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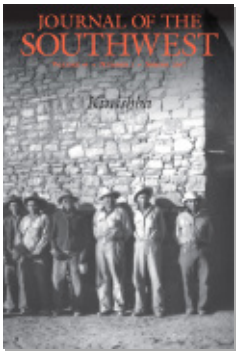

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"A Monument to Native Civilization": Byron Cummings' Still-Unfolding Vision for Kinishba Ruins

John R. Welch

The massive, sprawling ruins of a six hundred-room Ancestral Pueblo village known since the 1930s as Kinishba sits perched above a now-desiccated spring in a scenic, pine-fringed alluvial valley near the seat of government for the White Mountain Apache Tribe (figure 1). The site has been variously designated as the Fort Apache Ruin; LA 1895 (N.M. Laboratory of Anthropology); Arizona C:4:5 (Gila Pueblo–Arizona); Hough No. 134; AZ V:4:1(ASM), and 46004 (FAIRsite). *Kinishba* is derived from the Apache term *kį dałbaa,* meaning "brown house." For the last seventy-five years the ruin has served as a proving ground for efforts in what we refer to today as applied archaeology and heritage tourism. By twenty-first-century archaeological standards we know little about the site or its ancient occupants. In contrast, various archives and federal agency offices have preserved a rich documentary record of why and how archaeologists have made use of the site for training, public outreach, and economic and community development.[1]

This review of successive attempts to integrate research, education, preservation, and enterprise incorporates the results of archival studies as well as my experience from two decades partially spent in creating preservation and stewardship partnerships focused on the site.[2] The discussion reveals a long and ongoing struggle to find a place in modern society for the ancient ruin, thus providing glimpses into the history and future of archaeology and tourism in Arizona's Apache country and of the institutional and governmental dynamics that have so profoundly influenced where, how, why, and by whom research and preservation are carried out. The review concludes with cautionary tales and constructive clues offered as the basis for ongoing management of Kinishba, as guidance

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1. Arizona and White Mountain Apache tribe lands, showing the location of Kinishba. (Base map by Catherine Gilman; courtesy of the Center for Desert Archaeology)

for comparable initiatives, and as an endorsement for redefining applied archaeology as a central element of cultural heritage stewardship.

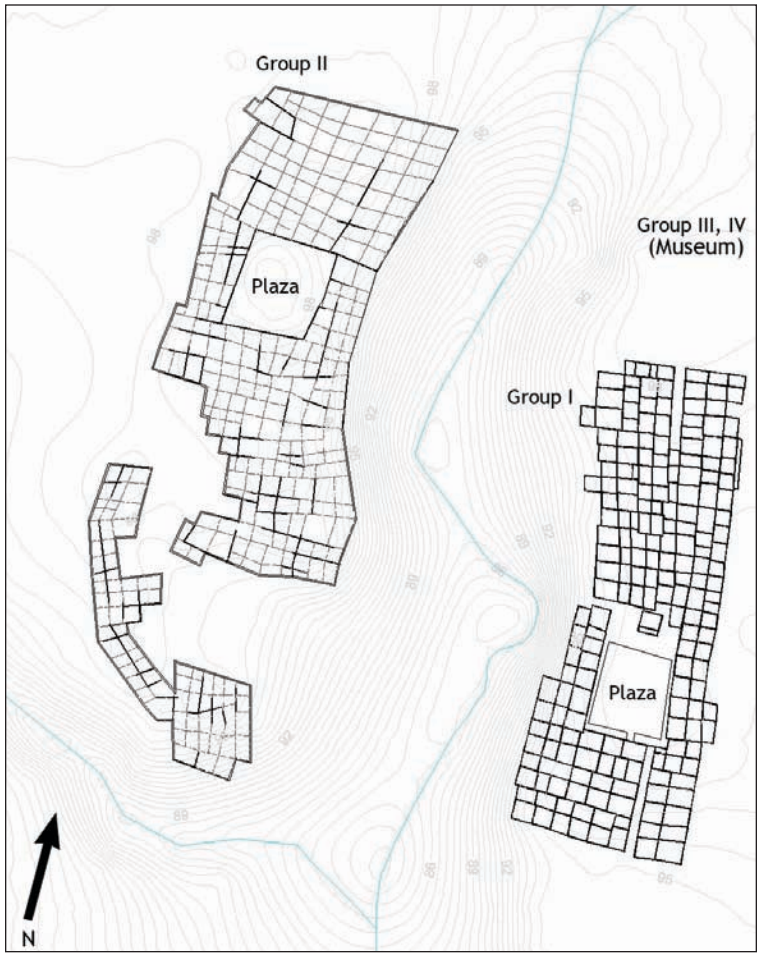
The Ruins of a Village Farming Community of the Great Pueblo Period

This article portrays key episodes in Kinishba's post-1930 history as sequential reflections of important individuals and social trends; nonetheless, because these people and issues all relate to the site's clear regional

significance in the 1200s and 1300s, an archaeological summary provides an appropriate point of departure. Kinishba is located at about 5,000 feet above sea level, south of the Mogollon Rim and north of the Salt River, at the eastern foot of Tsé Sizin (Rock Standing Up, a.k.a. Sawtooth Mountain), on White Mountain Apache Tribe trust lands (i.e., the Fort Apache Indian Reservation). The site is the most publicly accessible of the twenty or so large (150 or more rooms), Ancestral (Mogollon) Pueblo village ruins that were built and occupied as part of the colonization of the Mogollon Rim region in the AD 1200s and 1300s (Reid and Whittlesey 1997; Welch 1996; Mills, Herr, and Van Keuren 1999; Riggs 2001, 2005). Grasshopper and Point of Pines are the other well-known modern names for these ancient population centers, and much of what we suspect about the lives and works of Kinishba's occupants is based on analogies with knowledge resulting from systematic investigations at these sites from the 1950s through the early 1990s. The largest thirteenth- and fourteenth-century ruins along the Mogollon Rim share a suite of architectural elements, ceramic assemblage attributes, and locational characteristics—especially proximity to expanses of land suitable for dry maize farming and ready access to domestic water, tabular sandstone or limestone, and ponderosa pine—indicative of shared origins and lifeways, as well as sustained interactions.

All of these large villages were built up from apartment-style room blocks laid out to define communal courtyards or plazas (Riggs 2001). The site that has become known as Kinishba is comprised of eight major mounds, the collapsed remains of masonry room groups. The village probably grew more from immigrants than from expanding families and appears to have included over six hundred rooms. The main cluster of rooms, Group I, is the ruins of a rectangular arrangement of one, two, and possibly three-story rooms perched along the eastern edge of an ephemeral tributary to the White River. Group I includes a masonry wall separating two open courtyards or plazas and covered-corridor entries from the south and the west (figure 2). Ceremonies likely played important roles in uniting the various groups who came together in this place. The site's other room groups are less fully researched but likely also include plazas and other ceremonial rooms and communal features.

Tree-ring dates obtained by excavators from charcoal taken from beams in various burned rooms indicate that the pueblo's initial construction and subsequent remodeling spanned about two hundred years, beginning about AD 1160 (Baldwin 1935; Douglass 1938; Bannister and Robinson 1971; Nash 1999). Remains of pit houses and numerous small structures



2. Plan view map of Kinishba Ruins Group I and II. (Completed under the direction of Charles R. Riggs by the 2004 University of Arizona–White Mountain Apache Tribe Field School in Archaeology and Heritage Resource Management; courtesy White Mountain Apache Tribe Historic Preservation Office)

found nearby indicate the Kinishba locality was occupied by AD 800 or 900. There is no clear evidence of ancient Apache occupation of the site, but oral traditions indicate Apache history in the region extending into time immemorial. The presence of Hopi Yellow Wares and Zuni Glaze Wares suggest use of the site by Pueblo or Pueblo-affiliated groups into the early AD 1400s. Consultant recollections of Hopi and Zuni oral traditions, along with the remains of a shrine and associated offerings, reveal

Hopi and possibly Zuni use of the site, perhaps after a hiatus, into the latter half of the 1900s.[3] Reid and Whittlesey (1989) suggest the site may have been the Chiciticale referred to in narratives of the 1540–41 expedition of Francisco de Coronado.

A Victorian Humanist's Swan Song

In 1931 Byron Cummings—venerable founder of the University of Arizona Department of Archaeology (later Anthropology), director of the Arizona State Museum (ASM), and former University of Arizona (U of A) dean of men and president (Bostwick 2006)—began the largest project of his ambitious career, the excavation, reconstruction, and development of an interpretive center and tourist attraction of and from the ruins of the six hundred-room pueblo known to non-Indians at the time as the Fort Apache Ruin and located less than four miles from that icon of the American West. Adolph Bandelier (1890–92) based a portion of his wide-ranging archaeological reconnaissance surveys out of Fort Apache in the spring of 1883, noting that soldiers dug there frequently in search of relics. The site was also noted by Walter Hough (1907), Leslie Spier (1919), Albert Regan (1930), and Gila Pueblo surveyors (Baldwin 1941) prior to attracting Cummings' attention. Employing university archaeological field schools, various Depression-era works projects, funding from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA),[4] and his social and political capital, Cummings worked well into the late 1940s—his late eighties—to establish the site as a national monument unit in the National Park Service (NPS) system and as a source of American Indian pride, education, and tourist-related income.

Cummings was a member of the cadre of scholar-entrepreneurs that not only laid the foundations for Southwestern archaeology, but forged the discipline's crucial links to community, institutional, and economic development (Fowler 2000). Known to all close colleagues, students, and friends as "The Dean," Cummings was uniquely qualified for and committed to the pursuit of his Herculean task. He had been taking students on summer archaeological expeditions across the northern Southwest since 1907 and, in 1919, initiated the U of A's ongoing program of field schools (Brace 1986; Mills 2005; Reid and Whittlesey 2005; Mills et al. n.d.). In the later 1920s and earliest 1930s Dean Cummings had completed excavation projects at Cuicuilco, Mexico, and Turkey Hill Pueblo, near Flagstaff, Arizona (Bostwick 2006). Through his astonishing energy, generous and contagiously enthusiastic disposition, U of A positions,

social prominence in Tucson, predisposition for visionary institutional development, and previous field investigations, Dean Cummings had developed deep and broad support for his projects, networks in private and government sectors, and a capacity for collaborations with Native Americans grounded in sincere and sustained interest in their economic and social circumstances (Bostwick 2006).

Preparation and capacity, however, must not be confused with interest and motivation. It remains somewhat uncertain why Dean Cummings passed over the hundreds of spectacular and promising sites he visited during decades of far-flung explorations and decided to bind his future to that of the Fort Apache Ruin. Baldwin (1938:11; 1939:323) emphasizes the site's research potential, insisting the intention was to examine the cultural and territorial boundaries between the Anasazi tradition of the Colorado Plateau and the Hohokam tradition of the southern deserts. In a personal interview conducted in February 2006, Jefferson Reid emphasized the impact on Cummings of losing his wife, Isabelle, in 1929, turning seventy in 1930, and during the same period sparking an enduring friendship with Miss Ann Chatham, an Indian Service educator stationed at Fort Apache. Bostwick (2006:246) acknowledges these factors and suggests that Cummings was ready to adopt a more regionally focused, less strenuous and peripatetic mode of fieldwork.

Cumming's emphatically personal approach and clear interest in establishing his legacy probably transcended any specific allure of professional opportunity. Early plans for the new project, like many of his previous initiatives, seem to have been guided less by pressing research questions or scientific rigors than by his unflinching desire to share his zeal for native peoples and their ancient forebears and, thereby, to encourage students, colleagues, and avocational archaeologists to help in his endeavors or pursue their own passions. Although integrated research excavations and site-development work at Pecos Pueblo and Chaco Canyon had established New Mexico as a destination for archaeological tourists, Arizona had yet to launch similar projects by the late 1920s (Fowler 2000; Snead 2001). Cummings' zesty competitive streak and "boosterish" interests in Arizona in general and the U of A in particular may have contributed to his decision. It is also likely that Cummings' interest in the site was piqued by the ready availability of an Apache workforce and the prospect of administrative support for site development from the White Mountain Apache Tribe and the Department of Interior via the BIA's Fort Apache Agency.

Early documents offer little assistance in sorting out Cummings' precise initial motives or goals. Writing on June 17, 1931, from Chichén Itzá, Mexico—where he was participating in the investigation and development of the site as a tourist destination—Cummings requested from Interior Secretary Ray Lyman Wilbur his first Antiquities Act permit for studies at the Fort Apache Ruin, the "type ruin of the people who once occupied the Upper Salt River area." The letter lists prospective project participants, including Gordon C. Baldwin, Harry Barkdol, Florence Hawley Senter, and Muriel Hanna, stating, "Any material obtained will be preserved in the Arizona State Museum which is always open to the public free of charge." The Interior Department's July 15, 1931, response to the permit application states, in part, "your application has been approved by the Secretary, Smithsonian Institution; the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the Department Consulting Archaeologist, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Pursuant, therefore, to the act of June 8, 1906 (38 Stats., 225), and the interdepartmental regulations of December 28, 1906, prescribed thereunder, permission is hereby granted. . . . In this connection, the Office of Indian Affairs has recommended that consideration be given to the desire of the Superintendent, Fort Apache Agency, that Indian laborers be employed upon this work as far as practicable, in which the Department concurs." Similar stipulations were incorporated into the eight subsequent permits Cummings secured to conduct excavations at Kinishba.

Regardless of any specific intent, Cummings moved swiftly and decisively to establish himself as "The Dean of Kinishba" (see Cummings and Cummings n.d.), laying the foundations for a long-term, multifaceted initiative that, seventy-five years later, continues to attract admirers and partners, as well as detractors. By July 20 Cummings had returned to Tucson, gathered his students, and arrived to begin digging on Apache land with the four students listed in the permit application and two others—Luther Hoffman, and Henry Rubenstein. Table 1 summarizes significant on-site activity and management developments, and Bostwick (2006) aptly summarizes the year-by-year progress of Cummings' research and preservation program. Cummings undeniably had in mind a project and a product distinct from his previous undertakings by virtue of duration, extent, and scope. Only at Turkey Hill had he dedicated two consecutive seasons to a Southwestern site. Only at Cuicuilco had he contemplated the excavation of a major portion of a large site. Only at the Fort Apache Ruin did The Dean set the agenda by rechristening the site with an Anglicized version of the Apache name and by envisioning a rebuilt pueblo as a center for education, research, and economic development.

Table 1. Activity Chronicle for Kinishba, 1931–1964

Year	Supporters	Milestones / Notes
1931	Arizona State Museum (ASM)	First Antiquities Act permit issued; surface survey and collection completed; 3 trenches and 12 rooms excavated; 286 wood specimens collected.
1932	ASM	41 rooms, 13 burials, 1 pit house, and set of midden trenches excavated.
1933	ASM	Initial rebuilding in Group I; women allowed to camp at site in designated separate area; 20 rooms, a possible kiva, and part of a plaza excavated.
1934	U of A Field School (UA-FS)	First year of U of A field school (20 students enrolled for credit); 16 rooms and plaza areas excavated; initial draft of plans for museum and caretaker quarters; initial mention of intent to establish national monument; Cummings spends part of August in Phoenix hospital.
1935	UA-FS, Emergency Conservation Works (ECW) agency	±36 rooms excavated; ±28 rooms rebuilt; water well established; BIA allocates $10,000 for museum construction.
1936	ECW, BIA, UA-FS	±30 rooms excavated; ±40 rooms rebuilt; perimeter fence erected to exclude livestock; Jesse Nusbaum, U.S. Departmental consulting archaeologist, visits.
1937	UA-FS, BIA, Indian Division–Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC-ID)	Cummings forced to retire from U of A; Nusbaum does not support national monument designation; Hohokam Museum Association (HMA) representatives visit to organize assistance for Cummings' work.
1938	BIA, CCC-ID, HMA	±40 rooms excavated; ±20 rooms rebuilt (some on third story); museum construction begins; Cummings supervises laborers from April to December; Cummings' retirement salary is the only U of A support.

Table 1. Activity Chronicle for Kinishba, 1931–1964 (cont.)

Year	Supporters	Milestones / Notes
1939	BIA, HMA, CCC-ID	Group I excavations end (last 20 rooms); by end of season ±140 rooms (48 on 2nd story) have been rebuilt; museum and caretaker's quarters construction completed; last year of CCC support; White Mountain Apache Tribe (WMAT) Council endorses project; inaugural "pow-wow" held in rebuilt plaza.
1940	BIA, HMA	Cummings (1940) published; Final touches on the rebuilt pueblo and museum; ASM makes "permanent loan" of Kinishba objects to newly established museum.
1941	BIA, HMA	Sen. Hayden lends support to national monument designation; museum gets new roof and is formally dedicated; first reports of repairs to the rebuilt pueblo.
1942–1945	BIA	Proposed 5-year budget ($15,400) fails to attract support; BIA Superintendent Donner provides basic funding, including roof repairs and custodian salaries; asphalt-amended earthen roofs replaced with cement roofs.
1946–1950	BIA	James Shaeffer and Margaret Murry Shaeffer assume site and museum curator duties as BIA employees; Cummings and Kinishba featured in articles in *Arizona Highways;* fire burns Cummings' Tucson garage, destroying most field notes.
1950–1954	BIA	Shaeffers resign; Samuel Adley hired as caretaker; restabilization and repair work occurs; major BIA funding ends; BIA, NPS, and WMAT negotiate site responsibilities and prospective national monument creation; Cummings dies in Tucson.
1955–1959	BIA / WMAT	ASM moves collections and Cummings' library from the Kinishba Museum to U of A; NPS, BIA, and tribe continue negotiations relating to monument status.
1960–1964	WMAT	Cooley family moves into former Museum; push for national monument dead-ends; WMAT Recreation Enterprise assumes site responsibility; Kinishba declared national historic landmark.

Cummings' energy and optimism in pursuit of his unfolding agenda tax today's imagination. With a half-dozen students and a tiny budget apparently squeezed from Arizona State Museum operating funds, on July 20, 1931, he turned his thirty-something spirit and seventy-year-old body to a project that combined archaeological research and training; intertribal and interagency collaboration; historic preservation; and museum, community, and tourism enterprise development. It was the first project of its kind in the region, and certainly the only such project launched primarily on the basis of will and hope instead of solid financial and administrative backing. During the next ten years, Cummings and his crews of students and Apache laborers excavated at least 220 rooms, rebuilt about 140 of those (probably making Kinishba the largest and most extensively reconstructed pueblo in the Southwest),[5] and worked to create on Arizona's Apache lands what is known today as a heritage tourism destination, including a "living museum." Table 2 lists documented participants in the Kinishba projects.[6]

Undeterred by either the momentous challenges he had assumed or by the minimal state and national support for the early stages of his project, Cummings followed his lifelong pattern of building friendships and loyalty with both local families and impressive arrays of imported students and regional supporters. Cummings and his Apache workers and student underlings excavated a staggering forty-one rooms in the second season (Cummings 1932). In October Cummings and his new colleague in the Archaeology Department, John H. Provinse, presented the summer's excavations to the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society.[7] The *Arizona Daily Star* (October 18, 1932) reported that the lecture "drew aside the shadowy curtain of time," and Tucson society embraced the project. In the summer of 1933, with the Depression in full force and funds scarce, Dean Cummings and his twelve students excavated twenty rooms and cleared much of the large plaza in Group I. The small group also began to rebuild portions of the excavated architecture, apparently starting with Room 3. Squaring off against his funding problems, Cummings engaged the substantial network of friends and benefactors built over his long career to obtain a commitment from the university to conduct for four seasons (1934–1937) what appears to have been the first encampment-based credit-granting field school and what may forever stand as the field school with the most senior director—Cummings was seventy-three during the initial field school season (Gifford and Morris 1985; Mills 2005; Wilcox 2005: note 18).

Table 2. Kinishba Project Participants, 1931–1939

Year	Staff, Students, & Guests	Apaches
1931	Gordon C. Baldwin, Harry Barkdol, Muriel W. Hanna, Florence Hawley (Ellis), Luther Hoffman, Henry Rubenstein	
1932	John H. Provinse (assistant director), W. A. Andrews, Gordon C. Baldwin, Harry Barkdol, Louis Caywood, William A. Duffen, Robert Graham, Douglass Harratt, John Hill, Earl Jackson, David Jones, Byron Josi, Neil Judd, Gottifred Kuhn, Lewis Kahn, Clairborne Lockett, Harry Ransier, Edward Spicer, Ben Shaw, Perry Williams	
1933	Charles Nichols (driver), Joanna Garcias (cook), Ruth Arntzen, Gordon C. Baldwin, Mrs. A. Duffen, David Jones, Neil Judd, Mrs. Knipe, Ted Knipe, Margaret Murry, Harry Ransier, Arthur Soper, Otis L. Splinter, Carr Tuthill, Irene Vickery, Johanna Villa, William Walker, Lavon Worcester	Charles Holden
1934	Charles Nichols (driver), Joanna Garcias (cook), Walter Armbruster, Gordon C. Baldwin, Charles J. Bingham, Virginia J. Browning, Betty Bray, George W. Burns, Fletcher Carr, Grace Conner, Jeanne Cummings, Malcolm Cummings, Helen Forsberg, Harry Gray, D. Harrit, David Jones, Dorothea Kelly, William H. Kelly, John F. Manley, Franklin Peterson, Greta Sarles, Frederick Shelton, Talbot Smith Jr., Victor R. Stoner, Carr Tuthill, Irene S. Vickery, Parke E. Vickery, Carleton S. Wilder, Ben Wetherill	D. Harvey, Chester Holden, others

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Table 2. Kinishba Project Participants, 1931–1939 (cont.)

