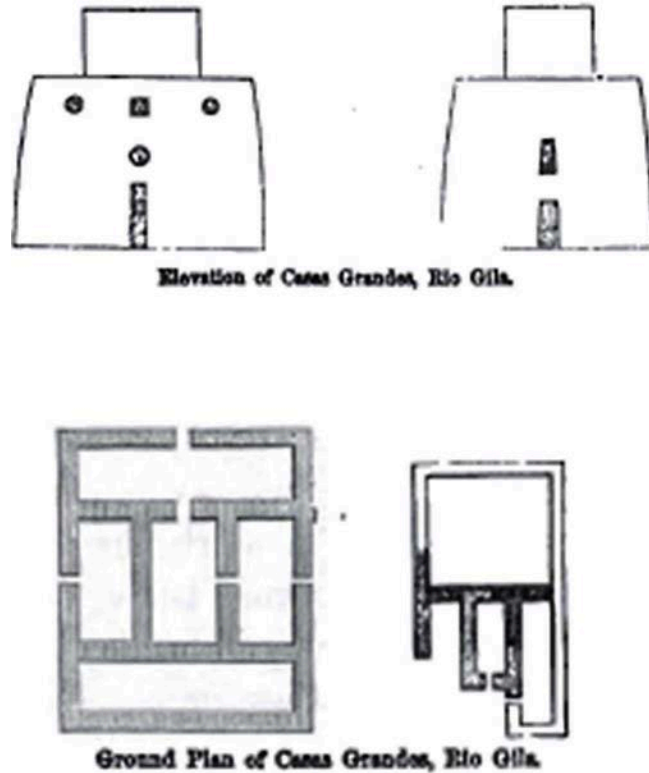


Figure 19. J. R. Bartlett’s elevation and ground plans of the Casa Grande and southwestern ruin. Bartlett (1854).

<sup>121</sup> Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, 274-275.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, 248.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, 247-248.

to the Mexican border. The United States and Mexico finalized the purchase in 1854. This political transaction enlarged New Mexico Territory and placed the Casa Grande ruins within American territory for the first time. Well-timed, Bartlett's long analytical account of the *casas grandes* of the Gila became a frequently cited American description of the ruins. Exhaustive and technical, subsequent travel writers, writing increasingly for popular Eastern audiences, deferred to Bartlett's account as a superlative must-read on par with those penned by Manje, Font, and Emory. The popular writers grounded their narratives and demonstrated attention to the latest research by referencing the creditable accounts—all while keeping the genre entertaining for a general readership interested in roseate stories about the Southwest and its curiosities, eccentricities, and lore.<sup>124</sup> At the same time, the beginning of American settlement in the region added a new dimension to travel accounts about ancient Arizona, as recent settlers and other residents offered a local, if newcomer, perspective on the ruins' legends and evolving condition.

---

<sup>124</sup> For an elucidation on Civil War- and Reconstruction-era travel writing in the Southwest, see Peter Wild, *The Opal Desert: Explorations of Fantasy and Reality in the American Southwest* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999).

## CHAPTER II

### PUBLICIZING CASA GRANDE, 1854–1879

I saw no hieroglyphics in the [Casa Grande] except the names of some Texan adventurers and California Volunteers, scribbled with a piece of charcoal. Rude sketches of Jeff Davis hung by the neck and President Lincoln fleeing from the vengeance of the Chivalry indicated rather forcibly that we were not beyond the reach of sectional prejudices.

~J. Ross Browne, 1864

After the United States acquired southern Arizona from Mexico in 1854, American military forts, trading posts, stage routes, and towns began to materialize along the former Mexican border delineated by the Gila River. New waves of adventure-seekers joined a small number of Anglo and Mexican settlers who mined and homesteaded in the Salt and Gila River region awaiting inevitable railroad and commercial growth. Unavoidably, increased traffic through the area exposed the already vulnerable Casa Grande ruins to further vandalism and exploitation. The exposure escalated during the 1860s when the region served as one of the few western battlegrounds of the Civil War.<sup>125</sup> After the war, as the nation attempted to reconstruct its devastated communities, area residents began to exercise a nascent yet developing sense of proprietorship for the ancient ruins surrounding them. Arizona's separation from New Mexico as Arizona Territory (1863) contributed. Although newcomers themselves, settlers and other residents such as stationed troops and land office agents acted as local tour guides and "go-to" sources on the region's history for visitors. Unfortunately, some of the newcomer Arizonans and the travelers they guided participated in vandalizing the ruins. At Casa Grande, they conducted amateur excavations and carried off irreplaceable original relics. At the same time, they raised awareness of the ruins by writing about their experiences and publishing travelogues in widely read magazines and western guidebooks. The writings ranged in reliability but facilitated Casa Grande's American public debut. Alongside the area's first photographs, the depictions of once-stately walls crumbling from the elements and vandalism also revealed that the defenseless ruins required immediate preservation.

#### American Journalists at Casa Grande, 1864–1871

*J. Ross Browne, 1864*

Major publicizing of Casa Grande to American readers began during the Civil War—the era of "big journalism" in which writers tended to depict current events with sensational language and heart-pounding detail. A few journalists bucked the trend. Writers like J. Ross Browne—Irish-born California resident and *Harper's Weekly* journalist—covered events and

---

<sup>125</sup> Southern New Mexico Territory seceded from the Union during the Civil War as the new Confederate Territory of Arizona.

places with impressions that were wry and sarcastic but generally reliable.<sup>126</sup> Browne's 1864 coverage of Arizona—a place most commonly depicted as wild and savage—serves as a case in point. Browne traveled through Arizona with one of the Territory's earliest Anglo settlers, politician Charles D. Poston, who, in late 1863, had become Arizona's Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Browne's tour with Poston resulted in a series of articles first published in *Harper's Weekly* and then later compiled into a book. Browne's penchant for seeing the cultures and environments he explored with humor and sarcasm offered American readers a truer description than the inflated, nearly fictional genre of western travel writing standard at the time.<sup>127</sup> As a result, Browne produced one of Arizona's most reliable Civil War-era travelogues.

Browne's description of a visit to the Pima Villages and Gila River area, for example, weaves his personal experiences together with descriptions of a rapidly changing landscape already dissimilar from the place Bartlett and the U.S.-Mexican Boundary Survey mapped twelve years prior. Markers of change in Browne's account include the new government reservation system—the “protection” of the Pima and Maricopa Indians and their cultivated agricultural lands by means of the Gila River reservation established in 1859.<sup>128</sup> Browne described this consequence of the American Indian Wars as a reservation about twenty-five miles long by four wide with the Gila River running through it from one end to the other. Approximately 64,000 acres, it included ten Piman and two Maricopan villages.<sup>129</sup> Within the reservation, the Pima raised wheat and sold the surplus to non-native groups—the military and the growing number of local miners and traders that flooded Arizona after the '57 gold strike.<sup>130</sup> Other changes included transportation developments, namely roads.

---

<sup>126</sup> Peter Wild, *J. Ross Browne* (Boise: Boise State University Western Writers Series, 2003), 23.

<sup>127</sup> Scholars credit Browne, an early writer of literary realism, as a minor influence on Herman Melville and Mark Twain; yet Browne played a much larger role as an early crusader against the romantic genre of literature typified by travel writing in this period, which tended to sensationalize and melodramatize. Writing a generation *before* American writers collectively took up the cause of literary realism in the 1890s, Browne peppered his accounts of the places he toured, especially the American frontier, with a wry sense of humor and sardonic doses of reality. See: Joseph Csicsila, “An Old Southwestern Abroad: Cultural Frontiers and the Landmark American Humor of J. Ross Browne's *Yusef*,” in M. Thomas Inge and Edward J. Piancentino, eds., *The Humor of the Old South* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2001), 215.

<sup>128</sup> For the most part, the government explained the reservation as federal benevolence towards the Pimas for long supporting and protecting American activity in the area. In reality, the rhetorical motion, of protecting Piman and Maricopan agricultural activity by means of a reservation, facilitated their eventual loss of water rights and cultivable land. See: David H. DeJong, *The Sword of Damocles: Pima Agriculture, Water Use and Water Rights, 1848-1921* (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2007), 88; and Donald J. Pisani, *Water and American Government: the Reclamation Bureau, National Water Policy, and the West, 1902-1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 194.

<sup>129</sup> J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1869), 107-110. By executive order, the U.S. government expanded the reservation several times from 1869 through the early 1880s, the final size being about 150,000 acres.

<sup>130</sup> According to Browne, prospector Jacob Snively's discovery of gold along the lower Gila caused the whole earth to turn out in Arizona. A boomtown called Gila City emerged nearly overnight and,

Following the Gadsden Purchase, Congress had approved the survey and construction of roads nationwide. These were to connect all the states and territories from the east to west coasts, mainly to California. One of these commissioned roads was the “El Paso to Ft. Yuma Wagon Road,” informally called Leach’s Road for surveyor Jesse B. Leach. Completed in October 1858, the Leach Road entered Arizona from the southeast, near Benson. Unlike most routes across Arizona, the Leach Road bypassed the Santa Cruz valley and Tucson, heading north along the San Pedro river corridor instead. At the San Pedro’s junction with the Gila, the road continued west along the Gila’s southern banks, passing near the Casa Grande ruins and through the Pima villages before continuing its arc-like course to Yuma.<sup>131</sup> Browne likely followed this road on his way from the Pima Villages to Fort Yuma.

The commencement of southern overland mail routes corresponded with the construction of the Leach road and introduced the first commercial means of travel through the region. In 1857, after forty-niner James Birch established the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line company under government contract, he began providing semi-monthly mail service between Texas and California by means of stagecoaches. The company’s relay station at Maricopa Wells, a Pima-village station, served as an important stop. It marked the dividing line between westbound and eastbound mail, and served as a hub for local commerce. Birch’s mail route was short lived. Within a year of its launch, wealthy rival John Butterfield won a six-year federal service contract along the same route and cancelled out the San Antonio-San Diego. Well-funded, the famous Butterfield Overland Mail Company provided improved mail service, delivered on a semi-weekly schedule rather than bi-monthly, and covered a greater distance—from St. Louis, Missouri to San Francisco, California. The company also placed stations at comfortable distances apart. They averaged twenty miles between, though the actual station-to-station distances ranged anywhere from nine to sixty miles.<sup>132</sup> Browne considered Butterfield’s operation the greatest enterprise ever undertaken by a private citizen and one of the grand achievements of the age, for the semi-weekly line of stages covered twenty-five hundred miles in twenty-five days on the “sole power of horseflesh.”<sup>133</sup>

Most stage stations served as little more than watering places for through stages and travelers. However, a few offered onsite lodging and the framework for commercial trade. At the Casa Blanca Station (est. 1858) located in the Pima villages twenty miles northwest of the Casa Grande ruins, for example, Maine-native Amiel “Ammi” White and partner E. S. Noyes established a trading post and the area’s first steam-operated gristmill—an economic hub for mediating native and non-native goods exchange [Fig. 20].<sup>134</sup> Even after the

---

within a year, over a thousand miners prospected in the gulches and canyons nearby. The Pimas provided their main source of flour. Browne recorded their 1863 transactions as 600,000 pounds of wheat to the U.S. government and approximately 100,000 pounds of flour to local miners and traders. See: Browne, 76 and 111; and, Sheridan, *Arizona: a History*, 72.

<sup>131</sup> Despite its expense, this road was poorly constructed and received great public criticism. For a copy of the map, see the David Rumsey Map Collection, <<http://www.davidrumsey.com>>..

<sup>132</sup> Stein, “Historic Trails in Arizona from Coronado to 1940,” 15.

<sup>133</sup> Browne, 19.

<sup>134</sup> Byrd H. Granger, ed., *Will C. Barnes’ Arizona Place Names* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1960), 292. While unconfirmed, some literature has described Ammi White as an Indian agent chosen by the United States government to oversee the interests of the Pima and Maricopa people.

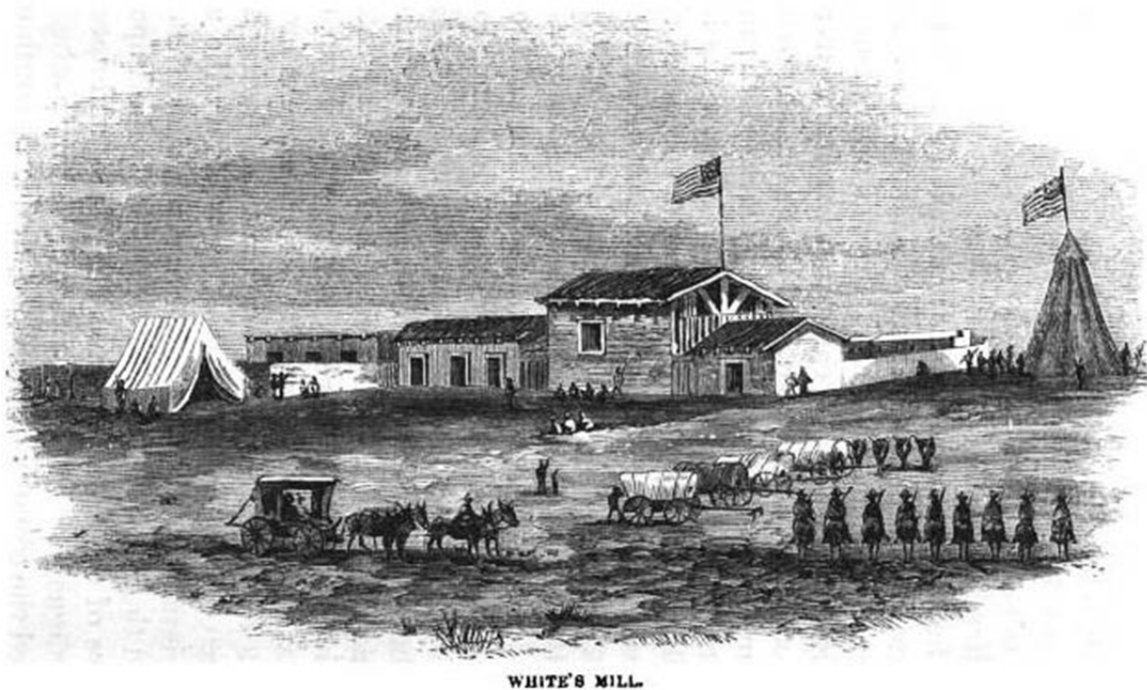


Figure 20. J. Ross Browne's 1864 drawing of Ammi White's Mill at Casa Blanca Station, showing Fort Barrett. Browne (1869).

Butterfield stations ceased operations on the southern Arizona route in 1861, due to the outbreak of the Civil War, New Mexico Territory's secession from the Union, and incessant Apache attacks on the stations and coaches, White, a Union sympathizer, maintained his mill and trading post operations. He boasted a daily average capacity of about 2,000 pounds of flour until the mill's short closure in 1862 when the Confederate army seized the station and held White a prisoner of war.<sup>135</sup> New Mexico Territory returned to federal control in late

---

Contemporary Gila River tribal members remember White as an agent who "seized control of the wheat market and invested in native lands left out of the original reservation survey." See: Thomas E. Jones and Scott Solliday, "A Historic Context of Flour Milling in Arizona," in Victoria D. Vargas, et al, *Hayden Flour Mill: Landscape, Economy, and Community Diversity in Tempe, Arizona* (Tempe: Archaeological Consulting Services, Ltd., 2008), 1:152.

<sup>135</sup> Jones and Solliday in Vargas, et al, 1:152-153. At the beginning of the Civil War, White converted his trading post into a supply station for the Union's California Column. In March 1862, after New Mexico Territory became Confederate (January 1862), Confederate soldiers captured White and closed his mill as part of a larger scheme to confiscate and destroy supply centers along the Butterfield Trail and suppress the Union's California Column from advancing eastward to relieve federal forts along the Rio Grande. By 1867, White had sold his mill and moved to San Francisco. New owners Nick Bichard and brothers operated the mill until 1868 when Gila River floods destroyed it and operations moved to Adamsville. See also: Donald M. Powell, ed., *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour through Arizona and Sonora, 1864 by J. Ross Browne* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974), 29; Marshall J. Trimble, *Roadside History of Arizona* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 1986), 394-95; and James H. McClintock, *Arizona, Vol. I: Prehistoric, Aboriginal, Pioneer, Modern* (Chicago: S.J. Clarke and Co., 1916), 275.



Figure 21. Portrait of Antonio Azul, head chief of the Pimas, with his son and grandson, ca1870. Ladies' Union Mission School Association (1893).

1862 and soon after, White returned to Casa Blanca. He discovered that Union troops had built Fort Barrett at the station and enclosed his mill and outbuildings within fort walls. The following year, the United States created Arizona Territory from western New Mexico and White assumed new responsibilities as the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs agent for the Pima; Antonio Azul, head chief of the Pimas since 1855, assisted him [Fig. 21]. White also expanded his milling business, beginning with a renovation of the mill in 1864 with the help of the U.S. Army.<sup>136</sup> It was from this resilient establishment in January that the entourage including popular journalist J. Ross Browne departed for the fabled Casa Grande ruins.

The group accompanying J. Ross Browne to the ruins included thirty cavalymen and two officers—Capt. Gorham and Lt. Arnold, all members of the Union's California Volunteers. Cyrus Lennan, resident trader and half-brother of Ammi White, and Charles Debrille Poston, Arizona's new Superintendent of Indian Affairs, also joined Browne. An "old friend," Poston had encouraged Browne to tour Arizona and personally escorted him from San Francisco to Arizona [Fig. 22].<sup>137</sup> This large entourage traveled twenty miles to

<sup>136</sup> After renovation, White renamed it the Pima Steam Flour Mill.

<sup>137</sup> Poston, known today as "the Father of Arizona," helped frame the policies that created Arizona as a territory separate from New Mexico in 1863; he also served as Arizona's first delegate to Congress. At the time of the Casa Grande ruins tour, Poston had just arrived from San Francisco to begin his Indian Affairs superintendence. Browne traveled with him. The two had met up by chance in San Francisco in early December 1863 when Poston, newly returned from the east coast, was about to head to Arizona. Already well acquainted, having previously traveled together, Browne was easily convinced to accompany his "old friend" when he waxed poetic about Arizona, calling his years spent there (the 1850s) the best of his life. Considering it an opportunity to experience "locomotion on a grand scale," as cooks, teamsters, vaqueros and a large military escort would comprise Poston's entourage, Browne agreed to go: "Poston," said he, "consider me a partner?" Ammi White, Antonio Azul, and Francisco also made the return trip to Arizona with Poston, though the reason for their presence in San Francisco is unclear. Browne writes that Azul had paraded the streets of San Francisco with Iretabe, a Mojave chief who had recently created much "sensation in New York and Washington." He also expresses his delight at making White's acquaintance, for the



Figure 22. Browne's portrait of Charles D. Poston, 1864. Browne (1869).

reach Casa Grande. The trip took two days and required an overnight stay at the Sacaton stage station on the Pima Indian reservation. The last stretch of their journey on the morning of the second day required a meander through ancient irrigation canals devoid of water but full of old, decaying mesquite trees. Near a place called "White's ranch," the company diverted to the right and a half hour later, reached Casa Grande.<sup>138</sup> The "grand old relic" loomed up over the desert "in bold relief," filling the travelers' minds "with a strange perplexity as to the past." "What race dwelt here?" Browne posed, and "By what people were these crumbling walls put together? How did they live? And where are they gone?"<sup>139</sup>

The "mystery" of the site thus introduced, Browne turned to describing it. He mostly deferred readers to Bartlett's 1852 report, it being a "correct and elaborate" account, but then illustrated a few points of further interest.<sup>140</sup> Assessing the main edifice, he noted that the hieroglyphs on Casa Grande's inner walls—recorded by both the Army of the West in 1846 and Bartlett in 1852—were no longer visible. Browne noted Pauline Weaver's name, etched with the date 1833, and considerable fresh graffiti—the names of Texan adventurers and California volunteers, scribbled in charcoal. The charcoal doodles included rude sketches of Jeff Davis hung by the neck and President Lincoln fleeing from "the vengeance of the Chivalry," both of which indicated "rather forcibly" to Browne and his companions that Arizona was not beyond the reach of "sectional prejudices."<sup>141</sup> Continuing his assessment of the ruin, Browne observed that only three of the twelve ruins Manje had recorded as standing above ground in 1697 were still visible; the other nine had turned into mounds. Overall, it pleased Browne to find the main ruin in a "remarkable state of preservation, considering its great antiquity" and composition, though he noticed considerable deterioration at the building's base. Here, Nature had worn the old building down "to a depth threatening the permanency of the whole fabric."<sup>142</sup>

Paradoxically, given Browne's commentary on the instability of the ruin's fabric, Browne, Poston, and companions proceeded to deface the site. They dislodged the wooden stumps protruding from Casa Grande's walls to examine their artisanship, and noted that they were about five to six inches in diameter, of some type of cedar species, and that in

---

trader had "seen all the ups and downs of Arizona life," been a prisoner among the Texans, and thus known "as much of the country as any man in or out of it." See: Browne, 28-30.

<sup>138</sup> Other sources have described diverting southward at "Walker's Ranch," not "White's." The former is likely correct, since J. D. Walker homesteaded just north of the Casa Grande ruins starting in the '60s. See subsection *Early Surveys, Settlers, and John D. Walker* in section "Settling among Ruins, 1866-1871" of this chapter.

<sup>139</sup> Browne, 114-16.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid, 114.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, 118.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid, 116 and 118.

their original state, would have served as floor supports. Hack marks on the stumps indicated where someone had used a blunt instrument, probably a stone hatchet, to hew the poles from raw wood. As the large entourage continued to investigate the famous ruined site, Cyrus Lennan, the trader, intrigued the non-Arizonans of the party with stories of the other types of relics collected from the grounds. He admitted to doing a bit of excavating himself, and that he had uncovered several bone awls. His half-brother Ammi White, the millwright, had heard of passersby carting off numerous instruments of flint and stone<sup>143</sup> Browne's entourage behaved no differently, gathering artifacts during their half day spent exploring the Casa Grande site. When evening descended, Browne put the last touches to a sketch and groundplan of the ruin, and then he and his companions traveled back to their camp along the Gila "well laden with curiosities," each member of the party toting a "fragment of pottery and specimen of adobe and plaster [Fig. 23]."<sup>144</sup>

Back at camp, Charles Poston prepared a report of the ruins tour for William P. Dole—the Bureau of Indian Affairs commissioner in Washington, D.C. Dated January 18, the report extended Poston's proposal for a scientific excavation of Casa Grande. The first such proposed, Poston warranted that formal excavations of the old ruin might produce relics illuminating the obscurity of the site's ancient yet surely "superior" civilization. Poston estimated that five hundred dollars would finance a considerable examination, if supervised locally by the Pima Indian Agent or some other government officer stationed nearby.<sup>145</sup> Poston's proposal failed to bring about an excavation of the Casa Grande ruins. On the other hand, the Poston-led excursion to Casa Grande reached a broad audience when J. Ross Browne published his account in the November issue of *Harper's Weekly*—one part in a six-article series on Arizona that he later compiled into a book (*Adventures in the Apache Country*, 1869). In general, reviewers—most of whom were located on the west coast—applauded Browne for furnishing people on the eastern seaboard with new information on a barely-known part of the world.<sup>146</sup> Others criticized Browne's work as too artistic. Describing his travelogue as mere "gleanings from the roadside," they judged that it would read well in *Harper's* but hardly induce the "thinking, enterprising man to a further investigation."<sup>147</sup>

---

<sup>143</sup> A couple weeks after the excursion to these *casas grandes*, Apaches killed Cyrus Lennan while he participated in an expedition to capture and punish Pinal Apaches assumed to have stolen many head of cattle from various ranchers. The event eventually earned the title of the Bloody Tanks Battle. Lennan, known among the Pima Indians as "Chin Beard," was not only a trader but also postmaster at the Pima Villages, probably for the Overland Mail Line. He may have been as young as fifteen years old. See Browne, 84, 114 and 120-124; and Frank Russell, "The Pima Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1904-1905* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908): 50.

<sup>144</sup> Browne, 120.

<sup>145</sup> Charles D. Poston to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 18 Jan. 1864, as quoted in Clemensen, 21 n16.

<sup>146</sup> Magazine review column, *New-York Times*, 2 Nov 1864; and, S. Q. Lapius, "Arizona," *New-York Times*, 23 Sept 1865, pg. 2.

<sup>147</sup> Lapius, *New-York Times*.

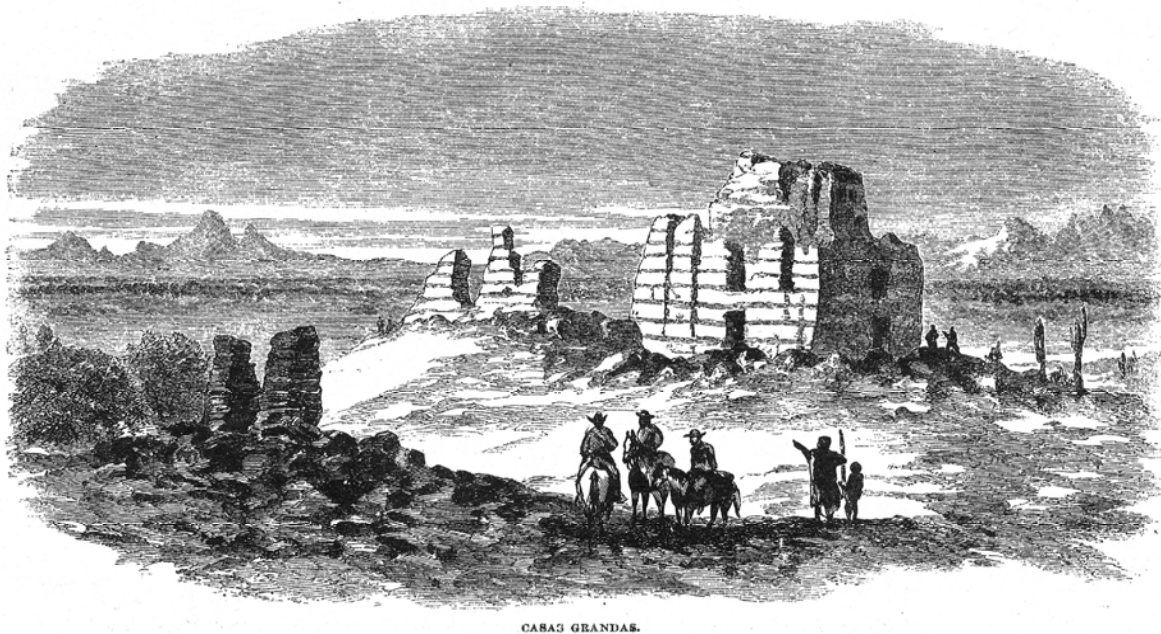


Figure 23. J. Ross Browne's 1864 drawing of the Casa Grande. Browne (1869).

Ultimately, Browne's adventures appealed to America's middle-class readership—though educated and literate, for the most part they were also urban and bored.<sup>148</sup>

*Samuel Woodworth Cozzens, 1859 (The Marvellous Country, 1874)*

The popularity of Browne's *Adventures* inspired emulation. In 1874, Samuel Woodworth Cozzens, a New Mexico territorial lawyer with connections to the Butterfield Overland Mail Company, published his experiences of Arizona in a work that nearly plagiarized Browne's 1869 publication.<sup>149</sup> Cozzens first toured Arizona in 1859, five years before Browne, but waited fifteen years to write about his experiences. When he finally published, the result was an account that, while not a mirror image, followed Browne's structure and content too closely for originality. Even his illustration of the Casa Grande is a near copy of Browne's, the placement of men on horseback being the only significant

<sup>148</sup> Wild, *J. Ross Browne*, 39.

<sup>149</sup> The inadequate biographical information existing on Samuel W. Cozzens suggests he was a Massachusetts lawyer as well as one of New Mexico Territory's early district judges in Mesilla. When he visited the Gila River area in 1859, he may have been attending conventions for the establishment of Arizona Territory. Some data suggests he also served as an attorney-at-law or mail contractor for the Butterfield Overland Mail Co. See: Pieter Hovens, et al., eds., *Travels and Researches in Native North American, 1882-1883 by Herman ten Kate* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), n56, 191; Charles G. Worman, *Gunsmoke and Saddle Leather: Firearms in the Nineteenth-Century American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 134; and, Adlai Feather, "The Territories of Arizona," *New Mexico Historical Review* 34, no. 1 (Jan 1964): 27.

difference [Fig. 24].<sup>150</sup> Despite the book's general plagiarism, Cozzens' account diverges enough from Browne's that it warrants brief discussion. Especially, since it offers a rare description from the perspective of an early territorial resident (New Mexico Territory) and traveler who used the overland mail-coach system for the sole purpose of visiting the ruins.

According to Cozzens, he and a travel companion, one Dr. Parker, determined to visit the Gila's celebrated ruin on a summer morning in 1859. They were in Tucson for business, and thus they left their mules and wagons behind and made the excursion north via stage. The ninety-mile overnight journey commenced on schedule at six o'clock a.m., and concluded upon their arrival at the Pima Villages station—probably Maricopa Wells—at dawn the following day. Cozzens described the ride between Tucson and their destination as uninteresting. The sun's rays scorched the travelers, and the coach, jolting along the hard gravelly soil covered with thick growths of mesquite and cactus, taxed their frames. Though weary, they began organizing their Casa Grande tour within minutes of arriving at the Pima Villages station. Col. Buckley, superintendent of the California division of the overland mail, furnished them with mules, an outfit, and two Pima guides. "Mr. St. John," federal appointee to "superintend and instruct the Pimos in agricultural pursuits," accompanied the travelers.<sup>151</sup> Departing early the next morning, the party of five traveled all day, camped overnight, and arrived at the ruins at noon the second day. Gazing upon the standing structures and mounds, they were filled with wonder and awe, never having seen "anything so wonderful as these relics of an extinct race, of whom [they] had no reliable history, and no knowledge save traditionary legends."<sup>152</sup> At this point, Cozzens' description of the ruin and its history of exploration nearly copies Browne, returning to originality only when he records the return trip the next evening to the Indian villages and their surprise when told that the stage for Tucson would not arrive until late the following day. Capitalizing on the delay, the travelers lodged in the "comfortable bunks in the station of the mail company," likely at Maricopa Wells, and spent the next day among the Pimas learning what they could of their history, manner of living, and other customs.<sup>153</sup>

#### *U. S. Military, 1866-1871*

The early stage system operating within Casa Grande's vicinity not only served adventurers such as J. Ross Browne and territorial lawyer Samuel W. Cozzens but also the military troops that occupied the area during the American Indian Wars. Anglo and Mexican incursions with Apachean tribes had spiked during the Civil War, partly due to the departure of federal troops eastward, an exodus that left two vastly different societies—the market-

---

<sup>150</sup> For a comparative essay on J. Ross Browne and Samuel W. Cozzens, see Wild, *The Opal Desert*, 40-45. Also see Herman ten Kate in Hovens, *Travels and Researches* (2004), 182. Herman ten Kate called Cozzens' work one of the "trash popular works" of the time.

<sup>151</sup> Samuel Woodworth Cozzens, *The Marvellous Country; or, Three Years in Arizona and New Mexico, the Apaches' Home* (London: S. Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1874), 188. "Mr. St. John" was likely Silas St. John, a former Butterfield employee who resigned to serve as Indian agent of agriculture at the Pima Reservation in 1859-60. See: Robert A. Hackenberg, *Aboriginal Land Use and Occupancy of the Pima-Maricopa Indians, Vol. 1* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 166.

<sup>152</sup> Cozzens, 198. Cozzens' use of the word 'traditionary' in this paragraph mimics Browne.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid*, 198.



Figure 24. Cozzens' 1859 rendering of the Casa Grande. This is a near copy of Browne's 1864 drawing. Cozzens (1874).

ordered Anglo and the kin-ordered Apache—confronting each other over land use.<sup>154</sup> In the chaotic aftermath of the Civil War, troops returned but hostilities continued to mount as the disorganized army failed to mediate both war and peace in the region, incurring the frustration of both natives and newcomers instead. In addition, army garrisons multiplied. They extended across the region from Fort Yuma to New Mexico through both Tucson and the Salt and Gila River region, and in many cases served as the territory's first American communities. To the troops stationed at these forts, however, the post was akin to confinement in a dreary desert wasteland. Writing about their experiences for military journals back east, they therefore illuminated their accounts with whatever interesting material they could conjure, including snippet depictions of the ancient ruins they found nestled amid Arizona's fledgling towns. These brief descriptions furthered awareness of the antiquity of the American southwest.

In 1866, cavalryman Camillo C. Carr of the 1st U.S. Cavalry, marveled at the prehistoric canals, ruins, and artifacts that he saw spread across the Salt- and Gila-River valleys while en route to Fort McDowell, the army's "newest, largest, and best post in Arizona." In his published impressions of desert military life for readers of the *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association*, Carr likened the scene to stumbling across Grecian-like antiquities in a dreary, sandy wasteland. Large ruins or "superstructures," he penned, appeared as "immense monumental mounds or pyramids" against the desert vista, while pottery painted as "fresh and brilliant" as if just "removed from the kiln" evoked the "simple

---

<sup>154</sup> Sheridan, *Arizona*, 74-75.

but effective fretwork employed upon the temples of Greece.”<sup>155</sup> The sightings offered welcome variety to an otherwise miserable journey alleviated only by intermittent stops at stage stations. Hardly worth mentioning, the overland stations were usually “brush shelters or adobe hovels” built near watering holes, where all travelers could expect to stop and hydrate—or rather, to “poison themselves” with a local beverage called “Pickhandle Whiskey.” An odd concoction of alcohol, water, cayenne pepper, and tobacco mixed with a pick handle, Carr christened this regional drink the “murderer’s inspiration” that stationmasters served to those who needed “to rouse their flagging energies, or soothe their excited brains.”<sup>156</sup>

Four years later, two more cavalrymen recorded seeing the Casa Grande ruins while passing through the region. In a letter to the editor of the *Army and Navy Journal*, a cavalryman with the alias “Gashuntz” told readers that he “did not fail to see the famous Casa Grande” while traveling the Camp Grant to Fort Yuma road on February 20.<sup>157</sup> His letter indicated that he entered the Gila River valley from the east near the American settlement of Florence (est. 1866), estimated at 500 residents, and saw the Casa Grande “situated between White’s Ranch and Blackwater Station”; it contained about nine rooms, he estimated, all supported by walls of immense thickness.<sup>158</sup> The ruin stirred Gashuntz’s imagination: “It stands alone with legends, not history,” the cavalryman recounted, “and when I turned away, footsore and weary, from the grand old edifice, curious questions concerning the hands that built and the people that inhabited it naturally forced themselves upon me.”<sup>159</sup> Later that summer, Captain Guy V. Henry, marching from Fort McDowell to Tucson with Troop D, Third Cavalry to join General Crook’s campaign against the Apaches, saw “immense buildings three stories high” and deemed them important clues to “the mysterious history of this country and its former people.”<sup>160</sup>

Perhaps Captain F. E. Grossman, U.S. Army officer and Bureau of Indian Affairs agent for the Pima Indians, had encouraged the cavalryman to look for the immense ruins. Troop D had just enjoyed Grossman’s hospitality at Sacaton, the Pima village northwest of Casa Grande that had served as the Gila River reservation headquarters since 1869. In his letter to the editor, Henry lauded Grossman’s knowledge of the Gila River area. The agent had learned a great deal about the history and traditions of the area while living among the Pimas and often published his findings in ethnological journals back east. Grossman’s

---

<sup>155</sup> Camillo C. C. Carr, “The Days of the Empire—Arizona, 1866-1869,” *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* 2, no. 4 (March 1889) in Peter Cozzens, *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Vol. I: The Struggle for Apacheria* (Stackpole Books, 2001), 18 and 23

<sup>156</sup> Carr in Peter Cozzens, 18 and 23.

<sup>157</sup> “Gashuntz” was with Troop K, 1st U. S. Cavalry.

<sup>158</sup> The Blackwater station was on the Pima Indian Reservation, about four miles northwest of the Casa Grande. For background on Florence’s early development, see subsection *New American Towns: Adamsville and Florence* in section “Settling among Ruins” of this chapter.

<sup>159</sup> Gashuntz, “On the March to Fort Yuma,” *Army and Navy Journal* 8, no. 34 (April 8, 1871) in Cozzens (2001), 54-55.

<sup>160</sup> Capt. Guy V. Henry, “Cavalry Life in Arizona,” *Army and Navy Journal* 8, no., 43 (June 10, 1871) in Peter Cozzens (2001), 101.

current project, “Pima Indians of Arizona,” an article he intended to publish in the Smithsonian annual report of 1871 (1873), included a Piman myth that he had found to be the most consistent native accounting for the Casa Grande’s origins. According to this myth, King Si’-va-no, a direct descendant of Chief Sö’-hö—sole survivor of the Great Flood—had erected the Casas Grandes on the Gila River and governed a large empire. Rich and powerful, King Si’-va-no used the best preserved of these ancient buildings, the Casa Grande, as his personal residence. When King Si’-va-no’s empire became too populous for the Gila River to sustain, part of Si’-va-no’s community migrated to the Salt River Valley. In time, the Salt River community prospered greatly. The inhabitants wore and even built with precious gemstones. According to legend, they had manufactured their monarch’s beautiful throne entirely from large blue stones.<sup>161</sup> Like many before him, Grossman learned a version of the ancients’ origins but failed to uncover an official name for the ancients or a “suitable” explanation for their decline. Grossman’s colleague, Captain (Lt. Brevet) John D. Walker, previous Indian agent to the Pimas as well as early homesteader in the Casa Grande vicinity, filled in some gaps. In his corresponding notes on the Si’-va-no–Casa Grande myth, Walker indicated that the Pimas referred to the Gila River ancients as “Hohocam.”<sup>162</sup>

### Settling among Ruins, 1866–1871

John D. Walker represented one of a modest number of early settlers who claimed and worked sections of land adjacent to the Casa Grande ruins in the 1860s and early ‘70s. Some of these settlers, like Walker, learned about the geography and culture of the land, and effective practices for cultivating its soil, from their Piman neighbors. In turn, they became local English-speaking sources of information for newcomers and passersby, including the cartographers, topographers, and early popular writers and photographers, who mapped, surveyed, narrated, and photographed the resources of Arizona Territory in its nascent period of American settlement. As “go-to” locals, they not only served America’s expansionary efforts but also contributed to scholarly advancement. Trader Ammi White

---

<sup>161</sup> Frederick E. Grossman, “The Pima Indians of Arizona,” *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year 1871* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873):408-409. Later ethnological findings determined that the term “Sivano” or Civano, alternately “Sibo” or “Cibo” in the Spanish accounts, simply derived from the Pima word for “chief.” Later nineteenth-century linguists and ethnologists documented the given name of the Chief who built and occupied the ancient Casa Grande as “Chief Morning Glow.” For a fine history on the usage and derivations of this term, see Frank Russell, “The Pima Indians,” *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1904-1905* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908): 23-25. J. W. Fewkes also offers a well-synthesized report on the Spanish- and American-gathered versions of the Piman traditions for Casa Grande in Fewkes (1912), 42-52.

<sup>162</sup> John D. Walker, with Alfred Goldschmidt and Hubert Howe Bancroft, “The Pimas,” MS, San Francisco, 1873. This may be the earliest English transliteration of the Akimel O’odham (Pima) word for the “ancient ones,” for their Gila River ancestors who had passed on long ago, though the correct linguistic spelling is Huhugam. Early historians, such as prestigious California historian Hubert Howe Bancroft in his *Native Races* (1875), relied heavily on Walker’s knowledge for developing their studies on southwestern indigenous groups. See editor’s note, Hovens, et al., eds., *Travels and Researches*, 188 n50.

learned the rudiments of the language out of business necessity and in doing so expanded the list of known Piman vocabulary begun by ethnologists with the 1852 U.S.-Mexican Boundary Survey. Walker eased into the tribe through friendship and intermarriage, and initiated the process of formulating syntax for the Piman language. Inadvertently or by intent these local settlers expanded anthropological knowledge of the Southwest and its ruins.

#### *Early Surveys, Settlers, and John D. Walker*

Early surveys, maps, and handbooks for Arizona Territory indicate the growing presence of Gila River area settlers and their emerging clusters of farms, ranches, and communities, namely Adamsville (1864) and Florence (1866). The first public survey of the territory commenced in 1867 at a base-meridian point southwest of Phoenix, at the confluence of the Salt and Gila Rivers.<sup>163</sup> A multi-year project, completion of the Casa Grande valley portion occurred a couple years later in 1869 under the direction of engineer Ralph W. Norris. On the map for Township 5 South-Range 8 East, section 16, Norris indicated the location of the Casa Grande ruins and handwrote, “Extensive Ruins Called ‘Casa Grande’.” He also indicated nearby homesteads and roads. The township map shows the Fort Yuma to Camp Grant Road traversing the sections directly north of the ruins, passing by fields and homesteads designated as Calvo’s Field (sections 8 and 9), Walker’s Field (section 9), Mexican Houses, Campio’s Field (section 10), Wise’s House (section 5), and Ward’s House (section 11) [Fig. 25]. Except for John D. Walker of ‘Walker’s Field,’ the settlers associated with the fields and houses in the township remain little known. An 1871 report for the U. S. House of Representatives by Arizona’s Superintendent of Indian Affairs helps identify some of these early valley settlers. The report addresses the proposed expansion of the Pima and Maricopa Indian Reservation and the impact such expansion would have on non-native settlement within the proposed reservation boundaries. Indian agent F. E. Grossman supplied the background information for the report.

The report indicated that northwest of the ruins in sections 8 and 9 two Mexican brothers named Dolores and Mateo Calvo homesteaded what Norris had labeled “Calvo’s Field.” Neighbors of J. D. Walker, the Calvos had cleared their land, constructed a brush fence and several small stick houses, and built a two-room adobe house and brush corral. Dolores, the elder, claimed he had held American citizenship since 1850, but told Grossman he had lost his naturalization papers.<sup>164</sup> Miguel Campio, the Mexican settler of “Campio’s Field,” marked in section 10 on Norris’ survey, had claimed land elsewhere by the time of the 1871 report. On the other hand, the 1871 listed several additional Mexican homesteaders who settled in Township 5S-Range 8E after Norris’ 1869 survey and were living within a few

---

<sup>163</sup> The United States launched the Public Land Survey System (PLSS) in 1851. This rectangular system of surveys divided each state or territory into four quadrants starting from a base-meridian point. The PLSS then split each quadrant into six-mile-square townships. A township-range designation identified the location of each township—its position north or south of the base line and east or west of the principal meridian. Each township, in turn, comprised thirty-six one-mile square sections. For example, the Casa Grande ruins’ position in Section 16 of Township 5S-Range 8E means it is five townships south of Arizona’s base line and eight townships east of the principal meridian.

<sup>164</sup> U. S. Congress, House Committee on Indian Affairs, *Survey of Pima and Maricopa Reservation*, 41st cong., 3rd sess., 1871, H. Doc. 139, 11-13.

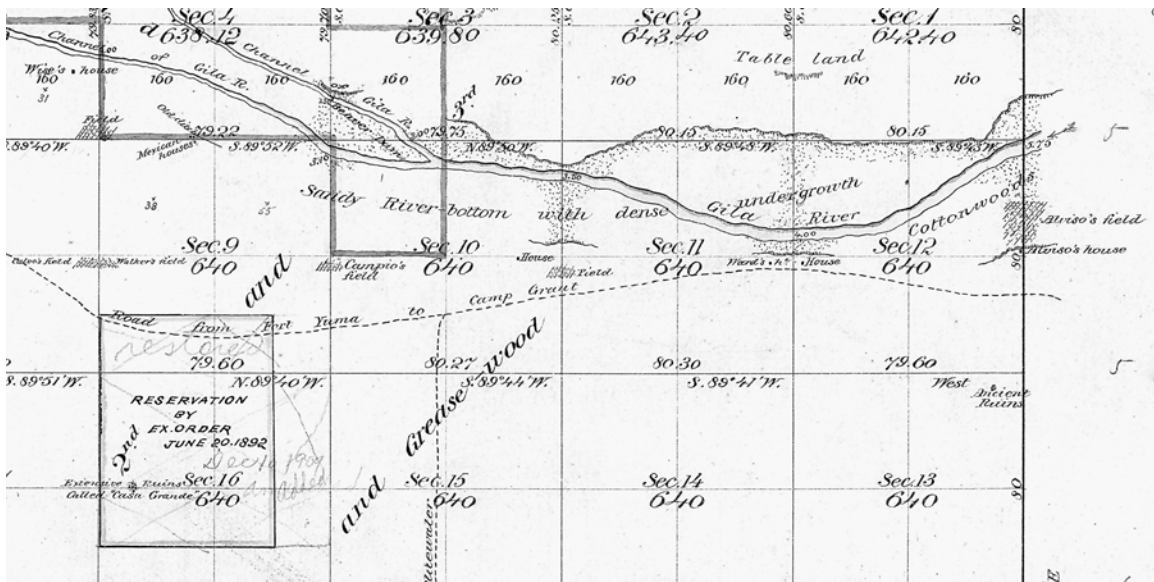


Figure 25. Detail of the 1869 Public Survey Map of Arizona Territory, showing part of Township 5S-Range 8E. The surveyor marked the Casa Grande ruins with the note, “Extensive Ruins Called ‘Casa Grande.’” The box surrounding the ruins was added to the map later, after the U.S. Congress reserved the site in 1889. Pencil lines and notes indicate the reservation’s 1909 boundary changes [see Epilogue]. Courtesy U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, [www.glorerecords.blm.gov](http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov).

miles of the ruins. These were Angel Gonzales (section 10), Seberiano Ortiz (section 5), and Juan José Morales (section 5). In addition, Grossman reported that a Papago Indian by the name of Juan Largo homesteaded off-reservation in section 6 of the Ruins Township. He paid taxes and voted in territorial elections along with other male American settlers. On the far eastern border of Township 5S-Range 8E, Ambrosio Arvizo, a Mexican who had declared his intention to become a U. S. citizen, worked a claim known locally as White’s Ranch, so named after J. A. White. Arvizo had allegedly purchased the land from White for \$3,000, and had improved it with four adobe houses and five stick houses.

Of the homesteads located within the expanded reservation boundaries, Grossman described John D. Walker’s ranch as the best improved. The settler had claimed 226 acres in section 9 about a mile north of the Casa Grande ruins. On the 1869 survey map, Norris had indicated Walker’s homestead merely as “Walker’s Field,” but in 1871, Grossman provided details indicating the settler had completed many exceptional improvements. Walker had surrounded his 226-acre claim with a mesquite brush fence—except on the north side facing the Gila River—and built a four-room adobe dwelling, a large adobe granary, a brush stable and a mesquite corral. He had also planted 3,000 grape vines, 200 young fig trees, 250 quince bushes, and 200 pomegranates. The agricultural success and appearance of Walker’s ranch reflected his close relationship with the Pimas and his reputation as one of the valley’s most prominent white settlers.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>165</sup> According to Walker’s Pima brother-in-law Juan Enas, Walker irrigated his fields for the last time in 1886. After that, the place became rundown. See: David H. DeJong, *Forced to Abandon Our Fields*:

Ten years earlier in 1860-61, Walker (1840-1891)—an American from Nauvoo, Illinois who boasted Wyandot (Peoria) Indian heritage—had traveled west with his father, stepmothers, and eight siblings to Marysville, California. Upon arrival, Walker and his father had a falling out and the impassioned twenty-year-old left home without a cent and enlisted in the Union army. In Oroville, California on November 22 1861, Walker joined Company I of the 5th Infantry Regiment of California as a corporal. From this date until he mustered out three years later, Walker served as a wagon master as the army marched across Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. Responsible for purchasing wheat and other supplies for military camps and forts, Walker spent a great deal of time in the Salt and Gila River area, where he traded with the Pimas—the U. S. Army’s primary wheat supplier—and earned their trust. After mustering out of the army at Mesilla, New Mexico in November 1864, Walker returned to Arizona and settled among the Pimas at Sacaton, the reservation headquarters. There he operated a trading post and school, and served as agency physician, having studied medicine under an army surgeon at Fort McDowell while with the California Volunteers.

During his first winter at Sacaton, Walker helped organize the First Arizona Volunteers—a mixed-race militia charged with protecting Arizona’s fledgling settlements from Apache and Yavapai raids. The Volunteers comprised several companies segregated by race: Mexican and Indian (Maricopan and Piman). Walker commanded Company C, a troop of 94 Piman soldiers. His friend, Pima head Chief Antonio Azul, mustered in as first sergeant. Oddly enough, from San Francisco on December 21, 1865, writer J. Ross Browne signed on to captain Company C.<sup>166</sup> Lately returned from his tour of Arizona, army authorities may have thought he would be an experienced choice for the rank. He never rode with the company, however. A soldier by the last name of Coster captained the Pima Company C instead and then in 1866, upon Coster’s discharge, Walker, who had been serving as First Lieutenant, assumed the rank of Captain and promoted Antonio Azul to first lieutenant. One of Walker’s contemporaries recalled that Captain Walker dressed and behaved as the Pimas when they were in the field: “You could not tell him from the other Indians. He dressed like them, with nothing on but a breech-clout, and whooped and yelled like his Indian comrades.”<sup>167</sup>

---

*The 1914 Clay Southworth Gila River Pima Interviews* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011), 57. In a 1909 magazine column for *Forest and Stream*, James Willard Schultz [See CH. V, fn1003]—noted Montana fur trader, amateur historian of the Blackfoot Indian tribe, and father of equally noted Arizona artist Hart Merriam Schultz (aka “Lone Wolf”)—visited the site of Walker’s Ranch and noted that it had fallen into ruin. He wrote “The vast vineyards [Walker] planted are overgrown with weeds; the thousands of fruit trees he set out are but a memory; the wide canal he dug is choked with mud; the mansion is in ashes.” The mansion Schultz referenced was allegedly Walker’s wood-construction replacement for the original adobe buildings. At the time of the article, a Florence local known as “Roll Elder” occupied Walker’s abandoned ranch and used it to cultivate bees. Elder had converted the old adobe buildings on the property for his own use. See: J. W. Schultz, “In Arizona, VI—The Gila Valley and the Casa Grande Ruins—The Fight at the Mountain Sheep Tank,” *Forest and Stream* (24 Jul 1909):129.

<sup>166</sup> James H. McClintock, *Arizona: Prehistoric, Aboriginal, Pioneer, Modern* (Chicago: S.J. Clarke and Co., 1916), 1:194.

<sup>167</sup> Thomas E. Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix: Filmer Bros. Electrotpe Co., 1916), 4:118.

By this time, the Pimas had essentially adopted Walker. They allowed him to serve on tribal councils and honored him with a good-natured name, “Has Viakam,” which may be loosely translated as “large penis.”<sup>168</sup> Walker’s appearance among the tribe in 1861-62 even earned an entry in the Pima Annals—the chronological record of noteworthy events that tribal tradition-keepers recorded with notches on a calendar stick and memorized for oral recitation.<sup>169</sup> In the late 1860s, Walker fell in love with a Pima woman named Churga (Juana) and the tribe allowed him to marry her in a Pima ceremony and live together off-reservation at Walker’s ranch near the Ruins.<sup>170</sup> Three years later, Walker and Churga had a daughter, whom they named Juana. Churga later returned to the Pima Villages with Juana, but Walker retained a close association with the tribe and an interest in the Pima culture. He recorded tribe history and traditions, collected antiquities related to the area’s ancient people, and, having learned Piman fluently during his years among the tribe, he developed the first comprehensive syntax of the language. Walker’s familiarity with the geography and history of the region, his firsthand knowledge of native culture, and his likewise prominent role within the American community—he served as Pinal County engineer after its formation in 1875 and later as county probate judge—placed Walker in the enviable position as the local resident that newcomers turned to for information. Until the late 1880s, Walker often entertained travelers or scientists at his ranch. He fed his guests, provided them with lodging, and fielded their questions about the region and its history, particularly about the conspicuous Casa Grande Ruins.<sup>171</sup> Sadly, Walker’s duality as both white settler and quasi Piman Indian contributed to charges of mental instability later in life. He died in 1891 at an insane asylum in Napa Valley, California. The suspicion of insanity continued to shadow his name after death, when dredged up during a bitter racially driven battle over his \$1,500,000 estate between Pima daughter Juana and his Walker siblings.<sup>172</sup>

---

<sup>168</sup> Katrina Jagodinsky, “Intimate Obscurity: American Indian Women in Arizona Households and Histories, 1854-1935” (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2011), 102.

<sup>169</sup> Frank Russell, “Pima Indians,” *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908): 49.

<sup>170</sup> The 1870 shows twenty one-year-old Churga living with Walker at his ranch along with an elderly farmhand from Jerusalem named Joseph Ellis. the enumerator listed Churga’s name as “Juana,” her age as 21, and, initially, her race as black—though he then scratched out the “B” with a “W” for white. Churga may have been a close friend of Charles D. Poston. She later returned to the Pima villages. In his poetic history of Arizona, *Apache-Land* (1878), Poston wrote about returning to the Pima station after a stint away to discover that his maid, sister and captive friend, “Heh-wul-vopuey, the Running Wind,” had since become “Mrs. Walker.” He wrote, “Along the river bank we walked,/And talked, and talked, oh, how we talked!/’Twas doubtful which was greatest talker./She told me she was Mrs. Walker;/That a young and good American/Had come among the tribe to train/The young idea how to shoot,/And had won her hand, and heart to boot./She was happy as the day was long,/And always thought the world was young.” See: Charles D. Poston, *Apache-land* (San Francisco: H. E. Bancroft & Co., 1878), 124.

<sup>171</sup> See sections on Alphonse L. Pinart, Herman ten Kate, and Adolph Bandelier in Chapter III.

<sup>172</sup> In 1880, Walker and his brother Lucien discovered an old silver mine at Vekol, located about thirty miles south of the city of Casa Grande. Walker bought majority interest in the mine and the investment proved lucrative. At the time of his death in 1891, Walker’s estate was valued at \$1,500,000, which Walker’s brothers and sisters stood to inherit. However, when his daughter Juana

In addition to Walker, Norris and Grossman indicated that two other long-time Arizona residents likewise farmed in the Ruins Township. In Section 5, about two and half miles north of the ruins by the river, Samuel B. Wise claimed and cleared about 90 acres. Wise had settled in Arizona in the 1850s, and served as a Butterfield stage driver and then station owner at Blue Water. He settled on the land near the Ruins in 1868, and erected a large stick house and brush corral. Over in section 11, about five miles northeast of the ruins, Milton Ward, a miner from Missouri, improved a quarter section of land—160 acres. At the time of the '71 survey report, Ward was living in Prescott, the territorial capital, and leasing his farm out to Hervacio Laras, a Mexican settler. Ward returned soon after to serve as elected trustee for the area's rural school district. Grossman reported that Ward had cleared 35 acres of rather mediocre land, but built a "fine adobe house, containing two rooms, a stick house and a brush corral."<sup>173</sup> Ward's claim, as well the homesteads west of Ward's and south of the Gila River, received irrigation from a large canal called the "Acequia Madre," or "mother ditch," which the homesteaders maintained as investors and thus part owners.

#### *New American Towns: Adamsville and Florence*

The 1870 Federal Census lists John D. Walker and the other settlers of Township 5S-Range 8E as residents living on the western periphery of Adamsville—the American settlement closest to the ruins at about six miles northeast. Adamsville was one of two small new American communities dotting the predominantly indigenous landscape of the Casa Grande valley after the Civil War, the other being Florence, future county seat. The best evidence gives 1866 as the founding year for both Adamsville and Florence. Like many Salt and Gila River towns, Adamsville started with the construction of an irrigation ditch. Ohioan Charles S. Adams settled in the area, carved out a canal to divert river water and irrigate his quarter section of land, and surveyed a town site. Adams erected a saloon and soon after, a village developed. In the winter of 1866-67, James M. Barney opened the first store. Two years later in 1869, Ammi White's former Casa Blanca milling establishment

---

Walker came forward to claim it as his only child, a battle ensued in the Arizona courts. With the support of many Pinal County neighbors, Juana Walker received the inheritance, but when Walker's family took the case to the Arizona Supreme Court in 1896, she lost. The Court did not recognize Walker's marriage to Juana's mother as legal; Arizona law at the time forbade marriage between a white man and an Indian woman. Since no proof existed that Walker had legally adopted Juana, she was deemed his illegitimate child and therefore without any rights to her father's estate. Juana's uncles and aunts inherited instead. See: Peter Wallenstein, *Tell the Court I Love My Wife: Race, Marriage, and Law—an American History* (New York: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2002), 161-162, and Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law in the U.S. West," in Valerie J. Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger, eds., *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), n27, 228. For a recent study of Juana Walker, see: Jordinsky, "Intimate Obscurity: American Indian Women in Arizona Households and Histories, 1854-1935" PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2011). For sources on J. D. Walker specifically, see Andrew E. Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona: the Story of the California Volunteers, 1861-1865* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 107; Robert A. Hackenberg, *Aboriginal Land Use and Occupancy of The Pima-Maricopa Indians, Vol. 1* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), VE-38 and -135; and, Thomas E. Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix: Filmer Bros. Electrotipe Co., 1916), 4:117-120.

<sup>173</sup> U.S. Congress, *Survey of Pima and Maricopa Reservation*, 11.

moved to Adamsville. Gila River floods had destroyed the mill at Casa Blanca a year earlier and the current mill owners—the Bichard brothers—rebuilt it at Adamsville as the “Pioneer Flouring Mill.”<sup>174</sup> The same year, Ralph W. Norris depicted Adamsville on his survey map as a legitimate town located a few miles east of Casa Grande Ruins in Range 9 East [Fig. 27]. By 1870, Adamsville’s streets were bustling. According to the federal census, the town boasted 400 residents, most of Mexican descent. A year later, the expanding community earned a post office and became the closest overland mail station to Casa Grande ruins.<sup>175</sup> An upsetting name change accompanied this official establishment. In honor of Capt. George B. Sanford, long-time commander of Fort McDowell, Territorial Delegate McCormick designated the post office “Sanford” instead of Adamsville. Most locals ignored the top-down bequest, choosing instead to retain the town’s original name.<sup>176</sup>

Like neighboring Adamsville, permanent American settlement of what is now Florence began in late 1866, when Anglo and Mexican settlers discovered a point up the Gila River where the stream was wide and shallow—a natural, fordable crossing for travel north and south—and decided to settle there. A scattered group of homesteads formed the nucleus of the early Florence settlement.—these were the farms or ranches of settlers Chase, Morehead, Ramirez, and Meros, and one simply known as “The Ranch on the Gila.”<sup>177</sup> A trail running northeast to southwest and terminating south of Florence at Leach’s El Paso-Ft. Yuma Road connected these ranches. In summer 1866, Charles G. Mason built the first adobe house within the premises of what Civil War veteran Levi Ruggles would later survey as the Florence town site. Ruggles settled in the Gila River area in late 1866 as Indian Agent to the Pima, Papago, and Maricopa Indians. At first, Ruggles lived among the tribes, but between 1866 and 1868, he began buying up land near Florence. He purchased Chase’s ranch as well as part interest in Mason’s homestead and began surveying a town site.<sup>178</sup> Commercial establishments followed.

In 1868, Edward Nye Fish and business partner Joe Collingwood opened a Florence branch of their Tucson-based mercantile, E. N. Fish & Company, in Mason’s adobe building. The mercantile doubled as a post office a year later when the Overland post made

---

<sup>174</sup> Thomas E. Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix: Filmer Bros. Electrotpe Co., 1918), 4:48.

<sup>175</sup> Overland mail delivery began operating anew on the southwestern routes after the close of the Civil War. Kerens & Mitchell restocked the old Butterfield line, carrying mail from Fort Worth to San Diego via Tucson and the Gila route, until the Southern Pacific Railroad arrived in 1879. See: U.S. Department of the Treasury, Bureau of Statistics, *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States for the Year 1890* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), 54.

<sup>176</sup> Farish (1918), 4:48. See also: Byrd H. Granger, ed., *Will C. Barnes’ Arizona Place Names* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1960), 289.

<sup>177</sup> United States National Register of Historic Places, “Florence Multiple Resource Area,” Florence, Pinal County, Arizona, National Register #432849.

<sup>178</sup> At least two theories exist on both the founding of the town, and its christening as “Florence.” On its founding, most accounts credit Ruggles as town founder; yet, another theory suggests Charles G. Mason first settled the vicinity, building an adobe house there in the summer of 1866, and that Ruggles did not locate there until 1868. As to the name “Florence,” Levi Ruggles may have christened it such after a traditional family name; or, Governor Richard McCormick named it after an immediate family member. See: Farish (1918), 4:49.

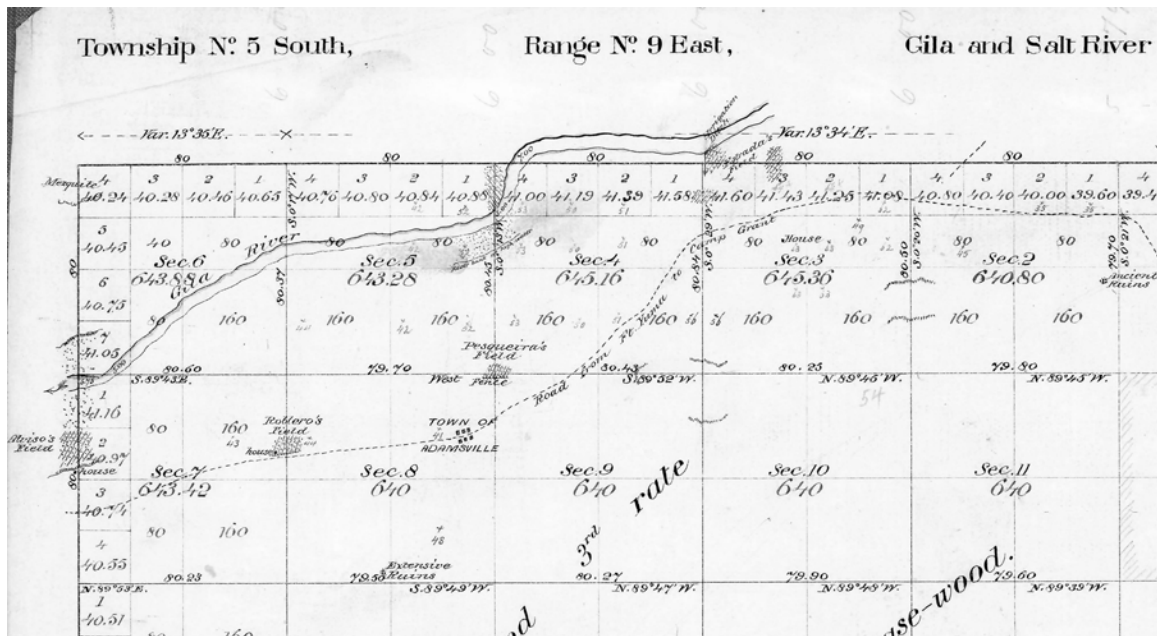


Figure 26. Detail of the 1869 Public Survey Map of Arizona Territory, showing the town of Adamsville. Courtesy U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, [www.glorerecords.blm.gov](http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov).

its first postal delivery; Collingwood served as first deputy postmaster. Settlement within the town site began in March 1869, and by 1870, had grown to a population of over 200 people of both Anglo and Mexican descent. Fish and Collingwood furnished credit for settlers wishing to take up land and grow crops, such as wheat and barley—crops irrigated by several principal ditches that homesteaders had begun building in 1868.<sup>179</sup> Cheap Mexican labor helped valley farmers make ends meet. “Pick and shovel work,” this “peon” labor only required farmers to dole out a dollar plus rations per head, per day.<sup>180</sup> The establishment of religious and scholastic institutions supported the social needs of this small farming community. In December 1870, Fr. André Eschallier built a Catholic church called Capilla de la Gila, or “Chapel of the Gila,” and a few years later, an addition to house Florence’s first school—the St. Teresa Academy, where Sisters Agnes and Barbara taught English, Spanish, religion, arithmetic, and music. Initially, farm produce covered the cost of student tuition. Yet soon, Florence’s location close proximity to the profitable mines of central and southern Arizona contributed to the town’s rise in wealth, status, and political designation.

<sup>179</sup> From west to east, along the south bank of the Gila River, some of the principal canals built between 1868 and 1875 included the Blackwater Ditch, the Walker Ditch, the White Ditch, the Adamsville Ditch, the Chase & Brady Ditch, the Alamo Juan Maria, and the Holland & Wheat Ditch. Peter R. Brady dug the Chase & Brady ditch in 1868 or ’69. Four to five miles in length, and irrigating approximately one thousand acres, it fed into Brady’s farm and generated his mill. The Holland Ditch watered many of the lands near Florence. *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>180</sup> Farish (1918), 4:50.

In 1875, it became the seat of the newly created Pinal County.<sup>181</sup> Offering the county's best prospects for economic, political, and social improvement, at this time many early Casa Grande Valley settlers moved from their homesteads near the Ruins and Adamsville to settle and work in Florence. In 1875, even J. D. Walker built a second home in Florence in order to work there as the newly elected county engineer.

### **The Casa Grande Ruin in Photographs and Guidebooks, 1871–1878**

Arizona's earliest guidebooks and first photographs advertised the potentialities of new American towns such as Adamsville and Florence and contributed to their growth. After Browne's 1869 narrative on Arizona, various travel writers, under commission from the territorial government, railroad companies, or popular magazine editors, began authoring handbooks to boost the territory specifically to speculators, potential settlers, and moneyed travelers. Arizona's territorial legislature commissioned several official guides to Arizona. The first was Safford, Brinley, and Campbell's *Resources of Arizona Territory* (1871), which other authors, such as Patrick Hamilton, revised and expanded over the next decade.<sup>182</sup> This handbook cited Florence and Adamsville as doubly pleasant and thriving:

FLORENCE.—This town is pleasantly located at the head of the farming settlement on the Gila river, about eighty miles north of Tucson. It contains several mercantile houses, blacksmith shops, and has a Catholic Church. Rows of trees have been planted along the streets, and it is destined to be one of the pleasantest towns in the Territory.

SANFORD OR ADAMSVILLE.—This town is located on the Gila river, four miles below Florence; is centrally located in a thriving farming settlement, and contains several mercantile houses and a flour mill, and is a thriving, growing place.

In this ancient locality, the handbook bragged, thousands of acres of excellent unoccupied land sat ready for purchase at \$1.25 per acre.<sup>183</sup> Similar At the end of the 1870s, other influential handbooks followed suit: Hiram C. Hodge, *Arizona as It Is: or, the Coming Country* (1877); Col. Richard J. Hinton, *The Hand-book to Arizona* (1878); and J. Enoch Conklin, *Picturesque Arizona* (1878).

More promotional pamphlets than narrative travelogues like Browne's, these 1870s' guidebooks served to advertise Arizona as a modernizing ancient landscape, a resource-laden place ripe for development—especially in the agricultural zones where town growth, canals,

---

<sup>181</sup> Before 1875, this area was part of Pima County.

<sup>182</sup> Territorial governor A. P. K. Safford, geologist and photographer Charles A. Brinley, and Arizona congressional representative John G. Campbell formed the Board of Commissioners appointed by the Legislature to research the resources of Arizona for "persons desiring to emigrate to this region." Arizona Territorial Legislature, *Resources of Arizona Territory, with a Description of the Indian Tribes; Ancient Ruins, Cochise, Apache Chief; Antonio, Pima Chief; Stage and Wagon Roads; Trade and Commerce, etc.* (San Francisco: Francis & Valentine, 1871).

<sup>183</sup> *Resources of Arizona*, 17, 12, and 23.

and ancient ruins highlighted a long tradition of settlement and cultivation.<sup>184</sup> Reference to the numerous ruins of ancient buildings and canals “proved” the region’s irrigable possibilities to cynics. By 1877, the pages of the handbooks added further proof with photography of Arizona’s ancient ruins. Photographs of Casa Grande debuted in the handbooks in 1878 and offered the first realistic renderings of the ruin to the general American public. Unlike the artistic, romanticized drawings produced over the past centuries, the photographs not only captured Casa Grande’s imposing size but also exposed the undeniable deteriorating condition of the famous landmark.

*First Photographs: Carlo Gentile, 1871*

The photographer credited with first revealing Casa Grande through photography was Carlo Gentile (1835-1893), a native of Naples, Italy, who left his homeland in the 1850s to travel the world. Gentile explored Australia, South America, and the West Indies, and then moved to Canada, where he spent several years photographing the gold rush territories. In 1867, he settled in San Francisco and established a photographic studio. A year later, Gentile toured Arizona under commission from an unknown San Francisco publisher who had requested photographs of the up and coming territory. Reportedly, the ever-present journalist J. Ross Browne had convinced Gentile to seize the opportunity.<sup>185</sup> Gentile made a second trip to Arizona in 1870, and stayed two years. He settled in Florence, set up a gallery in nearby Adamsville, and then began producing award-winning images of Arizona.<sup>186</sup> Gentile exhibited his images of Arizona for viewers outside the territory. Records indicate he visited the Casa Grande in 1871 and produced several images of the famous ruins. Two of Gentile’s Casa Grande images formed part of an album of Arizona views and portraits that Gentile and the William H. Murdock & Co. of New York copyrighted and published in 1870-72. Gentile captioned the images, “Ancient Halls of the Montezumas.”<sup>187</sup> In the late

---

<sup>184</sup> Historian Hubert H. Bancroft supplied a useful footnote on the above works, in his history of Arizona and New Mexico (1888), 593 n11:

“The Hand-book to Arizona: its resources, history, towns, mines, ruins, and scenery. Amply illustrated. Accompanied with a new map of the territory. By Richard J. Hinton. S. F., 1878, 12mo, 431, c. p. The author was a prominent journalist of S. Francisco, who had spent some time in Arizona. The book is an excellent one of its class. [...] Hiram C. Hodge's Arizona as it is; or, The Coming Country, compiled from notes of travel during the years 1874, 1875, and 1876. N. Y., 1877, 12mo, 273 p.; and E. Conklin's Picturesque Arizona. Being the result of travels and observations in Arizona during the fall and winter of 1877. N. Y., 1878, 12mo, 380 p., illust.—are pleasing and useful little works, by travelling newspaper men, sufficiently described by their titles, the former being much the more valuable of the two.”

<sup>185</sup> Gentile credited J. Ross Browne with convincing him go see the “natural state of pure ‘cussedness’ in the wonderful territory of ARIZONA.” See: “Montezuma,” *The Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 21 1875.

<sup>186</sup> In 1871, at the 8th Industrial Exposition in California, Gentile received awards for his Arizona images.

<sup>187</sup> The album is now located in the Library of Congress, under collection title “Series of photographic views and portraits of Arizona and Arizona Indian tribes.” Neither the Library of Congress nor Gentile’s biographer, Cesare Marino, has identified these images as “Casa Grande.” The Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives possesses some additional images by Gentile,



Figure 27. Carlo Gentile's "Ancient Halls of the Montezumas," ca1871. Image no. 86 of Gentile's Arizona album. Courtesy U.S. Library of Congress Digital Collections.



