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Tumacácori National Historical Park
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Tumacácori National Historical Park
An Administrative History

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INTRODUCTION

Tumacácori National Historical Park is in the Pimería Alta area of southern Arizona, a desert region characterized by linked mountain ranges and intervening valleys, many of which contain small, mostly intermittent, streams. The park consists of three discrete units comprising 360 acres. The Guevavi unit is 8 acres, the Calabazas unit encompasses 22 acres, and the Tumacácori unit is the largest with 330 acres, and is also the site of park headquarters. Tumacácori is the most visited and developed of the three units. All three park units are situated along the Santa Cruz River, which flows north out of Sonora, Mexico, into Arizona. Park headquarters at the Tumacácori unit is 18 miles north of Nogales, Arizona, and 50 miles south of Tucson, Arizona (figure 1).

The park includes vestiges of three Spanish missions–Los Santos Ángeles de Guevavi, San Cayetano de Calabazas, and San José de Tumacácori. The missions were the remote and precarious outposts of Christendom and empire in the 18th and 19th centuries. Padre Eusebio Kino established the Guevavi and Tumacácori Missions in 1691. Calabazas was founded in the 1750s. Guevavi was abandoned 20 years later in the 1770s, and Calabazas was abandoned approximately 10 years later. The Tumacácori Mission was the most resilient of the three. It remained active until the late 1840s. The missions are a testament to the determination and resilience of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries and the O'odham among whom the padres lived and interacted.

Even with abandonment, the sites remained relevant to local residents. Settlers, mostly the O'odham, continued to live near Guevavi after its abandonment. Calabazas became the Tumacácori ranch headquarters. The *visita* (a mission without a resident missionary) was later occupied by German and Mexican ranchers, U.S. military officers and other officials, and finally, coveted by land speculators. The area around Tumacácori was also eventually settled by people from both the United States and Mexico. The histories of these sites, therefore, reflect not only the missionary past of the *Pimería Alta* (the upper lands of the Pima in English), but also the cultural interaction that shaped life in the region since at least 1691.

Theodore Roosevelt created Tumacácori National Monument by presidential proclamation on September 15 1908. The U.S. Forest Service administered the 10-acre monument, which only included the San José de Tumacácori mission complex, for a decade. The National Park Service assumed management of the site in 1918, but there was no resident custodian until 1929.

To acquire a lime kiln associated with the mission, the monument was expanded by a 0.15-acre parcel in 1958. Another expansion that added approximately 5 acres to Tumacácori National Monument occurred in 1978. A large portion of the acquired lands are now used by the park as the fiesta grounds. Two important changes occurred in 1990. Approximately 30 acres encompassing two separate sites (Los Ángeles de Guevavi and San Cayetano de Calabazas) were added to the monument, thereby creating three distinct park units. Legislation redesignated Tumacácori National Monument as Tumacácori National Historical Park. A final expansion, which added 310 acres to the Tumacácori unit of the park, occurred in 2002. The new park lands contained important resources, including the mission orchard and riparian habitat along the Santa Cruz River.

Today, Tumacácori National Historical Park preserves and interprets the physical remains of the missionary past, the natural resources of the Santa Cruz Valley, and celebrates the region's important traditions of cultural interaction among those of Hispanic, Indian, and European heritage.

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 1. AREA MAP

CHAPTER 1: TUMACÁCORI, GUEVAVI, AND CALABAZAS: FATHERS, FRIARS, AND INDIANS

Tumacácori National Historical Park embodies the history of the southwestern United States—a story that is inherently transnational. The park does not physically span political borders, but the resources that it preserves and interprets are as much a part of the Mexican history narrative as they are a nationally significant American[1] story. The missions at San José de Tumacácori (Tumacácori), San Cayetano de Calabazas (Calabazas), and Los Santos Ángeles de Guevavi (Guevavi) reflect a past of cultural contact, determination, personal survival, and conflict that began nearly two centuries before the region became part of the United States in 1854. It is also a history in which geopolitical control was elusive as Spaniards, Mexicans, and Indians interacted on a fluid frontier[2] in an austere environment.

When the Spanish first arrived in the area of present-day southern Arizona and northern Sonora, they called the O'odham Indians "Pimas," and the area became known as the Pimería Alta–the upper lands of the Pima. The missions at Tumacácori, Guevavi, and Calabazas were established in the region of the Pimería Alta. While the Pimería Alta was beyond the edge of civilization to the Spanish, it was home to a diverse population of Indian groups.

There were several distinct O'odham populations that were descendants of the Hohokam who lived in the region for about 500 years until the mid-15th century. The missionaries interacted with two O'odham groups in the Pimería Alta (southern Arizona and northern Sonora). The Spanish called those who lived along the rivers, *Pima*. They called the O'odham who lived in the deserts *Papago*. Other groups occupied the southern (Baja) portion of the Pimería Alta (figure 2).

The O'odham typically cultivated corn, beans, squash, and cotton using irrigation. Their diet also included a variety of wild plants, fish, and game. The O'odham groups known by the Spanish as Papago lived in villages and rancherias (small seminomadic settlements) in desert areas of what is now the United States-Mexico border. They were relatively mobile and, as water sources dried up, moved from place to place. Hunting and gathering represented a significant component of Papago subsistence strategies, but they did cultivate crops during the rainy season when adequate water was available. The Spanish called the people living in the river valleys Sobaipuri and Pima. They were less likely than the Papago to move with the seasons because they lived near dependable water sources. During the summer, they often ventured into small camps in the mountains.[3]

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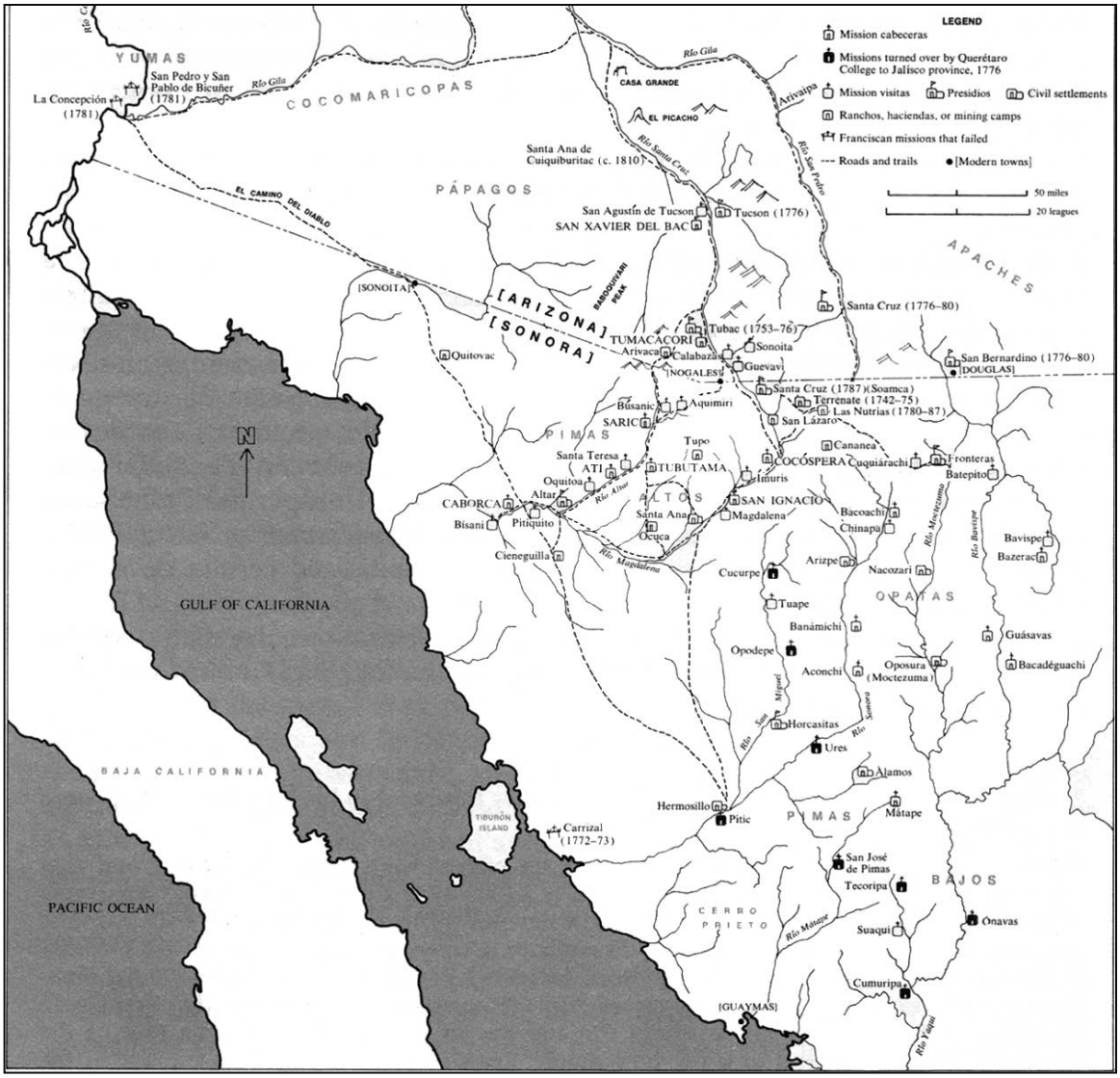
1 The term "American" is used to describe that which relates to the United States. The term "Spanish" refers to persons and topics that are associated with Spain and "Mexican" refers to that which is related to Mexico. These terms are limited to descriptions of national and political designations (citizenship, governments, states).

2 The term "frontier" signifies a place where geographical and cultural dominance is not established. A "frontier" becomes a "borderland" when colonial or national interests compete to control a region (economically, culturally, or politically), but where neither group is able to gain absolute dominance. For more information on the lexical complexity of frontiers, borderlands, and bordered lands, see Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 104, no. 3 (June 1999) 814–841.

3 Merwyn S. Garbarino and Robert F. Sasso, *Native American Heritage,* 3rd. ed. (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 1994) 231–233.



Source: John L. Kessell (1976)

FIGURE 2. HUMAN OCCUPATION OF THE PIMERÍA ALTA, 1767

While the O'odham were semisedentary, other native residents of the region were considerably more mobile. The Apache likely first arrived in the Pimería Alta sometime in the mid-14th century. However, as a group that ranged far and traveled light, they left little verifiable evidence of their arrival in the southern desert. The Apache were well established in the region by the 1600s. They occupied and controlled many of the mountainous areas of what became southern Arizona. Apache subsistence was primarily based on hunting, gathering, and raiding. The O'odham settlements along the rivers became a popular target for Apaches who raided the villages from their bases in the Pinaleño, Chiricahua, and other mountain ranges (Figure 4: Landforms of the Pimería Alta).[4]

4 Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest: 1533–1960* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1962) 230–231, 237; Geronimo, S. M. Barrett and Fredrick Turner, *Geronimo: His Own Story* (New York, NY: Penguin, 199) 15.

Several other native groups that are represented in Tumacácori mission records were living in the region at the end of the 17th century when Spanish missionaries first visited the Pimería Alta. These include the Yaqui, Seri, and Ópata. The Yaqui lived in the Rio Yaqui valley of western Sonora and Sinaloa, Mexico. They, like the O'odham, grew crops and supplemented their diet and material culture with fish, game, and wild plants. The Yaqui were one of the first groups that Spanish missionaries contacted in the northern frontier of the empire. Even though they were based in agricultural settlements, the Yaqui traveled throughout the region and became valuable scouts for the Spanish. The Seri, who have lived in western Sonora for 500 years, were primarily fishermen who had a relatively mobile lifestyle in the area between the current cities of Guaymas and Hermosillo, Sonora. They also ranged far inland in search of wild plants and animals to support their subsistence. The Ópata occupied a region east and north of the Yaqui and Seri, in central and northeastern Sonora. They lived in agricultural villages up and down the Sonoran inland river valleys. Like most other agricultural groups in the region, they grew corn, beans, squash, and cotton.[5] After initially resisting Spanish intrusions, the Ópata were missionized by the late 17th century, which coincided with the Jesuits penetrating farther into the northern periphery of New Spain (essentially Mexico and the southwestern United States).

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 3. PADRE KINO AND O'ODOM GUIDE

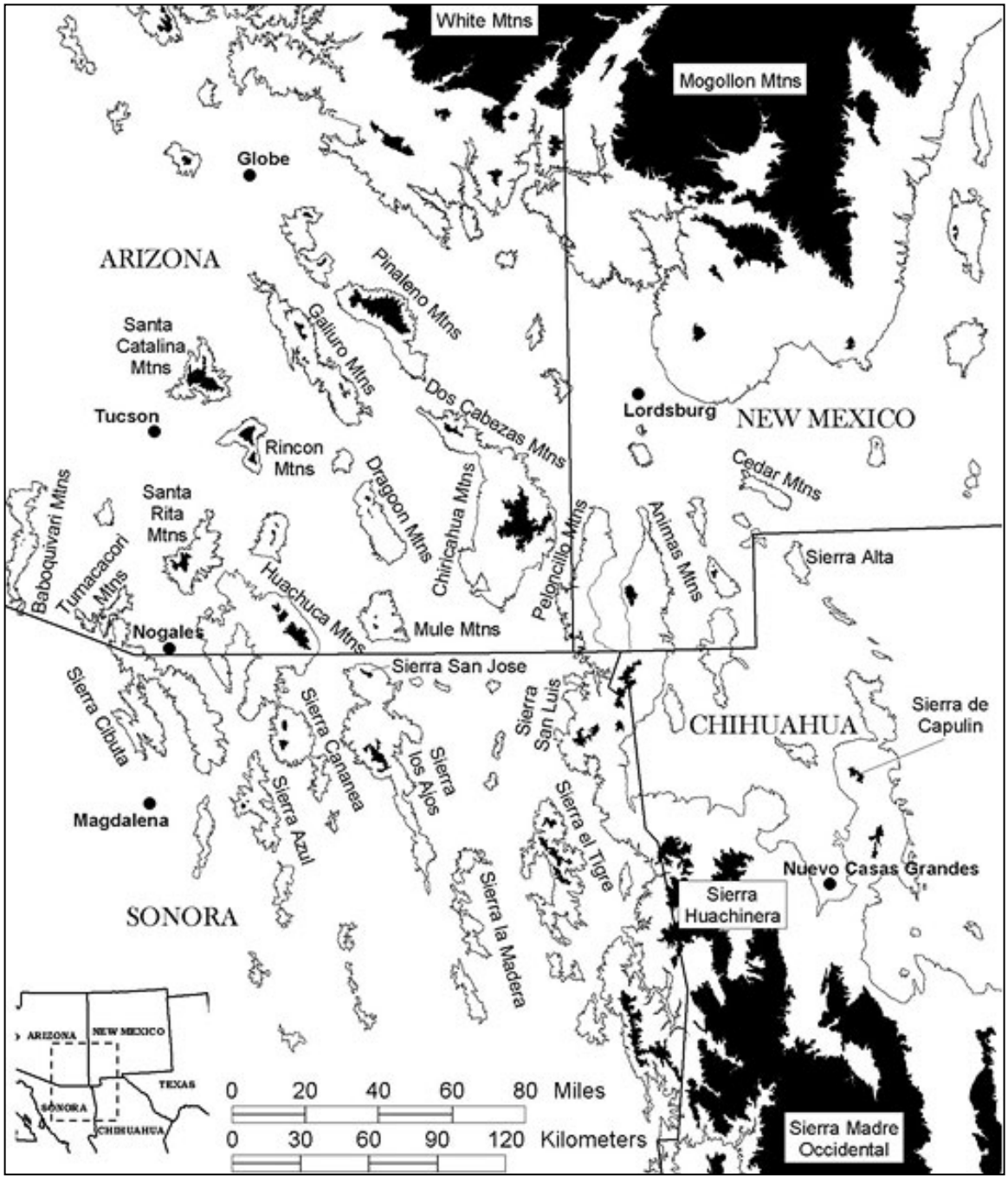
Spanish missionaries, such as Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, who established Tumacácori and Guevavi, settled and operated in a region with a rich, diverse history of human habitation and interaction. This was a condition that Father Kino and his fellow Jesuits understood. The missionaries in their black robes had been active on the northwest frontier of New Spain since the 1590s. By the time Father Kino crossed into the Pimería Alta in the late 1680s, the missionaries had established outposts among the Mayo, Yaqui, Eudeve, Ópata, and other populations that resided in the northwest borderlands of the Spanish empire.[6]

The Jesuits were well prepared for the task of establishing missions among the Indians of the Pimería Alta. The determination and focus that such a task required were fundamental to their religious order.

A Basque priest named Ignacio de Loyola founded the Jesuit Order in 1540. In less than two decades, the order, also known as the Society of Jesus, had grown to nearly 1,000 members who were known for their intellectual exceptionalism, rigorous training, and discipline. The Jesuit ranks swelled to over 15,000 worldwide by the 1630s and continued to grow over subsequent decades.

5 Thomas E. Sheridan and Nancy J. Perezo, eds., *Paths of Life: American Indians of the Southwest and Northern Mexico* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona, 1996) 196; Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest,* 90, 92, 105, 109.

6 Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700–1850* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 34; John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002) 129.



Source: Sky Island Alliance; http://www.skyislandalliance.org

FIGURE 4. LANDFORMS OF THE PIMERÍA ALTA

Characteristics required for becoming a Jesuit included mental fortitude and physical fitness for a life of education and missionary work. One of Loyola's passions had been the conversion of nonbelievers to Roman Catholicism, which was still a cornerstone of Jesuit efforts a century after he formed the order.[7]

Father Kino, a man described by historian John L. Kessell as "a muscular, wavy haired Tyrolean with the intensity of Saint Paul," was the personification of the Jesuit Order. Kino took to his calling with remarkable determination. After turning down an academic appointment in Spain, he traveled to Mexico in 1678 to extend the realm of Roman Catholicism in New Spain. Kino, after a brief stay in Mexico City, joined an ill-fated expedition to missionize Baja California. The Spanish government stopped funding the project in 1686 and Father Kino was reassigned as the first missionary to the Pimería Alta region a year later.[8]

For the next 25 years, Father Kino was spreading Spanish and Catholic influence throughout the Pimería Alta. He established over 20 missions including those at Tumacácori, Guevavi, and San Xavier del Bac (see figure 2). He also introduced livestock, grains, and other new and uncommon crops to the O'odham living in the region. Father Kino was based out of the mission he established on March 12, 1687 (Nuestra Señora de los Dolores) in what became north-central Sonora. He spent his first years working in the vicinity of the Dolores mission. In January 1691, however, he and a fellow Jesuit, Father Juan María de Salvatierra, embarked on a journey carrying them deeper into the Pimería Alta. They traveled north from the Dolores mission and encountered O'odham rancherias along the way. The residents welcomed the black-robed priests and beckoned them to travel farther north into regions that Father Kino had never visited. The men crossed what became the United States-Mexico border just west of the current community of Ambos Nogales. At this point, the Santa Cruz River marked their route as Indians (including O'odham, Yaqui, and Ópata) guided them along the river's course to a settlement that was anticipating the arrival of the fathers.[9]

The community on the banks of the Santa Cruz River consisted of at least 40 scattered dome-shaped houses with associated open ramadas. In addition, O'odham residents constructed three structures in anticipation of Father Kino's arrival. One was designated as sleeping quarters, another was a space for cooking, and the third was a space for the Jesuits to hold mass.[10] The O'odham referred to their settlement by a polysyllabic name that the priests recorded as Tumacácori–the name by which it is still known.

Father Kino designated Tumacácori a visita in 1701. Known as San Cayetano de Tumacácori, the mission thrived in its early years. After four years, cattle, sheep, goats, maize, and wheat were counted among the commodities grown on Tumacácori mission lands. There were over 100 native residents living at the mission. At least some of them lived in adobe homes. There was also an adobe structure in which mass was held. Little else is known about the original mission site.

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7 Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest*, 128; No author, "Short History of Tumacácori National Monument," 1956, National Archives at Denver, CO (hereafter referred to as NARA-DEN), Records of the National Park Service Southwest Region Record Group 79 (hereafter referred to as RG 79), General Correspondence Files 1953–1958, Box 2, Folder H14: May 1953–1958 TUMA.

8 John L. Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers: Hispanic Arizona and the Sonoran Mission Frontier 1767–1856* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1976) 3; Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California*, 130, 134.

9 Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest*, 135.

10 Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest*, 135; Thomas E. Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud: Mission Tumacácori, the Baca Float, and the Betrayal of the O'odham* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2005), 28.

The mission was moved across the Santa Cruz River and renamed San José de Tumacácori in 1751. This site is now the location of Tumacácori National Historical Park. It was here that the first church was constructed. An austere building, the church was a small, flat-roofed, adobe structure measuring 60 feet by 20 feet. Father Francisco Xavier Pauer consecrated the church in 1757.[11]

The missions were centers of religious activity, but just as importantly, they were economic outposts. Spanish missionaries inserted themselves into an existing indigenous economy based on established patterns of subsistence, while at the same time altering local economic relations. They introduced new crops, livestock, and tools and encouraged the production of surpluses as opposed to subsistence. It was the surplus production that allowed the missions a measure of solvency. The fathers, however, did not strive to completely change the way the O'odham interacted with their environment and communities. The Jesuits tapped into existing systems of production and authority. Village leaders served as intermediaries through which the missionaries ensured that the Indians would cultivate the communal mission lands and care for the mission herds in addition to their own plots.[12]

A major component of missionary work focused on "civilizing" the Indians. The fathers discouraged what they saw as superstitious behaviors, especially non-Catholic ritual. The missionaries, moreover, encouraged "proper dances, amusements, [and] games" and stressed European concepts of hygiene, dress, housing, and manners. In order to more effectively ensure such behavior, changes were incorporated into native communities, the fathers placed Indians that they considered "civilized' in positions of authority where they could educate others or lead by example.[13]

Indeed, O'odham leaders were essential to the success of the missions. This was not a concept lost on the Jesuits. They specifically placed O'odham men in positions of authority. These positions included mission governors who were responsible for managing the administrative affairs of the church and associated buildings. They presided over meetings, maintained the church, and supervised work crews who built and repaired the church buildings. There were Indians in the missions (catechists) tasked with teaching their fellow O'odham about Roman Catholicism. O'odham filled other, perhaps less prestigious but still important positions including cooks, gardeners, ox drivers, and mule packers.[14]

The Spanish missionaries fundamentally restructured O'odham communities. On the most basic level, they aspired to concentrate small, fairly dispersed rancherias into tight-knit social units that were oriented toward the church and agricultural production. At the same time, the Jesuits preserved elements of traditional culture. The missionaries of the Pimería Alta endeavored to maintain Indian culture and community while injecting European influences such as religion and market-oriented economies.[15] The process had elements of power and coercion, but the Spanish domination of the O'odham was far from absolute.

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11 Donald T. Garate, *Los Santos Ángeles de Guevavi: An Interpretive and Informational Guide to the Guevavi Mission*, Tumacácori National Historical Park (Tucson, AZ: Western National Parks Association, 2000) 4, 5; Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 38.

12 Radding, *Wandering Peoples*, 67.

13 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, pg. 71. This process could be quite coercive. See for example, Ramón A. Gutierrez, *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went* Away*: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991).

14 Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 289, 290.
15 Ibid.*,* 287.

Tumacácori, like the subsequent missions Father Kino established in the Pimería Alta, was a zone of cultural interaction and mediation. This is evident in the ways in which agriculture was modified by the Spanish. The missionaries brought several Old World cultivated crops into the Pimería Alta, including wheat, fava beans, lentils, grapes, pomegranate, peach, fig, quince, and pear. This crop expansion resulted in a more diverse agricultural regime. The introduction of these old-world crops altered traditional O'odham agriculture patterns. They continued to cultivate maize, beans, and squash in the spring and summer, but newly introduced crops, such as wheat, broad beans (fava), and lentils, grew in the winter. This practice resulted in a more continual agricultural regime. The newly cultivated crops were incorporated into established food preparations. Cultural resilience and fluidity was reflected in the foods they prepared. The O'odham, for example, blended wheat and mesquite flour instead of relying solely on wheat. Old-world livestock products also found their way into O'odham foods and material culture.[16]

Before the wheat ever grew, the missions had to be established. Tumacácori was not the only O'odham settlement Father Kino visited in the Pimería Alta in 1691. He also stopped at Guevavi, an O'odham settlement near a spring and the Santa Cruz River, in January 1691. Like Tumacácori, he came to Guevavi at the request of the O'odham living there. Father Kino only made a short visit, but he gave the villagers a gift of cattle and wheat seed. Further, the missionary promised to return and establish a mission at Guevavi. He decided to make Guevavi a *cabecera* (headquarters) from which missionaries would visit other O'odham visitas.

After 1691, Father Kino regularly visited Guevavi, Tumacácori, and the missions in the region. Development, however, was not immediate. While the O'odham had completed a substantial road to Guevavi by 1698, there was still no resident Jesuit in the northern part of the Pimería Alta. Father Kino was finally able to send a priest to Guevavi in 1701.

A church and dwelling for the resident priest was constructed at the mission in 1701, but permanence was difficult to achieve. The first resident missionary, Father Juan de San Martín, arrived in 1701, only to become so ill that he had to leave the mission in less than a year. San Martín returned, but may have lived at Tumacácori in order to protect his health. Pestilence was a perpetual problem at Guevavi. In fact, the marshy bottomlands below the mission presented an ideal environment for the spread of malaria. It appears that the mission was without a priest by 1703. Father Kino and other Jesuits continued to visit the mission, but missionary trips to Guevavi became less regular after Father Kino's death in 1711. Even without a resident priest, Guevavi drew O'odham settlers. Population figures for the early 18th century indicate that somewhere between 90 and 200 Indians lived near the mission.[17]

The first decades of mission history are notable for the lack of continuity. Priests, perhaps demoralized by the lack of enthusiasm among the O'odham, or the remoteness and pestilence at the site, never stayed at the mission long enough to provide any permanence.
The mission finally took on a greater level of stability in 1732 when Father Juan Bautista Grazhoffer was sent to staff the mission. Guevavi was still the cabecera. Tumacácori remained a visita. Grazhoffer's time at Guevavi was tragically short. He died in May 1733, a year after his arrival. This was still the longest tenure any Jesuit had spent at the mission. Father Grazhoffer was buried at Guevavi. The circumstances of his death are a mystery, but the priest may have been poisoned by an O'odham shaman. Padre Phelipe Segesser, a Jesuit who had served at San Xavier del Bac, a

16 Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud*, 40, 41.

17 Jeffery F. Burton, *Remnants of Adobe and Stone: The Surface Archeology of Guevavi and Calabasas Units*, Tumacácori National Historical Park, Arizona (Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1992) 9.

mission near present day Tucson, replaced Grazhoffer as the resident priest at Guevavi. Like his predecessors, Father Segesser's tenure at Guevavi was cut short by illness. He left the mission in 1734. Phelipe Segesser did, however, expand mission cropland and planted the first fruit trees at Guevavi.[18]

Father Segesser's exit from Guevavi ushered in another period of instability. A resident Jesuit did not reoccupy the mission until June 1737 when Father Alexandro Rapicani arrived to take charge of the cabecera, which consisted of little more than a rudimentary church and a house. Father Rapicani, a German Jesuit, remained at Guevavi until the fall of 1740, when he was reassigned to a mission 140 miles to the south. A Mexican-born Jesuit, Joseph de Torres Perea, replaced Rapicani at Guevavi, but he did not arrive until the summer of 1741. Father Torres Perea was reassigned in 1744, leaving the mission vacant yet again.[19]

There were, by the time Father Torres Perea arrived at the mission, a few resolute Spanish families living near Guevavi. They were, perhaps, drawn to the area by the fact that silver was reportedly discovered south of present day Nogales. The discovery drew hundreds of Spanish and Indian prospectors into the region. Their foothold, however, was as illusory as that of the priests and by 1744, the small Spanish population had declined considerably. Like all residents in the area, their stability was likely undermined by disease and Apache raids.[20]

The mission was only briefly vacant after Father Torres Perea left. Padre Joseph Garrucho arrived in the summer of 1745 and remained at Guevavi until 1751. Regrettably, there is little documentation elucidating Garrucho's stay at the mission, but there is evidence that an unspecified epidemic spread through the O'odham communities. Illness was especially severe in 1749, when some rancherias near Guevavi were decimated. Garrucho presided over what must have been a much more satisfying event during the summer of 1751. A master builder named Joachín de Cásares arrived at Guevavi to erect a new church and mission compound. The new construction was partly triggered by the fact that a community had developed around the mission.[21] Garrucho consecrated the unfinished mission church in November 1751.

The timing was unfortunate. A rebellion known as the Pima Revolt of 1751 erupted on November 20 in the Altar Valley west of the mission. The O'odham living in the region attacked the Spaniards and their allies, the Yaqui, throughout the Altar Valley, possibly in retaliation for such things as Spanish appropriation of Indian lands and the system of punishment inflicted on the Indian people

18 John L. Kessell, *Mission of Sorrows: Jesuit Guevavi and the Pimas 1691–1767* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1970) 54.

19 Burton, *Remnants of Adobe and Stone: The Surface Archeology of Guevavi and Calabasas Units*, 10, 11.

20 James E. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona: 1536–1856* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1989) 32; Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud*, 44.

21 Kessell, *Mission of Sorrows*, 100; Garate, Los Santos Ángeles de Guevavi, 3.

FIGURE 5. O'ODHAM WARRIOR

by the missionaries. O'odham residents of the mission at Guevavi, upon hearing the news of the revolt, fled to the mountains, fearing they would be attacked by Spanish soldiers even though they played no role in the uprising. Garrucho, along with Spanish settlers and some O'odham, fled south into Sonora.[22]

The revolt ended almost as quickly as it began, but the costs were great. During the week-long revolt, 37 Spanish, 34 Spanish/criollos, 6 Basques, 3 Basque/criollos, 2 coyotes, 3 mestizos, 2 nijoras, 5 Pimas, 9 Yaqui, 1 Ópata, 1 Pima/Ópata, a few unknowns, and two Jesuit priests were fatalities. All the Spanish missions in the northern part of the Pimería Alta were vacated. The revolt was dramatic enough that the Indians were able to impose conditions on the Spanish, one of which was that Garrucho and another Jesuit priest not return to the missions.[23] The O'odham who fled the mission returned in late 1751 and early 1752, but it would be two years before another Jesuit priest arrived at Los Santos Ángeles de Guevavi.

Father Francisco Xavier Pauer, Garrucho's replacement, was assigned to Guevavi in 1753, which by this time was the cabecera to three visitas–Sonoita, Tumacácori, and Calabazas. Sonoita was east of Guevavi, and Calabazas was a few miles north of the cabecera. A fourth visita (Arivaca, northwest of Guevavi) was abandoned by 1753.

Father Pauer oversaw the most stable period in mission history. New mission churches were constructed at Sonoita and Guevavi. The Jesuit was also active in pursuing his fundamental goal–converting the O'odham to Catholicism. Several outlying O'odham villages converted to Roman Catholicism and joined the mission community under Pauer's tenure. This, in turn, triggered additional construction. New housing was built to support the expanding mission population cultivating the fertile lands below the mission.[24]

A genuine mission community was finally gaining a foothold in the remote desert. There was a mission village composed of low adobe huts that covered several acres on a small mesa. The church, at the edge of a plaza, occupied a prominent site at the eastern end of the mission property. Father Pauer's efforts did not go unnoticed. He was promoted to Father Rector for the Pimería Alta in 1760 and left Guevavi for Mission San Ignacio de Cabórica.

Pauer was replaced by Miguel Gerstner who only lasted a year before being forced to leave Guevavi due to illness. His replacement, Ignacio Pfefferkorn, lasted about two years, but eventually suffered the same fate as Gerstner. He was replaced by Guevavi's last Jesuit missionary, Father Custudio Ximeno, in 1763.

Father Ximeno arrived in New Spain from Cádiz. The assignment was challenging. Like his predecessors, Father Ximeno suffered mightily at Guevavi. Disease continued to take its toll. Father Ximeno contracted malaria and buried more Indians than he baptized. Meanwhile, the

22 Garate, *Los Santos Ángeles de Guevavi*, 4; Burton, *Remnants of Adobe and Stone*, 11; Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud*, 49.

23 Kessell, *Mission of Sorrows*, 122.

24 Garate, *Los Santos Ángeles de Guevavi*, 6; Burton, *Remnants of Adobe and Stone*, 13.

Apache continued raiding the mission and driving off mission livestock. Conditions continued deteriorating to the point that Father Ximeno recommended abandoning the mission. There were only about 50 O'odham left at Guevavi by 1766, but he persevered until events in Europe eventually ended his tenure at Guevavi.[25]

Another Spanish outpost, San Cayetano de Calabazas, was established as a visita a short distance to the north of Guevavi and south of Tumacácori around 1756. There are no records describing when the first church was built on the site. The second Jesuit to serve Calabazas, Miguel Gestner, began building a church at the site in the 1760s. It is not clear if one existed prior to that time. The visita was atypical. Unlike the other missions in the Pimería Alta, it was not near a spring or stream. Instead, Calabazas was perched atop a dry rocky hill where it could be seen as a beacon from the nearby O'odham villages. The site was important because it commanded a view of the surrounding area from whence Apache attacks, which were a constant threat, were likely to come.[26] Church officials who visited the mission described a church at the site one year, only to return the following year to its charred ruins.[27]

The missions of the Pimería Alta, while remote, were eventually swept up in the imperial politics of Spain. King Charles II, the last of the Spanish Hapsburg kings, died in 1700 without an heir to the throne. In his final days he named Phillip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV, his successor. This marked the beginning of Spain's Bourbon dynasty. The new king, designated Philip V, inherited a nation in distress. The king and his successors, Ferdinand VI and Charles III, implemented a number of reforms in Spain and, eventually, in the colonies. Much of their policies were designed to stimulate and regulate the Spanish economy and centralize and professionalize government administration. The Roman Catholic Church was a third area of Bourbon concern. The Jesuits attracted particular ire from the monarchs. Charles III was suspicious of the Jesuits for several reasons. First, he questioned the loyalty of the black robed scholars and missionaries because they had taken a vow to serve the Pope. Second, the Society of Jesus had grown powerful and wealthy, especially in New Spain. Finally, he suspected them of political intrigue and subversion. To make matters worse, the Jesuits were implicated in a 1766 riot against the Spanish prime minister. A year later, without warning, the king ordered the expulsion of all Jesuits from Spain and her possessions. All the assets of the Society of Jesus were confiscated. New Spain, including the Pimería Alta, was hit hard. Nearly 700 Jesuits left their schools, colleges, and missions behind.[28]

Guevavi, the cabecera mission that served the visitas of the northern Pimería Alta, including Tumacácori and Calabazas, was occupied by Father Custudio Ximeno when the expulsion order was prosecuted in New Spain. The royal decree, effective in February 1767, took some time to make its effect felt on the frontier. Soldiers from the presidio at Altár, nearly 100 miles southwest of the mission, arrived at Guevavi on July 25, 1767. They arrived without warning and demanded to see the priest. Their captain, Bernardo de Urrea, ordered the arrest of Father Ximeno. The Jesuit, moreover, was instructed to talk to no one. The soldiers gathered the mission's valuables and locked them in the sacristy (a room in the church where sacred objects are stored) and made sure the resident O'odham would receive their rations. Father Ximeno, with the few personal belongings he could gather, was then escorted away and eventually out of the Pimería Alta. He

25 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 7, 37.

26 Donald T. Garate, *San Cayetano de Calabazas: An Interpretive and Informational Guide to the Guevavi Mission, Tumacácori National Historical Park* (Tucson, AZ: Western National Parks Association, 2000) 1, 2; Burton, *Remnants of Adobe and Stone*, 13.

27 Garate, *San Cayetano de Calabazas*, 3; Burton, *Remnants of Adobe and Stone*, 13.

28 Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995) 251–59, 277.

never spoke to the O'odham who witnessed the dramatic arrest. Father Ximeno's removal, shrouded in intrigue and mystery, must have been disconcerting to the residents of Guevavi. The removal of the black-robed missionaries "left an immense sector of the frontier economically, socially, and defensively disoriented" according to historian John Kessell.[29]

Administrators in Mexico City were not oblivious to the fact that the removal of the Jesuits left a void on the frontier. In the weeks leading up to Father Ximeno's expulsion, they developed a complex plan to manage the missions. While many of the royal officials hoped to make the missions into simple parishes (a process called secularization), there were not enough parish priests to run the churches. Serving a congregation of Indians on the frontier was not an attractive proposition for the priests who were certainly of a less adventurous, and perhaps less dedicated, predisposition. Secularization remained the ultimate goal, partly because it removed some of the legal protections that the mission Indians enjoyed, but royal officials knew they needed to replace the Jesuits with missionaries. They decided that the best option was to turn the missions over to the Franciscan Order.[30]

The Franciscan Order predated the Society of Jesus by centuries. Formed in 1209 by St. Francis of Assisi, its members professed a life that embraced poverty and charity. The Franciscans, like the Jesuits, also valued education and the conversion of nonbelievers to Roman Catholicism. It, therefore, is not surprising that Franciscans were the first missionaries to Spain's imperial possessions. Franciscans arrived in New Spain in 1524, a year after the Spanish conquest of the Aztecs. According to historians Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman, they were likely the most common and most popular religious order in New Spain among both the Indians and the Spaniards.[31]

The Franciscans, attired in their wool tunics, had considerable experience as missionaries on the northern frontier. The friars (a title bestowed to Franciscans) established the first mission in Chihuahua following the 1567 opening of the Santa Bàrbara Mine. They expanded their missionary presence over the next two decades to include sites in the San Bartolomé Valley, San José del Parral, and along Camino Real. The Franciscans accompanied Juan de Oñate into New Mexico in 1598 and shortly thereafter began interacting with the Pueblo Indians. Franciscans from New Mexico also ministered to Indians in northern Sonora between 1645 and 1651. Continually pursuing the spread of salvation through baptism, the gray robes established themselves in Texas less than five months after Father Kino traveled to Tumacácori. The friars were also working in northern California by the time the Jesuits were expelled from New Spain. Finally, in order to overcome the vexing manpower shortages that missionary work entailed, the Franciscans established the college of Querétaro in 1683. The institution was specifically intended to train missionaries to minster to both Catholics and the unconverted in New Spain.[32]

The Franciscans, therefore, appeared to be the perfect inheritors of the Jesuit legacy. Viceroy Carlos Francisco de Croix requested at least 12, or better yet, 14 Franciscan Friars from the college

29 Garate, *San Cayetano de Calabazas*, 6; Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 14.

30 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 15.

31 Meyer and Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History*, 186–187.

32 Karla Muñoz Alcocer, "Chihuahua's Colonial Missions, An Invaluable Patrimony," 103, 104, published electronically by the Smithsonian Institution. Available at: http://www.si.edu/mci/downloads/articles/MisionesChihuahua.pdf; Meyer and Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History,* 162; Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest,* 102, 145; Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers,* 16; Gutiérrez, *Corn Mothers*, 47, 144.

of Querétaro to be assigned to the missions of the Pimería Alta as soon as possible. Fifteen men volunteered; they left the college near Mexico City for the frontier on August 5, 1767.[33]

It took the Franciscans nearly a year to arrive at the Pimería Alta missions. The delay was the function of several factors including difficulty of travel, illness, and bureaucratic setbacks. Friar Juan Crisóstomo Gil de Bernabé, one of the first Franciscans in the Pimería Alta, finally arrived at his home mission, Los Santos Ángeles de Guevavi, in mid-May 1768. Friars did not occupy the nearest cabecera missions (Soamca, 30 miles south and San Xavier, 60 miles north) for another six weeks. Friar Gil de Bernabé was greeted with a mission that was more primitive than he had even imagined. An austere mission in the best of times, Guevavi had suffered almost a year of neglect.[34] There was still a complex of small adobe huts that housed resident Indians, but the population numbered only about 50 families. This was a dramatic decrease from the peak of the Jesuit period when 300 families lived at Guevavi. The church was still standing with its entrance south-facing a plaza. Upon entering the building, Friar Gil de Bernabé found two main altars and one small side altar. The interior was adorned with paintings in gilt frames. The sacristy held silver chalices, a ciborium (a container or covered metal cup), a censer (a vessel for burning incense), a pyx (a small round container to carry the consecrated host), a baptismal fount, and various other objects used in mass and other church services. Finally, there was a one-story multipurpose building (*convento*) that comprised the priests' living quarters, a kitchen, classrooms, workshops, and perhaps, dormitories.[35]

Shortly after arriving at Guevavi, Friar Gil de Bernabé traveled to two of his visitas. The nearest was San Cayetano de Calabazas, about 5 miles away. Here, the friar was greeted with desolation. Epidemics and Apache violence had decimated the site and only about a dozen families resided at Calabazas. The only other structure, the partial remains of a church, was a small roofless adobe building. Calabazas did not even have a cemetery to bury the dead.[36] The scene must have been shocking to the young Franciscan.

Traveling north down the Santa Cruz River to San José de Tumacácori, Friar Gil de Bernabé was greeted with a much more amenable situation than at either Calabazas or Guevavi. Here the Franciscan found a thriving mission community of over 100 O'odham inhabitants. This mission had a church and cemetery. The local O'odham population anticipated Friar Gil de Bernabé's arrival, which occurred on May 20. They presented 19 individuals from within their community to be baptized; the Friar readily complied.[37]

Friar Gil de Bernabé returned to Guevavi where he took up residence. Apache attacks and epidemic disease remained a problem at all the missions, including the cabecera. Apaches continued to plunder mission property. For example, they took a herd of cattle from Guevavi in 1769. Similar raids occurred at Calabazas and Tumacácori. The violence, however, was more devastating. Apaches, exacting revenge for a Spanish attack in 1770, devastated the visita mission at Sonoita. Nineteen resident O'odham were killed, including Juan María, the mission governor,

33 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 17.

34 Officer, Hispanic Arizona, pg. 46; Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 36, 37.

35 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 16, 37, 38.

36 Ibid., 37, 38.

37 Ibid., 38.

his wife Isabel, and their 11 children. The Apache also killed the Indian Governor of Calabazas in 1770. A year earlier, they killed most of the Spanish soldiers protecting Guevavi. Before long, it became apparent that Guevavi was too vulnerable to serve as a head mission. Its population was dwindling and it was too far from any Spanish presidio. Friar Gil de Bernabé, like many of the Jesuits before him, considered Tumacácori a more appropriate site for the cabecera. It had a larger resident population, was less disease prone, and was near enough to the Tubac Presidio that soldiers could quickly respond to an attack. Friar Gil de Bernabé acted on these considerations and moved to Tumacácori sometime in 1770 or 1771. Within five years, the mission at Tumacácori and the presidio at Tubac (4 miles to the north) became a single religious community. During some years the friars baptized more Hispanic residents of Tubac than O'odham.[38]

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 6. FRIAR JUAN CRISÓSTOMO GIL DE BERNABÉ

Left without a resident missionary and beset by Apache raiding from the northeast and wars between the Spanish and Seri Indians to the south, Guevavi dwindled. There were less than 10 families living at the site by 1773. Two years later, the mission was abandoned and never reinhabited. There is some evidence, however, that the mission church was still maintained as late as 1791.[39]

Calabazas eventually suffered a similar fate. The site was never stable, even though the church was repaired and a cemetery consecrated on the site in 1770. Its population fluctuated, beset by violence and disease, but it appeared that by 1774 its Indian population, which included refugees from abandoned missions like Guevavi, totaled 138. Many of the refugees, however, considered their stay at Calabazas temporary until they could return to their homes. There were also five Spanish residents at Calabazas. The visita's population growth may have been influenced by the fact that it was near Tumacácori, the third-most populated mission in the Pimería Alta. By 1774, 236 Indians and 19 Spaniards were living at the mission. A census taken 10 years later placed the Indian populations at Calabazas and Tumacácori at 90 and 108, respectively. The community at Guevavi, abandoned by the Catholic Church, was not counted.[40] The year 1774 marked a peak for Calabazas. The mission declined and was abandoned in 1786. The resident families either left or were eventually absorbed into the Tumacácori community.

The mission Calabazas did not disappear after its abandonment. By the 1780s, the property was converted into a livestock ranch that served as an adjunct to San José de Tumacácori. All the livestock owned by the mission and its former visitas, including Guevavi, Calabazas, and Sonoitac (a visita east of Guevavi that was abandoned sometime in the 1780s), was consolidated at Calabazas. The mission site became the ranch headquarters. Ranch hands, or *vaqueros*, lived in adobe housing on the mission grounds. The vaqueros included men of O'odham, Yaqui, Mestizo (mixed race), and Spanish heritage. The church was maintained as a ranch chapel, but the Catholic missionaries did not regularly visit the site as they had done when Calabazas was a visita.[41]

38 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 38.

39 Burton, *Remnants of Adobe and Stone*, 14; Officer, *Hispanic Arizona,* 48; Garate, *San Cayetano de Calabazas*, 7; Kessell, *Mission of Sorrows*, 190; Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud*, 57.

40 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 88, 89, 159, 73.

41 Garate, *San Cayetano de Calabazas*, 4.

The vaqueros, models for the American cowboy, herded mission livestock over a large area roughly bound on the south by Divisadero, a site 10 miles south of the current international border. The northern boundary of their range was the area known today as Green Valley near Tucson. They also traveled east as far as the current communities of Patagonia and Sonita, Arizona. The western end of the vaquero's range was Arivaca.[42]

Meanwhile, the mission at Tumacácori underwent its own transformations. Friar Gil de Bernabé became ill and struggled through 1771 and into 1772 before he was promoted into a position in which he oversaw all 20 missions in the Pimería Alta. He left northern Pimería Alta in March 1772 and never returned. Friar Gil de Bernabé was replaced at Tumacácori by two Franciscans named Bartolomé Ximeno and Gaspar Francisco de Clemente.[43]

Friars Ximeno and Clemente were troubled by what they saw when they arrived at Tumacácori. They lamented the condition of O'odham housing, which consisted of mud huts without doors in which families lived communally. In their view, such living conditions undermined the civilizing goals of the missionaries. They tore down the housing and constructed proper adobe structures. The friars also refurbished the Jesuit church and built a wall around the entire property. The wall, the friars hoped, would provide protection from the constant threat of Apache attacks. Bartolomé Ximeno left Tumacácori after about a year, but Friar Clemente stayed on and was joined by a new Franciscan named Friar Joseph Matías Moreno. Both missionaries managed to keep Tumacácori functioning until they left in 1775.[44]

Even though the constant pressure of Apache raids undermined the economy of Tumacácori, the mission lands were surprisingly productive. The new friars, Fathers Pedro Antonio de Arriquibar and Tomás Eixarch, veterans of missions in Texas and California who arrived in early 1775, could take some satisfaction that the mission livestock herd consisted of 100 head of cattle, 24 horses, and 1,000 sheep. Moreover, the mission's farmlands produced enough grain and produce to feed the Tumacácori community. Surplus seed was sold to purchase clothing for the mission Indians.[45] There is no documentary evidence listing all the crops grown at Tumacácori during the Jesuit or Franciscan eras. Nineteenth and early 20th century observers noted a wide variety of fruit trees, including pomegranate, peach, pear, apple, and apricot. Quince trees were also likely planted during the mission era. There was a mission garden that, assuming what was grown at other missions, probably had melons, cabbage, lettuce, onions, leeks, garlic, anise, mustard, pepper, and mint. Wheat was also introduced on mission lands.[46]

There was an *acequia madre* (main irrigation ditch) at the mission at least as early as 1795, but it likely existed much earlier. Historian Michael Meyer writes that *acequia* (irrigation ditch) construction was the primary project in the establishment of many missions. Indeed, the establishment of a mission was contingent on the completion of an initial acequia. This policy was officially promulgated in the 1789 Plan de Pitic, but the primacy of water development in the Spanish southwest certainly predated the plan. The Tumacácori acequia took water from the Santa Cruz River south of the mission, moved it across the property, and returned it to the river north of the mission fields. The water from ditches at Tumacácori and Tubac was managed together. Water

42 Garate, *San Cayetano de Calabazas*, 5.

43 Ibid., 60, 62.

44 Ibid., 73, 82.

45 Garate, *San Cayetano de Calabaza*s, 101, 102.

46 Jeremey M. Moss, "The Tumacácori Mission Garden and Orchard: Past, Present, and Future," SMRC Revista, vol. 40, no. 16 (spring 2006) 12, 13.

was diverted to the O'odham fields at Tumacácori one week before it was released into the fields at Tubac. This meant that the mission fields were more likely to be irrigated in times of water scarcity.[47]

Like the Jesuit period at Guevavi, few Franciscans remained at Tumacácori for an extended period in the first decade of its establishment as a cabecera. Father Arriquibar was an anomaly. He remained at the mission for about five years, Father Eixarch left in 1776 and was replaced by a succession of friars. Things changed in the 1780s when a period of relative missionary permanence began with the arrival of Friar Baltazar Carrillo who remained at Tumacácori for 15 years.

Father Carrillo arrived at Tumacácori in early 1780 and remained until his death in October 1795. Crisis greeted the priest as soon as he arrived amidst a smallpox outbreak. He buried 22 bodies over a five-week period in the spring of 1781. Moreover, the mission was newly isolated. The presidio at Tubac had been relocated to Tucson in 1776, and the populations at Calabazas and Guevavi, which was no longer even a visita, continued to dwindle. The constant threat of Apache attacks must have made the remoteness that much more evident. The isolation continued until the presidio moved back to Tubac in 1787, a year after the visita at Calabazas was abandoned. Even though new churches were being constructed at other nearby missions, Father Carrillo continued to use the simple crumbling church constructed by the Jesuits. He did not plan for, or construct, a new church. The friar apparently made little effort to understand the Piman language or even differentiate between the different native groups who lived at the mission and in the region. Father Carrillo, a bit detached from the native population, buried more people than he baptized. Carrillo's tenure at Tumacácori was mostly unremarkable. Historian John Kessell writes that the friar "simply got by."[48] Nonetheless, Carrillo remained at Tumacácori into his 60s, when his health began failing. He ultimately died at the mission on October 10, 1795, and was buried inside the old Jesuit church.[49]

Father Carrillo was replaced by Father Narciso Gutiérrez, who arrived at Tumacácori in 1794 and remained until 1820. He outlasted several Franciscans who were sent to serve at the mission with him. Father Gutiérrez was ambitious and his time at Tumacácori was considerably more active than that of his predecessor. In fact, Father Gutiérrez began asserting himself before Carillo passed away. The friar took over the mission's economic matters and influenced Carrillo's management decisions. Father Gutiérrez, however, had one overarching goal. He wanted to build a new church to replace the outdated Jesuit church.

There was no question that Tumacácori needed a new church, but it took several years before Father Gutiérrez began construction on the church at the site. An 1803 annual report of the missions of the Pimería Alta noted that six new brick and mortar churches had been built at various missions in the region. Most others were in good shape due to previous renovations or repairs. The author held that only two churches were substandard. One was Caborca in what is now north-central Sonora. Father Andrés Sanchez was, however, about to begin the construction of a new structure. The other substandard church was at Tumacácori, but the report noted that Father

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47 Michael C. Meyer, *Water in the Hispanic Southwest*, 36–38; José A, Rivera, A*cequia Culture: Water, Land, & Community in the Southwest* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1998) 4, 5; John P. Wilson, "How Settlers Farmed: Hispanic Villages and Irrigation Systems in Early Sierra County, 1850–1900," *New Mexico Historical Review* 63:4 (October 1988) 340; Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers,* 188; Moss, "The Tumacácori Mission Garden and Orchard," 19; Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud*, 58.

48 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers,* 142, 154, 155, 159, 171, 175; The Smallpox Epidemic Raged throughout North America. See Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–1782* (New York, NY: Hill & Wang, 2001).

49 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 177.

Gutiérrez had already started construction on a new church, which was begun sometime between 1799 and 1802.[50]

The resolute Franciscan had already staked out the foundation of the new church, about 50 feet from the Jesuit church. The new building was going to be nearly twice as long as its predecessor and much more elegant. The missionary wanted his church to match the grandeur of San Xavier del Bac. He designed the new church with a north-south orientation. He also planned to adjoin a *convento* (an open square of rooms that included the priest's residence) to the east side of the building. A year before the 1803 report was written, Father Gutiérrez brought in additional laborers and craftsmen to realize his dream.[51]

Labor, however, was not the problem. Construction of the church at San Xavier del Bac was expensive. Therefore, Father Gutiérrez's most pressing problem became economic. He needed to find a way to sustain a long-term building project at a poor mission. The Franciscan had three apparent options, but none of them were good. Father Gutiérrez could plant more of the mission lands in marketable crops such as wheat, but healthy crops depended on beneficial weather. The mission had ample livestock herds, but prices had fallen. Mission Indians made blankets and serapes from wool provided by the mission sheep until the flocks were decimated by Apache raids in 1801.[52]

The financial challenges, coupled with the ever-present threat of Apache attacks, undermined Father Gutiérrez's ambitious project; thus, few work projects at Tumacácori were completed over the next five years. Matters became even more ominous in 1808. The annual stipend the friars of the Pimería Alta relied on stopped arriving. Father Gutiérrez, still building his church, needed money. He turned to the mission livestock for a solution and sold 4,000 head of mission cattle in order to raise the needed funds.[53]

The economic problems were compounded by waves of disease epidemics and an unpredictable environment. For example, widespread pestilence arrived at Tumacácori in the fall of 1816. Father Gutiérrez buried 25 people in just two months. Less than two years later, the entire region was in the midst of a drought. The Tumacácori mission fields were not able to produce enough food to sustain the resident population of 140. On the other hand, the mission had plenty of livestock. Regrettably, due to the crisis, there was no market. With no cash to pay for the skilled labor and tools needed to construct the new mission church, little progress was made. [54]

Construction of the Tumacácori mission church was excruciatingly slow and Father Gutiérrez was getting older and sicker and finally succumbed to illness on December 13, 1820–he was only 55. In his 26 years at the mission he was never able to realize his dream of a grand church at Tumacácori. Others would have to complete that task. Like Father Carillo before him, Father Gutiérrez was buried near the main altar in the old Jesuit church.[55]

50Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 177, 88, 202.

51 Ibid., 202.

52 Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*, 79; Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 202.

53 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 203, 204, 214; John P. Wilson, *Islands in the Desert: A History of the Uplands of Southeastern Arizona* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1995) 60.

54 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 237.

55 Ibid., 239.

Father Gutiérrez's time at Tumacácori coincided with a decade of revolution in Mexico. The turmoil of war did not directly affect the missions of the Pimería Alta, but it definitely contributed to the economic and developmental malaise that defined Tumácacori's history in the first decades of the 19th century.

Ironically, the Mexican independence movement grew out of frustrations with the Bourbon reforms, including the expulsion of the Jesuits. Tension became apparent as early as the 1780s. The Criollos (Spanish born in Mexico) chafed at the increased power of the Spaniards who came from Europe to manage the colonies. Moreover, the Bourbon attacks on the Jesuit Order left not only a spiritual void, but also contributed to financial stress. The church was a major source of credit and when the Crown confiscated the Jesuit's assets they had to call in loans. This only added to the bitterness toward Spanish rule. The selfsame enlightenment ideas that influenced the American Revolution were also swirling around Latin America at the time and the more active discontented residents began congregating in groups, plotting the overthrow of the colonial government. One such group in Dolores, Mexico, planned an insurrection that was to begin December 10, 1810. The plot was discovered by Spanish authorities who, in September 1810, moved to quash the revolt before it could begin. One of the conspirators included a priest named Miguel Hidalgo, who realized his arrest was imminent. On September 16, he rang the church bells at his parish summoning all his parishioners to mass. Once they arrived, however, they did not hear scripture. Instead, Father Hidalgo passionately implored his congregation of mostly poor Indians and mestizos to rise up against colonial rule. They complied and the Mexican wars for independence began under the banner of the indigenous icon, the Virgin de Guadalupe.

The fight for independence outlasted Father Hidalgo who was captured and executed by the Spanish in 1811. Revolt and counter-revolt continued for another decade. Ultimately, Agustín de Iturbide, a royal military officer who spent years ruthlessly pursuing the insurgents and their leaders, switched sides. He cobbled together a coalition with revolutionary leaders Guadalupe Victoria and Vicente Guerrero in early 1821, shortly after Father Gutiérrez's death. The coalition was broad based, which is well represented by the motto, "Religion, Independence, and Unity." As the slogan makes clear, there was an explicit determination to protect the Catholic Church. Many felt that the colonial government, beginning with the expulsion of the Jesuits, had victimized and persecuted the Roman Catholic church. The coalition allowed the revolutionary army's ranks to swell and by late summer, Mexico City fell. Agustín de Iturbide declared Mexico independent from Spain on September 28, 1821.

While the revolution did not directly affect remote outposts like Tumacácori, it did make life more difficult. The friars of the Pimería Alta dealt with local obstacles, including isolation, Apache aggression, and disease epidemics. These challenges were compounded by the chaos of the wars, which resulted in widespread instability and unpredictability. The wars for independence also devastated the Mexican economy.[56] Clearly, such conditions were not conducive to financing construction of Gutierrez's grand church. Despite his best efforts, the completion of his church fell to his successors at Tumacácori.

Father Juan Bautista Estelric arrived at Tumacácori in December 1820, shortly after the death of Father Gutierrez. He was placed in charge of both Tumacácori and Tubac. Father Estelric immediately decided that finishing the church at Tumacácori was his first priority. Of course, finding the money to pay for materials and labor was of paramount importance. He found a solution a few weeks after his arrival at the mission. An ambitious mine owner and rancher, Don

56 See Jaime E. Rodriguez O., *Down from Colonialism: Mexico's Nineteenth Century Crisis* (Los Angeles: CA: University of California Chicano Research Studies Center, 1983).

Ignacio Pérez, had acquired a large emprisario grant for a 73,000-acre ranch east of Tumacácori.[57] Pérez wanted to make the property, which came to be known as the San Bernardino Ranch, into a cattle empire, but he needed livestock. Tumacácori had a herd of over 5,000 cattle at the time, many more than were needed to support the mission–it was a perfect solution. Estelric needed money and Pérez wanted cattle. The two men signed a contract for the sale of 4,000 head of cattle to Pérez on January 2, 1821. The rancher paid 3 pesos per head on a simple installment plan. Four thousand pesos were due upon delivery of the cattle and 2,000 pesos were due six months later. The final 6,000 pesos were paid over the next 18 months.[58]

Father Estelric hoped the sale would provide him with a steady stream of income for the construction of the church. Work on the church began shortly after the cattle were delivered. Within six months, however, Estelric's plans to pay for church construction began to fail. Pérez's second payment came due, but the money never came. In the meantime, the friar had crews working on the church. They had to be paid. Father Estelric, unable to implore Pérez to pay him, asked the bishop to intervene. The friar eventually received 1,000 pesos, but the second half of the payment was never made. The two men were at an impasse. Pérez never paid the money he owed Father Estelric. To make matters worse, Father Estelric fell ill in early 1822 and was replaced by Father Ramón Liberós in May.[59]

Father Liberós discovered the contract Father Estelric entered into with Pérez while he was examining mission records. Like his predecessor, the friar considered the completion of the mission a priority and knew he needed funds to support the project and immediately wrote a friendly letter to Pérez asking him to pay the 1,000 pesos that were overdue and the final payment of 6,000 pesos as soon as possible. The friar implored Pérez to pay because the mission desperately needed the money to complete the church. After all, Liberós noted, that was the reason the cattle were sold in the first place. Pérez still resisted, but Liberós was persistent. He pressed the rancher for 16 months. Pérez finally capitulated in September 1823 and sold off part of his herd to pay the debt.[60]

Father Liberós knew that the church at Tumacácori would never live up to the grand visions of Father Gutierrez, but he was determined to complete the building. It is likely that changes in design and material accompanied construction of the church through its decades-long construction. It is impossible to know who changed the design, or when. The transept, which was originally planned to be open, was closed on both sides. This resulted in a simple rectangular nave. The barrel vaulted ceiling was replaced by a flat roof. Original church plans called for twin bell towers. Father Liberós

57 Most grants fell into two categories. They were either civil colony grants or emprisario grants. Civil colony grants were lands given to groups with the intent of establishing settlements. The grants stipulated that settlers receive tracts of land for small farms and homes. Title to these allotments carried an associated right to use common lands for such activities as grazing and supplemental resource harvest (building materials, wild plants, game). Emprisario grants, on the other hand, usually only required that the grantee hold the land for at least four years, after which he could dispose of it in any manner he chose. A third, less common grant, was the quasi-community grant. In this arrangement, the individual grantee had the right to sell the entire grant after four years, yet at the same time he was required to provide for settlement and the provision of common lands. It is this type of grant that has been the most difficult for U.S. courts to reconcile. See the description of land grant types provided by the Center for Land Grant Studies. Available at: http://www.southwestbooks.org /grantstypes.htm.

58 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 244, 245.

59 Ibid., 248, 249.

60 Friar Ramón Liberós to Don Ygnacio Pérez, May 20, 1822, Alfred Whiting Collection, Museum of Northern Arizona, Accessed online at: http://archive.library.nau.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/cpa/id/84785/rec/6; Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers,* 251.

decided that one would have to be sufficient. Fired brick was used sparingly. Instead, the walls were constructed of unfired adobe.[61]

By 1822, Father Liberós felt that enough of the church had been constructed that it might actually be put to use. He consecrated a new walled cemetery behind the church in October. A few months later, he dedicated the new church, which was still surrounded by scaffolding and piles of brick. The building did, however, have a roof over the nave and a sanctuary dome. The bell tower was still not complete.

On December 13, 1822, Father Liberós presided over a ceremony in which the remains of Fathers Carrillo and Gutiérrez were transferred from the dilapidated Jesuit chapel to the new Franciscan church. They were buried beneath the floor of the sanctuary.[62] The Franciscan church was finally being used, even as construction continued.

Father Liberós, a devout and energetic missionary, was popular among the Indians and Mexicans living in the region. The friar facilitated the continued increase in the population of the mission and outlying settlements. His congregation consisted of 600 to 700 people by the middle of 1823. This included the mission, the presidio at Tubac, and the surrounding ranches.[63]

New strife accompanied the progress that marked the friar's tenure at Tumacácori. The Apache, who had not been a significant threat at the mission for a decade, began raiding the mission again in 1824. They absconded with horses and threatened life. Apache incursions continued to undermine life and work at the Calabazas ranch and the range on which the vaqueros operated. The Mexican government was unable to control the Indians. Calabazas, as a result, was completely abandoned by 1830.[64]

Like Apache raids, disease was still a threat to life. A dramatic measles outbreak devastated the mission in 1826. It is not clear how many people died at Tumacácori. All burial, baptismal, and marriage records after April 1825 were destroyed or lost. The only indication of the effects of the epidemic at the mission is a notation that only 18 families and a few children who Father Liberós cared for in the convento survived the disease.[65]

The tragic calamities and mundane events at Tumacácori were on the periphery of the wars for independence and the struggles that erupted in the efforts to create the Mexican nation. Mexican independence did not bring peace or stability. Treachery and violence permeated national politics for the next 25 years. Few presidents served for more than one year. The conflicts were shaped by two political ideologies–Centralism and Federalism. The Centralists (Conservatives by the middle of the century), usually military leaders, merchants, and urban elites, believed in a strong federal government to support their economic interests. An extension of this ideology included a preference for a large standing army, extensive bureaucracy, and active engagement in the economy. Conservatives supported the Catholic Church as a tool for social stability. The Federalists (Liberals by the middle of the century) were often provincial elites who agitated for a weak federal government and strong state governments, ostensibly to protect the status they gained

61 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 253.

62 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers,* 253, 254; Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*, 103.

63 Ibid., 258.

64 Garate, *San Cayetano de Calabazas*, 6; Mark R. Barnes, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: San Cayetano de Calabazas" 1990, section 7, 15.

65 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 268.

from the general autonomy they had under colonial rule. The federalists also supported free trade, capitalism, and opposed all vestiges of the colonial past. They rallied against communal land holding and the economic and political power of the Roman Catholic Church.

While most political battles occurred in Mexico City and other major urban centers, the missions in Sonora, were not so distant that they were inconsequential. The region, rife with division, erupted into turmoil in 1822 after Agustín de Iturbide, Mexico's first post–Independence leader, audaciously attempted to consolidate power by naming himself emperor and dissolving the newly formed Mexican Congress. Federalist leaders in the isolated territories, such as Sonora, chafed at such attempts and endeavored to maintain their autonomy, through violence if necessary.

Agustín de Iturbíde's government was overthrown in 1823 and a new constitution, largely influenced by the United States Constitution, was ratified a year later. The Mexican Constitution was different, however, in some important ways. It provided for significant regional autonomy and, in theory, codified racial and class equality. The constitution also recognized only one religion, Roman Catholicism.[66] The Estado de Occidente, which included the Pimería Alta, ratified its own constitution a year later. It contained many of the same provisions of the federal constitution, including a stipulation recognizing only one religion–Roman Catholicism.[67]

The Mexican constitutional recognition of religion was not necessarily a reflection of an affinity for the church or its representatives. This was especially true for the missions, an institution that had attracted suspicion among Mexican Liberals for decades. This became more acute during the struggle for independence. The missions, often manned by Spaniards and historically protected by Spanish law, were seen as vestiges of colonialism. Neither the federal government nor the Estado de Occidente enacted any laws protecting the missions. In fact, they were silent on the status of the institutions. The Bourbon habits of ecclesiastical mistrust remained and were blended with a suspicion of Spanish-born individuals in Mexico. These sentiments had simmered for over a decade as the missions were essentially left to their own devices until the late 1820s.