Year	Staff, Students, & Guests	Apaches
1935	Mr. & Mrs. Tom Sanders (cooks), Richard Aldrich, Max Ayres, Charles Croft, John D. Fletcher, Leonard Frick, Crosby Gillan, Linda Young Guenther, Mary Jane Hayden, Gertrude Hill, Frances Holliday, David Jones, Margaret Love, Patricia Love, Jean McWhirt, Barbara Moore, Virginia Narr, T. Edward Nichols, Courtney Reader, Carl Rosenstein, Elizabeth Ryan, Otis L. Splinter, Victor R. Stoner, Irene S. Vickery, William Walker, Gordon R. Willey	T. Thompson, ±25 others
1936	Gordon C. Baldwin (assistant director), Robert Andrews, Ruth Arntzen Stanley G. Boggs, Elma Bush, Ezell, Alice Fay, Paul Gebhardt, Grenville Goodwin, Arthur A. Guenther Thomas Hale, Mary Jane Hayden, Maude Markenson, Marjorie Mock, Barbara Moore, Dorothy C. Mott, T. Ed Nichols, Ellen G. Orr, Frederick Scantling, Albert Schroeder, James Shaeffer, Emily Watkins, Donald E. Worcester, Lavon Worcester, Arnold Withers	L. Anderson, R. Antonio, John Ball, Charles Paul Banashley, David Bead, Teddy Burnett, Leonard Donelly, Chester DeClay, Daniel DeClay, Edwin DeClay, Ira DeClay, Urban DeClay, Ernest Fall, Oliver Fall, Percy Fall, Chester Holden David Kane, Edward Kane, Turner Thompson ±5 others
1937	Gordon C. Baldwin (assistant director), Ella G. Orr (cook), Walter G. Attwell, Mrs. H. d'Autremont, Terry d'Autremont, Betty Clark, Florence Connelly, Helen Elliott, Arthur A. Guenther, Thomas Hale, Gordon Hamilton, Tillie McKnight, Ann McPherson, Barbara C. Morrell, Dorothy C. Mott, Laura Lansing Page, Esther Renaud, Roland Von S. Richert, Durwood Smith, William N. Smith	W. Banashley, E. Fall, David Kane, ±20 others

Table 2. Kinishba Project Participants, 1931–1939 (cont.)

Year	Staff, Students, & Guests	Apaches
1938	John D. Fletcher (assistant director) Ruth Arntzen, D. Ball, James Gavan, Thomas Hale, Thomas Hinton, Margaret Murry, Professor Patterson, James Straub, Jean Straum, Betty Ruth Warner	Arthur Antonio, Eric Antonio, Martin Antonio, Max Antonio, Roy Antonio, Waldo Antonio, Wallace Antonio, Roland Armstrong, Dan Ball, Charles Banashley, Wilford Banashley, David Bead, Benjamin Burnett, Maurice Burnett, F. Burnette, Morris Burnette, Peter Burnette, Teddy Burnette, Perry Chino, Charles Cosay, Albert Danford, Benedict Danford, Chester DeClay, Daniel DeClay, Edwin DeClay, Frank DeClay, Fred DeClay, Ira DeClay, Henry DeClay, Jack DeClay, Joseph Edwards, Albert Fall, Cecil Fall, Ernest Fall, Oliver Fall, Percy Fall, Sam Foster, R. Harrison, Arthur Janey, Jack Johnson, Robert Johnson, David Kane, Philip Paxson, Warren Paxson, T. Ruskin, Walter Santos, Ralph Tessler, Rupert Thompson, Thomas Thompson, Turner Thompson
1939	John D. Fletcher Donald Sayner	R. Altaha, E. Antonio, Max Antonio, R. Antonio, Wallace Antonio, Wilford Banashley, M. Burnette, P. Burnette, Teddy Burnette, P. Chino, M. Clenden, Y. Cosay, F. DeClay, I. DeClay, J. DeClay, U. DeClay, C. Fall, E. Fall, P. Fall, E. Gould, Chester Holden, A. Janey, Jack Johnson, David Kane, G. Light, Turner Thompson, E. Walker

Although no documentary evidence of The Dean's grand intentions for the site predates 1934, it seems likely that his vision had begun to translate into concrete plans by late 1932. It is probable that the Works Progress Administration's assumption of responsibility for construction of the new Arizona State Museum building on the University of Arizona campus gave The Dean an important clue to use in his search for partners (see Martin 1960:165–66; Haury 2004:142). Cummings' supervision of Emergency Relief Administration laborers assigned to NPS at Tuzigoot in 1933–1934 further contributed to his familiarity with Depression-era funding opportunities and, almost surely, to his emerging plans for Kinishba's public interpretation. Reid and Whittlesey (1989:52) detail the shared elements and parallel development of Tuzigoot and Kinishba, concluding that it is not possible "to determine through archival data which reconstruction-museum complex inspired the other. . . . It is certain that this type of reconstruction and museum was viewed as desirable and integral to public interpretation of archaeological sites in the 1930s" (see also Officer 1996).

On the basis of letters and personal visits strategically directed at diverse federal officials—especially local BIA Superintendent William Donner and Jesse Nusbaum, the archaeologist charged with the technical evaluation of Antiquities Act permit applications—Cummings built the foundations for subsequent requests for support from Depression-era works programs that would allow him to enlist and compensate an Apache workforce.[8] In his March 8, 1934, reply to Cummings in Tucson—the earliest documented indication of tourism- and education-focused development plans for the site—Fort Apache Agency Superintendent William Donner evinces a level of support for the project and a personal familiarity with Cummings.[9] He sets a constructive tone for the BIA's prospective involvement, stating, "I would like very much to see this ruin developed and restored to the fullest extent and it seems that it might be well to take this up with the proper department. It might be possible to have a small C.C.C. camp located near there for the summer. A small camp of perhaps 100 men would do a lot of work for you. There are a great many such camps established in this state, most of them down in your section, during the winter months . . . am sending your letter on to the Washington Office, asking their cooperation."

In his April 1935 report on the 1934 season, Cummings hints at his intentions, stating, "This pueblo is worthy of being made a perpetual monument to its builders and as a source of information to the young Apaches . . . and also to the large number of tourists who visit that part

of the reservation every year." In his fifth permit application, dated May 23, 1935, The Dean asserts, "The benefits derived also from the work of the students who are fitting themselves for a life work in anthropology are exceedingly great and more than justify the use of the ruin as an outdoor laboratory. We are excavating and repairing as we go and undertaking to make this piece of work of lasting educational benefit to the people as well as the students. . . . I feel most sincerely that this project can be made an outstanding educational feature on the Apache Reservation and is very worthy of being made a national monument of note." The Cummings-Donner collaboration worked to mutual satisfaction, and by early June Cummings' request for laborers was approved.

But on June 18, 1935, the coordinator of the Emergency Conservation Works program on the reservation, R. B. Hazard, wrote Cummings to report a lack of "success in persuading Apaches to go to work on your project. I believe this is due to the fact that most of these Southwestern Indians are extremely superstitious regarding the dead. . . . we suggest that you pick up whatever men you can yourself and send them up here for examination before you put them to work." Apache cultural proscriptions include avoidance of inessential contact with the deceased and their possessions, including ruins, and suspicions and misgivings by Apaches not working at Kinishba toward Cummings and his excavators persist in local social memory through the Apache term *Bini'dayiłsołe,* meaning 'they blow in their faces' (referring to burial excavators clearing loose sediments with focused exhalations). That Cummings was able to attract a large labor force likely reflects the extreme and prevailing poverty and on-reservation underemployment; that he was able to retain a core group of dedicated, multiseason assistants likely reflects his gifts as a patriarchal benefactor.[10] It is not clear how Cummings enlisted his workers, but 1935 payroll records indicate that between ten and twenty-seven men were paid $1.50 per day for forty-hour work weeks from the Indian Emergency Construction Fund. The laborers, generally working separately from the twenty-six field school students focused on the excavation of rooms and burials, assisted from June 20 to September 6, rebuilding all or part of twenty-eight of the previously excavated rooms (Cosulich 1935).[11] The rebuilding process involved reuse of both the larger wall stones and the smaller "chinks" recovered through the excavations (Cosulich 1935).

Many archaeologists today might suggest that the limited amount of reliable data and well-documented collections produced by Cummings' excavations could not justify the consumptive use and incompletely

documented alteration of such a large percentage of the original site.[12] It is nonetheless undeniable that both anthropology and Cummings' students profited significantly from the field school. More than 30 percent of the approximately 120 students that Cummings took to Kinishba either pursued careers in archaeology and closely related fields (e.g., Gordon C. Baldwin, Stanley Boggs, Louis Caywood, Paul Ezell, Florence Hawley (Ellis), Thomas Hinton, Earl Jackson, Neil Judd, William H. Kelly, Jean McWhirt, T. Ed Nichols, Roland Richert, Donald Sayner, Fred Scantling, Albert H. Schroeder, James Shaeffer, Margaret Murry Shaeffer, William N. Smith, Edward Spicer, Carr Tuthill, Irene S. Vickery, Betty Ruth Warner, Ben Wetherill, Carleton S. Wilder, Gordon R. Willey, Arnold Withers, Donald E. Worcester) or maintained lifelong interests in the ancient Southwest and its contemporary native peoples (e.g., Mrs. Hubert d'Autremont, Terry d'Autremont, William A. Duffen, Linda Young Guenther, Gertrude Hill, Frances Holliday, David Jones, Dorothea Kelly, Clay Lockett, Harry Ransier, Courtney Reader, Arthur Soper, Otis L. Splinter, Talbot Smith Jr., Victor R. Stoner).[13]

Beginning in 1935 The Dean established an office and quarters in two of the rebuilt rooms, becoming the place's first known inhabitant in more than five hundred years. According to Murray (1936:36), "On the morning after Doctor Cummings had spent his first night there, John [a quiet prospective Apache worker] broke through his reserve. 'You sleep there?' . . . 'You see nothing?' . . . 'Well, you see plenty—you hear plenty—sometime.'" But bankers and bureaucrats had not dissuaded Cummings, and neither would ghosts. Cummings was intent on sharing the rich personal rewards of his archaeological experiences by reaching out across cultures and centuries. An essay he composed (Cumming n.d.:1) elaborates on his rationale for engaging Apaches to assist with the project and reveals more of his broadly paternalistic approach: "Both the Indians and white men need a practical and definite demonstration of the life of these ancient people to remove the mass of superstition and romance that has grown up around these ruins of the early population of Arizona and their relationships to the living tribes that still occupy more than one-third of the area of this state." Working at Kinishba, Cummings argued, would foster within the Apaches "greater pride in the Indian race as a whole and greater faith in themselves" (Cummings n.d.:3). Despite this unfortunate conflation of native identities, Cummings treated Apaches and other indigenous people as individuals (Cummings 1952). Well more than one hundred Apache men worked with Cummings, and

some, including Chester Holden, David Kane, and Turner Thompson spent more than five seasons at the site, forming close associations with the project and Cummings (figure 3; see also Welch, this volume).

By the completion of the 1935 season, The Dean's elegant initial plan was well developed. Cummings' November 15, 1935, appeal to Arizona Senator Isabella Greenway references intentions to construct

> a small museum, laboratory, and quarters for a custodian. The past summer, through the Indian Bureau, $3,000.00 were allotted us for Apache labor on the project . . . Our plan is to uncover Group I entirely, restore about $^4/_5$ of it and leave the balance of the group in ruins but repaired sufficiently to prevent further disintegration, uncover one of the smaller mounds and leave Group II and the other smaller mounds untouched. In this way the story of the pueblo will be an open book that all the people can read and understand, and that students can interpret for themselves without being obliged to accept our translation of it, if they do not agree with our restoration. . . . The Apache youth in the schools at nearby White River and Fort Apache need this illustration of the life of the ancient people as well as an outlet for the encouragement and sale of their own arts.

Raymond H. Thompson (personal communication, February 2006; see also Thompson 2005) observes that Chichén Itzá, where Cummings worked in 1931, was being developed for public interpretation, with some structures left untouched, others cleared of vegetation, and others cleared, excavated, and restored (see Cosulich 1931). It seems that brief participation in the Mexican project may have been a crucial source for Cummings' concept of an outdoor archaeological museum.

Following up on his requests for a seventh annual excavation permit and $2,835 for Emergency Conservation Work program laborers, Cummings' April 10, 1937, letter to Interior Secretary Harold Ickes expands on his intention to use Kinishba as a triptych, illustrating ruins, an archaeological site, and an ancient pueblo community: "If we can carry out our plan of restoring a portion, leaving another portion uncovered but in ruins, and the rest covered with brush grass and rocks as we found it, we think it will make a picture of rare educational value. Especially will this be true if a small museum can be maintained at the ruins to house and display the arts and life of these ancients and beside them the arts and customs of the Apache Indians now occupying the region. We

3. White Mountain Apache workmen, 1939 (Cummings 1953:xiv). From left to right: Max Antonio (?), Waldo Antonio, Percy Fall (?), Cecil Fall, Dan Ball, Wallace Antonio, Eric Antonio (?), Peter E. DeClay, Frank DeClay (?) (kneeling with unknown child), Urban DeClay (?), Peter Burnette, Benedict Baylish (DeClay?), Turner Thompson, Roe Clark, Walter Sanchez, Jack Gold Johnson. (Identifications courtesy of Broadus Bones, Paul Ethelbah, and Ramon Riley, February 2006; photograph probably by Thomas Hinton courtesy of White Mountain Apache Tribe Historic Preservation Office)

4. Aerial view of Kinishba project, circa 1936, view south showing Group I excavation and reconstruction as well as the sleeping tents (upper right) and part of the laboratory–kitchen–directors' quarters complex (at shadow, lower right). (By Tad Nichols, Courtesy Cline Library, Northern Arizona University)

hope that the Department may see its way clear to make this site into a national monument and to preserve it for future generations." The 1936 aerial view of the excavations and rebuilding (figure 4) illustrates some of the contrasts that Cummings believed would, once laid out and interpreted through tour guides or signs, engage visitors' archaeological attentions, imaginations, and support.

The response from the Interior Department to Cummings' initial official request to consider the site as a national monument emerged as the first serious challenge to The Dean's expansive vision. Although an inveterate supporter of the excavation, public outreach, and Apache employment dimensions of the Kinishba program, Nusbaum recommends against museum construction and sets a high standard for monument designation in his May 18, 1937, letter to Interior's chief clerk, Floyd E. Dotson: "If competent authorities, both within and without the National Park Service, are agreed that its features recommend it above all others of its type and period." Nusbaum was a seasoned administrator of

Mesa Verde National Park and other popular heritage destinations and appears swiftly and presciently to have identified the need for significant and sustained funding for the upkeep required to make Kinishba a viable tourism enterprise. He wrote, "I would not recommend the granting of funds for new permanent structures requested by Dr. Cummings until such time as competent custodial service and funds for annual maintenance are secured over a period of years."

Cummings' stated goal of establishing Kinishba as a national monument drew a similar response from Erik K. Reed, a NPS archaeologist dispatched to assess Kinishba in terms of Nusbaum's standard.[14] On the basis of an inspection conducted in the late summer of 1937, Reed concluded that although the ruins represent, "an interesting example of a prehistoric site, they would add nothing to the general pattern of southwestern monuments already under the supervision of the National Park Service." Based on Reed's report, and probably also on the NPS preference for focusing resources on the worthy sites and site clusters most accessible to American motorists and rail travelers, the September 17 letter to Cummings from Assistant Interior Secretary O. L. Chapman deferred for two years any further consideration of the request for monument status.

Another setback on a separate front followed in 1938, when the University of Arizona, facing Depression-era financial shortages, retired several senior faculty members, including Cummings as the State Museum director (Bostwick 2006:257–64). The move provoked controversy in Tucson, a clarification of who Cummings could count upon as supporters, and a "distancing" between Cummings and his colleague and former student Emil W. Haury.[15] The Dean's feelings of disappointment and betrayal persisted as deep currents in his personal and professional circles. Writing of their father's response, Cummings and Cummings (n.d.:196) note, "He could not accept the fact that he was no longer of use to the department of archaeology. He was determined to carry on at Kinishba, though it meant a personal sacrifice."

Many facing similar situations would have withdrawn from their projects and responsibilities, but for Cummings the obstacles seem to have provided additional motivation. The Dean sought new challenges and new sources of backing. Superintendent Donner added Cummings to the BIA payroll as a CCC "foreman, grade 7," thus providing him with a modest annual salary of $1,680.[16] Freed from administrative and teaching responsibilities in Tucson, Cummings began the 1938 season in April and stayed through most of the fall, leading students and Apaches in the

excavation of forty rooms, the rebuilding of about twenty rooms (including portions of the controversial second and third stories), and the initial construction of the museum. In 1939, working from March through October, Cummings took advantage of the final season of CCC funding to direct excavation of the remainder of Group I (about twenty rooms), construction of the museum and custodian's quarters, and rebuilding of ninety-two ground floor rooms and forty-eight second-story rooms. He took time out to host visitors, and a May 9, 1939, note signed by U of A Anthropology Department staff and students (Harry T. Getty, Marion Brown, G. Bradley, C. Y. O'Leary, Mrs. Maude Borglum, Ted Smiley, and Tommy Oustolt) states that "prehistoric pueblos had not really meant much to them until they saw Kinishba. In other words, seeing is understanding. . . . The museum setup is fine. . . . I am particularly interested in your plan to stimulate, through the museum, the native crafts of the Apache. . . . we sincerely feel that the restored Kinishba and the museum are and will be a fitting monument to your understanding, industry, and perseverance." To stretch out the welcome surge in sympathy and federal support to the project's best advantage, and seldom relying on a favorable response from a particular partner, Cummings fostered local and statewide endorsements for the on-site construction of a museum and caretaker's quarters. He obtained at least $30,000 in local BIA funding during a period of Depression-related budget tightening and facilitated establishment of the Hohokam Museum Association (HMA), an organization (1937–1946) of hundreds of dues-paying friends and supporters that built on the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society membership as well as Cummings' social network (Wilcox 2001, 2005; Thompson 2005). HMA provided subventions for a truck and driver in 1938 and 1939, for his monograph on Kinishba (Cummings 1940), and for initial repairs to rebuilt roofs. Cummings designed and paid for a set of slant-front glass display cabinets to complement those handed down by the Arizona State Museum and to add grace to the visible storage capacity of the spacious Kinishba Museum interior (figure 5).

By the fall of 1939 The Dean had, with little more than will, tact, and friends, cobbled his ambitious vision into reality. On October 2, the tribal council of the White Mountain Apache Tribe unanimously endorsed resolution 39-28, supporting Cummings' activities at Kinishba, thanking him for his ongoing service, requesting that he remain in charge of the project with the assistance of an Apache caretaker until salary funds could again be made available, and offering to provide quarters, light, heat, and water in the newly completed museum. To celebrate the completion

5. Northwest corner of the Kinishba Museum gallery, showing entrances to the caretakers' quarters (double doors with back light, left of the bookcase) and the visitor washroom (single door ajar on adjoining wall), circa 1941. (Photographer unknown [possibly Emil Haury], courtesy Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona)

of the excavations and most of the reconstruction, in November The Dean hosted a "pow-wow" held in Kinishba's reconstructed plaza, with HMA members and other dignitaries in attendance.