Figure 28. "Ancient Halls of the Montezumas," ca1871. Image no. 85. Child standing in front may be young Dr. Carlos Montezuma. Courtesy U.S. Library of Congress Digital Collections.

---

including his photograph of Adamsville and a self-portrait. These are located in the Carlos Montezuma-Doris Colletter Collection of Lantern Slides, Photo Lot 73.

1870s, publishers of Arizona's early handbooks began copying one of the images to illustrate the territory's ancient landscape [Fig. 27]. The other image, while lesser known and publicized, has an important story embedded in its creation [Fig. 28]. Cesare Marino, one of Carlo Gentile's biographers, believes that the child standing in front of the main ruin and looking straight at the photographer is the native Yavapai Indian who grew up to be the distinguished Chicago physician and American Indian activist, Dr. Carlos Montezuma. It is general knowledge that Carlo Gentile adopted Carlos Montezuma; less known are the circumstances of his adoption

In mid-November 1871, while conducting business in Adamsville, Carlo Gentile encountered three Pimas attempting to sell or barter for a male Indian child whom they had captured from their Yavapai enemies. For unclear reasons, Gentile purchased the boy from his captors. Handing the Pimas 10 silver dollars each, Gentile took his new ward—six-year-old Wassajah, meaning “Beckoning”—to an Adamsville clothier where he outfitted him in “civilized” clothes. Afterward, Gentile had Father Eschallier of the Catholic “Capilla de La Gila” of Florence baptize the young Montezuma. During the baptism, Carlo Gentile christened the child Carlos, the Mexican version of his own name, and then gave him the surname “Montezuma” so the child would remember the ancient edifices of his ancestral land. Gentile likely had the Casa Grande Ruin in mind, or perhaps the *casas grandes* landscape as a whole, when he chose “Montezuma” for the child's last name. A few months later, in spring 1872, Gentile and young Carlos left Arizona. Over the following years, Gentile became a photographer of some renown in Chicago and New York; Carlos Montezuma received an impressive education and, later, practiced medicine and served as an advocate of American Indian rights.<sup>188</sup>

#### *Casa Grande in the Handbooks, 1877-1878*

Five years after Gentile photographed Casa Grande, the first prints of the ruin appeared in Arizona guidebooks. The ruin's photographic debut occurred amidst a flurry to update handbooks on the territory in anticipation of the Southern Pacific Railroad's arrival. In 1876, as railroad construction neared Yuma, Arizona, from California, the territorial legislature commissioned Col. Hiram C. Hodge to author an updated handbook. Hodge had resided in the territory from 1874 to 1876, to recover from a respiratory condition. During his two-year residency, he not only recovered from his illness but also traveled extensively through the region, producing over five hundred newspaper articles on Arizona. Hodge lauded Arizona, particularly the central and southern regions, for its favorable climate, and he wagered, correctly, that this “wonderful country” would shortly host sanitariums of worldwide celebrity.<sup>189</sup> His favorable accounts of Arizona interested territorial officials, and

---

<sup>188</sup> See Cesare Rosario Marino, *The Remarkable Carlo Gentile: Pioneer Italian Photographer of the American Frontier* (Nevada City: Carl Mautz Publishing, 1998); Jeremy Rowe, *Photographers in Arizona, 1850-1920: A History & Directory* (Nevada City: Carl Mautz Publishing, 1997); and *The Chicago Tribune* for Aug. 24, 1873 and Mar. 21, 1875. See also Peter Iverson, *Carlos Montezuma and the Changing World of American Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982).

<sup>189</sup> Hiram C. Hodge, *Arizona as It Is; or, The Coming Country: Compiled from Notes of Travel during the Years 1874, 1875, and 1876* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1877), v. At this point, Arizona had already emerged as the foremost natural health “spa” in the country. Many of the territory's late nineteenth-century settlers originally traveled to Arizona convinced that its favorable dry climate would benefit

they picked him as the booster to compile a new territorial handbook. The result, *Arizona, as It Is* (1877), was based on Hodge's compiled notes of travel through Arizona from 1874-76.

Upon publication, *Arizona as it Is* became the standard resource for what Arizonans and others interested in the territory's development and prosperity could expect. Hodge highlighted the imminent arrival of the railroad and encouraged speculation. For homesteading and agricultural or mineral investment, the booster promoted the Gila River area near Casa Grande. He described it as a rich agricultural and mining country rapidly modernizing, with the county seat of Florence serving as a model town. Like Phoenix, the seat of Maricopa County, Florence town builders had landscaped the streets with many shade trees for reprieve from the scorching Arizona sun. The trees framed an already thriving commercial and social town center: "four stores, a good schoolhouse, Catholic church, two hotels and restaurants, one brewery, a smelting furnace, three flouring mills in or near town, and some fine residences."<sup>190</sup> Nearby, Arizona's ancient ruins contrast starkly with Florence's progressive appearance. It was a growing trend in regional promotional literature to backdrop modern developments with the ancient, historic, or scenic. More often, handbooks focused as many chapters to a region's ancient ruins and other sites of touristic interest as to its progress. Hodge incorporated a chapter titled "Prehistoric Ruins of Arizona" and devoted three pages to the Casa Grande ruins. However, he emphasized that he would not provide new details but instead draw upon the accounts of earlier travelers, for he maintained that in recent years, no new knowledge about the ruins had emerged—only rampant conjecture. Hodge hoped that by featuring the Casa Grande extensively, he would awaken public interest and "induce some society or organization, the General Government, or some wealthy and generous individual, to take measures for a thorough exploration of them."<sup>191</sup>

The guidebooks published a year later in 1878, likewise stressed Casa Grande as scientific opportunity. In his amply illustrated *Hand-book to Arizona*, which covered the territory's history and resources of towns, mines, ruins and scenery, London-born Civil War-veteran Richard J. Hinton believed that future potential knowledge about Arizona's famous ruins would be lost if measures were not enacted quickly to protect them. Hinton's interest in protecting Casa Grande began in November 1877 when he first glimpsed the ruined structure while stage coaching across the territory. Hinton was on the third and last day of a journey from San Francisco to Tucson via Yuma, the Pima villages, and Florence when the stage passed about a mile from the ruins.<sup>192</sup> The coach had departed Maricopa Wells station in the morning, and by midday, the ruins were within sight. Despite the distance, the flat plain afforded Hinton a brief glimpse of the landmark before the coach moved out of sight. His eyes registered "a strange, massive piece of ruins" surrounded by abundant evidence of

---

their or family members' respiratory illnesses. See: John E. Baur, "The Health Seeker in the Westward Movement, 1830-1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 46, no. 1 (June 1959): 107.

<sup>190</sup> Hodge, 152-53.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

<sup>192</sup> The first leg of his journey involved traveling by train to Yuma—the Southern Pacific Railroad's most recent easternmost terminus (est. Sept. 1877), and then boarding the stage from the yard of Kerens & Mitchell, proprietors and mail contractors of the Southern Pacific overland stages, for the second and final stage of the trip.

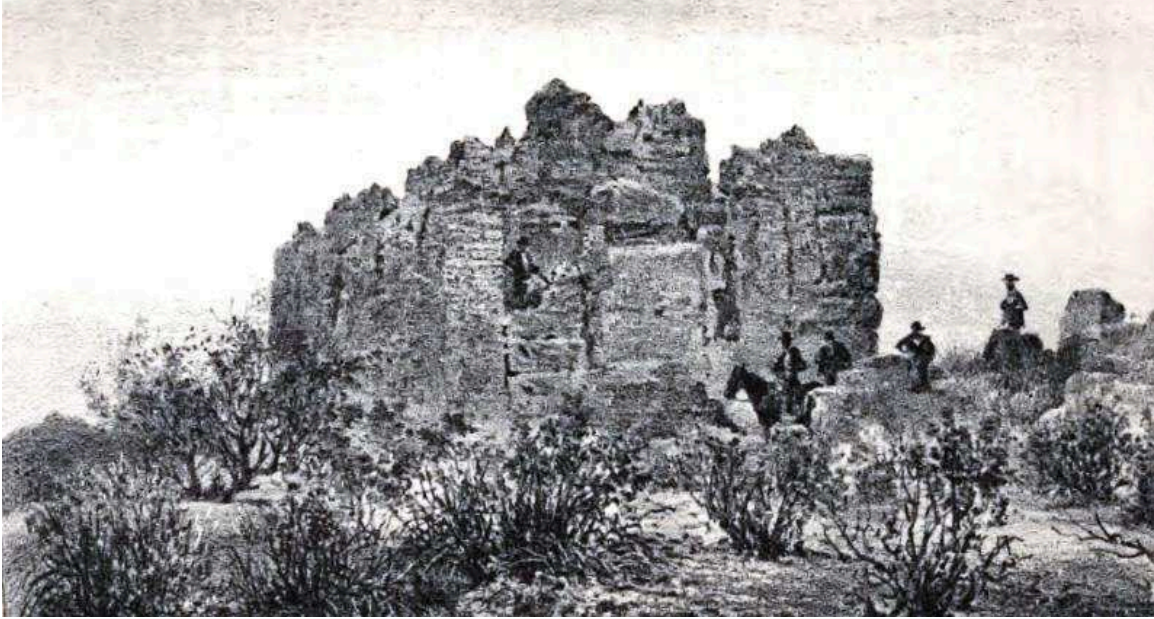


Figure 29. Richard J. Hinton's lithograph of Gentile's 1871 photograph of the Casa Grande. Hinton (1878).

the ancient city and cultivated terrain that had existed there four centuries past. A lithograph image of the ruins based on Carlo Gentile's 1871 photograph illustrated Hinton's sightseeing experience [Fig. 29]. Hinton pondered how greatly the ancient features juxtaposed with the modern development one noticed as soon as the stage neared Florence. For the newly cultivated landscape boasted "rich, waving crops of barley, wheat, and other cereals, groves of cottonwood lining the road, fields, and river banks," and many fruit-trees and gardens. In the town of Florence, wide straight streets edged with cottonwood-lined canals, adobe houses, and commercial buildings such as the post office, stage station, and two grand hotels—the Elliott and the Florence—supported a population that had grown to about 1,500 [Fig. 30].<sup>193</sup> Hinton illustrated the town's impressive main street with an engraving of a stereoview created by early Arizona photographer George H. Rothrock, who had visited the Casa Grande Valley in March 1877.<sup>194</sup>

Yet, the ruins, not the town, had captured Hinton's attention and he returned a month later on December 13 for an investigation. Eight fellow businessmen representing the industries of mining, oil, and journalism accompanied Hinton; they were en route to inspect the Santa Rita silver-mining district near Tucson.<sup>195</sup> Viewing the Casa Grande up close for

<sup>193</sup> All quotes from Richard J. Hinton, *The Hand-Book to Arizona: Its Resources, History, Towns, Mines, Ruins and Scenery. Ample Illustrated. Accompanied with a New Map of the Territory* (San Francisco: Payton, Upham & Co., 1878), 177-178.

<sup>194</sup> See: Jeremy Rowe, "George Rothrock: Arizona Pioneer Photographer," *Journal of Arizona History* (Winter 2008).

<sup>195</sup> Those accompanying Hinton were: Dr. H. R. Allen (founder and proprietor of the Medical and Surgical Institutes at Indianapolis (est. 1858), Philadelphia, Atlanta, and San Francisco; F. H. Steel(e), a prominent banker of Oil City, Pennsylvania, who was in Arizona primarily for health reasons;

the first time, Hinton observed that the centuries-old walls, which had appeared so bold and striking from a distance, were in actuality extremely weathered and disjointed. The wall surfaces were “much worn, furrowed and crumbled,” and the manmade opening that each wall possessed at its center was quite “out-of-shape.” A great rent in the ruin’s northeast corner largely contributed to the overall deterioration. It was about five feet in diameter and occupied nearly the whole angle. Surprisingly, the building’s interior was still remarkably preserved. The wall surfaces retained a coating of “some sort of cement or varnish which [had] a reddish-orange hue,” though this was easily “peeled off by a pen-knife,” and there were many round holes indicating where rafter poles had supported the upper floors. In a room on the building’s west side, the men counted “twenty-eight holes each side of the apartment, showing an average of six inches apart, with holes of four inches and a half diameter.” Despite the interior’s fair condition, the damage on the exterior wall surfaces and foundation, where rain and wind were rapidly undermining the building’s fabric, mandated intervention. Hinton stressed that unless somebody “roof the structure and prop the walls, the Gila Casa Grande [would] be altogether a thing of the past.” Concerned with the ruin’s deterioration, Hinton’s entourage held a lunch meeting inside the ruin and adopted resolutions urging the formation of an archaeological society for Arizona. Agreeing to serve as founding members, they sealed their pact by raising a small American flag on one of the ruin’s walls.<sup>196</sup> That night, they camped inside the Casa Grande “to revel in the halls of the Montezumas.”<sup>197</sup>



Figure 30. Engraving of Florence, Arizona in early March 1877, based on a photograph by George H. Rothrock. Hinton (1878)

Among the group that inspected Casa Grande with Hinton and committed to protecting it were Irish born Col. William G. Boyle of San Francisco, a well-known speculator in Arizona’s mines, and J. Enoch Conklin, New York correspondent for the National Associated Press and author of the Arizona guidebook published just after Hinton’s in 1878.<sup>198</sup> Boyle had visited Casa Grande earlier that year and photographed it; he had subsequently donated a print to the *Weekly Journal Miner* newspaper of Prescott, Arizona

---

Alexander Whilden, a wealthy retired merchant of Philadelphia; and J. K. Wallace, renowned oil man in Pennsylvania; Cols., C. W. Tozier and J. D. Graham, both mining men of San Francisco; J. E. Conklin, agent of the American Press Association of New York; and Col. William G. Boyle of San Francisco, well known in mining circles in California, Nevada, and Arizona. See: Hinton, 414, and “Capitalists in Pima County,” *Weekly Journal Miner*, Dec. 14 1877. After this trip, the *Royal Gazette* of Bermuda reported that Boyle, a member of the Royal Geographical Society of London, purchased all English interests in the silver mines of the Santa Rita Mountains, Tyndall District, Arizona, for Dr. H. R. Allen (mentioned above) and his associates. *Bermuda Royal Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1878, supplement.

<sup>196</sup> All quotes in above paragraph from Hinton, 415-17.

<sup>197</sup> *Arizona Weekly Journal Miner*, Jul. 27 1877.

<sup>198</sup> For brief biographical information on Boyle, see: Marc Simmons, *Massacre on the Lordsburg Road: a Tragedy of the Apache Wars* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1997), 45.

for publication.<sup>199</sup> Conklin, a self-described artist, also photographed the famous ruin. Hinton mentions in the *Hand-book* that Conklin carried a photographic field apparatus with which he took “some excellent stereoscopic views of the ruins.”<sup>200</sup> Conklin’s images earned wider recognition than Boyle’s due to his journalistic affiliations with the Continent Stereoscopic Company and with Frank Leslie, the English-born American publisher and editor of popular periodicals such as *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Weekly*. Leslie had agreed to sponsor Conklin’s tour of Arizona earlier that year, after Conklin finished covering a trans-continental railroad tour of the Pacific Coast states for Frank Leslie. During that tour, Conklin had gathered interesting “scraps and hear-says” of Arizona Territory and easily persuaded Leslie to sponsor his coverage of Arizona.<sup>201</sup> The result was the territorial guidebook *Picturesque Arizona* (1878), which Conklin illustrated in part with engravings of his own photographs, such as those taken at Casa Grande in December [Figs. 31-32].<sup>202</sup>

Conklin’s coverage of Arizona’s unique landscape adopted a new style of travel writing that “spoke” directly to the reader and drew them into the author’s experience. This approach incorporated the wildly popular notions that travel, especially to exotic places, was romantic and emotional. Guidebook authors who employed this style likely hoped the tactic would lure newcomers to the places featured in their guidebooks. In *Picturesque Arizona*, Conklin often describes Arizona’s unique features through the experience of ‘the traveler’, who he then refers to with the informal pronouns ‘you’, ‘we’, and ‘our’. This would have suggested to his readers that they were experiencing the site alongside the author. Explaining the approach to Casa Grande, for example, Conklin tells readers that after driving ten miles southeast of the Pima villages, or the same distance southwest from Florence, the traveler strikes upon a vast “slightly undulating” open land. The “observant traveler,” he continues, will notice that some of the undulations are the remains of *acequias*—ancient aqueducts built with a mathematical precision equal to anything present science could conceive. ‘You’ then ascend “a gentle grade” and find ‘yourself’ “face to face upon a high ruin of—you don’t know what; but suppose from its shape, an ancient house, supplemented on all sides by smaller ruins, of perhaps smaller houses, or of sections of the main house.” From this elevated plateau, ‘you’ look out upon a gentle, rolling decline covered with thousands of both familiar and unknown species of plants and shrubs. The mesmerizing scene rivets

---

<sup>199</sup> “Capitalists in Pima County,” *Weekly Journal Miner*, Dec. 14, 1877.

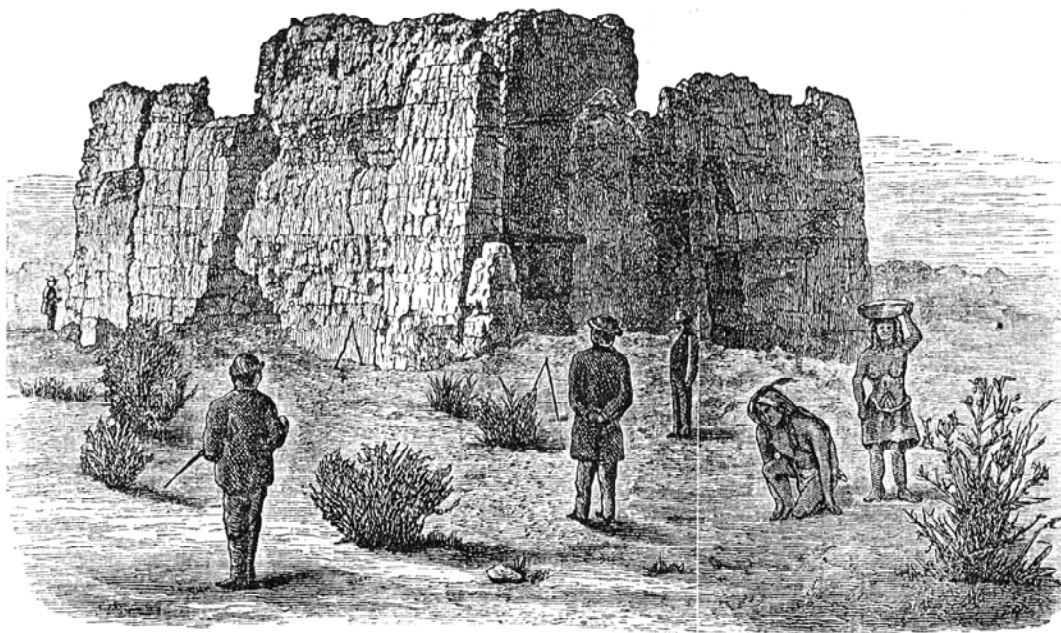
<sup>200</sup> Hinton, 414. The Continent Stereoscopic Company used the images of the early photographers of the American West to illustrate many publications. These were rarely credited to specific photographers. Conklin states that he used some of the Company’s photographs illustrating *Picturesque Arizona*. While this indicates that not all of the illustrations in Conklin’s work are original to him, the images of Casa Grande were almost certainly Conklin’s, as corroborated by fellow traveler Hinton.

<sup>201</sup> Enoch Conklin, *Picturesque Arizona: Being the Result of Travels and Observations in Arizona during the Fall and Winter of 1877* (New York: Mining Record Printing Establishment, 1878), 17.

<sup>202</sup> Publishers often preferred engraved images as opposed to original photographic illustrations. Economically, the latter proved time consuming and costly to print. Artistically, they sometimes presented too literal a representation for book illustration, lacking the expected personal qualities of an artist’s sketch or engraving. Martha A. Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 278 and 285.



Figure 31. Photograph of the Casa Grande by Enoch Conklin, 1877. Courtesy New York Public Library, nypl.org.



RUINS OF THE GREAT CASA GRANDE IN SOUTHERN ARIZONA.

Figure 32. Lithograph of the Casa Grande in 1877 by photographer Enoch Conklin. Conklin (1878).

the traveler to the spot:

The scene is a beautiful one, and the outlook commanding. You are standing now close by, or leaning against the walls of the great Casa Grandé. You turn and look upon them. You step back and lift your head to comprehend the whole structure more at a glance ... We notice apertures on the ground level which we suppose to have been door places, and above we see the square openings for windows.

At this point, Conklin tells readers they will begin to question the origins of the structure but find no satisfying answer. He therefore ends his travel account with a call to preserve Casa Grande, arguing that given the present lack of knowledge coupled with the ruin's steady decay, the potential to unearth "some lost or pre-historic knowledge" warranted government protection and investigation.<sup>203</sup>

### Casa Grande's Changing Landscape

Hinton and Conklin's calls to preserve Casa Grande occurred at a time when local development and tourism were about to exacerbate the site's vulnerability. In November 1878, the Southern Pacific Railroad had finished construction at Yuma, Arizona, at the California-Arizona border, and started pushing eastward into the territory. The line progressed rapidly. By May 19, 1879, the Company had built 182 miles of track from Yuma to a point about twenty miles southwest of the Ruins and established the first railroad station in the Casa Grande Valley. The town that sprang up at the station was initially called "Terminus, S.P.P.R."—the name for the portable U.S. post office that the federal government established for the railroad crew.<sup>204</sup> It was located in a boxcar that traveled with the railroad. Because of this portable post office, the provisional "town" or supply camp that formed at the end of each construction line was also known as Terminus. Usually, Terminus stayed in a given location for about a month before relocating to the next end-of-the-line; in this case, Terminus stayed in the Casa Grande valley for eight months. Blistering desert temperatures, worker exhaustion, and a shortage of rail ties forced the Southern Pacific to halt construction until January 1880. For months, over 1,000 Chinese laborers had been laying track at an exhausting rate of nearly one and a half miles and a mere dollar a day.

During the long hiatus of railroad construction in 1879, Terminus grew into a busy tent city of temporary wooden buildings, canvas tents, and shanties. Merchants unloaded wagons of ore and bullion and reloaded them with merchandise for the region's numerous

---

<sup>203</sup> All quotes in paragraph from Conklin, 282, 285-86 and 289-291. Even local interest groups dependent on economic development began to focus on the ruin's preservation, placing the responsibility of such care upon the nation as a whole. In his poetic history of Arizona, (*Apache-land*, 1878), Arizona's prominent early settler, Charles D. Poston, essentially accused the national body of caring too little for so great a cultural resource: "The Casa Grande stands alone/One league from road from old Tucson/Sole monument in desert place/Of lost, extinct, and perished race/.../No other nation 'neath the sun/Would let this ruin, to ruin run." Charles D. Poston, *Apache-land* (San Francisco: H. E. Bancroft & Co., 1878), 137.

<sup>204</sup> Sheridan, *Arizona* (2012), 124.

mining camps. Daily, stage coaches loaded with passengers, mail, and express shipments arrived from or departed for the county seat of Florence via the old stagecoach road that passed by the Casa Grande Ruins.<sup>205</sup> The proximity of the venerated landmark to the new rail station even led railroad executives to christen the town “Casa Grande.” On January 1, 1880, a few weeks before the railroad construction crew departed, George Crofutt, author of the Overland Publishing Company’s guide to the transcontinental rail lines, described the new town as a busy place. Set amid its namesake ancient ruins, it teemed with people of “every nationality, color, dress and occupation, [...] on every side intent on some kind of business.”<sup>206</sup> Despite the appearance of prosperity, Crofutt predicted the town would decline into little more than a way station when the terminus moved eastward. He predicted incorrectly. The approximately five permanent residents, rail station, and three commercial buildings—two stores and a hotel—that comprised Casa Grande after the terminus moved on soon grew into a large commercial center intrinsic to the agricultural and mining communities of the middle Gila River region.<sup>207</sup>

The ruins of Casa Grande served as a key resource in the town’s growth. As soon as the Southern Pacific had located its terminus at Casa Grande in May 1879, promotional articles on passenger travel from California to the new end-of-the-line began featuring the nearby ruins as a must-see attraction—perhaps to offset the rough appearance of the makeshift railroad town and the often-stifling climate that fostered comparisons to hell. A *Chicago Tribune* correspondent described the S.P.’s new mainline station as unattractive—its crude streets were piled high with thousands of ties and rails—and hot, with temperatures so extreme as to suggest the gates of hell lay but four feet below. At the same time, the journalist found the surrounding landscape enticing, with much to offer travelers: old ruins scattered “hither and thither, ghostlike mementoes of the past” built by a numerous people gone “God only knows when, God only knows where.”<sup>208</sup> The Southern Pacific also highlighted the Casa Grande ruins in company promotional material to market its latest mainline expansion.

One of the earliest commercial boosters of the West, the S. P. often collaborated with local booster organizations such chambers of commerce and produced reams of promotional material on the various regions its routes traversed. Company promotion relied

---

<sup>205</sup> Prescott’s *Weekly Journal Miner* reported that the “forwarding houses” of J. M. Barney, Fitzgerald & Co., Buckalew & Ocoa [Ochoa, Jose], and Germain established branch houses at Terminus when it halted near the Casa Grande ruins area on May 18; D. Neahr removed his entire forwarding business there; and, Ustick & Co., merchants, also sent a branch store to the front. *Weekly Journal Miner*, May 23 1879.

<sup>206</sup> George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt’s New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide* (Omaha: Overland Publishing Co., 1880), 250 and 270.

<sup>207</sup> Pinal County sheriff, James “Jere” Fryer owned the hotel/boarding house. His wife, born Harriet Wood in 1855 but known professionally as Pauline Cushman, was famous for allegedly serving as a spy for the Union army during the Civil War. Jere, whom she married in 1879, was her third husband. The two moved to Florence, AZ in the 1880s but separated ca1890. Pauline died of an intentional opium overdose in San Francisco, 1893. For more information, see: William J. Christen, *Pauline Cushman: Spy of the Cumberland* (Roseville, MN: Edinborough Press, 2006).

<sup>208</sup> “Arizona,” *The Chicago Tribune*, 15 Nov. 1879.

heavily on the employment of itinerant boosters such as travel writers, journalists, photographers, and artists who could lure travelers and settlers with appealing words and images.<sup>209</sup> Railroad photographers proved especially useful. These independent photographers traveled new railroad lines, documented construction progress, and helped promote the towns along the way. They exhibited their works in very public spaces such as city galleries and national or international expositions, or in publications such as newspapers, magazines, and guidebooks.<sup>210</sup> Often, they sold their stock images to stereoscopic suppliers—e.g., the Continent Stereoscopic Company—that, in turn, sold prints for publication in guidebooks, magazines, and other literature. Western promoters such as the Southern Pacific also employed their own photographers. In 1880, for example, the S. P. commissioned renowned California photographer Carleton E. Watkins to conduct a photographic survey of the places that the expanding railroad traversed in California and Arizona. As payment, Watkins received free annual rail passes. Between April 10 and May 18, 1880, Watkins produced some of the earliest high quality images of Arizona's landmark features, including four strikingly clear images of the Casa Grande ruins.<sup>211</sup> One of these images—a view from the northeast, along the Florence to Casa Grande road—would become a popular perspective of the Casa Grande among later archaeologists [Fig. 33].

The compelling imagery and descriptions of the ancient Casa Grande ruins corresponded, for the first time, with easier access, in turn attracting unprecedented numbers of visitors to the site. Previously, the journey to the ancient ruins required travel hundreds of miles by rickety stage, and room and board at stage stations stereotypically managed by “a picturesque individual, with slouched hat, [and] unkempt beard” who served up questionable concoctions of bacon and beans, stale bread, and bitter black coffee.<sup>212</sup> After the railroad's arrival, travel to the ruins—usually made from California eastward—became more comfortable and required less time. Modest hotels with palatable dining options began replacing stagecoach-station bunks, and a daily express stage established between the towns of Casa Grande and Florence reduced time spent in stage travel to a mere twenty miles (from the Casa Grande station) or eight (from Florence). Twice daily, the stage passed within a few feet of the ruin. Often, the stage driver stopped to let interested passengers tour the site.<sup>213</sup>

---

<sup>209</sup> Richard J. Orsi, *Sunset Limited: the Southern Pacific Railroad and the Development of the American West, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 355.

<sup>210</sup> Sandweiss, 154.

<sup>211</sup> These four images comprised part of Watkins' “New Series of Pacific Coast View,” and are available digitally at the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley via the Online Archive of California, <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/>. For more information on Watkins' work, see Jeremy Rowe, *Photographers in Arizona, 1850-1920: A History & Directory* (Nevada City: Carl Mautz Publishing, 1997), 101. For information on Carleton E. Watkins, see Peter E. Palmquist, foreword by Martha A. Sandweiss, *Carleton E. Watkins: Photographer of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).

<sup>212</sup> United States, Bureau of Statistics (Treasury Dept.), *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), 54.

<sup>213</sup> Short stage lines such as the Florence-Casa Grande, a branch line of the Butterfield line that Kerens & Mitchell had restocked after the Civil War to operate between Fort Worth and San Diego,

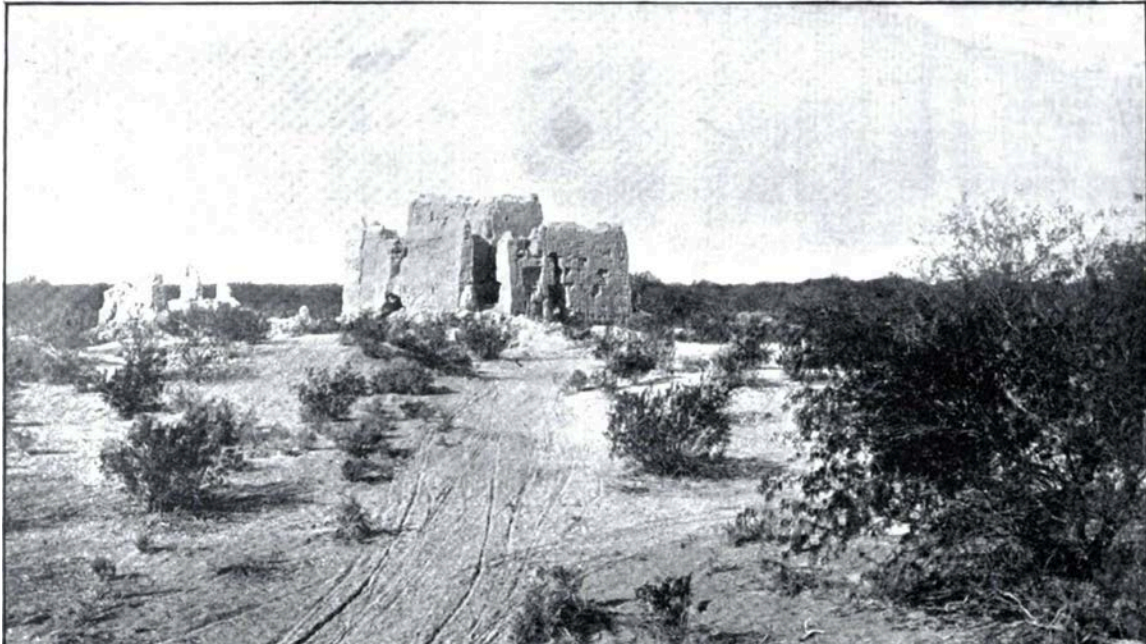


Figure 33. The Casa Grande Ruin, as approached along the Florence-Casa Grande stage road from the northeast, photographed by Carleton E. Watkins spring 1880. Fewkes (1912).

Improved transportation enriched the tourist experience. Unfortunately, it also escalated vandalism at the ruins, for the railroad's proximity encouraged new settlement in and traffic through the valley. Shortly, prehistoric artifacts disappeared in noticeable numbers. Travelers to Casa Grande from the Spanish era through the Civil War had regularly collected artifacts such as wood and other artifactual material from the site. Yet, the number of pre-railroad visitors proved marginal in comparison to the rise that accompanied the railroad. In 1850, Brantz Mayer had warned that transportation progress would endanger Casa Grande and hasten its demise. Sadly, real concern for its protection lagged until the 1880s and '90s when reports of site vandalism became too frequent to ignore.<sup>214</sup> The history of Casa Grande ruins in the early railroad period therefore features concerted efforts to protect the site and to conduct formal investigations. In this seminal period of cultural preservation awareness, east coast-based philanthropists, archaeologists, and preservation-minded agencies converged upon the site for the first time under the national mantra of scientific advancement and exhibition.

---

commenced with the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad. These short lines connected rail stations with non-rail settlements. By 1879, it was known as the Kerens & Griffith Stage Company, headquartered at Florence. This company also ran lines from Florence to Globe, and from Florence to the mining towns of Silver King and Pinal. For an early description of traveling this stage route, see the "Letters from the West" column of the *Engineering and Mining Journal* (Feb. 18, 1882), 91. For general information on the stage line, see: United States Bureau of Statistics (Treasury Dept.), *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), 54; John and Lillian Theobald with Bert M. Fireman, ed., *Wells Fargo in Arizona Territory* (Tempe: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1978), 50; and Stein, "Historic Trails from Coronado to 1940," 22.

<sup>214</sup> "Los Angeles to Casa Grande," *Reno Evening Gazette*, 28 Nov. 1879.

### CHAPTER III

#### COLLECTING AMERICAN ANTIQUITY, 1876–1889

Steps should be taken to preserve Casa Grande from the vandalism of visitors. Unless something be done to effect this end, it will eventually be carried off piecemeal.

~Henry G. Hanks, *California State Mineralogist*, 1879

A few years before the Southern Pacific Railroad rumbled into Arizona, a correspondent for the *San Francisco Chronicle* urged the United States government to designate the ruins of Casa Grande for scientific study or prepare for the site's annihilation. In a February 1875 article, he advised that government immediately "appoint a few active, energetic, and untiring men with instructions to explore these old ruins of ancient civilization," otherwise "the building of a southern transcontinental railroad, the influx of an immense mining population and the improvement of the country" would obliterate this relic of ancient industry, perseverance, and skill.<sup>215</sup> In 1878, territorial legislator Charles D. Poston seconded the *Chronicle* correspondent's alarm. In a feeble if commendable attempt to write Arizona's history as a poem, Poston implicated Americans as foolishly indifferent towards the ancient landmark: "No other nation 'neath the sun," he penned, "Would let this ruin, to ruin run."<sup>216</sup> His chastisement reflected a rise in American antiquarianism, and a corresponding movement to preserve national antiquities amid rapid post-Civil War expansion and cultural exploitation of the West.

The antiquarian ethos anchoring the nascent preservation movement challenged governmental agencies to balance the detrimental consequences of the expansionary activities they aided by salvaging what remained of the nation's prehistoric past.<sup>217</sup> Advocates defended their agenda by citing the growing number of foreigners removing artifacts from American soil to display in European museums. The findings surprised and alarmed the American public, but greatly distressed members of the small field of American anthropology and its affiliate institutions. In 1879, the Smithsonian Institution and the new Archaeological Institute of America therefore reorganized to devote greater resources to the study and protection of American antiquity. Correspondingly, the following decade marks the first concerted national efforts to survey and protect American ruins. During this period, American anthropologists and other preservation-minded citizens launched the first major archaeological expedition of the Southwest and secured federal protection of Casa Grande (1889). Their efforts, while sophomoric and incomplete, laid the groundwork for the

---

<sup>215</sup> "Ancient Arizona," *Waukesha County Democrat*, 13 Feb. 1875.

<sup>216</sup> Poston, *Apache-Land*, 137.

<sup>217</sup> Hovens, et al, *Travels and Researches*, 15.

Antiquities Act of 1906, the broad national policy that would prioritize the preservation and, for the first time, formal scientific study of American cultural resources.<sup>218</sup>

### Archaeologists at Casa Grande, 1876–1886

Before 1879, American anthropology and its subfields ethnology and archaeology functioned together as an informal, almost leisurely, branch of science. The discipline emerged in the 1840s as an amateur hobby shared by a small but influential multidisciplinary group of scientists based in the east coast and largely affiliated with the Smithsonian Institution (est. 1846). For nearly forty years, the anthropologists in this close-knit informal environment dedicated themselves to studying American ethnology and to informing skeptics about the richness of American antiquity.<sup>219</sup> The notion of ruins predating the earliest period of European settlement in the Americas soon popularized—by the 1870s, to such an extent that the anthropologists’ once comfortable and informal scholarly environment turned competitive and institutional. European archaeological developments, trans-Mississippi western expansion, and war-torn America’s increasing enthusiasm for Old World antiquities and the stability they seemed to offer played key roles in this transformation.<sup>220</sup> Amateur historians and other popular writers contributed to the fervor, reprinting or referencing Spanish accounts in their trendy epic histories of the Americas to substantiate the extent of ancient ruins across the continent. An example is western bibliophile Hubert H. Bancroft’s multi-volume history *The Native Races of the Pacific Coast* (1875), in which he devoted eight hundred pages—the entire fourth volume of the series—to American antiquities, “monumental archaeology” of the Americas.<sup>221</sup> By 1878, American ‘archaeophilia’ had become so widespread that Joseph Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian, declared American anthropology “the most popular branch of science.” It absorbed a large share of public attention, Henry observed, and drew the assiduous devotion of many “original investigators.”<sup>222</sup>

---

<sup>218</sup> For a recent history of the Antiquities Act, see: David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley, eds., *The Antiquities Act: A Century of American Archaeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006).

<sup>219</sup> Curtis M. Hinsley, *The Smithsonian and the American Indian: Making a Moral Anthropology in Victorian America* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 57.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, 57 and 68.

<sup>221</sup> In his volumes, Bancroft meticulously synthesized and interpreted most of the known scholarly sources printed on American ethnology and archaeology through 1870. He did not work alone. A “production-line” corps of researchers, copyists, readers, abstractors, and writers—sometimes “as many as fifty at once, working six-day weeks and ten-hour days”—assisted him, often conducting the bulk of the writing and editing. See Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 180-181. See also: Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 117.

<sup>222</sup> Joseph Henry, “Report of the Secretary,” in Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report for the Year 1877* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878), 23.



Figure 34. Portrait of Alphonse L. Pinart, ca1880, Paris. Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gallica.bnf.fr.

### *Alphonse Louis Pinart – French Savant: 1876*

Many of the so-called ‘original investigators’ were dilettante European scientists equipped with classical training and affluence or prestigious sponsorship. Enterprising savants, they preceded American scientists to invaluable ancient sites and collected the choicest artifacts for elite museums abroad. One such savant, the youthful French anthropologist Alphonse Louis Pinart (1852-1911), became the subject of much public interest and alarm as he traveled up and down the Pacific Coast studying various tribal groups and amassing an impressive collection of ethnological data and artifacts that he later shipped to France [Fig. 34]. A scholar of Asian cultures and linguistics during college, Pinart had turned to Americanist studies after attending Paris’ 1867 international exposition. There he met French clergyman Abbé Charles Étienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, a noted self-taught historian, ethnographer, and archaeologist whose non-clerical interests had developed during extensive missionary journeys in South America and Mexico. Brasseur de Bourbourg’s accounts of high adventure and groundbreaking research in foreign

lands intrigued Pinart and he decided to commence a similar career in the western United States studying linguistic and cultural data on modern American tribes in order to trace their origins. Pinart’s financial independence from inheriting his father’s large estate ten years earlier enabled him to leave France and travel to the States two years later.<sup>223</sup>

Upon disembarking in San Francisco in 1869, seventeen-year-old Pinart began a nearly two-decade career as an itinerant anthropologist—an adventurous livelihood later compared to Indiana Jones’ real-life nineteenth-century French counterpart.<sup>224</sup> From landing until 1872, Pinart spent the bulk of his research in Alaska, in “Russian America,” researching the linguistics and culture of the modern Aleutian and southern-coast tribes. Returning to France in 1872, Pinart received the gold medal award from the French geographical society for his ethnographical research, and then set off again, this time to Russia, to study Tatar and other Central Asian linguistics and culture, believing there were cultural connections with the American Northwest tribes.<sup>225</sup> Upon his return to France in 1875, Pinart began donating the impressive collection of cultural artifacts, manuscripts, and notes he had amassed to French

<sup>223</sup> Pinart was born in Marquise and raised in Boulogne-sur-Mer, a coastal city of northern France. His father worked as ironmaster for a local nobleman, a position that paid profitably.

<sup>224</sup> In 2008, Pinart’s name made international news alongside the release of the fourth Indiana Jones movie, *Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull*, when a Paris museum admitted that a crystal skull attributed to the Aztecs and located in a collection the museum had acquired from Pinart in the 1880s was likely a 19<sup>th</sup>-century forgery. See: “Museum Admits Real-Life Indiana Jones Handed Over A Dud ‘Relic’ 130 Years Ago,” *National Post*, Apr. 19, 2008.

<sup>225</sup> George H. Whitney, Henry R. Wagner, and Carl S. Dentzel, *Journey to Arizona in 1876 by Alphonse Pinart* (Los Angeles: the Zamorano Club, 1962), 4.

museums, including the Château-Musée of his hometown, Boulogne-sur-Mer. He also founded a publication series devoted to aboriginal American languages and cultures. By this time, Pinart had developed an interest in tracing the ancestry of the modern tribes through ancient relics and burials, through archaeology.<sup>226</sup> He pursued this field of research in late 1875 after making plans with French colleague León de Cessac to conduct an archaeological survey of the Pacific Coast, the American Southwest, Mexico, and Central America. Earlier in 1869-70, before heading to Alaska, Pinart had traveled a bit through California, Utah, Colorado, Texas, and Arizona, and heard of the great ancient ruins in the Salt, Gila, and Santa Cruz river areas. After reaching the Pacific Northwest in December 1875 after several weeks' trekking across Canada from Nova Scotia, Pinart therefore initiated his archaeological work in Arizona.<sup>227</sup>

Beginning in Prescott, January 1876, Pinart started his southward journey. If at first the traces of antiquity were disappointingly scant, they became encouragingly extensive near Phoenix. There, in late January, Pinart found "a little town of 300 inhabitants, about half Mexicans," situated in a flat, subtropical region "covered with ruins"—great piles and standing edifices that appeared to multiply as he continued south to the Gila.<sup>228</sup> At the Pima Indian agency, Pinart learned that the immense ruins harkened to an immemorial era when the Pimas' ancestors were "as numerous as the ants on the plains" and rich, living in large stone houses.<sup>229</sup> They called it the "time of Siwanno" after a mystic personage—a great chief that had possessed inordinate powers. The Pimas equated Siwanno with Montezuma and called the ruins of the large stone houses "Casas de Montezuma."<sup>230</sup> Since the name "Montezuma" was not original to their language, Pinart assumed they had adopted the moniker after encountering the Spanish centuries earlier. He guessed that the Pimas had heard Spaniards use "Montezuma" when identifying the large ancient ruins, and that they had believed it a Spanish translation of "Siwanno."<sup>231</sup> Fascinated with the Siwanno-Montezuma ruins, Pinart investigated as many as possible while in the area, including the famous Casa Grande, which he explored between February 14 and 18 while lodged at the ranch home of John D. Walker.

Quartering at Walker's ranch proved a welcoming and convenient experience. Pinart benefited from Walker's skills as an interpreter and his familiarity with Piman history and culture, while enjoying a short commute to the ruins. The ranch's proximity to the Casa Grande was less than a mile distant, separated "by no more than a screen of Mesquite."<sup>232</sup>

---

<sup>226</sup> Victor Golla, *California Indian Languages* (University of California Press, 2011), 31.

<sup>227</sup> Whitney, et al, *Journey to Arizona in 1876 by Alphonse Pinart*, 31 fn8.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid, 34 and 39.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid, 38.

<sup>230</sup> The Akimel O'odham word *siwañ*, meaning an ancestral chief, may have derived from the name of an ancient chief called *Siwanno*. Some scholars believe *Siwanno* may have been Bitter Man, the Hohokam chief associated with Casa Grande. See: Bahr, *The Short, Swift Time of Gods on Earth*, 32-33.

<sup>231</sup> Whitney, et al, 38.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid, 39. Pinart called Walker "a very intelligent American, who [had] settled among the Indians, and who gave [him] a number of interesting documents concerning their customs and traditions, and besides served [him] wonderfully well as an interpreter." Copies of at least one of the documents that

The convenience allowed Pinart time for multiple visits to the Casa Grande and other nearby ruins in the Florence-Casa Grande corridor. During his stay with Walker, he therefore thoroughly inspected the Casa Grande ruin and site, and conducted minor excavations, resulting in the discovery of several artifacts and a human skull. Particularly interested in the main building, namely its durable construction, Pinart scrutinized the ruin's wall material and design, and made detailed sketches of its four façades.<sup>233</sup> From his inspection, he deduced that the ancients had built the walls of the strong compact structure by superimposing layers of earthen blocks. From his inspection, it appeared they had prepared the blocks in place by pouring an adobe-like material into a form or box designed for the purpose and then repeating the step to build blocks side by side and "one upon the other"; in this way, they raised the walls "course by course."<sup>234</sup> Pinart devoted the rest of his inquiry into identifying Casa Grande's builders and their origins. Believing the human skull he had excavated would best aid this anthropological quest, Pinart kept it for further study.<sup>235</sup> Later that year, after a couple months researching in Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, Pinart returned to France and, while in Paris to present a lecture on his Arizona research before an assembly of French geographers, he hand-delivered the Casa Grande skull to Dr. Jules Theodore Ernest Hamy—a trusted French colleague and scholar of Mesoamerican culture. Hamy inspected the cranium and determined it was remarkably similar to the ancient human skulls unearthed in Mexico. The doctor's findings convinced Pinart that Aztec ancestors or descendants had built Arizona's casas grandes.<sup>236</sup>

The scientific investigations that foreigners such as Pinart conducted in the western territories during the 1870s unsettled the American scientific community. International collecting of American antiquities for overseas research and for display in foreign museums decreased the number of artifacts at sites, swelled their market value, and encouraged hasty, amateur excavations. It also competed with American museum acquisitions. Previously, when prehistoric artifacts were numerous, museums had relied on stocking their collections through donations; yet, as antiquities increased in scarcity and value, donations declined rapidly, forcing museums to budget for acquisitions or to launch discovery expeditions.<sup>237</sup> Even the preeminent Smithsonian Institution, which had enjoyed a monopoly on American anthropological research and acquisitions since the mid-1840s, felt threatened by the foreign investigations. The institution therefore began to reorganize, to develop proactive systems for acquisition, preservation, and interpretation. The reorganization included preparing

---

Walker gave Pinart on Pima customs and traditions are located in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>233</sup> Pinart's field notes indicate he sketched the Casa Grande on February 16. His sketches are visible on microfilm at the Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.

<sup>234</sup> Whitney, et al, 40.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid, 40-41. See also: Marquis de Nadaillac, and N. D'Anvers and W. H. Dall, eds., *Pre-Historic America* (London: John Murray, 1885), 499-500.

<sup>236</sup> In 1878-1882, Pinart continued this line of research in California, Mexico, and Panama. For notes on his itinerary, see: *Guide to the Alphonse Louis Pinart Papers, 1870-1885*, Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California.

<sup>237</sup> Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: the Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 51.

exhaustive works on its anthropological collections and compiling a survey map of the distribution and character of all known archaeological remains in North America. This restructuring included John Wesley Powell's establishment of the Bureau of Ethnology (BOE), a branch of the Smithsonian created in 1879 for the purpose of managing and systematizing anthropological research in America.<sup>238</sup> Together with the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA), a private organization founded by Boston-based scholars and interest groups the same year, the BOE focused initial fieldwork in the Southwest—the center of scholarly debate on the origins of Mexico's ancient civilizations.<sup>239</sup> These institutional developments would eventually help shape southwestern archaeology into a prestigious field. Meanwhile, the 1870s ended with the Smithsonian sorely deficient in the resources needed to counter foreign competition.

In his annual report for 1879, Spencer Baird, Secretary of the Smithsonian, stressed that to offset systematic foreign investigations the Institution would need congressional appropriations large enough to conduct extensive archaeological work at home. The English, German, and French governments, Baird declared, had made American archaeological research their chief field of investigation—with agents for the French government proving especially diligent in recent years. While the English and German investigators dawdled in South and Central America, French researchers such as Pinart pioneered northward, investigating ancient sites in U. S. territory. All across the Alaskan, Oregon, and California coasts—even in the Southwest—they carted off “the choicest objects” for Paris museums.<sup>240</sup> This wholesale repossession of irreplaceable national treasures by overseas institutions should awaken the American people, Baird reasoned, and spur the government into action. He concluded that if Congress should earmark sufficient funds for the undertaking, Americans could pre-occupy the “most interesting localities” and so beat foreign competitors.<sup>241</sup>

Baird overestimated the degree of French competition; Alphonse Pinart's investigations comprised the only real French threat.<sup>242</sup> He nonetheless sounded an alarm that spread quickly, and publicly. Editors of newspapers and other periodicals chastised the American government for its seeming indifference to foreigners digging up and shipping out prehistoric treasures. At the same time, they held a grudging respect for the thoroughness

---

<sup>238</sup> Hinsley, *Smithsonian and the American Indian*, 151-152. The Bureau of Ethnology (renamed the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1897 to better reflect its limited research boundaries) was part of the bill that included the organic act of the United States Geological Survey (USGS). Powell, a major contributor to the western surveys of the 1870s including initial exploration of the Grand Canyon, envisioned the Bureau as a vehicle through which he could complete and publish information on North American Indian cultures. Powell served as the Bureau's director until his death in 1902. See: Mary C. Rabbitt, “John Wesley Powell: Soldier, Explorer, Scientist,” *Geological Survey* 74-24 (Washington: Dept. of the Internal Survey, 1980).

<sup>239</sup> David R. Wilcox and Don D. Fowler, “The Beginnings of Anthropological Archaeology in the North American Southwest: From Thomas Jefferson to the Pecos Conference,” *Journal of the Southwest* 44, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 139.

<sup>240</sup> Spencer Baird in *Smithsonian Annual Report* for 1879, 38.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 38-39.

<sup>242</sup> Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 51.

and determination of the foreign competition. Many held up French investigator Pinart and his meticulous research as the yardstick for developing a system of American-directed archaeology. In April 1880, the *Bulletin's* editor praised Pinart as an original investigator who systematically and thoroughly prosecuted his scientific investigations year after year. He goes everywhere, the editor declared, as the Americans should:

Now he is digging into mounds in British Columbia, and next he may be on the islands in Tulare Lake exhuming skeletons. Then he goes off to Arizona, spends weeks or months among the Indians, learning their language, notes down every word he finds, formulates dictionaries, makes accurate drawings of the prehistoric ruins of Arizona, transcribes all the hieroglyphics which he finds, gathers up implements illustrating the Stone Age, looks into all the relics of Aztec civilization, examines hundreds of skulls and skeletons, and transmits the more valuable to Paris.<sup>243</sup>

The editor estimated that Pinart had sent Paris nearly a “shipload of specimens” from Sonoma, California alone—valuable artifacts that could be in San Francisco constituting one of the most “interesting museums of prehistoric records” if the United States treasured its historical monuments. Instead, the specimens were in Europe, for “foreign scientific bodies,” the *Bulletin* editor continued, better-appreciated American antiquities.<sup>244</sup> This widespread exposure of America’s lackluster defense of its fast-disappearing relics pricked national pride and prompted local and state institutions to act. Though wide-ranging geographically and in expertise, new and established historical societies, museums, and other cultural institutions began reorganizing to keep ancient Americana at home and to accommodate the growing public demand for archaeological exhibits.<sup>245</sup> Institutions dedicated to the material sciences were at the forefront of the anthropology craze, collecting ancient artifacts made from regional natural resources such as wood, soil, rock, and metals.

#### *Henry G. Hanks – California Geologist: 1879*

In spring 1879, while railroad crews were within days of reaching the Casa Grande Valley, a small group of American geologists visited the ruin to examine and collect samples of the materials used in its construction. Henry Garber Hanks, co-director of the California State Geological Society (est. 1877) and an analytical chemist and assayer by profession, led the investigation [Fig. 35]. New Jersey geologists S. P. Van Winkle and Prof. George H. Cook (State Geologist) accompanied him. Hanks’ official commission to collect and exhibit southwestern mineral samples internationally likely motivated his interest in the ruin—that, and the curiosity of an early scientist. The previous year, California had appointed Hanks to prepare and escort a California mineral exhibit to the 1878 World’s Fair in Paris. The display was successful, and California asked Hanks to return to Paris in June 1879 with a larger

---

<sup>243</sup> “Pre-historic Treasures of the Pacific Coast,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, Apr. 20 1880.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

<sup>245</sup> Cole, 48-49.

mineral exhibit that would represent the greater southwest. Arizona participated, hoping to lure potential investors with the territory's mineral wealth. Hanks' April 1879 trip to the Casa Grande was likely part of the effort to collect western mineral resources, with an emphasis on displaying the building materials' soil/mineral makeup. It may also have been a personal excursion for the geologists.

Hanks' account of the trip in *The Californian* magazine indicates that the three geologists had read published travel writings about the site before visiting it—"romantic or poetical" writings, as Hanks described them. These popular impressions led the scientist-travelers to expect a more dramatic, awe-inspiring scene than the disappointing "mud house" that their eyes initially registered. If the Casa Grande seemed "shapeless" at first, Hanks described it as "wonderful" upon close inspection:



Figure 35. Portrait of Henry Garber Hanks, State Mineralogist of California, 1880-1886. Courtesy State of California, Department of Conservation, [www.conservation.ca.gov](http://www.conservation.ca.gov).

Instead of the stately edifice he [the traveler] has pictured in his imagination, he beholds only a huge dun colored, almost shapeless mass, looming up strangely from the desolate plain. There is nothing architectural about the structure. It is, at best, but a mud house; though, as he examines it more closely, it seems more and more wonderful.<sup>246</sup>

The ruin filled Hanks and the other geologists with scientific curiosity—their minds raced with theories about its construction, age, and original purpose. Hanks measured the building, and then sketched his version of its ground plan and "porthole" [Fig. 36].

Hoping to determine the structure's age and the source of its durability, the geologists tested the ruin's material composition. They cut off portions of its walls and ran a rough chemical analysis that indicated the substance consisted of approximately 74% sand and other matter insoluble in hydrochloric acid; 17% carbonate of lime; 4.8% water; 3.1% organic matter and loss; and, 1.1% iron and alumina. It seemed Casa Grande's builders had burned lime and mixed it with the other detected elements to produce a durable concrete-like material that had withstood "the action of the elements" for many years, although the scientists could not verify the building's age. They extracted some deeply embedded rafter joists and analyzed the wood in hopes of establishing an estimated age range, but their findings proved inconclusive. Finishing their inspection, they rested a bit and bandied ideas about the building's original purpose.<sup>247</sup>

---

<sup>246</sup> Henry G. Hanks, "Casa Grande," *The Californian* 2, no. 8 (Aug. 1880): 104.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid, 106.

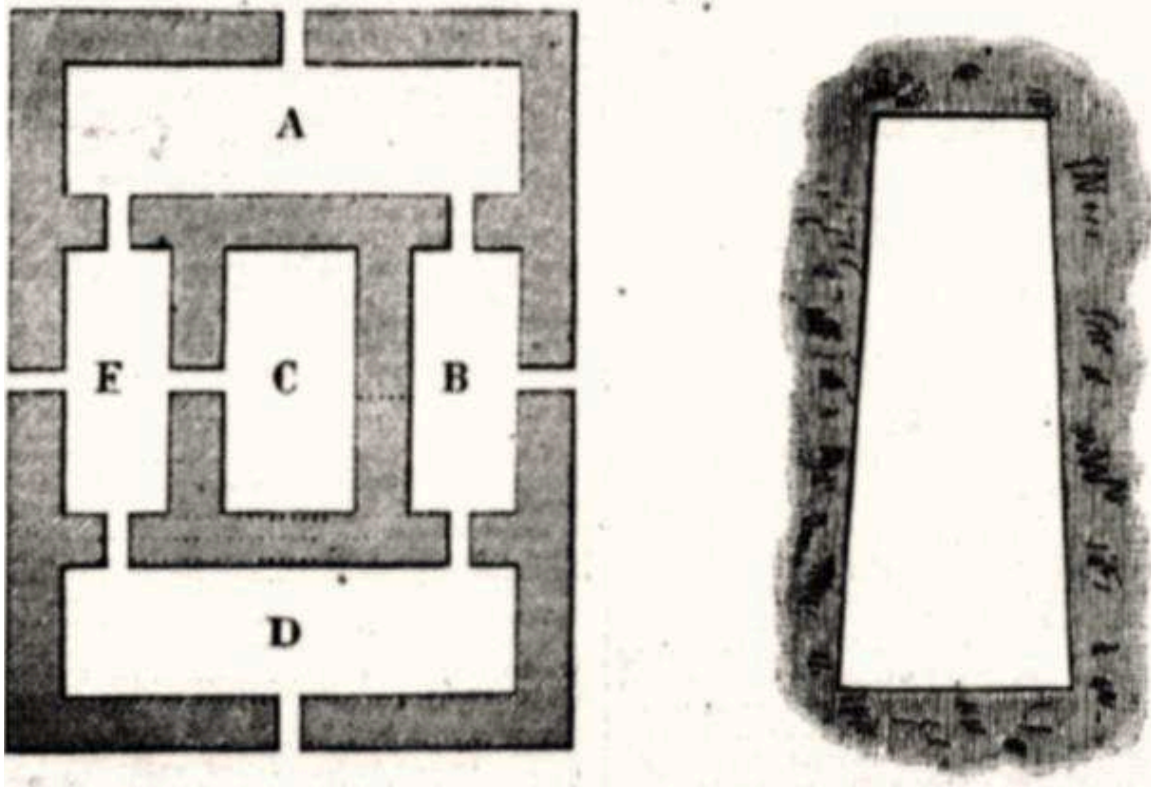


Figure 36. Henry G. Hanks' ground plan of the Casa Grande and "porthole," ca1879. Scale of image on the left is 20 ft. to the in., the image on the right 1 ft. to the  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. Courtesy Hanks (1880).

Theories debated included its potential use as a grain warehouse, for the extensive irrigation works nearby, and other signs of a dense population, suggested the inhabitants had planted and harvested large fields of crops. Hanks and his companions rejected this theory, however, for the rafters seemed too small to have handled the grain's weight. Someone tossed out the possibility of a religious use—perhaps the ruin had once been a temple. This also seemed problematic to the scientists, for the building had multiple small rooms and a great number of doors and portholes. Frustrated, Hanks bemoaned the lack of scientific investigation and useful knowledge. He believed the Arizona Legislature had appropriated funds for an excavation and approved John D. Walker to conduct them.<sup>248</sup> But in general, he

<sup>248</sup> It is unclear whether John D. Walker conducted excavations or whether the territory appropriated funds for such an endeavor. On January 31, 1879, during Arizona's 10<sup>th</sup> Legislative Assembly (1879), the House read and referred to the Committee on Roads and Ferries a bill (H.B. 37; C.B. 31) for an Act to restore and keep in repair the old Mission San Xavier del Bac and to protect and shelter the Casa Grande Ruin. Despite special committee endorsement, the Council voted it down on February 4. See: Arizona, "Arizona Territory 10th Legislative Journals, 1879," 217, *Cracchiolo Law Library Digital Collections*, <<http://ualawlib.omeka.net/items/show/220>> (accessed 23 Jan. 2013). See also: "Council—Twenty-fifth Day, Council Chamber, Prescott, February 3d, 1879," *Weekly Journal Miner*, Feb. 7 1879.

considered most attempts to “discover a clew[sic] to the age and uses of Casa Grande by digging” apathetic and vandalistic, producing little significant knowledge beyond perpetuating unfounded ideas about its origins and association with ancient gold.<sup>249</sup> While visiting Florence, for example, Hanks heard a resident brag that he had discovered buried gold in the ruins. Allegedly, while scraping away at the Casa Grande’s walls, the Florentine extracted an embedded piece of gold. It resembled an ancient coin, and he believed a larger cache might lie buried somewhere near the ruin. Other people spread rumors that the ancient gold lay buried in a hidden underground space directly below the ruin’s inner room. Their “evidence” included hearing a hollow sound when they jumped around inside the Casa Grande. This kind of interest in the ruins led Hanks to predict that without protective laws visitors would eventually dismantle the ruins piecemeal.

Ironically, Hanks and the other geologists participated in the ruin’s dismantlement—albeit for scientific purposes. They departed the Casa Grande well laden with pilfered artifacts. Historical records are unclear, but, given the ruin’s popularity, Hanks likely displayed the relics in Paris upon returning there in June. Later that year, he added them to the collections of the California State Geological Society, and then in 1880-81, transferred them to the new California State Museum. State legislators had just passed an act creating the California Bureau of Mines, and appointed Hanks “State Mineralogist,” or head of the new bureau. The act stipulated that the bureau director create and administer an archive and exhibits of Mining Bureau collections—i.e., a state museum. Hanks subsequently moved the California State Geological Society items to the Mining Bureau archives. The first annual catalog of the California State Museum (1882) itemized a large anthropological collection, part of which included “cement” samples and rafter portions from Casa Grande, donated by Henry G. Hanks.<sup>250</sup>

For a few years after Hanks’ 1879 investigation of the Casa Grande ruin, minimal archaeological activity occurred at the site. J. H. Hammond, Inspector for the Indian Bureau,

---

<sup>249</sup> Hanks, “Casa Grande,” 106.

<sup>250</sup> The catalog listed the following Casa Grande artifacts:

1556. Portion of a Rafter, from the ruin of Casa Grande, Pinal County, Arizona, showing the marks of the stone ax by which it was cut. Henry G. Hanks.

1558. Concrete, Of which Casa Grande is built, Pinal County, Arizona. Henry G. Hanks.

1600. Stone Hammer or Ax, Near ruin of Casa Grande, Pinal County, Arizona. Henry G. Hanks.

1602. Stone Ax, Near the ruin of Casa Grande, Pinal County, Arizona. Henry G. Hanks.

1614. Concrete, From ruin of Casa Grande, Pinal County, Arizona, showing outer surface. Henry G. Hanks.

1615. Concrete, From earth works, ruin of Casa Grande, Pinal County, Arizona. Henry G. Hanks.

1616. Concrete, From inner wall, Casa Grande, Pinal County, Arizona, showing polished surface. Henry G. Hanks.

See: California State Mining Bureau, *First Annual Catalogue of the State Museum of California, Vol. I* (Sacramento: J.D. Young, 1882), 102-103 and 106.

conducted an investigation five months after Hanks in April 1879. The results of his labor, as provided by him to the *Phoenix Herald*, indicate he spent several days examining the whole site and taking measurements and notes on what he saw. These included a discussion on the construction and materials of the floors/ceilings of the main Casa Grande building. Hammond believed they were made by placing rafters of yellow pine, juniper and cottonwood about four inches apart, and covering them first with river rushes and alkali grass, and then with a coating of mud, which in turn, was covered with a cement composed of rocky sand, road dust, and cactus juice.<sup>251</sup> His notes indicate that he also excavated the ruins and found immense quantities of pottery, charcoal debris, and grass from what he believed had been a thatched roof. Overall, Hammond's inspection revealed little, and the objective and outcome of his inspection remain unclear.

The lack of archaeological activity at Casa Grande reflected, in part, American archaeologists' still widespread interest in studying European classical archaeology as well as their preference for the "exotic" Pueblo culture of northern Arizona and New Mexico. In September 1879, after receiving a congressional appropriation for southwestern fieldwork, the BOE launched the first official government-directed archaeological expedition to the Hopi and Zuni pueblos. Participants were James Stevenson—Director Powell's administrative officer—and his wife Matilda Coxe Stevenson; photographer J. K. Hillers; and, Frank H. Cushing, the young charismatic curator of the Smithsonian National Museum's ethnological department. Between 1879 and 1884, the Stevensons traveled back and forth between their field post in the Southwest and Washington, D. C. Cushing, however, remained at Zuni and immersed himself in the culture. For his efforts, the Zunis elected him as a war chief and gave him the name "Tenatsali," or "Medicine Flower" [Fig. 37].<sup>252</sup> Because of the BOE's focus on northern pueblo culture, formal archaeological investigations at Casa Grande did not begin until June 1883 when Dutch anthropologist Herman ten Kate and AIA-affiliated archaeologist Adolph Bandelier explored the ruins a mere two weeks apart. Ten Kate and Bandelier's research involved little more than cursory survey work yet ultimately influenced a full-fledged archaeological expedition under Cushing's directorship in 1887.



Figure 37. Portrait of Frank Cushing in Zuni costume, ca1881. Courtesy Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives.

<sup>251</sup> *Phoenix Herald* article reprinted in *Sacramento Daily Union*, Oct. 18, 1879.

<sup>252</sup> Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 119.

*Herman F. C. ten Kate – Dutch Anthropologist: 1883*

Like Pinart, Amsterdam-native Herman Frederik Carel ten Kate, Jr. (1858-1931) launched his long career as an itinerant scholar by conducting fieldwork in the United States [Fig. 38]. Originally, Ten Kate pursued art—like his father, the renowned Dutch painter by the same name who enjoyed the patronage of King William III.<sup>253</sup> In 1875, he enrolled in The Hague's Academy of Arts, where he excelled in anatomical drawing. Within a year, however, his interest had shifted to anthropology. Family friend Charles van de Velde—a world traveler, physician, painter, cartographer, and humanitarian—regaled Ten Kate with stories of foreign lands and people whose culture was fast fading; these heartrending tales swayed the youth to study ethnology instead of art.<sup>254</sup> Focusing on medical, or physical, anthropology, Ten Kate took courses at a variety of institutions including the University of Leiden and Paris' École d'Anthropologie, where he trained under medical anthropologists Pierre-Paul Broca, Paul Topinard, and Ernest-Théodore Hamy—Pinart's trusted colleague.



Figure 38. Portrait of Herman ten Kate, Jr., ca1881. Courtesy Historia de Nogales, [historiadenogales.blogspot.com](http://historiadenogales.blogspot.com).

Eventually, he concentrated on North American “salvage ethnology”—the firsthand study of “at risk” indigenous groups and the collection of their physical and cultural data as a way of preserving knowledge about their origins and way of life. After completing a Ph.D. in zoology from Heidelberg University in 1882, with an emphasis on anatomy and craniology, twenty-four-year-old Ten Kate set out to conduct fieldwork in America, departing the Netherlands for the United States in October 1882. The subsequent yearlong sojourn—sponsored in part by Dutch and French institutions but mainly by his wealthy father—would be the young scholar’s “rite of passage” into the small international community of American anthropology.<sup>255</sup>

After reaching New York City in early November, Ten Kate remained in the east for several weeks of preliminary research—a couple weeks studying Iroquois culture in western New York, and the remainder of his time soliciting advice on American anthropology from scholars in the Bureau of Ethnology, Interior and War

---

<sup>253</sup> Ten Kate was also the nephew of Jan Jakob Lodewijk ten Kate, a celebrated Dutch poet known also for his effortless ability to translate classic works into Dutch, such as Dante’s *L’Inferno*. See: Paul van Heck, “*Ciò che potea la lingua nostra*: One Hundred and More Years of Dante Translations into Dutch,” in Ronald De Rooy, ed., *Divine Comedies for the New Millennium: Recent Dante Translations in America and the Netherlands* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 76 and 85.

<sup>254</sup> Hovens, *Travels and Researches*, 16.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid, 24.

Departments, and the U.S. Geological Survey. By Christmas, Ten Kate had reached the Southwest, the region where he would devote the bulk of his research the following year.<sup>256</sup> During the first five months, the intrepid young scholar traveled Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and northern Mexico, spending anywhere from two days to two weeks among tribes in El Paso, Tucson, Baja California (Mexico), Fort Yuma, Fort Mohave, Kingman, Prescott, and Phoenix. His research covered the major subfields of anthropology at the time: physical anthropology, ethnolinguistics, ethnohistory, and archaeology. He measured and classified the physical characteristics of living Indians as well as the skeletal material of their dead, gathered linguistic data, collected material culture including artifacts, and inquired into the social impact of America's geo-political domination.<sup>257</sup> Ten Kate's archaeological work, while minor, was precise and contributive. To best interpret ancient sites he encountered during fieldwork, Ten Kate would sketch and survey them, gather local oral traditions about them, and compare his findings to the latest scientific research.<sup>258</sup> In his notes, he also admitted to desecrating graves and stealing skulls.<sup>259</sup>

Ten Kate's exposure to the *casas grandes* occurred during fieldwork among the Pimas of the Salt and Gila River valleys in mid-1883. Ten Kate first observed ancient canals and the ruins of big houses as he approached Phoenix from northern Arizona on May 26. The antiquities roused his scientific curiosity, and he decided to conduct a survey of ruins in the corridor between Phoenix and Tempe. He discovered two main sites of ruins—about one-and-a-half and five miles, respectively, heading eastward from Phoenix.<sup>260</sup> The first, greatly buried, had heavy adobe walls and a number of painted potsherds and milling stones. The second ruin was more extensive and appeared to be the remains of a large city. A few days later, Ten Kate traveled to the Gila River Indian Reservation for a weeklong research trip into Piman anthropology and discovered more large ruins akin to those near Phoenix and Tempe. He observed these ruins while guided around the various Pima and Maricopa villages by Rev. C. H. Cook—Christian missionary to the tribes—and two interpreters, Luis and Antonito (the son of Chief Antonio Azul).<sup>261</sup> During his tours, Ten Kate noticed that

---

<sup>256</sup> Hovens, *Travels and Researches*, 18.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid, 16 and 27. See also, Pieter Hovens and Jiska Herlaar, "Early Anthropology on the Southwest-Great Basin Frontier: the 1883 Fieldwork of Herman ten Kate," *Journal of the Southwest* 46, no. 3 (Autumn 2004): 532.

<sup>258</sup> Hovens, *Travels and Researches*, 27.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid, 183.

<sup>260</sup> The sites were likely La Ciudad and Pueblo Grande. Pieter Hovens, Duane Anderson, Ted J Brasser, and Laura N. K. van Broekhoven, *The Ten Kate Collection 1882-1888: American Indian Material Culture* (Leiden: National Museum of Ethnology, 2010), 265.

