



Chapter 45

Postmodern Deconstruction and the Role of Science in National Park Management

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So, what the Sam Hill is “postmodern deconstruction?” Well, I’ve read the books and the Cliff Notes, and I still can’t tell you for sure, but I’ve got an idea. Neil Evernden, of Canada’s York University, helped jump-start the deconstructionist approach to “Nature” (capital “N”) with his landmark book *The Natural Alien* back in 1985. He followed up with a sequel called *The Social Creation of Nature* in 1992. American conservation biologist, Michael Soulé, jumped into the fire with *Reinventing Nature*, co-authored by Gary Lease, in 1995. Soulé, chair of environmental studies at University of California, is the founder of the Society for Conservation Biology. And Gary Lease is dean of humanities at the University of California at Santa Cruz.

So, what’s all the fuss about? Kent Redford (Soulé and Lease 1995) of The Nature Conservancy said: “we must all become aware of what could be called the politics of naturalness...a wave of relativistic anthropocentrism originating in the humanities and social sciences with clear implications for a wide range of biodiversity conservation policies and actions.”

J. Baird Callicott (Soulé and Lease 1995), the environmental philosopher and writer, said: “A concerted response to this impending catastrophe (human overpopulation and overconsumption) is thwarted by the fashionable new deconstructive ecology and critical theory.”

Paul and Anne Ehrlich, in their 1996 book *Betrayal of Science and Reason*, wrote: “a diverse group of individuals and organizations... With strong and ap-

pealing messages...have successfully sowed seeds of doubt among journalists, policy makers, and the public at large about the reality and importance of such phenomena as overpopulation, global climate change, ozone depletion, and losses of biodiversity.”

So, it’s quite clear—some top drawer experts are really concerned about “deconstruction”—but what is it?

Well, most of you are aware of the “duality” of the term “Nature.” It is often used to include everything in the universe, as most dictionary definitions attest. But, in its adjective form, “natural,” it is often used to differentiate between the works of God and the works of Man—the former being “natural” and the latter being something else. The National Park Service *Management Policies* (1988) make reference to “unnatural” concentrations of animals as being undesirable. In this context, the word “unnatural” denotes a condition caused predominantly by humans. As such, it is implied that human actions must be considered “unnatural.”

Gary Lease says: “the idea that nature needs protection from humankind’s onslaught begs the definition of the boundary and turns our attention to contesting constructions of nature and to competition among human groups for access to resources and power.... Deconstruction insists that we must not ignore these cultural questions (e.g., whose paradigm will prevail), even in the formerly exclusive provinces of science and conservation.”

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Put succinctly, deconstructionists simply denounce and demean the various “constructions,” or contrived paradigms of living nature. Soulé identified at least nine such constructions, but cautioned that there could be many more. Among them were:

- Wild kingdom: the venue of trophy, camcorder, and life list
- Wild other: wild nature that has no concern for human beings except when other animals perceive us as a dangerous predator or as a possible food item
- Gaia: the view that living nature is homeostatic and self-regulating—sort of a Second Law of Thermodynamics for Nature
- Biodiversity: the living nature of the contemporary western biologist

The deconstructionists argue that none of these constructions has any leg up on any other and that none are any more valuable than any other, or even more valuable than history, in teaching truths about living nature. They claim that there is an infinite amount of knowledge (i.e., knowable facts) in the universe, and modern humans now know little more of it than their ancestors did 100 or even 1,000 years ago. And, perhaps most significant of all, they claim we cannot expect to know nature at all because of our insidious cultural, sensory, and intelligence biases and limitations.

Some argue that since humankind has always been a part of nature, it is more unnatural to exclude indigenous people from newly protected areas (e.g., nature preserves and parks) they have long inhabited, than to include them. And some argue convincingly that the genomes of many, if not most terrestrial species (especially the large mammals), have been shaped over hundreds of thousands of years by interactions with the dominant species—man—through the basic Mendelian and Darwinian processes we were taught as gospel. By attempting to separate human influences from other ecological processes we may be fostering the most unnatural living nature paradigm in the last three or four million years of evolution.

Convinced yet? Well, there’s a pretty steep learning curve to this stuff; that’s why we have so many classic ecologists and conservation biologists cautioning us about it; but that is also why we still have a “natural regulation” management policy in many large national parks. I, like most ecologists trained in the 1960s and 1970s, was steeped in classic Clementsian ecology. That is, we were taught that ecological processes tend toward a climax situation, which was usually characterized as being more diverse, stable, and in equilibrium than the other successional stages. We were taught that species coexisted in discrete communities and ecosystems. We were shown herbaria containing examples of plant species which we could always expect to find in romantic-sounding alliances such as tallgrass prairie, aspen-birch-willow communities, or maple-basswood forests. And we were escorted to the field to peruse living examples of—lo-and-behold—those exact same species, which further imprinted upon us the immutable paradigm of nature in balance.

Boy, have times changed!

Michael Soulé, writing in *Reinventing Nature*, jolts us into the 21st century by stating:

- “The real biological world little resembles the rose...-tinted television portrayal”
- “Certainly the idea that species live in integrated communities is a myth”
- “biotic communities, a misleading term, are constantly changing in membership”
- “species occurring in any particular place are rarely convivial neighbors; their coexistence...is better explained by...tolerances”
- “the much more common kinds of interactions are competition, predation, parasitism, and disease”
- “Most interactions between individuals and species are selfish, not symbiotic”
- “Homo sapiens [are] no exception”
- “the idea that living nature comprises...altruistic, mutualistic symbioses has been overstated”

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Wow! Powerful or what!? And this is all in one paragraph! But the following paragraph has the real kickers for National Park Service management policies, including:

- “living nature is not equilibria...on a scale that is relevant to the persistence of species”
- “Homeostatic systems (do not) buffer life on a relevant spatiotemporal scale”
- “the science of ecology has been hoist on its own petard by maintaining...that natural communities tend toward equilibrium”
- “Current ecological thinking argues that nature...has never been homeostatic”
- “Therefore, any serious attempt to define the original state of a community or ecosystem leads to a logical and scientific maze. The principle of balance has been replaced with the principle of gradation—a continuum of degrees of human disturbance.”

With two paragraphs of his book, Michael Soulé has “deconstructed” the ecology most of us in this room were taught. But this is a poor pun, because Soulé is so far ahead of us. He accepts the facts above as the late-20th century construction for living nature but goes on to document the insidious, and rapidly growing, “hegemony” of man over the rest of nature. Hegemony—what a word!—meaning “preponderant influence or complete dominance” has been widely used by conservation biologists, probably because of its poetic impact—“onomatopoeia,” I believe it’s called—to denote the significance of anthropogenic influences on living nature. So, it’s man’s hegemony that is driving Callicott’s “impending catastrophe.” And Soulé does an excellent job of illustrating that fact. Man’s growing spatial and material dominance, fueled by uncontrolled growth, is clearly unsustainable. We either turn this phenomenon around by design, or wait for it to occur through chaos.

Soulé aptly quotes from Dan Botkin’s *Discordant Harmonies* (1990): “We talk about spaceship Earth, but who is monitoring the dials and turning the knobs? No one.”

So, to sum up: deconstructionists are seeking to discredit the objectivism, which is the basis for modern science. They claim that the relationships among ecosystem components disclosed through research are artificial, prejudicially and culturally biased, or temporal at best—at the very best. Objectivist-constructionist scientists see the relationships disclosed by research as real and knowable and profess that scientific research gradually increases our knowledge of them. They—we—would argue that while science generated the once highly regarded concepts of mid-20th-century Clementsian ecology, subsequent science debunked the falsehoods in those concepts and moved us forward. Deconstructionists argue that just as we have now rejected many of the fundamental mid-20th-century ecological concepts, our newer, more modern ones will, likewise, be disproved and replaced in time. So, to get too serious about them is a waste of time and, possibly, an impediment to the intellectual advancement of our culture and to the economic advancement of many other human cultures. Soulé equates this approach to “nihilistic monism” and boldly asserts that society can only advance incrementally and that scientific baby-steps are required to move us ever closer to knowing that illusive true nature of the universe. And, even more importantly, unless we turn around the well-documented unsustainable aspects of human population growth and consumption, we will never survive to truly know Nature at all.

So, what are the implications here for scientific management of national parks? First, we must admit that our national parks, per se, are indeed constructions—and some pretty creative ones at that. Our Servicewide natural resource management policies would seem to drive management toward a more consistent construction, or model, except for the fact that congress has often provided for

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specific management prescriptions for individual units which may, or may not, comply with Servicewide policies. We have parks with prescribed hunting, sport fishing, commercial fishing, trapping, cattle grazing, oil and gas exploration and extraction, hard rock mining, and a variety of subsistence activities. We have parks bisected with interstate and local highways, mainline railroads, bus lines, navigable rivers, commercial shipping lanes, regional trail systems, scenic and commercial airline routes, and we even own and manage lands occupied by commercial, private, and defunct airports. Some parks occupy habitats created entirely by humans for other primary purposes, such as water impoundments. In specific locations, we have statutory direction to preserve populations of non-native animals such as longhorn cattle, horses, ponies, and striped bass.

Many of us in this room would like to think one of our more altruistic missions—preservation of biodiversity—should be our hallmark, but it is actually that hegemony thing that greets observant park visitors with a cacophonous wake-up call. In the middle of the 20th century, national parks were thought of as monuments to some amoral, equilibrium, natural condition that was once thought to have existed before European contact, or possibly earlier, before any human contact. But our national parks did not evolve like so many plant communities or ecosystems; they were created by human society—American human society—and, as such, they clearly reflect American cultural history and values of the 20th century. In other centuries they would, no doubt, have reflected different ones. And today, the national parks of other countries often do.

All this is to say, simply, we of the National Park Service have no need to quarrel with the deconstructionists. We should not be attempting to manage national parks to some God-given—or Mother Nature-given—standard. Yes, we are managing a construct of American society admittedly for societal values: be they endangered species recovery; harvestable wildlife and fisheries;

valuable and useful minerals; life-enhancing water, wildness, and wilderness; photosynthesis and carbon fixation; or ecosystems whose most outstanding characteristic is that they are not manipulated for deterministic purposes; and—almost everywhere—sustainable visitor enjoyment. When societal values change, the constructs will change, and most probably, so will the national parks.

So, it doesn't matter even if the deconstructionists are correct. What difference does it make if other individuals or institutions have variant constructs for national parks? They already do. The animal rights folks want to end all hunting, fishing, and trapping on the parks. The livestock industry would like us to do more to reduce predation, depredation, and competition with the cattle industry outside the parks. The timber industry makes continuous inquiries about the availability of old growth Sitka spruce and Douglas-fir for harvest in Olympic and other national parks. RV manufacturers want wider roads and larger, better equipped campgrounds. Airlines want longer runways and larger terminals. And the list goes on.

But congress has defined the national parks for us through their written word and intent. It is up to us, as good stewards, to develop and implement management objectives which optimally blend the specific congressional direction with the more general direction provided by our *Management Policies* (1988). Such work requires that professional proficiency prevails over religious rhetoric. And professionalism requires good science.

Science is absolutely necessary for two major reasons. First, we need scientific information to accomplish the proactive management objectives established for individual parks. Like maintaining healthy, viable populations of elk and bison at levels which don't gradually degrade their habitats thus threatening their very survival. Like how to restore extirpated species without undue conflicts with park neighbors. And like determining what population levels of a

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mandated exotic species (e.g., horses) can be maintained without forcing extirpation of cohabiting natives.

Soulé, M. E., and G. Lease. 1995. *Reinventing nature? responses to postmodern deconstruction*. Island Press, Washington, D.C.

Second, we need information to determine when undesired influences of our own management, or from sources outside the parks, threaten to compromise or obviate our management objectives. Like how to stop contemporary invasions of alien plants that threaten to upend park ecology. And like how to prevent the offal of American affluence, e.g., our degraded water and air resources, from poisoning park biota.

Science = to accomplish the influences we desire on park ecosystems, and to detect and mitigate those we do not. Without it, one might as well take a lesson from the “deconstruction manual”:

Step 1: Describe park ecosystem

Step 2: Define park management objectives to equal that description

Step 3: Declare victory

Surefire recipe for success—eh?—but only if your constituencies are deconstructionists. The rest of us prefer definable standards—admittedly not God-given, and, perhaps, no longer revered as the proverbial “Laws of Nature.” But they’re the best we’ll have until the Rapture.

Thank you.

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Chapter 46

The Role of Cooperating Associations in the Development of Tourism in National Parks

RICK L. LOBELLO has been the executive director for the Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association since 1992. He is the project coordinator for the award-winning CD-ROM, Carlsbad Cavern and Guadalupe Mountains, as well as Hiking Carlsbad Caverns and Guadalupe Mountains National Parks. He is also coordinating the publication of Wildflowers of the Chihuahuan Desert and a new documentary video on Guadalupe Mountains National Park.

Today I would like to speak to you about one of the most important non-governmental organizations influencing both conservation and tourism in our national parks. Commonly known as cooperating associations or natural history associations, here in the Guadalupe Mountains at Guadalupe Mountains National Park and Carlsbad Caverns National Park we like to think of the Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association (CCGMA) as one of the best friends our two parks ever had.

When I first visited Guadalupe Mountains National Park in 1975 the park was barely three years old and the National Park Service was working out of a white trailer near Pine Springs. Having worked my first summer as a seasonal park ranger at Big Bend National Park I was fairly familiar with the flora and fauna of the Chihuahuan Desert, but if it wasn't for our trip leader, renowned botanist Dr. Barton Warnock of Sul Ross State University, I would have been hard pressed for information about the park's flora and fauna. Twenty-three years later times have changed considerably with the completion of a state-of-the-art visitor center near the park's south entrance and a series of publications produced by the Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association plus a handful of other publishers who have helped to provide critically needed educational materials for both the visiting public and the scientific community.