In 1940, as Cummings approached his eightieth birthday, he both completed his monograph on Kinishba and launched yet another ambitious and incompletely supported season of construction. Lacking sufficient funds for either student or Apache crews, Cummings turned his attention to the museum grounds and exhibits. In an effort to publicize both his newly minted book and the site's availability for visitation, Cummings and the HMA organized another "Indian Pow-Wow," held April 27–28 and featuring "Apache Devil Dances." Ready at last to populate the new museum's exhibit cases, Cummings approached Haury with a request for the BIA to borrow some of the Kinishba artifacts from the Arizona State Museum. Haury's October 3, 1940, letter to Superintendent Donner granted "permanent loan" of seventeen ceramic vessels and an array of ornaments and jewelry from the site.[17] Kinishba's formal dedication ceremony came on April 26–27, 1941, and featured a two-day celebration for the Kinishba Museum. The program for the celebration refers to an

"Address" by Jesse L. Nusbaum, singing of the "Star Spangled Banner" by Rev. Edgar Guenther, and "Hopi Ceremonies—Chief Tewaqnaptewa [*sic*] and his Associates from Oraibi and Mowenkopi. . . . For those who bring their bedrolls there is plenty of space under the stars and a number of prehistoric apartments that may be utilized by those who would see visions and dream dreams."[18]

With the Kinishba Museum and site open at last to the public, Cummings and his supporters sought to maintain momentum as they shifted their attention to a search for institutional sponsorship and national monument status. Having completed facility development from the "bottom up," their pursuit of sponsorship and monument designation employed a "top down" strategy that capitalized on the breadth of Cummings' personal friendships and the depth of the social and political network linked to the HMA. The campaign began with the distribution of copies of the new book to elected and appointed officials, along with personal notes from Cummings and Mrs. Charles Bird—a former chair of the women's division of the Republican Party, associate member of the Republican National Committee, and "founder and moving spirit of the Hohokam Association" (Heiser 1944: 81; Wilcox 2001, 2005). This was followed by a concerted, year-long barrage of letters to Arizona's congressional delegation (especially senior senator Carl T. Hayden, who represented Arizona in Washington from 1927 to 1972, and representative John R. Murdock), to Department of the Interior Secretary Harold Ickes, and to NPS officials, extolling the site's significance as "the largest town of its type yet uncovered and the most extensive piece of restoration yet attempted." Requests to Washington flowed from, among others, Agnes M. Allen, associate professor of education and science at the Arizona State Teachers College in Flagstaff; from Virginia Le Baron, on behalf of the Fort Apache Woman's Club of Whiteriver; from Aileen Klass, Williams High School Teacher, on behalf of the Gamma Chapter of Delta Cappa Gamma; and from Edna L. Craig, Williams Public Schools.

The influential Carl Hayden responded favorably to Donner's February 17, 1941, appeal, endorsing Cummings' proposal to turn Kinishba over to the NPS as a national monument and putting NPS on notice of his interest in having Kinishba receive every consideration. (Donner's letter acknowledged that Cummings was in his eighties, noting, he "acts much younger.") Although keen on keeping the senator on their side—Hayden was a major force on Senate committees affecting Interior Department operations—the NPS remained recalcitrant. In his March 12, 1941, response to Hayden, A. E. Demaray, acting NPS director,

made the first pass in a dreary game of "hot potato" that continued, with variations in tactics and personnel, for the next twenty-five years. Tossing Kinishba to the BIA, Demaray suggested to Hayden that the site remain under the aegis of the agency that had supported development thus far. Employing terms and standards from Reed's 1937 assessment, Demaray asserted that the site "would not add materially to the prehistoric story already exhibited in the group of Southwestern Monuments. Moreover, Kinishba does not lend itself to effective park treatment for educational purposes." NPS held the line. Hayden remained supportive but never adamant. Cummings' supporters became increasing distracted by global politics, and their guiding light and most potent force, Mrs. Charles Bird, passed away in 1942.

The NPS resistance to assuming responsibility for the site seems to have derived at least in part from a concern with incomplete historical and prospective control. The NPS office with responsibility for Arizona was located in Santa Fe; New Mexico, not Arizona, had staked the original claim on ancient Pueblo heritage as fodder for tourism and state pride (Fowler 2000). Also beginning in the 1930s, the NPS Santa Fe office was coordinating the excavations, stabilizations, and ongoing repairs of Casa Grande, Tuzigoot, Wupatki, Walnut Canyon, and Montezuma's Castle.[19] Limited budgets and increasing recognition of the long-term maintenance requirements of excavated ruins left open for interpretation (and, consequently, degradation) diminished NPS interest in other Arizona projects, especially those beyond their early and ongoing management and control.

What Demaray and other NPS officials may have suspected, but probably could not have known for sure, was the extent of the structural deficiencies that would soon emerge as central management issues at Kinishba. It suffices to say here that Cummings' bold defiance of advancing age and stifling convention seems to have extended to the laws of physics. Cummings was an utterly inspiring human, an inexhaustible educator, a superb humanist, and a respectable archaeologist for his time. But he was not a first-rate architect or builder. Reid and Whittlesey (1989) and Trott (1997) describe the structural issues as chronic symptoms of significant shortcomings in Cummings' rebuilding. In addition to the persistent questions about the fidelity of the rebuilding and the archaeological basis for the work, the flaws derived from inappropriate materials used in walls and roofs, inconsistency in workmanship, inadequate site drainage, and the use of intrusive industrial elements. The limitations of the archival documentation and the equivocal architectural evidence make it diffi-

cult to distinguish confidently and consistently Cummings' rebuilding from later episodes of repair and modification. We know, for example, that only Cummings used Bitudobe-amended mortar; however, he also used both unamended mortar and mortar mixes incorporating various proportions of cement. [20] Some of the other factors that jeopardized the rebuilt pueblo from the outset were Cummings' insistence, at least until about 1938, on the exclusive (re)use of excavated stones and sediments as masonry building materials and the use of "green" (i.e., uncured) ponderosa pine vigas (i.e., primary roof beams). Many of the roofs were almost perfectly flat and lacked provisions for drainage.

The ubiquitous structural and aesthetic compromises led me, in a pique of frustration, to refer to the site as an "architectural Frankenstein" (Welch in Trott 1997). Hyperbole aside, the completion of the (re)building and the beginning of (re)collapse were practically simultaneous. Cummings has been criticized for basing the reconstruction more on his vision than on architectural data, but his pueblo was also very much like the ancient structure in that it demanded a large population of able builders. Without the regular maintenance and prompt response to major precipitation events offered by resident caretakers, the Kinishba of Cummings' dreams began to reclaim for a second time its most enduring status as ruins. It bears mention in this regard that although Cummings' pueblo was distinctive in terms of the sheer quantity of rebuilding, the quality of rebuilding was on par with work done elsewhere in the Southwest. The NPS "Report of the Director's Committee on Ruins Stabilization," September 27–October 2, 1940 (Record Group 79, Office of the Pacific Region, NPS, National Archives, Laguna Niguel) describes most of the stabilization and reconstruction done in the past by NPS as "glaringly deficient." By the early 1940s NPS was already coming to terms with the long-term budgetary and administrative implications of the flurry of work at Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, Wupatki, Tuzigoot, and elsewhere. Such projects served to replace rather than preserve authentic and endangered structural fabrics, adding new preservation problems without necessarily solving the old ones (Metzger 1989).

At Kinishba, initial roof repairs were required by 1939, and Cummings spent much of the 1941 season addressing related problems. As the United States braced for war and hopes of expeditiously obtaining monument designation and appropriate institutional sponsorship dimmed, Cummings pressed ahead with his valiant stewardship. Writing to Erik Reed at the NPS office in Santa Fe from his San Diego home on January 10, 1942, Cummings reported on the first major roof failure,

noting, "The damage was serious and has caused us many heartaches and disappointments. It was partially my fault in not giving the roofs sufficient slope, and the Standard Oil experts' faith in the bitumols mixture, and above all the Rain Gods cared more for this dry country, and the empty reservoirs, and the weary cattle than they did for pueblo structures. . . . There is a good deal of improvement and investigation that could be profitably made at Kinishba ruins and Museum, yes—but I suppose most of it will have to wait now until this great war is over." Reed's response references the past year's push for NPS monument status, noting, "Kinishba will in any case, whoever manages it, be a monument to the ingenuity of the prehistoric people and also to the patient labors of the man who excavated and rebuilt it in the generous interest of the Arizona people."

A Bureau of Indian Affairs Museum and Interpretive Center

As momentum from the completion of the excavation and rebuilding slowed, erstwhile supporters redirected their interests and resources. It became apparent that Cummings' willpower and the BIA's tenuous institutional commitment might not be enough to sustain the fledgling institution. The five-year budget proposal prepared by Cummings in 1942 and forwarded by Donner was not approved. Once again, however, the mounting challenges seem to have fueled Cummings' enthusiasm. With government and citizen attention focused on the war, Cummings rolled up his sleeves and refocused his personal energies and resources. Summoning his inherent optimism, Cummings spent the summers of 1942 and 1943 greeting a dwindling stream of visitors and struggling to avert additional structural losses. An impressive 716 visitors had signed the Kinishba Museum log during the first year of operation. With gas rationing in effect and most discretionary resources directed at the war effort, annual attendance dropped by more than half from 1942 through 1945.

The BIA's role as Kinishba's default sponsor continued to expand. Having assumed much of the responsibility for funding the initial construction of the museum and securing CCC laborers, Superintendent Donner now turned to assisting in project promotion with elected federal officials and BIA colleagues, thus advancing prospects for long-term institutional support. None of the archival documents examined

thus far reveal Donner's precise tactics, but his strategy seems to have involved the exploitation of the numerous contacts he undoubtedly had developed with BIA educators in the course of his direct supervision of the massive classroom and dormitory construction projects completed at the Theodore Roosevelt School (the boarding school situated within the former Fort Apache) in the late 1920s and early 1930s (Welch 2007). Donner apparently focused his search for a Kinishba benefactor on the BIA's Branch of Education and its broad-minded chief, Dr. Willard W. Beatty.[21] A July 5, 1944, memo from Beatty reflects a detailed understanding of the Kinishba situation, informing Donner that Senator Hayden's amendment to the Interior budget bill included $3,000 for Kinishba repairs and improvements. The memo also acknowledges Cummings' sacrifices and encourages the preparation of a "definite plan for the expenditure of these funds . . . we should recognize that when he is forced by age to retire from this activity we will of necessity be faced with a replacement and the salary that will go with it. We won't be able to find anyone else who will be willing to work for nothing."

Donner's prompt response, a July 26 memo to Beatty, submits Cummings' proposed budget, adding, "I wish to state that if many of the younger key men in the service were as energetic and interested in the job as Dr. Cummings is, we could accomplish a great deal more than we do with the funds expended around Agencies . . . quite a few years past eighty, he is the first man on the job and the last man off when he is working a crew of men. . . . Dr. Cummings does not expect to be replaced and if one even hinted that he did not have a permanent lease on life, he would be offended. Kinishba Ruins is his baby and until he passes on, no other arrangements should be suggested." In addition to providing basic maintenance for the museum and welcoming visitors, Cummings seems to have spent significant portions of the 1944 and 1945 seasons reroofing the rebuilt portions of the site. Operating without up-to-date technical advice, Cummings and his assistants replaced or capped the Bitumol-amended adobe roofs with cement roofs.

The available records of Cummings' correspondence grow sparser after 1942, as The Dean began to acknowledge limitations imposed by his diminishing eyesight and shaky handwriting by slowly backing away from his devotion to the site. By 1946, the next realistic opportunity to pursue national monument status, Cummings' previously inexhaustible energies seem at long last to have begun to fail and Kinishba was rapidly deteriorating. In March, with many of The Dean's original supporters having turned their attentions to other interests, Cummings resigned

as the HMA president, citing failing eyesight (ASM A-414). Only the BIA kept up its support, transferring administrative responsibility for the Kinishba Museum from the local Fort Apache Agency to the Branch of Education in Washington, DC. Under Beatty's direction since 1936, the BIA's Education Branch sought to address on-reservation needs and to foster local social and economic prospects. Beatty gave special attention to programs designed to boost capacities for marketing and perpetuating traditional arts, crafts, and culture.

In conjunction with the much sought after institutional sponsorship came an opportunity for new leadership. Beatty, Hayden, and Cummings worked together to make BIA funds available to hire a curator for the Kinishba Museum, and in November 1946, on the basis of an endorsement from Cummings to the agency's education director, George Peters, two of his former students, James Ball Shaeffer and Margaret Murry Shaeffer (often misspelled "Murray"), arrived at Kinishba with their three children to assume their joint appointment. Jim was among the host of opportunity-seeking veterans recently returned to civil society. Cummings vacated his cherished quarters in the museum, moving his personal items into his former "suite" of rebuilt rooms in the northwestern corner of Group I before retreating from Kinishba for the winter. Securing the Shaeffers' employment may have been among William Donner's final official acts as the Fort Apache Agency superintendent. An October 18, 1946, article on the front page of the *Holbrook Tribune News* pays fitting tribute, noting that Cummings' "birthright of keen mental powers and great physical stamina, that defies even the encroaching four score and six years, has been given freely to the service of his fellowmen, to the study of their prehistoric efforts and the restoration and preservation for posterity of their crumbling dwellings and buried culture." The article goes on to say, "He has now stepped into the background offering to younger hands and keener eyes the distinguished position as the curator of the greatest potential archaeological museum of its size in America." The Dean returned to Kinishba to assist the Shaeffers the following April, but found himself in the way and "left with regret," never to return (Cummings and Cummings n.d.:209). Cummings married Ms. Ann Chatham on October 17, 1947, settling into a life of close partnership focused on the construction of a new residence, the enjoyment of friends, and the writing of two books (Cummings 1952, 1953; figure 6).

The Shaeffers' "younger hands" maintained a devotion to Cummings' vision as they set about attempting to upgrade the site's management and to expand the archaeological knowledge relating to the site. Jim's

6. Byron Cummings examining a Western Apache agave stalk fiddle, circa 1952. (*Courtesy* Tucson Citizen)

January 11, 1947, letter report, a response to Dr. Beatty's request, provides a complete (and sobering) picture of Kinishba's status following seventeen years of Cummings' labors:

> You outlined in general terms the plans you had in mind covering (1) more effective preservation of the ruin, (2) more effective display of the museum materials, (3) making the ruin and museum of easier access, and (4) calling attention of the general public to the fact that the display is open to them. . . .
>
> The roofs of the reconstruction. . . . are eroded, some are warped, and one is completely washed through. . . . this problem should be the object of a special study, report and recommendation by

> a competent authority if the reconstruction is to be economically maintained and the safety of the public is to be considered. . . .
>
> Work in the museum has consisted of segregating the archaeological material from the ethnological. . . . There seem to be two schools of thought in regard to this, that which is commonly called 'visible storage'; the other, selective presentation. . . . I feel that the latter more nearly fits our needs and that entirely new exhibits should be arranged each winter for the following summer . . . What policy has been followed in other Indian Service museums [?] . . . Should this [ethnological] exhibit be devoted exclusively to the Apache or should other tribes be included? . . .
>
> I think it is wise that there should not be too much publicity until a coordinated program for the outdoors is worked out. . . . I am hampered by a lack of familiarity with your other museums and with general objectives.

Beatty's February 7 response reflects support for the Shaeffers' approach, interest in museums as educational facilities, and a concern with Kinishba's prospects:

> Cummings had received some pretty poor advice in utilizing concrete. . . . I have asked Louis Brashear to go over the problem and collaborate with you in determining how best to provide for adequate roofing for these structures without violating the archaeological or artistic side. . . .
>
> What we want is a selective presentation of material which will assist the observer to understand the people who occupied the ruin and their culture. I can see that there would be advantage from your standpoint in visiting our museum at Browning, Montana, and . . . the new Indian displays at the Chicago Museum of Natural History. . . .
>
> I think the exhibit should aim to display the story of the Apache and omit Pueblo and other miscellaneous material. . . .
>
> We face the difficulty in the development of this ruin that the major interest behind it has been that of Senator Hayden. . . . Unfortunately, he is now a member of the minority party rather than being Chairman of the Appropriations Sub-Committee.

Shaeffer's February 24 memo acknowledges receipt of a truck but declines the travel on the grounds that the funds available over and above salary costs are required for urgently needed roof repairs. The same memo

targets the budget as the critical issue, proposing "three feasible ways to augment our income: (1) establishment of an entrance fee, (2) the formation of a non-profit museum association similar to those cooperating with the majority of National Park museums, and (3) the procurement of substantial contributions from private donors."

The sustained exchange between Beatty and Shaeffer provides a point of entry into the almost unexamined historical interface of the BIA and museums programs. From the mid-1940s until the mid-1950s the BIA administered regional museums in partnership with local and state governments (see table 3). The four institutions had distinct origins and initial goals, but these ran parallel to and then merged with the Indian Arts and Crafts Board (IACB). The U.S. Congress created the Indian Arts and Crafts Board (IACB) within the Department of the Interior on August 27, 1935 (49 Stat. 891), on the basis of a report sponsored by Commissioner Collier. Consisting of five commissioners, the board was charged with enlarging the market for, improving the production of, and protecting against the imitation and misappropriation of authentic Indian arts and crafts (Philip 1977:185; Schrader 1983). Unable to identify a full and fully committed board, Collier was obliged to serve as the initial chair. Willard Beatty joined Lorenzo Hubbell and A. V. Kidder as initial board members, together guiding and supporting the IACB's most important early manager, René d'Harnoncort (Schrader 1983). Although various BIA offices maintain public displays of gifts and administrative plunder from Indian Country in 2006, the four regional museums that BIA adopted through portions of the 1940s and 1950s are little-known federal experiments in the integration of economic development and cultural perpetuation initiatives closely linked to tribal interests. Prucha (1984) does not mention the experiment and Schrader's discussion of the IACB is limited to the organization's establishment and history through 1945.

Under Beatty's direction of the BIA Branch of Education, the four museums became a loosely coordinated means for interpreting their respective "culture areas" to visitors and for promoting tourism-related economic development. Due in part to Beatty's work on education initiatives emphasizing arts and crafts and his service on the IACB, each of the other three museums and other BIA-affiliated institutions developed special facilities and outreach programs to encourage the production of crafts and to market these as a means of boosting income, intergenerational education, and intertribal communication within and for the benefit of Indian communities (Schrader 1983:260–61).

Table 3. Bureau of Indian Affairs Museums, 1946–1957

Institution & Location	BIA Partners	Years of Service
Sioux Indian Museum, Rapid City, SD	City of Rapid City (founder & building owner); Works Progress Administration (builder)	1939–present (adopted by Indian Arts and Crafts Board [IACB] ca. 1954)
Museum of the (Northern) Plains Indian, Browning, MT (near border of Glacier National Park)	Blackfeet Tribe (landowner); Northern Plains Crafts Association; Works Progress Administration (builder); National Park Service	1941–present (adopted by IACB ca. 1957)
Kinishba Museum, Canyon Day Vicinity, AZ	White Mountain Apache Tribe (landowner); National Park Service (technical assistance)	1939–1956 (minimal BIA support after 1953; not adopted by IACB)
Southern Plains Indian Museum, Anadarko, OK	State of Oklahoma; Caddo County Fair Board; Oklahoma Intertribal Crafts Association	1947–present (adopted by IACB ca. 1957)

Given occasional early mentions of crafts promotions, collections, and sales through the Kinishba Museum under Cummings, what emerges as a central question is why Beatty did not direct the Shaeffers to follow the model set by the BIA museum in Browning, Montana, and develop a crafts enterprise. No precise answer is available in the records examined thus far, but the decision not to launch Kinishba into the currents guiding administrative and budget priorities in Washington may stand as the single most important factor in condemning the site and museum to its still-unfolding struggle for sustained support and institutional sponsorship. At least five interrelated factors probably contributed to Kinishba's exclusion from the BIA museum mainstream. First, the museum was small and, under Cummings, had employed "visible storage" of an admixture of archaeological materials from the excavations and Apache artifacts. Haury (2004:132–34) suggests that Cummings' early development of the Arizona State Museum followed implicit guiding principles that can be distilled as 'public first,' 'exhibit it all,' and 'frugality.' Cummings seems to have applied the same principles at Kinishba.

Second, Kinishba was the only BIA museum that was linked to an archaeological site and the only one of the four attempting to represent

both a twentieth-century tribe and an ancient cultural tradition. Tensions relating to the dominant role of archaeologists in the stewardship and interpretation of Native American heritage were palpable by the 1940s (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2005), and Beatty and the IACB may have deliberately or unconsciously sought to distinguish their missions and operations from NPS goals and interests.

Third, structural problems both chronic and acute, persisted. Although the museum walls and roof were generally sound, a June 23, 1947, memo from NPS Archaeologist Charlie R. Steen to Superintendent Holtz, Donner's successor, recognized the nonsustainability of the current wall and roof systems, recommending a massive project that amounted to a reversal of Cummings' "reconstruction": "Remove all reconstructed roofs and tear down the walls to the profiles as they were at the time the ruin was excavated. . . . The structures are unsafe and of such a nature that it will be almost impossible to maintain them. . . . The top four or five courses of stone should be removed and relaid in cement stabilized soil. . . . Short steel bars or pins can be driven or placed in the walls as braces, then grouted. The wall faces should be chinked in many places with stabilized soil; the soil should be rammed tightly into the joints." Wet winters in 1947–49 damaged many parts of the rebuilt rooms beyond easy repair, but the annual BIA budget allocation for repairs in 1948 was only $450. Holtz's May 13, 1949, memo to Beatty states,

> The roofs were originally restored as Dr. Cummings felt the prehistoric inhabitants probably had built them. This brush and adobe soil covering without any flashing along the outer walls permitted water to seep down . . . causing the walls to crack and bulge. Dr. Cummings attempted to remedy the trouble by applying Portland cement over the adobe roof. . . . The result was as before with no improvement and the added weight of the cement. . . .
>
> During this past winter with more snow and rain and longer winter than normal, considerable damage occurred. . . . The wall along the passageway from the south to the patio or ceremonial plaza is bulging badly and appears as if it might collapse. . . . we will probably have to use modern materials and put on a built-up roof of felt and tar or pitch with flashing along the parapet walls. Admittedly this is not staying with the pre-historic construction, but we have already gotten away from that. . . . The estimate of the cost of repairing the roofs is $15,000.