Efforts to wrest control of the missions from the missionaries had been occurring for years as officials tried to secularize the missions. Secularization, always a goal of the mission system, simply meant that state-supported friars from the religious orders (typically Franciscan, Jesuit, and Dominican) would eventually be replaced by parish priests who presided over congregations of assimilated Indians. Mexican officials were suspicious of the power of the religious orders and they pursued secularization as a discrete policy rather than a goal of evangelization. Whether viewed as a goal or pursued as policy, territorial officials in Sonora understood that the missions played an important economic and political role on the frontier. Historian David Weber writes that efforts to remove Catholic missionaries from the Pimería Alta were complicated by the fact that Franciscans helped control native populations and their agricultural lands provided grains, livestock, and other products.[68] Therefore, the regulatory demise of the missions was slow. Nonetheless, the end was near.

This mechanism for the secularization of the missions in the Pimería Alta was the strong suspicion of foreign, especially Spanish-born residents, that dominated Mexican politics during and after Independence. This sentiment came to a head on December 20, 1827, when the Mexican federal

66 David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 1821–1846 (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 22; Acta Constitutiva de la Federación Mexicana, January 21 1824, Article 4.

67 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 259.

68 Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 51.

government under the Liberal leadership of the nation's first elected President Guadalupe Victoria, issued a decree expelling all Spanish-born individuals (pennisulares) from Mexico. Regional civil authorities did not react with enthusiasm; however, they did enact legislation mirroring the federal decree, but made no effort to enforce the order.[69] The task was left to federal military leaders in the region.

The expulsions quickly became the responsibility of the Commandante de Armas (state military chief) for the Estado de Occidente, Mariano Paredes Arrillaga. His task took on some urgency when he began hearing rumors of sedition among the natives and friars of the Pimería Alta. The commander at Tubac reported that the Franciscans were preaching resistance and urging the Indians to prevent any efforts to have the Spanish priests expelled. It was reported that the situation was so tense that Tumacácori and San Xavier were on the verge of revolt. Paredes Arrillaga saw these developments as a matter of national security and ordered the commandant at Tucson (Capitan Pedro Villaescusa) to personally ensure expulsion of the Spanish-born Franciscans in the Pimería Alta.[70]

Capitan Pedro Villaescusa traveled to Tumacácori during the second week of April 1828 to enforce the expulsion order decreed by Commandante Paredes. Friar Ramón Liberós, who was still struggling to build the mission church when the captain arrived, was instructed to get his affairs in order and begin his journey south and out of Mexico. The expulsion order did not give the Franciscan much leeway. He had to be on his way within three days. In frustration, Friar Ramón Liberós asked Capitan Villaescusa what would become of the mission livestock, property, tools, and stores. The captain had no answer. His orders were to enforce the expulsion order, which was silent on Friar Liberós's concerns. The priest, concerned about the status of his mission and likely bitter toward Mexican authorities, named the native governor of Tumacácori, Ramón Pamplona, as the interim mission administrator. He hoped to ensure Indian control of Tumacácori.[71]

The banishment of Friar Liberós marked the end of the era of resident missionaries at Tumacácori. Like Guevavi and Calabazas, the mission at Tumacácori entered a period of decline and isolation.

Two Franciscans, meanwhile, managed to evade deportation. Father José Maria Pérez Llera, who was born in Mexico, was exempted from the expulsion order. Father Rafael Díaz, a naturalized Mexican citizen, received permission to stay in Mexico. The two friars initially divided the entire Pimería Alta region between themselves. Father Llera served the southern missions of San Ignacio de Cabórica, San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, San Antonio Paduano del Oquitoa, and La Purísima Concepcíon de Caborca and their visitas. Diaz oversaw the missions and presidios in the north, including Seňora del Pilar y Santiago de Cocóspera, Tumacácori, San Xavier del Bac, Santa Cruz, San Ignacio de Tubac, and Tucson. Eventually, two more Franciscans were assigned to the region, but they served southern missions.[72] Father Díaz lived at Cocóspera, a mission on a tributary of the Magdalena River in northern Sonora, and visited Tumacácori irregularly.

The missions of the Pimería Alta, undermanned, entered a period of decline. Conditions at Tumacácori deteriorated after 1828. Apache attacks continued. Apache raiders killed seven settlers west of Tumacácori in 1828 at the moment Friar Liberós was leaving. A year later, they absconded with mission horses. A search party recovered most of the herd, but they also found the mutilated

69 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 270.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

72 Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 52; Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 274, 277.

body of the vaquero who was with the animals when the Apache stole them. The Indians raided Calabazas in 1830, burning the buildings to the ground.[73]

The region also suffered a drought that became so severe by 1832 that Father Diaz wrote that the residents at Tumacácori had not produced any crops. He noted that the Indians at the mission had no stores and were on the verge of starvation. Not surprisingly, the population at Tumacácori was reduced. There were only 18 males residing at the mission and Father Diaz was at his wits end. The presidios were ineffective and settlers were unable to protect themselves. The Franciscan knew he could not ensure the security of his charges. The situation remained essentially unchanged when Father Diaz died in 1841.[74]

Father Antonio González, who apparently referred to San José de Tumacácori as *La Purisima Conception*, replaced Father Diaz at Tumacácori. Historian John Kessell describes him as "missionary . . . in absentia." The signature of Antonio Gonzáles does not appear on any mission registers after 1843. A year later, Tumacácori was consigned to the frontier, a nearly unpopulated expanse of land with a little pueblito. The Franciscans no longer visited the mission, but rather, left that task to a parish priest named Father Bachiller Don Trinidad García Rojas. The father, a secular priest, traveled to Tumacácori once or twice a year under heavy armed protection against the feared Apache attacks. He still used the mission church at Tumacácori during his visits, but he had to share the ground level with thickets of mesquite that had grown up during the years of neglect. The mission had an air of abandonment, but a few determined settlers held on.[75] The O'odham residents continued to care for the church as best they could.

Calabazas, which was vacated after Apache attacks in 1830, remained vacant until the 1840s when Manuel Gándara, the governor of Sonora, acquired the property for $500 dollars. His 1843 purchase included both Calabazas and Tumacácori. Governor Gándara was able to obtain title to the property under stipulations of Mexican law that allowed vacant mission properties to be sold to the highest bidder. Calabazas and Tumacácori, still remote and under Apache threat, were understandably not coveted by Mexicans willing to put up counter bids.[76]

Three years later, the United States and Mexico were at war, ostensibly over incursions across a disputed boundary in Texas. The Mexican-American War was a devastating defeat for Mexico. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the war, was ratified in May 1848, and with the stroke of a pen, millions of acres of Mexican territory was ceded to the United States. This vast area included all or parts of what are now the states of California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Wyoming.[77]

The negotiated boundary between the two nations was north of the missions of the Santa Cruz Valley. Tumacácori, Guevavi, and Calabazas were still in Mexico. Thus the day-to-day existence of

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73 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 282, 283.

74 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 288, 289, 295.

75 Ibid., 302.

76 Garate, *San Cayetano de Calabazas*, 6; John Russell Bartlett, Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua: 1850–1853, Volume 1 (Chicago, IL: The Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1965) 307; H. M. T. Powell, *The Santa Fe Trail to California 1849–1852* (San Francisco, CA: Book Club of California, 1931) 139; Nick Bleser, *Tumacácori from Rancheria to National Monument* (Tucson, AZ: Western National Parks Association, 1990) 37. Governor Gándara's actions triggered nearly a century of legal battles that directly affected Tumacácori National Park.

77 Richard Griswold Del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A legacy of Conflict* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990) 63, 65.

the mission at Tumacácori was not immediately affected by the national and international political decisions and outcomes of the war. U.S. soldiers traveling along the Santa Cruz River at the

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 7. SAN CAYETANO DE CALABAZAS, 1853

conclusion of the Mexican-American War noted that the church still stood with its statues and relics intact. The huts of the last mission residents surrounded the mission church.[78]

Governor Gándara may have purchased Calabazas in 1843, but initially he did nothing with it. The ranch remained isolated and mostly unused into the 1850s and only the few O'odham families who remained on the site occupied Tumacácori. This was at least partly due to the continued isolation of the region and the continued threat of Apache attack. The presidio at Tubac was raided with such ferocity in December 1848 that the commander at Tucson ordered the abandonment of the presidio, and as a result, Tumacácori. Residents were consolidated at Tucson for their safety. The 25 to 30 Indians living at Tumacácori gathered the sacred vessels, vestments, and statues from the church and left, traveling north toward San Xavier del Bac.[79]

The discovery of gold in California, meanwhile, resulted in an influx of gold seekers who journeyed into the Pimería Alta on their way to dreams of fortune in California's Sierra Nevada. Some visited Tumacácori and Calabazas as they traveled along a route known as Cooke's Wagon Road from Santa Fe to San Diego. The road entered what is now Arizona at the current Arizona-Sonora border before venturing north toward Tucson at the San Pedro River. Many travelers, however, continued to the Santa Cruz River before turning north. Argonauts reported eating fruit from the Tumacácori orchards. Some carved their initials into the mission church. One traveler, H. M. T. Powell, visited Tumacácori in October 1849. He described and sketched the vacant mission and wrote that it was a

78 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 307.

79 Ibid., 308.

place where inhabitants had every resource to make their lives comfortable. Yet a few years later the roof of the church collapsed as the mission continued to deteriorate.[80]

The increase in U.S. traffic across the Pimería Alta caused concern in Mexico City, but the nation lacked the resources to secure their border. Indeed, the end of the Mexican-American War triggered a creative and aggressive effort by Mexican authorities to colonize their northern borderlands to increase Mexican presence at the United States-Mexico border. They were suspicious of U.S. imperial intentions and, in Sonora, concerned about the continued Apache raids. Without resources to secure their border, Mexico developed several colonization schemes. Some involved the repatriation of Mexicans from lands ceded by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and others attempted to attract European colonists to the borderlands.

While it may be coincidence, Governor Gándara pursued plans to colonize his Calabazas ranch after the Mexican-American War. He entered into a contract with four German settlers to rebuild and settle the former mission. Governor Gándara agreed to provide livestock (5,000 sheep, 1,000 goats, 100 cows, 100 mares, 10 yokes of oxen, 10 horses, and 6 mules) as well as tools, seeds, and provisions to the men. The contract also stipulated that after six years of settlement, the Germans would own half the ranch.[81]

The Germans were well established at Calabazas by 1853. A group of Americans traveling west visited Calabazas in the spring of that year. They noted that the men had repaired the church and converted it into a ranch house. The four settlers also built and repaired other structures, including corrals, barracks, and a watch tower. They constructed walls around the mission building to provide protection from the very real threat of Apache attacks. The Apache did attack Calabazas shortly after the Americans left, but the European colonizers remained. A German traveler visited the ranch in 1854 and described a modest community that included the four original settlers and numerous Mexicans and Indians.[82]

The Tumacácori, Calabazas, and Guevavi missions became part of the United States in 1854 when the Gadsden Purchase Treaty (known as *El Tratado de Mesilla* in Mexico) was ratified. The treaty resulted in the exchange of nearly 30,000 square miles of Mexican territory for $10,000,000.[83] The treaty moved the United States-Mexico border a considerable distance south in what are now the states of New Mexico and Arizona. Ostensibly, the Gadsden Purchase Treaty was an effort to overcome a conflict over the location of the border stemming from discrepancies in the maps and land descriptions used to determine the international boundary in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. There was, however, a more practical reason–the United States wanted the land. James Gadsden, the chief negotiator for the United States, was a railroad speculator and understood that lands acquired by the treaty were a highly desirable location for a transcontinental railroad. This was the most important consideration for most U.S. supporters of the treaty.

The year 1854 marked the end of an era for the missions and ranchos of the Pimería Alta. It was the end of Spanish and Mexican control of the region. Change however, came slowly. Tumacácori remained vacant into the 1850s. The O'odham who called the mission home found themselves still

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80 Powell, *The Santa Fe Trail,* 142; Earl Jackson, *Tumácacori's Yesterdays* (Santa Fe, NM: Southwest Monuments Association, 1951) 57, 58; Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers,* 310.

81 Bernard L. Fontana, "Calabasas of the Rio Rico," *Smoke Signal* vol. 24 (fall 1971), 77.

82 Julius Froebel, *Seven Years' Travel in Central America, Northern México, and the Far West of the United States* (London: Richard Bentley, 1859) 495; Fontana, "Calabasas of the Rio Rico," 77.

83 The treaty was wildly unpopular in Mexico and resulted in Santa Ana's exile to the British Caribbean (Saint Thomas and Nassau, Bahamas).

living at San Xavier and, even worse, Governor Gándara now claimed their land as part of his ranch. The governor, however, was not prospering. His political clout in Sonora was faltering and the Calabazas experiment was never more than a fledgling enterprise. In fact, it only lasted a few years after the Gadsden Purchase. Political conflict in Sonora forced Governor Gándara out of power and Apache raids at Calabazas led to the abandonment of the property in the summer of 1856.

The abandonment of Calabazas represents the end of an era for the Santa Cruz River missions that comprise Tumacácori National Historical Park. Almost 200 years of tenuous Hispanic control and occupation of the missions ended in 1856. It was a period that witnessed dramatic political shifts, including the expulsion of the Jesuits from the region, the end of Spain's North American empire, the expulsion of the Spanish-born Franciscans from the Pimería Alta, and the loss of the lands along the Santa Cruz River to the United States. It was also a period of continuity. Priests and friars struggled alongside the mission communities to maintain a foothold in the region while aware of Apache raids, disease, and the capricious environment. Guevavi, Calabazas, and Tumacácori are modern-day testaments to these challenges. It is this history that forms a major component of the stories that the National Park Service explores, preserves, and interprets at Tumacácori National Historical Park.

CHAPTER 2: FROM MISSION TO MONUMENT, THE BEGINNING OF THE AMERICAN ERA

Several interrelated trends and processes shaped the five decades between the abandonment of the Calabazas Rancho and the establishment of Tumacácori National Monument. The region became a territory of the United States, but the nation struggled to control southern Arizona because of Apache raids and domestic turmoil. Settlement was sporadic and impermanent until the 1880s when the Apache threat was finally waning and developmental infrastructure, such as railroads, were spanning the country. Tumacácori, and especially Calabazas, enticed settlers and speculators, but the land on which the missions stood became embroiled in two successive legal battles that lasted into the 20th century. Finally, concern over the condition of the Tumacácori Mission led regional residents and other advocates to promote preservation of the mission as a national monument.

THE UNITED STATES PURSUES CONTROL: 1856–1890

Tumacácori, Calabazas, and Guevavi were vacant in 1856; marking an anticlimactic end of Mexican control of the missions–it was an emphatic conclusion to the Hispanic era. The United States subsequently inherited a region that reflected a remarkable amount of continuity with the past, a region that would likely have still been recognizable to the missionaries who toiled at the missions a century before. The Pimería Alta was still remote in the 1850s. Many of the challenges that the missionaries and Spanish and Mexican authorities confronted continued to shape life in the region. Populations and communities were in decline. The authority of the state[1] was feeble and Apache raids were a major destabilizing force. The next three decades, however, witnessed the first tentative forays of new settlement by miners and imposition of U.S. authority in the region. The process was not easy. Apaches and national events served to undermine permanence until the late 1880s. Tumacácori, Guevavi, and, especially Calabazas bore witness to these changes and challenges.

Calabazas was not vacant for long after the German tenants left. The 1st Regiment of the U.S. Army Dragoons briefly occupied the former visita in November 1856 before they established Camp Moore across the Santa Cruz River from Calabazas. Their arrival brought a new energy to the site. The regiment, under the command of Enoch Steen, consisted of four companies of soldiers and various support personnel, including cooks, medics, teamsters, laundresses, blacksmiths, carpenters, and other civilians. Steen established his residence and headquarters at the Calabazas ranch hacienda. The soldiers and other residents lived in tents and *jacales* (crude structures of upright logs covered with dirt).[2]

Life at Camp Moore reinforced the transnational and intercultural nature of the Pimería Alta. Sonoran Governor Ignacio Pesqueira encouraged the army to cross into Mexico to trade with Sonoran merchants and allowed them to use the Mexican port of Guaymas for supply shipments.

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1 I use the term *state* broadly to mean the representations and mechanisms of governmental authority and influence, federal, state, provincial, or territorial. I will use more specific terms (the United States, Arizona Territory, Sonora, Arizona) where applicable.

2 Bernard L. Fontana, "Calabasas of the Rio Rico," *Smoke Signal,* vol. 24 (fall 1971), 80; John P. Wilson, *Islands in the Desert: A History of the Uplands of Southeastern Arizona* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995) 74, 86.

The military installation, which provided both trade and security, attracted settlers to the Mexican and American sides of the international boundary.[3]

Regrettably, relations soured when an American filibustering (insurrectionist activities in a foreign country) expedition led by California politician Henry Alexander Crabb crossed into Sonora in 1857. Ostensibly, Crabb wanted to establish an American colony in northern Mexico. In reality, the Californian thought he could take advantage of internal strife in Mexico and crossed the border in the hopes of seizing control of Sonoran territory and gaining political power. He was met with widespread resistance and his men eventually fought a protracted battle with Mexican troops near Caborca, Sonora. Crabb and his men were eventually forced to surrender. The Mexicans executed the filibusterers.[4] Governor Pesquiera was determined to erase all vestiges of the expedition and demanded that Steen surrender some of Crabb's men and their associates who had taken refuge at Camp Moore. The army officer refused and Governor Pesqueira suspended all trade between Sonora and the United States.

The fallout from the filibustering expedition coincided with the decision to vacate Camp Moore in the summer of 1857. The 1st Dragoons relocated to a new encampment, Fort Buchanan, at the headwaters of Sonoita Creek, northeast of Calabazas. Captain Richard S. Ewell considered the new location a better vantage point from which to protect settlers.[5]

The old visita was only briefly vacant. William D. Mercer, a deputy collector of customs, began using the former mission as his customs house where he inspected goods going into Mexico and coming into the United States. He also collected duties where applicable.[6]

Soldiers and government officials were not the only Americans to arrive in the Santa Cruz Valley in the 1850s. Miners intent on developing the legendary and actual mines of the Pimería Alta ventured into the region in the 1850s. Rumors of rich Spanish mines tantalized hopeful prospectors. While some may have fit the venerated image of the individual toiling in an unforgiving environment, the more common mine development strategy was more aggressive. Throughout the West, including the Pimería Alta, mine development was dominated by syndicalism. This was an arrangement where men who usually had experience in mining and a gift for marketing found promising deposits, but instead of developing the mines themselves they courted significant outside investment, usually from the eastern United States or Europe. The mines depended on laborers, rather than independent miners.

Charles D. Poston and Herman Ehrenberg were a quintessential example of this system. Poston, with the support of French bankers, and Ehrenberg, a mining engineer, traveled to the Pimería Alta to look for potentially lucrative mineral deposits in 1854. Once their survey was complete, Poston traveled to the eastern United States to secure additional investment, which reached $2 million by 1856. He subsequently formed the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company.[7]

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3 John C. Reid, *Reid's Tramp* (Selma, AL: John Hary & Company, 1858), pg. 194; Bernard L. Fontana, "Calabazas of the Rio Rico," 81.

4 Rachael St. John, *Line in the Sand: A History of the Western U.S. – Mexico Border* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011) 46, 49.

5 Wilson, *Islands in the Desert*, 86.

6 Fontana, "Calabasas of the Rio Rico," 83.

7 Wilson, *Islands in the Desert*, 138.

Poston established his base of operations at Tubac, the abandoned presidio just north of Tumacácori. By 1857, Poston and Ehrenberg owned the 17,000-acre Arivica ranch and discovered the Heintzelman vein in the Cerro Colorado Mountains. A bright future faced the miners. The men had good agricultural properties and a total of 80 mines under their ownership. In addition to his responsibilities with the mining company, Poston served as the *Alcalde* (essentially the municipal judge and administrator). He defined his roles broadly. Poston went so far as to print his own money and preside over Catholic weddings, divorces, and baptisms.[8] Poston and Erhenberg's reoccupation of Tubac lasted five years until the beginning of the Civil War resulted in a defensive void into which the Apaches rushed. Raiding undermined settlement and the development of the mines. Tubac was mostly abandoned by late 1861.[9]

Mining brought hundreds of settlers to Tubac and elsewhere in the vicinity. By the late 1850s, squatters were occupying many areas that had been settled by the Spanish and Mexicans before them, including Tumacácori. Sylvester Mowry, the founder of Mowry Arizona, visited Tumacácori and Calabazas in 1859. He wrote that Tumacácori had a small population of "exiles from Sonora and a few enterprising Germans." There was also an "American squatter" cultivating the mission lands. He noted that some "American families," in addition to Mercer, were using the buildings of Calabazas and that a room "once dedicated to more delicate uses" had been converted to a blacksmith's forge. Mercer and the other occupants of Calabazas remained at the old visita until the beginning of the Civil War when the region was again terrorized by Apache raids.[10]

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 8. MISSION TUMACÁCORI, CIRCA 1870

The Civil War directly contributed to an erosion of security in the region. Edward R. S. Canby, the Union commander of Arizona and New Mexico, was concerned about Confederate invasions of the Southwest emanating out of Texas. He ordered the soldiers at Fort Buchanan to vacate the installation and burn it to the ground before they relocated to Fort Fillmore near Las Cruces, New Mexico. The exodus of the military resulted in the depopulation of the Santa Cruz Valley. Mercer left his post at Calabazas, and Tubac was mostly abandoned. The one resident that remained at Tumacácori after the military left the region was "an old American" who, according to J. Ross Browne, was killed in a raid in 1861. The raiders were apparently not Apache, but Mexicans out of Sonora. After they plundered the mission they returned to Sonora from whence they came.[11]

J. Ross Browne, a prolific adventurer and author, visited the Santa Cruz Valley in February 1864. He found Tubac, the once prosperous mining town, deserted. There were no inhabitants and the

8 Marshall Trimble, *Arizona: A Panoramic History of a Frontier State* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1977) 213.

9 Wilson, *Islands in the Desert*, pg. 138; Francis Cummins Lockwood, "Early Mines and Mining in Arizona," Dedication of the Douglas Memorial Building for Mines and Metallurgy (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1940) 14, 15.

10 Wilson, *Islands in the Desert*, pg. 86; Sylvester Mowry, *Arizona and Sonora: The Geography, History, and Resources of the Silver Region of North America* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1864), 26; Fontana, "Calabazas of the Rio Rico," 84.

11 J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada* (New York, NY: Harper and Brothers, 1871) 150; Mark R. Barnes, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: San Cayetano de Calabazas" 1990, section 7, 26.

buildings were falling into ruin. Upon reaching Tumacácori, he described a more picturesque scene. The mission, which was near the road, sat on the banks of a flowing Santa Cruz River. It had a "luxuriant growth of cotton-wood, mesquit [sic], and shrubbery of various kinds" and was "admirably situated for agricultural purposes." He noted the remnants of acequias and surmised that "the surrounding valley-lands must have been at one time in a high state of cultivation." Browne also recorded the effects of almost two decades of defacto abandonment. There were "broken fences, ruined out-buildings, bake-houses, corrals," and other deteriorating structures. The mission, in his opinion, was in fair condition, but the "dome, bell-towers, and adjacent outhouses [were] considerably defaced by the lapse of time, or more probably by the vandalism of renegade Americans."[12] Browne did not observe any residents at the mission.

The California journalist continued up the Santa Cruz River to Calabazas, a site he praised for its beauty and location at the junction of two roads coming from Sonora. He also noted that the buildings were in fairly good shape, except for some missing roofs. There were, however, no settlers in the vicinity due to the threat of the depredations that resulted from the absence of the military.[13]

The situation changed in less than a year when members of the California Column, a force of volunteer Union soldiers, were sent to Calabazas to reestablish a military presence in the Santa Cruz River Valley. Six companies of California volunteers, including native troops, traveled to the former rancho and visita in the late summer of 1864 to establish Fort Mason. Like Camp Moore, most of the soldiers resided in tents and crude structures near the Santa Cruz River. The officers lived at the mission. The first months at the fort were arduous as scores of soldiers contracted some form of mosquito-borne illness, most likely malaria. The California volunteer's stay at Fort Mason lasted until 1865 when they were mustered out of service. According to historian Elizabeth R. Snoke, a post office remained at Calabazas from 1866 until 1868.[14]

The Apache continued to impede development and settlement after the Civil War, but by 1864, the U.S. military embarked on a concerted effort to end the raiding by any means possible. Numerous military expeditions penetrated the sky islands of southern Arizona between 1864 and 1872. The soldiers destroyed Indian villages, crops, and stores. They also clashed with Apache warriors. The intensity of conflicts began to subside by 1870. In the United States, the Indians were reduced to raiding travelers, individual settlers, and mail parties, none of which were particularly productive targets. The Apache Wars were centered east of the Santa Cruz Valley, but depredations spread down the Santa Cruz Valley. Apache and Sonoran bandits regularly raided the scattered settlements of the Santa Cruz Valley during the late 1860s into the 1870s.[15]

Nonetheless, the Apache territory for operations was narrowing; a fact that likely contributed to the decision by Cochise, the leader of the Chiricahua Apaches, to sue for peace in 1872. He was promised food and supplies in exchange for moving to a reservation in southeastern Arizona. Peace, however, came slowly. Life on the reservation was difficult. Rations were not always forthcoming and, by 1876, some Apaches left the reservation to find food and supplies. In the meantime, U.S. officials decided to consolidate the Apache at the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona's White Mountains. Some Apaches, including Geronimo, balked. They left the Chiricahua

12 Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country*, 147, 152.

13 Ibid., 155, 224.

14 Elizabeth R. Snoke, "Pete Kitchen: Arizona Pioneer," Arizona and the West," vol. 21, no. 3 (Autumn 1979) pg. 240; Wilson, *Islands in the Desert*, 95.

15 Snoke, "Pete Kitchen," 242, 245, 46.

Reservation and took refuge in the sky islands and partly supported themselves by raiding. The military launched a long, grinding campaign against the bands of Geronimo and Niache (son of Cochise) in 1878.[16] Hostilities continued until 1886, when the last Apaches finally surrendered. Tragically, they were placed aboard a train and transported to Florida, the antithesis of southern Arizona.[17]

DEVELOPING SOUTHERN ARIZONA

The elimination of the Apache threat was certainly not something that occurred quickly or easily, but it did represent a dramatic shift in the history of the entire Pimería Alta. The region, including the Santa Cruz River Valley, was suddenly a much more attractive area for settlement and development. The last years of the Apache era in southern Arizona coincided with the development of industrialism that was emerging in the region in the 1880s and 1890s. The changes are most evident in the development of the railroad and the mines throughout the region in both Arizona and Sonora.

There is no question that the development of the Pimería Alta was contingent on the successful prosecution of the Apache Wars. The mere fact that Geronimo could be transported to Florida on a train was evidence of the changes the campaign against the Indians wrought. Plans for a railroad across southern Arizona date to the 1850s, but the construction of the railroad was hampered by the Civil War, Apache aggression, and the mere complexity of the undertaking. Construction crews finally entered Arizona in 1877. Once in the region, they worked quickly. The railroad was completed by 1881.[18]

The Southern Pacific Railroad generated other lines that penetrated farther south and into Sonora. Many of the railroads were associated with large mines that were developed in the region in the 1880s. A handful of routes crossed near Calabazas and Tumacácori. The New Mexico and Arizona Railroad was constructed in 1882; it traveled a roughly diagonal path from Benson to Nogales. The tracks passed by Calabazas before turning south to Nogales. They met the tracks of a Mexican line originating in Guaymas. The Tucson and Nogales Railroad was constructed in 1909. It followed a well-established route between Tucson and Mexico–and generally followed hoofmarks and wagon ruts of Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans who came before. It is roughly reflected by the route of modern day Interstate 19. The rails passed by Tubac and Tumacácori before meeting up with the New Mexico and Arizona Railroad at Calabazas. The Southern Pacific Railroad eventually acquired both railroads.[19]

The development of infrastructure coincides with the industrialization of southern Arizona and northern Sonora. Major mineral development returned to the Pimería Alta and the sky islands in the 1880s. This time, instead of silver, miners focused on copper. Indeed, by the turn of the century, Arizona and Sonora were the world leaders in copper production. The area boasted seven of the

16 Snoke, "Pete Kitchen," 250.

17 The Chiricahua were eventually moved to an encampment at Fort Sill in Oklahoma. Geronimo died there in 1909. More detailed histories of the Apache Wars can be found in Wilson, *Islands in the Desert*, 96–129; Shelly Hatfield, *Chasing Shadows: Apaches and Yaquis Along the United States Border*, 1876–1911 (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); Frederick Turner, ed., *Geronimo: My Own Story, as told to S. M. Barrett* (New York, NY: Meridian, 1996).

18 Wilson, *Islands in the Desert*, pg. 75: Jay J. Wagoner, *Arizona Territory: 1863–1912* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1970) 162, 170.

19 "Arizona's Cultural Resource Inventory: Railroads," AZSITE, accessed September 26, 2013, http://www.azsite.arizona.edu/linears/railroads.htm.

largest mines in the world. They were, in order of size, the Copper Queen (Bisbee), Cananea (Sonora), United Verde (Jerome, Arizona), Calumet and Arizona (Bisbee), Arizona Copper (Clifton-Morenci, Arizona), Old Dominion (Globe, Arizona), and Detroit Copper (Clifton-Morenci). Moreover, there were many other smaller significant mines in the region.

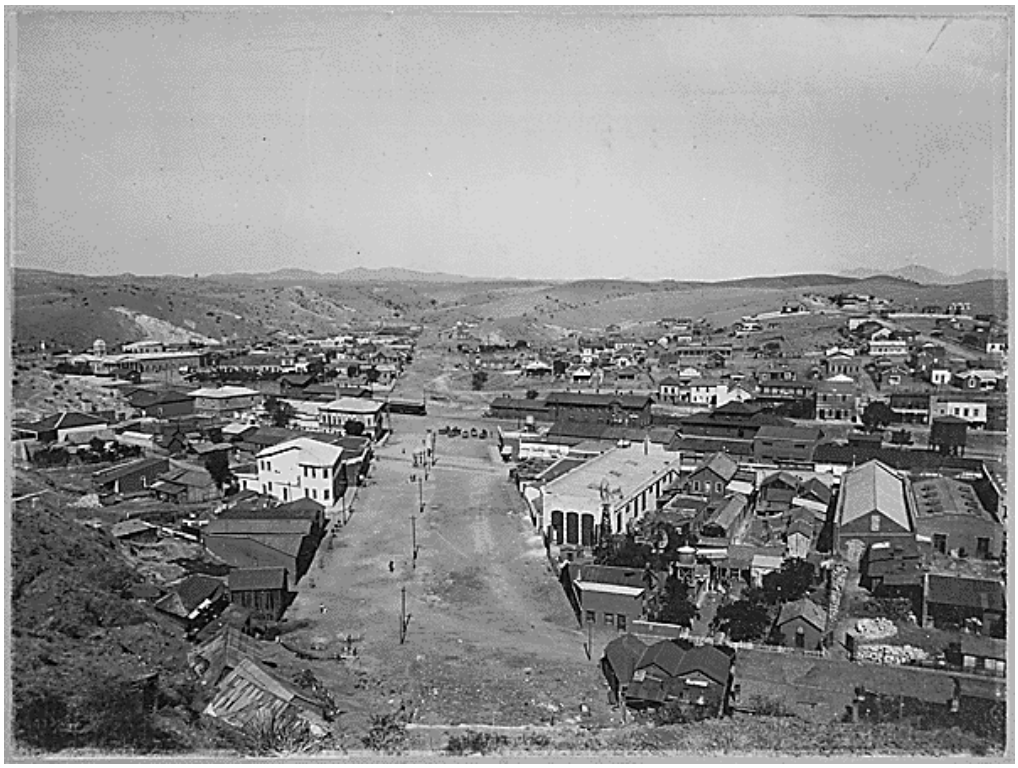
The mines and railroads encouraged settlement. Towns were established throughout the region. The first of these were the sister cities of Nogales, Arizona and Nogales, Sonora. The Mexican counterpart was established in 1880 as a customs house. Actually, it was a canvas tent. Soon, the outpost attracted merchants and opportunists to both sides of the border and a community developed. By 1884, Nogales, Sonora, had over 1,000 residents. The sister city in Arizona apparently grew more slowly, but by 1900 it had over 1,000 residents. Pima County, which contained Tumacácori, Calabazas, Guevavi, Nogales, and Tucson in the 19th century had a population of just over 5,700 people in 1870. Santa Cruz County, which today contains all the properties associated with Tumacácori National Park, was carved out of Pima County in 1899. The county had a population of about 4,500 in 1900. More important than the growth of the towns was the fact that a compensatory border society developed. Trade, law enforcement, and social interaction were all cross-border and transnational in character.[20]

Even with the dramatic population growth, the region was certainly not urban. To be sure, the greatest concentrations of settlement were in the principal towns such as Tucson and Nogales. As noted above, however, most of the residents in the Santa Cruz Valley lived outside Nogales. Some lived in small hamlets such as Tubac, Harshaw, and Ruby. Other people squatted on parcels or acquired land through the public land laws of the United States.

Homesteading was common by the 1880s. Most entrymen and entrywomen occupied parcels of 160 acres or less that usually incorporated irrigable lands or grazing lands. The Empire Ranch, which grew into a cattle empire of over 100,000 acres, began as a 160-acre homestead near the Santa Rita Mountains. Most homesteads never grew so dramatically. In fact, the majority of homesteads in Arizona and elsewhere were never patented, as discouraged and opportunistic settlers moved on to other enterprises. Some settlers also found their claims contested and were eventually forced off the land after their selection of land was determined to be fraudulent, inadvertently or purposely. Some of the illegal homesteads were on land grants that had been previously granted by the Spanish and Mexican governments. These homesteads were part of a larger controversy that erupted in association with the grants, which came to dominate the southern Arizona legal landscape for decades beginning in the 1860s.

The ownership and legal status of Mexican and Spanish land grants became a particularly vexing and confounding problem in the southwestern United States in the late 1800s. There were 13 Spanish and Mexican land grants in the Pimería Alta. Except for a few exceptions, most were abandoned by the late 1850s, but they became increasingly attractive to claimants, investors, and speculators as the region developed and the Apache threat dissipated. The Tumacácori Grant and the Baca Float No. 3, two grants that directly affected the status of Tumacácori National Monument, bear this out.

20 Miguel Tinker Salas, *In the Shadow of Eagles: Sonora and the Transformation of the Border* During the Porfiriato (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997) 151, 152, 156, 161; Riley Moffat, *Population History of Western U.S. Cities and Towns, 1850–1990* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996) 16.



Source: National Archives

FIGURE 9. NOGALES, ARIZONA, AND NOGALES SONORA 1899

THE LAND GRANT DISPUTE

The early history of the Tumacácori Grant (also Called the Tumacácori and Calabazas Grant) is not well documented, but it is likely the oldest Spanish land grant in the Santa Cruz Valley. The original grant probably dates to the establishment of the Guevavi, Calabazas, and Tumacácori missions and visitas. The original documents defining the grant were either lost or unrecorded.

It is not clear if the lack of legal papers was a considerable concern before the early 1800s when settlers began encroaching on Tumacácori grant lands. Father Gutiérrez, who was the administrator of the mission, became alarmed. He was not worried about people squatting on the mission grant lands, but was concerned about ambitious ranchers who might file claims to what they considered vacant land in the valley. This threat was most apparent at the southern end of the Tumacácori Grant where the former mission sites at Guevavi and Calabazas lay essentially abandoned in the early 1800s. To be sure, vaqueros still used Calabazas, but it was not actively occupied. Guevavi lost its community well before Calabazas.[21]

Gutiérrez met with Juan Legarra, O'odham governor of the mission community, and the O'odham justices in late 1806 and suggested that they pursue a formal re-grant of their mission lands. To this end, Legarra petitioned Don Alejo Garcia Condé, the intendente of the province, for an adjudication and survey of Tumacácori lands. He requested that the grant include both farming

21 John L. Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers: Hispanic Arizona and the Sonoran Mission Frontier 1767–1856* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1976) 206, 207.

(*fundo legal*) and grazing (*estancia*) lands. The O'odham also asked that the grant include the mission at Tumacácori and the former visitas at Calabazas and Guevavi. [22]

Condé complied. He issued a patent to the Indians of the pueblo of Tumacácori and ordered Manuel de Léon to measure and mark off four square leagues of pueblo lands including farming plots (sometimes referred to as the Tumacácori Claim), and two sitos of grazing land (sometimes referred to as the Calabazas Claim), a total of about 26,000 acres. De Léon, in consultation with the Indians of Tumacácori, delineated a swath of farmland along the Santa Cruz River from the boundary of Tubac on the north to near the confluence of Sonoita Creek and the Santa Cruz River on the south. The O'odham informed de Léon that they wanted the mouth of the Potrero River near Guevavi to mark the center point of their *estancia*. The surveyors incorporated these instructions and measured a large area of Tumacácori ranch lands with a roughly northwestern boundary at the southern terminus of the farmlands and a southern and eastern boundary just north of what is now the United States-Mexico border. The grant (figure 10) encompassed all of the Potrero River, part of Sonoita Creek, and much of the Santa Cruz River within its boundaries. The tract included the Tumacácori mission in its *fundo legal* and the Guevavi and Calabazas missions in its *estancia.* The grant was finalized on April 2, 1807.[23]

The new legal status of the mission lands initially affected few people. Vaqueros continued to live at the Calabazas site. Apaches continued to raid and the O'odham and Franciscans continued to foster a fledgling community.

The first threat to the integrity of the grant came in 1822. The O'odham became concerned that cattle owned by a Tubac ranchero named Don Léon Herreras (also written as Herreros) were trespassing on Tumacácori farmlands at the mouth of Sonoita Creek.[24] Father Liberós was the resident friar at the mission when the concern over Herreras's cattle arose. He prepared a legal case against Herreras for the O'odham pointing out that Condé had granted the land to the Indians in 1807. The friar then confronted Herreras with his documentation. The rancher insisted that the cattle trespass was inadvertent. In order to prevent any subsequent confusion, the two men decided to establish a dividing line across unclaimed land between the two grants in January 1823. The agreement guaranteed the Tumacácori Indians access to their fields in the arable lands of the lower Sonoita canyon while allowing Herreras's continued use of the upper canyon for his cattle. Four years later, Herreras and Liberós were in court again under different circumstances. The friar and rancher appeared before a judge in order to transfer his Sonoita ranch to the Tumacácori mission. The agreement, a victim of bureaucratic inefficiency, was never officially recorded in the provincial offices in Arzipe before the expulsion of Liberós from the Pimería Alta. Herreras, therefore, retained his grant, which he sold in 1831.[25]

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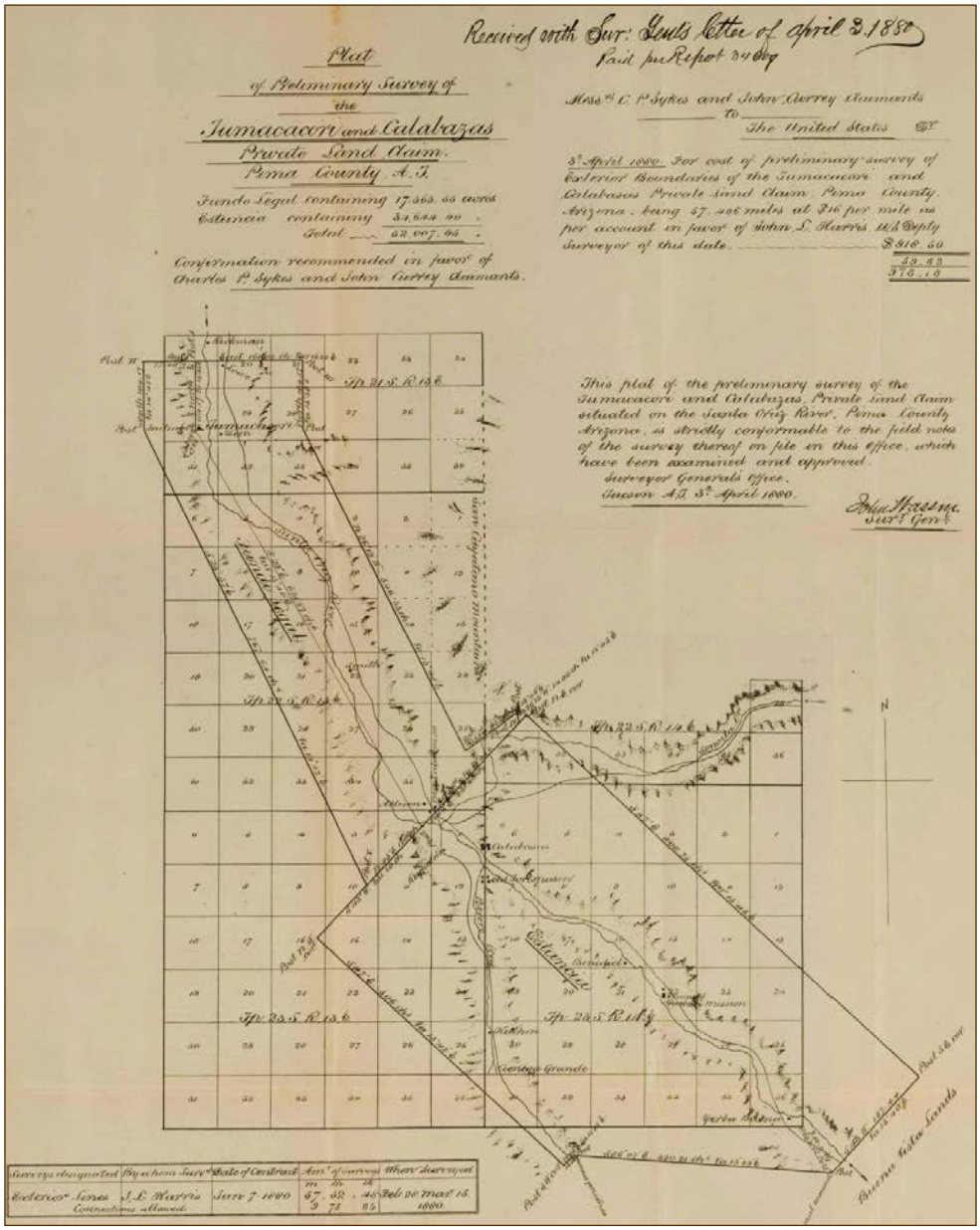
22 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, pgs. 207; Fray Narciso Gutierriez to Don Manuel De Leon, December 23, 1806, in Senate Executive Document, No. 207, 46th Cong. 2nd Sess. pg. 18; Licenciado Tresierra, March 30, 1807, in Senate Executive Document, No. 207, 46th Cong. 2nd Sess., 24.

23 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 207–09, 213; Alejo Garcia Conde, April 2, 1807, in Senate Executive Document, No. 207, 46th Cong. 2nd Sess., 25, 26.

24 A year earlier, Herreras laid claim to lands east of Tumacácori that were associated with the abandoned visita at Sonoita. He asked for two sitos of land and indicated he was willing and able to pay for the land. The commander of the Tubac presidio surveyed a grant for Herreras in the summer of 1821. Ultimately, the grant was about 1.75 sitos and included the Sonoita Mission at its center and ran in a narrow rectangle in a roughly north-south direction along Sonoita Creek to a point within two leagues (about 5 miles) of Calabazas. Herreras paid 105 pesos for the land. Ray H. Mattison, "Early Spanish and Mexican Settlements in Arizona," New Mexico Historical Review vol. 23, no. 4 (October 1946) 298, 299; United States Supreme Court, *Ely's Administrator v United States*, in Cases argued and Decided in the Supreme Court of the United States, October Terms 1897 1898 in 171,172,173,174 U.S. (Rochester, NY: The Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Company, 1901) 143, 148, 149.

25 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 257–58.



Source: Senate Executive Document No. 207, 46th Cong. 2nd Sess., n.p.

FIGURE 10. TUMACÁCORI GRANT (1880 MAP)

The 1807 Tumacácori land grant document included a provision that helped further complicate the land title history of the grant. There was a statement that if the lands were abandoned for three years anyone could lay claim to them. This was essentially the codification of a Spanish Bourbon policy called the *denuncia* in which citizens of New Spain could claim land that was deemed vacant as long as they followed proper administrative procedures. The stipulation was indirectly modified in the Mexican era when Mexican President Santa Ana decreed that abandoned mission lands be sold to the highest bidder.[26]

Governor Gándara used these legal mechanisms to acquire control of the Tumacácori grant in 1844. Gándara's brother-in law, Francisco Alejandro Aguilar, acting in the governor's interest, purchased the Tumacácori grant for 500 pesos on April 18, 1844. His claim to the land was based on a contention that the grant was unoccupied. This was an incorrect assertion. While the region was certainly experiencing a decline in population and Calabazas and Guevavi were abandoned, there were still O'odham families living at Tumacácori in 1844.[27]

Even after the O'odham left the mission in the late 1840s, they retained an attachment to the land and pursued the continued legal possession of the grant. Historian John Kessell writes that while the residents of Tumacácori were still living at San Xavier del Bac (the community they escaped to after a vicious Apache attack in 1848), they pressed for the retention of their lands. Incensed that Governor Gándara and Aguilar were able to claim land that was rightfully theirs, 19 Tumacácori Indians asked the O'odham governor at San Xavier del Bac to petition Prefect José Elías for the return of their grant. He presented their case to the Prefect in the 1850s, but Elías, a political ally of Governor Gándara's had no intention of pursuing the Tumacácori claim. The O'odham rights to Tumacácori were never legally expressed again, except the incorrect assumption that they abandoned the grant in 1820.[28]

Meanwhile, The former Sonora governor's plans to establish an agricultural settlement on the grant did not flourish. Like so many other men before him, his vision failed amid isolation and Apache aggression. The territorial expansion of the United States and political turmoil in Mexico added to the local challenges to effectively ended Governor Gándara's scheme.[29]

Aguilar, who held the grant in trust for Gándara for over a decade, sold the land to the former governor for $499 in 1856. The governor's purchase of the Tumacácori grant eventually contributed to a legal and administrative morass that directly affected the establishment of Tumacácori National Monument. Gándara hired lawyer W. Claude Jones in 1864 to petition Levi Bashford, the surveyor general of Arizona, for a survey to confirm his claim to the land.[30]

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 (*Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo*) and the Gadsden Purchase of 1854 (*Tratado de Mesilla*) both required that the United States honor the property rights that had been granted by Spain and Mexico in the ceded territory. The most obvious of these

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26 Ray H. Mattison, "The Tangled Web: The Controversy Over the Tumacácori and Baca Land Grants," *Journal of Arizona History* vol. 8 no. 2 (June 1967) 76.

27 [Title of Sale], 1844, in Senate Executive Document, No. 207, 46th Cong. 2nd Sess., 27–28; Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, 308.

28 Kessell, *Friars, Soldiers, and Reformers*, pg. 319; *Faxon v United States*, 171 U.S. 244 (1898).

29 Governor Gándara's plans for the grant between 1844 and 1856 including his efforts to establish a settlement at Calabazas are addressed in chapter 1.

30 J. J. Bowden, "The Tumacácori and Calabazas Grant," New Mexico Office of the State Historian, accessed October 1, 2013, http://dev.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails.php?fileID=25022.

rights was tied to the ownership of land grants, whether by individuals or communities.[31] Congress passed the Land Act of 1851 and subsequent legislation to expedite the confirmation of land grants, but the process was excruciatingly slow. In order to gain title to their lands, an individual, or more often, a group of representatives from a community, had to petition the General Land Office for confirmation of their grant. This triggered a process in which Congress required evidence of land titles from Mexican archives, a survey by the General Land Office, and a report from the surveyor general of the United States to the Secretary of the Interior approving or disapproving the claim. If the claim was approved, it was sent to Congress for final action. Typically, the grant claims floundered in Congress awaiting approval. To make matters worse, some land grants were subject to competing claims. Others were manipulated by corrupt officials and politicians. Congress ratified only a small percentage of approved claims by the 1880s.

Bashford did not act on Gándara's request with alacrity. The Tumacácori Grant was still unsurveyed and unadjudicated nearly 15 years later when Gándara sold the land in 1878 to a California investor named C. P. Sykes for $12,500.[32] Sykes sold a 3/16th portion of the grant to John Curry within a year. Curry, who was a former California supreme court judge, and Sykes formed a partnership and began raising money in order to form the Calabazas Land and Mining Company. Sykes has grand visions for the site. He promoted Calabazas with a booster's penchant for optimism and elaboration. He described the former visita as the future center of commerce. He also advertised the region's missionary past and the prosperous future that the mines and agricultural lands of the region promised. They even portrayed the Santa Cruz River as a navigable stream that steamships would eventually navigate. [33]

Sykes's and Curry's interests in the Santa Cruz Valley became quite diverse. The men controlled the San Xavier mines. Sykes organized the Santa Rita Land and Mining Company to manage their holdings, 52,000 acres of which he dedicated to ranching in the selfsame region Spanish and Mexican vaqueros ran cattle decades before. Sykes was also a principal investor in the Arizona Southern Railroad Company, which was constructing the railroad line from Tucson to Nogales. Sykes planned to build an international depot and hotel at Calabazas. He lobbied hard for the depot, but was rebuffed when a depot at Nogales was officially established on October 25, 1882. [34]

The loss of the depot was a major setback, but Calabazas was still a vibrant community in the 1880s. Sykes had constructed his hotel, the Santa Rita, in 1882. The Santa Rita Hotel was considered one of the most elegant hotels in the region and during its most active period the establishment hosted notable guests including New Mexico Congressman Sabino Otero and General Nelson Miles. By the mid-1880s, the two-story brick hotel stood among other businesses, including 16 saloons, 5 stores, 2 dancehalls, 2 Chinese gambling houses, and an opium den. The community had about 150 residents.[35] The town's existence was undermined by the determination that the land that Sykes and Curry had purchased from Gándara was obtained fraudulently.

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31 Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990) 73, Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits, and Settlement with the Republic of Mexico (Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo), February 2, 1848, Articles VIII and IX; Gadsden Purchase Treaty, December 1848, Article V.

32 Senate Executive Document, No. 207, 46th Cong. 2nd Sess., 31; Mattison, "The Tangled Web," 83.

33 Thomas E. Sheridan, "Historic Resource Study, Tumacácori National Historical Park," 2004, chapter 6, accessed October 13, 2013, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/tuma/hrs/chap6.htm; Thomas E. Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud: Mission Tumacácori, the Baca Float, and the Betrayal of the O'odham* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2005) 125.

34 Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud*, 127; Snoke, "Pete Kitchen," 253.

35 Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud*, 127–28.

Sykes and Curry understood that they had inherited Gándara's clouded land title[36] and they wasted little time attempting to gain legal ownership of the grant lands they held under dubious title. In 1879, they petitioned John Wasson, the Arizona surveyor general for confirmation of the Tumacácori land grant and, subsequently, their title to the lands. Wasson complied, and in 1880 he recommended confirmation of the Curry and Sykes claim to the Tumacácori land grant. The Secretary of the Interior, following the regulatory apparatus set up by Congress, submitted a report to the Senate Committee of Private Land Claims who, in turn, ordered the report printed.[37] Then, as was typical, the process ground to a halt in Washington, D.C. In Arizona, however, the situation became more complicated.

First, the Curry and Sykes claim, which the Santa Rita Mining Company held after 1881, was challenged by other claimants to Tumacácori grant lands. Dolores G. Astiazaran and 13 other Aguilar and Gándara heirs filed suit against the Santa Rita Mining Company in the Arizona Territorial Court. They asserted that they still held title to a portion of the grant. The Arizona court found in support of the Santa Rita Mining Company. The Arizona Supreme Court upheld the decision. The claimants appealed their case to the United States Supreme Court, who reaffirmed the lower court's ruling in 1893 on the grounds that the Curry and Sykes claim could not be contested because Congress had yet to act on the Secretary of the Interior's recommendations.[38] Indeed, the entire episode did little to address the legal uncertainty that characterized the Tumacácori land grant in the second half of the 19th century.

Meanwhile, the General Land Office surveyed much of the land in the Santa Cruz River Valley, including Spanish and Mexican land grants. Once the surveys were completed, land was opened for settlement under the public land laws of the United States such as the Homestead Act. Some homesteaders and other settlers living on the Tumacácori grant lands became nervous that their land claims were going to eventually be deemed illegal because they were on grants that Congress had not yet recognized. In an effort to ensure their rights to their claims, a group of 120 settlers and four corporations petitioned the General Land Office in 1888, asking that the Tumacácori grant be deemed fraudulent. Such a determination would ensure that their preemption claims to public lands would be legal on the grounds that the grant would revert to the public domain. The grant claimants filed their own legal briefs against the settler's petitions.[39] The land commissioner, Strother M. Stockslager, investigated the competing titles to the grants going all the way back to the original Tumacácori grant of 1807. Basing his argument on the fact that he found many imperfections in the grant documents, the land commissioner declared the Tumacácori grant invalid and illegal in 1889. He also ordered the grant expunged from the public record. The case was appealed to the Secretary of the Interior who, in 1893, reversed the commissioner's decision. He argued that the commissioner had no authority to make such a determination. The secretary was also incensed that the commissioner had ordered the destruction of the agency records related

36 C*louded title* refers to a situation in which there are irregularities, claims, or encumbrances on the chain of title for a property.

37 John Wasson, "Opinion and Recommendation by the United States Surveyor General," January 7, 1880, In Senate Executive Document, No. 207, 46th Cong. 2nd Sess., 35–42.

38 *Astiarazan v Santa Rita Land and Mining Company*, 148 U.S. 80 (1893); Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior, "Tumacácori y Calabazas Grant," May 8, 1893, pgs 22, 23, National Archives and Records Administration – Washington, DC (hereafter referred to as NARA – Washington, DC), Record Group 49, Records of the General Land Office (hereafter refered to as RG 49) Entry 432, Box 1 older: Records re. the Tumacácori y Calabazas Grant.

39 D. B. McCullough et al. to The Commissioner of the General Land Office, July 8, 1889, NARA – Washington, DC, RG 49, Entry 432, Box 1, Folder: Records re: the Tumacácori y Calabazas Grant; Britton & Gray, Attorneys for Grant Owners, "Reply to Petitioners Brief," 1889, NARA – Washington, DC, RG 49, Entry 432, Box 1, Folder: Records re: the Tumacácori y Calabazas Grant; J. W. Le Barnes "In the Matter of the Petition of Settlers on Public Lands in the Tucson, Arizona Land District Praying for an Investigation of the Alleged Tumacácori and Calabazas Private Land Claim," [no date], NARA – Washington, DC, RG 49, Entry 34A, Box 13, Folder: Arizona No. 7.

to the grant. Secretary Smith, however, did not make any decision on the legality of the Tumacácori grant.[40]

The grant claimants, including the Santa Rita Mining Company, Dolores G. Astiazaran and her fellow petitioners, and another claimant named George H. Howard, turned to the United States Court of Private Land Claims in an effort to bring the legal status of the grant to closure in their interests.[41] Howard's claim was based on the contention that he received an interest in the grant through W. Claude Jones. According to Howard, Governor Gándara paid Jones for his services by providing him with land. The three separate cases were consolidated and filed under a single trustee named William Faxon, who was also an investor in the Santa Rita Mining Company.[42]

The Court of Private Land Claims was no more supportive of the competing claims to the Tumacácori grant than the Secretary of the Interior and the land commissioner. The judges denied the validity of the land grant because, they argued, Francisco Aguilar acquired the lands illegally in 1844. According to the court, the land purchase did not meet necessary legal and administrative requirements under Mexican law. Therefore land claims linked to Aguilar's purchase were acquired fraudulently.[43] The town of Calabazas was quickly depopulated. It, however, was not vacant. A nearby homesteader named Joseph Wise, who made Calabazas his ranch headquarters in 1888, began living in the Santa Rita Hotel after the town was vacated. He stayed until 1910 when the town was quickly being reclaimed by the desert.[44]

The claimants held out one last hope. They appealed their case to the United States Supreme Court in 1898. The justices emphatically upheld the decision of the Court of Private Land Claims. Chief Justice Melville Fuller, in a thinly veiled criticism of the claimants' case, noted that the grant and its subsequent sale to Aguilar cannot be "treated as validated by presumption." At the same time, however, both the Court of Private Land Claims and the Supreme Court averred that the Tumacácori grant had been vacant since 1820, an assumption that was not reflected in the historic record. This incorrect assertion reinforced the historical alienation of the O'odham people from their 1807 grant. Nonetheless, the courts' action paved the way for the grant to be designated public domain and open to settlement.[45]

Homesteaders wasted little time selecting land within the Tumacácori grant. One such individual was Carmen Mendez, who settled on a homestead that actually included the Tumacácori mission. Mendez began homesteading on the site in 1899 and filed a patent for 150 acres in 1908. Guevavi

40 16 L. D. 408 (1893); Hoke Smith, "Tumacacori y Calabazas Grant," May 8, 1893, 25, 37,38.

41 The Court of Private Land Claims (CPLC) established by Congress in 1891, attempted to overcome the excruciatingly slow and inconclusive process that undermined the confirmation of the Spanish and Mexican land grants. Congress appointed a five-judge panel whose sole purpose was to expedite decisions on the validity of the various claims to land grants in the southwestern United States. The court, which operated until 1904, approved 155 of 295 identified land grants. Congress issued patents on 142 of the grants. See Act of March 3, 1891 (51st Cong., Sess. II, Chap. 539); United States General Accounting Office, "Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Definition and List of Community Land Grants in New Mexico," September 2001, GAO-01-951, accessed October 5, 2013, http://www.gao.gov/assets/240/232553.pdf.

42 J. J. Bowden, "The Tumacácori and Calabazas Grant."

43 *Faxon v United States*, 171 U.S. 244 (1898).

44 Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud*, 123, 155.

45 *Faxon v United States*, 171 U.S. 244 (1898).

was occupied by a homesteader in 1914.[46] Part of Calabazas was included in a railroad right-of-way in 1882, but the rest of the site was apparently abandoned by the end of the 19th century. There may, however, have been squatters on the land that are not accounted for in public land records.

All the settlers and land users, legal or opportunistic, found their status on the land brought under a cloud by another round of litigation in the early 20th century. The convoluted legal history of the land on which Tumacácori National Park now stands was far from settled in 1898. A second stream of land grant litigation arose as quickly as the Tumacácori land grant was nullified. This time the process involved a tract of land known as the Baca Float No. 3.

The history of the Baca Float No. 3 began in northern New Mexico in February 1820 when Luis Maria Cabeza de Baca and eight associates petitioned Spanish authorities for a large grant at Las Vegas on the Galinas River.[47] No action was taken on this initial request. His associates consequently lost interest in the project. Baca tried again in January 1821. This time he asked for the grant in the name of himself and his sons. The request was approved in May, but it took nearly four years before the Baca family finally gained possession of the land in February 1825.[48]

Luis Maria Cabeza de Baca built a small ranch house on the grant and proceeded to develop a large ranching operation, which was conveniently located along the rapidly developing Santa Fe Trail between Missouri and Mexico. The elder Baca died in 1833 and his son Juan Antonio Baca operated the ranch until 1835 when raiding Navajos, who absconded with the grant's livestock, killed him.[49] The Bacas were unable to reoccupy the grant due to continued Indian hostilities.

In the meantime, a second grant was approved. The Town of Las Vegas community grant was provided to Juan de Dios Maese and 28 other settlers in March 1835. Much to the consternation of the Baca family, the new grant replicated the Baca grant. They filed an official protest with Governor Manuel Armijo in 1837. There is no evidence that the governor acted on their complaint.[50] The issue remained unresolved until after the Mexican-American War.

The Baca family reasserted their claim to the 1825 grant in 1855. This time they addressed their petition to the surveyor general of New Mexico, William Pelham. This triggered an investigation into both grants in an effort to determine the legitimacy of the Baca claim. Pelham and his associates reviewed the original grants and associated documents and conducted interviews. Ultimately, in 1859, Pelham determined that both grants were legitimate and legal. He, however, noted that the General Land Office had no power to "decide between [the] two conflicting parties." The Baca claimants offered to waive their title as long as Congress allowed them to choose an equivalent quantity of land elsewhere. Congress "cheerfully accept[ed] the proposal." The Baca

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46 Carmen Mendez, Homestead Certificate 290, December 14, 1908; United States Bureau of Land Management, Historical Index, Township 23 South, Range 14 East of the Gila and Salt river Meridian, Arizona, accessed September 38, 2013, http://www.glorecords.blm.gov/details/lsr/default.aspx?dm_id=28964&sid=4ze2lrvf.0a4; Forest Supervisor, Nogales, Arizona, to The Forester, Forest Service, Washington, DC, February 4, 1908, NPS Western Archeological Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ (hereafter referred to as WACC), Series 4673, Folder 1.

47 Luis Maria Cabeza de Baca to Excelentisimo Señor, January 16 1821, Claim 20 in New Mexico-Private Land Claims, H.R. Executive Doc. No. 14, 36th Congress, 1st Session (1860).

48 Antonio Ortiz et al., February 16 1825, Claim No. 20 in New Mexico-Private Land Claims, H.R. Executive Doc. No. 14, 36th Congress, 1st Session (1860).

49 Testimony of Remigio Rivera, Claim No. 20 in New Mexico-Private Land Claims, H.R. Executive Doc. No. 14, 36th Congress, 1st Session (1860).

50 [Grant to Juan de Dios Maese et al.], 1835, in Claim No. 20 in New Mexico-Private Land Claims, H.R. Executive Doc. No. 14, 36th Congress, 1st Session (1860).

family chose five tracts, known as floats, in various parts of what are now the states of New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado.[51] Each tract was just under 100,000 acres.

Baca Float No. 1 was in Sandoval County, New Mexico, about 6 miles west of the modern town of Los Alamos and the float included some of the most scenic landscapes of the Jemez Mountains. The property went through a succession of owners beginning in the 1880s. It was sold to the United States in 2000 and is now the Valles Caldera National Preserve.[52]

Baca Float No. 2 was in San Miguel County, New Mexico, near the community of Tumacácori. John Watts, the attorney who represented the Bacas in their land claim, purchased the tract in 1867. He sold the land to a speculator named Wilson Waddington in the 1870s. The property, which has changed hands several times, continues to operate as a ranch.[53]

Baca Float No. 4 is in southern Colorado's San Luis Valley. Watts acquired the grant sometime before 1862 when he sold it to Colorado Territorial Governor William Gilpin. The tract subsequently went through several owners and lessees until it was purchased by The Nature Conservancy in 2003. The land is now part of Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve and the Baca National Wildlife Refuge.[54]

Baca Float No. 5 was in what is now Yavapai County, Arizona, about 50 miles north of Prescott. The Baca family sold the land to John Watts in 1871. The Greene Cattle Company, originally associated with the rich copper mines in southern Arizona and northern Sonora, acquired the property in 1937. The tract was eventually sold, but it is still a working ranch.[55]

The family selected one additional tract, Baca Float No. 3, in Santa Cruz County, Arizona, in 1863. John Watts played an intimate role in the location and disposal of the land. As with Baca Float No. 2 and Baca Float No. 5, he quickly acquired the 99,000-acre tract. In fact, the Baca heirs sold him the land less than one month after the commissioner of the General Land Office approved the float.[56]

There, however, was a problem. The Baca Float No. 3 contained valuable mineral lands and part of Tubac. It, moreover, encompassed portions of the Tumacácori and Sonoita Grants, which were still unconfirmed (see figure 10). Watts, perhaps cognizant of the overlapping titles and land attributes, wasted little time. He quickly entered into negotiations to sell the tract to William Wrightson, a speculator active in Sonora and Arizona, for a handsome profit.[57]

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51 Senate Report No. 228, 36th Cong. 1st Sess., May 19, 1860; W. M. Pelham, Report, August 31, 1859, Claim No. 20 in New Mexico-Private Land Claims, H.R. Executive Doc. No. 14, 36th Congress, 1st Session (1860).

52 Kurt F. Anchuetz and Thomas Merlin, "More Than a Scenic Mountain Landscape: Valles Caldera National Preserve Land Use History," General Technical Report RMRS-GTR-196 (Fort Collins, CO: U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service Rocky Mountain Research Station, 2007) 32–36.

53 Virginia T. Macklemore, "Conchas Lake, New Mexico State Parks Series," *New Mexico Geologist* (August 1997) 77.

54 Center for Preservation Research, University of Colorado Denver, "Intensive Level Cultural Resources Survey, Baca National Wildlife Refuge Headquarters and Cattle Headquarters Complexes," report Prepared for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (Winter 2013) 32–41.

55 Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud*, 145.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid., 146.

This was not Wrightson's first experience in the Santa Cruz Valley. He arrived in the region in 1857 as the manager of the Cincinnati-based Salero Mining Company. The company claimed the Salero Mine, near Tumacácori. The mine was apparently first developed in the 1700s, but was abandoned by the mid-1800s. Like the Poston mines, the Salero Mine was worked up until about 1860 when it was abandoned. Wrightson returned to Arizona in 1863 hoping to continue developing the Salero Mine, which was on the land that Watts was offering for sale.[58]

Meanwhile, the commissioner of the General Land Office ordered a survey of the Baca Float No. 3 in the spring of 1864. In early 1865, Wrightson and a mining engineer named Gilbert W. Hopkins ventured into the Santa Rita Mountains to begin the survey. Their project was tragically cut short when Apaches killed both men. As a result, no map of the Baca Float No. 3 was produced or filed with the General Land Office. Even without the maps, it became apparent to Watts that the original site he selected for the float was incorrect. It most certainly included mineral lands and was definitely not vacant. Watts, who still held the land, petitioned the General Land Office for an amended site in 1866. The new site, which still embraced rich mineral lands, was northeast of the original tract (see figure 11). The tract no longer included Calabazas, Tumacácori, Tubac, or the Santa Cruz River. It, in fact, only included a small portion of the initial selection. A new survey was ordered, but the status of the float languished throughout the 1870s and into the 1880s.[59] In the meantime, the title to the land passed from Watts, to his children, and eventually to other investors.