When I first walked into the Panther Junction Visitor Center at Big Bend National Park in 1974, I was overwhelmed with questions. I wanted to know what kinds of animals inhabited the park, what kinds of trails were available, what were some of the main sights to see, and basically answers to dozens of other questions about this large and unfamiliar national park.

After picking up a free brochure and talking with the ranger attending the information desk, many of my questions were answered. Later he sold me several publications that I felt would help me better understand the park. My purchase included a road guide and three wildlife checklists: one on the birds, one on the mammals, and one on the reptiles and amphibians. Inside each publication I found the words "Published by the Big Bend Natural History Association in cooperation with the National Park Service."

The Big Bend Natural History Association, of which I served as executive director from 1986 to 1992 is one of 69 independent cooperating associations serving nearly every unit of the National Park System. Cooperating associations such as Big Bend Natural History Association and the Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association, where I work today, originally were developed in response to visitor needs for inexpensive guides, pictures, maps, and other interpretive literature not otherwise available through the use of federal funds. Each association is not only a

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nonprofit but also a tax-exempt organization authorized by congress in 1946 to produce and provide theme-related materials for the National Park System areas they serve. All associations operate book sales outlets or small bookstores where both National Park Service employees and association employees also dispense free information and answer questions about individual parks. When it comes to helping to educate the visiting public before, during, and after the visit, cooperating associations are at the forefront.

The first cooperating association developed in Yosemite National Park in 1920. Chief Naturalist Ansel Hall desperately wanted to build a museum in the Yosemite Valley. At the time, the National Park Service was just four years old and little funding was available for interpretive projects. As a result Hall sought the help of the private sector. He contacted local business people in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay area who soon agreed to form an organization called the Yosemite Museum Association. After raising \$9,000 from the public and receiving a large gift of \$75,000, the museum was built. As the museum and its visitation grew, the need for suitable free and sales interpretive literature increased dramatically. The logical vehicle to provide this service was the cooperating association, which was reorganized and expanded into the Yosemite Natural History Association.

During ensuing years cooperating associations were established in Zion and Rocky Mountain national parks in 1931 and in Yellowstone National Park in 1933. The completion of the Yosemite Museum was a significant event for it set into motion an idea which has grown into one of the most important friends groups benefiting the National Park Service today.

Each association must be incorporated under the laws of the state in which it has a resident office. Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association's articles of incorporation define its purpose as follows: (a) to provide for the visitor to Carlsbad Caverns National Park and Guadalupe Mountains Na-

tional Park, every possible means of excellence in the interpretation of the parks' stories, (b) to assist in providing to the traveling public accurate information concerning the Carlsbad Caverns and Guadalupe Mountains national parks, and lands related to them in Texas and New Mexico, (c) to stimulate interest in the educational activities and encourage scientific investigation and research in the fields of geology, zoology, botany, history and related subjects, (d) to assist in the establishment, preparation and development of museums, observation stations, trail-side exhibits, and other interpretive and educational devices, (e) to assist in the development and maintenance of library facilities for the use of park personnel, students, research scientists, and interested persons, (f) to assist in obtaining photographs, slides, movie film and other materials for explaining the exhibiting facts relating to the history, earth sciences and life sciences as illustrated in the parks, (g) to publish, in cooperation with the National Park Service and other conservation organizations and agencies, various popular and technical papers and booklets dealing with the various fields of related science as may be needed for better public understanding, (h) to buy, sell, and handle government and private publications, and visual aid items dealing with informational and interpretive subjects related to the Carlsbad Caverns and Guadalupe Mountains national parks or the National Park Service, the profit from these transactions to be used for printing, stationery, miscellaneous supplies connected therewith, and to assist in obtaining equipment, materials and supplies to accomplish the purposes of this Association and (i) to employ such persons as may be necessary and pay salaries chargeable as items of expense for services actually performed in order to achieve the objectives of the Association.

Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association was originally designated the Carlsbad Caverns Natural History Association on May 2, 1957, by Carlsbad Caverns National Park Superintendent R. Taylor Hoskins. To start up the organization the association received a \$500

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two year interest free loan from the Petrified Forest Museum Association. During the first year the association was able to donate an \$8 volume of the AOU checklist of North American Birds and \$2.10 for the development of a roll of film. During its first year the organization also approved its first publication, a nature trail guide at Carlsbad Caverns that would retail at \$0.10. The road we have traveled over the past 40 years has been an uphill climb ever since.

Like other cooperating associations, Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association is governed by a board of directors made up of businessmen, educators, and scientists. Most of them live in southern New Mexico and Texas and are well aware of the organization's role in promoting the park. Cooperating association guidelines including policies and standards are outlined in a document called NPS -32. Originally adopted by the National Park Service in 1986, the guidelines are based on years of experience shared by cooperating association managers from across the nation. NPS -32 includes legal authorities, delegations of authority, cooperating association agreements, and policies. In addition to a board of directors, each association is managed by an association manager, usually the executive director. The association in turn cooperates with the National Park Service in maintaining a distinct separation in the management and operation of each other's activities.

Most cooperating associations are members of a national organization recently renamed the Association of Partners for Public Lands (APPL). Directed by a board made up of individual association managers and board members, the conference is led by an executive director who serves as a liaison between individual associations and the National Park Service on both the regional and national levels. Last year the national organization opened its membership to include nonprofits serving public land agencies other than the National Park Service; in the years to come we can expect to see many more government land agencies represented, including some that are already involved such as the

U.S.D.A. Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management, and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. APPL also publishes monthly and quarterly newsletters, sponsors training opportunities for association personnel, and hosts a biennial convention. Our most recent convention was held last month in Gatlinburg, Tennessee, located just outside Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Over 900 people registered for the convention.

National Park Service managers from the national, regional, and individual park levels serve as cooperating association coordinators. Association coordinators act as liaisons between the National Park Service and individual associations. The Servicewide coordinator working with the director of the National Park Service serves in a broad review and advisory capacity. Regional coordinators serve as the primary contact between cooperating associations and regional directors. Individual park cooperating association coordinators, like the chief of interpretation at Guadalupe Mountains National Park, work as partners with association managers on the park level. They also serve park superintendents as review officers and advisors on all association activities.

As of 1998, Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association has produced nearly 100 different publications including general information park brochures, trail guides, maps, posters, postcards, guidebooks, wildlife checklists, videos, a CD-ROM, and a park newspaper called *The Capitan Reef*. These publications are available as free handouts or as sales items throughout the parks and at local retail outlets in Carlsbad, New Mexico. Profits from these sales are later turned back into visitor services including free publications, visitor information desk staffing, exhibits, equipment for park interpretive programs, research grants, and environmental education programs.

The total contribution to the National Park Service since 1957 from Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association now exceeds \$1.6 million, bringing the grand total of aid from all 69 cooperating associations to over \$180 million.

As of 1998, Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association has produced nearly 100 different publications.

Association priorities are geared more to giving back directly to the parks than in tooting their own horns.

Projects funded at Guadalupe Mountains National Park, in addition to funding for new publications, have included sponsorship of the Guadalupe Mountains National Park Junior Ranger Program, camera equipment, color slide film, dark-room supplies, slide storage systems, museum supplies, computers and software, audio-visual equipment including projectors and tape recorders, binoculars, road and trailside exhibits, sign making equipment, library books, subscriptions to natural history publications and scientific journals, and funding for a number of research projects.

Most projects funded by cooperating associations could not be funded in the regular budget of the National Park Service. For example at Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial in Indiana they needed "one whole hog" for their living history demonstration. At Death Valley National Monument they needed someone to publish the proceedings of their first annual Death Valley History Conference. At Grand Teton National Park they needed assistance in constructing exhibits at the Moose Visitor Center and at Yellowstone National Park they needed a sponsor for a wildlife film festival. As a result of these projects, associations have provided a service that has greatly enhanced the overall objectives of both the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service. Examples of other projects underwritten through this nationwide effort include funding for new park visitor centers, acquisition of historical objects, supporting special Servicewide interpretive, educational, and scientific programs (including presentations and demonstrations), providing logistical support for neighboring conservation and educational organizations, information services by association sales personnel, foreign language translations, honorariums for lectures by outside professionals, land acquisitions, and funding for staff training, Volunteers in the Parks, and Student Conservation Association programs.

All of this assistance has greatly enhanced the ability of individual national parks to draw larger numbers of visitors.

For example, when a park visitor takes home a Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association publication such as a colorful poster, booklet, video, or calendar the park becomes further publicized to friends and relatives back home. In Guadalupe Mountains National Park, for example, visitation has increased from less than a thousand visitors in 1972 to over 200,000 in 1997. With this increase in visitation has come greater tourism dollars for not only the association but also for many small communities throughout the area.

Although increased visitation can have detrimental effects on park resources, the National Park Service is mandated by law to set carrying capacities to prevent overcrowding. As long as National Park System areas continue to be carefully managed, cooperating associations will play major roles in establishing and maintaining continued public support.

To the American public, cooperating associations like Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association are largely uncelebrated for the role they play in helping to both conserve and promote our national parks. This is largely the result of below average marketing efforts where association priorities are geared more to giving back directly to the parks than in tooting their own horns. But as competition for the environmental dollar increases in the years ahead, more thought and effort will have to be put into making associations more aggressive if they are to maintain the current level of support given to our national parks. It is also plain to see in 1998 that there will continue to be a growing need for the National Park Service to be more dependent on association-generated funds.

So today I have come to spend some time tooting the horn of Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association, touching a little upon how the organization plays a significant role in supporting conservation—both directly in helping to educate the visiting public when they get here and indirectly in helping them to decide to come. It is a great horn to play and one that I hope many of you

here will want to lend some energy to. We are always looking for more members, ideas, and support of almost any kind. Just give us a call and let us know that you're out there. Forty-one years of support for our two great parks has made Carlsbad Caverns Guadalupe Mountains Association a true friend of the Guadalupe as the park celebrates 25 years of cultural and natural resource stewardship.

Chapter 47

Guadalupe Mountains National Park Visitor Use Survey Results (1996-1997)

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Introduction

This report describes the results of a survey distributed to visitors of Guadalupe Mountains National Park. Researchers from the University of Texas at El Paso conducted this study and distributed visitor surveys for three different time periods: July 27 to August 3, 1996 (summer), October 24 to November 3, 1996 (fall), and March 14 to 22, 1997 (spring).

Methodology

This survey was designed with questions drawn from an approved list of questions from the Office of Management and Budget. Although the majority was fixed choice questions, visitors were asked five open-ended questions to ensure a chance for them to express their views on issues not anticipated by the researchers. By park management estimates, visitation was down during the summer period compared to other years. Park managers and the researchers speculated that the Summer Olympics were the cause, and several visitors told us they were coming from these events in Atlanta. The fall survey period was extended from the original design to include two peak fall color weekends: October 24–27, 1996, and November 1–3, 1996. The spring survey period (March 14–22, 1997) was scheduled during spring break for several area colleges. During this survey period prescribed burns were being conducted to decrease fuel loads in McKittrick Canyon, El Centro Draw, and Cherry Canyon.

Questionnaires were distributed at five different points in the park. Survey sites identified by signs were posted at the trailhead in the Pine Springs campground, the main visitor center, Frijole Ranch–Smith Spring trailhead, McKittrick visitor center, and the Dog Canyon ranger station. Visitors were given their choice of completing the survey right away, completing it at a later time and dropping it off at the survey sites, or returning the survey by mail.

Visitors were approached by research assistants with identification badges as they passed each survey site. The main visitor center survey site was open during visitor center hours; the other sites had a rotating schedule of operation.

For the summer period, 341 surveys were distributed over seven calendar days. A total of 269 surveys were returned for a response rate of 78.9%. During the fall, 900 surveys were distributed and 505 returned for a response rate of 56.1%. For the final spring survey period a total of 768 surveys were distributed and 381 returned for a response rate of 49.6%. Overall, 2,009 surveys were distributed during the three waves and 1,155 returned for an average response rate of 57.5%.

Because the sampling was not random, the results are not representative of all visitors to the park. However, results are consistent with the expectations of the park staff (there were few surprises) and

conducting the research during the three peak seasonal periods was done to help ensure that a variety of visitors was represented.

Results summary: visitor perceptions

Crowding. Answering a yes or no question, 9.1% of visitors on average indicated that they felt crowded during their visit to the park. In response to a five point scale, 9.4% reported feeling either a little more crowded or a lot more crowded than expected. In backcountry campgrounds only 2.5% of visitors reported feeling crowded, compared to 21.1% at the main Pine Springs campground. Fourteen percent of visitors to McKittrick Canyon and 8.7% at Guadalupe Peak reported feeling crowded.

Solitude. Almost 40% of visitors reported solitude/quiet as one of their reasons for visiting the park. Solitude was specifically mentioned by 16.1% of summer visitors, 9.9% of fall visitors, and 7.9% of spring visitors in open-ended responses to the question “What did you and your group like most about your visit to Guadalupe Mountains National Park?”

Satisfaction. Sixty-three percent of visitors indicated that they were “very satisfied” with their visit to the park. Thirty-three percent were “satisfied” and 2.9% were neither dissatisfied nor satisfied. Only 1.1% of visitors indicated any dissatisfaction with their visit to the park—a total of 12 people.

Information. Most visitors obtained their information about the park from maps or brochures (38.5%), followed by travel guides and tour books (31.1%) and advice from other people (30.1%). On average, 42.4% of visitors reported the park as their primary destination. Approximately 60% of visitors reported a first-time visit. The most frequent reason visitors reported for being at the park was to view the wilderness/scenery and to hike.