Fourth, the Shaeffers' considerable talents and energies were not focused exclusively on site preservation and museum development. Trained as an archaeologist and interested in archaeology, Jim took advantage of his position at Kinishba to conduct substantial excavations in the Group I plaza, Group VI, and elsewhere (Shaeffer 1949, 1951). The work was probably done as an initial basis for Jim's dissertation (Shaeffer 1954), and a two-page spread leading the Hobbies and Travel section of the *Arizona Republic* (Sunday, July 9, 1950) states,

> When Dr. Cummings left Jim became curator, continuing the work of probing the ancient pueblo site for knowledge of its long-departed inhabitants. His major undertaking was the excavation of the huge courtyard, which Dr. Cummings suspected might open doors to new knowledge. . . .
>
> He went east to complete work at Columbia University for his doctor's degree, and Margaret became curator, remaining at Kinishba with their children, Peter, Murray [*sic*] and Sarah. Jim is still on leave, writing the thesis for his degree, and it is Margaret who officially is supervising the work to make Kinishba secure. . . .
>
> Kinishba today is preserved with its rich index to pre-history as an Indian Service museum, the only such undertaking of the Office of Indian Affairs in the Southwest.

Jim seems to have approached the excavations as part of his official duties as curator, and none of the records examined suggests Antiquities Act permit issuance, permission from the White Mountain Apache Tribe, or curatorial arrangements.[22] In any case, his excavation results indicate that all or most of the main plaza area in Group I was roofed during later periods of the pueblo's occupation, almost certainly after 1230 (Shaeffer 1949). In addition to their daunting parental, doctoral student, and museum curator responsibilities, the Shaeffers and their Apache helpers, including Huge Massey and Chester Holden, seem to have installed an elaborate subsurface drainage system and reroofed between forty and seventy rooms, astonishing accomplishments given the scarcity of financial, material, and technical resources. A dendrochronological project that examined primary beams in rebuilt rooms identified nineteen dates clustered at 1950, confirming that all or most of the trees that yielded the beams were harvested by the Shaeffers and their helpers (Baxter et al. 1997) and offering a rare example of a tree-ring "anchor" essential to the precise interpretation of archival documents.

Finally, although visitation was significant and growing (711, 986, 1,516, and 1,793 registered visitors in 1946, 1947, 1948, and 1949, respectively), these numbers and the then-limited market for Apache beadwork, basketry, and leatherwork may have been seen as insufficient to support an arts and crafts enterprise. Kinishba was not the only BIA museum occupying tribal trust (reservation) lands, but it was the only one of the four located well away from both urban populations and well-established tourist destinations. Margaret Shaeffer's January 27, 1950, letter to Beatty affirms "definite problems here at Kinishba." After reviewing the budget crisis and visitation figures, she states "that through Kinishba, a great interest in and sympathy with the Indian Service can be fostered. The visitors who make the effort are unusually appreciative and interested. With proper maintenance I firmly believe this monument could be an eloquent spokesman for the Indian Service. . . . We are at a crucial point now where our needs cannot very well be ignored without extensive damage to the project."

Despite Shaeffer's astute observations and obvious dedication, the bottom line seems to have been that the BIA's budget and management capacities were overstretched in this peripheral domain of museums in general and Kinishba in particular. Episodic communications among elected representatives and BIA and NPS officials continued, but neither a consensus approach nor a clear resolution emerged. Assistant BIA Commissioner (and former Kinishba field school assistant director) John H. Provinse was successful in arranging a meeting with NPS officials, but his May 18, 1951, memo to BIA Commissioner Myer reported that NPS resistance to accepting responsibility persisted. On the basis of his personal knowledge of the site's history and use, Provinse "suggested that we might find the State of Arizona or the University of Arizona interested in assuming the responsibility. . . . Neither gentlemen seemed to feel that this was likely. . . . Mr. Beatty suggested that after the ruins were placed in stabilized condition, a program which is now underway, and the museum building had been enlarged and the quarters put in first-class shape, it might be possible to interest the Apache Indian Tribe in maintaining the area at a small admission charge which might cover the maintenance cost."

In a July 12, 1951, memo from NPS Director A. E. Demaray to Provinse, NPS offered to participate in a project to stabilize Kinishba using BIA funds and NPS supervision. "If this condition is acceptable and if your office will cooperate with us in an effort to find a permanent status for the area, we will take responsibility for maintaining the property

on a reimbursable basis for the next two years." Dale King, Erik Reed, and Gordon Vivian visited Kinishba on behalf of NPS on August 4 to reassess management options and monument potential, and the August 16 memo from new local Superintendent (Acting) L. R. Woods to his boss, the Phoenix area office director, Ralph M. Gelvin, outlines the NPS terms in detail: "$18,000.00 per year for operation and maintenance. . . . All reports would be submitted to the Park Service. . . . Park Service would handle all maintenance and operation. . . . main part of the work on the ruins would be stabilizing the excavated unrestored portion. . . . employing Navajos and Hopis to do the stabilization. . . . Finish the restored part . . . by removing roofs. Any sections of the restored parts that fall will not be rebuilt. . . . all Indian Service people would be responsible to the Park Service." BIA officials seem to have accepted this as a viable alternative in principle, and on September 10 the tribal council unanimously passed resolution 51-33, authorizing BIA to negotiate with NPS concerning the operation of Kinishba as a national monument.

Again, however, some combination of practical and political considerations seems to have intervened. Provinse took a new position and the deal was never consumated. Apparently because of the BIA failure to execute the agreement that would have transferred Kinishba to NPS control on a trial basis, NPS never stepped in and the Shaeffers were left to continue their struggle against entropy in a BIA organization utterly unaccustomed to the challenges of museum and historic site management. As a further indication that the management arrangements were as unstable as the architecture, in a March 19, 1952, letter to Willard Rhodes, Beatty's successor as the BIA education director, Margaret informs him that "Jim has been called back for extended active duty (at least three years) with the Marine Corps and the children and I are planning to leave here sometime in June." Shortly after Mr. Shaeffer's departure, on May 15, Margaret gave the BIA her thirty-day notice. Although the BIA did not actively seek to replace the Shaeffers, efforts were made to keep the museum open for visitors that summer. Thereafter, Kinishba received little if any constructive attention for about twelve months. On September 14, 1953, in response to reports of theft and vandalism at the Kinishba Museum that caused a stir with Haury and NPS officials at the 1953 Pecos conference, the BIA hired Samuel Adley to serve as guard at the site through June 30, 1956.

After getting stuck with the hot potato yet again, the BIA created a final opportunity to rescue Kinishba by seeking to transfer responsibility for the site to the IACB. In a memo dated November 20, 1953, IACB

General Manager J. Edward Davis wrote to Assistant Secretary of the Interior Orme Lewis to accept Lewis' proposal to transfer the budget and management of the four existing BIA museums, emphasizing the mission the museums shared with IACB:

> The Bureau of Indian Affairs, as early as 1941, began the operation of museums for the purpose of several interrelated and important international needs . . . a community craft center where modern made Indian handicrafts are sold against a background of the older, native materials and displays of former Indian life. . . .
>
> Three of the museums contain sales shops which serve as principal marketing outlets for neighboring producing groups, while two of the museums contain the offices of the local Indian crafts organization. In reality, the term "museum" is a misnomer; properly, they are Indian crafts centers selling over $50,000 worth of such products a year. The sale of crafts constitutes one of the most constant sources of income to hundreds of Indian families. . . . The potential market has not yet been reached.
>
> In addition to their role as community crafts centers, the museums give the public, including Indians, an understanding of the Indians' contribution to the nation in fine art and craftsmanship as well as the Indians' place in the cultural heritage of America. Over 80,000 persons visit the three Plains Indians museums annually, many of whom purchase crafts as a direct result of such visits.
>
> The four museums are now operated and supervised by the Bureau of Indian Affairs at a total annual cost of $66,600. Each was built and is owned under different participating arrangements between Federal Government and either state, municipal or tribal governments.
>
> In the best interests of American Indian crafts production, transfer of management of these centers from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Indian Arts and Crafts Board is logically indicated. The Indian Arts and Crafts Board is willing to assume responsibility for their operation provided funds are available.

It is notable that the rationale for the transfer does not reference in a positive light the on-reservation, intercultural, and archaeological emphases that distinguished Kinishba from the other institutions. Instead, the remarks implicitly highlight the facility as the one BIA museum that neither took shape as a crafts center nor attracted more than about 2,000 visitors per year. It seems clear that IACB intended to capture the budget

for all four museums but actual responsibility for only three. By the spring of 1954—with Cummings' health now failing precipitously, with Donner and Beatty retired, with Senator Hayden in the minority, with NPS holding out for a substantial financial concomitant to any administrative transfer, with BIA sensing the prospective relief of museum administration lifting from its shoulders, and without consistent advocacy from the White Mountain Apache Tribe—the axe had been raised. A March 23, 1954, letter from the BIA Phoenix area director, Ralph M. Gelvin, to the BIA assistant commissioner states,

> the 1955 Budget . . . 'Elimination of Museums . . . $66,000' . . . does not include money for the operation of Kinishba Ruins Museum, and it appears we would also lose the position of guard. . . . The tribal council would be willing to place in their tribal budget a small item to help out . . . provided some appropriated funds went into the project.
>
> I don't know how the Bureau gets itself involved . . . it doesn't seem to me that we should be in the business of developing ruins and administering museums. . . . However, the Bureau has been in the picture with Kinishba Ruins for many years and would probably be subject to considerable criticism from people who are interested in such activities if we pulled away from it completely and let the work that has been done so far deteriorate

Only the Shaeffers persisted as vocal advocates for the preservation of the site and the perpetuation of Cummings' vision. Writing to Senator Hayden on March 25, 1954, Jim makes note of BIA's resistance, reports on the tribe's initial interests in encouraging tourist visits to cultural and historical attractions, suggests an appropriation of $5270 for repairs, and invokes The Dean:

> the Indian Service. . . . are willing to go along with any reasonable solution which may be offered, provided it does not involve commitments on their part. The ruins are in a lamentable state. . . . The only interest . . . appears to come from the Tribal Council itself. The Tribal Chairman, Mr. Nelson Lupe, says that he is interested in the museum from the Apache standpoint for two reasons: to encourage visitor traffic on and through the reservation and to provide a repository for articles of Apache culture and records which are fast disappearing. . . . Dr. Cummings is now very sick. I think it would bring him great satisfaction to know that we all are working to find a permanent place for Kinishba.

Despite the Shaeffers' prodding and Hayden's encouragement, the BIA barely managed to continue funding the guard position. When Dean Cummings went to his well-earned rest, dying in Tucson on May 21, 1954, Kinishba's status remained precarious, its future uncertain. The October 13, 1955, letter from the local superintendent, John O. Crow, to BIA Phoenix Area Director F. M. Haverland requests a one-year extension for "the appointment of Samuel Adley, Guard, at Kinishba Museum and Ruins" and reviews the recent history of BIA involvement, suggesting prospects for the tribe's assumption of responsibilities:

> This activity should not be a responsibility of the education program, but for more than a decade considerable education funds were allocated. . . . After the resignation of the Curator in 1952, due to the status of funds, there was no employee at the Museum for approximately a year. In fact, we had no plans for providing further protection. . . . In August of 1953, reports of vandalism at the Museum went to the Director of the Arizona State Museum and the Secretary of the Interior. . . . We have since that time provided protection through the employment of a Guard. . . . If extension of this position is denied, it will have to be assumed that we should no longer be held accountable. . . . From September, 1953 to September, 1955, a total of 1,326 visitors registered at the Museum. . . . There is a possibility that when the Tribal Recreation Enterprise is sufficiently developed to absorb the cost of maintenance of the Museum, the Tribe might be willing to take on this expense.

After stopping by the site on November 16, 1955, NPS Archaeologist Albert H. Schroeder wrote a letter report stating, "All roofs appear to leak & cement of roofs cracked. . . . Floor of one room on west side literally covered with manos of various types. . . . No custodian around—only 2 dogs. Museum interior shows no leakage from what I could tell through the window. Prehistoric pottery, some material as well as Apache beadwork inside. Some cases empty. Pretty dusty & dirty looking interior. . . . Signs almost all gone around ruin. Posts only remain." NPS referred this letter to the BIA for response, resulting in a May 9, 1956, field trip by the tribal council to review the site's condition and prospects. Not surprisingly, the council was less than impressed with either the BIA's maintenance of the property or the idea of assuming administrative responsibility for it. The council did support a tentative agreement regarding NPS administration of the site, but this brought

to a close the BIA's direct involvement with and support for the site's management. On June 25 the BIA deputy commissioner wrote to the Phoenix area director stating, "We suggest that, with the consent of the Tribe, anything of value or interest to the Arizona State Museum . . . be turned over to them." Accordingly, on July 24, 1956, Bob Baker, Jim Gifford, and Bill Wasley arrived from the Arizona State Museum and proceeded to remove all collections, records, and Cummings' personal library from the Kinishba Museum. Despite persistent rumors that much of the collection was lost to thieves following the Shaeffers' departure, there is little indication of significant losses and, as of 2006, the materials remain at the State Museum, held in trust for the White Mountain Apache Tribe.

NPS-Managed National Monument or Tribally Managed National Historic Landmark?

With the museum collections safe at the Arizona State Museum and the BIA self-absolved of management responsibilities, attention returned to the site's candidacy as a national monument. If monument status could be secured, NPS would assume perpetual administrative and maintenance duties and Cummings' vision would be realized.[23] With Cummings dead, the Shaeffers in Oklahoma, and the BIA role minimized, however, champions for The Dean's vision were increasingly scarce. But Cummings' vision somehow lived on, and as the site's prospects grew dimmer, a new coalition formed in search of some lasting management solution. Schroeder's 1955 field visit and January 1956 report were prompted by an informal inquiry made to NPS by the veteran Southwestern archaeologist and director of Harvard University's Peabody Museum John O. Brew. An influential member of the Secretary of the Interior's Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments from 1952 to 1958, Brew had toured Kinishba as part of a 1947 trip with Emil Haury.[24] Brew's interest in the site was also encouraged by Edward B. "Ned" Danson Jr., director of the Museum of Northern Arizona and Brew's successor on the advisory board (1958–1964).[25] The January 12, 1956, memo from Acting Regional NPS Director David H. Canfield to Conrad L. Wirth, NPS director, summarizes Schroeder's findings and suggests a significant shift in Erik Reed's viewpoint:[26] "Kinishba still is in fair condition generally—in fact, surprisingly good state of preservation considering the long period of comparative or complete neglect it

has suffered—and undoubtedly worth resumed attention and proper care. . . . Dr. Reed continues to believe that Kinishba is the one archaeological proposed area in the Southwest which unquestionably should be proclaimed a national monument and taken over by the National Park Service." Brew used this information and his excellent national reputation to secure for Kinishba a slot on the agenda for the spring meeting of the advisory board, resulting in the following board resolution of March 30, 1956: "The Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments, aware of the scientific importance and archaeological significance of Kinishba Ruin, Arizona, recommends that the area be included in the forthcoming study of Historic and Archaeologic sites; and that in the meantime, the Bureau of Indian Affairs be urged to give better protection to this important ruin." The report linked to the agenda item noted that the BIA had offered the site to NPS at various times and intended to withdraw funding for the caretaker position in the middle of the coming summer. The report further noted that Bandelier National Monument was the sole NPS unit interpreting the Southwest region during the period "between the great drought of the 13th century and the entry of Coronado in 1540" and that "Kinishba has multiple values of presenting that period as its primary occupation level, and offering excellent opportunities for interpretation in an area which is wonderfully scenic and seems almost designed for impact on the visitor. . . . with no advertising, the area has been visited by nearly two thousand registered persons in the two years during which a register was kept."

The advisory board's resolution was taken as gospel by a Park Service already engaged in a serious reassessment of its mission and duties regarding the preservation and interpretation of archaeological sites. As NPS came to terms with its existing monument inventory the realization seems to have emerged that many had been acquired or foisted upon NPS by well-intentioned politicians or haphazard circumstance without careful and systematic attention to national significance, balance across the national parks and monuments system, or various visitation and operational issues. One school of NPS officials—including John M. Corbett, who served NPS variously and with some overlaps as chief archaeologist, as Nusbaum's successor as departmental consulting archaeologist (1958–1971), and as chief of interpretation (Janet McDonnell, personal communication, May 25, 2006)—thought it best to seek to balance the monument inventory and to focus resources on sites with the greatest potential and facilities for public use and interpretation. The Historic Sites Survey program within NPS had long been perceived as the best

means for obtaining the information necessary to achieve this balance and was in the process of being reestablished following a suspension during World War II (Mackintosh 1985). Other officials found no compelling reason to draw a particular line that would exclude sites needing and worthy of preservation, and continued to recognize the monuments program as a potent and time-honored tool for both site preservation and opportunity-driven NPS growth, development, and engagement with local communities.

Brew's introduction of the Kinishba issue in early 1956 seems to have added volatile fuel to this smoldering internal controversy, which flared intermittently for the ensuing five years. In a March 20 memo responding to the board's resolution, NPS Regional Director Hugh M. Miller wrote to Wirth:

> I feel obliged to accept the testimony of Messrs. Schroeder, Reed, Brew and others that it is important enough to be a national monument. . . . I am convinced, regrettably, that we are unable to establish national monuments for the sole purpose of protecting and preserving their scientific value. Local insistence compels development for public use. . . . archaeological monuments in Arizona are so critically deficient in facilities and staffing that the question must be asked whether we should accept the burden of another. . . . shall we adopt a policy of establishing a national monument at every significant ruin which requires protection?

The NPS archaeologists in Santa Fe also responded quickly, whisking their boss (Miller) off for a field visit on April 5 and providing their Washington office counterparts with data and perspective regarding Kinishba's unique status and significance. Regional Archaeologist Charlie R. Steen's April 9 memo to Miller states, "Kinishba ruin represents the climax of development of the Cibola Branch of the Mogollon Culture . . . ancestral to the modern Zuni. No site representative of this [Cibola] important phase of southwestern cultural development is represented in the National Park Service System." In a similar vein, Gordon Vivian's May 9 report states, "Kinishba is an outstanding, excavated example of the highest development derived from a Mogollon base. The Service does not have any similar area which demonstrates this development into the 1300's A.D. From these people came the essential base of the Western Pueblos, Hopi, Zuni, Acoma and particular ways of doing things which include the use of rectangular kivas, red or yellow polychrome pottery, extended burial and a specific type of axe." On May 31, Erik Reed, now

the Santa Fe office's senior archaeologist and chief of interpretation, also wrote to Miller, concluding that he was, "strongly favorable to national monuments status. . . . The recommendation of the Advisory Board at its last meeting, that Kinishba receive study when the Historic Site Survey is resumed, also strikes me as pointless. In my view further investigation is unnecessary because we are not, as I see it, searching for a typical ruin to protect for scientific purposes. . . . we must consider national monuments and national parks alike as areas to be developed for public use." Reed also reappraises the NPS position, held since 1937, that "Kinishba would not add materially to the prehistoric story already exhibited in the group of Southwestern Monuments," stating, "This is not true. As brought out in my second report, of January 1942, and in Mr. Vivian's memorandum of May 9, 1956, Kinishba is archaeologically distinctive and of outstanding significance." Convinced by his staff and personal impressions, Miller wrote to Wirth on June 5, conveying the archaeologists' reports and requesting permission to proceed with monument planning.

In Washington, the regional NPS archaeologists' assertions that the Park Service lacked a monument to Mogollon cultural development (still true in 2006), found both sympathetic and less-than-sympathetic readers. On the same day that Miller sent his memo, Haury wrote to both Arizona Senator Barry M. Goldwater and the Kinishba district's congressional representative, Stewart L. Udall. Haury's letters summarized Kinishba's history and current status, concluding, "We will appreciate anything you can do to help in preserving this site for the future."[27] Goldwater forwarded the letter to both Wirth and the Interior Department secretary (during the transition between secretaries Fred A. Seaton and Douglas McKay), seeking their assistance in developing an appropriate and unified federal approach to the issue (the Republican administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower was in office, and unity would have been perceived as valuable by Goldwater and somewhat less valuable by Udall, a Democrat).

Less sympathetic elements within NPS bided their time and worked on their counterarguments. A June 18 intraoffice memo from Corbett to the NPS chief historian and chief of the Division of Interpretation states candidly,

> I do not think the archaeological mumbo-jumbo—'Mogollon base'–'Cibola branch'—'Salado,' etc., will in any way help to convince the layman. . . .

