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## THE PAJARITO OR CLIFF DWELLERS' NATIONAL PARK PROPOSAL, 1900-1920

THOMAS L. ALTHERR

IN ITS WASHINGTON COLUMN of 27 January 1901, the *New York Times* informed its public that the "demand upon Congress for new public parks, National in character, has been increased by one that will strike many persons as possessing peculiar attractiveness. Mr. Lacey has reported a bill to provide for the setting aside of a 'Cliff Dwellers' National Park' in New Mexico."<sup>1</sup> Two months earlier, the *Santa Fe New Mexican* had alerted its readership to this development: "A movement has been on foot for some time to have the region set aside as a national park and the ruins preserved for future scientific study."<sup>2</sup> Both papers referred to the beginning of a twenty-year campaign to create a national park on the Pajarito Plateau northwest of Santa Fe. This effort eventuated in the establishment of Bandelier National Monument in 1916, but failed to win national park status for the larger surrounding area.

During the first two decades of this century, a flurry of legislative and lobbying activity tried to create the variously named "Pajarito National Park," "Cliff Dwellers' [or Cave Dwellers'] National Park," or "National Park of the Cliff Cities." The first peak of this activity occurred around 1906, then a lull resulted until about 1914, when a new, even more optimistic round of pro-park sentiment surfaced. In 1916, the proclamation of the national monument dampened this second surge, but backers kept bills in Congress until 1920.<sup>3</sup> During the 1920s, lingering requests for the park prompted a National Park Service study in 1930. The service concluded that the national monument sufficiently protected the best ruins and that a national park encompassing more land was unwarranted. In the late 1930s, some of the land in question became part of the Los

Alamos atomic testing facility. Since the 1940s two further proposals attempted to combine the national monument with other nearby ruins into the Valle Grande National Park plan in the 1960s and the Pajarito-Valle Caldera National Park proposal in the 1970s. Neither attempt resulted in any concrete action. At this time the national park idea seems to be dormant or dead. This present oblivion into which the Pajarito proposal has fallen is no indication, however, of how bright its prospects were in 1905 and 1914.

By the first of those years, the success of the Pajarito National Park plan seemed imminent to its supporters. Archeological societies and famous anthropologists had heaped blessings on the project, and New Mexico politicians had lined up for this territorial cause, which they expected would further the campaign for statehood. Moreover, Iowa congressman John F. Lacey, ardent conservationist and chairman of the House Committee on Public Lands, had visited the ruins in 1902 and since 1900 had been trying to shepherd through Congress three bills under his name. Predicting the double benefits of increased tourism and scientific advancement, the *Santa Fe New Mexican* had been vociferously in favor of the trimmed-down proposals, and objections from the nearby Santa Clara Pueblo Indians and local timber and grazing interests seemed resolved by boundary adjustments in the plan. Like existing national parks, this proposal would appear to rob the nation of little or no material resources. General national enthusiasm for preserving Indian antiquities in the Southwest found reflection in Lacey's proposed protection act and the proposed Mesa Verde National Park in Colorado. With its scientific importance, scenic charm, and minimal economic value, the Pajarito area seemed a likely candidate for national park status.

This bright outlook of 1905 proved illusory, however. Congress did not rush to create the park. Instead, foreign issues, such as the instability in the Caribbean and the Philippines, the Panama Canal, and national issues, such as elections and progressive reforms, absorbed attention. In New Mexico the continuing drive for statehood drained political energies. Repeated argument over and redefinition of park boundaries blurred the focus of the plan. In addition, transfer of proposed park land to the Santa Clara Pueblo

under President Roosevelt's executive order in 1905 made protection of the remainder of the Pajarito region seem less urgent. Passage of Lacey's Antiquities Act in 1906 gave archeologists a mechanism for preserving and exploring the ruins without resorting to national park reservation. Establishment of Mesa Verde National Park that same year, a development on which Pajarito proponents pinned their hopes, may also have hindered the New Mexico proposal, as congressmen may have seen the Pajarito version as duplication of the Colorado park. As a territory, New Mexico probably was not able to wield the political clout that Colorado could. The Pajarito plan may, moreover, have suffered from cloudiness in the preservationist thinking of its supporters who expected that the new park would embrace scientific study, tourism and recreation, and grazing and timber-cutting. Such a park would have resulted in an uneasy truce at best among such competing interests.

But in 1914 the Pajarito proposal emerged again, stronger than before. Perhaps the immediate reason was a desire in Santa Fe to garner the increased tourist travel that would pass through the city on the way to the Panama Canal Exposition in California. Other trends, however, made the Pajarito plan seem more feasible by that year. Automobiles had proved capable of reaching remote areas, and national pride in western parks had swelled, resulting in the "See America First" promotions of the 1910s. On the local level, New Mexico, a state since 1912, felt entitled to its own national park, especially after Colorado obtained a second national park, Rocky Mountain, in 1915. On the righteous and commercial levels, New Mexico renewed its efforts for the park. The rejuvenated campaign owed much to the collaboration of the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce, the *New Mexican*, and particularly William Boone Douglass, a federal surveyor who had mapped the region in 1910 and who by 1914 had adopted the Pajarito park proposal as nearly a personal crusade.