John C. Robinson, a New Yorker who purchased Baca Float No. 3 in 1884, offered to pay for a survey of the float and asked the commissioner of the General Land Office if he could select a third site since the original two tracts, neither of which had been mapped, contained mineral land. He asserted that this legally precluded them from being included in the float. The commissioner approved Robinson's request. He ordered the surveyor general to make a preliminary survey of the 1866 selection in order to determine its character prior to Robinson's selection of alternate lands. The Secretary of the Interior, however, overturned the land office and argued that only Congress could approve the request. Robinson unsuccessfully lobbied Congress for just such legislation throughout the 1880s. In the meantime, the Secretary of the Interior concluded that the original Baca Float No. 3 and the amended Baca Float No. 3 were, in fact, so different that they were two separate sites (as opposed to a single amended site). Further, the claimants were bound by the original 1863 selection. He ordered the General Land Office to conduct an investigation of the original tract, including a survey and characterization of the status of the lands in 1863.[60]

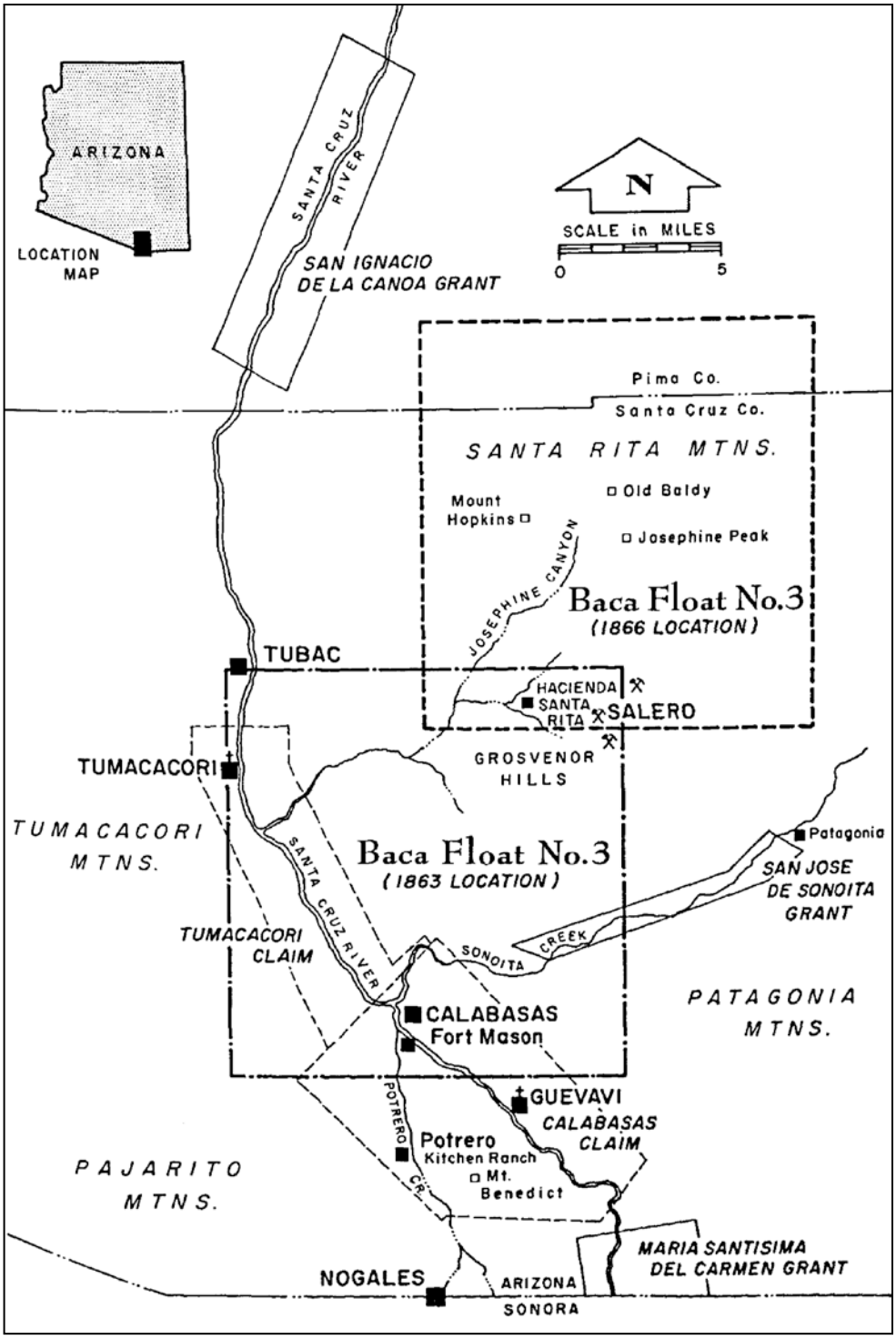
Incredibly, Baca Float No. 3, still somewhat undefined and unapproved by Congress or the General Land Office, continued to change hands as investors sold their claims to the southern Arizona tract. The land was eventually held by four parties–the Arizona Copper Estate, the Santa Cruz Development Company, the Bouldin family, and Cornelius Watts and Dabney Davis.

There were also several other interested parties, including homesteaders and other settlers who were living on the original Baca Float No. 3 in 1899. A group of 23 people living on the float petitioned the surveyor general in October 1899. They were living on lands that the Supreme Court

58 S. D. Proudfit, ed. Decisions of the Department of the Interior and the General Land Office From January 1, 1891 to June, 30, 1891 (Washington DC: Governmant Printing Office, 1891) 680.

59 *Lane v Watts*, 243 U.S. 525 (1914).

60"Relief of Settlers and Entrymen on Baca Float No. 3, Arizona, House Report 73 67th Congress 1st Session; "Relief of Settlers on Baca Float Arizona," Senate Report 498, 66th Congress, 2nd Session; 29 L.D. 44 (1899); Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud,* 152.



Source: Ray H. Mattison, June 1967

FIGURE 11. LOCATIONS OF BACA FLOAT NO. 3

had only recently confirmed as public domain with their rejection of the Tumacácori grant. The petitioners argued that since the land was not vacant and was clearly mineral in character in 1863, the Baca Float No. 3 should be considered void.[61]

The homesteaders and claimants to Baca Float No. 3 entered into a legal seesaw with the Secretary of the Interior. The arguments pivoted on the question as to whether the land was occupied or if its mineral character was known when Watts selected the tract in 1863. Longtime residents were emphatic that Watts must have known the character of the land in 1863. They hoped this contention would serve to annul any claims to Baca Float No. 3.

The Secretary of the Interior, in an attempt to bring the whole matter to closure, ordered a survey and investigation of the float in 1905. Philip Contzen, the U.S. deputy surveyor based in Tucson surveyed the tract in the fall of 1905. Frank Ingalls, the Arizona surveyor general, meanwhile began an investigation into the character of the land. He conducted interviews throughout the Santa Cruz Valley and visited various mines and other sites, including Tumacácori and Calabazas. As would have been obvious to even a casual observer, Ingalls was convinced that Watts had selected land that was occupied and known to contain valuable minerals in 1863. He, therefore, recommended that the entire float be rejected because it was in violation of the original act establishing the five Baca Floats. The legislation specified that the lands be vacant and nonmineral. The Secretary of the Interior affirmed Ingalls's recommendation on June 2, 1908.[62]

This must have been a relief to the settlers living on the tract. Officials with the General Land Office and Department of the Interior, moreover, were satisfied that the matter was finally put to rest. The float was certified as public domain and opened to settlement and reservation for other purposes.[63]

The settlers and surveyors, however, were premature–Baca Float No. 3 was not a settled matter. The claimants to the tract filed a suit in the Arizona Territorial Court and won an injunction preventing further settlement on the parcel while they pursued cancellation of the Secretary of the Interior's June 2, 1908, order. The settlers responded by appealing the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, DC. They lost their appeal and the injunction stood. The matter was then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court who heard the case in 1914.[64]

The Supreme Court sustained the lower courts' decisions. The justices further ruled that Baca Float No. 3 was a valid claim and that the land had passed from the government into private ownership when the commissioner of the General Land Office approved Watts's selection in 1864.[65] The decision meant that homesteads and other land designations on the tract were invalid or put into doubt. Settlers who had patented their claims within the Baca Float No. 3 boundaries were ordered evicted in 1917. Congress attempted to ameliorate the shock of the dispossession by allowing the

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61 Sheridan, "Historic Resource Study, Tumacácori National Historical Park," 2004, Chapter 7, accessed October 18, 2013, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/tuma/hrs/chap7.htm.

62 Department of the Interior, General Land Office, "Decision of the Department of the Interior of June 2, 1908, in Case of Baca Float No. 3," June 2, 1908, NARA-Washington, DC, RG 49, Entry UD500, Boc 14, No Folder (loose in box); Philip Contzen, "Field Notes of the Examination of Surveys in the Territory of Arizona (Baca Float No. 3)," December 19, 1906, NARA-Washington, DC, RG 49, Entry UD500, Boc 14, No Folder (loose in box); "Field Notes of the Examination of Surveys in the Territory of Arizona (Baca Float No. 3), May 31,1907, NARA-Washington, DC, RG 49, Entry UD500, Boc 14, No Folder (loose in box).

63 It was during this period that the proclamation establishing Tumacácori National Monument was issued. The process of establishing the monument is discussed below.

64 A. A. Jones, First Assistant Secretary, Department of the Interior, to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, December 2, 1914, NARA-Washington, DC, RG 49, Entry UD500, Boc 14, No Folder (loose in box).

65 *Lane v Watts*, 243 U.S. 525 (1914).

excess of 150 settlers who were about to lose their homes and livelihoods to select new parcels from the public domain anywhere in Arizona.[66] Some settlers took this offer. Others continued to fight the evictions in court, to no avail. The Bouldins, who after 1914 owned the northern portion of the Baca Float No. 3, offered settlers the option to buy back their homesteads at a discounted rate. Some, including settlers near Tumacácori, eventually accepted the offer.

The convoluted and complicated process of disentangling the claims to the lands that originally comprised the Tumacácori grant was resolved. There were certainly winners and losers. The O'odham were consigned to silence and insignificance. Although they still lived in the region, they were written out of the process by an incorrect assertion that they abandoned their grant in 1820. Small landholders and other settlers who moved into the region were also dispossessed of their land when the Supreme Court inexplicably upheld John Watts's original claim to the Baca Float No. 3, a claim that Watts himself felt was in error in the 1860s. The land ultimately fell into the hands of speculators and heirs to the Watts claim who had used the courts to assert their right to an entirely different parcel over the span of decades. It was enough to make one's head spin. The land that had been held by communities or considered public domain for most of the nearly two centuries since establishment of the Santa Cruz River Valley missions was now private and subject to speculation. This reality continues to shape the development of the Santa Cruz Valley.[67]

PRESERVING TUMACÁCORI

The administrative, legal, and legislative battle over land in Santa Cruz Valley formed a backdrop for the establishment of Tumacácori National Monument. A concerted interest in preservation of the Tumacácori Mission coalesced in the early years of the 20th century, while Baca Float No. 3 was working its way through the courts and homesteaders were staking claims on the invalidated Tumacácori grant.

Support for preservation came from a group of advocates who became alarmed by the fact that the mission was suffering both environmental degradation and vandalism, especially from relic hunters and fortune seekers who were enticed by long-standing legends of Spanish riches buried at Tumacácori. The most common treasure stories held that the Spanish missionaries developed mines in the region and that they buried smelted silver beneath the church floor. Fortune seekers were literally digging up the mission. Vandals were also carving their names into the walls of the church and taking souvenirs from the site.

Concern over the degradation of Tumacácori was widespread among local ranchers and farmers, Hispanic, and non-Hispanic. Many lived near the mission and included William Lowe, Ramón Burruel, John F. Black, and Carmen Mendez.[68] All these men lived in Tubac or Tumacácori, but their backgrounds were diverse.

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66 "Relief of Settlers and Entrymen on Baca Float No. 3, Arizona, House Report 73 67th Congress 1st Session; "Relief of Settlers on Baca Float Arizona," Senate Report 498, 66th Congress, 2nd Session.

67This theme is explored by Thomas E. Sheridan. See Thomas E. Sheridan, *Landscapes of Fraud: Mission Tumacácori, the Baca Float, and the Betrayal of the O'odham* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2005) and Thomas E. Sheridan "Rio Rico and the Great Arizona Land Rush" *Journal of the Southwest* Vol. 48, No. 1 (Spring 2006) 1–36.

68 (No Author) "Short History of Tumacácori National Monument," 5–6, National Archives and Records Administration – Denver, Record Group 79: Records of the National Park Service – Southwest Region, General Correspondence Files 1953–1958, Box 2, Folder: H14 May 1953–58 TUMA.

Source: National Archives – Denver

FIGURE 12. 1899 PHOTOGRAPH OF THE MISSION CHURCH

Black was a middle-aged teacher and farmer who emigrated to Arizona from Missouri. He settled on a homestead south of Tubac where, by 1895, he had been appointed as a notary public. Black also raised crops and ran livestock on his 240-acre parcel along the Santa Cruz River. At least one source describes Black as a judge, but it is not clear if he actually performed this role, or was colloquially referred to as "judge." The Black family homestead was within the boundaries of Baca Float No. 3 and he, like some of his other neighbors, refused to leave his land until U.S. Marshalls forced his family's eviction from the parcel due to the Supreme Court decision confirming Baca Float No. 3.[69]

William Lowe, born in Arizona in 1882, was the son of a German immigrant father and Mexican mother. While it is unclear what Lowe's occupation was prior to 1910, he took out an 80-acre homestead between Tumacácori and Tubac in 1909. A year later, he was listed in the census as being a general farmer. He was also the Santa Cruz County coroner, at least as early as 1913. Like many of his contemporaries in Santa Cruz County, Lowe lived a transnational existence. He invested in mining properties in Mexico and perhaps more fundamentally, he married into a local Hispanic family.[70] William was married to Anna Burruel.

The Lowe and Burruel families were intertwined. The Burruel family ties to the region went back to the 1750s when Nicolas Burruel was an officer stationed at the Tubac presidio. Ramón Burruel, another supporter of the preservation of Tumacácori, was William Lowe's brother-in-law. The families also remained physically interconnected. Ramón Burruel was living with Lowe in 1910 and assisting with the farm. Anna and Ramón Burruel's mother, Sarah, patented a homestead entry between Tubac and Tumacácori in 1896. Her land was next to the parcel Lowe patented over a decade later.[71] All the land claims became invalid with the 1914 Supreme Court decision validating the Baca Float No. 3. Ramón Burruel and William Lowe eventually purchased back their land from the Bouldins.[72]

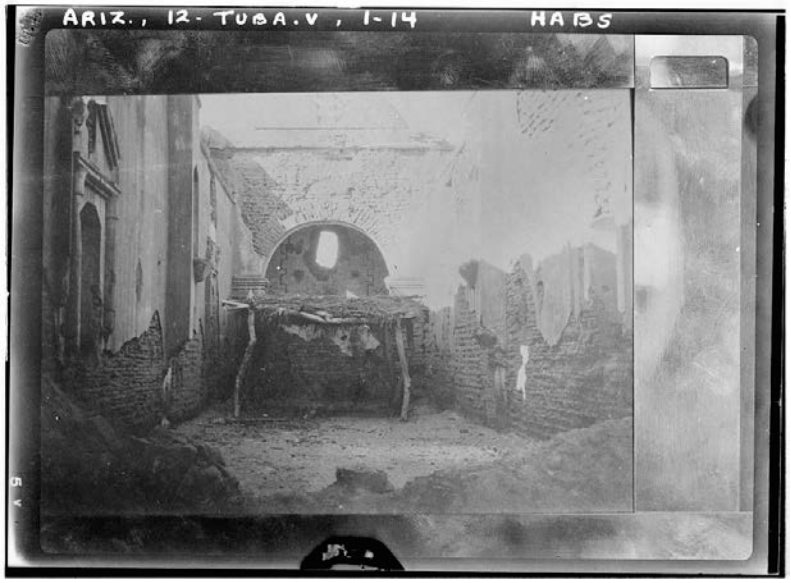
69 "Pioneer Teacher in State is Dead," *Arizona Daily Star*, January 15, 1929; "Twenty Years Ago Today in Tucson. Taken from the Citizen This Date 1895," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, February 1, 1915.

70 The homestead comprised the west half of the northeast quarter of Township 21S, Range 13E, Section 17. Apparently Lowes claim was cancelled in 1911 only to be patented four years later. William Lowe, General Land Office Serial Patent no. 486022, August 6, 1915; United States Bureau of Census, 1910 Census, Santa Cruz County – 3rd Precinct - Arizona, National Archives Microfilm Series T624, Roll 42, Sheet 203.

71 Her homestead comprised the southwest quarter of Township 21S, Range 13E, Section 17. Anna E. Burruel, General Land Office Serial Patent no. 746, July 11, 1896.

72 Historical File, Tumacácori National Park; Sheridan, "Historic Resource Study, Tumacácori National Historical Park," 2004, Chapter 8, accessed October 21, 2013, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/tuma/hrs/chap8.htm.

The most important homesteader in the initial effort to preserve the mission was Carmen Mendez, a middle-aged resident of the Santa Cruz Valley who, unlike his fellow supporters of preservation, did not speak English or participate in civic affairs like Lowe and Black who were coroner and notary public, respectively. In fact, Mendez was a "poor Mexican" immigrant who homesteaded land that included the Tumacácori Mission and associated structures.[73]



Source: Library of Congress

FIGURE 13. COPY OF 1870 PHOTO OF INTERIOR OF THE TUMACÁCORI CHURCH

Local interest in protection of the mission was augmented by advocates outside Tubac and Tumacácori who held many of the same concerns as men like Black, Lowe, Mendez, and Burruel. The Tucson Pioneer Historical Society, officers of the U.S. Forest Service, and social scientists (especially Jesse Walter Fewkes) argued for protection of the mission.

Jesse Walter Fewkes was one of the most important ethnologists and archeologists of the late 19th and early 20th century. Much of his work centered on the southwestern United States. Fewkes was also intimately linked with the early national parks and monuments that protected archeological remains. He most famously excavated, stabilized, and restored Spruce Tree House at Mesa Verde beginning in 1908, two years after the national park was established. It appears that Fewkes became aware of Tumacácori when he was working at Casa Grande, a site on land controlled by the General Land Office and managed by Frank Pinkley. Although Tumacácori does not appear prominently in his writings, he did visit the mission on more than one occasion. Fewkes briefly described the mission in an overview of the prehistoric sites of the Santa Cruz and Gila river valleys and visited the region after the mission was proclaimed a national monument. Fewkes expressed concern that the mission was in terrible condition and that it would fall to the ground if nothing was done to protect it.[74] Like most advocates for the establishment of the national monument, Fewkes also saw economic benefit in the preservation of the site. He felt that it could become an important tourist attraction and, thus, important to the economic development of the region.[75]

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73 Fred Dennett, Acting Commissioner, General Land Office, Washington, DC, to the Forester, U.S. Department of Agriculture, June 28, 1907, WACC, TUMA, Series 4673, Folder 1.

74 Daniel Folkmar, "Meeting of February 16, 1915: Proceedings of the Anthropological Society of Washington," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 17, no. 3 (Jul-Sep 1915), 617; Richard West Sellars, "A Very Large Array: Early Federal Historic Preservation – The Antiquities Act, Mesa Verde, and the National Park Service Act," *The George Wright Forum*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2008), 86, 102; Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Prehistoric Ruins of the Gila Valley," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections,* vol 54, part 3, no. 1873 (August 1909) 407; F. W. Hodge, *Thirty Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology 1914–1915*, Washington, DC, Government Printing Office, 1921, 11.

75 "Historic Tumacácori Mission Will Attract Many Tourists," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, October 26, 1908.

Support also came from unexpected quarters. For example, W. P. Blake, a geology and mineralogy professor at the University of Arizona who was also the Arizona territorial geologist, was an important supporter in efforts to establish the national monument. Blake knew the area well. He had conducted research in the region. He also owned nearby mines with a New York investor and fellow supporter for the protection of the mission named C. H. Ferry. It is not clear why these men supported establishment of the monument, but their involvement reinforces the fact that concern over the condition of the mission was widespread. [76] The preservation advocates' efforts focused on the Tumacácori Mission, but there was some limited discussion of the condition of Guevavi and Calabazas–two sites that would remain outside federal management for almost another century.[77]

The effort to preserve Tumacácori began to bear fruit in 1907 and 1908. The Tucson Pioneer Historical Society implored the U.S. Forest Service to take steps to protect the mission. As a result, Forest Inspector Coert DuBois visited the site in the spring of 1907. He gave credence to the concerns of preservation advocates and noted that the mission was "rapidly falling into ruins," due to the actions of "the vandalist [sic] and visitor." DuBois recommended withdrawing from appropriation of a 40-acre parcel encompassing the mission. He included a caveat that the withdrawal was contingent on the status of Baca Float No. 3.[78]

The commissioner of the General Land Office removed this contingency when he ruled in June 1907 that "Baca Float No. 3 constitutes no bar to the withdrawal of the land covered by said mission." There were, however, other problems. Certain portions of the recommended 40-acre parcel were within homesteads. A farmer named Tomas Cota who had received title to his land in 1903, held one portion. As mentioned above, Carmen Mendez was homesteading a parcel that included the mission. According to the commissioner, he had occupied the land, but had not yet filed for a formal patent. This was obviously the greatest impediment to the withdrawal of the mission. The United States could only gain control of the mission site if Mendez's homestead entry was cancelled or relinquished.[79] The Cota homestead was of less concern because it did not contain the actual mission.

Another forest inspector, Will C. Barnes,[80] visited Tumacácori in the fall of 1907. He conducted an inventory of the site and described the church in considerable detail. Barnes, like others, noted that the mission was under substantial threat from degradation, both intentional and environmental. His report also revealed the importance of the site among local residents. He noted that the cemetery was still used by "residents near the church." Coincidentally, a funeral was in progress at the mission when he visited. Barnes was clearly struck by both the unique nature of the mission and its historical and cultural importance. He also reiterated the 1907 opinion of the General Land Office that Baca Float No. 3 was determined invalid and was therefore no impediment to the withdrawal of the site. Barnes stressed that a survey of the parcel should be made as soon as possible.[81]

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76 Ibid.

77 "Tumacácori Priceless Relic of Early Civilization Should be Preserved by the State," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, December 9, 1915.

78 Fred Dennett, Acting Commissioner, General Land Office, Washington, DC, to The Forester, Department of Agriculture, June 28, 1907, TUMA, WACC, Series 4673, Folder 1; "Short History of Tumacácori," 6.

79 Fred Dennett to The Forester, June 28, 1907.

80 Barnes, who served with the U.S. Forest Service for over 20 years, became a well-known writer in Arizona. His best known works (which are still in print) are *Tales From The X-Bar Horse Camp: The Blue Roan, "Outlaw" & Other Stories,* and *Arizona Place Names*.

81 Will C. Barnes, "Tumacácori National Forest, October 22, 1907 (General Inspection Report) Section VIII. Boundaries," National Archives and Records Administration-Denver, U.S. Forest Service, Record Group 95, Region 3 Historical Records 1892–1969, Box 149, Folder: 1440 Inspection, 1000 General Inspection Reports, Coronado, 1904–1941, photographs.

The effort to protect the mission continued into the winter of 1907–08. Conditions evolved and by February 1908 a coherent plan for the protection of Tumacácori was developing. The initial 40-acre withdrawal was scrapped because, according to the forest supervisor, it contained too much good agricultural land to justify its withdrawal and it was more land than was needed to protect the mission. Instead, the U.S. Forest Service recommended the withdrawal of a site of about 15 acres that could be designated a national monument. The Nogales Forest supervisor also asked for an appropriation of $300 to conduct stabilization work on the church.[82]

Carmen Mendez still held a homestead application that encompassed the mission, but according to Forest Service correspondence he was "greatly interested in seeing [the] old mission protected and preserved." Mendez was, according to the local forest supervisor, "willing to amend his application" to "exclude the land desired" for the national monument.[83]

Ultimately, Mendez relinquished 10 acres of his 160-acre homestead. There was no significant opposition to the establishment of the monument and President Theodore Roosevelt created Tumacácori National Monument on September 15, 1908. Mendez received a patent for the remaining 150 acres of his homestead in December 1908.[84]

An immediate pressing concern, however, was determining who was responsible for managing the new monument. There was no National Park Service. It made sense to place the monument under the management of the Forest Service since national forest lands were within 2 miles of the Tumacácori Mission.[85] President Theodore Roosevelt established the Tumacácori Forest Reserve by Presidential Proclamation 821 on November 7, 1906. The 203,000-acre forest reserve was just a few miles west of Tumacácori and Calabazas. The agency, moreover, had already been involved in the movement to protect the mission. Therefore, the Department of the Interior and Department of Agriculture entered into a cooperative agreement placing the property under the administration of the U.S. Forest Service.[86]

Ranger A. J. Abbott erected a four-wire cedar post fence around the church and cemetery shortly after the monument was established. This was the extent of Forest Service management at the mission. Abbott visited the site regularly over the next nine years to inspect the fence, but no other active measures were taken to stabilize or rehabilitate the buildings.

The seemingly inattentive stewardship of Tumacácori National Monument was a constant area of concern for both the U.S. Forest Service and local monument supporters. Appropriations for the proper care of the site were exceedingly difficult to secure. This served to frustrate any active

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82 Forest Supervisor, Nogales, Arizona, to The Forester, Forest Service, Washington, DC, February 4, 1908; James Wilson, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, to The Honorable Secretary of the Interior, February 28, 1908, WACC, TUMA, Series 4673, Folder 1.

83 Forest Supervisor to The Forester, February 4, 1908.

84 Theodore Roosevelt, " A Proclamation (Establishing Tumacácori National Monument), September 15, 1908 (Presidential Proclamation 821); "Short History of Tumacácori," 6.

85 President Theodore Roosevelt established the Tumacácori Forest Reserve by Presidential Proclamation on November 7, 1906. The 203,000-acre forest reserve was just a few miles west of Tumacácori and Calabazas. Theodore Roosevelt, "A Proclamation (Establishing Tumacácori Forest Reserve), November 7, 1906 (34 Stat. 3263). This designation was short-lived. The Tumacácori Forest Reserve was consolidated with the nearby Baboquivari and Huachuca Forest reserves on July 2, 1908, in order to create the Garces National Forest. The Garces National Forest was added to the Coronado National Forest on April 17, 1911.

86 Short History of Tumacácori," 6.

protection and preservation of the site. Local rangers and residents were distraught over the fact that the mission was "slowly . . . crumbling to a mass of ruins." Treasure hunters, moreover, continued their search for the legendary riches buried at the site. Some went so far as to ask permission to dig for "buried treasure" within the national monument boundaries. This was a request that the Forest Service, citing the Antiquities Act, flatly denied.[87]

Meanwhile, legislation was introduced in Congress in an attempt to secure funding for the national monument. Carl Hayden, as a freshman member of the House of Representatives, proposed a bill appropriating $25,000 for Tumacácori National Monument in 1912. The legislation also called for the employment of a custodian at the site. The bill never passed, but Hayden continued to pursue funding for the mission. The Arizona State Legislature attempted to persuade Congress to appropriate funds for the preservation of Tumacácori National Monument. There were also efforts to secure state funding for management of the mission. The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture considered placing the site under the control of the Bureau of American Ethnology, which was soon to be headed by Jesse Walter Fewkes. Finally, U.S. Forest Service officials asked the Secretary of the Interior for funding to hire a caretaker or at least protect the site with a more substantial fence than the one Abbott built in 1908. The U.S. Forest Service asked for as little as $100 dollars. The federal funds never came and the state plans never materialized.[88]

Funding was not the only impediment to management. The status of the monument was thrown into question almost as soon as it was established. Theodore Roosevelt issued the proclamation creating the national monument just months after the Secretary of the Interior invalidated Baca Float No. 3 and the General Land Office certified the land as public domain. This resulted in legal challenges that placed the status of the mission in limbo for seven years until the Supreme Court invalidated the Secretary of the Interior's order. In 1914, the Tumacácori Mission became the property of James N., Jennie N., and Helen Lee Bouldin, claimants to the northern portion of the float. Settlers were evicted from the float three years later. The U.S. Forest Service continued to minimally manage Tumacácori National Monument throughout the years of legal battles. There was, surprisingly, no overt discussion as to whether the court's decision invalidated the Presidential Proclamation. The Supreme Court decision, however, did complicate matters. By invalidating the Mendez homestead, the Supreme Court indirectly called the validity of the proclamation establishing the national monument into question.[89] Tumacácori National Monument existed as a privately owned, federally protected site. This was an unfavorable arrangement.

Advocates in Nogales and Tucson took up the issue in 1917. The Nogales Chamber of Commerce and Tucson residents H. C. Hallmark, a passenger agent for the Southern Pacific Railroad, and Allan B. Jaynes, the publisher of the *Tucson Citizen*, pursued various avenues for preservation of the mission. They approached the Bouldins who stated they were willing to deed the mission to either the United States or the Catholic Church, which already managed San Xavier. Jaynes met with Bishop Henry Granjon, but the priest stated that he was not interested in taking over the preservation of Tumacácori. The church was having enough trouble taking care of San Xavier.

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87 A. O. Waha, Acting District Forester, Coronado National Forest, to The Forester, Washington, DC, August 9, 1913; WACC, TUMA, Series 4673, Folder 1; A. F. Potter, Acting Forester, Coronado National Forest, to Honorable Henry F. Ashurst, United States Senate, July 20, 1915; WACC, TUMA, Series 4773, Folder 1; "Profanation of an Ancient Monument," *Arizona Gazette*, August 18, 1915; "Another Party Wants to Dig at Tumacácori: Forest Ranger Reports" *Tucson Daily Citizen*, August 20, 1915.

88 House Resolution 25198, June 7, 1912; [No Title], T*ucson Daily Citizen,* January 26, 1915 "Tumacácori Priceless Relic of Early Civilization Should be Preserved by the State," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, December 9, 1915; Secretary of Agriculture to Secretary of the Interior, February 21, 1917, WACC, TUMA, Series 4673, Folder 1; Secretary of Agriculture to Secretary of the Interior, August 9, 1913, WACC, TUMA, Series 4673, Folder 1.

89 "Short History of Tumacácori," pg. 7; A. A. Jones, to The Commissioner of the General Land Office, December 2, 1914.

Granjon and Jaynes decided that the property would, therefore, best be deeded to the United States.[90]

The Bouldins followed suit and deeded the original 10 acres of Tumacácori National Monument back to the United States on December 8, 1917. This ushered in a new history for the site. Shortly thereafter, control of the mission was transferred from the U.S. Forest Service to the National Park Service, a fledgling agency that was established in August 1916. Funding challenges remained, but Frank Pinkley, custodian of Casa Grande, added Tumacácori National Monument to his responsibilities. He was determined to repair the church and prevent further damage to the mission.[91]

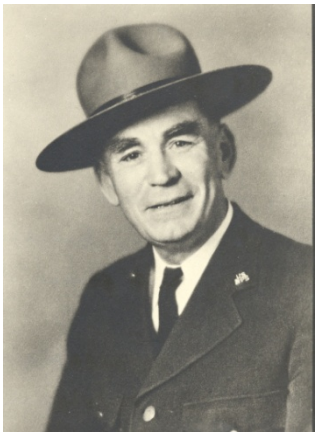
The fact that Tumacácori National Monument existed at all was a testament to its history and a reflection of its importance to the people who lived in the Santa Cruz Valley. The mission stood while the region went from an isolated Hispanic outpost to a promising mining and commercial borderland. To be sure, the period from the mission's abandonment to the arrival of Frank Pinkley was marked by a myriad of threats to its existence as a public and sacred space. The site was abandoned by the O'odham, but not forgotten. Buildings were subjected to environmental wear. Treasure seekers and vandals literally picked and dug at the mission. Tumacácori, as well as Guevavi and Calabazas, became entangled in two land claim battles, neither of which served the interests of the original grantees or the mission. Nonetheless, the mission remained an essential part of the local community. Some residents still used the church and cemetery and a wider constellation of people admired the mission for its historic importance. It was through the efforts of this wide community of local residents, scholars, and government officials that the Tumacácori Mission weathered what was probably its most austere era. While many challenges remained, the 1920s certainly marked a turning point in which the mission became actively managed and restored by the National Park Service.

90 "Movement to Preserve Mission at Tumacácori," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, April 14, 1917.

91 "Park Service Will Repair the Tumacácori." *Tucson Daily Citizen*, December 12, 1918. Casa Grande National Monument was transferred from the General Land Office to the National Park Service on August 3, 1918; A. Berle Clemensen, *Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona: A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve 1892–1992* (Washington, DC, NPS, 1992), 67; Short History of Tumacácori," 7.

CHAPTER 3: DECADES OF DEVELOPMENT

One man, Frank "Boss" Pinkley, played an indelible role in the early administration of Tumacácori National Monument. Pinkley had enough personal charisma and sense of dedication to accomplish anything he set his mind to. He chose the national monuments of the United States, particularly those in the desert southwest. He embraced three overriding goals: protecting the resources, educating the public about those resources, and publicizing the resources to encourage visitation and build a supportive constituency.[92] Pinkley believed education an essential service to visitors, arguing that "we must teach the people to know what their monuments mean." Once sightseers had responded to advertisements drawing them to the site, the custodian, in Pinkley's mind, should share whatever information available to "show its [the monument's] proper relation to the history and development" of the region.[93] He warned that "future generations will censure us greatly" for not taking to heart our responsibility and "properly caring for and preserving for them these great relics of a long vanished race."[94]



Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 14. FRANK "BOSS" PINKLEY

Pinkley did not have a college education and fell upon his adopted profession by chance. He had left his native Missouri in 1900 when diagnosed with tuberculosis and settled in Arizona to benefit from the dry air. He worked briefly as a rancher with his cousin before Binger Hermann, the commissioner for the General Land Office in Arizona (who was Pinkley's uncle), offered him the custodianship of Casa Grande Ruin Reservation in 1901. He was just 20 years old. Pinkley embraced his position with vigor, building a house and sinking a well on the site, providing housing for himself but also to establish his presence as a deterrent to vandals and relic hunters. He collected artifacts found at the archeological sites and displayed them, having the larger goal of obtaining funds for a proper museum. He stayed until 1915, when he briefly served in the Arizona legislature, then returned in 1918 when Casa Grande became a national monument under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service. His influence spread to Tumacácori, assigned to him in 1919. Then the National Park Service in 1923 appointed him superintendent to the national monuments controlled by the agency in Arizona, New Mexico, southwestern Colorado, and southern Utah.[95] Pinkley remained in this position until his death in 1940.

Pinkley brought his largely unpaid and underappreciated custodians under his authority through individual communication and strong organization. He instituted an orderly system that delineated

92 Hal Rothman, *America's National Monuments: The Politics of Preservation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989), 124, 130.

93 Frank Pinkley, Tumacácori, undated [ca. 1922], 4-5, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4672, Folder 3.

94 Pinkley, as quoted in Rothman, *America's National Monuments*, 120.

95 Rothman, *America's National Monuments,* 108–109, 121. Frank Pinkley, "Personal Biographical Data: Showing that We Are All more or less Human and of Common Clay," "Boss" Pinkley's Ruminations, 1930, http://core.tdar.org/document/368356, accessed August 31, 2012. A. Berle Clemensen, *Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona: A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve 1892–1992: An Administrative History* (NPS 1992), chapters 3C, 8, http://www.nps.gov/cagr/parkmgmt/upload/CAGR%20-%20Centennial%20History%20-%20MAR%2092.pdf, accessed October 22, 2013.

custodial responsibilities and required regular reporting to him. But he also went out at least once per year to visit each monument under his supervision and thought nothing of taking up a trowel or hiking a difficult trail in service to the sites. Pinkley counseled his caretakers in interacting with the public, drawing on his own experiences at Casa Grande. He recommended always providing a transgressor with the reasons why scratching into resources or taking bits away threatened the long-term viability of the feature. This philosophy is still an important part of National Park Service interpretation. Pinkley made his volunteers feel appreciated and part of a larger system of good that they should aid. Assistant Director Arno Cammerer noted that Pinkley seemed more like "a helpful associate and co-laborer" to his subordinates, as opposed to "a fault-finding critical boss." Pinkley motivated them and thereby met his own goals for protection and education.[96]

Pinkley's accomplishments at Tumacácori realized his goals for national monuments. He assessed the mission's condition and oversaw extensive repairs and restoration to halt further degradation. He publicized the need for outside funding to support this repair project, resulting in gifts from local organizations and a $1,000 appropriation from the State of Arizona. He wrote a handbook that visitors could take on their self-guiding tour of the mission and learn about each aspect of the building. He sought having a museum on the site, which subsequent custodians George L. Boundey and Louis Caywood shepherded, benefitting from New Deal funding. That museum was dedicated in 1939.[97]

THE PINKLEY ERA

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 15. GEORGE L. BOUNDEY

Frank "Boss" Pinkley recognized from his first visit to Tumacácori that the mission building needed immediate attention to stabilize the archeological sites and protect them from further wear. His efforts, however, attracted the attention of Rev. William Gordon in Nogales. Rev. Gordon contacted Arizona Senator Carl Hayden to protest the use of federal funds to rebuild and maintain a Catholic mission, which Gordon described as an "old relic of pagan-barbarism." He opposed any church receiving state or federal funding.[98] The National Park Service, through its then-Acting Director Arno Cammerer, explained what Hayden probably already knew that as a national monument, the federal government, through the National Park Service, would preserve and care for the mission for the education of future generations. The National Park Service would not hand the building back to the Catholic Church, or any religious body, and any belief along those lines "is of course rank nonsense." The padres and their missions spurred early development of that section of the country, making Tumacácori a marker in understanding that history.[99]

Pinkley joined in the discussion by emphasizing that the church was important as a sacred space community-wide, not as a reflection of organized religion. He wrote that at least three church

96 Ibid., 124–26, 138. Quote on p. 126.

97 Jeremy M. Moss, "Of Adobe, Lime, and Cement: The Preservation History of the San José de Tumacácori Mission Church," Southwestern Mission Research Center [SMRC] *Revista* (Spring-Winter 2008) 30; Frank Pinkley, "Handbook on the Use of the Visitors at Tumacácori National Monument," 1928, on file at Tumacácori National Historical Park. Museum. Talk Given by Hillory A. Tolson at the Dedication of Tumacácori Museum, April 23, 1939, on file at Tumacácori National Historical Park.

98 Rev. William Gordon to Senator Carl Hayden, May 10, 1921, 1, Arizona State University (hereafter referred to as ASU), Carl Hayden Papers, Box 611, Folder 5.

99 Arno Cammerer to Carl Hayden, June 12, 1921, 2, ASU, Carl Hayden Papers, Box 611, Folder 5.

organizations had held informal services at the mission, an indication that these groups recognized the historical value of Tumacácori and did not see it as a Catholic bastion. The Hispanic residents and O'odham and Yaqui Indians in the vicinity used the building for popular religious festivals. The mission church was used for *Semana Santa* (Easter Week) celebrations before the establishment of the monument. Annual Semana Santa events continued to be held at the mission until 1929. They were briefly reinstituted between 1937 and 1941 when the events were "discontinued by the organizers themselves."[100]

The custodian also reinforced the NPS goal for the mission – to use the building as an educational tool for speaking about the early settlement of the Southwest. The educational importance of historical sites like Tumacácori was not lost on Pinkley. . Pinkley suggested the establishment of a museum at Tumacácori as early as 1919, but education and interpretation programs were not rapidly developed.[101]

No doubt visitor services were rudimentary during the Pinkley years, but there is little question that the custodian was interested in providing educational materials. While there was no visitor center or museum, the National Park Service welcomed visitors within the historic area. Upon arriving, visitors went to a registration desk within the walls of the mission. Pinkley himself constructed the desk from a Mexican hardwood called amapa. Some photographs of Sonora missions were displayed at the visitor reception area.[102]

Tumacácori was not alone in its lack of a robust interpretive program. Historical interpretation in the National Park Service was in its infancy in the 1920s. Mesa Verde was the only park that had a comprehensive interpretive program, consisting of lectures, exhibits, guided hikes, and publications that focused on cultural history. An agency-wide focus on history and pre-history would not occur until the 1930s. Pinkley, however, felt that while preservation of the site was of paramount importance, visitor education was imperative. "To simply stand as guards over the historic monuments and allow curious visitors to come and gaze in wonder and depart without information," he wrote "is not to deliver the Service [sic] which we advertise in the name of our organization." In the early 1920s, Pinkley urged the development of informational booklets and recommended that the National Park Service hire a resident custodian for Tumacácori. The custodian's primary duty would be to give visitors detailed information on the mission and "show its proper relation to the history and development of that part of our country." He acknowledged, however, that there were no funds to hire a resident custodian.[103] The first full-time custodian, George Boundey, was not hired until 1929.

Pinkley did write an informational handbook for Tumacácori visitors to use during their visits to the monument. Written in a conversational tone, the handbook guides the visitor through the mission complex. The tour begins at "the foot of the mesquite tree some thirty-five paces from the entrance door of the Tumacácori Mission where one 'gains a general view' of the church." Pinkley

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100 Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, June 27, 1921, WACC, TUMA, Series 4673, Folder 1; Subscriptions Made to "Preservation of Tumacácori Mission," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, March 26, 1919; [No Author], "Short History of Tumacacori National Monument," 1956, National Archives-Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–58, Box 2, Folder H14 May 1953–May 1958 TUMA.

101 Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington, DC: National Park Service History Division, 1986), 2–3; Buford Pickens, ed., *The Missions of Northern Sonora: A 1935 Field* Documentation (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1993) xxiv; Pinkley to Mather, June 27, 1921.

102 Memorandum, M. R. Tillotson to Director, November 8, 1944, and attached Louis Caywood, Tumacácori Interpretive Program, 1, NARA Archives II, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2420, Folder 840 TUMA Interpretational Contacts.

103 Frank Pinkley, "Tumacácori National Monument," Circa 1923, WACC, Tumacácori, Subseries 4672, Folder 3; Mackintosh, *Interpretation,* 12–13.

uses this vantage point to describe the church's exterior and the restoration process in considerable detail. The guidebook then takes the visitor toward the church's front door where his narrative has them pause to explore the building's façade and door. Finally, the visitor enters the church where Pinkley's guidebook takes them slowly through the nave, sanctuary, and sacristy before exiting into the cemetery. The visitor is then guided to an exploration of the convento and granary before returning to the church's baptistery and eventually exiting onto the church's south bell arch where one "can get a splendid view of the surrounding country." The construction, restoration, and known history of the church and other mission components are described in detail throughout the tour.[104]

Pinkley considered Tumacácori. "just one unit" of a regional transnational complex of missions that he was convinced would eventually be "as well-known as [the] chain of California missions." While this view of the missions as an interconnected whole eventually came to shape management decisions, Pinkley was most interested in the manner in which the missions could stimulate economic development and tourism. He reported in 1921 that the state of Sonora was building roads that would allow "this scheme of mine looking toward the exploitation of all these mission as a single chain." He noted that the road system, as designed, would allow for a triangular "Mexican trip" from Nogales that would be "well worth taking from the tourist standpoint."[105]

Most of Pinkley's efforts at Tumacácori focused on the stabilization of the church. Pinkley initially worked with Nogales contractor and blacksmith A. S. Noon to assess the state of the Tumacácori mission and undertake the most necessary steps to stabilize the structure. Noon used local labor and a budget of $400 between 1919 and 1920, starting on the church floor, removing 4 feet of debris. He did not complete a formal excavation, such as screening dirt for artifacts, but he did find large plaster pieces including about 25% of the plaster ball that had held the cross on the top of the façade pediment. Noon also found pieces of the wooden frame of the pulpit. These remnants of the plaster ball and wood pulpit frame would aid Pinkley in later restoration work. Noon hired Nogales firm Roy & Titcomb, Inc., to make the front church doors and baptistery window. Pinkley noted in 1928 that the doors were "made after the manner of the ancient work, using wooden pins instead of modern nails." He stated that the door design, however, "came from pure imagination." Noon restored the main altar using sun-dried and fired adobe bricks made locally. His group of laborers plastered exposed brick and re-grouted original plaster edges along the interior north wall of the church building. Noon also repaired the exterior of the east wall.[106]

Much of the early restoration work focused on repairing damage caused by treasure hunters. The floor and walls of the nave, plus parts of the sanctuary, had been torn apart, in some cases leaving little evidence of the original. Treasure hunting had characterized much of the exploration of the desert southwest over the centuries, but Tumacácori had its own stories to draw treasure hunters. These stories deviated in terms of details, but they shared the common theme that buried treasure, hidden tunnels, and mystery surrounded the mission. An 1891 article in the *Phoenix Republican* reported that Judge William Barnes had received a visit one evening from a gaunt man saying he

104 Pinkley, "Use of Visitors at Tumacácori."

105 Frank Pinkley to Stephen Mather, June 29, 1921, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4673, Folder 1; Pinkley to Mather, June 27, 1921.

106 Pinkley, "Use of Visitors at Tumacácori;" Moss, "Of Adobe," 29, 35, 44, 53; "Will Repair the Tumacácori," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, December 12, 1918. Archeologist Jeremy Moss later speculated that the design basis for the doors may have been San Xavier del Bac. Moss, "Of Adobe," 29.

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 16. A. S. NOON ON DOME OF CHURCH

was a Spanish priest. The man had a map with words like Tumacácori and Nogales written on it that he said would lead to treasure. At the man's request, Barnes assembled a group of men to aid in following the map. They arrived at Tumacácori where the priest had them dig at a certain distance from the altar. They found a hidden chamber, which the supposed priest descended. He came back up with several metal cases filled with gold. He asked that the helpers take him back to the Tucson railroad depot with enough of the gold to feed the poor in his parish. The men were free to return and take the rest of the gold. They agreed and left the priest in Tucson. But when they eagerly returned to take the rest of the gold, they could not find the landmarks or had trouble following the map. One person later declared that he had found an old mining shaft at Tumacácori, long played out of any valuable minerals.[107]

This story (and probably other variants) convinced many a person well into the 20th century to take pick and shovel to the Tumacácori archeological sites. A Mexican woman, for example, had approached archeologist Byron Cummings in 1917 or 1918, saying that when she had been young, she and her aunt had followed a map from a dying priest. They found a secret chamber to the east of the main altar. They went into the chamber but found no gold. They did see a passage leading west, but they grew frightened and left. The map and associated documents later burned in a house fire. Cummings decided to use his archeological skills to investigate the story. He dug to 15 feet east of the main altar, without finding anything but bits of plaster. He next tried along the exterior of the north wall of the sacristy, again with no findings. When he dug in the mortuary chapel, he found a sinkhole with a collapsed coffin, but no treasure.[108]

Pinkley, not surprisingly, had no patience for the treasure hunters. He wrote in his summary of the repair work that any "scoundrel" with a shovel "felt free" to walk into the church ruins any day and "dig here, there, and yonder without rhyme or reason." Pinkley snidely declared that the thought never entered the scoundrel's "dull brain" that if the original padres had to leave the mission in haste, why would they tear up a good concrete floor to hide their supposed treasure, leaving a visible mark for anyone to find? Such logic did not enter the equation, as Pinkley understood when treasure seeker after treasure seeker appeared at the mission with his or her own ideas of where to search and dig. Pinkley instead had to deter further damage and try to restore the original mission building.[109]

107Gregory MacNamee, "The Lost Gold of the Tumacácori," *DesertUSA*, at http://www.desertusa.com/mag98/april/stories/straher.html, accessed October 14, 2013. See also Short History of Tumacácori, 1956, 9–11, NARA Denver, RG 79, Subseries General Correspondence File 1953–1958, Box 2, Folder H14 May 1953–58 Tumacácori.

108 Moss, "Of Adobe," 39–40.

109 Frank Pinkley, Repair and Restoration of Tumacácori, 1921, report reprinted in Southwestern Monuments Special Reports, No. 10, October 1936, 271, Tumacácori Library.

Noon's initial stabilization work only went so far. An allotment of $800 from the National Park Service offered some assistance, but Pinkley knew this money would not be enough. He turned to the local communities. He started attending meetings of the local chambers of commerce, asking for appropriations, and he gave illustrated talks in the towns to emphasize what needed to be done to keep the mission from falling into further ruin. The Knights of Columbus held a dance to raise money. The promise of increased tourism motivated many people to support the repair effort. Newspapers reported that the mission would be a "wonderful drawing card" for visitors. Pinkley himself argued that Casa Grande archeological sites, where he was stationed, already attracted East Coast tourists, and he believed Tumacácori would do the same.[110] Pinkley later reported that the Nogales Chamber of Commerce, the Knights of both Tucson and Phoenix, and the Arizona Archeological and Historical Society all contributed. The National Park Service added $395, providing Pinkley with a total of $2,155 by 1921.[111]

This sum of money, which in 2013 dollars equals about $27,000, still required prudence in applying it to the project. Distance from a railroad stop meant that he could not use rail shipments for supplies. That circumstance also precluded bringing in labor-saving machinery. Given this situation, Pinkley wrote that "we were thus forced . . . to do the thing which our logic suggested," to imitate the "methods of the builders in making our repairs." He chose local laborers instead of high-priced experts for reasons in addition to economy. He recognized that as the work proceeded, more information about the building would appear that required consideration and incorporation into the project. Outside workers would burn through the limited funds quickly, forcing the project to proceed at a hurried pace, exactly the opposite of what Pinkley needed. Plus, expert workers would be loath to accept his interference when trying to adjust current methods with those dating from hundreds of years earlier.[112]

Pinkley needed to find materials that fit within his budget limitations. He again turned to the local community. Tumacácori consisted of adobe and burned brick, and the raw materials existed on the site, including the ditch the padres probably used to supply water. That water plus good soil meant that the local laborers could produce the needed adobe at low cost. Pinkley described how the finished bricks retained the finger and hand prints of their makers, just like the bricks they found in the original fabric, or original materials of the mission. The burned bricks required some more effort, to the point that Pinkley had to find a local person to build a kiln at the site. The burned bricks needed to be of varied sizes, including dome-shaped bricks and thin square bricks. For the roof, Pinkley needed timbers to serve as beams. He admitted that he could have just gone to Nogales and purchased the needed logs from a lumber yard, but "there is a certain amount of sentiment to be taken into consideration" in the project. He opted to use what he determined were "the materials and methods of the original builders." Careful detective work led him to deduce the length and width (18 feet 6 inches long, average diameter of 14 inches) of the timbers and that they had been pine. He contacted Aldo Leopold, then with Region 3 of the U.S. Forest Service, to gain access to the Santa Rita reserve, which had been the source for the original beams.

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110 "Subscriptions made to preservation of Tumacácori Mission," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, March 26, 1919; "Preserving Tumacácori Mission," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, March 27, 1919; "Tucson asked to raise $300 for Tumacácori," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, August 17, 1919; "K of C gives dance to aid Tumacácori," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, February 14, 1920; Pinkley, Tumacácori, n.d. [ca. 1922], 3, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4672, Folder 3; "Nogales favors making Tumacácori mission U.S. park," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, July 14, 1919; "Will repair the Tumacácori," *Tucson Daily Citizen,* December 12, 1918.

111 Pinkley, Repair and Restoration, 261, Tumacácori Library. Hal Rothman (*America's National Monuments*, 121) notes that the State of Arizona, in addition to the local organizations, gave $1,000 in 1922 toward the Tumacácori restoration, but Pinkley does not list the state in his report. In a later letter Acting NPS director Arthur Demaray does mention the Arizona State appropriation. See Demaray to L. W. Douglas, October 10, 1929, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4773, Folder 1.

112 Bureau of Labor Statistics, Inflation Calculator, http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm, accessed October 14, 2013; Pinkley, Repair and Restoration, 262, Tumacácori Library.

Once in hand, Pinkley and his laborers used axe and adze to square up the 26 logs to appear as the originals probably did. To match the aged look of the wood, Pinkley mixed a stain of common crude oil and kerosene. "We spoke often," Pinkley admitted, "while we were at work, of what the padres would think could they revisit today" and see the handiwork.[113]

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 17. INSTALLING THE NEW ROOF ON THE CHURCH

What did Pinkley and his laborers accomplish in 1921 with the funds and supplies they had? They rebuilt the walls of the mission, usually having to tear down 1 to 3 feet of damaged and badly worn original adobes to find a solid starting point for adding the new adobes. This work, completed on scaffolding, took up time and bricks due to the thickness of the walls, 5 feet 6 inches wide at the base and 43 inches thick in the upper part. The walls went up 20 feet to a neck molding inside, then a 14-inch border of bricks topped with a cornice molding of bricks. Here the work stopped to get the timber beams into place. The men devised a tripod and heavy block and ropes to essentially pulley the beams up. Pinkley contracted with a local Mexican to collect ocotillo stems and haul them to the mission to use as a roof covering over the beams. To fill in the openings, the laborers added hay. Not visible from the ground, Pinkley built a proper roof with board and roofing paper above the ocotillo and hay.[114]

Other completed work focused on the dome and walls of the mission. Pinkley used a mixture of lime and Portland cement to ensure durability when covering these surfaces. The original dome had stepped bricks on the south side to allow a person to walk up to the cupola, and Pinkley had the laborers make diamond-shaped bricks for this purpose. Laborers also filled a large hole in the sanctuary's back wall with bricks and then covered it with the plaster. Many people thought the hole was a window from the original mission period, but Pinkley knew that treasure hunters had knocked in the wall in their hunt for gold. He saw that there was no lintel to support an opening for such a window, plus he recognized that a window located there above the high altar would allow the sun to glare into the eyes of the parishioners. Pinkley had the stairs in the tower completely redone. Vandals had torn out the steps and dug out several wagonloads of material, again seeking treasure. Pinkley, between 1923 and 1924, also partially restored the pulpit, based on architectural evidence and the design of pulpits in other nearby churches.[115]

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113 Pinkley, Repair and Restoration, 264–69, Tumacácori Library; Pinkley to Stephen Mather, May 31, 1921, 3, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4773, Folder 1; Memorandum, Aldo Leopold to District Forester, July 18, 1921, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4673, Folder 1; "Tumacácori mission will be restored," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, April 16, 1921; Pinkley to Mather, June 29, 1921, 3, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4673, Folder 1; Moss, "Of Adobe," 33; Leopold noted that Pinkley was not only interested in timbers, but also "very anxious to assume active charge" of national monuments under Forest Service jurisdiction.

114 Pinkley, Repair and Restoration, 278–81, Tumacácori Library; Pinkley to Mather, June 29, 1921, WACC RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4673, Folder 1; Pinkley to Mather, May 31, 1921, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4773, Folder 1; Moss, "Of Adobe," 33. No author [Edna Pinkley?], no date [ca. 1922?], 6–7, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4672, Folder 3; Pinkley simply describes the man who collected ocotillo stems as being a Mexican who lived nearby, 3, Pinkley to Mather, May 31, 1921.

115 Pinkley, Repair and Restoration, 266–67, 282–83, Tumacácori Library; Moss, "Of Adobe," 35, 44, 46.

Pinkley found most interesting the reconstruction of the façade pediment. He had two photographs dating from 1889 before the pediment fell off, one a direct view and the other taken about 200 feet southwest of the building. He sat at the point of one of the photos and had two laborers swing different lengths of sticks to determine the proper radius of the pediment. The center line across the shoulders of the façade served as the center of the pediment, and when the end of the correct-length stick covered the corresponding bricks on the tower in the background, Pinkley could say he had reproduced the size of the pediment as presented in the photograph. The finished pediment, built of burnt bricks, cement, and lime plaster, was topped with the ball, made of the partial original found in the debris, and a reconstructed cross.[116]

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 18. TUMACÁCORI MISSION, 1929

Charles E. Peterson, at this time a junior landscape architect but eventually the founder of the Historic American Building Survey (HABS), reported in 1929 on the status of Tumacácori restoration work, with recommendations for further action. Peterson did not shy away in his appreciation for Pinkley's efforts, saying that "too much credit cannot be given Mr. Pinkley for his discretion in the repair work done." Peterson described the repair work as being done "with great care and considerable ingenuity" and that the mission is "physically safe from further destruction." Peterson believed that further work should focus on continued maintenance of the mission building and grounds, plus provisions made for the education and comfort of visitors. In this latter category, Peterson listed such actions as marking out parking and camping areas, discouraging driving over the archeological sites, and finding an adequate water supply. He also wanted drawings made of the mission and the repair work to be used as a record and an educational device for visitors.[117]

Both Peterson and Pinkley agreed that maintenance and protection of Tumacácori should guide the National Park Service, as opposed to undertaking a full restoration. Peterson pointed to the California missions, which had been fully restored "with questionable success."[118] Pinkley further articulated this call for moderation, stating that restoration of any historic building required "much study, keen observation, sympathetic understanding and a whole lot of hard work." But, "the danger" came from "overdoing the restoration." Overzealousness resulted in "killing the beauty and atmosphere and sentimental associations which cling" to the building in its original form. Pinkley also referred to the California missions, inviting the reader to visit them "where much work

116 Pinkley, Repair and Restoration, 282, Tumacácori Library; Moss, "Of Adobe," 35.

117 Charles Peterson, "Report to Mr. Vint on Tumacacori National Monument, " January 25, 1930, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Series 4555, Folder 1. Peterson helped found the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1933. He also helped plan the new Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. See http://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/515.html, accessed December 18, 2013.

118 Ibid., Peterson to Vint, January 25, 1930.

has been done and you will get my meaning." He wanted the inherent beauty and meaning of Tumacácori to shine forth through its original fabric.[119]

This moderate preservation approach in some ways contradicted a growing trend in the American Southwest to promote tourism with a fanciful amalgamation of Spanish and Indian cultural cues, often conveyed in architecture. Magazine editor Charles Lummis helped establish this trend. He used his *Land of Sunshine* periodical between 1894 and 1909 to advance the idea of a Spanish Wonderland, encompassing such sites as the Grand Canyon, Petrified Forest, the California missions, and the cliff dwellings. White Anglos, according to Lummis, could thrive in the outdoor lifestyle of the Southwest and embrace a joyful life with social purpose from the Spanish influence. The Santa Fe Railway brought the iconic Pueblo Indian into the popular imagination through the publication of its annual calendar, beginning in 1907. Typical Americans in their homes and businesses grew accustomed to richly colored images of Indians in settings of the American Southwest.[120]

Architectural designs popularized this attention to Spanish and Pueblo cultural sources. The 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago included the California Building, designed after the California missions. These California missions referred to Spanish missions, part of the Spanish-Mexican blended history of the state that boosters adopted to set the area apart. The Santa Fe Railway adopted this architectural example for its depots, secularizing the Spanish mission style. Hotelier Fred Harvey combined the rustic, handcrafted sensibility of the Arts and Crafts movement with the low massing and natural materials of the Pueblo Indians to house and feed travelers throughout the desert Southwest. Santa Fe boosters, self-consciously in the first two decades of the 20th century, took the Spanish elements of exterior porches, interior courtyards, off-center entrances, and towers and planted them on horizontal or terraced buildings with flat roofs and adobe, white stucco, or buff brick walls. The resulting Santa Fe style did not preserve pure examples of either the Spanish or Indian influences but rather developed its own expression meant to hint at or recall these antecedents.[121]

In addition to his restoration work, Pinkley took on greater administrative responsibilities in the 1920s. The National Park Service established the Southwestern National Monuments Office (SWNM) in 1923 to provide administrative oversight for the 14 national monuments in Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah. Pinkley was named superintendent of the Southwestern National Monuments Office while also retaining his role as custodian of Casa Grande Ruins and Tumacácori National Monuments. He maintained the multiple positions until 1929, when he hired a custodian for Tumacácori, and 1931, when he finally gave up his custodianship and Casa Grande. Pinkley, however, remained actively involved in the management of Tumacácori through his tenure as SWNM superintendent, until his death in 1940.

Frank Pinkley left an indelible mark on Tumacácori, simply by taking positive steps to save the archeological site from eventually crumbling to a mere pile of plaster and brick. He embraced the site with his attention and curious nature, thinking about how the remaining structure provided clues to envisioning how the padres had initially designed the mission. He collected information from longtime local residents who remembered aspects of the building. He also exercised caution

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119 Pinkley to Charles Hardy, October 8, 1929, University of Arizona, RG AZ 290, Box 152, Folder NPS Restoration of Tumacácori Mission. Pinkley uses this letter to discourage a proposal by two private citizens to fund a full restoration of Tumacácori.

120 Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 88–91, 131.

121 Ibid., 112, 135–37. See also Phoebe Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 1–3. Kropp argues that California's Anglo-American residents also used the Spanish mission style as a way to romanticize the past and gain a sense of control over their lives in the face of the ugly effects of modernity.

and restraint, not wanting to make so many changes that would overwhelm the original remnants. Pinkley's work at Tumacácori stemmed further deterioration and laid the foundation for the National Park Service to take the site to its next level of conservation and development during the New Deal era. Pinkley also laid the groundwork for the manner in which early visitors learned about the site. He advocated for a regional approach to understanding the history of the mission, and developed the first interpretive guidebook to the site in the 1920s. He wanted to foster the development and protection of Tumacácori through the development of a museum and the employment of a resident custodian.

THE NEW DEAL

Johnwill Faris replaced Pinkley as custodian at Tumacácori in April 1929. Faris, who was considered a temporary custodian at the monument, continued the maintenance work that Pinkley started. He oversaw further weather-proofing of the mission roof, with 16 rolls of heavy gravel tacked into place and edges rounded and tarred. He repaired the wall of an unspecified existing building he alternately called "the quarters" and "house." While the description is vague, it is likely that he was referring to the convento, a section of which was converted to rudimentary custodian quarters. Faris and his workers had to dig 3 feet below ground level to lay new adobe for the wall. For visitor comfort, Faris and his laborers also dug two new pit toilets and built accompanying protective structures. He had the old toilets dismantled and filled with dirt. It is not clear when the original pit toilets were constructed, but Faris states that the new toilets were much better.[122]

Questions over the religious role of the mission continued to present themselves. Faris, who was not residing at Tumacácori, found an "alms box" at the mission when he arrived for a site visit in June 1929. Local residents informed him that a Catholic priest in Nogales, who held formal weekly services inside the mission church, had placed it there. Apparently, the priest felt that it was his "right to hold services" at the mission. Faris and the Nogales Chamber of Commerce argued that this was not the case. In fact, they asserted that "[the Catholic Church] relinquished all claim to the church when the government took it over." Faris was unable to meet with the priest to resolve the conflict during his trip, but he was confident that at least the collection box would not reappear. This episode was a reminder of the unique challenges associated with managing a national monument that incorporated a religious property that was still relevant to local residents. The views of Pinkley and Faris reflect a fine line in which popular religious celebrations were acceptable, but regular formal religious ceremonies were problematic. A "pageant" held at the mission in 1929 elicited no concern. Allowing community celebrations, even if they had religious undertones, was acceptable, while weekly Catholic mass proved disturbing. The National Park Service did not want to give the impression that they were supporting any specific religious organization.[123]

Faris's time at Tumacácori was brief. He was transferred to Aztec Ruins National Monument in September 1929. George Boundey, who was the previous custodian at Aztec Ruins (1927–29), replaced Faris at Tumacácori. Boundey was the first long-term resident custodian at Tumacácori. His time at the monument, which ran from 1929 to 1936, was a period of development at the site. Boundey oversaw several improvements, including the construction of residences for himself and another staff member. The National Park Service also built a garage and a public comfort station to replace the pit toilets. A fence, erected in 1932, enclosed the monument boundary. A parking lot

122 Johnwill Faris to Pinkley, June 22, 1929, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4673, Folder 1.

123 Nogales Chamber of Commerce to Frank Pinkley, March 18, 1928, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4773, Folder 1; Faris to Pinkley, June 22, 1929.

was added the next year. Finally, laborers completed several projects under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal programs.[124]

Housing was a pressing concern when Boundey arrived in October 1929. He and his family initially lived in a small section of the convento that had previously been converted into simple living quarters. This was the living space used by Frank Pinkley and his wife during part of his time as the custodian at Tumacácori. It is likely that Johnwill Faris also used the convento quarters when he visited the mission complex. The space was not sufficient to house a full-time resident custodian. Therefore, one of the first projects undertaken under Boundey's tenure was the construction of a new custodian's house.

Local laborers built the house, dubbed "Residence #1," then "Boundey House" by the park in later years. Apparently, the work proceeded quickly. Landscape architect Charles Peterson visited Tumacácori in January 1930 and noted that the residence was almost complete. He was not particularly impressed. Peterson stated that the house was a "fair" example of a small adobe structure and that even though considerable "care and pride went into the work, the finished effect cannot be considered good." The national monument had no electricity, so the house was built without any electrical wiring or any provision for easily wiring the house in the future. This troubled Peterson, who worried that the National Park Service would incur additional expense when electricity was available at the site.[125] Of course, the house was a significant improvement over the convento.