> The importance of Kinishba Ruins to this Service is twofold: (1) It is a ruin which represents a time period and a way of life not represented in our other southwestern national monuments. . . . traced to some of the existing Indian pueblos of today . . .
>
> (2) It is an already partially developed area (though this development has deteriorated through neglect) with considerable visitation from the public. . . .
>
> As a part of the MISSION 66 development for the Service, it is planned to resume the Historic Sites Survey. . . .
>
> Kinishba itself does not need further study—but it does need comparative evaluation with all other sites in the country for potential inclusion in a well-balanced National Park System. . . . this office should determine (1) whether we should await establishment of further areas until the Park System Plan has been consolidated, or (2) continue to grab off areas whenever and wherever they become available.[28]

Perhaps sensing that he might never again enjoy a consensus endorsement from many leading Southwestern archaeologists and sympathy for the proposal from within both the board and the NPS director's office, Brew wrote Wirth on August 31:

> I now respectfully suggest that this question be reopened for what I believe to be excellent reasons. . . .
>
> The resolution passed by the Advisory Board postponing action on Kinishba included language intended to encourage the Indian Service to take better care of the site. . . . they have actually officially abandoned all attempts to care for or police it. . . .
>
> Haury assures me that as soon as proper maintenance and care-taking at Kinishba is re-established the specimens will be returned. . . . the White Mountain Apache Tribal Council is prepared to have the title of the land transferred to the Park Service. . . .
>
> The buildings are now closed up entirely. It is reported that they are still in a condition where salvage will not be prohibitively expensive. Without any care at all they will not long remain in this condition.
>
> This is a very fine site, one of the most striking and interesting I have ever visited. . . . I urge you to institute immediate action for the consideration of the acquisition of Kinishba Pueblo.

Wirth put Kinishba back on the board's action agenda, and with Brew as the champion, the group passed the following resolution at its meeting of December 1–7, 1956:

> RESOLVED, That because Kinishba Ruin on the White River Apache Reservation in Arizona is a major prehistoric cultural center with a record of not less than seven centuries of occupation, and because this important Ruin, which has been partially excavated and stabilized is a sterling exhibit in a region of Arizona where no other ruins are available to the Public, and because further protection of this Ruin, recommended by the Advisory Board in March 1956, has not materialized.
>
> NOW THEREFORE, The Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments recommends that the Kinishba Ruin be considered of national importance and that the National Park Service take the necessary steps to establish it as a national monument.

But advisory board consensus is not to be confused with internal NPS support, and in a November 20 memo, NPS Chief Historian Herbert E. Kahler summarized both the now-familiar reasons for the prospective designation and the "arguments against the acquisition of the site," including: "(1) the concentration of archaeological monuments in the Southwest. (2) the need for complete consideration of the country before the addition of further national Monuments. (3) the fact that the areas of the Southwest are hard pressed to provide funds, personnel, and facilities for existence at present. Any addition to the burden would not be just, nor would it be in the spirit of MISSION 66." Kahler's memo emphasizes the importance of the Brew-Haury agreement on Kinishba's significance, but the language did not markedly influence the advisory board's resolution. On the other hand, by laying out Corbett's concerns, the memo seems to have fertilized the seeds of internal dissent.[29]

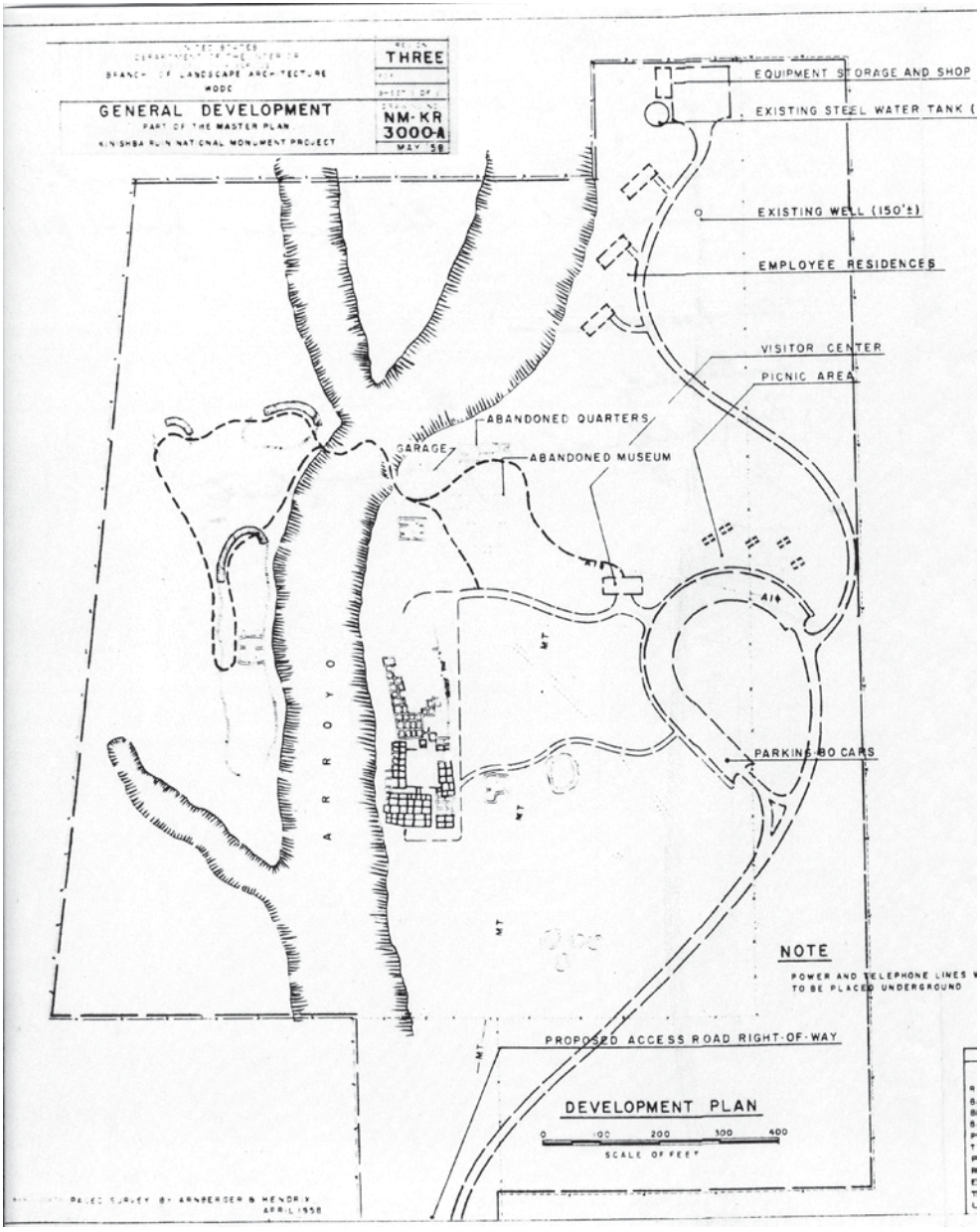
The next step was to determine if BIA had any interests or capacities to assist in the monument designation, and in separate memos dated April 11, 1957, Wirth informed BIA of NPS intentions to proceed with the board's directive and authorized Regional Director Miller to proceed with planning and negotiations necessary to establish a national monument at Kinishba. Although there are some apparent inconsistencies and gaps in the documentary record as to what happened next and when, it seems that NPS formed a planning team—composed of Miller, Schroeder, Leslie Arnberger, the regional system planning chief, and Glenn O. Hendrix,

the landscape architect—to visit the site, prepare initial development plans, and coordinate efforts with the BIA and the tribe.

The May 13, 1958, memo from Arnberger to the regional recreation resource planning chief affirms lack of BIA funds available to facilitate the land transfer and outlines the necessary steps: "1. Prepare a preliminary master plan. . . . 2. Submit . . . the plan [to Washington]. . . . 3. After approval . . . make a firm proposal to the Indian Service to be referred to the White Mountain Apache Tribal Council for consideration. 4. If tribal action is favorable, a survey will have to be made to obtain a metes and bounds description for drafting of legislation. 5. Legislation to effect the transfer of the land and establish the area as a National Monument."

On June 3, apparently following his initial review of a draft plan, Corbett wrote to the chief archaeologist, "The ruins, and particularly the outbuildings, show evidence of further deterioration. . . . Mr. Hendrix recommends that the remaining shells of the former museum and other buildings be razed and a new development planned. A more direct approach road is also proposed. Messrs. Kessay (Chairman of the Council) and Oliver (former Chairman and up for reelection) indicated that this corridor could probably be acquired. . . . If the transfer of these ruins is to be accomplished, I recommend that it be acted upon as quickly as possible."

With national monument designation now a prominent and rapidly growing feature on the horizon, Haury wrote to NPS Southwest Archeological Center Director Charlie Steen on September 22 to transfer the Kinishba archaeological and museum collections to the Southwest Archaeological Center, an NPS facility in Globe, Arizona. The next day the regional director sent the draft plan and accompanying report to Washington. Although the report also outlined the concerns noted in Corbett's recent memo, no fatal flaws or shortcomings were highlighted, and planning, realty actions, and consultations among NPS, BIA, and elected and appointed officials proceeded. To close the deal, it seemed, on August 5, 1959, the tribal council passed Resolution 59-44 authorizing lease of Kinishba and fifty-one acres of surrounding land "for the maximum allowable period of time" for use by NPS. The concrete product from the flurry of activity was a site development plan in the distinctive style of "Mission 66" visitor centers and facilities at comparable NPS sites initially developed in the 1950s and 1960s (figure 7; see Allaback 2000). On October 20 T. C. Vint, NPS chief of design and construction, wrote to his regional counterpart authorizing field surveys for the proposed monument boundary and road corridor.



7. Development plan for Kinishba Ruins National Monument, prepared by National Park Service planning team; none of the road or visitor improvements contemplated in this plan were ever implemented. (Courtesy White Mountain Apache Tribe Historic Preservation Office)

But, once again, just as Cummings' grand vision of monument designation seemed at last to clearly materialize, the focus was redirected to some of the individual pixels—those devilishly ephemeral details of suitability (i.e., contributing to balance and representation within the NPS system), property integrity, financial and operational feasibility, and justifiable and documented national significance (*Criteria for Parkland,* www.nps.gov/legacy/criteria.html, consulted May 26, 2006). The NPS ten-year plan embodied in the Mission 66 initiative provided a catalyst, as well as needed resources, for internal NPS efforts to reinstate the Historic Sites Survey and accompanying theme studies as means for assuring that prospective parks and monuments were rigorously evaluated and that other sites, buildings, and districts might be officially recognized for their national significance without being pursued as elements of the NPS system (Mackintosh 1985). Responding to innuendo and prophesy concerning the costs associated with ruins stabilization, on October 7, Vivian sent Reed two alternative estimates: "Plan 1—Remove all structures down to original standing walls and stabilize at that height (1½'–5' approximately) 3 years @ $40,000/year total $120,000. Plan 2—Put reconstructed section in safe condition, removing roofs but leaving walls standing to full height. No stabilization of unreconstructed sections 2 years @ $30,000/year total $60,000."

As these figures were being assessed, on November 20 the new regional director, Thomas J. Allen, wrote to the NPS director to report the results of the November 12 meeting of the planning team with Albert M. Hawley, superintendent of the BIA Fort Apache Agency:[30]

> We were assured that there would be no difficulty in obtaining a right-of-way for the entrance road and so-called scenic easement on the remainder of the land in the NE ¼ of Section 19 as well as a 300-foot strip on either side of the entrance road. However, with regard to the 50–60 acre Monument area, we were informed that the Tribe intends to make this available to the Service on a so-called 'administrative site' basis only. . . .
>
> [W]e are not surprised that the White Mountain Apache Tribe does not want to part with the Kinishba tract in fee; although we had assumed that this was understood by both the Tribe and the Bureau. . . .
>
> It appears that the principal objection of the Tribe to conveying the land in fee is a concern that the land would be lost to the Tribe in the event the Monument should be abolished. . . . With this in

> mind, it was suggested that perhaps the Tribe would be agreeable to conveying the tract in fee provided a suitable reversionary clause was included in the legislation. . . . Mr. Hawley felt that this would be acceptable to the Tribe."

The NPS director's December 9 response followed Allen's lead: "We are reluctant to proceed . . . if the main tract is to be made available to the Service as an administrative site only." The memorandum continues in a more constructive tone, noting, "A similar question arose in the course of our negotiations with the Grand Portage Band. . . . resolved through the inclusion in the measure . . . which assures the Indians that title to the lands involved would automatically revert . . . in the event the monument is abandoned. . . . When providing you with our comments upon the [planning documents] . . . furnished with your memorandum of November 5—we will also provide you a draft of proposed legislation for use in your further discussions of the Kinishba Ruins National Monument proposal with the Tribe." A thin veneer of administrative processes continued, but Corbett and other NPS personnel opposed to the designation seem to have effectively seized the opportunity associated with the cost estimates and tribal reluctance. A candid memo dated February 24, 1960, from Acting Chief Archaeologist Carroll R. Burroughs states,

> Dr. Corbett very strongly recommends that: "we do NOT touch it with a ten-foot pole under the Apache Tribal Council conditions. . . . It will be a real headache as follows:
>
> (a) expensive, immediate stabilization is necessary.
>
> (b) if we take down the fakery Dean Cummings added on, many local Arizona people and other Dean lovers will be incensed and raise hell with us (a la Wupatki), but there won't be anything really worth saving but a rather crummy, low-walled ruin. If we don't take down the fakery, then we must repair and restore it and we are in the position of fostering a fraud on the public—the archaeological evidence will not support the Dean's reconstructions. I think we had better get out from under this foul ball while we still can."[31]

Although not intended for circulation outside NPS corridors in DC, the memo's sentiments were apparently contagious. Corbett's next step was to deflate the political pressure linked to the proposal, and his next opportunity was the spring meeting of the advisory board. Ned Danson had succeeded Brew on the advisory board, and Corbett's March

22 memo to Burroughs reveals his savvy tactics, "I gave Ned Danson a briefing on your impressions and opinions of the Kinishba problem before he went into the Advisory Board session. . . . He feels as you do that Kinishba isn't worth it. . . . if we would get the various arguments together against taking Kinishba, he would talk to Hayden and try to forestall more pressure there."

The "Summary Minutes, 42nd Meeting" of the Advisory Board note that Wirth, Eivind T. Scoyen, and Kahler were present as NPS representatives and state

> Dr. Danson said that he had recently visited the Ruins and they are in a deplorable condition. . . . The Dean had pretty good evidence for the reconstruction of the base of the walls, but that is about as much evidence as he had. . . . the buildings have been allowed to deteriorate. . . . a whole reconstruction would have to be redone, and this would be restoring something that was not true in the first place. . . . Dr. Danson suggested that the Board reverse the previous decision. . . . as some of the Members were not in agreement, the Chairman made the motion that this be given further consideration as to suitability and feasibility by the Service, and to make a report at the next meeting. This was duly seconded and voted.

Taking swift advantage of this opportunity, Corbett made sure that the director's memory relating to the prospective costs was refreshed. Vivian's March 29 memo to the director states, "In response to Staff Archaeologist Burroughs' telephoned request today, there is enclosed a copy of the estimates for the stabilization of Kinishba, submitted to the Region Three Office October 7, 1959" (see above). Corbett had effected a shift in NPS focus from Kinishba's significance as an ancient occupation to its management challenges as a rebuilt ruin, and the coup de grâce came with the April 19 memo to the regional director, drafted by Corbett, signed by Acting Director Scoyen, and titled "Kinishba Ruins National Monument Proposal—Restudy":

> If we accord the area National Monument status, we must either (a) eliminate this faulty reconstruction. . . . or, (b) we must restore and stabilize the entire structure. . . . [which is] expensive, and puts us in the untenable position of displaying a reconstruction which the scientific evidence will not support.
>
> The present position of the Apache Tribal Council in dealing for these lands has been on some type of a lease basis. . . .

> At its March meeting, the Advisory Board . . . questioned the significance of, and specially the suitability and feasibility of, the proposal. . . . it was the consensus that the entire proposal should be carefully restudied. There seemed to be a general feeling, which we certainly share, that this proposal does not really measure up. . . .
>
> The climate may be favorable for a possible revocation by the Board on its previous statement. . . .
>
> A delegation of Fort Apache Indians was in Washington recently and met . . . for a brief discussion of the Kinishba [issue]. . . . They appeared to be less interested in monument status for the Ruins than in finding some means to overcome the financial, public relations . . . problems with which they are faced in the present circumstances.

Support for the designation wilted much faster than it had taken to grow and flower. Excerpts from the regional director's May 18 response to Scoyen include

> In view of the facts set forth . . . we believe the area should be rejected. . . .
>
> Schroeder by memorandum of February 20, 1959 to you in discussing Theme II, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, writes of Kinishba as being vastly inferior to Point of Pines in significance, integrity, and archaeological values. [32]
>
> Dr. Reed, Regional Chief, Division of Interpretation, has consistently favored inclusion of Kinishba in the National Park System; however. . . . he made the following statement: "years ago when this proposal first came up, the area was in fairly good condition—a going project, so to speak, with useable buildings (museum and residence) *and* with funds provided in the Interior Department budget for its operation and staffing. . . ."
>
> The insistence of the Apache Tribal Council on a lease . . . would seem to offer a valid and sufficient reason for dropping the project from serious further consideration, except possibly for designation as a National Historic Site under a cooperative agreement with the Apache Tribal Council.
>
> Recently, the White Mountain Apache Tribe has taken a real interest in developments to attract visitors as a means of augmenting tribal income and providing employment. . . . they realize, that Kinishba if cleaned up and protected could well become a popular attraction. A small guide fee, while it would not be a gold mine,

might readily provide a means of support for one or two families while accomplishing some preservation and making the area available to the public. . . .

1. Kinishba, although excavated, was never reported on; the reconstruction is unauthentic; and subsequent deterioration makes it unsuitable and not feasible for inclusion in the National Park System.
2. The Service is hardly justified in spending $60,000 to $75,000 in stabilization. . . .
3. The Service and the Advisory Board should drop the project from further consideration if that is at all possible.
4. The area should be cleaned up, protected, and administered by the White Mountain Apache Tribe as part of their growing recreation program. . . . While I certainly think we should cooperate and advise, we are not convinced that the designation as a National Historic Site is warranted. . . .

We further see no reason to obligate the National Park Service to rehabilitate and operate this area for the economy of the Indians. They have resisted giving title to the lands we would be protecting. That being their own decision we have every reason to leave them with it.

Provided by NPS with the invitation to offer a rebuttal for consideration by the advisory board, Brew groused, "I am not going to fight for Kinishba . . . single-handed. . . . the affair was mishandled, or rather that it could have been worked out if people had wanted to." With Kinishba once again lacking a champion, the advisory board's September 17–22, 1960, meeting, held at Isle Royal National Park, Michigan, produced a resolution declaring "that Kinishba Ruins no longer meets the criteria of suitability and feasibility for national monuments established by the Board and therefore recommends that no further action be taken toward the designation of the Ruins as a national monument."

Unaware of the dramatic turn of events in Washington, concerned about the delays, and eager to empower their rapidly expanding Recreation Enterprise and its innovative manager, James C. Sparks, the tribal council, in Resolution 60-50, authorized implementation of "a protective program of the said Kinishba Ruins, including but without limitation to repairing the existing fences . . . and posting applicable 'No Trespassing' signs." Not until March 10, 1961—in a letter prompted by inquiries from the newly appointed Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall—did NPS

have the courtesy to inform the tribe of its ready and willing adoption of the advisory board's recommendation. Astonishingly, not only did NPS fail to let Kinishba's landowner-manager know that the service would not provide any meaningful assistance, but no evidence has been found that NPS officials consulted with tribal council or BIA officials in the many months prior to the board's abrupt and momentous about-face. No effort seems to have been made to explain to the tribe how monument designation might enhance and expand their rapidly growing, tourism-focused economic development program or how a reversionary clause in the proposed legislation could assure their long-term interests in the land being proposed for inclusion in the monument boundaries.

At least as important and more damning, NPS made no attempt to honor the tribe's preference for a maximal term lease. The tribe was near the beginning of Indian Claims Commission proceedings premised on the irrevocable extinction of aboriginal title to millions of acres of former homelands (Sutton 1985) and understandably hesitant to cede additional lands. The tribal council justifiably and consistently preferred leasing. Despite NPS negotiations and lease arrangements with the Navajo Tribe (later Navajo Nation) regarding nearby Canyon de Chelly and Navajo national monuments (see Brugge and Wilson 1976; Rothman 1991), NPS officials portrayed the Apache intransigence on this point as a crucial impasse in monument planning. Regardless of whether the NPS non-designation was a good idea, the mismanagement of the tribal coordination soured the tribal council's attitude toward NPS and limited their enthusiasm for Kinishba, thus unintentionally contributing to the site's deterioration and to the tribe's impoverishment.

Even as hopes for monument designation were dashed, management questions remained unresolved and pressure persisted in Washington to do something to make up for the Park Service's unsatisfactory treatment of the tribe. In the summer of 1961 Roger Ernst, former Department of the Interior assistant secretary, visited the site. Jim Cook's October 25, 1961, article in the *Arizona Republic* reports on the struggle for monument status and the tribe's goal of cultivating tourism through Kinishba and old Fort Apache, neither of which have "been preserved in a manner befitting such historical sites." Although the BIA was the entity most immediately to blame for the poor condition of both sites, Cook's "spin" is generous to BIA perspectives: "When the U of A withdrew support from the project, the Bureau of Indian Affairs took over maintenance and protection of Kinishba. But it was ruled that the Bureau was not authorized to spend funds for such purposes."

