

THE LOCAL INTEREST IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
MESA VERDE NATIONAL PARK

by

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PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis is to present in a historical manner the background of the development of Mesa Verde National Park with the attitudes, contributions and influences of the people who discovered, explored, and motivated interest, leading ultimately to the preservation of its pre-historic ruins. It was largely accomplished in a three-fold manner:

1. The discoveries of W. H. Jackson, Dr. W. H. Holmes, the Wetherill brothers, Charles Mason and Mrs. Gilbert McClurg.

2. Explorations of the Wetherill brothers, Baron Gustave Nordenskjold, and the Cliff Dwellings Association.

3. Agitation of the Cliff Dwellings Association (organized by the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs) through the media of lectures, stereoptican slides, newspaper and periodical articles, petitions and letters and interviews with legislators, and lastly the provision for free excursions to anthropologists and Congressmen.

The writer has had a particular interest in this national park because he taught in the public schools of Ignacio, Colorado. Ignacio was named after a chief of note, who signed one of the leases which the Cliff Dwellings Association obtained from the Weeminuche Utes. Chief "Buckskin Charlie's" picture is in most of Ignacio's stores and appears on the checks of the local bank.

The principal sources of information regarding the park development were found in congressional records, law statutes, books of history, newspapers, periodicals, letters, personal interviews, and Association minutes and manuscripts.

The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. James C. Carey, of the department of History, Government, and Philosophy, for his constructive criticism and his suggestions which made this thesis possible. His guidance has been most valuable in the organization of this material. The writer also wishes to express his gratitude to Don Watson, Park Naturalist, for his making available information regarding the park at Mesa Verde. Gratitude is also expressed to the writer's wife, Joyce, for her helpfulness, interest, and encouragement in these months of preparation of this thesis.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE I

A frowning brow of rock shelters Cliff Palace, largest Mesa Verde Village. Centuries have caused surprisingly little decay in these marvels of masonry.

PLATE I



CHAPTER I

LOCATION, DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF MESA VERDE RUINS

Mesa Verde National Park is located in southwestern Colorado, in Montezuma County. It contains 51,018 acres in an area of seventy-seven square miles with the highest elevation of 8,574 feet and the average elevation of the mesa being from 500-1000 feet less than that.¹ Its cliff dwellings nestle under overhanging cliffs near the top of the mesa.

Mesa Verde, or green mesa (because it is covered with stunted cedar and pinyon trees in a land where trees are few) is the "most notable and best preserved prehistoric cliff dwelling and other structures in the United States."² The age of these cliff dwellings was placed by Dr. Andrew E. Douglass as not earlier than 1073 A. D. and not later than 1202. Douglass arrived at this conclusion by means of tree-ring chronology affected by a twenty-three year drouth period. Dr. Douglass, Director of Steward Observatory, University of Arizona, was an astronomer who by studying sun spots in relation to codifying tree and timber sections could tell the age of trees and when the logs were cut. He found that: "Cliff Palace" was inhabited in 1073 A. D., "Oak Tree House" 1112 A. D., "Spring House" 1115 A. D., "Balcony House" 1190-1206 A. D., "Square Tower

¹ Victor E. Shelford and others, eds., Naturalist's Guide to the Americas, p. 527.

² A Survey of the Recreational Resources of the Colorado River Basin, Bulletin 1946, U. S. Department of the Interior, p. 217.

House" 1204 A. D., "Spruce Tree House" 1216 and 1262 A. D..³

Even though Mesa Verde contained some old and highly developed dwellings of centuries ago, it was a long time before white men discovered them. It was the discovery of the cliff dwellings and the interest that resulted from it that enabled Mesa Verde to become a National Park by act of Congress when signed by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1906.⁴

Why the ruins of Mesa Verde were not discovered earlier is hard to explain, as it was not due entirely to isolation. The Mesa lay near the route of the old Spanish Trail from New Mexico to Utah and California. Many travelers passed along this trail, but not one of them records or suggests any knowledge of the existence of the unusual structures hidden in the canyons of the Mesa. It appears that the Utes had guarded their knowledge of them jealously.⁵ Also, from either above or below, it was not easy to see the dwellings located near the top of the cliffs.

There were several near discoveries of the cliff dwellings. In 1540, Coronado came within 150 miles of Mesa Verde. August 10, 1776, 37 days after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, a Spanish priest named Escalante camped at the base of the La Plata Mountains.⁶ In 1859, Captain J. N. Maccomb saw Mesa Verde on

³ Andrew Ellicott Douglass Sc. D., "The Secret of the Southwest Solved by Talkative Tree Rings," The National Geographic Magazine, December 1929, 56:747, Dr. Douglass has dated most of the other ruins of Southwestern United States, and his dates are generally accepted.

⁴ Don Watson, Indians of the Mesa Verde, p. 9.

⁵ Loc. cit.

⁶ Edmund B. Rogers, "Notes on the Establishment of Mesa Verde," The Colorado Magazine, January 1952, 29:12.

his way to explore the state of Utah and even through Captain Macomb climbed to the top of the Mesa, he made no mention of seeing any cliff houses.⁷ Miners, farmers, trappers, cattlemen and outlaws entered the Mancos Valley in 1870.

The land, which includes Mesa Verde, was acquired by cession from Mexico by the United States under the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty of 1848. From 1850 until the territory of Colorado was organized in 1861, it lay within the boundaries of the Territory of Utah.

Practically all of what is now the state of Colorado west of the continental divide (that area west of 107 degrees west longitude and extending from the southern boundary of the state north to a line 15 miles north of the 40th parallel) was recognized as Ute Indian lands by the treaty of 1868.⁸

In 1874 W. H. Jackson, a photographer of the Hayden Survey⁹ of 1874, was in the San Juan basin area, and a friend, Tom Cooper, whom Jackson had known in Omaha, Nebraska, invited him to take a side trip to see and take pictures of some "real sights." Jackson was introduced to a guide, Captain John Moss, who guided his party of six to where they saw the first cliff house.¹⁰ John Moss, a husky miner, had heard the Ute Indians tell about ruins of the Mesa Verde and agreed to show them to him. Jackson set out with disbelief. As the trail led into Mancos Canyon, it was growing dark;

⁷ Loc. cit.

⁸ Ibid. p. 10

⁹ From 1867 to 1870 Hayden field parties, from the Government appropriations, conducted geological and natural-history surveys, mainly in Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming and Utah.

¹⁰ W. H. Jackson, letter to Colorado State Historical Museum, Denver, March 14, 1922.

they began to build a camp fire when they looked up toward the cliffs and saw some ruins. Eagerly Jackson and his companions ran up to the ruins of a two-story cliff house. They entered the ruins but because of darkness they had to return to camp. They returned and took pictures of the cliff house the following day.¹¹ Jackson explored only the Mancos Canyon area and thereby missed the larger, more spectacular structures, even though they were close to Cliff Palace, and other ruins that were not discovered until later.¹²

Dr. W. H. Holmes of the Hayden Surveys in 1875 and 1876 penetrated deeper into the area, discovering a much larger, more imposing cliff dwelling, Sixteen-Window House, located a mile from Two-Story Cliff House.¹³ This expedition greatly extended the information dealing with the area, though he also did not reach the major structures.¹⁴

In 1881 B. K. Wetherill moved to the Mancos Valley and settled on a ranch a few miles north of Mesa Verde. He had five sons in his family; Richard, John, Alfred, Clayton and William. In addition to these, his son-in-law, Charles Mason, also played an important part in the discovery and exploration of the ruins of Mesa Verde.

The Wetherills were noted for their friendliness toward the Ute Indians who occupied Mesa Verde and surrounding areas. During the early eighties the Utes allowed the Wetherills to pasture their

¹¹ Don Watson, Indians of the Mesa Verde, p. 10.

¹² Ibid., p. 11.

¹³ Don Watson, Cliff Dwellings of the Mesa Verde, p. 10.

¹⁴ Edmund B. Rogers, Notes on the Establishment of Mesa Verde National Park, p. 11.

cattle in Mancos Canyon, which bordered Mesa Verde on the east and south. The Wetherill boys thought they had seen small cliff dwellings and grew interested when a friendly Ute Indian named Acowitz told them that in one of the canyons to the north lay a larger cliff dwelling than all the rest.¹⁵

Mrs. Gilbert McClurg (then Miss Virginia Donaghe) made a trip to Mesa Verde in 1882 as a correspondent of the New York Daily Graphic to write of Colorado's wonderful buried cities and lost homes. There was at that time an Indian outbreak in Southern Colorado. Cowboys, without provocation, shot several Indians who had ventured off their reservation to hunt, though with the Agent's permission. The Indians took reprisal by killing an innocent settler, seizing his cattle, burning his home and driving his wife and children into the sagebrush. Southern Colorado was in a ferment. Troops hurried to the scene and citizens armed themselves to protect their dwellings on the border.

With nearly one thousand Utes on the verge of an uprising, the situation was threatening. In this disturbed state of the country, Miss Virginia Donaghe's (later Mrs. Gilbert McClurg) trip was taken under escort of the United States troops, and was full of romantic interest, and not without a little danger.¹⁶ She was travel-worn, dusty and torn when she arrived at Durango. Because of uprisings of the Indians, she could not get anyone to take her any closer to

¹⁵ Don Watson, Cliff Dwellings of the Mesa Verde, p. 10.

¹⁶ Mrs. Gilbert McClurg, "The Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association." Undated and unpublished typewritten paper for the Colorado State Historical Society.

the ruins. She bargained with a freighter, carrying supplies for the soldiers, to take her to Mancos, an eighteen hour trip from Durango. Her seat was a vinegar barrel. At Mancos, she became acquainted with the Wetherills. She then attempted to get New York's United States Congressional delegation interested in preserving Mesa Verde's ruins but at that time, United States Senator John J. Ingalls from Kansas (1872-1890) was telling Congress that no money was to be wasted on so-called ethnological expeditions by the government.

Sandal House on the Mancos River, the watchtower in Navajo Canyon and some minor ruins, were explored during Mrs. Gilbert McClurg's first trip. The Denver Times observed:

From that date forward, Mrs. McClurg's interest in Mesa Verde never flagged, and that Colorado is today in proud possession of this important National Park is due in largest measure to her patient, continuous and self-denying work, covering a quarter of a century.¹⁷

In the summer of 1886, Mrs. McClurg fitted out her own expedition, consisting, besides herself, of a guide, a photographer, a chaperon-housekeeper, and several pack animals and saddle horses. This was, so far as is known, the first expedition,¹⁸ aside from that of the original government explorers, fitted to investigate the Colorado cliff dwellings. This party was driven from the Mancos River by Indians and camped for three weeks in Cliff Canyon.

¹⁷ Loc. cit.

¹⁸ Mrs. Gilbert McClurg, "An Escort of U. S. Troopers through the Mesa Verde Country," Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, December 6, 1925.

During this stay there the McClurg expedition found ruins which they named "The Three Tiered House," "Echo Cliff House," and the "Balcony House," the latter which at that time they called the "Brownstone Front" with a thought of old New York in recognition of the beautiful, smooth, rosy stucco which covered the outer walls. Balcony House was the most notable discovery of the party, found and explored on October 4, 1886. Here the only cliff dweller's loom was found inside in a subterranean room.

The Cliff Dwelling Association¹⁹ later had Balcony House repaired at an expenditure of \$1000 under the direction of Doctor Edgar Allen Hewett of the Archeological Institute of America.²⁰

About the year 1885, the Wetherill brothers began to winter their cattle in the Mancos Canyon and its numerous branches. The Mancos River cuts through Mesa Verde from northeast to southwest. On the southeast side three large branches enter the main canyon, known as Fort Lewis, Johnson and Grass Canyons. Those coming in from the northwest were Moccasin, Cliff, Navajo and Ute canyons. Nearly all of the cliff houses, those ruined dwellings of an extinct race that have made Mesa Verde famous, were in three of these side canyons, Johnson, Cliff and Navajo.

One of the favorite camping places of the brothers was in Johnson Canyon, a short distance from the river. Previous to this time, only a few of the smaller buildings had been seen by white

¹⁹ See p. 44

²⁰ Mrs. Gilbert McClurg, "An Escort of U. S. Troopers Through the Mesa Verde Country," Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, December 6, 1925.

men. The Indians occupying this part of the Ute Reservation were not friendly and made it unpleasant for all who came into their country, so no one thought it worth while to explore the side canyons.²¹

Richard and Al Wetherill and a few other cowboys were in this camp a greater part of several winters (1885-1888), Al spending more time there than anyone else.

It was soon learned that up the canyon were several cliff houses much larger than any yet discovered, and Al was first to explore them.

Through conversation with Al and Richard, Mason became interested in their explorations, so as soon as he was able to do so, he spent a few days in their camp. This was during the winter of 1887-1888. Al went with Mason to visit the larger houses, and by scratching around in the rubbish they found several pieces of pottery and other articles used before Columbus had come to America. Mason also climbed around the cliffs alone and reached several small houses that had not been entered by white men.

After their return to the home ranch with the artifacts they had found, B. K. Wetherill, father of the brothers, sent them to Mrs. Chain, wife of Mr. Chain of Chain-Hardy and Company, stationers and book sellers of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Chain had taken a short trip down the canyon and visited some of the cliff

²¹ C. C. Mason, with the aid of the Wetherill Brothers, "The Story of the Discovery and Early Exploration of the Cliff Houses at the Mesa Verde," June 22, 1910. Unpublished written paper to the Colorado State Historical Society.

dwellings and she was much interested in them.