The six-room adobe house was designed to fit into the cultural landscape of the national monument. It was constructed in a combination of Rustic style and Sonoran style architecture, with heavy vigas and a porch approximating a ramada. The interior walls were coated in lime plaster and the adobe bricks were made from local materials. The Boundeys moved into the house in 1930. [126] Utility crews ran a telephone line to the residence on July 1, 1935. Park personnel had to travel to Nogales or Tubac to make calls prior to the installation of the line. Boundey hoped that the addition of the telephone line would result in the monument getting electricity as well, but that would have to wait. The monument still did not have such modern conveniences as electric lights, fans, or well pumps. Electricity was not installed until construction on the new museum and administration building began in 1937.[127]

The construction of the Boundey House gave the National Park Service the opportunity to convert the convento space into a combined office and museum room. Peterson predicted it would cost about $200 to convert the space into a museum, a project he considered "an urgent need for the monument." He noted, that there were artifacts, objects, art, and other material related to the mission scattered throughout the region. A proper museum would allow the National Park Service to acquire and store the materials. In fact, Peterson wrote, local residents had already promised Frank Pinkley that they would turn materials over to the monument once a museum was

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124 Short History of Tumacácori, 1956, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–1958, Box 2, Folder H14 May 1953–1958 Tumacácori; A Report on FERA Project, Tumacácori, 1934, 1-2, NARA Archives II, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2417, Folder 000 General Tumacácori Part 6; Memorandum, H. Langley to W. G. Carnes, March 5, 1934, NARA Archives II, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2417, Folder 000 General Tumacácori A Part 5; Ansel Hall to Director, October 3, 1935, and attached Arthur Woodward, Report of Investigation of Excavations at Tumacácori, March 1935, 1, NARA Archives II, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2417, Folder 000 General Tumacácori Part 6.

125 Charles Peterson, "Report to Mr. Vint " January 25, 1930.

126 Ross R. Hopkins, "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form: San José de Tumacácori," October 20, 1986.

127 George Boundey in Frank Pinkley, "The July 1935 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1935, 37, selected Southwestern Monuments annual and monthly reports are available at http://npshistory.com/newsletters/sw_mon_rpt/index.htm, accessed October 21, 2014.

developed. The conversion was almost immediately put on hold because the convento space was used as ranger housing after Boundey vacated the space. Hugh B. Curry, the monument's first permanent ranger, arrived in 1931 [128]

A significant amount of infrastructural development occurred in 1932. Construction projects included new buildings: a ranger's residence, a new public comfort station, and a tool and implement shop. The ranger's residence (Residence # 2) was smaller than the Boundey house, but was constructed with similar materials. The building, like all the structures built in 1932, had adobe brick walls. Adobe bricks for all the structures were made from a pit at the southeast corner of the monument property. The walls of the buildings were stuccoed on the exterior and plastered on the interior. Unlike the Boundey house, the ranger residence had concrete floors instead of wood. Concrete flooring was also used in the other buildings. The tool and implement shop (also called the garage) was constructed just south of the residence. The comfort station was built at the southwest corner of the monument. It was incorporated into the yet-to-be-constructed walls of a proposed patio. The work was completed using local laborers who also constructed a new sewer system and erected a woven wire fence enclosing the monument.[129]

With the construction of the ranger residence, the National Park Service was finally able to convert the convento space into a small museum and office. Boundey reported in November 1932 that a museum exhibit had been installed in the convento. He pointed out, however, that conditions were not ideal and that "things of much value should not be displayed there." To be sure, the room was not elaborate. It had a corrugated iron roof and a small fireplace. The fireplace smoked badly and, according to Johnwill Faris, the roof was "not, to say the least, attractive." Visitors, however, could look at the "pretties" in a flat-topped glass display case. The establishment of a bona fide museum in the convento was still a priority one year later when Assistant SWNM Superintendent Bob Rose and NPS museum technician, Carl P. Russell, visited Tumacácori in early 1933 to review plans to convert the convento space into a museum. They were optimistic that the newly vacant space would allow for the museum expansion. Russell, who went on to become the chief of the NPS Museum Division in 1935, also "[assembled] all of [the monument's] maps, charts, and other materials for framing" and provided guidance on exhibit development. This was only Russell's first trip to the national monument. He returned to the region a year later to begin planning an entirely new museum building at Tumacácori.[130]The development of the new museum is described below.

Interpretive services were developed under Boundey and his successor Louis Caywood. Pinkley approvingly noted in 1932 that "practically 100 percent" of Tumacácori visitors interact with Boundey or Ranger Curry, the only two NPS employees at the monument. He also pointed out that guide services were available for those who want them. Pinkley considered education and interpretation pivotal to understanding historic sites because, unlike a scenic park where a visitor could benefit from self-directed contemplative exploration, places like Tumacácori required an understanding of the site's historic context. Educational programs continued to play an important role in management activities in the monument throughout the 1930s. The custodian or ranger interacted with visitors either informally or through guided programs. The guided groups generally consisted of fewer than 10 individuals. Custodian Caywood reported that visitor contacts fell

128 Frank Pinkley, "Annual Report of the Southwestern Monuments, 1932," 4; Peterson, "Report to Mr. Vint," January 25, 1930; Short History of Tumacácori, 1956.

129 Pinkley, "Annual Report" 1932, 4; National Park Service, "Cultural Landscapes Inventory, San José de Tumacácori, Tumacácori National Historical Park," (2010), 95; Hopkins, "San José de Tumacácori," October 20, 1986.

130 Frank Pinkley, "The April 1933 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1933, 2; George Boundey in Frank Pinkley, "The November 1932 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1932, 28. Tillotson to Director, November 8, 1944, Faris to Pinkley, June 22, 1929; On Russell, see http://ntserver1.wsulibs.wsu.edu/masc/finders/ cg225.htm, accessed December 18, 2013.

during periods of heavy visitation, like the April semana santa, but that these celebrations were an important part of the monument's history.[131]

Educational presentations became an important component of the monument's visitor programs in the 1930s. Tumacácori was popular with school groups—the national monument regularly hosted students and teachers from throughout the region, especially in May when they attended picnics at the mission. [132] Programs for schools and other organized groups continue to play an important role in this national park system unit's interpretive activities.

While Tumacácori National Monument was considered primarily a historic resource, Boundey took a keen interest in birds at the site, regularly describing bird sightings in his monthly reports. In his role as game warden, Boundey aggressively pursued the protection of songbirds in the Santa Cruz Valley. Apparently, his efforts were successful, and by September 1935 he was able to report that "birds are much more plentiful than ever before."[133]

The custodian also incorporated birding into educational programs at Tumacácori—he had a school group conduct a bird count at the monument in the fall of 1935. With considerable pleasure, Boundey noted the group had recorded many species, including the scissor-tailed flycatcher (*Tyrannus forficatus*), a bird he had not previously seen at Tumacácori.[134]

This birding program continued after Boundey left the monument for Gran Quivira Mission, which became a national monument in 1909 and is now part of Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument. Louis Caywood, who replaced Boundey as custodian in 1936, actively monitored bird populations through monthly observations and formal bird counts. He also assisted with SWNM-wide bird trapping and banding projects in which the monument began participating in 1937.[135]

The desire to link the Sonora and Arizona missions continued into the 1930s. George Boundey was happy to report in 1933 that Mexican officials were lifting travel restrictions that had previously made it difficult for tourists to visit the Sonoran missions. He hoped that descriptive materials would soon be available to give to visitors who wanted to visit the Sonoran missions. One year later, Boundey reported that a New York company was planning to "put into service a number of sightseeing buses for use on the Border [sic] and running into Mexico." Most importantly, he noted, the buses would make it possible to "take in the Kino chain of missions during a single trip out of Tucson."[136] It is not clear if the company, which he only mentioned vaguely, ever began operating. Boundey did not discuss the planned bus tours again. He did state in 1935 that visitation throughout the region had increased and that travelers were visiting missions and other

131 Frank Pinkley, "The October Monthly Report of the Southwestern National Monuments, 1932," 5; Louis R. Caywood, "Tumacácori," In "Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April 1938" 311–12.

132 George Boundey, "Tumacácori" In "The November 1935 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1935, 317.

133 George Boundey, "Tumacácori" In "The September 1935 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1935, 176.

134 Ibid.

135 Dale S. King, "Bird Banding in the Southwestern Monuments," In "Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, November 1937," 395.

136 George Boundey, "Tumacácori" In "The November 1933 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1933, 11; George Boundey, "Tumacácori" In "The April 1934 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1934, 17. The NPS acquired the site indirectly from Frank Wingfield in 1990. The acquisition is discussed in chapter 5.

historical sites in both Arizona and Sonora. They, according to the custodian, "were taking much more interest in historical points of local interest . . .especially the old missions of Calabasas [sic] and Guevavi."[137]

In addition to garnering increased interest, Guevavi was afforded greater protection in 1935 because, according to Boundey "some friends of ours [Ralph and Marjorie Wingfield] have purchased the property on which Guevavi mission stands." He wrote that they "intend to preserve the portions still standing and to clean up the area as a park for visitors."[138]

Interpretation and the development of regional interpretive networks were certainly important, but facilities development continued to play a significant role in monument administration in the first half of the 1930s. Frank Pinkley and landscape architects Thomas Chalmers Vint and Harry Langley visited Tumacácori in October 1932 to inspect new construction and review planned projects. Unlike Peterson, who criticized the design and quality of Residence No. 1, Vint and Langley approved of the new buildings. The three men also reviewed plans for construction of a parking lot off the new Tucson to Nogales highway.

Pinkley, Vint, and Langley visited the monument just weeks before the 1932 presidential election in which Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected president of the United States. Roosevelt campaigned on the promise to bring relief to Americans suffering from the economic strife caused by the Great Depression. Undeniably, the need for aid and economic relief far outstripped the local resources that had previously provided assistance to communities. Local systems of support buckled under the enormous economic pressures that coalesced in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Roosevelt campaigned on a promise to bring relief through a program of federal work and relief that became known as the "New Deal." The program eventually enabled projects at national park system units nationwide.

Development at Tumacácori did not, however, wait for the implementation of the New Deal. Parking lot construction began in the spring of 1933, before Roosevelt's programs could provide funds or relief. The construction of the parking lot was not simply a park development project; it also served local residents. Boundey wrote in 1932 that the ravages of the Great Depression were being felt in the Santa Cruz Valley. "All the people in this vicinity," he remarked "are receiving help from the Nogales charities," which were reaching the limits of what they could provide. Boundey described the parking lot construction as an overt way to address the economic struggles of local residents. He pointed out that the project was "employing only heads of families and the most needy," and that the "money we are spending here is very much appreciated in Nogales." The parking lot was completed in April 1933, the same month Roosevelt's first New Deal public works program, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), was organized.[139]

The National Park Service was a huge beneficiary of the New Deal. Roosevelt, in 1933, used his executive powers to place national monuments, national battlefield parks, and national cemeteries under National Park Service jurisdiction. Management of Tumacácori had already shifted from the U.S. Forest Service to the National Park Service, but now the mission was joined with a host of new sites. The New Deal then provided the labor and money to improve these park areas, putting people to work and stimulating the overall economy. The numbers alone stagger the imagination. The parks, between 1933 and 1940, received $132,000,000 in regular appropriations for

137 George Boundey, "Tumacácori" In "The May 1935 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1935, 228.

138 Ibid.

139 George Boundey, "Tumacácori" In "The March 1933 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1933, 18–9; George Boundey, "Tumacácori" In "The April 1933 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1933, 13.

administration and maintenance but about $218,000,000 in emergency conservation projects. These projects varied based on the needs of the individual parks. Common activities included construction of roads and trails, plus building campgrounds, employee housing, and bridges, dams, and docks. Other parks were assisted with fire prevention, including removal of dead timber, plus firefighting and controlling insect infestations. Historic preservation, archeological excavations, and ruin stabilizations aided battlefield parks, archeological sites, and natural areas with historic remains. The National Park Service relied on master plans developed previously for each park to determine what kind of work was needed at each site. Agency officials supervised all work, ensuring quality and consistency. The Civilian Conservation Corps, by its disestablishment in 1942, had provided work to 2 million enrollees, which equaled 5% of the total male population of the United States. This work was accomplished in 198 CCC camps for 94 national parks and national monuments.[140]

The Civilian Conservation Corps did not play a significant role in Tumacácori until the late 1930s, but other New Deal work programs had an immediate impact on the local community and the monument. The Public Works Administration (PWA) and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) both facilitated projects at the monument. Each program served a different purpose. The Public Works Administration was created in June 1933, headed by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, and generally was involved in the design and construction of large-scale public works although they did take on smaller projects. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration, created in May 1933, was a job creation program specifically designed to put unemployed women and men to work on projects in their communities and states. Much of the work was considered unskilled. Unlike the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration allowed the National Park Service to hire local residents to perform the work. A component of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Civil Works Administration (CWA), provided temporary construction jobs to needy men during the winter of 1933–34. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration lasted until December 1935 when it was replaced by the Works Progress Administration and the Social Security Administration. For each New Deal employment program, including the well-known Civilian Conservation Corps, funding went toward putting people back to work, hopefully in positions that built on their skills, expertise, and talent. Direct relief payments might have cost the federal government less money and time, but President Roosevelt and his team felt that people would rather work for their money than receive handouts. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration helped initiate this approach.

The New Deal work programs were welcomed in the Santa Cruz Valley. Boundey stated in November 1933 that 25 local men would be employed at Tumacácori in the winter and that the work "will help the whole community wonderfully." Regrettably, he noted that there was no engineer available to supervise the planned work, so everything was temporarily on hold. The New Deal projects finally began in January 1934.[141]

Funds from the Civil Works Administration, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the Public Works Administration supported several small projects beginning in the winter of 1934. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration and Civil Works Administration projects included the

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140 The CCC also had a strong presence in the states, with 697 camps in 881 state, county, and municipal parks. The CCC helped establish 711 new state parks. John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933–42: An Administrative History* (NPS 1985), Brief History of the CCC chapter, Overall Accomplishments chapter, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/ccc/index.htm, accessed October 18, 2013. Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (NPS: Denver Service Center, September 1983), New Deal chapter, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books//unrau-williss/adhi.htm, accessed October 18, 2013.

141 Boundey, "November 1933 Monthly Report," 11; George Boundey, "Tumacácori" In "The December 1933 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1933, 12; George Boundey, "Tumacácori" In "The January 1934 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1934, 41–42.

partial construction of adobe walls around the monument and repairs to an unspecified residence. PWA crews continued developing parking areas and constructed an ornamental gateway at the park entrance. They also assisted with the construction of adobe walls around the monument. There was considerable interplay among the New Deal programs. This is exemplified by the wall construction project. CWA funds for the 25 men involved in wall construction were only available from January until April 1934. Santa Cruz County, which was receiving FERA funds for work projects, offered to fill the void left by the end of CWA funding. The county provided labor and the National Park Service provided supplies. Work began again in June. Under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the wall project employed about 100 local men. In order to spread the program's financial relief as widely as possible, each individual worked six days a month in shifts of 20 men. Boundey wrote that even with the limited number of hours, the workers were making $21 per month, "which is more than the majority have earned in years." The FERA component of the wall construction project continued until funds ran out again in mid-August. Sporadic FERA work on the boundary walls continued into 1935. PWA crews also assisted with walls, fencing, and landscaping over the next two years.[142]

The New Deal programs did not just support infrastructure development at Tumacácori. They also provided funds to hire workers to assist with ruins stabilization. For example, CWA projects included wall, roof, and foundation repairs at the church and drainage improvements around the mission buildings. Stabilization projects continued throughout the 1930s. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration also funded a systematic archeological excavation of the mission grounds supervised by Paul Beaubien, a junior archeologist at the time. He used laborers from the immediate vicinity who the county welfare board qualified for relief. Beaubien noted that labor fluctuated and switched out often, but in total he oversaw 919-man days of work between December 1934 and March 1935. His assignment was to uncover ruined buildings adjacent to the mission, allowing NPS engineers to map the locations of walls, benches, furnaces, and other features before backfilling the trenches. These maps would aid future landscaping and restoration plans and ensure that any subsequent digging for ditches, pipelines, and other modern conveniences would not disturb historically relevant areas. Unfortunately, limited space and facilities forced Beaubien to deposit dirt in the middle of each excavated room and the resulting photographs provided only a partial record of the findings.[143]

Beaubien found almost no worthwhile artifacts. Treasure hunters had emptied the grounds of artifacts and disturbed the structural remains to such a degree that he could not form many definitive archeological conclusions. He often had to excavate a large area, clear floors, and expose stub walls to obtain as much information as possible from the disturbed remains. He made a special point of digging to 10 feet in the sacristy, where rumors had placed the tunnel to the supposed riches, but Beaubien found no such feature. He only found undisturbed gravel. Treasure hunters had dug to 8 or 9 feet at this spot. Beaubien pointed to his extensive dig and its lack of artifacts as proof that no treasures existed at Tumacácori. He hoped that those rumors would finally die.[144]

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142 George Boundey, "Tumacácori" In "The June 1934 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1934, 29; F George Boundey, "Tumacácori" In "The August 1934 Monthly Report of the Southwestern Monuments," 1934, 66; Frank Pinkley, "The Annual Report of the Southwestern Monuments, 1935" (September 1, 1935) 9; Frank Pinkley, "The Annual Report of the Southwestern Monuments, 1936" (July 1, 1935) 11.

143 Paul Beaubien, *Excavations at Tumacácori, Southwestern Monuments Special Report*, No. 10, 1934, 183, 186–87, 219, Tumacácori Library; Note card on Tumacácori excavations, 1935, Tumacácori Library, Fact File. Beaubien would continue to conduct archeological excavations in the Southwest, including at Pipestone, Badlands, and Effigy Mounds. He was a regional archeologist by 1957. See administrative histories for the above-listed parks, plus for Theodore Roosevelt National Park.

144 Beaubien, Excavations at Tumacácori, 191, 219.

Evidence of vandalism from past treasure hunting became evident when Beaubien supervised the exhumation of two skeletons inside the mission. The Franciscan Order had requested that the remains of two priests, Fathers Baltazar Carrillo and Narciso Gutiérrez, who had served consecutively between 1784 and 1821, be reburied at San Xavier. One of the FERA laborers had witnessed at an earlier date a party, allegedly headed by the supervisor of a mine in Mexico, find the two bodies and return the bones, except for a skull taken as a souvenir, to the hole they had dug. Two tries at uncovering the skeletons in the presence of Father Vincent of San Xavier finally resulted in success, with the jumble of bones confirming the laborer's story. Beaubien wrote in his report that he "sincerely believe[d] they were the bones of the two Fathers thrown back in a treasure hunting hole." The two remains were re-buried at San Xavier in February 1935.[145]

Beaubien and Boundey used the excavation project as an educational opportunity. Beaubien refers to 5,000 visitors on the site over the course of the three-month period. To facilitate safe viewing, workers constructed paths through the maze of revealed structures and dirt piles. However, in at least one case, careless visitors had caved in an exposed wall.[146]

The archeological project did uncover walls, floors, and plaster types that allowed some conjecture about the revealed structures. Two uncovered rooms adjacent to the sanctuary had floors 3.3 feet below the present mission, suggesting that the rooms had been abandoned and the present floor built 2.8 feet higher. This circumstance, along with plaster evidence and location of pilasters, made clear that the church's well-known dome had been added after the raising of the floor. This remodeling appeared to have followed a period of neglect, indicated by wall erosion. Plaster differences helped to identify the relative times when rooms were built and used. Clearly, the mission area had seen the use of certain spaces and then their subsequent abandonment for new structures. In total, Beaubien exposed parts of 79 rooms and areas outside the church, three rooms within the church, and eight ovens and other forms, or about 100 units in all.[147]

Finally, Beaubien pointed out structures and features outside the 10-acre borders of the national monument. The lime kiln was found about 50 feet away from the park's northern boundary. An orchard of several acres was north and east of the park. There was also brick kiln to the south of the monument boundary. Beaubien concluded that the present area of the monument was too small to encompass these particular facets of life in and around the mission.[148] These conclusions, in part, fueled efforts to expand the boundaries of the monument that continued into the 2000s.

George Boundey also expressed interest in an expansion of Tumacácori's boundaries when he wrote in September 1935 that the National Park Service should acquire land north and east of Tumacácori National Monument. He pointed out that the land "would be the greatest addition the Monument could receive," because it contained additional ruins and "a strip of timbered and brush land lying along the river bottom which is a very paradise for birds."[149] He does not specifically describe the parcel he had in mind, but it was likely similar to the lands acquired by the National Park Service and added to Tumacácori National Historical Park in 2002.[150]

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145 Beaubien, Excavations at Tumacácori, 187–8. Quote on p. 188.

146 Ibid., 186, 207.

147 Ibid., 190–91, 219, 220. Draft, Tumacácori Archeology, June 8, 1973, 1, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4603, Folder 5 of 8 [1973].

148 Ibid., 219, 220.

149 Boundey, "Tumacácori" In "The September 1935 Monthly Report" 176.

150 This land acquisition is addressed in chapter 5.

The New Deal left its most apparent imprint on Tumacácori with the 1937 construction of a museum-administration building. WPA funding paid for private contractor M. M. Sundt of Phoenix. CCC enrollees used landscape plans developed under the Public Works Administration to finish the grounds. Enrollees at Bandelier National Monument carved the wooden museum doors, while those at Chiricahua National Monument and Chaco Culture National Historical Park built the furniture. Dioramas for the museum came from a WPA artist workshop in California.[151]

The National Park Service designed the museum building as an interpretive device, not just a structure to house educational exhibits but also as a building compatible to, and a teaching device for, the mission itself. Planners developed several venues to meet this goal. Visitors could see in three-dimensional form the historic construction techniques and materials. They could walk into a building that mimicked the buildings associated with the historic missions such as the places where the padres lived and worked with their followers. This philosophy toward the design of the museum building meshed with the example set by the early repair work supervised by Frank Pinkley. Pinkley, joined by architect Charles E. Peterson, favored minimal restoration work to let the church building and its meaning shine. The California missions and their extensive reconstructions served as a negative counterpoint. But if Tumacácori was not fully restored, how best could visitors understand its architectural and theological meaning? Two separate NPS groups visited Sonora, Mexico, to study the remaining missions that Father Kino had established. Carl Parcher Russell (historian) and Robert Rose made the first exploratory trip in December 1934. Russell was finishing as a field naturalist and museum specialist at the time before becoming chief of the museum division for the National Park Service. His 34 years with the agency included serving as superintendent of Yosemite National Park and coordinator of research and interpretation in the western NPS office. He had a strong personal interest in the everyday aspects of frontier history, a passion that he applied to Tumacácori. Rose served as assistant superintendent at Pipe Spring National Monument, also under Pinkley's supervision. Russell, who became chief of the National Park Service Eastern Museum Division during this time period, advocated for a major museum at Tumacácori to educate visitors about the larger history of the Southwest and how the missions, including Tumacácori, fit within that history. Russell backed up his argument with support for research in various repositories. Regional historian Olaf T. Hagen also favored a museum to help visitors visualize the mission instead of trying to restore the mission interior based on insufficient evidence.[152]

Russell's and Rose's findings convinced the agency to send a larger party to Sonora in October 1935 to conduct extensive research and take photographs. The research project, facilitated by New Deal funding, consisted of a six-member research team. All members were National Park Service employees. This research provided needed information to guide future stabilization efforts, plus bring back ideas for museum exhibits and museum building designs.[153] Arthur Woodward served as the project archeologist. He conducted pedestrian surveys at each site and provided

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151 Tumacácori, Description, http://livingnewdeal.berkeley.edu/projects/tumacacori-national-historical-park-tumacacori-az/, accessed October 19, 2013. NPS, Architecture in the Parks, Tumacácori Museum, Description, http://www.nps.gov /history/history/online_books/harrison/harrison27.htm, accessed October 19, 2013.

152 Charles B. Hosmer Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926–1949,* Vol. II (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 941–44, 1007–08. Memorandum, Carl Russell to Director, May 17, 1935, NARA Archives II, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2417, Folder 000 General Tumacácori Part 6; Carl Russell to Frank Pinkley, June 12, 1936, NARA Archives II, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2417, Folder 000 General Tumacácori A Part 6.

153 [No Author] Tumacácori, [Circa1939] ,1, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries Museum. No Folder; National Park Service, Architecture in the Parks, Tumacácori Museum, Statement of Significance. Initial ideas about the museum and its contents, including the idea of having a natural history exhibit area in addition to the historical one, is found in The Six-Year Program for Tumacácori, April 1934, NARA Archives II, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2419, Folder 600-02 Six-year Program 1934 Tumacácori.

recommendations on future archeology. He also wrote contextual narratives for each Sonoran mission the team visited. Two architects, Scofield DeLong and Leffler B. Miller, took part in the survey trip. They produced measured architectural drawings of each mission. George A. Grant, first chief photographer for the National Park Service, documented the Sonoran missions in hundreds of photographs. Pinkley personally assigned SWNM naturalist Robert A. Rose and SWNM engineer J. H. Tovrea to the project.

Architect DeLong applied the knowledge he gained from the Sonoran mission trip to the design of the Tumacácori museum building. He used sun-dried adobes for the walls and fired bricks for the museum building cornices, replicating the construction materials of the Sonoran missions. He borrowed the shell motif in the reveal of the museum's main entrance from Mission Neuestra Seňora del Pilar y Santiago de Cocóspera. Mission San Ignacio de Cabórica provided the design for the carved entrance doors, not exact duplicates but almost. DeLong used Mission La Purisima Concepción de Caborca's paneled doors and piers and arches as examples for the museum building's doors and portals. San Antonio Paduano del Oquitoa Mission's nave ceiling served as the model for the carved corbels (brackets) and beam ceiling of the museum lobby, while the mission's confessional provided the design for the museum's lobby counter. The groin-vault ceiling in the museum's view room echoed similar designs at Mission San Xavier del Bac, Mission San Pedro y San Pablo del Tubutama, and the baptistery of San Ignacio. Wooden grilles on windows, painted wainscoting, and painted decoration of the view room's ceiling all came from designs in historic missions. Park visitors at the site during construction often wondered when services would be held in the "new church," a testament to how well DeLong and his colleagues captured the essence of the Sonoran missions.[154]

The museum-administration building itself was not meant to replace the historic mission church. Rather, the museum building complemented the church and borrowed from the architectural features of other missions to articulate what the historic scene may have looked like. An NPS representative named Dale S. King wrote in 1939 that the plan had been to "duplicate to the minutest detail the secular buildings" accompanying the Sonora-Arizona missions. He pointed out that the design of the museum was envisioned to reflect elements of the historical mission complex.[155] Specifically, the museum was conceived as an idealized example of a Spanish convento and its associated courtyard.

The museum building was also meant to not detract from the original mission structures. Initial plans had included a two-story structure with a large colonnaded loggia over the main entrance and an ornamental niche in the wall to the right. The proposed building would have been 14 feet longer than the mission and 5 feet higher than the walls of the nave. Such a design, with its architectural balance, would also have made the mission ruins seem crude, with an overall effect of minimizing the very historic structure that the national monument was meant to preserve.[156]

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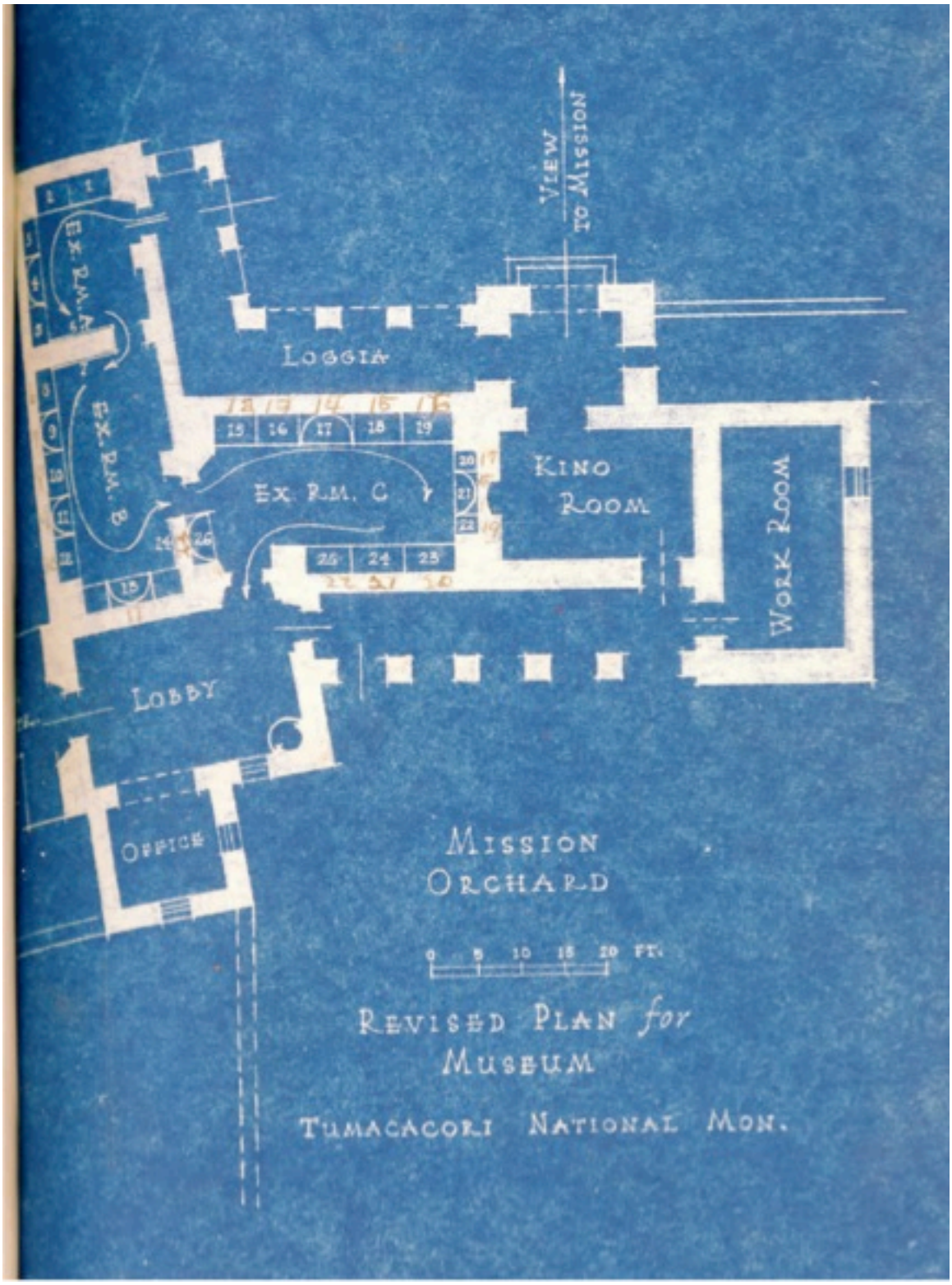
154 NPS, Architecture in the Parks, Tumacácori, Statement of Significance. Natt Dodge to Director, February 18, 1938, and attached text for Tumacácori informational pamphlet, NARA Archives II, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 000 General Tumacácori.

155 Dale S. King, "In Defense of the Tumacácori Museum Building," *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports*, supplement (February 1939); as quoted in NPS Architecture in the Parks, TUMA, Statement of Significance.

156 J. H. Tovrea, Report on Mission San José de Tumacácori i, *Southwestern Monuments Supplement* (January 1936), 53, Tumacácori; Museum at Tumacácori A, April 23, 1938, NARA Archives II, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 000 General Tumacácori.



Source: National Park Service Archives – Denver

FIGURE 19. 1936 MUSEUM PLAN

The museum and administration building still maintains much of its original design and orientation. Visitors enter the museum-administration building on the west side, through the large carved wooden doors. The welcoming lobby has a corner fireplace and a brick floor laid in a herringbone pattern. Looking up, visitors can see the beam ceilings held by the carved corbels. Much of the furniture throughout the building recalls the Spanish colonial style. A small office area is behind the information desk, through an archway. The view room is one of the most identifiable of the public rooms. This open-aired room has a groin-vaulted ceiling and looks out to the mission. The view room also houses a scale model of the mission, showing the mission as it would have appeared in the 1820s, to help make comparisons with the original structure.[157]

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 20. ENTRANCE TO THE TUMACÁCORI MUSEUM

The flat-roofed building is vaguely T-shaped. A later concrete block addition covered in stucco sits on the far eastern end of the original building. Arched portals (arcades) stand to the north and south of the easternmost wing, with one opening to the 1939 garden and the other looking toward the mission church. A parapet and stepped coping surround the flat roof and finials stand at the western corners of the building, and in the view room. The patio garden has an octagonal fountain in the center, with channel drains at the four corners leading off to the planted areas. Visitors can sit on adobe benches or walk along brick pathways through the garden. The garden is planted with historically accurate but also aesthetically pleasing vegetation. Pinkley, for example, had voted for such plants as beans, corn, and squash, but the landscape designers favored plants that looked good throughout the year. The garden plantings by the mid-1950s varied from prickly pear cacti to pomegranate, lemon verbena to oleander, and black mission fig trees to tall desert hackberry trees. A 7-foot-high adobe wall is north and south from the western wall of the museum. The wall screens all but the uppermost parts of the church and leads people from the parking lot to the main entrance of the museum.[158]

Regional Director Hillory A. Tolson officially dedicated the museum building at an April 1939 ceremony. He stated that sites like Tumacácori "tend to keep alive the great and dramatic events" of history. Exhibit cases and three dioramas in three rooms of the museum chronicled this story. Many people lent a hand into the design and fabrication of these exhibits, with the give and take of discussions shaping the final result. Louis R. Caywood, who served as custodian from 1936 to 1944, laid out an initial plan that looked at the European heritage of Father Kino and of mission architecture in addition to the New World stories of Indians and missionaries. Caywood sent his ideas to Herbert Eugene Bolton, a renowned historian at the University of California, Berkeley, for review and consideration. Bolton replied that Caywood's ideas were "very comprehensive and altogether good," encouraging him to continue thinking along these lines and share any further

157 NPS, Architecture in the Parks Tumacácori, Description; "Short History of Tumacácori," 1956, 16.

158 NPS, Architecture in the Parks; Tumacácori, Description, Statement of Significance; Tumacácori Patio Garden Guide, July 1958, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–1958, Box 10, Folder K3189 1956–58 Tumacácori.

thoughts with Bolton. NPS reviewers, on the other hand, argued that emphasis should be placed on the New World stories of Spanish missionary work and Indian interactions. Caywood quickly came around to this latter view, saying to Pinkley that the museum should focus on the mission story, with the Indian story told "through the eyes of the old Jesuit and Franciscan padres." Park naturalist Robert Rose added further thoughts to the plan, arguing that visitors will appreciate Father Kino's accomplishments most if the exhibits detail the "difficulties under which he labored," especially since he was establishing "outposts of European civilization in frontier country where conditions were of the most trying kind."[159]

Exhibits in the museum at the time of its opening laid out the place of Tumacácori within the larger history of the Southwest, both in terms of exploration and religion. Room I contained five exhibit cases chronicling the American Indian tribes and early Spanish history of the Southwest. Room II held eight cases depicting the history of the Jesuit period in the Pimería Alta. Room III had 12 cases spanning the time from the Franciscan period in 1768 to Boss Pinkley's role in the development of the national monument. The Kino Room showcased a bronze equestrian statue of the father, completed by artist Eugene Morahan. Morahan may be better known for his 18-foot art deco depiction of Santa Monica, which stands on a bluff in the city of the same name. Plans had originally intended for this room to have a set of murals to depict Father Kino's life. Lack of funding for artists to travel to the site and eventual lack of interest by the National Park Service left the walls of this room bare. The center of the view room had a model of the mission as it might have looked around 1820. Visitors could view the mission ruins through a window and then compare that view to the model, which filled in the missing or crumbling parts.[160] The museum also had, by 1939, a map on which the routes of "26 explorers are shown by flashing lights." The exhibit was cutting edge at the time. Tumacácori National Monument and Vicksburg National Military Park were the only units to have lighted maps.[161]

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 21. LOUIS CAYWOOD

The Mass Diorama in Room III attracted the most attention of the exhibits over time. The initial exhibit plan writer admitted that "it is the author's opinion that this will be the most inspiring exhibit in the whole museum." Planners wanted the diorama to convey the "reverence, solemnity, and dignity" that the historic service would have held. Superintendent Louis Caywood indicated the diorama did elicit such desired reactions of visitors. He wrote in 1944 that "the superlative

159 Talk given by Hillory A. Tolson, April 23, 1939; Louis Caywood to Herbert Bolton, May 9, 1936, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries Museum, No Folder; Herbert E. Bolton to Caywood, May 14, 1936, 1, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries Museum, No Folder ; Caywood to Pinkley, June 8, 1936, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries Museum, No Folder; Robert Rose to Caywood, June 17, 1936, 1, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries Museum No Folder.

160 Memorandum, M. R. Tillotson to Director, 8 November 1944, and attached Louis Caywood, Tumacácori Interpretive Program, 3-4, NARA Archives II, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2420, Folder 840 TUMA Interpretational Contacts, Memorandum, Michael Becker to Regional Director, March 8, 1960, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence and Planning Program Records 1953–61, Box 74, Folder D6215a Tumacácori 1959–196; . Kino Bronze note card, no date, Tumacácori Library, Fact File; Exhibit Plan for Tumacácori, December 4, 1936, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries Museum, No Folder; The National Park Service carefully designed the exhibits at Tumacácori to individualize its coverage of the Indian story from that of other national park sites, such as Casa Grande. See Robert Rose to Ansel Hall, January 25, 1935, NARA Archives II, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2417, Folder 000 General Tumacácori Part 6.

161 Mackintosh, *Interpretation,* 39; [No Title], *Riverside Daily Press* (Riverside ,CA), April 12, 1939, 6.

appeal" of the Mass Diorama was so great that "the visitor is brought to an emotional climax" and is then ready to witness the historic ruins themselves.[162]

The National Park Service could have thrown together a nondescript square building filled with standard-issue exhibits and fulfilled its obligation. Instead, the agency sought ways to balance the ruined condition of the mission with the need for visitors to have tools for envisioning the building during its original use. The resulting museum-administration building elegantly solved the problem and helped visitors, as Caywood wrote above, connect emotionally to the site's past.

The 1935 research trip to the Sonoran missions that spurred the development of the museum was also designed to provide guidance for the preservation of Tumacácori's historic resources. Pinkley specifically asked J. H. Tovrea to concentrate his effort on compiling information that might assist the National Park Service in restoring portions of the mission church. Tovrea provided his recommendations in a supplement to the January 1936 monthly report for the Southwestern National Monuments. He pointed out that the missions were all too different from one another to reach definitive conclusions regarding the original design of Tumacácori church components. Instead, he argued that the National Park Service should strive to restore the "sense of mystery and sanctity" that all the Sonoran missions communicated. He felt that limited restoration would help facilitate the conversion of the church from a building that approximates "an old banquet hall, fortress, or storage room" to a space that imparts a sense of it as "a place of worship."[163]

Based on his observations in Sonora and at Tumacácori, Tovrea provided guidance for the complete restoration of the choir loft, one side of the altar, and the pulpit. NPS officials took no concerted action on these suggestions during the New Deal era. Efforts were, instead, centered on stemming the deterioration of the church. Most work focused on filling voids in the adobe walls and addressing leaks, especially in the roof. [164]

Tovrea also urged the National Park Service to make detailed architectural drawings of the existing features at Tumacácori before they weathered away—action was quickly taken on this recommendation. The church was recorded under the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) less than a year after Tovrea wrote his report. HABS was initially established by NPS architect Charles E. Peterson as a six-month program to document early American architecture. The program was soon continued under a memorandum of agreement among the National Park Service (to do the survey work), the American Institute of Architects (to identify and catalog structures), and the Library of Congress (to serve as repository for the measured drawings and photographs). The Historic Sites Act of 1935 made the NPS role permanent. Frederick D. Nichols and a field team from the Arizona headquarters of the Historic American Buildings Survey recorded the site in November and December 1937. A CCC crew assisted with the project. They created 15 photographs and 45 detailed architectural drawings and color plates of the Tumacácori mission church. Custodian Louis Caywood and Nichols also recorded the ruins at Calabazas and Guevavi in 1937.[165] The HABS documentations were the last recordation efforts to occur at Tumacácori

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162 Exhibit Plan for Tumacácori, December 4, 1936, 25, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries Museum, No Folder; Louis Caywood, quoted in Memorandum, M. R. Tillotson to Director, November 8, 1944, and attached Louis Caywood, Tumacácori A Interpretive Program, 3–4, NARA Archives II, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2420, Folder 840 Tumacácori Interpretational Contacts.

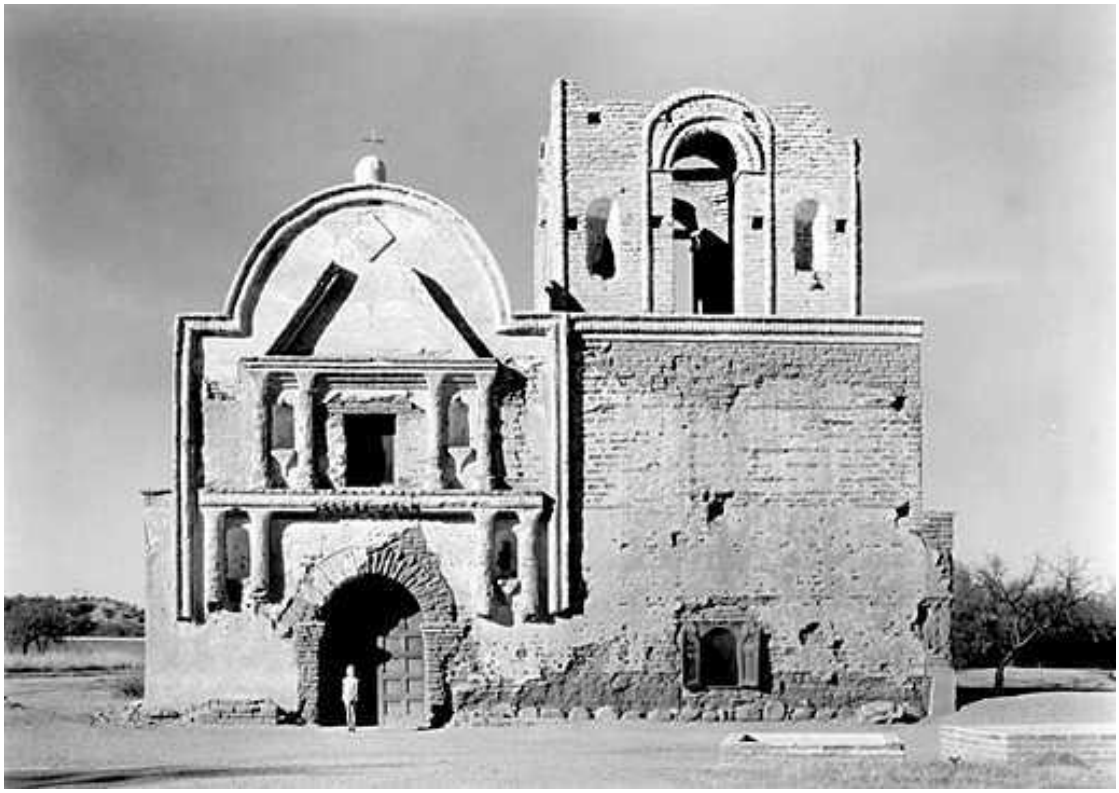
163 Tovrea, "Report on Mission San José de Tumacácori," 41–2.

164 Tovrea, "Report on Mission San José de Tumacácori," 42–44; Anthony Crosby, *Historic Structure Report, Tumacácori National Monument* (Washington DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985) 11–12.

165 Tovrea, "Report on Mission San José de Tumacácori," 51–52.; Historic American Buildings Survey, "San José de Tumacácori (mission ruins) Tubac, Santa Cruz County, AZ," 1937, accessed October 20, 2014, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/az0129/; Historic American Buildings Survey, "San Cayetano de Calabazas (mission ruins), Santa Cruz River Vicinity, Nogales, Santa Cruz County, AZ," 1937, accessed October 20, 2014, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/az0127/; Historic American Buildings Survey,

until after World War II, which brought an end to the national monument's first decades of development.

The New Deal brought the funds and labor to make Tumacácori a proper national park site. Despite its tiny size at only 10 acres, the park did garner thoughtful consideration to make interpretation and restoration both meaningful and imaginative. These decades of development from the beginning of the Pinkley era until the end of the 1930s, as described in this chapter, did not mean complete reconstruction, an important point when recognizing the ruined state of the mission. Frank Pinkley applied a light touch by stabilizing the mission and restoring the façade and



Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 22. TUMACÁCORI MISSION, 1935

a few other areas where he felt he had accurate documentation. His primary goal was to ensure the continued stability of the site while also encouraging its interpretation. Pinkley suffered from a lack of funds to do much more for Tumacácori. Once the site had New Deal funding, reconstruction was not seriously considered, even though J. H. Tovrea recommended limited restoration to reinforce the sacred character of the mission. Reconstruction would have taken the intact historical remains of the mission and added new structures and details that would have approximated how the completed mission would have looked. Most resource work during the New Deal era consisted of archeological excavations and research trips that uncovered additional information about the layout of the mission buildings and Tumacácori's relation to other Kino missions.

"San Gabriel de Guevavi, Santa Cruz River Vicinity, Nogales, Santa Cruz County, AZ," 1937, accessed October 20, 2014, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/az0128/.

Development work focused not on reconstructing the historic mission, but rather taking architectural clues from the structure and then designing buildings that fit into the landscape and region while complementing the mission complex. This is true of the residences and other structures completed in the early 1930s, but is most apparent in the development of the modern museum building. The historic mission and the museum building complement each other, thus developing a cohesive experience.

The first decades of active management of Tumacácori National Monument were also marked by management trends that continued to shape the park. Pinkley, Boundey, and Caywood all understood and appreciated the central place Tumacácori held among residents of the Santa Cruz Valley. The monument was an indispensable part of the community. Even though Tumacácori had limited resources, educational and interpretive services played a prominent role in day-to-day operations. The custodians, moreover, maintained an active interest in Tumacácori's place among the other missions, including Calabazas and Guevavi, and other historic sites in the region. Their perspective spanned the border into Mexico, where they hoped visitors could travel to the Kino missions along a mission trail. The National Park Service also saw Sonoran missions as an important research resource for the management of Tumacácori. Finally, the custodians expressed an interest in expanding the boundaries of the monument in order to capture additional resources. These trends continued to play an important role in park management in ensuing decades.

The developments of the pre–World War II period formed a foundation for monument management in the decades from 1940 until the 1970s; a 30-year period shaped by the ever-present need to stabilize the ruins while accommodating a growing number of visitors.

CHAPTER 4: THE MID-CENTURY—SETTING FOUNDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Assistant Regional Director Hugh Miller toured Tumacácori in January 1953 to observe how the park staff interacted with visitors and conducted interpretive services. Miller did not mince words in reporting what he saw, stating that the "mechanical arrangements" for reception of the public "are such as to create embarrassment on the part of visitors and extreme nervous tension on the part of the attendants." Tumacácori at the time had only two people for at least six months of the year to perform interpretation and protection services. Seasonal employees helped during the busy winter tourism season. The superintendent, as one of the two people expected to do interpretive work, also had management and administrative duties that reduced his availability for sitting at the front desk to greet visitors. Whoever had this duty, he (and they were men at least through the 1990s) had the uncomfortable job of telling visitors that they could tour the museum and patio garden for free but that they had to take a guided tour of the mission for a fee. Plus, guided tours on a schedule, did not necessarily correspond to when people arrived, forcing them to wait. Park visitors often displayed some level of embarrassment, according to Miller, if they opted (as many did) not to pay the fee for the tour. Miller also noted that the "rigmarole" the attendant had to go through repeatedly to inform new visitors arriving at staggered times of the fee requirements "would drive me [Miller] crazy." But, more and more people chose to visit Tumacácori in the post–World War II years, taxing the already staff-intensive system and forcing changes.[166]

Ruins stabilization further challenged park staff. How could the National Park Service keep weather and decay at bay with a building that was in ruins and meant to stay that way? Flooding, roof leaks, and termites all wreaked havoc on the mission. The best intentions of park staff and specialists sometimes took their toll on the building. One ruins stabilization professional in the early 1960s recommended painting the mission dome with cement bonding paint to cover hairline cracks. Later analysis revealed that coats of this paint weighed down the dome, trapped moisture, and increased the amount of erosion of the interior plaster. Efforts initiated in the late 1940s to clean interior plaster demonstrated some success. NPS professionals also continually sought chemical compounds that could be applied to adobe and plaster to preserve and extend their lifetimes. Such solvents, however, proved elusive, further reducing possibilities for stabilization. Interpretation suffered, with the park at one time having to put black plastic tarps over excavated areas as protection for lack of a preservative. The park had wanted visitors to see the excavated areas as a way to better understand the original layout of the buildings.[167]

The mid-century period (the 1940s through the 1960s) presented many such difficulties to the custodians and staff at Tumacácori. But accomplishments triumphed. More visitors came to the park, and they saw some new exhibits in the museum, new plantings in the garden, and new waysides along the walk to the historic mission. New events, such as an annual mass marking the

166 Miller quoted in Memorandum, Hugh Miller to Regional Director, February 20, 1953, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 505, Folder A5427 Tumacácori. See also Memorandum, John Davis to Regional Director, May 28, 1953, 2, attached to Memorandum, M. R. Tillotson to Director, June 4, 1953, 2, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1502, Folder K1815 Tumacácori.

167 Jeremy M. Moss, "Of Adobe, Lime, and Cement: The Preservation History of San José de Tumacácori Mission Church," *SMRC [Southwestern Mission Research Center]* (Spring-Winter 2008): 30, 40, 46-47. Memorandum, Irving McNeil to Director, January 7, 1966, 1-2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10. Memorandum, Irving McNeil to Director, April 4, 1967, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 8. Memorandum, Ray Ringenbach to Area Files, May 5, 1969, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori A, Subseries 4664, Folder 10.

date when Father Kino first established the missions in the area, drew even more people to the park. The park itself grew slightly with the addition of the historic lime kiln. All together, these challenges and achievements laid the foundation for a solid national park experience at Tumacácori mission.

VISITORS AND INTERPRETATION

In 1941, the U.S. entry into World War II meant that all of the national parks experienced a sudden decline in visitation and appropriations. The New Deal programs, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps, evaporated as those young men entered military service and the country turned its attention to fueling the war effort. Rationing gasoline and reduced availability of rubber for car tires meant that people carefully plotted their travel and did not wander far from home for pleasure trips. The numbers make clear the immediate impact of the war. National Park Service appropriations fell from $21 million in fiscal year 1940 to $4.5 million in fiscal year 1944. NPS staff numbers (excluding workers in New Deal programs, whose numbers zeroed out) dropped from more than 5,100 in fiscal year 1941 to about 1,500 in fiscal year 1944. Visitation went from 21 million people in 1941 to 6 million. Agency staff who did remain working in the parks focused on keeping their units maintained.[168] Tumacácori entered such a holding pattern. Charles Richey inspected the park in October 1940, noting that a CCC crew from Tucson mountain camp might be a good choice for stabilizing portions of the historic mission's convento and removing an old tin roof. This was the last record of a New Deal project at Tumacácori. Sources do not indicate if this work was completed.

Ideas for interpretation flowered just before the war broke out. In 1940, Aubrey Neasham (regional supervisor of sites) imagined big changes in how visitors to Tumacácori might be educated. He saw the mission as a marker for local, national, and international history, important for telling the story of Spanish colonial enterprise, national history with respect to the relationship between the United States and Mexico and local history about Arizona and the Santa Cruz Valley. Neasham envisioned revising the printed literature, sponsoring lectures, completing special research projects for publication, inviting school groups for guided tours (which the monument already did), reshaping museum exhibits, approaching radio commentators to highlight the mission in their programming, even taking the necessary steps to have Tumacácori designated an international historic site. A. R. Kelly, chief of the NPS archeological division, also wrote in 1940 about shifts in historical treatment for the park's museum. Kelly wanted an emphasis on southwestern cultural unity between prehistoric and historic times, delineating a common culture across racial and ethnic lines. Kelly was astute enough to understand the long-established transnational traditions that shaped history and community in the Santa Cruz Valley.[169]

Custodian Caywood contributed his own voice to the discussion of interpretation on the eve of World War II. He reiterated many of Neasham's ideas in a presentation he gave outlining a proposed interpretive program that extended beyond the boundaries of the monument. His talk, which was presented to his fellow SWNM custodians in February 1941, provided several suggestions on how to use publications, radio, and outside lectures as an outreach tool to not only

168 Janet A, McDonnell, "World War II: Defending Park Values and Resources," *The Public Historian* 29 (Fall 2007): 18, 19.

169 Aubrey Neasham, "A Proposed Interpretive Program for Tumacácori," November 1940, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2420, Folder 840 Tumacácori Interpretational Contacts; Memorandum, A. R. Kelly to Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments, November 28, 1940, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 000 General Tumacácori; Dale King in his December 1940 trip report also listed areas of needed action, including bi-lingual labels, construction of additional dioramas, and completing partial exhibits. See Memorandum, Dale King to Superintendent, December 14, 1940, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 207 Reports (General) Tumacácori.

educate the public but to pique the interest of potential visitors who would then plan trips to the national park system units, including Tumacácori, where they could learn even more about the specific sites.[170] In essence, Caywood's speech argued for the expansion of traditional park-based interpretation into the larger community.

The custodian laid out an extensive program in which he recommended that NPS employees write material for outside publication. He suggested that the National Park Service-produced interpretive materials be distributed widely at hotels, chambers of commerce, museums, civic organizations, schools, libraries, and other areas where interested tourists and residents could gather information about Tumacácori and other monuments. Radio, in Caywood's opinion, was a powerful tool for spreading information about national park system units. Radio reached a much larger audience of potential visitors than written materials. He suggested that park personnel develop radio scripts for short programs that, if presented "forcefully," could be broadcast on various radio stations. Finally, Caywood stressed that the National Park Service should send park experts into the community to give talks to "student, civil, and local groups." He pointed out that these efforts would not only result in greater visitation, but would also result in a more informed visitor population who would arrive better prepared to ask questions and leave better informed.[171]

Caywood also urged custodians to consider using their park units as venues to attract outside, especially local, experts to come give presentations that would "add to our knowledge and methods of explanation" and better inform the visiting public. This was actually a throwback to the early-NPS interpretation when some parks like Mesa Verde and Yosemite relied on men like Jesse Walter Fewkes, Joseph LeConte, Willis Linn Jepson, and others to provide lectures for interested visitors. Caywood was recommending the reinstitution and expansion of similar programs in the SWNM units. The program, however, was as much about edification as relationship building in which "a feeling of community spirit" could be fostered.[172] He continually returned to the concept of the monument as a part of the community. Outreach was another way to integrate places like Tumacácori with surrounding communities.

These wide-ranging ideas from Caywood, Neasham, and Kelly required intensive action and would astonish and overwhelm a fully staffed unit, much less a unit with only a ranger and custodian. Caywood, however, argued that even small parks like Tumacácori could develop ambitious interpretive programs because considerable preparation could take place in the "slack season." Nonetheless, the advent of the war undermined any plans to expand interpretive services and outreach. Ranger Clinton G Harkins left the monument in February 1942 and the ranger position remained vacant until after the end of World War II. Caywood and his wife Winnie spent the war doing what they could to stabilize the mission and manage the monument under austere circumstances.

Interpretation, outreach and education programs stalled, and, as noted in a later section, ruins stabilization was held to a bare minimum until after the war. Louis Caywood served admirably (according to at least one agency official) during most of the war period, having planted most of the patio garden and generally readying the park for visitors in December 1940.[173] Caywood left in June

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170 Louis R. Caywood, "Enriching Our Interpretation Through Writing, Radio, Outside Talks, and Other Means," in *Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Report, May 1941,* (Coolidge, AZ: National Park Service, 1941), 301–302.

171 Caywood, "Enriching Our Interpretation," 302–3.

172 Caywood, "Enriching Our Interpretation," 303; Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington, DC: National Park Service History Division, 1986), 7.

173 Memorandum, Dale King to Superintendent, December 14, 1940, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 207 Reports (General) Tumacácori.

1944. His departure resulted is a period of flux, where custodians came and left in short succession. Caywood was first replaced briefly by Harry Reed who initially served the monument from June to August 1944 before leaving for several months. Ted Sowers replaced Reed from August 1944 to January 1945. Harry Reed returned as custodian in January 1945 and remained in the post until October 1945. Earl Jackson replaced Reed and brought continuity. He remained at Tumacácori until August 1953.

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 23. SALLIE P. BREWER, 1947

The monument gained its first new ranger since 1942 when Sallie P. Brewer arrived at Tumacácori National Monument in June 1944. Brewer (formerly Pierce), the first paid female ranger in the Southwestern National Monuments Office, was over 10 years into her NPS career when she arrived at Tumacácori. She began her career as an archeological technician for Region 3 of the National Park Service sometime before 1934 when she and her new husband, Jim Brewer, were briefly assigned to Montezuma Castle National Monument to work on structural restoration projects funded by the New Deal. In a matter of months, Frank Pinkley assigned Jim Brewer to the Flagstaff area parks (Wupatki, Sunset Crater Volcano, and Walnut Canyon National Monuments) where he served as temporary ranger. Brewer was effectively the custodian of the units, since they had no official custodian positions approved. Sallie, like the wives of other custodians in the Southwestern National Monuments Office was unpaid, but considered by Pinkley, an honorary custodian without pay (HCWP). The Brewers remained at Wupatki until 1938 when they relocated to Navajo National Monument. This was Sallie Brewer's last unpaid post. She and Jim Brewer divorced sometime around 1943. Sallie was hired into a permanent paid position as a ranger at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument in February 1943. She remained at the monument until the summer of 1944, when she was transferred to Tumacácori. Sallie Brewer remained at Tumacácori until 1950.[174]

Sallie P. Brewer was confronted with crisis almost as soon as she arrived at the monument. A substantial flood inundated Tumacácori in August 1944. To make matters worse, the flood occurred as Harry Reed left the monument and Ted Sowers reported for duty. Stormwater roared through the park and left its mark on the museum. Reed, scheduled to leave August 8, the day of the midnight flood, stayed long enough to clear a passage through the standing mud in the museum. Ranger Brewer was the only other person on duty at the park, and she recorded the flood damage and cleanup efforts. Nancy Pinkley, daughter to Boss Pinkley, had been visiting the area with her family and joined Brewer and Sowers in recovery work. The debris mark on the outside of the museum doors stood at 13.5 inches. One to 2 inches of fine silt and several inches of standing water were found on the floors of the office, lobby, and some of the exhibit rooms. Luckily, none of the exhibits were damaged. The service road between the parking lot and living quarters experienced the most damage, leaving ruts and holes

174 David L. Browman, *Cultural Negotiations: The Role of Women in the Founding of Americanist Archeology* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press 2013) 197; Polly Welts Kaufamn, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice: A History* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2006) 93–94.

that required 94 wheelbarrows of dirt (from the parking lot) to refill. The heavy rains caused worse damage than the flood to the historic mission; the western lower pilaster on the church façade fell off. Staff retrieved the fallen pieces for future restoration. The mission roof over the north section of the nave also experienced extensive leaks, requiring the eventual replacement of that roof.[175] The flood graphically illustrated the difficulties monument staff faced during World War II. Staff shortages and tight budgets made the protection of park resources and infrastructure extremely difficult. Unanticipated events, such as the flood, were nearly overwhelming.

The end of the war did not initially bring relief–the later 1940s and early 1950s were marked by additional challenges for the National Park Service at Tumacácori. Indeed the difficulties were agency-wide. The United States underwent dramatic changes after World War II. Almost two decades of austerity gave way to a burst of affluence and consumption that shaped the rise of the modern consumer economy. Many Americans moved to affordable homes in new, relatively undifferentiated suburbs. Credit became more available. Automobiles were purchased in unprecedented numbers and Americans took to the road.[176]

Many people traveled to the units of the National Park Service, which became a beacon for post-war tourists. Visitation to Yellowstone National Park, for example, mushroomed over 50% in 1945 after the Nazi surrender. This was not an anomaly. Park visitation nationwide more than doubled between 1945 and 1947.[177] Visitation continually increased through the late 1940s and into the 1950s.

Tumacácori was not immune to these trends. Post-war visitation increased soon after the federal government lifted wartime restrictions on gasoline. Earl Jackson, who served as custodian from October 1945 to August 1953, reported in the fiscal year 1946 annual report that "travel increased phenomenally" with October and November 1945 setting new travel records. The annual visitation number for 1946 equaled more than 19,000. In contrast, only 7,000 people stopped at the park in 1940. Jackson expected more people once the state of Sonora in Mexico finished paving its highway from Nogales south. Such highway improvements would attract travelers along that stretch between Arizona and Mexico, where Tumacácori sat conspicuously. Jackson was correct in his estimation, with visitation steadily increasing from 1947 to 1950 to 30,000 people. Then, within a year, that number jumped to 42,000.[178]

Increased mobility in the region resulted in infrastructural development outside the monument. The State of Arizona had big plans for Highway 89 that ran beside the national monument and continued south into Mexico. The state, by 1950, had begun widening the original narrow pavement into a two-lane highway 40 feet in width. Eventually, the state expected travel would increase sufficiently to require improving this road to a four-lane divided highway with each side 40 feet in wide and a divider strip of varying width. The state, in conformance with federal highway

175 Memorandum, Charles Richey to Director, September 13, 1944; T. C. Sowers, Flood Damage Narrative Report, 2; Ted Sowers, Report on Flood and Flood Damage at Tumacácori, August 1944, 1–4, all in NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2420, Folder 801-02 Tumacácori Floods.

176 See Lizabeth Cohen, A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2004).

177 Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997) 173.

178 Memorandum, Earl Jackson to Director, June 30, 1946, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 207-01.4 Annual Supt Tumacácori; Memorandum, Earl Jackson to Director, July 1, 1947, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 207-01.4 Annual Supt Tumacácori; Mission 66 Prospectus for Tumacácori, undated [ca. 1955], 3, NARA Denver, RG 79, Subseries Conservation and Preservation 1956–58, Box 26, Folder A9815 Mission 66 Tumacácori A 1956–58.

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 24. TUMACÁCORI, 1947

standards, required up to a 200-foot right-of-way along such highways, with this roadway going between Nogales and Tucson. Tumacácori stood next to existing Route 89. A small commercial area of adobe buildings consisting of a gas station, grocery store, general store, and tavern, occupied the other side of the roadway. The state originally considered building the new highway west of the commercial area and thus away from the monument. The Federal Bureau of Public Roads, however, rejected this proposal due to sharp curvatures in two segments of the proposed western roadway. State engineers wanted to take advantage of the existing roadway and build the enhanced highway on top of the original one. Such a route also ensured that the road traveled relatively flat terrain, instead of through the steep slopes of the bordering hills beyond.[179]

This situation left Tumacácori vulnerable. The state requested that the National Park Service relinquish 1.2 acres of the 10-acre national monument to meet the 200-foot right-of-way requirement. This scenario would move the right-of-way within 12 feet of the front doors of the museum. The existing walls and gates along the boundaries of the unit, plus the comfort station, would have to be removed because the right-of-way needed to be cleared. The state, in return, would construct new walls, walkways, and a parking area to accommodate the right-of-way. A 5-

179 Memorandum, Charles Carter to Regional Landscape Architect, December 28, 1950, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1891, Folder L3027 Tumacácori; Memorandum, Harvey Cornell to Regional Director, March 28, 1951, 2-4, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1080, Folder D30 Tumacácori.

foot island would serve as the only barrier between the newly placed parking area and the eventual four-lane divided highway.[180]

The National Park Service rejected the state's plans. Assistant Regional Director Charles Richey wrote as a note to the agency report on the highway relocation issue that such a scenario would "ruin the setting of the area."[181] Regional Director M. R. Tillotson echoed this view in his letter to the state highway department, stating that such a right-of-way encroachment would be "so damaging to the various features of the monument that we could not properly concur." The National Park Service requested consideration of the highway placement west of the commercial center, arguing that a heavy cut could be made through an extensive ridge to reduce the problem curvature. The expense of such a cut would at least be partially offset, Tillotson argued, by the elimination of rebuilding the monument's parking area, walls, and comfort station.[182]

An impasse resulted until the National Park Service and the state highway department met in March 1951. A representative from the Bureau of Public Roads conducted the meeting. The resulting agreement was reviewed on-site at Tumacácori by three state highway engineers, the Bureau of Public Roads, and the National Park Service. The agreement put the divided highway completely outside the monument's boundaries. A two-lane highway would be built immediately down the middle of the path set aside for the eventual divided highway. The agreement moved the highway slightly westward from the monument but still between the park and the commercial area. A 175-foot right-of-way would end close to the walls of the commercial area. A narrow triangular strip of monument land, protected by the west boundary wall, would come within the proposed right-of-way, requiring an easement to the state. The National Park Service believed in March and determined after archeological test-trenching in May of the same year that this land did not contain sufficient historical or archeological integrity to warrant refusal of the right-of-way easement.[183]

The national monument gained a great deal with this new agreement. The state would build a new, expanded parking area with two entrances to the eventual divided highway. Such a parking area, accommodating cars and buses, would sit inside the right-of-way but would be allowable because it did not include obstructions such as walls and buildings. The state promised to keep the parking lot in place even with the construction of the divided highway. The expanded parking lot would allow the park to ease its already crowded parking situation and thus facilitate space for the increased numbers of vehicles already stopping at Tumacácori. The state also planned to build a long dike west of the highway to divert stormwater and to relocate the existing culvert at the park to carry local drainage. The combination of these two actions would prevent further flooding in the park. Finally, a triangular piece of private property between the monument and the highway would fall within the right-of-way, removing the threat of commercial development that had vexed the National Park Service.[184]

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180 Memorandum, M. R. Tillotson to Director, January 5, 1951, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1891, Folder L3027 Tumacácori; M. R. Tillotson to W. C. Lefebvre, January 17, 1951, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1891, Folder L3027 Tumacácori.