A few days later, on October 29, *Phoenix Gazette* reporter Gen Cole writes, "Former Assistant Secretary of Interior Roger Ernst is taking the lead in trying to find a way preserve the ruin and at the same time to preserve historic Fort Apache. Ernst . . . has enlisted the support of Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz. . . . with federal protection, the ruin might then be improved by the Apaches who would benefit from the tourist business. . . . this would be a novel development. The native Americans who built the unique Kinishba structures were the probable ancestors of the Hopi and the Zuni, and thus have no historical significance for the Apache."[33]

Perhaps prompted by Ernst or a BIA representative, on November 2, the tribal council passed Resolution 61-106, reaffirming its preference for direct NPS administration and maintenance of Kinishba. But NPS had made its decisions and hardened its position more than a year before, and the December 26 memo from Regional Director Allen to the BIA regional director unambiguously states "no further action is contemplated toward designation of the Ruins as a National Monument." In October 1962, twenty-five years after the summer he had spent at the site as Cummings' student, Schroeder completed the initial National Historic Landmark nomination form for Kinishba. On July 19, 1964, Secretary of the Interior Udall declared Kinishba eligible as a national historic landmark. The following February NPS presented the tribe's chairman, Lester Oliver, with a bronze plaque and a certificate suitable for framing, the sole local results of the decades-long struggle in and between Whiteriver, Tucson, Santa Fe, and Washington.

Mäi'povi, Kį dałbaa, and Kinishba—An Intertribal and Intercultural Heritage Site

As Kinishba collapsed irrevocably during the 1960s, '70s, and '80s, so did colonial models for federal, state, and private relationships with American Indian tribes (Cornell 1988). By 1965 the partners in the Kinishba project—U of A, BIA, and NPS—had bowed out, obliging the tribe to contend with management and preservation issues that only grew more burdensome with the site's designation as an NHL. Lacking external support and local museum and ruins management expertise, during the 1960s, '70s, and '80s the tribe came to view Kinishba in the same general light as boarding schools, abandoned mines, and clear-cuts—as

persistent and unsightly messes made by forces beyond their control and without significant tribal benefit.

The tribe's new role as site manager, and the local perspective that the site was an imposition, did not unduly hamper perceptions of an obligation to make the most of the unfortunate circumstances. By the late 1950s, largely as a result of work by Lester Oliver and Silas Davis, the tribe's Recreation Enterprise had emerged as a major focus for regional economic development focused on hunting, fishing, and camping. The tribal council began delegating most Kinishba-related tasks to the new director of their Recreation Enterprise, James D. Sparks. A champion of the site by default, Sparks invited the tribe's newly appointed Livestock Association general manager, Richard Cooley, and his family (Liz, Anthony, Jon, and Leslie) to reside in the former museum and caretaker's quarters in early1963.[34] The tribe fully renovated, reroofed, rewired, and replumbed the main building. Dick and Anthony replastered and reroofed the row of sheds that Cummings had built for storage, work space, and guest quarters.

The Cooleys established a beneficial presence, serving informally as hosts and caretakers. In the summers of 1963 and 1964, Sparks hired Anthony at a salary of $35.00 per week to greet and count guests, record their vehicle license tags, and answer their questions. When Anthony found off-reservation employment in the summer of 1965, Sparks hired Dick's close friend Morley Cromwell as the site host, and Morley moved with his family into the two rooms Anthony vacated in the old guest quarters. Seeking to exploit Kinishba's tourist appeal as a complement to the tribe's hunting and fishing permit sales, Sparks sent a February 23, 1965, memo to the Recreation Board reporting 1,130 visitors to Kinishba during the period from June 9 to August 15, 1964. He proposed additional signs, a fee of $1.00 per car or $0.25 per person as a means to recover "a major portion of the caretaker and maintenance cost" and "a self-guiding tour and information pamphlet," presumably a revision or reprinting of Shaeffer's (1956) guide.

Despite the persistent shakiness of the administrative and financial arrangements—not to mention the architecture—Kinishba continued as a popular point of interest for those visitors who found themselves in its still-remote corner of Arizona or who frequented Apache lands for recreation. On page 1 of the September 17, 1967, "Sun Living" section of the *Arizona Republic,* Mary Leonard offered a glowing verbal and photographic portrait of the Cooley family welcoming visitors and preserving the legacy of the U of A archaeologists. Jon "Punt" Cooley,

who has maintained a successful career in recreation management for the tribe and the state of Arizona, remembers soliciting tour fees and endless games of hide-and-seek in the collapsing ruins.[35] Following Dick's untimely death from an untreated appendicitis in 1976, Anthony and his wife, Donna, maintained their residence in the former museum until the fall of 1988. When Lee's Mercantile, where Anthony and Donna were employed as managers, was closed to make way for the expansion of State Route 73 through nearby Whiteriver, the couple took advantage of their unemployment to enjoy a long holiday in Mexico, then traveled east to attend to Donna's mother's illness. When they returned to Kinishba in the spring of 1989, they found that thieves and vandals had made their former home unfit to live in, removing even the plumbing fixtures and destroying much of the carpentry (Anthony Cooley, personal communication, May 16, 2006). They would be the last residents; a fire sparked by vandals or careless visitors destroyed the roof of the museum and caretakers' quarters in the spring of 1994.

The tribe and many guests were generally content with the largely unregulated visitation following landmark designation, but occasional reports of the continuing collapse at the site reached federal officials.[36] In a September 12 memo, George S. Cattanach Jr., the NPS archaeologist monitoring the region's NHLs, wrote to the chief archaeologist: "The information given below was requested by Dr. James E. Officer,[37] Associate Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, during your July 7 conference. . . . I had raised the question of what could be done with Kinishba Ruins to promote its development as a tourist attraction and at the same time end the hazard to the visitors. . . . I received a telephone call from Dr. Raymond Thompson. . . . He also was concerned about the danger to visitors, and asked if I could do anything about the problem. I discussed the matter with several BIA officials, and learned that the Tribe did not have funds to stabilize the ruin."

Apparently oblivious to its own significant contributions to the problem, the NPS response to reports of further deterioration was to threaten the tribe with delisting of the landmark. The October 2, 1967, letter from NPS Deputy Director Harthon L. Bill to Tribal Council Chair Ronnie Lupe strikes an imperious chord:

> In accepting Landmark designation, the White Mountain Apache Tribe agreed to: 1) preserve the historical integrity of the site; 2) continue to use the property for purposes consistent with its historical character; and 3) permit an annual visit to the property by

> a representative of the National Park Service. . . . The Tribe also agreed that if, for any reason, the three conditions above could not be met, then National Historic Landmark status would cease. . . . The present condition of Kinishba not only threatens its historical integrity, but is also a grave threat to the safety of visitors who enter the rooms or walk on the restored roofs and walls. . . . If action cannot be taken soon by the Tribe to stabilize the site and prevent further deterioration, we shall have to ask the advisory Board to reconsider the present designation.

NPS issued similar letters through the mid-1990s, typically offering to provide technical assistance on a cost-reimbursable basis and notifying the tribe of opportunities to compete for grant funds. Aware of the BIA's role as sponsor of the work done by Cummings and the Shaeffers, and lacking a staff architect or archaeologist, the tribe customarily forwarded the NPS letters to the local BIA superintendent. The BIA response to the initial (1967) delisting threat entailed a new attempt to establish a partnership, this one among NPS (technical and planning assistance), BIA (management), and the regional Job Corps (laborers). The January 19, 1968, memo from the BIA area director to the NPS regional director, Frank W. Kowski, requests assistance: "We have contacted the San Carlos Jobs Corps Director, Clyde Stimpson who has agreed to establish a work project for Kinishba Ruins in the next fiscal year provided he can be furnished with a development and reconstruction plan. . . . it is necessary to estimate as close as possible the total number of man days. . . . This requirement necessitates the work of an experienced technical planner and we feel that the services of your organization would be most appropriate."

Avoiding the bureaucratic snares common in regional and national offices via collaboration with the NPS office in Globe, Arizona, resulted in swift progress. By January 25, Charles B. Voll, assistant chief, NPS Ruins Stabilization Unit, had submitted his six-page report (Voll 1968) to the NPS Ruins Stabilization Unit chief and Sparks. The report reviews Kinishba's ancient and recent history and recommends stabilization, noting that restoration would be "professionally unsound and extremely expensive to do and maintain." Voll's report distills to two daunting estimates: 2,455 man days for stabilization and "unless work is done on it, it will be a pile of rubble within five years." Apparently shocked into action by Voll's dire prediction, the tribe and BIA promptly repaired and replaced the barbwire fence built under Cummings' direction in 1936

and installed signs intended to exclude visitation to the rebuilt rooms. Perhaps because of the scale and immediacy of the effort required, the prospective partnership never materialized; no indication has been found that Jobs Corps workers were mobilized. Although the tribe's Recreation Enterprise continued to encourage visitation to Kinishba, from 1968 until 1994, the tribe made only occasional and brief efforts to address the persisting and escalating preservation needs at the site.

By the late 1960s the White Mountain Apache had joined other native nations in reasserting sovereignty rights in general, and self-governance, self-determination, self-reliance, and self-representation in particular. In the sociopolitical context of rapid increases in the exercise of tribal prerogatives, it is no surprise that the tribe's 1969 answer to local and national questions concerning cultural heritage stewardship was not to revisit Kinishba, but to focus instead on the stewardship of Apache cultural and language traditions and open its first cultural center in the oldest remaining structure at historic Fort Apache (Welch 2000; Welch, Hoerig, and Endfield 2005). The White Mountain Apache Tribe Cultural Center's first director, Apache language specialist Edgar Perry, dedicated his initial efforts to recording fast-disappearing White Mountain Apache stories and songs and producing the first Apache-English dictionary (Perry et al. 1972). Although Perry participated in Kinishba discussions with the tribe's recreation managers and outsiders, he had little time or money to devote to the site's preservation or development. In 1976, with technical assistance from the Arizona Historical Society and funds and collections from local and national sources, WMAT relocated the Cultural Center from the fort's only surviving log cabin to the last-remaining barracks. In this larger space the institution thrived as a gathering place for elders and cultural specialists, an Apache crafts outlet, and a destination for visitors from many countries (Davisson 2004).[38]

At least in part because the Cultural Center was founded and operated to serve Apache interests and empower tribal members, the 1985 fire that destroyed the barracks and most of the collections decimated but did not eliminate local enthusiasm for linking heritage tourism and heritage stewardship at Fort Apache. Perry and other members of the Cultural Center staff returned what remained of their operation to its original log cabin home, resuming the institution's original emphasis on Apache language conservation and interpretive visitation to Fort Apache.

At about this time a new and unusual threat to Kinishba emerged—cavitation caused by equine geophagy! Apparently attracted by high concentrations of mineral salts in the soil profiles of the exposed stream

banks on either side of the arroyo that bisected the site, livestock breached the fence and began to trample and consume the native soils underlying reconstructed and unreconstructed portions of the ruins. The September 13, 1988, NPS letter signed by Stephanie H. Rodeffer to Tribal Council Chair Reno Johnson includes the annual NHL status report by Ron Corbyn (1988) and notes "our continued concern about the access of horses and cattle to the site. They are steadily undermining the Group II ruins by cutting a trail across the west side of the main arroyo and by eating the cutbank deposits for their salt content. We believe the problem could be solved by rebuilding the existing fence . . . and possibly by the judicious placement of several salt blocks."

Corbyn's report goes on to confirm Kinishba "Priority 2 status" and to acknowledge the NPS obligation to complete NHL documentation by learning more about Cummings' rebuilding. Several responses ensued. Acting in consultation with chairman Johnson but independently from NPS concerns, U of A Archaeological Field School Director Jefferson Reid assigned a crew of staff members to repair the perimeter fence (Reid and Whittlesey 2005:168); the BIA Land Operation Branch, led by Ronald Grippen, also began occasional fence repairs and salt lick distributions.[39] Next, as a means for assessing the historical importance of Cummings' rebuilding efforts over and above the significance of the remains of the ancient village, Corbyn pursued interviews with NPS staff members possessing firsthand experience with Cummings' work at Kinishba. To complement his testimonial data, Corbyn engaged Reid to compile and interpret archival information pertaining to the rebuilding (Reid and Whittlesey 1989).

Words rather than deeds ruled Kinishba's history from 1968 to 1993. A November 8, 1988, article by Sam Negri in the *Arizona Republic* quotes Corbyn: "horses are going so far back that they're up to their shoulders"; Edgar Perry: "we don't care too much about it. . . . politicians always say they're going to do something about it, but they don't"; and Haury: "Any house will go to pieces if you don't take care of it. It's been terribly neglected." Weary of NPS and other pressures to dedicate scarce tribal resources to the project, Ronnie Lupe in an April 22, 1993, letter to NPS objected to the apparent requirement for "Indians to become competent archaeologists, bureaucrats and curators overnight. . . . [T]he best interests of the American people would be served if Kinishba, a unique resource, became a field school where Indian people could learn all those new skills." In an effort to lay the foundations for a meaningful response

to the steady stream of encouragement and demands to protect both Fort Apache and Kinishba—none of which arrived with checks enclosed—the tribe took a decisive step through the 1993 adoption of the "Master Plan for the Fort Apache Historic Park." Compiled through close collaboration of an Apache-dominated advisory team and a professional team led by architect Stan Schuman, the master plan embraced Kinishba as a means for diversifying experiences for visitors to Fort Apache (White Mountain Apache Tribe 1993). The tribal council designated Kinishba an official element of the historic park in 1994. By envisioning the integration of intercultural communication and reconciliation with historic preservation, community health, and tourism initiatives, the master plan signaled a commitment to enhance products for the burgeoning heritage tourism market and to balance Euro-American–authored accounts of local history and culture with perspectives derived from Apache and Pueblo oral traditions and historical experience (Welch and Riley 2001; Mahaney and Welch 2002).

Building upon the Cultural Center's community roots and the master plan's expansive vision, the tribal council next delegated authority to coordinate the partnerships necessary for master plan implementation. On the basis of initial success with grant-based initiatives to address the pressing structural preservation needs at Fort Apache, Joe Waters, the tribe's grants writer, and I, then working exclusively as the BIA's Fort Apache Agency archaeologist, expanded the scope of the master plan by integrating Kinishba's conservation and pursuing establishment of the Tribe's Historic Preservation Office (THPO).[40]

The partnerships necessary to address Kinishba required detailed consultations with Apache, Zuni, and Hopi elders and cultural specialists to assess the site's cultural and religious significance (figure 8). These consultations—held at Grasshopper, Kinishba, Whiteriver, Hopi, and Zuni beginning in 1994 and continuing until at least as recently as 2005—have consistently emphasized intertribal stewardship, with a special focus on long-range planning for repatriation of human remains, funerary objects, and sacred objects (Welch and Ferguson 2005, 2007).[41] Early in the discussions Hopi consultants confirmed the likelihood that Kinishba is the site known in their oral traditions as Mäi'povi (Place of Abundant Snakeweed). The intertribal discussions have revealed consensus cultural mandates for respecting and protecting Kinishba's sensitive elements and values. The cultural consultants' prevailing guidance for site preservation and development entails the following core principles:

8. Hopi Tribe and White Mountain Apache Tribe representatives during a consultation visit to Kinishba, June 2004. From left to right (back): Raleigh Puhuyouma, Morgan Saufkie, Floyd Lomakuyvaya, Garrin Pocheoma, Levi Dehose, Greg Glassco, Bradley Balenquah; (kneeling): John R. Welch, Garret Mansfield. (By T. J. Ferguson, courtesy of the White Mountain Apache Tribe Historic Preservation Office)

- minimize disturbance to all ancient remains and architecture;
- maximize opportunities for Apache, Zuni, and Hopi control over, participation in, and benefits from stewardship decisions and development directions;
- minimize the presence of intrusive and industrial elements;
- maximize peaceful and respectful visitation to and interpretation of Kinishba as a resting place, sacred site, and community important in multiple Native cultural and oral traditions.

With support from the tribal council, ongoing consultations with elders, and assistance from the State Historic Preservation Office and several other project supporters, meaningful work to reverse the dete-

rioration began in 1994. The annual NHL report to Congress (NPS 1994:40) states that "important steps have been taken to protect the ruin. The BIA–Fort Apache Agency improved the fence around Kinishba and placed salt blocks outside the ruin to prevent livestock from seeking salt in the arroyo banks beneath the walls of the ruin. This stopped further erosion of the banks due to cavitation and trampling by livestock, but run-off erosion is still serious. Salt-tolerant grasses were sowed along the arroyo banks to retard the erosion. The BIA helped the Tribe apply for an NPS Indian Grant to do an architectural evaluation of the reconstruction as part of a preservation plan for Kinishba Ruins. The BIA–Fort Apache Agency archaeologist also led school groups on tours of the ruins to increase awareness of its importance and the need for its preservation. In May 1994, a National Park Service expert in ruins stabilization inspected the NHL. . . . A preservation plan and documentation of the remaining original fabric are recommended as part of this treatment."

Since its establishment in 1996 the THPO has taken the lead in revitalizing Cummings' original vision by integrating Kinishba into the master plan and adapting it to the financial, logistical, and cultural realities of the times. These realities, coupled with the tribal consultants' four planning principles, have supported and guided a new and varied generation of visitation and preservation efforts. To boost local capacity in heritage and ecotourism, Jon Cooley and Matthew Humke of the tribe's Division of Wildlife and Outdoor Recreation obtained an Environmental Protection Agency grant to facilitate an intensive training program that created the White Mountain Apache Tribal Guides, a cadre of tribal members available to conduct visitors to some of the most outstanding ecological and cultural attractions on tribal lands (Humke 1999). Other grant support obtained by THPO from the Arizona Heritage Fund administered by Arizona State Parks provided cost reimbursement for uniquely qualified NPS specialists to prepare the *Preservation and Visitor Use Plan. Kinishba Ruins National Historic Landmark* (Trott 1997). The three-volume plan contains room-by-room documentation of architectural conditions at the site, identifies the most important threats to the site's structural integrity and historic characteristics, and outlines steps to address the threats and enable safe and respectful visitation. As a prelude to plan implementation, in 1998 THPO and an expanding network of NPS professionals involved in the Vanishing Treasures initiative began annual masonry ruins preservation workshops at the site.[42] Attended by tribal guides, THPO staff, and diverse student and community groups—including the U of A archaeological field schools led by Barbara Mills from 2002

to 2004—the workshops have encouraged long-range preservation and interpretation planning as critical components of archaeological research designs and as the crucial basis for incorporating any site in a heritage tourism initiative (Mills et al. n.d.).

With the preservation plan and a critical mass of local capacity in tourism and masonry ruins preservation in place, THPO obtained major grants from the Save America's Treasures program administered by NPS, and from the Arizona Heritage Fund. With secure financial support in place through 2007, the Kinishba Stabilization and Revitalization Project has emerged as a community effort to implement the Preservation and Visitor Use Plan, thus providing a dynamic context for worthy processes and partnerships. As of early 2006 the project has eliminated most threats to visitors through structural stabilization and modification (including, as needed, demolition, drainage modification, revegetation, and preservation treatments), visitor controls, and interpretive-warning signs. The THPO, led by me, Mark Altaha (since 2005), and two preservation specialists, Dempsey Quintero and Mark Antonio (a nephew of one of Cummings' employees), has removed most of the sheet metal, cement roofing, dimensional lumber, and other industrial elements employed in the 1941–1951 efforts by Cummings and the Shaeffers to protect the rebuilt walls (figures 9, 10). We also eliminated most of the accumulated structural members and brush that posed ignition threats to the remaining roofs, incorporating most of the timbers into erosion-control terraces. Although no comprehensive effort has targeted the removal of all of the elements rebuilt by Cummings, these elements have been excluded wherever they pose threats to ancient structural fabric or human safety. Large and visually intrusive elements rebuilt or stabilized with cement mortar have also been demolished wherever practical. In all, crews have stabilized approximately seventy rooms, as well as the museum ruins and the caretakers' facilities. The result carries a far greater visual impact than most pueblo ruins not found in cliff alcoves, allowing visitors to safely experience the details of the former village's entry corridors, household layout, central plaza, and former museum. Kinishba is open for business and respectful visitation is encouraged.