But again, like the attempt in 1905, the efforts in 1914 failed. Worries about the Mexican revolution and border bandits and the European war drew Americans away from specific concerns like the Pajarito plan. Reform measures of Wilsonian Democrats engendered controversies that highlighted the pressing problems of



urbanization, immigration, city and business corruption, and industrial violence. Against such a backdrop, the preservation and conservation movements did not abate, but took on new meaning. Americans saw resource management increasingly as an integral part of the nationwide efficiency campaign and national parks as antidotes to the ravages of urbanization. Indeed those diverging viewpoints, evident in the Ballinger-Pinchot split in 1909–10 and the Hetch Hetchy Valley controversy from 1908 to 1913, spelled trouble for the Pajarito proposal. Around 1914, federal agencies questioned whether the park as envisioned constituted a national park or more properly a national forest. Moreover, requests for grazing and timber-cutting rights seemed contrary to national park policy by that date and more in keeping with the conservation impulses of the national forests. The Pajarito proposal may have been a park that Forester Henry S. Graves had in mind in 1920 when he charged that park supporters were compromising over possible economic exploitation in proposed parks to reduce opposition from commercial interests.<sup>4</sup> On the local level, powerful companies such as Bond & Nohl exerted pressure to keep the lands open to herders and homesteaders. The plan even lost the sympathy of Edgar Hewett, an archeologist who had favored the earlier idea but who by 1916 came to criticize the national park as unnecessary for the protection of the ruins. Although New Mexico senators and congressmen placed bills before Congress until 1920, enthusiasts had dwindled by that year to William Douglass and a few of his friends.

What then is the historical significance of the Pajarito National Park proposal? Why look at a failure, no matter how vocal its support, how vibrant its prospects at the time? The Pajarito proposal demonstrates how complex national park formation process was and further reveals that the creation of a national park was not guaranteed. Historians have tended to concentrate on successful national parks and to describe the opposition that they overcame. Yet a cursory look at the Proposed Park file in the National Archives shows that there were several unsuccessful proposals for each successful one. Many of those failures seem whimsical at best or pork-barrel projects of congressmen who interpreted Theodore Roosevelt's sudden arrival in the presidency as a green light for any

proposal no matter what its inherent worth. Yet other suggested parks, such as the Pajarito one, seemed to their supporters to have worthiness equivalent to Mesa Verde and other existing national parks. Explaining opposition to successful parks describes but part of the hindrances parks proposals faced, including internecine conflicts among supporters. As H. Duane Hampton remarked in his article "Opposition to National Parks," resistance "appeared in many forms and involved a great many complementary and contradictory ideals."<sup>5</sup> The Pajarito National Park proposal, one part pork-barrel, one part national in scope, illustrates the complexities of the preservation argument earlier in the century.

The first serious attempt to establish a national park in the Pajarito region occurred in July 1900, when the General Land Office ordered over 150,000 acres withdrawn from public sale or entry.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps drawn to the area by the writings of Adolph Bandelier and Charles Lummis and the explorations of Edgar Hewett, then president of New Mexico Normal University, the land office assigned clerk James Mankin to study the possibilities for preservation. Mankin visited the area in late 1899, and his report, dated 4 December 1899, urged the reservation of vast acreage and immediate creation of a national park named for the principal geographic feature there, the Pajarito Canyon.<sup>7</sup> Shortly afterwards, the Smithsonian Institution expressed belief that such a park would result "in the preservation for educational purposes of the most extensive system of cavate [cliff dweller] dwellings known."<sup>8</sup> In March 1900, Mankin provided additional information about the Pajarito region and repeated his recommendations. In April, the *New Mexican* warned that "deadly relic hunting" would cause the "possibility of scientific excavation" to "soon have passed away forever."<sup>9</sup> Persuaded by such reports and warnings, GLO Commissioner Binger Hermann obtained permission from the Department of the Interior for a temporary withdrawal order in July 1900. Accordingly Hermann ordered the GLO register and receiver in Santa Fe to withdraw the specified Pajarito lands from public availability and to publicize the order in local newspapers. The order would not affect any existing "bona fide" settlement or claim to that date.<sup>10</sup> That "temporary" order of 31 July 1900 stood in effect until its revocation in 1938.

The GLO order met at first with general approval. The agency

took quick steps to implement the directive by sending special agent S. J. Holsinger to Santa Fe for consultation on how to prevent excavation and vandalism at the cliff dwellings. In September, the *Denver Times* congratulated Hermann for withdrawing a stretch of land "as bare of inhabitants as Robinson Crusoe found Juan Fernandez to be" and applauded protection of the ruins. One month later Edgar Hewett wrote Hermann with warnings about "wanton vandalism" bound to occur the next summer unless the GLO policed the ruins effectively. Hewett volunteered to draft a bill for Congress, supply maps and other information and testify in the Capitol, if needed. He declared that he believed "more earnestly than ever in the desirability of creating this [Pajarito Park] into a National Park under the protection of the government."<sup>11</sup> Encouraged by such support, Hermann passed along his recommendation to the secretary of the Interior, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, who in turn interested the chairman of the House Committee on Public Lands, John Lacey, in sponsoring the department's bill before Congress.<sup>12</sup> When Lacey introduced the intended plan in December, 1900, he too encountered harmonious opinion. The Archeological Society in Santa Fe drafted a resolution that urged Lacey to preserve the grazing rights as well as protect the ruins. Hewett wrote to Frederick Hodge of the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology and exhorted that agency to back the bill in Congress. The only dissenting note came in the New Mexico governor's annual report in which Paul A. F. Walter, later a tireless worker for the park idea, argued that withdrawal of large areas of land to protect the ruins was unnecessary, that appointment of a custodian would accomplish the same purpose.<sup>13</sup>

With 1901, however, came some disagreement from, of all people, Edgar Hewett. In a letter to Hodge, Hewett belittled the choice of the term "Cliff Dweller" instead of "Pajarito" for the park's name. He thought the former was archeologically inaccurate, since other cliff dwelling areas existed throughout the Southwest. Hewett also pointed out that the bill made no provision for artifacts from the ruins. He suggested starting a museum in Santa Fe to house the collection. These early criticisms indicate what became Hewett's general pattern of thought regarding the national park. He saw reserving the lands from settlement as a means of archeological



preservation, not as a national playground.<sup>14</sup> Later in January, Lacey's House committee reported out the bill but anticipated Hewitt's objection to the name for the park. The committee preferred "Cliff Dwellers" because that name reflected "the purpose and object" of the proposed park and because they expected English-speaking people would mispronounce "Pajarito."<sup>15</sup> Apparently Hewett calmed down and decided the park was worthy no matter what its name. In March he wrote to the GLO and urged that agency to continue protecting the ruins, to assign a ranger "to ride the park during the four or five months of greatest travel."<sup>16</sup>