<sup>261</sup> From September 1870 until his death in 1914, Chicago resident Rev. Charles H. Cook, D. D. served at the Indian agency of Sacaton, Arizona as both schoolteacher and Presbyterian missionary to the Pimas and Maricopas. His bride joined him in 1872 but died of fever-related ill health in 1889. The Cooks had seven children born on the Pima Reservation. Linguist Frank Russell, who lived and studied among the Pima Indians in 1901-02, described Rev. Cook as follows: "Mr C. H. Cook, a Civil War veteran, had come as a teacher and missionary among the Pimas at the close of the year 1870. A sincere and devout Christian, he labored for nearly fifteen years before the people to whom he has devoted his life began to understand the message that he brought to them." See Cook's

the tribes reused some of the ancient tools, namely stone axes, and that they showed reverence to the ancient ruins with offerings of stones, wood, and beads.<sup>262</sup> At certain ancient sites, they had arranged small heaps of stones in a noticeable pattern around the collapsed walls of the structures and piled broken-off branches of greasewood or bead ornaments in between the heaps. Once, Ten Kate explored these unusual stone heaps too closely and disturbed a snake slumbering among the stones. The startled snake coiled and Ten Kate reacted instinctively by firing off both barrels of his hunting rifle. In the wake, he noticed naught but “an unrecognizable bloody mass” marking the spot where the snake had reposed moments before.<sup>263</sup> Dangers of the desert averted, Ten Kate queried Antonito about the meaning of the ritual stones. Unvaryingly, the chief’s son responded that he knew nothing, only that in his language they called the ancient structures *wak*, *wakh*, or *wahki*, variations for the English word “ruins.” Specific ruins had additional names, such as Casa Grande, which they titled *Sivannoki* or *Sivanki*, “house of Siwanno,” for the ruler they believed once occupied it.<sup>264</sup>

Soon after, Ten Kate set off to investigate *Sivannoki*, the well-known Casa Grande. On June 8, he bade farewell to his newfound colleagues and friends at the Pima Indian agency and headed southeast by buggy. Fifteen miles later, he arrived at John D. Walker’s ranch. For over twenty years, the erudite settler had lived and worked among the Gileño people, and gained their unlimited confidence; in the process, he learned much about their culture, history and the local landscape and became a well-known point person for newcomers to the valley.<sup>265</sup> Ten Kate was no exception. Like Pinart and other travelers before him, most of what he learned about the Pimas he gathered from Walker—during his one-night lodging in the rancher’s hospitable home and during an excursion with Walker to Florence the next day.<sup>266</sup> Likely, the rancher shared what he knew about Casa Grande and other similar ruins in the area before Ten Kate set out toward the ruin after arrival. Traveling the short distance south to Casa Grande, he found the ruin standing out conspicuously on a sandy plain cloaked with mesquite and sagebrush—as it had for centuries, although in a much altered state.<sup>267</sup> Ten Kate noted that it displayed a vastly different visage from the earliest recorders’ descriptions, especially since Manje’s inaugural account. In the two intervening centuries, the walls had markedly deteriorated and scarcely a single wood rafter

---

autobiographical account, Eveline Martin Alexander, Charles H. Cook, and Isaac T. Whittemore, *Among the Pimas; or, The Mission to the Pima and Maricopa Indians* (Albany: Ladies’ Union Mission School Association, 1893); and Russell, “The Pima Indians,” 59.

<sup>262</sup> Hovens, et al, *The Ten Kate Collection 1882-1888*, 266.

<sup>263</sup> Hovens, *Travels and Researches*, 180.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid, 188 n45.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid, 181.

<sup>266</sup> Walker escorted Ten Kate to Florence on June 9. In an account of the excursion, Ten Kate described the Casa Grande Valley as “one of the most fertile regions of Arizona,” with “rolling fields of alfalfa grass, corn, and wheat—interrupted by stout, shady cottonwoods and willows” lining the southern banks of the Gila River. Ibid, 183.

<sup>267</sup> Ten Kate labeled the plants *Obione* and *Artemisia*, respectively. Hovens, 181.

remained.<sup>268</sup> From what remained of the holes from which the wooden ceiling beams had once jutted, Ten Kate recognized the hint of two stories. The building's overall dimensions, which had changed less over the centuries, appeared approximately fourteen meters high, seventeen wide, and twelve deep. The walls—coated with a faint yet still distinct reddish-toned varnish—ranged in thickness from 1.10 to 1.20 meters. In every direction, Ten Kate observed the remnants of other buildings, indicating that Casa Grande had been part of a large village—one long ago associated with fables of Aztec kingdoms.<sup>269</sup>

Casa Grande's early association with Aztec lore contributed to its frequent mention in travel and antiquarian literature. As Ten Kate discovered, "No writer who has written about antiquities of the American Southwest has failed to mention the Casa Grande," nor, in most cases, left out its possible connection to Montezuma.<sup>270</sup> To Ten Kate, the ruin's linkage to Coronado's "Chichilticale" and the Aztecs kingdoms was absurd. The Dutch scholar argued that the ruins had "nothing in common with the Aztecs or their king Montezuma"; rather, the myth harkened to a "natural" misunderstanding during the era of early Spanish exploration:

The name *Chichilticale*, an Aztec word meaning "red house," and that of Montezuma were given to the ruins in question by the first Spanish explorers who came from Mexico. For those familiar with only the most important Indian civilization, the Tolto-Aztec, it was quite natural that, in encountering vestiges reminding them of what they had observed in Mexico, they would think of the Aztecs and connect Aztec names to their discoveries.<sup>271</sup>

The Montezuma myth had become especially fashionable among Americans—due in large part, Ten Kate presumed, to its widespread publicity in "trashy popular works such as those of Cozzens, Hodge, and Hinton."<sup>272</sup> Myths aside, Ten Kate considered Casa Grande the best preserved of the ruins he had encountered—a sentiment shared by Swiss-American anthropologist Adolph Bandelier a month later when he, too, visited the ruin while conducting archaeological research in Arizona. Bandelier was delighted to find the famous ruin so well preserved, thus extending itself as a model by which scholars could determine the region's architectural evolution.<sup>273</sup>

---

<sup>268</sup> Ten Kate believed the rafter wood was pine.

<sup>269</sup> Hovens, *Travels and Researches*, 182.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid, 182-183.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid, 182.

<sup>273</sup> Bandelier in Archaeological Institute of America, *Fifth Annual Report of the Executive Committee: with Accompanying Papers* (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1884), 67, accessible on The Internet Archive, <<http://archive.org/stream/annualreportexe01amergoog#page/n251/mode/2up>> (accessed 08 Aug. 2011).

*Adolph Bandelier – Swiss Anthropologist: 1883*

Born in Berne, Switzerland but raised in a Swiss immigrant community of Highland, Illinois from age eight, Adolph François Alphonse Bandelier (1840-1914) developed an interest in “scientific ‘imagination’” at an early age [Fig. 39]. While he later returned to Switzerland for university studies (University of Berne, 1865-67) and then pursued a career in business and banking, Bandelier continued to cultivate his wide-ranging scientific interests, including Mesoamerican ethnology. In 1873, while on a business trip to Rochester, New York, Bandelier met Lewis H. Morgan, pioneer anthropologist of American Indian ethnology.<sup>274</sup> The two began communicating, and by the late 1870s, Bandelier had become a respected self-trained scholar of ancient Mexican culture.<sup>275</sup> In 1880, when Morgan secured a commission for him to conduct southwestern pueblo research for the newly founded Archaeological Institute of America, Bandelier—never happy in the family financing business—left his banking career and switched to southwestern archaeology.<sup>276</sup>

Bandelier launched fieldwork immediately, traveling ceaselessly and extensively throughout northern Mexico and the Southwest over the subsequent four years. He researched Arizona pueblo culture beginning in late April 1883—two weeks’ fieldwork at Zuni with BOE ethnologist Frank Hamilton Cushing, followed by a survey of ancient ruins south toward Tucson. In the Salt and Gila River watersheds, Bandelier surveyed five known ancient villages and located four more on both banks of the Gila. The largest villages lay three to six miles apart along the Gila’s southern banks, averaging two miles from the river and ranging from above Florence west beyond Maricopa, a distance of sixty miles.<sup>277</sup> Before departing for Tucson on June 24, Bandelier’s tally of ruins surveyed and investigated in New Mexico and Arizona since arriving in the Southwest rose to 166.<sup>278</sup>



Figure 39. Portrait of Adolph Bandelier, ca 1891/92. Courtesy *Popular Science Monthly* (Jul 1892).

---

<sup>274</sup> Bandelier in Ernest J. Burrus, S. J., *A History of the Southwest. Vol. I. A Catalogue of the Bandelier Collection in the Vatican Library* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Society, 1969), 20-21.

<sup>275</sup> In 1940, Leslie A. White published a ten-year collection of letters between Bandelier and Morgan (1873-1883). See: Adolph Bandelier and Lewis H. Morgan, with Leslie A. White, ed., *Pioneers in American Anthropology: The Bandelier-Morgan Letters* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940; reprint, 1978).

<sup>276</sup> Charles H. Lange, Carroll L. Riley, and Elizabeth M. Lange, *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, 1883-1884* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970), 3-4.

<sup>277</sup> Bandelier, *Fifth Annual Report*, 47.

<sup>278</sup> Bandelier in Burrus, 139.

On June 21, Bandelier had added Casa Grande to that number. Bandelier's journals indicate that after a brief stay at the Pima Agency June 19-21, where he received kind reception from Rev. Cook, Bandelier departed for Walker's place near the ruins; he called it a "handsome spot" that validated the fertility of the desert plain when irrigated.<sup>279</sup> He spent the afternoon painting the scene, and then headed out to preview the Casa Grande ruins, which the Pimas called "Vayq'y" or "Civanoqi." As its name implied, the famous main ruin was the remains of a large house. It stood within a large courtyard or enclosure that contained other ruins, such that Casa Grande occupied barely one-sixth of the area [Fig. 40]. The enclosure measured 125 and 118 meters longitudinally, and 67.6 meters transversely on the northern side. Shapeless mounds as well as a still-partly-standing room clung to or extended from the ruin's northern, eastern, and southeastern borders. Though others before Bandelier had measured the famous edifice so often he thought it "hardly worth while[sic] to repeat the figures," he measured it, anyway.<sup>280</sup> Its exterior dimensions proved its groundplan was a slightly irregular rectangle: 13.3 and 13.64 meters on the south and east sides, 17.16 and 17.82 meters on the west and east. The building's height was at least seven meters, rising much higher at points where the upper third story was still intact. Its ground floor was part subterranean.<sup>281</sup> Marking the lines of the building's stories were the remains of some ceiling-floor *vigas* still partly jutting from their round wall pockets—also, patches of a thin layer of soil blackened and smoothed by a treatment of blood that may have served as a coating on the ceiling or floor pavements.<sup>282</sup> Architectural evidence suggested the building had contained eleven rooms across three stories. If, however, the partial third story had originally extended over the whole surface above the second, Bandelier estimated there would have been four more rooms no longer visible, therefore a total of fifteen. Overall, the Casa Grande's composition of partial two- and three-story walls gave the appearance of a tower, "short and stumpy, rising in the centre of the building."<sup>283</sup>

The Casa Grande enclosure formed the southwest quadrant of what Bandelier deemed a settlement measuring about four hundred meters north to south, and two hundred meters east to west. To the north at about 100 yards lay a second group of ruins separated from the main Casa Grande complex by means of a large shared 'elliptical tank' 2.5 meters deep with heavy embankments.<sup>284</sup> This northern group featured a great quadrangular ruin encompassed by eight smaller elliptical-shaped ruins. Bandelier characterized the much-deteriorated central ruin as a platform mound—an elevated ruin, the same 'terraced' ruin noted by the Emory topographical investigation in 1846. The ruin differed in design from the Casa Grande, yet the construction materials used and the pottery and other remains scattered around suggested that both group of ruins "were but two parts of one and the same village."<sup>285</sup> As a whole, Bandelier found strong similarities between the Casa Grande

---

<sup>279</sup> Bandelier *in* Lange, et al, 133-34.

<sup>280</sup> Bandelier, *Fifth Annual Report*, 68.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid*, 69.

<sup>282</sup> Bandelier *in* Burrus, 135.

<sup>283</sup> Bandelier, *Fifth Annual Report*, 69.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid*.

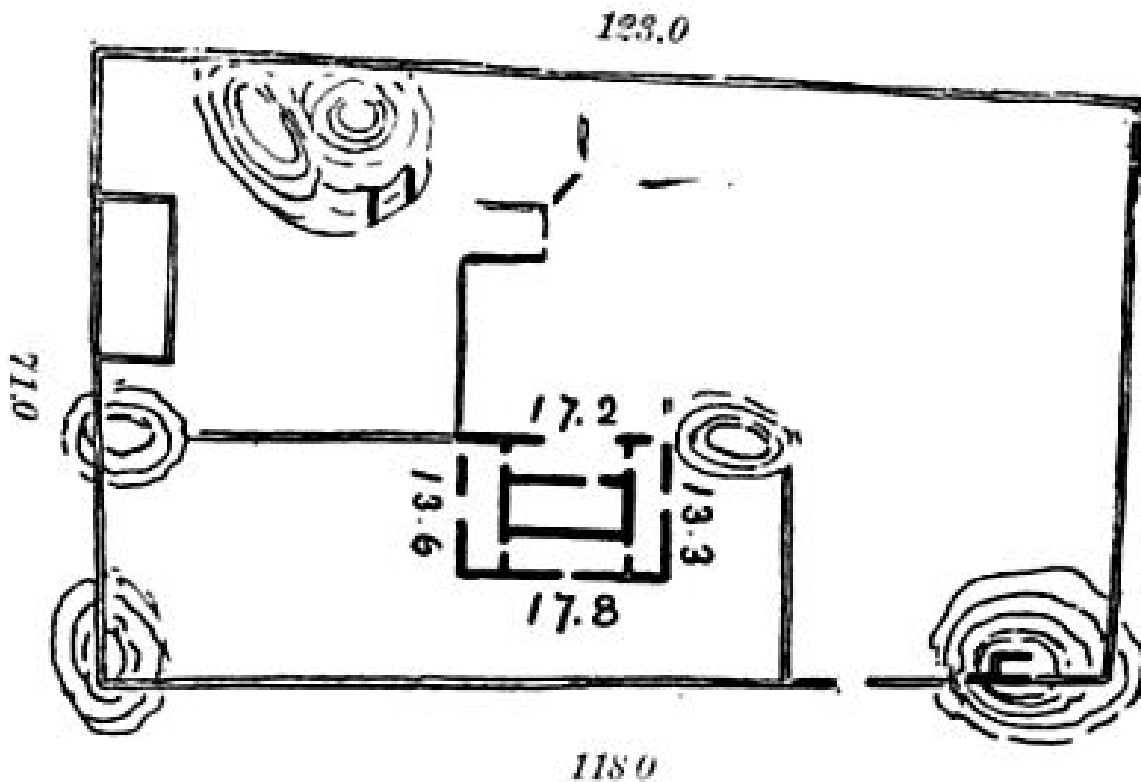


Figure 40. Bandelier's 1883 ground plan of the Casa Grande ruin and its enclosure. Courtesy Bandelier (1890)

ruins and other sites he had explored further north. The platform-mound group of ruins just north of the Casa Grande resembled sites found at Tempe,<sup>286</sup> while the main Casa Grande enclosure displayed strong similarity in ground plan and building designs to Tonto Creek ruins,

If the ground-plan of this great house [Casa Grande], with its surroundings of minor edifices, courts, and enclosure, [were to be] placed by the side of the ground-plan of the most typical ruins in Tonto Creek.<sup>287</sup>

The resemblance to Tonto Creek, Bandelier continued, was almost perfect except in the materials used—the builders of the different villages having used materials available and unique to their respective locales. Bandelier also found the thickness of Casa Grande's walls

<sup>286</sup> Bandelier may have been referring to the ruins now protected as part of the Pueblo Grande Museum.

<sup>287</sup> Bandelier, *Fifth Annual Report*, 60 and 68-69.

remarkably greater than the walls of the Tonto Creek ruins.<sup>288</sup> In summary, Bandelier described the Casa Grande settlement as two clusters of ruins—the northern group, with its center platform mound similar to the ruin at Tempe, and a southern group closer in type to ruins of the Tonto Creek and Salado, Verde, and Globe areas.<sup>289</sup>

In his report to the Archaeological Institute of America later that year, Bandelier concluded that the Casa Grande was but “a remaining illustration” of an architectural type that had prevailed throughout the region “south of Fort Apache and west of Shibien Creek.” The building design and arrangement within its village demonstrated an architectural evolution of what he labeled the “detached family house.”<sup>290</sup> It was a prevalent typology little studied by scholars. According to Bandelier, the ‘detached family house’ generally contained rooms ranging from as few as one to the more common several-room composition; either isolated or grouped, these detached dwellings together formed a village. The grouped, or clustered, arrangement appeared as distinct village plazas or compounds, each comprising smaller buildings surrounding “a central ‘mansion’.” Bandelier theorized that the ‘mansion’, or *casa grande*, in each compound had not necessarily served exceptional purposes, as its multiple stories would suggest. Rather, it displayed an architectural evolution of the detached family dwelling from horizontal to vertical, a modification likely designed to secure higher residential density as well as protection.<sup>291</sup> This evolution, Bandelier concluded, related to architectural changes that had occurred in northern prehistoric Arizona and New Mexico, where over time “the small house grew into the many-storied pueblo building.”<sup>292</sup> Bandelier’s preliminary methods for classifying southwestern settlements and their building traits served as the first anthropological model for how to interpret the evolution of regional indigenous architecture; it anticipated the methods of “New Archaeology” by approximately thirty years.<sup>293</sup>

### **Hemenway Archaeological Expedition at Casa Grande, 1888**

Five years later, Bandelier and Herman ten Kate both returned to the Southwest to continue their *casas grandes* research, but this time, as partners in the first formal archaeological expedition of Arizona. Their mutual friend and colleague, anthropologist

---

<sup>288</sup> Archaeological findings at the time suggested that prehistoric dwellings situated in valleys with less exposure to strong winds (i.e., the Tonto Creek ruins) had thinner walls. Yet, the walls of the Casa Blanca ruin near Maricopa, which sat on a windy plain similar to Casa Grande, had walls only half as thick as the Casa Grande. Bandelier believed that the Casa Grande’s unusually thick walls corresponded partly to the builders’ use of marl (a calcium and lime-rich mud) instead of rocks—the latter being unavailable nearby—but also to the building’s unique rectangular design. He concluded that the Casa Grande’s thick walls reflected the shape and size of its apartments, elongated rather than square, which dictated walls of greater solidity. Bandelier, *Fifth Annual Report*, 70-71.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid, 69.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid, 71. For Bandelier’s summary of architectural traits, see pp. 73-75.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid, 72.

<sup>293</sup> Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 178.



Figure 41. Portrait of Mary Tileston Hemenway.  
Courtesy National Park Service, Archeology  
Program, [www.nps.gov/archeology](http://www.nps.gov/archeology).

Frank Hamilton Cushing of the Bureau of Ethnology, invited them to participate while forming the expedition plans in 1886. The planning meetings took place in Boston, at the welcoming home of expedition financier Mary Tileston Hemenway, an advocate of cultural and historic preservation and widow of one of the city's wealthiest merchants [Fig. 41].<sup>294</sup> Hemenway had known of Cushing's fieldwork since at least 1881, when journalist Sylvester Baxter began covering the ethnologist's work in Boston-area newspapers.<sup>295</sup> Then, in 1882, she met Cushing in person when he was in Boston giving lectures on his finding while accompanying several Zuni Indians on their eastern pilgrimage to the "ocean of sunrise."<sup>296</sup> Hemenway and Cushing renewed acquaintance in 1886 when the ethnologist and his wife returned to the east coast to recuperate from ill health and financial straits, and accepted Hemenway's offer to host them at "Old Farm," her family country estate in Milton, Massachusetts. In these recuperative surroundings, Cushing regaled Mary Hemenway with myths and stories about the tenacious yet endangered Zuni culture. The accounts piqued Hemenway's preservationist sensibilities. Ambivalent about the increasingly machine-driven age in which she was growing old, Hemenway, like many of America's oldest elite families, mourned the imaginary preindustrial America of her youth—the "Edenic" America of "untouched" nature and simplicity. To Hemenway, the Zuni culture represented an idyllic

---

<sup>294</sup> The Old South Meeting House in Boston remains one of Mary Hemenway's most celebrated historic preservation successes. In the late 1870s, Hemenway contributed \$100,000 towards the \$400,000 needed to save and preserve the building. Hemenway's philanthropy not only helped determine a positive outcome for this famous yet threatened Boston landmark but also ushered in the national historic preservation movement.

<sup>295</sup> *Boston Herald* journalist Sylvester Baxter met Cushing during a tour of Zuni in spring 1881. Intrigued with the latter's participant style of research, Baxter began publishing articles on Cushing's work and lifestyle in June 1881; this coverage continued through the remainder of the 1880s.

<sup>296</sup> Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox, eds., *The Lost Itinerary of Frank Hamilton Cushing* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), 14.

way of life harmonious with nature and attentive to an ancestral past. She therefore offered to sponsor Cushing's important research and in her own way, salvage "primitive" America.<sup>297</sup>

Later in the year, while spending the summer at Hemenway's North Shore estate near Manchester-by-the-Sea, the Hemenway-Cushing collaboration evolved into a scheme to finance and direct an archaeological expedition of Arizona and northern New Mexico. It would be a seminal comprehensive attempt to trace the origins of the northern Pueblo culture. A crucial component would be the collection and preservation of related artifacts, which would form a museum for the study and exhibition of Pueblo ethnohistory. The museum, preliminarily named "The Pueblo Museum," would be a private institution that Hemenway and Cushing dreamed of establishing in Salem, Massachusetts.<sup>298</sup> With Hemenway financing the expedition, plans firmed quickly. By November, Hemenway had appointed a Boston-based board of directors to oversee the project and the impressive multidisciplinary team of expeditionaries. In addition to Cushing's wife Emily, expedition members included Frederick Webb Hodge as field secretary; Adolph Bandelier as historiographer; Sylvester Baxter as secretary-treasurer and publicist; and Cushing's sister-in-law Margaret Magill as expedition artist. Later, John Wesley Powell's brother-in-law Charles A. Garlick would join as general field manager-topographer, and Washington Matthews, Jacob Wortman and Herman ten Kate as physical anthropologists.<sup>299</sup>

On December 13, 1886, following three months of intense preparation, the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition launched. The Cushings, Hodge, and Magill departed Boston by train to New Mexico. They met up with Adolph Bandelier and Charles Garlick in Santa Fe, briefly, and then set out for Zuñi to attend the winter-solstice ceremony; by New Year 1887, they had arrived in northern Arizona.<sup>300</sup> Cushing's original research plan for early 1887 involved conducting archaeological work west of Zuñi and then progressing south into the upper Salt and Gila River areas of eastern Arizona to explore the region he believed was Zuñi ancestral homeland. Yet inclement winter weather altered his plan, compelling the team to make a long 300-mile detour that involved railroading from the Flagstaff area to Prescott, traveling by wagon southward to the Phoenix-Tempe basin, and then following the Salt River's northeasterly course into eastern Arizona. Ultimately, the detour permanently changed the expedition agenda. On February 12, 1887, as the Cushings, Hodge, Garlick, and Magill approached Tempe after having paused a few days' in Phoenix to restock and rest, they encountered increasing numbers of ancient mounds and canals dotting

---

<sup>297</sup> Ten Kate first met Mary Hemenway while visiting the Cushings at the "Old Farm" estate in June 1886. He initially declined Hemenway's offer for support in order to return to Europe for personal reasons, but later joined the Hemenway expedition in the Southwest.

<sup>298</sup> Hinsley and Wilcox, *The Lost Itinerary of Frank Hamilton Cushing*, xiii-xiv, and 22.

<sup>299</sup> When the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition organized in 1886, Frederick Webb Hodge (1864-1956) had been serving as a stenographer for the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) in Washington, D.C., and Charles A. Garlick as a USGS pack-mule wrangler and assistant mapmaker on commission in New Mexico. Herman ten Kate, Washington Matthews (army field surgeon and Navajo ethnographer), and Jacob Wortman (anatomist for the Army Medical Museum) joined the expedition as physical anthropologists in fall 1887. See: Fowler, *Laboratory for Anthropology*, 128 and 150-152.

<sup>300</sup> Adolph Bandelier remained in the Zuñi area to conduct archaeological work for the expedition.

the landscape. The sight excited Cushing. He knew from studies by Bandelier and other scholar that the region possessed many such ruins, but in seeing them in person, he hypothesized that they would reveal much about Zuñi origins. He therefore opted to halt the expedition there and begin investigations. Locating a suitable plateau on the north side of the river across from Tempe Butte, the expedition set up their first regular camp—named Camp Augustus in honor of Mary Hemenway’s son—and began excavating at the platform-mound site Bandelier had documented in 1883, and which Cushing named La Ciudad de los Pueblitos.<sup>301</sup> By the end of the expedition’s first year, Cushing had multiple campsites and archaeological digs in the Salt River Valley, including Tempe’s Ciudad de los Hornos and Ciudad de los Muertos.<sup>302</sup>

#### *New Year Reconnaissance at Casa Grande*

By New Year 1888, the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, which had grown to include Herman ten Kate and Jacob Wortman, began research in the Gila River area.<sup>303</sup> Cushing had developed an interest in investigating this fabled region a few months earlier after he viewed a set of Casa Grande photographs for the first time. In San Francisco at the time to recuperate from persistent ill health, Cushing pondered the ruins’ similar yet grander resemblance to the remains unearthed in the Salt River Valley and determined to tour the site. Upon returning to Arizona, Cushing immediately organized a five-day reconnaissance trip to the famous ruins. Departing the afternoon of December 31, 1887, Cushing, Ten Kate, Wortman, and two Mexican workers including Ramon Castro, manager of the expedition’s Mexican labor force, traveled through the Pima Indian reservation, camped overnight near Sacaton, and, after watering their horses at Walker’s Ranch, reached the Casa Grande ruins by noon on New Year’s Day 1888. Approaching the impressive ruin from a distance, Cushing noted it appeared “creamy or pinkish white” against the backdrop of dark mesquite trees and the antiquity-laden terrain. For Ten Kate, it had been five years since his first glimpse of the ruins, and he noted its profile showed little change. Once again, the simplicity of the ruin’s heavy terracotta-colored walls impressed him; lonely and ominous, they rose “in the sandy plain as a massive landmark above a sea of mesquite trees.”<sup>304</sup> Eager to explore the environs alone, Cushing sent his companions ahead

---

<sup>301</sup> Ciudad de los Pueblitos is now known as Pueblo Grande. Archaeologists have determined that Camp Augustus was situated northeast of the intersection of present-day Washington/Curry St. and Mill Avenue. See: Hinsley and Wilcox, *The Lost Itinerary of Frank Hamilton Cushing*, xxxii.

<sup>302</sup> Today, Los Hornos’ location may be described as in present-day south Tempe near Guadalupe, and Los Muertos near where southeast Tempe meets the city of Chandler. Cushing established a second expedition camp at Los Muertos, so named for the great number of skeletal remains exhumed, in March 1887; this became the permanent Camp Hemenway in May.

<sup>303</sup> Ten Kate, having returned from Europe in the fall, arrived in Santa Fe in mid-November. He stayed several days with Adolph Bandelier and received updates on the expedition’s progress in 1887. By November 19, he had joined Camp Hemenway in Tempe. Ten Kate’s responsibilities included overseeing excavations, preserving skeletal material, and analyzing human remains. See: Herman ten Kate and Pieter Hovens, ed, “Ten Kate’s Hemenway Expedition Diary, 1887-1888,” in Hinsley and Wilcox, “A Hemenway Portfolio: Voices and Views from the Hemenway Archaeological Expedition, 1886-1889,” *Journal of the Southwest* 37, no.4 (Winter, 1995): 643.

<sup>304</sup> Herman ten Kate in Hinsley and Wilcox, eds., “A Hemenway Portfolio,” 651.

to seek a camping place while he continued on foot. As he neared the ruin, Cushing immediately noticed similarities between Casa Grande and Los Muertos near Tempe. The pottery fragments and chipping- and stone-implements strewn around the site appeared identical, even in decorative details, while the arrangement of mounds along Casa Grande's great canal—which he described as “house,” “pyral,” and “oven” mounds—corresponded to Salt River sites: “huge family-group reservoirs” regularly interrupted by clusters of houses. Coming across the oval impression so often referred to by writers as a well, reservoir, or ‘elliptical tank’, Cushing, in his zeal to find a link to Zuñi culture, proclaimed it the remains of a tribal sun-lodge, dance temple, or *estufa*.<sup>305</sup> At the northern group of ruins documented so well by Capt. Johnston in 1846 and Bandelier in 1883, Cushing found broken plaster-like material scattered around the terraced mound. He deemed this the fallen debris of “a Great Temple like that of Ruin I at Los Muertos,” and of terraced mounds similar to those “at Los Hornos, Ciudad de los Pueblitos, and other leveled cities of the Salt.”<sup>306</sup> After dinner at camp, which had been set up among mesquite trees “in a very charming nook,” Ten Kate and Cushing agreed to initiate trench excavations at the northern group of ruins.

Over the next two days, the trench team exposed beautifully preserved walls and deep ash-holes, which Cushing labeled “house-ovens,” and many cultural artifacts consisting of potsherds, axes, chippers and chopping stones, carved and polished shell ornaments, red and green paint flakes, bracelets, wooden cooking utensils, and several uncalcined animal bones. They uncovered relatively few skeletal remains, and most in fragments. Ramon Castro discovered a human skull on the second day of excavations, but “great glee” quickly turned to gloom when the fragile remains—tightly lodged in a structural posthole—splintered into fragments upon removal.<sup>307</sup> While digging at the site of a buried house, Herman ten Kate found a fragment of a human skull, “proof,” he reported, that the ancient dwellers had regularly buried their dead inside their houses; beyond that, the few human remains excavated offered little new information about the ancient place. “If only this skull could talk,” ten Kate mused, and “tell us scientists the secret of the gray past!”<sup>308</sup>

On the second day of excavations, Cushing devoted carefully documented the Casa Grande ruin, including taking photographs with a camera he had purchased in Tempe. Overall, Cushing noted four stories still partially standing, from the refuse-strewn floor to the roofless top, each divided into five rooms. Rows of small holes in each wall indicated where the rafter-supported floors and ceilings had separated the stories. While pondering the rafters, an old rancher named “Ballow” passed by the ruin. Introducing himself as a local

---

<sup>305</sup> Cushing was referring to the features now believed to be monumental ballcourts. Frank Hamilton Cushing, “Itinerary of Reconnaissance to Casa Grande Ruins, December 31, 1887 to January 4, 1888,” in Hinsley and Wilcox, eds., “A Hemenway Portfolio: Voices and Views from the Hemenway Archaeological Expedition, 1886-1889,” *Journal of the Southwest* 37, no.4 (Winter, 1995): 595-96. An *estufa* was a semi-subterranean gathering place usually located on the ground or first floors of pueblo buildings. Zuni dancers performed certain ceremonial dances inside the *estufas*, which the Zunis prohibited the public from attending. See: J. W. Fewkes, “A Few Summer Ceremonials at Zuñi Pueblo,” *A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, 1 (1891): 2.

<sup>306</sup> Herman ten Kate in Hinsley and Wilcox, 597.

<sup>307</sup> Cushing in *Ibid*, 600.

<sup>308</sup> Ten Kate in *Ibid*, 651.

who lived less than a mile below Casa Grande, Ballow explained that since he settled there in the mid-1870s, tourists and other curiosity seekers had removed all the wall timbers; in doing so, they had contributed to the collapse of the building's southwest corner.<sup>309</sup> Cushing noted that visitors had also left excessive carvings and pictures to deface the walls—the marks of “ambitious but utterly infamous visitors,” except for two images that appeared contemporary to the building's occupation. The etchings resembled Zuñi and Moki [Hopi] symbols for the “greater whirlwind” and for rain, the latter depicted with “curved lines and descending marks enclosed in a triple border.”<sup>310</sup> Other interior wall, however, retained their smooth plaster, beautifully finished with a light, pinkish cream-colored varnish. In Casa Grande's middle chambers, Cushing noticed heavy painted stone blocks. Weighing from five-to-ten thousand pounds each, the stone blocks fit perfectly into the doorway-like apertures of the chambers, reminding Cushing of the large buildings designated for religious purposes among the Northern Pueblo groups; there, “stone-closes,” kept in place with wedges, closed off the “tribal store-rooms of the House Priesthood” during extended periods.<sup>311</sup> Ultimately, Cushing's investigation convinced him that the Casa Grande had served as a temple.

*“Archaeological Camping,” late January 1888*

The Casa Grande-as-temple theory provided timely and appealing material for Expedition publicist and Secretary-treasurer Sylvester Baxter's flattering articles on the expedition progress [Fig. 42]. Baxter had joined Cushing at Camp Hemenway in mid-January. The Hemenway Expedition Board of Directors had dispatched Baxter to Arizona to appraise Cushing's value to Mary Hemenway's investment—they were concerned about the expedition's slow progress, and reports that Cushing behaved eccentrically and mishandled specimens. A devoted friend and follower of Cushing since meeting him in Zuni in 1881, Baxter reported the fieldwork in glowing language, painting Cushing's knowledge as indispensable and the ethnological work as professional:

All the facts concerning each and every article in the collection are ascertained and noted with as much details possible, that it may be enabled to tell its story; for although that story may be veiled in mystery at the time of its discovery, there is no

---

<sup>309</sup> Ballow's assertion nearly echoed the words of “D.D.M.” two years earlier. A writer for the *New York Evening Post*, D. D. M. narrated his/her travels among Arizona's antiquities for the *American Architect and Building News* in June 1886. Florence judge John J. Devine, also a long-time resident of the area, had invited D. D. M. to visit Casa Grande. It was from Devine that D. D. M. learned that within just a few years great numbers of sight-seers, “in a spirit of vandalism,” had removed the wood joists from the building and appropriated everything else that could be removed, in their anxiety accelerating the destruction of the walls. Devine erroneously told D. D. M. that when he first saw the edifice twenty years previous, there were five stories intact and all the joists were in place, perfectly sound. See: “Arizona Antiquities,” *The American Architect and Building News* 19, no. 548 (June 26 1886): 307-308.

<sup>310</sup> Cushing in Hinsley and Wilcox, eds., 601.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid*, 603.

telling at what moment some other discovery may remove the veil if the history of that article is carefully preserved for reference.<sup>312</sup>

In short, the significance of Cushing's archaeology lay "not so much through what [had] been found," Baxter warranted, "as by what [had] been *found out* in the progress of the work."<sup>313</sup> Pointing to Cushing's recent research at Casa Grande as an example, Baxter claimed that the director had proof that Casa Grande was the ruins of a "typical central temple and citadel of the ancient civilization," and a fine typology "universal to the valleys of the Gila and Salado," the "neighboring watercourses," and the regions "extending southward far into Mexico."<sup>314</sup> Baxter argued that Cushing had reached these conclusions through careful, sometimes painstakingly slow, analysis of the archaeological findings by applying the ethnohistorical and cultural knowledge he had acquired during his years at Zuni. Without this folkloric interpretation, Baxter concluded, the Hemenway collections would be as average as other museum collections, "merely curiosities, or museum bric-a-brac."<sup>315</sup> Baxter's firsthand account of a second reconnaissance trip to Casa Grande in late January 1888 hints at the mesmerizing power Cushing and the ancient site held over Baxter.<sup>316</sup>

According to Baxter's journalistic account of the Casa Grande trip, published in the *American Architect and Building News* as one in a six-part periodical series on the Hemenway Expedition titled "Archaeological Camping in Arizona," the expedition members camped east of the famous edifice,



Figure 42. Portrait of Sylvester Baxter, ca1898. Courtesy *New England Magazine* (Aug 1898).

---

<sup>312</sup> Sylvester Baxter, "The Old New World," in Curtis Hinsley and David R. Wilcox, eds., *The Southwest in the American Imagination: The Writings of Sylvester Baxter, 1881-1889* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 134.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid, 133 and 139.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

<sup>316</sup> Cushing's New Year trip to the Casa Grande ruins had persuaded him to concentrate expedition research at Casa Grande rather than Tempe.

among mesquite trees in the hollow of an ancient reservoir. The location offered Baxter a superior artistic view of the celebrated ruin.<sup>317</sup> The low-arching boughs of the mesquite trees framed the building as it rose from a terrace-like base formed by the debris of what Cushing determined was a collapsed courtyard. Other extensive ruins flanking the main structure on all sides had once connected to the Casa Grande but now lay detached, the bridging sections having fallen to debris over time. A “striking-looking structure,” the Casa Grande ruin grew upon Baxter as the night progressed.<sup>318</sup> Lying in their tents by the campfire that night, full from a supper supplemented by the local prickly pear, Baxter and his companions gazed dreamily as the full moonlight flooded Casa Grande with a poetic radiance and “threw the shadows of its deep recesses into a rich mysterious obscurity.”<sup>319</sup> At that quixotic moment, Cushing recounted a Zuñi folktale about the “Priests of the House.” It was a tale he had heard when living among the Zunis, but which had meant little until he encountered the great-house ruins of the Salt and Gila River region. Aided by Cushing’s dramatic storytelling, Baxter recalled the little imagination required to see the venerable old priests repopulate the ancient walls and to hear “the weird, fascinating chants of the worshippers.”<sup>320</sup>

Later that evening, Cushing and Baxter strolled among the ruins and talked. The Casa Grande’s remarkably massive walls impressed Baxter. Seven feet thick and perpendicular at their exterior base, the adobe-like walls gradually sloped inward, losing about two feet in thickness as they rose. A glaze still evident on some of the exterior walls gave the ruin a reddish hue; Baxter believed the glaze explained the “Red House” (*Chichilticale*) name given the building by Coronado’s men in 1540.<sup>321</sup> Hard as stone to the touch, the walls were composed of local soil that, when mixed with water, became very hard, forming “a sort of natural cement.”<sup>322</sup> Despite the appearance of strength, Cushing explained that excessive visitor activity had weakened the walls. In particular, vandalism committed by tourists and ‘other predatory visitors’ within the past ten or twelve years had caused more damage than within the previous three centuries. In dislodging and carrying away the few remaining timbers of pine and mesquite, relic-hunters had caused portions of the walls to fall, and so undermined the rest of the building that Baxter predicted it would all collapse without the intervention of preservation.<sup>323</sup>

Mutually interested in saving Casa Grande, Cushing and Baxter devised plans for the ruin’s protection. Their initial ideas involved a scheme Cushing had previously conceived for Los Muertos: purchasing the site for a summer field school, as part of the proposed Pueblo Museum, and establishing a program for long-term excavations. Hoping Mary Hemenway

---

<sup>317</sup> Sylvester Baxter, “Archaeological Camping in Arizona, Parts 5 and 6,” reprinted in Hinsley and Wilcox, “A Hemenway Portfolio,” 616.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid, 617.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid.

<sup>321</sup> Cushing still believed Coronado had visited Casa Grande, despite increasing scientific doubt—namely from Bandelier.

<sup>322</sup> *Caliche*. See the Introduction to this study.

<sup>323</sup> Ibid.

would finance the purchase, Baxter and Wortman inquired about the sale of the Casa Grande ruin at Florence, the Pinal County seat of government, during an archaeological reconnaissance trip of the area in mid-April.<sup>324</sup> They learned that Arizona could not sell the land until the territory became a state. “The building stands on what is known as a ‘school section’,” Baxter explained, one of two square-mile sections of land reserved in every township for the benefit of the Territorial school fund, and therefore prohibited from sale under federal law.<sup>325</sup> Baxter found this land restriction ‘providential’. It removed the threat of someone else purchasing and developing the ancient site but did not exclude the expedition from occupying the site for educational purposes. Cushing could continue plans to transfer Camp Hemenway to Casa Grande and still, perhaps, purchase the site in the future. To do so, he would need to leave a representative, or “squatter,” on the site to “improve” it through cultivation, and thus establish a potential legal claim to the site should Arizona transfer from territory to state.<sup>326</sup> For unclear reasons, the Hemenway Expedition never executed this grand scheme. Upon returning to Boston in May, Baxter worked with Mary Hemenway on an alternative proposal, to lobby for the site’s permanent reservation as a federally protected site.

#### *A Petition to Protect the Casa Grande Ruin*

In June 1888, alarmed by reports of Casa Grande’s severe vandalism during the preceding eleven years, Mary Hemenway and other preservation-minded Bostonians initiated a concerted effort to protect the site from further public despoilment. In a likely attempt to bypass Congress, the Boston petitioners sought an executive act that would reserve the site for scientific study and preservation.<sup>327</sup> To launch the campaign, they secured the aid of soldier-ethnologist and Indian-rights activist Capt. John G. Bourke, who, drawing upon his military connections, forwarded their petition to the adjutant general of the United States Army in a letter dated June 30. Within a week, Bourke’s letter had circulated from the adjutant general to the secretary of war and finally to William Vilas, Secretary of the Interior. Conferring with S. M. Stockslager, Commissioner of the General Land Office, Vilas learned that Casa Grande’s “school land” designation barred even the President of the United States from reserving the site for other purposes; to change Casa Grande’s legal designation, they could not bypass Congress.<sup>328</sup> Undeterred, Hemenway and friends reset plans, devoting the

---

<sup>324</sup> See Sylvester Baxter, “Reconnaissance to Florence and Queen Creek,” in Hinsley and Wilcox, eds., “A Hemenway Portfolio,” 627-628.

<sup>325</sup> Baxter, “Archaeological Camping in Arizona,” 618. In Arizona, the school sections in each township were nos. 16 and 32; Casa Grande lay on section 16 of its respective township.

<sup>326</sup> Cushing in Hinsley and Wilcox, eds., 590-591.

<sup>327</sup> In 1882, the New England Historic Genealogical Society had submitted an unsuccessful petition to Congress for the preservation of prehistoric ruins. Senator Hoar of Massachusetts presented their appeal for a general designation of ancient southwestern ruins, namely Pecos Pueblo but including several other sites including Casa Grande, as prehistoric reservations that would be reserved from public sale and be preserved. The petition died in committee. See: Hal K. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts: the American National Monuments* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 12, and Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 153.

<sup>328</sup> Clemensen, 31-32.

rest of the year to securing support for a petition to present before Congress during the winter second session. Frank Cushing, who had returned to Boston in October, joined the movement, spending early 1889 in Washington, D.C. rounding up supporters.<sup>329</sup> By late January 1889, an influential assemblage of Boston elites had signed a new petition. It expressed their request that Congress authorize the President to reserve Casa Grande, to protect the “ancient temple,” as Cushing had lately dubbed it, from the depredations of visitors and from landowners’ adjacent irrigation activity.<sup>330</sup> Senator George F. Hoar introduced it to the Senate on February 4 as the “Memorial of Oliver Ames, John G. Whittier, Mary Hemenway, and Others.” Hoar, a Harvard graduate, demonstrated sympathy to archaeology through his civic participation. He had served as a board member at his alma mater’s Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, a regent of the Smithsonian Institution, and president of the American Antiquarian Society and the American Historical Association [Fig. 43].<sup>331</sup> He had also supported and introduced a similar New England Historic Genealogical Society-led petition seven years earlier in 1882. In that case, the petitioners had requested that Congress set aside and preserve all significant southwestern pueblo ruins—namely, twenty-six sites including the Casa Grande—for ethnological study. It had been a tall order for a not-yet receptive society, and the petition failed. This time, Hoar emphasized the petitioners’ willingness to compromise. They sought federal protection for the site, not financial outlay, Hoar explained, and they willingly offered to surrender all scientific discoveries at Casa Grande to government collections should Congress approve the petition:

The desire of the petitioners is that the Government will take proper measures to have the ruin protected from injury by visitors or by land-owners in the neighborhood. They ask no outlay of money from the Government for the purpose;

---

<sup>329</sup> Baxter continued to aid the effort to protect Casa Grande, though he did so outside the capacity as secretary-treasurer for the Hemenway Expedition. The board of directors had dismissed him in December, replacing him with Katherine Stone.

<sup>330</sup> In addition to Mary Hemenway, petition supporters included Oliver Ames, governor of Massachusetts; William E. Barrett, Boston newspaper publisher and speaker of the House of Representatives; William Claflin, former governor of Massachusetts as well as former president of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and his wife Mary B. Claflin; Francis Parkman, western historian; Samuel Dalton, adjutant-general of Massachusetts; Anna Cabot Lodge, wife of Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts legislator and political scientist; Dr. Edward Everett Hale, renowned abolitionist and writer; Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., Harvard-trained physician and recognized poet and essayist; John Fisk, American historian; William T. Harris, philosopher of the school of Hegelianism; and Ruth Charlotte Dana, author and sister to Richard Henry Dana, Jr., author of *Two Years Before the Mast*. A signed letter of endorsement from John G. Whittier, famous abolitionist and poet, accompanied the petition. See: “Memorial of Oliver Ames, John G. Whittier, Mary Hemenway, and Others, Praying Legislation for the Protection from Destruction of the Ancient Ruin of the Temple Casa Grande, Situated in Pinal County, Near Florence, Ariz. February 4, 1889,” *S. Misc. Doc.*, No. 60, 50th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1889).

<sup>331</sup> Ronald F. Lee, *The Story of the Antiquities Act* (NPS, 2001), available electronically at the National Park Service, Archeology Program website, at <<http://www.nps.gov/archeology/pubs/lee/index.htm>>.

that will be assumed, and they are willing that all the scientific discovery there shall go to the benefit of the Smithsonian or other Government institution.<sup>332</sup>

Completing the introduction, Hoar recommended its referral to the Committee on Public Lands. Meanwhile, the petitioners, including Frank Cushing, devoted the month of February to securing political backing and press coverage.

Newspaper editors in support of the appeal rallied, publishing favorable write-ups on Casa Grande's value to scientific knowledge. The *Washington Post* editor, referencing



Figure 43. Portrait of Senator George F. Hoar, friend of American antiquities preservation. *American Monthly Review of Reviews* (Nov. 1904).

Cushing's concerted lobbying efforts in Washington, D.C., emphasized the archaeologist's hypothesis that the key of knowledge to Pre-Columbian history lay within the ruin's remarkable walls.<sup>333</sup> The *Boston Herald* followed with a brief but harsh exposé directed towards skeptics who questioned the existence or value of ancient American ruins. "Many millions of dollars and the labor of many lifetimes have been spent in the work of preserving the ruins of ancient Greece," the editor reminded readers; yet shamefully, no financing had been allocated to preserve the scores of equally interesting ancient American ruins, Casa Grande serving as "the most striking example."<sup>334</sup> The New York *Sun* reminded the public that the Southwest possessed particularly extensive ancient ruins. Highlighting those in the Gila Valley of Arizona as the most interesting and "deserving of study and preservation as the ruins of any other country," the *Sun* concluded that, at least, the "grandest of them all," the Casa Grande, "ought to be protected against the despoiler."<sup>335</sup> Other editors used logic, citing the nation's architectural youth as justification enough for the petition's approval. "The United States is not prolific in architectural works dating back over a

---

<sup>332</sup> *Congressional Record*, Vol. 20, Pt. 2, 50 Cong., 2 Sess., (February 4, 1889) 1454, as cited in Clemensen, 32-33.

<sup>333</sup> Article on Frank Cushing in the "Club, Corridor and Cloak Room" column of *The Washington Post*, Feb. 10 1889, 3.

<sup>334</sup> "Ancient American Ruins," *The Boston Herald*, reprinted in *The Atlanta Constitution*, Feb. 11 1889, 4.

<sup>335</sup> "Antique Arizona," *The Sun* (New York), reprinted in *The Riverside Daily Press* (Riverside, CA), Feb. 14 1889.

century,” the editor of the *Los Angeles Times* reasoned; “we should at least preserve those that we have.”<sup>336</sup>

### America’s First Prehistoric Reserve

A worthy cause carrying the influential backing of prestigious New Englanders and the power of the press, the Ames, Whittier, and Hemenway memorial passed the Senate Committee on Public Lands’ review on February 19 without debate, as an amendment attached to the Sundry Civil Appropriations Bill.<sup>337</sup> Signed into law soon after on March 2, 1889, the act appropriated \$2,000 of United States Geological Survey general expenses to repair and protect Casa Grande ruin; it also authorized the President of the United States to reserve the site and adjacent public lands as necessary for the protection of the ancient city from settlement and sale.<sup>338</sup> The boundaries, as delineated in the Act, covered lands in Section 16 as well as Section 9, to the north.<sup>339</sup> Within months, the General Land Office would initiate repairs and, without even searching, find a caretaker to guard Casa Grande—a promising start towards fulfilling the preservation recommendations visitors had forwarded since Bartlett’s investigation of Casa Grande in 1854. Yet, with only \$2,000, Casa Grande’s preservation would be a challenge. In his final Hemenway Expedition travelogues, published in the *American Architect and Building News* a few months later, Sylvester Baxter praised Mary Hemenway and Frank Cushing for assuring preservation of a relic of “inestimable value for archaeological study”—the “only standing example of [the] important class of structure peculiar to the ancient town-dwellers of the Southwest.”<sup>340</sup> At the same time, Baxter hoped that a future Congress would “continue the good work” and allocate a greater appropriation than \$2000, in order to ensure the ruin’s *complete* repair and protection.

Baxter’s subtle acknowledgement that preservation was perhaps a low fiscal priority to Congress foreshadowed the tenuous nature that would mark the relationship between the federal government and Casa Grande’s caretakers during the site’s early period as a federally protected site. Granted, the 1889 Casa Grande legislation was a major triumph for 1880’s east-coast philanthropy and Washington politics, and a crucial legal precedent in developing the Antiquities Act in 1900-1906. The precedent of legally preserving and setting aside cultural antiquities acted as a catalyst for rapid growth of American archaeology and, in

---

<sup>336</sup> “Points of the Morning News,” *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 06 1889, pg. 4.

<sup>337</sup> “Telegraph to the Times,” *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 20 1889.

<sup>338</sup> The Act reads: “Repair of the ruins of Casa Grande, Arizona: To enable the Secretary of the Interior to repair and protect the ruin of Casa Grande, situate in Pinal County, near Florence, Arizona, two thousand dollars; and the President is authorized to reserve from settlement and sale the land on which said ruin is situated and so much of the public land adjacent thereto as in his judgment may be necessary for the protection of said ruin and of the ancient city of which it is a part.” See: Act of March 2, 1889, ch. 411, 2 *Stat.* 961.

<sup>339</sup> The specific boundaries were the SW ¼[of]SW ¼, SE ¼[of]SW ¼, SW ¼[of]SE ¼ of Section 9, and the NW ¼, NW ¼[of]NE ¼, SW ¼[of]NE ¼, NW ¼[of]SW ¼, NE ¼[of]SW ¼ and NW ¼[of]SE ¼ of Section 16.

<sup>340</sup> Baxter, “Archaeological Camping in Arizona, Parts 5 and 6,” in Hinsley and Wilcox, 618.

theory, a measure of protection against international collecting of American antiquity. It also set the groundwork for a program prioritizing systematic excavation and study of not only Casa Grande but also ancient ruins at large. Yet, despite these certain victories, the act to preserve Casa Grande accomplished little real protection, initially, at the site. During the 1890s through 1910s, Casa Grande's guardians faced the constant disappointment of insufficient funds and little administrative support. Theirs would be a constant uphill battle to preserve the site amidst natural weathering and unrelenting vandalism—curiosity seekers looting Casa Grande's priceless relics and defacing its ancient walls.

## CHAPTER IV

### PRESERVING A NATIONAL TREASURE, 1889–1901

Some curious items enter into the expense account of Uncle Sam. Away out in Arizona, near the city of Florence, there is a ruin of the dwelling place of some prehistoric people. It is called Casa Grande. The government pays a man \$480 a year to watch Casa Grande and see that some Chicago archaeologist doesn't carry it away for exhibition purposes.

~*The Atlanta Constitution*, 13 Jan. 1894

At midday April 4, 1889, a gathering of Presbyterian ministers and elders ended the first annual meeting of the Presbytery of Arizona with a picnic lunch among the Casa Grande ruins.<sup>341</sup> They had a cause for celebration. The day before, the Presbytery had established a new congregation—the Pima Presbyterian Church at Sacaton on the Gila River Reservation. Due to the generosity of local notable Judge John D. Walker, who had committed to furnishing lumber, windows, and doors, a church building would follow shortly.<sup>342</sup> The picnickers' lunchtime blessing therefore rang with a tone of gratitude tempered only by the surrounding ruins. It was a strange feeling to celebrate their present achievements at a place where generations of an agricultural people, "merry, happy, with their children and grandchildren playing around them," had once lived and likewise prospered. Even the few aides to their memory that remained were but scattered ruins and shards of the buildings and cultural objects they abandoned—and even these were fast disappearing.<sup>343</sup> The contrast between the obvious past vitality of the Casa Grande site and its current deterioration disconcerted one member of the Presbyterian gathering in particular: Rev. Isaac Thomson Whittemore (1824-1904), founding minister of the First Presbyterian Church (est. 1888) of Florence and self-appointed guardian of the Casa Grande Prehistoric Reserve [Fig. 44].

---

<sup>341</sup> A Presbyterian 'presbytery' consisted of the minister and up to two elders from each congregation within an ecclesiastical district. The Arizona presbytery covered the whole territory and after April 1889 had three Presbyterian congregations: the First Presbyterian Church of Phoenix (est. 1879), the First Presbyterian Church of Florence (est. 1888), and the Pima Presbyterian Church at Sacaton, established on the Gila River Indian Reservation. The Pima Presbyterian Church, organized in April 1889, had seventeen charter members including Joseph Roberts, a Pima Indian selected and ordained as an elder. The Synod of Colorado supervised the Arizona Presbytery until October 1889, when the Synod of New Mexico organized at Albuquerque and incorporated the Presbyteries of Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and Arizona. See: Ella W. Gamble, "Life Sketch of Rev. I. T. and Mary A. Whittemore," unpublished typescript, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.

<sup>342</sup> Shortly after this event, Walker was committed to an insane asylum in California, where he passed away in 1891. After his death, his multimillion-dollar estate—most of which he earned through his shared ownership of the Vekol silver mine in Gila County—became embroiled in controversy as his siblings fought his daughter Juana's claim to the inheritance. See Chapter II, fn. 162.

<sup>343</sup> Isaac T. Whittemore, "New Old Lands," in the Children's Church column of *The Church at Home and Abroad* 8 (Nov. 1890): 466.



Figure 44. Portrait of Isaac T. Whittemore, no date. Taken in a Kansas City photography studio. Courtesy Ancestry.com.

A year earlier in spring 1888, Whittemore had first visited the Casa Grande. He was sixty-three years old and visiting Arizona from Illinois to preview Florence as his possible new pastorate. The ancient ruins attracted him upon first sight. After settling in the area in September with his wife Mary, Whittemore would occasionally visit the ruins and inspect it. Conveniently, his Sunday preaching circuit between the towns of Florence and Casa Grande relied on the stage route that passed by the ruins. With each visit, Whittemore sadly noted new instances of vandalism. The condition of Casa Grande's walls as Whittemore observed them during the 1889 Presbyterian picnic finally exasperated the reverend. Where a year earlier he had seen a pair of perfect "Norman arches," "vandal hands" had since marred and spoiled both.<sup>344</sup> Discouraged, Whittemore posted a letter to Secretary of the Interior Gen. J. W. Noble two days later, explaining the despoliation of the ruin and the urgent need to protect and preserve it. The timing of his letter closely followed Casa Grande's March 2 protective legislation. Accordingly, Whittemore's letter may have prompted the Department of the Interior to initiate the terms of the new law—to appoint a caretaker and begin repairs—more punctually than without the reverend's communication. By the end of the year, the General Land Office would honor Whittemore for his attentiveness by appointing him first caretaker of the ruins. It was an obvious and convenient choice, for he valued the ruins and resided locally, yet honorary. The \$2,000 allotted for Casa Grande's protection and

---

<sup>344</sup> Whittemore, 466. It is not clear what Whittemore meant by "Norman arches," though he likely referred to doorways or other opening in the ruin's walls that gave the appearance of such an arch. Cosmos Mindeleff of the Bureau of Ethnology also described the architecture of some of Casa Grande's doorways as Norman arches in his study of the ruin in 1891. See: Cosmos Mindeleff "Casa Grande Ruin," *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1891-'92* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 317.

preservation did not include monies to pay a caretaker. Nonetheless, Whittemore accepted the position. He would be the first of three guardians who, over the following two decades, would protect the site and advocate for its sustained preservation alongside the archaeologists and locals that treasured Casa Grande in varied yet significant ways.

### **The Repair of Casa Grande, 1889–1892**

The initial steps towards implementing Casa Grande's protection and preservation began in late April 1889. Secretary Noble and General Land Office (GLO) commissioner S. M. Stockslager, furnished with Whittemore's urgent letter, had just finished a round of intense discussions on the best way to proceed with Casa Grande's preservation. The first step, they had concluded, should involve an inspection by one of their own agents, one qualified to devise a preservation plan. Accordingly, on April 27, GLO special agent Alexander L. Morrison of the Santa Fe office received orders to inspect Casa Grande—to assess its present condition and evaluate how best to apply the \$2,000 appropriation set aside in the March 2 legislation.<sup>345</sup> Morrison arrived May 7 and, assisted by Rev. Whittemore, completed the site inspection within a week. In addition to a detailed description of the Casa Grande ruin and its history, Morrison's May 15 report described his journey, the location of the Casa Grande site, and other ruins in the vicinity. Echoing Whittemore, Morrison reported serious vandalism and critical deterioration, the main causes being threefold: vandalism, the elements, and undermining. He warned that if the government neglected to enact immediate preservative measures to reinforce this "most interesting remains of a prehistoric age," the "entire mass [would] soon fall into a shapeless ruin."<sup>346</sup> In his April 6 letter, Rev. Whittemore had proposed bolting the ruin's walls together with rods, rebuilding the base of the walls in places, and constructing a protective roof over the ruin.<sup>347</sup> Similarly, Morrison recommended using the \$2,000 appropriation for a roof over the ruin, a stone underpinning for the walls, and an enclosure fence to thwart vandals.<sup>348</sup> Ideal but impractical given the small sum appropriated, the General Land Office (GLO) rejected the Morrison recommendations, compelling Secretary Noble to transfer the task of preserving Casa Grande to the United States Geological Survey (USGS).

#### *Mindeleff Brothers*

On September 23, John Wesley Powell, director of both the USGS and Bureau of Ethnology (BOE), received Morrison's report along with the instructions to fulfill the stipulations of the March 2, 1889 authorization immediately while staying within the limits of \$2,000.<sup>349</sup> Summarily, Powell instructed brothers Victor and Cosmos Mindeleff, both Bureau

---

<sup>345</sup> Cosmos Mindeleff, "The Repair of Casa Grande Ruin, Arizona, in 1891," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1893-'94* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 326.

<sup>346</sup> "Casa Grande – Arizona's Famous Ruins to be Preserved," *Los Angeles Times*, 24 Sept. 1889.

<sup>347</sup> Clemensen, 34.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid, and Mindeleff, 327.

<sup>349</sup> "Arizona's Prehistoric Palace," *Stone: an Illustrated Magazine* 2, no.6 (Oct 1889): 95.



Figure 45. Portrait of Cosmos Mindeleff, no date. Courtesy Ancestry.com.

architects, to produce a thorough structural examination and set of measurements of the Casa Grande ruin [Figs. 45-46]. The Mindeleffs' credentials for the task were impeccable, for they were directly familiar with both the architecture and environment of the Southwest. Several years earlier in 1881, Powell had hired Victor Mindeleff (1860-1948) to conduct field studies of southwestern indigenous dwellings and their social arrangements, namely in the pueblo communities of northern Arizona and New Mexico. A year later, Powell had hired Cosmos (1863-1938) to assist with Victor's responsibilities in the field plus his responsibilities in Washington, D.C., which included producing small-scale models of the pueblos to accompany public exhibits of southwestern artifacts. The Institution displayed the exhibits in the national museum at Washington as well as at the international expositions and fairs held on a nearly annual basis in the United States and Europe. The modeling responsibilities required that the Mindeleffs spend three to six months each year in the Southwest conducting research and taking measurements of

pueblo ruins.<sup>350</sup>

In late 1889, during one of his part-time field trips in the Southwest, Victor Mindeleff stopped off at the Casa Grande to conduct a preliminary evaluation. Starting December 7, he devoted more than a month out of his usual southwestern field duties to map the Casa Grande site and other ruins in the Salt and Gila River vicinity. Casa Grande's newly appointed pro bono custodian, Rev. Whittemore, assisted Mindeleff in his duties.<sup>351</sup> With his help, Mindeleff completed his evaluation of the ruin before the New Year. On December 30, Rollin C. Brown, editor of the *Arizona Weekly Enterprise* (Florence, AZ), reported that Victor Mindeleff had surveyed the Casa Grande environs, taken 15 to 18 photographic views, thoroughly investigated all buildings and mounds on site, and already

---

<sup>350</sup> The surveys and measurements of archaeological sites that Powell had directed BOE investigators such as Cushing and the Stevensons in Zuni to document were not accurate enough to produce scale models; beginning in 1881, therefore, Powell assigned this task to the Mindeleffs. Each year thru the mid-1890s, the Mindeleff brothers spent three to six months in the Southwest mapping both inhabited and archaeological pueblo sites, and six to nine months at the Smithsonian National Museum writing reports and making maps and scale models. Fowler, 140-141; and, William A. Longacre, "Why Did the BAE Hire an Architect?" *Journal of the Southwest* 41, no.3 (Autumn 1999): 362.

<sup>351</sup> On December 3, Director Powell wrote Whittemore, asking if he would serve as Casa Grande's uncompensated custodian. Whittemore replied on December 11, accepting the position. The position neither required nor provided for on-site residence. See: Clemensen, 35-36.

begun drafting a report with plans and specifications for repairing the ruin.<sup>352</sup> Brown assured *Enterprise* readers that Mindeleff's progress would allow repair work to begin without delays; meanwhile, Brown commissioned readers to do all in their power as citizens of the Casa Grande Valley "to protect the ruins from any other spoliation of relic hunters," and thus maintain it as a perpetual wonder and study for sightseers and archaeologists of all time.<sup>353</sup>

The optimism displayed in the local newspapers did not carry over to its implementation. Mindeleff's proposal for the repairs, submitted July 1, 1890, complete with diagrams, plans, a series of photographs, and an architectural discussion, was costly. Similar to Morrison's recommendations, Victor Mindeleff suggested cleaning the debris from inside and around the Casa Grande, constructing a fence around the edifice, and fortifying the walls with tie-rods, beams, and an underpinning of brick—a deviation from the stone Whitemore and Morrison had recommended. To protect the ruin from natural elements such as wind and rain, he offered two sheltering options: 1) a roof alternative that involved shaving several inches off the top of the walls to create an even surface on which to apply a protective cement coping or, 2) an artificial roof over the ruin. Mindeleff also recommended the appointment of a permanent, *in situ* custodian.<sup>354</sup> Like Morrison's unapproved plan, the costs of implementing the repair work would exceed the \$2,000 appropriation; despite this, the U. S. Geological Survey approved the plan's general features and readied to implement them. Delays immediately ensued when Victor Mindeleff resigned from the Bureau of Ethnology to establish a private architectural practice in Washington D. C.<sup>355</sup> He left unfinished projects behind. Along with his brother Cosmos, Victor Mindeleff had commenced a series of maps that plotted the distribution of all known ruins in the ancient Pueblo country of the

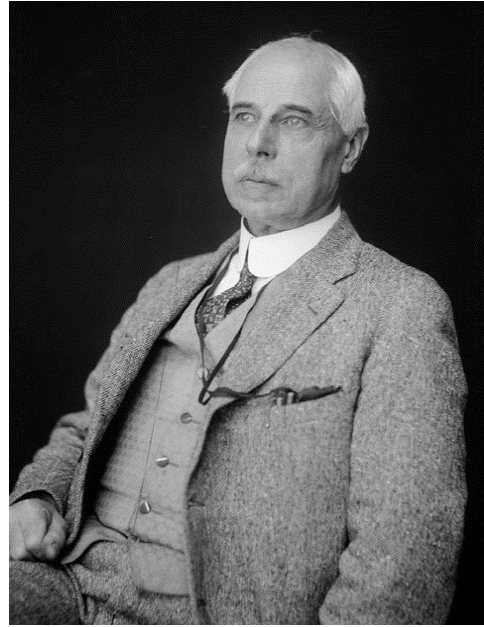


Figure 46. Victor Mindeleff, later in life. Courtesy Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives.

<sup>352</sup> "The Old Casa Grande Ruins," *Florence Enterprise*, reprinted in the *Tucson Citizen*, Dec. 30, 1889. This article also explains that Mindeleff had just made a tour of Pueblo communities along the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad route that traversed northern Arizona horizontally. The annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology added that Victor Mindeleff had also visited the localities studied by Frank Cushing while in charge of the Hemenway Expedition. See: "Administrative Report," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1889-'90* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), 27.

<sup>353</sup> Ibid.

<sup>354</sup> Mindeleff, "The Repair of Casa Grande Ruin, Arizona, in 1891," 327.

<sup>355</sup> Victor Mindeleff designed a number of houses in the greater Washington, D.C. area after starting his own architectural practice. His projects included the first buildings at Glen Echo Park, Maryland, a suburban community known for cultural entertainment such as Chautauqua.



Figure 47. Cosmos and Victor Mindeff at work in the modeling room of the Bureau of Ethnology, ca1880s. Courtesy Smithsonian Institution Archives.

Southwest, and they were also busy designing an impressive set of pueblo and cliff-dwelling model casts and models [Fig. 47].<sup>356</sup> Upon Victor's departure, the continuance of these tasks, including implementing the long-awaited repair work of Casa Grande, became Cosmos's sole responsibility.

Burdened with his BOE responsibilities in Washington, nearly six months passed before Cosmos Mindeff could depart for Arizona to prepare plans, specifications, and contracts for Casa Grande's repair work. When he finally arrived in late December 1890, a year had passed since Victor's initial inspection. Cosmos repeated most of his brother's work in order to familiarize himself with the site. He conducted a detailed survey of the Casa Grande and surrounding ruins, together with photographs, sketches, notes, and repair specifications, and then developed a call for local contractors to bid on the repair work. It included He expected a prolonged bidding process given the improbability that bidders

<sup>356</sup> During Fiscal Year 1889-'90, Cosmos Mindeff spent considerable time in the modeling room of the Bureau of Ethnology, producing a record number of model duplicates. His decision to switch to paper mache contributed to this record. The Mindeffs had originally cast duplicates of the models with plaster of Paris. Extremely heavy and prone to damage during transportation, Cosmos Mindeff switched to paper mache during early 1890. The paper mache reduced the total weight of model duplicates by 80%. In the case of one model, the plaster cast weighed about 2500 pounds, but only 500 pounds as paper-mache. *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 36-37; and, Fowler, 141.

could complete the repairs within \$2,000. Thus, in January 1891, Mindeleff submitted the call for bids and then left the Casa Grande area, to survey ruins in the Verde Valley. Meanwhile, Rev. Whittemore and Charles Garlick—former member of the Hemenway Archaeological Expedition—lobbied for affordable contractors within their respective communities of Florence and Phoenix.

#### *Judge Walker's Preservation Plan*

In general, locals reacted to the government activity at Casa Grande with criticism. After Cosmos Mindeleff submitted the call for bids, Edwin S. Gill and James H. McClintock, editors of the *Arizona Republican*, published an article that claimed Mindeleff intended to build a brick wall around Casa Grande that would hide the ruin from public view without materially protecting it from decay.<sup>357</sup> Mindeleff's real plan involved building a fence from galvanized-iron barbed wire strung between mesquite-wood posts, not brick. Whether someone fed them false news or they purposefully misinterpreted Mindeleff's plan, the authors of the *Republican* article used the alleged brick wall as a platform for recommending that the administration of the ruins stay within private local hands. They advocated the "better plan" of local favorite Judge Walker. According to the article, John D. Walker had devised a nongovernmental plan in which private local resources would fund and implement the preservation and protection of the ruin. In Walker's plan, area residents would provide the funds and Pima Indians the labor for repairing Casa Grande's walls and restoring the edifice to its original appearance. The restoration included designing a roof that met the original specifications "tradition" accorded. Other components of Walker's plan comprised fencing the entire reservation and planting characteristic native plants, in order to turn the Casa Grande Reserve into a public park, for which the main ruin would serve as a museum for prehistoric relics and the nucleus of an Indian training school. According to the *Republican*, this 'better plan' would not only attract visitors from all quarters of the earth and relieve the government of further expense in its care and protection but also prevent a brick structure from burying the great walls in "a grave of oblivion," hiding forever "its archaeological interest and its wonderful architectural and constructive beauties."<sup>358</sup>

#### *Stouffer & White Repairs, 1891*

Locals' fabrication of the government brick-wall plan ultimately proved pointless. None of the bids Mindeleff received by mid-March proposed a budget within the \$2,000 spending limit, thus forcing Mindeleff to spend the rest of spring 1891 eliminating repair items from the schedule. Ultimately, he decided to reject a fence and roof all together. The incoming bids for these two budget items alone had exceeded the appropriation, ranging from \$2,100 to nearly \$7,250. Ultimately, Mindeleff's revised plan retained the following items: debris removal from the interior and exterior of the Casa Grande, wall underpinning with brick, lintel restoration, cavity filling, and bracing the south wall with rods and ties.

---

<sup>357</sup> It is not clear whether Gill and McClintock wrote this article, or printed it on behalf of someone else. At the time, Gill was the *Republican's* daytime editor, and McClintock the nighttime editor. Earl Zarkin, *All the Time a Newspaper: the First 100 Years of the Arizona Republic* (Phoenix: Phoenix Newspapers, Inc., 1990), 16.

<sup>358</sup> *Arizona Republican*, Jan. 12, 1891.

Mindeleff knew that the latter item would “appreciably disfigure” the Casa Grande’s appearance but deemed it necessary for preventing the wall’s complete collapse. With a re-worked plan in hand, Cosmos accepted the most affordable bid. On May 9, 1891, Florence contractors Theodore Louis Stouffer and Frederick Emerson White, an engineer and carpenter ages 25 and 35, respectively, signed a contract with Cosmos Mindeleff to complete all the modified repairs for \$1,985.<sup>359</sup> The Department of the Interior gave final approval in June, allowing repair work to commence July 1 at the start of the 1891-’92 fiscal year.<sup>360</sup>

While conducting the repair work, part of which included minor excavations in order to remove the debris in the ground floor of the Casa Grande, Stouffer and White discovered foundations seemingly as solid as when first laid. Editors of the *New York Post*, hearing about the find, marveled that the ancient builders could have mixed cement as hard as the celebrated Portland with only the materials found in the desert at their disposal.<sup>361</sup> During the repairs, Stouffer and White also unearthed over thirty archaeological specimens. In spring 1892, in compliance with the terms of their contract, they shipped these to the Smithsonian National Museum in Washington, D.C.<sup>362</sup> The specimens included stone axes, pottery dishes, wooden joist fragments, charred cloth textiles, and pottery toys, one in the shape of a mountain goat. By late October, the repairs were nearly completed, and Henry C. Rizer, Chief Clerk of the Bureau of Ethnology, proceeded to Arizona to inspect the contractors’ work. He hired a local amateur photographer by the name of H. H. Burrell to document the ruin with its repairs, and employed local engineer Albert T. Colton of Florence to assist him in determining the amount of work actually performed by the contractors. Rizer also drew upon Colton’s resources as County Surveyor for Pinal County

---

<sup>359</sup> Little biographical information exists on Casa Grande repair contractors T. L. Stouffer (ca1866-) and F. E. White (ca1857-1933). U.S. Passport application documents indicate that by 1897, Stouffer, a native Missourian, had left Florence for Nogales, Arizona, and was working as a construction engineer for an American mining company, a job that required part-time residency in Sonora, Mexico. On the other hand, Fred White, originally from Massachusetts, remained in Florence. He co-founded Florence’s first ice plant, served as a booster for Casa Grande Valley, and lobbied for the San Carlos Dam project. He also owned and managed a popular cactus factory from the early 1890s until his death in 1933. Under the auspices of the White Cactus Factory (incorporated as the Arizona Cactus Co. in 1901), White designed picture frames, furniture, pianos, and wood veneer from local cacti, namely the Saguaro, Prickly Pear, and Cholla, and exhibited these cactus-made goods at international expositions. Notably, his work exhibited at the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition at San Francisco and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase International Exposition at St. Louis. Today, visitors to the Florence Historical Society Museum may view a display of White’s unusual cactus furniture. See: *Arizona Republican*, Sep. 6, 1893, p2; “Unique Furniture,” *American Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer* 69, no.20 (Feb. 27, 1904):6; U.S. Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, *Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 243; *Casa Grande Bulletin*, Mar. 3, 1914, p5; *Casa Grande Valley Dispatch*, Sep. 1, 1922; and, *Florence Reminder and Blade Tribune*, Dec. 30, 2010.