Access. Very few visitors had any difficulty finding their way around the park. Only 8 respondents in both summer and fall and 13 spring visitors indicated having difficulties finding their way around the park. Backcountry trail signage accounted for most of the comments.

Park entry site. Most visitors entered the park at the main visitor center and found adequate information there. Only 5.4% reported getting less information than they wanted.

Trailhead registers. Almost 70% of visitors read regulations and information posted at trailheads, and almost 50% of visitors signed the trail registers before hiking.

Day users vs. overnight backcountry users. Overall day-use visitors mentioned needing such things as vending machines and food. Summer day-users also mentioned showers. Showers were the most cited need for overnight backcountry users (54.5% summer, 39.5% fall, and 37.1% spring).

Visitor composition. About 10% of visitors were from foreign countries, 55% were Texans and the rest were from other states. The average group was composed of a middle-aged respondent and four other family members. The average dayhiker was at the park for 4.6 hours, while the overnighters spent an average 1.4 days.

Strengths and weaknesses. Most visitors cited nature (i.e., scenery, wilderness, wildlife, views) as what they liked most about visiting the park, followed by facilities and services. The reverse is true for perceived weaknesses about the park. Lack of facilities and services were most likely to be mentioned in response to the question about what visitors liked least about their visit, followed by complaints about nature—factors over which the park has no control (i.e., heat, wind, and insects). Almost 30% of visitors reported that they were entirely satisfied with the services and facilities at the park. Approximately 64% of visitors expressed a need for more services or fa-

cilities. The most common requests were for a source of food/drink and gasoline closer to the park. Other requests were for such things as showers and other improvements to the camping facilities.

Resource concerns. In response to a question about planning for the future of the park, most visitors mentioned trail, facility, and service improvements. Some visitors even advocated limiting access to the park. However, many visitors felt no changes would be necessary.

Results

Visitors in the summer and spring were most likely to report that they got their information about Guadalupe Mountains National Park from a map or brochure. In contrast, fall visitors got their information from other people or a previous visit (Figure 1). Experience and advice are important information sources, especially for fall visitors.

Visitors were asked to estimate the amount of time they spent at the park (Figure 2). The average amount of time spent at the park for summer visitors was 4.2 hours for day visitors, which were the majority of visitors (72.1%) and 0.96 days for overnighers (20.4%). Fall day

visitors (73.6% of visitors) spent an average of 4.5 hours at the park and overnighers (21.1%) reported staying an average of 1.56 days. Spring day visitors (66.3% of visitors) reported spending the most time at the park, 5.1 hours on average, with overnighers (29.7%) staying almost two days on average (1.79). The majority of visitors for all seasons at the park are day visitors. Visitors camping overnight are about 20% of visitors during the summer and fall seasons, with overnight visitors increasing to almost 30% of visitors for the spring break period. Both day and overnight visitors spent more time in the park in the spring, followed by fall and then summer.

Most visitors were at the park with other family members regardless of what season they were visiting the park. Summer visitors reported an average group size of only 3.4 people, while both fall and spring visitor groups were larger at 6.0 and 6.8 respectively. Approximately 10% of visitors to the park reported coming from foreign countries. England, Germany, Canada, and Mexico accounted for the majority of foreign visitors (Table 1, Figure 3). About 55% of visitors were native Texans and the rest were visiting

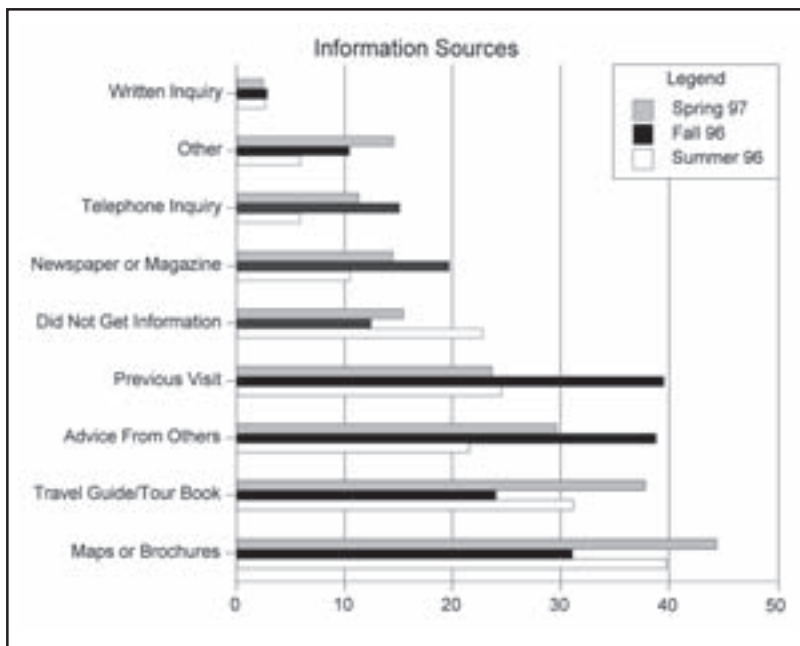


Figure 1

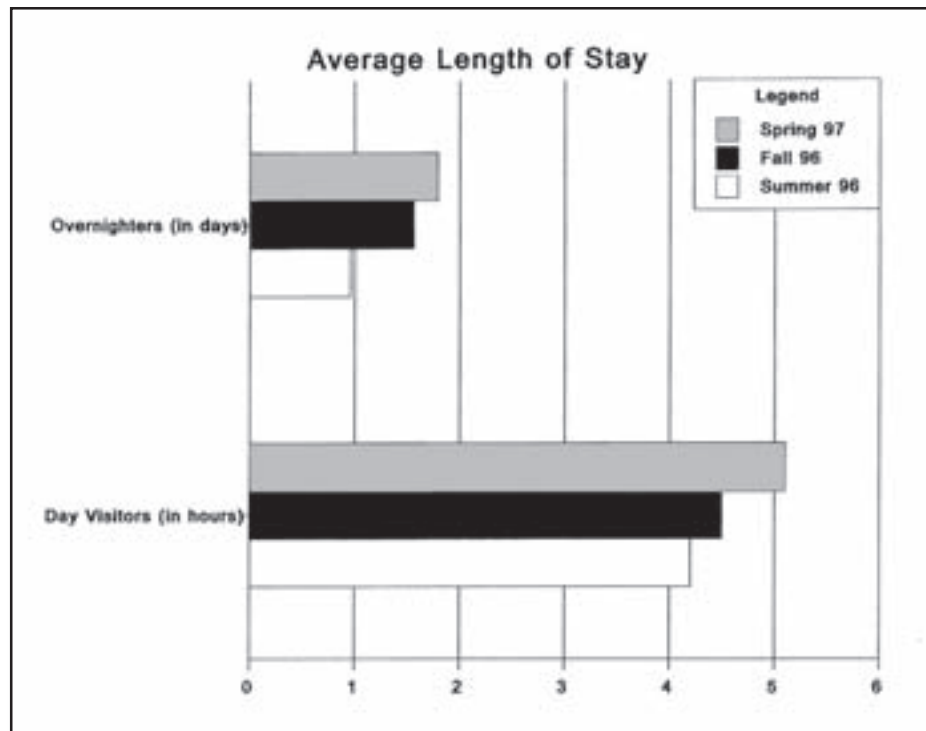


Figure 2

Country	Summer 1996	Fall 1996	Spring 1997	Total
	Number (%)	Number (%)	Number (%)	Number (%)
England	10 (12.5)	30 (41.7)	30 (30.6)	70 (28.0)
Germany	15 (18.8)	17 (23.6)	18 (18.4)	50 (20.0)
Canada	3 (3.8)	1 (1.4)	31 (31.6)	35 (14.0)
Mexico	8 (10.0)	10 (13.9)	0 (0.0)	18 (7.2)
Australia	2 (2.5)	2 (2.8)	9 (9.2)	13 (5.2)
Switzerland	6 (7.5)	4 (5.6)	2 (2.0)	12 (4.8)
Netherlands	7 (8.8)	2 (2.8)	0 (0.0)	9 (3.6)
Costa Rica	7 (8.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	7 (2.8)
China	5 (6.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (2.0)
Austria	4 (5.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.0)	5 (2.0)
Denmark	4 (5.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	4 (1.6)
Finland	0 (0.0)	3 (4.2)	1 (1.0)	4 (1.6)
Sweden	2 (2.5)	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	3 (1.2)
Japan	2 (2.5)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.0)	3 (1.2)
Norway	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (3.1)	3 (1.2)
France	2 (2.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.8)
Czech Republic	2 (2.5)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.8)
Spain	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.4)
Belgium	1 (1.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.4)
New Zealand	0 (0.0)	1 (1.4)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.4)
Russia	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.0)	1 (0.4)
Philippines	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (1.0)	1 (0.4)
Total	80 (100.3)	72 (100.2)	98 (99.9)	250 (100.0)

Table 1. Visitors by country of residence.

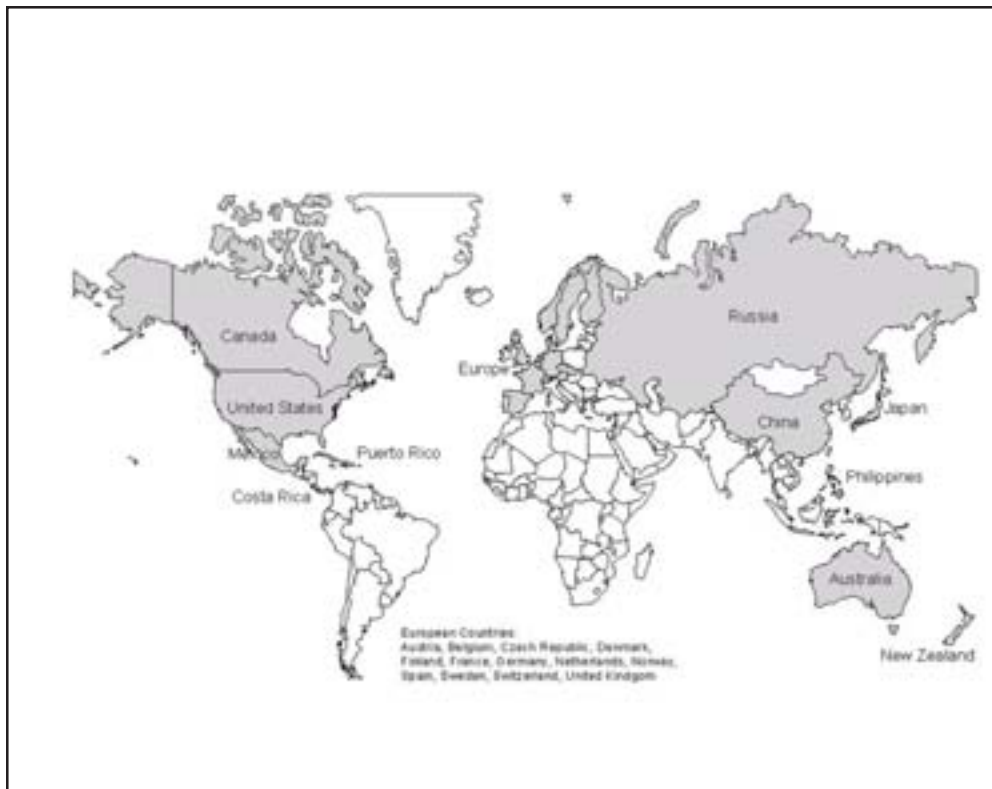


Figure 3. Approximately 10% of visitors to Guadalupe Mountains National Park reported coming from foreign countries.

from other states (Tables 2, Figure 4). Most people reported that they had been to the park at least once before their current visit.

Most visitors to the park come from Texas or New Mexico, although 46 of the 50 states were represented (Table 2, Figure 4). Only Hawaii, Mississippi, South Dakota, and Wyoming residents failed to visit the park during any of the three survey periods.

Sixteen percent of respondents reported that they did not look for information at the first location they visited at the park. This suggests the park is doing a good job of providing information. Of those that did seek information, the majority (94.1%) found that information adequate.

For the 5.9% of visitors who indicated that they found less information than they wanted, most requested more detailed information on the existing maps and documents provided at the park.

Most visitors had no difficulty finding their way around the park. Almost 96% said “no” to the question “Did you have any difficulty finding your way around in the park?” A similar high percentage reported no impairments limiting their ability to visit the park (94.1%). Very few visitors had difficulty finding their way around the park. Eight visitors in both the summer and fall waves and 13 spring visitors indicated they had difficulty. Those who reported difficulty tended to be confused about trails.

Only 37 parties reported impairments that limited their mobility. Most responses were complaints about physical problems with backs and knees that limited their ability to hike on the trails. Only three responses indicated that wheelchair access at Frijole Ranch was desired. (Please note that the current accessibility ramp was completed after these responses were collected.)