Hewett also expected more serious vandalism for the ruins that upcoming summer. Events proved him partially correct and underscored the need for the bill. An incident involving the arrest of two men excavating in the ruins and a challenge from the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad about timber-cutting privileges showed how unsettled the matter was. In the first, two excavators, George Cole and Milton Madden, claimed they had obtained permission to dig from the secretary of the interior and accused their accuser, Hewett, of more damage to the ruins than they had done. Caught in the middle was a GLO special agent, S. S. Mathers, who received a reprimand for exceeding his authority when he seized a shipment of artifacts Cole and Madden had removed from the ruins. Interestingly, in his report to the commissioner, Mathers wrote enthusiastically of the Pajarito's prospects as a national park and sounded an early note of patriotic tourism theory when he questioned rhetorically the wisdom of visiting Europe to see "some old robber Baron of ancient days" when wonders like the Pajarito ruins existed in America.<sup>17</sup> In the second issue, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad tried to claim rights, based on an act of 1872, to forested land for cutting track ties. The GLO commissioner responded forcefully to letters from the railroad attorneys, directed them to the difference between forest reserves and national parks, and ruled that the withdrawal order of 1900 overrode the act of 1872.<sup>18</sup> This interchange prefigured later problems for the park concept, confusion over national forest philosophy versus preservationism.

The Cole and Madden episode and the railroad challenge on timber rights convinced park supporters of the justness of their

cause. Calling for more interest in the cliff dwellings, if not specifically for a national park, the *New Mexican* reminded railroads that they could “very profitably advertise them [the ruins] among the leading attractions of the southwest,” a theme prominent in railroad support of national parks since the creation of Yellowstone in 1872. The governor’s report of 1901 called for gratitude from academic societies and public-spirited citizens for the Department of the Interior for its role in preserving the ruins.<sup>19</sup> With such evidences of accord, Lacey re-introduced the park bill with minor changes in January 1902, and in doing so triggered unexpected reactions in Santa Fe.

During 1902, the *New Mexican* four times criticized the boundaries of the park plan. In March the paper quoted the opinions of a pioneer settler of the region, P. H. Liese, who maintained that the park as proposed was too large, that it would be detrimental to local settlers, shepherds, and ranchers depending upon the lands for their livelihoods. In August, while Lacey himself was inspecting the ruins, the paper repeated Liese’s advice. The *New Mexican* favored preserving the ruins, but declared “Not an acre more than necessary to accomplish these purposes should be included in the area reserved. New Mexico is being plastered up with forest and other reservations which include at least three times the area necessary to serve the purpose for which they are created.”<sup>20</sup> This local pressure had its effect on Lacey, who reduced the acreage entailed in the bill drastically and introduced the revised bill in December 1903. Hewett had already predicted this change, in a letter to New Mexico Governor Miguel Otero, who incorporated Hewett’s speculations into the annual report of 1902. Hewett expected that reducing the land involved would still protect the ruins, provide for rights-of-way to them, and “remove what has been practically the only objection to the measure”—withdrawal of unnecessarily huge amounts of land.<sup>21</sup>

During late 1902 and 1903, however, new challenges arose from other quarters. In December 1902, Washington ethnologist Henry Mason Baum, in *Records of the Past* magazine, questioned whether the Pajarito ruins needed national park status; he thought that their relative isolation would protect them from much deprecation. The

Bureau of Forestry also wondered whether the proposed park involved lands that it expected to place in the proposed Jemez forest reserve. Moreover, the nearby Santa Clara Pueblo protested the creation of a national park because they feared disturbances to Indian gravesites and loss of their present firewood supply. And others doubted whether tourists could even reach the prospective park, even if it met all other objections.<sup>22</sup> In 1903 the bureau sent agent S. J. Holsinger to New Mexico to investigate these problems.

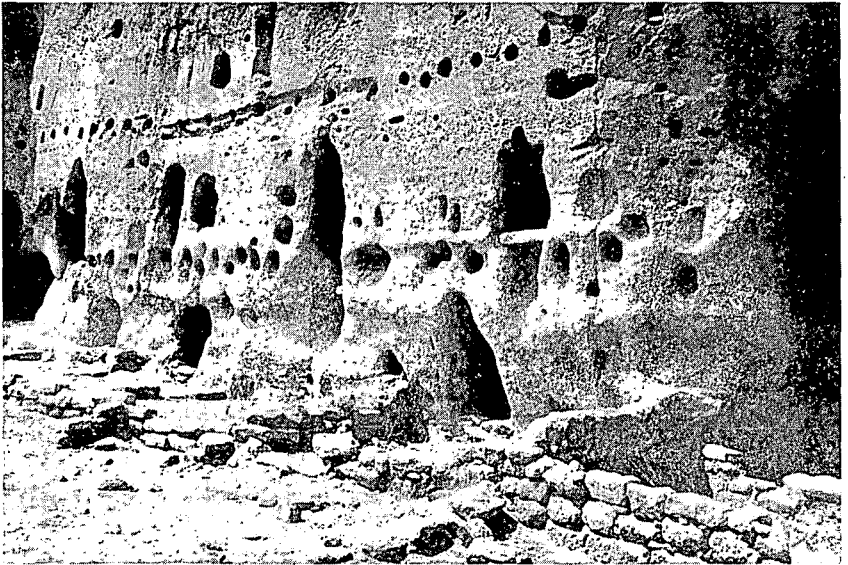
Having visited the ruins three years before, Holsinger was an ideal choice for the investigation. But because he had switched employment from the GLO to the Bureau of Forestry, jurisdictional problems delayed his appointment to the task until late 1903. Finally, in January 1904, Holsinger examined the area and submitted a report to Lacey's committee covering some of the objections. He found, for example, that Lacey's bill did not include the lands that interested the Bureau of Forestry, and thus no reason existed for interdepartmental conflict. As to the isolation of the ruins, Holsinger admitted that at present they were somewhat inaccessible, but he saw that isolation as a temporary condition. Indeed, he speculated that interest in the ruins would prompt the speedy construction of roads from the good road-building rock at hand in the park vicinity. The Indian claims, however, would be less easy to settle. He thought that the Santa Clara Pueblo would compromise on the establishment of a national park, but not without assurances of a right-of-way to the woods.<sup>23</sup>