<sup>360</sup> Mindeleff (1897), 327-329.

<sup>361</sup> *New York Post*, quoted in the *New Oxford Item*, Dec. 4, 1891.

<sup>362</sup> Mindeleff (1897), 331-32; and, *Coconino Weekly Sun*, Mar. 10, 1892.

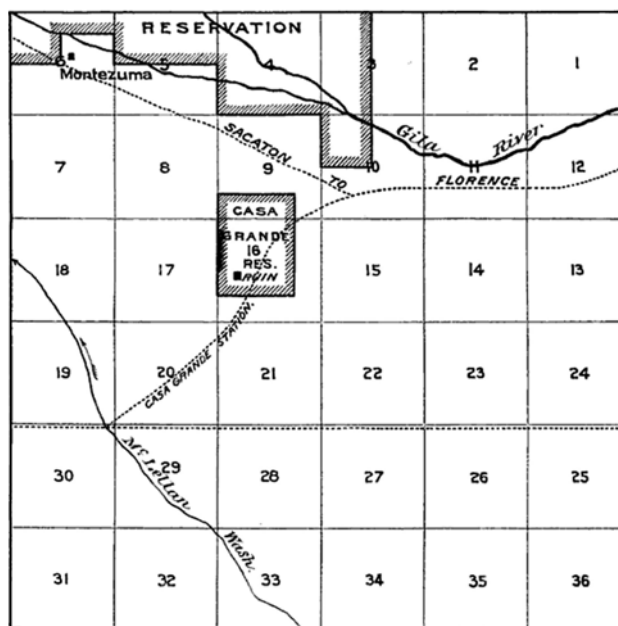


Figure 48. Map of Township 5 South-Range 8 East, Gila and Salt River Base and Meridian, showing location of Casa Grande Reserve in sections 9 and 16. Mindeleff (1896).

to map the geo-political location of the ruin.<sup>363</sup> By October 29, Colton had assessed the work done and surveyed the ruin's location in order to map it onto a township plat map of the area [Fig. 48]. Rizer included Colton's work in his official report to the Bureau of Ethnology, submitted to Director Powell on November 24.

Rizer's report described repairs completed as follows: 570 cubic yards of debris removed from the interior and exterior walls of the Casa Grande, 919 cubic feet of brick underpinning and 1,161 cubic feet of cement mortar filling (over the brick), and 400 lineal feet of 2x4 lumber for filling in cavities and replacing broken-out lintels. In general, Rizer found the work effective but also excessive and incomplete. Stouffer and White had conducted work that exceeded the authorized amount, work that the USGS would not compensate, though Stouffer and White submitted a bill.<sup>364</sup> Despite going over-budget, six lintels still needed replacement and a corresponding number of cavities required filling. In addition, two wall sections collapsed during debris removal. The gap at the southwestern

<sup>363</sup> Albert T. Colton (1851-1917) was also chief engineer and supervisor for the Florence Canal Company. In 1903, after Judge Fletcher M. Doan appointed Colton water commissioner for the Safford-Solomonsville Valley, Colton left Florence for Safford. His family of five accompanied him: his wife Mary Estelle (1858-1950; maiden name Kentfield) and three daughters: Georgiana (who later married B. F. Thurman of Safford); Lottie, who later married Edwin O. Devine of Florence; and Alberta, who later served as bookkeeper and stenographer for the University of Arizona. The youngest child Mattie (b: 1887) had died at age two. See: Col. James H. McClintock, *Arizona: the Youngest State, Vol. III* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1916), 690-692. See also Lottie's memoir, Lottie C. Devine, "Es Verdad"; or, "It is True" (Coolidge: Coolidge Shopper Printing & Publishing Co., 1964).

<sup>364</sup> Stouffer and White submitted a bill of \$600.40 for the extra work they had performed but the terms of the contract prohibited work exceeding the \$2,000 appropriation and therefore they did not receive compensation.



Figure 49. South façade of the Casa Grande Ruin in 1891, showing new brick underpinning and tie-rods. Image taken before cement coping applied. Photographer H. H. Burrell. Mindeleff (1897).



Figure 50. Southeast corner of the Casa Grande Ruin in 1891, showing repair work. Photographer H. H. Burrell. Mindeleff (1897).

corner of the south wall, which had been deteriorating since before 1846 because of erosion at its base, collapsed entirely during the repairs [Fig. 49]. To their credit, the contractors positively adjusted plans, installing the already-authorized east-wall brace in such a way that it connected to both the east and south walls, thus serving as a brace for the south wall as well [Fig. 50]. They also reinforced the south, central, and east walls of the ruin by affixing one wooden brace and two iron braces. Despite the unfortunate collapse of wall material, the debris removal had revealed new information about the ground floor levels of the building. In the center, north, and east rooms, Stouffer and White cleared out nearly eight feet of debris to reach the rooms' original floor level. They removed a smaller amount of debris from the west and south rooms, essentially a "mass of loose earth," but even so, the level of the base floor in these rooms proved nearly seven feet lower than the center, north, and east rooms, as well as surprisingly less firm.<sup>365</sup> Rizer discovered that Rev. Whittemore had greatly assisted the contractors, serving as voluntary supervisor and extra labor, and thus contributed to the fair success of the project. Rizer therefore recommended that the Geological Survey compensate him with the small sum remaining in the appropriation. Whittemore subsequently received the grand sum of fifteen dollars.<sup>366</sup>

Several months after completion of the repairs, Cosmos Mindeleff submitted his own report of the project. It expressed regret for the incompleteness of the project. Placing blame on the limited congressional appropriation rather than the contractors, he stated that the maximum amount of work possible within the \$2,000 financial constraint had simply been insufficient. It had covered but a portion of the ruin's basic repair needs. "Had it been [fiscally] possible to carry out the original plans," Mindeleff predicted, "the ruin would have stood unchanged for many decades, if not for a century."<sup>367</sup> Continuing, he advocated that future provisions for Casa Grande's preservation include a protective fence, though not necessarily a roof. The region received so little rainfall, Mindeleff reasoned, that unless a roof would critically offset the violent damage Arizona's infrequent yet sudden rainstorms could unleash, than it otherwise seemed unjustifiable to disfigure the ruin's appearance with a roof. "All the items for the repair of the ruin," Mindeleff explained "were so devised that the ruin was not materially disfigured or changed, and [had they been] fully carried out the ruin would present much the same general appearance as before; it is important that this appearance should be preserved as far as possible."<sup>368</sup> In conclusion, Mindeleff advised that should plans include a roof shelter that they exercise caution in its design; it should be as inconspicuous as possible, he warned, and preferably supported entirely from within the building [Fig. 51].<sup>369</sup>

### **Professional Archaeologists at Casa Grande, 1891–92**

If the initial preservation of Casa Grande produced mixed feelings, the interpretative studies published during this time by Mindeleff and, unexpectedly, Harvard-trained

---

<sup>365</sup> Mindeleff (1897): 343.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid, 329 and 343.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid, 329.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid.

<sup>369</sup> Ibid, 329-330.

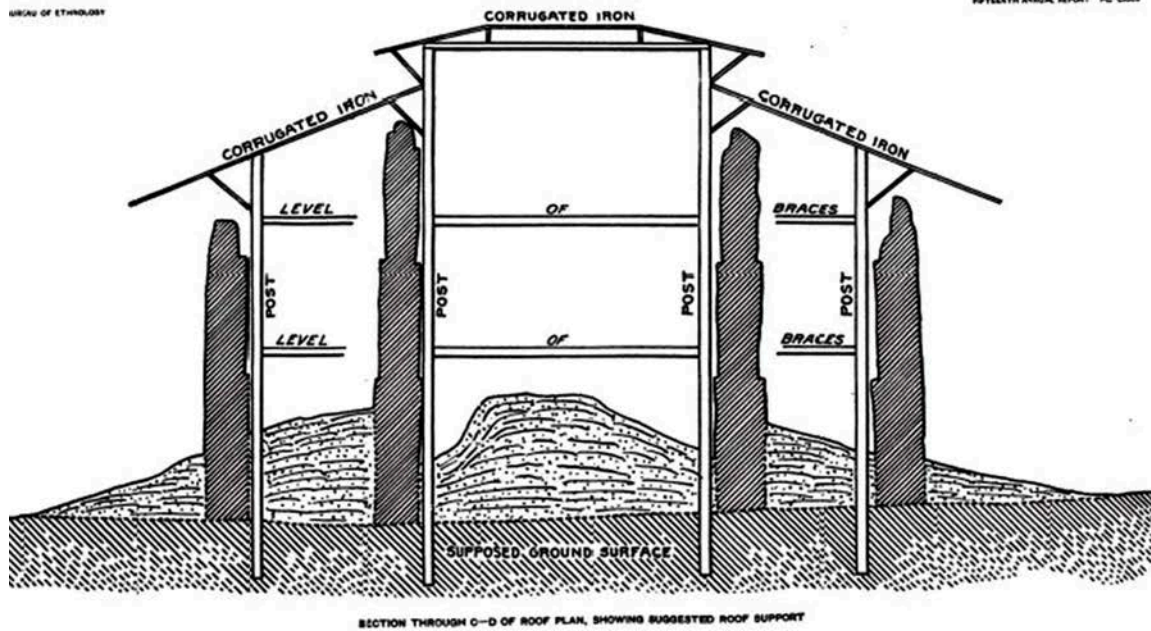
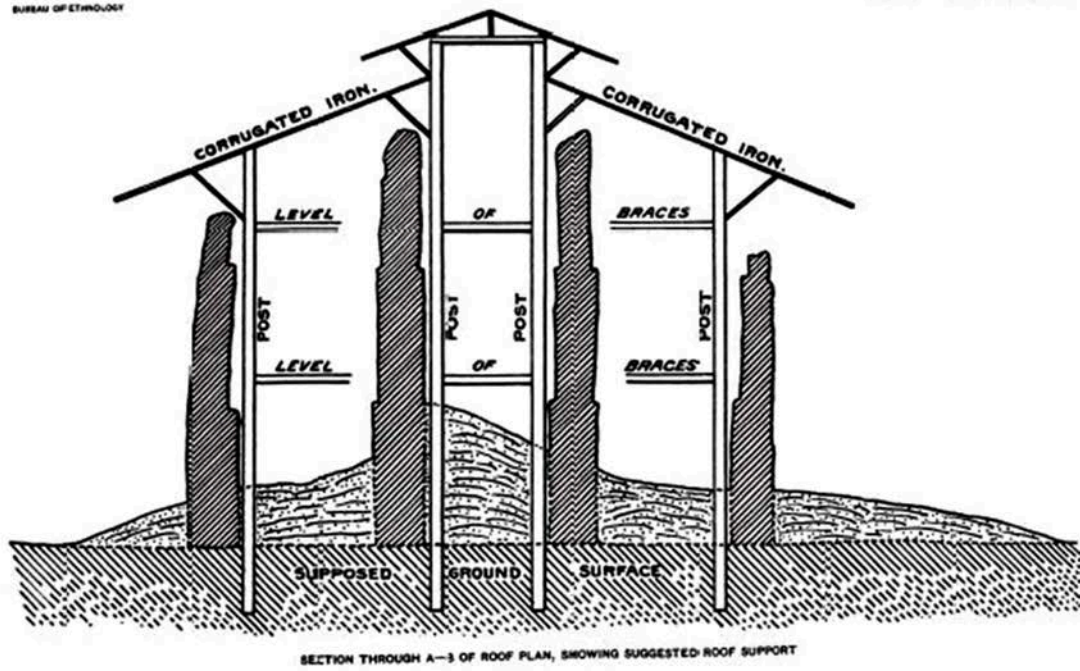


Figure 51. Cosmos Mindeleff's plans for the Casa Grande shelter roof, 1891. Mindeleff (1897).

ethnologist Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850-1930), received favorable reviews [Fig. 52].<sup>370</sup> Mindeleff published two separate studies in the Bureau of Ethnology annual reports for fiscal years 1891-'92 (1896) and 1893-'94 (1897). The first was a scientific study and description about the ruin that he researched and prepared before the repairs, while the second served as an updated post-repairs report summarizing and analyzing Stouffer and White's work plus addressing work done since. Fewkes' study followed his recent appointment to succeed Frank Cushing as director of the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition. Fewkes toured the Southwest after the appointment, to review the archaeological sites visited and/or excavated by the Hemenway Expedition. In April 1891, during a "hurried tour among the ruins of the Salt River Valley," he diverted to the Casa Grande to assess its condition. A year later, Fewkes published his findings in the *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, his new publication on the ethnological and archaeological findings of the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition.<sup>371</sup> Fewkes prefaced his study with a disclaimer that the inspection was cursory and he had neither the apparatus nor time to make a careful scientific study.<sup>372</sup> Despite this, Mindeleff (1896) praised Fewkes' study, calling it an introductory but rich contribution to Casa Grande literature and an invaluable reference for students of southwestern studies. Mindeleff particularly enjoyed Fewkes' incorporation of "two magnificent illustrations," several photographic engravings, and a draft of the best ground plan "so far published."<sup>373</sup>



Figure 52. Dr. Jesse Walter Fewkes, ca1891-92. *Popular Science Weekly* (Jul. 1892).

#### *Jesse Walter Fewkes, 1891*

One of the 'magnificent illustrations' in Fewkes' report—an 1880 Carleton E. Watkins image—depicts a view of Casa Grande from the northeast, the direction from which Fewkes and his assistant J. G. Owens arrived at the ruin.<sup>374</sup> It was a common

<sup>370</sup> For a well-written description of Fewkes' background, life and achievements in American anthropology, see his obituary by Walter Hough in the *American Anthropologist* 33, no.1 (Jan-Mar 1931): 92-97.

<sup>371</sup> Jesse Walter Fewkes, "A Report on the Present Condition of a Ruin in Arizona Called Casa Grande," *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology* 2 (1892): 179-180.

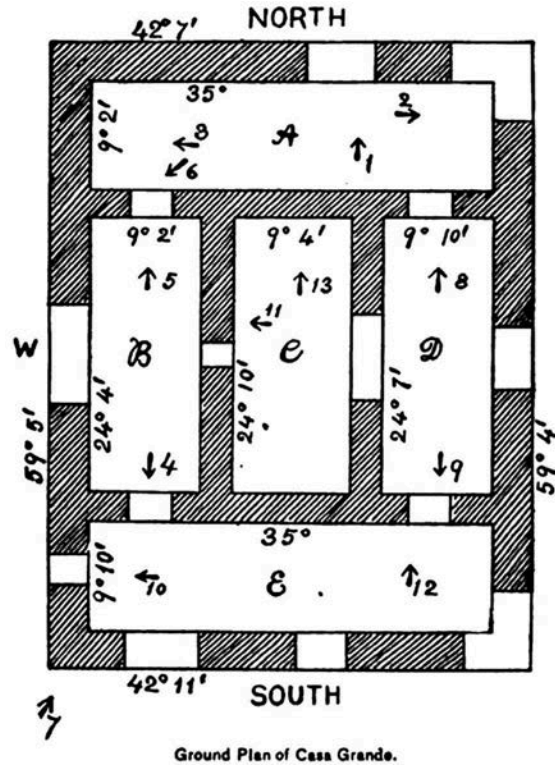
<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*, 180 and 183.

<sup>373</sup> Cosmos Mindeleff "Casa Grande Ruin," *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1891-'92* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 298.

<sup>374</sup> See CH. II, fig. 34. The captions for the "two magnificent illustrations" in Fewkes' report credit the photo rights to Mary Hemenway, who, in turn, allegedly received the prints from Cushing. The

approach for travelers heading to the Casa Grande station from Florence. From this perspective, the Casa Grande, or “Mission Montezuma,” as Fewkes had heard a local resident call the edifice, towered high amidst the surrounding ruins, appearing solid and massive yet architecturally simple.<sup>375</sup> The remnant walls of the ruin’s partial fourth story, which rose somewhat above the peripheral walls, gave the ruin a kind of pyramidal shape, further adding to the ruin’s grandiosity.<sup>376</sup> Yet, Casa Grande’s grandeur and likeness to old mission ruins proved convincing only from a distance. Upon closer examination, the ruin revealed a much-weakened state.

It bothered Fewkes that, despite the efforts two years earlier of Mary Hemenway and other Bostonians in successfully petitioning Congress for the ruin’s reservation, permanent preservation had not yet begun. He therefore made careful notes on all instances of vandalism and natural deterioration during his brief yet methodical inspection of the ruin’s chambers: the long rectangular rooms oriented east west—one each along the length of the building’s northern and southern ends—and the trio of short rectangular chambers oriented north south between the two longer chambers. The inspection included several photographs of interesting, or deteriorating, features. On a ground plan sketch, for which his assistant supplied the measurements, Fewkes marked each chamber with an alphabetical letter. He then drew numbers to show the position in which he stood to take the photographs that accompanied his chamber-by-chamber description; arrows extending from the numbers indicated his photographic subject [Fig. 53].



**GROUND PLAN OF CASA GRANDE.**

- A. North Chamber.**
- B. West “**
- C. Central “**
- D. East “**
- E. South “**

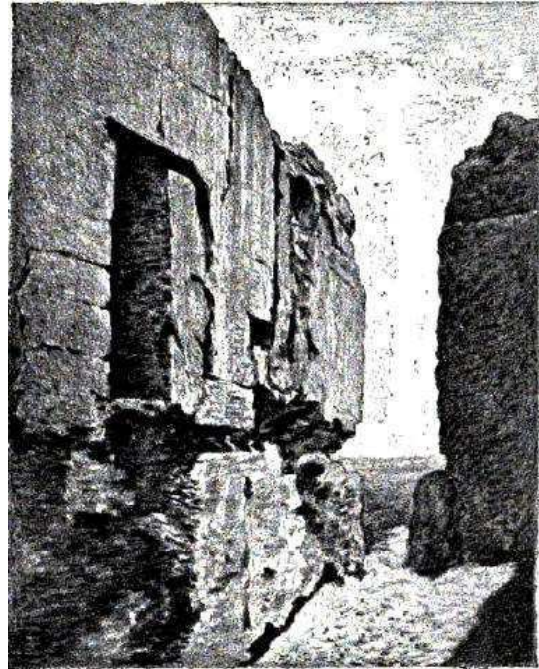
Figure 53. Fewkes’ ground plan of the Casa Grande Ruin, April 1891. The letters indicate chambers, and the numbers with accompanying arrows indicate the position he stood to take the photographs of features depicted in his study. Fewkes (1912).

images are original to Carleton E. Watkins, circa 1880. The other images of the ruins in Fewkes’ report—photo engravings—are his own, taken at the time of his visit in April 1891.

<sup>375</sup> Fewkes (1892), 180-82.

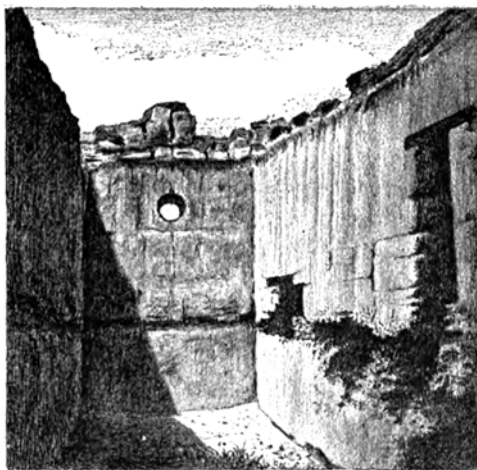
<sup>376</sup> Ibid.

Figure 54. Lithograph image of the north room (Room A) of the Casa Grande, looking east through the gap in the northeast corner, April 1891. Fewkes (1892).



East Wall of Room A, from 2.

Fewkes' description starts with chamber A, the long rectangular north room. Most visitors from Florence entered from this side of the ruin, through the northeast corner, where the walls had fallen in, leaving a large gap [Fig. 54]. In addition to the collapsed northeast corner, someone had excavated below the foundation and undermined the northwest corner. Though hardly one of the best-preserved rooms in the ruin, chamber A had suffered few vandalistic markings. On its western wall, it possessed an additional feature of interest—one of the circular holes that had intrigued observers for centuries [Fig. 55]. On chamber A's southern wall, a series of well-preserved holes that had once held narrow



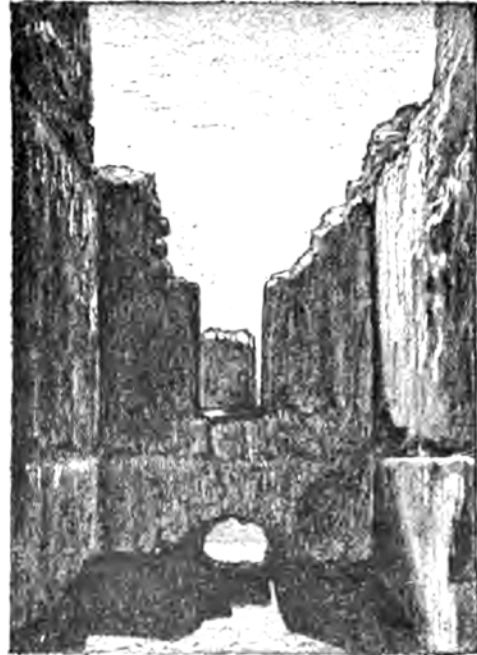
West Wall of Room A, from 3.1

Figure 55. West wall of chamber A, April 1891. Fewkes (1892).

wooden supports for the floor above gave clear indication of the room's original height. Some of these small holes still contained woody remnants of the floor supports. Along this same wall, two passageways led into chambers B and D, the western and easternmost of the trio of shorter rectangular rooms. The passageway leading into chamber D (the east room) still suggested the style of the original doorway; its sides sloped slightly inwards from bottom to top, such that the width of the door was widest at the base. Conversely, the entrance from chamber A into chamber B (the west room) was excessively wide, giving few clues to the doorway's original shape. Fewkes deduced that a partial collapse of the wall had enlarged the opening.

Passing through this wide gap, Fewkes entered chamber B, the westernmost room. Here he noted that the room's eastern wall, which

Figure 56. South wall of the Casa Grande's west chamber (B), showing the debris-clogged passageway to the south room (E), April 1891. Fewkes (1892).



South Wall of Room B, from 4.

flanked the middle chamber, was taller than its other three walls. This irregular feature had confused past visitors and led to discrepancies in their descriptions about whether the ruin possessed three or four stories. Fewkes believed that the tall inner support wall proved that a partial fourth story, or roof terrace, had indeed risen above the third level of Casa Grande's central chamber. No passageway led from chamber B into the central chamber, though there were two rectangular openings in the wall—one above the other, the lower set horizontally and the upper set vertically—that allowed him a glimpse into the cryptic room. Two other passageways were evident in chamber B: the external entrance on its west wall, and two enlarged passageways on its south wall, one on what used to be its second story, and the other on the first floor, where Fewkes stood. Over time, debris had clogged both, and made them scarcely traversable [Fig. 56]. Unable to get into the inner room from chamber B, and unwilling to squeeze through the debris-clogged passageways leading into the south chamber, Fewkes continued his alphabetical tour on the other side of the ruin, in chamber D, the east room. This room displayed a large opening running vertically up the wall. Based on its general shape and location—midway along Casa Grande's eastern façade—Fewkes guessed that the opening had served as one of the few original designed entrances to the building, perhaps even the building's main entrance. Opposite the eastern wall, a passageway led from chamber D into chamber C. This proved to be the sole entry into the once four-storied central chamber of the building. In keeping with ethnological theories at the time, such as those posited by Frank Cushing about ancient religious ceremonial enclosures having only one entry, usually from the east, Fewkes believed that Casa Grande's ancient occupants had used this inner room for sacred or religious purposes.<sup>377</sup>

<sup>377</sup> Fewkes (1892): 189.

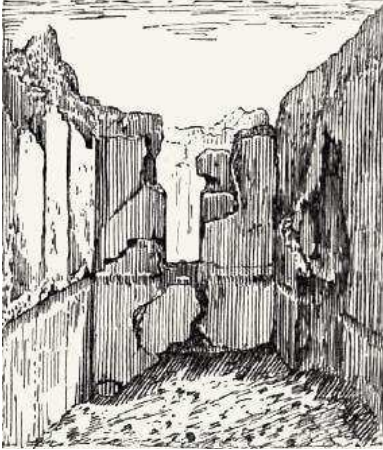


Figure 57. South wall of the east chamber (D), showing the broken shared with chamber E, April 1891. Fewkes (1892).

Before touring this alleged inner sanctum, Fewkes headed south into chamber E through a much broken wall and former doorway [Fig. 57]. In this room, Fewkes noticed two great gaps on its long southern wall where the walls had collapsed over time—a gap in the southwestern corner, and one large enough to walk through at the southeast corner. Regarding this latter wall rent, Fewkes wondered if it had once been a designed window or door, perhaps a corner entry. In addition to these great rents, the walls of the south room contained rows of small holes—particularly on the western wall—that had formerly supported the floor rafters; this wall also contained a “small, square, window-like opening high up in the second story.”<sup>378</sup> Counting the rows of small holes, Fewkes could make out the remains of two stories and a partial third. In addition to these original designed features, the walls in the south room displayed

“vandalistic scribblings of varied nature,” markings made after the building’s construction, most in recent years. He observed a few spiral markings that may have been ancient pictographs, but the majority of the ‘vandalistic scribblings’ were a plethora of signatures and amateur etchings carved into the smoothly plastered walls by ambitious past visitors with “no claim for complimentary notice.”<sup>379</sup>

Leaving this heavily vandalized room at its northeastern corner, Fewkes went back into chamber D and from there, into the ruin’s innermost room. Once inside, he noticed that chamber C possessed well-preserved rows of the small holes that held the floor joists. In addition, on all four sides of the chamber he could see the remains of an additional floor, a fourth story, which still had its four walls partially standing, each featuring a unique circular cutouts unlike the rows of small holes indicating floors. The remnant western wall of the upper fourth story possessed three of these unusual apertures, each about five inches in diameter and still smoothly polished at their rims, indicating they had never held floor rafters, or vigas [Fig. 58]. Fewkes guessed that they had functioned instead as windows or lookouts. The three other partial walls of the fourth story had similar cutouts, some placed as high as the head of a standing person, others as low as the line of the probable floor.

The description of Casa Grande’s central chamber concluded Fewkes’ report. In print a year later after completion of the ruin’s repairs, the study served as one of three archaeological studies within the second volume of the *Journal of American Ethnology and*

<sup>378</sup> Fewkes (1892): 191.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid. A month after Fewkes visited Casa Grande, yet another ‘vandalistic scribbling’ appeared on the ruin’s walls. The new inscription read, “Neils M. Pederson, May 19, 1891.” The graffiti artist may have been Neils Martin Pederson (1869-1934), a Utah native living with his family in the Mormon community of Mesa, Arizona around the time of the inscription. His father, also named Neils Pederson (1869-1916), served on the Mesa City council under Mayor W. J. LeBaron. See “William Louis Pederson Family Tree” and “Durrant Family Tree” on Ancestry.com (accessed 13 Sep. 2011).

*Archaeology.* Well timed, Fewkes' study corresponded with Casa Grande's official designation as Casa Grande Reserve. Despite preservation activity at the ruin in 1891, it still lacked the executive order required for its formal reservation as a protected archaeological site, as authorized by Congress March 2 1889. Thus, when Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble and the Bureau of Ethnology requested on June 20, 1892, that President Benjamin Harrison finalize Casa Grande's designation, three years had passed since the congressional decision to set the site aside and preserve it. President Benjamin Harrison responded immediately. On June 22, he signed the long-awaited executive order declaring that the Casa Grande and 480 surrounding acres be reserved for the ruin's protection.<sup>380</sup> Soon after, Cosmos Mindeleff submitted his preliminary scientific study of Casa Grande to the Bureau of Ethnology for its thirteenth annual report (1891-92).<sup>381</sup> Titled simply, "Casa Grande Ruin," Mindeleff's report echoed Fewkes' nearly simultaneous 1891 study, in that it purposed to describe in detail the ruin and its condition before the repairs commenced. Unlike Fewkes, however, Mindeleff covered a larger study area—all the contiguous ruins that he believed were related culturally to the main ruin and enclosure.<sup>382</sup> After publication, this study, together with his subsequent report on the Casa Grande repairs (15<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the BOE, 1897), served as the most detailed and systematic architectural description of the ruin to date; it also presented the first accurately scaled topographic maps and ground plans.<sup>383</sup>

#### *Cosmos Mindeleff Maps Casa Grande*

Mindeleff began his Casa Grande study like many preceding accounts, with the standard summary of the Casa Grande literature up to that time. He referenced Bandelier's 1883 study of Casa Grande as the first account since Bartlett (1852) to offer new interpretation, and declared Fewkes' recent study an invaluable new source for students of the Southwest. For his own contribution to the field, Mindeleff added an in-depth description of Casa Grande that interpreted the ruin and its enclosure as a late addition to an extensive group of villages that had developed organically and in stages over time. Since no consensus existed on the boundaries of the whole area containing

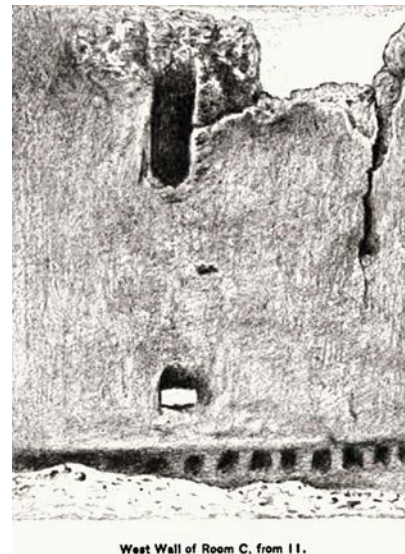


Figure 58. West wall of chamber C, showing the circular cutout on the remnant wall of the fourth story, April 1891. Fewkes (1892).

<sup>380</sup> Bureau of Ethnology, *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1893-'94* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 330.

<sup>381</sup> The 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology did not go into print until 1896, thus there was a four-year delay between the publication of Fewkes' and Mindeleff's comparable yet original studies.

<sup>382</sup> Fewkes (1896), 57.

<sup>383</sup> David Wilcox, "The Architecture of Casa Grande and its Interpretation," *Western Archeological Center Archaeological Series* 115 (Sept 1977): 30 and 34.

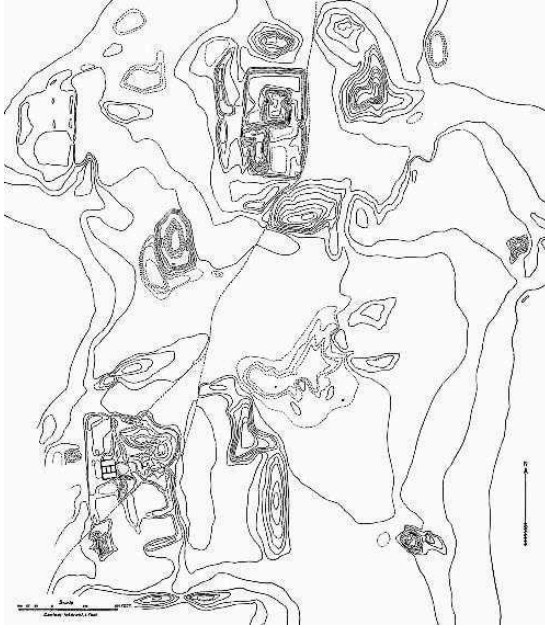


Figure 59. Mindeleff's topographical map of the Casa Grande group of villages, 1891-92. Mindeleff (1896).

the Casa Grande group of villages, Mindeleff estimated the limits based on a carefully conducted survey of the surrounding landscape. This involved walking a space of over 65 acres and measuring archaeological features as he encountered them in order to draw their contours onto a topographic map. On his map, he demarcated archaeological mounds (i.e., former buildings and structures) with solid lines, and depressions and other minor features with dotted lines; each interval of lines represented one foot in elevation [Fig. 59].

Across the landscape, the Casa Grande mounds varied considerably in elevation, though none rose more than ten feet above the surrounding level. The lowest mounds, marked on the map with even “flowing” contours, were generally the smoothest and most rounded—those in the northwestern corner of the map, for example—while the higher mounds, marked with irregular contour lines, were unevenly

shaped. The irregular mounds reached maximum concentration near the main Casa Grande ruin. Mindeleff deduced that the taller irregular mounds had formed more recently, from buildings and structures that had collapsed during the region's historic period, while the lower, more rounded mounds possessed much greater age, the natural processes having had sufficient time to diminish their height. The pattern of oldest mounds on the landscape's periphery and newer mounds closer to the still-standing Casa Grande suggested the directional patterns of community growth and movement over time. Mindeleff concluded that in each epoch,

There was constant, incessant change, new bands or minor divisions of the tribe appearing on the scene, other divisions leaving the parent village for other sites, and the ebb and flow continuing until at some period in its history the population of a village sometimes became so reduced that the remainder, as a matter of precaution, or for some trifling reason, abandoned it en masse.<sup>384</sup>

In short, the residents of the ancient Casa Grande community did not inhabit all of their villages, or even all the parts of one village, at the same time. Usually, Mindeleff admitted, conclusions based primarily on external appearance were scientifically unreliable. In this case, he believed his findings accorded well with both historical data and Pima traditions, which described the plaza containing the Casa Grande ruin as the last inhabited village in the

<sup>384</sup> Mindeleff (1896): 300.



Figure 60. General View of Casa Grande from the northeast, showing stagecoach ruts, 1890-91. Mindeleff (1896).



Figure 61. Casa Grande's western façade, depicted before the 1891 repairs, ca1890/91. Mindeleff (1896).

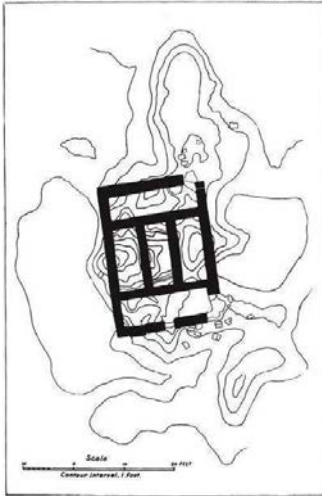


Figure 62. Mindeleff's ground plan of the Casa Grande ruin, December 1890. Mindeleff (1896).

multiple niches and holes in the walls and the anomaly that it evidenced an extra story and that on each floor, doorways set on the east provided the only entries into the inner chamber rooms [Fig. 63].<sup>386</sup> Mindeleff also pointed out the unusually large, smooth round hole in the western wall of Casa Grande's north room; he measured it at about fourteen inches in diameter [Fig. 64].<sup>387</sup>

Unlike Fewkes, Mindeleff's description of the building corrected common misunderstandings that the building was adobe. In its strictest sense, he reported, adobe construction used molded, sun-dried bricks formed elsewhere and then stacked in situ to form walls. Ruins dating to the Mexican and even late-Spanish periods commonly featured adobe bricks but this was uncommon to prehistoric ruins. In contrast, large blocks of an unbaked natural earth substance formed Casa Grande's walls. Formed in situ in a type of rammed-earth construction, Mindeleff found this type of block construction rather crudely implemented in the Casa Grande. The builders had molded blocks in courses one upon the other, but at uneven levels, especially around designed openings (doorways, windows, etc.). The uneven

vicinity. Based on these findings, Mindeleff judged that the common anthropological practice to estimate population on the number of ruins would require significant revision.<sup>385</sup> Overall, Mindeleff found the Casa Grande landscape and its series of separate yet culturally related village sites exceptional, such that, if considered separately, the area occupied by the main ruin would seem insignificant. Yet, the Casa Grande ruin garnered greater attention for good reason: nearly all its walls still stood, at an elevation that Mindeleff believed closely approached the structure's original stature, and it therefore served as the only naturally preserved example of a building style once widely distributed throughout the region [Figs. 60-61].

Like Fewkes, Mindeleff described the ruin in detail, carefully describing its construction, design, and condition of rooms and walls, and sketching a groundplan [Fig. 62]. He, too, noted the unique features of the inner chamber, namely, the

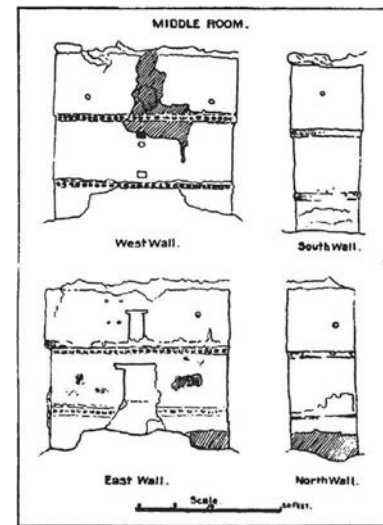


FIG. 330.—Elevations of walls, middle room.

Figure 63. Elevation sketches of the Casa Grande's inner room walls, 1891. Mindeleff (1896).

<sup>385</sup> Mindeleff (1896): 300.

<sup>386</sup> Ibid, 314.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid, 318.



Figure 64. Western wall of Casa Grande's north room, showing the circular opening of fourteen inches in diameter, 1891. Mindeleff (1896).

block construction suggested that the builders had possessed rudimentary skills and simple tools, leading Mindeleff to conclude that, as architects, “the inhabitants of the Casa Grande did not occupy the first rank among pueblo-builders.”<sup>388</sup> The south room evidenced especially poor block alignment, which he thought made the walls in this room weak and prone to collapse. At its southeast angle, as at the northeast angle of the Casa Grande's north room, Mindeleff noted the fallen corners also described by Fewkes. To demonstrate the great size of these collapsed corners, Mindeleff photographed his wife Marion—his frequent companion on the southwestern field trips—standing in front of the wide gap of the southeastern corner [Fig. 65].<sup>389</sup> Large blocks of the material that had once comprised the collapsed walls lay strewn upon the ground nearby, and Mindeleff could make out the hint of low-lying walls that appeared to have once connected to the Casa Grande from these corners.<sup>390</sup> From what little traces he could see, it appeared to Mindeleff that the walls had extended northward from the north chamber and eastward from the south chamber. Based on the evidence of low-lying walls and other ruins in the enclosure, Mindeleff deduced that, originally, the main building had likely not stood alone, as it now did as a ruin, but that it had connected to nearby buildings—namely to the east and south of the Casa Grande—by way

<sup>388</sup> Mindeleff (1896): 309-310 and 319.

<sup>389</sup> Marion Warren (1861-1933) married Cosmos Mindeleff shortly before his 1891 trip to the Southwest. Her 1933 newspaper obituary, written while Cosmos was still alive, stated that she often accompanied Cosmos on his Arizona field trips, and that she had been with him at Casa Grande ruins. The obituary reads, “She was with him when he made the first scientific study of the cliff ruins of the Rio Verde in Arizona and when he made a survey and prepared plans for the preservation and partial restoration of the famous Casa Grande ruins on the Gila River, in southern Arizona, for which Congress made an appropriation. She often lived for six months to a year on those expeditions, traveling mostly in the saddle. She was also the first white woman to see the snake dance of the Hopi Indians of Arizona and assisted her husband in writing the first scientific description and explanation of that weird ceremony ever published.” *Putnam County Courier* (Carmel, NY), Apr. 14, 1933.

<sup>390</sup> Mindeleff (1896): 307.



Figure 65. South room of the Casa Grande, 1891. Woman in front may be Cosmos Mindeleff's wife. Mindeleff (1896).

of low-walled courtyards. Other buildings in the enclosure, indicated by the ruins of a partial standing wall or two, were still evident to the east of the Casa Grande at about 75 feet, and to the south, at about 170 feet [Fig. 66].

Despite the flaws in construction, the Casa Grande's overall design displayed an architectural adaptability to purpose and environment unique to later stages of architectural evolution in the region—in this case, an architecture focused on permanence and the natural setting rather than defense.<sup>391</sup> Mindeleff believed that the Casa Grande's prime yet exposed location and the smart arrangement of the other buildings in the village indicated that its designers were part of a society that had advanced socially and achieved collective strength. Whether due to population increase or the aggregation of familial groups over time, the "defense motive" no longer dominated the community's village site selection. Instead, the builders had selected the site and built a certain number and character of structures primarily with long-term occupancy and their wants as a horticultural people in mind.<sup>392</sup> Curious about the characteristics of this premier agricultural landscape, Mindeleff scrambled to the top of the Casa Grande ruin for a 360° panoramic scan of the surrounding natural features. The view from his lofty outlook showed an immense stretch of flat land fanning out for miles in

<sup>391</sup> Mindeleff (1896): 306 and 319.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid, 306-307. Mindeleff's conclusions reflect Bandelier's findings, as outlined in his final report (1890) on investigations conducted for the Archaeological Institute of America from 1880 to 1885. Bandelier wrote, "The country is much more favorable for the subsistence of an agricultural population, and the inducements for permanent settlement were greater, so that greater solidity of construction was the natural result." See: Adolph Bandelier, "Final Report of Investigations of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried On Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885, Part II," *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America: American Series, IV* (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1892), 443.



Figure 66. Ruins of partial standing walls in the southwestern corner of the Casa Grande enclosure, 1891. Mindeleff (1896).

each direction of the edifice. To the east, the great plain of the broad Gila River Valley extended until it met a distant range of mountains. It then arced to the north and continued its distant stretch, extending unbroken from the Gila River to the Superstition Mountains, except for occasional obstacles of hills and buttes. The northern view also showed the thick fringe of cottonwood trees that lined the Gila and marked its northwesterly course. A mountain range blocked the valley's stretch west of the Casa

Grande, but to the south, it extended in places until it met the horizon, in other places until distant ranges detectable only as blue misty silhouettes once again blocked its horizontal stretch. It was the best outlook and setting of an ancient agricultural community that Mindeleff had yet seen, even in his many years' experience among the northern pueblos.<sup>393</sup>

## Monument to Arizona Agriculture

### *An Agricultural "Eden"*

The archaeological publications on ancient American agricultural centers, such as Mindeleff's Casa Grande study, complemented the growing mainstream image of the Southwest as a new American "Promised Land" or "Eden."<sup>394</sup> In the American experience since the colonial era, North American landscapes had often inspired such biblical metaphors; it was the ancient 'garden myth' that painted newly "discovered" or conquered lands as virgin and unexplored, as lost Edens or Biblical promised lands, often to match or justify civilizations' roles in changing the territories' cultural and historical conditions.<sup>395</sup> Biblical symbolism escalated as the limits of American territory extended westward during the nineteenth century into the arid lands of the trans-Mississippi west. To encourage settlement, politicians and commercial groups often framed the west as an irrigable Eden, vowing that, with the plow, settlers could transform the 'wilderness' (land and people) into agricultural oases.<sup>396</sup> In 1881, western climatologist and booster Charles Dana Wilber perpetuated this notion, arguing that, regardless a region's aridity, the repeated act of sowing

<sup>393</sup> Mindeleff (1897): 306.

<sup>394</sup> Wild, *Opal Desert*, 2.

<sup>395</sup> Mark Fiege, *Irrigated Eden: the Making of an Agricultural Landscape in the American West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 171. For the classic work on the 'garden myth', see Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: the American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950).

<sup>396</sup> Fiege, 171.

and planting produced lowered temperatures accompanied by showers, processes which, over time, altered climate in agriculture's favor and drove back the desert line; concisely, he argued that "*rain follows the plow.*"<sup>397</sup> Near the end of the 1880s, however, these Biblical paradigms were losing their impact. Rapid industrial change, social upheaval, large-scale immigration, urban growth in the form of densely populated cities, and the emergent idea that the mythic frontier period of westward expansion and opportunity was closing, lent little credence to the West as an American Eden. The American Southwest offered an exception.

During the 1880s and '90s, while other urban areas of the country suffered uncomfortable overcrowding, boosters rebranded the Southwest as an alluring, uncongested land of opportunity. The region's dramatic increase in capital investment after the arrival of the railroad and in promotional literature contributed to the region's transformation. Colorful short stories in publications such as *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* and *Harper's Weekly* and larger fictional works such as Adolph Bandelier's *The Delight Makers* (1890) and Charles Fletcher Lummis' *Some Strange Corners of Our Country* (1892) contributed to luring thousands of speculators, tourists, and settlers to the region.<sup>398</sup> Whether framed as a backyard "wonderland" of natural marvels, an ancient landscape where pastoral, law-abiding, and self-governing people had lived in peace and harmony for centuries, or simply an opportunity to start anew politically, socially, and economically, boosters promoted the Southwest as a place that offered something for a wide range of Americans.<sup>399</sup> As Charles Lummis described the region, the Southwest was an enchanted place of eternal silence and sunshine, especially suited to those seeking improved health, wealth, or an escape.<sup>400</sup>

In Arizona, the new boosterism especially deemphasized notions popular during the 1860s and '70s of the region as 'God's Mistake' or the 'Devil's Domain'. The earlier accounts had played up a wild and wooly landscape, making it infamous for hallucinatory barren stretches, cursed heat, and treacherous encounters. Instead, the new boosterism highlighted investment capital, mineral discoveries, "pacified" Indians, railroad connections, and irrigation achievements.<sup>401</sup> Some promoters pointed to the ancient ruins as a sign that the land extended wealth, health, and agricultural opportunity to those willing to claim and "tame" it. Drawing upon the growing awareness and popularity of southwestern antiquities, up-and-coming towns in the agriculturally rich areas of the Salt and Gila River Valley,

---

<sup>397</sup> Charles Dana Wilber, *The Great Valleys and Prairies of Nebraska and the Northwest* (Omaha: Daily Republican Print, 1881), 68-69.

<sup>398</sup> Curtis M. Hinsley, "The Promise of the Southwest: a Humanized Landscape," in Hinsley and Wilcox, eds. (1996), 181-182.

<sup>399</sup> Jerold S. Auerbach, *Explorers in Eden: Pueblo Indians and the Promised Land* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 1 and 8.

<sup>400</sup> Charles F. Lummis, *Some Strange Corners of Our Country* (New York: the Century Co., 1892; reprint, University of Arizona Press, 1989), 124.

<sup>401</sup> The year 1890 marks the changing point in public perceptions of the territory from fearful, rude place to sublime, romantic landscape. In that year, the American military imprisoned notorious Apache holdout Chief Geronimo and his followers. To many Americans, this event signaled the last hurdle to Americanizing the region, thus the point when the Southwest could leave behind sensational imagery and put on the mantle of the romanticized mythic West. Fowler (2000), 343-344.

namely Phoenix—the territorial capital, Tempe, Florence, and Casa Grande, increasingly framed the imagery of past civilizations to market Arizona’s potential to would-be investors and settlers.<sup>402</sup> World’s fairs, such as the upcoming Columbian Exposition in Chicago, offered particularly sensational venues for displaying the territory’s abundant antiquity as proof that Arizona had once been, and could once again become, a prosperous center of agriculture and society.

### *Casa Grande Goes to the Fair*

Modern world’s fairs, interchangeably termed “expositions” or “exhibitions,” served as a common *fin de siècle* event where imperial nations could exhibit their range of resources and accomplishments in science, art, and industry. Much like today’s modern Olympic Games, major elements of world’s fairs included host-city competitions, official national government sponsorship, new artfully designed buildings, displays of the newest and best national, regional, and local products, and cultural or educational exhibits and performances. Anthropology displays proved especially popular at world’s fairs. Since 1867, as either official exhibits, or sideshows held outside fairgrounds, all major expositions in Europe and America exhibited scientists’ latest anthropological findings.<sup>403</sup> The displays of Mesoamerican and North American archaeology drew considerable attention. International expositions held in the United States (e.g., Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, New York, 1853; the Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876, and the Cotton Centennial Exposition, New Orleans, 1883-84) often featured anthropology-dedicated buildings or anthropology exhibits on display in government buildings. In either arrangement, private and public institutions at both the national and state or territory levels displayed their latest collections and advances in the field.<sup>404</sup> Commercial in nature, participation at a world’s fair guaranteed broad exposure of a region’s products and resources—including antiquity—to not only neighbors and the nation but often to the majority of the western world.<sup>405</sup>

For young territories such as Arizona, “rich in resources but short on capital,” participation in a world’s fair afforded the best single opportunity to display its resources to

---

<sup>402</sup> Territorial legislators voted to move the capital from Prescott to Phoenix in January 1889. Centrally located, steadily growing, and boasting a milder climate than Prescott, the agricultural city of Phoenix (incorporated 1881) also offered to donate ten acres of land for the capitol, including landscaping and streetcar connections. See: Philip VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 29.

<sup>403</sup> Unofficial sideshows located outside the fairground boundaries characterized world’s fairs. These included circus and theater acts, fast-food vendors, inevitable pickpockets, and other spectacles. The sideshows, and sometimes the official exhibits, included “ethnographic zoos,” where “native” people housed in model village complexes demonstrated their so-called traditional cultural activities. In the United States, exhibits of living native peoples included “Wild West” shows, such as William Cody’s “Buffalo Bill” show, or Indian-school exhibits where the Bureau of Indian Affairs modeled its “progressive” efforts to civilize “savages” in Indian schools or missions. Fowler (2000), 204.

<sup>404</sup> Marcus Benjamin, “American Industrial Expositions—Their Purposes and Benefits,” *Popular Science Monthly* (June 1899): 232.

<sup>405</sup> Benjamin, 233.

the largest pool of potential investors.<sup>406</sup> Yet in late May 1890, a month after President Benjamin Harrison had appointed a national board—two representatives from each state and territory—to oversee management of Chicago’s Columbian Exposition, Arizona had yet to organize. In their inaugural issue printed for May 19, the editors of the *Arizona Republican*—the new “bipartisan” newspaper of Phoenix—criticized the delay. The “whole west” had set about preparing to make the 1893 Chicago Fair notable, they exclaimed, and so “Arizona should be up and doing,” too, for “it could not afford to lag behind.”<sup>407</sup> Local commerce showed signs of strain. The scale of Arizona’s economy was expanding outward, shifting power from local merchants to east-coast brokers; at the same time, floods caused by a combination of drought, overgrazing, and intense storms were devastating local watersheds and ranges.<sup>408</sup> In mid-February, heavy rains had melted snow in the Salt River watershed and caused river waters to swell to seventeen feet in only fifteen hours. At Tempe, near Phoenix, the swollen river carried away the telegraph line, 200 feet of the new Phoenix-Maricopa Railroad trestle that spanned the Salt River (est. 1887), and 150 feet of riverbank.<sup>409</sup> Other watersheds across the territory suffered similar washouts. The most devastating was the Hassayampa River flood, which washed out the lower Walnut Grove Dam, carried an eighty-foot wall of water downstream to Wickenburg, drowned over 100 people in its path, and inflicted property damage estimated at three to four million dollars.<sup>410</sup> A year later in February 1891, another series of devastating floods debilitated the Salt and Gila watersheds and those of the Central Highlands, the flooding along the Salt River being the largest

---

<sup>406</sup> Bruce Hilpert, “Arizona Goes to the Fair: the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893,” *Arizona and the West* 25, no.3 (Autumn 1983): 261.

<sup>407</sup> *Arizona Republican*, May 19, 1890, pg. 2. In its opening article, the *Republican* claimed it would balance news coverage and serve bipartisan needs, yet with its unpublicized but not-so-secret owners being Arizona Governor Lewis Wolfley and Attorney General Clark Churchill, both Republicans, the newspaper largely followed Wolfley’s thinking in its early years, too often to call itself unbiased. See: Zarbin, 11.

<sup>408</sup> Cattle overstocking during a nearly twenty-year period of prosperity combined with a steadily drying climate since the mid-1880s had begun to denude topsoil, leaving it susceptible to washouts during heavy rainstorms, in turn causing devastating floods in major Arizona watersheds beginning December 1889. Sheridan, *Arizona* (2012), 145-148.

<sup>409</sup> Sheridan, *Arizona* (2012), 208.

<sup>410</sup> “The History of Maricopa County Flooding,” available on the Flood Control District of Maricopa County website, <<http://www.fcd.maricopa.gov/education/history.aspx>> (accessed 22 Sept. 2011); and, *Arizona Weekly Journal-Miner*, Feb. 26, 1890.



Figure 67. Portrait of William O. “Bucky” O’Neill, President of the Arizona Board of World’s Fair Managers in 1891-93. *Outing Magazine* (1905).

recorded in Arizona history.<sup>411</sup> This time, the floodwaters overwhelmed the Tempe railroad bridge, engulfing the structure and tossing it into the swollen river.<sup>412</sup>

These dismal events further delayed Arizona’s world’s fair preparations. The President had issued calls for exhibits in 1890, yet the territory waited until fall 1891, well into Chicago’s fairground construction, to form its six-member bipartisan Arizona Board of World’s Fair Managers.<sup>413</sup> Even then, plans proceeded slowly. The board debated every detail—especially, whether Arizona should finance its own territorial building or split the cost in a joint building with Oklahoma and New Mexico, and whether exhibits of antiquities or minerals best represented Arizona’s “progress” and “prospects.” Board President William Owen “Bucky” O’Neill, organizer of the newly formed Arizona National Guard and a Yavapai County judge, lobbied for a separate Arizona territorial building and for exhibits on Arizona’s well-known antiquity [Fig. 67].<sup>414</sup>

Combining the two ideas, he suggested that Arizona not only construct its own building but also design it as a large-scale replica of the Casa Grande ruin, which the federal government, under Cosmos Mindeleff’s direction, had just repaired. Some Arizona newspaper editors

---

<sup>411</sup> During February 18-26, 1891, the Salt River at Phoenix had a peak discharge of 300,000 cubic feet per second. The largest recorded flood in Arizona history, the river widened to two to three miles wide, and extended two miles north of the channel in central Phoenix. United States Geological Survey, “Major Floods and Droughts in Arizona,” available online at <[http://geochange.er.usgs.gov/sw/impacts/hydrology/state\\_fd/azwater1.html](http://geochange.er.usgs.gov/sw/impacts/hydrology/state_fd/azwater1.html)> (accessed 22 Sept. 2011).

<sup>412</sup> The remainder of the “Disastrous 1890s” would offer little relief; until 1905, regional drought would continue to plague Arizona alongside an economic recession set off by the nationwide Panic of 1893.

<sup>413</sup> The board included William “Bucky” O’Neill as president; two Arizonans who also sat on the national board—Republican George F. Coats (Phoenix former mayor) and Democrat William Zeckendorf (Tucson merchant); S. P. Behan (Yavapai County legislator); Rollin C. Brown (editor and owner of the *Arizona Weekly Enterprise* of Florence); and, Louis C. Hughes (editor of the *Arizona Star* of Tucson). Hilpert, 263.

<sup>414</sup> O’Neill arrived in the territory circa 1879, spending brief spells in Tombstone, where he co-edited the *Tombstone Epitaph* before heading to Phoenix. He moved to Prescott in 1882. There, in short order, he moved from journalist editor of the *Prescott Journal Miner* and the *Hoof and Horn* to local politician, serving as Yavapai County Probate Judge and School Superintendent, Yavapai County Sheriff, and Prescott Mayor. O’Neill lost his life at the Battle of San Juan Hill in Cuba during the Spanish American War. Along with fellow journalist Col. James H. McClintock, he rode with Arizona’s Troop A of the First United States Volunteer Cavalry (Roosevelt’s Rough Riders). His body lies buried at Arlington Cemetery but in 1907, the City of Prescott memorialized his mythic image in bronze. In the city’s central plaza, where the Rough Riders departed in a big civic send-off, the fearless Rough Rider “Bucky” O’Neill rides off to battle astride a bucking steed.

published O'Neill's suggestion as "a good advertisement for the territory," but an ambitious plan that would likely require more funds than available.<sup>415</sup> The assumption proved true. In Chicago in late spring 1892, President O'Neill explored the idea further but discovered that a separate territorial building, regardless the design, could not be built under \$10,000—an estimated third of the Territory's world's fair appropriation.<sup>416</sup> At this time, the board began serious discussions on New Mexico and Oklahoma's offer to co-finance a joint territorial building. Meanwhile, word spread that Arizona planned to build a large-scale replica Casa Grande. Throughout 1892, newspapers and other periodicals published exaggerated reports that Arizona would erect "picturesque and romantic ruins" at the world's fair, making its headquarters in a territorial building imitating "the famous adobe pile which guarded a lost city"; many agreed this building would be the most interesting of any state or territorial building at the fair.<sup>417</sup>

The idea for a replica Casa Grande building was not the first effort at the time to incorporate the famous ruin into Arizona's identifying brand. In summer 1891, amid public announcements of Mindeleff's repair work, Prescott jeweler George H. Curry designed an Arizona souvenir spoon that featured the saguaro and prickly pear cacti on its handle and the Casa Grande Ruins on its bowl [Fig. 68]. Though locally crafted, Bostonians may have influenced Curry's design; the souvenir spoon-collecting craze centered in the east coast, namely Boston, where most of the activists who had lobbied for Casa Grande's preservation lived.<sup>418</sup> Curry marketed his Gorham-manufactured "Arizona Spoon" in local newspapers but it mainly featured in nationally read souvenir-spoon catalogues and periodicals such as George James Jr.'s *Souvenir Spoons* (1891) and the *Jewelers' Circular and Horological Review*. In the December 1891 issue of the *Horological Review*, the editor described Curry's choice to commemorate Arizona with the imagery of Casa Grande Ruins as appropriate. The famous edifice, he explained, featured in all "leading magazine of the world," and embodied "more romance than history."<sup>419</sup> Continuing, the editor suggested that Casa Grande Ruins also offered modern science important lessons about desert irrigation:

The genus of this past race of beings is shown in the wonderful systems of irrigation they constructed, but now extinct, by which more land was then brought under cultivation than now when science seems almost to have reached its limit.<sup>420</sup>

As an illustration of Arizona's agricultural viability, Curry's Arizona spoon likely served as a vendible souvenir at the '93 Chicago World's Fair.

The most central proposal for tying Arizona antiquities into the territory's world's fair exhibits, however, involved a set of relief maps, one tracing the ruins of Arizona's

---

<sup>415</sup> *Coconino Weekly Sun*, April 28, 1892, pg. 2.

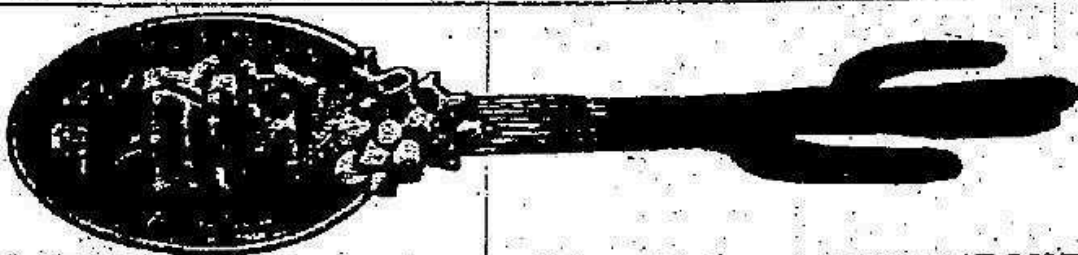
<sup>416</sup> He announced his findings at a June 6 meeting of the Arizona Board of World's Fair Managers.

<sup>417</sup> *Reno Evening Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1892; Chicago Herald, quoted in the *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star*, July 11, 1892; and, *Los Angeles Times*, July 25, 1892.

<sup>418</sup> Ed Dobbins, "The Casa Grande Ruins Spoon," *Spooners Forum* 32, no.12 (Aug. 2006): 1.

<sup>419</sup> *The Jewelers' Circular and Horological Review*, Dec. 8, 1891, pp. 51-52, quoted in Dobbins, 2.

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*



**ONE** of the greatest fads now raging among all classes of tasty people is the collection of Souvenir Spoons, suggestive of incidents and landmarks from all sections of our country. No Present is More Popular. I have designed and manufactured for Arizona a "Souvenir Spoon." The handle is a representation of the famous "Saguero" Cactus of Arizona. On the bowl is a representation of Casa Grande Ruins, one of the mysterious relics of a past race, joined by the Cholla and Fear Cactus. The whole forms a beautiful combination, made from Arizona silver and finished in oxidized work. Cut shows three-fourths size of the spoon. Very heavy. PRICE, \$4.00. Sent to any address on receipt of amount.

**SOUVENIR SPOONS.**

**GEO. H. CURRY, JEWELER, Prescott, Ariz,**

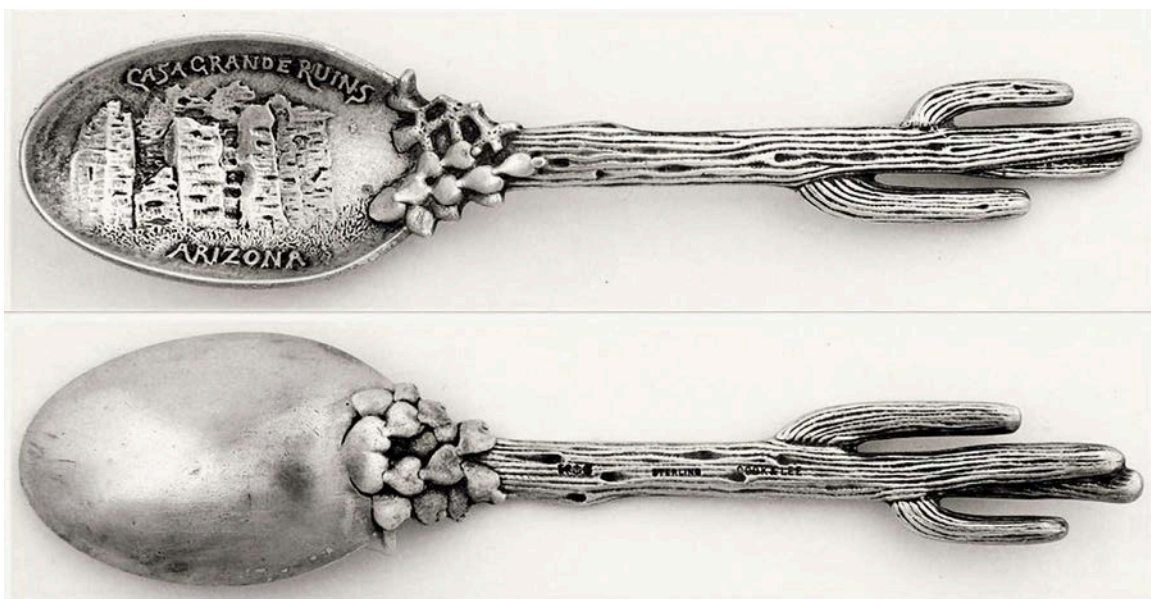


Figure 68. George H. Curry and Gorham's 1891 "Arizona Spoon," featuring the Casa Grande Ruins. As advertised in local newspapers in 1891 (top) and more recently (bottom), on a souvenir-spoon collectors' website. *Arizona Republican* (Nov. 24 1891), and courtesy Spoons R Us, [www.spoonsrus.com](http://www.spoonsrus.com)



Figure 69. Portrait of Frederick Putnam, Chief of the Chicago World's Fair Division of Ethnology. Bancroft (1893).

prehistoric cities and irrigation systems, and the other showing the extent of modern irrigation. Juxtaposed side by side, the maps would demonstrate how much land ancient Arizonans had cultivated versus how little land modern Arizonans were currently cultivating. The difference would show investors the potential for growth. O'Neill had formed the relief-map idea during summer travels back east. There he collaborated with influential anthropologists Frederick Putnam—Chief of the World's Fair Division of Ethnology as well as Director of Harvard's Peabody Museum—and philanthropist Frances (Newbury) Bagley—Archaeological Institute of America member, member of the Board of Lady Managers for the World's Fair, and widow of tobacco manufacturer and ex-Michigan governor John J. Bagley (1872-1877) [Figs. 69-70].

Drawing upon their affiliated resources, Putnam and Bagley

committed the Peabody Museum, the Archaeological Institute of America, the Bureau of Ethnology, and the World's Fair Division of Ethnology to financing \$6,000 of the project under the condition that Arizona contribute \$3,000. They also stipulated that the relief maps as well the accompanying expedition reports and notes transfer to the Peabody museum collections after the close of the fair.<sup>421</sup>

As proposed, the project required an extensive survey of Arizona's ancient irrigation system, namely the ruins of canals and dam sites, for the preparation of relief maps on a scale of two inches per mile. In the proposal for the relief maps, Yavapai County Recorder Col. Alexander Brodie would lead an expedition of six surveyors and a small work force of assistants.<sup>422</sup> O'Neill and R. E. L. Robinson would co-manage the expedition, with Robinson—a journalist for the Associated Press—serving as newspaper correspondent for the project.<sup>423</sup> Their itinerary included surveying the south banks of the middle



Figure 70. Portrait of Frances Newbury Bagley, member of the Board of Lady Managers for the Chicago World's Fair. Bancroft (1893).

<sup>421</sup> *Arizona Republican*, Oct. 11, 1892.

<sup>422</sup> Brodie later served in the Spanish American War, where, as organizer of the volunteer Rough Riders, most of whom were Arizonans, he fought alongside O'Neill and Phoenix newspaperman James H. McClintock. Upon Brodie's return from war in 1902, President Roosevelt appointed him Governor of Arizona.

<sup>423</sup> *Arizona Republican*, Oct. 11, 1892. A week earlier for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Robinson had contributed a long article illustrated with Bartlett's 1852 engraving of Casa Grande that described the

Gila River south to Gila Bend, down the banks of the Santa Cruz and San Pedro rivers, then back up to the Gila River to survey its upper watershed. At San Carlos, they would cross the river to the north banks, heading west through the Central Highlands, and then down through Tonto Basin to the Gila's confluence with the Salt. Surveyors would cover the same territory for the map of the modern irrigation system. The project proposal stipulated that, in the process, surveyors pay special attention to mapping the locations of ruins already known to exist as well as new discoveries.<sup>424</sup>

Ultimately, the relief-map idea generated mixed interest among members of Arizona's world's fair board. Despite widespread support from influential institutions and scholars such as the Peabody Museum and Putnam, skeptics neglected to see how the map would excite investments—more correctly, the “right” kind of investments. Their skepticism reflected the imbalance of county representation and special interests on the Board. The majority of board members represented Yavapai and Pima counties—thus, mining and educational interests, less agriculture. For the minority, agriculturally minded constituents mainly from Maricopa and Pinal counties, the map's commercial possibilities required little imagination. They envisaged the maps project as a “topographical *tour-de-force*” that would “dramatically emphasize agricultural opportunities,” especially in the fertile Salt and Gila River valleys, where they calculated ancient irrigation to have covered six times more acreage than present day.<sup>425</sup> The maps would therefore serve as striking “proof” of the large-scale growth Arizona could support. The *Arizona Republican* also offered staunch support of the project, predicting that the maps would garner more outside notice of Arizona than any previous advertising. “What connection might exist between the relics of an unknown race and the development of the country [has] been overlooked,” the editors stated, adding that the maps would help rectify erroneous impressions that all the land capable of reclamation was already under irrigation.<sup>426</sup>

Notwithstanding considerable support from the *Arizona Republican* and from the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce, the Arizona Board of World's Fair Manager—sorely pressured by the mineral-rich counties and facing a short six months until the opening of the exposition—discarded the relief-map proposal. Instead, they focused their remaining time and money on preparing exhibits of minerals, petrified wood, and cactus-wares for the fair's Mining and Manufactures buildings.<sup>427</sup> In an attempt to salvage the project, the

---

ruined landscape and famous edifice in the south-central portion of Arizona. As his take-away point, Robinson told readers that no trip to Arizona was complete without a visit to the famous Casa Grande. He then recounted his first trip to Casa Grande, including the amateur excavations that he and two Papago guides conducted. In the article, Robinson also claimed that a local historical society had investigated the ruins the year before and uncovered two skeletons about twelve feet deep in the north room. It is unclear which institution and investigation he was referencing. See: “Many Miles of Ruins – Tumuli of Southwestern Arizona,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, Oct. 2, 1892, pg. 8.

<sup>424</sup> *Arizona Republican*, Oct. 11, 1892.

<sup>425</sup> Hilpert, 266.

<sup>426</sup> *Arizona Republican*, Oct. 11, 1892.

<sup>427</sup> Arizona also dropped plans for a major exhibit in the fair's Agricultural Building—due in great part to the lack of support from Salt River Valley farmers—in favor of a small display of local produce in their joint Territorial Building, which they landscaped outside with an striking array of native cacti and other local flora.

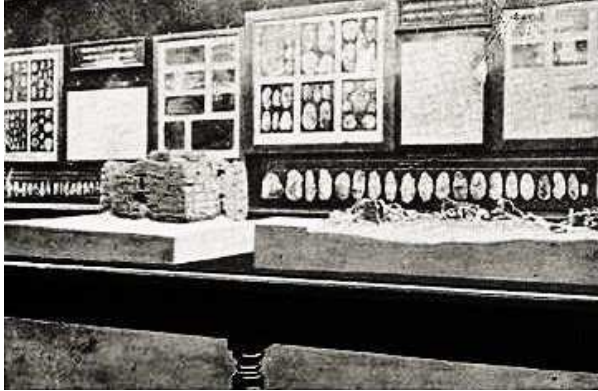


Figure 71. Illustration from Bancroft's "Book of the Fair," depicting the Bureau of Ethnology's model of Casa Grande as displayed in the U.S. Government Building at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. Bancroft (1893).

Archaeological Institute of America promised to redouble its fundraising efforts and meet the \$3,000 that Arizona could not afford to dedicate to the project. Unfortunately, by this time President O'Neill had informed Putnam of Arizona's withdrawal and Putnam, in turn, as head of the anthropological exhibits of the fair, had already reassigned the Arizona relief-map funds to some other use.<sup>428</sup> While Arizona's mineral exhibit and joint territorial building with New Mexico received positive reviews from fairgoers the next year, those expecting a colossal replica Casa Grande would have been disappointed.<sup>429</sup> After the rejection of both the Casa Grande building and relief map projects, the Fair's ethnology department decided to feature northern pueblo and cliff dweller cultures instead. Casa Grande went to the fair, just less spectacularly than originally proposed. In the fair's Government Building, occupying a small corner of the Smithsonian Institution exhibit, a small-scale Bureau of Ethnology model of Casa Grande Ruin sat on display [Fig. 71]. Out of context in terms of its larger landscape and its relationship to the vast ruins that spread across Arizona, its presence nevertheless honored the ruin's recent designation as America's first, and only, federally protected archaeological site.