Fall visitors were most likely to report Guadalupe Mountains National Park as their primary trip destination (Figure 5), followed by spring visitors. Summer visi-

State	Summer 1996	Fall 1996	Spring 1997	Total
	Number (%)	Number (%)	Number (%)	Number (%)
Texas	383 (56.2)	660 (58.3)	406 (50.8)	1,449 (55.4)
New Mexico	34 (5.0)	237 (20.9)	73 (9.1)	344 (13.2)
California	37 (5.4)	28 (2.5)	13 (1.6)	78 (3.0)
Arizona	16 (2.3)	13 (1.1)	38 (4.8)	67 (2.6)
Colorado	2 (0.3)	26 (2.3)	22 (2.8)	50 (1.9)
New York	23 (3.4)	7 (0.6)	15 (1.9)	45 (1.7)
Ohio	11 (1.6)	6 (0.5)	24 (3.0)	41 (1.6)
Pennsylvania	18 (2.6)	4 (0.4)	19 (2.4)	41 (1.6)
Florida	15 (2.2)	12 (1.1)	10 (1.3)	37 (1.4)
Wisconsin	8 (1.2)	7 (0.6)	19 (2.4)	34 (1.3)
Illinois	16 (2.3)	2 (0.2)	12 (1.5)	30 (1.1)
Missouri	5 (0.7)	17 (1.5)	6 (0.8)	28 (1.1)
Kansas	9 (1.3)	4 (0.4)	12 (1.5)	25 (1.0)
Washington	5 (0.7)	7 (0.6)	12 (1.5)	24 (0.9)
Oklahoma	14 (2.1)	4 (0.4)	4 (0.5)	22 (0.8)
Minnesota	2 (0.3)	3 (0.3)	15 (1.9)	20 (0.8)
Massachusetts	6 (0.9)	2 (0.2)	12 (1.5)	20 (0.8)
Alabama	0 (0.0)	10 (0.9)	8 (1.0)	18 (0.7)
Michigan	1 (0.1)	5 (0.4)	10 (1.3)	16 (0.6)
Indiana	6 (0.9)	3 (0.3)	5 (0.6)	14 (0.5)
Alaska	3 (0.4)	4 (0.4)	6 (0.8)	13 (0.5)
Puerto Rico	0 (0.0)	10 (0.9)	2 (0.3)	12 (0.5)
Louisiana	1 (0.1)	8 (0.7)	3 (0.4)	12 (0.5)
Utah	0 (0.0)	4 (0.4)	8 (1.0)	12 (0.5)
Washington, D.C.	9 (1.3)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.4)	12 (0.5)
Iowa	4 (0.6)	3 (0.3)	4 (0.5)	11 (0.4)
New Jersey	2 (0.3)	4 (0.4)	5 (0.6)	11 (0.4)
Virginia	9 (1.3)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.3)	11 (0.4)
Maine	0 (0.0)	5 (0.4)	5 (0.6)	10 (0.4)
North Carolina	5 (0.7)	5 (0.4)	0 (0.0)	10 (0.4)
Nevada	8 (1.2)	2 (0.2)	0 (0.0)	10 (0.4)
Oregon	1 (0.1)	5 (0.4)	4 (0.5)	10 (0.4)
Arkansas	3 (0.4)	0 (0.0)	6 (0.8)	9 (0.3)
Nebraska	8 (1.2)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	9 (0.3)
Montana	1 (0.1)	2 (0.2)	5 (0.6)	8 (0.3)
Tennessee	0 (0.0)	6 (0.5)	1 (0.1)	7 (0.3)
Vermont	3 (0.4)	2 (0.2)	2 (0.3)	7 (0.3)
Maryland	4 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)	7 (0.3)
Kentucky	4 (0.6)	2 (0.2)	0 (0.0)	6 (0.2)
Georgia	1 (0.1)	2 (0.2)	2 (0.3)	5 (0.2)
New Hampshire	0 (0.0)	3 (0.3)	1 (0.1)	4 (0.2)
South Carolina	2 (0.3)	1 (0.1)	0 (0.0)	3 (0.1)
Connecticut	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	2 (0.3)	3 (0.1)
Idaho	0 (0.0)	2 (0.2)	1 (0.1)	3 (0.1)
West Virginia	2 (0.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1)
Delaware	0 (0.0)	2 (0.2)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.1)
Rhode Island	1 (0.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.0)
North Dakota	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.0)
Total	682 (99.6)	1,132 (100.4)	800 (100.5)	2,614 (99.9)

Table 2. Visitors by state of residence. States without representation during the survey: Hawaii, Mississippi, South Dakota, and Wyoming.

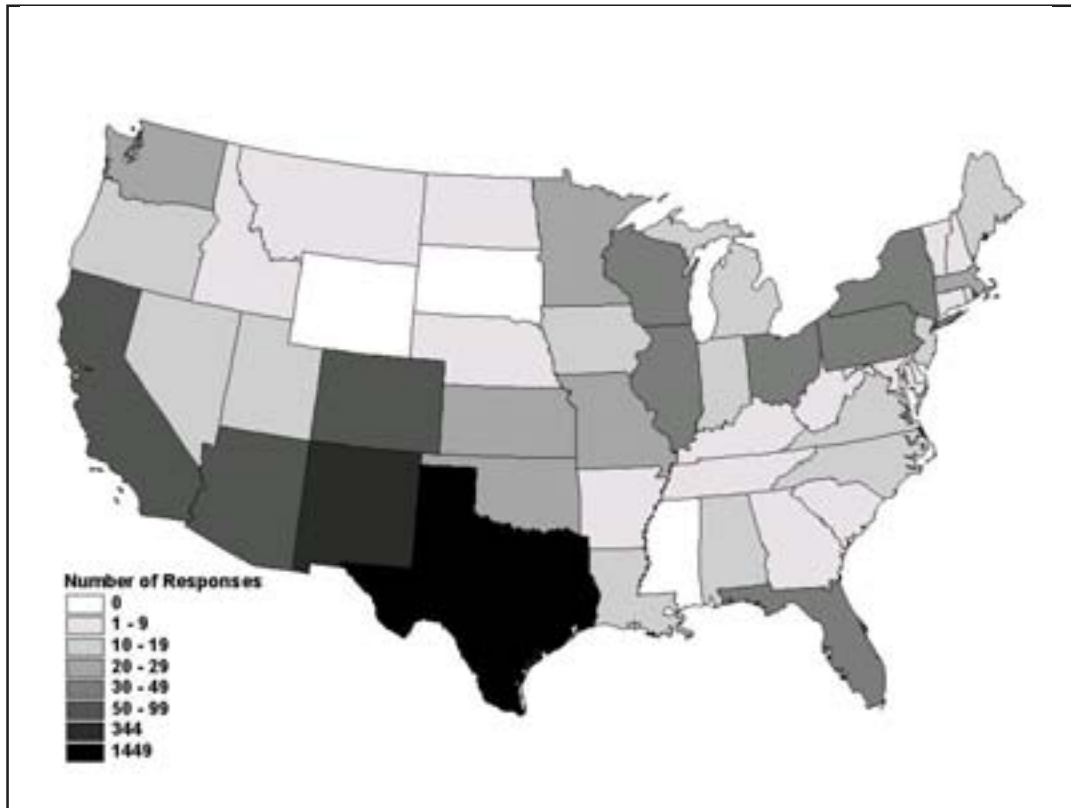


Figure 4. Visitors came from 46 of the 50 states in the United States.

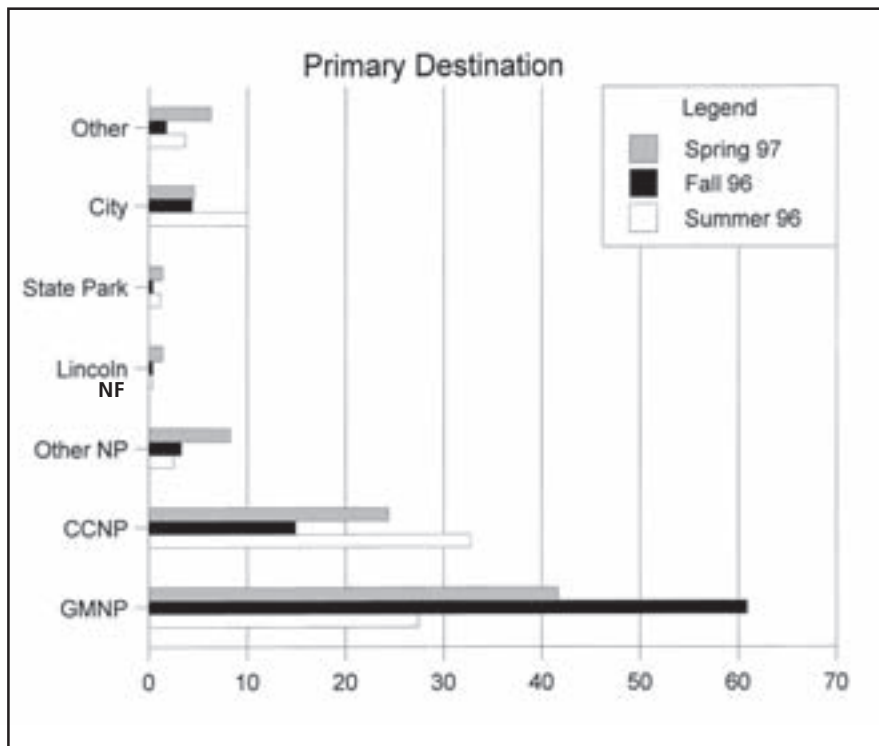


Figure 5

tors were least likely to report Guadalupe as their primary destination; instead, their goal was Carlsbad Caverns National Park.

Visitors were asked to indicate which sites they visited and in what order they visited them. Almost 76% of visitors complied: the Pine Springs visitor center was the site of most first contact with the park; 35.0% reported this as their first stop. McKittrick Canyon handled the next largest percentage of initial visitor stops with 21.7% reporting it as their first stop. Full staffing of the McKittrick Canyon visitor center should be considered as it is the first contact at the park for one in five visitors.

Visitors were asked to check all the options that applied as reasons for visiting Guadalupe Mountains National Park. For all three seasons, the most frequently selected reason was for the wilderness/scenery. Fall visitors indicated that hiking was their reason for visiting the park and McKittrick Canyon was their destination. The item coded "view nature" (Figure 6) was listed in the questionnaire as "view park plants, fall colors, wildflowers" and it can easily be

seen that the fall visitors indicated they were at the park to view fall colors. Summer visitors were more interested in viewing wildlife than visitors in other seasons; this is probably a reflection on the typical summer party, i.e., a family group with children. Spring visitors were most likely to report they were at the park to view the geologic features, for the solitude/quiet, for camping, because it was a national park, to climb Guadalupe Peak, and to do some backpacking. This is consistent with predominantly college-student visitors in the spring break season.

Visitors were also asked about their activities from a checklist of 14 items (Figure 7). Fall and spring visitors reported hiking as their primary activity. Summer visitors, on the other hand, reported going to the Pine Springs visitor center as their primary activity. Visitors also frequently cited photography, picnicking, and tent camping as activities. All other activities had frequencies less than 10%.

Visitors were also asked about their activities on previous visits to the park. The frequencies of activities from previous visits to the park are very similar to visitors' current activities at the park (Figure 8).