The controversy between the Santa Clara Pueblo and the park proponents showed two liberal causes working at cross-purposes. As early as January 1903, Clinton J. Crandall, the superintendent of the Santa Fe Indian School and acting agent for the Pueblo, suggested to the commissioner of Indian Affairs that the Interior Department could accomplish two goals at once by transferring the ruins to the Santa Clara Pueblo reservation. The Indians, Crandall was convinced, would welcome the additional land, and they would guard what they considered the graves of their ancestors. Throughout 1903 Crandall repeated this idea of Indian custodianship and decried the national park as unnecessary. The Pueblo agent feared that park supporters had decided to shortchange the needs of the Indians when he learned that Lacey had submitted a revised bill

in December. Furthermore, the failure of Holsinger to appear caused Crandall additional consternation. In December, Crandall stepped up his protest, writing directly to Lacey and Bernard Rodey, the New Mexico delegate to Congress. In his letter to Rodey, Crandall, ignoring Hewett's letter to the governor and *New Mexican* editorials, claimed that he knew of no one who wanted the Pajarito Park, which was a "stumbling block" to Pueblo welfare.<sup>24</sup> Rodey responded five days later and told Crandall that Lacey had "liberal and splendid ideas" about not hampering settlers' rights. Rodey also declared that he, ex-Governor L. Bradford Prince, Lacey, and others did advocate the national park idea. Knowledge of Prince's support must have rankled Crandall because in a letter a few days later he voiced suspicion that Prince, who owned a ranch near the proposed park, stood to gain financially from tourism. Crandall reserved his strongest words, however, for a letter to the Indian Rights Association in Washington. The agent characterized the park effort as yet the latest chapter in the sordid saga of white oppression of Indians. He charged that Hewett had "concocted" the "whole scheme" and had duped Lacey into seeing "simply the scientific side to the question" and missing the "true side—the Indian side and claim."<sup>25</sup>

After Crandall received a copy of Lacey's bill his anger cooled. The conflict between proposed park lands and proposed Pueblo reservation lands was minimal. As a result, while accompanying Holsinger on his investigation, Crandall struck a more conciliatory tone. Holsinger reported that, after some discussion, Crandall and the tribe had "finally expressed themselves as willing to recognize the necessity or advisability of creating a national park, embracing the most interesting ruins, and declared they would be satisfied" with a one-mile wide outlet strip, known later as the "shoestring grant." Both the commissioner of the Office of Indian Affairs and GLO commissioner approved this accord.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps Crandall retreated from his criticism because sympathy for the park was increasing both in Washington and in Santa Fe.

Meanwhile, Hewett had continued to press for a park for archeological study. He urged William Henry Holmes of the Smithsonian Bureau of Ethnology to back Lacey's bill and particularly to recommend including the Ramon Vigil Grant in the proposed park.



Archaeological features, Bandelier National Monument. Courtesy of National Park Service.

That tract, presently due north of the national monument, would afford direct access from Santa Fe, the direction from which Hewett expected most tourism to originate. Then he revealed an interesting wrinkle in his support for the park. Hewett thought creating the national park in the Pajarito region, reserving representative ruins, would draw off the tourist trade and leave the remainder of the ruins open for "exploration etc., by reputable institutions and scientists," such as himself. If Hewett was self-serving is open to debate, but clearly he worked for the cause of archeology first and tourism second.<sup>27</sup>

In Santa Fe, the *New Mexican* continued to work hard for the park proposal throughout 1904 and the winter of 1905. In July, the journal reported that Prince, Crandall, and Baum had just returned from investigating Indian claims about the park and that all three thought the park would not arouse great resentment at the pueblo. The paper quoted Prince's conviction that the park "would be of greater benefit to Santa Fe than any other measure proposed for years" and reminded readers that the city could expect profits from tourists, who "of course" would "come and go via Santa Fe." Three weeks later, the *New Mexican* urged Rodey to save some time from the statehood issue to push for the park. In November, the daily exhorted newly elected delegate William Andrews to steer his actions on behalf of the park. In January 1905, the paper warned that only a public park could prevent deprivations to the ruins and two weeks later quoted a Washington correspondent who thought Lacey's bill would encounter no resistance. "There should be no opposition to the bill," the editor agreed.<sup>28</sup>

Hopes continued to rise in January 1905, when Lacey's committee held a hearing on the bill and reported it out favorably. The 11 January hearing, which concerned the Pajarito and Mesa Verde park proposals, was a veritable chorus of praise for both. John Foster of the Archeological Society of Washington, Francis W. Kelsey and Charles P. Bowditch of the Archeological Institute of America, F. W. Putnam of Harvard, Msgr. Dennis O'Connell of the Catholic University of America, Holmes of the Bureau of Ethnology, and Hewitt all testified in glowing terms about the New Mexico park's prospects. The only person to sound a sour note was Rodey. He questioned the wisdom of reserving an area in New

Mexico "as big as the State of New York." Rodey must have had other forest reserves in mind as well because the Pajarito park was nowhere near that large. Hewett and others met Rodey's question squarely, and the meeting adjourned with supporters confident of the future of Lacey's bill. Eight days later the House committee gave its approval.<sup>29</sup>