### A National Treasure

Preservation and archaeological activities at Casa Grande Ruins waned after the initial hype surrounding its official preservation and designation in 1891-92. By 1893, the likelihood of further appropriations for its preservation faded further as the federal government, faced with a nationwide economic panic caused in part by over-extension of railroad speculation and mining as well as drought, reduced spending on items such as archaeology in order to consider more pressing fiscal matters. Through the remainder of the

<sup>428</sup> Archaeological Institute of America, *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Archaeological Institute of America, 1892-93* (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1893), 4-5.

<sup>429</sup> Visitors to the 1893 Chicago World's Fair were impressed with the twenty-foot tower displaying copper ore from the Copper Queen Mine of Bisbee and the gold bars on exhibit from Mohave and Yavapai counties; even the colorful display of Navajo rugs and the small displays of grains, vegetables, and fruits generated favorable feedback. In the Manufactures Building, a huge display of petrified wood from the Petrified Forest and cactus furniture made by F. E. White, one of the two Florence contractors who repaired Casa Grande in 1892, drew large crowds.

1890s, therefore, Casa Grande's physical condition became a primarily local concern. Ultimately, Rev. Whittemore and his successors served as the primary active advocates for its protection. Whittemore's task was impossible given the lack of government provision. The Department of the Interior had finally started paying Whittemore—Casa Grande's formal designation in 1892 had created a paid custodial position at \$480 a year—but neither his allowance nor his duties covered onsite residency—the only preventative against the increasing number of tourists and curio seekers who carved the walls and hauled away bits of the ruins. Whittemore attempted to visit the ruins as often as possible, but these visits averaged semimonthly due to the expense of travel and his busy clerical schedule.<sup>430</sup> Despite his inability to guard the ruins thoroughly, Whittemore's dedication and bold advocacy for the ruins' sustained preservation did not go entirely unnoticed. In early 1894, the editor of the *Globe-Democrat* (St. Louis) printed a news item about Whittemore's paid position that newspaper editors across the nation deemed interesting enough to reprint. It read:

Curious items enter the expense account of Uncle Sam. Away out in Arizona, near the city of Florence, there is a ruin of the dwelling place of some prehistoric people. It is called Casa Grande. The government pays a man \$480 a year to watch Casa Grande and see that some Chicago archaeologist doesn't carry it away for exhibition purposes.<sup>431</sup>

The editor suggested that Whittemore's job might be an odd use of federal monies, but also reasonable. With the nearly annual occurrence at that time of either an international, national, or regional exposition, the threat of tourists, curio traders, and archaeologists carting off pieces of American antiquity required monitoring.

Yet, since the repair work of 1891, the General Land Office had shown increasing disinterest in administering Casa Grande Reserve. Repeatedly, it denied Whittemore's requests for funds to complete the original plans for preservation, and in February 1893, the GLO had even attempted to pass off its jurisdiction of Casa Grande to the Bureau of Ethnology. Undaunted, Whittemore responded by submitting a large proposal to the Department of the Interior in which he asked for \$7,000 to 8,000 to fence forty acres of the reservation, erect a roof over the main ruin, and conduct minor excavations.<sup>432</sup> The Interior denied his request. Whittemore submitted two more appropriation requests during the remainder of his tenure, in 1895 and 1899. On July 25 1895, after the worst of the economic recession, he wrote the Secretary of the Interior with the same proposal as in 1893. Prudently, Whittemore exercised modesty, declaring that he wrote with "great hesitancy," for fear that his requests would add to the Secretary's burdens.<sup>433</sup> His petition received consideration. On August 7, 1895, Acting Secretary of the Interior William H. Sims referred

---

<sup>430</sup> Whittemore also devoted much time to advocating for Pima Indian water rights and irrigation projects, namely for the Butte Reservoir and San Carlos Dam projects.

<sup>431</sup> *The Globe Democrat* reprinted in *The Atlanta Constitution*, Jan. 13, 1894. See full quote in epigraph at beginning of this chapter.

<sup>432</sup> Clemensen, 40 and 45.

<sup>433</sup> Isaac T. Whittemore to Hon. Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior, Florence, Arizona, Jul. 25, 1895, in Mindeleff (1897), 344.

Whittemore's request to W. J. McGee, Acting Director of the Bureau of Ethnology, asking for more information and a recommendation.

McGee replied with an introduction to Casa Grande ruin as one of the most noteworthy relics of a prehistoric age and people within the limits of the United States. He followed this with a brief history on the discovery, exploration, and preservation efforts of Casa Grande to date. Recommending a roof for Casa Grande, McGee explained that preservative efforts thus far had essentially been emergency measures only, and that from the outset, architects, archaeologists, and others familiar with Casa Grande had understood that a preservation plan for the long-term should include a roof. While stressing the confidence the Bureau placed in Rev. Whittemore as custodian, McGee added that it might be wise to reexamine Casa Grande, since it had been over three years since the last government inspection, and he volunteered to visit the site himself. John M. Reynolds, the new acting secretary of the Interior, accepted McGee's offer. By early November, McGee had traveled to Arizona, conducted a site inspection, and confirmed that enough cumulative deterioration had occurred since the 1891 repairs to warrant a roof. Director Powell endorsed McGee's conclusions.<sup>434</sup> Once again, Congress failed to approve an appropriation. Whittemore renewed his request a final time in January 1899, without success, and a few months later, left his position as custodian of Casa Grande to retire in Pasadena, California.<sup>435</sup>

Whittemore's replacement, Herman B. Mayo (1869-1952), also his clerical successor at the First Presbyterian Church of Florence, resumed appeals for a roof, asking for \$2,000 in 1900. Florence residents rallied around Mayo's efforts, securing the endorsement of special General Land Office agent Samuel J. Holsinger, who used his influence to procure GLO approval for the roof.<sup>436</sup> Like Whittemore in 1895, however, Mayo's application failed in Congress despite support from the Interior and the GLO. In mid-1901, after submitting a second appropriations request, Mayo vacated both his custodial position to pastor churches in the Phoenix area. Since the 1891 repairs, a decade of negotiations for Casa Grande's preservation had passed. While Casa Grande's next custodian, Frank Pinkley, would succeed where his predecessors had failed, the "tug-of-war" between local and federal administrators that characterized Casa Grande's first decade as a nationally protected archaeological site would continue to hinder improvements at the site. At the same time, the delays and lack of federal involvement fostered an environment of local advocacy and guardianship that further endeared the site to Arizonans, turning national reserve into a defining community landmark.

---

<sup>434</sup> Mindeleff (1897): 344-349.

<sup>435</sup> In Pasadena in 1904, Whittemore's 80-year life came to a tragic end when he collided with a street trolley while riding his bicycle to visit a sick friend.

<sup>436</sup> Clemensen, 45-56.

## CHAPTER V

### CURATING A “DARNED GOOD RUIN,” 1900–1908

About the only thing I ever did that was really smart...was to go out in the desert and pick a darned good ruin, and sit down by it for 30-odd years.

~Frank Pinkley, *Desert Magazine*, 1939

On an early September morning in 1900, a tall, slim young man stepped off the first day's train into Phoenix. He took in the starry sky and warm predawn air with wonderment, and then headed to a nearby Chinese restaurant for breakfast. His name was Frank Pinkley. Nineteen years old and a native of Chillicothe, Missouri, Pinkley had traveled to Arizona hoping his doctor's prescription of six months in an arid climate would cure a mild case of tuberculosis. The gamble paid off. After a few days in Phoenix, appraising the town's saloons, gambling houses, and stores with their strange stock of goods, Pinkley moved out to the desert northeast of town to recoup. He began gaining pounds and strength. As the tubercular hazard diminished, six months extended into a year, ten years, and, finally, forty; Pinkley never returned to Missouri to live. One could credit the advantageous climate for keeping Pinkley in Arizona, or perhaps Edna Townsley, the teacher's assistant on the Gila River Indian Reservation southeast of Phoenix, whom Frank wooed on horseback and then married in 1906. In the end, however, Frank Pinkley credited a “darned good ruin.”

In December 1901, a year after moving to Arizona, Pinkley assumed the custodial position at Casa Grande Ruins. The first resident custodian, he pitched a small tent onsite as his home and set about guarding the site from relentless vandals. “Some very indefinite ruins” in his initial estimation, Casa Grande soon grew on Pinkley and, despite inexperience with both subject and task, he made it his life mission to preserve and promote the site. During his early years as custodian, he started promoting the Ruins as a tourist site, and supervised seminal preservation and archaeology. These included construction of Casa Grande's much debated “shelter roof,” and the first comprehensive archaeological excavation—a two-season project directed by Jesse Walter Fewkes of the Bureau of American Ethnology during the winters of 1906-07 and 1907-08. During this time, Fewkes cleverly designated Casa Grande “America's Pompeii”; yet, administratively, “Pinkley's Pompeii” might have served as an alternative moniker. Pinkley recognized the Ruins' importance as both a national tourist site and a community landmark and encouraged local involvement in the site's preservation and development. Regularly, he gave lectures on the history of Casa Grande at social functions and business meetings, embraced community interaction with the site as picnic grounds and event venue, and distributed interpretative material. During his early tenure, Pinkley also developed a hands-on approach toward visitors, offering personalized tours for visitors that instilled a new or rejuvenated

appreciation for American antiquity well timed to correspond with a rise in national tourism, broadly called See America First.<sup>437</sup>

## Frank Pinkley, Casa Grande's First Resident Custodian

### *Modest Beginnings*

Frank Pinkley's innate custodial skills and rise to prominence in the national park system belied his beginnings. Born May 23, 1881, Frank first experienced the world on the humble farm that his parents Samuel Pinkley (1849-1922) and Nancy Graham (1860-1940) operated in the rural township of Springhill, Missouri, four and a half miles northwest of Chillicothe—the Livingston County seat. His father Samuel—an Iowa native descended from Swiss and German immigrants of Pennsylvania—had moved to the Chillicothe area with his siblings and parents Elijah and Catherine Pinkley in the mid-1860s. Frank's mother's family, the Grahams—Irish immigrants to America around 1800—had settled in the area even earlier, in the 1840s, and pioneered the local milling industry as founders and owners of several mills along the Grand River. In 1867, Frank Pinkley's grandfather, James G. Graham, and great-grandfather John M. Graham, Sr., established a mill at a major former ferry crossing on the east fork of the Grand River. Well-located along the route that Livingston County residents used to transport produce and merchandise to and from Chillicothe—the county shipping point on the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad—the mill and adjacent covered bridge profited from readymade traffic and became a popular community gathering-place.<sup>438</sup> The mill also offered steady employment for the Pinkley men. Frank's uncle, Charles Pinkley, became an employee soon after the mill's 1867 opening, and Frank's father wed into the business, marrying mill owner James G. Graham's daughter Nancy in 1879. Two years later, grandson Frank joined the family dynasty in a momentous event that simultaneously expanded and completed the small household of Samuel and Nancy (Graham) Pinkley.

Frank Pinkley spent his earliest childhood homeschooled on the family farm. His father, often infirm, provided the lessons until Frank turned seven and could walk himself to a country school two miles distant. Frank later recalled his venture into public school as pleasant days spent traipsing long dusty roads with his McGuffey Reader in hand, and weeks ending with Friday-afternoon spelling bees performed in a dimly lit room to parents bedecked in their finest clothes [Fig. 72]. Short-lived, Frank's cheery country-school education ended a year later in 1889, when he and his parents moved “to town,” to Chillicothe. There Frank finished grade school, attended the central high school, and graduated in 1898 amid the hype of the Spanish-American War [Fig. 73]. Sensational media coverage, including first motion-picture footage of a U. S. war, glorified the conflict and inspired hero worship among American youth such as Frank Pinkley, who featured the war in his graduation oration. When he learned that, as a minor, he was ineligible to enlist, it

---

<sup>437</sup> Anecdotes and quotes taken from Frank Pinkley, “Personal Biographical Data,” in *“Boss” Pinkley’s Ruminations*, compiled from the Southwestern National Monuments monthly reports, 1935-1940 (1957).

<sup>438</sup> The covered bridge was erected the same year as the mill and subsequently became known as the Graham’s Mill Bridge.

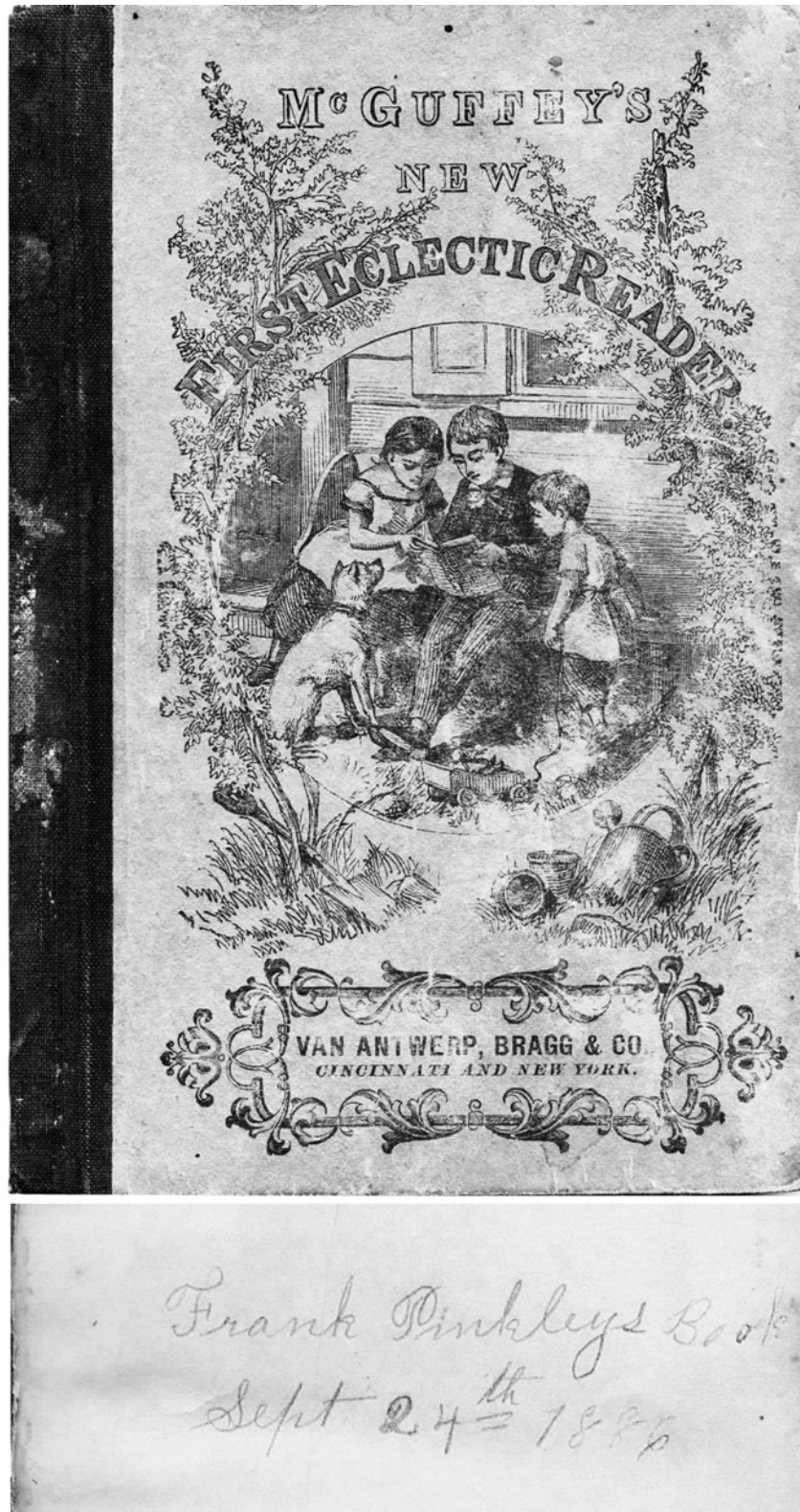


Figure 72. Frank Pinkley's McGuffey reader with inside inscription dated Sept. 24, 1886. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.



Figure 73. Frank Pinkley at age sixteen, May 27, 1897.  
Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation  
Center, ARG 34.

became his “everlasting disgrace.”<sup>439</sup> Instead, Frank remained in Chillicothe and apprenticed for the town jeweler as a silversmith. The job paid one to two dollars a week, insufficient compensation for a job that Frank hated “like the devil hates holy water.”<sup>440</sup> Two years later, Pinkley contracted a mild case of tuberculosis. Ultimately propitious, the diagnosis, followed by his doctor’s prescription to recoup in sunny Arizona, saved Frank from a craft he found tedious and doubted he could ever master.

#### *Arizona: Tuberculosis Remedy*

When Frank Pinkley moved to Arizona in 1900, he joined a large percentage of the population that had originally immigrated to the region as health seekers. Like much of the Southwest by the 1880s, Arizona possessed a therapeutic reputation that regional guidebooks touted as particularly restorative for respiratory illnesses like asthma and tuberculosis.<sup>441</sup> Often, the authors of these promotional works had first visited the

---

<sup>439</sup> Pinkley, “Personal Biographical Data,” *Ruminations* supplement of the *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report* (Nov. 1939), 400.

<sup>440</sup> Pinkley, “Ruminations,” *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report* (Dec. 1939), 481.

<sup>441</sup> John E. Baur, “The Health Seeker in the Westward Movement, 1830-1900,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 46, no.1 (June 1959): 107. Medical opinion by the mid-nineteenth century marginalized the role of climate in preventing and curing tuberculosis. Yet findings since the 1990s report that large doses of Vitamin D—especially absorbed through skin exposed to sunlight—strengthens immune systems, which in turn contributes to fighting off many serious diseases, tuberculosis included. During the peak decades of tubercular flight to Arizona—the 1880s through 1920s—many tuberculosis sufferers originally lived in densely populated, poorly ventilated urban areas with little exposure to sunlight. Arizona’s steady sunlight, open spaces, and the tendency of residents to spend more time outdoors and wear less clothing would therefore have offered a change of environment with real benefits for preventing the contraction or advancement of tuberculosis. See: Robert G. Frank, Jr., “Tuberculosis and Medicine in the Era of Health Seekers: Introduction to

Southwest and developed their writing careers while in the region recovering from serious illnesses. The personal testimonies they included in their publications vouched for the region's salubrious environments and heightened the health-seeking migration.<sup>442</sup> One travel writer who especially praised and gave proof testimony to Arizona's health benefits was Hiram C. Hodge, author of the pioneering territorial guidebook *Arizona, as It Is* (1877).<sup>443</sup> Hodge credited his recovery from consumption to the territory's "mild, healthful, and pure climate," and offered his guidebook as compensation in the form of publicity.<sup>444</sup> As testimonies to the Southwest's climatic salubrity spread, doctors nationwide advised their consumptive patients that moving to the region or staying put was a choice of life or death. During Arizona's early years as part of the westward health-seeker movement, Maricopa Wells, Florence, and especially Yuma attracted the highest immigration; early on, Yuma earned the title "the Great Sanitarium of America."<sup>445</sup> By 1900, however, Phoenix and Tucson had superseded as preferred health havens. On their urban peripheries, sanitariums and desert camps—often called tent cities—began to multiply, serving as isolated communities for the thousands of sick patients migrating to Arizona yearly.

During his first few months in Phoenix in 1900-01, Frank Pinkley may have resided in one of the desert tuberculosis camps. Later in life, he spoke of "the desert out northeast of town" where he recalled having spent a few months "putting on pounds and reducing the tubercular hazard"; he tried to locate it, but without luck, for it had become part of the built-up Phoenix metropolitan area.<sup>446</sup> If not a tuberculosis camp, the desert area Pinkley recollected may have been private property owned by Pinkley's maternal relatives. Twelve years earlier in 1888, Pinkley's uncle, George D. Graham (his mother's brother), and his great-uncle Alfred H. Graham (his grandfather's brother) with wife Lucy and the families of his three married children, had emigrated from Chillicothe to Phoenix. Soon after, Alfred H. Graham and family applied for land northeast of town. They all may have moved to Arizona for health reasons, though records confirm George immigrated to Arizona to recover from tuberculosis; sadly, in 1890, he died of the disease while still in Phoenix.<sup>447</sup> Later, Frank's widowed grandfather, James G. Graham, co-founder of the distinguished Graham mills of

---

the Second Printing" of John E. Baur, *The Health Seekers of Southern California, 1870-1900* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1957; reprint, 2010), xix.

<sup>442</sup> The geographical boundaries of the Southwestern health-seeking movement included Colorado, California, and Texas.

<sup>443</sup> See also CH. II of this study, section "The Casa Grande Ruin in Photographs and Guidebooks, 1871-1878."

<sup>444</sup> Hodge, *Arizona as It Is*, v.

<sup>445</sup> Conklin, *Picturesque Arizona*, 45. See also Jim Turner, *Arizona: A Celebration of the Grand Canyon State* (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2011), 240-241, and 118 and 124.

<sup>446</sup> Pinkley, "Personal Biographical Data," in *Ruminations*.

<sup>447</sup> George's obituary for January 1890 indicates that he moved to Arizona to recoup from tuberculosis of the lungs, i.e., consumption; less fortunate than Frank, George never recovered. His body gave into the disease on January 15, 1890. A prominent citizen of Chillicothe, Missouri, George had served as a city councilman, as fire chief, and as director of the power utilities company. His father, James G. Graham, traveled to Phoenix to accompany George's body back to Chillicothe for burial and a well-attended funeral. *Chillicothe Tribune*, 18 Jan. 1890.

Missouri, also moved to Phoenix. The July 1900 federal census shows him residing with his brother Alfred and sister-in-law Lucy in their rural dwelling northeast of Phoenix just two months before Frank's arrival.<sup>448</sup> The Grahams' rural residence may have been the "desert camp" Frank described moving to in the autumn of 1900—albeit for only a few months. After his quick recovery, Frank moved to a ranch near Phoenix that he and his cousin leased for a farming experiment. By all accounts, Frank's stay in Arizona was becoming permanent. After recovery, health-seekers commonly became permanent residents of their western host communities as newcomers-turned-local producers, merchants, politicians, teachers, lawyers, physicians, or clergymen, among other professions.<sup>449</sup> Alfred Graham and the families of his three children stayed on permanently, becoming part of the communities of Phoenix and Glendale; likewise, Frank's grandfather James Graham spent the remainder of his life in Arizona.<sup>450</sup>

### *The Ruins' New Resident*

With renewed health and nearby family, it is unlikely Frank Pinkley would have needed other incentives to make Arizona his permanent residence; yet ultimately, an entirely different sort of enticement determined his residency. In late 1901, despite lack of related experience, Pinkley received an offer to serve as custodian of the Casa Grande Ruins. Pinkley's uncle—unnamed in all Pinkley's biographical data but allegedly a General Land Office commissioner in Phoenix—recommended his young, single nephew for the position.<sup>451</sup> In November, Reverend Mayo, non-resident custodian of Casa Grande Reserve since 1899, had vacated the post to pastor congregations near Peoria.<sup>452</sup> Likely, Mayo welcomed the opportunity to cast off his custodial responsibilities. The custodianship that predecessor Rev. Isaac T. Whittemore had conferred on Mayo came with the constant struggle to secure funding and prevent vandalism—all while living off-site. His site inspections three to six times a month hardly deterred vandals, and yet his requests for sufficient government appropriations remained mired in red tape. Oddly enough, the mire suited Frank Pinkley.

Unlike the arrangement with Whittemore and Mayo, Frank Pinkley's custodianship required residency, a condition that Frederick W. Hodges of the Bureau of Ethnology had

---

<sup>448</sup> In July 1900, two months before Frank Pinkley moved to Arizona, federal census enumerators recorded his 71-year-old grandfather James Graham living with Alfred and Lucy, ages 63 and 64, respectively, in north Phoenix, in Township 2N-Range 3E. Their home was likely in the SE ¼ of Section 15, which Alfred's son James W. had patented in 1892 (this is near the current-day Biltmore area of Phoenix). It is not clear when, or why, Frank's grandfather James G. left Chillicothe for Phoenix, though his brother Alfred likely influenced his emigration.

<sup>449</sup> Baur, 108.

<sup>450</sup> James G. Graham died in Blackwater, Arizona on the Gila River Indian Reservation—in Frank Pinkley's home—in 1915. For a picture of James Graham, see Fig. 100 and 129.

<sup>451</sup> At the time, a Hugh H. Price was Surveyor General of Arizona with an office in Phoenix. He had married a woman by the name of Lydie B. Graham of Pennsylvania. Given his wife's surname of "Graham" this may be a possible relation to Pinkley's mother's side. However, genealogical research has not verified Hugh Price as Pinkley's "uncle."

<sup>452</sup> *Auburn Seminary Review* (Dec. 1901): 246.

maneuvered.<sup>453</sup> Pinkley's initial orders, received a couple days after the position start date of December 12, 1901, stipulated that he not only report regularly to the Department of the Interior on the ruin's condition but also be daily present to prevent settlement or encroachment upon the reservation. The orders therefore mandated that he live onsite. Preferably, he would make accommodations within the main ruin, or alternatively, if the ruins prove uninhabitable, Pinkley could erect housing at his own expense.<sup>454</sup> Predictably, the roofless ruins proved inadequate as living quarters. Unable to construct a house on his small annual salary of \$900, Frank Pinkley spent the Christmas season building a tent-house a few hundred yards north of the Great House [Fig. 74].<sup>455</sup> For the next ten years, with modifications and additions, this humble abode served as his home and office.

### **The Casa Grande Landscape at the Turn of the Century**

Pinkley's post was isolated and lonely in 1901. The village of Sacaton—unofficial capital and agency headquarters of the Pima Indian Reservation—offered basic trade and supplies at the community trading post but for most business, Pinkley would have traveled nearly ten miles to the city of Florence. Adamsville, once the nearest town to the Ruins at only four miles east, had sadly declined into little more than a ghost town for curious passersby. In its heyday, Adamsville had been a dynamic town offering the only mill in the area. Its local importance diminished after Florence became county seat in 1875 and especially after 1879, when the Southern Pacific Railroad Company bypassed Adamsville to establish its area depot twenty-seven miles west at the town of Casa Grande. No longer a vital trade center, Adamsville's population slowly emigrated and the town lost its energetic appearance, causing Sylvester Baxter to note in 1888 that Adamsville made an odd sight in the growing new country with its "silent city-like streets and tenantless ranks of substantial adobe buildings."<sup>456</sup> Adamsville continued its sharp decline until 1900, when only a handful of stalwart residents remained. That same year, the Gila River flooded and washed out town buildings, completing the town's twenty-year demise. Thus, when Frank Pinkley arrived on the scene in 1901, Adamsville was well on its way to becoming the archetype ruin of Arizona's early territorial period [Fig. 75].<sup>457</sup> The loss of Adamsville only moderately affected the stability of settlement in the Casa Grande Valley—specifically, in Township 5S-Range 8E, the Ruins' locale. Population in the "Ruins Township" fluctuated most in relation to the

---

<sup>453</sup> An ardent advocate of preserving ancient American ruins and developing them as tourist attractions, Hodges stressed the importance of full-time resident custodians who could beautify and maintain the grounds for visitor pleasure. *Arizona Republican*, 18 April 1900, pg4.

<sup>454</sup> Frank Pinkley to the General Land Office Commissioner, May 11, 1902, letter quoted in Clemensen, 47.

<sup>455</sup> Clemensen, 48.

<sup>456</sup> Sylvester Baxter, "Archaeological Camping in Arizona, Parts 5 and 6," reprinted in Hinsley and Wilcox, "A Hemenway Portfolio," 623.

<sup>457</sup> Other early descriptions of Adamsville as a ruin, or ghost town, include: J. W. Fewkes, "Casa Grande, Arizona," *Bureau of American Ethnology 28<sup>th</sup> Annual Report* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), 34-35; and, "Western Town with Whiskers on It," *The Fairport Herald*, 13 Sept. 1916, available online at <<http://rrlcnewspapers.org>> (accessed 18 Jan 2012).



Figure 74. Frank Pinkley's first tent house at the Casa Grande Ruins, ca1901-02. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.



Figure 75. Ruins of Adamsville during Pinkley's early residency in the area. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

ebb and flow of local irrigation projects, which, at the turn of the century, saw more ebb than flow. When Pinkley arrived in 1901, the area was experiencing particularly low instances of new settlement, especially compared to the wave of speculation and homesteading that irrigation projects such as the Florence Canal had sparked over a decade earlier.

#### *The Florence Canal and the Kenilworth Ranch*

The Florence Canal, built 1886-89 under the auspices of the Florence Canal Company, consolidated the water rights of Anglo and Mexican ditches into one large canal. Allegedly, part of the canal paralleled the course of one of the more easily traced ancient canals in the middle Gila Valley.<sup>458</sup> The canal diverted water from the Gila River at a point on the south side of the river eight miles above Florence. From the canal head gates, the water traveled southwestward about twenty miles to a reservoir constructed on the McClellan Wash; from the reservoir, it extended west to a point south of the town of Casa Grande [Fig. 76]. Despite being one of the most significant nonindigenous agricultural developments in the area to date, the Florence Canal was ill conceived and poorly timed. It operated during a period of excessive drought, which limited the river's water supply, and it possessed an insufficient gradient. As a result, the canal often clogged with silt and water distributed to area fields by means of lateral ditches often evaporated before reaching its destinations.<sup>459</sup> Thus, while the Florence Canal project intended to irrigate up to 65,000 acres, it never

<sup>458</sup> Richard E. Sloan, *Memories of an Arizona Judge* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932), 51.

<sup>459</sup> In the 1890s, nearly 10 acre-feet of water flowed through the small long laterals from the Florence Canal per irrigated acre. Much of this seeped out and evaporated before reaching land, but if all of it had reached the land, this much water would have covered one acre with an excessive ten feet of

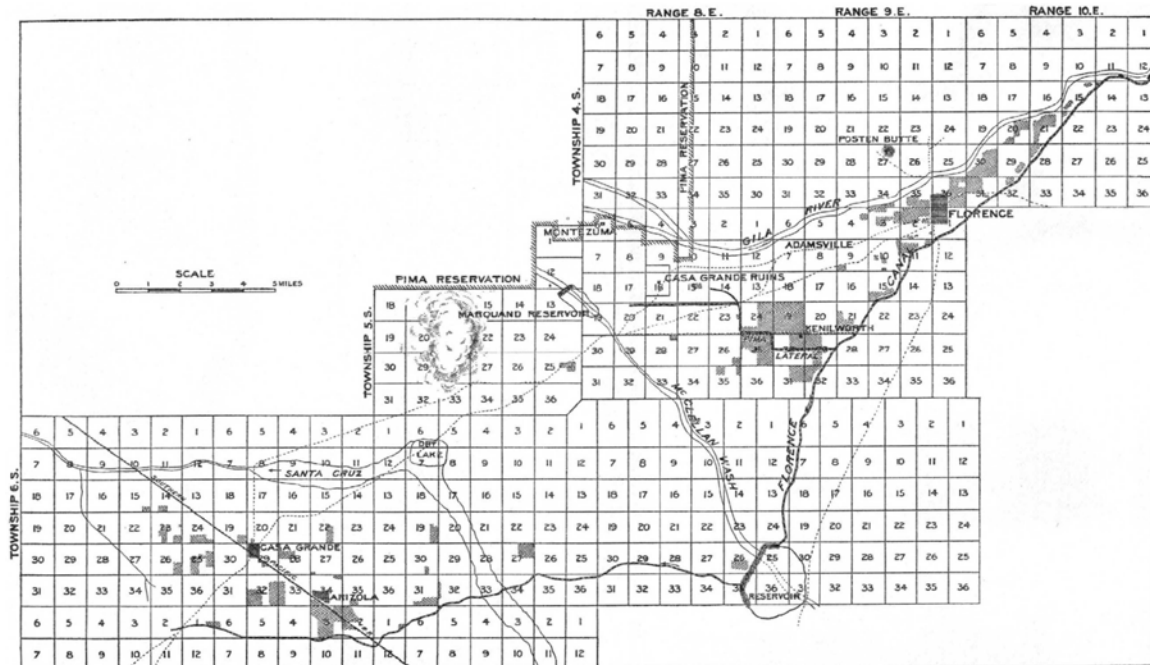


Figure 76. Map showing the Florence Canal and extent of irrigation. Shaded areas represent lands irrigated in 1896. Davis, *USGS Water-Supply Paper* (1897).

improved more than its 1890 peak of 8,402 acres on 124 farms.<sup>460</sup> Ultimately, within a few years of its completion, the project had not only deprived the Gila River Indian tribes of their water rights and seriously affected their traditional economy but also failed to sustain enough income for its own maintenance.<sup>461</sup> The hype of the project nonetheless sparked a wave of new settlement in the Casa Grande Valley.

From the mid-1880s to mid '90s, a fair number of applicants filed for public land in the Ruins vicinity, either as “free” land under the Homestead Act of 1862, or by cash sale at a low rate. The Homestead Act offered settlers full title on up to 320 acres after five years if they could prove they had resided continuously and made improvements on the land—irrigation, cultivation, and the construction of houses, fences, and other structures.<sup>462</sup>

---

water. See: Arthur P. Davis, “Irrigation near Phoenix, Arizona,” *USGS Water-Supply Paper* no.2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), 46.

<sup>460</sup> John P. Wilson, *Peoples of the Middle Gila: a Documentary History of the Pimas and Maricopas, 1500's-1945* (Las Cruces: J.P. Wilson, 1999), 306.

<sup>461</sup> There are several treatises on the Gila River Indians' plight after settlers began diverting river water away from the reservation. A good recent study is David H. DeJong, *Stealing the Gila: The Pima Agricultural Economy and Water Deprivation, 1848-1921* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009).

<sup>462</sup> The Homestead Act (1862) offered 160 acres, or a quarter section of land, to an individual, and 320 acres, or a half section of land, to a married couple. Applicants had to pay a patent application filing fee, and then \$10 for the deed to the land if they showed they had met the 5-year conditions of residency and land improvements. Alternately, within six months of the original filing they could purchase the land at the minimum rate of \$1.25 an acre. Enticing at first, many unfortunate settlers could not handle the rough existence or the excessive cost of equipment and supplies to achieve the



Figure 77. Portrait of Richard E. Sloan. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Arizona* (1901).

Alternatively, they could purchase the land for no less than \$1.25/acre before the five-year period concluded. Late nineteenth-century settlers who filed on public land near the Ruins included Dr. James Hurley, one of the Florence Canal Company incorporators, and his wife Ida, both land speculators from San Bernardino, California. Between 1886 and 1891, the Hurleys filed on two sections near the Casa Grande Ruins. Ida's entry comprised the entirety of section 22, kitty-corner from the Ruins on the southwest, while James' four quarter sections lay about two and a half miles southwest of the ancient site. After completion of the Florence Canal in 1889, Ida cleared 320 acres of her property, hoping to improve it with irrigation from Florence Canal-delivered water. Yet, like many of the early '90s homesteaders, the Canal's mismanagement, coupled with drought, foiled her

prospects.<sup>463</sup> Instead, she and husband James, probably unable to show sufficient land improvement to earn free title, purchased the land through cash sale in spring 1891.<sup>464</sup>

The largest cultivation venture to fall victim to drought and recession was Kenilworth Ranch, a cattle and horse-raising operation established in 1887 by Pinal County judge Richard E. Sloan (1857-1933) and English-born San Francisco attorney Thomas Davis (1861-1931) [Figs. 77-78]. Judge Sloan, who would eventually serve as Arizona's last territorial governor in 1909-1912, had just begun his first term as Pinal County district attorney. Three years earlier, as a recent law-school graduate, he had moved to Arizona Territory for health reasons and, while recouping, begun



Figure 78. Portrait of Thomas P. Davis. *Who's Who in Arizona* (1913).

government's demands in the short turnaround. While many faked the evidence of cultivation and improvements, many genuine homesteaders failed to earn free title to the land. Statistics for 1879 indicate that approximately 49% of genuine homesteaders—those who had filed on the land to homestead and genuinely attempted to settle the land, rather than use it for mining or mere investment—across the American West failed to meet the patent requirements by the deadline and were forced to forfeit the land. Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: a New Interpretive History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 333 and 336; Howard R. Lamar, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 492-493.

<sup>463</sup> Coolidge Historical Society Museum newsletters.

<sup>464</sup> They purchased 640 acres each—a section a piece. It is not clear how much land they actually filed for under the Homestead Act, though it was likely the max amount allowed married applicants—320 acres. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, land patent documents nos. 178-179, available online at <<http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/search/default.aspx>>.



Figure 79. Painting of the Kenilworth Castle ruins, by Georg Saal Schloss, 1866.

practicing law in Phoenix; in 1886, voters elected him Pinal County district attorney and he moved to Florence. Soon after, he and longstanding friend Hon. Davis filed on adjacent sections of public land about three miles east of the Ruins in Range 9E. They consolidated their respective holdings a year later and established a ranching partnership. Davis, who had moved out from San Francisco for the ranching venture, named the ranch Kenilworth, for the ruined English castle a few miles from his birthplace that author Sir Walter Scott made famous in his 1826 novel *Kenilworth*. The Casa Grande ruins allegedly reminded Davis of the celebrated castle, thus the moniker [Fig. 79]. Perhaps due to Sloan and Davis' proximity to the site, Sloan often visited the Ruins, and even used his capacity as a Pinal County official to stave off vandalism.

After the departure of Cushing and the Hemenway Expedition from Casa Grande in 1888, Sloan began observing noticeable, rapid deterioration of the ruin. This included increased graffiti. Sometime between 1889 and '90, he happened by the ruins and noticed somebody had painted a store advertisement on the ruin's hard, smooth walls; it read, "Go to W. C. Smith & Co. for Your Supplies."<sup>465</sup> He suspected that the manager of W. C. Smith's

---

<sup>465</sup> Sloan left Florence in February 1890 for Tucson, to serve as District Attorney for Arizona's 1<sup>st</sup> District. In his memoirs, Sloan describes this incident as having occurred while he was District Attorney. He was appointed to that position in fall 1889, so this incident likely occurred between November 1889 and February 1890. Photographs of the Casa Grande dated ca1890-91 show traces of the W. C. Smith ad, while photographs taken circa1889 reveal its bolder impress. Richard E. Sloan, *Memoirs of an Arizona Judge* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932), 51.

store branch in Casa Grande was the culprit. After sharing news of the discovery with Arthur Macy, Chairman of the Pinal County board of Supervisors, he and Macy deliberated on how they could prevent future use of the ancient building for advertising. No antiquities preservation law existed yet to prohibit and fine such vandalistic activities, but they nonetheless decided to trick the perpetrator into believing such. With Macy's consent, Sloan wrote out a formal citation to Maldonado, demanding he present himself forthwith before the Board of Supervisors to defend the use of an ancient ruin for commercial purposes. The following day, the "perturbed and penitent" Maldonado appeared, asking for mercy and the chance to correct his error. Macy and the Board consulted and then "solemnly announced" that if Maldonado would procure an expert to remove the offensive writing with minimal injury to the ruin, then the board would take no further action. Maldonado kept his end of the bargain, removing as much of the paint as he could without damaging the ruin. Afterward, traces of the advertisement were still visible but Sloan was pleasantly surprised that the paint had caused less permanent damage than expected.<sup>466</sup>

Aside from that brief career in historic preservation, Sloan divested the rest of his energy and time into Kenilworth Ranch, which quickly grew into what many Arizonans considered the largest farmstead under cultivation in Arizona. Originally, Sloan and Davis had envisioned their investment as a "modest scheme of development" in which they would improve the land just enough to attract purchasers interested in farming parcels. Yet, Sloan and Davis soon departed from their original intentions and became engaged in elaborate improvements. They doubled their land to nearly 1700 acres, cleared, leveled, fenced, and ditched it, planted an orchard and vineyard, and built barns, corrals, a large house, and employee quarters. They planted alfalfa and focused on raising cattle but also dabbled in horse breeding.<sup>467</sup> A nearly self-sufficient community, it even earned its own U.S. Post Office in 1891. Yet, in the process, the gentleman farmers exhausted their personal coffers and borrowed heavily. Sloan later admitted that, though Kenilworth was one of the "show places in the Southwest" and "without doubt one of the most beautiful places of its kind in the Territory," they operated the ranch "too much like a gentleman's farm" and therefore without profit.<sup>468</sup> By 1893, Kenilworth Ranch operations had failed. Contributing factors included persistent drought and the 1891 Gila River flood that washed out the Florence

---

<sup>466</sup> Sloan, 52-54. A few early photographs of the Casa Grande show traces of the W.C. Smith graffiti. These include Fig. 60 of this study (image by Fewkes), as well as a digitized image available in the the Arizona State University special collections at [http://www.asu.edu/lib/archives/digital-collections/AZSI/full/CP\\_SPC\\_101\\_41.JPG](http://www.asu.edu/lib/archives/digital-collections/AZSI/full/CP_SPC_101_41.JPG).

<sup>467</sup> To make the Kenilworth Ranch profitable, Sloan and Davis turned to stock raising standard-bred horses, targeting affordable young stud horses without records but with proven pedigrees. The new business took the gentleman-ranchers on stud-horse searches across the Southwest, including to Colin Cameron's renowned San Rafael Ranch in Lochiel near the Arizona-Mexico border, and Senator Leland Stanford's Stock Farm in Palo Alto, California. Richard E. Sloan, *Memories of an Arizona Judge* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1932), 66. For information on alfalfa cultivation on the ranch, see Thomas C. Graham's report on Kenilworth alfalfa in "Reports on Alfalfa-Growing—By Counties," *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture for Month Ending Nov. 30 1894*, 50-51. The report also includes a report by Kenilworth speculator-farmer Dr. James Hurley.

<sup>468</sup> Graham, "Reports on Alfalfa-Growing," 67-69.



Figure 80. Portrait of W.Y. Price. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Arizona* (1901).

Canal head gates—the ranch’s source of irrigation. In 1892-93, Sloan and Davis nearly closed on a brokered sale of the ranch and stock to a group of Englishmen; unfortunately, the deal fell through upon the Panic of 1893. A few years later in 1896, Sloan and Davis finally found a buyer for their unlucky ranching venture—Florence resident W. Y. Price, a successful businessman in the Arizona meat industry [Fig. 80].<sup>469</sup> Price renamed it Kenilworth Farms, added acreage to bring it to approximately 2,000 acres, and devoted operations solely to raising alfalfa and fattening cattle for the Pacific-coast meat market.<sup>470</sup> By this time, the area comprising Casa Grande Ruins and the future city of Coolidge had become known as the Kenilworth District of Pinal County, an association it retained through the 1930s long after the ranch’s demise.<sup>471</sup>

#### *Homesteaders in 1900*

In addition to Sloan and Davis, nearly twenty-five homesteaders or speculators filed on land in the Kenilworth-Casa Grande Ruins area from 1891 through the turn of the century. None of the applicants improved their land on the scale of the Kenilworth Ranch operations. The 1900 federal census data for Township 5S-Range 8E indicates that those who remained in the vicinity resided primarily in Florence and either leased out their land or hired farm and day laborers to improve and cultivate it. Some of the hired farm laborers, such as Ventura Loroña (1850-1902), were Mexican immigrants who had attempted to settle the land under the Homestead Act, which allowed non-citizens the right to file an application if they formally declared their intent to become U. S. citizens. One of the earliest Mexican homesteaders in the valley, Loroña had settled just north of the Casa Grande Ruins

<sup>469</sup> In 1897, W. Y. Price became a partner in the Shields & Price mercantile business of Florence. See: *Portrait and Biographical Record of Arizona* (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Co., 1901), His partner, Frank Shields, had 320 acres neighboring Kenilworth Ranch to the west, in Section 24 of the Ruins Township.

<sup>470</sup> Price was the current owner of Kenilworth Farms when Frank Pinkley began his custodianship of Casa Grande Ruins in 1901.

<sup>471</sup> Kenilworth became an official area designation upon the establishment of the post office at the ranch in September 1891—Thomas C. Graham serving as postmaster. Short-lived, the post office closed in 1895. See Byrd H. Granger, ed., *Will C. Barnes’ Arizona Place Names* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1960), 297. After the post office closed, Kenilworth continued as an informal designation for the area. The 1895 establishment of Kenilworth School—the rural elementary school in the vicinity that served local homesteaders’ children—likely elongated its usage as a place name. By the 1920s, Kenilworth was once again a formal area designation, as reflected in the 1920 and 1930 federal censuses, both of which titled the enumeration district located between Florence and Casa Grande—the future City of Coolidge—the ‘Kenilworth District’.

in Section 9 in May 1875. A couple months later, he filed a homestead application for 160 acres along with his declaration of intent to become a U. S. citizen.<sup>472</sup> For whatever reason, he never earned patent and the land eventually passed into other ownership.<sup>473</sup> A gap in the records suggests Loroña returned to Mexico and then re-immigrated into Arizona in 1888 along with his brothers. The 1900 census shows 49-year-old widowed Venturo living in the Casa Grande valley with two daughters and a son. His three younger brothers and their families show up on the census as neighbors.<sup>474</sup> Other households listed on the 1900 census as Ruins-area residents included a number who owned their properties but were not the original homestead applicants—such as Henry G. Ballou, a Rhode Island native who lived northeast of the Ruins.<sup>475</sup> A silk culturist in Yolo County, California before moving to Arizona in the 1870s, Henry Ballou had an unusual appearance and quaint ways that made him a memorable subject of interest. His plucked eyebrows and whiskers were a rare spectacle, but he drew the greatest attention when tending his cattle; astride a jackass, Ballou would carry a parasol to protect his skin from the scorching sun.<sup>476</sup> Years earlier in January 1888, this peculiar individual had encountered the Hemenway Expedition at the Casa Grande ruin and informed Cushing that he had observed much vandalism and deterioration since arriving in the 1870s.<sup>477</sup> The 1900 U.S. census shows 74-year-old Ballou residing in the Ruins' locale; he still lived near the ruins when Frank Pinkley became custodian.<sup>478</sup>

By 1900, those still living on the land for which they filed homestead applications during the 1890s were few. In addition to Venturo Loroña, they were Frank Shields, William

---

<sup>472</sup> See Book 2 of Edward Soza, "Hispanic Homesteaders in Arizona, 1870-1908," available online at <<http://parentseyes.arizona.edu/booksbyedwardsoza/hispanichomesteaders/index.html>>.

<sup>473</sup> Many of the Mexican homesteaders in the fertile sections of land near the Gila River had similar stories, as some Anglo farmers made the improvement requirements difficult for the Mexican settlers to fulfill.

<sup>474</sup> Venturo Loroña is listed as head of household and a "farm laborer." Other Loroña heads of households listed as his neighbors are Manuel Loroña—farm laborer, age 45; Avran Loroña—farmer, age 42; and Santiago Loroña—farm laborer, age 37. All of the brothers except Avran rent their houses and work as farm laborers. Avran, on the other hand, rents a "farm" and his occupation is "farmer." This suggests that he holds the lease to the farm and his brothers work for him.

<sup>475</sup> Ballou may have raised honeybees. The October 1903 issue of the University of Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin* lists H. G. Ballou of Florence as a producer of bee products, namely honey. See: University of Arizona, Agricultural Experiment Station, "Bee-Products in Arizona," *Bulletin* no.48 (Oct. 1, 1903): 526.

<sup>476</sup> Arnold E. Kelm, "A History of Coolidge and Vicinity" (MA thesis, University of Arizona, 1941), 21.

<sup>477</sup> See Chapter III, section "Hemenway Archaeological Expedition at Casa Grande, 1888." Ballou, whose last name is alternately spelled Balluau, Balliou, Ballow, Ballon, Ballu, etc., also dug a well on his land; it was eight feet in diameter and twenty-five feet deep. Willis T. Lee, "The Underground Waters of Gila Valley, Arizona," *USGS Water-Supply Paper* no. 104 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 22.

<sup>478</sup> In Arnold Kelm's 1941 master's thesis, "A History of Coolidge and Vicinity," Kelm cites a Jan. 1940 interview with Pinkley as one of his sources for the Henry Ballou anecdotes.

H. Graham, William J. LeBaron, brothers James F. and William I. Phy, William H. Cavaness, and Fred E. Carpenter. William H. Graham lived with his wife, three sons, and three nephews in Section 28, about a mile south of the Ruins. He claimed the land around 1893, the year he dug a well, and then received patent in 1899. Graham's neighbor, William Jeffs LeBaron, former Mesa resident and director of the Mesa Irrigating Canal Company, earned his land patent that same year. Earlier in 1893, he had filed a homestead application under the Timber Culture Act in the northeast quarter of Section 25, just west of the Kenilworth Ranch and about three miles southeast of the Ruins.<sup>479</sup> There he dug a well, made other basic improvements, and then built a house for his wife Mariah and family. His children attended the rural Kenilworth School (est. 1895), which may have been located in northwest Section 25 on the land of settler Oliver H. Carpenter, whose son Frank served as the school's first teacher.<sup>480</sup> In their free time, LeBaron's children sometimes played at the Casa Grande Ruins. Allegedly, during one of these play sessions among the ruins, LeBaron's daughter Grace carved her initials, "G. L.," on the Casa Grande's walls.<sup>481</sup> LeBaron's neighbors to the west—William H. Cavaness, and brothers James F. and William I. Phy—each homesteaded a quarter-section of land (160 acres) in Sections 27 and 26, respectively, while Fred E. Carpenter, the furthest from the Ruins, homesteaded just south of Cavaness, in Section 35; he remained in the area through the 1920s.<sup>482</sup> Frank Pinkley joined this small, scattered group of homesteaders in 1901. Though many would abandon the area over the next few years, due to continued drought, failed irrigation projects, and even a smallpox epidemic that swept through the region in 1903, the tough times hardly curbed Frank Pinkley's determination and enthusiasm toward his new post and community. He entered 1902 settled in his makeshift tent house, prepared to guard and preserve the site, as ordered.

### **A Bonnet for Casa Grande**

Although Pinkley served as the first resident custodian, a status that would, by default, limit the cases of vandalism, he assumed the same concerns as his predecessors for the ruins' repair. Like Whittemore and Mayo, Pinkley's first report to the General Land Office in February 1902 placed special emphasis on the need to ward off vandals as well as complete and improve the repair work initiated in 1890-91. Addressing illicit visitation,

---

<sup>479</sup> The Timber Culture Act, passed by Congress in 1873, allowed homesteaders to patent an additional 160 acres of land under the condition that they plant trees on one-quarter of the property.

<sup>480</sup> Kenilworth School was established in 1895 for children of Kenilworth area settlers.

<sup>481</sup> Email from Nina Tilton, a descendant of William J. LeBaron, 08 April 2010. LeBaron's wife Mariah died of heart failure in January 1903 (*Arizona Blade and Florence Tribune*, 17 Jan. 1903). He remarried in November 1903, but soon after, between December 1903 and May '04, William LeBaron's brother and three nephews—also residents of the Kenilworth area—died from smallpox. LeBaron, burdened with grief, subsequently packed up his new wife and children in 1905 to seek better fortune in Turlock, California. His sister, who had married Kenilworth farmer William Schmidt (Section 25; patent date 8-10-1894), moved to Turlock with their family at this time.

<sup>482</sup> For information on the wells the early homesteaders dug, see Willis T. Lee, "The Underground Waters of Gila Valley, Arizona," *Water-Supply and Irrigation Paper No. 104* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904): 22.

Pinkley recommended signage along the boundaries of the reservation to prevent curio seekers and “nature wood cutters” from trespassing, as well as an extension of the present fine of \$300—for defacing the ruins—to cover unauthorized excavations and curio theft.<sup>483</sup> In his assessment of the ruins’ condition and the repairs needed, he suggested completing the unfinished 1891 repairs. Accompanying Pinkley’s report, a ground-plan diagram depicted the walls that still needed underpinning and filling as well as the locations of the six lintels that the ’91 contractors had failed to replace [Fig. 81]. From May through July, Pinkley honed his repairs proposal, meeting General Land Office demands that he provide further measurements and the most accurate estimates.<sup>484</sup>

### *Shelter Construction, 1903*

Meanwhile, in the political court back east, the General Land Office and the Department of the Interior lobbied for an appropriation to continue the repair work. Congress awarded their efforts in June, allocating \$2,000 to Casa Grande’s preservation for Fiscal Year 1903. In September, the General Land Office commissioned special agent Samuel J. Holsinger, of the local Phoenix office, to determine the repairs needed—despite the recommendations and estimates that Pinkley had spent months preparing and had already submitted. Not surprisingly, during his September 1902 inspection of Casa Grande, Holsinger prioritized a roof for the ruin, as he had two years earlier when he endorsed Rev. Mayo’s petition for a roof shelter.<sup>485</sup> Earlier in the year, as reflected in his reports, Pinkley had resisted the roof idea. Like Cosmos Mindeleff, who, ten years earlier had concluded that a roof would be “very undesirable,” Pinkley stated in his first administrative monthly report in February that a roof would be an aesthetic disfigurement that far outweighed any preservative function. The walls were “not yet wearing away at the top,” he argued, thus a

---

<sup>483</sup> Mention of a \$300 fine surprised the General Land Office. Pinkley soon learned that the sign posted at the Casa Grande ruin warning passersby of a \$300 fine for vandalism was Rev. Whittemore’s unauthorized measure to ward off vandals. In reality, the federal government did not yet have legal authority to fine vandals. Nonetheless, Whittemore’s and Pinkley’s efforts in this regard spurred commissioner Binger Hermann of the General Land Office to begin lobbying for better federal protection of Casa Grande, to include provisions for fines and/or imprisonment against those involved in vandalism or theft. Such increased concern for the state of American antiquities ushered in the establishment of the 1906 Antiquities Act. Clemensen, 39.

<sup>484</sup> For a detailed outlining of the repair work Pinkley recommended, see his second report to the General Land Office dated 16 March 1902, Box 1, the Archival Records of Frank Pinkley, Record Group 34, WACC. See also Clemensen, 49-50.

<sup>485</sup> In his November 1902 report to the General Land Office, Holsinger suggested modifications to Pinkley’s itemized proposal. For example, he opposed the use of brick and concrete for the restoration work, as used in the ’91 repairs and as Pinkley proposed, suggesting instead that original material such as ruin debris or the natural cement (caliche) found at the approximately 7-8 foot level of the desert soil be used instead, where possible. Holsinger tested this during his inspection, making a mixture from the ruins’ debris and applying it to cracks. For the lintel replacements, he recommended using wood from local mesquite trees. See Clemensen, 50-51.

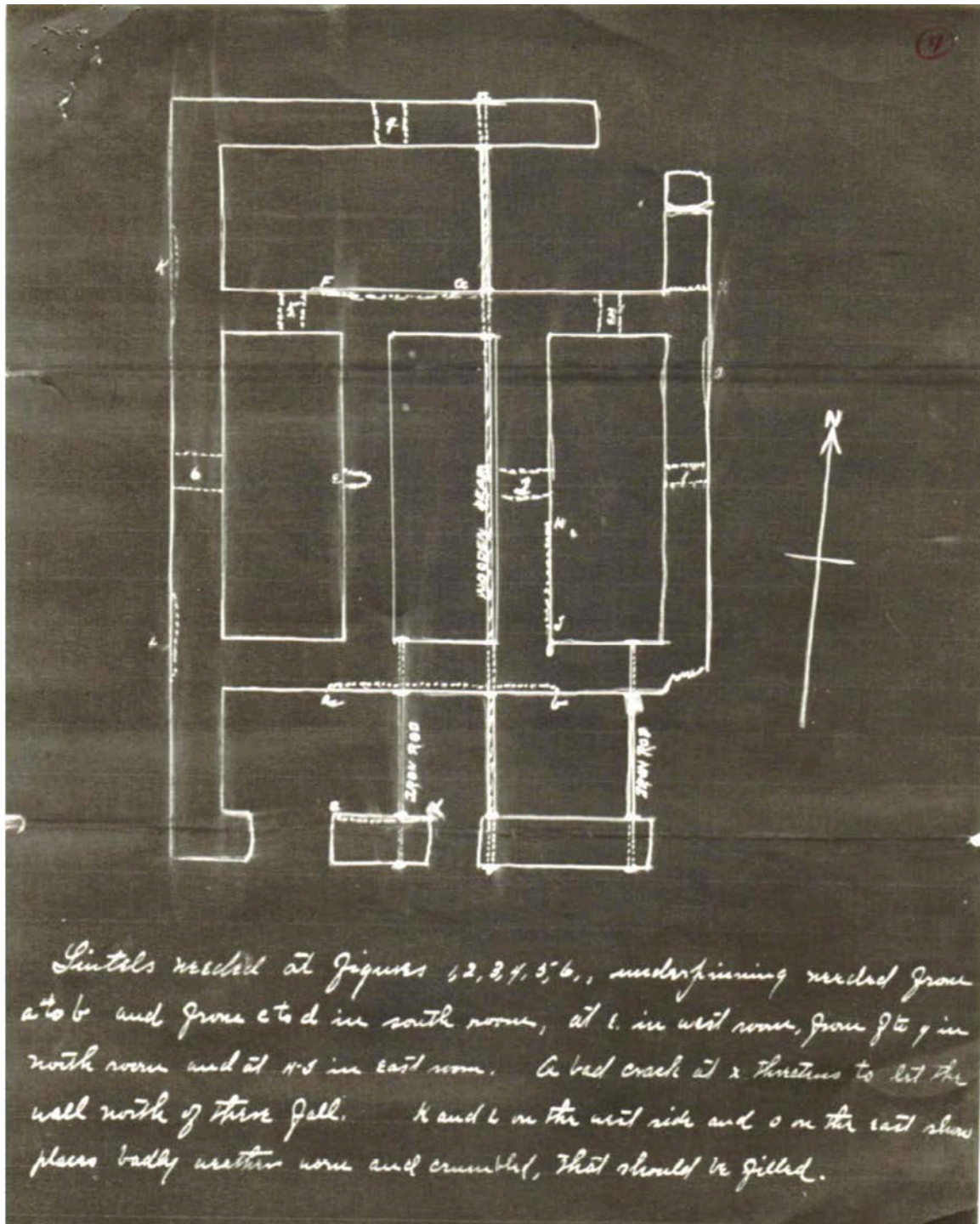


Figure 81. Pinkley's ground plan of the Casa Grande Ruin, Feb. 1902. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

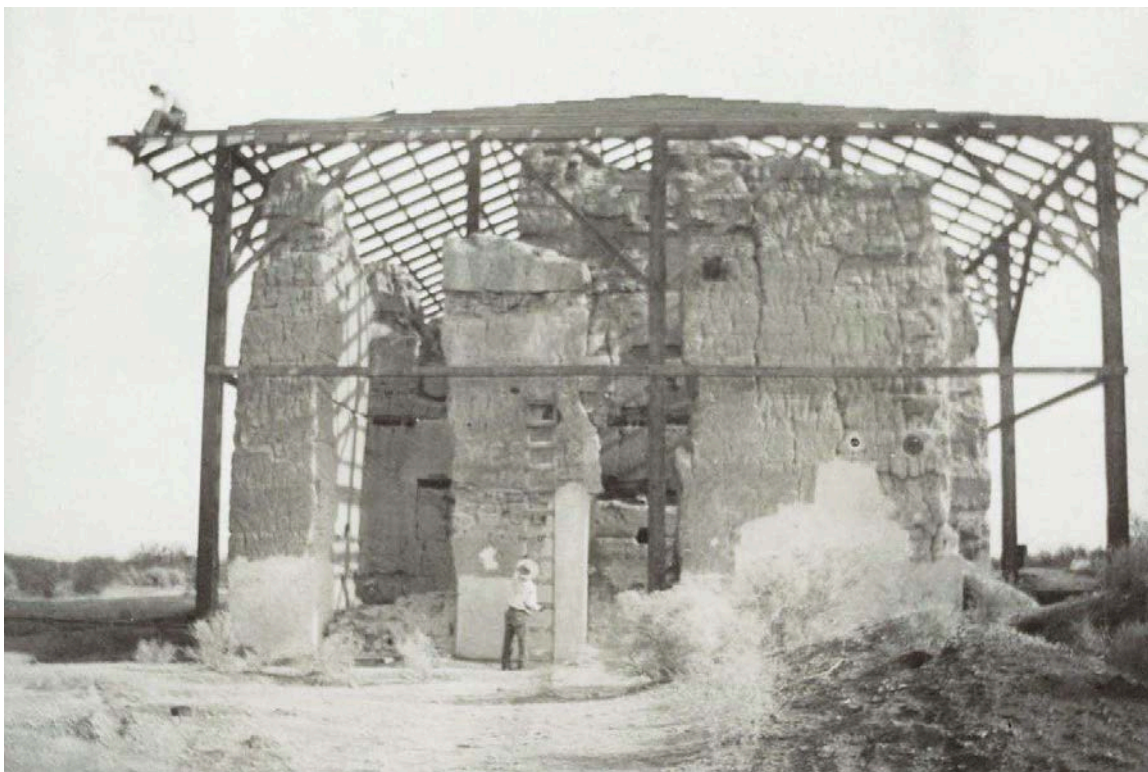


Figure 82. The first Casa Grande Ruin shelter, in construction August/September 1903. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

roof would not protect but only “mar the view of the ruins.”<sup>486</sup> Yet, the 1902 summer rains soon amended Pinkley’s reasoning. By the time Holsinger arrived in September, Pinkley had observed firsthand the erosive battering of the desert’s summer storms upon Casa Grande’s walls, and had become a newfound supporter of the much-debated roof. It appeared Casa Grande would finally have shelter.

Holsinger worked through the winter of 1902-03 designing Casa Grande’s new bonnet, turning out a completed design by May. A bidding process for suitable contractors ensued. At \$1,900, the lowest winning bidder was W. J. Corbett, pioneer in the Tucson area hardware industry. Corbett received the contract June 22, 1903, began the construction in August, and completed the shelter by September 10 [Fig. 82]. Conversations between the Interior and the Bureau of Ethnology during the past decade had emphasized a roof design that would balance protection and aesthetics. BOE Director J. W. Powell once suggested that the ideal roof design would “shield [Casa Grande’s] walls from rain and sun” while at

---

<sup>486</sup> To support his argument against a roof, Pinkley compared the ruin’s appearance with several photographs of the ruins taken circa 1891-92, and deduced that the edifice had deteriorated very little: it still maintained the same general outline, he concluded, as well as details such as small cracks and curves and angles. Pinkley to the General Land Office Commissioner, 06 Feb 1902, Box 1, the Archival Records of Frank Pinkley, Record Group 34, WACC.



Figure 83. The Casa Grande with its new shelter, ca1903-06. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

the same time permit “an unobstructed view of the ruin from any direction.”<sup>487</sup> The 1903 roof certainly shielded the ancient walls from inclement weather but failed to maintain the ruin’s familiar, unobstructed appearance. Departing only slightly from Mindeleff’s 1891 design, the roof was composed of corrugated iron—later, painted red—and fixed in place over the Casa Grande Ruin with large, supporting redwood posts set just inside the roof. Cables running downward from each corner of the roof anchored the shelter to the ground. The roof fit tightly, leaving little space above Casa Grande’s walls and hiding the ruin’s outline [Fig. 83]. In general, the addition proved unpopular among locals and visitors alike, invoking criticism for its resemblance to a bonnet or haystack, among other similitudes.

*Criticism: J. William Lloyd and the “Absurd Roof”*

Early on, J. William Lloyd, a radical American writer and amateur ethnologist, described Casa Grande’s new roof as “absurd,” adding that it killed all poetry. Lloyd delivered this harsh criticism in his book *Aw-aw-tam Indian Nights* (1911), a collection of Piman myths and legends that he had gathered during a two-month sojourn with the tribe in the summer and early fall of 1903. Lloyd’s exceptional ethnological opportunity had transpired from a chance meeting with Edward Hubert Wood, a Pima Indian working as a sales clerk for curio trader J. W. Benham at the 1901 Pan-American World’s Fair in

---

<sup>487</sup> J. W. Powell to the Secretary of the Interior, Nov. 15 1895 in Mindeleff, “The Repair of Casa Grande Ruin, Arizona, in 1891” (1897), 349.

Buffalo.<sup>488</sup> One hot July day during the Fair, Lloyd wandered over to Benham's sales display in the Bazaar and struck up a conversation with Wood about Indian art. Soon, Lloyd found himself behind the vendor's counter, enjoying a personal tutorial on the "mysteries of baskets and blankets."<sup>489</sup> Lloyd returned to the Fair's Bazaar several times to visit his new friend and, after leaving Buffalo, maintained correspondence with Wood. As their friendship grew, Lloyd eventually learned that Wood dreamt of preserving the ancient tales of his people, particularly those known by his granduncle, Comalk Hawkkih—"Thin Buckskin (Leather)"—a "*see-nee-yaw-kum*, or professional traditionalist, who knew all the ancient stories."<sup>490</sup> Thin Leather had no successor, and Edward Wood feared his granduncle's oral traditions would die with him. Lloyd and Wood discussed the issue in letters, and finally agreed that Lloyd should visit the Gila River Reservation and, through Wood's interpretation, transcribe the ancient tales into English.<sup>491</sup>

J. William Lloyd arrived at the Casa Grande station on July 31, 1903 to begin his ethnological task. Anxious to see the "desert land of which [he] had so long dreamed," Lloyd secured a ride on the daily mail stage out to Sacaton. Halfway through the stifling hot trip, lessened only by the Irish mail carrier's entertaining yet highly-spiced yarns meant to "flabbergast the tenderfoot," Lloyd spied his friend Edward Wood approaching in an open buggy. Wood had dressed for the special occasion in a "pepper-and-salt" suit, with buttoned-up vest, collar, and necktie. He also wore goggles and leather driving gloves—a fashionable ensemble in stark contrast to the mail carrier and Lloyd, who had countered the blazing-hot July morning by stripping to their undershirts and feverishly drinking water from wet flannel-swathed canteens. Transferring to Wood's buggy, Lloyd proceeded to the village of Lower San-tan, northwest of Sacaton, on the Gila River Indian Reservation. Here Wood was temporarily living in a *vacht*, an "arbor-shed" made of mesquite forks with a flat roof of

---

<sup>488</sup> James William Benham (1866-1914) ran a curio shop and museum in Phoenix beginning circa 1895. Originally called "The Curio," he had renamed it "The Phoenix Free Museum" by 1902.

<sup>489</sup> J. William Lloyd, Edward H. Wood, and Comalk-Hawk-Kih, *Aw-aw-tam Indian Nights, Being the Myths and Legends of the Pimas of Arizona as Received by J. William Lloyd from Comalk-Hawk-Kih (Thin Buckskin) thru the Interpretation of Edward Hubert Wood* (Westfield, NJ: John William Lloyd, 1911), 1.

<sup>490</sup> Ibid.

<sup>491</sup> While Lloyd and Wood were discussing when, and how, to record Thin Leather's stories, the Bureau of American Ethnology had already hired Harvard-trained anthropologist Dr. Frank B. Russell (1868-1903) to study Piman culture and record the tribe's history and traditions. Russell completed this task from November 1901 through June 1902, while living at Sacaton, agency headquarters for the Gila River Indian Reservation. He interviewed several "informants," including Thin Leather, whose Piman name he spelled out as "Kamaltkak." Russell's treatment of Piman culture was more systematic than Lloyd's and concentrated on the tribe as a whole, unlike Lloyd's nearly sole focus on preserving Thin Leather's stories. As a result, Russell's and Lloyd's works complement rather than compete with each other. Together with J. W. Fewkes' recording of Thin Leather's stories in 1906-08, the three studies serve as the basic ethnographies of the Pimas. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 321-22. See also: Donald M. Bahr, *The Short, Swift Time of Gods on Earth: the Hobokam Chronicles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 291-292; David Martinez, "Pulling Down the Clouds: the O'odham Intellectual Tradition during the 'Time of Famine,'" *American Indian Quarterly* 34, no.1 (Winter 2010): 2; and Amadeo M. Rea, *Wings in the Desert: A Folk Ornithology of the Northern Pimans* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2008), 25-26.

weeds and brush for shade, while he built a small adobe house. Lloyd lodged with Wood, his family, and neighbors on this homestead for a little over two months. Each day he enjoyed their hospitality living as one of the family—eating their cuisine, riding their desert ponies, sleeping on the rooftop “under the splendid Arizona stars,” and, of course, transcribing the stories of Wood’s granduncle.

Nearly every day except Sunday, Thin Leather would come to Wood’s homestead and give installments of the “coveted tales,” which Wood translated and Lloyd transcribed paragraph by paragraph—despite censure from Christian tribal members [Fig. 84].<sup>492</sup> During the process, Lloyd heard of the “vah-ahk-kee” the ruins of ancient towns and dwellings in which white men believed the Pimas’ ancestors had once lived.<sup>493</sup> In some places, Lloyd learned, whole cities had once prospered. Ethnologists such as Jesse Walter Fewkes believed the ancestors of the Pimas and Papagos had built these ancient cities. Yet, in Cowalk Hawk-Kih’s traditions, the Pimas, Papagos, Yumas, and Maricopas were the invaders, those who overthrew the dwellers of the *vahabkkes*. Lloyd learned that at the site of one of these famous ruins, called the “Casa Grande ruins” by white men, one of the ancient buildings still stood—an “imposing citadel, with walls four or five feet thick, several stories high, and habitable since the historic period.”<sup>494</sup>

On the last day of his stay among the Pima, likely the first week of October 1903, Lloyd had the opportunity to visit this ‘imposing citadel’. It was an unforgettable day. In the early morning, he and Edward Wood saddled their ponies at Wood’s homestead and made the twenty-mile journey to the Casa Grande ruins. Like many first-time visitors, Lloyd had imagined more grandeur from this last standing ruin of the ancient ones, and thus his



Figure 84. Comalk Hawk-Kih, or “Thin Leather,” a Pima traditionalist, ca1903. Lloyd (1911).

<sup>492</sup> Lloyd notes that many of the Christian Pimas forbade the telling of these “heathen” tales on Sunday; in addition, a movement had started to stop the recovery of the tales altogether. Intermittently, one of the Pima sub-chiefs would ask Cowalk Hawk-Kih to refrain, which he would, for a bit, before resuming. Sometimes, Cowalk Hawk-Kih would come to Wood’s village at night, to avoid opposition; at other times, it took the intervention of government Indian agent J. B. Alexander to “get the wheels started again.” Lloyd, 7.

<sup>493</sup> Lloyd was inclined to believe indigenous tradition. He argued that if an industrious, intelligent, and settled group of people had once developed and built such advanced architecture, they and their descendants would never have abandoned the art. Lloyd, 11.