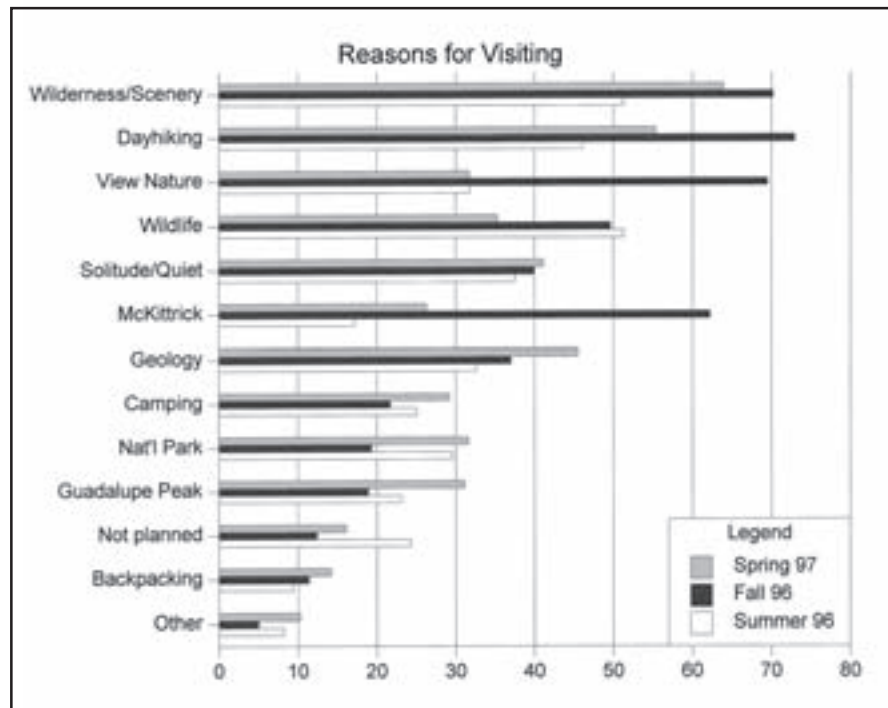


Figure 6

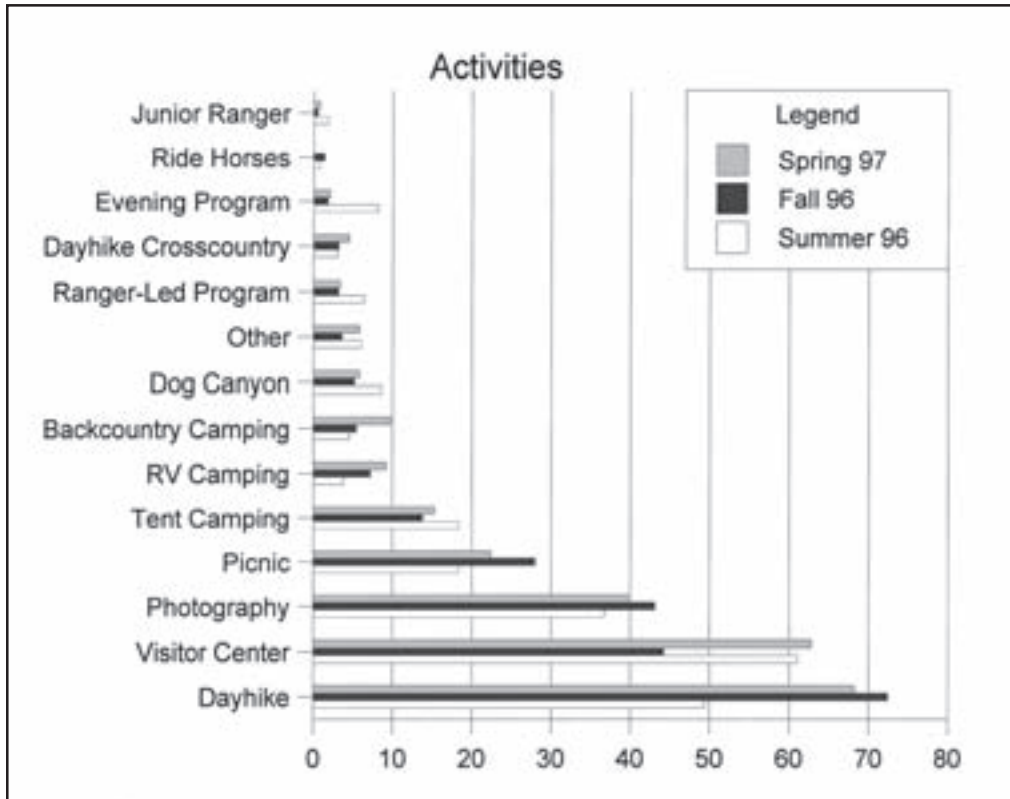


Figure 7

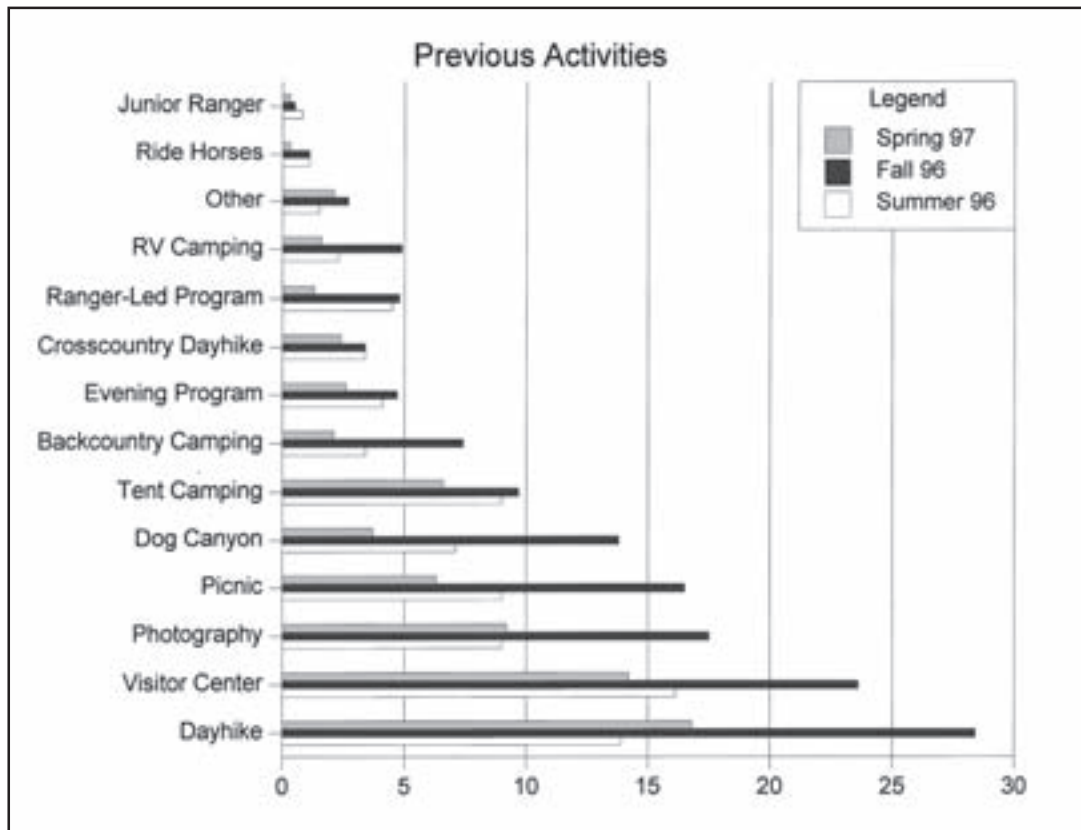


Figure 8

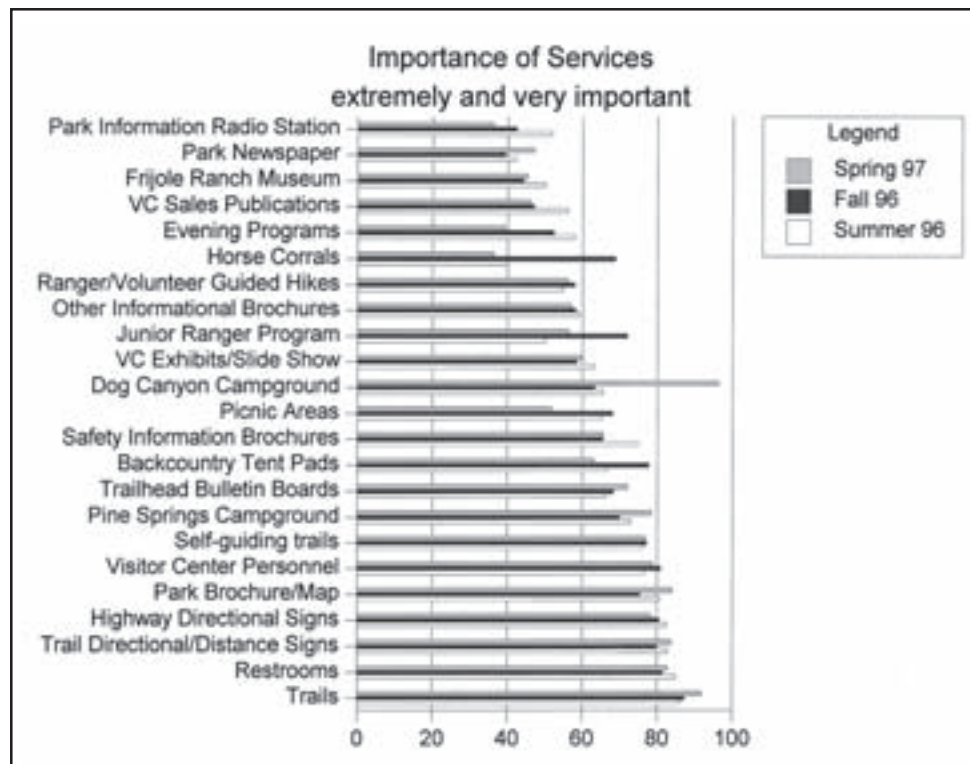


Figure 9

Visitors were asked to rank on a scale from one to five the importance of 23 services available at the park. Summer and fall visitors indicated that trails were the most important service at the park, while spring visitors rated Dog Canyon campground as the most important service (Figure 9).

Visitors were also asked to rate on a five-point scale the quality of the same 23 services (Figure 10). Visitor center personnel got the highest percentage quality rating for all three seasons.

A comparison of importance of services and quality of services can be made. For example, trails were rated by visitors as the most importance service (rank = 1) and were rated fifth on the quality scale (rank = 5). Comparing rank position from importance of service to quality of service, trails would receive a rank score of negative four (-4) indicating visitors felt trails were important but the quality did not match their importance. Conducting the same analysis for the other services, several items of note become apparent (Table 3).

Trail directional/distance signs and the Pine Springs campground were two services that were ranked high in importance and low in quality. Picnic areas and restrooms also showed similarly large differences between importance and quality. Printed material from the park, such as the visitor center sales publications, informational brochures, the park newsletter, and the park brochure/map, were considered low in importance but were ranked highly in quality. Also considered low in importance but high in quality were the visitor center exhibits/slide show and the evening programs.

Visitors were asked if they signed in and out at the trail registers (Figure 11). Overall, only a little over half of visitors reported signing in and out at the trail registers (51.9%). Trail register use did vary by season. Fall visitors were the most likely to report using the registers (58.0%), followed by spring visitors (52.7%). Summer visitors were the least likely to use trail registers (39.5%), but they were also the least likely of all visitor groups to use the trails.

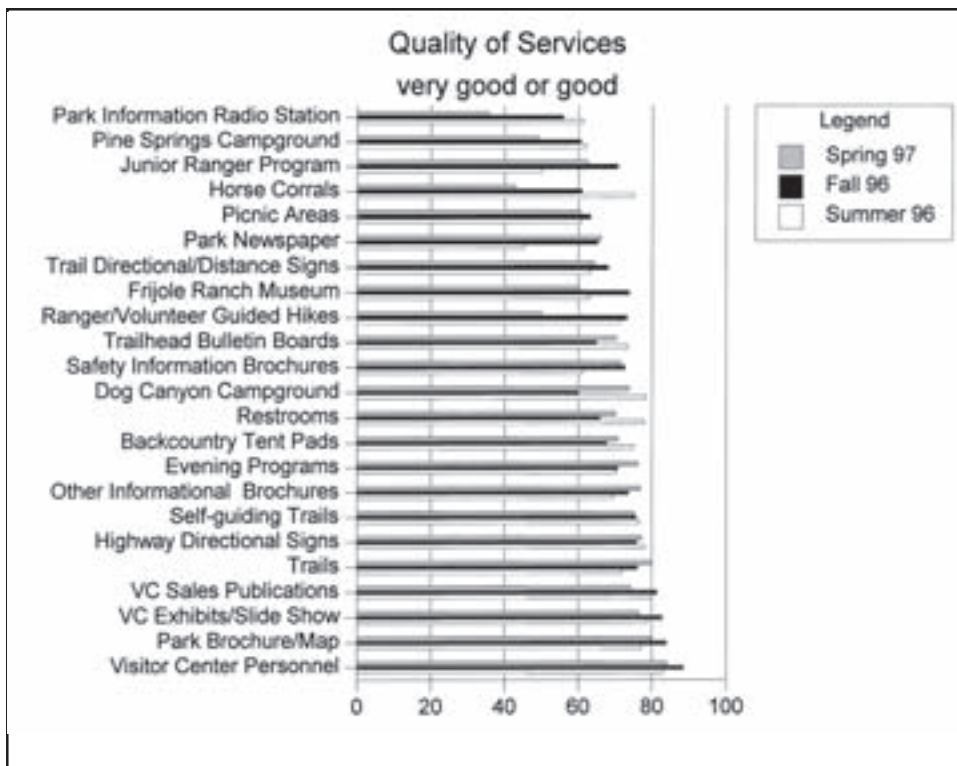


Figure 10

Importance Rank	Quality Rank	Difference	Service
20	4	16	Visitor Center Sales Publications
14	3	11	Visitor Center Exhibits/Slide Show
19	9	10	Evening Programs
6	1	5	Other Informational Brochures
6	1	5	Visitor Center Personnel
21	16	5	Frijole Ranch Museum
22	18	4	Park Newspaper
5	2	3	Park Brochure/Map
17	15	2	Guided Hikes
13	12	1	Dog Canyon Campground
7	7	0	Self-Guiding Nature Trails
10	10	0	Backcountry Tent Pads
23	23	0	Park Information Radio Station
4	6	-2	Highway Directional Signs
11	13	-2	Safety Information Brochures
1	5	-4	Trails
9	14	-5	Trailhead Bulletin Boards
15	21	-6	Junior Ranger Program
12	19	-7	Picnic Areas
2	11	-9	Restrooms
3	17	-14	Trail Directional/Distance Signs
8	22	-14	Pine Springs Campground

Table 3. Analysis of services by importance and quality.

Just because visitors weren't registering at the trailhead does not mean they were not reading the information available there. Visitors were much more likely to report having used the information displayed on the trailhead bulletin boards than to have utilized trail registers (Figure 12). About 20% more visitors viewed the bulletin board information than signed the trail registers. Information about why it is important to register may help increase compliance with trail register use. In the meantime, any use of the information from these sources should take into account the fact that only about half of visitor groups use the registers.

Visitors were asked a series of questions to determine the level of crowding that they perceived while at the park (Figure 13). They were first simply asked if they felt crowded during this visit to the park. Fall visitors were the most likely to report feeling crowded, followed by spring visitors, with summer visitors reporting very little feeling of crowding. Spring is the peak visitation period for Guadalupe Mountains National Park, but unlike fall when visitors are concentrated into a single area (McKittrick Canyon for fall colors), spring visitors are more spread

out over the various areas of the park; hence, they experience less crowding. Overall, only about 10% of visitors reported feeling crowded during their visit.

Visitors were then asked to rate their experience of crowding on a five-point scale. They were asked how the number of people they saw at the park compared with what they expected to see (Figure 14). The majority of fall and spring visitors experienced about as much crowding as they expected. Summer visitors were most likely to report that the park was a lot less crowded than they expected.