181 Richey, handwritten note, undated, attached to Memorandum. M. R. Tillotson to Director, January 5, 1951, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1891, Folder L3027 Tumacácori.

182 Tillotson to Lefebvre, January 17, 1951, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1891, Folder L3027 Tumacácori.

183 Memorandum, Harvey Cornell to Assistant Regional Director, March 28, 1951, 1-3, attached to Memorandum, Tillotson to Director, March 30, 1951, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1080, Folder D30 Tumacácori; Memorandum, Earl Jackson to General Superintendent, Southwestern National Monuments, May 30, 1951, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1427, Folder H2215 7/1/49–12/31/53 Tumacácori.

184 Memorandum, Harvey Cornell to Assistant Regional Director, March 28, 1951, 2–4, attached to Memorandum, Tillotson to Director, March 30, 1951, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1080, Folder D30 TUMA; Tumacácori Annual Report, Fiscal

Superintendent Earl Jackson reported in May 1952 that the new road arrangement had the disadvantage of bringing the "noisy highway closer to the mission church." But, the original parking lot had "been taxed on several occasions in the last three years" and the new lot eased this situation. State reconstruction work at the park, completed in late 1952, more than doubled the size of the parking area by using the land of the original parking lot plus the triangular piece of land the National Park Service agreed to give to the state in an easement. The state also provided space for a planting island as a physical divider between the parking lot and the highway.[185]

These physical changes to the park due to the highway work aided access. Travelers stopped with increasing frequency, eventually overwhelming the existing interpretive program. Prior to World War II, park staff had largely taken visitors through the mission on a flexible schedule, responding to the situation at hand. By 1946, the park established a daily schedule for guided tours, every 45 minutes in the morning and every 50 minutes in the afternoon. This schedule, however, relied on the availability of staff throughout the day. In reality, with lunch breaks, vacation, and sick leave, and other demanding duties, the two-person full-time staff could not always meet and guide visitors. Superintendent Jackson bluntly stated in his fiscal year 1947 annual report that during periods of heavy visitation, "many persons come to Tumacácori and never see a National Park Service employee." They tour the museum and leave without seeing the historic mission itself.[186]

By 1953, with visitation increasing "with no ceiling in sight," Jackson advocated for a "radical change" in the park's interpretive program. He acknowledged that these travelers wanted "more freedom of access to the church," instead of relying on the guided tour. The tour, however, served the dual purpose of both educating visitors about the mission and protecting the historic remains from any potential vandalism. Jackson sought a new course. He recommended eliminating the existing guide fee and instead instituting an admission fee for entry to the museum and mission regulated by a turnstile in the lobby. SWNM General Superintendent John M. Davis determined that the entry fee should be 25 cents so that people could enter the park via a coin-operated turnstile. This, he reasoned, would free up the already limited staff at Tumacácori, which consisted of a custodian (superintendent), a permanent ranger, and a seasonal ranger. Davis recommended that the fee station be left unattended because he agreed with Jackson that an employee should be stationed at the mission or on the grounds whenever people were present. Indeed, Davis wrote that "we must have a ranger at all times to provide protection to the historic structure." The general superintendent also agreed with Jackson's recommendation that regular guided tours should end. Instead, visitors would have access to the mission and grounds as they wished during operating hours. These self-guiding tours would rely on trailside exhibits (now called waysides) and trail leaflets for information. Special groups might still ask for and receive guided tours at the discretion of the superintendent. However, the overarching concept driving the changes in interpretation was an effort to make visitation more self-directed. To this end, Jackson also recommended installation of a device in the Father Kino Room for presenting slides and audio describing the history of the site. Davis thought this was a good idea and sent Jackson's request to Washington DC. Like the

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Year 1949, Boundary problems partially solved section, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 112, Folder A2623 Tumacácori A.

185 Tumacácori Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1952, Highway Realignment alters monument boundary section, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 112, Folder A2623 Tumacácori A; Tumacácori Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1953, Highway improvements alter parking area and boundary section, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 112, Folder A2623 Tumacácori.

186 Tumacácori A Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1946, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 207-01.4 Annual Supt Tumacácori. Memorandum, John Davis to Regional Director, May 28, 1953, 2, attached to memorandum, M. R. Tillotson to Director, June 4, 1953, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1502, Folder K1815 Tumacácori; Tumacácori Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1947, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 207-01.4 Annual Supt Tumacácori.

illuminated map installed in the museum in the late 1930s, the automatic slide program was a new interpretive technology within the National Park Service. Historian Barry Mackintosh writes that visitor-activated audiovisual devices were not in wide use until the mid-1950s. Like the program envisioned for Tumacácori, the devices were designed to orient people to the units and their history. The slide-based audiovisual program was being used on an experimental basis at Bandelier National Monument in New Mexico and NPS officials suggested that the machine at Bandelier be transferred to Tumacácori on a temporary basis.[187]

Regional Director M. R. Tillotson, Charlie Steen, who was acting regional archeologist, and architect Hugh Miller provided their perspective on the planned changes to the interpretive program a few months later. They agreed that the guided tours should be replaced with a self-guiding program in which visitors used pamphlets or wayside exhibits to explore the mission complex and tentatively accepted the notion that the lobby would be left unattended at times to ensure protection of the historic resources. The men suggested that the new fee system only be implemented on an experimental basis and that the turnstile was not needed. Fees could be collected "without any special equipment or facilities." They were less enthusiastic about the proposed slide program, especially since Jackson proposed that the audiovisual equipment be placed in the Kino room a "corridor through which all visitors pass on their way to the view room or the church." Finally, they urged the park staff to begin developing the self-guiding tour leaflet and signage. Jackson Price, the acting assistant director of the National Park Service suggested that the leaflets could be developed with assistance from the Southwestern Monuments Association once the effectiveness of the new interpretive policy was established.[188]

Components of the new interpretive program were initiated in May 1953. The guided tours were retained and admission replaced the guide fee. The fee was set at 30 cents for adults. Children could enter the site for free. Visitors paid the fee at a registration desk in the museum lobby, where a ranger gave them a brief orientation to the mission and museum. Sallie P. Brewer, now remarried using the name Sallie P. Van Valkenburgh, was working at the park in the summer of 1953 and contributed her perspective on the interpretive changes in June 1953. She noted that the vast majority of people readily paid the admission fee, but that there could be some confusion during the busy season. She also reported that the registration desk was unattended at least two hours every day and that there was no way to know who paid or did not pay during those periods. She pointed out that ultimately the monument did not have enough employees to ensure that the mission complex and registration area were always staffed. In these situations Van Valkenburgh bluntly stated that the "National Park Service has no choice: we are in existence to protect and interpret historic and scientific features of national importance," not to "protect our development, or to collect fees." She argued that the monument staff was too small to both protect and interpret the mission with roving patrols and provide reception and orientation in the museum. This

187 Memorandum, John M. Davis, General Superintendent SWNM to Regional Director, February 16, 1953, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence and Program Planning Records, 1953–61, Box 22, Folder K1817 Prior to May 1953 Tumacácori; Memorandum, Earl Jackson to General Superintendent, SWNM, February 13, 1953, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence and Program Planning Records, 1953–61, Box 22, Folder K1817 Prior to May 1953; Mackintosh, *Interpretation, 3*9, 49*;* Memorandum, Acting Assistant Director, NPS, to Regional Director, Region Three, July 31, 1953, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence and Program Planning Records, 1953–61, Box 22, Folder K1817 TUMA-1.

188 Memorandum, M. R. Tillotson, Regional Director, Region 3, to General Superintendent SWNM, April 14, 1953, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence and Program Planning Records, 1953–61, Box 22, Folder K1817 Prior to May 1953; Memorandum, Acting Assistant Director to Regional Director, July 31, 1953, The Southwest Monuments Association was a nonprofit cooperating organization created by Frank Pinkley in 1938 to support the operations of the SWNM. Similar to the natural history associations that served parks like Yosemite and Yellowstone, the Southwest Monuments Association was initially envisioned as a publisher of materials supporting the interpretive efforts of the Southwest Monuments. The organization's capabilities eventually expanded to include a wide range of educational support capabilities, but its primary role is still as a publisher of NPS-related materials. The Southwest Monuments Association also grew over the years. Now known as the Western National Parks Association, the organization serves 67 national park system units throughout the western United States.

problem was especially acute during the months without a seasonal employee present. Van Valkenburgh recommended that Tumacácori's permanent staff be increased from two to at least, three. The problem of inadequate numbers of personnel remained a major area of concern well into the 1960s. [189]

The guided tours were no longer offered once the self-guiding tour booklets were printed by the Southwest Monuments Association in late 1953. Under ideal circumstances, a ranger sat at the information desk in the museum lobby and sold admission tickets while providing an explanation of the grounds and answering questions about the self-guiding tours. The park did not install a turnstile. For six months of the year, a roving ranger attended the mission area to answer questions about the structures and deter vandalism. Seasonal help made this point of contact possible. The addition of an administrative assistant in 1957 reduced clerical duties for the interpretive staff and allowed more time for contacts with the public. On one-ranger days, that ranger stayed in the lobby and made occasional tours through the grounds. Visitors could wait in the lobby on comfortable 18th century Spanish-style period chairs, newly added in 1956, or continue through the museum to the patio garden and out to the mission. Seven waysides, along with a booklet and two exhibits on construction material, in 1955 augmented the tour.[190]

One visitor enthusiastically reported in April 1956 on the park's interpretation. J. F. Carithers had previously visited Tumacácori several years earlier. He noted that on his recent trip, he recognized "many new improvements" that made the park "one of the finest monuments in Arizona." He appreciated the simplicity and ease of understanding the exhibits, plus he called the dioramas "the finest I have ever seen and showed evidence of many painstaking hours of research and preparation." He considered the patio garden "an experience in itself," and the outside features, with their labels and interpretive displays "well-kept and simple." Carithers concluded that his Tumacácori visit "awakened me anew to the importance of these areas on the American scene," necessary in "our modern breakneck tempo of living." These national monuments, "more than all our history books," keep alive these past historical events that should be "held high" by all Americans. This letter represents a single viewpoint, but clearly the park's interpretation left a lasting impression, even with the self-guiding tour.[191] The self-guiding tours were still the most common manner in which casual visitors learned about the mission complex into the 1990s. Organized groups, such as school children, continued to receive guided tours; just as they had since the 1930s.

The self-guiding tours were popular and successful. The proposed audiovisual orientation program was more controversial. Sallie Van Valkenburgh provided her input on the proposed audiovisual orientation program in 1953. She was convinced that having a slide and audio program in the Kino room was a bad idea. "In fact," she wrote, "voice broadcasting would destroy the contemplative, quiet, relaxing atmosphere" in the museum and patio garden, considered a "chief charm" by many

189 Memorandum, Sallie Van Valkenburgh to General Superintendent, SWNM, June 23, 1953, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence and Planning Program Records 1953–1961, Box 22, Folder K1817 TUMA-1.

190 Memorandum, Earl Jackson to Director, 30 June 1946, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 207-01.4 Annual Supt Tumacácori; Memorandum, Earl Jackson to Director, July 1, 1947, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 207-01.4 Annual Supt Tumacácori. Mission 66 Prospectus for Tumacácori, undated [c. 1955], 6, NARA Denver, RG 79, Conservation and Preservation 1956-1958, Box 26, Folder A9815 Mission 66 Tumacácori 1955–1958. Tumacácori Annual Report, 1955 [report is incorrectly dated January 3, 1955], NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1508, Folder K1819 Tumacácori. Tumacácori Master Plan Development Plan, March 1958 section , 8-10, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries Master Plans. Memorandum, Ray Ringenbach to Director, December 26, 1956, 2, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–1958, Box 8, Folder K1819 1956–58 Tumacácori. Tumacácori Annual Report on Interpretation and Information Services, 1957, 1, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–1958, Box 8, Folder K1819 1956–58.

191 J. F. Carithers to Conrad Wirth, April 30, 1956, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 347, Folder A3415 Pt. 2 Tumacácori.

visitors.[192] Nonetheless, General Superintendent Davis pursued the acquisition of a slide projector that could be used on an experimental basis at Tumacácori. Discussions regarding the slide projector continued with some officials, such as Davis and Jackson, supporting the idea, and others like Van Valkenburgh and Steen, questioning its appropriateness. General Superintendent Davis disagreed. He noted that the selectroslide machine could be unobtrusively placed in a cabinet and that "with some minor modifications to the room traffic could be diverted across the back of the audience." Moreover he stressed that the experiments with the audiovisual orientation program at Bandelier proved that such programs were "extremely worthwhile," especially during the busy season when monument staff are spread exceedingly thin. Jackson hoped to have the equipment installed on a temporary basis by Christmas 1953. Ray Ringenbach, who replaced Earl Jackson as superintendent in October 1953, also maintained an interest in establishing a permanent audiovisual program.[193]

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 25. RAY H. RINGENBACH

The slow but steady steps toward improving interpretation at Tumacácori got a boost with the NPS Mission 66 program. Mission 66 was the result of pressures and trends that shaped Cold War America. The United States underwent dramatic changes after World War II. Almost two decades of austerity gave way to a burst of affluence and consumption that led to the rise of the modern mobile economy. Automobiles were purchased in unprecedented numbers and Americans took to the road. In the meantime, the parks had suffered over a decade of austere budgets and a significant maintenance backlog. Park funding did not keep pace with the increased pressures from visitors. Park and concession facilities, roads, and other infrastructure, already in need of maintenance, were unable to accommodate the dramatic expansion of post-war visitation. This led to widespread concern that the National Park Service had not met its obligations to the public or employees.[194]

The situation triggered a crisis. Bernard Devoto, a noted historian and journalist, published a damning exposé of the national parks in *Harper's Magazine* in October 1953. Entitled "Let's Close the National Parks," the article detailed the status of the parks. He presented a woeful image. Park roads, buildings, and other facilities were, he noted, in deplorable shape. Parks themselves, Devoto observed, were also understaffed and employees lived in decrepit housing. A survey of NPS park staff echoed Devoto's concerns over living conditions. Park housing was determined, by the employees themselves, to be inadequate and substandard. Devoto excoriated Congress for ignoring the imperiled parks and the underfunded National Park Service. Other similar articles with such titles as "National Parks: Tomorrow's Slums," and "The Shocking Truth About Our National Parks," appeared in other national magazines. The articles gave voice to widespread concern that the National Park Service had not met its obligations to the public or its employees.[195] Congress, however, was not initially forthcoming with additional funding.

192Memorandum, Sallie Van Valkenburgh to General Superintendent, June 23, 1953, Memorandum, Jackson to General Superintendent, SWNM, February 13, 1953.

193 Acting Assistant Director to Regional Director, July 31, 1953; Van Valkenburgh to General Superintendent, June 23, 1953; John M. Davis, General Superintendent, SWNM, to Regional Director, Region 3, NPS, September 14, 1953; NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence and Planning Program Records 1953–61, Box 22, Folder K1817 TUMA-1.

194 McClelland, Building the National Parks, 462; Ethan Carr, Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007) 6, 7, 462.

195 McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 462; Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, 182; Ethan Carr, *Mission 66*, 6–7.

The National Park Service leadership was not oblivious to these trends. In fact, the problems that observers reported in the 1950s were predicted a decade before. Director Newton Drury voiced concern over an anticipated increase in park use as early as 1944. He called for a three-year program of construction and management planning in anticipation of increased visitation. His plan emphasized resource protection over development. The director wanted to address the maintenance backlog, but he also wanted to manage visitation and development in a way that restricted impacts on vulnerable resources.[196]

Director Conrad Wirth had struggled in the early 1950s to obtain the congressional funding needed to improve the parks in the face of soaring visitation. Parks did not have the facilities, roads, educational resources, or personnel in place to meet the increasing demand. Wirth decided he could not rely on annual appropriations handed out in a piece-meal fashion to meet the long-term needs of the struggling parks. Wirth realized that the status of park funding was not going to change unless he did something bold. He saw that other agencies like the Bureau of Reclamation and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers were able to secure adequate funding because they were working on large multiyear projects that required regular appropriations to ensure their completion. NPS projects, by comparison, were small and could easily be cut from budgets. The National Park Service thus could not plan more than a year in advance. The National Park Service was obviously not building large dams, but Wirth was convinced that a large programmatic project was needed to convince Congress to adequately fund the National Park Service. He felt, moreover, that a project that encompassed all the states would encourage Congress to be more generous. Fortuitously, there was also concern that demobilization after the Korean War would undermine the U.S. economy by reducing federal spending. Wirth knew that President Eisenhower was looking for public works projects that could stimulate the economy but that did not resemble the social welfare programs of the New Deal.[197] It was in this environment that the director developed a bold plan to secure presidential and congressional support for dramatically increased park funding.

In 1956, Wirth proposed a 10-year parks improvement program, which he named Mission 66, to emphasize the urgency of the situation and mark the National Park Service 50th anniversary in 1966, the end of the program. Wirth won the president's support before Wirth ever publicly announced the program. Eventually, Congress responded favorably, partly, because Wirth proposed projects in many members' districts.[198]

Much of Mission 66 program focused on appropriate development to meet visitor needs and ensure preservation of the resources. Examples include new or improved roads and trails that dispersed visitor use and protected fragile areas. The visitor center concept came to fruition under Mission 66, in which park designers packaged museums, visitor information services, and comfort facilities into one usually modern architectural building. Mission 66 spent just over $1 billion to serve 70 new park areas plus those already established, obtain 2.1 million acres of land, and employ more than 13,000 park personnel. Total visits to the national parks went from 61.5 million in 1956 to 124.1 million in 1966. The National Park Service designed 111 new visitor centers, improved 1,500 miles of roads, and built almost 1,200 miles of new roads to accommodate these visitors.[199]

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196 McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 461; Sellars, *Preserving Nature*, 174.

198 Robert Frankenberger and James Garrison, "From Rustic Romanticism to Modernism, and Beyond: Architectural Resources in the National Parks," *Forum Journal* (Summer 2002), 15; Carr, *Mission 66*, 3, 68; McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 463.

199 Carr, *Mission 66,* 63–68, 155, 287, 335.

Park planning played a significant role under Mission 66. Each national park site developed a prospectus to identify problems in the unit and actions that needed to be taken to address protection and interpretation needs. Superintendent Ringenbach described the challenges facing Tumacácori National Monument in a Mission 66 prospectus, initially developed in 1955. The Tumacácori prospectus was a living document and was incorporated into the monument's Master Plan in 1957.

Infrastructure was not an area Ringenbach considered particularly important because development at the unit was "reasonably advanced," for the most part. Various renovation and rehabilitation projects were implemented in park housing areas in the early 1950s. The Boundey House was renovated in 1953. Among other projects, crews replastered the building and installed a circuit breaker and furnace. The warehouse, which had been damaged by a storm in July 1954, was razed and reconstructed in 1955. A bedroom and porch were also added to the Ranger Residence. Ringenbach did suggest in the Mission 66 prospectus that the National Park Service construct two more employee residences and update the monument's utilities and landscaping. SWNM General Superintendent John W. Davis did not think two additional residences were needed. He thought one more house was sufficient and that two was overkill, especially since employees were being urged to find housing in nearby communities. The request for two houses, however, stayed in the monument's Mission 66 prospectus until 1957 when Davis's suggestion for the addition of only one residence became the preferred level of development.[200] Ultimately, one new employee residence was built during the Mission 66 period. Improved trails with enhanced wayside exhibits were also constructed between the visitor center and mission.

One of the most visible infrastructural developments of the Mission 66 era were the new visitor centers constructed at NPS park units. Tumacácori already had a museum-administration building that could now be called a visitor center, but Ringenbach argued that it was too small to support administrative functions and visitor needs. He suggested that Mission 66 funding could be used to update the museum. Ringenbach wanted to add a lecture room to the museum that could also be used for the installation of a permanent audio-visual orientation program. There was general agreement that the expansion was important. The museum expansion began in late 1958 and by early 1960, the park had a new area for lectures and proposed audiovisual program, plus dedicated administrative space replacing a cramped area just behind the information desk.[201]

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200 Memorandum, Kenneth M. Saunders, Architect, to General Superintendent SWNM, July 9, 1953, NARA Denver, RG 79,General Correspondence and Planning Program Records 1953–61, Box 9, Folder D3415a TUMA-1; Memorandum, John M. Davis, General Superintendent to Regional Director, November 24, 1954, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence and Planning Program Records 1953–61, Box 9, Folder D3415a TUMA-1; Memorandum, Luis A. Gastellum, Assistant General Superintendent, SWNM, to Chief Clerk, July 30, 1954, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence and Planning Program Records 1953–61, Box 9, Folder D3415a TUMA; [No Author], "Short History of Tumacácori," 1956, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–58, Box 2, Folder H14 May 1953–58 Tumacácori; Mission 66 Prospectus; Memorandum, John Davis to Chairman, Mission 66, August 1, 1955, NARA Denver, RG 79, Conservation and Preservation 1956–58, Box 26, Folder A9815 Mission 66 Tumacácori 1955–58; Superintendent Tuamcácori to Regional Director, August 19, 1957, NARA-Denver, Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–58, Box 2, Folder H14 May 1953–58 Tumacácori; Master Plan Development Outline, Tumacácori National Monument, Arizona, 1957, WACC, TUMA, Master Plans, No Folder; Acting Director to All Field Offices, March 10, 1958, WACC, TUMA, Master Plans, No Folder.

201 Mission 66 Prospectus, Tumacácori, 3-5, attached to Memorandum, David Canfield to Director, October 2, 1957, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 735, Folder A98 Prospectus Tumacácori. Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, January 3, 1959, 4, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 305, Folder A2823 Tumacácori from July 1, 1957. Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, January 15, 1960, 2, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence and Planning Program Records 1953–61, Box 89, Folder K1819 Tumacácori 1969–61. Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, January 3, 1961, 2, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence and Planning Program Records 1953–61, Box 89, Folder K1819 Tumacácori 1969–61. Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, February 2, 1960, 4, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 1 of 10. Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, March 3, 1960, 2, 4, WACC, RG Tumacácori A, Subseries 4664, Folder 1 of 10.

The long-standing staffing shortages were a prominent area of concern in the Mission 66 planning. Ringenbach recommended in 1955 that monument staff expand to include a ranger-historian and permanent "laborer." He also suggested that staff expand by one permanent employee for every annual increase in visitation of 15,000. General Superintendent Davis supported Ringenbach's staffing suggestions, but he considered them too conservative. Davis thought a park historian should be hired immediately and that several other employees be added by 1966. The proposed staffing changes would bring monument from an allowable staff of three rangers (two permanent and one seasonal) and one maintenance man, to a staff of nine rangers (seven permanent and two seasonal) and two maintenance men. These included a permanent ranger, clerk-cashier, night watchman, and two more seasonal rangers. NPS Director Wirth slightly modified Davis's recommendations. He felt that a staff of seven rangers (five permanent and two seasonal) was a more realistic goal for 1966. The park staff actually shrunk during the Mission 66 planning process. The permanent staff consisted of only Ringenbach and an administrative assistant by 1957. Ringenbach continued to press for the addition of historians to the Tumacácori's staff. He considered historian positions extremely important at Tumacácori. Even though the monument was short-staffed in all areas, the superintendent proposed the addition of two permanent and one seasonal historian to the ranger staff. He argued that the historian positions were important to ensure that research is "constant to keep facts currently before the public."[202] The staffing recommendations were never fully met during the Mission 66 era, but the park historian position became a pivotal component of park administration and interpretation.

Walter Hillman entered service at the park in July 1958 as the park's first historian. The historian position replaced the supervisory ranger position. While historians, most notably, R. H. Mattison who went on to serve at other national historical parks, had served at Tumacácori previously–their positions were not specified as historian. The newly defined historian position was more specialized than in the past. The historian would serve not just as an interpreter but also as a researcher and writer to provide the park with critical historical documentation. Previous historical research by historians of the Southwest had centered on explaining the explorations by Europeans within the larger context of world history. These efforts had placed Tumacácori within this larger framework, but details about life at the mission itself remained elusive. The park did not even know the exact date of abandonment of the mission, nor did it know the exact number of buildings within the larger mission complex during the Jesuit and Franciscan periods. Equally, increased interest in treasure hunting at the site required a definitive refutation of the legend through historical and archeological research. In fact, the park saw the need for both historical and archeological work, both tied to the goal of giving visitors an accurate window into Tumacácori's past.[203]

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202 Director, National Park Service to Regional Director, Region 3, June 12, 1957, NARA-Denver, Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–58, Box 26, Folder A9815 Mission 66 TUMA 1955-1958; Director, National Park Service to General Superintendent SWNM, March 15, 1956, NARA-Denver, Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–58, Box 26, Folder A9815 Mission 66 TUMA 1955–58; Mission 66 Prospectus; John Davis to Chairman, Mission 66, August 1, 1955; Master Plan Development Outline, Tumacácori National Monument Arizona, 1957.

203 Hellman stayed at the park until March 1961. See Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, March 5, 1961, 3, WACC, RG Tumacácori A, Subseries 4664, Folder 2 of 10; Mission 66 Prospectus, Tumacácori, 3-5, attached to Memorandum, David Canfield to Director, October 2, 1957, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 735, Folder A98 Prospectus Tumacácori; Memorandum, Franklin Smith to Director, July 31, 1958, 2, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 305, Folder A2823 Tumacácori from July 1, 1957; Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, May 27, 1959, 4, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 78, Folder A26 Tumacácori; Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, January 7, 1959, 2, #422; Tumacácori research proposal attached to Memorandum, Erik Reed to Regional Director, October 3, 1958, attached to Memorandum, Hugh Miller to Director, October 6, 1958, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1477, Folder H30 1/1/54- Tumacácori; Specific examples of treasure hunter appearances are in Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, December 4, 1958, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 305, Folder A2823 from July 1, 1957; Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, January 3, 1959, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 305, Folder A2823 from July 1, 1957; Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, May 2, 1960, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 1 of 10; Superintendent Becker described a "real wild eyed treasure hunter" in

Research flowered under historian John L. Kessell who joined the staff in late 1962. He started by working with secondary sources by such historians as Herbert Eugene Bolton and Theodore E. Treutlein and translated primary sources. Kessell then made several trips, beginning in late 1963, to the University of Arizona to transcribe documents related to the mission. Superintendent Irving McNeil Jr. emphasized the "crying need" for research to answer such questions as when and where the original village of Tumacácori was moved to its present site and when the present church was built. Kessell then made two three-month summer trips in 1964 and 1965, paying his own travel and per diem expenses, to the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. He studied and collected microfilm copies of material on Tumacácori, which was only recently available. He spent the other nine months at the park indexing and translating the documents for use in the interpretive program. Before he left the National Park Service in August 1966, he developed a historical research management plan to summarize his research. He also wrote a history of the Jesuit presence at Tumacácori, a report on the Kino years at Guevavi and Tumacácori, and the beginnings of a report on the Franciscans at the site. Kessell would go on to get his PhD and serve in the department of history at the University of New Mexico, writing about the Spanish Colonial Southwest and translating and co-editing the journals of don Diego de Vargas. Historian Ricardo Torres-Reyes joined the staff in April 1967, bringing a strong commitment to add Spanish to the interpretive programs and working to complete the Franciscan report.[204]

Father Norman Whalen, the Tucson Diocesan historian during this time period, began augmenting the historical research effort at Tumacácori in 1960. Whalen, who did not work for the National Park Service, provided the park with photographs from the original Tumacácori and Guevavi registers, for the first time made available for review by the Tucson diocese. He went to Hermosillo, Sonora, to collect microfilm copies from the Episcopal Archives there. Father Whalen also devoted his time to render protection to several of the missions of the Pimería Alta, including Guevavi and Calabazas. Whalen, like Kessell, went back to school to obtain his PhD in anthropology/archeology from the University of Arizona. Tumacácori clearly benefited from the dedication and budding expertise of at least two scholars-in-training–Father Whalen and John L. Kessell.[205]

A key aspect of the Mission 66 program at Tumacácori involved enhanced interpretation. Ringenbach suggested in 1955 that Mission 66 funding could be used to update the museum and expand the museum's exhibits. He was concerned that the New Deal era exhibits were dated, inaccurate, and incomplete. National Park Service officials, including Director Wirth agreed.[206] The revision of the museum exhibits, which began in the mid-1960s, incorporated information

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his report for July 1961. See Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, August 4, 1967, 1, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 2 of 10. A 1958 fall television series, *Treasure*, enticed people with stories about Tumacácori's supposed riches.

204 Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, January 19, 1963, 3, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 4 of 10; Outline of Some Material for Possible Use in Tumacácori Exhibit Revisions, attached to Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Regional Director, Southwest Region, June 22, 1963, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries Museum. Quote by McNeil in Incomplete document, Irving McNeil Jr., 1963, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 5 of 10; Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, January 7, 1966, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 7 of 10; John Kessell, Tumacácori Historical Research Management Plan, 9-11, attached to Memorandum, Robert Utley to Certain Regional Directors and Superintendents, September 9, 1966, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1427, Folder H2215 1/1/66- Tumacácori; Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, May 3, 1967, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 8. Incomplete document, April 1969, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 10.

205 Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, September 2, 1960, 3, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 1 of 10; Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, April 3, 1960, 3–4, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 1 of 10; Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, September 5, 1962, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 3 of 10; Father Norman Whalen, Find Grave Memorial, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=24979766, accessed November 9, 2013.

206 Mission 66 Prospectus.

gathered from the research of park historians and archeological excavations, particularly Louis Caywood's 1964 excavation of the convento.

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 26. ORIGINAL MASS DIORAMA

The exhibit revisions were done by artist Clarence "Cal" Peters, who became another important person to contribute to the knowledge-base and interpretation at Tumacácori. Peters had trained at the Art Institute of Chicago and worked under the New Deal's Works Progress Administration to paint portraits, murals, and dioramas for such sites as the Stout Institute in Wisconsin (now a state university) and Truax Field, an Air National Guard base in Madison, Wisconsin. He went West after the war to complete paintings and dioramas on various aspects of postal history in Arizona for the Western Postal History Museum. This work more than likely brought him to the attention of the National Park Service, and in 1964 Peters began addressing various visual interpretive projects. He started by doing a painting for the park museum of the explorer Captain Juan Bautista de Anza II departing Tubac, Arizona, on his second expedition to the Pacific Coast, a trip that culminated with the founding of San Francisco. Peters also rehabilitated the scale model of Tumacácori which sat in the view room.[207]

Peters brought to life the results of the park's historical and archeological research, helping visitors to visualize the past. He completed a series of paintings in 1966 that included interior views of the sanctuary, nave, and choir loft, as the National Park Service believed they looked. These images were displayed in waysides along the self-guiding tour.[208] Superintendent Irving McNeil Jr. wrote that the nave and choir loft paintings were a "wonderful addition" and "add so much to the visitors [*sic*] enjoyment" of the mission.[209]

207 Biographical Note, Cal Peters Collection 1963–2010, Postal History Foundation, Peggy J. Slusser Memorial Philatelic Library, http://www.azarchivesonline.org/xtf/view?docId=ead/phm/PHF_MS_COLL_2010.17.xml&doc.view =print;chunk.id=0, accessed November 11, 2013. Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, March 3, 1964, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 5 of 10; Memorandum, Frank Montgomery Jr. to Director, June 2, 1962, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 5 of 10; Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, August 1, 1964, 2-3, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 5 of 10; Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, October 6, 1964, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 5 of 10; Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, January 11, 1965, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori A, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10;

208 Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, January 5, 1965, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10; Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, February 1, 1965, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10; Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, April 6, 1965, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10; Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, May 4, 1965, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10; Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, January 7, 1966, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 7 of 10; Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, April 2, 1966, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 7 of 10.

209 Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, April 6, 1965, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10.

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 27. UPDATED MASS DIORAMA

Peters, in 1965, also revised the Mass Diorama in the museum. This diorama had long attracted visitor attention and praise, especially after the park replaced a worn-out phonograph recording with a new one of Gregorian chants. Kessell's research, however, at the Bancroft Library, along with additional information on the interior decorations (reported by Steen and Gettens, to be discussed later in this chapter) had demonstrated the diorama's inaccuracies. Peters toned down the overly ornate sections of the diorama. He also placed 11 statues of saints, based on inventories of Tumacácori's furnishings, at stations throughout the diorama. The research had determined which saints were represented, and Peters consulted the statues at San Xavier and photos of contemporary statues in designing the ones for the diorama. He also checked with the Academy of American Franciscan History to ensure ecclesiastical accuracy. Peters added a wooden confessional and various silver vessels on shelves next to the altar as the furnishings inventories had indicated.[210]

The Mission 66 era resulted in an organizational change that affected all southwestern monuments. The Southwestern National Monuments group, which had served as a relatively self-contained management center for the monuments, was disbanded in 1957. The archeological and ruins stabilization functions remained with the archeological conservation center, now the Western Archeological Conservation Center (WACC). Other functions were spread among various NPS offices. The reorganization, however, had little direct effect on Tumacácori. Even though the

210 Memorandum, John Kessell to Files, Tumacácori, through Superintendent, Tumacácori, 13 May 1965, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries Museum, No Folder; Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, May 27, 1959, 3, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 78, Folder A26 Tumacácori.

Southwestern National Monuments group was gone, the park was still part of Region 3 based in Santa Fe (now the Southwest Region). Another office, the Southern Arizona Regional Office was established to serve Tumacácori and other nearby monuments in 1958. Like the Southwestern National Monuments, the Southern Arizona Regional Office was placed under the umbrella of Region 3.

To be sure, Mission 66 brought some perceptible changes to Tumacácori, but continuity was prevalent. This is reflected in the fact that the national monument remained an important component of regional public interaction and celebration in the 1950s and 1960s. Many of the public events blended local celebration with NPS commemorations. For example, Establishment Day events were held in recognition of the park's birthday on September 15. The events helped bolster the interpretive possibilities at the park, promoted visitation, reflected traditions of public celebration and interaction, and reinforced ties to the transnational community of Pimería Alta. A successful 48th Establishment Day celebration prompted the general superintendent for the southwestern monuments to note the expected "lasting value to our public relations program" from such effort.[211] The 50th anniversary in 1958 proved especially important to acknowledge. The regional office offered its assistance with planning, suggesting a special exhibit on religious art loaned from other institutions. Superintendent Ray Ringenbach, who did much of the 50th anniversary planning before taking an assignment at Fort Laramie National Monument (now a national historic site), contacted a variety of news media organizations, securing a four-page color spread with photographs by well-respected southwestern photographers Mr. and Mrs. Josef Muench, in the *Arizona Highways* magazine.[212] Ringenbach was actually the superintendent of Tumacácori twice from 1953 until 1958, and from 1969 until 1972.

The park celebrated its anniversary for two days because the actual establishment date fell on a Monday. Just over 1,000 people attended the festivities. Senator Barry Goldwater gave the principal speech for the September 14 ceremony, ending with a tribute to the National Park Service and the loyalty and devotion of its personnel. The Consul of Spain at Los Angeles sent greetings from Spain. The National Park Service Chief Architect Dick Sutton, who had worked on the design of the Tumacácori museum, represented Director Conrad Wirth. Others spoke for the National Park Service regional office and Department of the Interior. Father F. J. Harrington served as the Jesuit delegate while Father Luis Baldonado from San Xavier mission represented the Franciscans. Institutions sent representatives in support of the event, including those from the University of Arizona, the University of Sonora, the Papago Tribe, and the Pima Tribal Council. Family members of the people who first donated land and then those who sold the land for the national monument (following determination that the original property ownership was ruled invalid) were on hand.[213]

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211 Memorandum, Luis Gastellum to Superintendent, Tumacácori, September 19, 1956, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 680, Folder A8215 Tumacácori.

212 Memorandum, Hugh Miller to Superintendent, Tumacácori A, February 28, 1958, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 680, Folder A8215 Tumacácori; Memorandum, Ray Ringenbach to Regional Director, March 12, 1958, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 680, Folder A8215 Tumacácori; Memorandum, Ray Ringenbach to Director, May 1, 1958, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 305, Folder A2823 from July 1, 1957; Memorandum, Franklin Smith to Director, July 1, 1958, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 305, Folder A2823 from July 1, 1957; Josef Muench, originally from Germany, established himself as a photographer after *Arizona Highways* published his photograph of Rainbow Bridge National Monument in 1938. His collection is held at Northern Arizona University, which site provides biographical information. See http://library.nau.edu/speccoll/exhibits/muench/muench_bio.htm, accessed December 18, 2013.

213 Memorandum, Michael Becker to Regional Director, Region Three, October 6, 1958, 2–3, attached to Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, October 8, 1958, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 680, Folder Tumacácori. Program, 50th Anniversary of Tumacácori, September 14, 1958, attached to Memorandum, Harthon Bill to Director, October 14, 1958, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 680, Folder A8215 Tumacácori; Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, October 2, 1958, 3, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 305, Folder A2823 from July 1, 1957; Memorandum, Harthon Bill to Superintendent, Tumacácori, August 29, 1958, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 680, Folder A8215 Tumacácori.

Four temporary exhibits added to the interpretive experience for the 50th anniversary event. An arms and armor display loaned from the Pete Kitchen Museum in Santa Cruz County, Arizona, included weapons, such as a rapier, short sword, and arrow point, from the Spanish Colonial period. The park curator, Franklin Smith, designed two religious-themed exhibits, with one showing a retablo or wall plaque, a crucifix, and an alms box. The other held silver sacramental vessels loaned from the Arizona State Museum, which had been used by priests to bring the sacraments to Indians in the early period of Christianity in the Southwest. A secular-based exhibit, with a small copper pitcher, jewel case, and other small household items represented everyday life in the mission. A santo of Saint Francis of Assisi loaned from San Xavier had originally come from Tumacácori, taken during the mission's abandonment in 1848. The arms exhibit remained in place until 1962, when the park returned the loaned items and started fashioning a new exhibit from Spanish arms obtained by the park.[214]

The secular events were complemented by a renewed interest in facilitating religious celebrations. The National Park Service started hosting a succession of real-live masses in the historic mission beginning in the 1960s. On January 7, 1961, Father Whalen officiated a mass in the historic mission church that celebrated the 270th anniversary of Father Kino's first visit to Tumacácori. The National Park Service planned for the event for several months and as the park reported, all went well except the temperature, which stood at 35 degrees at 8:30 a.m. when the mass started. The park had expected about 35 people to attend, but 104 actually participated in the mass. Good publicity from newspapers and the radio helped explain the strong turnout. One visitor, considered by the park superintendent to be "a woman of influence in Tucson," wrote later that "I'm still awash with a warm glow" from attending the mass and marveled that "there were that many Kino buffs lurking in the bushes" who chose to attend. The nearby chapters of the Knights of Columbus sponsored another mass in the historic mission church in December 1965. More annual masses followed until 1971 when the park began hosting the annual fiestas.[215] Celebrations and commemoration, especially the annual fiestas (discussed in chapter 5), continue to play an important role in park administration and interpretation.

Mission 66 at its most fundamental level involved making the parks accessible to a growing public hungry for the national park experience. Tumacácori shared in this effort, even though the site did not need a new visitor center or new roads and trails, which Mission 66 typically funded at most other national park sites during this mid-century period. Tumacácori already had a well-designed museum and administration building (which would be called a visitor center), and its 10 acres hardly required any road improvements. But, Tumacácori did experience the crush of visitation that other parks faced in the post-World War II period. The newly expanded highway adjacent to the park literally brought people to its doors. The small staff of a superintendent and ranger, with the occasional seasonal and maintenance person, could not meet this new demand for

214 Memorandum, Michael Becker to Regional Director, Region Three, October 6, 1958; Michael Becker to Director, October 2, 1958, 3, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 305 Folder A2823 from July 1, 1957; Memorandum, Franklin Smith to Regional Chief, Division of Interpretation, 4 November 1958, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence and Planning Program Records 1953–61, Box 49, Folder D6215a Tumacácori 1956–58; Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, January 7, 1962, 4, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence and Planning Program Records 1953–61, Box 89, Folder K1819 Tumacácori 1969–61; Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, March 8, 1962, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 3 of 10; Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, May 9, 1962, 3, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 3 of 10.

215 Memorandum, Michael Becker to Director, February 5, 1961, 1–3, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 2 of 10. Quote on p. 3. This memo also has a photograph of people attending the mass. The photo suggests that many of the attendees were non-Hispanic whites. See also Tumacácori: Fiesta Prelude, 1999, 1, Tumacácori Library, Binder: La Fiesta de Tumacácori; Tumacácori: Fiesta Prelude, Tumacácori Library, Binder: La fiesta de Tumacácori . Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, January 7, 1966, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 7 of 10. Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, January 4, 1967, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 8. Memorandum, Ray Ringenbach to Files, December 1969, 1, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 10.

interpretation. Experimentation and sheer practical considerations forced the abandonment of the guided tours to self-guiding ones, which the public embraced. More programming soon followed, with masses and Establishment Day commemorations. The Mission 66 mentality of trying something new and modern to address challenges thus saw some application at Tumacácori.

ARCHEOLOGY AND RUINS STABILIZATION

The United States entry into World War II contributed to reduced budgets at Tumacácori. Moreover, many of the public works programs that benefited national park system units across the country were eliminated. These conditions affected the monument staff's ability to preserve the mission complex. The mission church roof was repaired and stabilized in 1941. Otherwise, preservation work was limited to "routine repairs and small stabilizations" that could be completed with funds from the monument's annual operating budget.[216]

The war-time austerity left the mission complex in peril. Archeologist Charlie Steen, likely frustrated by World War II austerity, warned in 1946 that if work was not done "immediately, we shall lose a great deal of the mission ruins" with the next heavy rain. Steen estimated that the needed work would cost more than $15,000 (calculated for 2013 dollars). If rehabilitation funds were unavailable, he recommended tapping the National Park Service Reserve Fund, further emphasizing his urgent call for action.[217]

Ruins stabilization at Tumacácori reached a critical stage by the immediate post-World War II period. The National Park Service discovered that the massive pine beams for the ceiling of the church nave had become so rotted and termite-infested that safety concerns necessitated closing that part of the mission. It took a year before the park replaced the roof and timber beams and re-opened the entire church. In the meantime, SWNM naturalist Dale King and a local work crew completed some stabilization efforts. King reconstructed the façade's lower columns using an 1849 sketch by H. M. T. Powell, a teacher, artist, and forty-niner who passed through on his way to San Diego. In 1947, a year after the stabilization work, the chief of the museum branch wrote to the chief historian warning of the "quite serious" situation at Tumacácori. Funds beyond the meager ones available to the regional office were needed before the "rapid deterioration in the old church advances to the point where extensive restoration" would be required instead of stabilization.[218] Clearly the concerns expressed by Charlie Steen in his 1946 inspection still needed to be addressed.

216 "Short History of Tumacácori," 1956.

217 Charlie Steen to Associate Regional Director, March 5, 1946, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 207-01.4 Annual Supt Tumacácori.

218 Quote from Memorandum, Chief, Museum Branch to Chief Historian, November 20, 1947, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2419, Folder 740-03 Tumacácori Ruins. See also Memorandum, Earl Jackson to Director, June 30, 1946, 1, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 207-01.4 Annual Supt Tumacácori. Memorandum, Jackson to Director, July 1, 1947, NARA Archives II, RG 79, CCF, Entry P-10, Box 2418, Folder 207-01.4 Annual Supt Tumacácori. Moss, "Of Adobe, Lime, and Cement," 33, 35.

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 28. CHARLIE STEEN, 1937

Steen and fellow NPS employee Al Lancaster returned to Tumacácori National Monument in 1947 to address the plaster and adobe deterioration. Lancaster began his NPS career in 1934 stabilizing ruins at Mesa Verde. By 1947, Lancaster was a well-known expert in ruins stabilization. The men focused their efforts on stabilizing the church's lower walls and filling cracks and voids. Superintendent Earl Jackson also contributed to the stabilization work in 1947. He plastered the upper walls of the church that Pinkley had constructed decades earlier. Jackson also replastered some of the original adobe surfaces.[219] These stabilization efforts were essentially reactionary as NPS officials and experts attempted to stave off the deterioration of the mission. In other words, historic preservation activities were often dictated by emergency.

Even with the considerable stabilization challenges presented by the monument, mission privation in the post-war era was not always centered on emergency repairs. As was the case in the pre-war era, innovative preservation work and research continued at Tumacácori. One such project began in 1949 when Charlie Steen and Rutherford J. Gettens, from the Fogg Museum of Art at Harvard University, conducted a study of the church's interior plasters. Steen wrote that this was the first time the building's interior plasters had been systematically inspected and stabilized. It was not because the interior was not previously in need of work. Steen described the plaster as "continually flaking off" in some areas, and the areas where the plaster remained were covered in a substantial coating of dirt. The problem was that "the various NPS technicians involved [in Tumacácori stabilization projects] had no idea what to do."[220]

Recognizing their limitations, the National Park Service asked Gettens to visit Tumacácori to determine what could be done to stabilize and protect the interior plasters. Gettens was an ideal choice. Among his many professional accomplishments he was a founding fellow of the International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works and one of the fathers of the field of paint conservation and restoration.

Gettens and Steen spent four days in June 1949 at Tumacácori inspecting the church interior. They cataloged the condition of the plaster, analyzed pigments, and tested various cleaning methods. Gettens then returned to Cambridge to develop recommendations for treatment. He provided specific guidelines for cleaning the plaster. Essentially, he recommended that the plaster be carefully cleaned with fine sandpaper or brushes. Gettens also devised a formula for special protective lacquer to spray onto the walls. Known as Polyvinyl Acetate (PVA) the sealant became a common tool for paint conservation applications.[221]

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219 Anthony Crosby, *Historic Structure Report, Tumacacori National Monument,* (Washington DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985) 12.

220 Charlie Steen and Rutherford J. Gettens, "Tumacácori Interior Decorations," 1949, 12, On File at Tumacácori National Historical Park.

221 Steen and Gettens, "Tumacácori Interior Decorations," 16–17; Crosby, *Historic Structure Report,* 64–65.

Detailed pigment analysis allowed Gettens to make important conclusions about the creation of the church's interior paintings. He determined that a single skilled European, most likely the resident priest, had painted most of the designs on the walls. The exceptions to this were the incised "imitations of painted drapes" at the upper niches of the nave pilasters, designs around the choir loft window, and the "vine paintings" under the sanctuary arch. These decorations were, according to Gettens, created by an "earnest, but hopelessly unskilled, person."[222]

Steen returned to Tumacácori in October 1949 to begin the two-month process of cleaning and repairing the interior plasters. As the painstaking work of cleaning the surfaces with brushes progressed, Steen realized that "a fairly accurate reconstruction of the mural decorations of the church could be made" to reflect "the appearance of the church during mission times."[223] He felt that his and Gettens's efforts would provide direction for such an effort. The murals, however, were never reconstructed in the church.

Gettens's and Steen's work on the interior plasters did represent the first systematic analysis and stabilization project completed on the church's interior. It would be another three decades before another similar project was undertaken at Tumacácori. The legacy of the stabilization project extended beyond the plasters and murals in the church. Information gained from the interior plaster stabilization project also informed the paintings of the church interior that Cal Peters created in the 1960s. [224]

Preservation challenges still dominated park management. The stabilization of the church and other mission complex structures required considerable attention. Preservationists, moreover, were learning as they went along. For example, it became clear in the early 1950s that previous patching of deteriorated spots in the original lime plaster took the National Park Service only so far with its stabilization of the exterior surfaces. Superintendent Earl Jackson reported in 1952 that the park had to take more drastic steps on the west wall of the mission, removing "this friable and crumbling plaster coating" and replacing it with a cement, lime, and sand mixture. The park first fastened metal lathe to the adobe wall to provide a stable structure then added two coats of mortar and pigment to approximate the color and weathered contours of the original. The park in 1956 experimented with a silicon solution sprayed on the west wall, presumably to preserve the plaster.[225]

NPS officials realized in the early 1950s, that active plaster preservation was simply not effective enough to protect parts of the mission complex, especially the east corridor, granary, and convento. SWNM General Superintendent John M. Davis wrote in the fall of 1952 that there was no "practical solution for the problem of stabilizing [the structures'] adobe walls." Moreover, partial restoration projects like those that had been used previously on the church were impractical because they were expensive and not necessarily authentic. Tumacácori Superintendent Earl Jackson added that the walls of the buildings were probably not strong enough to support restoration anyway. These conditions led NPS officials to the decision that the "only remaining

222 Steen and Gettens, "Tumacácori Interior Decorations," 13, 81–82.

223 Steen and Gettens, "Tumacácori Interior Decorations," 13.

224 Charlie Steen and Gettens, "Tumacácori Interior Decorations," 12–15, 17, 81–82, Moss, "Of Adobe, Lime, and Cement," 40, 45.

225 Memorandum, Earl Jackson to Director, May 24, 1952, Stabilization of Mission Church section, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 112, Folder A2623 Tumacácori. Completion Report, Plastering of West Wall of Mission Church, August 2, 1952, NARA Denver, RG 79, Correspondence Relating to the National Parks, Monuments, and Recreational Areas 1927-, Box 248, Folder 207 Reports; Memorandum, Paul McCrary to Director, May 26, 1956, Preservation of Historical Buildings section, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 78, Folder A26 Tumacácori.

practical possibility seems to be protective roof shelters." It was apparently a difficult decision where, according to General Superintendent Davis, "everyone regrets the necessity of having to install them."[226] Problems associated with protective shelters began appearing, most notably the erosion of wall bases and the intrusion into the cultural landscape, that eventually led to their removal.

To this end, John M. Davis requested that NPS architects design a steel shelter for the corridor that exited the sacristy. He stipulated that the structure be "as simple and inconspicuous as possible." A few months later, the National Park Service awarded a contract for the fabrication of a 25-foot by 18-foot steel shelter to Young Steel Buildings, Inc., a company based in Tucson. The contract stipulated that shelter components be delivered to the national monument and erected by the National Park Service or hired work crews.[227]

The metal corridor shelter was in place by September 1953. A shelter of a completely different design was constructed over the convento in 1955. Instead of metal, the convento cover consisted of "plastered exterior walls on a house frame."[228]

Archeological excavations were rare compared to the ever present historic preservation efforts in the 1950s. Sallie Brewer retuned to Tumacácori in the spring of 1951 to conduct archeological investigations at the mission complex. The redesign and widening of Highway 89 (discussed above) triggered the project, which was designed to determine if there were important resources on land west of the mission complex that the State of Arizona was requesting from the National Park Service for a highway right-of-way easement. The project area was about 100 feet west of the mission church and ran from the northern boundary of the monument to the southern limit of the "mission Indian houses." Brewer and her crew dug 31 east-west trenches running from the church toward the highway. They also excavated one north-south trench. The trenching revealed a refuse area and possible wall near the church. Brewer also noted that animal bones, brick, pottery, and refuse were found in various trenches. She, however, determined that the area encompassed by the right-of-way did not contain significant cultural resources that would justify any refusal on the part of the National Park Service to provide the easement. Brewer's excavations are important because, according to archeologist C. Michael Barton, her project was one of the only available records of mission grounds deposits prior to excavations conducted in 1979.[229]

An important archeological investigation, with implications for Tumacácori, occurred outside the monument boundaries in the early 1950s . Dr. Charles Corradino Di Peso of the Amerind Foundation, a private nonprofit archeological research institution based in Dragoon, Arizona, excavated a site south of Tumacácori in 1953. The excavations uncovered evidence of an Indian settlement with three adobe structures. Di Peso concluded that the site, which was on private land owned by the Baca Float Ranch, Inc., was the original site of the Tumacácori visita, established in 1691.[230]

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226 John M. Davis, General Superintendent, SWNM to Regional Director, November 17, 1952, NARA Denver, RG 79, Correspondence Relating to the National Parks, Monuments, and Recreational Areas, 1927–53, Box 248, Folder 300 Finances.

227 Davis to Regional Director, November 17, 1952; "Statement and Certificate of Award," April 27, 1953, NARA Denver, RG 79, Correspondence Relating to the National Parks, Monuments, and Recreational Areas, 1927–53, Box 248, Folder 300 Finances.

228 "Short History of Tumacácori," 1956.

229 C. Michael Barton, Kay Simpson, and Lee Fratt, *Excavations at Tumacácori 1979/1980: Historic Archeology at Tumacácori National Monument Arizona* (Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1981) 33; Excavations at Tumacacori National Monument, No date, TUMA Fact File.

230 Erik K. Reed, Regional Chief of Interpretation, "The Palo Prado Site (San Cayetano De Tuamcacori, September 24, 1954, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–61, Box 41, Folder L58d SWR/Gen Arizona San Cayetano de Tumacácori May 1954–1957.

The discovery generated widespread interest. Preservation advocates campaigned for the addition of the site to Tumacácori National Monument. Charles L. Mullins Jr. of the Nogales Chamber of Commerce contacted various members of Congress representing Arizona, including Representative John J. Rhodes and Senators Carl Hayden and Barry Goldwater urging that the site be added to the monument because it represented an important component of Tumacácori's history. The Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society undertook a similar letter writing campaign. Senator Hayden quickly responded to Mullins. He wrote that he would happily take the matter up with the National Park Service as soon as Mullins got the support of the Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors. Goldwater and Rhodes contacted Conrad Wirth, informing him of the existence of the site and the fact that the Pendleton family who owned the site were willing to donate it to the National Park Service.[231]

Wirth responded that while the National Park Service is familiar with the work of the Amerind Foundation, the agency had no information on the Palo Prado site. He expressed interest in getting any information on the site that may be available. Wirth, however, was reluctant to add the site to Tumacácori National Monument because "the Service is faced with serious problems in providing adequate protection, maintenance, and interpretation for those areas already incorporated within the System [sic]." Director Wirth stated that current funding and staff limitations could place the National Park Service in a situation "where we might not find ourselves in a position to [adequately preserve the site] in the foreseeable future." He suggested that the State of Arizona or another qualified group could protect the site.[232]

Regional Director M. R. Tillotson was more optimistic. He wrote director Wirth a short letter pointing out that "the site in question is very important to us" and that it was "only a very small area [that could] be administered as a detached section of Tumacácori with very little additional expense." The letter must have had some effect. Wirth told Tillotson to make a formal investigation of the Palo Prado site and the management implications the addition would have for Tumacácori National Monument.[233]

The report, written by Erik K. Reed, the regional chief of interpretation, was completed a month later. Reed provided a description of the site, historical narrative, and detailed recommendations. He wrote that the site was in poor condition and in dire need of protection. Reed noted the significance of the site as an archeological and historical resource related to the Kino missions and was adamant that the site be "acquired as a detached section of Tumacácori National Monument." At the same time, Reed admitted that there were a number of challenges to the development and protection of the site. Many of the difficulties were associated with the lack of adequate funding and personnel to actively manage the site. Some of the challenges, however, were dictated by the

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231 Charles Mullins Jr. to John Rhodes, May 17, 1954, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–61, Box 41, Folder L58d SWR/Gen Arizona San Cayetano de Tumacácori May 1954–57; Carl Hayden to Charles Mullins, Jr., May 21, 1954, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–61, Box 41, Folder L58d SWR/Gen Arizona San Cayetano de Tumacácori May 1954–57; Barry Goldwater to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, National Park Service, May 24, 1954, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–61, Box 41, Folder L58d SWR/Gen Arizona San Cayetano de Tumacácori May 1954–1957; Edward B Danson, President, The Arizona Archeological and Historical Society, to Senator Carl Hayden, May 29, 1954, Arizona State University Archives, Carl Hayden Papers, Box 124, Folder 31; Edward Danson to M. R. Tillotson, June 29, 1954, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–61, Box 41, Folder L58d SWR/Gen Arizona San Cayetano dr Tumacácori May 1954–1957; Carl Hayden to Edward B Danson, July 2, 1954, Arizona State University Archives, Carl Hayden Papers, Box 124, Folder 31.

232 Conrad Wirth to Representative John J. Rhodes, May 28, 1954, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–61, Box 41, Folder L58d SWR/Gen Arizona San Cayetano de Tumacácori May 1954–57.

233 M. R. Tillotson to Director, July 6, 1954, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1477, Folder H30 1/1/54- Tumacácori; Director NPS to Regional Director, Region 3, August 6, 1954, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–61, Box 41, Folder L58d SWR/Gen Arizona San Cayetano de Tumacácori May 1954–57.

owners of the Baca Float who attached several stipulations to their donation of the Palo Prado site to the National Park Service. Some were incongruent with NPS policy. For example, they wanted ownership of any resources "of intrinsic value" discovered in excavations. This was not acceptable to the National Park Service.[234]

Reed's management plan foreshadows the challenges park staff eventually addressed in the management of the Calabazas and Guevavi units after they were added to the park in 1990. He provided a best-case scenario for the management of Palo Prado and a "reasonable and probably feasible" plan. The former scenario included the restoration of the Spanish and Indian structures, the construction of a small museum, residence and storage area, and the assignment of a permanent and a seasonal ranger to the site. Reed admitted that this was not realistic. The second management plan, which he recommended, was not considerably different than the manner in which Guevavi and Calabazas are managed today. Under this plan, the only development would be the construction of a small parking area, contact station, and wayside exhibits. Visitors could visit the site only during the busy season and only when a ranger was present. A small trail would provide access to the site. Instead of restoration, Reed suggested that the National Park Service could construct protective shelters over the structures Di Peso excavated. Ultimately, the Palo Prado site was not added to Tumacácori National Monument because the needed congressional appropriations and legislation were not forthcoming.[235]

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 29. THE LIME KILN

National Park Service officials had better luck with another site. The area, long recognized by the National Park Service as attractive for incorporation into the national monument was the lime kiln. The feature was described by Frank Pinkley in his 1921 annual report. He also indicated that the site had been subjected to some limited excavations. Charles Peterson photographed the lime kiln in 1930 and argued that the Park Service should acquire the feature, which was just outside monument boundaries, "as promptly as possible." Paul Beaubien recorded the structure during his excavations in the 1930s, but no concerted action was taken on the acquisition of the lime kiln until after World War II. Conditions changed in the mid-1950s. Ringenbach proposed the acquisition of the lime kiln as a property in Tumacácori's Mission 66 prospectus in 1955. Shortly thereafter, the National Park Service began serious efforts to acquire the site, resulting in a presidential proclamation, signed by Dwight D. Eisenhower in March 1958.

The lime kiln site, totaling 0.15 acre adjacent to the park's north boundary, was added to Tumacácori through the 1906 Antiquities Act, the same legislative authority that had created the national monument in 1908.[236]

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234 Mullins Jr. to Rhodes, May 17, 1954;. Goldwater to Wirth, May 24, 1954;. Danson to Tillotson, June 29, 1954; Reed, "The Palo Prado Site."

235 Reed, "The Palo Prado Site."

236 John Davis to Chairman, Mission 66, August 1, 1955, 2; Memorandum, James Carpenter to Superintendent, Tumacácori, September 13, 1957, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1654, Folder L1417 Tumacácori. Memorandum, Ray Ringenbach to Director, December 26, 1956, 2, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence Files 1953–58, Box 8, Folder K1819 1956–58 Tumacácori. Memorandum, Robert Viklund to Director, November 1, 1957, 2, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 305, Folder A2823 from July 1, 1957. Covering Brief, Fred Seaton to The President, November 18, 1957, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-11, Box 1654, Folder L1417 Tumacácori. Memorandum, James Siler to Regional Director, Region Three, September 25, 1959, NARA Denver, RG 79, General Correspondence 1953–61, Box 19, Folder L1425-a Tumacácori 1959–61; Frank Pinkley,

Louis Caywood, who had served as Tumacácori's superintendent from 1936 to 1944, returned in 1964 to use his archeological expertise to oversee an excavation at Tumacácori. Caywood hoped to excavate the lime kiln and re-excavate the rooms in the northern section of the convento that Beaubien exposed in the 1930s. Superintendent Ringenbach first proposed the re-excavation of the convento in 1955. He wanted the convento and other portions of the mission complex excavated in order to provide a more complete story of the history of Tumacácori.[237]

Caywood's plans changed slightly when it became apparent that the walls of the structure were too deteriorated to permit archeological excavation. Caywood's crew simply uncovered the lime kiln, which was subsequently restored and opened to the public in 1973.[238] Work centered on the convento.

Caywood did not directly supervise the first phase of excavations. He left that task to Charlie Steen and fellow archeologist, R. Gordon Vivian, who arrived at Tumacácori in early October 1964. The archeologists hired a local seven-person crew to conduct the work. One crew member, Enrique Cardenas, participated in Beaubien's excavations three decades earlier. Steen, Vivian, and the work crew spent most of the month of October excavating the north wing of the convento. Caywood returned to Tumacácori in the summer of 1965 to continue excavations at the convento, but project funding was cut before he could complete the work.[239]

Caywood wanted to uncover rooms and other features for use in interpretation. The archeologists took some measurements of the uncovered structure to compare with Beaubien's work, but they did not actively survey or map the rooms. Like Ringenbach, Caywood and Tumacácori Superintendent Irving McNeil Jr. saw the 1964–65 convento project as the first in a series of excavations to enhance interpretation at Tumacácori. They wanted to eventually excavate the south and east wings of the convento, but these plans never materialized.[240]

Superintendent McNeil was pleased with the convento excavation. He complimented the efficiency with which the work was completed and praised the important interpretive contributions the newly exposed convento spaces provided. The superintendent wrote that it was "a great addition to the interpretive story of Tumacácori," because for the first time "visitors could visualize the quadrangle" and convento. McNeil's statements reinforce the interest he and other NPS officials had in interpreting the entire site, not just the Franciscan church. The superintendent wrote that the convento excavations "have added significantly to the visitors' opportunity to grasp the nature of the mission complex at Tumacácori and our chance to tell about it[241] The convento has remained an important component of park interpretation.

"Annual Report, Year Endng June 30, 1921, Tumacácori National Monument," on file at TUMA Library; Charles Peterson, "Report to Mr. Vint on Tumacacori National Monument, " January 25, 1930, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Series 4555, Folder 1.

237 Mission 66 Prospectus.

238 [No Author] "Tumacacori National Monument: Archeology," June 8, 1973, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4603, Folder 5 of 8 [1973]; Matthew Bossler, et al., "Cultural Lanscape Inventory, San José de Tumacácori, Tumacácori National Historical Park, 2010, 79," on file at the NPS Technical Information Center, Lakewood, Colorado.

239 Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, July 2, 1965, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10.

240 Excavations at Tumacácori, [no date], Tumacácori Library Fact File; Margaret Kuehlthau, "The Past is Unearthed at Tumacácori," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, November 28, 1964, 20.
241 Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, November 6, 1964, WACC, RG TUMA, Subseries 4664, Folder 5 of 10; Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, January 11, 1965, WACC, RG TUMA, Subseries 4664, Folder 5 of 10.

However, the exposed walls presented challenges almost as soon as the 1964 excavation ended. A portion of the walls was sprayed with a preservative in November 1964, but concerted preservation treatments were undermined by weather. Rains in late 1964 precluded any action until early 1965. Continued wet weather and lack of funding kept the park from further excavations and Caywood backfilled the uncovered area as protection but staked the outlines. By 1966, the park had experimented for two years in one area of the exposed foundations with Pencapsula, a preservative.[242] Archeologist Ronald Richert reported in August 1966, though, that "no preservative on the market will harden and waterproof those loose and porous walls." The park, in 1967, resorted to plastic tarps, recognizing that they will "only last a limited time!!" This situation remained stalled through 1969, with parts of the excavated areas backfilled and others covered with plastic tarps. The park also investigated building a structure over the ruins in the late 1960s.[243]

The challenges presented by the convento and reduced funding prevented NPS archeologists from undertaking any large-scale investigations in the last half of the 1960s. The only other excavation occurred in 1967 when Ronald Richert re-excavated the Jesuit church (Beaubien's Room 50). Richert had initially, in late 1965, built up the foundations of the earlier church walls a few inches above ground level to provide a clear outline of the feature, mostly for interpretive purposes.[244]

Archeology and ruins stabilization at Tumacácori in the mid-century period made clear that science and technology had not kept pace with need. The park needed to continue the archeological work to augment its knowledge base about the mission buildings and their changing uses over the years. This information would feed directly into the interpretive program, plus aid maintenance efforts by marking archeologically rich areas. Preservation of the uncovered archeology, plus stabilization of the above-ground ruins, relied upon scientific materials and the technological know-how to ensure safety and longevity of the historic materials. The park came up empty handed in this regard, leaving resolution of preservation strategies to another future generation of park staff.

Tumacácori may have not had any huge accomplishments in the mid-20th century, but the park did lay the groundwork for future success. Switching to self-guiding tours allowed the drop-in visitor (which increased in number due to the highway expansion just outside the park's boundaries) to view the mission and park exhibits at his or her own leisure. Visitors left satisfied with learning something new without having to wait for scheduled tours. Further archeological digs augmented essential information about the history of the site, and specific requirements for scientifically developed preservatives were defined, though not yet available. The following decades would see further examples of how the park adapted to its visitation and preservation needs.