Work was completed in 2006 to protect the site from additional losses to the stream that bisects the ruin. In the wake of the 46,000-acre wildfire that, in the summer of 2003, burned much of the upper watershed of the arroyo that bisects the site (Smith et al. 2003), plans were established for the stabilization of the livestock-ravaged stream banks along critical stretches of Kinishba Wash (Shields and Nickens 2005). An integrated

9. Dempsey Quintero stabilizing Kinishba Ruins, May 2006. (By Karl Hoerig, courtesy of the White Mountain Apache Tribe Heritage Program, Fort Apache)

10. Mark Antonio stabilizing Kinishba Ruins, May 2006. (By Karl Hoerig, courtesy of the White Mountain Apache Tribe Heritage Program, Fort Apache)

combination of gentle redirection of the stream channel, native vegetation reestablishment, and stone blanket installation has curbed for the foreseeable future the erosion threats that constituted the greatest long-term challenge to Kinishba's integrity. Among the interesting outcomes from the erosion-control effort was the rediscovery in the bottom of the wash of the cement slab and other features associated with Cummings' field camp. It seems these facilities were abandoned following a flash flood that probably occurred late in the 1936 season, as depicted in a series of Tad Nichols photographs (T. Edward Nichols collection, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University).

In addition to these preservation treatments, the project has integrated Kinishba into the tribe's broader program of restoring and reusing historic Fort Apache as a hub for heritage tourism. In 2004, following a two-year planning process facilitated by landscape architect Steven Grede, the tribe installed a visitor parking lot outside the perimeter fence and a one-half mile interpretive trail centered on a viewing patio featuring the newly installed NHL bronze plaque (figure 11). A companion guide booklet

provides an outline of the site's rich history and a glimpse at Cummings' vision (Welch, Hoerig and Grede 2005). Fencing improvements entailed the exclusion of private vehicle travel within about 250 m of Kinishba's architecture and installation of a parking area and modest informational signs that include a requirement for all visitors to register at Nohwke' Bagowa, the White Mountain Apache Tribe Cultural Center and Museum at nearby Fort Apache. Through removal of intrusive and inappropriate additions; respectful preservation of the form and outline of Kinishba's Group I; and installation of culturally sensitive and interpretive amenities, the tribe has restored much of Kinishba's dignity as an element of Pueblo, Apache, and archaeological culture and history. The tribe provides stewardship for Kinishba as an element of the Fort Apache Historic Park and as an NHL. Management support and assistance comes from BIA, NPS, Arizona State Parks, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, site visitors, and the federally recognized tribes having primary cultural affiliations with the site's original builders and occupants—Hopi Tribe and Zuni Pueblo. Through the recruitment of diverse community and youth organizations, as well as project participation by local and outside professionals, the project offers a model for training and educating White Mountain Apaches and other American Indians in alternative methods and theories of historic preservation, archaeology, and the broader domain of heritage stewardship.

A Silent Witness to History

At least four issues cut across the various efforts in applied archaeology at Kinishba and merit additional discussion: personal investment by archaeologists, local benefits, changing ruins preservation methods, and community approaches to heritage tourism. Cummings' career in general and his work at Kinishba in particular stand out as an astonishing example of the many values associated with long-term personal investments in teaching (Wilcox 2005:389). Kinishba exists primarily as a monument to native civilization, to be sure, but the site's ongoing visitation and links to its Apache stewards stand as enduring tributes to Dean Cummings. In his deeply personal quest to establish a legacy as the capstone for a long career of instruction, institution building, public interpretation, and American Indian collaboration, Cummings was naturally attracted to a site that represented a regional apex of Pueblo cultural development. He may or may not have been the first to champion a site-based museum,

11. Kinishba Ruins National Historic Landmark, showing recently completed visitor trail segment and NHL plaque donated by the National Park Service, July 2004. (By J. R. Welch, courtesy of the White Mountain Apache Tribe Historic Preservation Office, Fort Apache)

public education, and tourism initiative, but his effort was absolutely unique in that it operated outside of the NPS and sought to create lasting tribal benefits. No other effort to establish and sustain an institutional link between a tribe and a major research institution on the basis of an excavation and research project comes to mind. Cummings properly initiated the Kinishba project as a representative of the U of A and the Arizona State Museum, to be sure, but the documents examined reveal only minimal U of A investment or institutional integration.

Cummings was acting primarily as an individual as he blazed the difficult uphill trail that Kinishba's supporters and promoters continue to follow. Yet Cummings was also deeply connected to and an effective

instrument of what Thompson (2005:327) refers to as the "urge to create cultural institutions that swept the nation at the turn of the century." When support from U of A and its museum fizzled, little changed in on-the-ground operations. Presciently cognizant of the limitations of his U of A and State Museum affiliations, Cummings enlisted BIA and other organizational partners. Perceiving BIA support as insufficient to achieve his preservation, advocacy, outreach, and publication objectives, Cummings created a new organization, the Hohokam Museum Association. Cummings' 1937 retirement from the department and 1938 removal from the Arizona State Museum seem to have created within his patriarchal, institution-building temperament what might be termed a "progeny vacuum." This Cummings filled by redoubling his efforts at and commitments to Kinishba—a legacy nobody could deny, claim as their own, or co-opt in pursuit of other goals: Cummings' Kinishba could not be forgotten and exists—inherently and unmistakably—as a place for bridging gaps among and between centuries and cultures. Even if no additional preservation or maintenance work is ever done and the site falls again into a perpetual state of peaceful neglect, nothing can diminish the story of Cummings' utter conviction of the value of and need for employing archaeology to span these divides.

Cummings' archaeological, documentary, and architectural aptitudes have been questioned, but none have doubted either his love for this bridge building or his skills at institution building. The Dean was no savvy homebuilder and publicly protested his own mortality, but he was hardly oblivious to the long-term organizational and maintenance implications of his work. He was an undisputable pioneer in public archaeology, tailoring his research and preservation efforts to maximize the interpretive and economic development benefits. In these and other respects he was far ahead of his time in recognizing the truth that the archaeological process regularly demands far more time and energy than were originally required to create the deposits and features being investigated and interpreted. At and through Kinishba Cummings deliberately built and launched his version of a perpetual motion machine, albeit one requiring ongoing investments of personal industry and imagination—the very qualities The Dean believed to be inexhaustibly abundant. Although the site's preservation demands have been dramatically reduced through stabilization efforts since 2001, the Kinishba vision that Cummings launched will continue so long as at least one human remains committed to the site's use in pursuit of the research, educational, economic development, and cultural interchange goals Cummings programmed into his

machine. Cummings' capacity for extending his knowledge, time, and enthusiasm to students, communities, and projects set a high standard for archaeologists working anywhere, and most especially for those who have worked or will work at Kinishba.

Cummings' commitments to the creation of tangible and enduring benefits for the White Mountain Apache Tribe and its members were exceptional. Cummings seems to have recognized, at least implicitly, what Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2005:380) calls "the disparity between the aims of archaeological preservation and cultural extermination, which coexisted into the 1900s" and to have acted affirmatively to reconcile these disparate national policies affecting Native Americans. The Dean's willingness and abilities to foster understanding of and support for native culture employing romantic, non-native concepts of mystery and discovery made it possible for both his students and guests to feel at home in native landscapes and places (see Snead 2001). Cummings did all of this with compassion and inimitable style, identifying opportunities, creating jobs, and envisioning a better world resulting from hard work, enlistment of student and public support, thriftiness, and intercultural cooperation—four themes that persist throughout Cummings' life and works (Bostwick 2006).

Cummings' vision was readily adopted by his successors within the BIA, Jim and Margaret Shaeffer. The Shaeffers' six years of work to protect the fragile rebuilt architecture and modernize the exhibits and interpretive program also demanded and received their personal commitment. What the Shaeffers could not replicate or adopt—most especially while working within the BIA, an organization seldom recognized for encouraging or rewarding vision or commitment to anything except self-perpetuation—was The Dean's ability to capture individual and collective imaginations and attune these to his vision for Kinishba. Despite increases in visitation to the site and their own advocacy, the Shaeffers seem to have been distracted by Jim's excavations and to have focused their campaigns through official BIA channels, making direct appeals to elected officials and other Cummings friends only after leaving BIA employment. Overshadowed by their mentor, the Shaeffers were not effective in either reinvigorating The Dean's supporters or creating a new network to boost Kinishba back into the forefront. Although NPS and BIA officials in Washington and regional offices continued to seek mutually satisfactory means for NPS participation in Kinishba's management, the Shaeffers had only limited interactions with NPS. In contrast to the steady stream of correspondence between Cummings and NPS friends

and officials, there is almost no indication that either NPS officials or their colleagues at the U of A were meaningfully consulted concerning the Shaeffers' excavations or preservation treatments.[43] In fact, unless the Shaeffers were somehow unaware of the NPS recommendation to dismantle Cummings' walls and roofs and to stabilize the residual wall stubs with cement mortar, as recommended by Charlie Steen in 1947, the Shaeffers actively, and probably wisely disregarded NPS advice. Cummings' initial rebuilding was unsustainable, to be sure, but Steen's recommendation to "bulletproof" the site with cement, steel bolts and braces, and other intrusive industrial treatments would have introduced additional structural and aesthetic problems. In any case, whether out of ignorance, allegiance to Cummings, or direction from BIA supervisors, the Shaeffers took their technical guidance concerning replacement of Cummings' roofs on the rebuilt rooms from BIA facilities managers. For better or worse, Kinishba was not affected by NPS-centered advancement in the method and theory of masonry ruins preservation following World War II. The site received minimal preservation treatments for almost forty-five years following the Shaeffers' departure, allowing much of the site to "self-stabilize" through architectural collapse. Only when the Shaeffers dropped completely out of the Kinishba scene did the coalition of archaeologists led by J. O. Brew make the final push for national monument designation.

In terms of both immediate preservation treatments and long-term management prospects, the institutional affiliation that Cummings obtained and the Shaeffers maintained through BIA became a liability. When Donner and Beatty moved on, it became painfully evident that BIA was not accustomed to, adept at, or at all interested in intercultural communication, heritage-based economic development, or historic preservation. Neither Beatty nor the Shaeffers made the critical investments necessary to establish an arts and crafts program at Kinishba on a par with those at the three other museums managed by BIA from 1939 to 1947. Had this development occurred, it is very likely that Kinishba would have been adopted by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board to become the regional, federally supported showcase for the native cultures of the Southwest—the only BIA (later IACB) interpretive facility west of Browning, Montana. Instead, when BIA fumbled the hot potato handoff to IACB and withdrew its support in 1954, no safety net was present to protect Kinishba from the elements or vandals. Despite multiple rounds of bureaucratic, archaeological, and tribal efforts to address the site's preservation and development needs, the Apache, federal, and state governmental interests

never found alignment, and by the early 1960s the site lacked not only architectural integrity, but supporters ready and willing to argue for the site's importance to our understanding of the past and progress into the future. Without committed and potent citizen advocates, pressure from elected and appointed federal officials, and strong and consistent support from within the ranks of archaeologists and preservationists, it was all too easy for NPS to turn its back on Kinishba and the tribe's nascent efforts in heritage tourism. Stewart Udall's 1964 declaration of the site as an NHL not only retired hopes for the establishment of a Kinishba-focused NPS unit on White Mountain Apache lands but was also disappointing because it did not bring Kinishba unique distinction; Casa Malpais in Springerville, the Point of Pines district on the San Carlos Apache Reservation, the Winona Site outside Flagstaff, and Awatovi and Old Oraibi on the Hopi Reservation all received NHL recognition on the same day (www.cr.nps.gov/nhl/designations/Lists/AZ01.pdf, consulted December 31, 2005).

It seems clear, at least in retrospect, that Kinishba's on-reservation status severely and unfairly limited its prospects for sustained federal sponsorship. The unwillingness of the BIA and NPS, "sister" agencies within the Interior Department, to recognize and act to exploit and preserve the site's unique values and characteristics exemplifies longstanding and ongoing inattention to federal fiduciary responsibility to tribes and tribal members. Kinishba's tribal ownership should have placed it at the head of the line for special consideration; instead, it became part of the accepted rationale for condemning the site to comparative obscurity. There is no concrete indication between Cummings' departure in 1947 and my arrival in 1992 of any special consideration being given to the site or the tribe because of Kinishba's unique cultural affiliations, history, or ownership status. To the contrary, there are indications that the tribe was, as a punishment for its reluctance to cede the sixty acres associated with the site to NPS, set up to shoulder the responsibility and the blame for a project that was initiated and developed without meaningful tribal participation or oversight. Only as the tribe has, as a last resort, accepted the federally imposed management responsibility for Kinishba have state and federal agencies demonstrated a limited and conditional willingness to assist. Only after the outstanding opportunity to establish Kinishba National Monument was irrevocably extinguished and the tribe was obliged to revive Cummings' moribund vision on a far less ambitious and potentially less rewarding scale have partners reappeared. Kinishba would not have been so easily abandoned to the

elements if it had been linked to a non-tribal community. It may also be true that the timing was off; perhaps the push for monument status would have succeeded under Stewart Udall's administration of the Interior Department, which began just months after the advisory board's final recommendation. Regardless, the case clearly and emphatically indicates that public archaeology both has come a long way and has a long way to go. The time has come for archaeologists to work within and in pursuit of agendas set by descendent communities; I hope the time has not already passed by.

Kinishba's management chronicle underscores the core roles archaeologists have played as proponents and shepherds of heritage tourism in the uplands of eastern Arizona since the 1930s.[44] Archaeology and historic preservation have been prominent, though as yet unfulfilled, promises in the region's economic and community development planning for nearly a century. Only since the mid-1990s, however, has the tribe been able to sustain the dynamic partnerships essential for small-scale heritage tourism initiatives. It is, of course, too early to declare the tribe's venture a success, and some credit for any success that is ultimately achieved must go to Cummings, the Shaeffers, Jim Sparks, and the Cooleys. Nonetheless, a comparative evaluation of the benefits of the various research, preservation, education, and economic development efforts kicked off by The Dean is useful in highlighting important changes in archaeology, particularly in the discipline's applied interface with tourism. The comparison underscores the differences and similarities in the institutional support enjoyed and the goals and methods employed by the successive efforts in applied archaeology.

In today's terms, The Dean probably over-focused his tourism-related efforts on product development. He assumed that his unique and marvelous product, Kinishba, would be embraced by all parties, especially NPS and the White Mountain Apache Tribe. The detailed bureaucratic scrutiny that came with Nusbaum's enthusiastic endorsement of Cummings' excavation permit application and sober probing of Kinishba's prospects as a national monument was utterly foreign to the visionary, institution-founding Dean. Cummings seems not to have been prepared to address profitability, long-term maintenance (or short-term, for that matter), marketing, interpretive programming, visitor management, community relations, or other park-management concerns (See Arizona Archaeology Advisory Commission 1997). The Dean might have remarked that he was there to imagine, educate, and inspire, not to tally pennies, visitor days, or votes from advisory boards or tribal councils.

Another perspective afforded by this chronicle is that Cummings ignored *authentic local capacity.* As remains true for comparable efforts in creating heritage tourism destinations, very few projects are sustainable without a combination of broadly inclusive vision, enduring community support, readily available technical assistance, and institutional involvement as either a managing entity or a safety net. Dean Cummings remains justifiably famous for cultivating numerous friendships among the Apache workers he hired at Kinishba, but in keeping with the racially based customs and institutional limitations of the period, he allowed BIA to broker much of his relationship with the tribal council. Although The Dean personally recruited scores of Anglo men and women to participate in his field schools and projects and encouraged his students to convey their knowledge and skills into new endeavors, no evidence has been found of even a single Apache who was encouraged to pursue any non-menial career path. In more general terms, despite the seasonal presence of archaeologists on WMAT lands from 1931 to 1953 and from 1963 to 1992, neither the sponsoring institutions nor the participating professionals contributed meaningfully to local capacity in cultural heritage stewardship, research, management, or tourism. Nor is there evidence of the various archaeologists' sensitivity to, much less adoption of, Apache perspectives on heritage stewardship until 1976, when Jefferson Reid, in his capacity as the acting director of the University of Arizona archaeological field school, heeded Apache advice and suspended the excavation of human burials on reservation sites, a practice which ceased, possibly forever, when Reid assumed the directorship in 1979 (Reid and Whittlesey 2005:143). This is not to suggest that the archaeologists working on Apache lands were uninterested in Apache welfare or averse to hearing cultural concerns, or that no progress was achieved (see Thompson 2005), only that the substantial cultural gaps, financial limitations, and institutionalized racism were not overcome during that crucial period. Lamentably, it seems likely that they may not be fully resolved and reconciled for many years and will probably not be meaningfully engaged at the U of A, where an ongoing commitment to astrophysical research on the Apache sacred mountain known also as Mount Graham has further compromised the institution's shaky relations with tribes in general and Apaches in particular (see Welch 1997).

Because archaeologists have only begun to empower the tribe and demonstrate how archaeology-based skills and perspectives may address economic and social issues on a sustainable and successful basis, many tribal members still perceive a clipboard as the primary difference between

academic excavators and criminal looters. As one of the many likely consequences, Kinishba lacked local Apache advocates until the mid-1990s, when tribal guides and THPO reestablished Kinishba's important role as visitor attraction and, thus, a minor element in the tribe's economic development program. Why? The bottom line on White Mountain Apache lands and many other places in Indian Country is, to paraphrase Bill Clinton, "it's the unemployment, stupid." Both individual Apaches and the tribe as a whole have few incentives to invest in stewardship initiatives that are not primarily intended to create jobs for tribal members and do not come with external financial support. Heritage stewardship initiatives lacking economic development components are unlikely to garner priority attention from White Mountain Apache leaders for the foreseeable future.

Lacking the resources to resurrect Cummings' grandiose initiative, the tribe has, nonetheless, pursued the core elements of Cummings' vision through methods and goals harmonized with both the cultural setting and financial and political limitations. The tribe has accepted stewardship of the site on terms dictated by structural and budgetary realities as well as socioeconomic mandates. In accord with guidance from both tribal elders and ruins preservation specialists, the tribe and its THPO have avoided the creation of any additional management or maintenance obligations, gently marketing the site simply as an ancient pueblo village and sacred site with a unique development history closely linked to the local Apache community. This emphasis on stewardship guided by authentic Apache, Hopi, and Zuni perspectives and on the representation of these perspectives to visitors through interpretive media seems to be resulting in decreased vandalism as well as a deepening of visitor experience. This approach stands in contrast to much of applied anthropology's relationship to tourism, which has alternately emphasized either the creation of cultural products for the tourist market or the mitigation of tourism impacts on local communities and cultures. Authenticity is a critical issue in both pursuits, but it remains to be seen if anthropology will embrace and support related needs for authenticity in local organization development and capacity building to manage tourism at places like Kinishba and Fort Apache, where indigenous scholars control the interpretive agenda.

Archaeologists take justifiable pride in giving voice to ancient sites, and Kinishba is replete with material and symbolic reflections of both the original community and seventy-five years of applied archaeology. The site continues to offer unique testimony concerning important

individual archaeologists and their discipline's aspirations to employ and share places, perspectives, and knowledge useful to society in general and to individual communities in particular. This review of Kinishba's management and preservation history is intended as part of a broader effort to understand Southwestern archaeology in terms not only of what has been found and learned, but also of what was lost and done (or not), by whom, and in response to which social, institutional, and personal forces (see, e.g., Hinsley and Wilcox 1996; Snead 2001; Cordell and Fowler 2005; Reid and Whittlesey 2005; Bostwick 2006). Such inquiry exposes the archaeological process as a profoundly human enterprise, a *social* science characterized at least as much by individual caprice and institutional injustice as it is by wisdom, honor, and the quest for knowledge. Detailed attention to research, management, and interpretive history encourages and lays essential foundations for reassessments of sites and the collections and documentation they have yielded. Although Kinishba's substandard and confusing documentation and collections have thus far repelled most such efforts, the site is too important to allow the silence to persist indefinitely.

Who will be the next to step forward to amplify the voices of Kinishba's ancients? This is not merely a rhetorical question. With the site's architecture now stabilized and its management and preservation history largely documented, new stewardship and research efforts may profitably be directed toward learning more about Kinishba's residents and applying the place and its knowledge to further serve living communities. Repatriation and reburial issues are high priorities, as are promising avenues for securing research support focused on the incompletely documented collections of Kinishba artifacts curated at the Arizona State Museum. Our recent assessment of Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) issues on White Mountain Apache Tribe lands estimated that at least 144 sets of human remains (Birkby 1973:8; Shipman 1982:78) and 68 associated and unassociated funerary objects are part of the collections and subject to repatriation (Welch and Ferguson 2005, 2007). The funerary objects include at least fifty ceramic vessels, two projectile points, two lithic artifacts, three bone artifacts, four shell artifacts, five mineral artifacts, and two textiles. More detailed and precise information should be available for these collections, but the BIA seems to have neither completed the inventories and summaries required by NAGPRA nor offered an explanation for this latest failure to the affected tribes or the NAGPRA Review Committee. Both archaeologists and tribal representatives need and deserve to know the legal and curatorial status

of the Kinishba collections and to understand the apparent discrepancy between what Cummings (1940) collected and what the Arizona State Museum holds. Another promising research direction involves the revision and publication of the report on Group I plaza and Group VI room excavations prepared by Shaeffer (1949, 1951).