Visitors were also asked about how crowded they felt in specific areas of the park (Figure 15, Figure 16, Figure 17). Analysis by season indicates that there were definite differences between the groups in perception of crowding by specific park site. Backcountry camp 1, backcountry camp 2, trail 1, and trail 2 do not equate to any particular camp or trail, but respondents were given opportunity to make specific comments on up to two camps or trails. For visitors in the summer and spring, Pine Springs camp-

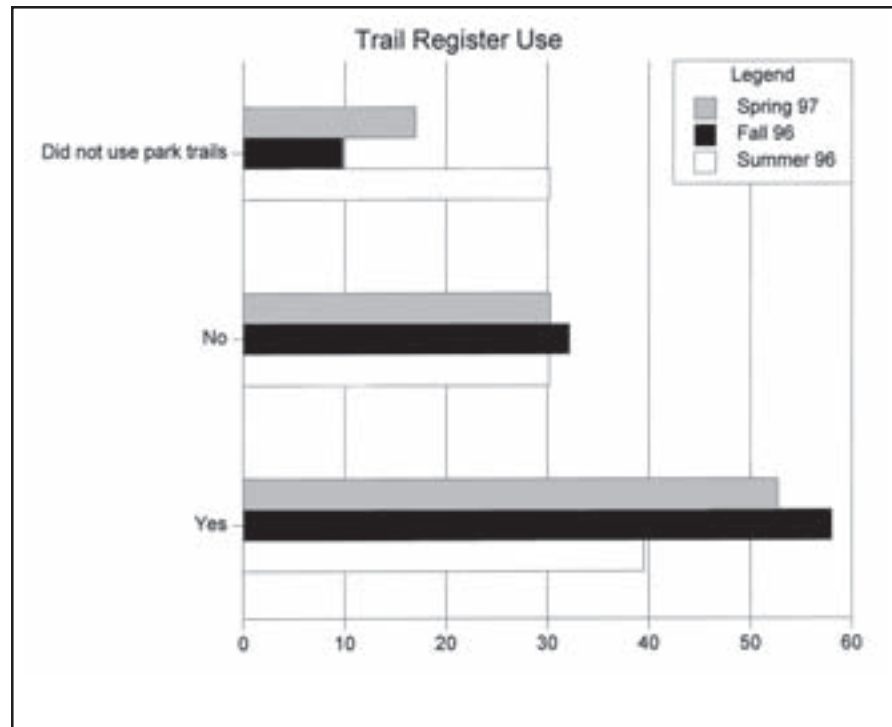


Figure 11

ground was perceived as most crowded. During the fall season, McKittrick Canyon was named as both the most crowded and the least crowded! Summer visitors found Frijole Ranch to be the least crowded and spring visitors named McKittrick Canyon as the least crowded. Examination of median values shows that for all locations the majority of visitors indicated that their experience was that the site was either “about as crowded as I expected” (McKittrick Canyon, Guadalupe Peak, Pine Springs campground, and Pine Springs visitor center) or “a little less crowded than I expected” (Frijole Ranch, Williams Ranch road, Dog Canyon, backcountry trails and camps). For each season, visitors had the option on this crowding question of writing in the name of backcountry trails and camps and indicating the level of crowding. Summer visitors had the fewest complaints about crowding in the backcountry. Fall and spring visitors were more likely to have complaints about crowding in the backcountry, but relative to the number of visitors surveyed, the number of visitors experiencing crowding in the backcountry was quite small.

Two summer visitors indicated that the Bowl trail was a little more crowded than they expected; three mentioned the Tejas trail, and one mentioned the Juniper trail. One fall visitor indicated that the Devil’s Hall trail and another that the Bowl trail were a lot more crowded than they expected, and two mentioned the Tejas trail as being a little more crowded than expected. Three spring visitors indicated that the Devil’s Hall trail was a lot more crowded than they expected, and one mentioned the Smith-Manzanita Spring trail as being a little more crowded than expected along with three visitors on the Tejas trail. Two spring visitors also indicated they felt crowded on the Bush Mountain trail. Regarding crowding in backcountry camps, Guadalupe Peak camp was mentioned as a little more crowded by three visitors (one summer and two spring visitors) and one summer and one fall visitor mentioned Tejas campground. One spring camper indicated that the Pinetop campground was a lot more crowded than he/she expected. Overall, it appears that backcountry trails and campgrounds are less crowded than visitors expect.