In December of 1888, Richard Wetherill and Charles Mason started out to explore further. They followed the Indian trail down Chapin Mesa, between Cliff and Navajo canyons, and camped at the head of a small branch of the Cliff Palace fork of Cliff Canyon. There was a spring of good water in that canyon just under the rim rock. On the smooth rock near their camp they found a series of concentric circles cut, which they supposed were meant to represent the sun, and they called it the Sun Rock, and the spring the Sun Rock Spring. They rode out to the point of the Mesa in the angle between the Cliff Palace Canyon and the small fork on which was their camp, and there discovered ruins that Professor J. Walter Fewkes were to excavate in 1916.²² They called these ruins Sun Temple. From the rim of the Canyon they had their first view of Cliff Palace, just across the canyon from them. To Mason this seemed to be the grandest view of all among the ancient ruins of the Southwest. They rode around the head of the canyon and found a way down over the cliffs to the level of the building, where they spent a few hours going from room to room. They picked up various articles of interest, among them a stone axe with the handle still on it. There were numerous skeletons scattered about. A year or more before this, Al had seen Cliff Palace, but did not enter it; he was on his way to camp after a long tramp on foot and

²² Loc. cit., Dr. J. Walter Fewkes of Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology excavated and repaired Spruce Tree house at the direction of the secretary of the interior and wrote about it in detail through the Smithsonian Institute, United States Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 41 Washington, D. C. in 1909.

was very tired. He was, at that time, following the bottom of the canyon and got only a partial view of it and so did not climb up. It therefore remained for Richard Wetherill and Charles Mason to be the first to explore the construction.

On this trip they also discovered the Spruce Tree House,²³ and what they called the Square Tower House from its square structure; this was the tallest building they found standing. It was called Peabody House for a number of years in honor of Mrs. W. S. Peabody, who was instrumental in having Mesa Verde made a National Park. They also discovered several other small houses at this time.

On their way home they came across the camp of some old friends, Charles McLoyd, Howard Graham, and L. C. Patrick. They too were much interested in what Richard Wetherill and Charles Mason had discovered and decided to go back to the big house and try to make a collection of relics. John Wetherill went with them. As it was a long way around to get there with horses, they took what camping supplies they could carry and made their way up the canyon as best they could on foot. They took provisions for only three or four days, but before the food was gone, they had found as many artifacts as they could carry out. Many of the rooms had only a few inches of rubbish in them, and it appeared to them as though the inhabitants had left everything they possessed right where they had last used it.

²³ Mason, loc. cit.

McLoyd and his party camped with Mason and the Wetherills for some time. Mason, the Wetherill brothers, and their friends did some exploring in Johnson Canyon and also examined Spruce Tree and Peabody House (Square Tower House), but they did not find much. They had not yet learned that much hard work was needed to get results.

Early in the spring (1889), the collection was taken to Durango and exhibited there. They had not expected that people would be as much interested in the collection as they were. Of course they soon learned their mistake. For people soon came from far and wide to gather artifacts. One local banker hired a number of men to go and gather artifacts for him.

Clayton Wetherill and Charles Mason, having two or three weeks at their disposal, went back to the canyon and made "good finds." Among them was the first mummy ever to be found in the Cliff Houses. The mummy was that of a child a few months old. The mummies were not embalmed, but simply dried from the corpse having been buried in ground so dry that complete decomposition did not take place. This was added to the other collection and later taken to Denver. McLoyd, who was in charge, sold it to the State Historical Society.

In December of 1889 they started out to make another collection.²⁴ Five of them left the Wetherill Ranch, consisting of Richard, Al, John and Clayton Wetherill with Charles Mason. William Wetherill, the youngest of the brothers, was still in school and did not take part in the work until later. This time they went

²⁴ Mason, loc. cit.

about it in a more methodical manner, as their previous work had been carried out to satisfy their own curiosity more than for any other purpose. This time it was a business venture. In no work that Mason ever did were his expectations so stimulated; something new and strange was uncovered every little while.

Their work began in the first cliff house in Mancos Canyon; this house had only ten or twelve rooms in it but contained several valuable things. A considerable portion of the cave was not occupied by buildings, and as is usual in such cases, this space was used as a dumping ground; all kinds of rubbish was thrown there--ashes, corncobs, husks, squash necks and rinds, worn-out sandals and sweepings from the house along with broken pottery and implements of bone and stone.

These rubbish heaps were found in the caves of all the cliff houses, and were used also as hiding places for various articles, apparently put there for safe keeping. This one proved to be a rich one, and in a few days they were able to send a pack-horse loaded with findings back to the ranch. Because they found an unusual number of sandals, they called this dwelling Sandal House. The sandals were made of Yucca leaves torn into narrow strips and plaited into a mat the size and shape of the foot. They were held in place on the foot by a string. In cold weather corn husks and cedar bark were placed under the strings to keep the feet warm.

When their work in Sandal House was completed, they moved farther down the canyon and later up on the mesa north of Johnson Canyon near the head of a branch which they named Acowitz Canyon, after the Ute Indian who lived in Mancos Canyon.

Just under the rimrock at the head of this side canyon is a building to which they gave the name of Fortified House. Some walls along the ledge on which the house was built were undoubtedly put there for defensive purposes. This house did not yield much until later, when John found by measurement that there was a space near the center of the building for a small room to which no entrance could be found, so he made one through the top. The room was small--not over five or six feet square but in it were five skeletons, about a dozen pieces of pottery, several baskets, the finest they had ever seen and a bow and a dozen arrows, all nearly perfect except that the bow was broken.²⁵ The bow was the heaviest one they had ever found and it was well wrapped with sinews. Part of the string remained; it was made of twisted sinews that were larger than a slate pencil. He who could draw one of these arrows to the head with such a bow must have been a powerful man.

One of the skeletons was that of a large man who had been clothed in a suit of buckskin, including a cap which was nearly perfect. The rest of the clothing had been badly damaged by rats. It was probably that this large bow had belonged to him who had been a great warrior chief.

In the left-hand fork of Johnson Canyon were several houses; the largest had about forty rooms.²⁶ In a kiva in one of these homes were the skeletons of four people who had no doubt been killed where they were found. These were two grown people, a man

²⁵ Mason, loc. cit.

²⁶ Mason, loc. cit.

and a woman, a child of about twelve years, and a child a few months old. The skulls of each of the adults as well as the older child had been crushed, and between them was a stone axe, the blade of which just fitted the dent in the skulls. The bones of the child's skeleton were scattered all about the room so that they could not tell in what manner it had been killed.

Beneath the floor of an open passageway was a small pit formed by a semi-circular wall, the arms of which were against the cliff which formed the other side of the pit. In this was found the second mummy--that of a woman. The face was not becoming, and the explorers called it She. They had been reading Rider Haggard's story, She, and thus called the house "She House."

They then moved across the river to explore Cliff Palace, Spruce Tree House and Square Tower House. All of these houses had been named the year before. After these houses had been excavated to their satisfaction, they were at the end, as far as known houses were concerned.

They later set out to explore and again found several more buildings the first day. They sifted the materials in these houses and others until all of the branches of Havajo Canyon had been explored.

Beyond a certain point there was a change in the rock. A different stratum of sandstone comes to the surface and forms the cap of the Mesa, which does not break into caves or cliffs that overhang, so there were no large cliff houses in that region. To the larger houses discovered by them that winter they gave the names of "Spring House," "Long House," "Mug House," "High House," "Kodak

House" and the "Step House," Of all these houses, the one most remarkable for what they found in it was the Mug House, so named because of the four or five mugs they found tied together by a string through their handles.

Spring came before they were able to excavate all of the buildings. There was other work to be done, and having made a good collection, they decided to quit.

During the winter of 1890-91 they did not work in the cliff houses, but the following winter found them again busy enlarging their collection of two years previous that had not yet been disposed of. Early in the spring of 1892, H. Jay Smith and C. D. Hazzard, of Minneapolis, bought the entire collection and placed it on exhibition at the World's Columbian Exhibition at Chicago.²⁷ Mr. Smith and an artist from Minneapolis made extended trips with the Wetherills through Mesa Verde and McElmo Canyon. The artist sketched colored pictures of the cliff houses and their surroundings.

On the Mid-way at the Chicago Fair, a building was erected in imitation of the Battle Rock of McElmo Canyon, and in this was shown a cliff house painted in true colors, and the collection was exhibited within.²⁸ After the exposition closed, the collection was donated to the University of Pennsylvania.

During the summer of 1891, the Wetherill boys made a collection for Baron Gustave Nordenskjold, of Sweden.²⁹ This collection

²⁷ Mason, *loc. cit.*

²⁸ Mason, *loc. cit.*

²⁹ Mason, *loc. cit.*, Nordenskjold was the first archeologist to excavate in Mesa Verde's ruins.

was placed in the National Museum of Stockholm. Nordenskjold later gave to the world, in book form, one of the best descriptions of the Cliff Dwellings ever issued, with colored plates showing pottery, baskets and other articles.³⁰

During the year 1892 the Wetherills again made a collection for the State of Colorado to be used as part of the state exhibit at Chicago. This was done under the supervision of A. F. Wilmarth of Denver, with D. W. Ayers of Durango, and Richard Wetherill, successively in charge of the field work.³¹ In spite of the fact that all of the cliff dwellings had been worked over two or three times, they succeeded in finding many articles.

In their earlier work, they had seldom cleaned out a room that was filled deeply with rubbish. In 1892 they often found that the walls of one or more of the upper stories had fallen into the rooms below, filling them several feet deep with rock and mortar. This was almost invariably the case with the "estufas" or "kivas."³² These are circular rooms below the surface of the ground, the roof being on the same level as the floor of the buildings around them, and were often nearly full of debris of fallen walls. At first they did not excavate any of these rooms, as they could always find something easier; but, they were found to be well

³⁰ Mason, loc. cit., Baron Gustave Nordenskjold's book was called The Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde.

³¹ Mason, loc. cit.

³² The kivas in Mesa Verde Cliff dwellings developed from earlier pithouses and exhibit a high degree of standardization. Although there are occasional variations almost all Mesa Verde kivas contain the same standard features. Kivas are thought to have been used chiefly by the men and served as combination ceremonial rooms, Don Watson, Cliff Dwellings of the Mesa Verde, p. 22.

worth the labor required to clean them out. The "Kiva" was the living room of the cliff dweller; there was always a fireplace in the center of the room, mats of rush and willows were on the floors, tools of bone and stone were nearly always found, and the walls were always smoked. The square rooms seldom had fireplaces in them.

The state collection was the last they made in Mesa Verde. After the Fair, it was brought back to Colorado and is now in the State Museum at Denver.³³

In making these collections, they thought they had learned much of the cliff dwellers' life; they were agriculturists and raised crops of corn, beans, squashes and kept tame turkeys. Their corn was a yellow dent with some red ears, not at all like the corn grown by the Navajos. Their beans were similar to the beans of the Mexicans, and the squashes were a good size.

It was not certain where they did their farming, except in a few places. Almost every house had its turkey pen in which the birds were probably fastened at night. They also used the seed of lambs' quarter and other wild plants for food as the Navajos do today. Their clothing seemed to have been limited to the feathered blanket and sandals, often with short skirt and breechclout of cedar bark. The latter were probably not worn in warm weather. The people were no doubt successful hunters, as most of their bone implements were made of deer bones; beads and many of their awls were made of turkey bones. Not much buckskin was found.

³³ C. C. Mason, with the aid of the Wetherill Brothers, "The Story of the Discovery and Early Exploration of the Cliff Houses at the Mesa Verde," June 22, 1910. Unpublished written paper to the Colorado State Historical Society.

The buildings themselves were protected by the overhanging cliffs, and did not show age. This was accounted for by the dry atmosphere, as there was absolute protection from rain. Some front walls that were partly exposed were found in complete ruins and on those ruins trees, as large as any in the vicinity, were growing in a perfectly normal way, showing that but little change had taken place during their life.

The spruce tree at Spruce Tree House was growing in the ruins of an outer wall. The cave in which Spruce Tree House stands probably had been as long inhabited as any in the region. It was dry, well protected from wind, and near plenty of good water.

On the wall of the "Kiva" sixteen coats of clay had been used as a whitewash and as many layers of black smoke were counted on it. Near it was a hole six feet deep which did not reach to the floor of the room that was deeply cluttered with clay mortar of walls and rocks that had been torn down.

In Cliff Palace the joists on which floors and roofs were laid had been wrenched out. Those timbers were built into the walls and were difficult to remove. Even the little willows on which the mud roofs and upper floors were laid were carefully taken out. No plausible reason for that has been advanced except that it may have been used for fuel.

Another strange circumstance is that so many of their valuable possessions were left in the rooms and covered with the clay of which the roofs and upper floors were made, not to mention many of the walls that were broken down in tearing out the timbers. It seemed that their intention was to conceal their valuables so that

their enemies might not secure them; or again, it may have been that the people were in such a hurry property was not considered. There were many human bones scattered about as though several people had been killed and left unburied.

In 1923 Roy Henderson and A. B. Hardin discovered the largest and finest watchtower that had at that time been found. The tower was circular, 25 feet in height and 11 feet in diameter. Loopholes at various levels commanded the approach from every exposed quarter.

In 1924, a child burial spot was discovered; the remains of one child were partially mummified and another one was only skeletal.

In 1934 two splendid watchtowers were found on the west cliff of Rock Canyon.

In 1934-1935, while strengthening walls and weakened foundations, axes, bone awls, sandals, pottery and planting sticks were found. Also noted at that time were small dams and terraces in the heads of the smaller canyons.³⁴

Characteristic features of pure Mesa Verde construction are black-stone masonry, perhaps chiefly due to the character of the available building material, and the use of square, rectangular and D-shaped towers. The character of these towers, the loopholes that pierce their walls and the strategic position they occupy have led to the designation "watchtowers," which likely correctly express their purpose. Though some of the large ruins of the district are pueblos situated on the level uplands and along the rims

³⁴ Mesa Verde National Park, Bulletin, 1936, United States Department of the Interior, p. 27.

of canyons, the great majority are cliff houses occupying great caverns in the canyon walls.

A very characteristic element in the pottery of the district is the flat-bottomed, decorated, black-on-white mug, with nearly straight sides converging slightly toward the top, and with a broad, flat handle extending from just below the rim nearly to the base, reminding one of a rather squat German beer stein. Examples of this type are numerous in collections. A great many other forms of black-on-white ware and many very fine corrugated jars were found in the ruins.³⁵

Had Cliff Palace been abandoned as has been suggested and the timbers used in other buildings, all movable articles of value would have been taken away instead of being covered and much of it broken and destroyed unnecessarily. Watson thought that just before the close of the thirteenth century the inhabitants left Mesa Verde. Menaced by their enemies and with their existence threatened by the great drouth of 1276-1299 A. D., they may have moved to the south and east.³⁶ Gradually they mingled with other Pueblo Indians and soon were no longer recognizable as a Mesa Verde group. If that is what happened, their descendents are to be found in some of the present-day Indian Pueblos along the Rio Grande, in New Mexico.

³⁵ Junius Henderson, and others, Colorado: Short Studies of Its Past and Present, p. 24.

³⁶ Don Watson, Cliff Dwellings of the Mesa Verde, p. 50.

CHAPTER II

LOCAL INTEREST AND AGITATION IN PRESERVATION OF MESA VERDE'S RUINS

The prehistoric relics of Mesa Verde were first brought to public attention in 1876 with the publication of the Hayden Survey Reports of 1874 and 1875-1876.¹

As early as 1886, there was a small but vigorous group intent on the preservation of the Mesa Verde ruins. An editorial in the Denver Tribune-Republican of December 12, 1886, is the earliest specific suggestion in the Denver newspapers to make Mesa Verde a national park.²

In 1894 two petitions were sent to Congress.³ These petitions came about to a large degree as the result of two expeditions and many lectures made by Mrs. Gilbert McClurg.

In 1890 Dr. F. H. Chapin added to people's knowledge by publishing the results of his study of the area The Land of the Cliff Dwellers and W. R. Birdsall issued his study called The Cliff Dwellings of the Cannons of the Mesa Verde in 1891.⁴ In 1893 the English translation of Nordenskjold's great study of the area became available.⁵

The structures to be preserved were located on Indian lands. There was no authority of law under which these lands could be

¹ Edmund B. Rogers, "Notes on the Establishment of Mesa Verde National Park," The Colorado Magazine, January 1952, p. 10.

² Ibid., p. 12.

³ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵ Ibid., Baron Gustave Nordenskjold's book was called The Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde.

purchased or even leased. The Indians had to be dealt with through twelve chiefs who were disinterested, widely scattered and jealous of each other.

For several years Colorado's interested women existed as a Colorado State Women's Federation. A Committee was appointed by Mrs. Mahlon Thatcher, then the State President. The work of the committee was preliminary and tentative, new members being added from time to time.⁶

At different times, women of the Colorado State Women's Federation and later the Colorado Cliff Dwelling Association tried to lease the land where ruins were located from the Indians.

On one such occasion, Mrs. McClurg and Senator T. M. Patterson had gone to Durango to talk with the Ute Indians, but when Mrs. McClurg had stated her proposition, Chief Red Wing rose and scornfully remarked: "It is not the custom of the Chiefs of my tribe to listen to squaws."⁷ He strode out and the Pow-wow was ended.

In 1893, after publishing sketches of her trips to Mesa Verde Mrs. McClurg began to lecture about them. She was the only woman to lecture in the Anthropological Building at the Columbian Exposition and was appointed delegate at the International Folk Lore Congress meeting in Chicago July 10, 1893. Her lecture on Mesa Verde was twice given in the Woman's Building by request of the Lady Managers. These lectures marked the opening of the ladies' campaign to save Mesa Verde's ruins.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13,

⁷ "Great Cliff Palace," *Denver Republican*, May 28, 1893.

In March 1894, Mrs. McClurg gave a course of four lectures on "The Prehistoric Southwest," in the crypt of St. John's Cathedral in Denver. At the close of the fourth lecture, a petition was circulated by Mrs. Frederick J. Bancroft, asking that Mesa Verde be set aside as a National Park. This petition was extensively signed in Denver. Mrs. McClurg took it to Colorado Springs, and there it received many signatures, especially on the occasion of the dedication of Coburn Library when President William R. Harper of the University of Chicago and a General William J. Palmer signed it, together with many distinguished guests.⁸

There were many groups that were interested in Mesa Verde, but the greatest motivating force was, perhaps, the Cliff Dwelling Association.

At the meeting of the Colorado State Federation of Women's Clubs, which had met at Pueblo on the 27th of October, 1897, the subject of preserving and restoring the pre-Columbian pueblo and cliff ruins within Colorado was brought before the meeting by Mrs. McClurg. A resolution was introduced by Mrs. T. A. Lewis of Pueblo, which was passed that a committee be appointed to investigate the actual state of the remains and to devise ways and means for their preservation in the future. Their president, Mrs. Thatcher, appointed the following committee, representing all sections of the state of Colorado:

Mrs. J. S. Gale, 1104 Sixth Street, Greeley
Mrs. John L. McNeill, 930 Logan Avenue, Denver

⁸ Mrs. Gilbert McClurg, The Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association, unpublished typewriter paper, 1898.

Mrs. Frederick J. Bancroft, 1755 Grant Avenue, Denver
 Mrs. W. S. Peabody, 1430 Corons Street, Denver
 Mrs. Henry Van Sleet, 1269 Slocum, 24 College Place,
 Colorado Springs
 Mrs. Thomas Allison Lewis, 801 Santa Fe Avenue, Pueblo
 Mrs. J. J. Burns, Broadway and Evans Street, Pueblo
 Mrs. Edward C. Stoiber, "Waldheim," Silverton
 Mrs. B. Austin Taft, Silverton
 Mrs. Gordon Kimbell, Ouray
 Mrs. C. B. Rich, Grand Junction⁹

The committee, when organized, set about the preliminary work. The work separated itself into two departments. First, they desired to arouse through the length and breadth of the land the potent factor of an awakened and enlightened public opinion in reference to the conservation of those ruins and relics. Second, they wished to ascertain what could be done in regard to the preservation of the ruins and also the most practical method of setting about the work.

In regard to the swakening of public interest, they felt that much had been accomplished. Mrs. McClurg had published, by request of the editor of the Club Woman of Boston, a four-column article upon the cliffs and pueblos of Colorado outlining the history and actual state of the remains, and also the probable methods of protection and preservation. This article had appeared in the June biennial issue of the Club Woman. A large number of copies had been printed especially for the biennial, and distributed gratis to all in attendance, and therefore they assumed that every delegate and press correspondent at the large convention went home with the "Cliffs and Pueblos" in their minds. Very much to the surprise of

⁹ "Committee Appointed to Save Ruins," Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, October 13, 1898.

the committee, the article was printed verbatim in the New York Tribune, which was unsolicited by the women of Colorado. Thus, knowledge of the vanished past reached a much larger number of people.¹⁰

At the suggestion of some of the members of the committee, Mrs. McClurg called on a Mr. Hobbs, in Denver, prior to his delivery of a lecture, "Colorado vs. Switzerland" before the biennial convention. At the request of the committee, Mr. Hobbs introduced several good stereoptican slides of the cliff dwellings into his lecture, and spoke in detail of the work which the Federated Club women had undertaken in regard to them.¹¹ The club women were happy to note the wave of enthusiasm which passed over the crowded house as soon as the preservation of the ruins was mentioned, and the statement that such a work had already been begun, drew forth hearty applause.

In 1899, on one occasion, when the committee had held an enthusiastic meeting in the parlor of Mrs. Striber at the Brown Palace hotel, Mrs. Gale announced her intention of withdrawing her speech before the biennial convention in order to give the time to the committee of the National Federation. This decision, a kindness much appreciated by the committee, provided the committee an opportunity of addressing the National Federation, through Mrs. McClurg. It was a gratifying thing that they were able to record, as a result of this presentation, a resolution passed by the

¹⁰ Mrs. Gilbert McClurg, "The Mesa Verde Cliff Dwellings," Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, April 15, 1900.

¹¹ Loc. cit.

National Federation endorsing the work of the State Federation among the cliff and pueblo ruins. This was a successful accomplishment. Whatever plan they decided upon for future work, they then had at their backs the sympathy and practical aid of the 250,000 women represented by the National Federation of Women's Clubs.

As to the actual state of things in Colorado and to the urgent need of intervention, it was called to their attention that Reverend I. F. Whittmore of Florence, Arizona, was acting as custodian of the Casa Grande ruin and that this noted ruin was under his personal protection.¹² Mrs. McClurg obtained a personal interview with Dr. Whittmore, during which she learned that he had been aroused by the depredations committed at Casa Grande and had applied to Majors John W. Powell and William J. McGhee of the Bureau of Ethnology for the position of custodians. Dr. Whittmore was most kind in putting Mrs. McClurg in correspondence with Major McGhee, "Ethnologist in Charge" in Washington, and the latter promised to aid them. Therefore, an application properly endorsed was sent to the Bureau of Ethnology at Washington, asking that the committee be appointed custodians of the Cliff Palace and other specified ruins in Mesa Verde.¹³

Mrs. McClurg had also had a personal interview with United States Senator Edward O. Wolcott, who desired that she report to the Federation that he would use every effort in his power to place these ruins under the care of the Federated Women of Colorado.

¹² McClurg, *loc. cit.*

¹³ "Organization to Protect Ruins," Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, October 13, 1898.

The application had already been placed in Senator Wolcott's hands who had endorsed it and promised to support it wholeheartedly.

Henry M. Teller, first United States senator from Colorado, (1876-1882, 1885-1909) had also been appealed to on the subject. Mrs. John McNeil had seen him in Washington and Mrs. McClurg had had two interviews with him within the one month. Senator Teller, whose experience as secretary of the interior (1882-1885) rendered his advice and help most valuable, was ready to help them, but he thought the land should be reserved rather than the ruins placed under custodianship.¹⁴

The ruins lay upon Mesa Verde, a skeleton of a plateau, honey-combed with canyons and containing from 300 to 400 cliff dwellings. The land, except for a few shale-seamed coal deposits, was not valuable to miners or farmers so the women could not be considered land grabbers. Mesa Verde was, of course, situated upon the Ute Indian Reservation, that strip, 100 miles long and sixteen miles broad, meeting the Utah line. Upon the reservation lived the three bands of Weeminuche, Capote and Moache Utes, under the chieftainship, respectively, of Ignacio, Severo and Buckskin Charley. At that time matters and conditions in general were not altogether tranquil among those three bands of Utes, and the disaffection resulted in the Moaches and Capotes, by government permission, taking their lands in severalty. Each man had his individual land and home in the neighborhood of Ignacio and he might not dispose of it for twenty-five years. The Weeminuche Utes had withdrawn to the

¹⁴ Loc. cit.

other end of the reservation, near Navajo Springs, and there they held their lands, undivided, according to the old tribal plan, and in contradistinction to the Moaches and Capotes.

Because Mesa Verde was located upon the undivided government land of the Weeminuche Utes, its affairs belonged to the nation and not to the state. State legislation would not have helped the Colorado State Federation of Women's Clubs at that time. That undivided tribal land had not even been specifically surveyed. Senator Teller promised that if they would send in an application regarding the ruins of the Mesa Verde, specifying the ruins, and with an accurate surveyor's map of the mesa, he would then push through the matter of a national reservation of the Mesa Verde and its pre-Columbian remains.¹⁵

To that end, Mrs. McClurg had applied to Congressman John C. Bell (1892-1902) for the field notes of the undivided land of the Weeminuche Ute reservation, though it was only barely possible that they would be sufficiently authoritative and accurate for Senator Teller's purpose. Mrs. McClurg had seen a surveyor in Durango in regard to the expense of an accurate survey of the Mesa Verde ruins. His estimate was from fifty to seventy-five dollars. Mrs. McClurg had also spoken to the Wetherill brothers in regard to the survey, and it was their opinion that an enlargement of the maps in Baron Nordenskjold's Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde might be verified and adopted for the senator's use. The expense of this would be about twenty-five dollars.

¹⁵ Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, loc. cit.

Mrs. McClurg also made a trip to Ignacio and talked with the agent in charge regarding the possibility of using Indian police. She said the employment of such guardians would be an unpopular measure in the southwest, but it may well have been a practical and economical plan if those ruins had passed under the control of the Federation. It was the opinion of a Mr. Toss of the Agency that the Indians would have served very well and faithfully in the capacity of special police, guarding the ruins, as they disliked extremely to see the cliff homes and pueblos meddled with, thinking that they were haunted by evil spirits which were liberated by the intrusion of the explorers, and that their superstitions would be in the line of the conservation of those remains. The Indians had been, and were employed as police of the reservation, with success. Most likely such custodians could have been chosen from the band of Weeminuche Utes, under Ignacio, and could have expected to receive about ten dollars a month as salary. Perhaps they would have taken less during the winter months.¹⁶

The general attitude of the Southwest toward those priceless ruins was one of indifference. The oldest women's club in the state was in Durango, but it failed to impress the men's clubs at those remote points. To the general public, the remnants of those ruins were as a sealed book. When Mrs. McClurg lectured in Silverton, Colorado, one man said: "What! Go to hear about those old mounds and bits of broken pottery we find on the ranches. Not

¹⁶ Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, loc. cit.

much. I'd go the other way."¹⁷

The Wetherill Brothers promoted interest and knowledge for the region. Their carefully made collections had gone out to the museums of the country, and they had taken "parties" over to the Mesa Verde ruins; guide, meals, horse, and equipment had been furnished at the rate of five dollars a day per individual.

Mrs. McClurg made three important recommendations on behalf of McClurg Committee: (1) That they continue to keep the subject of their pre-Columbian remains fresh in the public mind--a matter of living interest. (2) That they should act as custodians of the specific ruins, while the matter of national reservation (which was a slow process), was pending. (3) That if they were assured of the custodianship that they should endeavor to employ suitable custodians and improve and beautify the locality as far as possible, and make it easy for parties of tourists to explore the wonderland, but that they should not be allowed to take anything away. The cliff dwellings were the prey of the spoiler; soon it would be too late to save those monuments, and wonders and the envy of the student of the past; to them was awarded the privilege of preserving them; they did not want to be unheeding to the cry of the ancient people.¹⁸

When it was recommended, in October of 1899, that the Colorado State Federation acquire possession of the Mesa Verde in order to preserve the ruins, it was thought that it would require \$1000 or

¹⁷ Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, loc. cit.

¹⁸ Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, loc. cit.

\$1200 for a start. They discussed the matter fully, and it was decided that nothing could be done until the authority for the leasing of the mesa from Chief Ignacio had been obtained from the Indian Agent. While waiting for that, the committee sought legal advice on the whole question. If the matter should be pushed to consummation, an incorporated body would undoubtedly have to be formed to take charge of the business. It was believed that large subscriptions could be secured for that purpose and that a per capita tax of the 5,000 club women in the state would furnish a good sum. The plan was to interest the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the Revolution, and the Daughters of the American Revolution in the matter together with the club women. Mrs. McClurg was enthusiastic on the matter and believed that it could be carried through and made the greatest work ever accomplished by any state federation.¹⁹

It had now been two years since the committee for the preservation and restoration of the Cliff and Pueblo ruins of Colorado, consisting of fourteen members, had been called into being at the meeting of the State Federation of Women's Clubs in Pueblo, under the presidency of Mrs. Mahlon D. Thatcher. Its work for the first year was tentative, largely because of the uncertainty of the steps to take. It was necessary to create an enlightened public opinion; to find out the status of the lands containing ruins; and also just what legislators could or would do in their behalf. At the biennial meeting a strenuous plea was made to awaken popular interest in the

¹⁹ "Surprisingly Small Contributions Needed to Lease the Entire Mesa Verde County for Term of Thirty Years," Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, October 27, 1898.

movement, being endorsed by the National Federation. As a result of the committee's work, articles appeared in both eastern and western newspapers and periodicals. The first year's work had been reported the previous autumn at Greeley by Mrs. McClurg.²⁰ At the opening of the second year, it had been decided, at the insistence of Senator Teller, that a reliable map of Mesa Verde had become indispensable. The map was considered necessary, because they could not very well ask for a reservation without defining what they wanted. A circular representing their need had been sent to every town in the state containing a Federated Women's Club. It was hoped to awaken a general interest in their work, even if the specific object of the map did not meet with approval by all. From the biennial surplus of \$1000, \$100 was voted to use for expenses of the committee. Of that, forty-six dollars had been expended in a map of Mesa Verde, accompanied by a relief diagram, five dollars in stationery, twenty-five dollars in a survey of the land, locating water, ruins of different kinds, and planning out roads under an experienced guide and in negotiating with Indians, leaving a balance in the treasury.

They considered their map to be worth from \$75 to \$100 and it would not have been possible to have gotten it for forty-six dollars had it not been for the generosity of Mr. John Harper of Durango, son of their state treasurer, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Harper, who as surveyor made no charge for his actual expenses.

²⁰ Loc. cit.

The McClurg committee felt that Senator Teller had opposed the park because of a misunderstanding. The women did not want a large tract of valuable land as Teller believed they did. In other areas Senator Teller had seen forest reserves instituted where they had taken water from the doorsteps of settlers of long standing; he had seen tracts marked down as deserts, where there were already towns and school districts. He said he did not want to see these things happen in southwestern Colorado.

The ladies of Colorado preferred to have Mesa Verde a state park, rather than a national park, and yet they did not want it to be a state park either. They were fearful to "consign the care of the cliff houses to a state that considered closing its institutions of learning, and could not care for their blind, poor and insane."²¹

They wanted it to be a Woman's Park, set above and beyond the realm of political ferment. They felt it was along the line of village improvement societies and park committees; it was a larger work than the efforts of the Chicago Woman's Club in that city; it was wider in scope than the success of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Hartford, when they restored the ancient cemetery where rests the mortal remains of Hooper's band, and built a boulevard leading to it.

A letter came from the land commissioner, Binger Herman. He said that he understood that Mesa Verde was a tract covering 6,000 square miles (actually it was about twenty by eight miles) and that he was afraid the government would not be justified in reserving

²¹ Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, loc. cit.

such a large tract. Mrs. McClurg became irritated and lamented, "that that was from a man set in a high place whose business it was to be informed regarding the national lands."²² It also had been learned by the search of Mrs. John McNeil in Washington that a map filed with herman's predecessor--Land Commission Lamoureux-Colonel Day, giving the location of each important cliff dwelling on the Mesa Verde, had been lost. The situation seemed desperate. Mesa Verde lay on the undivided tribal land of the Weeminuche Utes, the Capote and Moache Utes. The Capote and Moache Utes had sold their land (owned in severalty) in May, 1899 and settlements and homesteaders were creeping within a few miles of Mesa Verde. The government seemed to be about ready to put in some reservoirs on the Weeminuche Ute land, and a large force of workmen were there employed, and would likely pay for their food, shoes and tobacco with curios looted from the cliff houses. The members of the McClurg committee believed there was grave danger that many of the cliff dwellings would be destroyed if nothing was done to prevent it.

One of the Wetherill brothers of Mancos had told Mrs. McClurg that he wanted to see Mesa Verde protected, but if that was not done, he would sell his collection of relics and go in search of more. It might be better for him to gather artifacts than for other workmen to do so. There was also some talk heard at the time of having a joint reserve at the four corners of Colorado, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona; New Mexico was to put in the nine great pre-Columbian Pueblos of the Chaco, lying within twenty-five miles of

²² Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, loc. cit.

Mesa Verde. For two years a scientific expedition from the New York Museum of Natural History had been digging at Pueblo Bonita at Chaco. They had taken out turquois, amulets, and scarabs enough to pay double the cost of the expedition. Various Colorado women believed that some day New Mexico would wish that she had retained her ruins and had not allowed them to go to New York.²³

Mrs. McClurg, spurred by desperation, journeyed to southwestern Colorado which was usually dry; but when she went there was an unseasonable rain which lasted for six days and nights. Chief Ignacio of the Weeminuches should have been at Navajo Springs with a resident interpreter. Instead, he was hunting on Beaver Creek, up toward the LaPlata summits. Mrs. McClurg determined to follow him. Then by coincidence, there happened in at the Wetherill ranch, Acowitz. Acowitz was a "heap bad Indian." He had tried to shoot his second best wife not long before, but had been deterred. He would be Ignacio's successor. The question was, would Acowitz go in the storm and "pluck Ignacio from the snowclad heights?" He would, but because of the "mucho frio" money was needed. Therefore, on the third day, Acowitz came back bringing the fine old gentleman, Ignacio, on a thirty-mile overland journey. Ignacio felt ill, but he had come all that way for his people. Mrs. McClurg touched his burning hand; she wondered if it were smallpox or measles. She gave him a few details of the interview, for she thought the treaty of the Colorado Club Women with Ignacio might become as famous as that by which Governor William Coddington bought the island of

²³ Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, loc. cit.

Aquidneck, where Newport was located, for a string of beads.

First, Mrs. McClurg offered to apply two mustard plasters, Ignacio's pallor being so apparent under the bronze that she followed them with a glass of "cherry bounce," which she indicated to him was of her own making. After those delicate attentions were accepted, Ignacio said: "Squaw, heap more squaw wine." Under the revivifying influences of her "cherry bounce," the treaty proceeded. When the subject of cliff dwellings were mentioned, Ignacio said: "Yes, I savez. You want to make a show of the cliff houses as they made a show of me in Denver last year, at the Festival of Mountains and Plains." Then he said: "There is only about three years of me but this boy (indicating Acowitz) will then come in my place. And evil indeed will the day be when Acowitz stands in Ignacio's shoes."

Then Ignacio said: "Squaw, I am an old man and many have lied to me. Do you speak the truths; do the clubwomen of Colorado also lie like men?"²⁴

The committee for restoration and preservation of the ruins of the Pueblos and cliff dwellings had the privilege of telling the association membership that Chief Ignacio of the Weeminuche Utes offered to the Federated Club Women of Colorado a thirty-year lease on the Mesa Verde for \$300 per year. By its terms the cliff dwellings would be given over to the control of the women, with privilege to make and improve roads, tollroads, water rights, and also permission to put up a resthome. The Cliff Dwellings of Colorado would be theirs, the committee thought, if they chose to take them.

²⁴ Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, loc. cit.

They wanted every club woman in the state to give them a "modest silver quarter"--twenty-five cents--to cover the first outlay, and later, in a year, it was believed the enterprise would be self-supporting. The people of southwestern Colorado were enthusiastic over the movements and Mrs. McClurg received kindnesses from the Wetherill brothers, Mr. Kelly of the Mancos Times, Mr. Nolan, the interpreter, Mrs. Bishop of the Woman's Club of Durango and many others on her trip.

The following days were spent by Mrs. McClurg inspecting favorable sites, for water supply, and examining, as far as possible, the condition of the ruins. In two days and a half, fifty miles were covered on horseback. Mrs. McClurg also spent time in trying to get the Indian agent to ratify Ignacio's proposition.²⁵ This was accomplished later in 1902, but by that time the secretary of the interior did not recognize the agreement. The work of the Cliff Dwellings Committee was considered that of an entering wedge as the area of pre-historic ruins in the Southwest covered a tract of 6,000 square miles in Colorado, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona.

Some of the obstacles in the way of forming a definite plan and the carrying it out were the following: (1) The land they desired, in Colorado at least, belonged to the Indians. They did not wish to be party to another removal marking a mile-stone on the trail of Indian wrongs, which already had reached from Maine to Ignacio. (2) The area containing ruins in Colorado was principally land which was not owned individually and the maps of the government

²⁵ Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, loc. cit.

surveys were erroneous in many instances. (3) Land that did not belong to them, and land that could not be located were problems that confronted them.

The committee women felt that their problem was not receiving the consideration due it because the committee was referred from Land Commissioner Herman to the Bureau of Ethnology from governor to senator, from senator to representative. Its orbit for a long time seemed circular. The column of the committee's tasks was enormous.

It was dealing with a land problem which was difficult to solve, but not because of monetary value. Mesa Verde could pasture about one hundred cattle; it was valueless to miner or farmer. Colonel David Day said: "From a practical standpoint, and aside from the cedars, Mesa Verde was not worth half of a dollar."²⁶

Tiny springs, sufficient for drinking purposes were found in the vicinity of many cliff homes, but there was no doubt that Mesa Verde belonged emphatically to the "arid plateau region." Its values were merely picturesque and ethnological. It lay, like an inverted box, twenty miles by eight, or a rectangular prism, upon the face of the dull sage plain. Green with cedar and pinon, the flaunting banners of the scrub oak veiled its scorped red rocks and perpendicular canyons. From the heights of Mesa Verde one could look off upon a wider view than was obtained from the summit of Pikes Peak.²⁷

²⁶ Mrs. Gilbert McClurg, "The Mesa Verde Cliff Dwellings," Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram,

²⁷ loc. cit.

The plateau was suited for a park--set apart by nature as a spot where the "blue and the gold days" could be enjoyed while wondering among the cities of the dead. The problem seemed to be solved by asking Chiefs Ignacio and Acowitz if they would lease Mesa Verde to the committee, and the Indians retain their grazing and hunting rights while the club women controlled the ruins. To that Chief Ignacio gave his assent.

The lease, for which there was no precedent, was being drawn up by a lawyer versed in Indian affairs. After the signatures of the committee and the Indians had been affixed it had to be attested to by the Indian agent and affirmed by the Interior Department. That affirmation they hoped to secure by their representatives and senators in Congress. Once in authority, the women would endeavor to obtain the concession for a tollroad from LaPlata County, and would open a wagon road along Mancos River. The horse-back trail over the top of Mesa Verde would be improved, and a resthouse for travelers constructed. The committee then had under consideration the incorporation of the Cliff Dwelling Park Association, an organization of women which would be a part of the state Federation of women's clubs. Mrs. McClurg had been asked to address the Expositions' Ethnological Congress at Paris in September, on the subject of the Colorado Cliff Dwellings, and their preservation. Mrs. McClurg not only accepted the invitation but made her speeches in French.²⁸

²⁸ Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, loc. cit.

On May 3, 1900, the Colorado Springs Gazette, reported that the government had included the Mancos Canyons in a new park reserve and would assist in the preservation of the ruins.²⁹

On June 3, 1900, the Inter Ocean Sunday reported that on May 31, 1900, the Cliff Dwellings Association had been regularly incorporated under the laws of Colorado so that it could legally acquire title to the cliff dwellings either by purchase or grant of the state. The association was the outcome of nearly three years of agitation and education of the women of the state.

The constitution adopted by the women contemplated unlimited membership of women, and the Association was formed on the lines of Mount Vernon and Mary Washington Associations.³⁰

On July 7, 1900, the Denver Times reported that Major E. H. Cooper was manager of the Cliff Dweller's excursions and that the Wetherill Brothers Ranch provided lodging and provisions needed for the trips.³¹

Following, on July 31, 1900, the Denver Times reported that a guide Thomas, not further identified, was in Denver conferring with people interested in the reservation. He stated that the Indians were superstitious about people digging in the ruins, although many artifacts had been carried away.

The creation of the Peabody Committee to seek legislation took place on September 27, 1900; when it was moved that Mrs. Peabody be

²⁹ "Government Includes Mancos Canyons in Park Reserve," Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, May 3, 1900.

³⁰ Loc. cit.

³¹ "Care for Cliff Dwellings," Inter Ocean Sunday, June 3, 1900.

chairman of the Legislative Committee with power to appoint her own committee and the motion carried.³² The Legislative Committee's membership included: Committee Chairman, Mrs. W. S. Peabody, Mrs. W. S. Decker, Mrs. James D. Whitmore, Mrs. John L. McNeil, Mrs. Charles A. Eldridge, Mrs. Henry Van Kleec, Mrs. Mary L. Riley.³³

The government could give the Cliff Dweller's organization no title. Therefore Mrs. McClurg, had a personal interview with head chiefs Ignacio and Acowitz and secured their consent and lease and it was ratified March 3, 1901, through United States Senator Edward O. Wolcott. The second written lease was taken seventy-five miles overland by Mrs. Scoville of Durango to Navajo Springs, and signed there by the six head chiefs. When it went to Washington, the lease was not in the language they desired, so there it was re-drafted in the Department of Interior and a seal and bond and other additions required were included. Mrs. Eldridge and Mrs. McClurg then took the amended lease four hundred miles down to Mancos, and from there, thirty-five miles overland to Navajo Springs. The Weeminuche did not sit at ease at their Agency with pens and blotting paper in hand ready to sign leases, but were most of the time out foraging for the scanty subsistence which their lands afforded them, and no Indian whom the two ladies sought was to be found at Navajo Springs. So, their long trip ended in disappointment.³⁴

³² Colorado Federated Women Club minutes, September 27, 1900.

³³ Loc. cit.

³⁴ Edmund B. Rogers, "Notes on the Establishment of Mesa Verde National Park," The Colorado Magazine, January 1952, p. 17.

The Indian was an anomalous landlord. He would come up bright and smiling with every new moon to suggest an entire change in demands and mutual relations. He did not disdain to cement treaties with Gyrono chains, Waterbury watches, watermelons and striped candy.

Acowitz thought Mesa Verde was his, and his father's and grandfather's before him, because they lived there, and that lease money from it was his own; yet the government wanted him to divide it with every member of the tribe equally. Acowitz, seeing Moache and Capote Utes at liberty to lease and sell their land, didn't know why being a Weeminuche made so much difference, and he pondered about dividing \$300 among 350 Weeminuche Utes. Then the government did not think that six head chiefs and six sub-chiefs, signing a lease at different times were the same as twelve chiefs, signing at one time. Besides, the government said, the interpreter for Capotes and Moaches should not have acted as an interpreter for Weeminuches. But another one should have been imported not that he could speak the language any better, but that it would make more "red tape" said one observer.³⁵

On July 9, 1900, the Association entered into a ten-year lease with the Weeminuche tribe of Utes. The lease covered the Mesa Verde tract described by metes and bounds and included all the ruins and prehistoric remains therein, granted the Association the right to use and occupy such lands for the purpose of preserving and controlling the ruins and remains and protecting them from depredations.

³⁵ Loc. cit.

The consideration was \$300 per annum to be paid in monthly installments of \$25 each. The agreement was submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for approval. Upon examination the Secretary found: (1) That there was no authority of law for the execution and approval of a lease of tribal Indian lands for park purposes; (2) That there had been no evidence furnished for the Corporate existence of the Association; (3) That there was attached no certificate from the Secretary or other officers of the Association showing that the Board of Directors had authorized the execution of the contract for and on behalf of the Association; (4) That no proceedings of the Indians which constitute a majority of the Council of the tribe authorized the lease; (5) That no bond for the payments and the performance of the covenants or agreements accompanied the lease and that no revenue stamps had been attached as required by law. The papers were returned to the Association.³⁶

The following spring (March 1901) the same contract was submitted to the Department of the Interior for approval. Through the efforts of Senator Wolcott, the lease was presented to the Department of Interior. Some defects previously noted had not been corrected and several additional ones were brought to light. The papers were again returned to the Association together with a draft of an acceptable lease form.

The lease in acceptable form, was executed in the fall of 1901. The performance bond, executed by Alva Adams and David G. Fairley,

³⁶ Rogers, *loc. cit.*

was acknowledged September 30, 1901.³⁷ The Association accomplished their first step--interim protection of the ruins. They carried this on for almost five years, before the area was made a national park.

While there was some disagreement in the Association as to where the protection of the area should be ultimately placed, private, national or state, one strong faction steadfastly pursued the national course. It was decided by the Cliff Dwelling Association that the Indian lease should not be a part of the Colorado legislature's (1901) memorial to Congress for a National Park.³⁸

After the Cliff Dwelling's organization had obtained a legal lease, they made a wagon road connecting Mancos, Colorado, with Cliff Canyon of Mesa Verde along the river bank, at the Association's expense. One of the Association members rode on horseback and personally accompanied the surveyors and workmen engaged in the roadbuilding. A spring at Spruce Tree House was the chief water supply which gave up only scanty bucketfulls at first. Through the generous donation of one of the members of the Colorado Cliff Dwelling Association, Mrs. John Hays Hammond, the shale was broken away by dyanmite charges and the best spring of the entire region was made available.

With the way and the water thus being provided, the Association's next decision was that ethnologists and archaeologists ought to have first-hand knowledge of the ruins in the proposed park.

³⁷ Mrs. Gilbert McClurg, "The Making of Mesa Verde into a National Park," The Colorado Magazine, November 1930, 8:20.

³⁸ Loc. cit.

When the American Association of Science met in Denver, certain members of Section H, of Anthropology, were invited to visit Mesa Verde as guests of the Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association. They were provided with railroad transportation to and from Mesa Verde, with guides, equipment and commissariat, and were personally conducted to and from the ruins by the officers of the Association over the new wagon road.

Dr. and Mrs. Fewkes were Mrs. McClurg's personal guests on that occasion, this being the first trip they had made to southwestern Colorado and its ruin area. All of the guests expressed wonder and admiration. Dr. Fewkes said, "Mesa Verde embraces the most spectacular and representative group of cliff ruins known in the United States."

Science being "conciliated and informed," the next move was to interest Congressmen and Senators. From time to time legislators were also personally conducted to the cliff dwellings.³⁹

Meanwhile at an annual meeting held in August of 1901, at 619 North Cascade Avenue, Denver, Alfred Wetherill was made the local representative of the association at Mancos.⁴⁰

A Mexican scientist, Leopold Estres, was invited to Mesa Verde and spent three weeks studying and exploring the ruins with the permission of Mrs. McClurg.⁴¹

Mrs. McClurg traveled to Washington in 1903, when an amendment was offered to the Indian appropriation bill. The amendment

³⁹ McClurg, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ "State Cliff Dwellers Association Hold Annual Meeting," *Denver Times*, October, 1901.

⁴¹ "Cliff Dwellings to be Studied and Explored," *Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram*, September 17, 1901.

would have allowed \$500 for the Secretary of the Treasury to negotiate with the Weeminuchi Utes for the relinquishment of the tract of land located in Montezuma County known as "Mesa Verde" to the United States. Nothing of significance resulted from Mrs. McClurg's efforts on behalf of this amendment.

In 1903, Mrs. McClurg received a telegram from Congressman Brooks which notified her that she had been appointed a member of the commission to deal with the treatment of the Weeminuche Utes.

Both Mr. and Mrs. McClurg started on a tour of lectures in the East on the work of the Association during the World's Fair at St. Louis.⁴²

On April 17, 1903, the Legislative Committee Chairman of the Cliff Dwellings Association, Mrs. Peabody, reported that during the last session of the United States Congress, Colorado representatives were instrumental in having provisions made for a survey of the Government land on the Mesa Verde at a cost of about \$1000.

On January 26, 1904, Mrs. McClurg told the Association about the Commission appointed by Congress for the purpose of fixing a price for the relinquishment of title of the land on the Indian Reservation by the Indians. There was a bill before Congress at that time, presented by Mr. Hogg, providing for a national park for government land, leaving the Indian land untouched. Mrs. McClurg opposed this because it was not inclusive enough. It would have covered the ground in which Spruce Tree House was included, but would not have preserved Cliff Palace nor the 300 to 400 cliff

⁴² "Must Treat Indians With All Fairness," (Clipping) date and source not certain, may be seen in Mesa Verde National Park Museum.

houses on the Indian land.

Secondly, Mrs. McClurg opposed the bill because it would have given Mesa Verde over to the exclusive control of the Secretary of the Interior with supreme authority to permit excavations and gatherings.

Thirdly, Mrs. McClurg was opposed because Commissioner Richards of the general land office, in his annual report for 1905, did not recommend as a national park the region included in Mr. Hogg's bill, saying: There did not appear to be a sufficient number of important ruins included to justify the establishment of a national park.⁴³

When the Association felt that they could not support the Hogg bill, it threw their friends in Washington into confusion, and some of their Colorado friends also were bewildered.

They said: "You have been trying to save Mesa Verde for a quarter of a century, and now you ask us not to support the bill that does it." It was actually the rider to the Hogg bill--the Brooks-Leupp Amendment--that saved the ruins rather than the Hogg bill itself.⁴⁴

The Colorado Cliff Dwelling Association found itself divided upon the question whether the Cliff Dwelling site in southwestern Colorado should be a national or a private park. Mrs. Peabody, one of the active members of the association, felt that the United States government should set aside that portion of the Cliff

⁴³ "Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association Makes Statement," Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, March 13, 1905.

⁴⁴ "Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association Finds Self Divided," Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, February 12, 1906. See Chapter III, p. 64.

Dwellers country north of the Ute Indian reservation for a national park, and she had a bill introduced in Congress by Congressman H. M. Hogg setting aside the land for that purpose. On the other hand, Mrs. McClurg, also an active member of the Association felt that not only the land north of the Ute Indian Reservation, but that portion of the reservation in which the Cliff Dwellers lived should also be set aside for the park, but she wanted the park to be donated to the Cliff Dwelling Association and not controlled by the National Government. Both sides took their case to Colorado's Congressional delegation. Congressman R. W. Bonyng and H. M. Hogg were favorable to Mrs. Peabody's plan, while Congressman F. E. Brooks was favorable to the plan of Mrs. McClurg.

The Colorado Cliff Dwelling Association investigated Mrs. W. S. Peabody,⁴⁵ leader of one rival faction in the association, and it found that her efforts were deprecated, and it was further decided that the Brooks Bill, instead of the Peabody Bill for the preservation of the cliff dwellings, be endorsed by the Association. The bill to create a national park had been reported favorably in the Senate.

It was a case of Mrs. McClurg having more votes than Mrs. Peabody, and of her exercising her power.⁴⁶ The two factions had been in dispute for some time over the question of whether a national or a state park should be formed out of the cliff dwellings country. Much of the land was included in an Indian reservation, and the

⁴⁵ Colorado Gazette and Telegram, loc. cit.

⁴⁶ Colorado Gazette and Telegram, loc. cit.

Peabody faction held that it was wrong to deprive the Indians of their land by turning it over to the state government when it could be made a national park just as conveniently.

The ladies went to Colorado Springs on February 21, 1906, bound to carry the day for one side or the other, and Mrs. McClurg forced the Peabody hand immediately. The first question brought a vote of twenty-one to fourteen. Then the twenty-one went on upstairs to the privacy of Mrs. McClurg's own bedroom, and there appointed the "investigating committee." A series of star chamber sessions and much whispering followed. Finally the committee reported to Mrs. McClurg on February 22, 1906, that Mrs. Peabody had been meddling and advised that she be promptly checked. That was done in the following resolutions, which Mrs. McClurg thought sustained the birthright of the state against the encroachments of the Federal government.

Whereas, the Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association at Greeley, in an annual convention assembled on November 9, 1905, indorsed the plans offered in a speech before that body by Honorable Franklin Brooks for the preservation of Mesa Verde, be it resolved that in further recognition of his zealous championship and energetic work in endeavoring to save for Colorado her unique and precious heritage of Cliff dwellings, we affirm that indorsement to the exclusion of any other plans in conflict with him, and be it resolved, That this matter be committed to the legislative committee with instructions to carry out the will of the assembly as above expressed, and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to prominent organizations and journals of the state and legislators of the nation. Be it Resolved That we deprecate and disallow the action of certain Colorado journals in striving to pull down, instead of build up, by magnifying unimportant differences and minimizing the sixteen years of work of members of this association,

and that we heartily sanction the measures of our committee of investigation to put a stop to the same.⁴⁷

Mrs. McClurg tried to minimize the differences within the Cliff Dwellings' Association as far as the public was concerned. She stated that the reported dissension among the members of the Colorado Cliff Dweller's Association over the Mesa Verde proposition was entirely without foundation, the only opposition in the first place having come from three or four Denver and Pueblo women who were opposed to the so-called Brooks measure for a state park. and urged the national park plan, but that the state park plan was so popular all objections were withdrawn.

Mrs. McClurg's official announcement to the public stated among other things that the Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association at its adjourned annual meeting in Greeley, passed by unanimous vote of the quorum of fifteen, a resolution proposed by representatives of the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs, and seconded by Mrs. W. L. Peabody, endorsing the plans of Commissioner Laupp, head of Indian affairs. This she said had been outlined by Congressman Brooks, and combined Indian and government lands of Mesa Verde into a reserve to be under the control of the Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association, as Mount Vernon was kept, without removing the Indians, and to be a free park for all.

At the largest meeting of that body ever held, on February 21, 1906, at Colorado Springs, with four representatives from Denver, twelve from Pueblo, and one from Greeley and twenty from Colorado

⁴⁷ "State Park or National," Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, February 27, 1906.

Springs present, a vote was cast on the resolutions confirming the action of the Association at Greeley.

Commissioner Leupp was to have addressed their New York Chapter of fifty members in support of his plan. A letter had been received from Senator Teller, stating that if Mr. Brooks could pass a measure through the house, he would vigorously push it through the Senate.⁴⁸

To all of this discussion, The Denver Post, of February 23, 1906, said, "Make it a National Park."

Mrs. Gilbert McClurg and "her cliff dwelling association" were fighting Mrs. Peabody and her "cliff dwelling bill."

The "Peabody bill" favoring a national park would doubtless pass the Senate and it should pass the House. Mrs. McClurg had given eighteen years of hard and unselfish work for the preservation of the Cliff Dwellings. She had made the Cliff Dwelling country her special hobby and her special care. If it had not been for her, most of the people of Colorado would not have yet known by 1906 that there was such a thing as the cliff dwellings in the state or anywhere else.

But the cliff dwellings were too big an interest to put into the exclusive custody of any single organization either of women or men. The cliff dwellings of Colorado belonged not to Colorado, but to the United States.

The Denver Post held:

The Cliff Dwelling land ought to be made a great national park just as the Yosemite and Yellowstone were great national parks. Let the Indians and their Cliff

⁴⁸ "Make it a National Park," The Denver Post, February 23, 1906.

Dwelling lands alone. They don't want to sell that land and they ought not to be made to sell it. If the government made a park of the land, as there was no doubt in the world that the government would, and must do, the Indians could stay there as a part of the landscape.⁴⁹

In answer to the Denver Post article, Mrs. McClurg wrote a letter to them sometime in February of 1906, in which she quoted some of the Congressional delegation from Colorado:

I shall do whatever I can to defeat any bill which seeks to secure national control of the Colorado ruins."--Edward O. Wolcott.

I am opposed to the creation of a park unless it can be entirely under the control of the state of Colorado, so that the people of the state may have the full benefit there may be, of such creation."--H. M. Teller

If Mr. Henry M. Brooks can pass a measure through the house, I will push it vigorously through the senate."--Thomas M. Patterson (February 19, 1906)

Another reason Mrs. McClurg opposed the Hogg Bill was that it proposed placing the ruins under the exclusive control of the Secretary of the Interior.

The Colorado Cliff Dwelling Association had not wanted a national park; they wanted to secure the approaches to its proposed park, and its incorporation papers prove the fact. Commissioner Leupp, the head of Indian affairs, in whose jurisdiction the cliff dwellings lay, went to Mesa Verde the previous summer and returned with a practical plan for combining a government and Indian reserve, with reservationary clauses for government protection in case of need, with resources for the inauguration of a park. The congressmen and senators were all in line to support the measure. It

⁴⁹ Loc. cit.

received a unanimous vote of adoption at the annual meeting of the Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association in Greeley, in November 9, 1905, proposed by their state federation and seconded by Mesdames W. S. Peabody of Denver, Mahlon D. Thatcher of Pueblo and Jesse Gale of Greeley.

Some of the members of the Association, possibly misunderstanding its official action, continued to press for a national park, and to speak for one. Gradually organizations began to petition for national parks without any clear understanding of what they were asking. The legislators at Washington were utterly confused and confounded. Mr. Hogg, according to the Denver News, held out for a long time against a national park.⁵⁰

On February 25, 1906, The Denver Post reported that Mrs. Peabody would resign all of her Cliff Dwelling offices in April and work for a national park. She hoped to succeed through the assistance of Congressman Hogg, and a number of historical organizations.

Mrs. McClurg and her supporters for a state park succeeded in passing a resolution endorsing their plan at a meeting of the Association held Thursday, February, 1906, at Colorado Springs. The vote stood twenty-one to fourteen. Congressman Brooks was working in support of a state park, on plans outlined by Commissioner Leupp, head of Indian Affairs.

Several years before, Mrs. McClurg attempted three different times to lease the reservation from the Indians, but each time she

⁵⁰ "Resents Slurs on Hard Work," The Denver Post, February 1906.

failed to get the secretary of the interior's approval.⁵¹ Then Congressman F. E. Brooks came forward with the suggestion that the land, including Mesa Verde should be secured by act of Congress, and with that understanding the question was approached.

At the 55th session of Congress, Congressman Shafroth introduced a bill to this effect, but it was not supported. Commissioner W. A. Richards later drafted a bill along the same lines, but included a penal clause, which he submitted to the Secretary of the Interior, on February 25, 1904. That was the bill that was introduced into the House on December 11, 1904, by Congressman W. M. Hogg, and into the Senate on January 6, 1905, by Senator T. M. Patterson. This bill proposed a national park. The Committee on public lands of the senate reported favorably on the bill. The passage of a bill acquiring the Mesa Verde and the Ute Indian reservation for a national park had been, therefore, almost assured, and Colorado could be said to be on the verge of preserving a great tract of land, priceless in its natural interest and beauty. The action of the Colorado Cliff Dweller's Association, however, might have resulted in the defeat of that bill as well as the one that proposed to put it under feminine and individual control, and the state may have been left in the lurch.

As evidence that she was in earnest in the matter, Mrs. Peabody planned to resign all her offices in the Association at the meeting held in April, 1906 and with the assistance of a portion of the members who would stand by her, and several other

⁵¹ See p.p. 40, 41.

organizations in the state, she endeavored to secure for Colorado a great national park.⁵²

After the H. M. Hogg bill had been introduced there was considerable correspondence between Puebloans and officials in Washington. Among the communications received were letters from Senator T. M. Patterson, W. A. Richards, commissioner of the land office; Thomas Ryan, first assistant secretary of the Interior Department, and Congressman John F. Lacey, Chairman of the House Committee on public lands. In each of the communications hearty approval of the suggestion was expressed and the statement of those officials was made that they would do everything in their power to secure the passage of the measure. Senator Patterson stated that he had introduced in the Senate a bill similar to the one introduced in the House by Congressman Hogg.

In addition to approving the Hogg bill, Congressman John F. Lacey, stated that he had introduced a bill providing for a penalty for the destruction or mutilation of historic relics wherever found. It also provided that the president might by proclamation set aside historic landmarks or structures as public property. Mr. Lacey also stated in his letter that the cliff dweller's ruins near Mancos were partly located on the Ute reservation.⁵³

⁵² "Colorado May Get National Park Rivaling Yellowstone," The Denver Post, February 25, 1906.

⁵³ "Legislators Supporting National Park Project," Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, 1906.

The Denver Times reported on June 22, 1906, that there was great rejoicing among the Cliff Dweller's Association members over passage of the bill, making Mesa Verde a national park.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ "Great Rejoicing Among Cliff Dwelling Associations," Denver Times, June 22, 1906.

CHAPTER III

OFFICIAL CONCERN AND FEDERAL LEGISLATION CREATING MESA VERDE NATIONAL PARK

The protection and preservation of the prehistoric structures and relics of the Southwest was first brought to the attention of Congress in 1882. In that year, the New England Historical Genealogical Society addressed a memorial to the Senate requesting that at least some of these dead cities or pueblos be carefully selected with the land reservations attached, and be allowed to be withheld from public sale that their antiquities and ruins might be preserved as they furnished invaluable data for ethnological studies then engaging the attention of "their most learned scientific, antiquarian and historical students." The memorial was presented on the floor by Senator Hoar¹ of Massachusetts and the brief discussion of it showed the then current listless attitude which resulted in the memorial being put to rest in the United States Senate Committee on Public Lands.²

In 1891 the General Assembly of Colorado addressed a memorial to Congress asking for the ratification of the May 10, 1888 Ute Treaty³ and the preservation of a part of the reservation as a national park.⁴

¹ Edmund B. Rogers, "Notes on the Establishment of Mesa Verde National Park." The Colorado Magazine, January 1952, 29:11.

² Ibid. p. 11.

³ See page 62 and 63 for further explanation of the 1888, Ute treaty.

⁴ Edmund B. Rogers, "Notes on the Establishment of Mesa Verde National Park." The Colorado Magazine, January 1952, 29:11. p. 10.

Colorado law-makers wanted the Southern Utes removed from Colorado, Mesa Verde set apart as a national park, to protect the prehistoric ruins in Colorado, and the cession of the territory held by the Utes necessary for a Mesa Verde National Park, to the United States Government.

First, the Colorado House Joint Memorial, number 1, and the Senate Joint Memorial, number 4, approved February 16, 1887, prayed for the removal of the Southern Ute Indians from Colorado.⁵

On February 13, 1891, the Colorado Senate approved joint Memorial, number 1, praying for the ratification of the 1868 Treaty with the Southern Ute Indians and setting apart Mesa Verde as a National Park.⁶

On April 27, 1901, a Colorado Senate Joint Memorial, number 4, was approved asking Congress to protect the antiquities and prehistoric ruins in Colorado.⁷

Nearly all of the land west of 107° west longitude and extending from the southern boundary of Colorado to the north to a line fifteen miles north of the 40th parallel was recognized as Ute Indian territory by the treaty of 1868. By the Ute Treaty, concluded at the Los Pinos Agency in 1873 and ratified the following year, the Utes relinquished their rights to certain lands lying north of a line fifteen miles north of the southern boundary of the state of Colorado. This then placed the northern portion of the

⁵ Cong. Rec., 49th. Cong., 2nd. Sess. (1887), p. 183.

⁶ Cong. Rec., 51st. Cong., 2nd. Sess. (1891), pp. 2833, 2893.

⁷ Cong. Rec., 57th. Cong., 1st. Sess. (1901), pp. 210, 250, 450.
For the exact wording of this Colorado memorial see the appendix A at the close of this study.

mesa in the public domain and subject to entry, but many of the larger structures remained in the reservation. This treaty had scarcely been ratified before there was a movement in Colorado to have the Utes relinquish claim to all lands in the state of Colorado. Under authority of the act of May 10, 1888, such a treaty was negotiated that year. The ratification of this treaty, however, developed into a bitter and prolonged controversy. It was not until 1895 that Congress was finally able to pass an act which invalidated the treaty.⁸

In the 1880's and the 1890's there was no real interest in Congress as a whole to save the antiquities and prehistoric ruins. No general bill for their protection was introduced until the fifty-seventh Congress (1901-1903). The primary stimulus to the passage of these bills came from non-governmental groups, such as archaeological and educational institutions and individuals and the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, with the active support of the Department of Interior, but no general legislation was passed until the fifty-ninth Congress (1905-1907).⁹

In the fiftieth Congress, however, (1887-1889) a bill (H. R. 11037) was introduced by United States Representative William S. Holman of Indiana under the title "To set apart a Certain Tract of Land in Territory of New Mexico as a Public Reservation." This tract was about the same land that was later set aside under the Antiquities Act by Presidential Proclamation of February 11, 1916, establishing Bandelier National Monument.

⁸ Edmund E. Rogers, "Notes on the Establishment of Mesa Verde National Park," The Colorado Magazine, January 1952, p. 10.

⁹ Ibid. p. 11

The bill provided "for the preservation from injury and spoliation all natural and archaeological curiosities within said reservation and their retention in their present condition." Section 3 of the bill provided:

That the Director of the Geological Survey is hereby authorized to make a report to Congress specifying such other archaeological remains existing upon the public domain as should be preserved in the interest of science together with a description of such tracts as it may be necessary to reserve order to insure the protection of said archaeological remains from spoliation.

The bill was referred to the United States Congressional Committee on the Public Lands but was not reported back. In the fifty-sixth (1899-1901), fifty-seventh (1901-1903), fifty-eighth (1903-1905) and fifty-ninth (1905-1907) Congresses bills were introduced to establish the Bandelier area together with adjacent tracts as a national park, but none were enacted.¹⁰

In the fiftieth Congress (1887-1889), the Civil Sundry Appropriation for \$2,000 "to enable the Secretary of the Interior to repair and protect the ruin of Casa Grande" also authorized the President to:

Reserve from settlement and sale of the land on which said ruin is situated and so much of the public land adjacent thereto as in his judgment may be necessary for the protection of said ruin and the ancient city of which it is a part.¹⁰

The first withdrawal was made by Executive Order of June 22, 1892.

Not until the fifty-ninth (1905-1907) Congress in which Mesa Verde National Park was established and the Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities was passed, did any of the prehistoric

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 12
¹¹ Loc. cit.

structures and relics receive the protection of the Federal government except the Casa Grande ruin. Chaco Canyon National Monument was the first area of this type to be set aside under the latter act by Presidential Proclamation of March 11, 1907.¹²

The Denver Republican of May 23, 1899, reported that the Cliff Dwellings were to be saved and that United States Congressman John F. Shafroth would introduce the necessary legislation for that purpose. Efforts were to be made to interest the Smithsonian Institution in the ruins.

A meeting was held at Henry Van Sleck's home in Denver on the evening of May 22, 1899, with Congressman Shafroth, Judge George I. Sumner, Booth Malone and Dr. Caden M. Cobern; the host discussed the situation.

Congressman Shafroth went over the details of passing such a bill. All of them had been on the ground and they reviewed all they personally knew concerning the interesting ruins at Mesa Verde. Granted that the people living on the agricultural country surrounding the cliff dwellings made no objections to the setting aside of the land containing those prehistoric buildings, and Shafroth received some assurance that they would not, Shafroth then saw nothing to impede the passage of the bill.

Congressman Shafroth went over maps and pictures of the ground and ruins carefully. As the dimensions of the area were not specified, it was thought that fifteen miles running northeast and southwest by four or five miles wide would include the most

¹² Ibid. p. 11.

important ruins without infringing on any precious mineral or agricultural land. Congressman Shafroth made a large number of notes to take with him to Washington where he worked for the passage of the bill.¹³ He advised that no appropriations be asked for in the first measure. It was hoped that some temporary provision could be made for taking care of the ruins. Excavations had to be made scientifically and should be restricted by license. He, Shafroth, would try to enlist the interest of the Smithsonian Institution.

The matter would then be pushed with all possible speed because at that time there were two large exploring parties of one-hundred members each being organized, one in San Francisco and one in the East to visit Mancos Canyon and excavate the ruins.¹⁴

The Denver Times reported on June 13, 1899 that the people of Montezuma County favored a park. The people felt that they were the most concerned and determined to prepare a petition to Congress asking that the reservation be made as quickly as possible to save the dwellings from vandals.¹⁵

On January 17, 1900, Governor Charles S. Thomas, at the request of the State Historical and Natural Society wrote a letter to United States Senators Teller and Wolcott and United States Representatives Shafroth and Bell urging the necessity of preserving the Cliff Dwellings.¹⁷ He received a reply from Congressman Shafroth dated January 25, 1900, as follows:

¹³ Rogers, loc. cit. (this refers to page 11.)

¹⁴ Rogers, loc. cit. (this refers to page 11.)

¹⁵ "Montezuma County People Favor Park," Denver Times, June 13, 1899.

¹⁶ "To Save the Mancos Ruins," Denver Times, January 17, 1900.

House of Representatives
Washington

Honorable Charles S. Thomas
Governor of the State of Colorado
Denver, Colorado

My Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th. relative to the preservation of the prehistoric ruins of the cliff dwellers.

I am very much interested in trying to do something towards preventing the destruction of the ruins. One difficulty, however, in the way of congressional legislation at the present time, is the fact that most of the ruins are located upon an Indian reservation, over which the government of the United States has no jurisdiction, and which can acquire jurisdiction only by treaty.

I have written to the Bureau of Ethnology and to the Geological Survey relative to the matter, and have had several conferences with them. The map which was prepared under the direction of Mrs. McClurg is not regarded by them as sufficiently accurate to describe anything relative to those ruins located upon the public domain. They, however, have advised that I try to get some general authority to appoint custodians and preserve the same, as a rider upon some general appropriation bill until they can make such a survey as will justify permanent legislation upon the matter.

I am to have another conference with Mr. Newell of the Geological Survey in the next few days and will then go to the Committee on Appropriations to try to get the measure placed in an appropriation bill which will insure its speedy passage.

I fully recognize the importance of preserving these ruins, both from a commercial standpoint and from a historical standpoint and will do all that I can to accomplish that object.

Yours truly,
(Signed) John F. Shafroth¹⁷

¹⁷ Congressman John F. Shafroth, Unpublished letter to Honorable Charles S. Thomas, Governor of Colorado, January 25, 1900. This letter is in the Colorado State Historical Societies' files.

On January 31, 1900, the Denver Times reported that Representative Shafroth would introduce a bill to save the Cliff Dwelling ruins.¹⁸

At the end of the fifty-sixth Congress (1899-1901) on February 22, 1901, Congressman Shafroth introduced the first bill (H. R. 14262) under the title "Creating the Colorado Cliff Dwellings National Park." It was not reported back by the Public Lands Committee.

In the fifty-seventh Congress (1901-1903) two bills (H. R. 7461) and H. R. 6270) were introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. Bell and Mr. Shafroth. Though these bills were supported by a Memorial of the Legislature of Colorado neither was reported back. However, Congressional authority was secured, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate for the relinquishment of the Mesa Verde tract by the Utes and an appropriation for the survey of the area.

In the fifty-eighth Congress (1903-1905) two bills "Creating the Colorado Cliff Dwellings National Park" (H. R. 6784 and H. R. 15986) were introduced in the United States House of Representatives by Congressmen Shafroth and Hogg. The Hogg bill was reported back with amendments, but no further action was received.

The Hogg bill was held up in Congress a long time because of the protests of the Cliff Dwelling Association that the cliff dwellings were outside the proposed government park reservation. Dr.

¹⁸ "Cliff Dwellers Ruins to be Saved," Denver Times, January 31, 1900.

Edgar Lee Hewett was employed to make a survey and returned saying that the Association was correct.

Congressman Hogg was not familiar with the location of all the major Mesa Verde Ruins and his bill (H. R. 5998) originally included land that did not contain enough ruins. To correct this the Brooks-Leupp Amendment was then attached to the Hogg bill.¹⁹

To trace the legislation through Congress that made Mesa Verde a national park one must begin with Senator Patterson's bill (S3245) creating "Mesa Verde National Park," on Monday, January 15, 1906, in the Senate.²⁰

When the bill came up on the legislative calendar, Senator Teller did not object to the bill going over to the next Monday, March 26, 1906, although it kept it's same place on the calendar.

On April 9, 1906, Senator Patterson asked and received unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S3245) creating the Mesa Verde National Park.

The Secretary read the bill; and there being no objections the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration:

Senator Patterson: My Colleague (Mr. Teller) offered some amendments to the bill, which I am quite willing to accept.

The Vice-President: The First amendment proposed by the Senior Senator from Colorado (Mr. Teller) will be stated.

The Secretary: In lines 6 and 7, page 4, strike out the word "restoration" and insert in lieu thereof the word "preservation".

¹⁹ Mrs. Gilbert McClurg, "In Mesa Verde Park," Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, January 3, 1926. For a copy of the final form of this bill turn to appendix B.

²⁰ Cong. Rec., 59th. Cong., 2nd. Sess. (1906), p. 1067.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Vice-President: The next amendment proposed by the Senior Senator from Colorado will be stated.

The Secretary: Strike out all of section 4, after the word "months" in line 2, and insert in lieu thereof the following: Provided, That all laws of the United States in force in the State of Colorado, concerning mines and mining shall be and remain in full force and effect within said, national park; and patents shall issue for mines heretofore or hereafter located within said park as in other parts of Colorado: And provided further, That the Secretary of the Interior may designate bounds not to exceed one-half mile in all directions from any of the ruins intended to be preserved hereby and including the same, within which bounds the above proviso shall not be operative.

The amendment was agreed to:

The Vice-President: The next amendment submitted by the Senior Senator from Colorado will be stated.

The Secretary: It is proposed to add to the bill the following as a new section:

Section 5: That nothing in this act shall prevent the service of writs or warrants, or any other legal process issued out of the State or any other courts, the same as though this act had not been adopted.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and passed.

On April 10, 1906, S3245 (an act creating the Mesa Verde National Park) of the Senate was referred and was sent to the House Committee on the Public Lands.²¹

²¹ Cong. Rec., 59th Cong. 2nd. Sess., (1906) p. 4936.

Congressman John J. McCarthy from Nebraska, of the Committee on Public Lands, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 5998) creating the Mesa Verde National Park, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 4944); which said bill and report were referred to the committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

On June 20, 1906, Congressman Hogg addressed the Speaker of the House:

Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H. R. 5998) creating the Mesa Verde National Park, with Amendments thereto, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The clerk read the bill. Mr. Speaker pro tempore (Mr. Watson) is a second demanded? (After a pause) No second being demanded, the question is on suspending the rules and passing the bill.

The question was taken; and two-thirds voting in favor thereof, the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

Senator Patterson substituted Representative Hogg's bill (H. R. 5998) for the bill introduced by him. The only difference was that in the Hogg bill all prehistoric ruins situated within five miles of the boundaries of Mesa Verde as of S3245 should be placed under jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior. That allowed preservation of several ruins on the Ute reservation. This bill which passed Congress, included the amendment popularly known as "Brooks-Leupp Amendment" which included a five-mile area surrounding the park and increased the jurisdiction of the park to 274 square miles.

Senator Patterson had the concluding touches put on at once in the Senate so that it might go to the President for his signature.

On June 23, 1906, on the subject of Mesa Verde National Park:

The Vice-President: The Chair lays before the Senate a bill from the House of Representatives.

The bill (H. R. 5998) creating the Mesa Verde National Park was read twice by its title.

Senator Patterson: I have called the attention of the Committee on Public Lands to that bill, and I am authorized by the Committee to request its immediate consideration and passage. I desire to say in addition that a similar bill passed the Senate on the 9th of April and is in the House. If this bill passes, I will then ask the recall of Senate bill 3245 and its indefinite postponement.²²

The Vice-President: The Senator from Colorado asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

The Secretary read the bill, and there being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole proceeded to its consideration.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Senator Patterson: I asked that Senate bill 3245, creating the Mesa Verde National Park, be recalled from the House of Representatives.

The Vice-President; Without objection it is so ordered.

Senator Patterson: I enter a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed, with a view to its indefinite postponement when it is returned.

On Monday, June 25, 1906, the Speaker announced his signature to the enrolled bill and joint resolution H. R. 5998 an Act creating Mesa Verde National Park.

On Tuesday, June 26, 1906, the Vice-President signed H. R. 5998 and it was sent to the President for his approval.

²² Cong. Rec., 59th Cong. 2nd Sess. (1906, p. 8410.

The Denver Times of June 22, 1906, reported that Representative Hogg's bill had passed the House and had been forwarded to the President for his signature.

On June 29, 1906, a message, in writing, from President Theodore Roosevelt to the House of Representatives was received along with other bills. The President of the United States had approved H. R. 5998--an Act creating Mesa Verde National Park.²³

H. R. 5998, as it became law, provided in section one that: It should be free from sale and settlement. The exact location in Montezuma County, Colorado was stated.²⁴

Section two put control of the park under the Secretary of the Interior, who should regulate park service and preserve the historic relics and ruins.²⁵ Section 3 allowed the Secretary of the Interior to permit examination and excavation, and gathering of objects of, the interest of reputable museums, university or college, or other recognized scientific or education institution, with a view to increasing the knowledge to aid the advancement of archaeological science. Section 4 provided for penalties for the destruction or molestation of historical ruins or relics with fines up to one thousand dollars and/or a year in jail. When possible, an offender should replace any object that was removed or damaged.²⁶

²³ Ibid. p. 9010, for a copy of the bill turn to appendix B.

²⁴ The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from December 1905, to March 1907, Edited, printed, and published by authority of Congress under the Direction of the Secretary of State., Volume 34, Part I, p. 616.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 617.

²⁶ Don Watson, Indians of the Mesa Verde, p. 21.

For protection and improvement of Mesa Verde National Park, to be spent under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior, \$7,500 was made immediately available.²⁷

In 1909, an attempt was made to amend this act so that the leases and permits granted by the Secretary of the Interior in the park should be restricted to coal mining or local use in Montezuma County, Colorado, the funds derived therefrom to be placed into the Treasury without right on the part of the Secretary to use it for park developments. This act was vetoed by President William H. Taft on April 28, 1910. The park's area was enlarged by the Act of June 30, 1913 (38 Stat. L., 82), but this change did not alter the general significance of H. R. 5998.²⁸

Since 1906 there have been various excavations which opened other Mesa Verde cliff dwellings to the world. Work projects designed to strengthen and preserve the ruins have also been executed.²⁹

In the main, the repair work consisted simply of strengthening the weak sections of the structures in the ruins so there would be no further deterioration; crumbling foundations were supported;

²⁷ The Statutes at Large, op. cit., p. 1337.

²⁸ Naturalist's Guide to the Americas, p. 527.

²⁹ Excavation and Repair of Sun Temple Mesa Verde National Park, Bulletin 1916, U. S. Department of the Interior, p. 1. In 1908, Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, of the Smithsonian Institution, excavated Spruce Tree House. First the ruins were cleaned out. When the work began, the courts, passageways and ground floor rooms were filled, sometimes to a depth of several feet, with fallen stones, caved roofs and trash. As this debris was removed, only a few articles of value were found for the early excavators had been thorough in their work. Dr. Fewkes, also with the Bureau of American Ethnology, had charge of the repair of Sun Temple.

leaning walls were braced; and cracks were filled with adobe mortar. In all the work there was no thought of restoration, for too much modern work would destroy the spirit of the ancient ruins.³⁰

In many respects the most important activity of preservation was that of the motivation of interest in the ruins. Interest in saving something for posterity started in Colorado, spread slowly to various other parts of the United States, and ultimately resulted in the passage of H. R. 5998 in Washington, D. C..

Mesa Verde contains 51,018 acres. It is the "Most notable and best preserved prehistoric cliff dwellings and other structures in the United States."³¹

³⁰ A Survey of the Recreational Resources of the Colorado River Basin, Bulletin, June 1946, United States Department of the Interior.