<sup>494</sup> Ibid.

impressions suggest mild disappointment. Lloyd found the ruins “imposing enough,” but sadly belittled by the “well-meant roof” that the government had erected over the famous ruin a few weeks earlier. The “absurd” looking roof killed all poetry, he complained, and gave the imposing ruins the “ludicrous aspect of a museum specimen.” Lloyd warranted that the government could have achieved all necessary security, spent less money, and maintained the ruin’s “romance of impression” had they but “skillfully capped [the old walls] with a waterproof cement” and then coated them “with some weatherproof and transparent wash.” Lloyd hoped that the “genial and manly young custodian, Mr. Frank Pinckly[sic],” whose “warm-hearted hospitality” he had appreciated, might consider this alternative, and, in doing so, earn “the blessing of future travelers.”<sup>495</sup>

### **Tourism, Vandalism, and the 1906 Antiquities Act**

Lloyd’s suggestion that Pinkley consider travelers’ expectations in his efforts to preserve Casa Grande Ruins hinted at the site’s emerging status as a major tourist destination. Public interest in the ancient Southwest began expanding in the late 1880s and early ‘90s as scientists and antiquarians dazzled Americans and international visitors with their ethnological collections at world’s fairs and expositions. A public craze for indigenous history, art, and culture, with the collection of “authentic” objects at its center, ensued. Mass literature contributed to the fashion. Novelists, amateur historians, and travel writers—many hired by commercial entities to promote the western states and territories—increasingly featured the investigations and findings of archaeologists and ethnologists in their writings. The dramatic, almost nostalgic, way that they framed indigenous America enticed readers to see the ruins and living descendants of America’s ancient peoples. Accomplishing this dream was easier than ever. While travel through Arizona around 1900 was still relatively difficult, and access to remoter sites such as Casa Grande ruins still a challenge, the technology and conveniences of passenger travel to and across the region had greatly improved. Arizona’s early boosters therefore encouraged tourism of the Grand Canyon, the Spanish missions, and the ancient ruins. Understanding the economic value of the ancient landscape, they painted Arizona’s ancient ruins as “must see” features for the traveler. Most described, or, at the very least, mentioned Casa Grande in their promotional material. An Arizona history or travelogue would be otherwise incomplete.

#### *Narrating an Alluring Ruin*

One of the regional writers promoting Arizona’s prehistoric features at the end of the nineteenth century was Cincinnati Hiner “Joaquin” Miller (1837-1913), the celebrated 19<sup>th</sup>-century American writer and essayist considered by his contemporaries as either one of the West’s finest poets or the greatest liar America had ever produced.<sup>496</sup> In addition to works of poetry and fiction, Miller, like many writers at the time, often wrote promotional pieces about the West to make ends meet. These travelogues incorporated comparative devices fashionable to nineteenth-century regional boosterism, such as comparing American

---

<sup>495</sup> Lloyd, 19-20.

<sup>496</sup> Most sources credit Miller’s friend and literary colleague, Ambrose Bierce, with the “greatest liar” statement.

landscapes to well-known settings in Europe. Often, they likened California to Italy or Greece, its coastline to the Mediterranean, and the Southwest and its mighty rivers to Egypt and the celebrated Nile. In an 1891 promotional article on Arizona, for example, Miller claimed that the lands within the watershed of the “North American Nile”—i.e., the Colorado—surpassed Egypt in agricultural potential.<sup>497</sup> As evidence, he pointed to the numerous ancient ruins and canals, namely the Gila’s “*very old*” Casa Grande. These ruins “are older than history,” Miller exclaimed, “as old maybe as the oldest ruins on the Nile of Egypt,” and yet once “utterly unknown to the world,” due to popular misconceptions that Arizona only offered “mines, Indians, and the Grand Cañon.” To Miller, Arizona’s ancient ruins demonstrated that what Americans called a “desert” had once been, and could be again, a manmade garden.<sup>498</sup>

Throughout the 1890s, booster-writers continued to paint the territory as a western wonderland, highlighting Arizona’s natural beauty and ancient history, rather than the harsh realities of its environment, to lure investors, settlers, and tourists. George Wharton James (1858-1923), a defrocked Methodist minister-turned-western booster and contemporary admirer of Joaquin Miller, pointed to Arizona’s ancient waterways to demonstrate the prospects for modern settlement and irrigation in the region.<sup>499</sup> In his 1895 tourist guidebook to Southern California, he contended that a person would be “but a poor reader of ancient literature, history and ruins, who does not therein find much food for thought on the subject of ‘irrigation’.”<sup>500</sup> Clarifying, James contended that modern horticulturalists were increasingly demonstrating that by studying, restoring, and even improving upon the remains of extensive irrigation systems in “Egypt, Syria, South America, China, India, Ceylon, Greece, Rome, Mexico, [and] Arizona,” one could compel the “arid and barren soil” of America’s deserts to yield “rich treasures of agricultural, horticultural and floral wealth.”<sup>501</sup> In 1897, Tucson lawyer and author J. George Hilzinger (1850-1911) resumed this theme of antiquities-based science.

In his Arizona handbook, *Treasure Land: a Story, Vol. I* (1897), Hilzinger asserted that, at their peak, Arizona’s pre-Columbian civilizations had rivaled the cities and waterways of legends Nimrod and Solomon, and of the Pharaohs, Romans, Moors, Chinese, and even the

---

<sup>497</sup> Miller had spent two winters in Upper Egypt, as well as several trips to Arizona, and considered himself well qualified to make the comparison.

<sup>498</sup> All quotes from Joaquin Miller, “El Rio Colorado—Grandeur of the North American Nile,” *Los Angeles Times*, 01 Aug. 1891.

<sup>499</sup> In a study of Joaquin Miller published in 1903, George Wharton James described Miller as “the greatest poet of all this great America of ours.” See: Elbert Hubbard and George Wharton James, *So Here Then is a Little Journey to the Home of Joaquin Miller by Elbert Hubbard, Also A Study of the Man and His Work by George Wharton James* (East Aurora, NY: Elbert Hubbard and the Roycrofters, 1903), 19.

<sup>500</sup> George Wharton James, *B. R. Baumgardt & Co.’s Tourist Guide Book to South California, for the Traveler, Invalid, Pleasurist and Home Seeker* (Los Angeles: B. R. Baumgardt & Co., 1895), 139.

<sup>501</sup> James, 139. James later illustrated both Arizona’s and Casa Grande’s specific contribution to the subject of ancient irrigation and civilization. See his works, “Aboriginal American Homes: Prehistoric and Pueblo Community Dwellings,” *The Craftsman* 8, no.6 (Sept. 1905): 781-795—an article based upon Cosmos Mindeleff’s and Bandelier’s earlier works—and *Arizona: the Wonderland* (1917), a 500-page guidebook following statehood.

Aztec.<sup>502</sup> They lacked written history and were therefore “unknown,” but the artifacts the ancient Arizonans left behind in the form of ruined dwellings and traces of canals suggested they possessed exceptional architectural and engineering wisdom. Hilzinger boasted that hundreds of ancient ruins, including the miles of prehistoric canals that some Arizonans had revived or realigned for modern use, spread across Arizona—with Casa Grande, the “most interesting relic on the continent,” lying but seventy-five miles northwest of Tucson.<sup>503</sup> Two years later, Hilzinger featured Casa Grande in the introduction to *The Skystone: a Romance of Prehistoric Arizona* (1899), a novel intended as the first volume of a prehistoric fantasy series titled “The Chronicles of Mázacl.”<sup>504</sup> Hilzinger set the fantasy in the Salt and Gila River country of Arizona, and based it on centuries-old myths and much-debated anthropological theories that Mexico’s Aztec, or Nahuatl, culture originated in the Colorado-Gila river watershed. Particularly, he highlighted the theory that the Aztec place of origins—*Huehue Tlapallan* (“Old Red Country”)—lay just north of the Gila. In an historical preface to the novel, he defended this setting, stating that the territory possessed the remains of “at least seven large cities” and many miles of ancient irrigating canals—the “grandest ruins of

---

<sup>502</sup> Hilzinger originally intended his handbook to Arizona to be a multivolume set. The first volume synthesized the history of Arizona and its topography, etc., but then focused primarily on the resources of southern Arizona, namely Tucson. Additional volumes, if completed, would likely have covered central and northern Arizona. John George Hilzinger, *Treasure Land: A Story, Vol. I* (Tucson: Arizona Advancement Company, 1897), 96-97.

<sup>503</sup> Ibid, 19-20.

<sup>504</sup> The *Arizona Sentinel* editor published an article in April 1900 that the *Skystone* was a fictional rendering of the Toltecs, and that Hilzinger described them with “so much realism that they [seemed] to live again.” The article also cites a passage from Mexican author and geographer Eduardo Noriega’s *Geografía de la República Mexicana* (1898), a Mexican school textbook of the time, in which Noriega offers his notions on the characteristics of the Toltecs. The *Arizona Sentinel* article suggests that Hilzinger gathered his material for the *Skystone* characters from Noriega’s *Geografía*—a plausible conclusion given that Hilzinger published *Skystone* on the heels of Noriega’s textbook. See: *Arizona Sentinel*, 18 Apr. 1900; and, Eduard Noriega, *Geografía de la República Mexicana* (Mexico: Librería de la Viuda de Ch. Bouret, 1898), 201-202.

Noriega’s position was hardly new. The Spanish had perpetuated the Southwestern Aztec connection as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, when Hilzinger published the *Skystone* (1899), it had been a prevailing theory in academic circles for over a century. Modern scholars credit Francisco Javier Clavigero (1731-1787) and his *History of Mexico* (1780) as the main source of the academic theory that the Toltecs and Aztecs originated in the Southwest, built the *casas grandes* of the Gila River, and then migrated southward. A brilliant Jesuit scholar of Mexican culture and the Nahuatl language, Clavigero’s *History* was reprinted in multiple languages and widely read. It directly shaped Alexander von Humboldt and Albert Gallatin’s early theses on the subject and broadly influenced nineteenth century anthropological interpretations of Southwestern prehistory. Though anthropologists had already begun refuting this theory at the turn of the twentieth century, alternatively arguing that Aztec culture originated south of the Valley of Mexico and migrated northward, Arizona’s Aztec myth still lingers in the popular imagination. See: Fowler, *Laboratory for Anthropology*, 32-33

antiquity existing within the limits of the United States.”<sup>505</sup> Citing “reputable archaeologists,” Hilzinger explained that Aztec predecessors built the ancient dwellings and created the artifacts of woven cloth, baskets, pottery, and turquoise- and shell-decorated ornaments and effigies that lay scattered across Arizona.<sup>506</sup> To illustrate their admirable engineering skills, Hilzinger incorporated photographs of Casa Grande [Fig. 85].

*Casa Grande in Southern Pacific Literature, 1895-1899*

The writings of western authors such as Joaquin Miller, George Wharton James, and J. George Hilzinger, lured growing numbers of sightseers to Casa Grande. In 1903, Frank Pinkley reported to the Secretary of the Interior that interest in the Ruins had become widespread—a statement he likely based not only on number of visitors but also on its feature role in railroad advertisements. Since completing its transcontinental “Sunset Route” from New Orleans to San Francisco in 1883, the Southern Pacific had collaborated with state and territorial booster organizations to publish pamphlets, magazines, and books highlighting sights passengers could see along the line. This material became more lavish in the 1890s after the Southern Pacific expanded the publicity branch of its Passenger Department and began producing luxury passenger trains to meet the demands of the increasingly competitive western railroad market. In November 1894, the Southern Pacific inaugurated one of these luxury trains on the Sunset Route. Called the “Sunset Limited,” the new transcontinental luxury train operated weekly—once a week in each direction—on a seasonal schedule (November to April). Ticketed as “a royal train along a royal way,” it provided winter travelers with all the latest in railroad comfort.<sup>507</sup> The Sunset Limited boasted vestibuled Pullman cars illuminated by gaslight, and new amenities including a library, barbershop, café, and “ladies parlor,” in addition to the standard sleeping, dining, and “gentlemen” cars. Averaging thirty-three miles per hour, it was the S. P.’s fastest train, making the trip from New Orleans to San Francisco via Los Angeles in 79 hours.<sup>508</sup> Instantly popular, the Sunset Limited added semi-weekly service in 1898, tri-weekly in 1900, then daily service in 1902.

Included among the burst of new tourism publications corresponding with passenger-train improvements were “unofficial” publications produced privately but written

---

<sup>505</sup> John George Hilzinger, *The Skystone: A Romance of Prehistoric Arizona, Being Vol. I of the Chronicles of Mázacl* (London and New York: F.T. Neely, 1899), 1 and 6.

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5.

<sup>507</sup> The “royal way” referred to El Camino Real, the broad label for New Spain’s primary roads connecting Mexico City to settlements, missions, and forts in the northern territories. Beyond the Spanish and Mexican periods, until the establishment of transcontinental railroad travel across the southern United States and territories, portions of the El Camino Real carried American travelers, traders, and settlers between Louisiana and California. In 1892, a preservation movement began to preserve what remaining portions of the centuries-old road survived. That movement led to various trail commemorations including the California Mission Trail (connecting Spanish missions from San Diego north to Sonoma); the El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail, designated in 2000 to commemorate the route from Mexico City to Santa Fe via El Paso; and, the El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail, designated in 2004 to commemorate the road across Texas.

<sup>508</sup> *San Francisco Call*, 11 Oct. 1894.



Figure 85. Images of the Casa Grande Ruin. Hilzinger (1899).

by journalists or “scenic writers” that the Southern Pacific contracted. A new genre of regional literature, these often featured Casa Grande Ruins as a wayside feature, though it lay miles from the S. P. track. An early example is Hiram Sellers Kneedler’s 1895 wayside pamphlet on the Sunset Route. A prominent Iowa newspaperman turned railroad marketer, Kneedler had received an S. P. contract to travel the Company’s transportation system and, upon his return, describe in promotional pamphlets the “historical and romantic features” along the various routes.<sup>509</sup> Kneedler described his Sunset Route experience in the booklet *Through Storyland to Sunset Seas* (1895). In a series of chapters written in charming dialogue, the author and three fictional traveling companions—Girl, Growler, and Colonel—describe the Sunset Limited and each major town, city and landscape the new train traversed.<sup>510</sup> In the chapter covering southern Arizona, Kneedler illustrated the landscape’s ancient features through a captivating lecture given by the “Colonel.” Asked by his companions how he knew a civilization antedating the present Indians had settled the country, the Colonel explained that prehistoric hieroglyphs covered Arizona’s mountains, and that the Salt and Gila River valleys were filled with ancient ruins—“artificial mounds hundreds of feet long, extensive canals for irrigating purposes, and vast debris.”<sup>511</sup> The “most wonderful” or “best known” of these ruins, the Colonel pronounced, lay three hours north of the Casa Grande station by stage. A “hard nut” for scientists “to crack,” the Casa Grande Ruin and its vast system of canals gave testimony to an age of advanced hydro engineering but revealed little about the “millions of people who must have once lived [there] in a high state of civilization.”<sup>512</sup>

Through the turn of the century, Casa Grande’s mystique enhanced Southern Pacific efforts to promote westward travel and migration—especially in *Sunset*, the Company’s monthly magazine and most effective promotional organ. Launched in May 1898, the magazine honored the popular Sunset Limited in name but served as a “bureau of information” on the attractions and advantages within all of the states and territories the Company’s lines served—namely California, Oregon, Nevada, Texas, Louisiana, New

---

<sup>509</sup> *San Antonio Daily Light*, 26 Mar 1895; and, *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 6 Mar 1895. A couple months earlier, Kneedler had made newspaper headlines for eloping with the daughter of a prominent Eldora, Iowa businessman. Kneedler was editor of the *Eldora Herald* at the time, but upon their scandalous elopement, he and his new bride (the former Miss Marie Estabrook) moved to Chicago to work for the newspaper business in that city. He then secured the S. P. contract. By 1900, Kneedler’s position in the Southern Pacific Company had risen from contract journalist to S. P. advertising manager, a job located in California. Later, Kneedler became Secretary of the San Bernardino Chamber of Commerce. He died in 1941.

<sup>510</sup> Benjamin Cummings Truman wrote a similar pamphlet on the Sunset Route in 1887. Also in dialogue style, *From the Crescent City to the Golden Gate via the Sunset of the Southern Pacific Company* (New York: Giles Litho & Liberty Printing Co., 1887) narrates the features along the line from the perspective of six travelers: Colonel King and the Rowan family—Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Rowan and their three children, Thomas Jr., Georgie, and Gussie.

<sup>511</sup> H. S. Kneedler, *Through Storyland to Sunset Seas: What Four People Saw on a Journey through the Southwest to the Pacific Coast* (Chicago: Knight, Leonard, and Co., 1895), 119.

<sup>512</sup> Kneedler, 120-121.

Mexico, and Arizona. *Sunset* quickly became the leading promotional journal of the West, boasting a circulation that quadrupled within its first six years.<sup>513</sup> A major piece in the growing array of regional promotional material, the magazine's coverage of Arizona's scenic, cultural, and historic sites in essays, poetry, and ads helped accelerate development of the territory's young tourist industry.<sup>514</sup> Not surprisingly, the first issue of *Sunset* Volume One featured Yosemite, the "Niagara Falls" of California and one of America's leading tourist attractions since the 1850s.<sup>515</sup> The first reference to the Casa Grande ruins, albeit brief, appeared soon after in Volume 2, November 1898. In an article chronicling the historic evolution of the old Camino Real from Spanish-era trail to American railroad, an anonymous author informed readers that the "mysterious" Casa Grande ruins—located sixteen miles northeasterly of the Casa Grande station—were important enough to receive watch care from the Smithsonian Institute.<sup>516</sup>



Figure 86. Interior view of the Casa Grande from *Sunset Magazine*, November 1898.

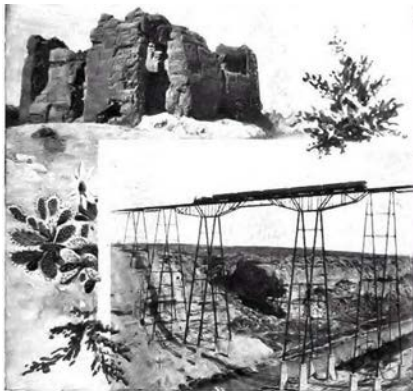


Figure 87. First *Sunset Magazine* image of the whole Casa Grande Ruin. *Sunset* (Jan. 1899).

An image of a room in the Casa Grande accompanied the article [Fig. 86]. In a later issue of the same volume, an image of the whole ruin enhanced an article about the "curious relics of an early civilization" that graced Phoenix and the Salt River Valley [Fig. 87].

Boosterism aside, the reality of seeing the features western sites while traveling via railroad required more than a glance through elegant Pullman car windows. More often, it entailed detours, whereby passengers would disembark, head out on the desired tour, and then, upon their return, catch the next east or westbound train. Despite the inconvenience, wayside trips were especially encouraged in Arizona. Local boosters feared that tourists and prospective settlers would "estimate the value of the whole territory by the country visible from the cars on [the Sunset] line"—by

<sup>513</sup> Between 1898 and 1904, *Sunset* editors expanded the size of each monthly issue from 16 to 208 pages; during the same period, the magazine's circulation grew from 15,000 to 58,000. David F. Myrick, *Railroads of Arizona, Vol. I: The Southern Roads* (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1975), 92; and, Orsi, *Sunset Limited*, 159.

<sup>514</sup> Ibid, 163.

<sup>515</sup> Stanford University, *Sunset Magazine: a Century of Western Living: 1898-1998* (Stanford: Stanford University Libraries, 1998), 32.

<sup>516</sup> "Chronicles of a Highway: El Nuevo Camino Real," *Sunset* 2, no.1 (Nov 1898): 5.

some, considered Arizona's most unattractive land.<sup>517</sup> For the wayside trip to Casa Grande ruins, S. P. passengers would need to disembark at the Casa Grande station and then book additional non-railroad travel—a seat in the stage to Florence, or, if the traveler's "purse could afford the strain," a hired rig from the nearest livery.<sup>518</sup> If they were traveling via the luxurious Sunset Limited, they might not make the trip at all. Though deluxe, the Sunset Limited, as its name suggests, made limited stops in order to reach its eastern or western termini within the 79-hour schedule. It therefore whizzed by smaller stations such as Casa Grande, stopping instead at Tucson or Maricopa, which, after 1887, possessed a trunk line to Phoenix and other Salt River Valley towns.<sup>519</sup> On the other hand, passengers on the less amenity-laden Express trains could disembark at the Casa Grande station, and from there make the wayside trip to Casa Grande—an approximately sixteen mile trip northeast along the stage route to Florence. The official literature neglected to explain that the trip by stage or hired livery was a sharp drop in comfort; it also required several hours, thus at least a day's detour if passengers' final destinations were California or the eastern regions. Nonetheless, every year, more tourists took the detour, eager to see the "ruined city of the Aztecs" that travel writers had long described so imaginatively.

#### *Rise of the Curio Trade*

The emergence of tourism in Arizona raised the instances of vandalism exponentially. Collecting souvenirs from sites visited had long been the traveler's tradition, but the widespread attention called to southwestern antiquities by governmental surveys and archaeological expeditions in the 1880s and early '90s turned curio collecting into an unprecedented and adverse fad. As collectors and the public learned the commercial value of antiquities and as improved railroad travel made ruins increasingly accessible, the demand for authentic artifacts skyrocketed. Curio collectors pilfered ruins at alarming rates, and, along with desert farmers, contributed to a widespread razing of ancient ruins. In 1890, a writer known only as "Magister" exclaimed in the *Arizona Republican* that the "barrier of the desert," which had "hitherto powerfully aided in preserving the mounds from the cupidity of the relic-hunter," was fast disappearing, allowing "the collector's shovel and the farmer's plough [to] produce more disintegration in an hour than rain and wind in a century."<sup>520</sup> Anyone willing to dig could participate in the lucrative curio trade. By 1901, anthropologist Walter Hough of the Smithsonian uttered that, "no ruin is so obscure or inaccessible that some

---

<sup>517</sup> John Shertzer Hittell, *Hittell's Hand-book of Pacific Coast Travel* (San Francisco: the Bancroft Co., 1887), 196.

<sup>518</sup> "Ruined City of the Aztecs," *The Evening Times* (Washington, D.C.), 9 Nov. 1900.

<sup>519</sup> Sunset Limited service was discontinued from 1903 to 1911; during its hiatus, the frequency of passenger trains across Southern Arizona depended on the operations of the *Sunset Express* or *Golden State Limited* trains, and, on occasion, the No. 8 *New Orleans Passengers* or the No. 7 *California Passenger*. See: David F. Myrick, *Railroads of Arizona, Vol. I: The Southern Roads* (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1975), 92.

<sup>520</sup> "Prehistoric Arizona – A Protest Against the Pillage of Ruins," *Arizona Republican*, 06 Oct. 1890.

sheep herder or prospector has not put in some of his tedious hours digging in it.”<sup>521</sup> Hough estimated that during the 1890s in northern Arizona alone, pothunters had removed approximately 27,000 specimens—more than double the number removed by scientific expeditions in the same period.<sup>522</sup> Museums or private collectors acquired a great number of the unearthed artifacts but unaccounted numbers sold to tourists, who could purchase real artifacts as souvenirs in trading posts, curio “museums,” railroad stations, and even aboard a train. Of the artifacts removed, it remains unclear how many originated from the Casa Grande ruins. In the 1860s through ‘80s, reports often surfaced of visitors taking away potsherds, stone tools and other utensils, timber, and portions of the standing walls. During the ‘90s through the early 1900s, however, most of the curio-collecting reports featured sites in northern Arizona, or in New Mexico or Colorado. Yet, looting continued to occur at ruins in the Salt and Gila River plains, and frequently, as suggested by obscure news bytes.

“Not a month passes,” a Canadian newspaper editor remarked in 1892, before someone “picks up a stone, knife, axe, or some other relic” among the Phoenix-area ruins.<sup>523</sup> Ten years later, *New York Post* correspondent Helen T. Griswold declared there would be little left of the Salt and Gila River ruins without protective legislation. Griswold complained that in the last ten years there had been a wholesale ripping open of Arizona’s buried cities. Yet, Arizona tourists became more numerous with each passing winter, Griswold wrote, and they had made “relic-gathering a settled industry”:

There are cowboys, schoolboys, clerks, and men out of a job, who go forth every winter and dig and plough for relics in these Pompeiis of America ... there has been a wholesale ripping open of tombs of prehistoric warriors, a searching for ancient turquoises, battle weapons, personal finery, household utensils, and other articles used by the unknown ancients who dwelt in the Gila Valley.<sup>524</sup>

Italy protected her Pompeii, Griswold continued, Egypt guarded her ancient relics, and even Mexico and Peru prohibited digging among their ruins, but America had done nothing to save the extensive ruins of the Salt and Gila valleys, except to protect “the aboriginal temple at Casa Grande.”<sup>525</sup> Yet, even here, relic hunting continued. In February 1901, before Casa Grande had the benefit of Pinkley’s permanent vigilance, a self-professed antiquarian unearthed a turquoise necklace “in a ruin near Casa Grande” and removed it, along with “many other prehistoric relics of interest” found in the same ruin, to his private curio museum. The perpetrator, one Professor Charles H. Shaw, formerly of Chicago but recently settled in Phoenix, described his find as a necklace consisting of twenty-eight blue turquoise

---

<sup>521</sup> Walter Hough, “Archeological Field Work in Northeastern Arizona. The Museum-Gates Expedition of 1901,” in Smithsonian Institution, *The Report of the United States National Museum for 1901* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 357

<sup>522</sup> Hough, 357.

<sup>523</sup> “Prehistoric Arizona – Evidence of a Civilization Older than that of Egypt,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 12 Jul 1892.

<sup>524</sup> Helen T. Griswold, “Buried American Cities,” *New York Evening Post*, 30 Aug. 1902.

<sup>525</sup> Griswold in *New York Evening Post*.

stones, overall “unusually rare for its size, beauty, and value.”<sup>526</sup> Allegedly, Shaw found the item in one of the apartments of the ruin he was exploring. The room had stone slabs with inscriptions and pictographs, one of which depicted “a ruler and armed attendants brandishing their weapons in a close engagement with an indescribable beast.”<sup>527</sup> Shaw extracted the slabs and added them to his large treasury of ancient Arizoniana along with the necklace.<sup>528</sup> Ironically, the newspapers praised private collectors for such fortunate finds, but in the same breath, derided “relic seekers” and “vandals” for removing specimens and conducting illicit excavations.

It was a desultory and inconsistent trade, and concerned citizens and scientists advocated for some type of legal protection and control. At the local level, Arizonans lobbied for territorial rights to all artifacts labeled “from Arizona,” including the right to items removed by scientific institutions such as the Smithsonian.<sup>529</sup> They called for the establishment of a territorial museum and sufficient appropriations to collect, study, preserve, and exhibit Arizona’s antiquities.<sup>530</sup> This grassroots movement slowly emerged over the 1870s and ‘80s, but officially launched in 1895, when the Arizona Archaeological Association—also known as the Arizona Antiquarian Society—formed.<sup>531</sup> The Association began to assemble a museum collection from members’ private repositories; they also posted notices in the newspapers asking “any person having relics of the Cliff Dwellers, Indian tribes, etc.” to donate such material for the start of a collection.<sup>532</sup> Their agenda primarily focused on lobbying Congress for governmental support and funding.<sup>533</sup> Turned down, they began petitioning the Arizona Legislature. In 1896-97, Rep. John Goodwin, owner of a curios store in Tempe, lobbied on the Society’s behalf, presenting a bill for the establishment and funding of a territorial antiquities museum at the Tempe Normal School, and for general

---

<sup>526</sup> “Finds Valuable Necklace – C. H. Shaw Successfully Delves in Prehistoric Ruins of Arizona,” *Arizona Republican*, 23 Feb 1901.

<sup>527</sup> “Digging up Interesting Relics,” *Tucson Daily Citizen*, 01 Mar 1901.

<sup>528</sup> Shaw apparently had delved among Arizona’s ancient ruins for some years. It is unclear when he permanently moved to Arizona. In the 1900 federal census, he shows up in Williams, Arizona, as a 27-year-old single “transient” living in a boarding house; the census taker recorded Shaw’s profession as “collecting curios.”

<sup>529</sup> “Prehistoric Arizona – A Protest against the Pillage of Ruins,” *Arizona Republican*, 06 Oct. 1890.

<sup>530</sup> The museum that the Arizona Archaeological Association sought was separate from the territorial museum that the Arizona Legislature established in 1893 as part of the College of Natural Science and Letters at the state university in Tucson—the predecessor of the Arizona State Museum.

<sup>531</sup> The board formed at the 1895 founding included: president Dr. Joseph Miller, Superintendent of the Arizona Insane Asylum at Phoenix; secretary and treasurer Dr. James McNaughton; Herbert Brown, curator of the newly-established territorial museum at the University of Arizona; H. H. Brown; Sharlot Hall, territorial historian; Frank Segmiller; and, G. U. Young.

<sup>532</sup> “Arizona Archaeological Association,” *Arizona Weekly Journal-Miner*, 25 Dec 1895.

<sup>533</sup> David R. Wilcox, “Creating a Firm Foundation: the Early Years of the Arizona State Museum,” *Journal of the Southwest* 47, no.3 (Autumn 2005): 379.

ruins preservation.<sup>534</sup> As an incentive, Dr. Joseph Miller, president of the antiquarian society, agreed to donate his entire collection as the foundation for the museum. Notwithstanding his generous offer, the bill failed due to internal politics between the University of Arizona at Tucson and Tempe's Normal School.<sup>535</sup> The Association had some success between 1897 and 1901 in preserving Montezuma Castle (1897) and excavating Pueblo Grande (1901), but it became inactive after Miller passed away in 1901. Despite failing at its primary goal, the Association, alongside other southwestern antiquarian societies, influenced ruins preservation nationally. Initially local solutions to negative national publicity on the "backwardness" of the territories, their efforts to protect and preserve regional antiquities made national news and helped broaden public awareness of the existence and plight of American antiquities.<sup>536</sup> Still, in the end, these local efforts proved too isolated to counter large-scale curio collecting on their own, or to ensure consistency in antiquities preservation and ruins excavations. The situation required national administration.

#### *Development of the Antiquities Act*

At the turn of the century, the United States was one of the last developed countries without a formal national agenda for the ongoing protection, preservation, and study of domestic antiquities. By the mid-nineteenth century, Sweden, Italy, France, Greece, and other European countries had protective, albeit basic, national antiquities legislation in place. Even Japan, China, and the British colonies of Egypt and India benefited from wide-ranging protective antiquities laws. As the nineteenth century closed, more and more countries enacted new legislation or revised older laws. In 1897, the nation of Mexico passed impressive protective legislation for its archaeological monuments, and in 1900, Great Britain revised its seminal Ancient Monuments Protection Act (1882), a national agenda for scheduling the preservation of ancient and medieval monuments. International progress was so widespread by 1900 that Louis Grandjean, French Inspector of Historic Monuments, boasted that, with the exception of the United States, "All the civilized countries have, at the present time...a legislation that protects the monuments of the past."<sup>537</sup> Grandjean excused

---

<sup>534</sup> House Bill No. 63 (19<sup>th</sup> Legislature; Feb. 1897). See: Chapter 2 of Josh Protas, *A Past Preserved in Stone: A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument* (Tucson: Western National Parks Association, 2002), <[http://www.nps.gov/moca/historyculture/upload/moca\\_hist.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/moca/historyculture/upload/moca_hist.pdf)> (accessed online 03 May 2012).

<sup>535</sup> Miller had offered his collection to the territorial museum at Tucson, but been rebuffed. He then approached the Tempe Normal School, which agreed to store and house his collection. The bill before the House in February 1897 therefore read that the antiquities museum would be housed at Tempe. This move sparked regional jealousies, and Herbert Brown, curator of the Tucson territorial museum, used his influence to defeat the bill. Brown then convinced the University of Arizona to take on Miller's collection, believing a bill to house it at the Normal School would resurface. Brown made efforts to woo the Arizona Archaeological Association, but he was too late. Miller died in 1901, taking the Association's energy with him.

<sup>536</sup> James E. Snead, "Lessons of the Ages: Archaeology and the Construction of Cultural Identity in the American Southwest," *Journal of the Southwest* 44, no.1 (Spring 2002): 19-20.

<sup>537</sup> Quoted in Astrid Swenson, "The Law's Delay? Preservation Legislation in France, Germany, and England, 1870-1914," in Melanie Hall, ed., *Towards World Heritage: International Origins of the Preservation Movement, 1870-1930* (Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 139.

the lack of American legislation as an issue of youth and therefore lack of antiquity: the States “were only born yesterday...on a land untouched by previous civilization,” he explained, and thus “they undertook to safeguard the gifts of nature” instead.<sup>538</sup> It was a widely shared misperception at the time that the United States had primeval scenery and wilderness in abundance but no built antiquity. Yet, the ruins unearthed by archaeologists and pothunters suggested otherwise. The world is “awakening to the fact that America has ruins,” Rev. Henry Mason Baum, editor of the *Records of the Past* Exploration Society, argued in 1902. The “remains of the work of prehistoric man have been found in nearly all of the States and Territories of the Union, including Alaska, and they rival in interest those of the Old World.” Thus, it is “almost unanimously conceded,” Baum concluded, “that Congress should enact a law for the protection of [these] antiquities”<sup>539</sup>

The multiple versions of antiquities bills presented before Congress beginning in 1900 supported Baum’s assertions. From 1900 until the American Antiquities Act of 1906, the General Land Office, with backing from the growing number of archaeological institutions and academic chairs, consistently recommended federal legislation that would permanently protect antiquities from development and vandalism. Senator George Frisbie Hoar had raised the issue to Congress as early as 1882, when he presented the petition of the New England Historic Genealogical Society to reserve all southwestern antiquities. Yet, with the exception of the singular act to preserve Casa Grande Ruins in 1889, efforts to set aside ancient American ruins were temporary. A bill introduced to the House in February 1900 by the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Archaeological Institute of America recommended a more permanent solution. It outlined an antiquities preservation law with which the president could reserve archaeological resources from the public domain and designate them permanent “public parks.” The bill drew upon the precedent set by the General Land Revision Act of 1891, which authorized the executive office to create forest reserves, but importantly, its authors expanded the ‘public park’ concept of the forest reserves to include permanent reservation of scenic and other scientific resources.<sup>540</sup> As such, it represents one of the first attempts to merge cultural and natural resources under the umbrella of conservation.<sup>541</sup> Yet, the bill failed, as did all modified versions of the bill presented through 1904. The central issues were the executive-power clause as well as disagreements over which branch of the Department of the Interior would oversee the parks’ preservation and scientific excavations once created.<sup>542</sup> Meanwhile, accounts of heavy

---

<sup>538</sup> Swenson in Hall, 139.

<sup>539</sup> Rev. Henry Mason Baum, “Records of the Past and American Antiquities,” *Records of the Past* 1, no.1 (Jan. 1902): 3.

<sup>540</sup> In 1901, U. S. presidents had already drawn upon the authority granted them in the forest-reserve clause of the General Land Revision Act of 1891 to create forty-one forest reserves on a total forty-eight million acres. A year later, during his first term as president, avid conservationist President “Teddy” Roosevelt added fifteen million acres with the creation of thirteen new reserves. Ronald F. Lee, “The Origins of the Antiquities Act,” in David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight t. Pitcaithley, eds., *The Antiquities Act: a Century of American Archaeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 27.

<sup>541</sup> Lee in Harmon, et al, *The Antiquities Act*, 29.

<sup>542</sup> Ibid, 30.

artifact trafficking in the Southwest continued to surface. According to some eyewitnesses, curio traders were exporting the precious artifacts by the carloads.<sup>543</sup> These reports and the continued standstill in Congress motivated the General Land Office to reassess the antiquities issue on federal lands.

In 1904, the General Land Office contracted Edgar Lee Hewett, a young but talented archaeologist not yet embroiled in institutional politics, to conduct a comprehensive review of the location and status of antiquities on federal lands in four key states and territories—Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah. Drawing upon existing archaeological reports and personal observation, Hewett identified and sketched the characteristics and conditions of major archaeological districts. In September, he summarized his findings to the GLO in the report, “Memorandum Concerning the Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah, and Their Preservation.”<sup>544</sup> In the memorandum, Hewett identified twenty major archaeological districts. He grouped these into four riverine basins constituting “the four great seats of prehistoric [pueblo] culture” in the Southwest: the Rio Grande, the San Juan, the Little Colorado, and the Gila.<sup>545</sup> A map of the districts and their most important ruins accompanied the report. Hewett also appended a set of recommendations for the Department of the Interior that included the immediate appointment of custodians and banning of unauthorized excavations.

Over the next fifteen months, the various governmental bureaus administering the southwestern ruins progressively implemented Hewett’s recommendations. Hewett announced these pivotal steps and legal changes in a joint meeting of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) and the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) in late December 1905.<sup>546</sup> Reporting in the capacity of his new position as secretary of a special committee charged with redesigning the antiquities bill, Hewett revealed that approximately seventy-five percent of southwestern archaeological districts were already located on federal lands, with the majority—about fifty percent—now on Department of Agricultural lands as

---

<sup>543</sup> In a statement provided the Senate Committee on Public Lands, April 22, 1904, Dr. Francis W. Kelsey reported that, while at a public meeting in Denver a short time before, a fellow attendee told him that two carloads of boxes filled with southwestern artifacts had reportedly just passed through the city. *Preservation of Historic and Prehistoric Ruins, Etc.: Hearing before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Lands of the United States Senate*, 58th Cong. 2d Session, 4 (1904) (statement of Dr. Francis W. Kelsey).

<sup>544</sup> As the memorandum was intentionally brief, without detailed definitions or thorough discussions of the problems, Hewett followed the memorandum up with extensive treatment on the subject in the Smithsonian’s annual report for 1904, titled “General View of the Archaeology of the Pueblo Region.” See: Raymond Harris Thompson, “Hewett and the Politics of Archaeology,” in Harmon, et al, *The Antiquities Act*, 39.

<sup>545</sup> Edgar L. Hewett, *Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest and Their Preservation* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 4.

<sup>546</sup> The AAA had appointed Hewett secretary of a special committee charged with redesigning the antiquities bill.

forest reserves.<sup>547</sup> In the forests, rangers had recently been authorized to police and arrest looters and unauthorized excavators. Similarly, on Indian lands, the Office of Indian Affairs had prohibited traders from dealing in prehistoric wares and had appointed special custodians to monitor the approximately twenty-five percent of southwestern ruins under the bureau's jurisdiction. The General Land Office withdrew key ruins under its jurisdiction in Colorado and New Mexico (Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon); their permanent reservation awaited congressional ruling on the antiquities bill. Meanwhile, the GLO also directed range riders and other officers to post warnings—printed on large sturdy sheets of white cloth—on, or nearby important ruins, informing trespassers and potential vandals against injuring, wasting, or damaging said public property.<sup>548</sup>

Overall, Hewett believed the federal government had taken the preparatory steps needed to frame a “definite policy of preservation.”<sup>549</sup> To achieve that policy, Hewett presented a draft legislative bill. It included four major provisions: 1) a fine of money or imprisonment for excavating, looting, injuring, or destroying historic or prehistoric ruins and monuments on government lands; 2) presidential authority to reserve and designate historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest, as national monuments; 3) departmental authority (Interior, Agriculture, War) to permit scientific or educational excavations by qualified institutions; and, 4) authority granted the same departments to schedule the creation and revision of rules and regulations for how to carry out these provisions over time.<sup>550</sup> Importantly, Hewett's bill substituted the language “national monuments” for “public parks” and provided for a system of interagency administration. This was to alleviate Congress's concerns that the legislation would grant the president the authority to create national parks. In short, the bill reconciled many of the conflicting interests that had hindered antiquities legislation to date and received unanimous

---

<sup>547</sup> Earlier that year, Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the Bureau of Forestry, had succeeded in securing passage of the Forest Transfer Act, which transferred Interior forest reserves to the Department of Agriculture. Previously, the Secretary of the Interior had administered all public lands, Indians reservations, and forest reserves that likely contained aboriginal ruins and pueblos. See Chapter 6 of Ronald F. Lee, “The Story of the Antiquities Act: Chapter 6, The Antiquities Act, 1900-1906,” *NPS Archaeology Program: Publications*, [http://www.nps.gov/archeology/pubs/lee/Lee\\_CH6.htm](http://www.nps.gov/archeology/pubs/lee/Lee_CH6.htm) (accessed 4 Jul 2012).

<sup>548</sup> The warnings read: “WARNING: DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR GENERAL LAND OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D.C., May 24, 1904. Notice is hereby given that these lands have been withdrawn, for public purposes, from settlement, entry, and other disposal. All persons are prohibited, under the penalty of the law, in such cases provided, from committing thereon any trespass whatever, and from working in any manner whatever any injury, waste, or damage of any kind to these public lands and to the timber, natural curiosities, caves, ruins, objects of antiquity, or any other public property thereon, and from removing or in any way disturbing the same. W. A. RICHARDS, Commissioner of the General Land Office; Approved: E. A. Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior.” See: Edgar L. Hewett, “Government Supervision of Historic and Prehistoric Ruins,” *Science* 20, no.517 (Nov. 25, 1904): 725.

<sup>549</sup> Hewett, “Preservation of American Antiquities,” 109.

<sup>550</sup> Edgar L. Hewett, “Preservation of American Antiquities; Progress during the Last Year; Needed Legislation,” *American Anthropologist* 8, no.1 (Jan-Mar 1906): 113-114.

support from the antiquities legislation committee.<sup>551</sup> A week later on January 9, 1906, Rep. John F. Lacey, Chair of the House Committee on Public Lands, introduced the final version of the antiquities bill; the words followed Hewett's draft exactly.<sup>552</sup> The bill passed the House and Senate without issues, and on June 8, 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt signed the long-awaited "Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities."

The American Antiquities Act was a landmark decision and unsurpassed precedent for the public policies that now protect a broad array of cultural and natural resources in the United States.<sup>553</sup> In the two or three decades following its creation, however, it was primarily symbolic. From 1906 to 1930, U. S. Presidents applied the authority the Act granted them to create an impressive set of national monuments based on the archaeological districts Edgar L. Hewett prioritized in his 1904 "Memorandum." Yet, the governmental agencies granted authority to administer these sites did little to follow through. While the Act reflected progressive-era ideals in the "capacity of government to mold the commonweal, present and future," in reality, it offered no provision for effecting change on the ground.<sup>554</sup> Responsible agencies therefore neglected to develop management plans for the monuments or to allocate sufficient funds for their preservation, and agents rarely visited the monuments or the custodians they appointed. Sustained supervision of remote southwestern ruins remained a constant issue through the 1930s.<sup>555</sup>

### Pinkley's Domain

The antiquities legislation affected Casa Grande minimally post-enactment. Most of the key provisions of the antiquities bill—resident custodians, enforceable fines for vandalism, and sanctioned excavations—had already been initiated at Casa Grande amid the political pressures of the bill's development during 1901 to 1906. In 1901, the General Land Office had appointed Pinkley first resident custodian, and the following year, authorized him to fine vandals and looters with crimes of larceny against the United States.<sup>556</sup> It was a major

---

<sup>551</sup> Lee, "The Story of the Antiquities Act: Chapter 6."

<sup>552</sup> Raymond Harris Thompson, "Hewett and the Politics of Archaeology," in Harmon, et al, *The Antiquities Act* (2000), 43.

<sup>553</sup> David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley, "Introduction: the Importance of the Antiquities Act," in Harmon, et al, *The Antiquities Act* (2006), 7.

<sup>554</sup> Char Miller, "Landmark Decision: the Antiquities Act, Big-Stick Conservation, and the Modern State," in Harmon, et al, *The Antiquities Act* (2006), 66.

<sup>555</sup> Ibid, 74.

<sup>556</sup> From May 1902 until the 1906 Antiquities Act, the Department of the Interior, per the request of GLO Commissioner Binger Hermann, prosecuted vandalism and looting at Casa Grande Ruins under chapter five, section 5456 of the United States Revised Statutes, 43d Congress (1875), which read, "Every person who robs another of any kind or description of personal property belonging to the United States, or feloniously takes and carries away the same, shall be punished by a fine of not more than five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment at hard labor not less than one nor more than ten years, or by both such fine and imprisonment." In 1904, the General Land Office posted warnings about this penalty across all Department of Interior public lands.

step forward from Whittemore's unauthorized, and therefore unenforceable, fine of \$300. Then in 1905, Congress finally agreed to appropriate funds for a large-scale government excavation at Casa Grande. Pinkley had been recommending excavations since his first monthly reports. At first, he had conducted a little digging himself but the GLO prohibited him from such activity after Pinkley reported "finding" four stone axes, a stone wedge, an earthen urn, and two bowls in his March 1902 report. Already smarting from the dearth of indiscriminate excavations occurring at prehistoric sites across the Southwest, GLO Commissioner Binger Hermann reacted to Pinkley's discoveries by informing him that, thenceforth, the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) would control all further excavations.<sup>557</sup> Pinkley complied but continued to stress the need for archaeological studies of the various mounds and ruins on the reservation. In late November, he forwarded a request from a private party to excavate Casa Grande; despite General Land Office approval, the BAE vetoed the application.<sup>558</sup> After a brief hiatus to see the construction of the Casa Grande shelter through to its successful completion in 1903, Pinkley boosted his efforts to secure scientific excavations of the Ruins. For fiscal year 1904, Pinkley recommended \$3,000 for further repairs of the Casa Grande and for excavations of the various mounds and ruins on the reservation. He believed that the discovery of "weapons, industrial implements, or domestic utensils" would greatly enhance the value of the ruins and shed light upon the manners and customs of the original inhabitants.<sup>559</sup> The Smithsonian supported Pinkley's request but Congress denied it. Pinkley applied again the next year, this time for excavations solely; Congress once again rejected his recommendation.

Washington politics soon changed in Pinkley's favor. The turn of events began in mid-May 1905, when Hon. W. Scott Smith, personal assistant to Secretary of the Interior Ethan A. Hitchcock, visited the Ruins. Smith was in Arizona conducting business that included assessing conditions at the Pima Indian Agency in Sacaton. One day, he and travel companion W. S. Sturges, a prominent Tucson cattleman, stopped off at the Casa Grande. After touring the famous "historical relic," Smith conferred with Pinkley on the site condition and hoped-for excavations. He learned about the steady increase in annual visitors, and the Ruin's emerging status as a "mecca for sightseers," a distinction that made vandalism, even from otherwise honorable locals, increasingly difficult to monitor.<sup>560</sup> Just a few weeks previous, Pinkley had disarmed respected local antiquarian H. R. Patrick of a stone hatchet he had found onsite, a priceless relic that would have ended up in Patrick's

---

<sup>557</sup> Clemensen, 51. The Bureau of Ethnology changed its name to Bureau of American Ethnology in 1897.

<sup>558</sup> In late 1902, one Walter C. Young requested permission to conduct some excavations at Casa Grande Ruins, and Pinkley and the General Land Office—both of whom had approved Young's request—forwarded the request to the BAE for authorization, the Bureau promptly vetoed Young's application. See: Sallie Van Valkenburgh, "The Casa Grande of Arizona as a Landmark on the Desert, a Government Reservation, and a National Monument," *Kiva* 27, no.3 (Feb. 1962).

<sup>559</sup> United States, Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year Ending June 30th 1903* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 177.

<sup>560</sup> "Florence Notes," *Arizona Republican*, 06 Feb. 1905, p7.

private curio collection.<sup>561</sup> Excavations to remove for study what few relics remained seemed requisite. Smith therefore agreed to recommend an appropriation for Casa Grande's further care and study.<sup>562</sup> If Smith wielded influence on the Casa Grande issue the following year, he did so at an apropos time, for the 59<sup>th</sup> Congress favored antiquities legislation. During its first session, Congress not only passed the much-debated antiquities bill, but also approved \$3,000 for the protection and excavations of the Casa Grande ruins. The work would commence at the start of 1907.

### *Home on the Sands*

News of the victory reached an exhausted Frank Pinkley. Nearly five years had passed since he staked his home on the desert sands. In that time, he had supervised construction of the Casa Grande shelter (1903) and devoted considerable time to monitoring visitation and inspecting the site for unauthorized activity. Pinkley's custodial activities included promoting the Ruins locally—guest speaking or furnishing background material on Casa Grande for social organizations such as community woman's clubs.<sup>563</sup> Pinkley also sought broader custodial duties. This included an ambitious project to expand the boundaries of the area under his guard. In 1905, he asked the Interior to reserve three nearby parcels of land containing significant prehistoric features. These were located three, five and eight miles east of Casa Grande, and included the ancient ruins (platform mound, ballcourt, etc.) near Adamsville that travelers and scientists had often described seeing as they explored the area.<sup>564</sup> He soon learned that two of the parcels had already been reserved for local irrigation projects, leaving only one available for withdrawal—the north half of Section 27 in Township 4S-Range 9E. On May 9, 1906, the Secretary of the Interior received congressional approval to temporarily withdraw this parcel from settlement and place it

---

<sup>561</sup> "Wonders of the Desert: Review of H. R. Patrick's Latest Explorations – No Josh," *Arizona Republican*, 09 May 1905, pg8. H. R. Patrick was a Phoenix-based surveyor.

<sup>562</sup> "Sacaton Affairs," *Arizona Republican*, 25 May 1905, p6. See also: Clemensen, 52.

<sup>563</sup> On March 13, for example, at the Phoenix Woman's club monthly "History Day"—organized by Col. James McClintock's wife Dorothy—Mrs. B. V. Cushman read an "interesting and authoritative description of the ruins of Casa Grande" written by Pinkley. The reading included a display of pictures of the ruin including its ground plan. Most likely, the pictures were from Mindeleff's 1892 study, as Pinkley had asked the General Land Office to reproduce multiple copies of the report for public distribution. See: *Arizona Republican* 28 Feb. 1906, 11 Mar. 1906, and 14 Mar. 1906.

<sup>564</sup> Clemensen, 56. The Hohokam ruins at Adamsville date to as early as AD 1100, and include a platform mound, a ballcourt, and over forty mounds that suggest standing architecture. The 155-acre site now called Adamsville Ruin. This state-land parcel nearly became an Arizona State Park in 1966, when the State Land Commissioner withdrew it from public sale to protect it. However, the Arizona State Parks could not afford to manage and develop the site as a state park. While it joined the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, the parcel was never fenced or seriously protected. Local cultural-resource agencies attempted to add 126 acres of the Adamsville Ruin site to Casa Grande's boundaries in 2006-2010, but Congress failed to approve the expansion. As a result, encroaching development remains an imminent threat. On the Adamsville state park story, see: Jay M. Price, *Gateways to the Southwest: the Story of Arizona State Parks* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004), 50.

under Pinkley's charge.<sup>565</sup> Meanwhile, Pinkley continued to seek wide jurisdiction over Arizona's ruins—not only of those in the Casa Grande valley but across the territory to include all prehistoric ruins located on Arizona's forest reserves and Indian reservations.<sup>566</sup> In his annual report for 1906, he explained that with but a small appropriation, he could make annual visits to all of these sites and post notices warning against depredations. Frank added that, during his absences, his father, Samuel Pinkley, would guard the Casa Grande ruins.<sup>567</sup>

Samuel and Nancy Pinkley had followed their only child to Arizona a few years earlier.<sup>568</sup> At first, they lived at the Ruins with Frank—the General Land Office had granted permission for this arrangement in March 1902—but eventually, the Pinkleys moved to Blackwater, a Pima community on the east end of the Gila River Indian Reservation about four miles northwest of the Ruins.<sup>569</sup> In the past decade, the population of this small village had increased noticeably, due in great part to the location of underground river water that the Pimas tapped for their crops. At this settlement in 1904, Samuel Pinkley established a general store called the Four Mile Trading Post [Figs. 88-89]. Frank supplemented his small GLO income by working with his father; they filed their business as "Pinkley & Son, Indian Traders," a partnership that lasted until Samuel's death in 1923.<sup>570</sup> Frank later ruminated that the experience of running his own business and balancing profits and losses had been good for him; it taught him fiscal restraint and kept him from starvation during the first fifteen years as custodian of Casa Grande Ruins.<sup>571</sup> It also enabled him to improve his living quarters and add amenities such as a well. Early on, Pinkley dug a forty-seven foot well at the ruins; this four foot-in-diameter well provided enough water—one foot—for his personal use as well as refreshment for thirsty visitors and other travelers on the stage road between

---

<sup>565</sup> This site is now known as the Poston Butte Ruin. Records for Pinkley's custodianship of this site are nonexistent, and it is therefore unclear what Pinkley's duties were or how long he supervised it.

<sup>566</sup> Clemensen, 56-59.

<sup>567</sup> "Casa Grande Ruin," in *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 228.

<sup>568</sup> It is not clear when Samuel and Nancy moved to Arizona. Later, one of Samuel Pinkley's obituaries indicated he had resided in Arizona since 1899, but the 1900 census shows Samuel and Nancy in Chillicothe.

<sup>569</sup> Clemensen, 48. Samuel and Nancy became prominent residents of Blackwater. Former Casa Blanca villagers had colonized this Pima community in the mid-late nineteenth century. By 1875, Blackwater had a scheduled stage station and by 1900, an assortment of modern Pima houses. In 1907, Blackwater earned a U.S. post office. Samuel Pinkley, in addition to running his trading business, served as first postmaster (est. April 1907); Nancy assumed the position after Samuel's death in 1922. *Arizona Republican*, 07 Jun 1907; Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Casa Grande, Arizona," *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912): 37 fn2; *Arizona State Business Directory* (1925); and, Will C. Barnes with Byrd Granger, ed., *Arizona Place Names* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 53.

<sup>570</sup> Sources indicate that Frank owned or managed a second trading post, or general store, in Sacaton. See: *Polk's Arizona Pictorial State Gazetteer, Vol. I*.

<sup>571</sup> Pinkley, "Ruminations: On the Seventh Star by the Boss," *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report* (Dec. 1939), 481.

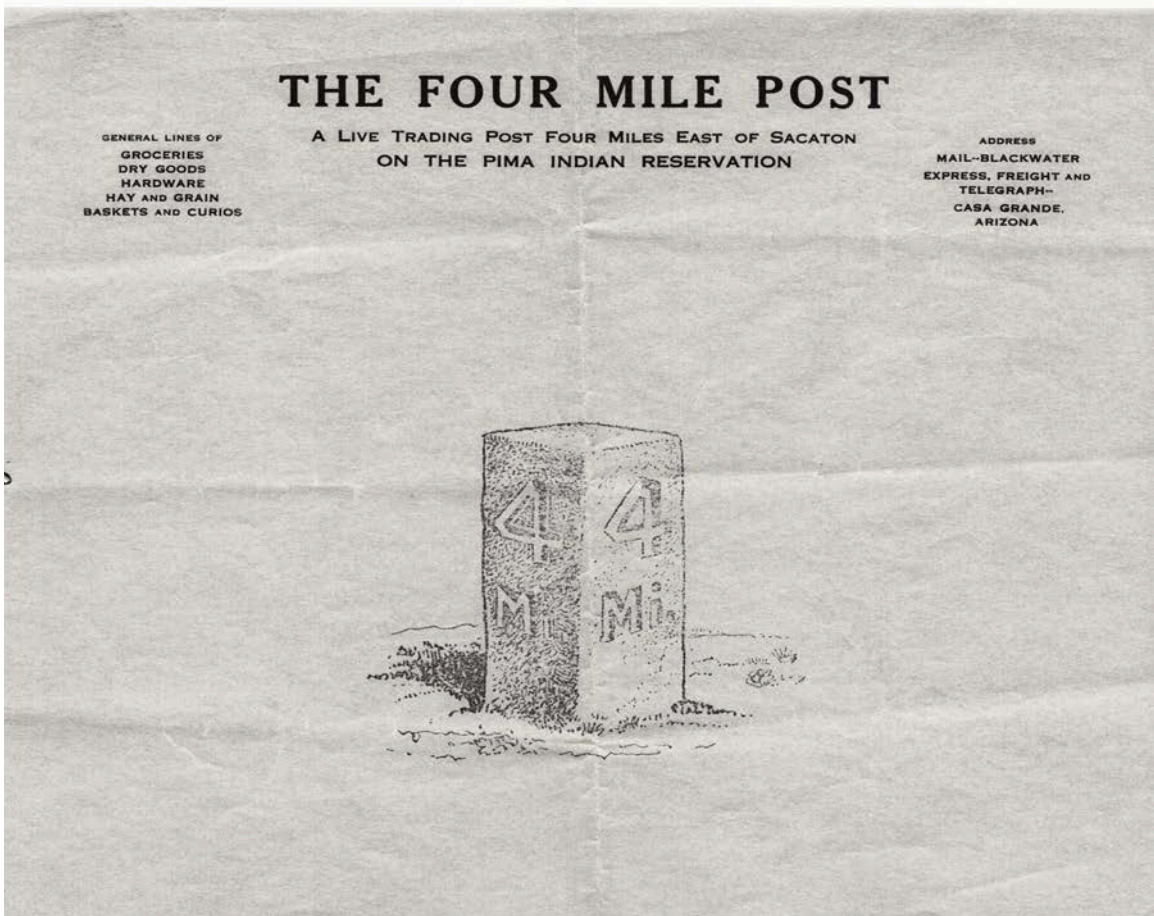


Figure 88. The Pinkleys' "Four Mile Post" in Blackwater, Arizona, and business letterhead, n.d.  
Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.



Figure 89. Possibly the interior of the Pinkleys' "Four Mile Trading Post." Man on far left resembles Samuel Pinkley. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

Florence and Casa Grande [Fig. 92].<sup>572</sup> Improvements to his tent house were minimal during Pinkley's first five years at Casa Grande Ruins, consisting primarily of a cast-iron roof addition. During the summer, the roof helped insulate the inside of the tent against the scorching temperatures that otherwise made it "as habitable as a Turkish bathroom."<sup>573</sup> Before adding the roof, Pinkley had sought reprieve inside the cooler walls of the Casa Grande ruin. Unfortunately, the owls that had established their homes in the ruin's dark recesses found Frank's summer residency intrusive, and their sharp-beaked expressions of disapproval made the ancient structure as uncomfortable as the sweltering tent. The cast-iron roof addition mediated the rough situation until 1906, when, to accommodate his soon-to-be wife, Frank updated his bachelor quarters to include frame siding and an adobe fireplace [Fig. 90].

#### *Love Among the Ruins*

Frank met his bride Lucy Edna Townsley (1881-1929) a few years earlier in Blackwater, where Frank co-managed his father's trading post and Edna served as a teaching assistant to her father, Samuel S. Townsley (1852-1928). In late 1902, Edna had accompanied her father from Vermillion, South Dakota to Arizona, just in time for him to

<sup>572</sup> Well depth and dimensions recorded in Willis T. Lee, "The Underground Waters of Gila Valley, Arizona," *United States Geological Survey Water-Supply and Irrigation Paper No. 104* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904): 22.

<sup>573</sup> McClatchy, 19.



Figure 90. Pinkley on horseback near the well at Casa Grande Ruins, after returning from the town of Casa Grande, no date. Courtesy Casa Grande Ruins National Monument.

begin a one-year teaching commitment at the Blackwater Indian Day School [Fig. 92].<sup>574</sup>

Edna's mother stayed back in South Dakota with the Townsleys' teenage brood. From January 1903 to January 1904, Edna helped her father teach, earning a small salary from the Office of Indian Affairs under the title "housekeeper."<sup>575</sup> At the close of the position, Samuel Townsley returned to South Dakota. By this time, Edna and Frank were courting and Edna decided to remain in Arizona and apply for an Arizona "territorial certificate"—an entry-level teaching diploma granted upon proof of at least one year of pedagogical training in a university. As a 1902 graduate of the University of South Dakota—the state teacher's college—she received her Arizona credentials quickly, by June 21, 1904,

---

<sup>574</sup> Edna was born in Columbus City, Iowa, on June 27, 1881. Soon after, her father moved the family—at that time consisting of Edna's mother Maggie, her sister Mabel and her brother Boyd—to Knoxville, Iowa, where he was Superintendent of Schools until 1887. The family moved around Iowa thrice more over the next seven years (Storm Lake, 1887-1889; Hampton, 1889-1892; and Decorah, 1892-1894) before finally settling in Vermillion, South Dakota.

<sup>575</sup> Townsley family memoirs remembered his one-year position at Blackwater as occurring in 1902-03. Department of Interior reports list Townsley's appointment beginning Jan. 26, 1903. Edna did not receive a diploma to teach in Arizona until 1904. Edna's "housekeeper" position—appointment date Sept. 1, 1903—likely covered her unauthorized teaching duties. Samuel earned \$72 a month, and Edna \$30. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1903-04, Vol. II, Part I: Indian Services* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 678.



Figure 91. Pinkley's tent house with its alterations, including its roof and adobe fireplace additions, ca1906. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.



Figure 92. Blackwater Day School on the Gila River Indian Reservation, ca1904-1910. Courtesy Author's private collection.

and began teaching in the Pinal County school system [Fig. 93].<sup>576</sup> By 1906, Edna and Frank were planning an autumn South Dakota wedding.

Frank's nuptials marked his first real vacation in five years. On September 4, 1906, a month before his wedding, he departed Phoenix by railway for Missouri and would not return for five weeks.<sup>577</sup> Somehow, he concealed his upcoming marriage from the newspapers. On the day of his departure, the editor of the Phoenix *Arizona Republican* reported Pinkley's departure as a trip to rest and recreate. The editor explained that, while he was "very much gratified" by the recent act of Congress to cover extensive excavations, Pinkley proposed to "forget all about the ruins for the time being and devote himself solely to rest and recreation."<sup>578</sup> The editor made no mention of Frank's upcoming nuptials. The editor of his hometown newspaper, the *Chillicothe Constitution*, likewise announced Frank's September 9 arrival in Chillicothe for a several-week visit with his uncle George Pinkley but neglected to note his changing marital status.

It appears that Frank and Edna kept the news under wraps until the morning of their wedding, at which time the *Chillicothe Constitution* made the happy event front-page headlines: "Frank Pinkley to Marry



Figure 93. Edna Townsley, at her 1902 graduation from the University of South Dakota. She wore this dress again for her wedding. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

---

<sup>576</sup> Arizona Territory Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Arizona Territory for the Biennial Period Ending June 30, 1904* (Phoenix: H. H. McNeil Co. Press, 1904), 40. See also: *Arizona Republican*, June 22, 1904.

<sup>577</sup> Pinkley would have traveled via the Santa Fe, Prescott, and Phoenix railway to Prescott, and from there, taken the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe railway to Missouri.

<sup>578</sup> *Arizona Republican*, 04 Sep. 1906, pg3.



Figure 94. (top) Frank Pinkley and Edna Townsley with their wedding party and family on October 3, 1906. (Bottom) Frank and Edna (second couple from right) with family members on their wedding day. Edna's parents are on the far left, her brother Boyd and his wife on the far right, and the man and woman in the middle may be Edna's brother Paul and sister Mabel. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

South Dakota Girl.” According to the *Constitution*, Frank had departed for South Dakota the week before to spend a week with Edna’s family before the wedding, which occurred at the Townsley home in Vermillion, at eight o’clock in the evening, October 3.<sup>579</sup> It was a small, intimate ceremony with only the immediate family and relatives, and a few close friends of the family present [Figs. 94].<sup>580</sup> For their honeymoon, Frank and Edna boarded the train back to Arizona, ready to begin married life at their home upon the sands [Fig. 95].<sup>581</sup>

The newlyweds immediately started plans for an upgraded residence. Pinkley’s frame-sided tent house, while attractive with its board floor and wainscoting, shake fly, and adobe fireplace, was only ten by twelve feet and already crowded with Pinkley’s box couch, desk, two chairs, and bookcases. To this cramped space, Edna added an oil stove, dish cupboard, trunk, and cot, which they dragged outside during the day.<sup>582</sup> Clearly, the Pinkleys could use more space. At this point, Frank and Edna intended to remain at Casa Grande for only another year, and a house seemed too permanent. They therefore resolved to build a second tent. Edna later recalled that they did this “at once,” building an addition that, like the first tent, had a board floor and wainscoting, but was slightly larger at twelve by fourteen feet. It also boasted a shake roof, screen doors, and windows, which they divided into panes with redwood strips.

The new tent housed the kitchen and dining room, while the original, smaller tent with the adobe fireplace became the Pinkleys’ library. Between the two tents, Frank and Edna erected the “sine qua non” of the southwestern desert—a ramada, or brush shelter [Fig. 96].<sup>583</sup> For the ramada roof, they covered



Figure 95. Edna Townsley Pinkley, in front of the newlyweds’ tent house at Casa Grande Ruins, ca1906. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

<sup>579</sup> *Chillicothe Constitution*, 03 Oct. 1906.

<sup>580</sup> *South Dakota Alumnus* 2, no. 3 (Oct. 1906): 125-126.

<sup>581</sup> Edna, an author in her own right, titled the Pinkley’s residence their “home upon the sands” in a scrapbook she made for Frank sometime before the arrival of their first child, Nancy Margaret (b: 1910).

<sup>582</sup> Edna Townsley Pinkley, “The Evolution of a House,” typescript, ca1922. See also, “Our Desert Home,” *Sunset Magazine* 51, no.4 (Oct. 1923): 66-67, 75.

<sup>583</sup> Pinkley, “Our Desert Home,” 66.



Figure 96. The Pinkleys' original tent with second tent and ramada addition, ca1906-1907. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

roof beams with cactus ribs, arrow weed, straw, and dirt and then attached this apparatus to vertical mesquite posts for support. The shelter served as both a walkway between the two tents as well as their living room and sleeping porch. The Pinkleys new tent cluster worked well for about a year, until approximately 1908, after which Frank and Edna constructed a third tent to accommodate their "constant stream of visitors" [Figs. 97-98].<sup>584</sup> The new tent became the living room, and the original first tent their bedroom. All three tents were furnished attractively with handmade redwood furniture, and stenciled muslin hangings.<sup>585</sup>

### **A Buried City: Fewkes Excavations, 1906–08**

The activity level at Casa Grande Ruins had turned decidedly busier after the Pinkleys' nuptials. In addition to the tent-house upgrades, preparations for the excavations

---

<sup>584</sup> "Our Desert Home," *Sunset Magazine* 51, no.4 (Oct. 1923): 67. Frank Pinkley came down with a real case of tuberculosis ca1908. Edna indicates in the above article that, because of Frank's long illness, they had to stay on longer as curators of Casa Grande Ruins. Their "constant stream of visitors" was likely family that stayed intermittently onsite with the Pinkleys.

<sup>585</sup> *Ibid*, 67.



Figure 97. The Pinkleys' complex of three tents, ca1908-1910. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.



Figure 98. Inside one of the Pinkleys' tent (probably the original), ca1908-1910. The men, pictured left to right, are Frank's grandfather and father—James Graham and Samuel Pinkley. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

approved in the last session of Congress began within three weeks of their wedding. Dr. Jesse Walter Fewkes of the Bureau of American Ethnology arrived October 24. It had been fifteen years since Fewkes' thoughtful inspection of the Ruins during a hurried survey of Salt and Gila River area ruins in 1891. Since then, Fewkes had joined the Bureau of American Ethnology and contributed significantly to the Smithsonian's ethnographical research in northern Arizona. After the passage of the 1906 Antiquities Act, Fewkes turned to ruins preservation. His report on the condition of the Casa Grande Ruin (published 1896) served as his major credential as lead archaeologist for Bureau of American Ethnology ruins excavation and preservation in the Southwest, especially for the Casa Grande repairs and excavations of 1906-07.<sup>586</sup> Unlike his brief inspection of the ruins in 1891, this time Fewkes would stay longer and his inspection be more thorough; he and his wife Harriet, who often assisted her husband in the field, planned to headquarter at the Ruins for six months, until March 24 1907.<sup>587</sup> Under a yet-to-be-approved appropriation, they would return the following winter (1907-08) for a second season of excavations. Ultimately, the Fewkes excavations would mark an important milestone in the development of ruins preservation, serving as the first comprehensive effort, in the history of southwestern archaeological excavations, to repair and protect newly uncovered walls.<sup>588</sup>

#### *Season One, 1906-07*

The first phase of season 1906-07 involved a systematic survey of archaeological resources within the Casa Grande reserve and minor repairs of the Casa Grande. The repairs were minor, involving additional brickwork plus the lintel repairs and paint job for the shelter roof that Pinkley had stressed.<sup>589</sup> The survey was more extensive. Fewkes identified six major clusters of ruins as well as other prehistoric features including refuse-heaps, reservoirs, irrigation ditches, and mescal pits. The so-called reservoirs—now identified as ballcourts—intrigued Fewkes, as they had travelers before, especially the largest one located north of the Casa Grande Ruin. This feature retained the appearance of a large oval ground-depression surrounded by a ridge of earth. Cushing had referred to it as a ceremonial chamber, but Fewkes assumed it had stored water for irrigation, drinking, and other purposes—though his corresponding assumption that such a vessel would have been

---

<sup>586</sup> Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 170.

<sup>587</sup> Harriet Olivia Cutler was Fewkes' second wife. They married in 1893, five years after Fewkes' first wife, Florence Gorges Eastman, passed away. Oddly, the *Washington Post* explained Jesse and Harriet's six-month absence from their Forest Glen home near Silver Spring, Maryland as "for the benefit of Dr. Fewkes' health," with no mention of their important work at Casa Grande Ruins. *Washington Post*, 21 Oct. 1906.

<sup>588</sup> The Fewkes early stabilization efforts included treating all excavated walls with cement laid on inclining clay planes; this cement coping formed a watershed that deflected rainwater from the walls into small drains. The drains, in turn, carried the water out of the compound by way of a series of ditches leading out to a large ditch paralleling the compound's entire boundary wall. The large ditch then drained into a depressed area somewhat distant from the compound. J. Walter Fewkes, "Excavations at Casa Grande, Arizona, in 1906-07," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 50, pt.3 (Oct. 25, 1907): 290.

<sup>589</sup> Fewkes painted the corrugated iron roof a reddish color.

cement-lined to prevent storage water from absorbing into the earth proved wrong. He excavated a small section on the depression's south side and found that it possessed no such lining but was instead solid sand. With the exception of these minor archaeological forays, Fewkes devoted the majority of the survey to outlining the large clusters of ruins and their respective mounds; his inspection identified six rectangular areas containing courts, plazas, and buildings, many enclosed by defensive walls. Fewkes called these rectangular urban areas "compounds"—using Bandelier's terminology from 1883—and labeled them alphabetically, A through F [Fig. 99].<sup>590</sup> Aside from Compound A, which contained the famous Casa Grande Ruin, the outlying Casa Grande group of ruins had received little attention from previous travelers and archaeologists, thus their contents as well as relationship to Compound A remained unknown. Fewkes would change that by excavating Compound B and parts of Compounds C and D the following year.