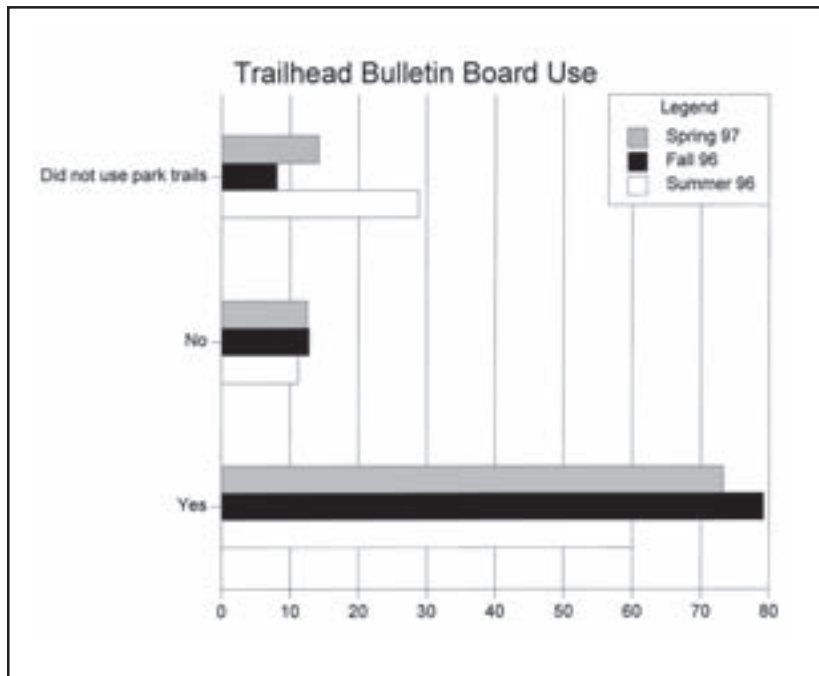


Figure 12

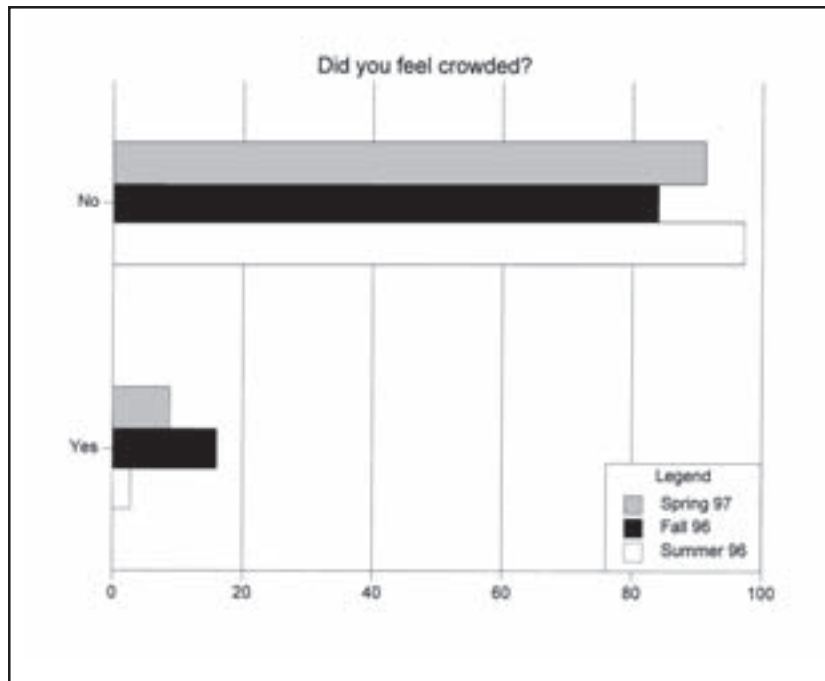


Figure 13

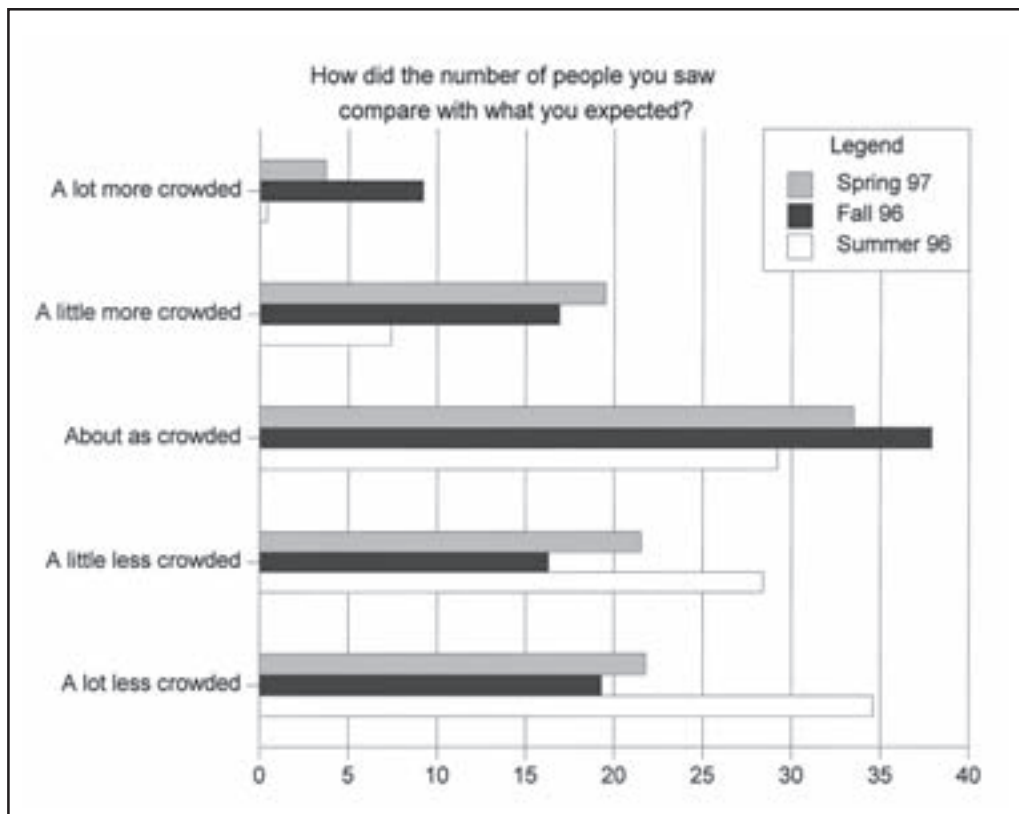


Figure 14

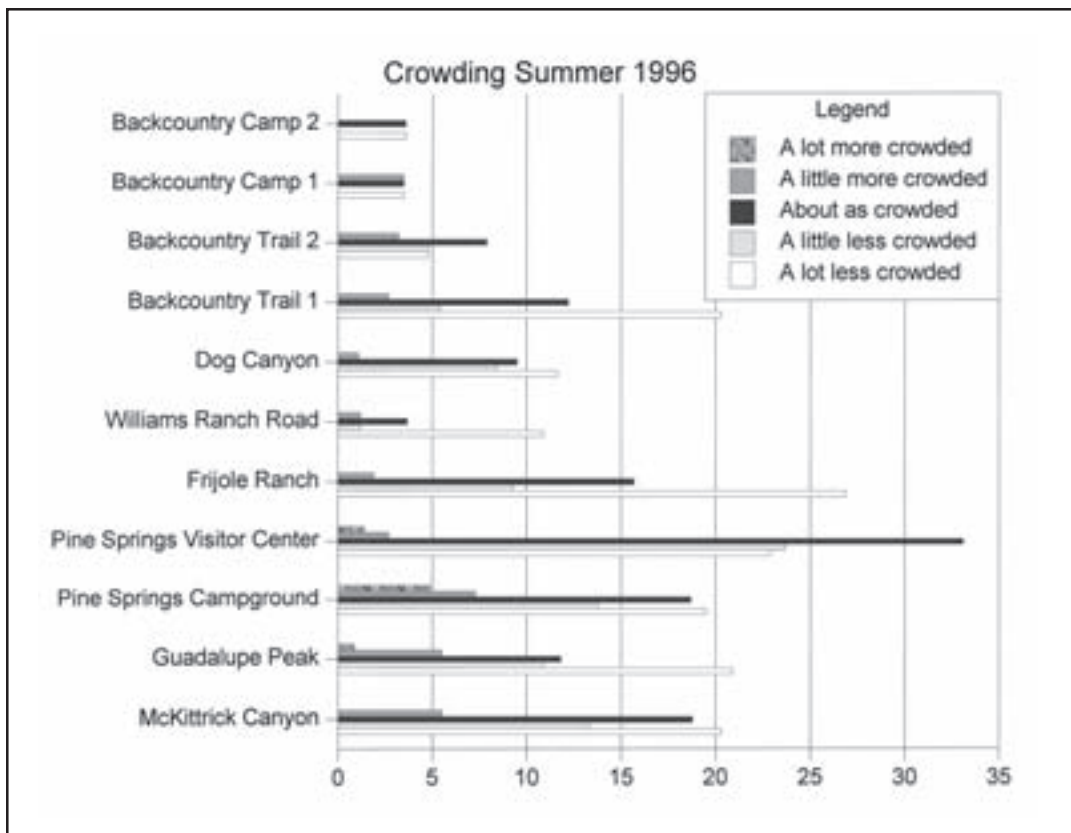


Figure 15

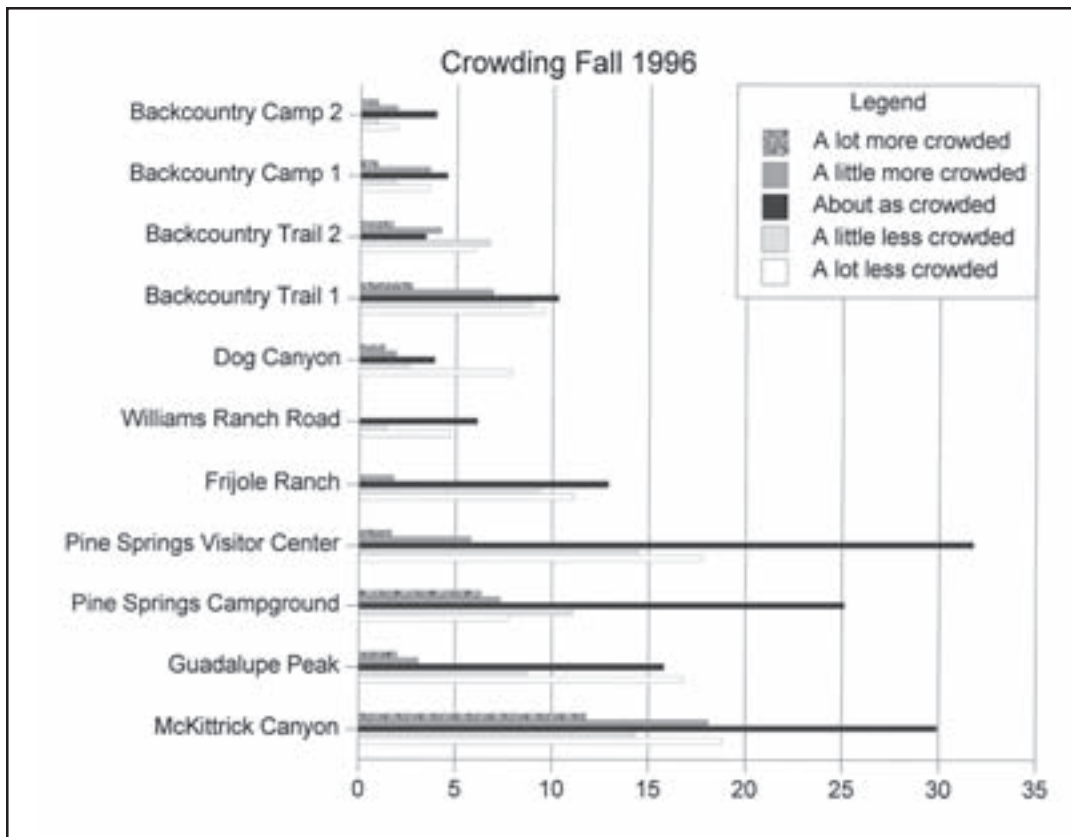


Figure 16

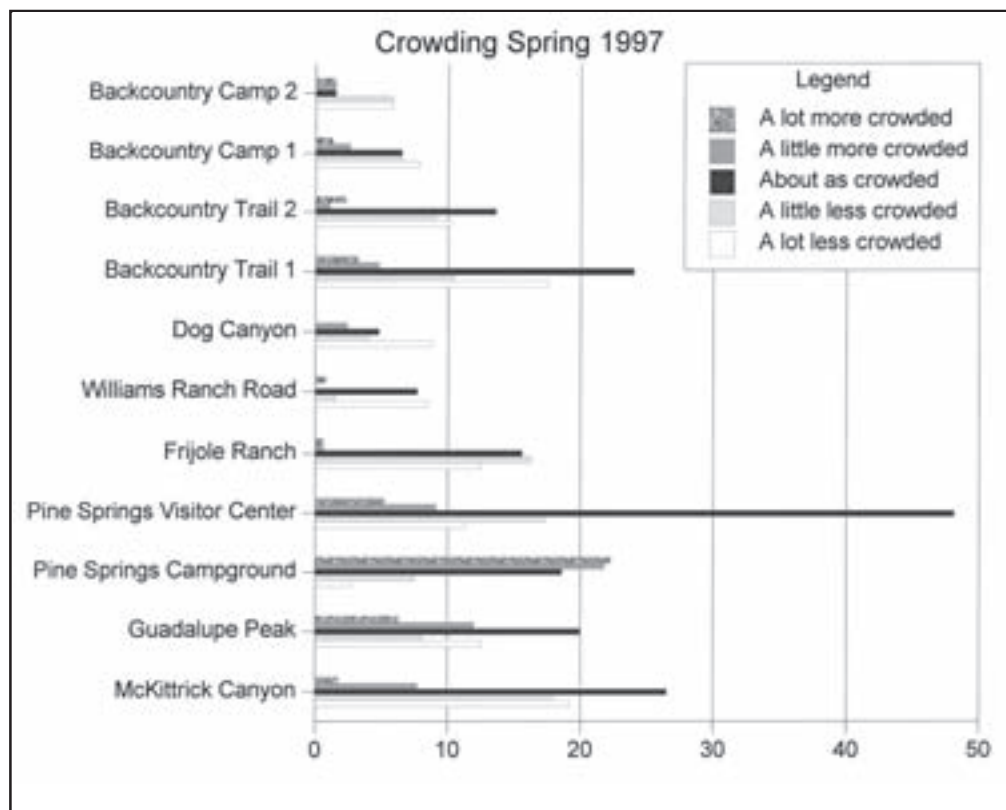


Figure 17

Visitors were asked if they thought the park should have a camping reservation system (Figure 18). The majority of visitors had no opinion on this topic, indicating that it is not a salient issue. Spring visitors were the most in favor of a camping reservation system which is probably because these are the visitors most likely to camp. Fall visitors were the most likely to say “no” and summer visitors were the most likely to have no opinion on the subject.

Visitors were asked if there were any services, facilities, or programs that were not available in the park that would have added to their enjoyment of their visit. Only about 30% of visitors replied “yes” to this question, indicating visitor satisfaction. Visitors made comments to an open-ended question (Figure 19). Analysis of their comments indicates that the seasonal activities people were enjoying at the park drove their desires for specific services or facilities. Showers were the most requested addition to park services and facilities, with summer visitors

showing the most interest of the three visitor groups. Perhaps this indicates a need for more interpretation to park visitors about the scarcity of water in the desert and the need for conservation of this resource in the park.

Visitors were asked, “Overall, how satisfied were you with your visit to the park?” Most respondents were satisfied with their visit (Figure 20). Fall visitors expressed the most satisfaction of all three groups, followed by spring visitors. Very few visitors expressed dissatisfaction with their visit to the park.

Respondents were given the opportunity to respond to four open-ended questions about their park experiences. Visitors were asked, “What did you and your group like most about your visit to the park?” Some element of nature was the most mentioned favorite aspect of visiting the park (Figure 21).

Visitors were also asked to indicate what they least liked about their visit to the park (Figure 22). Summer and fall visitors were most likely to complain about

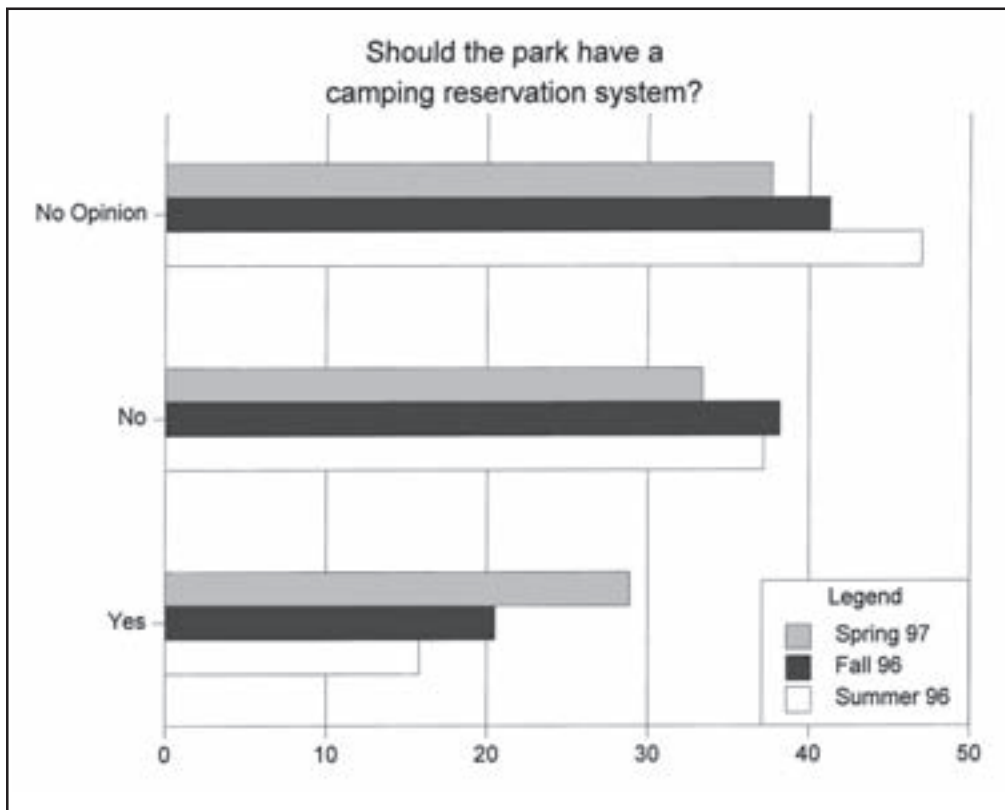


Figure 18

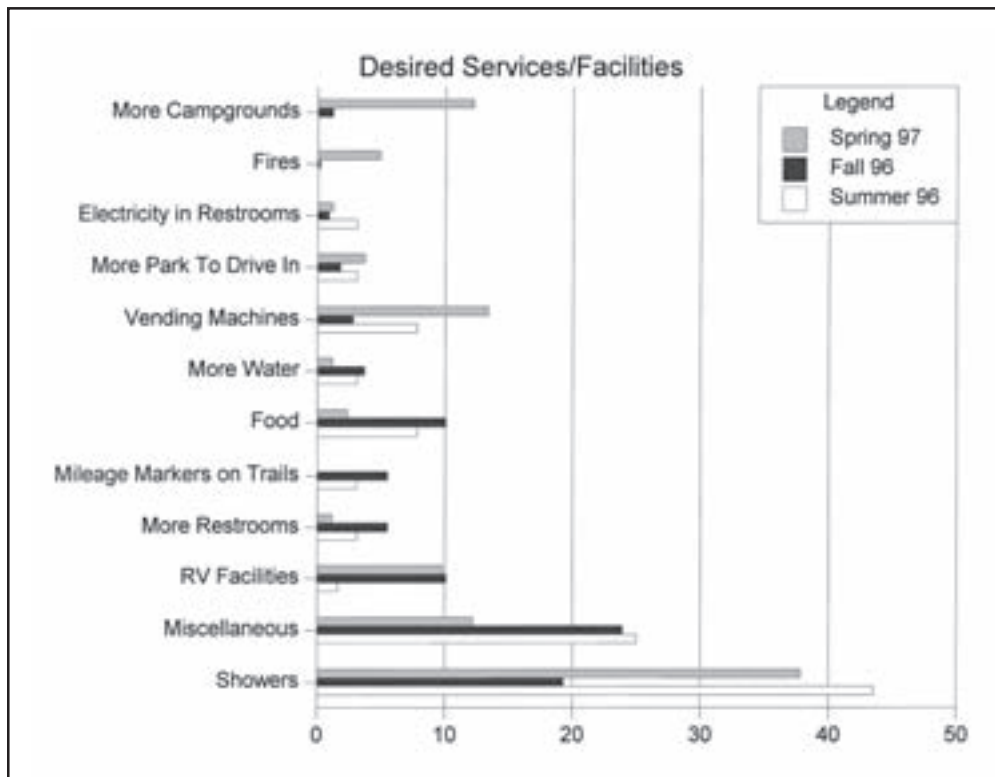


Figure 19

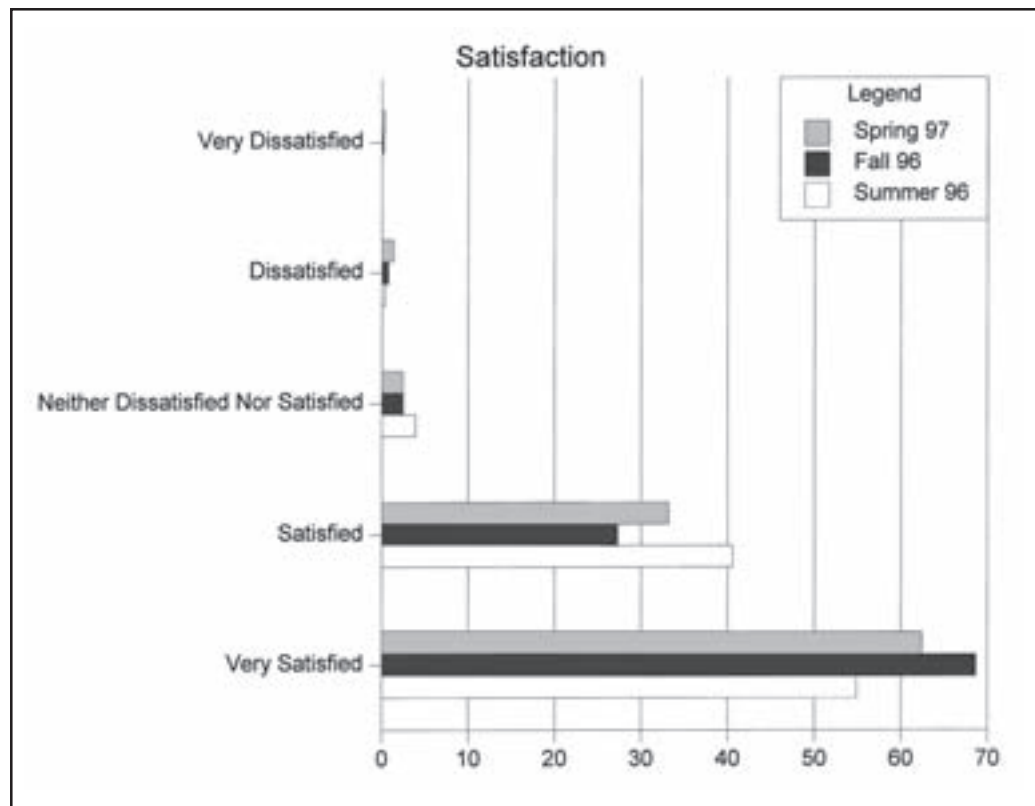


Figure 20

the facilities/services (usually something they felt was absent, not complaints about existing facilities or services). Fall visitors were those most likely to have no complaints at all. Summer visitors were the most likely to complain about aspects of nature beyond park control, such as the heat; spring visitors tended to complain about the wind. In the category of “not relevant” were such complaints as one visitor expressing disgust at hunting being allowed at the park, when in actuality rangers were looking for a deer that had been wounded in an encounter with a car. Other examples in this category were such things as complaints about travel time to the park and personal lack of physical conditioning.