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242 Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, January 11, 1965, 1-2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10. Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, January 5, 1965, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10; Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, September 4, 1965, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10. Memorandum, McNeil to Director, January 7, 1966, 1–2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 7 of 10.

243 Memorandum, Roland Richert to Supervisory Archeologist, SWAC, August 29, 1966, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4605, Folder 2; Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, February 3, 1967, 3, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 8; Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, April 4, 1967, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 8. Project Construction Proposal, Convento, June 26, 1968, NARA Archives II, RG 79, Entry P-80, Box 47, Folder D2215 Tumacácori 1-1-67 to 12-31-68; Memorandum, Ray Ringenbach to Area Files, May 5, 1969, 1, WACC, RG Tumacácori A, Subseries 4664, Folder 10.

244 Excavations at Tumacaori [no date]; Margaret Kuehlthau, "The Past is Unearthed at Tumacacori," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, November 28, 1964, 20; Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, July 2, 1965, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10; Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, August 5, 1965, 2, WACC, RG Tumacácori, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10; Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, November 1, 1965, 2-3, WACC, RG TUMA, Subseries 4664, Folder 6 of 10; Memorandum, McNeil Jr. to Director, January 7, 1966; Memorandum, Irving McNeil Jr. to Director, November 6, 1964.

CHAPTER 5: NEW DIRECTIONS AND OLD CHALLENGES AT TUMACÁCORI

Tumacácori's mid-century era transitioned to an era of significant evolution. The park was literally transformed through a period that began in the 1970s and continued into the 21st century, with boundaries being expanded three times. Each expansion added resources and resulted in diversified management responsibilities and opportunities. The growth also increased the stature of Tumacácori National Monument, which was designated a national historical park on August 6, 1990. Another area where change was evident was the development of visitor services emphasizing the national historical park's place in the larger regional community. This change was most directly expressed through establishment of the annual La Fiesta de Tumacácori, implementation of a craft demonstration program, and organization of an energetic corps of park volunteers. Meanwhile, park staff had to contend with the challenges of managing and protecting the historic resources for which the park was originally established. They approached the old challenges of historic preservation with creativity and innovation, while taking the park in new directions, both geographically and programmatically.

PARK EXPANSION

The actual boundaries of the 1908 monument were altered, sometimes significantly, in the 1970s, 1990s, and 2000s. Land acquisitions and the associated expansion of administrative responsibilities were an important component of the post–Mission 66 era at Tumacácori. These changes represented opportunities to protect more resources, expand research and interpretive programs, and better manage the historic properties of the park. The expansions also created new challenges as more land, some of which was discontiguous, became the responsibility of a small park staff.

The first significant expansion occurred in the mid-1970s when Anamax Mining Company offered nearly 6 acres of land bordering Tumacácori to the National Park Service. Park staff met with Anamax representatives at least as early as 1970 to discuss the parcel. The land was eventually purchased and held by the National Parks Foundation in 1975 as the exchange awaited congressional approval and funding. The Anamax parcels were north and east of the existing monument boundaries and were desirable for acquisition, in part, because they would provide a buffer to development in Tubac, 3 miles to the north. It was also thought that the lands included the remainder of the original mission site, specifically the garden and orchard. Archeologists subsequently determined that the mission garden was either not on the Anamax land, or the parcels were so disturbed by previous agricultural activities that any traces of the mission garden were obliterated. Traces of the garden were found on other private lands bordering the monument.[245]

The expansion lands instantly became important as a site to hold the annual fiesta. There was widespread concern that the fiestas were damaging historic resources. Therefore, the National Park Service began using the Anamax site for the annual La Fiesta de Tumacácori beginning in 1975, three years before the purchase was approved by Congress in the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978. Legislation appropriating money to acquire the Anamax lands also included a small land exchange to correct the right-of-way the National Park Service had provided

245 Senate Report, No. 811, 95th Cong. 2nd Sess., pgs. 4,17; Susan Powers, Archeologist, Division of Archeological Studies, to Chief, Division of Archeological Studies, September 25, 1975, WACC, TUMA, Series 4603, Folder 4.

to the Arizona Department of Transportation in 1951. The final legal acquisition of the land took several more years. The deed for the land exchange was not recorded until May 1980. Joseph L. Sewell, the superintendent of the monument at the time, hoped that the monument boundary would be finalized in April 1981, but to his frustration it did "not [go] forward as anticipated." It took another decade for the land exchange, including the Arizona Department of Transportation right-of-way correction, to be finalized.[246]

Another expansion was being contemplated in the late 1980s. Ralph Wingfield, the rancher who owned the Guevavi site, donated the Jesuit mission complex to the Archeological Conservancy, a group dedicated to the preservation of threatened archeological sites. The conservancy, in turn, offered the property to the National Park Service. In the meantime, the Arizona Historical Society, which had owned the Calabazas visita since 1974, indicated that they were interested in donating the mission site to the National Park Service.[247]

Guevavi and Calabazas had always been of great interest to Tumacácori officials. In 1928, Frank Pinkley argued that monuments to Father Kino should be erected at Guevavi and Calabazas. The National Park Service was also involved in research and preservation efforts at the sites. A draft Tumacácori master plan written in the 1970s asserted that plans should be developed for Guevavi and Calabazas that "give prime consideration to defining and interpreting the mission complexes" and providing "optimum park development," even though the properties were not under the administrative control of the National Park Service.[248]

The Guevavi and Calabazas exchange attracted the attention of Congressman Morris Udall, who visited the sites in November 1988. William Penn Mott, the director of the National Park Service, visited the missions just over a month later. Congressman Udall subsequently drafted legislation to allow the expansion. House Resolution 2843, introduced in Congress on June 29, 1989, included two main provisions. It would add the Guevavi and Calabazas mission ruins to Tumacácori National Monument and change the name of the monument to Kino Missions National Monument. According to Superintendent James W. Troutwine, there was widespread support for the expansion, but almost universal opposition to the name change.[249]

It took over a year for the resolution to wend its way through Congress, but both the House of Representatives and the Senate finally passed it by late July 1990. President Bill Clinton signed the expansion into law on August 6, 1990. The enacted legislation established Tumacácori National Historical Park, which was to include the former Tumacácori National Monument, the Calabazas mission complex, and the Guevavi mission complex as three separate units of the park. The two new units consisted of 8 acres at Guevavi and about 22 acres at Calabazas. Legislation also directed the National Park Service to interpret sites associated "with the early Spanish missionaries and

246 National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978; Senate Report, No. 811, 95th Cong. 2nd Sess., pgs. 4,17; Superintendent's Annual Report, January 29, 1981; Superintendent Tumacácori National Monument, Superintendent's Annual Report 1982; Superintendent's Annual Report 1984, Tumacácori National Monument; Superintendent's Annual Report 1981, Tumacácori National Monument; Superintendent's Annual Report 1988, Tumacácori National Monument; "Press Release: Preservation Reflected in Fiesta Modification; "National Park Service, "Statement for Management: Tumacácori National Monument, April 1990 Revision, 13, on file at National Park Service Technical Information Center, Lakewood Colorado; hereafter referred to as TIC.

247 Superintendent's Annual Report, January 24, 1989.

248 Frank Pinkley to Custodian, Tumacácori National Monument, March 21, 1928, WACC, TUMA, Series 4673, Folder 1; "Tumacácori National Monument: Archeology," June 8, 1973, WACC, TUMA, Series 4603,Folder 5, Series 4603.

249 To Establish the Kino Missions National Monument in the State of Arizona, H. 2843, 101st Cong., 1st sess., June 29, 1989; Superintendent, Tumacácori National Monument, to Regional Director, Western Region, Superintendent's Annual Report, January 18, 1990, Archives II, RG 75, Entry: P-17, Box 49, Folder: TUMA; Superintendent to Regional Director, Superintendents Annual Report, January 24, 1989.

explorers of the 17th and 18th centuries" and commemorate the importance of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino. Like the small monument expansion a decade before, the creation of Tumacácori National Historical Park was not immediately implemented. It took over two years for the acquisition of Guevavi to be finalized. The acquisition of Calabazas was not completed until 1997.[250]

Nonetheless, long-term planning for the management of Calabazas and Guevavi began in 1993. There was the recognition that new units needed to be incorporated into the administrative structure of the park. It was imperative that consideration be given to the "types of visitor access and facilities" appropriate for Calabazas and Guevavi. Park planners proposed a pedestrian mission trail to link the three units. Proposed development for Calabazas included a small visitor contact station, a 7- to 10-space parking lot, a maintenance shop, two employee housing units, and an interpretive trail. It was hoped that the existing chain-link fence surrounding the Calabazas mission site could be removed once the housing units were constructed and occupied. Plans for Guevavi were considerably less ambitious. They only included a trail to the historic features, a small two- to three-vehicle parking area, a bulletin board, and a shed. There were no other planned visitor or administrative facilities at the site. Nonpedestrian access would only be provided via guided tours from Calabazas. Both units would be accessible on foot or other appropriate means via the trail that park administrators hoped would eventually link all the park units. [251]

Even with the addition of Calabazas and Guevavi, the Tumacácori mission remained the most visited park unit. This was likely due to the fact that it is the most accessible of the three and that it holds the largest, most actively preserved mission resources. Guevavi and Calabazas, on the other hand, have never been open to the public and are only accessible via guided tour. The Tumacácori mission complex, moreover, has always been the administrative headquarters for the national historical park. Guevavi and Calabazas are remote and undeveloped by comparison. Guevavi is surrounded by land that is owned by the City of Nogales and private landholders. All these conditions remain today.[252]

The 1990 expansion added new lands and status to the park, but threats to the original Tumacácori mission complex remained. The park's statement for management, which was written while the National Park Service was in the process of acquiring Calabazas and Guevavi, detailed these threats. The most pressing concern was the potential for future development that would undermine the "rural" setting of the park. Changes in local zoning rules opened the door for high-density residential development within a few miles of the 15-acre mission complex. A developer had recently purchased a tract of more than 200 acres adjacent to and north of the park. Park administrators took some comfort in the fact that the south and east boundaries of the mission complex were bordered by a ranch that was not incompatible with the park's setting. The ranch, nonetheless, contained the remnants of the mission orchard and park administrators recommended that the National Park Service pursue the purchase of a 3-acre parcel encompassing

250 An Act to Establish Tumacácori National Historical Park in the State of Arizona, August 6, 1990, Public Law 101-344, 104 Stat. 393; Superintendent, Tumacácori National Historical Park, to Regional Director, Western Region, Superintendent's Annual Report, January 16, 1991, Archives II, RG 75, Entry: P-17, Box 49, Folder: TUMA; Superintendent, Tumacácori National Historical Park, to Regional Director, Western Region, Superintendent's Annual Report, January 8, 1991 [1992], Archives II, RG 75, Entry: P-17, Box 49, Folder: TUMA; Superintendent to Regional Director, Superintendent's Annual Report, January 12, 1993; Superintendent, Tumacácori National Historical Park, to Regional Director, Intermountain Region, Annual Narrative Report of Superintendents to Regional Directors–Fiscal Year 1997, January 21, 1998, on file at TIC.

251 National Park Service, "Draft General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement," July 1993, iii–iv, 9, 13, 24, on file at TIC. The recommendations were carried through to the final general management plan, with minor modifications such as increasing the size of the visitor center at Calabazas. See National Park Service, "General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement," September 1996, on file at TIC.

252 "General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement," September 1996, 7.

the orchard. This concern continued to be an important management priority. A draft general management plan, completed in 1993, asserted that there were "major historic resources" outside the park boundaries that needed to be acquired through a boundary expansion. The draft general management plan also pointed out that the development of surrounding lands continues to be a threat to the park's integrity.[253] Both the goal of protecting the integrity of the site and the desire to acquire more historic resources dovetailed nearly a decade later when a third expansion was set in motion.

Two large parcels of land became available to Tumacácori National Historical Park after 2000. One was the 90-acre Mission Ranch along the south and east boundaries of the park. The ranch, owned by George Binney, encompassed resources that park officials had long sought, especially remnants of the mission orchard and acequia. The land also included a portion of the Santa Cruz River riparian area and a house and barn. A second parcel, offered by Tumacácori Mission Land Development, Ltd., was a 220-acre piece of undeveloped land north and east of the park. The development company originally purchased the land, which contained original mission fields, portions of the mission acequia, scattered artifacts, and a large section of the Santa Cruz riparian community, in the late 1980s. The Archeological Conservancy, which helped facilitate the expansion that added Calabazas and Guevavi to the park, offered to negotiate the $2.5 million land purchase and hold the parcels until legislation and appropriations were approved to add the 310 acres to the park.[254]

Arizona Congressman Ed Pastor introduced the Tumacácori National Historical Park Boundary Expansion Revision Act of 2001 in the House of Representatives on June 19, 2001. The legislation proposed expanding the boundaries of the existing Tumacácori unit of the park by 310 acres in order to protect, interpret, and provide visitor access to appropriate resources on the expansion lands. The bill passed the House of Representatives on January 23, 2002.[255] Arizona Representative Jim Kolbe, who grew up in Santa Cruz County, applauded passage of the act and noted that it served to recognize the importance and relevance of Tumacácori "both for what it was in the 17th century and what it will be in the 21st century." The bill passed the Senate on August 1 and President George W. Bush signed the expansion into law 20 days later. The legislation approved the expansion, but did not fund it. It took another two years before Congress appropriated $3.5 million to pay for the land. The National Park Service officially acquired the parcels on March 2, 2005.[256]

A section of the Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail passes through the land added to the park with this newest expansion. The Anza Trail is a 1,200-mile route leading from the U.S. border at Nogales to northern California. The trail commemorates Juan Bautista de Anza's expedition that departed from Sonora in 1775, arriving in 1776 to found the Presidio and eventual city of San Francisco in Alta California. The trail was first conceived in California in 1975. Development planning began a few years later. The National Park Service determined that the trail was nationally

253 "Draft General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement," July 1993, pgs. iii–iv; "Statement for Management, April 1990 Revision,12, 13, 17.
254 Ann Rasor, "Annual Narrative Report, Fiscal Year 2001, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ," 2002, on file at TIC; "Tumacácori VIP Clip" July 8, 2003, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

255 Tumacácori National Historical Park Boundary Expansion Act of 2001, H.R. 2234, 107th Cong., 1st sess., June 19, 2001; Tumacácori National Historical Park Boundary Expansion Act of 2002, H.R. 2234, 107th Cong., 1st sess., January 23, 2002.

256 "Tumacácori Expansion Passes House,: Arizona Daily Star, January 24, 2002; An Act to Revise the Boundary of Tumacácori National Historical Park in the State of Arizona, 2002. Public Law 218, 116 Stat. 1328; "Tumacácori Park Grows Dramatically," *Nogales International*, April 12, 2005.

significant in 1986 and Congress made the trail a component of the national trails system in 1990.[257] Most of the Anza Trail traverses private land and is, therefore, not directly managed by the federal government. Most trail development and management is coordinated by volunteer and nonprofit organizations, such as the. Anza Trail Coalition in Arizona, which was founded in 1994. Park historian, Donald Garate, was one of the founders of the organization.

The trail follows a 38-mile-long corridor of discontinuous segments in Santa Cruz County. The corridor begins in Nogales near Nogales Wash, follows the wash north to its confluence with the Santa Cruz River and continues north along the river. The trail originally provided access to the Tumacácori mission site by crossing through private land along a frontage road. The 2002 expansion, however, facilitated more integration of the mission complex with the trail because the land came under NPS control. A new access trail was constructed in 2014 to provide access to the trail directly from the mission complex. There are currently 10 open trail segments in Santa Cruz County, including a stretch between the Tubac Presidio and Tumacácori, which was the first walkable section of the trail. The trail does not provide access to Guevavi or Calabazas.

The 2002 expansion also enabled the National Park Service to address a long-standing problem associated with administrative facilities. It became clear in the 1970s that the use of existing buildings for administrative and maintenance functions was incompatible with the historic landscape and was an impediment to efficient management. The 1975 Tumacácori master plan proposed a new administrative facility northwest of the mission complex on the land offered to the park by the Anamax Mining Company. According to the legislation authorizing the 1978 expansion, it was enacted to provide, in part, "for the relocation of the administrative complex" from scattered locations within and near the mission complex and other historic buildings to an area outside the historic core of the monument.[258]

Over a decade later, Tumacácori officials pointed out the fact that maintenance functions were still based out of three small buildings near the employee residences. Interpreters shared a small crowded office space behind the desk in the visitor center lobby. Park officials lamented that new "administrative /utility complex [had] been proposed for fifteen years," but not constructed. The need for a new administrative facility was more fully addressed in 1993. Park planners proposed the construction of a new maintenance building on the Anamax parcel, east of the fiesta grounds. Proposed development consisted of a 2,500 square foot maintenance building and three 1,300 square foot residences. Two existing residences near the visitor center would be removed under this proposal.[259]

Plans were altered three years later and were considerably more conceptual. The maintenance facility was proposed on land southeast of the monument boundary on the assumption that the property would be acquired in the future. One residence, which had been converted to office use, was to be retained, while two residences were slated for removal as they became vacant. Conditions had not changed in 1999 when a renewed effort to address facility limitations arose. By this time, maintenance functions were still based out of a converted laundry/garage building. Interpretive offices were in a former residence called the "Boundey House." Administrative operations were

257 National Park Service, "Comprehensive Management and Use Plan Final Environmental impact Statement, Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail, Arizona/California," April 1996, n.p., accessed February 10, 2014, http://www.nps.gov/juba/parkmgmt/upload/JUBA-CMP_1-Purpose&Need.pdf.
258 "Draft General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement," July 1993,10; Senate Report, No. 811, 95th Cong. 2nd Sess, 17.

259 National Park Service, "Statement for Management, April 1990 Revision," 15; "Draft General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement," July 1993, 21, 22.

based in an office and storage space addition to the museum visitor center complex, which was constructed in 1959. None of the buildings were considered adequate for park operations. In the meantime, the 1996 proposal was deemed unworkable because the land was not for sale at the time. Several alternative sites were analyzed. It was ultimately determined that the most feasible location for the facility would be at the northwest corner of the park, within the fiesta grounds.[260]

The scope of development had expanded by 1999. The administration building was expected to be about 5,000 square feet, with a 6,600 square foot parking area and 15,500-foot maintenance yard. The environmental assessment addressing the construction of the new facility was completed in June 1999. Congress appropriated nearly $1 million for the design and construction of the building in 2001. The structure, which was designed in cooperation with the National Renewable Energy Laboratory in Colorado, was expected to fit into the architectural landscape of the park while incorporating cutting edge energy and resource conservation elements, including solar panels, solar tubes, thermal walls, and a gray water reuse system.[261] Yet again, the building was never constructed. This was largely due to the fact that within months the park was in the midst of a major expansion that dramatically affected the facility development plans. Instead of constructing new buildings, the National Park Service decided to adaptively reuse existing ranch buildings south of the mission complex. The mission ranch barn and house have been converted to office, shop, and storage space for park maintenance, resource management, and administrative functions. Interpretation operations had previously occupied the offices in the 1959 visitor center addition.

Finally, the addition of the ranch lands and riparian zones enabled the park to expand its thematic and research focus. Superintendent Ann Rasor noted in 2005 that the park's identity had historically been focused on the church and related structures, which were only one component of mission life. She observed that the park could more effectively interpret the mission community with the restoration of the added agricultural lands. The acquisition of the Santa Cruz River riparian areas and associated water rights also allowed park staff to expand their research, interpretation, and stewardship beyond a focus on the historical structures and remnants to a more robust natural resource management program.[262]

To be sure, natural resource management was already a component of park operations. Park staff, for example, have a long history conducting formal and informal bird surveys in the area. The surveys go back as early as the 1930s when it was observed that Tumacácori was on a "major north-south migration route." The mission complex, however, did not include the most important bird habitat at the time–the Santa Cruz River riparian area. This, of course, changed in 2005 and resulted in an increasingly extensive avian research program. Tumacácori National Historical Park currently participates in the Monitoring Avian Productivity and Survivability Program (MAPS) and other bird survey efforts. The park, moreover, has become internationally known as a birding destination, offering ranger-led programs focusing on birding as well as the Santa Cruz riparian area and Anza Trail. [263]

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260 "General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement," September 1996, 8, 9; National Park Service, "Draft Replacement and Relocation Plan Environmental Assessment: Maintenance and Administration Facilities, Tumacácori National Historical Park," 1999, 1, 9–11, on file at TIC.

261 "Attention for Tumacácori," *Arizona Daily Star*, September 3, 2001.

262 "Tumacácori Park Grows Dramatically," *Nogales International*, April 12, 2005.

263 National Park Service, "Bird Banding in the Southwestern National Monuments Fiscal Year '36," *Southwestern Monuments Special Report No. 6*, 471, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Sonoran Institute, A Living River: Charting the Health of the Upper Santa Cruz River, Water Year 2010 (Tucson, AZ: Sonoran Institute, August 1, 2011) 17; Scott Wilbor, "Migratory Bird Day on the Santa Cruz River: Arizona's Important Bird Areas (IBA) Program Invites you to celebrate International Migratory Bird Day at Tumacácori National Historic [sic] Park," Vermillion Flycatcher, May to June 2004, 5.

The integrity of the riparian ecosystem is delicate and was threatened by development in the 20th century. A dramatic increase in water wells depleted groundwater levels to such an extent that the once-perennial stream ran dry by the 1930s. An international effort to restore the river's flow began in the 1970s with the construction of the Nogales International Wastewater Treatment Plant.

The new treatment plant was built in 1972 at the confluence of Nogales Wash and the Santa Cruz River. It was designed to treat sewage from Arizona and Sonora. Upon completion, the plant released 13 to 15 million gallons of treated effluent into the Santa Cruz River every day, thereby resulting in a perennial flow from the mouth of Potrero Creek (near Nogales) to Tubac. This led to the regeneration of important riparian habitat that had been lost since the 1940s. There is no evidence that this was an intended goal of construction of the water treatment plant, but it was a fortunate consequence. The park's riverine landscape was described in 2004 as "outstanding . . . habitat composed of old and young cottonwoods, Gooding willow, Arizona ash, net leaf hackberry, and one of the best examples of old-growth mesquite bosque" along the Santa Cruz River.[264] The system, however, is contingent on the activities, management decisions, and needs of the region's growing population. For example, a new wastewater treatment plant was completed in Sonora, Mexico, in 2012. The Sonoran plant came online and began using treated effluent for local aquifer recharge and agriculture. Previously, the sewage was sent to the Nogales International Wastewater Treatment Plant and eventually conveyed to the Santa Cruz River. The completion of the Sonoran plant resulted in reduced contributions of sewage to the plant and correspondingly decreased releases of treated water into the Santa Cruz River. As of April 2013, the river no longer perennially flowed through Tumacácori, thereby placing the riparian ecosystem in peril.[265]

The Nogales International Wastewater Treatment Plant and other sources contribute pollutants to the Santa Cruz River, which is rated as "impaired" for 11 pollutants that directly and indirectly affect wildlife and vegetation. Therefore, the addition of a section of the Santa Cruz River within the boundaries of the national historical park affords the National Park Service the responsibility and opportunity to manage water resources and related animal and plant populations more actively through monitoring and analysis. Much of the water quality research is conducted in cooperation with various organizations, including the Sonoran Institute and Friends of the Santa Cruz River. Tumacácori National Historical Park is also part of the Sonoran Desert Network, a collection of 11 NPS units in southern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico that work together to collect data on water and air quality; climate change; and wildlife, fish, and plant populations throughout the Sonoran desert region. The Sonoran Desert Network specialists conduct research both within park units and outside unit boundaries. The research is conducted, in part, to provide direction for future resource management decisions.

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 30. SANTA CRUZ RIVER AT TUMACÁCORI

264 Michelle Lee Wood, P. Kyle House, and Philip A. Pearthree, Historical Geomorphology and Hydrology of the Santa Cruz River, Arizona Geological Survey Open File Report 99-13 (Tucson, AZ: Arizona Geological Survey, July 1999), 16, 76; National Park Service, Sonoran Desert Network Inventory & Monitoring Program, "The Vanishing Santa Cruz River," Sonoran Desert Network Information Brief, 2013; Wilbor, "Migratory Bird Day," 5.

265 National Park Service, Sonoran Desert Network Inventory & Monitoring Program, "The Vanishing Santa Cruz River," Sonoran Desert Network Information Brief, 2013.

There is little question that the expansions of the 1970s, 1990s, and 2000s have entailed certain challenges, but they have also provided opportunities to better protect and interpret the resources of the Santa Cruz Valley, especially those associated with the mission era. Boundary expansions have provided park administrators with disturbed lands that have allowed the fiesta to continue without endangering historic resources. Two additional units, Guevavi and Calabazas, have endowed the park with a resource base that enables the National Park Service to preserve and interpret a more complete narrative of the Jesuit and Franciscan missions in the Santa Cruz Valley. Finally, the addition of 310 acres to the original Tumacácori Monument boundaries provided for the protection of more historic resources, a greater emphasis on natural resource management, and a solution to the vexing problem of where to place much needed maintenance and administrative facilities.

The interest in preserving park structures expanded beyond the mission complex as park administrators more broadly interpreted their historical resources. At the core, the concept of cultural landscape incorporated all the features that make-up the mission environment. As a result, the museum building, historic orchard and acequia, mission ruins of Calabazas and Guevavi, and even the agricultural fields were folded into the overall stewardship plan for the Park. This was a significant change from looking at the immediate mission complex alone.[266]

The Tumacácori Museum was designated a national historic landmark in 1987. The designation includes the museum and associated comfort station, museum garden, and surrounding walls. The museum was determined to be nationally significant, not only as a "fine example of Mission Revival architecture," but also for the way in which it serves as an unobtrusive "interpretive device" that fits into the surrounding environment. While not explicitly held up as a precursor to the development ideals of Mission 66, the parallels are clear, including the importance of simple unobtrusive design and integration of educational, informational, and administrative functions in a single building.[267]

The national significance of the mission complex is reflected in its 1908 designation as a national monument. For this reason, Tumacácori was administratively entered into the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) in October 1966. Nonetheless, the mission and associated structures were evaluated and officially nominated and listed in the national register in 1987. The church was also recorded for the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1939.[268]

The park expansions discussed above all resulted in new management responsibilities and opportunities. Like the original 10-acre monument, the new parcels and units required archeological investigations and usually entailed additional historic preservation needs. This, however, did not occur in a vacuum. The park staff usually had a reasonable understanding of the parcels before they came under NPS administrative control. For example, regional and park resource specialists were involved in the research and management of Guevavi and Calabazas long before 1990. The 1978 and 2002 expansions, moreover, included original mission lands that the park staff had long believed held important resources.

An archeological survey of the expansion lands provided by Anamax Mining Company was conducted in 1978. Archeologists unsuccessfully attempted to find garden walls associated with the

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266 Tonia Horton, Tumacacori National Historkal Park Cultural Landscape Study, TUMA, National Park Service, 1998

267 Laura Soullière Harrison, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Tumacácori Museum," 1986.These ideals are extensively discussed in Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007) 139–141.

268 L Ross R. Hopkins, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Mission San José de Tumacácori" August 28, 1986.

mission. They theorized that the walls were likely on the parcel, but that they had been destroyed by contemporary agricultural land use on the site. Indeed, the entire parcel was determined to be "heavily disturbed." The archeologists also surveyed a private parcel of land at the east boundary of the monument. They were luckier in this endeavor and were able to find and map remnants of the garden wall. [269] This land was eventually acquired by the National Park Service in 2002.

Calabazas and Guevavi did not become part of Tumacácori National Monument until the 1990s, but the National Park Service and other preservation groups had been active in efforts to protect and study the former missions. Prentice Duell created a measured drawing of the Guevavi church in 1917. Frank Pinkley mapped the Calabazas complex in 1920. A NPS team led by Scofield DeLong and Leffler B. Miller formally recorded and mapped Calabazas and Guevavi in 1936. Both mission complexes were recorded by Frederick Nichols and Superintendent Louis Caywood for the newly established Historic American Buildings Survey in 1937. Guevavi and Calabazas were listed in the national register as national historic landmarks in 1971 and 1990, respectively. Guevavi was determined nationally significant for its role in the development of Arizona and as a representation of the activities of Father Eusebio Kino and the Jesuits. Calabazas, similarly, was singled out for its relationship to national themes of Spanish exploration and settlement, indigenous populations, and intercultural contact and conflict. The former rancho and military outpost was also determined to be nationally significant as a reflection of political and military affairs to 1860.[270]

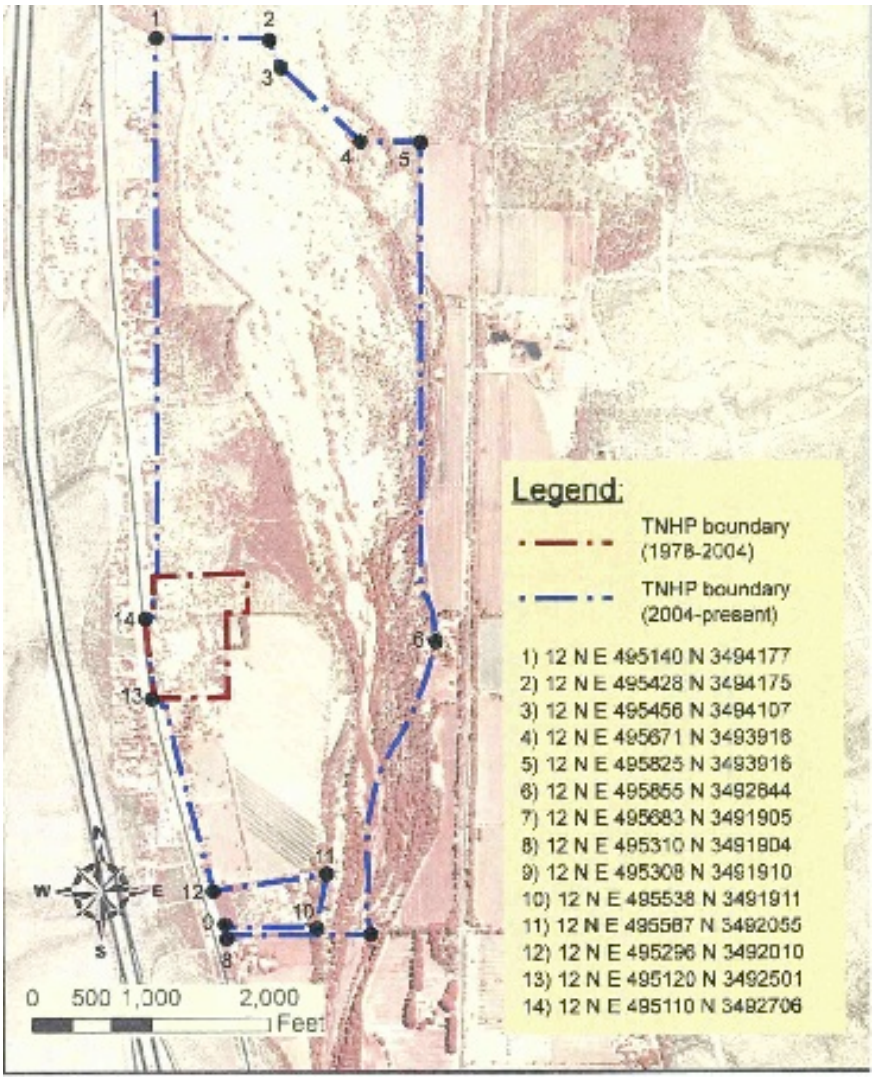
The historian of the Diocese of Tucson, Father Norman Whalen[271] and a group of volunteers capped the walls at Calabazas with concrete in 1960. It was theorized that the cement would combat deterioration. All the walls and wall mounds at Calabazas were mapped by the early 1970s. Work on a protective cover, much like those being used at Tumacácori, was initiated but abandoned by 1973. Meanwhile, Doctor Whalen facilitated the acquisition of the site by the Arizona Historical Society in 1974. At the time, monument officials were hopeful that future research could be conducted to more fully document the early mission visita and subsequent occupations, but little additional work was completed under the tenure of the historical society.[272]

269 Powers, Archeologist to Chief, September 25, 1975.

270 Jeffery F. Burton, San Miguel de Guevavi: The Archeology of a Seventeenth Century Jesuit Mission on the Rim of Christendom (Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1992), 15, 16; Jeffery F. Burton, Remnants of Adobe and Stone: The Surface Archeology of Guevavi and Calabazas Units, Tumacácori National Park (Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1992) 4, 5; Mark R. Barnes, "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form: San Cayetano de Calabazas," March 8, 1990; Robert Fink, "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form: Guevavi Mission Ruins," May 26,1971.

271 Father Whalen went on to earn a PhD in Anthropology in 1971. He subsequently left the priesthood and began an academic career at Southwest Texas State University.

272 "Tumacácori National Monument: Archeology," June 8, 1973.



Source: Bossler 2011

FIGURE 31. 2002 EXPANSION MAP – MISSION SAN JOSÉ DE TUMACÁCORI HISTORIC DISTRICT, 2009

Calabazas was subjected to only limited excavation and survey work during the 1970s and 1980s. Archeologists conducted a cartographic survey of the Calabazas complex in 1975. Some small-scale excavations associated with anticipated stabilization work were completed in 1978. Apparently, site protection and efforts to stem the deterioration of the extant structures consumed the energies of the historical society. George Chambers traveled to Calabazas in 1978 to advise the State of Arizona on strategies to protect and preserve the site. His recommendations included recapping the walls with concrete, the removal of vegetation, regrading the site to allow negative drainage, hiring an on-site interpreter, and limiting access to the site. He also advised the state to place Calabazas on an annual maintenance schedule.[273]

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 32. SAN CAYETANO DE CALABAZAS

Unlike Calabazas, Guevavi was privately owned in the 1970s and 1980s. The National Park Service, nonetheless, was involved in efforts to preserve and record the site prior to 1992. Several projects were undertaken in addition to the recordation described above. Emil Haury recorded the mission as an archeological site in 1937. Edward B. Danson included Guevavi in his survey of sherd and lithic scatters in the Santa Cruz River valley, which he conducted in the mid-1940s. William J. Robinson, an archeologist from the University of Arizona, excavated portions of Guevavi for the Arizona Historical Society between 1964 and 1966. He exposed approximately half of the convento, which he subsequently backfilled. Other known resources, including the church, plaza, corrals, village mounds, *arrastra* (a mill for grinding ore), and lime kiln were left unexcavated. Tumacácori resource specialists lamented the lack of subsequent work and nearly a decade later asserted that the "extent and nature" of the Jesuit mission and the associated village needed to be studied further and better understood.[274]

Efforts to overcome this limitation were finally initiated in the spring and early summer of 1991, while the park expansion was pending. Archeologists conducted controlled excavations within and adjacent to the church. The project provided some limited information on how the church was constructed. Most surprisingly, according to the archeologists, was the indication that the church was not built as a single structure, but was modified with additions over time. Excavations also revealed there was a long, extensive period of American Indian occupation at the site before the establishment of the mission and after its abandonment. The artifact assemblage also illuminated the manner in which American Indians became acculturated to European crops and culture.[275]

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273 Jeffery F. Burton, Remnants of Adobe and Stone: The Surface Archeology of Guevavi and Calabazas Units, Tumacácori National Park (Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1992), 4, 5; Preservation Supervisor, Trip Report-Calabazas, February 1, 1979, WACC, TUMA, Series 4603, Folder 4.

274" Tumacácori National Monument: Archeology," June 8, 1973; Burton, Jeffery F., San Miguel de Guevavi: *The Archeology of a Seventeenth Century Jesuit Mission on the Rim of Christendom* (Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1992) 15, 16.

275. Burton, *San Miguel de Guevavi,* 136–40, 142; Superintendent to Regional Director, Superintendent's Annual Report, January 8, 1991 [1992].

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 33. THE MISSION LOS SANTOS ÁNGELES DE GUEVAVI RUIN

An intensive survey was conducted by WACC archeologists at Guevavi and Calabazas in March 1992. The main purpose of the investigation was to identify and record all extant features at the sites. Researchers found 36 features at Guevavi, including "the remains of a church, convent [sic], plaza, several compounds, two large depressions, canals, bedrock mortars, rock alignments, and possible corrals." Many of the features were outside the boundary of the proposed National Park Service site. The survey identified 26 features at Calabazas. These included, "a church, compound, row house, other possible structural remains, rock alignments, a large depression, a ditch, and bedrock mortars." Unlike Guevavi, all the identified sites were within the boundaries of the proposed expansion of Tumacácori National Monument. The Calabazas unit also contained "abundant historic artifacts" that post-dated the Spanish era.[276]

The archeologists made several management recommendations based on the results of the survey and the likelihood of additional resources. First, they noted that since there were important resources outside the boundaries of the proposed Guevavi unit (the legislation was yet to pass when the survey was conducted) the National Park Service should consider future expansions to capture the features. No such expansions have occurred. The archeologists also stated that erosion and vandalism were the greatest threats to the sites. They, therefore, recommended management practices, including fencing at Calabazas, to prevent further damage and degradation. Finally, they suggested that the National Park Service undertake a modest program of excavation and site testing at Guevavi and Calabazas in order to gain more information on the sites and to mitigate the effects of increased visitor use that would likely accompany the sites' designation and units of Tumacácori National Historical Park.[277]

The 2002 expansion included a 4.6-acre site that had historically been an orchard and garden (hereafter called the mission orchard) associated with the Tumacácori Mission. Previous park administrators were cognizant of this fact, but were unable to conduct detailed research on the site. There are several 19th century accounts of a wide variety of fruit trees at Tumacácori. Observers also noted various structures, including ditches and walls. Even though the structures were not part of the historical park, Paul Beaubien surveyed the orchard walls in 1934 and Charlie Steen photographed the wall remnants in 1949.[278] In 1978, archeologists found remnants of the mission orchard on what was then private land.

276 Jeffery F. Burton, *Remnants of Adobe and Stone: The Surface Archeology of Guevavi and Calabazas Units, Tumacácori National Park* (Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1992) 33; Superintendent to Regional Director, Superintendent's Annual Report, January 12, 1993.

277 Burton, *Remnants of Adobe and Stone*, 33, 34.

278 Jeremy M. Moss, "The Tumacácori Mission Garden and Orchard: Past Present and Future," Southwestern Mission Research Center Revista vol. 40, no. 146 (Spring 2006) 13, 16, 19; See Paul L. Beaubien, Excavations at Tumacácori –1934 (Tucson AZ: National Park Service, 1937); Moss, "The Tumacácori Mission Garden," 16.

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 34. MISSION ORCHARD, 2009

National Park Service researchers began studying the orchard in 2004, while the 2002 land acquisition was pending. The project was part of a larger Missions Initiative program to identify and, hopefully, re-establish mission-era crops at various mission sites. They had two overarching goals. First, archeologists, ethnologists, and ethnobotanists wanted to gain a greater understanding of the construction and design of the orchard features through excavation. Two components received particular attention– the garden walls and the components of the acequia. Research revealed that the walls, which by 2004 had essentially fallen to the ground, were not of uniform construction. This, likely, means that the walls were constructed at different times. Initial construction probably occurred between 1770 and 1800, with a second phase taking place in the late 1820s. Researchers were able to estimate that the original orchard walls were about 4 feet high. Research on the acequia centered on the *compuerta,* or diversion box. Most other ditch components were destroyed or severely damaged by the time the National Park Service acquired the orchard. Archeologists recorded the construction materials of the compuerta and tentatively determined that it was used as a *lavandería* (wash area) or a structure to regulate ditch flow.[279]

The second component of the mission orchard research was an effort to collect as much information as possible on the variety and genetic stock of the plants that populated orchard during the Spanish era. It was hoped that the excavations would provide pollen samples from which information on mission-era crops could be derived. Regrettably, the pollen analysis proved inconclusive.[280]

The cultivar research was part of a larger regional effort called the Kino Heritage Fruit Trees Project. The project drew on a group of experts from the Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum, the National Park Service, and Desert Survivors Nursery. Researchers hoped to collect cuttings and seeds from old world fruit varieties found in Sonoran mission communities, the University of Arizona campus, yards of historic homes, and Quitobaquito Springs at Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. However, the scale of the project was eventually reduced because of the inability of researchers to obtain permission to collect plant material in Sonora, Mexico, and bring it across the border to the United States. They also have not been able to collect plant material from Quitobaquito Springs. Although limited to only sites in northern Pimería Alta, researchers have identified and collected cuttings and seeds of 13 old world fruit varieties.[281]

279 Moss, "The Tumacácori Mission Garden," 20.

280 Jenifer Dederich and Ryan Mahoney, "Tumacácori Historic Orchard Project," May 2005, 13, on file at TIC; Moss, "The Tumacácori Mission Garden," 11, 13.

281 Dietrich and Mahoney, "Tumacácori Historic Orchard Project," 10, 11; "The Kino Heritage Fruit Trees Project," Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum, accessed December 9, 2013, http://www.desertmuseum.org/center/kinofruittrees.php; Jesús Garcia, e-mail message to Anita Badertscher, May 14, 2014.

The knowledge gained from the orchard research has resulted in the reestablishment of several orchard crops. This was a vision that park administrators had for the mission orchard in the 1920s and 1930s. Frank Pinkley attempted to establish grapes, figs, olives, and peaches at the mission in the 1920s, but there is no indication that the trees and vines survived. Park administrators expressed the desire to reestablish the orchard on several occasions, including in the 1996 general management plan.[282] It, however, took the 2002 park expansion and subsequent cooperative research to enable the revival of the mission orchard. The first trees were planted in 2005. There are plans to plant additional trees and crops. During the trail repaving project of 2012, a path was added allowing visitors to reach the orchard. The orchard was subsequently added to the park's interpretive self-guided tour.

The reestablishment of the mission orchard provides a fitting symbol of the post Mission 66 history of Tumacácori National Historical Park. It is the product of boundary expansions, regional cooperation, and the importance of historic preservation at the park. The ever-present challenges associated with preservation of the historic resources were systematically addressed in the post-Mission 66 era when incompatible materials were removed from structures and replaced by traditional treatments and placed on regular maintenance schedules. The continuity of preservation was accompanied by important transformations. Indeed, the period since 1970 has been marked by general and dramatic evolution. The physical changes are striking. The original national monument grew from 10 acres to 330 acres via two boundary expansions in the 1970s and 2000s. The monument, which became a national historical park in 1990, also gained two new park units in the 1990s, adding another 30 acres to the park. These expansions transformed Tumacácori from a concentrated collection of historic structures to an integrated park that encompasses three missions, components of mission community resources, and important natural resources. The regional importance of the park was also magnified after 1970 with the development of the annual Fiesta de Tumacácori, which complimented and fortified a transnational craft demonstration program and a robust volunteer organization. These changes all served to emphasize the important place Tumacácori National Historical Park occupies in regional communities, both in Arizona and Sonora.

NEW DIRECTIONS

Park staff developed several new visitor services programs during this era of expansion, beginning with a cultural demonstration program employing regional Mexican, Mexican American, and American Indian participants in the 1970s. The annual Fiesta de Tumacácori, initiated in 1971, was a celebration of Arizona and Sonora cultural heritage and seen as a tool to encourage public awareness of the need to preserve regional transnational history. Finally, an award-winning volunteer program was organized in the 1980s.

Indeed, Tumacácori has remained an important part of the regional community. Local residents used the mission complex for social and ceremonial purposes since before the national monument was established. They continued to use the church after it came under NPS management. Park administrators always fostered the mission's importance to the community by allowing controlled access to the site for ceremonies and celebrations. For example, masses and weddings were allowed in and near the church on special occasions.

282 "General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement," September 1996, 9; Moss, "The Tumacácori Mission Garden," 20, 21.

A mass sponsored by the Nogales Knights of Columbus (a Catholic fraternal society) was held at Tumacácori on December 12, 1965, to coincide with the 275th anniversary of the first mass celebrated at the mission by Father Eusebio Kino.[283] The commemoration became an annual event over the next five years and expanded each year with the addition of food and entertainment. Finally, by 1971, the mass was subsumed into a larger celebration called La Fiesta de Tumacácori. The annual fiesta, which continues today, is the embodiment of the mission's place in the community and the historical importance of festivals in the region. The first fiesta, co-sponsored by the National Park Service and the Knights of Columbus, was intended to "further the understanding of . . . European and Indian culture. . . . which has evolved over the years, but remains [important in the region]." Park staff developed a statement of purpose for the fiesta a few years later. The statement affirmed that the annual festivals were held "in recognition of cultural continuity in the upper Santa Cruz Valley of southern Arizona" and that the fiesta presented "the traditional creations of those cultures." Indeed, the stated object of the fiesta was "to promote public awareness of the cultural heritage of the region" in order to encourage "the protection of the creations of that heritage."[284] These principals still guide La Fiesta de Tumacácori.

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 35. ANITA ANTONE DEMONSTRATES O'ODHAM BASKET WEAVING

The first fiesta was held December 5, 1971. Attendees could satisfy their thirst and hunger with "Mexican style" food and drinks while watching informal craft demonstrations. Formal activities included Mariachi concerts and a mass and procession that was officiated by Bishop Francis Green. The mass was held in the mission church. Park staff considered the mass and procession a fundamental component of the event. It was certainly an important draw for visitors. The religious component of the fiesta was reinforced when San Francisco Xavier was selected as the patron saint of the fiesta in 1974. Saint Xavier was a fitting choice. He was a co-founder of the Jesuit order. Canonized in 1622, he was named the patron saint of foreign Catholic missions in 1927. A statue of San Francisco, brought from Nogales by Knights of Columbus member Ray Brown, has been carried in the mass procession and presided over the fiesta nearly every year since 1984.[285]

283 This was not the first mass celebrating Kino's arrival. Similar masses were held sporadically in the past, but the 1965 mass became an annual commemoration.

284 "Tumacácori Mission Fiesta December 5, 1971," on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ: "Forty Years of La Fiesta de Tumacácori," on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; "Interpretive Services Plan: La Fiesta de Tumacácori," No date, La Fiesta de Tumacácori Binder, Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Ray B. Ringenbach, "Log of Significant Events, November" December 8, 1970, NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ. (Hereafter referred to as WACC), TUMA, Series 4672, Folder 2.

285 Park Technician to Superintendent, Post Fiesta Report, December 8, 1971, La Fiesta de Tumacácori Binder, Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; "Tumacácori Mission Fiesta December 5, 1971;" "Forty Years of La Fiesta de Tumacácori."

The fiesta was an immediate success. Nearly 2,000 people attended the first celebration despite unusually cold foggy weather. The park technician, perhaps over optimistically, estimated that upwards of 6,000 people would have shown up if the weather were better. Nonetheless, all the vendors sold out of their food. Park staff also pointed out that the arts and crafts demonstrations were "tremendously successful" with several demonstrators selling their wares to visitors. The mass and procession were well-attended and park staff noted that the bishop was quite complimentary of the National Park Service during the ceremony.[286]

286 Park Technician to Superintendent, Post Fiesta Report, December 8, 1971.

The ε ιa will be open to the pu ic at
8:00 a.m. Sunday, December 5, 1971, and
admission will be free. Free parking.

Food and beverage - Mexican style - will
be available from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. at
nominal rates.

Arts and crafts demonstrations.

Comida mexicana by: Knights of Columbus,
Nogales; Columbinas, Nogales; Catholic
Daughters, Nogales; Women's Groups,
Tumacacori, Carmen, and Tubac.

Sponsored by the Knights of Columbus of
Nogales, Arizona, in cooperation with the
National Park Service, U.S. Department of
the Interior.

Abierto al público de las 8 a.m. en adelante
el domingo, 5 de diciembre de 1971. No se
cobrará admisión. Estacionamiento gratuito.

Comida al estilo Mexicano, y bebidas, de
las 10 a.m. a las 3 p.m., a precios módicos.

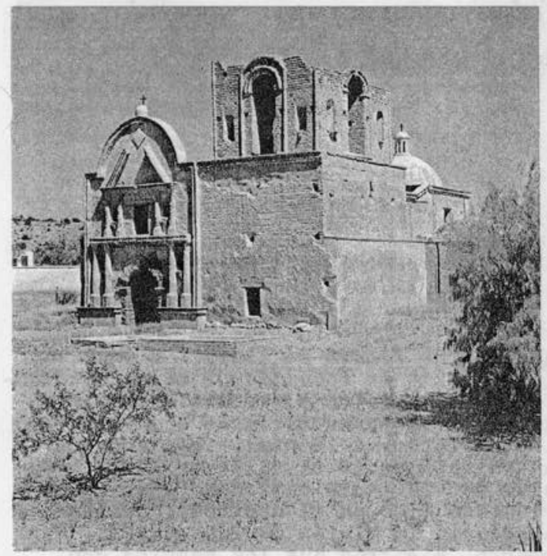
Habrá demostraciones de artesanía.

Comida Mexicana por: Caballeros de Colon,
Nogales; Damas Colombinas, Nogales; Damas
Católicas, Nogales; Comité de Damas de
Tumacácori, Carmen, y Tubac.

Patrocinado por los Caballeros de Colon
de Nogales, Arizona, en cooperación con el
Servicio de Parques Nacionales, Departamen
Del Interior De Los Estados Unidos.

TUMACACORI MISSION FIESTA

December 5, 1971



Tumacacori National Monument
National Park Service
U.S. Department of Interior

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 36. PROGRAM FOR LA FIESTA DE TUMACÁCORI, DECEMBER 5, 1971

ACTIVITIES

This FIESTA DAY is intended to further the understanding of the blending of the European and Indian cultures in the Western Hemisphere. Many changes have occurred here in the Valley of Santa Cruz since the initial visit of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino in 1691 when he established the Mission of Tumacacori. Yet - while change is inevitable - much of the Spanish-Indian-Anglo culture which evolved over the years still remains in this pleasant valley.

Have a good day.

10:00 A.M. until noon: Los Payadores de Pueblo, Tucson. (Mariachi Music).

1:00 P.M. to 3:00 P.M.: Los Changuitos Feos de Tucson. (Mariachi Music).

3:00 P.M. to 4:00 P.M.: Mass in Mission Church, celebrated by the Most Reverend Francis J. Green, Bishop of the Diocese of Tucson.

Entertainment throughout the day featuring the following:

Estudiantina del Colegio America, Nogales, Sonora.
Folklanders, Tucson, Arizona.
Los Aztecas, Tucson, Arizona.
Strolling Mariachi Band, University of Arizona.

ACTIVIDADES

Este DÍA DE FIESTA se llevará a cabo con el propósito de fomentar un mayor entendimiento de la unión y armonía que existe entre las culturas Europeas e Indias, en el hemisferio occidental. Hán surgido muchos cambios en el valle de Santa Cruz desde la visita inicial del Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino en el año 1691, cuando estableció la Misión de Tumacácori. Sin embargo, mientras que los cambios son inevitables, una gran parte de la cultura Anglo-India-Española que se há desarrollado durante los años, aún permanece en este placentero valle.

Que pasen un día feliz.

10:00 A.M. hasta mediodía: Los Payadores de Pueblo, Tucson. (Música de Mariachis).

1:00 P.M. á 3:00 P.M.: Los Changuitos Feos de Tucson. (Música de Mariachis).

3:00 P.M. á 4:00 P.M.: Misa en la Iglesia Misionera, celebrada por El Excelentísimo Reverendo Francis J. Green, Obispo de la Diócesis de Tucson.

Habrá variedad continua durante todo el día, presentando a los siguientes:

Estudiantina del Colegio America, Nogales Sonora.
"Folklanders", de Tucson, Arizona.
Los Aztecas, de Tucson, Arizona.
Banda de Mariachis, de la Universidad de Arizona.

Source: National Park Service

PROGRAM FOR LA FIESTA DE TUMACÁCORI, PAGE TWO

Attendance and participation grew with subsequent fiestas. Turnout increased to over 3,000 for the second fiesta held in December 1972. Similar figures were reported throughout the 1970s. Even though the park scaled back advertising for the event beginning in 1976, over 5,000 visitors regularly attended the annual fiesta by the 1980s. Attendance typically fell only if there was inclement weather discouraging a day spent outside in December. While the weather was usually good, there was concern that December was too late for the fiesta. Superintendent Joe Sewell stated in 1976 that he thought the festival should move to the first week of November, pending support of the fiesta co-sponsors. It does not appear Superintendent Sewell's idea was ever seriously pursued. The celebration has always taken place on the first Sunday, then the first full weekend, in December.[287]

The growing popularity of La Fiesta de Tumacácori led to an increase in vendors and activities. The second fiesta attracted considerable participation, including a booth sponsored by the State of Arizona, with local news reporting the event. By 1981, the fiesta, which was attended by 5,000 people that year, had a stage for a full day of music and entertainment and 20 food and craft booths. A 1989 description of the fiesta, which was included in an annual Interpretive Services Plan, noted that "continuous entertainment" was provided and that visitors could enjoy a plethora of activities, including "a horseshoe pitching contest, fiddlers jamming, participatory crafts for children . . . , bilingual puppet shows, piñata bashing, and so on." Of course, there was also the mass and procession, which included "mariachis, Yaqui Matachines, the Knights of Columbus, and others." The plan did not indicate the manner in which expansion of activities occurred. At least in part, it was likely an organic accretion of events, some of which were spontaneous. The plan did note, however, that "we decide who will, or will not, be permitted to have booths."[288]

However, the fiesta was not without its problems. Park staff were often spread thin by the event. One report described coverage at the first fiesta as "minimally adequate." Luckily, the Arizona Highway Patrol, local sheriffs, and volunteers assisted the National Park Service in law enforcement and traffic control outside park boundaries. After the first year, National Park Service rangers from other park units reinforced Tumacácori staff during the fiesta.[289]

Staff coverage issues were minor compared to other problems. William C. Bolton, the park technician at Tuzigoot, wrote a memo in 1975 in which he raised several concerns about the fiesta. Bolton worked at Tumacácori during two fiestas. He pointed out that efforts to protect the historic resources were ineffective against the crush of visitors taking part in the festivities. Moreover, he described the roughly two acres on which the fiestas were held as looking like "the Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus had just left." The impacts were so great that by 1974 only weeds grew in areas that were covered in grass a few years before. Bolton, who admitted he had taken a "jaundiced view" of the fiestas after 1974, provided several specific critiques. First, he argued that

287 Park Technician to Superintendent, Post Fiesta Report, December 12, 1972, La Fiesta de Tumacácori binder, Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ: "Comments," no date, La Fiesta de Tumacácori binder, Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ: General Superintendent, Southern Arizona Group to Superintendent, Tumacácori, January 5, 1976, La Fiesta de Tumacácori binder, Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ: "Highlights and Milestones."

288 [No Author], Part II: Annual Interpretation Operations Plan, 1989, La Fiesta de Tumacácori binder, Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ: Superintendent, Tumacácori National Monument, Superintendent's Annual Report 1981, Tumacácori National Monument, National Archives-College Park, MD (Hereafter Referred to as Archives II), Record Group 75: Records of the National Park Service (Hereafter referred to as RG 75), Entry: P-17, Box 49, Folder: TUMA; Superintendent Tumacácori to Regional Director, Western Region, Superintendent's Annual Report, January 24, 1989, Archives II, RG 75, Entry: P-17, Box 49, Folder: TUMA; Park Technician to Superintendent, Post Fiesta Report, December 12, 1972.

289 Park Technician to Superintendent, Post Fiesta Report, December 8, 1971; Park Technician to Superintendent, Post Fiesta Report, December 12, 1972; Park Technician to Superintendent, Post Fiesta Report, December 10 1973, La Fiesta de Tumacácori binder, Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

the fiestas might not even be appropriate for the park because fiestas probably did not occur when the mission was in operation. Second, he stated that the craft booths had become mere souvenir stands stocked with the same products one could purchase across the border in Nogales, Sonora. Bolton's third complaint was that food and craft booths contributed to a significant litter problem in the park. His greatest concern, however, was the effects the fiestas had on historical resources. Bolton describes an alarming situation in which the children of the craftspeople and food vendors were playing on and sometimes vandalizing the structures. Apparently, the lime kiln became a de facto trash receptacle for visitors. The church and convento were both damaged by people attending the mass. Bolton advised that the fiesta be put on hold until a more appropriate location, perhaps a vacant parcel north of the monument, could be acquired as a dedicated fiesta site. He argued that such an arrangement would allow the festival to continue outside the historic core of the monument. This would allow the National Park Service to better protect and preserve the historical resources for which the monument was established.[290]

William Bolton's recommendations came to fruition in December 1975. Park Superintendent Joseph L. Sewell reiterated Bolton's concerns in a press release informing the public of changes to the annual fiesta. Noting that the crowds had grown too big for the church and that the 1974 fiesta threatened the integrity of the historical resource, he stated that the church would no longer be open during the annual festival. Beginning in 1975, mass was celebrated outside, in front of the church. This policy was followed almost every year. The only exception was 1997, when mass was held in the church due to inclement weather. The procession from the visitor center to the church was retained until 1996, when a new procession route was introduced. After 1995, participants began in the visitor center parking lot, processing north, then circling back through the fiesta grounds to the church.[291]

The new procession route crossed through the fiesta booths and entertainment area, which had been moved from their original sites between the church and visitor center. Beginning in 1975, all booths and entertainment were moved to a parcel of land north of the monument. The land, owned by the Anamax Mining Company, was subsequently acquired by the National Park Service and is still used as the fiesta grounds.[292] The land acquisition is discussed below.

The fiesta continued to grow into the 1990s and after surveying park staff, volunteers, and vendors, organizers decided to expand the annual festival from one day to two days in 1993. The idea for holding a two-day fiesta had been circulating for years, after vendors first suggested it in 1973. The 1993 fiesta was held on the weekend of December 4 and 5. Saturday's main events included Tex-Mex music, Apache Crown Dancers, Apache musicians, country music and dancing, O'odham waila music, and folklorico dancers from Mexico. There were also puppet shows, piñata breaking, and children's craft activities (which were formalized in the Children's Corner the next year). Furthermore, the ubiquitous craft demonstrations and regional food booths were well represented. Most of these activities were continued on Sunday, with the addition of harp music, mariachis, and the annual procession and mass in front of the mission church. The fiesta continues to be held over two days and hosts a similar variety of activities.[293]

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290 Park Technician, Tuzigoot, to General Superintendent, Southern Arizona Group, February 2, 1975, La Fiesta de Tumacácori binder, Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

291 "Forty Years of La Fiesta de Tumacácori;" "Press Release: Preservation Reflected in Fiesta Modification," December 4, 1975, La Fiesta de Tumacácori binder, Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

292 "Forty Years of La Fiesta de Tumacácori;" "Press Release: Preservation Reflected in Fiesta Modification;" Ruby Edwards, "1975," La Fiesta de Tumacácori binder, Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

293 "Forty Years of La Fiesta de Tumacácori;" "Sonoreneses in Tumacácori Fiesta," 1981, La Fiesta de Tumacácori binder, Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.; "Fiesta de Tumacácori is expanded to two days of festivities this

The bulk of planning and organization of La Fiesta de Tumacácori has always been the responsibility of the park's chief of interpretation. The first fiesta was planned and organized by the park's interpretive specialist and historian Dewey Doramus, who worked at Tumacácori from 1970 until 1972. Doramus subsequently took a job with the United States Customs Service in Nogales and was replaced by Nick Bleser who played the prominent role in planning the annual fiesta from 1972 until 1990. The 1991 fiesta was dedicated to Bleser in recognition of his efforts. Donald Garate replaced Bleser as the park's chief of interpretation and historian in 1990.

Historians have long played an important role at Tumacácori. Ray H. Mattison and Ricardo Torres-Reyes worked at the park in the 1940s and 1960s, respectively. They went on to long careers as NPS historians with many important publications to their credit. Robert J. Holden, who briefly worked at the park in 1969 and 1970, continued his career as a park historian at other parks. John Kessell, an authority on the Spanish era in New Mexico and Arizona, spent several years at Tumacácori, in the 1960s, collecting and interpreting a large collection of documents related to the Pimería Alta missions. Nick Bleser was also a historian as well as chief of interpretation. The historians all worked within the division of interpretation, often as chief of interpretation or in a similar role.

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 37. DON GARATE

Donald Garate represented a continuation of this pattern. He was hired as park historian and chief of interpretation. Known for his living history portrayal of Tubac Presidio Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, prodigious knowledge, and larger than life persona, he produced numerous articles and a large amount of unpublished research from original documents, adding significantly to the understanding of Tumacácori's past.

Garate, who was an author or editor of 25 published works, was an authority on Juan Bautista de Anza. His 2003 biography of Anza, *Juan Bautista De Anza: Basque Explorer in the New World, 1693–1740*, is still an important resource for historians studying Spanish America and Anza. Garate also published several collections of translated Spanish documents related to Anza. These document collections are an indispensable tool for the understanding and analysis of Anza and his place in history.[294]

One of his most significant contributions is known as Mission 2000, a database of mission records. Garate, with help from a few highly trained bilingual volunteers, translated the baptism, burial, and marriage records of nearly 30,000 individuals. As of 2010, the Mission 2000 database included all available records from the Tumacácori, Guevavi, Suamca, and Cocóspera missions and the Tubac Presidio. It also included portions of the Janos Presidio and the Suamca, Magdalena, and San

year," Green Valley News, November 17, 1993; High Mass Highlight of Fiesta de Tumacácori, *Green Valley News & Sun*, December 11, 2002.

294 See Donald T. Garate, *Juan Bautista De Anza: Basque Explorer in the New World, 1693–1740* (Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press, 2003); Donald T Garate, ed. Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, correspondence on various subjects, 1775 : Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas 237, Section 3 (San Lenardo, CA: Los Californianos, 1995); Donald T. Garate, ed., The Juan Bautista de Anza--Fernando de Rivera y Moncada letters of 1775–76 : personalities in conflict (San Diego CA: Los Californianos, 2006); Donald T. Garate, ed., Anza's Return from Alta California: Anza Correspondence 1776–78 (San Lenardo, CA: Los Californianos, 1998).

Ignacio missions, and many other scattered mission era records. The database was made available on the park's website with accompanying digital photos of the actual Tumacácori, Guevavi, and Janos register pages and scans of many others. The park continues to fund the translation of records into the database, and to maintain it on the park website–a research tool highly valued by genealogists and historians.[295]

The park also developed an active living history program under Garate's tenure. Park rangers performed the roles of both general and specific historic figures, including priests, the scribe Juan Jose de Soza, mission resident Maria Rita Durán, and Captain Juan Bautista de Anza. Volunteers engaged in costumed interpretation for special events, tours, and demonstrations. In 2000, the park's interpretive program was recognized by the Intermountain Region with the Garrison Gold Award for Excellence in Interpretation.[296]

La Fiesta de Tumacácori also remained an important component of Garate's work. He took over where Bleser left off, planning and managing the ever more popular fiesta from 1990 until his untimely death in 2010. The 2010 fiesta, which was the 40th edition of the event, was subsequently dedicated to Donald Garate.[297] Beginning in 2010, the event passed to interpretation employees Anita Badertscher (chief of interpretation as of 2013) and Gabby Cook.

While the fiesta was the most ambitious annual event held at the park, other special programs were developed or expanded. The Christmas Eve lighting of the luminarias, an annual event that was started in the 1940s as a simple neighborhood celebration known as "The Community Christmas Tree," evolved into a popular visitor attraction in the 1970s. The use of luminarias (farolitos in Mexico) dates to the 16th century when small fires were lit along roads leading to churches on Christmas Eve. The practice evolved to the current tradition in which paper bags are weighted with sand and illuminated by a votive candle. Beginning in the 1970s, increasing numbers of visitors came to the park to enjoy hot chocolate and cookies while taking in the serene light of the luminarias.[298]

By the 1970s and 1980s, 650 to 700 bags were placed on the church and throughout the grounds. The park was opened for the enjoyment of the luminarias from 6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. on Christmas Eve. Cookies, made by park employees, and Mexican hot chocolate or champurro were served in the visitor center lobby. Visitation ranged from a low of 243 in 1972 to a high of 1,417 in 1982.

In the 1990s, the number of bags was increased to 2,000, then to 2,500. The event was extended from two to three hours, with the park opening from 6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. Visitation hovered around 1,000 people until 1994 when *Arizona Highways* magazine published an article, complete with cover photo and centerfold, featuring Tumacácori's luminarias. Visitation in 1994 more than doubled the previous record of 1,417 visitors set in 1982, at 2,964 visitors.

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295 Anita Badertscher, e-mail message to Jayne Aaron, May 15, 2014; See "Mission 2000" at: http://home.nps.gov/applications/tuma/search.cfm.

296 Anita Badertscher, e-mail message to Jayne Aaron, May 15, 2014.

297 Ruby Edwards, "Highlights and Milestones," n.d., La Fiesta de Tumacácori Binder, Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ: "40th Annual La Fiesta de Tumacácori, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

298 Superintendent Tumacácori National Monument, Superintendent's Annual Report 1980, Tumacácori National Monument; Archives II, RG 75, Entry: P-17, Box 49, Folder: TUMA; Superintendent Tumacácori National Monument, Superintendent's Annual Report 1987, Tumacácori National Monument; Archives II, RG 75, Entry: P-17, Box 49, Folder: TUMA; "Luminarias night 'enchants,'" *Nogales International*, January 4, 2005.

Visitation has averaged 2,500 ever since, rivaling, in only three hours, the two-day visitation of the annual fiesta. The thousands of cookies are still homemade by staff and volunteers, and Mexican style hot chocolate is still served–not in the visitor center lobby, but at the end of the luminaria path in the picnic area. Always meant as a gift to the local community rather than a public event, the evening has never been advertised.