In addition to the clusters of ruins contained within compounds, Fewkes' survey pinpointed a second class of great-house mounds that he dubbed "clan houses." The mounds appeared to be try-squared, or L-shaped, and differed from the compounds in that they were smaller—they contained but one mound each—and lacked evidence of enclosure walls. Fewkes marked four such mounds during his survey—Clan House 1, about eight hundred feet east of Compound A, and Clan Houses 2 through 4, situated approximately six hundred feet west. Their excavation, like Compounds B, et al, would likewise wait a year, and even then, Fewkes would only uncover Clan House 1. While the Bureau of American Ethnology anticipated that an extensive excavation of the Casa Grande ruins would help anthropologists interpret other great-house sites in the region, the immediate objectives for 1906-07 focused on Compound A, "to bring to light rooms and walls, to repair and protect them," and "to make a collection of objects for the National Museum."<sup>591</sup> Fewkes concurred. With appropriation preservation treatment, he declared, the Casa Grande would serve as an "exhibition ruin" for scientists and tourists alike—a typology representing ancient Sonoran desert communities.<sup>592</sup>

By New Year 1907, Fewkes had completed the survey, made considerable progress with the excavations, and expended two-thirds of the appropriation.<sup>593</sup> Assisting him on the manual work of excavations and preservation were twenty-five to thirty Pima Indians who received for their labor nearly the entirety of the appropriation—\$2,400 of the \$3,000 allotted.<sup>594</sup> Fewkes also benefitted from Pinkley's constant aid and occasional volunteer help from "several white men," including noted author James Willard Schultz, who assisted

---

<sup>590</sup> Formally, Fewkes defined a compound as "Multiple or single mounds scattered over a rectangular area surrounded by a defensive wall." See Fewkes' classifications of "Casa Grande Mounds," in Fewkes, "Excavations at Casa Grande, Arizona, in 1906-07" 291.

<sup>591</sup> Ibid, 291.

<sup>592</sup> Fewkes, "Excavations at Casa Grande," 290.

<sup>593</sup> "Saving of Casa Grande—Work of Prof. Fewkes," *Arizona Republican*, 01 Jan. 1907, pg4.

<sup>594</sup> Fewkes, 307 fn1.



Figure 99. Fewkes' birds-eye and general views of the Casa Grande Group of Ruins. Fewkes (1912).



Figure 100. (Top) Pima Indians assisting the 1906-07 excavations at Casa Grande. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34. (Bottom) Frank Pinkley (in middle) and Fewkes (on right) on site during the first season of excavations. Courtesy Casa Grande Ruins National Monument.

during the first season [Fig. 100].<sup>595</sup> Thus a large contingent contributed to what turned out to be an exhausting though rewarding dig. To begin, Fewkes prepared the site with a major arterial change. He diverted the old Florence-Casa Grande stage road that had run for over thirty years diagonally across Compound A, along the east side of the Casa Grande to where the partial walls of a ruin formed the southwestern corner.<sup>596</sup> Once he had diverted the road, Fewkes began excavating beneath the southwestern ruin's wall fragments. As he dug towards the foundations of the ruin, Fewkes discovered, to his surprise, that the true depth of the walls lay well below the surface and that their bases connected to what appeared to be a retaining wall for the whole compound. Further excavations confirmed that the wall completely enclosed Compound A. It extended north and south on the west side for a total 419 feet, while the eastern wall of the enclosure ran 420 feet—the longest wall of any of the Casa Grande compounds; on the north and south, the wall ran 223.3 and 215 feet, respectively.<sup>597</sup> Only an average four feet high in 1906, Fewkes judged—based on the mass of debris removed from the base of the wall—that the enclosure wall had originally risen seven to ten feet high. The find astonished Fewkes, for, with the exception of several low, scattered mounds, the area had appeared level. Additionally, while Font and Bandelier had noted features of a possible boundary wall, Cosmos Mindeleff, in his comprehensive 1892 study of Casa Grande, had not.<sup>598</sup>

The discovery of the compound wall preceded a number of remarkable finds. During the dig, in which Fewkes' archaeological team excavated sixty percent of the compound, Fewkes uncovered five plazas and the walls of forty-three large rooms arranged in six

---

<sup>595</sup> In a footnote on his final report of the excavations (28<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1912), Fewkes specifically names Frank Pinkley, Hugh Hartshorne, Thomas Ackerman, and the late Thomas Ray as some of the “white men” who voluntarily assisted. Those not mentioned by Fewkes included James Willard Schultz—noted Montana fur trader, amateur historian of the Blackfoot Indian tribe, and father of equally-noted Arizona artist Hart Merriam Schultz (aka “Lone Wolf”). In 1906, J. W. Schultz—known as Apikuni among the Blackfeet—had moved to Arizona from San Francisco to work “in peace” on his first book, an account of his life among the Blackfeet. Eventually, Schultz would move to Greer, Arizona, in the White Mountains, but from 1906-08, Schultz lived intermittently on the Gila River Indian Reservation with Agent J. B. Alexander and at Casa Grande, where, during 1906-07, Schultz occasionally helped Fewkes excavate. Pinkley's monthly report for January 1907 indicates that J. W. Schultz was residing at the Ruins that month – along with Samuel & Nancy Pinkley, Nancy's father James Graham, a Mr. C. D. Graham & Wife, and Mr. & Mrs. J. W. Fewkes. See: James Willard Schultz (Apikuni) with Keith C. Seele, ed., *Blackfeet and Buffalo: Memories of Life among the Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 135; and, Mary G. Boyer, *Arizona in Literature* (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1934), 249.

<sup>596</sup> The road's new path bypassed the compound to travel south along the eastern edge and then west around Compound A's southern end. Fewkes, “Excavations at Casa Grande,” 291.

<sup>597</sup> Jesse Walter Fewkes, “Casa Grande, Arizona,” (1912): 88, fn1; and, Fewkes, “Excavations at Casa Grande,” 290.

<sup>598</sup> Ibid. Font's dimensions for the boundary, or enclosure, wall were nearly the same as Fewkes'. Font estimated 420 by 260 feet.

clusters or “buildings,” some of which suggested a greater size than the Great House.<sup>599</sup> These rooms were located directly north, east, west and south of the Casa Grande. A large area southeast of the big house remained unexcavated [Fig. 101]. With the exception of two rooms, the excavated ruins were originally one-storied buildings that connected to the surrounding wall in such a way that it served as one or more sides of the rooms. The exceptions were two freestanding two-storied rooms unattached on all sides from the compound wall. These were Font’s Room—the room named for the Spanish friar who first recorded its room dimensions and relation to the Casa Grande—and the ruin of the building in the southwest corner where the excavations had begun [Fig. 102]. The southwest ruin surprised Fewkes, as it proved to be the remains of a six-room building despite earlier descriptions that had recorded it as single-chambered.<sup>600</sup> In his final report, Fewkes described the southwest building as the most “picturesque” excavation from winter 1906-07 [Fig. 103].<sup>601</sup> Other unusual finds included a row of six ceremonial chambers extending from the northeast corner of the Casa Grande ruin to the north wall of the compound [Fig. 104]. Their combined length doubled that of the Casa Grande. Before excavation, these rooms had resembled a low-mounded ridge and had served as a favorite camping place for visitors, especially when the sun peaked, for the ridge created a pleasant shade [Fig. 105].<sup>602</sup> Conversely, its excavation proved anything but pleasant; the removal of earth from the mound’s vicinity required ten scrapers employed full-time over a month.<sup>603</sup>

During excavations, Fewkes’ workers discovered several human skeletons and nearly 1,000 artifacts. The skeletons lay buried a few feet deep in mounds outside the compound or inside beneath room floors, some interred with bodies extended full length, others with legs contracted to the chest.<sup>604</sup> On the collarbone of a skeleton found inside Compound A, Fewkes found a dirk, or dagger, made from deer bone, the point of it placed in such a way that its point rested over the heart.<sup>605</sup> The excavators uncovered the material artifacts, for the most part, in the layers between the ground surface and the floor level of the rooms excavated. In the places where they probed deeper, however, the workers found the most striking relics—for vandals, over the years, had few resources for digging that deep. In the picturesque southwestern building, for example, Fewkes exposed a large *olla*, or jar, of unusual size and shape, its bowl being larger, proportionately, than its height. The vessel lay directly beneath the old Florence-Casa Grande road—deep enough that, despite the

---

<sup>599</sup> Ibid. The building in the northeast corner of the compound was the largest excavated in season 1906-07. Like the clan-houses, the northeast building had an l-shape and contained eleven rooms. See: Fewkes, “Excavations at Casa Grande,” 299-301; and, Fewkes, “Casa Grande, Arizona,” 89.

<sup>600</sup> Font, as others before him, hypothesized that the ruins in each corner of the compound were defensive, likely watchtowers, thus the reason for their second story.

<sup>601</sup> Fewkes, “Excavations at Casa Grande,” 297.

<sup>602</sup> Fewkes, “Casa Grande, Arizona,” 39.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid, fn2.

<sup>604</sup> Fewkes, “Excavations at Casa Grande,” 317.

<sup>605</sup> Ibid, 317. Fewkes marked the skeleton’s location on his ground plan map of Compound A.





BEFORE EXCAVATION



AFTER EXCAVATION

Figure 102. West wall of Font's room before excavation (top) ca1906 and after excavation (bottom) ca1907. Fewkes (1912).

hundreds of people that had driven over the ground above, it was in a good state of preservation. Notoriously cautious, Fewkes left the *olla* in place, for fear it would break upon removal.<sup>606</sup> In addition to the *olla*, other exceptional pieces included an undecorated hat-shaped vessel with a flat circular base and flared rim, and a bowl fragment bearing the beak of a bird in relief.<sup>607</sup> Mostly, the excavated artifacts were common items, such as pottery painted red with black or brown figures or with white-bordered black lines, wood paddles, hoes or planting sticks, basketry and fine cloth, and numerous stone implements.<sup>608</sup> Other finds included turquoise beads, stone balls, marine-shell jewelry, and “cigarettes” made from reeds native to the Gila River’s banks.<sup>609</sup> Overall, the number of artifacts uncovered proved comparatively few in relation to the great



Figure 103. Ruins in Southwest corner of Compound A, after excavation in 1906-07. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

<sup>606</sup> Fewkes, “Casa Grande, Arizona,” 133.

<sup>607</sup> Fewkes, “Excavations at Casa Grande,” 315.

<sup>608</sup> The fabrics found indicated to Fewkes that the Casa Grande inhabitants wove combinations of native cotton, animal hairs, and vegetable fibers—agave being the most common. See: Fewkes, “Casa Grande, Arizona,” 148.

<sup>609</sup> For a preliminary description of the artifacts found during the Fewkes excavations of 1906-07, see: Fewkes, “Excavations at Casa Grande,” 314-317. For a full description and inventory of items found in both seasons 1906-08, see Fewkes, “Casa Grande, Arizona,” 121-150 and 161-179.



Figure 104. Ceremonial chambers near the Casa Grande, after excavation in 1906-07. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.



Figure 105. Picnickers at the Casa Grande Ruins ca1906 before excavation of the ceremonial chambers in Compound A. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

amount of earth excavated. Nonetheless, Fewkes considered them highly “instructive” on ancient life in the Salt and Gila River valleys.<sup>610</sup> He hoped a museum of Casa Grande antiquities might someday be erected near the ruin, for the display of all specimens gathered from the reservation and neighboring areas and for the collection of books, maps, and other materials pertaining to the ruins.<sup>611</sup> Season two of the excavations proved equally informative, though Fewkes unearthed even fewer artifacts.

#### *Season Two: 1907-08*

Midway through season one, Fewkes had appealed to Congress for additional funding to excavate all the compounds. He based his appeal on the preliminary survey conducted between October and December 1906, which had revealed the unanticipated extensiveness of the Casa Grande Group of ruins. Richard Rathbun, Acting Secretary of the Smithsonian at the time, believed the size of the archaeological area and its potential as a southwestern exhibition ruin justified Fewkes’ request for a second appropriation. In a letter read before the House Committee on Appropriations January 7 1907, Rathbun appealed for an additional \$3,000. He argued that further excavations would expose compounds larger than Compound A, and that the other compounds might possess groups of houses with walls, floors, and doorways as impressive as those next to the famous Casa Grande. Persuasively, Rathbun added that the whole group of Casa Grande ruins promised to become “an American Pompeii for sightseers and an object lesson for students of American archaeology and history.”<sup>612</sup> Congress subsequently appropriated an additional \$3,000.

Fewkes launched the second season of excavations on November 1, 1907. He devoted the appropriation to partial excavations of Compounds C and D and full excavations of one of the clan houses and Compound B. As before, Fewkes secured the labor of local Pima Indians and enjoyed the help of various enthusiasts of ancient Americana. The Smithsonian also authorized the Archaeological Institute of America to offer up to ten field internships to archaeology students interested in working with Fewkes at Casa Grande. Edgar L. Hewett posted the announcement in the *Science* journal on November 15. It is unclear which, if any, students availed themselves of the opportunity.<sup>613</sup> Fewkes once again lived onsite for several months and enjoyed the hospitality of the Pinkleys. Early into the second season of excavations, he joined them, and probably several other guests, for Thanksgiving Dinner. A hand printed menu for the holiday meal indicates that they partook of roast turkey with oyster stuffing, giblet sauce, cranberries, sweet potatoes, riced potatoes, boiled onions with cream sauce, Waldorf salad, and cucumber pickles and olives, and that they finished off their meal with mince and apple pies, fruit, nuts, raising, and black coffee [Fig. 106].

---

<sup>610</sup> Fewkes believed that the lack of burials in the compounds explained the relatively low number of artifacts unearthed. See: Fewkes, “Casa Grande, Arizona,” 118 and 161.

<sup>611</sup> Fewkes, “Casa Grande, Arizona,” 120.

<sup>612</sup> *Casa Grande Ruin, Arizona*, 59th Cong. 2d Session, 4 (1907) (Letter from Secretary of the Treasury Transmitting a Copy of a Communication from the Acting Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution).

<sup>613</sup> “Archeological Work in Arizona,” *Science* 27, no.672 (Nov. 15, 1907): 679.



Figure 106. The Pinkleys' Thanksgiving Dinner menu, 1907. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

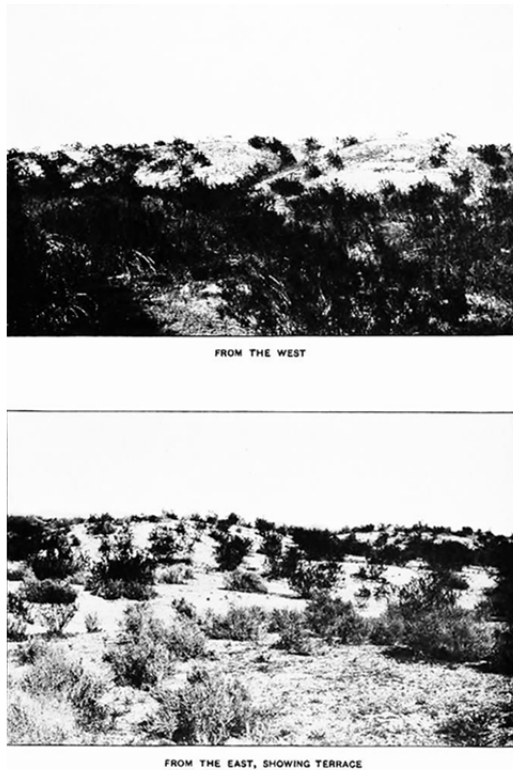


Figure 107. Compound B terrace mound before excavations, ca1907. Fewkes (1912).

Season Two of the excavations began at Compound B, which was located about 840 feet northeast of Compound A [Fig. 107]. Here Fewkes searched for a wall similar to the one enclosing Compound A. Only a slight rise in elevation indicated the possibility of such a wall at Compound B, but since past traveler's accounts had recorded its existence and the site appeared much as Compound A had before excavations, Fewkes speculated he would find Compound B enclosed by a wall. Surface excavations soon substantiated his assumptions by revealing what appeared to be the wall's four corners. After debris removal, an enclosure wall emerged that averaged three to four feet in height, the western perimeter rising the highest at nine to ten feet in the middle. By the amount of debris removed, Fewkes judged that the wall had originally risen to an average seven feet. Oddly, its four sides were neither straight nor exactly perpendicular, and the thickness varied as well, from 3-1/2 to five feet, the east side being the thickest.<sup>614</sup>

Inside the enclosure, two massive mounds consumed Compound B [Fig. 108].

These were the pyramidal-shaped ruins documented by past travel writers, notably Capt. A. R. Johnston of Gen. Kearny's "Army of the West" in 1846. Fewkes labeled these ruins Pyramid A and Pyramid B. After excavations, Pyramid A—located in the northern part of the compound—revealed that it had once been a true pyramid possessing two to three terraces built upon a platform, each with massive walls that formerly rose to a height of more than ten feet. The top surface of the pyramid was flat and square. Excavations made into the pyramid showed several stories of rooms with cemented floors and vertical walls—massive rectangular-shaped rooms situated one above the other, each with a clay fire pit and decayed supporting posts [Fig. 109]. The evidence suggested successive periods of construction or habitation—based on the number of floors found, about seven successive construction or habitation phases with each level antedating the level below.<sup>615</sup> Pyramid B also evidenced strata of superposed floors with rooms of cement-plastered floors with fireplaces and upright walls indicated by decaying posts. Unlike Pyramid A, however, this southwesterly-situated mound proved anything but pyramidal. Trisquare in shape, its length

<sup>614</sup> Compound B's wall dimensions, as recorded by Fewkes, were 180 ft. (north), 299 ft. (east), 167 ft. (south), and 297 ft. (west). See Fewkes, "Casa Grande, Arizona," 40 and 95.

<sup>615</sup> Ibid, 98.

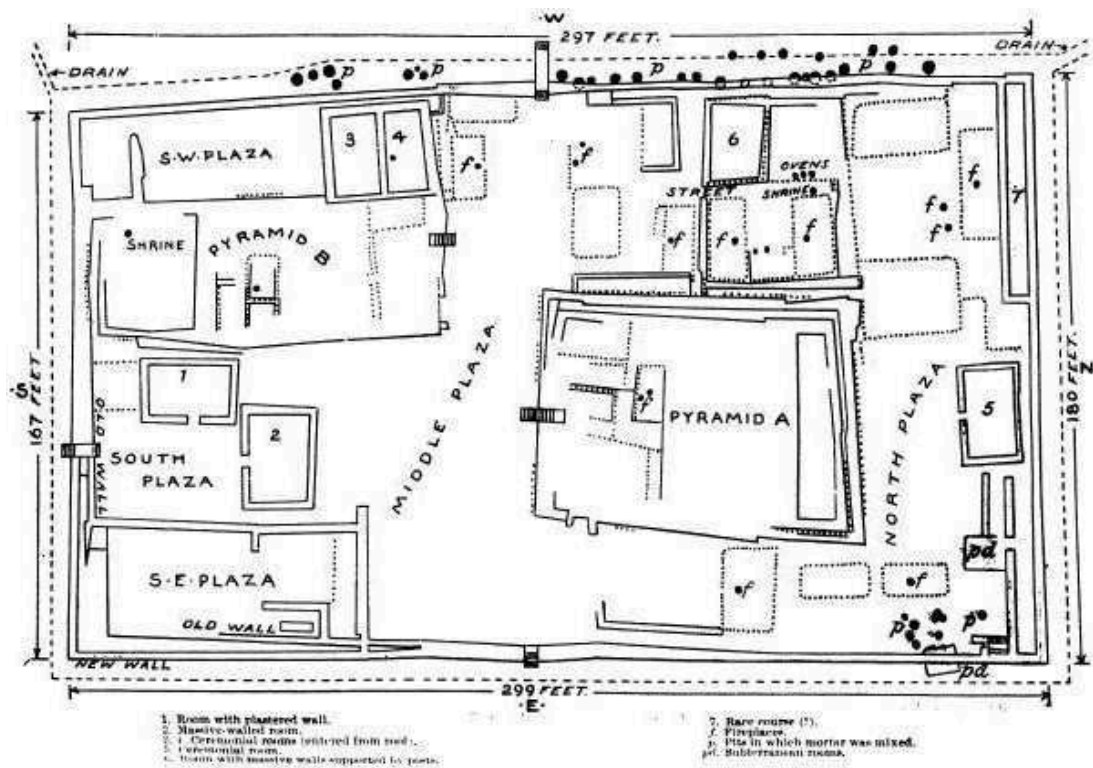


Figure 108. Fewkes' ground plan of Compound B, after excavation. Fewkes (1912).



Figure 109. Northeast corner of Compound B, showing subterranean rooms with clay-pits. Fewkes (1912).

ran north and south and its width extended out to the west. In addition, Pyramid B possessed neither doorways nor a roof. Fewkes postulated that the ancient people had entered the rooms by way of ladders from the exterior, and then descended into the rooms in the same fashion, or perhaps by notched logs.

Fewkes unearthed several more rooms in the plazas between and adjacent to the two large mounds [Fig. 110]. The earliest rooms were subterranean. They lay beneath the boundary wall at the northeast angle and thus predated the retaining wall. Pit-dwellings in style, they predated other construction in Compound B and represented the oldest architectural form at Casa Grande. One of the best preserved of these subterranean rooms lay directly under the east wall; to protect it, Fewkes constructed a protective roof over its newly exposed walls.<sup>616</sup> East of Pyramid B, the discovery of two massive single-storied buildings merited special note in Fewkes' final report. The rooms of each opened into a shared court by way of doorways with well-made jambs and thresholds—all still smooth and well preserved. Hardened adobe formed the floors, which showed imprints of matting. He presumed the ancient Casa Grande people had used a sleeping mat similar to the type still employed by the Pima Indians. As for the walls of the rooms, their multiple layers “of smooth plaster, each very carefully applied” remained remarkably preserved.<sup>617</sup> Overall, the size and shape of the southeast rooms led Fewkes to deduce they had served a ceremonial rather than domestic purpose. In most of the plazas of Compound B, Fewkes found the remnants—the decayed posts—of numerous fragile-walled buildings. Their exact number confused Fewkes; they lacked fireplaces and showed only the traces of hard-surfaced floors, making room delineations indeterminable.



Figure 110. Compound B rooms. (Top) Subterranean rooms in the northeast corner. (Middle) Protective roof over excavated subterranean room in northeast corner of Compound B. (Bottom) Rooms west of Pyramid A in Compound B. Fewkes (1912).

<sup>616</sup> Fewkes, “Casa Grande, Arizona,” 102.

<sup>617</sup> Ibid, 99.



Figure 111. Sample of stone idols found in Compound B, west of Pyramid A, 1907-08. Fewkes (1912).

resembling a maze with the figure of a man at its entrance [Fig. 112]. The worker disclaimed any knowledge connecting the symbol to the shrine's contents, but the incident nonetheless piqued Fewkes' interest. The Casa Grande displayed a similar symbol on a wall in its inner room. Fewkes had also encountered documentary mention of such a symbol in writings about Casa Grande and the ancient southwest—namely, the *Rudo Ensayo*, Juan Nentvig's historical geography of the Southwest written circa 1762.<sup>619</sup> Earlier that year, Fewkes had encountered this maze-like symbol sketched into the margins of an English translation of Nentvig's text. Intrigued, he researched the symbol's meaning and published a short piece on the subject in the July-September issue of the *American Anthropologist*. His article, titled "A Fictitious Ruin in Gila Valley, Arizona," recounts a conversation between Nentvig or one of his sources in which he asked local Pima Indians whether other great houses like the Casa Grande existed. They replied by describing a great house located upriver, which allegedly possessed a plan and construction that bested the Casa Grande. The Pimas then drew the maze symbol in the sand and talked

In the area west of Pyramid A, another unique grouping of ruins emerged. These were the remains of massive-walled but very broken down buildings arranged around and along streets and courts. A conspicuous north-south oriented street bisected this area. The rectangular rooms lining this major street each contained fire-pits in their floors and doorways midway along their street-facing lengths. In one of these rooms, Fewkes discovered a shrine with contents nearly as remarkable as the Hopi shrines so familiar to the archaeologist—a collection of animal- and human-shaped stone idols, Gila-River boulders and pebbles, lava fragments, petrified wood, and sandstone objects [Fig. 111].<sup>618</sup>

After finding the shrine, one of the Pima workers who had participated in his excavation drew, on a pile of sand, a symbol



Figure 112. Maze symbol for the Pima game "House of Tcuhu." Fewkes (1912).

<sup>618</sup> Fewkes, "Casa Grande, Arizona," 101.

<sup>619</sup> See Chapter I, section "Accounts from New Spain."

about a house of amusement, or dwelling of a magnate. Nentvig took the etching to be a depiction of the great house they had just described.<sup>620</sup> Fewkes believed the 18<sup>th</sup>-century author and Pima Indians had misunderstood each other. According to a contemporary source—"Thin Leather," the elderly Pima Indian whose oral traditions both Lloyd and Russell had collected a few years earlier—the Pima maze was merely "a symbolic house used in a children's game" called *Tcuhuki*, or "House of Tcuhu," *Tcuhu* being a cult hero interchangeably identified with Moctezuma.<sup>621</sup> Fewkes had unraveled the mystery of the maze, or so he believed. Unbeknownst to him, the maze on Casa Grande's wall would become a greater enigma in the following years, after the discovery that an ancient Cretan coin possessed a similar maze symbol. This association of Casa Grande to the Minoan

culture attracted Eurocentric tourists certain that Casa Grande's ancient builders originated from the Minoans, or had transatlantic contact with them.

In the meantime, Fewkes resumed his excavations of America's Pompeii. Heading due west of Compound B, he began excavating Compound C. The walled enclosure contained no mounds, though wall fragments in the southern section of the compound indicated the prior existence of "buildings of considerable size, possibly of communal nature" [Fig. 113].<sup>622</sup> Other very dilapidated evidence suggested that the walled enclosure had primarily contained rows of fragile-walled rooms, likely temporary dwellings. In the southeast corner, a small square tower stood in partial ruin. Entrances to the enclosure included the evidence of a gateway located midway on the western wall as well as a large opening at the northwest corner. Fairly close to the compound, Fewkes traced the remains of a large irrigating ditch that traveled from the Gila River at a point about three miles upriver from the ruins. The one-time capacity of this irrigating ditch plus the number of dwellings, pottery fragments and stone implements found, indicated that Compound C had housed a large population, albeit for a short period, and that it predated Compounds A and B.<sup>623</sup>

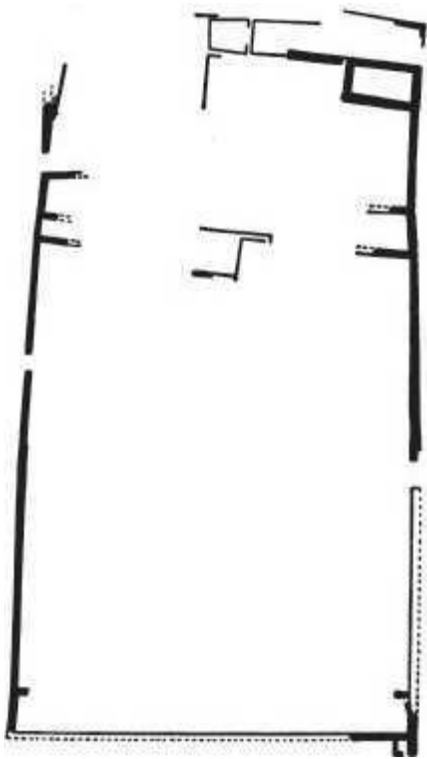


Figure 113. Fewkes' ground plan of Compound C. Fewkes (1912).

<sup>620</sup> Jesse Walter Fewkes, "A Fictitious Ruin in Gila Valley, Arizona," *American Anthropologist* 9, no.3 (Jul-Sept 1907): 511.

<sup>621</sup> Ibid, 512. Fewkes mentions that Thin Leather (Kamalkcak) also carried the nickname "Higgins."

<sup>622</sup> Fewkes, "Casa Grande, Arizona," 102.

<sup>623</sup> Ibid, 103.

An even older enclosure, labeled Compound D, lay east of Compound B [Fig. 114]. This site evidenced the remains of a once massive, centrally placed building and numerous long-fallen fragile-walled dwellings. Greatly eroded, Fewkes hypothesized that Compound D was the oldest of the Casa Grande group. With the exception of a pair of human hand imprints on the plastering in one of the ruins, and some ashes left in a fireplace—a round depression in the floor of one of the fragile-walled rooms—Fewkes unearthed little of artifactual importance [Fig. 115]. The other distant compounds traced in the landscape may have surrendered noteworthy artifacts, but Fewkes could not fit their excavation into the appropriation granted. Compounds E and F, located west of the Casa Grande Ruin, indicated they would greatly “repay examination,” for a great deal of hand-worked pottery and broken stone objects lay scattered across the sites, and several low heavily vegetated mounds—redolent of “the remains of massive buildings”—filled the enclosures [Fig. 116].<sup>624</sup>

Fewkes’ favorite dig of season two was Clan-house 1. Located 740 feet east of Compound

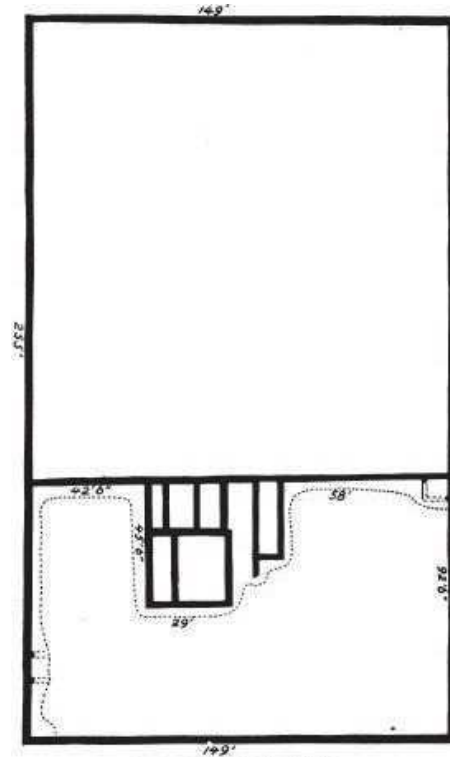


Figure 114. Fewkes’ ground plan of Compound D. Fewkes (1912).



Figure 115. Handprints on wall of Compound D house, ca1907-08. Fewkes (1912).

A, this site appeared as two “ash-colored treeless mounds” before excavation, but shortly the ruins of an impressive eleven-roomed building emerged—the same number as in the Casa Grande but all arranged on one level around a 113 by 49 foot plaza [Figs. 117-119]. The walls were massive, averaging four feet thick, and constructed of rammed earth like the Casa Grande; at their highest point, they rose ten feet. Nine of the eleven rooms were rectangular and bordered the plaza in two single rows—a row of five on the north, one of four to the south, their lengths running east to west rather than the typical north south orientation of rectangular rooms found in the compounds. At the west end of the plaza, two large rooms completed the eleven-room building. Fewkes believed they held a central function in the building, for they possessed the highest walls and a prominent south-facing cement seat in the

<sup>624</sup> Fewkes, “Casa Grande, Arizona,” 106.



Figure 116. Compound walls as they appeared before the Fewkes' excavations. These may be the unexcavated sites of compounds E and F, 1970-08. Fewkes (1912).

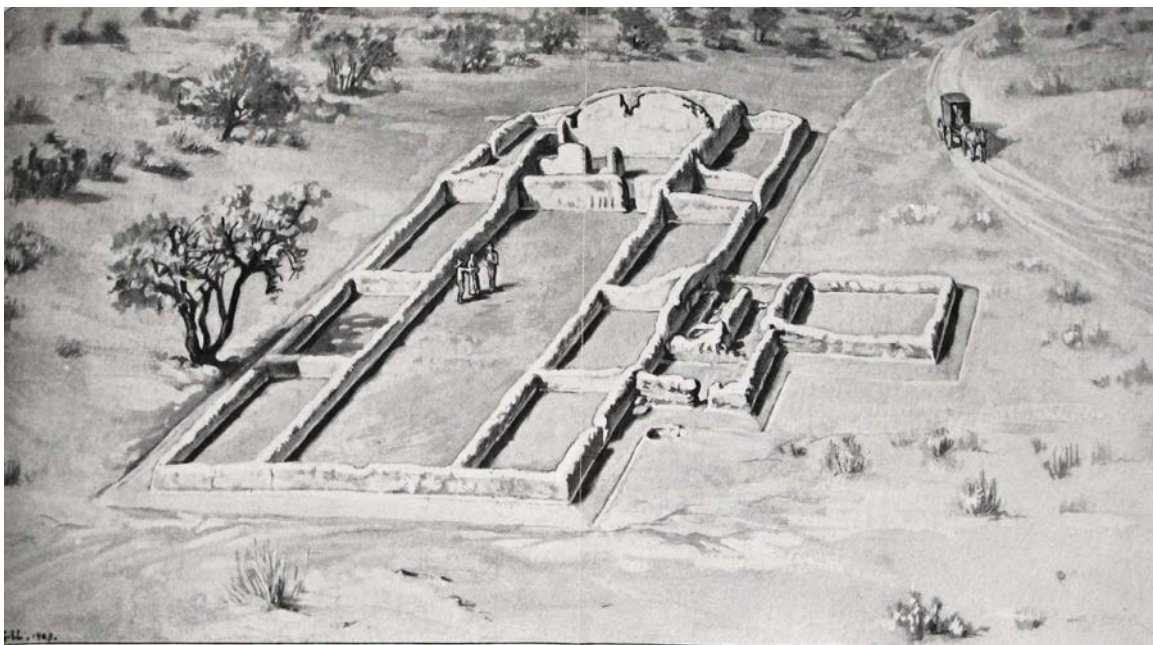


Figure 117. Birds-eye views of Clan-House 1, from the northeast. Fewkes (1912).



Figure 118. Clan-House 1 ruins from Pinkley Family Album. Courtesy Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, University of South Dakota.



Figure 119. “Throne” in room M of Clan-House 1, 1907-08. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

middle of the largest room, which Fewkes interpreted as a throne [Fig. 120].<sup>625</sup> A curious three-roomed “annex” projected from the north side of Clan-house 1. It seemed to postdate the main building, and appeared to have the sole purpose of a mausoleum [Fig. 121]. From one of the walls Fewkes extracted a sarcophagus decorated on one side with red-colored birds and other animals but otherwise crude. It preserved a human skeleton extended at full length, its head facing east next to a receptacle for mortuary offerings. Fewkes thought it likely that the remains belonged to the owner of the building and that he had been a chief, or perhaps a priest, for Fewkes recognized the articles contained in the grave as objects similar to those used in contemporary religious ceremonies by Pueblo Indian priests.<sup>626</sup> Nearby the annex, Fewkes found other burials—partially cremated remains contained in clay vessels. Alongside other burials found in and around the compounds, the interments suggested the ancient Casa Grande people had practiced both inhumation and cremation, perhaps concurrently.

---

<sup>625</sup> Fewkes, “Casa Grande, Arizona,” 107.

<sup>626</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

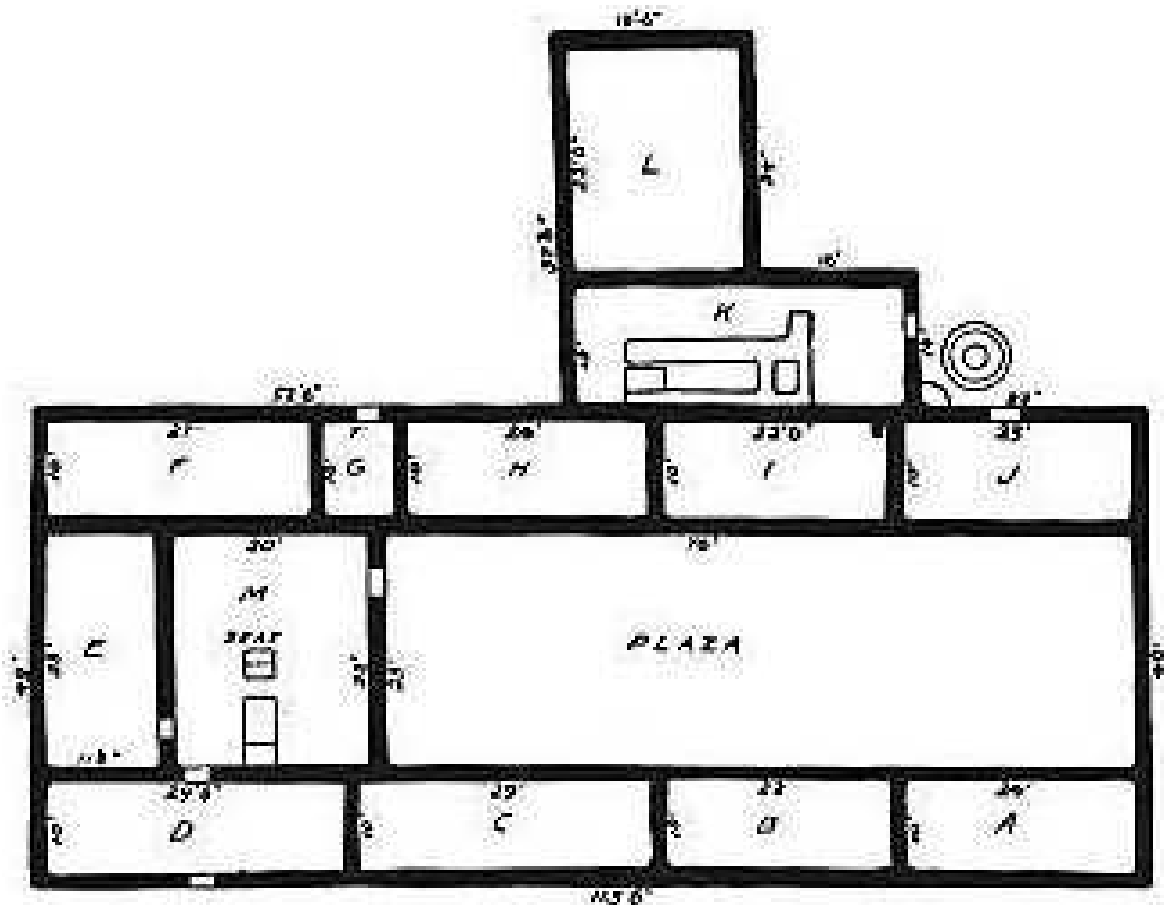


Figure 120. Fewkes' ground plan of Clan-House 1. Fewkes (1912).

### Conclusion: Unveiling America's Pompeii

The Casa Grande excavations concluded in March 1908 amid rising public interest. Since the congressional hearings in winter-spring 1907, when portions of Fewkes' field reports first became public, newspaper editors nationwide frequently ran articles and editorials on the ancient city materializing from Arizona's desert sands. With slight variations, the emblazoned headlines read: "An American Pompeii," "Excavating a Buried City in Arizona," and "A Little Pompeii Uncovered Amid Arizona's Sands."<sup>627</sup> Smithsonian scientists, the press declared, had discovered the "greatest of American archaeological treasures," a buried city with the ruins of a "castle" and "chapels" and numerous specimens, some cryptic like the "mysterious skeleton with dagger over his heart."<sup>628</sup> The newspaper coverage continued through 1908, peaking upon the Smithsonian's release of its 1907-08

<sup>627</sup> *Hartford Courant*, 09 Jan 1907; *New York Times*, 03 Feb 1907; and, *New-York Daily Tribune*, 19 May 1907.

<sup>628</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 19 May 1907, and *Albuquerque Journal*, 11 Jan 1907.



Figure 121. Photograph of the southwest ruin in Compound A by Edward S. Curtis, 1907. Courtesy U.S. Library of Congress Digital Collections.

annual report, which included an initial comprehensive report on both seasons complete with bird's-eye views of the various compounds unearthed. The images, along with photographs taken of Casa Grande by the famous photographer Edward S. Curtis in 1907, provided captivating material for the press [Figs. 121-122].<sup>629</sup> Analogies comparing Casa Grande to Italy's Pompeii soon grew to include comparisons to a wide range of exotic sites of antiquity, including the Forbidden City of Peking.<sup>630</sup>

To accommodate increased public interest and prepare for Casa Grande's debut as an "exhibition ruin," Fewkes and Pinkley had devoted considerable time during both seasons to visitor accommodations. Non-archaeological work included grading and leveling the stagecoach road rerouted to pass around Compound A, and smoothing out unexcavated areas for museum-related activities, such as the large southeastern section inside Compound A where Fewkes built a traditional Pima hut as a model of the vernacular housing presumed

<sup>629</sup> Edward Sherriff Curtis later incorporated the Casa Grande images in his colossal twenty-volume study of Native American Indians. See: Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1908), 4 and 23-24.

<sup>630</sup> John S. Harwood, "Big Buried City Recently Dug from Arizona Desert," *Times-Picayune*, 20 Dec 1908.

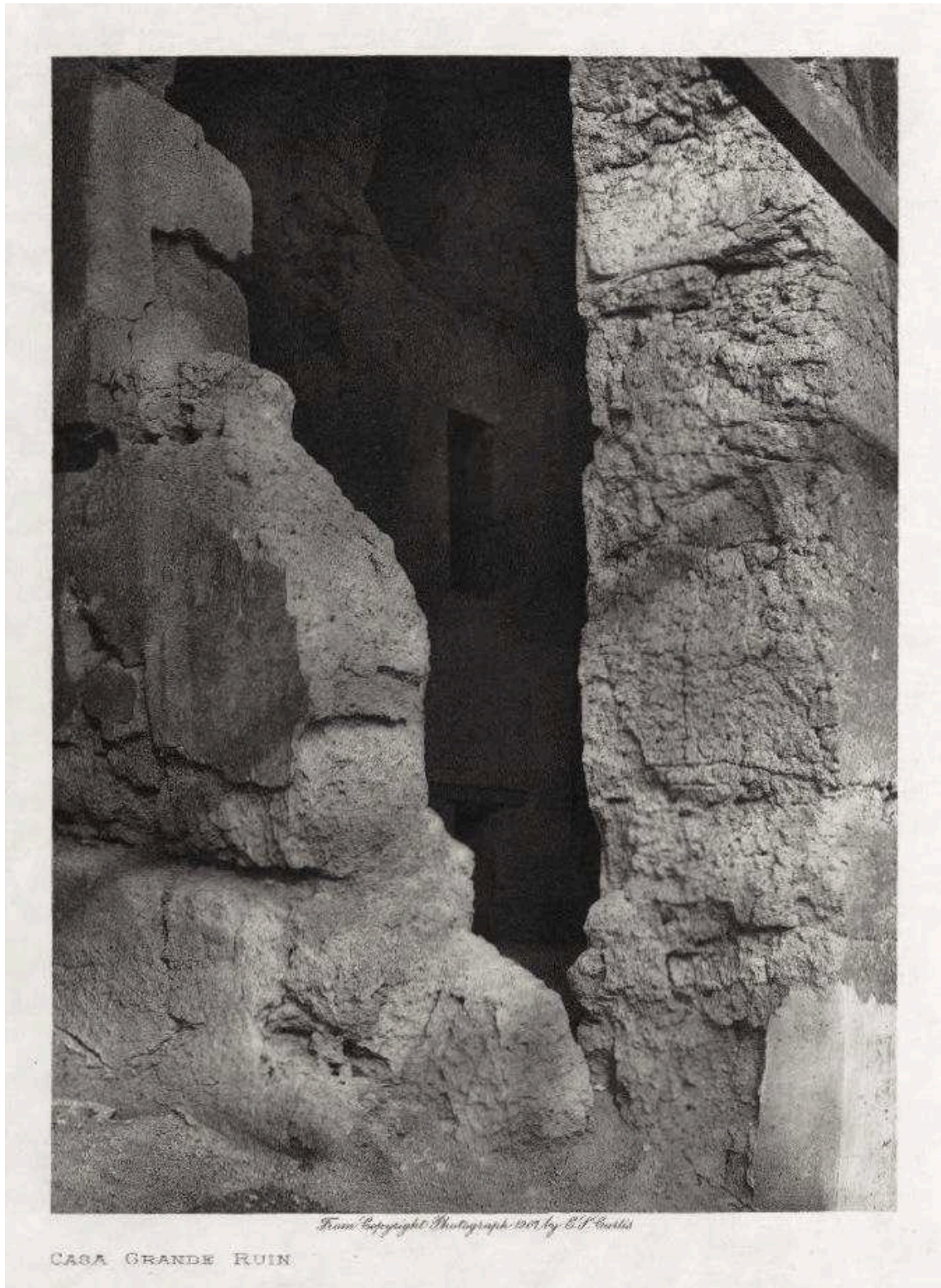


Figure 122. Edward S. Curtis' photograph of a corner of the Casa Grande Ruin, 1907. Courtesy U.S. Library of Congress Digital Collections.

common to the ancient Casa Grande people. For visitors' viewing advantage, Fewkes and Pinkley constructed walkways, steps, and interpretative signage, where needed, so visitors could observe and understand the excavated areas as well as the in-progress digs. Both seasons involved major clear-cutting of underbrush and wall repairs for visitor enjoyment. In order to protect the newly exposed walls from the elements, Fewkes implemented preservation methods foundational to the history of ruins stabilization in the Southwest. He coated the wall bases with a layer of clay thinly treated with a top layer of Portland cement. Shaped at an incline, the cement treatment formed a watershed that deflected water away from the walls into narrow ditches that Fewkes dug along the length of the wall bases to collect water. In Compound A, these small ditches—1,500 feet in combined length—carried water to a large ditch at the northeast corner; this, in turn, conveyed water to a ground depression a safe distance from the compound. In Compound B, Fewkes dug a similar drainage ditch on the compound's exterior about five feet from the wall base. This exterior ditch conducted water to two deeper ditches that departed from the compound at its northwest and southwest corners and conveyed water to ground depressions 50 to 100 feet distant.<sup>631</sup>

It was rudimentary preservation but the first of its kind, and Fewkes recognized it as such. "For the first time in the history of archeological excavations in the Southwest," he reported with pride, "an effort was made to repair and protect" excavated walls; as a result, Casa Grande's walls stood out "in bolder relief" than even the Spanish period, allowing tourists to form an idea of the compounds' original appearances for the first time. The site's makeover so interested one visitor that he nearly forgot to complete a now-famous painting of the Grand Canyon. During the 1907-08 season Warren Eliphalet Rollins—an emerging southwestern artist—spent three weeks at Casa Grande per Fewkes' invitation. After the excavations concluded, Rollins, lately celebrated for his exhibition of historically themed paintings at the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition in Oregon, helped Fewkes advertise the success of the excavations by writing a short article on the history of Casa Grande Ruins and the recent excavations. Timely, Rollins' "Impression of the Casa Grande Ruin" went into print in the *Arizona Republican* newspaper the day before Fewkes' scheduled April 7 lecture on the excavations for the Phoenix Woman's Club. In his "Impressions," Rollins praised the "earnest and zealous work" of Doctor Fewkes and postulated that the unveiled ruins of buildings and canals would claim great tourist interest and attention. Should visitors extend their tour and camp at the Ruins, Rollins added, they would not forget the "solemnity and beauty of the night" nor the owl's hoot from Casa Grande's tower. For the sights and sounds worked together to lull the sightseer into dreamy meditation about the civilization whose sole monument were the crumbling walls that mutely spoke, "Here once we dwelt".<sup>632</sup>

---

<sup>631</sup> Fewkes was a bit inconsistent in his final report (BAE 28<sup>th</sup> Annual Report, 1912). The measurements on wall height and width, and the location in feet of the depression to which the ditches carried rainwater, differ in his summary of the compound B excavations on pp. 40-41 versus his extensive report on pp. 95-102.

<sup>632</sup> "Impressions of the Casa Grande Ruins," *Arizona Republican*, 06 Apr. 1908.

## EPILOGUE, 1908-1918

The ruins have proved of such archaeological importance as to have earned the name of an American Pompeii, destroyed not in a night by a volcanic eruption, but by centuries of wind-blown sands.

~*Coast Magazine*, July 1909

The 1906-08 Smithsonian excavations of the Casa Grande group of ruins mark the last leg in the site's journey toward national-park status (1918), but the beginning of its modern development as an American tourist destination. The widespread public exposure via printed media and national exhibits that followed Fewkes' excavations advanced a new wave of tourism. Notably, in 1909, the Smithsonian advertised Jesse Walter Fewkes' successful excavations of the Casa Grande group of ruins with new three-dimensional models of the ruins in the main government building of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific exposition in Seattle, Washington.<sup>1051</sup> The models, built by Henry Winter Hendley, director of the Smithsonian's Anthropological Laboratory, depicted Compound A, Compound B, and Clan-house 1 as they appeared post-excavations [Fig. 123]. For the first time, village walls, buildings, and other prehistoric community features stood out in bold relief, allowing viewers to imagine these ancient "cities" as they may have appeared several hundred years earlier. A birds-eye painting also accompanied the models. Its depiction of the relative position of the various Casa Grande compounds from a bird's perspective essentially mapped the extensiveness of the ancient community for the first time in the history of the site's documentation.<sup>1052</sup> The exhibition of the models and painting at the Seattle exposition preceded the 1912 publication of Fewkes' final report on the excavations. The exhibit therefore functioned as one of the first major national displays of the newly excavated American "Pompeii."

The Casa Grande ruins exhibition also heralded a period of steady change in American tourism, as the nation focused on programs to keep American tourists at home. These included "See America First"—a marketing collaboration between governmental, commercial, and recreational groups to sway Americans away from their partiality for

---

<sup>1051</sup> See: Smithsonian Institution, "Report of the Secretary, Appendix IX: Report on Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents, 1909* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), 83.

<sup>1052</sup> Smithsonian records indicate that, in 1909, the U.S. Govt. Board of Managers of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition donated a painting of the Casa Grande Ruin to the Smithsonian National Museum. Its accession number is now 051013, available in the collections of the Anthropology Dept. of the National Museum of Natural History. The painting may be the original of the birds-eye view of the Casa Grande group of ruins shown in Plate 4 of Fewkes' final BAE report, "Casa Grande, Arizona" (1912). The painter was Spencer Baird Nichols (1875-1950), an American illustrator and painter who served as the Instructor of Illustration at the Art Students' League of Washington, D.C. for many years. He originally trained at the Corcoran Art Gallery under Howard Helnick. See Fig. 101 of this study.



Figure 123. Model of Compound A in modeling room at the Smithsonian Institution, ca1908-09. This model was exhibited at the 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle, Washington. Courtesy Smithsonian Institution Archives.

European travel, and instead acquaint them, and their pocketbooks, with American sights.<sup>1053</sup> This movement helped prepare administrators of the Casa Grande ruins for its debut as a

---

<sup>1053</sup> The abbreviated excerpt below is from Linnéa K. E. Caproni, *America's Pompeii: Travel Literature, Tourism, Pageantry, and the Making of Casa Grande Ruins, Arizona, 1875-1930*, MA thesis, Arizona State University, 2009.

At the inaugural See America First conference in 1906, Utah governor Heber M. Wells reported that American travelers had spent nearly two hundred million dollars in travels abroad the previous year. Wells believed it was Americans' duty to transfer those dollars into the American economy: "See Europe if you will," he proclaimed, "but See America First." In concept, the 'America' of See America First included the entire western hemisphere—North, Central, and South America; but in practice, the campaign targeted the intermountain and Pacific Coast regions of the United States. A wide range of commercial groups (transportation companies, chambers of commerce, etc.) helped spread the slogan by adopting its use in marketing their region's respective natural and cultural resources. While these groups prevented the movement from unifying under central direction and clearly defined aims, "See America First" nonetheless succeeded as a patriotic expression that

National Park Service site in 1918, even though traveling to the site would remain less than leisurely for at least another decade. Arizona would not see widespread automobile use or good country roads until after World War I, and Casa Grande Ruins would not offer a museum building or other visitor and administrative facilities until the 1920s. With the exception of a boundary change in 1909, and further modifications of the Pinkleys' living quarters, few physical developments or improvements would take place at the site.<sup>1054</sup> Yet despite the time commitment that an excursion to the Ruins required for most early 1900s tourists, writers continued to feature the Casa Grande as a must-see destination in literature on Arizona and the West, and Frank Pinkley recorded increasingly higher numbers of visitors with each passing year. The steady rise in tourism likely reflected Pinkley's reputation for making the visitor experience rewarding and personal. As local visitors Earl Brown and F. W. Griffen of Tempe reported in December 1908, "all that has ever been learned about this really wonderful collections[sic] of ruins [Mr. Pinkley] has at his tongue's end." Brown and Griffen were impressed that "Mr. Pinkley took great pleasure in explaining all that had been learned about the different houses and enclosure," and that he did it in such an entertaining and pleasant way that they felt at home and received greater pleasure from the ruins as a result.<sup>1055</sup>

Many later similar accounts of Pinkley's hospitality confirm that he played an important role in attracting visitors to the Casa Grande Ruins in the crucial years before its 1918 designation as a National Park Service site. This included directing the first interpretative pamphlets on Casa Grande. In each of his annual reports since 1906, Pinkley had asked the Department of the Interior to produce free informational handouts. His efforts to publicize the Ruins echoed the sentiments of other locals, such as Wainwright Randall, editor of the *Casa Grande Times* newspaper. In 1913, Randall admitted that the Ruins were "sadly in need of advertising."<sup>1056</sup> He called attention to the advertisement of the Grand Canyon and the San Xavier Mission near Tucson, the result of which had attracted hundreds of people from the traveling public to visit both sites annually. In order to attract as many visitors to the Casa Grande Valley, Wright felt the Southern Pacific, the chambers of commerce, and every citizen writing a letter or postcard, should likewise publicize the Casa

---

united "entrepreneurs and individuals interested in the development of tourism in the United States.

<sup>1054</sup> On December 10, 1909, the General Land Office, with approval from Congress, amended the boundaries of the Casa Grande Ruin Reservation. The GLO removed the 120 acres of the Casa Grande Ruin Reservation that lay in Section 9, and instead added 120 acres to the east of the reservation, all the way to the eastern edge of Section 16. Pinkley and others believed that the northern 120 acres did not contain any archaeological resources of significance, while it had been confirmed that the 120 acres on the east did. See Van Valkenburgh, "The Casa Grande of Arizona as a Landmark on the Desert" (1962).

<sup>1055</sup> Brown and Griffen visited the ruins during a 2-day motorcycle tour from Tempe to Florence. They left Tempe on Saturday, December 26, and motored directly to Florence. They visited the ruins in the afternoon, and, after declining Pinkley's offer to stay the night at the ruins, they instead lodged in Florence. The next day, they visited the new Arizona state penitentiary at Florence. See: "Florence, Casa Grande and the Penitentiary," *Arizona Republican*, 28 Dec. 1908, pg11.

<sup>1056</sup> "Explore and Advertise the Casa Grande," *Casa Grande Times*, 3 Oct. 1913.

Grande Ruins.<sup>1057</sup> Coordinated local and regional advertisement of the Ruins would not occur until the 1920s, but in 1913, the Department of the Interior finally met Pinkley's request for a visitor pamphlet on the Ruins with publication of the bulletin "General Information Regarding Casa Grande Ruin, Arizona."<sup>1058</sup> The thirty-one-page circular was essentially an abstract of Jesse Walter Fewkes' final report on the 1906-08 excavations (1912).<sup>1059</sup> It included sections on the Casa Grande ruin's documentary history, its prehistoric construction, as well as a general description on the landscape's compounds (A-F), Clan House 1, refuse heaps, reservoirs, and irrigation ditches, as well as a conclusion that summarized scholarly theories on the burial practices of the site's ancient occupants. An introductory statement explained to readers that they could conveniently reach the ruin by carriage either from the town of Florence or from the Casa Grande station on the Southern Pacific Railroad, but that the route from Florence was slightly shorter, enabling "one to make the visit and return in a single day."<sup>1060</sup> Additionally, the circular recommended that readers visit the ruin in all seasons but summer, and that they pack a picnic lunch and enjoy the "good well with abundant water" that curator Frank Pinkley had dug near his house in Compound A.<sup>1061</sup>

By this time, Pinkley's passion for the Ruins as its curator had evolved into a strong attachment to the site as "home." Originally, Frank and Edna had perceived their residence at the Ruins as temporary. Edna later wrote that as they planned each addition or new construction of their desert tent abode, they considered it a temporary measure until they could move "to some more civilized place," but that with each passing year they ended up staying "just a little longer."<sup>1062</sup> Ultimately, the Casa Grande Ruins not only became the place in which they raised their two children but also the place from which Edna, Frank, and their first child would pass away.<sup>1063</sup> Sometime within their first four years of marriage, Edna gave birth to their first child; yet, on April 15, 1910, a U.S. census enumerator listed him or her as

---

<sup>1057</sup> *Casa Grande Times*, 3 Oct. 1913.

<sup>1058</sup> Wainwright Randall reported a month later that the Southern Pacific had recently adopted his suggestion and that all of the company literature about the Southwest contained some reference to the Ruins. "Restoring the Casa Grande," *Casa Grande Times*, 07 Nov. 1913. In reality, since the turn of the century, the Southern Pacific had usually referenced the ruins with text, if not pictorially, in its wayside notes and pamphlets on settlement in Arizona.

<sup>1059</sup> The public could purchase Fewkes' full detailed report from the Superintendent of Documents at the Government Printing Office for the small sum of \$1.25. See fn1 of Department of the Interior Office of the Secretary, *General Information Regarding Casa Grande Ruin, Arizona* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 1.

<sup>1060</sup> *General Information Regarding Casa Grande Ruin, Arizona*, 1.

<sup>1061</sup> Ibid. An essay written about the Casa Grande Ruin by Eliza Johnson, an eighth grade Pima Indian girl from Blackwater, indicates that the Casa Grande Ruin circular made its rounds. In her essay, Eliza Johnson incorporates text from the circular. See Eliza Johnson, "The Casa Grande Ruin," *Native American* 15, no.20 (May 16, 1914): 261-262.

<sup>1062</sup> Pinkley, "Our Desert Home," 67.

<sup>1063</sup> In 1915, Frank Pinkley's grandfather James Graham also died at the Ruins.

no longer living.<sup>1064</sup> A week later that same month, the Pinkleys' loss turned to joy when the Pinkleys welcomed their second child into the family, a daughter named Nancy Margaret, who would outlive her parents.<sup>1065</sup> Nancy's arrival influenced the Pinkleys' decision to transition from temporary tent-house living quarters to permanent adobe house in 1910. The previous year, Pinkley had requested \$2,500 from Congress to build a house and museum onsite during the fiscal year 1910. Rejected, he and Edna moved ahead with plans for a house but at their own expense. Unlike their previous "remodels," this time, the Pinkleys rejected the idea of adding yet another tent to their three-tent complex. The constant "opening and closing two doors [of one tent] and [then] crossing an open space in sun or rain or dust storm" to the other tents, all while holding baby Nancy, complicated housework to the point of frustration.<sup>1066</sup> Frank and Edna therefore built a house—the first non-tent building on the site since the ancient Gila River people constructed the Casa Grande in 1350 CE.

With the help of their Pima Indian friends, the Pinkleys erected a two-room adobe dwelling to replace the second tent (the kitchen tent) that they had built during their first year of marriage, 1906-07. They "sheathed [the roof] with twelve-inch boards covered with roofing paper," kept the rafters and beams exposed, and plastered the walls with "Indian plaster," a combination of "sand and screened 'dobe clay rubbed down with a trowel."<sup>1067</sup> They used the same window construction as the tents—screen and redwood strips. A fireplace graced the living room, as did Baby Nancy's crib and chest. They converted their former living-room tent (built ca1908) into the master bedroom, and used Frank's original bachelor tent as a spare bedroom. The new arrangement allowed them to spend daytime hours in the house, and only nights in the bedroom tent [Fig. 124]. Overall, Edna believed

---

<sup>1064</sup> An unpublished typescript of Frank Pinkley's family record indicates the birth of a boy, Fred Arthur Pinkley, on August 7, 1907. He died the same day. This is likely Frank and Edna's first child. See: Archival Records of Frank Pinkley at the Western Archaeological and Conservation Center in Tucson, Arizona,

<sup>1065</sup> [For a photo of Nancy during her later years with the Red Cross, see Appendix B]. Nancy Margaret Pinkley died in Sun City, Arizona, in 1979. As a child, she attended the Ruins school taught by her grandfather, and high school at Florence. She attended college at the University of Arizona, participating in Sigma Phi Gamma, a business women's sorority. She graduated in the early 1930s, just before she assisted in the Snaketown archaeological digs of 1934-35. On June 6, 1945, she married James R. Whiting, Jr., a fellow University of Arizona graduate who had just returned from Germany after being held as a prisoner of war for two years. At the time of their marriage, Nancy was living at 715-1/2 E 5<sup>th</sup> St. in Tucson and working for the Valley National Bank. They married at Westminster House, at 1201 E Speedway, Tucson. After her marriage, Nancy became involved with the Red Cross. Her husband died in 1955. After his death, Nancy continued her work with the Red Cross, at times serving in Japan (1961) and Germany. Nancy retired in Glendale, Arizona, but after complications from a broken hip, eventually moved into nursing foster homes. She died in January 1979. See: "Miss Nancy Pinkley Becomes Bride of James Whiting, Jr.," *Casa Grande Valley Dispatch*, 06 Jun 1945; and, the April 1, 1981 oral history transcript of Nancy's cousin Marion Russell in the Archival Records of Frank Pinkley (RG 34) at the NPS Western Archaeological and Conservation Center in Tucson, Arizona.

<sup>1066</sup> Pinkley, "Our Desert Home," 67.

<sup>1067</sup> *Ibid.*

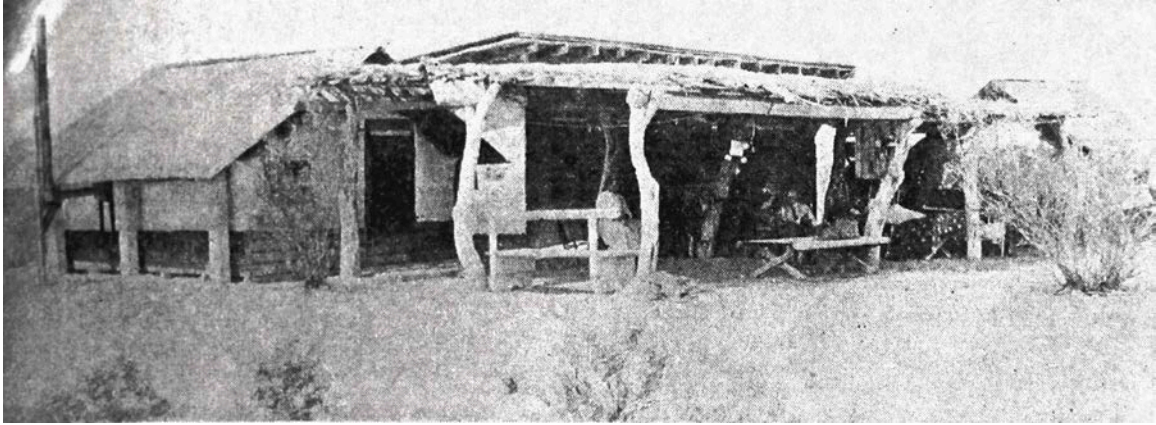


Figure 124. The Pinkleys' 1910 two-bedroom house plus tents. *Sunset Magazine* (Oct. 1923).

the interior of their two-room house “attractive and comfortable,” adding that it served as “a pleasing background” for their collection of Indian baskets, pottery, and Navajo rugs [Figs. 125-126].<sup>1068</sup> The Pinkleys were content in their commodious new house and tent arrangement, and pleased to offer better lodgings to their still-constant stream of guests. Frank’s grandfather James Graham lived at the Ruins with the Pinkleys from 1912-1915 until his death, and Edna’s parents, Samuel and Margaret Townsley of South Dakota, frequently visited for stays of up to a year. In 1912-13, for example, the Townsleys spent September through June at the Ruins with Frank and Edna.<sup>1069</sup> For Thanksgiving 1912, the Pinkleys therefore enjoyed both sets of parents as guests, for Frank’s parents still lived nearby in Blackwater and operated the trading post [Fig. 127]. A month later, the Pinkleys and Townsleys spent Christmas together at the Blackwater Trading Post. In a letter to his home newspaper on December 27, 1912, Samuel Townsley described Christmas in Arizona as magically winterless: “We have a station of the Weather Bureau here. The average daily maximum for December, to date, is 62° with a range of 31° ... Our Christmas dinner was eaten, in the open, around a Christmas-tree made almost wholly of the mystic mistletoe, with friends, at Blackwater Indian Trading Post.”<sup>1070</sup> Generally, Samuel Townsley coordinated his visits to Arizona around the academic year schedule in order to teach school to rural Casa Grande valley children.<sup>1071</sup> According to a picture dated 1913 and captioned “The School on

<sup>1068</sup> Pinkley, “Our Desert Home,” 67.

<sup>1069</sup> It is not clear if the Townsleys lodged in the Pinkleys’ adobe house, or in a separate tent.

<sup>1070</sup> Letter to the *Dakota Republican* newspaper. Reprinted in Mary Margaret Frank, *Samuel S. Townsley: Schoolboy, Professor, and Grandfather* (Grand Forks: the Author, 1974), 31-32.

<sup>1071</sup> Samuel returned in 1915-16 and again in 1920-21. Both times, he taught at the one-room Kenilworth School. The Mabel Townsley collection at the University of South Dakota Archives and Special Collections has two images of Townsley with the Kenilworth schoolchildren for these years.



Figure 125. The Pinkleys' basket collection, ca1912. Courtesy Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, the University of South Dakota.

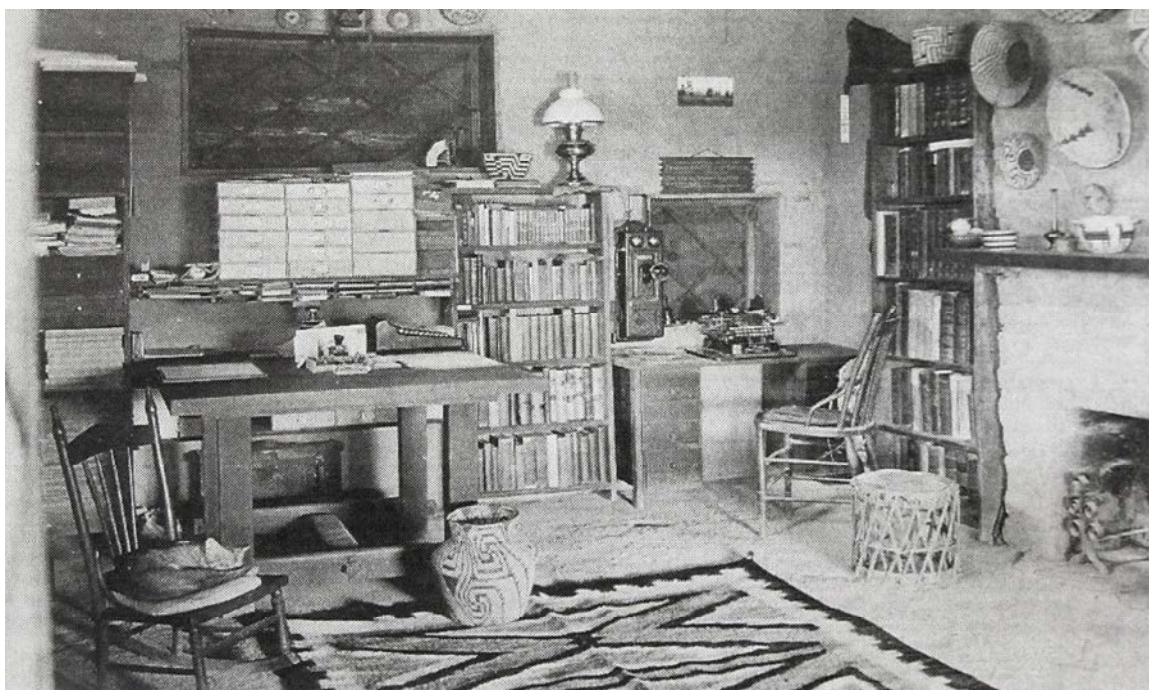


Figure 126 Interior of Pinkleys' house, pre-1923. Edna Pinkley used this same image in her *Sunset Magazine* 1923 article "Our Desert Home," so this is likely the interior of their 1910 or 1914 adobe house. Original image courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.



Figure 127. Pinkley and Townsley family portraits on Thanksgiving Day, 1912. Left image – (Back row, l to r): Samuel Pinkley, Frank Pinkley, Edna Townsley Pinkley, and Samuel Townsley. (Front row, l to r): Margaret Townsley, James Graham holding Nancy Margaret Pinkley, and Nancy Graham Pinkley. Right image – Frank, Edna, and Nancy Pinkley in front of their house Courtesy Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, the University of South Dakota.

the Gila Desert, near Casa Grande Ruins,” Samuel instructed approximately eleven children [Fig. 128].<sup>1072</sup> Samuel Townsley returned in 1914-15 and 1920-21 to teach at the local rural school.

Despite the frequency of visitors, the Pinkleys remained content in their commodious new adobe house until June 26, 1914—the birthdate of their son, Addison Boyd.<sup>1073</sup> Like Nancy’s arrival four years earlier, the addition of Addison in 1914 forced the Pinkleys to modify their residence. The infant paraphernalia inside the house and the labor of moving a sleepy baby outside to the sleeping tent each night had doubled, quickly proving “too much of a good thing.”<sup>1074</sup> With the help of their Pima friends, the Pinkleys therefore tore down the bedroom tent and built a fourteen by sixteen foot room about ten feet east of

<sup>1072</sup> The school building—a white canvas tent with wood siding and roof—resembled the tents Frank and Edna Pinkley constructed as part of their original living quarters at the Ruins. The school may therefore have been located at the Casa Grande Ruins, either next to or adjacent to the Casa Grande.

<sup>1073</sup> [For a photo of Addison during his years with the Navy, see Appendix B]. Like his sister, Addison Boyd Pinkley graduated with a degree in engineering from the University of Arizona at Tucson. After graduation, he served as draftsman at various Arizona locations, including Flagstaff, where he was living in 1935. On November 10, 1940, he married Jean McWhirt, a park ranger and archaeologist stationed at Mesa Verde National Park. At the time, Addison was working as Inspection Engineer for Parker Dam. Their marriage was short lived. Addison died at sea in April 1944 as a member of the U.S. Navy. He was deployed on the USS Gudgeon, which sank near Iwo Jima. See: *Prescott Evening Courier*, 16 Nov 1940.

<sup>1074</sup> Pinkley, “Our Desert Home,” 67.



Figure 128. Samuel Townsley and Casa Grande Valley schoolchildren at the “School on the Gila Desert” near Casa Grande Ruins, 1913. The little blond girl in front may be Nancy Margaret Pinkley. Courtesy Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, the University of South Dakota.

the living room. In between the 1910 two-room house and the 1914 addition, the Pinkleys added a screened passage. This served as the bedroom, complete with two single beds and two cribs, all of which fit in “like the parts to a Chinese puzzle.”<sup>1075</sup> The addition placed the Pinkleys’ living and sleeping quarters under one roof for the first time [Figs. 129-131]. Yet, enjoyment of the newly enlarged house was short-lived. In November 1914, Frank Pinkley campaigned for a seat in the lower house of the Arizona State Legislature, and won. Later in 1915, Frank and Edna subsequently packed up their family and left Casa Grande Ruins.

Pinkley’s reasons for choosing this new political career are unclear. It is equally uncertain whether he envisioned the legislative position as a temporary sabbatical or permanent departure from his custodianship of the Ruins.<sup>1076</sup> Regardless, his decision to shift vocations reflects his increased involvement in community affairs, especially in irrigation

<sup>1075</sup> Pinkley, “Our Desert Home,” 67.

<sup>1076</sup> Berle E. Clemensen, author of the site’s 1992 administrative history, suggests that Pinkley abandoned his position at the Casa Grande Ruin due to a relationship with the General Land Office (GLO) that had become intolerable. The GLO consistently rejected his petitions for funding to make improvements to develop administrative and visitor facilities, and to continue preservation work on the Ruins and maintenance of the shelter roof. In particular, Pinkley had butted heads over the maintenance of the well he had dug years prior. In 1912, it became an issue when its wooden curbing rotted. Pinkley supplied visitors with water from the well, and asked the General Land Office for \$75 to repair the well, and \$150 to purchase “a small gasoline engine or windmill to lift water from the well for visitors’ convenience.” Clemensen, 60.



Figure 129. Compound A from the southwest, showing the Pinkleys' house ca1915. Courtesy Casa Grande Ruins National Monument Library.



Figure 130. Compound A from the north, showing the Pinkleys' house toward the south. No date. Courtesy Casa Grande Ruins National Monument Library.

policies. In 1911, he helped found the Casa Grande Valley Water Users Association, and a year later, the Association elected him to the Board of Directors. The Association's primary objectives involved building a major canal to irrigate Gila River Indian lands and one hundred thousand acres in the Casa Grande Valley. Since Arizona had earned statehood in 1912, total land filings in the valley had reached nearly half a million acres.<sup>1077</sup> With the promise of large-scale irrigation, such as the San Carlos Irrigation project, which involved building a dam on the upper Gila River, settlers and speculators continued to flock to and invest in the Casa Grande area.<sup>1078</sup> Pinkley devoted considerable time to understanding the water issue in the Valley. As the editor of the *Casa Grande Times* put it in summer 1914, Frank Pinkley was "one of the brightest and probably the best posted men in the valley on water questions"; if only his position as custodian of the Casa Grande Ruins did not interfere, the editor added, Pinkley would be "great timber" for the state legislature.<sup>1079</sup> Pinkley was also active in other community events such as volunteer work for the Pinal County Board of Supervisors, and he remained busy in the trading post businesses that he operated with his father on the Gila River Indian Reservation. As one of the most well-connected residents and businessmen of Casa Grande Valley, moving into politics was likely a natural "next step" for Pinkley.

Frank Pinkley's tenure as representative for Pinal County in the Arizona State Legislature began in late 1915 [Fig. 131]. Upon his departure, the General Land Office elected James Polk Bates as custodian. A native Kentuckian who had moved to Phoenix in 1907, Bates was seventy-two years old with career experience as a druggist and lawyer. Repeated frustrations and tragedies marked Bates' brief tenure, which began December 1, 1915, and ended early 1918. Bates inherited Pinkley's recent issues, such as the rotting well and vandalism.<sup>1080</sup> In addition, his annual reports noted problems such as cattle and horses grazing on the reservation, rubbing against the ruins' walls, and creating paths over the mounds.<sup>1081</sup> People also tended to drive randomly across the reservation. Bates therefore recommended barbed wire fences around the reservation, better grading of the main southwest-northeast road across the reservation, and gates that would restrict drivers from driving on other reservation roads. Bates also requested an automobile, preferably a Ford, to make his frequent trips to Florence for mail and supplies more efficient. Like most requests sent to the unresponsive General Land Office, Bates did not receive funding for these large reservation improvements, nor for a Ford. The GLO had always proved reticent in its

---

<sup>1077</sup> "Our Famous Valley of the Casa Grande," *Casa Grande Bulletin*, 11 Sept. 1913.

<sup>1078</sup> The efforts of the Casa Grande Valley Water Users Association would eventually result in the 1920's construction of the Coolidge Dam, a federal reclamation project that, in turn, influenced the creation of a new town (Coolidge, est. 1925) near the Ruins and the rerouting of the new main line of the Southern Pacific through the town in 1926.

<sup>1079</sup> The editor thought Pinkley would make a great state senator. *Casa Grande Bulletin*, 04 Jul. 1914.

<sup>1080</sup> Bates received \$300 from the GLO to repair the well, but he believed it an insufficient sum. He wanted to drill a new well closer to the custodian's house, one that would provide greater water supply and allow him to cultivate a small garden and raise shade trees for visitor comfort. He asked for an additional \$200, but the GLO denied his request.

<sup>1081</sup> Clemensen, 62-63.



Figure 131. Portrait of Frank Pinkley ca1914-1915. Same photograph submitted to the 1915 *Arizona Blue Book* for Pinkley's official portrait as an Arizona state legislator. Courtesy Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, University of South Dakota.

administration of the Casa Grande Ruin Reservation. With the creation of the National Park Service in 1916, it happily began plan to transfer administration of the Reservation to the Department of the Interior. This transfer would not occur until 1918. Nonetheless, Bates was instructed to send his custodial reports to the Interior.<sup>1082</sup>

Development of a centralized National Park system in 1916 partly reflected the See America First campaign. During the early 1900s, conservationists and preservationists, understanding the rhetorical power of the movement, began to employ its rhetoric in their conservation and preservation measures. Their strategies involved heightening public awareness of America's vulnerable scenic and historic resources (many of which were situated within national park or monument boundaries), and convincing the federal government that these "worthless lands" were rich not only in aesthetics and history but untapped revenue. National park enthusiasts painted America's numerous scenic and cultural sites as national assets, as major tourist destinations that could earn considerable revenue for state and federal governments if incorporated into a national "tour of America."<sup>1083</sup> Newspapers had been touting the health-improving and economic benefits of American national parks since the establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872. Yet, forty years later, American travel abroad had peaked. In 1911, an Illinois newspaper editor emphatically reminded Americans why they should visit American sights, including the Casa Grande Ruin:

If the traveler seeks Alpine glaciers he has only to go to the Glacier National Park ... if he desires to travel in comfort over finely built roads that rival those of France, Switzerland and Germany, the Yellowstone Park extends its invitation ... If he is interested in the ruins of prehistoric people, the Casa Grande ruin in Arizona and the Mesa Verde National Park in Colorado will show him how the aboriginal inhabitants of America lived hundreds of years *before* its discovery by Europeans.<sup>1084</sup>

A year later, in 1912, the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society engaged in similar yet more effective activism to keep American tourist dollars at home.

The Society developed a strong argument for centralized administration of both tourism and conservation of scenic and historic resources under a nationalized system: the National Park Service. In its annual report presented before the New York state legislature, the Society publicly supported Assistant Secretary of the Interior Thompson claim that touristic advertising of American parks was a form of conservation. Thompson had presented his argument at the opening address of an exhibition of national park pictures, a speech in which he had likewise advocated the administration of national parks and monuments by means of a supervisory national park bureau:

---

<sup>1082</sup> Clemensen, 64.

<sup>1083</sup> Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1979; reprint, 1997), 83. For the discussion on the non-economic rationale period in National Parks history, see: Paul Schullery and Lee H. Whittlesey, *Myth and History in the Creation of Yellowstone National Park* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 72.

<sup>1084</sup> "Wonders of the Great West," *Oak Creek Times*, 3 Aug 1911, 6.

An enterprising railroad company [The Great Northern] has been advertising with an effective motto, "See America First." There is excellent advice in this motto, and it embodies a phase of "conservation" admirably expressed by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior ... [who] said that if we could conserve for the United States the millions of dollars which are now spent by Americans abroad, by inducing Americans to visit the beautiful and wonderful places in our own country, we would be adding to the wealth of the Nation and effecting as real a "conservation" as in any other direction.<sup>1085</sup>

Thompson had recommended that the Department of the Interior create a national park bureau and employ the best of America's engineers, landscape architects, and foresters to "make the parks accessible by roads, trails, etc." for public convenience and enjoyment, and thus "make it fashionable to stay home."<sup>1086</sup> The efforts of enthusiastic citizens, influential conservation groups, and well-placed politicians ultimately led to the Organic Act of 1916, the law that created the National Park Service. At its helm would be Stephen P. Mather, a friend of tourism with charismatic visions for the economic potential of the American national park system.

It would take two years before Casa Grande Ruins transferred fully into the administration of the fledgling National Park Service. Suspended oddly between the lackadaisical General Land Office and the cautious Department of the Interior, Bates ended his tenure to notes of disaster. In July 1917, a windstorm blew off the roof of Pinkley's adobe house. The Interior approved a new roof, but like the GLO, it never bothered to meet Bates' urgent requests for a new well, car, and boundary fence. Meanwhile, the wood supporting the well continued to rot and cave in. By fall 1917, the well water's toxicity had risen to unsanitary levels, and the well became essentially useless for drinking water. The series of unlucky events continued to plague Bates through the end of his tenure. The Florence post office burned down after he mailed out his 1917 annual report, forcing him to rewrite it, and then he was caught stealing and selling prehistoric artifacts. The Interior subsequently fired Bates in early 1918. In the interim, all national parks and monuments had begun transferring officially into the National Park Service. With Casa Grande Ruins' designation as a national monument imminent, Director Mather began searching for a new custodian for the site. As Pinkley had recently lost his reelection campaign for his seat in the Arizona legislature, Mather targeted Pinkley as the best choice for the continued guardianship of Casa Grande. He offered Pinkley his previous small salary of \$900, but added the additional option to run concessions, an addition Pinkley found tasteless.<sup>1087</sup>

---

<sup>1085</sup> The national park pictures, developed by the Department of the Interior, were exhibited in the galleries of the National Arts Club of New York in March 1912 under the auspices of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, for the purpose of "illustrating the work of the Federal Government in the protection of regions of great landscape beauty and natural phenomena." See Andrew H. Green and the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, *Seventeenth Annual Report, 1912, of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society to the Legislature of the State of New York, transmitted to the legislature March 28, 1912* (Albany: Argus Co., 1912), 98.

<sup>1086</sup> Ibid, 256-57.

<sup>1087</sup> Clemensen, 65.

Despite the salary, Pinkley accepted the renewed position on March 16, 1918, under the condition that the Park Service would provide an automobile for his use [Fig. 132]. Mather accepted, and Pinkley returned to Casa Grande on April 1, even though the site would not receive designation as a National Monument until the fall.

Upon returning to his home of fourteen years, Pinkley resumed his tasks with fervor and hope, believing that the interrelational hardships he had faced under the General Land Office would dissipate. Like Frank, Edna likewise resumed life at the Ruins with pleasure, though she noted the unpleasant changes that the “vandals” (i.e., Bates and family) had made to her beloved house. In particular, Edna bemoaned the loss of her favorite mesquite tree, which had previously grown outside the south kitchen window. Quail, dove, thrashers, wrens, and even rabbits, would nest amongst its branches and bring her daily joy. Angrily, she found the tree lopped off. Its absence nonetheless made room for another addition to the house—a screened porch with bathroom and closet.<sup>1088</sup> In addition to the household woes, Frank resumed his monthly reports, sending them directly to Mather. The April report (May 17, 1918) indicates that Pinkley erected a flagpole adjacent to the Casa Grande Ruin. He contracted the pole from the Rollin Brothers of Florence, with General Land Office funds. The pole was 35 feet high, and made of 3- and 2-inch galvanized iron pipe.<sup>1089</sup> In the same month, Pinkley had also “taken up” with Professor Byron Cummings of the University of Arizona’s Department of Archaeology and T. E. Farish, Arizona State Historian, on the possibility of writing pamphlets on the Ruins’ archaeology and history, and re-established the cooperative Weather Bureau onsite. He had also begun accruing books on American archaeology and ethnology for visitors’ use in a future onsite library. The remainder of his April report consisted of a long wish list, a tally of visitors to the site (430 in April) as well as a report on the ruin’s general conditions, which, unfortunately, included a recent outbreak of “name-writing.”<sup>1090</sup> His custodial duties also doubled in June 1918, when Mather instructed Pinkley to work on the restoration of Tumacacori Mission National Monument, south of Tucson.<sup>1091</sup> Pinkley’s reports leading up to Casa Grande’s designation as Casa Grande

---

<sup>1088</sup> Access to the porch was made from the former kitchen window, which they cut into a doorway. Edna does not record the year this addition took place. Later, the Pinkleys would add on yet another room for Nancy, at the southeast corner of the house, just south of the master bedroom. It jutted out from the house at the back, and therefore the Pinkleys filled in the space with a screen room that they called a patio. Here they installed an ice box and a washing machine run by a gas engine. Pinkley, “Our Desert Home,” 75.

<sup>1089</sup> Pinkley to Mather, May 17, 1918, Blackwater, Arizona. Supplement to the *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report* (Oct. 1935): 299.

<sup>1090</sup> Pinkley to Mather, May 17, 1918, Blackwater, Arizona. Supplement to the *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report* (Oct. 1935): 299. Pinkley’s wish list included building a library and rest room for visitors, making signs directing travelers to the Ruins, developing a topographic map and National Park literature for distribution to visitors, and securing an investigation on ways to harden the Casa Grande’s walls.

<sup>1091</sup> The expansion of Pinkley’s regional duties in 1918 heralded a “pivotal phase” that would lead to his designation in 1923 as Superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments (SWNM), with Casa Grande serving as the SWNM headquarters. The position, offered by the National Park Service, required Pinkley to travel the Southwest as custodian of both Casa Grande and Tumacacori, as well as superintendent of all the southwestern national monuments. Dietmar Schneider-Hector, *Sundipped*



Figure 132. The Pinkley family outside their home at Casa Grande Ruins, in the new Ford, ca1918. Courtesy Casa Grande Ruins National Monument.

National Monument on August 3, 1918, repeated much of the same material, with a consistently more urgent tone for the disbursement of his salary and operational funds. Despite receiving news in June that neither the GLO nor NPS had earmarked funds for Casa Grande for the coming fiscal year, Pinkley devoted himself to promoting the site and pursuing the best steps for its ongoing preservation.<sup>1092</sup> Rewardingly, Casa Grande's new designation came with an authorized \$500 for wall preservation and a new well.<sup>1093</sup>

While Pinkley's renewed custodianship of Casa Grande would continue its historical theme of frustrated interactions with the federal government, his developed skills in public relations contributed to raising the local communities' sense of connection to the famous Arizona landmark. Throughout the 1910s, but increasingly after the Pinkleys' return in 1918, local county governments and city chambers of commerce worked with Pinkley to help promote the ruins and, in turn, improve the tourist economy of both Arizona and the Casa Grande Valley. They approved road bonds for good roads across the Valley plus a Tucson-Florence-Casa Grande state highway, all of which traveled near the Ruins, and they helped Pinkley advertise the Ruins with signage on roadsides as well as at community campgrounds. Their mutual efforts did not disappoint. The number of visitors to the Ruins nearly tripled as the decade waned, from 3,150 in 1918 to 8,324 in 1920, and community groups began to

---

*Memories of Frank Pinkley: A "Man on the Lone Post at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona"* (Hillsboro, NM: Percha Creek Press, 2003), 25.

<sup>1092</sup> Ibid, 24.

<sup>1093</sup> Ibid, 25.

appreciate the site as both tourist destination and community meeting place. Casa Grande's dual role as both national tourist site and beloved Arizona landmark would develop in the 1920s and lead to its continued selection as the site that best represented Arizona's historical and modern identity.<sup>1094</sup>

As Arizona embraced the Casa Grande as its own, new myths and stories joined the long compendium of Pima and Spanish legends about the site's mythic past. Perhaps the most romantic and poetic of the Casa Grande's modern folktales emerged in song in 1913, a year after Arizona earned statehood. In that year, Mary Bell, formerly of Phoenix but recently settled in the Casa Grande Valley with her husband Dr. William M. Bell, composed a ballad about the famous ruin titled "Dear Old Casa Grande," that J. H. Andino of the John T. Hall Music publishing company of New York set to music.<sup>1095</sup> Bell copyrighted the song with the Library of Congress in 1914.<sup>1096</sup> The ballad dealt with a modern-day romance occurring among the ruins, but, as the editor of the *Casa Grande Valley Dispatch* remarked in September 1913, Bell's words appealed broadly to the romance and poetry that had long clung to the Casa Grande:

The village once was thickly settled/And the fields were always green,/And not one  
can tell the reason/Why they vanished like a dream./But I see the corn fields  
waving/And the pastures green once more/As I stand with Alice darling/At my  
homestead cottage door.<sup>1097</sup>

A full-color cover design illustrates the Casa Grande as both ancient ruin and modern landmark. It shows a partial view of the Ruin, and a window through which one glimpses the young lovers homesteading on a lot east of the ruin in "the land of promise"; residents of the town of Casa Grande posed for the illustration.<sup>1098</sup> At the time, the song encapsulated the Ruin's past agricultural achievements and its role reawakening the valley from its centuries of slumber.<sup>1099</sup> Ultimately, the ballad serves as a lyrical and visual illustration of the role of Casa Grande Ruins in Arizona's civic history, both past and present, and its début as America's Pompeii.

---

<sup>1094</sup> For a study on the role of Arizona's ancient ruins in the territory and state's civic development, see the author's forthcoming PhD dissertation—due Fall 2013, under the tentative title "Reviving Ruins: Ancient Places, Modern Community, and the Chorography that Shaped Arizona" (Arizona State University).

<sup>1095</sup> Mary Bell was also the sister of renowned Arizona newspaperwoman, Angela Hutchinson Hammer. See: Betty E. Hammer Joy, *Angela Hutchinson Hammer: Arizona's Pioneer Newspaperwoman* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005).

<sup>1096</sup> Library of Congress copyright catalog entry: Dear Old Casa Grande; words by M. Bell, music by J. H. Andino. New York, John T. Hall music pub. Co. [1048]. © Jan. 26, 1914 [Date of publication]; 2 c. Feb. 4, 1914 [date 2 copies received by Copyright office]; E 330656 [entry number]; Mary Bell, Phoenix, Ariz. [lyricist]. See: Library of Congress Copyright Office, *Catalogue of Copyright Entries, Part 3: Musical Compositions* 9, no. 2 (1914): 68.

<sup>1097</sup> For the words of the whole song, see Appendix C.

<sup>1098</sup> "On the Banks of the Gila," *Casa Grande Valley Dispatch*, 11 Sep 1913.

<sup>1099</sup> Ibid.

## APPENDIX A: LIST OF NAMES ETCHED ON THE CASA GRANDE

*In the early 1950s, the staff at Casa Grande Ruins began researching inscriptions etched on the walls of the Casa Grande by past travelers. They ultimately identified twenty-three names. The following is their list as completed by around 1970. The list plus some limited, accompanying research material may be accessed via NPS Focus, the National Park Service digital library and research station, <http://npsfocus.nps.gov/>. Information in the footnotes below comes from the research material that accompanied the list. The list and research are by no means complete.*

Aguilar, Juan – 1880s<sup>1100</sup>

Biery, Ike<sup>1101</sup>

Carroll, J.<sup>1102</sup>

Fechet, Eugene Oscar – 1870

French, Charles A. – 1886<sup>1103</sup>

French, K. M. – 1886

Garrett, A. J.

Hartt, William – 1878<sup>1104</sup>

---

<sup>1100</sup> According to the research material, Juan Aguilar's name is inscribed on a wall in the Casa Grande's east room. Aguilar served as a clerk in a store in Florence.

<sup>1101</sup> Arizona miner at Pinal and in Mexico. According to a letter from his son Donald of Los Angeles, Ike married Judge H.B. Summers' daughter June. Ike died in Florence in 1911 and is buried in the Florence pioneer cemetery along with his father-in-law [see fn15]. Ike's wife, June Summers Biery, is buried in Los Angeles along with her mother Susan.

<sup>1102</sup> In 1982, the Superintendent of Casa Grande Ruins National Monument received a letter from a Mrs. Niles E. Carroll of Apache Junction. She claimed that her husband's distant cousin had engraved his name on the inside wall of the ruins. His name was Captain John Carroll. In 1951, CAGR personnel had identified two other possibilities for the J. Carroll inscribed on the Casa Grande's walls: J. Carroll of San Pedro, CA, who, in 1875, stopped in Yuma on his way to Tucson; and, a J. Carroll who drove a stage between Prescott and Ehrenburg but was killed in 1875 in a fight with J. W. Evans.

<sup>1103</sup> Charles A. French (1864-1945) of Indiana settled in Arizona in March 1880 to do stone work in the Silver Bell Mine. He also participated in "Indian fighting," serving under Captain Burgess when he caught one of Geronimo's sub-chiefs in the San Pedro river country in 1885. French lived in Florence and opened a restaurant, which his wife operated while he drove the Florence-Globe stage. After a brief move to California, where his wife died, French returned and settled in Phoenix, where he operated a contracting business and helped construct the old Phoenix city hall. He later remarried and moved to Prescott, where he died.

<sup>1104</sup> Hartt visited the Ruins with classmate Rockafellow on New Year's Eve, 1878. The two had recently graduated from the University of Rochester, and were in Arizona with a party of prospectors. While traveling from Northern Arizona to Tombstone, they stopped at the Casa Grande ruins and etched their names in the form of pictographs. Rockafellow inscribed the two Greek letters for his fraternity, Delta Psi, and Hartt etched the shape of a heart, in honor of his surname. In the 1930s, Rockafellow's son Phillip visited the ruins and heard the ranger talking about these "pictographs" as possibly prehistoric. He admitted that his father and father's friend were to blame. Rockafellow and Hartt also carried off a piece of pine roof timber. They argued about whether to

Hennes, D. – 1903<sup>1105</sup>  
Jackson, Sheldon – 1876<sup>1106</sup>  
Johnson, L. B.<sup>1107</sup>  
Long, M. E.<sup>1108</sup>  
Lundy – 1881<sup>1109</sup>  
Milner, Joe E.<sup>1110</sup>  
Nelson, James Henry  
Pope, Dr. Benjamin Franklin<sup>1111</sup>  
Rockfellow, J. A. – 1878<sup>1112</sup>  
Sears, Alex – 1890<sup>1113</sup>  
Solomon, Lee  
Summers, H. B. – 1871<sup>1114</sup>

---

send the piece to Rochester University or to the famous anthropologist Henry Lewis Morgan. They ended up splitting the timber. Hartt sent his to Morgan and Rockafellow lost his piece somewhere near Florence.

<sup>1105</sup> Dave Hennes left this inscription during a buggy trip with his wife from Buckeye to the town of Kelvin. The Henneses later lived in Tempe and operated a 200 acre farm between Southern and Baseline Road, just west of the railroad crossing at Southern.

<sup>1106</sup> Rev. Sheldon Jackson was a Presbyterian missionary and Superintendent of Missions in the West. He first visited Arizona in the spring of 1876. On April 11, he visited the Casa Grande Ruins while en route to the Pima villages. According to a Dec. 6, 1960 letter from Hap Dodge, Jackson inscribed his name on the west side of the third story door, leading into the north room from the east room.

<sup>1107</sup> Name inscribed on east wall of the east room, third story. L.B. Johnson was born in Utah to Benjamin F. Johnson, an early Mormon pioneer, but later lived and died in Mesa, Arizona. He was in the first graduation class at old Tempe Normal School. Johnson is buried in the Mesa city cemetery.

<sup>1108</sup> The name of Miss M. E. Long is located in the Casa Grande's north room.

<sup>1109</sup> Name located on the inside south wall of the North Room, near the doorway on the west end of the room.

<sup>1110</sup> Grandson of Moses E. Milner, aka "California Joe," an Indian War scout who traveled with Doniphan's expedition, 1846-47.

<sup>1111</sup> Dr. Pope was an army surgeon appointed to the Arizona Medical Association in 1870. He became the son-in-law of Charles D. Poston, by marrying Poston's daughter Sara Lee. He died in the Philippines in 1902.

<sup>1112</sup> See fn5.

<sup>1113</sup> As reported by his great-granddaughters Margaret (Sears) Goodhart and Mary Linder of Eloy, Arizona in 1957, Alex Sears was formerly of Nebraska, Oklahoma, or Arkansas and he traveled through Arizona in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. He was of Cherokee Indian descent.

<sup>1114</sup> Father-in-law of Ike Biery. "H. B." apparently stands for Hiram Bell Summers, a '49er who, in 1869, settled in Adamsville and then Florence, where he served as a teacher and judge. His wife (Susan Campbell Summers) and daughter June joined him in Arizona several years later. Susan was a popular early-day teacher and principal in Florence. Judge Summers died in 1895 and is buried in the Florence pioneer cemetery. Susan is buried in Los Angeles, along with her daughter, June Summers Biery.

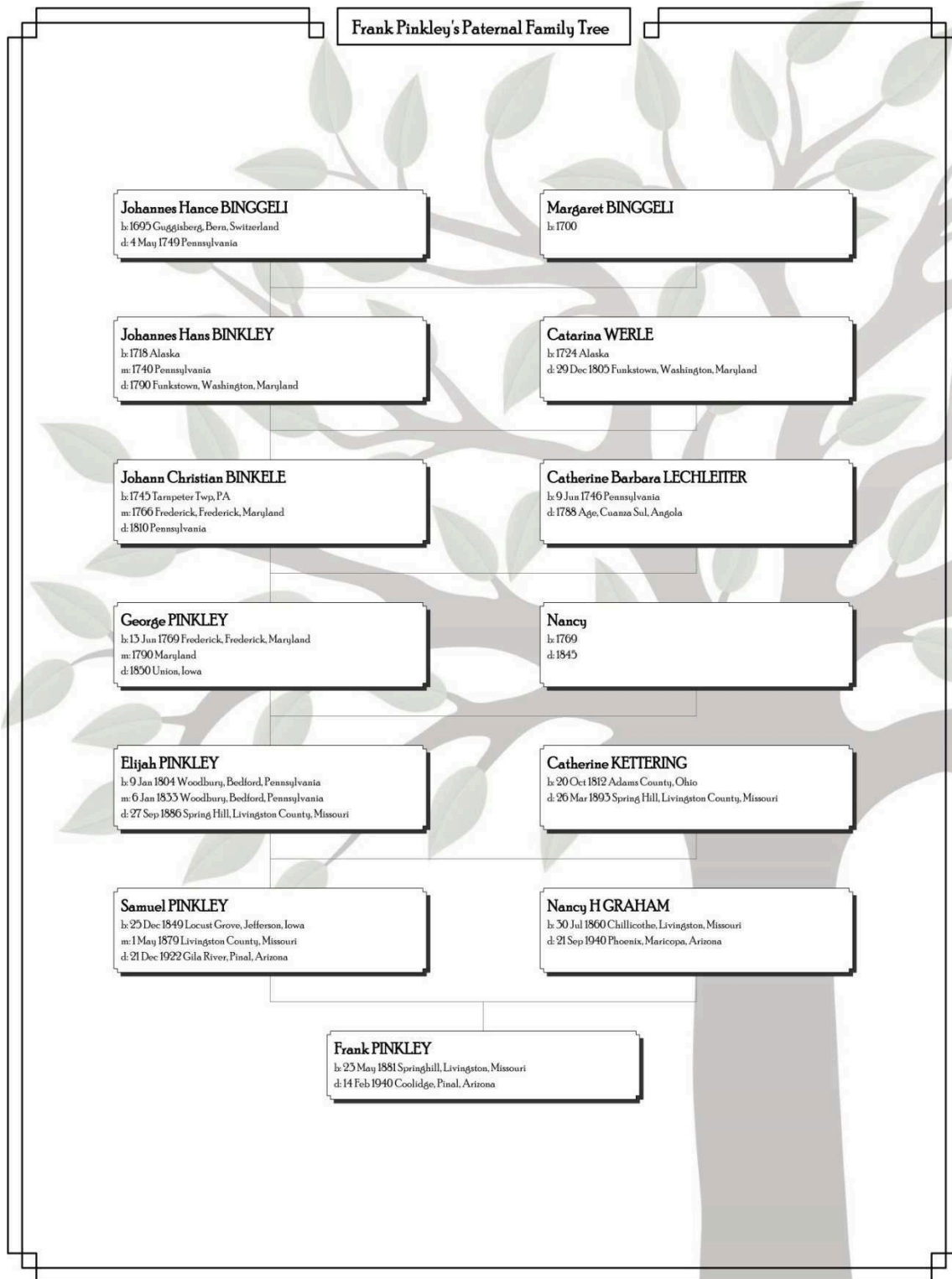
Walker, John D.  
Ward, John W.  
Warner, S. – 1896  
Warner, W.F. – 1896<sup>1115</sup>  
Weaver, Pauline – 1832

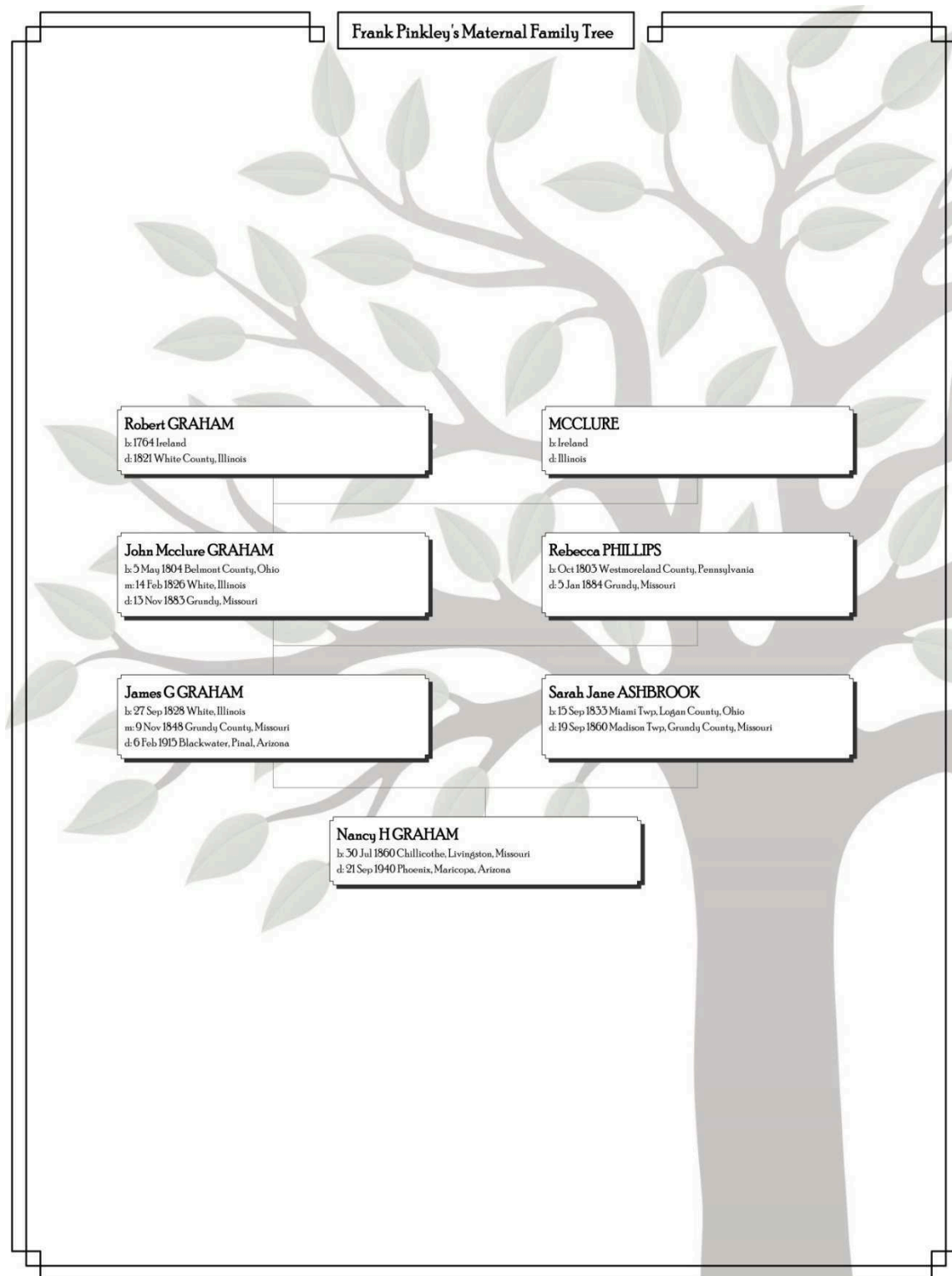
---

<sup>1115</sup> Possibly Wilbur Fiske Warner, a prominent 19<sup>th</sup> century fur and wool trader from St. Louis.

## APPENDIX B: FRANK PINKLEY FAMILY TREES AND PHOTOS

*Author compiled the following data by means of Ancestry.com, and generated the forms using the Family Tree Maker genealogy software program.*





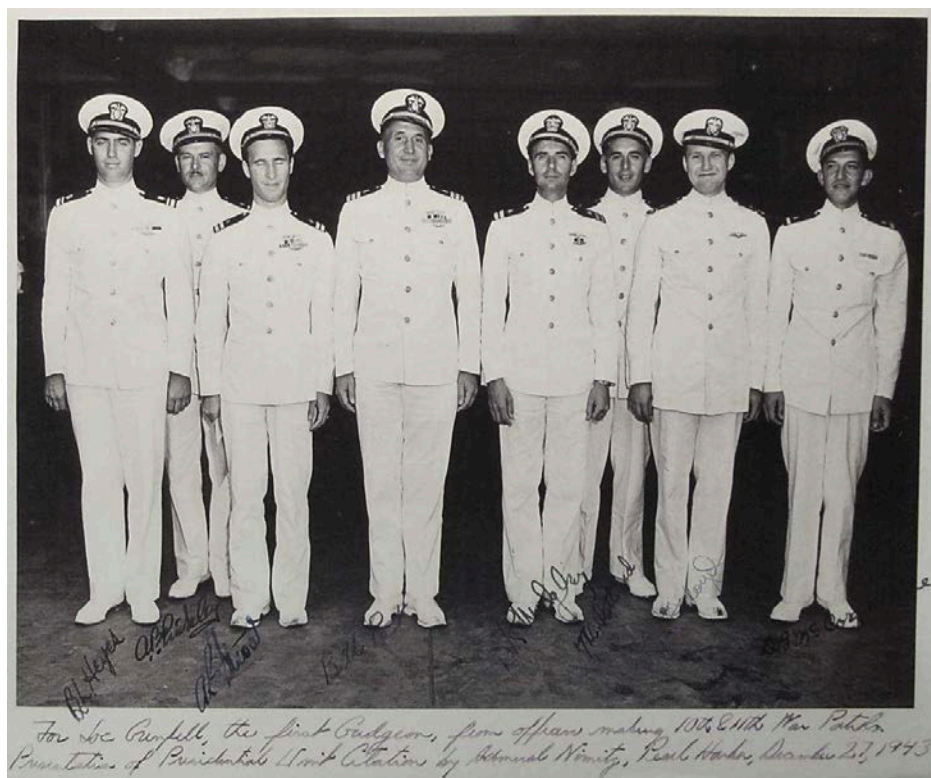


Figure 133. Photos of Frank Pinkley's children as adults. Top – Addison B. Pinkley (second from left) with the officers of the USS Gudgeon on Dec. 27, 1943. Courtesy Mike Ostlund's private collection. Bottom – Nancy Pinkley Whiting (on the right) with colleagues from the Red Cross, no date. Courtesy Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, ARG 34.

## APPENDIX C:

### WORDS AND MUSIC TO THE SONG "DEAR OLD CASA GRANDE"

3

# "Dear Old Casa Grande"

Words by  
Mrs. W. M. BELL.

Music by  
J. H. ANDINO.

Tempo di Valse.

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It begins with a piano introduction in 3/4 time, marked 'Tempo di Valse'. The piano part features a series of chords and moving lines in both hands. The voice part enters with the lyrics: 'Neath the walls of Ca - sa Grande, A ruin of the Bordered by the o - paled moun - tains, Where the six - hun - dred years or more, In the sun - lit land of skys al - ways clear and blue, It was there she told me Ar - i - zo - na, I met the girl whom I a - dore, In the that she loved me, And I swore that I would be true, And we'. The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. The piano part includes dynamic markings such as 'f' (forte) and 'mp' (mezzo-piano). The voice part is written in a single staff with a treble clef. The lyrics are written below the voice staff, with some words split across lines. The score ends with a final piano chord.

Copyright, 1914 by MARY BELL. Phoenix, Ariz.

Ca - sa Cran - de Val - ley, Where the riv - er  
whis - pered in the twi - light, Of the mys - tic

Gil - a flows, Where Mes - quite and tall Sa -  
race of yore, Who at one time had been

hua - ra, And the Pa - lo Ver - de grows.  
dwell - ers, On the Gil - a's lone - ly shore.

## CHORUS.

Dear old Ca - sa Grande, With your wide, wide,

Note:-  
Gila - Hé-lä  
Mesquite - Més-keet  
Sahuara - Sawä-rä  
Dear Old Casa Grande. 3.

5

walls, \_\_\_\_\_ Cas - tle Mon - te - zu - ma with your An - -

cient halls, \_\_\_\_\_ When a - gain six - hun - - dred

years roll by, \_\_\_\_\_ Could we but re - turn once

more, to old Ca - sa Gran - - de. Gran - - de.

Dear Old Casa Grande. 3.

H. S. Talbot & Co., Chicago.  
Music Printers & Eng'rs.

Figure 134. "Dear Old Casa Grande" sheet music, as originally sold in Massie & Sons "Son's Shop," Phoenix, Arizona. Courtesy Author's private collection.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

*The following references are divided into two major sections: Primary and Secondary sources. Within each of these sections, sub-headings indicate what category of primary or secondary source the references falls under. These references reflect only those sources or collections cited in this Historic Resources Study.*

### Primary Sources

#### ***Archival and Manuscript Collections***

Arizona Historical Society, Arizona History Museum. Ephemera Files. Tucson, Arizona.

———, Coolidge Historical Society Museum. Ephemera files. Coolidge, Arizona.

Arizona State Library & Archives. Biographical Database. Phoenix, Arizona.

Arizona State University Archives & Special Collections. Arizona Collection. Hayden Library, Tempe, Arizona.

National Park Service, Western Archaeological Conservation Center. The Administrative Records of the Southwestern National Monuments, Record Group 10. Tucson, Arizona.

———. The Archival Records of Casa Grande National Monument, 1907 – 1977, Record Group 29. Tucson, Arizona.

———. The Archival Records of Frank Pinkley, Record Group 34. Tucson, Arizona.

University of California, Bancroft Library. Western Americana Collection – Vol. 1: Pacific and Western Manuscript Collections, except California. Berkeley, California.

University of South Dakota, University Libraries, Archives & Special Collections. Mabel Townsley Papers, 1887-1968. Vermillion, South Dakota.

#### ***Published Works, including Annotated Editions***

Alexander, Eveline Martin, Charles H. Cook, and Isaac T. Whittemore. *Among the Pimas; or, The Mission to the Pima and Maricopa Indians*. Albany: Ladies' Union Mission School Association, 1893.

Bandelier, Adolph. "Final Report of Investigations of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried On Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885, Part II." *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America: American Series, IV* (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1892).

- , with Ernest J. Burrus, S. J. *A History of the Southwest. Vol. I: A Catalogue of the Bandelier Collection in the Vatican Library*. Rome: Jesuit Historical Society, 1969.
- , and Lewis H. Morgan, with Leslie A. White, ed. *Pioneers in American Anthropology: The Bandelier-Morgan Letters*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940; reprint, 1978.
- , with Charles H. Lange, et al. *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, 1883-1884*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970.
- Bartlett, John Russell. *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua. Vol. II*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1854.
- Baum, Henry Mason. "Records of the Past and American Antiquities" *Records of the Past* 1, no.1 (Jan. 1902): 2-6.
- Baxter, Sylvester. "Archaeological Camping in Arizona, Parts 5 and 6." Reprinted in "A Hemenway Portfolio: Voices and Views from the Hemenway Archaeological Expedition, 1886-1889," eds. Curtis Hinsley and David R. Wilcox. *Journal of the Southwest* 37, no.4 (Winter 1995): 605-624.
- . "The Old New World." Reprinted in *The Southwest in the American Imagination: The Writings of Sylvester Baxter, 1881-1889*, eds. Curtis Hinsley and David R. Wilcox. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996.
- . "Reconnaissance to Florence and Queen Creek." Reprinted in "A Hemenway Portfolio: Voices and Views from the Hemenway Archaeological Expedition, 1886-1889," eds. Curtis Hinsley and David R. Wilcox. *Journal of the Southwest* 37, no.4 (Winter 1995): 625-634.
- Bringas, Diego Miguel, with Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana, eds. *Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain 1796-97*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977.
- Browne, J. Ross. *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1869.
- Carr, Camillo C. C. "The Days of the Empire—Arizona, 1866-1869." *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* 2, no. 4 (March 1889). Reprinted in *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Vol. I: The Struggle for Apachería*, ed. Peter Cozzens. Stackpole Books, 2001.
- Castañeda, Pedro Reyes, et al, with George Parker Winship, ed. 1904. *The Journey of Coronado, 1540-1542: From the City of Mexico to the Grand Cañon of the Colorado and the Buffalo Plains of Texas, Kansas and Nebraska*. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.
- Chamberlain, Samuel Emery, with William H. Goetzmann, ed. *My Confession: Recollections of a Rogue*. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996.

- Clarke, Asa Bement. *Travels in Mexico and California*. Boston: Wright & Hasty's Steam Press, 1852.
- Conklin, Enoch. *Picturesque Arizona: Being the Result of Travels and Observations in Arizona during the Fall and Winter of 1877*. New York: Mining Record Printing Establishment, 1878.
- Couts, Cave Johnson, with Henry F. Dobyns, ed., *Hepab! California: The Journal of Cave Johnson Couts, from Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico to Los Angeles, California During the Years 1848-1849*. Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1961.
- Cozzens, Samuel Woodworth. *The Marvellous Country; or, Three Years in Arizona and New Mexico, the Apaches' Home*. London: S. Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1874.
- Croft, George A. *Croft's New Overland Tourist, and Pacific Coast Guide*. Omaha: Overland Publishing Co., 1880.
- Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "Itinerary of Reconnaissance to Casa Grande Ruins, December 31, 1887 to January 4, 1888." In "A Hemenway Portfolio: Voices and Views from the Hemenway Archaeological Expedition, 1886-1889," eds. Curtis Hinsley and David R. Wilcox. *Journal of the Southwest* 37, no.4 (Winter 1995): 590-664.
- Cushing, Frank Hamilton, with Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox, eds. *The Lost Itinerary of Frank Hamilton Cushing*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002.
- De Anza, Juan Bautista, et al, with Herbert E. Bolton, ed. *The San Francisco Colony: Anza's California Expeditions, Vol. III*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930.
- Dellenbaugh, F. S. "The True Route of Coronado's March." *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 29, no. 4 (1897): 399-431.
- De Nadaillac, Marquis, with N. D'Anvers and W. H. Dall, eds. *Pre-Historic America*. London: John Murray, 1885.
- Devine, Lottie C. "*Es Verdad*"; or, "*It is True*." Coolidge: Coolidge Shopper Printing & Publishing Co., 1964.
- Emory, William H., et al. *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, Including Part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers*. Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1848.
- Farish, Thomas E. *History of Arizona, Vols. I-VI*. Phoenix: Filmer Bros. Electrotpe Co., 1915-1918.
- Fewkes, Jesse Walter. "A Few Summer Ceremonials at Zuñi Pueblo." *A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology* 1 (1891): 1-63.
- . "A Fictitious Ruin in Gila Valley, Arizona." *American Anthropologist, New Series* 9, no.3 (Jul-Sep. 1907): 510-512.

- . “A Report on the Present Condition of a Ruin in Arizona Called Casa Grande.” *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology* 2 (1892): 177-193
- Font, Pedro, with Frederic J. Teggart, ed. “The Anza Expedition of 1775-1776: Diary of Pedro Font.” *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History* 3, no. 1 (Mar 1913).
- Garcés, Francisco, with Elliott Coues, ed., *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés (Missionary Priest), in His Travels through Sonora, Arizona, and California, 1775-1776, Vol. I*. New York: Francis P. Harper, 1900.
- Gashuntz. “On the March to Fort Yuma.” *Army and Navy Journal* 8, no. 34 (April 8, 1871). Reprinted in *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Vol. I: The Struggle for Apachería*, ed. Peter Cozzens. Stackpole Books, 2001.
- Griffin, John S., with George Walcott Ames, Jr., ed. *A Doctor Comes to California: The Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon with Kearny's Dragoons, 1846-1847*. San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1943.
- Hanks, Henry G. “Casa Grande.” *The Californian* 2, no. 8 (Aug 1880): 101-108.
- Haynes, Henry W. “What is the True Site of ‘The Seven Cities of Cibola’ Visited by Coronado in 1540?” *American Antiquarian Journal* (Oct 1881): 421-435.
- Henry, Capt. Guy V. “Cavalry Life in Arizona.” *Army and Navy Journal* 8, no., 43 (June 10, 1871). Reprinted in *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Vol. I: The Struggle for Apachería*, ed. Peter Cozzens, 96-106. Stackpole Books, 2001.
- Hewett, Edgar L. *Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest and Their Preservation*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.
- . “Government Supervision of Historic and Prehistoric Ruins.” *Science* 20, no.517 (Nov. 25, 1904): 722-727.
- . “Preservation of American Antiquities; Progress during the Last Year; Needed Legislation,” *American Anthropologist* 8, no.1 (Jan-Mar 1906).
- Hilzinger, John George. *The Skystone: A Romance of Prehistoric Arizona, Being Vol. I of the Chronicles of Máꞥacl*. London and New York: F.T. Neely, 1899.
- . *Treasure Land: A Story, Vol. I*. Tucson: Arizona Advancement Company, 1897.
- Hinton, Richard J. *The Hand-Book to Arizona: Its Resources, History, Towns, Mines, Ruins and Scenery. Amply Illustrated. Accompanied with a New Map of the Territory*. San Francisco: Payton, Upham & Co., 1878.
- Hittell, John Shertzer. *Hittell's Hand-book of Pacific Coast Travel*. San Francisco: the Bancroft Co., 1887.

- Hodge, Hiram C. *Arizona as It Is; or, The Coming Country: Compiled from Notes of Travel during the Years 1874, 1875, and 1876*. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1877.
- Hubbard, Elbert, and George Wharton James. *So Here Then is a Little Journey to the Home of Joaquín Miller by Elbert Hubbard, Also A Study of the Man and His Work by George Wharton James*. East Aurora, NY: Elbert Hubbard and the Roycrofters, 1903.
- James, George Wharton. *B. R. Baumgardt & Co.'s Tourist Guide Book to South California, for the Traveler, Invalid, Pleurist and Home Seeker*. Los Angeles: B. R. Baumgardt & Co., 1895, 139.
- Kino, Eusebio Francisco, with Eugene Herbert Bolton, ed. *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta, Vol. I*. Cleveland: the Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919.
- , and Juan Mateo Manje, with Ernest J. Burrus, ed. *Kino and Manje, Explorers of Sonora and Arizona: Their Vision of the Future*. St. Louis: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971.
- Kneedler, H. S. *Through Storyland to Sunset Seas: What Four People Saw on a Journey through the Southwest to the Pacific Coast*. Chicago: Knight, Leonard, and Co., 1895.
- Lloyd, J. William, Edward H. Wood, and Comalk-Hawk-Kih. *Aw-aw-tam Indian Nights, Being the Myths and Legends of the Pimas of Arizona as Received by J. William Lloyd from Comalk-Hawk-Kih (Thin Buckskin) thru the Interpretation of Edward Hubert Wood*. Westfield, NJ: John William Lloyd, 1911.
- Lummis, Charles F. *Some Strange Corners of Our Country*. New York: the Century Co., 1892. Reprinted, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989.
- Manje, Juan Mateo, with Harry J. Karns, ed. *Unknown Arizona and Sonora, 1693-1721, from the Francisco Fernández del Castillo Version of Luz de Tierra Incógnita by Juan Mateo Manje*. Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1954.
- Mayer, Brantz. *Mexico as It Was and as It Is*. New York: J. Winchester, 1844.
- . *Mexico, Aztec, Spanish and Republican: A Historical, Geographical, Political, Statistical and Social Account of That Country from the Period of the Invasion by the Spaniards to the Present Time... Vol. II*. Hartford: S. Drake, 1853.
- McClintock, James H. *Arizona, the Youngest State, Vol. I-III: Prehistoric, Aboriginal, Pioneer, Modern*. Chicago: S.J. Clarke and Co., 1916.
- Mühlenpfordt, Eduard. *Versuch Einer Getreuen Schilderung der Republik Mejico, Besonders in Beziehung auf Geographie, Ethnographie und Statistik, Vol. II*. Hanover: C. F. Kius, 1844.
- Noriega, Eduard. *Geografía de la República Mexicana*. Mexico: Librería de la Viuda de Ch. Bouret, 1898.
- Pinart, Alphonse Louise, with George H. Whitney, et al, eds. *Journey to Arizona in 1876 by Alphonse Pinart*. Los Angeles: the Zamorano Club, 1962.

- Pinkley, Edna Townsley. "Our Desert Home." *Sunset Magazine* 51, no.4 (Oct. 1923): 66-67, 75.
- Pinkley, Frank. "Ruminations." Supplements to the *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports*.
- Portrait and Biographical Record of Arizona*. Chicago: Chapman Publishing Co., 1901.
- Poston, Charles D. *Apache-land*. San Francisco: H. E. Bancroft & Co., 1878.
- Schultz, James Willard. "In Arizona, VI—The Gila Valley and the Casa Grande Ruins—The Fight at the Mountain Sheep Tank." *Forest and Stream* 73, no. 4 (Jul. 24 1909): 128-130.
- , with Keith C. Seele, ed. *Blackfeet and Buffalo: Memories of Life among the Indians*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.
- Sedelmayr, Jacobo, with Peter Master Dunne, ed. *Jacobo Sedelmayr, Missionary, Frontiersman, Explorer in Arizona and Sonora: Four Original Manuscript Narratives, 1744-1751*. Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1955.
- Sloan, Richard E. *Memories of an Arizona Judge*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932.
- Ten Kate, Herman, with Pieter Hovens, ed. Ten Kate's Hemenway Expedition Diary, 1887-1888. In "A Hemenway Portfolio: Voices and Views from the Hemenway Archaeological Expedition, 1886-1889," eds. Curtis Hinsley and David R. Wilcox. *Journal of the Southwest* 37, no.4 (Winter 1995): 635-700.
- , with Pieter Hovens, et al., eds. *Travels and Researches in Native North American, 1882-1883 by Herman ten Kate*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004.
- Truman, Benjamin Cummings. *From the Crescent City to the Golden Gate via the Sunset of the Southern Pacific Company*. New York: Giles Litho & Liberty Printing Co., 1887.
- Whittemore, Isaac T. "New Old Lands." *The Church at Home and Abroad* 8 (Nov. 1890): 466-467.
- Wilber, Charles Dana. *The Great Valleys and Prairies of Nebraska and the Northwest*. Omaha: Daily Republican Print, 1881.

### ***Government and Institutional Documents***

- Archaeological Institute of America. *Annual Reports of the Executive Committee*. Various years.
- Arizona Territorial Legislature. *Resources of Arizona Territory, with a Description of the Indian Tribes; Ancient Ruins, Cochise, Apache Chief; Antonio, Pima Chief; Stage and Wagon Roads; Trade and Commerce, etc.* San Francisco: Francis & Valentine, 1871.

———. “Arizona Territory 10th Legislative Journals, 1879.” Available online at Cracchiolo Law Library Digital Collections, <http://ualawlib.omeka.net/items/show/220>.

Arizona Territory, Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Arizona Territory for the Biennial Period Ending June 30, 1904*. Phoenix: H. H. McNeil Co. Press, 1904.

California State Mining Bureau. *First Annual Catalogue of the State Museum of California, Vol. I*. Sacramento: J.D. Young, 1882.

Davis, Arthur Powell. “Irrigation near Phoenix, Arizona.” *USGS Water-Supply Paper* no.2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897).

Fewkes, Jesse Walter. “Casa Grande, Arizona.” *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian, 1906-07* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912): 25-179.

———. “Excavations at Casa Grande, Arizona, in 1906-07.” Reprinted from *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections (Quarterly Issue)* 50, pt. 3 (Oct. 27 1907): 289-329.

Forbes, R. H., and the University of Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station. “Bee-Products in Arizona.” *Bulletin* no.48 (Oct. 1, 1903): 523-532.

Grossman, Frederick E. “The Pima Indians of Arizona,” *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year 1871* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873): 407-419.

Lee, Willis T. “The Underground Waters of Gila Valley, Arizona.” *Water-Supply and Irrigation Paper No. 104* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904).

Mindeleff, Cosmos. “Casa Grande Ruin.” *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1891-'92* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896): 289-319.

———. “The Repair of Casa Grande Ruin, Arizona, in 1891.” *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1893-'94* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897): 315-349.

Russell, Frank. “The Pima Indians.” *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1904-1905* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908): 3-391.

Smithsonian Institution. *Annual Reports*. Washington: Government Printing Office. Various Years.

Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology. *Annual Reports of the Board of Regents*. Washington: Government Printing Office. Various years.

- U.S. Congress, House Committee on Indian Affairs. *Survey of Pima and Maricopa Reservation*. 41st cong., 3rd sess., 1871, H. Doc. 139.
- U.S. Congress. "Memorial of Oliver Ames, John G. Whittier, Mary Hemenway, and Others, Praying Legislation for the Protection from Destruction of the Ancient Ruin of the Temple Casa Grande, Situated in Pinal County, Near Florence, Ariz. February 4, 1889." S. Misc. Doc., No. 60, 50th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1889).
- U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management. General Land Office Land Patents, <http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/search/default.aspx>.
- U.S. Department of the Treasury, Bureau of Statistics. *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States for the Year 1890*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891.
- U.S. Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission. *Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906.

### ***Manuscripts and Typescripts***

- Gamble, Ella W. "Life Sketch of Rev. I. T. and Mary A. Whittemore." Unpublished typescript. Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.
- Pinkley, Edna Townsley. "The Evolution of a House." Typescript draft ca1922. Later published as "Our Desert Home," *Sunset Magazine* 51, no.4 (Oct. 1923): 66-67, 75.

### ***Newspapers, Magazines and Journals***

- Albuquerque Journal*
- American Anthropologist*
- American Architect and Building News*
- American Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer*
- Arizona Republican*
- Arizona Sentinel*
- Arizona Weekly Journal-Miner*
- Atlanta Constitution*
- Auburn Seminary Review*
- Boston Herald*
- Casa Grande Bulletin*

*Casa Grande (Valley) Dispatch*  
*Chicago Tribune*  
*Chillicothe Tribune*  
*Coast Magazine*  
*Coconino Weekly Sun*  
*Engineering and Mining Journal*  
*Evening Times (Washington, D.C.)*  
*Fairport Herald*  
*Florence Enterprise*  
*Globe Democrat*  
*Hartford Courant*  
*Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star*  
*Los Angeles Times*  
*New Oxford Item*  
*New York Daily Tribune*  
*New York Evening Post*  
*New York Post*  
*New York Sun*  
*New York Times*  
*Phoenix Herald*  
*Popular Science Monthly*  
*Putnam County Courier*  
*Reno Evening Gazette*  
*Royal Gazette (Bermuda)*  
*Sacramento Daily Union*

*San Antonio Daily Light*

*San Francisco Bulletin*

*San Francisco Call*

*San Francisco Chronicle*

*Science*

*South Dakota Alumnus*

*Stone: an Illustrated Magazine*

*Sunset Magazine*

*Tucson (Daily) Citizen*

*Washington Post*

*Waterloo Daily Courier*

*Waukesha County Democrat*

*Winnipeg Free Press*

### ***Online Primary Sources***

Ancestry.com. *Polk's Arizona and New Mexico Pictorial State Gazetteer and Business Directory: 1912-1913*. [Database online]. Provo, UT: The Generations Network, Inc., 2005.

Nentvig, Juan, with Alberto Francisco Pradeau and Robert R. Rasmussen, eds. *Rudo Ensayo: A Description of Sonora and Arizona in 1764*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980. Available online at University of Arizona Library, "Books of the Southwest," <http://southwest.library.arizona.edu/rudo/>.

Pattie, James O. *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky*. Santa Barbara: Narrative Press, 2001), 91. Available online at, "eBrary," <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/librarytitles/Doc?id=5003626>.

### **Secondary Sources**

#### ***Books***

Auerbach, Jerold S. *Explorers in Eden: Pueblo Indians and the Promised Land*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

- Bahr, Donald M. *The Short, Swift Time of Gods on Earth: the Hobokam Chronicles*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Barnes, Will C., and Byrd H. Granger, ed. *Will C. Barnes' Arizona Place Names*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1960.
- Baur, John E. *The Health Seekers of Southern California, 1870-1900*. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1957; reprint, 2010.
- Blodgett, Peter. Introduction to *Mexican Gold Trail: the Journal of a Forty-Niner*, second edition, eds. George W. B. Evans and Glenn S. Dumke. San Marino: Huntington Library, 2006.
- Bolton, Herbert E. *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1960.
- Boyer, Mary G. *Arizona in Literature*. New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1934.
- Burrus, Ernest J. *Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain*. Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1965. Reprinted in *The Jesuit Missions of Northern Mexico*, eds. Charles W. Polzer, et al. New York and London: Taylor & Francis, 1991.
- Cole, Douglas. *Captured Heritage: the Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985.
- Christen, William J. *Pauline Cushman: Spy of the Cumberland*. Roseville, MN: Edinborough Press, 2006.
- Clemensen, Berle A. *A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve, 1892-1992: Administrative History, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona*. Denver: U.S. Dept. of the Interior and the National Park Service, 1992.
- Corle, Edwin. *The Gila: River of the Southwest*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964.
- DeJong, David H. *Forced to Abandon Our Fields: The 1914 Clay Southworth Gila River Pima Interviews*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011.
- . *Stealing the Gila: The Pima Agricultural Economy and Water Deprivation, 1848-1921*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009.
- Fiege, Mark. *Irrigated Eden: the Making of an Agricultural Landscape in the American West*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999.
- Flint, Richard. *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada*. Albuquerque: New Mexico University Press, 2008.
- Fowler, Don D. *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000.
- Golla, Victor. *California Indian Languages*. University of California Press, 2011.

- Hackenberg, Robert A. *Aboriginal Land Use and Occupancy of the Pima-Maricopa Indians, Vol. 1*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1974.
- Harmon, David, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley, eds. *The Antiquities Act: A Century of American Archaeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006.
- Hine, Robert V., and John Mack Faragher. *The American West: a New Interpretive History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Hinsley, Curtis M. *The Smithsonian and the American Indian: Making a Moral Anthropology in Victorian America*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981.
- , and David R. Wilcox, eds. *The Southwest in the American Imagination: The Writings of Sylvester Baxter, 1881-1889*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996.
- Hovens, Pieter, et al. *The Ten Kate Collection 1882-1888: American Indian Material Culture*. Leiden: National Museum of Ethnology, 2010.
- Iverson, Peter. *Carlos Montezuma and the Changing World of American Indians*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.
- Koch, Peter O. *Imaginary Cities of Gold: The Spanish Quest for Treasure in North America*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2009.
- Johannsen, Robert W. *To the Halls of the Montezumas: The Mexican War in the American Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Lamar, Howard R., ed. *The New Encyclopedia of the American West*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Marino, Cesare Rosario. *The Remarkable Carlo Gentile: Pioneer Italian Photographer of the American Frontier*. Nevada City: Carl Mautz Publishing, 1998.
- Masich, Andrew E. *The Civil War in Arizona: the Story of the California Volunteers, 1861-1865*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.
- Myrick, David F. *Railroads of Arizona, Vol. I: The Southern Roads*. Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1975.
- Orsi, Richard J. *Sunset Limited: the Southern Pacific Railroad and the Development of the American West, 1850-1930*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Palmquist, Peter E., foreword by Martha A. Sandweiss. *Carleton E. Watkins: Photographer of the American West*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983.
- Pisani, Donald J. *Water and American Government: the Reclamation Bureau, National Water Policy, and the West, 1902-1935*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

- Price, Jay M. *Gateways to the Southwest: the Story of Arizona State Parks*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004.
- Protas, Josh. *A Past Preserved in Stone: A History of Montezuma Castle National Monument* (Tucson: Western National Parks Association, 2002), [http://www.nps.gov/moca/historyculture/upload/moca\\_hist.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/moca/historyculture/upload/moca_hist.pdf).
- Rea, Amadeo M. *Wings in the Desert: A Folk Ornithology of the Northern Pimans*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2008.
- Reinhartz, Dennis, and Gerald D. Saxon. *Mapping and Empire: Soldier-engineers on the Southwestern Frontier*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- Rice, Glen E., and John L. Czarzasty. *Las Cremaciones: a Hohokam Ball Court Center in the Phoenix Basin*. Phoenix: Pueblo Grande Museum, 2008.
- Rohrbough, Malcolm J. *Days of Gold: the California Gold Rush and the American Nation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Rothman, Hal K. *Preserving Different Pasts: the American National Monuments*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- Rowe, Jeremy. *Photographers in Arizona, 1850-1920: A History & Directory*. Nevada City: Carl Mautz Publishing, 1997.
- Sandweiss, Martha A. *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Scarborough, Vernon L., and David R. Wilcox, eds. *The Mesoamerican Ballgame*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991.
- Schneider-Hector, Dietmar. *Sundipped Memories of Frank Pinkley: A "Man on the Lone Post at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona."* Hillsboro, NM: Percha Creek Press, 2003.
- Sheridan, Thomas E. *Arizona: a History*. Rev. ed. Tucson: the University of Arizona Press, 2012.
- Simmons, Marc. *Massacre on the Lordsburg Road: a Tragedy of the Apache Wars*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1997.
- Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land: the American West as Symbol and Myth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.
- Snead, James E. *Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001.
- Stanford University. *Sunset Magazine: a Century of Western Living: 1898-1998*. Stanford: Stanford University Libraries, 1998.

- Starr, Kevin. *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Theobald, John and Lillian, with Bert M. Fireman, ed. *Wells Fargo in Arizona Territory* (Tempe: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1978).
- Trimble, Marshall J. *Roadside History of Arizona*. Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 1986.
- Turner, Jim. *Arizona: A Celebration of the Grand Canyon State*. Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2011.
- VanderMeer, Philip. *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2009*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010.
- Wallenstein, Peter. *Tell the Court I Love My Wife: Race, Marriage, and Law—an American History*. New York: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2002.
- Weber, David J. *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest under Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.
- . *The Spanish Frontier in North America: the Brief Edition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Werne, Joseph Richard. *The Imaginary Line: A History of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, 1848-1857*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2007.
- Wild, Peter. *J. Ross Browne*. Boise: Boise State University Western Writers Series, 2003.
- . *The Opal Desert: Explorations of Fantasy and Reality in the American Southwest*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999.
- Wilson, John P. *Peoples of the Middle Gila: a Documentary History of the Pimas and Maricopas, 1500's-1945*. Las Cruces: J.P. Wilson, 1999.
- Worman, Charles G. *Gunsmoke and Saddle Leather: Firearms in the Nineteenth-Century American West*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.
- Zarbin, Earl. *All the Time a Newspaper: the First 100 Years of the Arizona Republic*. Phoenix: Phoenix Newspapers, Inc., 1990.

### ***Book Chapters***

- Byrkit, James. *The Story of Pauline Weaver: Arizona's Foremost Mountain Man, Trapper, Gold-Seeker, Scout, Pioneer*. Phoenix: Sierra Azul Productions, 1993.
- Csicsila, Joseph. "An Old Southwestern Abroad: Cultural Frontiers and the Landmark American Humor of J. Ross Browne's *Yusef*." In *The Humor of the Old South*, eds. M.

Thomas Inge and Edward J. Piancentino, 215-221. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2001.

Fowler Don D., and David R. Wilcox. "From Thomas Jefferson to the Pecos Conference: Changing Anthropological Agendas in the North American Southwest." In *Surveying the Record: North American Scientific Exploration to 1930*, ed. Edward Carlos Carter II, 197-224. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1999.

Hartmann, William K., and Betty Graham Lee. "Chichilticale: a Survey of Candidate Ruins in Southeastern Arizona." In *The Coronado Expedition: From the Distance of 460 Years*, ed. Richard Flint, 81-108. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.

Hume, Brad D. "The Romantic and the Technical in Early Nineteenth-Century American Exploration." In *Surveying the Record: North American Scientific Exploration to 1930*, ed. Edward Carlos Carter II, 301-316. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1999.

Pascoe, Peggy. "Race, Gender, and the Privileges of Property: On the Significance of Miscegenation Law in the U.S. West." In *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West*, eds. Valerie J. Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger, 215-230. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Swenson, Astrid. "The Law's Delay? Preservation Legislation in France, Germany, and England, 1870-1914." In *Towards World Heritage: International Origins of the Preservation Movement, 1870-1930*, ed. Melanie Hall, 139-154. Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011.

Weber, David J. "The Spanish-Mexican Rim." In *The Oxford History of The American West*, eds. Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss, 45-77. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

### ***Government Documents***

U.S. National Register of Historic Places. "Florence Multiple Resource Area." Florence, Pinal County, Arizona, National Register #432849.

### ***Internet Sources***

Maricopa County. "The History of Maricopa County Flooding." Flood Control District of Maricopa County, <http://www.fcd.maricopa.gov/education/history.aspx>.

Soza, Edward. "Hispanic Homesteaders in Arizona, 1870-1908." Books by Edward Soza, <http://parentseyes.arizona.edu/booksbyedwardsoza/hispanichomesteaders/index.html>

United States Geological Survey. "Major Floods and Droughts in Arizona." Available online at [http://geochange.er.usgs.gov/sw/impacts/hydrology/state\\_fd/azwater1.html](http://geochange.er.usgs.gov/sw/impacts/hydrology/state_fd/azwater1.html).

## *Journal Articles*

- Baur, John E. "The Health Seeker in the Westward Movement, 1830-1900." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 46, no. 1 (Jun 1959): 91-110.
- Brasher, Nugent. "The Chichilticale Camp of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado." *New Mexico Historical Review* 82, no.4 (2007): 433-468.
- DeJong, David H. "'Good Samaritans of the Desert': The Pima-Maricopa Villages as Described in California Emigrant Journals, 1846-1852." *Journal of the Southwest* 47, no. 3 (Autumn 2005): 457-496.
- . "'None Excel Them in Virtue and Honesty': Ecclesiastical and Military Descriptions of the Gila River Pima, 1694-1848." *American Indian Quarterly* 29, no. 1/2 (Winter-Spring, 2005): 24-55.
- Dobbins, Ed. "The Casa Grande Ruins Spoon." *Spooners Forum* 32, no.12 (Aug. 2006): 1-4.
- Doelle, William H., ed. "Hohokam Heritage: The Casa Grande Community." *Archaeology Southwest* 23, no.4 (Fall 2009).
- Ezell, Paul H. "Fray Diego Bringas, a Forgotten Cartographer of Sonora." *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956): 151-158.
- Feather, Adlai. "The Territories of Arizona." *New Mexico Historical Review* 39, no. 1 (Jan 1964): 16-31.
- Gardiner, Arthur D. "Letter of Father Middendorff, S. J., Dated from Tucson 3 March 1757." *Kiva* 22, no.4 (Jun 1957): 1-10.
- Hammond, George P. "Pimería Alta after Father Kino's Time." *New Mexico Historical Review* 4, no. 3 (July 1929): 219-238.
- Hilpert, Bruce. "Arizona Goes to the Fair: the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893." *Arizona and the West* 25, no.3 (Autumn 1983): 261-276.
- Hinsley Curtis M., and David R. Wilcox. "Arizona's First Sacred Site: The Mystique of the Casa Grande, 1848-1889." *Bilingual Review* 25, no. 2 (Jun 2000): 129-145.
- Hovens, Pieter, and Jiska Herlaar. "Early Anthropology on the Southwest-Great Basin Frontier: the 1883 Fieldwork of Herman ten Kate." *Journal of the Southwest* 46, no. 3 (Autumn 2004): 529-558.
- Ives, Ronald L. "Father Kino's 1697 Entrada to the Casa Grande Ruin in Arizona: A Reconstruction." *Arizona and the West* 15, no. 4 (Winter 1973): 345-370.
- Lee, Ronald F. "The Story of the Antiquities Act." National Park Service, 2001. Digital version, National Park Service, Archeology Program website, <http://www.nps.gov/archeology/pubs/lee/index.htm>.

- Longacre, William A. "Why Did the BAE Hire an Architect?" *Journal of the Southwest* 41, no.3 (Autumn 1999): 359-369.
- Martinez, David. "Pulling Down the Clouds: the O'odham Intellectual Tradition during the 'Time of Famine'." *American Indian Quarterly* 34, no.1 (Winter 2010): 1-32.
- Mattison, Ray H. "Early Spanish and Mexican Settlements in Arizona." *New Mexico Historical Review* 21, no.4 (Oct 1946): 273-327.
- Rowe, Jeremy. "George Rothrock: Arizona Pioneer Photographer." *Journal of Arizona History* (Winter 2008): 355-383.
- Sheridan, Thomas E. "Kino's Unforeseen Legacy: The Material Consequences of Missionization among the Northern Piman Indians of Arizona and Sonora." *The Smoke Signal* 49-50 (1988): 150-187.
- Snead, James E. "Lessons of the Ages: Archaeology and the Construction of Cultural Identity in the American Southwest." *Journal of the Southwest* 44, no.1 (Spring 2002): 17-34.
- Van Valkenburgh, Sallie. "The Casa Grande of Arizona as a Landmark on the Desert, a Government Reservation, and a National Monument." *Kiva* 27, no.3 (Feb. 1962): 1-31.
- Wilcox, David R. "Creating a Firm Foundation: the Early Years of the Arizona State Museum." *Journal of the Southwest* 47, no.3 (Autumn 2005): 375-410.
- Wilcox David R., and Don D. Fowler. "The Beginnings of Anthropological Archaeology in the North American Southwest: From Thomas Jefferson to the Pecos Conference." *Journal of the Southwest* 44, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 121-234.

### ***Newspapers***

*Canadian National Post*

*Florence Reminder and Blade Tribune*

### ***Reports***

- Jones, Thomas E., and Scott Solliday. "A Historic Context of Flour Milling in Arizona." In *Hayden Flour Mill: Landscape, Economy, and Community Diversity in Tempe, Arizona*, Victoria D. Vargas, et al. Tempe: Archaeological Consulting Services, Ltd., 2008.
- Rabbitt, Mary C. "John Wesley Powell: Soldier, Explorer, Scientist," *Geological Survey* 74-24. Washington: Dept. of the Internal Survey, 1980.

Stein, Pat H. "Historic Trails in Arizona from Coronado to 1940." Component of the Arizona Historic Preservation Plan. Phoenix: Arizona State Historic Preservation Office, 1994.

Wilcox, David, "The Architecture of Casa Grande and its Interpretation," *Western Archeological Center Archaeological Series* no. 115 (Sept 1977).

### ***Theses and Dissertations***

Caproni, Linnéa K. E. America's Pompeii: Travel Literature, Tourism, Pageantry, and the Making of Casa Grande Ruins, Arizona, 1875-1930. MA thesis, Arizona State University, 2009.

DeJong, David H. "The Sword of Damocles: Pima Agriculture, Water Use and Water Rights, 1848-1921." PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2007.

Jagodinsky, Katrina. "Intimate Obscurity: American Indian Women in Arizona Households and Histories, 1854 -1935." PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2011.

Kelm, Arnold E. "The History of Coolidge and Vicinity." MA thesis, University of Arizona, 1941.