Although Congress did not act immediately on the bill, the forces of optimism remained strong throughout the spring and summer of 1905. A discernible change was occurring in the direction of the support, however. Hewett, the most vocal spokesman for the park, a man whom Lacey remembered as "perpetual motion at maximum velocity," was shaping the national park proposal as an archeological laboratory. In letters to Holmes and to the GLO commissioner the previous year, Hewett's concerns had been clearly archeological, still insisting on obtaining the Ramon Vigil Grant and opening the ruins for scientific excavation.<sup>30</sup> Although Hewett spoke in a July 1905 editorial of "the educational value" of the ruins for "the traveling public," the bulk of his remarks pertained to archeological matters. In addition, he emphasized that, in his opinion, the park would encroach on no settlers' rights.<sup>31</sup> Also obvious at this time was his linking the Pajarito proposal with Mesa Verde. Whether this strategy was sincere on Hewett's part or whether he was prepared to jettison the New Mexico park in favor of the Colorado one is not clear, but in 1905 he seemed desirous of having the government create both parks and worked hard in the public arena for both.

In August, however, the New Mexico park plan received a shock. The *New Mexican* reported that in late July President Roosevelt had by executive order added about forty-seven square miles to the Santa Clara Pueblo reservation.<sup>32</sup> Some of the land was from the proposed park. The paper thought the transfer would conflict "slightly" with the park boundaries, but Hewett was even more disheartened. The reservation extension "embraces all the great Puye and Santa Clara group of cliff dwellings, the principal center of interest in the proposed Pajarito National Park," he wrote with chagrin. While Hewett thought the addition of land was just, he regretted that the order pertained to land with important ruins

instead of better-timbered acreage without ruins. Hewett expressed his feelings to Crandall in September, but the agent responded that inclusion of the Puye ruins in a proposed park "would materially injure the Indian reservation." Consoled that the Indian Office would protect some of the ruins and the newly formed Jemez Forest Reserve would cover others, Hewett still feared the vulnerability of the rest because he wrote, "the national park proposition will probably be abandoned."<sup>33</sup>

Contrary to Hewett's pronouncement, the park effort did not fade yet. In March 1906, Andrews introduced a bill that reflected the Santa Clara Pueblo land grant, and interest back in Santa Fe heated up again. The *New Mexican*, calling for a national park and not just a forest reserve to protect the ruins and draw tourists, struck a note for regionalism: "The northwest has its great national parks in the Yellowstone region. There is no reason why the Southwest should not have a similar place of attraction." In April, the paper continued its support by running a story on the progress of road-building to the ruins and the next month featured a long article by Hewett. After touting the scientific potential of the dwellings, he departed from his usual archeological focus and argued that New Mexico could match the standards of European tourism by supplying good roads, hotels, waystations, and regular summertime conveyances to the park. The *New Mexican* agreed and added signposts to the list. In June the paper advertised a July excursion to the park for \$7.50, and then in late June declared that the recent creation of Mesa Verde National Park would help usher in the similar New Mexico park.<sup>34</sup>

Those cheers faded quickly, however, as preservation strategy suddenly took a different turn. Indeed, the Mesa Verde success and the passage of Lacey's Antiquities Act (34 Stat. L. 225) on 8 June 1906 signaled the immediate demise—not the success—of the Pajarito National Park proposal. Although the *New Mexican* blamed Rodey for failing to push the park hard enough, archeologists no longer needed the national park to protect their treasures.<sup>35</sup> Hewett and others did not waste much time lamenting the New Mexico park, but plunged ahead with yearly excavation seminars on the Pajarito Plateau. Later Hewett suggested that Lacey retired the



Pajarito bill in favor of the "more popular Mesa Verde Park measure," but nothing in Lacey's papers confirms that view.<sup>36</sup> Why Mesa Verde should have been more popular than the Pajarito location is not entirely obvious. Perhaps the Colorado park benefited greatly from William Henry Jackson's photographs or from Colorado's longer connection with the national political arena. Whether Hewett and Lacey had intended to sacrifice the New Mexico project to save Mesa Verde cannot be proved, but the lack of any mention of a national park proposal until 1914 was conspicuous.

Then in that year, the national park proposal reappeared, generating as much or more enthusiasm and controversy than the earlier effort. Yet the proponents' energies were not enough to overcome persistent confusion over the dimensions, goals, and reasons for the park. Although by May 1914 the *New Mexican* was declaring creation of the park a "national duty" and the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce was claiming that "nearly everybody is 'for it,'" such hyperbole did not reflect differences among supporters, growing local opposition, and environmental policy changes on the national level.<sup>37</sup> The Chamber of Commerce and the *New Mexican* acted mostly out of self-interest, as did Hewett and the other archeologists. The city elders sought to boost the local economy by attracting tourists, and improving the appeal of New Mexico by forming a national park was necessary to that tourism campaign. On the other hand, Hewett's group placed preservation and excavation concerns first. William Boone Douglass, speaking after 1915 for the National Parks Association of New Mexico, stressed all of those goals and then predicted wondrous benefits for both the city and state and science beyond the fondest dreams of businessmen and archeologists. Throughout 1914 these three parties cooperated in promoting the bills before Congress, but by 1915 splits were becoming evident. The newspaper began to waver between the national park and the national monument concepts, and Hewett apparently felt the national monument strategy would be sufficient to protect the ruins because by 1916 he became one of the most severe critics of the park proposal. After 1916 only William Douglass carried on the cause with much enthusiasm. The Chamber of Commerce and *New Mexican* chimed in occasionally with

praise for Douglass' efforts, but those groups were also attuned to the growing antagonism that the park idea had fostered.