The park hosted various other celebrations and commemorations over the years. For example, a Diamond Jubilee was held September 15, 1983, marking the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the national monument. Superintendent Sewell considered the highlight of the event the attendance of Mrs. Georgia Boundey, the widow of George Boundey, who was park custodian from 1929 to 1936. A Kino Tri-Centennial Celebration was held on January 13, 1990. Dignitaries from Mexico and NPS Regional Director Stanley T. Albright attended, along with over 1,500 visitors. An annual mass is held in the mission church as part of the Tubac Presidio Anza Days celebrations held each October. Attendees and participants in historic period dress accompany the mass. These masses were described by park staff as "a historical enactment as well as a Catholic Mass." A similar mass was held inside the church under a full moon in April or May during the 1990s.[299]

Festivals begat other interpretive opportunities. The park technician, in a report on the first annual fiesta, argued that the arts and crafts demonstrations were "a must for all future events." Indeed, craft demonstrations grew into an independent program that became a common component of interpretation at the park, regardless of whether there was an event or not. The park also began hosting regular basket-making seminars in 1976 taught by O'odham weavers.[300]

Craft demonstrators, now referred to as cultural demonstrators, reflected the transnational cultural contact that characterized the history of Tumacácori. The demonstration program was not envisioned as a living history program. Rather, Park Superintendent Joseph Sewell stated that it highlights "crafts that have survived from the mission period." He asserted that the program's intent was "to heighten public awareness of the continuity, preservation and evolution of the monument's cultural heritage."[301]

Craftspeople were able to sell what they made until the policy was changed in 1977 when demonstrators were no longer allowed to sell their products at the park. Nick Bleser did, however, suggest that they could "take orders" from people. Three years later, Bleser reiterated this point in a letter to demonstrators when he told them the "you do not sell your products on-site, nor solicit or accept tips." Park staff eventually developed an order form that provided details on how visitors were to go about ordering items. The form made clear that the park was not involved in the sale of

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299 "Tumacácori VIP Clip" September 21, 1999, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.; "Tumacácori VIP Clip" April 20, 1999, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; "Tumacácori VIP Clip" March 6, 2000, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; "Full Moon Mass at Tumacácori April 27," *Green Valley News & Sun*, April 3, 2002; Superintendent Tumacácori National Monument, Superintendent's Annual Report 1983, Tumacácori National Monument, Archives II, RG 75, Entry: P-17, Box 49, Folder: TUMA; Superintendent, Tumacácori National Historical Park, to Regional Director, Western Region, Superintendent's Annual Report, January 12, 1993, Archives II, RG 75, Entry: P-17, Box 49, Folder: TUMA.

300 Park Technician to Superintendent, Post Fiesta Report, December 8, 1971; Superintendent's Annual Report 1980, Tumacácori National Monument; Superintendent Tumacácori National Monument, Superintendent's Annual Report 1986, Tumacácori National Monument; Archives II, RG 75, Entry: P-17, Box 49, Folder: TUMA; Superintendent's Annual Report 1987, Tumacácori National Monument.

301 Joseph L. Sewell, "Annual Donation Request," no date, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Nick [Bleser], [Craft Demonstration Schedule], no date, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; N. J. Bleser, "Evolution of a Volunteer Program at Tumacácori," April 1985, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

the products. It specifically stated that "we will not handle orders for you [the visitor] nor will we transmit messages to the [craftsperson]." The park would "act only as a storage or pick-up point for completed baskets." This policy had changed slightly by 1987 when demonstrators were instructed that they could bring "previously manufactured examples of [their] craft . . . and sell them to visitors." [302]

Evidently, problems with the demonstration program continued. Superintendent Troutwine, implying that demonstrators were selling crafts they made at the park, reiterated the 1987 policy in 1990. He pointed out that "no visitor should be charged for any of the products that are items made as part of the demonstration. He reminded demonstrators that they could only sell items they had made prior to coming to the park. This policy was modified slightly during the 1990s. Nonfood demonstrators were allowed to sell what they made, regardless of whether it was made during their demonstration, or before. They were also allowed to take orders for products. These exchanges continued to be strictly between the demonstrator and visitor. Neither the National Park Service nor Tumacácori National Historical Park played a role in the sales. These principals still guide demonstrators in selling their products.[303]

Food items like tortillas were provided free of charge. In 1980, Bleser reminded the tortilla makers that the National Park Service purchased their masa and that they were expected "to be generous and use it up on the visitors." In fact, in 1987, he told demonstrators that tortillas should be given to visitors whether they want one or one dozen. The food demonstration program continues to operate under similar conditions. Demonstrators still provide free tortillas to visitors while they are working in the park. They can, however, arrange to sell tortillas (made using their own masa) to visitors and park staff outside the hours that they are working as demonstrators. Tortilla makers have also incorporated homemade beans and salsa into their programs.[304]

Tipping was an area of concern that had posed a challenge since the beginning of the craft demonstration program. The National Park Service initially informed demonstrators that they were not allowed to solicit or accept tips. Apparently this was easier said than done. Nick Bleser provided a softened stance in 1987 when he wrote that "we ask that you <u>not</u> solicit or accept tipping," but "<u>if</u> a visitor insists, then fine, accept the tip graciously." Demonstrators were cautioned, however, against "salting" their tips by leaving money out. Some visitors complained that they felt obligated to pay (tip) the demonstrators. Superintendent Troutwine agreed and wrote in 1990 that "we have shut our eyes to tipping in the past, but it has gotten out of hand." As a result, the superintendent emphatically barred the practice and had a sign put up stating that tipping was not allowed.[305] Demonstrators, by the 1990s, had donation boxes in which visitors could place money to support the program, instead of providing tips.

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302 Nicholas J. Bleser to All Our Craft Demonstrators, May 7, 1977, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Nicholas J. Bleser [Memorandum to Craftspeople], October 15, 1980, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Nick [Bleser] to Joe, April 5, 1986, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; "General Requirements Governing Weekend Crafts at Tumacácori National Monument" [1987], on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

303 James W. Troutwine, Superintendent, Tumacácori National Monument, To All Craftspeople at Tumacácori National Monument, May 14, 1990; "Historic Craft Demonstrator [Contract], revised September 26, 2012," on file at Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

304 Nicholas J. Bleser [Memorandum to Craftspeople], October 15, 1980, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; "General Requirements Governing Weekend Crafts at Tumacácori National Monument" [1987], on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; "Traditional Food Craft Demonstrator [Contract]," revised September 26, 2012, on file at Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

305 James W. Troutwine, Superintendent, Tumacácori National Monument, to All Craftspeople at Tumacácori National Monument, May 14, 1990; Nicholas J. Bleser [Memorandum to Craftspeople], October 15, 1980, on file at Tumacácori Library,

An undated list of craftspeople contained in the park files included a wide variety of individuals and skills. Two local women, Ramona Alegria and Consuelo Martinez, made tortillas. Two O'odham women from Sells and Topawa, Arizona, demonstrated basketry. A potter and a leather worker from Sonora, Mexico, also contributed to the craft demonstration program. Craftspeople were originally scheduled so that one demonstrator worked each weekend. The program ran from spring to fall in the 1970s. By the 1980s, the demonstrations occurred almost every weekend of the year. The craftspeople, who were not allowed to sell their wares after 1976, were paid a small sum to demonstrate and discuss their craft. They were paid $30.00 for two days of work when the program began in 1971. Pay was increased to between $35.00 and $42.50 per day in 1977. Three years later, compensation had been adjusted to an hourly rate of $5.50, plus expenses and transportation costs. The rate was increased to $6.25 per hour in 1986. However, the National Park Service was not allowed to pay demonstrators from Mexico with appropriated funds. Instead, Mexican nationals were paid with donations and money from cooperating groups like the Southwest Parks and Monuments Association (SPMA, now Western National Parks and Monuments Association, WNPA).[306]

Funding the demonstration program was always difficult. Money bolstering NPS appropriations came from various sources. The previously mentioned Southwest Parks and Monuments Association provided funds to the program through the sale of materials from the visitor center shop. The Arizona Humanities Council also granted funds to the park in support of the demonstration program.[307] The importance of these groups became strikingly apparent in 1981 when the entire craft demonstration program was suspended in February due to "severe budget cuts." Park historian Nick Bleser frantically searched for other funding opportunities. He turned to these two organizations for assistance. Bleser's efforts were successful and he ecstatically reported to the craft demonstrators in late April that they "will have to be going back to work" because the Arizona Humanities Council provided a grant to fund the program. Budget cuts in 1986 resulted in another crisis, which led to a condition in which the entire craft program was supported through donations. The program was indefinitely suspended in the spring of 1987 due to lack of funds. Luckily, the program was restarted two months later after the park received sufficient donations.[308]

In the early 1990s, SPMA was again funding the program, but by the mid-90s funding had shifted to the park's standard donation account. Craft demonstrators worked from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Demonstrations were scheduled for weekends only in the spring and fall. In the busy winter season, they went from every day, to Wednesday through Sunday in the mid-90s, with both food

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Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; "General Requirements Governing Weekend Crafts at Tumacácori National Monument" [1987], on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

306 Superintendent to Park Technician, January 28, 1976, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; "Craftspeople," no date, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Nicholas J. Bleser to All Our Craft Demonstrators, May 7, 1977, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Nick [Bleser] to Craftspeople, 1986, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Nicholas J. Bleser [Memorandum to Craftspeople], October 15, 1980, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ [Craft Demonstration Schedule], 1984, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Joseph L. Sewell, Annual Donation Request, Circa. 1985, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

307 Nick [Bleser], [Memorandum to Craftspeople] 1987, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Superintendent's Annual Report 1981, Tumacácori National Monument.

308 Nick [Bleser] to Craftspeople, 1986; Superintendent to Juanita Ahil et al., January 23, 1981, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Nicholas J. Bleser to Craftspeople, February 8, 1981, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Nick [Bleser], [Memorandum to Craftspeople], April 22, 1981, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Nick [Bleser], [Memorandum to Craftspeople], March 8, 1986, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Nicholas J. Bleser to Juanita Ahil et al., April 2, 1987, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ; Nick [Bleser], "Good News!," June 3, 1987, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

and craft demonstrations on weekends. The schedule emphasized tortilla makers–the most popular craft, and the one which visitors seemed pleased to support, financially. A donation box beside the tortilla maker's ramada, announced, "Craft Demonstrations Are Funded Entirely by Visitor Donations." Initially, tortilla donations were sufficient to fund the program. Eventually, the program used all general donations received by the park each year. With the arrival of Superintendent Lisa Carrico in 2007 the park began supplementing the donation funds with appropriated funds if the year's donations fell short. By 2010, demonstrators were being paid $100, with tortilla makers receiving an extra $15 for supplies.[309]

The program met its most vexing challenges in 2011. In that year, the federal government stopped writing checks, and the park was informed that it is illegal to pay noncitizens in any way for "labor." The demonstration program went on hiatus for the 2011–12 season. Mexican demonstrators were let go, new demonstrators were hired, an exclusion allowing demonstrators to be paid with credit card "convenience checks" was found, and the program was up and running again the next fall.[310] Despite many challenges over the years, the cultural demonstration program continues to be one of the park's most valued, and most popular, interpretive programs.

Volunteers played an important role in supporting the early craft demonstration program and the fiesta, as well as day-to-day operations of the park. Roberta "Birdie" Stabel who is the wife of chief of interpretation, Nick Bleser, and a former a park employee, became volunteer active in the 1970s and 1980s. She was illustrative of the important role volunteers play. Birdie was regularly lauded for her contributions to the interpretive program. She and Nick voluntarily supported craft demonstrators coming from the distant O'odham Reservation by feeding and housing them throughout the demonstration season. Ms. Stabel's dedication was such that the National Park Service regional director recognized her contributions in 1984.[311] Stabel was one of many individual volunteers who have assisted park administrators in achieving their management and operational goals.

While the park benefited from the help of individual volunteers, there was no organized volunteer program until May 1982 when a group of volunteers organized themselves into Los Amigos de Tumacácori. The original structure of the 65-member group was very informal. There were no dues, officers, or regular meetings. Their primary responsibility was to support the fiesta. The 1982 Fiesta de Tumacácori was dedicated to the organization in recognition of their contributions to the event. The volunteer assistance was quickly recognized. Superintendent Jewell commended the volunteer organization in the Annual Superintendent's Report for 1983, where he lauded the Volunteers-in-Parks (VIP) corps, Los Amigos de Tumacácori for their assistance with the Diamond Jubilee, La Fiesta de Tumacácori, and luminaria lighting ceremony. Nick Bleser described the relationship between the National Park Service and Los Amigos de Tumacácori as "symbiotic."[312]

Los Amigos de Tumacácori quickly took on more volunteer responsibilities at the park and it became clear that the organization needed a more defined organizational structure. By 1985, Los Amigos was organized into various committees supporting specific volunteer functions. A new

309 Anita Badertscher, e-mail message to Jayne Aaron, May 15, 2014.

310 Anita Badertscher, e-mail message to Jayne Aaron, May 15, 2014.

311 Superintendent Tumacácori National Monument, Superintendent's Annual Report 1982, Tumacácori National Monument, Archives II, RG 75, Entry: P-17, Box 49, Folder: TUMA; Superintendent Tumacácori National Monument, Superintendent's Annual Report 1984, Tumacácori National Monument; Archives II, RG 75, Entry: P-17, Box 49, Folder: TUMA; Superintendent's Annual Report 1980, Tumacácori National Monument; Superintendent's Annual Report 1981, Tumacácori National Monument.

312 Superintendent Tumacácori National Monument, Superintendent's Annual Report 1983; "Evolution of a Volunteer Program," "Forty Years of La Fiesta de Tumacácori."

membership fee structure was also initiated to support volunteer efforts. The group acquired nonprofit status from the Internal Revenue Service in 1985. Volunteers did not just contribute their time and expertise, they played a pivotal role in fund raising. In one year alone, monies donated and raised by Los Amigos de Tumacácori paid for entertainment at the Christmas Eve luminaria lighting, audio visual equipment for use at the fiesta, new trailside exhibit texts, and the construction of a ramada on the fiesta grounds.[313]

The Amigos had dwindled to a few remaining members when Don Garate organized a new volunteer program in 1993. The region had become popular with retirees who relocated to nearby communities, such as Rio Rico and Green Valley, and park administrators wanted to tap into the reservoir of expertise and availability that the retirees presented. The volunteer program was immediately successful. In just a few years, hours of donated volunteer work rose to more than 10,000 per year. The program, which by the early 2000s consisted of over 50 volunteers, continues to play an important role in the park. Volunteers work primarily in interpretation and education, staffing the visitor center, and providing tours and informal interpretation. They also contribute to many other park operations such as working at special events, garden and orchard maintenance, managing the park library, and assisting with maintenance and clerical work.

The contributions of volunteers were quantified in 2003 when Ranger Jeff Axel wrote that volunteers outnumbered paid NPS staff 5 to 1. He stated that the average volunteer provided about 200 hours of work per year. Put another way, Axel stated, the volunteers provide the equivalent labor of five GS-7 employees. He pointed out that since 1993 the volunteers allowed the chronically understaffed park to undertake projects that would not be feasible without their assistance. Volunteers were, and continue to be, an integral component of park operations, both in the public eye and behind the scenes. Axel wrote that their contributions were "very visible to visitors and their experience here."[314]

The Tumacácori volunteer program was first managed by Judy Eichman who was a member of both the Amigos de Tumacácori and the reconstituted volunteer program. Interpreter Anita Badertscher began managing the program in 1998. The Tumacácori volunteer program was recognized when it was named the Intermountain Region winner of the 2003 NPS George B. Hartzog Jr. Award for Outstanding Volunteer Program. The volunteer program also received national recognition in 2004, when President George W. Bush awarded them the national "Take Pride in America" Federal Volunteer Program Award. [315]

The awards are a reflection of the dedication of the volunteers, but they also reveal the place that Tumacácori occupies as an integrated component of local Santa Cruz Valley communities. The fiestas, craft demonstration program, and other activities and traditions developed and cultivated since the 1970s are a testament to the history of the mission and its importance as an emblem of the cultural interconnectedness of the region. The volunteer program is another manifestation of the park's place in the Santa Cruz Valley, which extends far beyond the boundaries of the original monument.

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313 "Evolution of a Volunteer Program," Superintendent's Annual Report 1986, Tumacácori National Monument.

314 Jeff Axel "Volunteers-in-Parks Program: George B. Hertzog Jr. Awards for Outstanding Volunteer Service [Nomination Form]," 2003, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

315 "Tumacácori Park Volunteers Honored with National Award," *Green Valley News*, August 27, 2004; Axel "Volunteers-in-Parks Program:" Fran P. Mainella, Director, National Park Service, to Ann Rasor, April 30, 2004, on file at Tumacácori Library, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ.

Tumacácori's regional importance was further reinforced by the establishment of the Missions Initiative. In 2002, superintendents of Spanish mission-era parks, including Ann Rasor at Tumacácori, urged the creation of an international collaborative preservation program focusing on Spanish mission resources. A truly transnational effort, the initiative was driven by a desire to both protect resources and promote heritage tourism "through the re-establishment of historic links among Spanish Colonial mission communities on both sides of the international border."[316]

The initiative, which continues to play an important role in Tumacácori and other mission sites, was established as an interdisciplinary collaborative partnership among federal, state, and local agencies, American Indian communities, academic institutions, and other stakeholders. Based out of the University of Arizona's Heritage Conservation Program and Drachman Institute, the Missions Initiative is guided by a 2004 strategic plan that provides four overarching goals. First, the program participants work to ensure communication regarding the management of missions on both sides of the United States-Mexico border. Second, the organizations involved in the program work to ensure that education and preservation programs correctly portray an integrated mission system. Third, the Missions Initiative serves to develop and disseminate consistent standards for the documentation, preservation, and interpretation of mission sites. Fourth, the program strives to facilitate economic development through heritage tourism. Many of these goals are facilitated through international "training workshops, conferences, research projects, and symposia" where experts share "knowledge and develop best practices." Mission Initiatives information, guidance, and research is also available through a website hosted by the University of Arizona.[317]

The program was designed to serve all missions, not just specific sites. With this in mind, Missions Initiative members identified several high priority long-term projects in 2006. One project was the incorporation of the *Taller Internacional de Conservación y Restauración de Arquitectura de Tierra* (TICRAT) workshops into the Missions Initiative. TICRAT was established in 1994 as a partnership between the National Park Service and Mexico's Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) and served to preserve adobe architecture and building practices through workshops that teach adobe and plaster skills to community members in New Mexico and Chihuahua. The program was expanded to include the entire missions network in northern Mexico and Baja California, California, and the southwestern United States. Tumacácori hosted TICRAT workshops in 2008 and 2013.[318]

The workshops are one week long and typically have about 30 enrollees. The TICRAT workshops are attended by students from Mexico and the United States, as well as other nations. For example the 2008 workshop hosted a group of archeological site managers from Afghanistan. The 2013 TICRAT had students from the United States, Mexico, Argentina, Japan, France, and Spain. Earthen architecture and construction experts from the National Park Service, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and other institutions provide the students with both technical instruction and hands-on experience. Sessions include training on building assessment and stabilization, adobe brick making, lime production, and plaster and pigment application.

316 R. Brooks Jeffery, "Missions Initiative: An International, Multidiciplinary Partnership for Cultural Resource Management," Vanishing Treasures 2012 Annual Report, 7.

317 Jeffery, "Missions Initiative," 7–8; "Missions Initiative: Strategic Plan, 2004," accessed September 26, 2014, http://missions.arizona.edu/sites/default/files/Missions%20Initiative%20Strategic%20Plan%202004.pdf; The Missions Initiative website is http://missions.arizona.edu.

318 Jeffery, "Missions Initiative," 9.

A second major Missions Initiative project is the development of a searchable web-based portal to access databases of archival documents and maps related to the "entire Spanish Colonial enterprise." Two NPS collections are currently subsumed into the Missions Initiative database portal. One is the Spanish Colonial Research Center collection, based at the University of New Mexico. The Spanish Colonial Research Center holdings consist of approximately 90,000 documents and maps related to the Spanish colonial era in North America. The second database is Tumacácori's Mission 2000 database described above.[319]

Like the management of other park resources, the Tumacácori museum evolves as park staff incorporate new information into exhibits. Following an extensive period of planning and preparation throughout the early 2000s, the museum underwent a major renovation in 2008. The video room was removed from the northern end of the museum. Early '70s-era purple, orange and yellow wall panels were removed, and information on prehistory, native cultures, and sister missions Guevavi and Calabazas, part of the park since the previous decade, were added. Although the staff expressed the familiar concerns, lacking any other location for it to go, the video was relocated to the breezeway – the very location proposed and rejected for this purpose in the early 1950s.

The project included installation of new displays and exhibits, new flooring, and new lighting. The most northerly museum entrance, which had been sealed for decades, was reopened, and displays returned to the museum's original chronological flow – from Kino diorama, to Pima Rebellion, to church interior Mass diorama. The delicate New Deal-era dioramas were left in place. As part of the new interpretation of native cultures, an audio exhibit was added. Visitors can listen to recordings of contemporary O'odham, Yaqui, and Apache individuals discuss, in their native language, the importance of Tumacácori in their culture. Five *Santos* (traditional religious statues), believed to be among the nine statues taken to San Xavier by Tumacácori residents at the time of abandonment, were retained in the new exhibits. A sixth of Tumacácori's original statues, Jesús Nazareno, was returned from San Xavier by the diocese of Tucson to join its brothers in the new display. Life-cast figures of a representative Jesuit and Franciscan priest, and new, large-scale mural art, were some of the most striking additions to the museum.

The new exhbits were installed just in time for a grand opening as part of the park's 100th anniversary celebration, on September 15, 2008. The need for additional funds for lighting delayed the opening of the museum to the public until April of the following year. The renovated museum was officially dedicated to Donald Garate in June 2012.

OLD CHALLENGES

There is little question that the post-Mission 66 era at Tumacácori National Historical Park has been a period of significant change. The park's core challenges, however, remained unchanged. Preservation efforts have continued to represent a major component of the park's administrative focus. The ever-present struggle to buffer the mission against the ravages of time has comprised the bulk of preservation activity. Problems with weathering and ill-conceived attempts to protect the mission all presented significant challenges to park administrators and researchers.

The early history of historic preservation at Tumacácori National Historical Park was focused on efforts to partially restore the church building to its original condition. This often involved

319 Jeffery, "Missions Initiative," 11.

ambitious efforts that amounted to rebuilding parts of the mission church. Restoration gave way to a new perspective in the 1940s. Instead of ambitiously trying to reconstruct portions of the crumbling building, NPS officials focused their efforts on maintaining existing conditions. There was also a shift in methods. Synthetic and nontraditional materials, including Portland cement, ethyl silicate, and polyvinyl acetate were tested. These practices dominated historic structure management practices until the 1970s, when both preservation through maintenance and the use of traditional materials and methods began shaping NPS historic resource management policy.[320]

One of the first projects undertaken in the 1970s was the replacement of the church doors in March 1973. The 1919 doors installed by A. S. Noon were removed and transported to the collections of the NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center. The replacement doors were designed and crafted by René Menard, a Nogales resident who used the doors on the San Ignacio Mission in Sonora as a model.[321] Most of the decade, however, was dedicated to the development of a unified preservation program.

Tumacácori administrators in the 1970s were frustrated with the manner in which preservation efforts had been implemented in the previous six decades of the monument's existence. They were particularly concerned about the lack of a comprehensive preservation strategy and the fact that emergencies dictated projects. Southern Arizona Group General Superintendent John E. Cook wrote in 1971 that the preservation of Tumacácori's historic resources needed to be part of an "integrated [long-term] program," rather than "the old bugaboos of. . . program deficiencies and resultant emergency actions." His successor, Gary K. Howe, was much more pointed in his criticisms. He wrote in 1973 that "at no time has the church and other buildings been looked upon as a whole and then worked on accordingly." He argued that the result was a patchwork of materials and techniques that have not done enough to stem the deterioration of the mission. He continued that, ". . .the church is currently in such a state of disrepair" that "there is a clear a present danger that whole sections of walls and plaster could collapse resulting in irretrievable loss." Howe considered the situation so bad that he thought it "extremely possible that the ruins will have to be closed to the public by 1978," if the deterioration is not mitigated, specifically through a comprehensive preservation program.[322]

320 Jeremy M. Moss, "Of Adobe, Lime, and Cement: The Preservation History of the San José de Tumacácori Mission Church," S*outhwestern Mission Research Center Revista* vol. 42, no. 154–157 (Spring–Winter 2008) 27.

321 Moss, "Of Adobe, Lime, and Cement," 29.

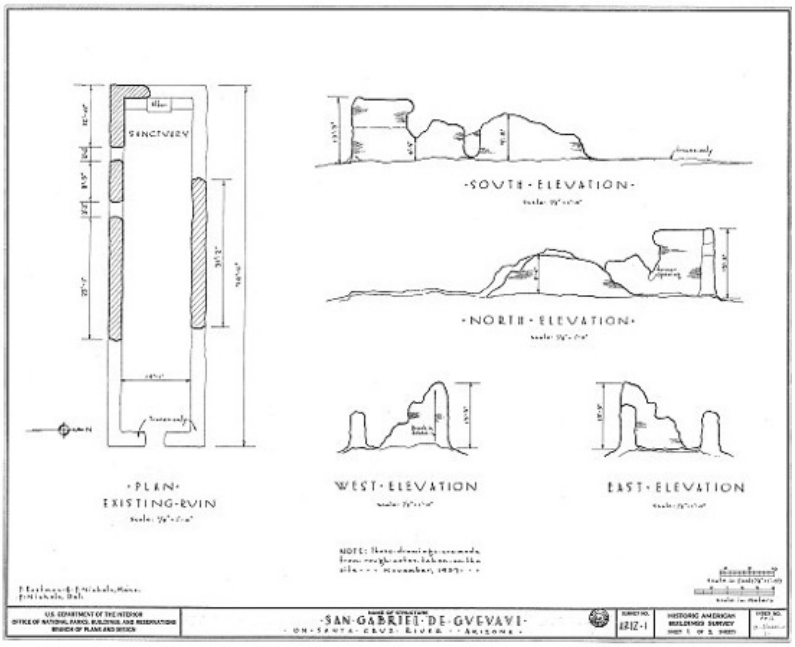
322 John E. Cook, General Superintendent, SOAR to Director, SWR, July 13 1971, TUMA, WACC, Series 4603, Folder 3 of 8; Gary K. Howe, Superintendent, "NPS FORM 1038:Development/Study Package Proposal: Mission Church Stabilization – Rehab," October 2, 1973, TUMA, WACC, Series 4603, Folder 5 of 8.

Source: Library of Congress

FIGURE 38. CALABAZAS, 1937

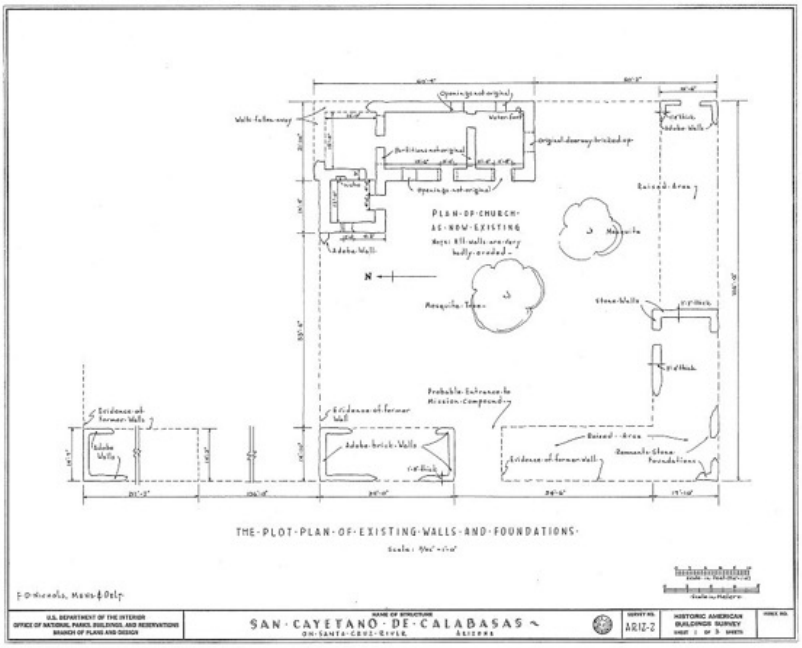
Source: Library of Congress

FIGURE 39. GUEVAVI, 1940



Source: Library of Congress

FIGURE 40. ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING, GUEVAVI, 1940



Source: Library of Congress

FIGURE 41. SITE PLAN, CALABAZAS, 1937

The superintendents' advocacy for a programmatic approach to the preservation of the mission complex was taken a step further in 1974 when three consultants—architect Eleazar D. Herreras and engineers James Kriegh and Hassan A. Sultan—conducted a systematic survey of the mission buildings in order to recommend strategies "for the preservation of the entire complex." The authors were careful to point out that the appropriate treatment for the complex was not a "faithful restoration of 1848 conditions when it was abandoned," but rather that the "structures remain as ruins." Any work should, in their mind, be undertaken only "when required by concerns of safety and preservation." Moreover, any work that occurs must be "in keeping with the original architecture, the true use and design of the mission," and "original elements or components [need] to be retained wherever possible."[323].

Herreras Kriegh and Sultan were disturbed by what they saw when they visited the mission complex in 1974. They wrote that the day-to-day maintenance and repair of the structures was not effective in dealing with the "major deterioration" that was undermining the structures. Echoing Superintendent Howe's concerns, the consultants warned that "if [the deterioration is] not dealt with effectively in the near future, [it] could spell the loss of the complex forever." The men pointed out four major overarching problems with the mission structures. They noted that "several walls were dangerously cracked." Cracking was especially severe on the west wall of the church. The "alarming" migration of moisture into the adobe walls was another concern as was the fact that "60-75% of the interior plasters were no longer bonded to the walls." Finally, the engineers and architect were concerned that the church walls had inadequate lateral support.[324] The report went on to make several recommendations for preservation of the complex.

Superintendent Howe's concern that the church would have to be closed to the public by 1978 came to fruition less than one month after Herreras Kriegh and Sultan completed their report in December 1974. The National Park Service, citing "potential structural hazards," closed the church to the public on January 1, 1975. It is not clear if the report played a role in the closure, but the third annual fiesta was held in the church on December 1, 1974, five days before the Herreras report was completed. Most of the church reopened a few weeks after the January closure, but the sacristy and sanctuary, which were the main areas of concern, remained closed.

One outcome of the closure was the development of a multiyear program to conduct "essential research and emergency stabilization work . . . before the major stabilization-preservation effort is begun." The program was developed as a cooperative effort where "professionals [incorporating] the four major disciplines of archeology, architecture, history, and testing" provided their expertise in the preservation of the mission complex. Areas of particular concern were the "condition of the original painted plaster, and the nave roof, the sanctuary dome, and the sacristy vault."

Anthony Crosby, a historical architect with the Denver Service Center, managed the project. The project, which was initially planned as a three-year effort, lasted seven years.[325] Crosby, like Herreras Kriegh and Sultan, was an advocate of doing "the least amount of work necessary to preserve the buildings and the site of Tumacacori [sic]" with "minimal intervention." He stated that the goal of the work at the national monument was to curtail the deterioration so that the mission

323 Eleazar Herreras et al., "Investigation and Inspection of Historic Structures: The Complex at Tumacácori National Monument, Tumacácori, Arizona" Second Phase Consulting Report, December 6, 1974, 1–2, TUMA, WACC, Series 4603, Folder 8.

324 Herreras et al., "Investigation and Inspection," 3.

325 "Press Release 12/31/74," TUMA, WACC, Series 4603, Folder 8 of 8; [No Author], "Tumacacori National Monument," TUMA, WACC, Series 4603, Folder 1 of 3 (1975); Anthony Crosby, *Historic Structure Report, Tumacacori National Monument,* (Washington DC: U.S. Department of the Interior/National Park Service, 1985) v; Superintendent Tumacácori National Monument, Superintendent's Annual Report 1982; Superintendent's Annual Report 1984, Tumacácori National Monument.

complex could be maintained. Indeed, he argued that maintenance was preferable to restoration because it "preserves the character" of the site.[326]

The preservation project began with research into the history of preservation and archeology at the monument and the identification of preservation problems at the mission complex. The first year of the project was entirely dedicated to this preliminary research. Historical research was considered an important preliminary task because it provided a comprehensive chronicle of past preservation efforts and the problems and successes associated with the various plans to prevent the deterioration of the mission. Anthony Crosby noted, after all, that the work of the three-year project was essentially an effort to not only preserve the mission, but to overcome the ineffective solutions that had been attempted in the past. The archeological background research was conducted at the Western Archeological and Conservation Center in Tucson. The goal of the research was a synthesis of past archeological investigations that provided both recommendations for future archeology and guidance on archeological preservation. In the meantime, Crosby moved to Tucson and worked on-site at Tumacácori identifying the "initial problem" with the mission structures. He also gathered data on structural conditions and sources of moisture, which was the root of most of the preservation problems. Moreover, Crosby noted, the hard cement stuccos that had been applied "on almost all the exterior surfaces" were exacerbating the deterioration because they were not allowing moisture to evaporate from the adobe masonry.[327]

More detailed investigations and materials testing on-site followed the research and preliminary architectural investigations. This phase of work began in 1976 and lasted until 1978. Researchers explored the use of various materials in the preservation of the mission complex. Some of the testing was long term. For example, tests on mortar used to fill cracks and voids in the adobe walls went on for years. In these tests, researchers constructed test walls on-site and applied various mixtures of natural mortar (varying the amount of clay) to voids in the wall. The mortars were then subjected to natural and accelerated weathering over an extended time to determine the materials most impervious to water damage. Various mud and lime plaster patches were also placed on the test walls in 1977 and 1978. Crosby was not a proponent of applying waterproofing materials on the surface of the church walls. He wrote that surface erosion was not the real problem, but rather, capillary action was undermining the structures. Therefore, Crosby opined, that waterproofing the walls with a chemical repellant was not advisable because it could have a detrimental effect on the original materials. Under these conditions, he recommended a lime plaster or mud plaster for surface coating.[328]

In addition to material analysis, Crosby and his team addressed several other preservation issues. They studied the reattachment of interior plasters and decided that instead of the epoxy treatment recommended by Herreras and his associates, the National Park Service should, in most cases, use lime grout to reattach the plaster. Again, Crosby advocated for the use of natural materials. The researchers also explored ways to curtail the capillary action that was causing the most significant deterioration. They determined that the use of impervious membranes, while useful in some applications, was not desirable at the Tumacácori church because the adobe would still absorb water, but the membranes would not allow the water to evaporate. This, in turn, would further compromise the structure. The researchers had some success with the application of a chemical

326 Crosby, Historic Structure Report, vii, 22.

327 Crosby, Historic Structure Report, v–vi; George S. Cattanach Jr., "Tumacacori Moisture Damage," from Division Record, Division of Adobe and Stone, TUMA, WACC, Series 4603, Folder 1 of 5 (1979).

328 Crosby, Historic Structure Report, 16, 19, 25–27.

membrane (methlmethacrylate monomer) on the test walls and Crosby was guardedly optimistic about its usefulness.[329]

Crosby evaluated drainage patterns and explored ways to prevent damage from water flowing into the church, either subsurface or surficial. He determined that most areas of the complex have "inadequate drainage." However, the installation of lateral drains, like those recommended by Herreras Kriegh and Sultan, was considered too intrusive. Instead, Crosby recommended the installation of drainage wells and subsurface drains. Efforts to create and maintain adequate drainage from the church building were initiated when the subsurface drainage system was installed in 1980.[330]

Crosby and his team also instituted a program in the summer of 1977 to monitor the condition of structures at the mission complex. The program focused on six areas or problems: cracks in the sanctuary dome, cracks in the nave walls, erosion and spalling of plaster, erosion or spalling of exposed adobe, color change in any materials, and nonvisible structural changes. Cracks were monitored with linear variable differential transformers, mechanical points, and leveling equipment. Erosion and discoloration were charted through the use of photodocumentation. Crosby wrote that the nonvisible elements were indirectly monitored through the deductive comparison (applying the results of the tests to conditions reflected in the mission complex). For example, Crosby noted that one can assume a certain amount of deterioration by discerning the moisture content of the material.[331]

Concerted preservation work began in the summer of 1978. George J. Chambers, a cultural resource specialist with the Western Archeological Conservation Center, supervised most of the preservation work. One of the first major projects was preservation of the exterior walls of the church. Chambers began project work at Tumacácori a year earlier when he began removing large areas of nonhistoric cement from the church's exterior to expose original plaster, brick batts, and soil. The soil, which was removed, was originally used as fill material. Beginning in the summer of 1978, work crews began preservation work on the vertical exterior walls. To the extent possible, they filled the cracks with lime grout. They placed fired adobe bricks in the void left by the removal of the soil. The entire exterior was eventually covered in two coats of lime plaster. The exterior wall preservation work contributed to a reduction of moisture percolating into the structure's adobe bricks.[332] Mitigating moisture was not, however, an easy process. Moisture problems were bad enough in 1979 that a portion of the complex was closed off to visitors due to fears that the upper wall of the church's exterior northwest corner might collapse.[333]

The next major exterior preservation work focused on the sanctuary dome. Work crews removed all the cement stucco from the dome during the summer of 1979. Crosby wrote that, upon inspection, it was clear that the dome itself was "in excellent condition." The horizontal base of the dome presented another story. Workers removed both the deteriorating plaster and brick batt at

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329 Crosby, Historic Structure Report, 28–30.

330 Superintendent's Annual Report 1980, Tumacácori National Monument; Superintendent to Regional Director, Superintendent's Annual Report, January 24, 1989; Crosby, *Historic Structure Report*, 40, 123.

331 Crosby, Historic Structure Report, 32–33.

332 Crosby, *Historic Structure Report,* vi*;* Moss, "Of Adobe, Lime, and Cement," 53. Emergency repairs were implemented concurrently with the testing and monitoring. For example, voids in the west wall of the church's east corridor were filled in the autumn of 1977 because there was "a real possibility of total collapse of the wall." See Crosby, *Historic Structure Report,* 16.

333 Cattanach Jr., "Tumacacori Moisture Damage."

the base to reveal original loose earth and cobble fill, which had significant levels of moisture (20%–25% by weight). The fill was subsequently removed and replaced with bricks "and extremely dry lime mortar." The entire dome was plastered with lime plaster and whitewashed. The repairs appeared to significantly mitigate the percolation of moisture from the exterior to the interior of the structure.[334]

The nave roof received some preservation work in 1978. Crews patched several holes in the roofing material that had previously allowed moisture to penetrate the interior of the church. The entire roof was replaced in 1980 using traditional materials, as suggested by both Crosby and Herreras Kriegh and Sultan. The new roof was designed to allow rainwater to drain to the west side of the church where a subsurface drain was installed. The nave roof was placed on an inspection and maintenance schedule and was partially reconstructed and waterproofed in 1990, 1998, and 2001.[335]

One of the most frustrating challenges was the preservation of the interior painted plasters. Crosby noted that salt-laden water migrating though the church walls was the most likely culprit in the deterioration of the plasters. The moisture reduction measures discussed above served to mitigate some of the damage to the interior plaster, but the plaster was still in need of major preservation work, especially cleaning and reinforcement. Some painted plasters that could not be effectively protected on-site were removed in 1977 and sent to curatorial storage at the Western Archeological Conservation Center. After four years of analysis, Crosby and his team began intensively evaluating the effective treatments in 1980. This work was done in consultation with the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), a Rome, Italy-based intergovernmental organization of cultural restoration experts. Paul Schwartzbaum, an ICCROM paint conservator, led this aspect of the preservation effort. The ICCROM crew tested various treatments for gypsum wash reattachment, cleaning, plaster consolidation, reconstruction of missing plaster, and plaster reattachment.[336]

The 1980 tests contributed directly to plaster conservation work conducted in 1982. A crew consisting of ICCROM experts Schwartzbaum, Carlo Giantomassi, Donatella Zari, and six NPS employees focused on three tasks: the filling of voids, reattachment of loose paint, reattachment of plaster, and cleaning of selected wall surfaces in the sanctuary. The voids were filled with polyvinyl acetate, which was also used to seal adobe walls and reattach loose plaster. Anthony Crosby wrote that it was used "more extensively than anticipated," but that the "majority of the work was completed using unamended lime plaster, plain water, and tissue."[337]

The 1982 conservation work was deemed a success, leading to additional plaster conservation treatments. Crosby itemized future plaster conservation work that would be concluded after the completion of his initial preservation project. Proposed projects included the reattachment of delaminated plaster, the reattachment of plaster to adobe walls, the careful cleaning of painted plasters, and the consolidation of exterior plasters. The plaster conservation work continued for two decades after the completion of the initial plaster repairs in 1982. Conservators cleaned the plaster and painstakingly removed synthetic materials used to seal the walls between the 1940s and 1960s. They also repaired the plaster and sealed the plaster edges. The sanctuary required extensive

334 Crosby, Historic Structure Report, 72.

335 Crosby, Trip Report, April 16, 1980; Moss, "Of Adobe, Lime, and Cement," 30; Crosby, *Historic Structure Report,* 97, 124.
336 Crosby, *Historic Structure Report,* 65, 7; Moss., "Of Adobe, Lime, and Cement," 44, 45, 46.

337 Crosby, *Historic Structure Report, 85–87 ;* Douglas L Caldwell, "Rome Center Experts Direct Tumacácori Project," *Cultural Resource Management: A National Park Service Technical Bulletin,* Vol. 5, Nos. 1–3 (September 1982) 1–2.

patching and has original paintings that required considerable attention. Most of the interior plaster, however, is now stable and maintained on a regular treatment schedule.[338]

Crosby was a strong proponent of conservative treatments. Using the corridor east of the sacristy as an example to illustrate the changes in preservation philosophy, he wrote that "the structure is representative of a preservation philosophy that too often leads to exaggerated deterioration." Specifically, he argued, that past preservation strategies resulted in unintended damages from concrete stucco that was placed along the base of the structure's exterior walls and the construction of a protective metal structure over the corridor. Concrete stucco resulted in higher moisture content in the adobe and caused significant deterioration. The roof, which was installed in 1953, was particularly problematic in Crosby's opinion. He wrote that the problem with the roof was that once installed "it is assumed to be permanent, and any maintenance would appear to be unnecessary." Crosby advised that the "most appropriate method for preserving the extant, above-grade, ruined walls is [their] incorporation into . . . a cyclic maintenance program." He argued that had the roof not been installed and "the structure simply been maintained using compatible materials, it would certainly be in better condition today."[339]

Preservation crews implemented emergency repairs on the corridor in 1977. Two years later, the protective structure and concrete stucco were removed from the corridor. Workers filled voids in the lower walls with "natural adobes and mud," and capped the walls with unamended mud. The structure was subsequently placed on a regular maintenance schedule.[340]

Anthony Crosby's three- year analysis and conservation project finally concluded in 1983, seven years after it began. The project, which entailed considerable analysis and research, provided invaluable data on the condition and threats to the mission complex. Crosby, Chambers, Schwartzbaum, and others learned how to better preserve adobe structures, but they also provided Tumacácori National Monument with its first programmatic preservation strategy. Crosby elucidated the preservation philosophy that continues to shape the manner in which the mission complex structures are managed. Crosby asserted that Tumacácori's preservation will always depend more on a respect and knowledge of the building's materials and for the place itself than on a new technological breakthrough. That is the nature of the place and that is the nature of adobe.[341]

He wrote that the mission of the project was to return Tumacácori "to a condition in which it could be maintained"[342]

Crosby provided a maintenance plan for the park to follow after the conclusion of the project. He stressed the use of traditional materials and the "adoption of a general conservative approach to preservation through sound maintenance." In situations where repairs were needed, he advised that the National Park Service take measures to ensure that the "replacement materials do not detract from either the original surrounding materials or from the building or group of buildings as a whole." All Tumacácori structures are now on maintenance schedules. For example, the exterior

338 Moss, "Of Adobe, Lime, and Cement," 40, 44, 45; Crosby, *Historic Structure Report,* 65, 76.

339 Crosby, Historic Structure Report, 35.

340 Crosby, Historic Structure Report, 35.

341 Ibid., 125.

342 Ibid.

of the sanctuary dome was put on a maintenance schedule in which it was recoated with lime every six months. Exterior walls were also put on a similar maintenance schedule. [343]

Anthony Crosby and the other preservation specialists were confronted by a crisis less than a year after they completed the preservation project. Moisture, which has been an ever-present preservation challenge, became a dramatic threat in 1984, when the national monument had an unusually wet year. The rainfall imperiled the church. The sanctuary dome held for a time, but it eventually began severely leaking along a crack. Crosby, Paul Schwartzbaum, and other NPS and ICCROM specialists inspected the dome in the spring of 1984 and provided recommendations for repair. They proposed using a lime paste on the exterior of the dome. Marble dust was to be added to the lime to make it stronger. Once coating and burnishing of the dome was complete, they recommended that the entire structure be coated with a silicone sealant. The sealant, however, was not seriously contemplated because its use was not within NPS guidelines, which recommended the use of natural materials.[344] Finally, after several consultations, a temporary fix was agreed upon. Two years after the initial leak, the dome exterior was recoated with lime plaster and painted with a special masonry paint called Vin-L-Tex. The temporary fix remained in place until 1989. A more permanent solution was not implemented until 2004, when Exhibits Specialist David Yubeta[345] began making major repairs on the dome. Yubeta removed all the previous paint and plaster down to the brick substrate. He then recoated the dome with hydraulic lime.

Episodes of unseasonably heavy rains continue to present problems. For example, five inches of rain fell at the park in over two days in January 2010. The storm resulted in the formation of a large hole in the west wall of the church's sacristy. Park preservation crews repaired the hole using adobe bricks and determined that the damage was caused by improper drainage off the dome. The drainage problems were addressed through roof repairs. Another storm in August 2010 resulted in the collapse of a portion of the north wall of the sacristy.[346]

Other structures have also been subjected to varying levels of preservation work. Superintendent John E. Cook noted that some of the work was dictated by the confluence of "long term program [funding] deficiencies and resultant emergency actions" to protect threatened resources. One such project was the installation of a metal shed roof over the granary in 1971. Cook was ambivalent about the project. On one hand the shelter provided protection for the deteriorating granary, but according to Cook it was a short-term solution to problems "that must be resolved through new means of adobe preservation . . . or a long-range, permanent shelter program based equally on function and design compatibility" The superintendent was pleased, however, that the emergency shelter was less intrusive than "we had thought was possible" and that it incorporated interpretive signs, thereby adding to the visitor experience.[347]

The authors of a 1973 planning document described several strategies for protecting the monument's resources and determined that the shelters were one of the most viable options for management. They argued that the "protective structures. . . can do much to recreate the historic

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343 Crosby, *Historic Structure Report,* 126*;* Moss, "Of Adobe, Lime, and Cement," 48; Superintendent, Tumacácori National Monument to Participating Officers, April 4, 1984, TUMA, WACC, Series 4607, Folder 4; Superintendent Tumacácori National Monument, Superintendent's Annual Report 1982; Superintendent's Annual Report 1984, Tumacácori National Monument.

344 Superintendent's Annual Report 1984, Tumacácori National Monument.

346 National Park Service, "Vanishing Treasures: A Climate of Change: Climate Change Issue, Fiscal Year 2010 Year-End Report and Funded Projects for 2011," 46–47, accessed September 3, 2014, http://www.nps.gov/archeology/vt/2010yr.pdf.

347 Cook to Director, July 13, 1971.

scene," because "original fragments can be exposed to view with a minimum of danger from weather." There was no mention of the structures as an intrusion into the historic landscape, but it was a concern among some experts. Eleazar D. Herreras, James Kriegh, and Hassan A. Sultan pointed out, in 1974, that the shelter over the granary was "doing a good job in keeping walls and timbers from further deterioration, but it detracts from the [historic landscape of the complex]." They suggested that the removal of the shelter would "improve the entire complex."[348]

Anthony Crosby assessed the condition of the granary in the late 1970s. He noted that the metal roof over the granary provided some protection from rains coming from the southeast, but was useless against storms coming from the west. Crosby pointed out, moreover, that the cement cap on the west wall was cracked, which allowed rainwater to percolate down into the adobe structure and plaster. Like Herreras and his associates, Crosby asserted that "the roof was a significant visual intrusion on the entire site as well as on the granary itself." Following Crosby's recommendation, the cover was removed in 1978.[349]

This action was not without controversy. National Park Service archeologist Lee Fratt opposed the removal of the shelter and argued that it was an example of aesthetics outweighing resource protection. He worried that as soon as the shelter was removed, the granary would be subjected to deterioration. He noted that "what appeals to the visitor is of no consequence if there is nothing for the visitor to see." To be sure, it quickly became clear that removal of the shelter resulted in new preservation challenges. Moisture was compromising the structure. A local contractor drilled drainage wells inside the granary in 1980 to minimize water infiltration.[350]

The installation of the wells illustrates the interconnectedness of preservation efforts. The project triggered archeological investigations, which were conducted in association with the installation of the drains at the granary. The investigations provided new information on the construction of the structure. Archeologists revealed a complicated, phased, construction history. At the same time, researchers determined that the subsurface cultural remains were too disturbed to provide useful information.[351]

Fratt's concerns were realized in the mid-1980s when it became clear that the absence of a cover resulted in accelerated erosion of the adobe walls of the granary, especially during wet years. To make matters worse, the drainage wells quickly became clogged with silt. The wells were taken out of service in 1985 and the ground was filled and graded to create negative drainage. There were no permanent solutions to the wall erosion. Therefore, the structure was placed on a cyclical maintenance schedule in which the interior and exterior walls would be plastered.[352]

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348 "Tumacácori National Monument – Archeology: DRAFT," WACC, TUMA, Series 4603, Folder 5 of 8 (1973), Series 4603, TUMA, WACC; Herreras et al., "Investigation and Inspection," 26.

349 Crosby, *Historic Structure Report,* 40*;* Herreras et al., "Investigation and Inspection," 26; C. Michael Barton, Kay Simpson, and Lee Fratt, Excavations at Tumacácori 1979/1980: Historic Archeology at Tumacácori National Monument Arizona (Tucson, AZ: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, 1981) 43; "Log of Significant Events, November," December 8, 1971, WACC, TUMA, Series 4672, Folder 2; Superintendent's Annual Report 1980, Tumacácori National Monument.

350 Superintendent's Annual Report 1980, Tumacácori National Monument.; Archeologist, Division of Internal Archeological Studies, to Chief, Division of Internal Archeological Studies, January 10, 1980, WACC, TUMA, Series 4607, Folder 1.

351 Barton, Simpson, and Fratt, *Excavations at Tumacácori*, 69.

352 Superintendent to Participating Officers, April 4, 1984; Crosby, *Historic Structure Report,* 40-1; Superintendent, Tumacácori National Monument, to Regional Director, Western Region, November 29, 1984, WACC, TUMA, Series 4607,Folder 4; Superintendent, Tumacácori National Historical Park, to Regional Director, Intermountain Region, Annual Narrative Report of Superintendents and Regional Directors, Fiscal Year 1998, February 24, 1999; on file at TIC; Superintendent's Annual Report 1984, Tumacácori National Monument.

Like the other structures, the convento was suffering accelerated deterioration in the 1970s. A protective shelter had been constructed over the structure in the 1950s, but it was inadequate to protect the adobe walls. The northwing of the convento was temporarily protected by plastic tarps in 1969 in an effort to prevent further erosion, but as Superintendent Cook pointed out in 1971, the tarps "caused more harm than good." Specialists determined that the only way to protect the north wing of the convento was to cover the walls in plastic sheeting and rebury it. Park staff, and experts from the Southwest Archeological Center and the Southern Arizona Group constructed a retaining wall to keep water out of the site and backfilled and over-seeded the convento in 1971. Cook hoped that the feature could be re-excavated and permanently preserved as part of an "integrated program" that would ensure its inclusion in the architectural and interpretive mix at TUMA." The north wing of the convento was eventually reburied.

Anthony Crosby proposed three alternatives in 1980 to provide more permanent protection for the convento. One was the removal of the cover and installation of drainage wells, just like the granary. This alternative was dismissed, perhaps in part due to the problems the National Park Service was having with the wells at the granary. A second alternative proposed removal and replacement of the shelter with a better design. The third alternative, which was adopted, proposed that the National Park Service merely modify the existing protective cover. This was the only time Crosby recommended the retention of a shelter at the mission complex. The project, completed in the fall of 1980, included extensive salvage archeology. Investigations conducted at the convento provided information on construction techniques and, in contrast to the granary, revealed some undisturbed archeological strata.[353]

The protective cover over the convento was ultimately removed in 2000, just as the shelters over the corridor and the granary had been removed a few decades earlier. Subsequently, the Arizona State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) barred the National Park Service from plastering the structure, the only viable option to protect the ruins in the absence of a shelter or a reburial. The park preservation crew attempted to protect the structure using various strategies. First, they placed a sacrificial mud cap on the convento. This was unsuccessful. Second, they put a row of bricks on top of the convento walls. Third, the preservationists plastered only the outside of the structure. Like the other strategies, this too proved ineffective in protecting the structure. The State Historic Preservation Office eventually altered its policy and allowed the National Park Service to plaster the entire convento. The structure has been plastered and is now on a regular maintenance cycle, and, as Superintendent Cook hoped in the early 1970s, it is an important part of the interpretive experience at Tumacácori.[354]

Finally, the mortuary chapel, a structure that was apparently never completed, was subjected to preservation work in the late 1970s. Nonhistoric plasters were removed from the mortuary chapel in 1978. Preservation crews also rebuilt the upper walls with adobe and rubble fill. A rainstorm undermined the initial reconstruction before crews completed the walls and all the new adobe collapsed. The wall failure resulted in a modification of reconstruction plans. The new walls were reinforced with steel rebar. Once completed, the new adobe bricks were coated in lime plaster and tinted with a soil wash. Like other Tumacácori structures, the mortuary chapel was placed on a maintenance schedule.[355]

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353 Barton, Simpson, and Fratt, Excavations at Tumacácori, 86, 129.

354 Ann Rasor, "Tumacácori National Historical Park, Arizona: Annual Performance Report, Fiscal Year 2000, October 27, 2000; on file at TIC.

355 Crosby, "Historic Structure Report," 61.

The protection of the mission complex was further facilitated by the Vanishing Treasures Initiative,[356] which was established in 1997 to support the preservation of stone and masonry prehistoric and historic era ruins in 37 national park system units in Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. The initiative, which was developed by an eight-member working group that included Tumacácori facility manager David Yubeta, was a reaction to "years of inadequate funding, backlogged treatment needs, a lack of information on condition," and a concern that "thousands of prehistoric and historic ruins at. . . National Park Service units in the arid west are threatened with severe deterioration and collapse." Moreover, many of the highly skilled preservation craftspeople in the National Park Service were near retirement. [357]

The Vanishing Treasures Initiative provided funding to the National Park Service to address these problems through three overarching programs. First, money was available to address staffing needs and emergency project needs where structures were in immediate danger. Second, the initiative established a program to replace the aging workforce through a mentorship program for younger preservation craftspeople. Third, the program was established to address the backlog of preservation work so structures could be placed on routine maintenance schedules.

The program incorporates Crosby's conservative approach. Vanishing Treasures guidance stresses "preservation practice involving minimal structural intervention and an emphasis on protection." Traditional or "compatible" materials and techniques are used to duplicate original architecture. Reconstruction is used very sparingly, and only in situations where such actions would serve to preserve other features of high integrity. The central preservation goals of the Vanishing Treasures Program, moreover, reflect an emphasis on balancing preservation, interpretation, and scientific inquiry. Fundamentally, program activities are intended to "reduce the rate of deterioration on a. . . site's architecture and contents. . . [to] preserve examples of past technologies and architecture for future generations, and enhance the interpretation and appreciation of American cultures." The program also aims to preserve the scientific and heritage values and "the perpetuation of unimpaired architectural resources, which will continue to provide the opportunity for future visitors and researchers to explore questions yet to be defined."[358] These concepts continue to drive ruins preservation in the National Park Service.

Tumacácori immediately benefited from the Vanishing Treasures Initiative. Superintendent Ann Rasor reported in February 1999, that the park had staff dedicated to cultural resources for the first time in its history.[359] Funding provided by the program allowed the park to hire a full-time masonry worker (Ramon Madril). David Yubeta, moreover, accepted a position as exhibits specialist. He was still based at Tumacácori, but in addition to his duties at the park, he served other national park system units in southern Arizona. Outreach became an important component of the Vanishing Treasures Initiative and Yubeta did not limit his efforts to NPS park units. He provided preservation support and guidance to other agencies and organizations. An agreement between the National Park Service and Mexico's Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia authorizing a

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356 The Vanishing Treasures Initiative was renamed the Vanishing Treasures Program in 2008.

357 National Park Service, "Vanishing Treasures: A Legacy in Ruins. Ruins Preservation in the American Southwest, Ruins Preservation Guidelines, DRAFT," 1997, ii,4–5, 25, accessed September 3, 2014, www.nps.gov/archeology/vt/vtguid97.pdf; National Park Service "Vanishing Treasures: A Legacy in Ruins. Ruins Preservation in the American Southwest, Long-Range Plan," January 1998, 1, accessed September 3, 2014, http://www.nps.gov/archeology/vt/longrangeplan.pdf. The program was expanded in 2002 to include parks in California and Nevada. By 2010, the program included 45 NPS park units.

358 National Park Service, *Preservation and Management Guidelines for Vanishing Treasures Resources,* Intermountain Cultural Resources Management Professional Paper No. 75 (Santa Fe.: NM, United States Department of the Interior, 2009) 1–3; NPS, "Vanishing Treasures: Ruins Preservation Guidelines," 6, 9–10.

359 Superintendent Ann Rasor served on the Vanishing Treasures Initiative in Leadership Committee in 2005 and 2006.

five-year work plan of technical exchange and collaboration provided Yubeta and other preservation specialists with the opportunity to work on projects in Mexico.

The transnational nature of mission preservation work was reinforced by the Missions Initiative, which still plays a significant role in the management of Tumacácori and other missions. The outreach work was diverse. For example, in 2001 Yubeta and Ramon Madril provided training project support for the Bureau of Land Management, U.S. Forest Service, and Arizona State Parks at Brown Ranch, Lowell Ranger Station, Fairbank Mercantile Store, Rancho Santa Cruz, Oracle State Park, and Tubac Presidio State Historic Park. They also assisted in preservation projects at San Ignacio de Caborica and participated in training workshops in Hidalgo del Parral, Chihuahua, and the University of Sonora in Mexico. The Tumacácori preservation crew also provided preservation support to Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument and Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. Two years later, Yubeta and Madril assisted in preservation of the ruins at Gachado Well Line Camp, Dos Lomitas Ranch Main Ranch House, and Victoria Mine Store at Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument. Crews from Tumacácori also rehabilitated the Historic Rock House at Mojave National Preserve. They continued to work on non-NPS projects, including projects for the Bureau of Land Management at Palmerita Ranch House and the U.S. Forest Service at Sabino Canyon. Yubeta and Madril also conducted a lime plaster training seminar in Lincoln (Historic Site), New Mexico, and helped organize a conference of preservation specialists in Janos, Chihuahua. The diversity of outreach projects described above represent a typical year for Tumacácori National Park's preservation specialists after the establishment of the Vanishing Treasures Initiative. In addition to the outreach projects, the preservationists held seminars at Tumacácori and maintained and inspected the park's cultural resources. The Vanishing Treasures Initiative continues to play an important role in preservation, education, and training at Tumacácori National Park, as well as throughout the arid West.[360]

360 R. Brooks Jeffery, "Missions Initiative: An International, Multidiciplinary Partnership for Cultural Resource Management," Vanishing Treasures 2012 Annual Report, 7; Annual Narrative Report, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ: Fiscal Year 2003,on file at TIC; Annual Narrative Report, Tumacácori National Historical Park, AZ: Fiscal Year 2005, on file at TIC; Superintendent's Annual report fiscal year Tumacácori National Historical Park, Annual Narrative Report – Fiscal Year 1998; Rasor, Annual Narrative Report, Fiscal Year 2001; Superintendent's Annual Report, Fiscal Year 2004; National Park Service, "Vanishing Treasures: Cultural Connections Issue, Fiscal Year 2009 Year-End Report and Funded Projects for 2010," 39–40, accessed September 3, 2014, http://www.nps.gov /archeology/vt/2009yr.pdf; National Park Service, "Vanishing Treasures: A Climate of Change: Climate Change Issue, Fiscal Year 2010 Year-End Report and Funded Projects for 2011," 46–47, accessed September 3, 2014, http://www.nps.gov/archeology/vt/2010yr.pdf.

Tumacácori National Historical Park is a monument to several histories, reflecting the interactive cultural traditions of Pimería Alta, the role of missions and the determination of missionaries of the Spanish and Mexican frontiers, and the economic development of the region under the auspices of the United States. The park also reveals the manner in which the United States sought to adjudicate land conflicts in the Southwest. Tumacácori is a testament to historic preservation and the evolution of preservation philosophy and technology over time. Finally, the park provides another chapter of NPS history that chronicles the evolution of the agency. These stories are revealed in the walls and surrounding landscapes of San José de Tumacácori, Los Santos Ángeles de Guevavi, and San Cayetano de Calabazas.

Source: National Park Service

FIGURE 42. TUMACÁCORI MISSION CHURCH

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APPENDIX A: NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CUSTODIANS ANDSUPERINTENDENTS AT TUMACÁCORI NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Selected NPS Staff at Tumacácori National Historical Park

Custodians and Superintendents

Custodian Frank Pinkley*	1918–April 1929
Custodian Johnwill Faris*	April 1929–September 1929
Custodian George L. Boundey	October 1929–April 1936
Custodian Louis R. Caywood	October 1936–June 1944
Custodian Harry J. Reed	June 1944–October 1944
Custodian Ted Sowers	October 1944–December 1944
Custodian Harry J. Reed	January 1945–October 1945
Custodian / Superintendent Earl Jackson (*Custodian* changed to *Superintendent* in 1948)	October 1945–August 1953
Superintendent Ray B. Ringenbach	October 1953–June 1958
Superintendent Franklin G. Smith	June 1958–August 1958
Superintendent Michael J. Becker	August 1958–December 1962
Superintendent Irving McNeil Jr.	January 1963–October 1968
Superintendent Ray B. Ringenbach	April 1969–July 1972
Superintendent Gary K. Howe	November 1972–December 1974
Superintendent Joseph Sewell	February 1975–September 1986
Superintendent James Troutwine	October 1986–October 1993
Superintendent Pat Phelan	February 1994–February 1996
Superintendent Ann Rasor	June 1996–December 2006
Superintendent Lisa Carrico	April 2007–February 2012
Superintendent Robert Love	August 2012–Present

* Frank Pinkley and Johnwill Faris were not resident custodians. Pinkley and Faris oversaw Tumacácori as an adjunct to other parks they managed.

Rangers, Supervisors, and Specialists

Ranger Hugh B. Curry	1931–1932
Ranger Martin Evanstadt	September 1933–July 1936
Ranger James B. Felton	December 1936–November 1937
Ranger Clinton G Harkins	January 1939–February 1942
Ranger Sallie P. Brewer	June 1944–May 1950
Ranger Albert O. Henson	May 1950–March 1952
Ranger William L Featherstone	April 1952–January 1953
Ranger William Bullard Jr.	February 1953–April 1955
Supervisory Ranger Paul F. McCrary Jr.	May 1955–1957 (end date is approximate)
Historian Walter Hillman	July 1958–1962 (end date is approximate)
Historian John Kessell	December 1962–1966 (end date is approximate)
Historian Ricardo Reyes-Torres	April 1967–1969 (end date is approximate)
Historian Robert J Holden	June 1969–1970 (end date is approximate)
Park Ranger / Interpretive Specialist / Historian Dewey Doramus	June 1970–1972 (end date is approximate)
Historian / Chief of Interpretation Nick Bleser	December 1972–June 1990
Historian / Chief of Interpretation Donald Garate	September 1990–July 2010
Facility Manager David Yubeta*	1997–February 1998
Exhibit Specialist David Yubeta**	February 1998–September 2010
Facility Manager Steve Gastellum	March 1998–June 2014
Chief of Resource Management Jeremy Moss***	May 2004–October 2013
Chief of Interpretation Anita Badertscher	2013–Present
Exhibit Specialist Alex Lim	January 2102–Present
Chief of Resource Management Adam Springer	September 2014–Present
Facility Manager Eric Herrera	November 2014–Present

* Maintenance workers and maintenance men are variously (usually vaguely) described in Tumacácori historical records, but 1998 was the first time the park records specify a facility manager.
** Position created in 1998
*** Position created in 2004

APPENDIX B: SELECTED FORMATIVE DOCUMENTS

This appendix includes a collection of legislative and legal documents that have shaped the current administrative boundaries of Tumacácori National Historical Park.

Document 1: *Faxon v United States*, 171 U.S. 244 (1898)

Document 2: *Lane v Watts*, 243 U.S. 525 (1914)

Document 3: Presidential Proclamation 821, September 15, 1908

Document 4: Serial Patent Number 3362, Carmen Mendez, December 14, 1908

Document 5: Presidential Proclamation 3228, March 28, 1958

Document 6: An Act to Establish Tumacácori National Historical Park in the State of Arizona, August 6, 1990

Document 7: An Act to Revise the Boundary of Tumacácori National Historical Park in the State of Arizona, August 21, 2002

Faxon v United States, 171 U.S. 244 (1898)

Messrs. **Matthew G. Reynolds** and *John K. Richards*, Solicitor General, for appellant.