Kinishba suggests the benefits that accrue through long-term individual commitments to such projects and to the partnerships that make possible and useful the advancement of knowledge and understanding. As definitions and standards for archaeological success continue to expand to include the respectful consideration of local and descendent community interests—e.g., integration of oral traditions and creation of economic opportunities—archaeology is being inexorably subsumed within the far broader domain of heritage stewardship. Kinishba provides a case study of the hazards associated with pursuing ambitious long-term research, education, and development goals without the crucial nexus of community and institutional backing. Cummings' approach anticipated the current trend toward integration of public interpretation and descendent community benefits into initial research designs, yet left open the question of long-term sponsorship. Although the tribe has stepped into this breach, it may not be able to sustain the support it has provided since the mid-1990s. The next installment of the site's management and preservation history will likely feature the ongoing and never-ending quest for an alignment of tribal, archaeological, governmental, and economic development interests—the perpetual motion machine that Byron Cummings designed and launched in an otherwise obscure valley below the Mogollon Rim. Cummings seems to have designed his machine to answer the question of whether we are willing—as archaeologists, Americans, humans—boldly and respectfully to traverse the precarious divides among cultures and centuries. The answer lies ahead. ✣

Acknowledgements

Kinishba exists not only as a monument to native civilization and Byron Cummings, but to Margaret and Jim Shaeffer, Nathan Antonio, Ira Declay, Chester Holden, Turner Thompson, and the many incompletely recognized Apaches who worked at and through Kinishba to convey useful and significant elements of the past into the future. This article is dedicated to their memories and to their successors, the staff of the White Mountain Apache Tribe Heritage Program.

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The project would have been less than worthwhile without the gracious assistance and support of the Zuni, Hopi, and Apache elders and cultural specialists who have guided most aspects of the site's post-1992 stewardship, gently warded off inappropriate proposals, and added immeasurably to the rich bundle of values associated with Kinishba: Broadus Bones, Levi Dehose, Paul Ethelbah, Raymond Kane, Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Lee Wayne Lomayestewa, Ben Nuvamsa, Ramon Riley, Eldrick Seotewa, Octavius Seotewa, Eva Watt, and others who elected to remain anonymous.

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Please direct questions or concerns relating to errors and omissions to the author (welch@sfu.ca).

Notes

1. Relevant archival materials are in the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) at the Fort Apache Agency and the Regional Office in Phoenix, and in records repositories in Washington, DC, Denver, CO, and Laguna Niguel, CA; the Special Collections and Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Tucson; the Arizona Historical Society, Tucson; the Special Collections and Archives of the Cline Library, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff; the White Mountain Apache Tribe Historic Preservation Office, Fort Apache; and the National Park Service, Santa Fe. Correspondence and brief unpublished materials are referenced in the text or these notes. See also Kinishba Bibliography (this issue). Copies of all of the historical correspondence and most of the other references are on file at the tribe's Historic Preservation Office. Gaps in the archival record may be attributable to three fires: Byron Cummings' garage in March 1949, the White Mountain Apache Tribe's Cultural Center in January 1985, and the White Mountain Apache Tribe's administration building in December 1992.

2. In the summer of 1989, Jefferson Reid assigned Glenn Cromwell, Nathan Tessay, Leon Lorentzen, and me—all members of the U of A Grasshopper field school staff—to repair and upgrade Kinishba's perimeter fence. In the fall of 1992 I originated the position of archaeologist with the Fort Apache Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1996, with BIA endorsement, the White Mountain Apache Tribe appointed me to serve as their historic preservation officer (THPO). I held the BIA and THPO positions, which included responsibility for Kinishba's stewardship, until 2005.

3. Several Apache and Hopi consultants confirmed that at least one Hopi cultural practitioner, Titus Lamson from Hotevilla, visited the site repeatedly to offer prayer sticks and otherwise maintain the shrine. Hartman Lomawaima, one of Cummings' successors as director of the Arizona State Museum, recalled visiting the site in 1965 and feeling at the time that if he "sat down to wait the farmers would come back from their cornfields" (Lomawaima 2005).

4. The U.S. Office of Indian Affairs was reorganized as the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1947 (Prucha 1984), and the more familiar "BIA" is used herein to refer to this U.S. Interior Department agency.

5. As is true for other Cummings projects, it will probably never be possible to determine precisely what was excavated where and when. Site maps prior to 1936 indicate that individual rooms, especially those in the southwest corner of Group I, were given multiple room numbers. The Kinishba Museum catalog cards indicate that individual accession numbers were assigned to multiple objects. Bostwick (2006) and Wilcox (2005) provide more complete discussions of the difficulties involved in the use of Cummings' documentation. Regarding Cummings' additions, in deference to the Secretary of Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Historic Preservation (see www.cr.nps.gov/hps/tps/standards),

I avoid use of *restoration* and *reconstruction* in reference to Cummings' post-excavation rebuilding. Cummings' Kinishba generally adheres to the ancient pueblo's footprint and incorporates excavated architectural elements, but the work also includes departures and improvisations in workmanship, structural features such as exterior first-story doorways, and controversial second and third stories (see Reid and Whittlesey 1989; Trott 1997).

6. The list of participants builds on Bostwick's (2003: appendix XI) and is derived from miscellaneous archival sources, including pay and excavation records. Many names were inconsistently or incorrectly recorded in the original documents. The highly variable tenures of the workers (from a single day to multiple seasons) presumably reflect the low wages and other vagaries of day labor. Possibly in response to administrative requirements linked to funding sources or to protocols for excavation note-keeping, Cummings and other recorders seem to have more completely documented the names of Apache excavators (especially in 1938 and 1939), while giving less attention to Apache participants in rebuilding (1934–1937) and museum construction (1939–1941). The archives have yet to yield comparable lists of those who assisted with Kinishba projects after 1941.

7. Provinse taught social anthropology at the U of A while completing his dissertation at the University of Chicago and before going on to a diverse federal career that included positions with the Soil Conservation Service, War Relocation Authority, BIA, State Department, and American University in Cairo (Spicer 1966). Officer (1996) attributes to the Kinishba-based interactions between Provinse and Ned Spicer the latter's diversion from archaeology to the University of Chicago and his exceptional career in social and applied anthropology.

8. Jesse L. Nusbaum was a protégé of A. V. Kidder and a member of E. L. Hewitt's founding staff at the School for American Research. On the basis of his innovative superintendency of Mesa Verde National Park and effective preservation advocacy, NPS called upon him in 1927 to inaugurate the position of departmental consulting archaeologist, a national-level NPS position he based out of the Santa Fe office for three decades (see Smith 2002; www.nps.gov/hfc/products/library/nusbaum.htm, consulted November 23, 2005). The Secretary of the Interior's July 9, 1927, order (No. 229) that established the departmental consulting archeologist position and described Nusbaum's duties in this capacity are related in the 1928 Annual Report of the Secretary: "advisory service to all branches of the department, as well as scientific and educational institutions contemplating archeological investigations upon the public domain under the jurisdiction of the department. This official is also engaged in developing methods for the better protection of the many archeological sites located mainly throughout the Southwest, the prevention of unlawful excavation on these sites, the orderly conduct of work authorized by department permits, and proper publication of the scientific information derived therefrom" (McManamon and Browning 1999). Nusbaum's career included the stabilization of Balcony House at Mesa Verde, the eighteenth-century church at Pecos Pueblo, and other ruins to facilitate public visitation and interpretation.

9. Donner is remembered as a benevolent despot who controlled White Mountain Apache lands and people from about 1927 to 1947, an unusually long tenure for a BIA superintendent (A. A. Guenther, personal communication,

March 14, 2005). Cummings' (1952:v) tribute to Donner indicates gratitude and esteem: "Dedicated to William Donner, efficient superintendent in Indian service and devoted friend of the Indians for more than 40 years."

10. Chester Holden was appointed as the off-season caretaker of the site in 1935 (Cosulich 1935) and is credited by Jim Shaeffer (1949) as having done "the other half of the shoveling" in the 1947–48 excavation of five associated subterranean rooms in the Group I plaza.

11. Cosulich's (1935) newspaper column on the 1935 season emphasizes Cummings' discovery of a subterranean kiva and the connection it made between Kinishba and the ancient Pueblo communities of the Four Corners region. Cosulich also states, "Many children's burials were found in the newly opened rooms, one of which had 12 small children buried below the floor level. All these were reinterred, as are all bodies when a ruin is being uncovered."

12. Most government and private preservation organizations discourage excavation-related disturbance of intact archaeological deposits for educational purposes. In general, field schools in the United States now train students in excavation techniques at sites that either have already been disturbed or are threatened with imminent destruction due to development plans or environmental processes.

13. Space limitations preclude even a summary of the many contributions of this distinguished cadre, but beginning in 1935 Irene Vickery served as a principal proponent in excavating and rebuilding Besh Ba Gowah pueblo, located fewer than one hundred miles southwest of Kinishba in Globe (see Hohmann 1990).

14. Erik K. Reed was a student in the New Mexico Laboratory of Anthropology Field School in 1933, worked with Emil Haury at Mogollon Village and Snaketown, and went on to a distinguished career as a NPS scholar-bureaucrat (Fowler 2000:371).

15. Cummings had supported Haury's candidacy as his successor as head of the Department of Archaeology in 1937. But Cummings took offense in his forced retirement as the museum director in 1938 and apparently resented his protégé's independent ascension (see Haury 2004:142–43). His May 20, 1939, response to Haury's request that Cummings return State Museum equipment for use in Haury's Forestdale Valley field school snapped, "Don't try to control everything in the state just yet." Haury struggled to maintain a cooperative relationship with his mentor and signed guest books at the Kinishba Museum and Cummings' residence several times, including on July 4, 1941, when he visited the site with seventeen members of his Forestdale field crew (Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, MS 200, f. 125).

16. BIA Personnel Office letter to Cummings, January 3, 1940, officially terminated his federal employment as "Foreman at $1,680 per annum, Gr. 7, Civilian Conservation Corps, assigned to Fort Apache Agency . . . effective at the close of October 18, 1939."

17. Additional loans of items excavated from the site and curated at the Arizona State Museum took place in subsequent years, including one of a lip plug and a copper bell "for display in the Kinishba Museum as an indefinite loan" (see March 31, 1949, letter from E. W. Haury to Margaret Shaeffer). The White

Mountain Apache Tribe maintains that all materials removed from Kinishba are tribal property. An Interior Department solicitor opinion (Horn 1988) suggests that collections made from tribal trust lands under the authority of the Antiquities Act are the property of the United States. The opinion seems not to have fully considered either the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which prohibits government taking of property without just compensation, or the facts specific to the aboriginal ownership claims of the White Mountain Apache Tribe.

18. Cummings and Cummings (n.d.: 204–6) note that The Dean and Spencer L. Rogers, a friend on the anthropology faculty at San Diego State College, traveled to the Hopi mesas in response to a March 1942 invitation from Chief Tawaquaptewa.

19. Metzger and others (2001) chronicle the complex history of research and preservation projects and their ongoing management implications for the masonry ruins at Wupatki National Monument, where Depression-era federal funding also played a significant role.

20. According to Reid and Whittlesey (1989:35–36) and a December 19, 1989, letter from BIA Archaeologist C. Randall Morrison to Reid, American Bitumols, a Standard Oil subsidiary, made and sold the emulsified asphalt sediment stabilizer known as Bitudobe from about 1937 until 1941. At approximately the same time that Cummings was employing the product in roofs and mortar at Kinishba, NPS crews at Chaco Canyon, led by Gordon Vivian, were experimenting with this mortar amendment in the stabilization of Pueblo Bonito. Morrison believes Cummings "was using state-of-the-art experimental technology, but lacked the resources for experimentation." Although none of the Bitudobe roofs have survived, many of the walls that Cummings rebuilt with Bitudobe-amended mud mortar remain in good condition as of 2006. These walls appear to be the most successful treatments that Cummings applied.

21. Beatty was appointed by the BIA's most important reformer, John Collier (commissioner of Indian affairs, 1933–1945) (Philip 1977). Beatty succeeded Carson Ryan, serving until he, along with most or all of the former New Dealers, was obliged to resign in late 1950 or early 1951. Beatty earned and held his position through effective advocacy for education designed to address "rural problems on the reservations." (Philip 1977:128) and was an important force in the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and other progressive organizations. The Kinishba guest book, on file at the Arizona Historical Society in Tucson (Ms 200, f. 125), includes an August 8, 1943, entry from "Mr. and Mrs. Willard W. Beatty," but no other indication of Beatty's personal links to the site has been discovered.

22. Jim Shaeffer received a PhD in anthropology from Columbia University in 1954. By 1956, he had assumed the directorship of the Southern Plains Indian Museum and a year later he was employed in the Oklahoma Archaeological Salvage Project in Norman. Kinishba's first and most complete guide pamphlet (Shaeffer 1956) seems to have been the Shaeffers' final effort to assist the site, but probably was never widely distributed. In 2003, apparently assuming Kinishba was under NPS management, the Shaeffers sent a box containing notes relating to Jim's excavations to NPS. These materials are now at the Arizona State Museum Archives in Tucson. Schroeder's notes from his November 16, 1955, field visit

to Kinishba report, in part, "Fire pits and bins in rooms in fairly good shape. . . . Some digging in mound on W. side, but old. Probably Schaffer's [*sic*]." A May 2005 effort to establish communications with the Shaeffers to discuss their time at Kinishba led to a retirement home in upstate New York. The manager informed me that the Shaeffers passed away in 2004, within a few weeks of one another, and that they would have been pleased to know that work continued toward Kinishba's respectful visitation. A follow-up effort to locate their children was also unsuccessful: according to Eleanor Fisher, his former spouse, Murry passed away the year after his parents, and Peter and Sarah are not in contact. Ms. Fisher was kind enough to relay some of Murry's fond memories of playing at Kinishba and of living in the log cabin at Fort Apache prior to the family's relocations to Tucson and Oklahoma.

23. National monuments are managed directly by NPS (and, since the Clinton presidency, also by the Bureau of Land Management) with funding through Department of the Interior appropriations. National historic landmarks, in contrast, may be owned and managed by federal, state, or local governments, as well as by Indian tribes and private landowners. Although eligible to compete for a variety of grants, NHLs receive no systematic financial support.

24. The advisory board was created pursuant to the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (16 U.S.C. sec. 461–67); it merged at that time with the National Park System Advisory Board and was charged with providing recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior on various matters, including nationally important historic properties. The organization remains a potent source of guidance for the Interior Secretary and NPS, and for at least the last decade has included a National Landmarks Committee charged with the review of NHL nominations brought by the secretary or the public. Each entity meets biannually.

25. Haury succeeded Danson on the advisory board, serving one of his two terms as the board's chair (http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/tolson/histlist5.htm, consulted May 24, 2006).

26. Wirth began his NPS career in 1931, gaining recognition for his management of Civilian Conservation Service projects. He served as NPS director (1951–1964) under the Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy administrations. His tenure as NPS director is closely associated with Mission 66, a ten-year plan passed and funded by Congress to modernize NPS facilities and boost publicity in conjunction with NPS's upcoming golden anniversary (1916–1966) (www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/sontag/wirth.htm, consulted December 30, 2005). Cook (1961) reported, "Park Service Director Conrad L. Wirth is personally interested in Kinishba."

27. Goldwater was in the middle of the first of his five terms as an Arizona Senator (1953–65, 1969–87). He had come under Cummings' broad influence while attending the U of A and had visited Kinishba. His August 18, 1958, letter, a response to site preservation pleas from a Tucson constituent, Howard L. Inscho, states, "Kinishba has a place very close to my heart. . . . I knew Dr. Cummings for many, many years . . . having numerous contacts with him by mail after leaving school" (NPS files, Santa Fe).

28. See note 26 for information on the Mission 66 NPS budget plan and development program.

29. Kahler and many other archaeologists of the period assumed the disagreement between Haury and Brew over the Mogollon concept extended to other domains. According to Raymond Thompson (personal communication, May 15, 2006), "they were fast friends and collaborated on many issues. They were on the same side more often than not. It was in the days before armed ideological encampments in anthropology. Having personal friends you disagreed with professionally was considered an advantage." A report prepared by Ronald Corbyn (1988) concludes, on the basis of personal communications with his retired NPS colleagues Albert Schroeder and Roland Richert, that "it was the collapsing restoration with Portland cement roof that caused Dr. John Corbett, Department Consulting Archaeologist, to change his mind about making this a monument."

30. Al Hawley is remembered by Rev. Arthur Guenther as an effective if not always fully conscientious superintendent (personal communication, January 31, 2006) and by Stewart Udall as a man who understood how to use his powerful office for the tribe's benefit (personal communication, February 10, 2006). In commemoration of his contributions to the tribe's outdoor recreation programs, the tribe renamed Smith Park Lake as Hawley Lake.

31. Following national monument designation for Wupatki, NPS personnel dismantled distinctive and apparently inauthentic elements of the reconstruction installed by Museum of Northern Arizona Director Harold S. Colton, thus angering his friends and admirers (Metzger et al. 2001).

32. The Point of Pines district, located only about thirty-five miles south of Kinishba on the San Carlos Indian Reservation, was under intensive investigation by the U of A field school from 1946 until 1960 (Haury 1989).

33. Cole also states, "Fort Apache is of more direct historical significance for the White Mountain Apache tribesmen. . . . Ernst and Udall see the possibility of having the Bureau of Indian Affairs turn their fort over to the Apaches. The tribesmen then could restore it and operate it as a tourist attraction. . . . Old Fort Apache has figured in many a TV thriller in recent years, and for a young American, to be guided through the real-life fort by a genuine Apache brave would be an indescribable thrill."

34. Grandson of the legendary army officer, scout, and miner Corydon Eliphalet Cooley—as well as a decorated Word War II veteran of the Pacific theater in his own right—Dick Cooley earned a reputation as a master cattleman, marksman, conversationalist, and self-taught intellectual (Keith Basso, personal communication, May 2003; Anthony Cooley, personal communication, May 15–16, 2006). For two summers in the early 1970s Anthony Cooley was a member of the Apache crew at the U of A summer archaeological field school at Grasshopper (see Reid and Whittlesey 2005:98f).

35. Liz (Cooley) Wise and Jon Cooley, personal communication, March 2003.

36. For example, a November 24, 1964, letter from a conscientious citizen, Robert L. Krulwich, to Secretary Udall deplored the vandalism and theft at Kinishba, recommending preservation and protection efforts. NPS archaeologists assigned to monitor NHLs also made periodic visits to the site to assess management and preservation, a practice that continues.

37. Stewart Udall described Officer as "my man in Indian Affairs . . . a sterling character" (personal communication, February 10, 2006). Officer was linked to Kinishba via his mentor, Ned Spicer (see note 7), and went on from service in the Interior Department to a U of A faculty position in anthropology, where he was the cultural anthropology chair for my doctoral candidacy examination.

38. Published and archival sources relating to the Cultural Center and its links to Kinishba prior to the 1990s are scarce, but I recall a summer 1984 field trip to the site by the University of Arizona archaeological field school. Among the memorable scenes were Apache women busy with beadwork and exhibits featuring impressive arrays of period costumes and uniforms. Sadly, most of the Cultural Center's collections and some of its broad engagement with the region's Apache and non-Apache communities were lost in the catastrophic fire of January 1985.

39. During the latter 1970s and the 1980s, Raymond E. Palmer, a BIA Branch of Forestry staff member, and Bruce R. Donaldson, the archaeologist for the nearby Apache-Sitgreaves National Forests, worked to safeguard the Fort Apache Indian Reservation's archaeological heritage, serving as protectors of Kinishba and other sites and as liaisons to the wider archaeological community.

40. Chartered by the White Mountain Apache Tribe and approved by the National Park Service pursuant to Section 101(d) of the National Historic Preservation Act, the office was among the first sixteen THPOs established to assume the functions of the respective state HPOs on tribal lands (Welch 2000; www.nathpo.org/aboutthpos.htm, consulted December 30, 2005).

41. The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act is providing a complex but useful means for engaging tribes interested in and affected by the stewardship of Kinishba and other Pueblo ruins on White Mountain Apache Tribe lands.

42. Since 1998 the Vanishing Treasures initiative has provided NPS with the means for training a new generation of ruins preservation specialists and focusing their expertise on problems inherent in ancient architecture exposed to the elements and visitation. NPS specialists leading the Kinishba workshops have included Mickey Estrada, Todd Metzger, and Jim Trott. Local participants in the workshops include Mark Altaha, Mark Antonio, Jimmy Emerson, Mike Fish, Doreen Gatewood, Gregg Henry, and Nicholas Laluk.

43. On the basis of a note in the reprint file at the Arizona State Museum library and letters in the Kinishba file at the U of A Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, it seems that Jim was on good terms with William Wasley and visited Point of Pines in the summer of 1948 to review Terah Smiley's (1952) kiva excavations. Haury's unenthusiastic 1986 review of Shaeffer's (1949) report on his excavations of kivas below the surface of the Group I plaza indicated that Shaeffer's theoretical approach was out of date. Haury seems to have thought that the Shaeffers, as Cummings' students, were not well integrated into Arizona's archaeological collegium (Raymond H. Thompson, personal communication, November 2005).

44. Archaeologists working on a fee-for-service basis have developed and promoted other regional sites, especially Besh Ba Gowah in Globe, and Casa Malpais in Springerville.

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