This lack of solidarity among supporters may have been enough in itself to doom the park, but the campaign aroused major local opposition and also objections on the national level. On the local level, adding much acreage to protect the ruins inevitably angered one party or another that claimed grazing or timber rights. Area ranchers and grazers, often encouraged and led by Frank Bond of the powerful merchandising company, Bond & Nohl, objected strenuously to what they saw as harmful restrictions in the bills. Park backers tried to meet these criticisms by allowing many concessions and by enlarging peoples' rights to utilize park lands. Those provisions in turn brought the bills into disfavor with federal agencies that perceived the Pajarito park as an anomaly, a proposal that was not clearly a national park, a national forest, or a national monument. Policies regarding usage and protection of natural resources were by no means clear in the 1910s, but the congeries of competing designs embodied in the Pajarito proposal did not even come close to existing categories of use and protection.

Above all the development that spurred Santa Feans to desire a national park in 1914 was the Panama-Pacific Exposition in California. "We must have our park to secure our share of the Panama Canal Exposition crowds [*sic*]," the Chamber of Commerce wrote to Senator Thomas Catron. In more elegant prose the chamber resolved: "That in view of the approaching Panama-Pacific Expositions with their resultant influx of visitors, the needs of the State of New Mexico and the City of Santa Fe require the creation of said National Park."<sup>38</sup> This emphasis on tourism, a stock comment in chamber letters and *New Mexican* editorials throughout the year, fueled the hopes of other park supporters. Hewett volunteered his support in April and must have cheered when the Chamber of Commerce asserted in a letter on 5 May, "Our Park is a virgin field and we want it developed by archaeologists, not by forest rangers and Indian police." Bright with optimism in 1914, park proponents saw virtually no opposition on the horizon. Instead of viewing the Santa Clara Pueblo as a hindrance to the park, supporters insisted that "Indians grouped around the Park add greatly to its value." Moreover, from the supporters' viewpoint, the park would affect

only lands with little agricultural value. With such confidence, park backers expected nearly immediate establishment of the park.<sup>39</sup>

But by October 1914 the park bills appeared, to one writer in *El Palacio*, "to be buried in committee for the present." For one thing, reservations about the bills had arisen in federal departments. In April the GLO commissioner noted that the ruins were "more or less scattered," that park supporters wanted a national park because Congress had yet to appropriate monies for national monuments; he expected the Pajarito region would receive the same use whether it was a national park or a forest reserve. In July the commissioner repeated the office's noncommittal stance. The Forest Service, arguing that the bill provided no standards for protection stricter than what the service already required, contended that "a large part of the proposed park has no unusual features of scientific interest, nor any of the natural wonders or unusual scenic features for which other National Parks have been established." In addition, the Department of the Interior pointed out that the bills allowed for several "unusual" grazing allowances and worried that such a park would lead to a jurisdictional problem between the department and the Forest Service. Earlier in the spring, Sen. Albert Fall had also expressed pessimism about the bills' future in Washington; by October his predictions came true.<sup>40</sup>

Despite Douglass' continuing optimism for the park, the campaign never recovered much steam after 1914. Contrary to what park advocates hoped, the movement toward creating a national monument instead of a larger national park began to win the sympathies of supporters throughout 1915. Douglass and others objected to the national monument because they thought that proposal would not encompass enough of the ruins nor attract as many tourists as would a national park. Still, the national monument became a reality on 11 February 1916, and park proponents tried to build upon that event to create the larger park. Douglass declared forthrightly that the chances for the national park were better than ever following the establishment of the monument, but ensuing efforts came to no avail. Local opposition remained strong and persuasive, even in the face of point-by-point rebuttals from Douglass.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps the toughest blow for park enthusiasts, however, came from Hewett. In April 1916 he challenged the entire

contents of S.B. 2542 and asserted that no elected officials really backed the bill. He wondered aloud whether the promises of the park would materialize and asked: "What city has been built up or noticeably benefited from becoming a gateway to a National Park?" Hewett was no particular friend of the Forest Service, which administered the national monument, but he thought the service had done a good job of protecting the ruins. Since, he asserted, "no serious vandalism [had] occurred in Pajarito Park for more than ten years," he doubted the efficacy of withdrawing such a large portion of land from public availability. "Would it have been wise," he asked, "centuries ago to have made of Switzerland a vast park, barring settlement and reserving it solely for a pleasure ground?" Apparently Hewett was satisfied with national monument status for the area and had decided further challenges to developers and merchants would only aggravate his designs for excavation.<sup>42</sup>

Douglass tried to answer Hewett's article, but the damage was done. Senators Catron and Jones and Congressman William Walton submitted bills to Congress in 1917, but that legislation was so riddled with concessions that the federal departments were bound to object once more. The establishment of the National Park Service in 1916 did not help the Pajarito park proposal either. Instead of taking the project under its wing, the new agency, beset with its problems of winning respect in the federal arena, looked at the New Mexico park only half-heartedly. While the service sent Boston photographer Herbert Gleason out in 1919 to study and photograph the region and though he filed a very enthusiastic report in that year, the service did not follow his recommendation to create a national park. William Douglass kept making trips to the Capitol to push for the bills, but by 1918 he was linking his last hopes to a national plan to create a scenic highway connecting national parks and other pleasure spots. But by 1920, the national park proposal had faded into the background. Perhaps the most ironic commentary on this development appears in National Park Service correspondence during that year. The only references to the park idea were letters between officials trying to locate the Gleason report, which had disappeared—a disappearance that reflected the decreased interest in the once-bright park proposal.<sup>43</sup>

Although the idea for a national park in the Pajarito region emerged

again sporadically in the 1920s and 1960s and 1970s, none of these suggestions gained serious consideration. None provoked the controversy that efforts earlier in the century did. That campaign, peaking in two phases in 1906 and 1914, shows the fragility of national park proposals. Whether the Pajarito National Park had as many salient attractions as did proposed parks that gained genuine national park status is moot for historical purposes. Still, unsuccessful park efforts—like successful ones—demonstrate the complexity, the internecine arguments among proponents who supported the proposals. In short, the Pajarito National Park campaign, with its attendant arguments among archeologists, politicians, ranchers, the Chamber of Commerce, newspapers, the Santa Clara pueblo and their agent, and other lobbying groups such as William Douglass's association, illustrates well the flurry of competing designs for the same stretch of land and resources.