Mr. **Rochester Ford** for appellees.

Mr. George Lines filed a brief for the Sopori Land & Mining Company.

Mr. Justice **Brewer** delivered the opinion of the court:

This case resembles that of *Ainsa* v. *United States* just decided, 171 U. S. 220 [*ante*, 142].

The proceedings for the sale were had in 1820 and 1821 and before the same intendant. We deem it unnecessary to add anything to what was stated in that opinion as to the law controlling. It is sufficient to say that while the claim now made is for 46,696.2 acres, the application for purchase was for four sitios (17, 353.84 acres). All the proceedings contemplated a sale of only that amount of land. Thus the appraisers stated that "from their examination they said that each sitio should be valued at thirty dollars, taking into consideration that none of them had running water or natural standing water, but that water facilities might be obtained by means of a well." The first of the three final auctions was reported in these words:

"In the city of Arizpe, on the 13th day of December, 1821, there met as a board of auction the provisional intendant, as president, and the other members that compose it, to hold the first auction of the lands to which these proceedings refer, and they caused the people to be assembled at this office by the [243]*beating of the drum, and many persons gathered at the office of the intendant, when the auctioneer, Loreto Salcido, in their presence was ordered to ask for a bid, which he did in a loud and clear voice, saying: 'Here before this board of the treasury are being sold four sitios of public land for the raising of cattle situated at the place called San Ygnacio de la Canoa, within the jurisdiction of the military post of Tubac, surveyed in favor of Tomas and Ygnacio Ortiz, residents of that same town, and appraised in the sum of one hundred and twenty dollars, being at the rate of thirty dollars for each sitio, it being necessary to dig a well to make the land useful. Whosoever wishes to make a bid upon this land, let him come forward and do so in the manner established by law before this board, where his bid will be heard, notice being given that the Rev. Father Fray Juan Bano, minister of the mission of San Xavier del Bac, in the name of Ygnacio Sanches and Francisco Flores, resident citizens of the same town, had bid for said land the amount of two hundred and ten dollars; and with the understanding that on the third auction, which is to take place on the day after tomorrow, the sale shall be settled upon the highest bidder.' As no bidder appeared, the board adjourned, and the minutes were signed by the president and members of this board."

At the third auction a bid of $250 was made, and on that bid the property was struck off to Tomas and Ygnacio Ortiz, who subsequently paid into the treasury the full amount of the purchase price with all charges. Nothing seems to have been done on this purchase until 1849, when title papers were issued by the substitute treasurer general of the state of Sonora.

Without repeating the discussion contained in the foregoing opinion, we think that the grant should be sustained for the four sitios purchased, petitioned and paid for, and for no more. As the grant was confirmed *in toto* *we are compelled to order that the decree of the Court of Private Land Claims be reversed,* and the case remanded to the court for further proceedings.

WILLIAM FAXON, Jr., Trustee, *et al* [244]
Appts.,
v.
UNITED STATES and George W. Atkinson *et al.*

(See S. C. Reporter's ed. 244-260.)

Court of private land claims—power of treasurer of Sonora to grant Mexican lands—pueblo and mission lands.

1. In order to the confirmation of any claim, the court of private land claims must be satisfied of the regularity in form of the proceedings, and that the official body or person making the grant was vested with authority, or that the exercise of power, if unwarranted, was subsequently lawfully ratified.
2. The treasurer of the department of Sonora did not in 1844 have the power to determine by his sole authority that abandoned pueblo and mission lands belonged to the class of the temporalities, and that their value was not over $500, and to sell and grant them independently of other officials.
3. Pueblo and mission lands in Mexico when abandoned seem to have become, under the laws existing in 1844, a part of the public domain of the nation, to the disposal of which only the laws of the nation applied, and which could not be granted by the treasurer of a department.

[No. 119.]

Argued March 18, 1898. Decided May 31, 1898.

APPEAL from a decree of the Court of Private Land Claims, rejecting the claim of William Faxon, Jr., trustee, for the confirmation of his title to land known as the Tumacacori, Calabazas, and Huebabi grant, situated in the valley of the Santa Cruz river, Pima county, Arizona. *Affirmed.*

Statement by Mr. Chief Justice **Fuller:**

Three separate petitions were filed in the court of private land claims for the confirmation of what was commonly called and known as the Tumacacori, Calabazas, and Huebabi grant, situated in the valley of the Santa Cruz river, Pima county, Arizona, the petitioners in each claiming under the original grantee. The causes were consolidated

NOTE.—*As to Missouri private land claims,* see note to Les Bois v. Bramell, 11 : 1051.

and tried under the petition of William Faxon, Jr., trustee, and others. The petition alleged that the claimants were the owners in fee of the tract of land in question under and by virtue of a certain instrument in writing, dated April 19, 1844, "made and executed by the treasury department of Sonora in compliance with the law of the Mexican Congress of the 10th of February, 1842, providing for the denouncement and sale of abandoned pueblos," running to Don Francisco Alejo Aguilar, to whom said treasury department sold the tract April 18, 1844, for the sum of $500.

That in the year 1806, the governor of the
[245] Indian pueblo *of Tumacacori petitioned Don Alejo Garcia Conde, intendente of the province, etc., etc., to issue to the Indians of the pueblo a grant of lands for the "fundo legal" and also for the "estancia" of the pueblo to replace ancient title papers which had been lost or destroyed; that in accordance with that petition the lands mentioned were ordered to be surveyed, which was done, and the boundary monuments established, by Don Manuel de Leon, commandante of the presidio of Tubac; that on April 2, 1807, the said intendant Conde issued a royal patent or title to the Indians of the pueblo of Tumacacori for the lands, as set forth in the proceedings of the survey thereof and in the copy of the original expediente.

That under the law of the Mexican Congress of February 10, 1842, Don Francisco Aguilar, on April 18, 1844, became the owner by purchase, as before mentioned, "of the four square leagues of agricultural and grazing lands of the 'fundo legal' of the abandoned pueblo of Tumacacori and the sitios of the estancia (stock farm) of Calabazas, and the other places thereunder pertaining." It was averred that all the steps and proceedings in the matter of the grant and sale were regular, complete, and legal and vested a complete and valid title in fee in the grantee; and that the grantee at the time went into actual possession, use, and occupation of the grant and erected the proper monuments thereon, and that he and his legal representatives have continued ever since and until the present time in the actual possession, use, and occupation of the same, and are now possessed and seised in fee thereof.

The United States answered alleging that the alleged sale to Aguilar was without warrant or authority of law and void; that, if these lands had been theretofore granted to the pueblo of Tumacacori, they were abandoned about 1820, and by virtue thereof became public lands; that the title to said property, if any passed in 1807, was purely usufructuary, and vested no estate, legal or equitable, in the said pueblo or mission, but that the same and the right of disposition were reserved to and remained in the national government.

The answer denied that Aguilar became the owner by purchase or otherwise of any lands
[246] included in the alleged grant *of 1807 to the pueblo, or of any land of that mission or its dependencies; that the alleged grant was ever located and recorded as provided by the sixth article of the treaty of Mesilla (Gadsden purchase); that the original grantee or grantees were ever owners of the property as against the Republic of Mexico, or are now the owners thereof as against the United States or its grantees; that the grantee Aguilar, in the year 1844, went into actual possession and occupation of the grant, and erected monuments thereon, or that he and his representatives have continued ever since in the actual possession, use, and occupation of the same.

The answer averred that the proceedings for sale were never taken under the express order or approval of the general government, and never submitted to said general government for ratification or approval; that the lands claimed far exceeded those contained in the original survey; that the sale was by quantity and limited; and that the alleged grant was so indefinite and uncertain as to description as to carry no title to any land.

On the hearing the testimonios of the grants of 1807 and of 1844 were put in evidence. Evidence was adduced to the effect that Aguilar, the original grantee, never took or had possession of the lands; that he was the brother-in-law of Manuel Maria Gandara, who was the Governor of Sonora in 1842, and in 1845 to 1853, except a few months; to whom Aguilar conveyed in 1856, and, more formally, in 1869; that Gandara was in possession in 1852, 1853, 1854, and 1855, through his herdsmen; and that, as contended by counsel for petitioner, the money for the purchase was furnished by Gandara, and Aguilar took the title as trustee for him. Apparently the expedientes were not in the archives, nor was there any note of the grant in the book of toma de razon for 1844.

A translation of the titulo of 1844 is given in the margin.†

†Treasury of the Department of Sonora, 1844. Title of sale, transfer, and adjudication of agricultural lands which include the 4 leagues of the fundo legal of the deserted pueblo of Tumacacori and the 2 sitios of its estancia (stock ranch) of Calabasas and the other places thereto annexed, the same being situated in the jurisdiction of the District of San Ignacio, issued by the said departmental Treasury in compliance with the supreme decree of the 10th of February, 1842, in favor of Don Francisco Alejandro Aguilar, a resident of the port and village of San Fernando de Guaymas.

Second Seal. Seal Four Dollars. Eighteen hundred and forty-four and eighteen hundred and forty-five.

Ignacio Lopez, captain of cavalry retired to the infantry, honorary intendant of the army and treasurer of the Department of Sonora.

Whereas the supreme decree of February 10, 1842, provides for the sale, on account of the critical condition of the public treasury, of the properties pertaining to the department of temporalities, of which class are the farming lands and the lands for breeding cattle and horses respectively of the 4 leagues of the town site of the depopulated town of Tumacacori and the 2 sitios of the stock farm of the same at the points of Huebabi, Potrero, Cerro de San Cayetano, and Calabazas, whose areas, boundaries, monuments, and conterminous tracts are stated in the corresponding proceedings of survey executed in the year 1807 by the commissioned sur-

247] *The court of private claims rejected the claim on the ground that the sale in question was void for want of power on the part of the officer attempting to make it.

Mr. **Francis J. Heney** for appellant.

Messrs. **Matthew G. Reynolds** and *John K. Richards*, Solicitor General, for appellee.

[249] *Mr. Chief Justice **Fuller** delivered the opinion of the court:

In order to the confirmation of any claim, **[250]**the court of private* land claims, under the act creating that tribunal (26 Stat. at L. 854, chap. 539), must be satisfied not merely of the regularity in form of the proceedings, but that the official body or person assuming to **[251]**make the grant was vested with authority,* or that the exercise of power, if unwarranted, was subsequently lawfully ratified; and the same rule applies to this court on appeal. *Hayes* v. *United States*, 170 U. S. 637 [42: 1174]; *Ely's Administrator* v. *United States*, 171 U. S. 220 [*ante*, 142].

The titulo shows that Ignacio Lopez, treasurer of the department of Sonora, assumed to make the sale and grant of the lands in question, in the exercise of sole authority, *ex officio*, under the decree of February 10, 1842, and article 73 of the law of April 17, 1837, as being property "pertaining to the department of temporalities," the value whereof did not exceed $500. He asserted the power to determine, alone, that the lands were of the temporalities; that their value was not over $500; and to sell and grant them independently of other officials than himself.

The court of private land claims held that if the lands belonged to the class of temporalities it was clear that the treasurer of the department had no power to make a sale by his sole authority, whether the value exceeded five hundred dollars or not; and if the lands did not belong to that class, nevertheless

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veyor, Don Manuel de Leon, veteran ensign and late commandant of the presidio of Tubac, according to the information obtained in relation thereto at the instance of this departmental Treasury, said temporal farming and grazing lands being valued in the sum of $500, as provided in article 2d of the aforesaid supreme decree of February 10, 1842; and complying punctually therewith I have ordered the formation of the corresponding expediente by the court of first instance and of the treasury of the district of San Ignacio, during which proclamations (pregones) no bidder appeared; therefore, and in compliance with article 73 of the law of April 17, 1837, as the sale in question on account of the national Treasury does not exceed $500, this said treasury proceeded to the public sale of the aforementioned lands of the depopulated Tumacacori and the lands of its stock farm, Calabazas, and other annexed points, all belonging to the department of temporalities, on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of the current month of April, in solicitation of bidders, without there being any other than Don Francisco Alexandro Aguilar, a merchant and resident of this port and village of San Fernando de Guaymas, for said sum of $500, the appraised value at which said temporalities have been sold, as appears from the third and last offer, which literally is as follows:

Third Seal. One Dollar. Years 1844 and 1845.

In the port and village of San Fernando de Guaymas, on the eighteenth of April, eighteen hundred and forty-four, I, the undersigned, departmental Treasurer, being in the office of this treasury under my charge, with my attendant witnesses, Don Jose Maria Mendoza and Don Vicente Irigoyen, in the absence of a notary of the treasury and of a notary public, in compliance with the provisions of article 73 of the law of April 17, 1837, since the price or value of the temporalities to which these proceedings relate do not exceed five hundred dollars, ordered that the third and last offer be made for the final sale of the temporal lands of Tumacacori and Calabazas referred to in this expediente and that to that end a proclamation be made to the public at the sound of the drum, as, in effect, the public crier, Florentino Baldizan, made in a high and clear voice, saying: "The treasury of the department is going to sell, on account of the national treasury and in accordance with the supreme decree of February 10, 1842, the agricultural lands and lands for raising cattle and horses which comprise the 4 leagues of the town site of the depopulated town of Tumacacori and the 2 sitios of the depopulated stock farm of the same at the points of Huebabi, Potrero, Cerro de San Cayetano and Calabazas, situated in the District of San Ignacio, the areas, monuments, boundaries, and conterminous tracts of which are stated in the corresponding proceedings of survey executed in the year 1807 by the commissioned surveyor, Don Manuel de Leon, veteran ensign and late commandant of the presidio of Tubac, as appears from the information obtained at the instance of said departmental treasury, from which it also appears that the original titles of grant and confirmation of said temporalities still exist, which temporalities have now been valued at $500 in accordance with article 2d of said supreme decree of February 10, 1842.

"Whoever desires to make a bid come forward and make it to this departmental treasury, where it will be received in conformity with the laws, with the understanding that the final sale is to be made now to whomever should be the highest bidder."

In which act Don Francisco Alexandro Aguilar, a merchant and resident of this port, appeared and made the bid of $500, at which said temporalities are appraised; and no other bidder having appeared and the hour for midday prayer of this day having already struck, the public crier finally said: "Once, twice, three times; sold, sold, sold; may it do good, good, good to Don Francisco Alejandro Aguilar."

In these terms this act was concluded, the aforesaid farming lands and lands for raising cattle and horses of the depopulated town site and stock farm of the temporalities of Tumacacori and Calabazas being publicly and solemnly sold to Don Francisco Alexandro Aguilar, a merchant and resident of this port, for the sum of $500.

And in due witness thereof and for the usual purposes these proceedings were closed and entered and I signed them together with the party in interest and my undersigned attendant witnesses.

Ignacio Lopez.
Francisco A. Aguilar.

Witness: Jose Maria Mendoza.
Witness: Vicente Irigoyen.

In which legal terms was concluded the sale of the farming lands and lands for raising cattle and horses, which comprise the 4 leagues of the depopulated town site of Tumacacori and the 2 sitios of its stock farm, Calabazas, and other annexed points, all temporalities, situated in the jurisdiction of the District of San Ignacio, the original expediente remaining deposited in the archives of this treasury as perpetual evidence, with the understanding that when the original titles of Tumacacori and Calabazas are obtained, they shall be aggregated to the present one.

Whereas the agricultural lands and lands for raising cattle and horses, which comprise the 4 leagues of the depopulated town of Tumacacori and the 2 sitios of its stock farm of Calabazas and other annexed points, all temporalities, in the jurisdiction of the district of San Ignacio, have been sold to Don Francisco Alejandro Aguilar, a resident and merchant of this port, for the sum of $500, which sum together with the others pertaining to the treasury, he has paid into this departmental treasury, I, therefore, in use of the powers, the laws on the matter, as also the supreme decree of the 10th of February, 1842, conceded to me, by the pres-

there was the same want of power under the laws of Mexico in relation to the disposition of the public domain.

Many of the laws in this regard have been set forth in *United States* v. *Coe*, 170 U. S. 681 [42: 1195]; *Hayes* v. *United States*, 170 U. S. 637 [42: 1174]; *Ely's Administrator* v. *United States*, 171 U. S. 220 [*ante*, 142]; and other cases, and the statement of so much thereof as particularly bears on the matter in hand involves some repetition.

By the law of January 26, 1831, a general department of revenues was established, under whose control all branches of the treasury were placed, except the general administration of the mail and of the mint. A general director and three auditors were provided for, to be appointed by the government, and the general department was divided into three
[252] sections *of each of which an auditor was the chief. 2 Dublan and Lozano, Mex. Laws, 308.

May 21, 1831, a law was passed creating commissaries general and commissariats, and on July 7, 1831, regulations were issued under the law of January 26. The first auditor was made chief of the first section, having charge, among other things, of "national property in which is included, under article 9 of the law of August 4, 1824, that of the inquisition and temporalities, and all other country or town property belonging to the Federation." 2 Mex. Laws, 329, 341.

The tenth regulation provided that the general department should take an exact account of the number, location, value, condition, and present method of administration of all the property and estates of the Nation, in which were included those of the inquisition and temporalities, and all others that belong to the public exchequer, in accordance with the law of August 4, 1824; should see to the thorough collection of the proceeds, as provided in the law of January 26th and other laws; and should do whatever it considered most beneficial in regard to the sale, lease, or other means of administration that might be advisable, in whole or in part, of the property in question.

Certain regulations were thereafter prescribed, and set forth in a circular of July 20, 1831 (2 Mex. Laws, 351), whereby the commissariats general were located in the capitals of certain enumerated states; and, at designated points in others, that of Sonora being at Arizpe; but the commissaries, if they thought a change would be advantageous, were required to bring it to the notice of the government with their reasons.

Articles 126 and 127 of these regulations read:

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ent title and in the name of the Mexican Nation and of the supreme government, formally cede, sell, give, and adjudicate the said farming lands and lands for raising cattle and horses, which comprise the 4 leagues of the depopulated town site of Tumacacori and the 2 sitios of its stock farm of Calabazas and other annexed points already mentioned to the said purchaser, Don Francisco Alejandro Aguilar, by way of sale, and with all the qualities, solemnities, firmness, and subsistence the law establishes, for himself, his heirs, children, and successors, with all their entrances, exits, lands, timber, groves, shrubs, pastures, centers, circumferences, waters, springs, watering places, uses, customs, servitudes, and other things pertaining to said possessions, with their inclosures, metes and bounds for the sum of $500, at which they have been sold to said Francisco Alejandro Aguilar, with the precise condition that the said buyer and his successors in their case, are to maintain the above mentioned agricultural lands and lands for raising cattle and horses that comprise the 4 leagues of the depopulated town site of Tumacacori and the 2 sitios of its stock farm of Calabazas populated, possessed, cultivated and protected, without passing beyond their metes and bounds and without their being totally abandoned; with the understanding that if the said abandonment and depopulation of said farming and grazing lands should take place for the space of three consecutive years, by the neglect or fault of their owners or possessors and there should be any person who denounces them, in such event after verification of the fact, they shall be declared public lands and shall be sold at public sale, on account of the national treasury, to whomever should be the highest bidder, excepting, as is just, those cases where the abandonment, depopulation or lack of protection are on account of the notorious invasion or hostilities of enemies or epidemics or other like causes, and only for the period or periods of such occurrences, cautioning as the aforesaid Don Francisco Alejandro Aguilar and his successors are strictly cautioned that they are to restrict themselves to the belongings, metes, and bounds of the aforesaid agricultural and grazing lands of the town site of Tumacacori and its stockfarm of Calabazas, constructing and maintaining on said possessions the necessary monuments of stone and mortar under the penalties established by the laws in case of neglect.

And with the powers, which they and the divers superior provisions that govern the matter, concede and confer on me, I order and require respectively of the judges, justices, and local authorities that at present are and shall hereafter be in the district of San Ignacio, that, for the sake of the good and prompt administration of justice and in observance of the aforesaid legal provisions they do not permit the said Francisco Alejandro Aguilar nor his successors to be, in any manner, disturbed, annoyed, or molested in the free use, exercise, property, dominion, and possession of the said agricultural lands and lands for raising cattle and horses of the town site of Tumacacori and stock farm of Calabazas, but rather shall watch and see with the greatest efficacy that they are always protected and maintained in the quiet and peaceable possession to which they are entitled by legitimate right, so that, in this manner, they may freely have the benefit of, enjoy, possess, sell, exchange, barter, donate, transfer, devise, cede, and alienate the aforesaid agricultural lands and lands for raising cattle and horses of the 4 leagues of the town site of Tumacacori and its stock farm, Calabazas, and other annexed points, at their free arbitrament and election, as absolute owners and proprietors of said possessions, with the understanding also that just as soon as the original titles of said agricultural and grazing lands are obtained they shall be aggregated to the present ones, and the transmittal and delivery of said original documents are considered as made and verified from this moment in favor of said party in interest, Don Francisco Alejandro Aguilar.

In which terms I have issued this title of formal sale, transfer, and adjudication to said Mr. Aguilar, his heirs and successors, delivering it to the former for his security and other convenient uses, after entry thereof in the proper place.

Given in the port and village of San Fernando de Guaymas, on the nineteenth day of the month of April, eighteen hundred and forty-four, authenticated and signed by me, the treasurer of the department, sealed with the seal which this treasury uses, before my undersigned attendant witnesses, in the absence of a notary of the treasury or a notary public, there being none, according to law.

Ignacio Lopez.

Witness: Jose Diego Labandera.
Witness: Jose Maria Mendoza.

"126. All purchases, sales, and contracts made on account of the treasury, whatever be their purpose, shall be made by the commissaries general sitting as boards of sale; but before convoking them, it shall be absolutely necessary to receive first the order therefor, either from the supreme government, communicated directly or through the treasury general, or rather from the directory of revenues, when it relates to matters subject thereto.

[253] * "127. Said board shall hold its sessions in the room most suitable for the purpose in the commissariats, or in the public place nearest to those offices, and the regular members shall be the commissary or subcommissary, who shall preside, the senior officer of the treasury, or the one who acts in his stead, and the attorney general, where there is one, and each of these employees shall take the place or seat to which he is entitled in the order in which they are named."

Besides the regular members, it was provided by article 128 that there should be special members, depending on the character of the sale, purchase, or contract being made, as for instance, when it related to the offices or revenues in the federal district subject to the directory general, the auditor in charge should attend; and if subject to any of the other departments, the chief clerk of the bureau of accounts, etc. If it related to supplies for army service, the officer appointed by the proper inspector should be present; if to business pertaining to the artillery arsenals, etc., the chief officer thereof; if to hospital service, the first assistant of the medical corps; if to fortification works, the chief of the corps of engineers; and if, finally, to other matters, the employee of the nearest related department appointed by the commissary general. Timely notice was required to be given to the regular and special members of the day and hour of the sale, which ordinarily should be held at 10 o'clock in the morning.

It was also provided that if there was a notary public in the place, he should necessarily be present at the sessions of the board, and that whatever was done therein should be certified to by him, or by two attending witnesses, if there was none; that the sales or purchases intended to be made should be published for at least eight days beforehand by placards put up in the most public and frequented places, and also inserted in newspapers of greatest circulation, if there were any, care being taken that the notices contained the necessary information about the matter and its most essential circumstances; that when the sale was opened, and the customary proclamations made, all lawfully

[254] made bids should be received *until the day of final sale, which should be made "to the bidder who offers the most advantages to the treasury, as determined by an absolute majority of the votes of the board, which minute and everything that may have occurred at the sale shall be entered on the book, which the commissary and subcommissaries shall keep for the purpose, and which the members shall sign with attending witnesses or with the notary, who, besides, shall draw up all other necessary papers. In the absence of a notary, a clerk, whom the commissary shall bring for the purpose, shall draw up the minutes and the conclusions." The proceedings were then to be forwarded with a report thereon to the supreme government, "without whose approval the purchase, sale, or contract shall not be carried into effect;" and it was also provided that "when there is evidence that any member of the board has bought or sold at the sale, himself or through a third person, the sale shall be void and he shall be punished with the penalties the laws impose upon those who commit like abuses."

In 1835 the state legislatures were abolished and department bodies established; and the bases for a new constitution were adopted, followed by such constitution dividing the country into departments, the interior government of which was intrusted to the governors in subordination to the general government. 3 Mex. Laws, 75, 89, 230, 258.

By a decree of April 17, 1837, the principal officer of the general treasury in each department was designated as a superior chief of the treasury, and on him and his subordinates were conferred by article 92 the powers and duties formerly exercised by the commissary general and his subcommissaries, "in so far as they do not conflict with this decree, for in that respect all existing laws stand repealed." 3 Mex. Laws, 363.

Articles 73, 74, 75, and 76 were as follows:

"73. All the purchases and sales that are offered on account of the treasury and exceed five hundred dollars shall be made necessarily by the board of sales, which, in the capital of each department, shall be composed of the superior *chief of the treasury, the de-[255] partmental treasurer, the first alcalde, the attorney general of the treasury, and the auditor of the treasury, who shall act as secretary. Its minutes shall be spread on a book which shall be kept for the purpose, and shall be signed by all the members of the board, and a copy thereof shall be transmitted to the superior chief of the treasury, for such purposes as may be necessary and to enable him to make a report to the supreme government.

"74. The superior chiefs shall hold meetings of the boards of the treasury at least twice a month, and when they consider it necessary according to the difficulty and importance of the business. These boards shall be composed of said chief, the departmental treasurer, the attorney general of the treasury, the principal collector of the revenues and the auditor of the treasury, who shall act as secretary thereof.

"75. The object of the board of the treasury shall be to procure the prosperity and increase of the revenues of the treasury, the most easy and prompt collection thereof, to promote the economies that should be made, to expedite such grave matters of difficult solution as the superior chief may bring to its knowledge, and to make a report to the latter of bad management, improper conduct, failure to comply with their duties and other omissions of which they may have knowledge,

or may have observed in the employees of the treasury of the department.

"76. The minutes of the board shall be spread on the proper book, which shall be signed by all the members thereof, and an authenticated copy transmitted to the superior chief of the treasury to enable him to make a report to the supreme government, when the case requires it."

By a law of December 7, 1837, it was made the duty of the governors, among other things, "to preside over the boards of sale and of the treasury, with power to defer the resolutions of these latter until, in the first or second session thereafter, the matter under consideration is more carefully examined into." 3 Mex. Laws, 443.

By article 140 of a decree of June 13, 1843,
[256] it was made the duty *of the governor of each department to publish the decrees of the president and cause them to be complied with; and by subdivision 10 of article 142, the governor was made the chief of the public treasury of the department with general supervision of the same. 4 Mex. Laws, 428. And in passing it may be remarked that there is absolutely nothing in this record to indicate that the governor participated in any way in the act of sale, while the terms of the testimonio clearly show that the departmental treasurer proceeded and assumed to proceed upon his own sole authority.

December 16, 1841, the office of the superior chief of the treasury created by the decree of April 17, 1837, was abolished, and it was provided that the departmental treasurers should continue for the present to perform the functions of their office as established by the law creating them, and also to perform those of the discontinued chiefs of the treasury, except such as were assigned to the commandants general, who were to be inspectors and visitors of the treasury offices, and to see that the public revenues were well and faithfully collected, administered, and disbursed; and to make timely reports to the supreme government of what they observed, which should be brought to its attention. 4 Mex. Laws, 75.

On February 10, 1842, the following decree was issued:

"Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana, etc.

"Article 1. The boards of sale in the several departments will proceed to sell, at public auction, to the highest bidder, the properties (fincas) situated therein that pertain to the department of temporalities.

"2. No bid will be admitted that does not cover the amount considered to be the value of the property (fincas), computed from the amount of the leases, which shall be considered as the interest thereof, at the rate of five per cent.

"3. The bids shall be made for cash, which shall be paid when the sale is approved, less the amount of the burden imposed on each property (fincas), which the buyers shall continue to recognize with a mortgage thereof.

"4. No action or claim, which the actual lessors of the property (fincas), in question,
[257] may intend to set up for *improvements or under other pretext shall, in any manner, embarrass the proceedings of the board of sale in making the sales, but the right of parties in interest to apply to the supreme government, or to the proper authorities, shall remain intact.

"Therefore I order this to be printed, published, and circulated, and demand that it be complied with." 4 Mex. Laws, 114.

Lopez certified that it was in virtue of this decree that he had sold the lands in question as belonging to the class of temporalities, and as being of a value not exceeding $500, in which case he assumed that he was authorized to sell irrespective of the board of sales in view of article 73 of the decree of April 17, 1837. The argument is that as that article provided that all purchases and sales exceeding $500 should be made necessarily by the board of sales, therefore all property under that value could be sold by the departmental treasurer alone; but the difficulty is, as pointed out by the court of private land claims, that even if that provision operated in the manner contended for, it had no application to a sale under the decree of February 10, 1842, which specifically directed that the sales should be made by the board, and contained nothing to suggest that the value of the property affected the power and duty of the board in any way.

The decree recognized the existence of the boards of sale as the only proper official organs to accomplish the results desired, and it was this decree that was relied on as justifying the proceedings. If these lands were not of the temporalities; then the basis of the sale utterly failed, as the decree applied only to property of that class, and if of the temporalities the sales were to be made by the board.

In relation to article 73 of the law of 1837, some further observations may be added.

The regulations of July 20, 1831, and the law of April 17, 1837, treated of the same subject-matter, and must be read together; and prior laws, so far as not conflicting, were expressly saved from repeal by article 92 of the latter act.

*By § 73, the board of sales was necessarily [258]
to make sales exceeding $500, but nothing was said as to sales for less than that sum. This would seem to have left the law of 1831 in force in respect of the making and the conduct of sales of property having a value below that amount, and whether the board of sales consisted of the membership prescribed by § 73, or was composed in some respects of a different membership, is not material. While these various laws are rather confusing in their number and minuteness, nothing is clearer than that the power to make sales and grants was vested in the treasury department of the nation and governed by strict rules and regulations, none of which contemplated that any single officer could make the sales. It is enough that the departmental treasurer did not possess the power, acting singly and on his own responsibility, to conclusively determine to what class lands belonged, and their value, and

having decided these points, thereupon to exercise the sole power of sale.

Tumacacori, Calabazas, and Huebabi are said to have been originally separate and distinct pueblos and missions, of which the two latter were abandoned as early as December, 1806, when the native Indians of Tumacacori and the governor of said Indians presented petitions to the governor and intendente conde to give them title in accordance with the royal instructions of October 15, 1754, and of article 81 of the royal ordinances of December 4, 1786 (alleging the loss or destruction of their old title papers), of the lands embraced in the fundo legal and the estancia of each pueblo and mission, whereupon the grant of 1807 was made.

The titulo refers to some lands acquired by purchase, though the record leaves that matter entirely vague and uncertain, and declares the grant to be made to the pueblo and natives of Tumacacori, that they may "enjoy the use and freely possess at will and for their own benefit in community and individually, and for the decent support of the church of said mission, but under the condition that in no case and in no manner shall they alienate at any time any part of said lands which are adjudicated and assigned to them, since they [259]are all *to be considered as belonging to the Republic and community of natives alone, for their proper use, as well for sowing purposes as for stockraising and the increased prosperity of the same."

This was in accordance with the general rule that the missionaries and Indians only acquired a usufruct or occupancy at the will of the sovereign. *United States* v. *Cervantes*, 18 How. 553 [15: 484].

Prior to 1829, the tribunal of the inquisition had been abolished by the Cortes, and the monastic and other religious orders suppressed, and on the 10th of May of that year it was ordered, through the department of the treasury, that "the property in which consist the funds of the temporalities of the ex-Jesuits and monastics and the rural and urban estates belonging to the inquisition" be sold at public sale to the best and highest bidder. 2 Mex. Laws, 108. May 31, 1829, the commissary general of Mexico published a "list of the urban and rural estates relating to the temporalities of the ex-Jesuits and suppressed monastics with a statement of their values, the burdens they carry, and annual revenue" (Ibid. 117), which did not include the lands in question. The departmental treasurer did not claim, and manifestly did not acquire, the power to sell these lands under the order of May 10, 1829, or the regulations of July 7, 1831, bearing on that subject.

By a decree of April 16, 1834 (2 Mex. Laws, 689), the missions of the Republic were secularized, that is to say, converted from sacred to secular uses, and so far as these lands could have been regarded as temporalities, that is, profane property belonging to the church or its ecclesiastics, that decree changed their condition.

And, as many years before the sale in question, the lands of this pueblo and mission were abandoned, it would seem that they thus became a part of the public domain of the nation, and that as such the only laws applicable to their disposal were the laws of the nation in relation to its vacant public lands, to which the proceedings in this instance do not purport to have conformed or to have been made under them.

We concur with the court of private land claims that in either *view there was a fatal [260] want of power in the departmental treasurer to make the sale, and it is not asserted in the petition, nor was any evidence introduced to show that his action was participated in or ratified by the governor, or by the national government in any manner. And this is not a case in which the sale and grant can be treated as validated by presumption.

Decree affirmed.

NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY *et al., Plffs. in Err.,*
v.
PATRICK R. SMITH.

(See S. C. Reporter's ed. 260-276.)

Grant to railroad company—extent of occupation.

1. The occupation and survey of lands with intent to locate a town site thereon, but without filing a plat or obtaining the adoption of the town site or a patent therefor until after a railroad is located thereon, does not prevent the land from being a part of the public domain for the purposes of a grant to the railroad company.
2. The fact that only 25 feet in width of its right of way has been occupied for railroad purposes, under a grant of 200 feet on each side of the track, does not prevent a railroad company from claiming the full width of the grant as against persons who had occupied the premises for the purpose of making a town site location thereof, but had not acquired a right thereto as against the railroad company when the road was built.

[No. 93.]

Argued November 4, 5, 1897. Ordered for Reargument January 10, 1898. Reargued March 21, 1898. Decided May 31, 1898.

IN ERROR to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit to review a judgment of that court affirming the judgment of the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of North Dakota, in favor of the plaintiff, Patrick R. Smith, in an action brought by him against the Northern Pacific Railroad Company to recover the pos-

NOTE.—*As to pre-emption rights,* see note to United States v. Fitzgerald, 10: 785.

That patents for land may be set aside for fraud, see note to Miller v. Kerr, 5: 381.

As to errors in surveys and descriptions in patents for lands; how construed,—see note to Watts v. Lindsey, 5: 423.

As to land grants to railroads, see note to Kansas P. R. Co. v. Atchison, T. & S. F. R. Co. 28: 794.

Lane v Watts, 243 U.S. 525 (1914)

FRANKLIN K. LANE, Secretary of the Interior, and Clay Tallman, Commissioner of the General Land Office, Appts.,
v.
CORNELIUS C. WATTS, Dabney C. T. Davis, Jr., John Watts and James W. Vroom.

(See S. C. Reporter's ed. 17–23.)

Public lands — reservation from sale or disposal — Mexican land grant.

1. The reservation from sale or other disposal until final action of Congress, made by the act of July 22, 1854 (10 Stat. at L. 308, chap. 103), § 8, in favor of such Mexican or Spanish land claims as should be presented to the surveyor general of New Mexico for his report to Congress, did not prevent the location of the grant made by the act of June 21, 1860 (12 Stat. at L. 71, chap. 167), of vacant lands to be selected in lieu of lands common to two Mexican land grants, upon lands embraced in Mexican land claims which were not disclosed until after such selection and location by the Land Department,—especially where such claims were thereafter judicially declared to be void.

[For other cases, see Public Lands, 670–673, in Digest Sup. Ct. 1908.]

Trial — issues — cloud on title — conflicting Mexican grants.

2. The relative superiority of a claim under a confirmed Mexican land grant and a claim of title based on an approved location under the act of June 21, 1860, 12 Stat. at L. 71, chap. 167, of the grant made by that act of vacant land to be selected in lieu of land common to two Mexican grants, is not open for decision in a suit brought in the District of Columbia courts to enjoin the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of the General Land Office from casting a cloud upon the title under such approved location by proceeding in the matter of certain attempted entries upon the land under the public land laws, to which suit the claimants under the confirmed grant are not parties.

[For other cases, see Trial, II.; Private Land Claims, 473–475, in Digest Sup. Ct. 1908.]

[No. 889, Oct. Term, 1913.]

Decided November 2, 1914.

ON LEAVE to file a petition for rehearing of a decree which affirmed a decree of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, which had in turn affirmed a decree of the Supreme Court of the District, enjoining the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of the General Land Office from proceeding in the matter of certain attempted entries under the public land laws. Leave to file denied.

For original opinion, see 234 U. S. 525, 58 L. ed. 1440, 34 Sup. Ct. Rep. 965.

The facts are stated in the opinion.

Assistant Attorney General West and Mr. C. Edward Wright for the petition.

Messrs. Herbert Noble, G. H. Brevillier, and James W. Vroom opposed.

Mr. Justice **McKenna** delivered the opinion of the court:

Leave to file an application for rehearing is asked. We see no reason to grant it, but to avoid misunderstanding of the opinion we may add a few words.

The opinion is explicit as to the main elements of decision. It decides that the title to the lands involved passed to the heirs of Baca by the location of the float and its approval by the officers of the Land Department and order for survey in 1864, in pursuance of the act of 1860 (12 Stat. at L. 71, 72, chap. 167). A survey, it was said, was necessary to segregate the land from the public domain, and the condition was satisfied by the Contzen survey. It follows, therefore, that the land was not subject to homestead or other entry under the public land laws, and the asserted jurisdiction of the Land Department over it for that purpose could be restrained.

It is suggested, however, by appellees that appellants urge that certain claimed Mexican grants conflict with the location, and that the opinion leaves uncertain the effect of this, and that therefore it may encourage or require further litigation. Appellants assert that the effect of the claimed Mexican grants is reserved from decision, and yet the Land Department is enjoined from exercising any jurisdiction over the conflicting areas.

[21] A few words of explanation will make certain the extent of our decision. In adjustment of the conflict between the Baca grant and the grant to the town of Las Vegas, the act of 1860 was passed. The quantity and the manner of location were defined. The land was to be located in square bodies and be "vacant land, not mineral, in the territory of New Mexico," and it was made the duty of the surveyor general of New Mexico to survey and locate the lands when selected by the heirs of Baca. There were no other conditions, and these were fulfilled in 1864.

But it is said that portions of the tract as located were then embraced in two claimed Mexican grants; to wit, the Tumacacori and Calabazas grant and the San José de Sonoita grant, and that by virtue of § 8 of the act of July 22, 1854 (10 Stat. at L. 308, chap. 103), the lands covered by such claims were reserved from other disposal and therefore from location under the Baca float. That section made it the duty of the surveyor general of New Mexico, un-

der such instructions as might be given by the Secretary of the Interior, to ascertain the character and extent of claims to such lands under the laws, usages, and customs of Mexico and Spain, and to make full report on all such claims as originated before the cession of the territory to the United States by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 [9 Stat. at L. 922], and report the same to Congress for its consideration and action. It was provided that "until the final action by Congress on such claims, all lands covered thereby shall be reserved from sale or other disposal by the government, and shall not be subject to the donations granted by the previous provisions of this act."

Subsequently, by the act of August 4, 1854, the territory acquired under the Gadsden treaty [10 Stat. at L. 1031] was incorporated with the territory of New Mexico and made subject to the laws of that territory (10 Stat. at L. 575, chap. 245). Assuming, not deciding, that this provision made § 8 applicable to lands acquired under the Gadsden treaty, the reservation [**22**] was statutory and subject to repeal. Lockhart v. Johnson, 181 U. S. 516, 45 L. ed. 979, 21 Sup. Ct. Rep. 665. And there are grounds for a contention that the act of 1860, making a grant to the Baca heirs, affected a repeal *pro tanto* of the reservation of the act of 1854. But there are answers more directly under § 8 of that act. The mere fact of a claimed Mexican grant did not reserve the lands covered by it. Ibid. It was only after their presentation to the surveyor general of New Mexico for his report thereon that the lands were reserved "until the final action of Congress." There was no reservation except by this statute, and it related only to lands covered by a claim presented to the surveyor general. There is no language in the treaties which implies a reservation. Lockhart v. Johnson, at p. 523.

The Tumacacori and Calabazas grant was not presented to the surveyor general until June 9, 1864, and his report was not laid before Congress until May 24, 1880. A petition for confirmation of the San José de Sonoita grant was not presented to the surveyor general until December, 1879. It will be seen, therefore, that there was no disclosure of these claims until after the selection of the Baca grant and its location by the Land Department, the consummation of which was accomplished by the approval of the location April 9, 1864. Besides, the Tumacacori and Calabazas claim was held untenable and void by this court (Faxon v. United States, 171 U. S. 244, 43 L. ed. 151, 18 Sup. Ct. Rep. 849), and the greater part of the San José de Sonoita claim was rejected in Ely v. United States, 171 U. S. 220, 43 L. ed. 142, 18 Sup. Ct. Rep. 840. And we may say that before the Contzen survey was made § 8 of the act of 1854 had been repealed. Lockhart v. Johnson, supra.

The contention that the lands covered by these claims were reserved by the act of 1854 being untenable, it results that the only conflict with the Baca float as located April 9, 1864, which requires consideration and decision, [**23**] is the one arising from that part of the San José de Sonoita claim which has been confirmed as against the United States. And in any event the lands in that conflict are not public lands or subject to disposal by the Land Department. They belong either to the owners of the Baca float or to the owners of the confirmed portion of the San José de Sonoita grant. But which is the superior claim we cannot now consider or decide because the Sonoita claimants are not parties to this cause, and because the question will more properly arise in the local courts, and not in a proceeding in the District of Columbia against the Secretary of the Interior.

With this explanation of our former opinion, leave to file the petition for rehearing is denied.

PULLMAN COMPANY, Appt.,
v.
W. V. KNOTT, as Comptroller of the State of Florida. (No. 383.)

PULLMAN COMPANY, Appt.,
v.
W. V. KNOTT, as Comptroller of the State of Florida. (No. 384.)

(See S. C. Reporter's ed. 23-27.)

Statutes — when validity may be assailed — discrimination in tax.

1. The tax on gross receipts of sleeping and parlor car companies imposed by Fla. Laws 1907, chap. 5592, § 47, will not be held invalid as discriminatory because it does not fall upon railroads operating their own sleeping and parlor cars, where it does not appear that any railroad in the state does operate its own sleeping or parlor cars. [For other cases, see Statutes, I. d, 3, in Digest Sup. Ct. 1908.]

NOTE.—On constitutional equality in the United States in relation to corporate taxation—see note to Bacon v. Board State Tax Comrs. 60 L.R.A. 321.

On notice and hearing required generally, to constitute due process of law—see notes to Kuntz v. Sumption, 2 L.R.A. 657; Chauvin v. Valiton, 3 L.R.A. 194; and Ulman v. Baltimore, 11 L.R.A. 225.

Presidential Proclamation 821, September 15, 1908

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, September 15, 1908.

A PROCLAMATION.

Tumacacori National Monument, Ariz. Preamble.

WHEREAS, the Tumacacori Mission, an ancient Spanish ruin, which is one of the oldest mission ruins in the southwest, erected probably in the latter part of the sixteenth century, being largely of burned brick and cement mortar instead of adobe, and in remarkable repair, considering its great age, and of great historical interest, and it appears that the public interests would be promoted by reserving this ruin with as much land as may be necessary for the protection thereof, and WHEREAS:

Vol. 34, p. 225.

Under the terms of the Act entitled "An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities", approved June 8, 1906, one Carmen Mendez, whose homestead entry is No. 3035, has relinquished to the United States ten acres of ground thereof upon which said mission ruin is located, and the Secretary of the Interior has accepted such relinquishment for the purposes specified in said Act:

National Monument, Arizona.

Now, therefore, I, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by section two of the Act above referred to, do hereby set aside as the Tumacacori National Monument, the Tumacacori Mission ruins and ten acres of land upon which the same are located, situated in Santa Cruz County, Arizona, more particularly described as follows, to wit:

Description.

The east half of northwest quarter of southwest quarter of southeast quarter and the west half of northeast quarter of southwest quarter of southeast quarter of section thirty, township twenty-one south, range thirteen east of Gila and Salt River Meridian, Arizona.

Reserved from settlement, etc.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, excavate, injure or destroy any of the ruins or relics hereby declared to be a National Monument or to locate or settle upon any of the lands reserved and made a part of said monument by this Proclamation.

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

Done at the City of Washington this 15 day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eight, [SEAL.] and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-third.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

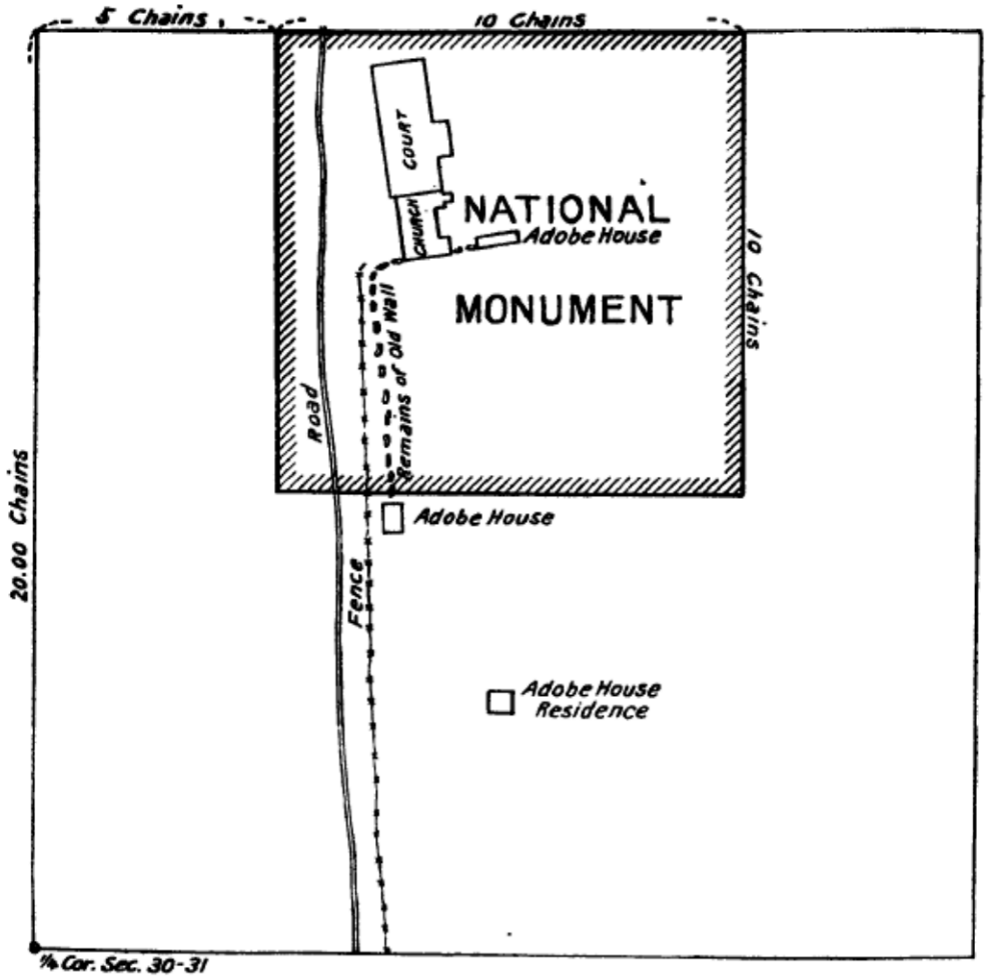
By the President:
ALVEY A. ADEE
Acting Secretary of State.

TUMACACORI NATIONAL MONUMENT

Embracing the E² NW⁴ of SW⁴ of SE⁴
and the W² of the NE⁴ of SW⁴ of SE⁴ Sec. 30
T. 21 S., R. 13 E. Gila and Salt River Mer.

ARIZONA

Containing 10 acres



DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
GENERAL LAND OFFICE
Fred Dennett, Commissioner

Serial Patent Number 33662, Carmen Mendez, December 14, 1908

(RECORD OF PATENTS.) 33662

4-405a-tyr.

The United States of America,

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

Homestead Certificate No. 290.
Application 3035.

WHEREAS, There has been deposited in the GENERAL LAND OFFICE of the United States a Certificate of the Register of the Land Office at Phoenix, Arizona, whereby it appears that, pursuant to the Act of Congress approved 20th May, 1862, "To secure Homesteads to Actual Settlers on the Public Domain," and the acts supplemental thereto, the claim of

CARMEN MENDEZ

has been established and duly consummated, in conformity to law, for the north half of the southeast quarter, the southeast quarter of the southeast quarter, the south half of the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter, the east half of the northeast quarter of the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter, and the west half of the northwest quarter of the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter of Section thirty and the north half of the northeast quarter of Section thirty-one in Township twenty-one south of Range thirteen east of the Gila and Salt River Meridian, Arizona, containing one hundred fifty acres,

according to the Official Plat of the Survey of the said Land, returned to the GENERAL LAND OFFICE by the Surveyor General:

NOW KNOW YE, That there is, therefore, granted by the UNITED STATES unto the said Carmen Mendez the tract of Land above described; TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said tract of Land, with the appurtenances thereof, unto the said Carmen Mendez and to his heirs and assigns forever; subject to any vested and accrued water rights for mining, agricultural, manufacturing, or other purposes, and rights to ditches and reservoirs used in connection with such water rights, as may be recognized and acknowledged by the local customs, laws, and decisions of courts, and also subject to the right of the proprietor of a vein or lode to extract and remove his ore therefrom, should the same be found to penetrate or intersect the premises hereby granted, as provided by law. And there is reserved from the lands hereby granted, a right of way thereon for ditches or canals constructed by the authority of the United States.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, have caused these letters to be made Patent, and the seal of the General Land Office to be hereunto affixed.

(SEAL) GIVEN under my hand, at the City of Washington, the fourteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eight, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-third.

By the President: Theodore Roosevelt

By M. W. Young, Secretary.

H. W. Sanford, Recorder of the General Land Office.

6—273

Presidential Proclamation 3228, March 28, 1958

contributing much to the health, happiness, and productivity of our citizens; and

WHEREAS achievement of the goal of controlling and eliminating cancer demands the unrelenting efforts of research scientists, physicians, and official and voluntary health agencies, together with the enlightened cooperation of the public; and

36 USC 150. WHEREAS the Congress, by a joint resolution approved March 28, 1938 (52 Stat. 148), authorized and requested the President to issue annually a proclamation setting apart the month of April of each year as Cancer Control Month:

Cancer Control Month, 1958. NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the month of April 1958 as Cancer Control Month; and I invite the Governors of the States, Territories, and possessions of the United States to issue similar proclamations. I also urge the medical profession, the communication industries, and all concerned groups to unite during the appointed month in the furtherance of programs for the control of cancer.

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

DONE at the City of Washington this 26th day of March in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-eight, and of [SEAL] the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-second.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

By the President:
JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
Secretary of State.

ENLARGING THE TUMACACORI NATIONAL MONUMENT, ARIZONA

March 28, 1958
[No. 3228]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

35 Stat. 2205. WHEREAS the Tumacacori National Monument in Santa Cruz County, Arizona, established by Proclamation No. 821 of September 15, 1908, contains the ruins of the Tumacacori Mission, built largely of burned brick and cement mortar and one of the oldest Spanish missions in the Southwest; and

WHEREAS the Southwestern Monuments Association has offered to donate to the United States, for inclusion in such monument, a tract of land adjacent thereto containing the ruins of a lime kiln which was a part of the original mission establishment and which is likewise of historic interest; and

WHEREAS it appears that it would be in the public interest to include such tract of land, hereinafter described by metes and bounds, and the ruins thereon in the Tumacacori National Monument:

Tumacacori National Monument, Ariz. Inclusion of land. NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 2 of the act of June 8, 1906, 34 Stat. 225 (16 U.S.C. 431), do proclaim that, subject to valid existing rights, the following-described tract of land shall, upon acquisition of title thereto by the United States, be added to, and become a part of the Tumacacori National Monument:

Being a part of the southeast quarter, section 30, Township 21 South, Range 13 East, Gila and Salt River Meridian, and beginning at a point on the north boundary line of Tumacacori National Monument as established by Proc-

lamation No. 821 of September 15, 1908, from which the northwest corner of the said monument bears west 125 feet; thence, east, 70 feet, along the said boundary line; north, 92 feet; west, 70 feet; and south, 92 feet, to the point of beginning; containing 0.15 acres, more or less.

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

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

DONE at the City of Washington this 28th day of March in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-eight, and of [SEAL] the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-second.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

By the President:
JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
The Secretary of State.

DETERMINING ALPHA AND BETA 3-ETHYL-1-METHYL-4-PHENYL-4-PROPIONOXYPIPERIDINE TO BE OPIATES

March 28, 1958
[No. 3229]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS section 4731(g) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 provides in part as follows: 68A Stat. 558. 26 USC 4731(g).

"OPIATE.—The word 'opiate', as used in this part shall mean any drug (as defined in the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act; 52 Stat. 1041, section 201 (g); 21 U. S. C. 321) found by the Secretary or his delegate, after due notice and opportunity for public hearing, to have an addiction-forming or addiction-sustaining liability similar to morphine or cocaine, and proclaimed by the President to have been so found by the Secretary or his delegate. * * *";

WHEREAS the Secretary of the Treasury, after due notice and opportunity for public hearing, has found that each of the following-named drugs has an addiction-forming or addiction-sustaining liability similar to morphine, and that in the public interest this finding should be effective immediately:

α-3-Ethyl-1-methyl-4-phenyl-4-propionoxypiperidine
β-3-Ethyl-1-methyl-4-phenyl-4-propionoxypiperidine;

AND WHEREAS a previous finding with respect to the beta isomeric form of the drug, described in Proclamation No. 2851 of August 26, 1949, and discovered to have been prematurely made, has been withdrawn by the Secretary of the Treasury as of August 26, 1949, and replaced by the above-described finding: 63 Stat. 1290.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim that the Secretary of the Treasury has found that each of the following-named drugs has an addiction-forming or addiction-sustaining liability similar to morphine, and that in the public interest this finding should be effective immediately: Determination of certain drugs as opiates.

α-3-Ethyl-1-methyl-4-phenyl-4-propionoxypiperidine
β-3-Ethyl-1-methyl-4-phenyl-4-propionoxypiperidine

And I do further proclaim that a previous finding with respect to the beta isomeric form of the drug, described in Proclamation No. 2851 of August 26, 1949, and discovered to have been prematurely made, has been withdrawn by the Secretary of the Treasury 63 Stat. 1290.

TITLE II—ACQUISITION CEILING INCREASES

ACQUISITION CEILINGS

SEC. 201. The limitations on appropriations for the acquisition of lands and interests therein within certain units of the National Park System are amended as follows: Appropriation authorizations.

(1) Big Cypress National Preserve, Florida: Section 8 of the Act of October 11, 1974 (88 Stat. 1258), is amended by changing "$116,000,000" to "$156,700,000". 16 USC 698m.

(2) Buffalo National River, Arkansas: Section 7 of the Act of March 1, 1972 (86 Stat. 44), is amended by changing "$30,071,500" to "$39,948,000". 16 USC 460m-14.

(3) Cumberland Island National Seashore, Georgia: Section 10 of the Act of October 23, 1972 (86 Stat. 1066), is amended by changing "$10,500,000" to "$28,500,000". 16 USC 459i-9.

SAWTOOTH NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

SEC. 202. Section 13 of the Act of August 22, 1972 (86 Stat. 612), is amended by changing "$19,802,000" to "$47,802,000". 16 USC 460aa-12.

TITLE III—BOUNDARY CHANGES

REVISION OF BOUNDARIES

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

(1) Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site, Colorado: To add approximately six hundred and twenty-two acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site, Colorado", numbered 417-80,007-A, and dated June 1976: $842,000.

(2) Cape Cod National Seashore, Massachusetts: To add approximately thirteen acres and to delete approximately sixteen acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Cape Cod National Seashore Boundary Map", numbered 609-60,015 and dated February 1978.

(3) Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona: To add approximately four hundred and forty acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona", numbered 145-80,002, and dated August 1977: $294,000.

(4) Coronado National Memorial, Arizona: To add approximately three thousand and forty acres and delete approximately twelve hundred acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Land Status Map 01, Coronado National Memorial, Cochise County, Arizona", numbered 8630/80,001, and dated October 1977: $1,410,000.

(5) Eisenhower National Historic Site, Pennsylvania: To add approximately one hundred ninety-five and eighty-three one-hundredths acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Eisenhower National Historic Site, Adams

County, Pennsylvania", numbered 446–40,001B, and dated April 1978: $166,000.

(6) Fort Caroline National Memorial, Florida: To add approximately ten acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Fort Caroline National Memorial, Florida", numbered 5310/80,000–A, and dated April 1978: $170,000.

(7) George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia: To add approximately eighty-two and twenty-five one-hundredths acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, George Washington Birthplace National Memorial, Virginia", numbered 332–30,000–B and dated September 1978: $450,000.

(8) Great Sand Dunes National Monument, Colorado: To add approximately one thousand one hundred and nine acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Great Sand Dunes National Monument, Colorado", numbered 140–80,001–A, and dated November 1974: $166,000.

(9) Gulf Islands National Seashore, Mississippi-Florida: To add approximately six hundred acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Gulf Islands National Seashore, Mississippi-Florida", numbered 20,006, and dated April 1978: $300,000.

(10) Hawaii Volcanoes National Park, Hawaii: To add approximately two hundred sixty-nine acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Hawaii Volcanoes National Park, Hawaii", numbered 80,000, and dated August 1975: $562,000.

(11) John Day Fossil Beds National Monument, Oregon: To add approximately one thousand four hundred and eleven acres, and to delete approximately one thousand six hundred and twenty acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, John Day Fossil Beds National Monument, Oregon", numbered 177–30,000–B, and dated May 1978: $3,500,000. The Act of October 26, 1974 (88 Stat. 1461), which designates the John Day Fossil Beds National Monument is amended by deleting the second proviso of section 101(a)(2). Furthermore, not withstanding any other provision of law to the contrary, the Secretary may, if he determines that to do so will not have a substantial adverse effect on the preservation of the fossil and other resources within the remainder of the monument, convey approximately sixty acres acquired by the United States for purposes of the monument in exchange for non-Federal lands within the boundaries of the monument, and, effective upon such conveyance, the boundaries of the monument are hereby revised to exclude the lands conveyed.

Land conveyance.

(12) Monocacy National Battlefield, Maryland: To add approximately five hundred and eighty-seven acres as generally depicted on the map entitled, "Boundary Map, Monocacy National Battlefield", numbered 894–40,001, and dated May 1978: $3,500,000.

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

(14) Oregon Caves National Monument, Oregon: To add approximately eight acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Oregon Cave, Oregon", numbered 20,000, and dated April 1978: $107,000.

(15) Salem Maritime National Historic Site, Massachusetts: To add approximately fifteen one-hundredths of an acre as generally depicted on the map entitled "Salem Maritime National Historic Site Boundary Map", numbered 373-80,010, and dated February 1978: $67,500.

(16) Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park, North Dakota: To add approximately one hundred and forty-six acres, and delete approximately one hundred and sixty acres as generally depicted on map entitled "Boundary Map Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park-North Unit McKenzie County/North Dakota", numbered 387/80,020, and dated July 1977.

(17) Tumacacori National Monument, Arizona: To add approximately seven acres, and delete approximately eleven-hundredths of an acre as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Tumacacori National Monument, Arizona", numbered 311-80,009-A, and dated March 1978: $24,000.

(18)(A) Tuzigoot National Monument, Arizona: To add approximately seven hundred and ninety-one acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Master Proposal, Tuzigoot National Monument", numbered 378-30,000D, and dated January 1973: $1,350,000.

(B) The Secretary is authorized to acquire by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, exchange or otherwise and subject to such terms, reservations, conditions applied to the acquired lands as he may deem satisfactory, the lands and interests in lands that are included within the boundaries of the Tuzigoot National Monument as revised by this paragraph. When so acquired, they shall be administered in accordance with provisions of law generally applicable to units of the National Park System, including the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535).

Land acquisitions.

Administration.

16 USC 1 *et seq.*

(C) In exercising his authority to acquire such lands and interests in lands by exchange, the Secretary may accept title to any non-Federal property within the boundaries of the national monument and in exchange therefor he may convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property under his jurisdiction in the State of Arizona. The values of the properties so exchanged either shall be approximately equal, or if they are not approximately equal the values shall be equalized by the payment of cash to the grantor or to the Secretary as the circumstances require.

Property conveyance.

(19) White Sands National Monument, New Mexico: To add approximately three hundred and twenty acres, and delete approximately seven hundred and sixty acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, White Sands, National Monument, New Mexico", numbered 142/20,010-A, and dated November 1973.

(20) William Howard Taft National Historic Site, Ohio: To add approximately three acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, William Howard Taft National Historic Site, Ohio", numbered 448-40,021, and dated January 1977.

(21) Wind Cave National Park, South Dakota: To add approximately two hundred and twenty-eight acres as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Wind Cave National Park, South Dakota", numbered 108-80,008, and dated July 1977: $227,000.

An Act to Establish Tumacácori National Historical Park in the State of Arizona, August 6, 1990

Public Law 101-344
101st Congress

An Act

To establish the Tumacacori National Historical Park in the State of Arizona.

Aug. 6, 1990
[H.R. 2843]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Public lands.

SECTION 1. TUMACACORI NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK.

16 USC 410ss.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—In order to protect and interpret, for the education and benefit of the public, sites in the State of Arizona associated with the early Spanish missionaries and explorers of the 17th and 18th centuries, there is hereby established the Tumacacori National Historical Park (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the "park").

(b) AREA INCLUDED.—The park shall consist of the existing Tumacacori National Monument, together with (1) the ruins of Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi, the first mission in Arizona (consisting of approximately 8 acres) and (2) the Kino visita and rancheria ruins of Calabazas (consisting of approximately 22 acres), each as generally depicted on the map entitled "Boundary Map, Tumacacori National Historical Park", numbered 311/80018, and dated February 1990. The map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the offices of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

16 USC 431 note.

(c) ABOLITION OF MONUMENT.—The Tumacacori National Monument is hereby abolished and any funds available for purposes of the monument shall be available for purposes of the park.

SEC. 2. ADMINISTRATION.

16 USC 410ss-1.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") shall administer the park in accordance with this Act and with the provisions of law generally applicable to units of the national park system, including the Act entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes", approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535; 16 U.S.C. 1-4) and the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666; 16 U.S.C. 461-467). The Secretary may acquire lands or interests in land within the boundaries of the park by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange.

(b) DONATIONS.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary may accept and retain donations of funds, property, or services from individuals, foundations, corporations, or public entities for the purpose of providing services and facilities which he deems consistent with the purposes of this Act.

(c) SEPARATE UNITS.—The Secretary shall provide for the identification of the Guevavi, Calabazas, and Tumacacori sites as 3 separate units of the park.

(d) RECOGNITION OF FATHER EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO'S ROLE.—In administering the park, the Secretary shall utilize such interpretative materials and other devices as may be necessary to give appropriate recognition to the role of the Jesuit Missionary Priest, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, in the development of the mission sites and the settlement of the region.

Approved August 6, 1990.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—H.R. 2843:

HOUSE REPORTS: No. 101-418 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).
SENATE REPORTS: No. 101-362 (Comm. on Energy and Natural Resources).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 136 (1990):
Mar. 13, considered and passed House.
July 23, considered and passed Senate.

An Act to Revise the Boundary of Tumacácori National Historical Park in the State of Arizona, August 21, 2002

Public Law 107–218
107th Congress

An Act

Aug. 21, 2002
[H.R. 2234]

To revise the boundary of the Tumacacori National Historical Park in the State of Arizona.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Tumacacori National Historical Park Boundary Revision Act of 2002.
16 USC 410ss note.

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Tumacacori National Historical Park Boundary Revision Act of 2002".

16 USC 410ss note.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSES.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds the following:

(1) Tumacacori Mission in southern Arizona was declared a National Monument in 1908 in recognition of its great historical significance as "one of the oldest mission ruins in the southwest".

(2) In establishing Tumacacori National Historical Park in 1990 to include the Tumacacori Mission and the ruins of the mission of Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi and the Kino visita and rancheria of Calabazas, Congress recognized the importance of these sites "to protect and interpret, for the education and benefit of the public, sites in the State of Arizona associated with the early Spanish missionaries and explorers of the 17th and 18th centuries".

(3) Tumacacori National Historical Park plays a major role in interpreting the Spanish colonial heritage of the United States.

(b) PURPOSES.—The purposes of this Act are—

(1) to protect and interpret the resources associated with the Tumacacori Mission by revising the boundary of Tumacacori National Historical Park to include approximately 310 acres of land adjacent to the park; and

(2) to enhance the visitor experience at Tumacacori by developing access to these associated mission resources.

SEC. 3. BOUNDARY REVISION, TUMACACORI NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, ARIZONA.

Section 1(b) of Public Law 101–344 (16 U.S.C. 410ss(b)) is amended—

(1) by inserting after the first sentence the following new sentence: "The park shall also consist of approximately 310 acres of land adjacent to the original Tumacacori unit of the park and generally depicted on the map entitled 'Tumacacori National Historical Park, Arizona Proposed Boundary Revision 2001', numbered 310/80,044, and dated July 2001."; and

(2) in the last sentence—

(A) by striking "The map" and inserting "The maps"; and

(B) by striking "the offices" and inserting "the appropriate offices".

Approved August 21, 2002.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—H.R. 2234: