

**Studies of the Beginnings Collaboration between  
Avocational and Professional Archaeologists in Arizona,  
1864-1956:  
I: A Sketch of Chronological Periods in the Development  
of the Relationship between Avocational and Professional  
Archaeology in Arizona.**

**David R. Wilcox<sup>1</sup>**

**2021, MS 40, Arizona State Museum Library and Archives,  
University of Arizona, Tucson.**

There comes a tide in the affairs of men,  
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.

Shakespeare

1846-1885            From the founding of the Smithsonian Institution in 1846 and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, creating the American Southwest, to territorial status for AZ in February 1863, the 1876 Centennial in Philadelphia whose collections were the foundation of the US National Museum, and 1879 when the Bureau of Ethnology and the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) were created, the political and institutional foundations were laid for the conduct of modern archaeological inquiry in AZ (Hinsley 1981; Fowler 2000; Wilcox and Fowler 2002). One of the first local publications of archaeological findings in AZ was by George Washington Banghart (1823-1895) in a Prescott newspaper edited by his soon-to-be son-in-law, John Huguenot Marion (1836/7-1891), in 1872, which Hiram Hodge (1877) in *Arizona as It Is* elaborated, also describing other archaeological findings to that time. Two other Banghart daughters married Nathen Oakes Murphy (1849-1908), twice territorial governor of AZ, and Edmund William Wells, Jr.

(1846-1938), associate justice of the AZ Supreme Court, respectively. The Southern Pacific RR reached Tucson in March 1880 and soon others were built and then consolidated, including the Southern Pacific of Mexico, Epes Randolph (1856-1921) playing the managerial role for them from 1904-1921 (Sonnichsen 1987; Drachman 1999; Kalt 2006); an acceleration of the Arizona economy soon followed. Meanwhile, Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857-1900) grew up in western NY and is hired by Spencer Baird of the Smithsonian in 1876 and is detailed by Baird to join the James Stevenson (1840-1888) party in the Southwest in 1879, resulting in his seminal studies of Zuni Pueblo (Cushing 1896; Green 1990); Byron Cummings (1860-1954) also is born in northern NY, three years after Cushing (and both before the American Civil War), but he does not go to UT as a professor of Greek and Latin until 1893, the year of the World's Columbian Exposition and the year the AZ Territorial Museum was founded in Tucson at the University of AZ, which itself was founded in 1885 with Jacob Samuel Mansfeld (1832-1894) as its principal backer (Martin 1960; Hinsley 1981; Wilcox and Fowler 2002; Wilcox 2005a; Hinsley and Wilcox 2016). C. C. Stephens, who led the fight for the University in the Arizona Senate, with Selim Maurice Franklin (1859-1927) in the House, was roundly criticized in Tucson for his efforts, most there having preferred to become the State Capitol. Allegedly, dead cats, rotten eggs and other objects were thrown at Stephens at a public meeting and he thereafter walked around town with a black bodyguard; John C. Handy, the first Chancellor of the University was regarded as a good medical doctor when he was sober, which was not that often, and as a dangerous man who had killed a man before coming to Arizona; he died in a gunfight on Pennington Street in Tucson soon after being deposed as University Chancellor for non-attendance of meetings (Lutrell 1922). Through Board of Regents' member Mansfeld, the University acquired 40 acres of land from three businessmen, two being gamblers, and University Hall (later called "Old Main") was erected in time to prevent the

Legislature from rescinding its grant of the university to Tucson, a city then of only about 5000 people, mostly Mexicans (Luttrell 1922).

1886-1889 Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857-1900) leads the Hemenway Expedition to the Southwest, excavating in the Salt River Valley from February 1887 to May 1888 and stimulating considerable local interest in archaeology (Hinsley and Wilcox 1995, 1996, 2002; Wilcox 1993a, 2003). During this time Phoenix and Tempe are connected to the Southern Pacific RR at Maricopa by Herbert Ralph Patrick (1854-1924), a civil engineer, who befriends Cushing and who later owned the La Ciudad site (Turney 1929; Wilcox 1987; Hinsley and Wilcox 2002). Phoenix in 1889 becomes the permanent Territorial and later State capitol.

1890-1894 Dr. Jesse Walter Fewkes (1860-1930) leads the Hemenway Expedition, transferring its operations from Zuni to Hopi where he acquires the Thomas Kean Collection and ships it to Massachusetts where, upon the death of Mary Hemenway in 1894, it goes to the Peabody Museum at Harvard University (Wade and McChesney 1980). Adolph Bandelier (1890, 1892) publishes his *Final Report* on his survey of Southwestern anthropology for the AIA. Anthropology at the World Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 attracts a national audience to the study of anthropology (Hinsley and Wilcox 2016). During this time Frank Morrill Murphy (1854-1917) acquires eastern capital to build the Santa Fe, Prescott & Phoenix RR, giving Phoenix a second outlet for its agricultural products to the rest of the nation; gradually Phoenix would surpass Tucson as the largest city in Arizona by 1920. William John Murphy (1839-1923), the developer of the Arizona Canal, 1883-1885, and the towns of Peoria and Glendale north of Phoenix, in 1896 will buy an interest in the *Arizona Republic* newspaper to support his younger brother Nathan Oakes Murphy's political career.

1895-1901            A medical doctor, Dr. Joshua John Abston Miller (1846-1901), founds the Arizona Antiquarian Association to use the interest in archaeological sites to attract tourists, bolstering the territorial economy. He forges an alliance with Fewkes and Walter Hough (1859-1935) at the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, to back these efforts (Wilcox 1993a, 2005a; Protas 2002). Miller's friend Nathan Oakes Murphy as Territorial Governor twice appoints Miller head of the Phoenix Insane Asylum and, while between-times he is delegate to the US Congress he arranges with the US Secretary of Interior (in 1897) to get Miller permission to excavate sites on the Hopi Reservation where he adds Hopi yellowware pots to his substantial antiquities collection (Lummis 1897; see chronology of Arizona Antiquarian Association, below). Following the looting of Montezuma Castle by a prospector named Patrick O'Toole, who found the mummies of three children and an infant, two of which he shipped to Los Angeles for sale, the Association acts to protect the Castle, and makes it accessible to tourists by building ladders and cleaning out the quano (Protas 2002). In 1901, they also acquire rights to the Pueblo Grande mound in Phoenix and commence excavations, but Miller suddenly dies in July of that year (Wilcox 1987; 1993a).

1902-1911            A member of the AZ Antiquarian Association, J. W. Benham (1866-1914), through his Curio Store in Phoenix, and what he calls a "Free Museum," publishes a map of the Hohokam canals still evident in the Salt River Valley that shows the distribution of Hohokam villages and important data on their site structure; it is prepared by another AAA member, Cushing's friend, Herbert Ralph Patrick (1903). Also in 1903, Benham and his partner Will Croft Barnes (1858-1936) buys out the larger part of the Hyde Exploring Expedition commercial interests in NYC and Albuquerque, NM (Snead 2001; *Arizona Republican*, June 2, 1903, 3:4), and delivers showcases Southwestern antiquities at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904 (Parezo and Fowler 2007), meanwhile selling huge volumes of

them to European and other buyers (*Coconino Sun* (February 25, 1905, 3:1). The Federal Antiquities Act of 1906, written by Dr. Edgar Lee Hewett (1856-1946) of NM, creates a new framework for legitimately making collections on federal lands, restricting such rights to public institutions that will make them available to the public for educational purposes (Thompson 2000); the AIA employs Hewett in the Southwest; Hewett and the AIA general secretary Mitchell Carroll (1870-1925) recruit Byron Cummings (1860-1954), now Dean of Men and of Arts and Letters at the University of UT, to an interest in archaeology in 1906 (*Salt Lake Tribune*, April 14, 1906, p. 10; *Salt Lake Herald*, May 4, 1906, p. 12; *Salt Lake Herald*, October 14, 1906, Mag. Sec., p. 15; Wilcox 2016b). Hewett in 1904 forces outside parties to give up working in Chaco Canyon (Fowler 2000; Snead 2001), writes a Circular for the General Land Office exposing the extent of looting in the Southwest, and, following the success of the Antiquities Act, in 1907 begins a local field program that brings Alfred Vincent Kidder (1960; see also Hewett 1943), a Harvard undergraduate, to the Southwest; the Museum of New Mexico is founded in 1909, led by Hewett, and soon he heads an art museum next door. A series of National Monuments is named by US Presidents in the American Southwest, including one recommended by Cummings (Fowler 2000; Thompson 2000; Wilcox and Fowler 2002; Bostwick 2006). In 1902 the US Reclamation Act is passed, due in part to the lobbying of Benjamin Austin Fowler of Phoenix, who helps found the Salt River Valley Water Users Association in 1903. The Roosevelt Dam is built by 1911, providing a stable context for agricultural development in the Phoenix region (Zarbin 1984).

1912-1915            Statehood for AZ in 1912 stimulates increased local interest in keeping antiquities in state, and in protecting sites from the ravages of tourists and other outside parties. The "Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society" is founded in Phoenix for that purpose, desires to purchase the Miller Collection, but they only raise \$70 (Wilcox 2005a). At the University of UT, numerous faculty resign

over a matter of principle involving academic freedom and the new president of the University of AZ, Dr. Rufus Bernhard von KleinSmid (1875-1964), is delighted to hire several of them, including Byron Cummings to head a new department of archaeology and to be a Classics professor (Wilcox 2005a, 2021); soon he will again be a Dean. In 1914, on a hilltop at Highland Park, near Pasadena, CA, Charles Fletcher Lummis opens the doors of the new Southwest Museum while in Washington DC, Mitchell Carroll inaugurates a new journal, *Art and Archaeology*.

1915-1917 Cummings comes to Tucson, AZ, in 1915 to be Director of ASM and Professor of Archaeology (and of Greek and Latin, to 1919) at the U of AZ, when Tucson has a population of only about 16,000 people. In 1916, he begins the "Arizona Archaeology Society," which promptly merges with the Phoenix-based Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society in 1917, keeping the latter name, and acquires the Joshua Miller Collection for ASM for \$500 (Wilcox 2005a; Bostwick 2006). The AAHS purchases on credit an "Archaeological Ford" from Tucson Ford dealer Monte Mansfield (1884-1959) (youngest son of Jacob Samuel Mansfeld) to support Cummings' field program in the wilds of northern AZ near Navajo Mountain. Meanwhile, A. V. Kidder (1885-1963) begins stratigraphic excavations at Pecos Pueblo in NM in 1915 and Clark Wissler (1917) declares the beginning of a "new archaeology" based on the study of time relations (Fowler 2000; Wilcox and Fowler 2002). Critical to this approach is the relationship of association, the co-occurrence of pottery types found together in "assemblages," and (soon) their association with tree-ring dates, the methods for which were published by astronomer Dr. Andrew Ellicott Douglass (1867-1962) in 1914. Like Cummings, Douglass was a Dean at the U of AZ and became Acting President; they became long-time friends.

1917-1919 American involvement in World War I and the flu pandemic occur; new sanatoriums for tubercular patients are

founded in AZ. Cummings becomes Dean of Letters, Arts and Sciences and Dean of Men, as he had been at the University of UT. His outstanding efforts to care for the sick at the University will long be remembered (*Arizona Wildcat* 1936). The educator of the pioneer Southwestern people, he becomes a beloved symbol of civilization in the West, as was his friend Hewett in NM, who had founded the Museum of New Mexico in 1909 and an art museum soon thereafter; Cummings was a board member of the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Archaeology from those early days, an important strategic alliance that lasted many decades and included other Hewett supporters, including Alice Fletcher, Mitchell Carroll, William Henry Holmes, Frederick Webb Hodge, and Charles Lummis.

1920-1928 Cummings becomes a trusted administrator at the U of AZ and by 1928 begins certifying master's students, including Emil Walter Haury (1904-1992), who first worked with him in 1925 at Cuicuilco in Mexico (Haury 2004), and then acted as secretary of AAHS, 1926-1931 (Hartmann and Urban 1991). Cummings publishes his Mexico findings in *Art and Archaeology*, a sign he is part of a strategic alliance between the AIA, William Henry Holmes, Hewett, and the National Geographic Society (which funded both Cummings' Mexico work and that of his nephew Neil Merton Judd in Chaco Canyon, where Cummings' student Karl Ruppert excavated Pueblo del Arroyo under Judd's supervision). However, departments of anthropology by 1935 had become firmly established in American museums, colleges and universities where the "four field approach" of advocated by the American Anthropological Association and its organ, the *American Anthropologist*, emphasized an "anthropological aesthetic" that contrasted with the values expressed in *Art and Archaeology* (Wilcox 2016).<sup>2</sup>

Faced in 1920 with being officially superseded with its population of about 20,000 people as the largest city in AZ by Phoenix with over 29,000, the Tucson business community refocuses

Tucson's image as a place for both health seekers and wealthy people to come to stay during the winter or to build homes in the desert by founding the Tucson Sunshine Climate Club as an adjunct to the Chamber of Commerce (Sonnichen 1987; VanderMeer 2010). In 1928 the Museum of Northern Arizona (MNA) is founded in Flagstaff with Harold Sellers Colton as director; he puts up a sign at its entrance, "This museum displays ideas not things," signaling the new scientific aesthetic (Wilcox 2010a). The legacy of the Arizona Antiquarian Association is still strong, however, as Omar Turney (1929), one of its members-- in the year of his death--twice publishes *Prehistoric Irrigation in Arizona*, both serialized in the *Arizona Historical Review* and as a book published by the office of the Arizona State Historian (this is the first monograph in Hohokam studies). Supported by Dwight Heard, Frank Midvale, a protégée of Turney, with some classwork at the University of AZ with Cummings, in the mid 1920s excavates the La Ciudad site in Phoenix on the St. Luke's Sanatorium (established by Bishop J. W. Atwood), but Heard dies in 1929 just as the Heard Museum is opened in Phoenix, and Midvale's findings are not published until later (Wilcox 1987). Turney had also invited Erich Schmidt, representing the American Museum of Natural History, to come to Phoenix in 1925 where he soon excavates two stratigraphic tests in large trash mounds at Pueblo Grande and La Ciudad and writes his Ph.D. dissertation at Columbia University on this work (the first Ph.D. in Hohokam studies) (Wilcox 1988). The Arizona Museum is founded in Phoenix in 1927 with Odd Sigurd Halseth (1893-1966), a Hewett student, as director, but he leaves it in 1929 to develop the Pueblo Grande Museum (Wilcox 1993b, 1993c). Gila Pueblo in Globe, AZ, is founded in 1928 by Harold Sterling Gladwin (1883-1983), a retired stockbroker, who employs looters to make collections for him (Wilcox 1988, 1993b). Meanwhile, in 1927 Cummings (as President of the University of AZ [Windsor 1998]) succeeds in getting a State antiquities law passed (Wilcox 1988). That August, a "Southwestern Archaeological Conference" organized by A. V. Kidder is held (it is first called the "Pecos Conference in 1950 after a

suggestion by Katharine Bartlett (1907-2001) [Woodbury 1993]), creating a new consensus about the stages of cultural growth in the Southwest, and an agreement about how to name pottery types--but Cummings is skeptical of some of its generalizations (Wilcox 2005a).

1929-1937            In Tucson the El Conquistador Hotel, built by developer John Murphey and architect Henry Olsen Jaastad (1872-1965), opens, while in Phoenix the even grander Arizona Biltmore similarly opens to serve wealthy people; the population of Tucson in 1930 is measured at 32,506, and that of Phoenix at 48,118 (Sonnichen 1987; VanderMeer 2010).<sup>3</sup> Halseth, Cummings and Colton refocus Gila Pueblo onto a professional trajectory when Gladwin is persuaded to disavow looting and to hire Haury as his assistant director in 1930 (Wilcox 1993c); the deal Haury makes sends him to Harvard University to get a Ph.D., which he does by writing up part of Cushing's Hemenway data (Haury 1945, 1995). Professional publication, which both Colton and Gladwin vigorously pursue, becomes the standard for judging professional work; the *Kiva* is founded by Cummings and AAHS in 1935, but it is oriented toward the general public; the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) is founded in 1935, maintaining and strengthening the alliance between avocational/amateur and professional archaeologists, many of whom are also members of the American Anthropological Association (AAA); *Art and Archaeology* had ceased publication in 1934 following the death of William Henry Holmes in 1933 and the beginning of the Great Depression (Dyson 2002). Cummings at age 77 in 1937 is forced to step down at the U of AZ by short-term President Paul Burgess acting for the Arizona Board of Regents, but helps to recruit Haury to be his successor, although Burgess and Liberal Arts Dean Emil Richert Riesen (1884-1956) (Haury's brother-in-law) were already persuaded he was the best candidate (Thompson 1995; Wilcox 2005a; Bostwick 2006; see also ASM Archives, MS 3: Emil W. Haury Papers: Correspondence: Gladwin).

1938-1947            The AZ Board of Regents in April 1936 cut a deal with Cummings that he would retain control of ASM for another year but then would be relieved of all administrative duties and would write up his work as emeritus director of ASM on half salary (ASM Archives, MS 3: Emil W. Haury Papers: Correspondence: Gladwin). The new President of the U of AZ, Alfred Atkinson (1879-1958), implements this arrangement on July 1, 1938, when Haury takes full charge of ASM. Gladwin soon launches a campaign to discredit the chronologies of Haury, A. E. Douglass, and Harold Sellers Colton (1881-1970), but fails, closing Gila Pueblo in 1950, and transferring the collections to ASM in 1951 (Nash 1999).<sup>4</sup> Cummings is given a new opportunity to publish by the reigniting of the Hohokam Museums Association (HMA) in 1937, which is led by Anna Julia Child Bird,<sup>5</sup> supported by wealthy easterners attracted to winter in the desert, local pioneer families, U of AZ faculty, and other local citizens, many of them new movers and shakers, such as Hubert and Helen (Congdon) d'Autremont: this results in his publication of *Kinishba: A Prehistoric Pueblo of the Great Pueblo Period* in 1940, but its' very title shows it is an anachronism in the eyes of the new generation of professional archaeologists; Paul Sidney Martin (1941) publishes a critical review of it while Haury privately also does so, although he sees it as valuable as a popular account (ASM MS 3, Emil W. Haury Papers: Correspondence: Cummings). The HMA also establishes a wayside museum at Kinishba, but, in a few years it fails (Welch 2007). Haury, meanwhile, successfully changes the name of the U of AZ department to the Department of Anthropology over the objections of the students and faculty, thus symbolizing a strategic alliance with the profession of American anthropology: whereas to Cummings artifacts were treasures to be coveted and admired as art (and his exhibits are a "hodge-podge" of objects, not ideas), Haury classified artifacts to extract from them scientific information about the past. As a student of A. E. Douglass, he understood the method of tree-ring dating, proposed the method of ceramic cross-dating, participated in the first Tree-Ring Conference (held at MNA in 1934 [Wilcox 2010a]),

and published a sound scientific methodology for their interpretation (Haury 1935; see also Dean 1978). His major new exhibit at ASM on tree-ring dating (an exhibit about ideas) is supported by the HMA, of which A. E. Douglass is a major stalwart. Haury gives many talks to the AAHS, but in this period it is still dominated by students of Cummings, with Rev. Victor Rose Stoner (1893-1957) as president, 1936-1940, and 1943-1948, and Clara Lee Tanner (1905-1997) as Vice President, 1937-1943, and Editor of *The Kiva*, October 1938-January 1948 (when she went on sabbatical); furthermore, the membership of AAHS is still strongly motivated by Cummings's aesthetics about objects and art (which Clara Lee Tanner would continue to espouse throughout her long life as Haury's colleague in the Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona). However, the primary inspiration for the HMA, Anna Child Bird, dies in 1942 and the organization declines soon afterwards. However, quite a number of their members join AAHS.

Haury is president of AAHS, 1942-1943, and president of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA), 1943-1944; he also attends the Mesa Redonda meetings in Mexico in 1943 where he forges new strategic alliances with Mexican archaeologists (Wilcox 1986; ASM MS 3, Emil W. Haury Papers). Two of his people, Roy Lassetter, Jr. (1910-1976), and Carleton Stafford Wilder (1911-1986), are secretary of AAHS, 1939-40 and 1941-1943, respectively (Hartman and Urban 1991). When he becomes a board member of MNA in 1939, a strategic alliance is formed between MNA and ASM that has long-term consequences (Wilcox 2010a), but Haury also maintains a strategic alliance with Odd Halseth at Pueblo Grande Museum, becoming board member of the Arizona Anthropological Association (founded by Halseth) and carefully working with him in attempts to establish a Governor's archaeological commission (e. g., Halseth to Haury 1938; Wilcox 1993c)—although this initiative fails.

Upon assuming the directorship of ASM, Haury immediately began an ambitious program of archaeological research. Excavation programs at Jackrabbit Ruin, Valshni Village and Ventana Cave on

the Papago Indian Reservation, and in the Forestdale Valley on the White Mountain Apache Reservation, both gave opportunity to graduate students but also produced seminal contributions to Southwestern archaeology and included appendices on physical anthropology by his colleague Norman Emmanuel Gabel (1906-1961) (Haury 1940; 1950; see Reid and Whittlesey 2010). In 1946, he began a long-term program research of at Point of Pines on the San Carlos Apache Indian Reservation north of the Safford Valley in eastern Arizona, which lasted to 1961 (Haury 1989). Many of the students who participated had long careers in Southwestern archaeology, and many also became members and even officers of the AAHS and the SAA.

#### 1948-1956

Collaborating with Eric Kellerman Reed (1914-1990), Haury actively solicits papers from students of Cummings who have become professional anthropologists or librarians (Gertrude Frances Hill) for a festschrift honoring Cummings, *For the Dean* (1950; ASM, MS 3, Correspondence: Cummings), which is presented to him on his 90<sup>th</sup> birthday. Haury in 1948 is authorized within the university to begin a Ph.D. program and he uses summer archaeological field schools at Point of Pines, AZ, as a training ground for students to become professional archaeologists, certifying his first Ph.D. students in 1953 (Haury 1989; Thompson 1995, 2005a). Many of these students join AAHS. Haury is again president, 1948-1949, but transfers this responsibility to one of his female students, Emily Wood Schupp (in 1952, Mrs. Robert D. Wilson),<sup>6</sup> as acting president midway during his term; the following year she is secretary of AAHS (Hartmann and Urban 1991:351). On his return, he serves on the Executive Council, 1950-1954, and his students Terah Leroy Smiley (1914-1996)—who becomes head of the Tree-Ring Laboratory and then the Geosciences program at the U of AZ--and Edward Bridge Danson, Jr. (1916-2000)—who becomes Assistant Director of MNA in 1956 and Director in 1959--are president, 1950-52, and 1954-1956, respectively (Hartmann

and Urban 1991). Rallying in 1952, Cummings supporters, led by Helen d'Autremont (1889-1966), dissolve the HMA, transferring its funds to the Cummings Publication Fund, and he publishes *Early Inhabitants of Arizona and the Southwest* in 1953, as a popular book for the general public (thus also fulfilling the commitments he made to Presidents Burgess and Atkinson in 1937 and 1938), but then he dies in 1954 at age 93 (Wilcox 2005a; Bostwick 2006).

Meanwhile, Davis-Monthan Air Force Base is built in Tucson in the 1940s and the Hughes Aircraft Co. (today's Raytheon Corporation) locates in Tucson in 1951, when Howard Hughes acquires 20,000 acres of land to be developed, both moves abetted by Monte Mansfield ("Mr. Tucson"), thus accelerating Tucson's growth following World War II (Drachman 1999). Analogous processes were happening in Phoenix, except on a larger scale. By 1950 the Tucson metropolitan area has a population of 45,454 and Phoenix one of 216,038; by 1960, however, they were at 212,892 and 552,043, respectively (Sonnichen 1987; VanderMeer 2010).<sup>7</sup> Thus from 1950 to 1960 Tucson grew remarkably by over 4.5 times in size. In 1952 Haury established a Bureau of Ethnic Research within the Department of Anthropology and he is instrumental in the creation of a laboratory of Carbon-14 dating within the university's chemistry department (Thompson 2005). In 1956, Haury is president of the American Anthropological Association (AAA), following in the footsteps of Cummings's student and nephew Neil Merton Judd (1887-1976) who was president of the SAA in 1939 and the AAA in 1945, only to be followed by another of Cummings's students, Gordon Randolph Willey (1913-2002), who was president of the AAA in 1961 and of the SAA in 1968. Not to be outdone, another Cummings student, Edward Holland Spicer (1906-1983), was president of both the AAA and the American Philosophical Society (APS) in 1974 (Darnell and Gleach 2002). What a unique record of achievement for an educator (Cummings) whose primary goal was the nineteenth century commitment to build good character (Bostwick 2006)!

1957-1965

Radio, television, air travel and the Interstate highway system draw AZ into a national and international economy as never before and the influence of mass American culture becomes increasingly important. Phoenix surpasses Tucson economically to become a national player (Luckingham and Luckingham 1998; Gammage 1999; Collins 2005; VanderMeer 2010), but Tucson stays on a parallel growth track, although on a smaller scalar level. Victor Stoner wills his library to ASM in 1957 and Haury is successful in persuading his friend President Richard Anderson Harvill (1905-1988) to allow ASM to create a library within the University independent of the main library (upon Cummings death in 1954, his papers were deposited in the Arizona Historical Society [AHS] which had only then succeeded in building a new building just up the street from ASM [Sonnichen 1984]).<sup>8</sup>

The centrality of ASM in AZ archaeology is consolidated with passage of a new Arizona State antiquities act in 1960, giving the power to grant permits to excavate or collect on State land to the Director of ASM. A year earlier, in 1959, Haury initiates a highway salvage program, sharing the work in AZ with MNA (where he had been a Board member from 1939 [Wilcox 2010a]). He models this program on one begun in NM by his former student [Denver] Fred Wendorf, Jr. (1924-2015) (see Wendorf 1957). In 1964, Haury retires, handing the baton to his student Raymond Harris Thompson (1924-2020) whom he had hand-groomed for the job (Thompson 2005). The Department of Anthropology at the University of AZ under Haury's leadership has become a national force, but it retains the American Southwest and northern Mexico as its primary focus. Meanwhile, at ASU a new department of anthropology is beginning to emerge in the middle 1950s that will gradually begin to compete with the one at the U of AZ. Also in Phoenix, a new avocational archaeology group, the Arizona Archaeological Society, is founded in 1964, led by Donald Dove and a small group of other men from the

General Electric Computer Department and advised by Alfred Dittert, Jr. (1922-2006) and Donald Morris (1929-2014), of ASU; they soon were joined by other ASU professors; its structure encourages the formation of chapters in all parts of Arizona, but AAHS remains dominant in Pima County.

#### 1966-1976

National historic preservation legislation is passed that creates a fundamentally new framework for the conduct of archaeology in America, with both Haury and Thompson playing important roles in its emergence. In 1972 the regulations for the Historic Preservation Act of 1966 are published and the position of State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) is established in the newly formed AZ State Parks Department in Phoenix. By 1966, "urban renewal" in downtown Tucson shocks the conscience of the community and strengthens the conviction that historic preservation is a positive civic value (Logan 1995; Pima County and the Arizona Historical Society 2012:121). ASU hires new faculty who begin to compete with ASM and MNA for federal archaeology contracts. In 1976 Haury publishes his magnum opus, *The Hohokam, Desert Farmers and Craftsmen*. Under Thompson's leadership, the U of AZ department of anthropology diversifies beyond its traditional focus on the local (the American Southwest and Northern Mexico) to become international in its focus (Thompson 2005). By the mid 1970s private companies begin successfully to compete with the universities and MNA for federal contracts (Doelle and Phillips 2005).

#### 1977-1993

A new generation of archaeologists argue Haury's (1976) Hohokam chronology is too long, due to misunderstandings about the probability nature of Carbon-14 dates, and they shift the focus of inquiry from artifacts to the study of *relationships* observable in the archaeological record, constructing behaviorally meaningful concepts out of such data, thus building an anthropological archaeology

independent of any dependency on ethnographic analogy (Wilcox 1976; Wilcox and Shenk 1977; Wilcox 2005c, 2015a; see also Plog 1980; Schiffer 198x). The earlier concept of association, and especially Gordon Randolph Willey's 1953 Viru Valley survey report and its concepts of "settlement pattern" and "settlement system," had accelerated this process of refocusing attention on relationships (Chang 19xx), but Willey's generation generally retained a belief in the necessity of ethnographic analogy, which many of the "new archaeologists" of the 1960s also embraced (e. g., Longacre 1970; Hill 1970). Regrettably, this approach results in little more than correlations and a relabeling of one thing for another (Wilcox 2005b). But correlations are not explanations and relabeling is not the same thing as testing scientific hypotheses. Construction of "independent archaeological theory" based on a relational logic began to be articulated in the 1970s, shifting focus of observation from objects to relationships and to the measurement of interactions of populations on multiple spatial scales (e. g., Wilcox and Shenk 1977; Wilcox 1975, 1978, 1979a, 2005b, 2005c, 2014, 2015; Blanton et al. 1984; Sullivan 2008). During this period, in 1980, the position director of the ASM was separated from that of head of the department of archaeology (as it was under Cummings) or anthropology (under Haury and Thompson). Soon thereafter, for complex reasons, there came the demise of the museum's archaeology contract program. In 1988, the MNA contract archaeology program also was shut down, due to cost overruns, leaving the ASU program to compete with the rise of private companies, which became increasingly successful (Doelle and Phillips 2005).

1994-2015

Ceramic sourcing, the internet, geographic information theory, social network theory, and the mathematics of graph theory (i. e., the mathematics of relations) provide new opportunities to study relationships in the archaeological record on larger and larger spatial scales (Abbott 1994, 2010; Gregory and Wilcox 2007; Mills et al. 2013;

Wilcox 1915). Construction of settlement distribution maps, beginning with conferences on the Pueblo IV period in 1986 and the Pueblo III period soon afterward (Adler 1996), culminated in the assembling of the Coalescent Communities Database of all known sites of 13 rooms or more from AD 1200 to 1700 (Wilcox, Robertson and Wood 2001; Wilcox et al. 2006; Gregory and Wilcox 2007) and now new initiatives have added of over 4 million ceramic counts and 5000 obsidian samples to it in the last several years (Mills et al. 2013; Hill et al. 2015). Still underdeveloped is the modeling of prehistoric political organization, but advances in the reconstruction of warfare patterns are moving the ball forward on that front (Wilcox 1979b; Wilcox and Haas 1994; LeBlanc 1999; Rice and LeBlanc 2001; Wilcox et al. 2006; Kunckleman 2010; Wilcox 2014). Adding to those patterns, a "hilltop survey" in all of west-central Arizona involving multi-layered collaborations between professional and avocational archaeologists has resulted in the discovery of new spatial patterns and the photo documentation by Joseph Vogel of over 1000 sites, which have been added to the statewide AZSITE database (Wilcox and Holmlund 2007; Wilcox et al. 2008, Wilcox 2010; Wilcox 2015b). A new narrative of Southwestern archaeology is beginning to be formulated that sees native Americans as part of multiple cultural worlds, not simply denizens of nature subject only to the whims of precipitation and temperature variations (Gregory and Wilcox 2007; Wilcox 2014). In Pima County, AZ, in 1998 a new planning process began that led to the Sonoran Desert Conservation Plan, to a successful bond issue to implement some of its elements in 2004, and now (2013) to a draft of the Pima County Multi-Species Conservation Plan, both using science-based principles shaped by public review and discussion to define the political balance between preservation and development. At ASU, in 2005, the anthropology department was abolished in favor of a School of Human Evolution and Social Change, and in 2009 at the University of AZ a School of Anthropology was formed that created a new strategic alliance with the ASM and other anthropological groups within the university.

Thus, a new era in the pursuit of anthropological knowledge in Arizona is well underway. Through it all, *Kiva* continued to be published and with the efforts of the late William Robinson (1929-2021) and others it has become an increasingly useful outlet for professional archaeological findings throughout the North American Southwest.

Table. Comparison of the Population Growth Trajectories of Tucson and Phoenix Metropolitan Areas

City	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	2010
Tucson	c. 5000	7531	13193	20293	32506	36818	45454	212892	520116
Phoenix	3152	5544	11134	29053	48118	121828	216038	552043	1445632
Tucson/ Phoenix	<b>c. 1.6</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>0.70</b>	<b>0.68</b>	<b>0.30</b>	<b>0.21</b>	<b>0.39</b>	<b>0.36</b>

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Itinerant Scholar, Research Associate, Arizona State Museum (ASM), University of Arizona: Early versions: March 17, 2014 to Nov/Dec 1915; **Current Version:** March 20, 2017; **edited June 2021.**
- <sup>2</sup> The publication by Alfred Louis Kroeber (1876-1960) of his textbook *Anthropology* in 1923 firmly set anthropology on a course within academia opposed to the extremism and racism of the American eugenics movement led by Madison Grant (1865-1937) and his friend Henry Fairfield Osborn (1857-1935), the president of the board of the American Museum of Natural History (Spiro 2009) and environmental determinism, advocated by Ellsworth Huntington (1876-1947) (Wilcox 2016a). The censure of Franz Boas (1858-1942), the principal national leader of the anthropologists in 1919, was led by archaeologists at Harvard University and others, including William Henry Holmes (1846-1933) at the Smithsonian Institution, who were sympathetic to the eugenics assumptions. The power of the eugenics movement persuaded the US Congress and President Coolidge to pass the immigrant exclusion act of 1924. By the 1930s, however, advances in the science of genetics discredited the eugenics assumptions, and Franz Boas was elected president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science [AAAS] in 1932. Interestingly, the psychologist B. von KleinSmid also favored eugenics notions, but it does not appear that Byron Cummings did (see Thompson 2005).
- <sup>3</sup> Thus, compared to 1920 when Tucson was only 69.8 percent the size of Phoenix, during the 1920s it kept pace by 1930 being 67.6 percent as large, due partly to strategies of annexations in each city. By 1940, however, the percentage had fallen to 30.2 percent.

<sup>4</sup> At the three-day inauguration program in the fall of 1951 for in-coming president Richard Anderson Harvill, the gift of the Gila Pueblo collection, estimated to contain some 50,000 artifacts and to be worth about one million dollars, played a key role. An open house was held at the museum on the first evening Emil Haury declared, "No archaeological collection representing the Southwest is more comprehensive than the combined Arizona State Museum and the Gila Pueblo artifacts." Four previous presidents of the university then spoke, including Rufus Bernhard von KleinSmid, who praised the university and museum for its excavation programs. At the end of the proceedings Harold Sterling Gladwin was presented with an honorary degree (Martin 1960:240-247). Clearly, the ASM and its programs of collection and research were then seen as central to the success of the university.

<sup>5</sup> Mrs. Anna Julia Child Bird (1855-1942) was born in Worcester, MA, and married in 1880. She was the chairman of the Massachusetts Women's Suffrage Association, 1917-1919; in 1920, she was chairman of the women's division of the Republican party and of the Republican women's committee of Massachusetts; and from 1922-1927 she was president of the Federation of Women's Republican Clubs in Massachusetts. From 1920-1928 she was an associate member of the Republican National Committee, and in 1924 she was a member of the Republican National Committee from MA (National Cyclopedia of American Biography [NCAB] 33:330-331; Biographical Cyclopedia of American Women [BCAW] I:281; Who Was Who in America [WWWAm] 4:87; see also NCAB 22:32-33; WWWAm 1; AHS Clipbook #33; Google). She was a strong advocate of Prohibition (NYT, November 21, 1942, p. 11, col. 5), and a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution (Google). She also "was the founder and moving spirit of the Hohokam Museums Association, which was first organized in 1934, but then "took a nap" until February 1937 ("Hohokams Have Museum Plans", AAHS Archives 1936-1937). This organization was devoted to encouragement of archaeological work in Arizona and in particular supported the museum at the University of Arizona, and some of the special work of Dr. Cummings. But it was public interest in the unique archaeological assets of Arizona that Mrs. Bird primarily sought to stimulate." William Mathews, Editor of *Arizona Daily Star*, in his obituary, cited in Ellinor Stewart Heiser, *A New Englander*, p. 81. Her husband (1855-1927), whom she married in 1880, was named for Charles Sumner (1811-1874), the abolitionist senator from MA who gained and held his seat in part due to the political clout of Francis William Bird (1809-1894).

<sup>6</sup> Schupp (b. 1926), who was from Phoenix, AZ, graduated from the UA in 1948 (*Desert Magazine*, 1948).

<sup>7</sup> These figures imply that by 1950 the Tucson population was only 0.210 percent the size of Phoenix but by 1960 it had grown both to nearly the same size that Phoenix was a decade earlier, and its relative standing had risen to 38.9 percent of the size of Phoenix. It was during this same decade that the teacher's college (and former normal school) in Tempe became a university in 1958 and added a department of anthropology to its curriculum (Hopkins and Thomas 1960).

<sup>8</sup> John Howard Pyle (1906-1987) was Governor; the Board of Regents included Nelson C. Bledsoe, George W. Chambers, Robert Humphrey Forbes (1867-1968), Byron Ivancovich, and Mrs. Walter J. Wakefield; John W. Murphey was Finance Chairman, Mrs. George F. Kitt was Secretary Emeritus, Miss Eleanor B. Sloan was Historical Secretary, and Mrs. Marguerite Strong was Recording Secretary; and the architect was Jos. Th. Joesler (plaque on the side of the AHS building).