#### NOTES

1. "Washington Column," *New York Times*, 27 January 1901.
2. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 7 November 1900.
3. During the period from 1900 to 1920 the following House and Senate bills proposed creation of a national park in the Pajarito region.
 

H.R. 13071	56th Cong., 2d Sess.	21 December 1900	John F. Lacey
H.R. 8323	57th Cong., 1st Sess.	9 January 1902	John F. Lacey
H.R. 7269	58th Cong., 2d Sess.	14 December 1903	John F. Lacey
H.R. 17459	59th Cong., 1st Sess.	28 March 1906	William H. Andrews
H.R. 14739	63rd Cong., 2d Sess.	18 March 1914	Harvey B. Fergusson
H.R. 16456	63rd Cong., 2d Sess.	14 May 1914	Harvey B. Fergusson
S.B. 4537	63rd Cong., 2d Sess.	19 February 1914	Thomas B. Catron
S.B. 5176	63rd Cong., 2d Sess.	7 April 1914	Thomas B. Catron
S.B. 2542	64th Cong., 1st Sess.	16 December 1915	Thomas B. Catron
S.B. 8326	64th Cong., 2d Sess.	1 March 1917	Thomas B. Catron
H.R. 3215	65th Cong., 1st Sess.	16 April 1917	William B. Walton
S.B. 2291	65th Cong., 1st Sess.	16 May 1917	Andrius A. Jones
S.B. 666	66th Cong., 1st Sess.	23 May 1919	Andrius A. Jones
S.B. 2374	66th Cong., 1st Sess.	1 July 1919	Andrius A. Jones
4. Henry S. Graves, "A Crisis in National Recreation," *American Forestry* 26 (July 1920): 391-400.
5. H. Duane Hampton, "Opposition to National Parks," *Journal of Forest History* 25 (January 1981): 37.
6. In 1888, for unknown reasons, Rep. William S. Holman of Indiana introduced a bill into the 50th Congress, 1st Session (H.R. 11037), to create the Pajarito

National Park. How or why Holman became interested in the ruins and their preservation is not known.

7. James D. Mankin to the Commissioner of the General Land Office (hereafter GLO), 18 October 1899, Cliff Cities Proposed Park, Proposed Park File O-32, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 1, National Archives (NA); "Mankin Report," Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 1, NA.

8. Richard Rathbun to Binger Hermann, GLO Commissioner, 22 December 1899, quoted in Hermann to the Secretary of the Interior, [?] March 1900, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 1, NA.

9. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 30 April 1900.

10. Acting Secretary of the Interior Thomas Ryan to Hermann, 26 July 1900; Hermann to Santa Fe Register and Receiver, 31 July 1900, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 1, NA.

11. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 21 August 1900; *Denver Times*, 23 September 1900; Edgar L. Hewett to Hermann, 26 October 1900, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 1, NA.

12. Hermann to Hitchcock, 27 November 1900; Hitchcock to Lacey, 8 December 1900; Hermann to Hitchcock, 14 December 1900; Hitchcock to Lacey, 19 December 1900, reprinted in *Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office 1901*, House Document 5, 57th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901): 456-60.

13. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 14 December 1900; Hewett to Hermann, 26 October 1900, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 1, NA; Walter quoted in *Report of the Governor of New Mexico to the Secretary of the Interior 1900* (Washington: GPO, 1900), 347-48.

14. Hewett to Frederick W. Hodge, 5 January 1901, William Henry Holmes MSS, 2604, file 2, National Anthropological Archives, Washington; Report to Accompany H.R. 13071, reprinted in *Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office 1901*, House Document 5, 57th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: GPO, 1901), 460; Hewett to Hermann, 29 March 1901, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 1, NA.

15. *Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office 1901*, p. 460.

16. Hewett to Hermann, 29 March 1901, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 1, NA.

17. Hewett to Mankin, 29 April 1901; S. S. Mathers to Hermann, 14 June 1901; Mathers to Hermann, 11 July 1901; W. B. Childers to Mathers, 14 July 1901; Mathers to Hermann, 15 July 1901; Mathers to Hermann, 24 July 1901 (two letters); George Cole to Mathers, 30 July 1901; Mathers to Hermann, 31 July 1901; Mathers to Hermann, 3 August 1901; Mathers to Hermann, 10 August 1901, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 1, NA.

18. Edward O. Wolcott to Hermann, 17 July 1901; Wolcott to Hermann, 9 August 1901; Hermann to Wolcott & Vaile, 23 August 1901, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 1, NA.

19. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 14 August 1901; *Report of the Governor of New*

*Mexico in Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901, Miscellaneous Reports, Part III* (Washington: GPO, 1901), 389.

20. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 2 March 1902; *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 4 March 1902; "The Pajarito Cliff Dwellers Park," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 20 May 1902; *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 23 August 1902.

21. Hewett, quoted in *Report of the Governor of New Mexico to the Secretary of the Interior for 1902* (Washington: GPO, 1903), 432.

22. Henry Mason Baum, "Pueblo and Cliff Dwellers of the Southwest," *Records of the Past* 1 (December 1902): 361; W. A. Richards to the Secretary of the Interior, 19 August 1903, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 1, NA.

23. J. H. Fimple to the Secretary of the Interior, 9 November 1903; Fimple to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 9 November 1903; Hitchcock to Fimple, 4 December 1903, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 1, NA; S. J. Holsinger, "Report on the Proposed Pajarito National Park, New Mexico" in Committee on the Public Lands, *Preservation of Prehistoric Ruins on the Public Lands*, House Report 3705, 58th Cong., 3d Sess., 11 January 1905 (Washington: GPO, 1905), 30-34.