³¹ Don Watson, Cliff Dwellings of the Mesa Verde, p. 14.

CHAPTER IV

OBSERVATIONS DRAWN FROM THIS STUDY

It was from the discoveries of Mesa Verde's ruins by W. H. Jackson (1874), Dr. W. H. Holmes (1875), Mrs. Gilbert McClurg (1882, 1886), Charles Mason and the Wetherill brothers (1887-1888) and the interest that stemmed from them that enabled Mesa Verde to become a great national park. Explorations of the Wetherill brothers, Charles Mason, Baron Gustave Nordenskjold, and Mrs. Gilbert McClurg created further interest. Books written by Baron Gustave Nordenskjold, Dr. F. H. Chapin and W. R. Birdsall contributed to the general knowledge during this early period. Agitation of the Cliff Dwellings Association (organized within the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs) through the media of lectures, stereopticon slides, newspapers and periodical literature, petitions and letters and interviews with legislators and lastly free excursions to anthropologists and Congressmen and Senators resulted in the legislation which created the park.

This study throws light on the many problems incurred in creating interest in establishing a great national park, to preserve historical ruins for posterity. The task of motivating interest began with discoverers, explorers, and women's clubs in Colorado, extended to other sections of the United States, and ultimately culminated in the passage of legislation (H. R. 5998) establishing a national park.

There were a number of problems related to arousing local interest; some were as follows:

1. There was danger that depredators might destroy the precious ruins before they could be protected by law and artifact collectors might carry away all relics of value. The Wetherill brothers sold one collection of artifacts for \$3,000 and the news of it spread rapidly.
2. There were no good roads leading to the ruins. This made it difficult to stir up interest among the general public.
3. The people were listless about protecting the ruins.
4. A recently settled area in a young state, as usual, was not quick to see the great value of their pre-Columbian ruins.
5. The state did not have charge of all the structures to be preserved, and it was a complicated process to gain custody of even the important ones.
6. Negotiations had to be carried on with both the Indians and the Federal government.
7. A National Park had never been created to preserve ruins. Mesa Verde was the first one in the United States.
8. Numerous government bureaus and agencies had to be consulted making progress slow.
9. Legislators were indifferent to spending money on ethnological ruins during the 1880's and 1890's.
10. Colorado women were divided as to the idea of a state park or a national park. This division threatened to side-track further action.

Overcoming all of these obstacles was a great achievement well worth noting and the Park was brought into being during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt who was an ardent conservationist of natural resources.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE II

Parapets kept Balcony House youngsters from tumbling out of their homes. Canyon floor lies 700 feet below the wall. The cave's overhanging roof shelters an open court where cooking, eating, work, and play took place. A balcony enabled a woman to visit her neighbor without using ladders.

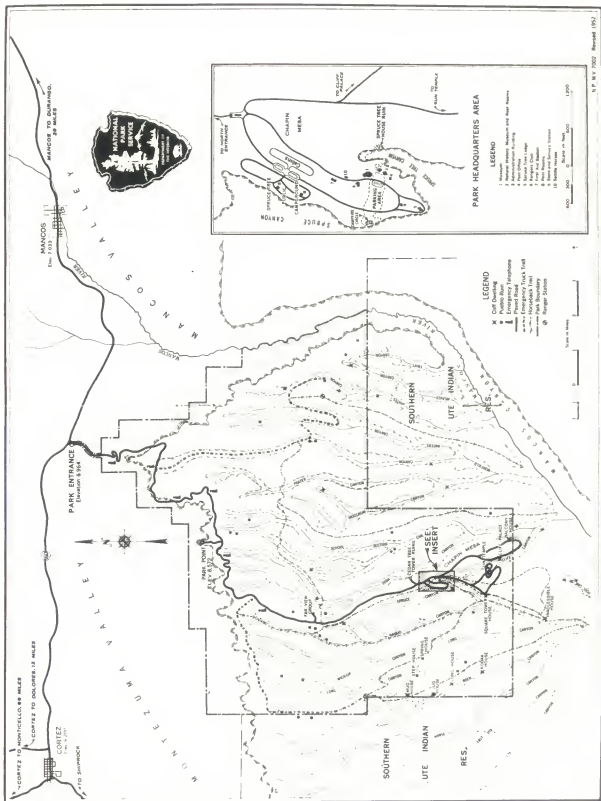
PLATE II



EXPLANATION OF PLATE III

Map of Mesa Verde National Park and surrounding area.

PLATE III



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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
PHYSICS DEPARTMENT
RESEARCH REPORT

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The 1901 Colorado Memorial to the United States Congress which asks it to preserve its Historic Ruins.¹

In 1901, Senator H. M. Teller presented a petition from the legislature of Colorado to Congress:

I present a petition of the legislature of Colorado, praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the preservation of the prehistoric ruins within that state. I ask that the petition be printed in the Record and referred to the committee on Public Lands.

There being no objection, the petition was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows: (State of Colorado, Office of the Secretary of State. United States of America, State of Colorado, ss. Certificate).

I David A. Mills, secretary of State of the State of Colorado, do hereby certify that the annexed is a full, true and complete transcript of the Senate Joint memorial, No. 4, of the thirteenth general assembly, approved the 27th day of April, A.D. 1901, which was filed in this office the 27th day of April, A.D. 1901, at 3:15 o'clock p.m. and admitted to records.

In testimony whereof I have here unto set my hand and affixed the great seal on the State of Colorado, at the city of Denver, this 3rd day of December, A.D. 1901.

Sealed David A. Mills
Secretary of State

Senate joint memorial

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled.

Your memorialists, the general assembly of the State of Colorado, would respectfully represent that, Whereas there are written the confines of the State of Colorado aboriginal antiquities and prehistoric ruins, situated on the public lands of the United States, the value of which from a scientific and historic standpoint is rapidly being destroyed by ruthless vandals;

¹ Conn. Rec., 57th Congress, 1st. Sess. Also Special Sess. of the Senate, p. 210.

Therefore your memorialists pray your honorable body immediately by proper enactment to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior to cause surveys to be made to show the location of these ruins, to the end that legislation may at once be enacted for the permanent protection thereof and the setting aside of a reservation containing these historic ruins, the tracts to be thenceforth reserved from sale and kept as the property of the United States and to be not subject to entry, settlement, or occupation until further provided by law.

And your memorialists will ever pray.

David C. Coates

President of the Senate

F. F. Montgomery
Speaker of the House of
Representatives

approved this 27th day of April A. D. 1901, at 11:15
o'clock a.m.

James B. Orman
Governor of the State of
Colorado

State of Colorado Senate joint memorial, No. 4
State of Colorado ss:

This act originated in the Senate:

W. H. Kelley, Secretary²

² Loc. cit.

APPENDIX B

The Law that Created Mesa Verde National Park.³

The Legislation as it was approved on June 29, 1906, and became law was as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby reserved from settlement, entry, sale, or other disposal, and set apart as a public reservation, all those certain tracts, pieces, and parcels of land lying and being situated in the State of Colorado, and within the boundaries particularly described as follows: Beginning at the northwest corner of section twenty-seven, township thirty-five north, range sixteen west, New Mexico principal meridian; thence easterly along the section line to the southwest corner of the southeast quarter of section twenty, township thirty-five north, range fifteen west; thence northerly to the northwest corner of the southeast quarter of said section; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the southeast quarter of said section; thence northerly to the northwest corner of section twenty-one, said township; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the northwest quarter of said section; thence northerly to the northwest corner of the southeast quarter of section sixteen, said township; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the southeast quarter of section fifteen, said township; thence southerly to the southeast corner of said section; thence easterly to the southwest corner of section thirteen, said township; thence northerly to the northwest corner of the southwest quarter of said section; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the southwest quarter of said section; thence northerly to the northwest corner of the northeast quarter of said section; thence easterly to the northeast corner of said section; thence northerly to the northwest corner of the southwest quarter of section seven, township thirty-five north, range fourteen west; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the southwest quarter of said section; thence northerly to the northwest corner of the southeast quarter of section six, said township; thence easterly to the northeast

³ The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from December 1905, to March 1907, edited, printed and published by authority of Congress under the Direction of the Secretary of State, Volume 34, Part 1, p. 616.

corner of the southwest quarter of section four, said township; thence southerly to the northwest corner of the southeast quarter of section nine, said township; thence southerly to the northwest corner of the southeast quarter of section nine, said township; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the southeast quarter of said section; thence southerly to the northwest corner of section twenty-two, said township; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the northwest quarter of said section; thence southerly to the northwest corner of the southeast quarter of said section; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the southeast quarter of said section; thence southerly to the northwest quarter of section twenty-six, said township; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the northwest quarter of said section; thence southerly to the southeast corner of the southwest quarter of section thirty-five, said township; thence easterly to the northeast corner of section two, township thirty-four north, range fourteen west; thence southerly along the section line between sections one and two and between sections eleven and twelve to the northern boundary of the southern Ute Indian Reservation; thence westerly along the northern boundary of said reservation to the center of section nine, township thirty-four north, range sixteen west; thence northerly along the quarter-section lines to the township thirty-five north, range sixteen west; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the southeast quarter of said section; thence northerly to the northwest corner of section twenty-seven, said township, the place of beginning.

Section 2. That said public park shall be known as the Mesa Verde National Park, and shall be under the exclusive control of the Secretary of the Interior, whose duty it shall be to prescribe such rules and regulations and establish such service as he may deem necessary for the care and management of the same. Such regulations shall provide specifically for the preservation from injury or spoliation of the ruins and other works and relics of prehistoric or primitive man within said park: Provided, That all prehistoric ruins that are situated within five miles of the boundaries of said park, as herein described, on Indian lands and not on lands alienated by patent from the ownership of the United States, are hereby placed under the custodianship of the Secretary of the Interior, and shall be administered by the same service that is established for the custodianship of the park.

Section 3. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to permit examination, excavations, and other gathering of objects of interest within said park by any person or persons whom he may deem

properly qualified to conduct such examinations, excavations, or gatherings, subject to such rules and regulations as he may prescribe: Provided always, That the examinations, excavations, and gatherings are undertaken only for the benefit of some reputable museum, university, college, or other recognized scientific or educational institution, with a view to increasing the knowledge of such objects and aiding the general advancement of archaeological science.

Section 4. That any person or persons who may otherwise in any manner willfully remove, disturb, destroy, or molest any of the ruins, mounds, buildings, graves, relics, or other evidences of an ancient civilization or other property from said park shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction before any court having jurisdiction of such offenses shall be fined not more than one thousand dollars or imprisoned not more than twelve months, or such person or persons may be fined and imprisoned, at the discretion of the judge, and shall be required to restore the property disturbed, if possible.⁴

⁴ Ibid. p. 617.

THE LOCAL INTEREST IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
MESA VERDE NATIONAL PARK

by

HOWARD PARKER MARKS

B. S., Union College, 1948

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of History and Government

KANSAS STATE COLLEGE
OF AGRICULTURE AND APPLIED SCIENCE

1955

The purpose of this thesis was to present in a historical manner the background of the development of Mesa Verde National Park with the attitudes, contributions and influences of the people who discovered, explored, and motivated interest, leading ultimately to the preservation of its pre-historic ruins. The time period covered by this thesis was from 1874, the discovery of the ruins, to 1906, the enactment of park legislation.

The methods and procedures that were used to trace the history of the development of Mesa Verde National Park were varied. The government documents pertinent to the law establishing the park, the Congressional Record and Statutes at Large, were studied first. Printed matter read included books, bulletins, and pamphlets published by the United States Department of Interior and those written by Don Watson, park naturalist.

The writer traveled to Mesa Verde, Colorado, where he spent several days in the museum and office of Don Watson studying the available materials in the form of newspaper clippings and letters.

Other clippings, papers, letters, manuscripts and magazine articles were examined at the State Historical Society in Denver. The old issues of the Denver Times, The Denver Republican, The Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegram, The Mancos Times and The Durango Herald which were made available through the State Historical Society and the Denver Public Library were scanned for relevant materials during an extended visit to the Colorado capital city.

The materials were first organized chronologically and then reorganized more logically into chapters. The first chapter covered

the discovery and early exploration of the area which contained the ruins. The second chapter dealt with local interest and activity exerting pressure on officials to preserve the dwellings for posterity. The third chapter traced legislative concern and legislation to enactment of H. R. 5998 into a law creating the park. The fourth chapter was a brief summary which outlined the significant points of this study.

It was from the discoveries of Mesa Verde's ruins by W. H. Jackson (1874), Dr. W. H. Holmes (1875), Mrs. Gilbert McClurg (1882, 1886), Charles Mason and the Wetherill brothers (1887-1892) and the interest that stemmed from them that enabled Mesa Verde to become a great national park. Explorations of the Wetherill brothers, Charles Mason, Baron Gustave Nordenskjold, and Mrs. Gilbert McClurg created further interest. Books written by Baron Gustave Nordenskjold, Dr. F. H. Chapin and W. R. Birdsell contributed to the general knowledge during this early period. An important development was the organization of the Cliff Dwellings Association within the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs. The activity of this Association through the media of lectures, stereopticon slides, newspapers and periodical literature, petitions and letters and interviews with legislators and lastly free excursions to anthropologists and congressmen resulted in the legislation which created the park.

This study threw light on the many problems incurred in creating interest in establishing a great national park, to preserve historical ruins for posterity. The task of motivating interest began with discoverers, explorers, and women's clubs

in Colorado, spread slowly to various other parts of the United States, and ultimately culminated in the passage of legislation (H. R. 5998) establishing Mesa Verde National Park.