24. Crandall to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 3 January 1903, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 1, NA; Crandall to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 25 April 1903, Classification Files, 1907-1939, RG 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 46847-10-308.2, pt. 1; Crandall to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 22 May 1903, RG 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pueblo, entry 34, "Letters Sent to the Commissioner," vol. 3, p. 361, Federal Records Center, Denver; A. G. Tonner to GLO Commissioner, 15 October 1903, W. A. Jones to GLO Commissioner, 2 November 1903, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 2, NA; Crandall to Lacey, 16 December 1903, Crandall to Rodey, 16 December 1903, Proposed Park File O-32, Pajarito National Park, box 634, NA.

25. Rodey to Crandall, 21 December 1903, Proposed Park File, box 634, NA; Crandall to Jones, 25 December 1903, RG 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pueblo, entry 34, "Letters Sent to the Commissioner," vol. 4, p. 205, Federal Records Center, Denver; Crandall to Stephen M. Brosius, 17 December 1903, RG 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pueblo, "Miscellaneous Letters Sent," entry 32, vol. 19, pp. 26-27, Federal Records Center, Denver.

26. Holsinger, "Report on the Proposed Pajarito National Park, New Mexico," p. 33; Richards to the Secretary of the Interior, 25 February 1904; Tonner to the Secretary of the Interior, 8 March 1904, Proposed Park File, box 634, NA.

27. Hewett to Holmes, 29 September 1903, Holmes MSS, 2604, file 2, National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C.

28. "The Pajarito Park," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 23 July 1904; *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 13 August 1904; "The Cliff Dwellers Pajarito Park Reserve," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 30 November 1904; "The Establishment of the Pajarito Park," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 18 January 1905; "Preserving Precious Antiquities," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 1 February 1905.

29. House Committee on the Public Lands, *Preservation of Prehistoric Ruins on the Public Lands*, pp. 3–19.

30. Hewett to Holmes, 4 March 1904, Holmes MSS, 2604, file 2, National Anthropological Archives, Washington; Hewett to the GLO Commissioner, 14 September 1904, Hewett MSS, box 21, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

31. "The Pajarito Park Reserve," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 24 July 1905; "Pajarito Cliff Homes," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 12 August 1905.

32. *Executive Orders Relating to Indian Reservations, 1855–1922*, 2 vols. (Washington: GPO, 1922), 1: 127.

33. Hewett, "Anthropologic Miscellanea: Preserving Antiquities," *American Anthropologist* 7 (1905): 570; Crandall to Hewett, 27 September 1905, RG 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pueblo, entry 32; "Letters Sent," vol. 22, p. 441.

34. "The Pajarito Park," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 26 March 1906; "New Road Planned Connect City with Cliff Dwellings," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 24 April 1906; "Dwellers in Cliff and Caves," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 2 May 1906; *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 24 May 1906; "Excursion to Pajarito Park," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 5 June 1906; "The Pajarito Park Bill," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 30 June 1906.

35. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 24 April 1905.

36. Hewett, *The Proposed "National Park of the Cliff Cities"*, Papers of the School of American Archaeology, No. 34 ([New York?]: Archaeological Institute of America, 1916), 50. Lacey's relationship to the Pajarito bill is somewhat problematic. Author of the Market Hunting Act of 1900 and the Preservation of Antiquities Act of 1906, he was a committed legislator; but his papers at the Iowa Historical Society contain virtually nothing about the Pajarito National Park, and the tone of his remembrances of his tour in 1902 to the ruins was whimsical. See "The Pajarito, An Outing with the Archeologists," in *Iowa Park and Forestry Association, Major John F. Lacey Memorial Volume* (Cedar Rapids: Iowa: The Torch Press, 1915), 210–19.

37. "Chamber of Commerce Keeping Hard After National Park Bill," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 7 May 1914; Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce to Harvey B. Fergusson, 9 May 1914, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 2, NA.

38. H. H. Dorman to Thomas B. Catron, 15 April 1914, Catron MSS, file 222e, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe; Resolution of Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce, 21 April 1914, Proposed Park File, box 634, NA.

39. Hewett to Catron, 3 April 1914, Catron MSS, file 222e, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe; G. H. Van Stone to Catron, 5 May 1914, Catron MSS, file 222e, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe; Dorman to Catron, 15 January 1914, Catron MSS, file 222e, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe; Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce to Andreius A. Jones, 26 February 1914, Catron MSS, file 222e, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

40. "Cliff Cities Park," *El Palacio* 2 (October 1914): 4; Clay Tallman to Andreius Jones, 4 April 1914, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 2, NA; Tallman to the secretary of the Interior, 1 July 1914, Proposed Park File, box 627, file 12-O, pt. 2, NA; Fergusson to Van Stone, 11 July 1914, William Boone Douglass



MSS, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C.; Bo Sweeney to Henry L. Myers, 7 October 1914, Proposed Park File, box 634, NA; Albert Fall to James W. Norment, 4 May 1914, Fall MSS, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

41. "Douglass Strongly Opposes the National Monument Proposal," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 19 August 1915; "Prospects for National Park Best for 17 Years," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 15 February 1916; "Ranchman Gives Settler's Side of Park Enterprise," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 21 December 1915; "Facts About the Cliff Cities Park," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 11 January 1916.

42. Hewett, *The Proposed "National Park of the Cliff Cities,"* pp. 55, 56.

43. "Douglass Has Sizzling Reply to Opposition to National Park," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 1 May 1916; "National Wonderland Highway in Southwest Will Reach Heart of Prehistoric America, amid Greatest Scenic Wonders," *Taos Valley News*, 24 December 1918; Herbert W. Gleason, *The Proposed Park of the Cliff Cities*, Bandelier Library Accession No. 595, Bandelier National Monument, N. Mex.