Visitors were asked the question, “If you were a manager for the future of Guadalupe Mountains National Park, what would you propose?” (Figure 23). The largest category for most spring and summer comments was a suggestion for facilities and services at the park. In contrast, fall visitors were the most likely to propose no changes be made at all. Trails

were frequently mentioned in this section. Visitors expressed the need for better trail signage and maintenance.

The final question in this survey was, “Is there anything else you and your group would like to tell us about your visit to Guadalupe Mountains National Park and the surrounding area?” The most frequent type of response to this question was a compliment about the great job that the National Park Service is doing at Guadalupe Mountains National Park (Figure 24).

Note: At present (2003), Jacqueline Bergdahl is a professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio.

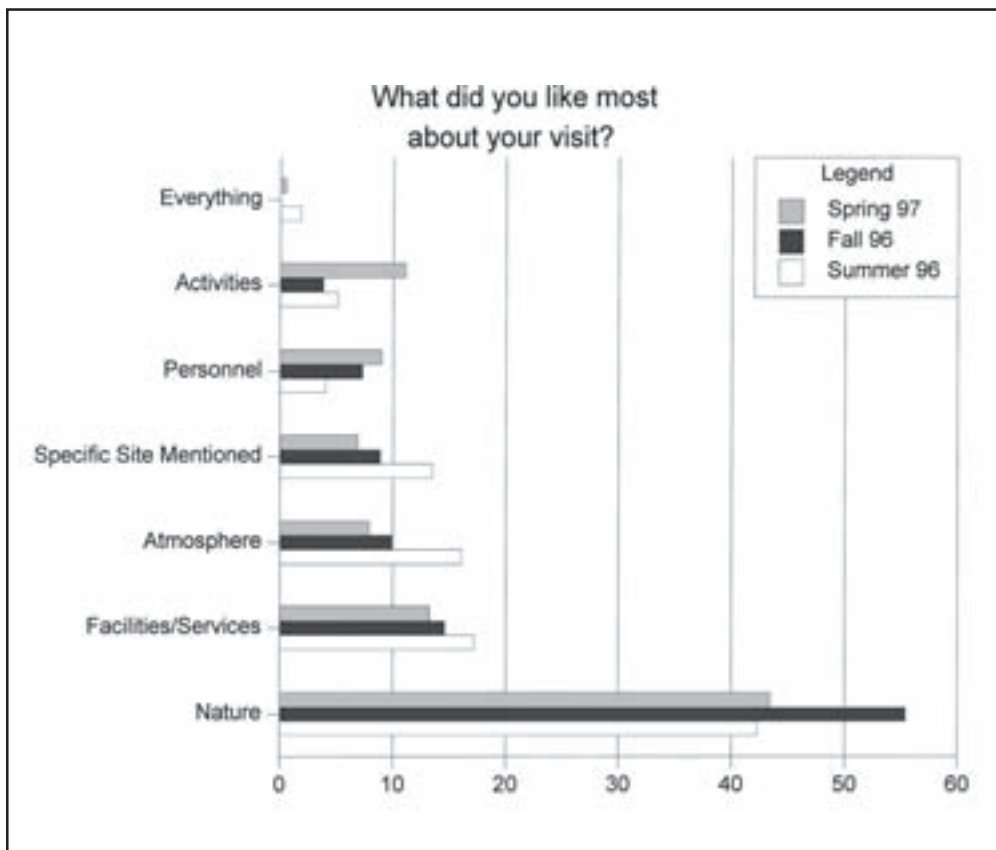


Figure 21

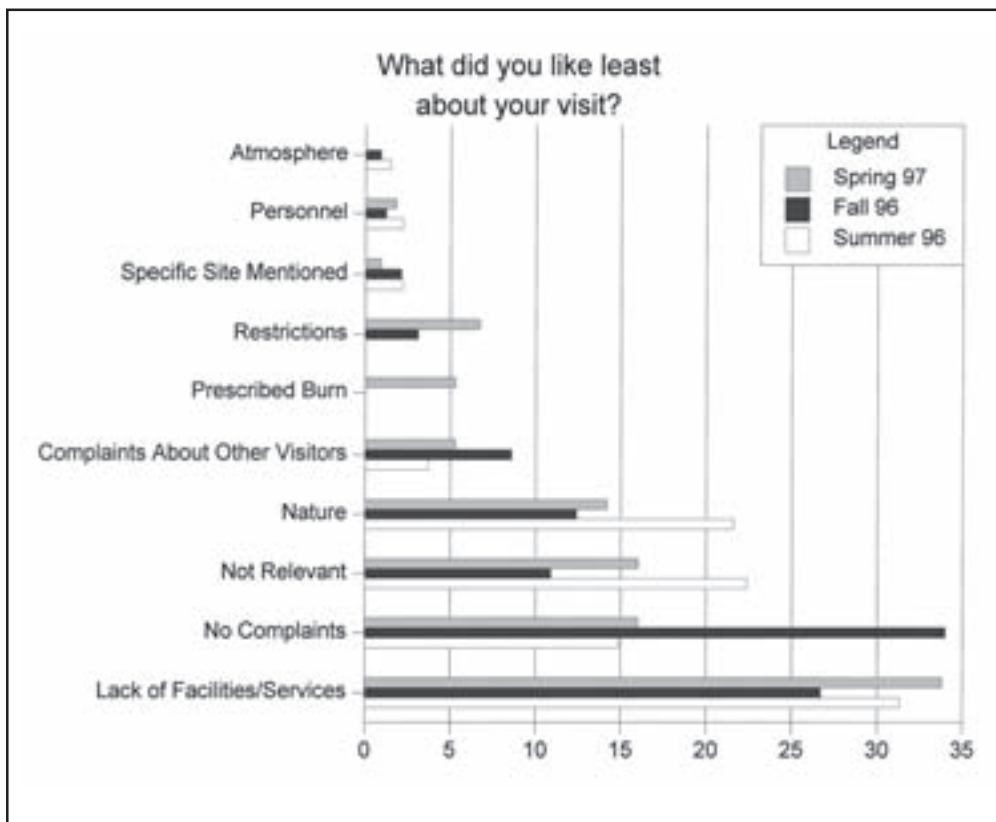


Figure 22

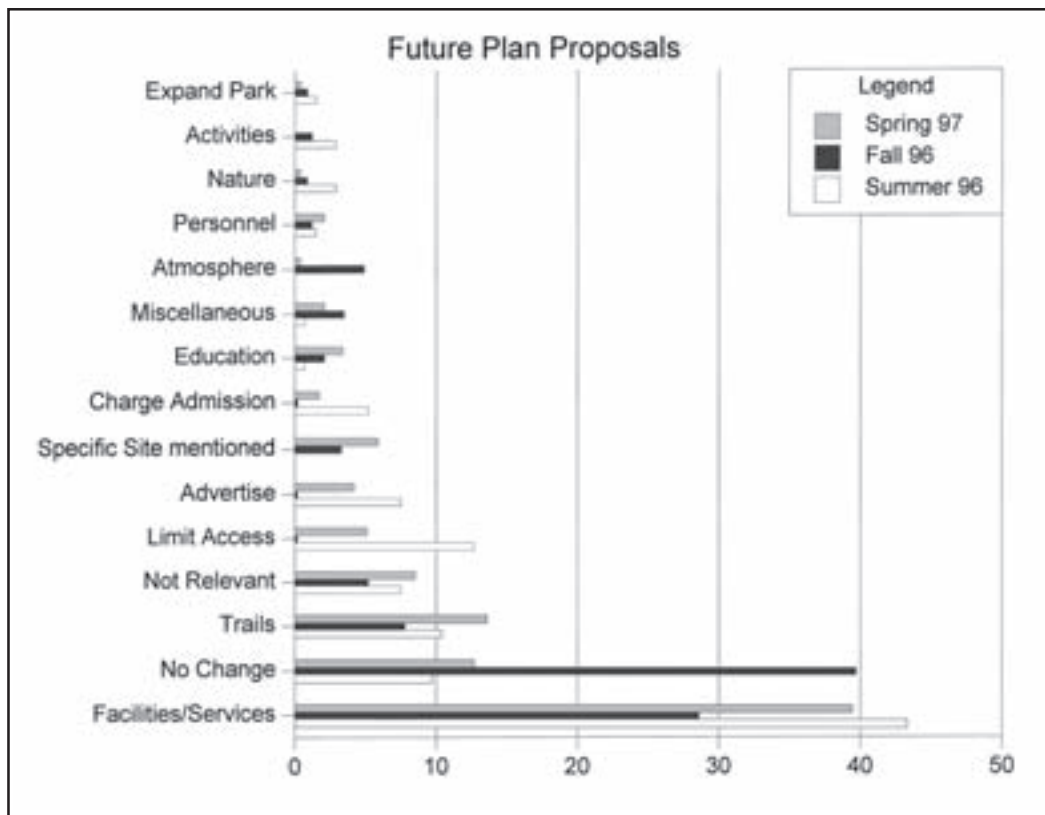


Figure 23

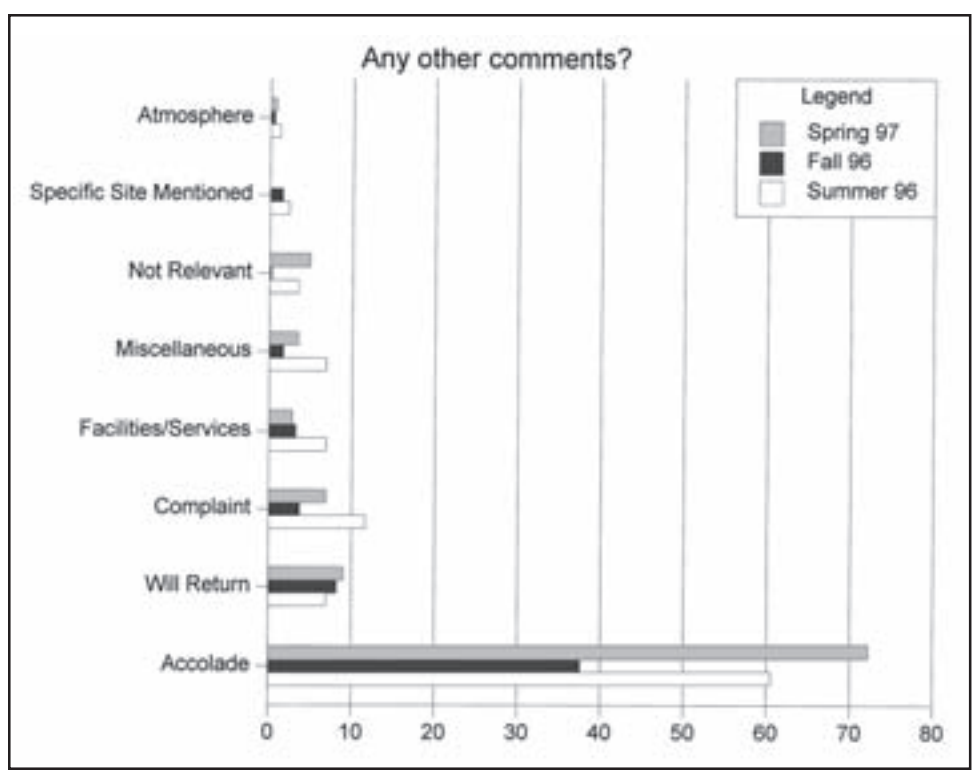


Figure 24

Chapter 48

Legislative Mandates, Cultural Affiliation, and Guadalupe Mountains National Park

ADOLPH M. GREENBURG, Ph.D., is a professor of anthropology with Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. He compiled an ethnographic overview of the Mescalero Apache and Ysleta del Sur tribes.

Other authors: GEORGE S. ESBER, JR., Miami University, Oxford, Ohio and formerly with the NPS Southwest Regional Office ethnography program; and JOE SIERRA, Tigua Indian Tribe, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo

A few years ago, a top-level official in the federal government with authority over the National Park Service made the comment that none of the western parks contained cultural resources. Presumably, the underlying thinking was that in the eastern United States there are a number of places having historical significance that reflect the cultural heritage of the nation: places such as presidential homes, Civil War battlefields, monuments to figures of national importance, and other places to commemorate events in United States history. Thus, it is a reasonable supposition that many of the parks in the East preserve the historical and cultural heritage of the United States. In this view parks in the West are seen as places of scenic monumentalism represented by examples such as Yellowstone, the Grand Canyon, and Carlsbad Caverns. They are magnificent landscapes. However, they too, contain cultural resources as this paper will illustrate.

People of the Euro-American tradition, holding a position of dominance, readily disregard other cultural traditions that are an equally important part of the country. In fact, many of these "other" traditions have the added significance of greater antiquity than those of the more recent immigrants to North America. In parks such as Mesa Verde National Park, Petroglyph National Monument, Pecos National Historical Park, Bandelier National Monument, Chaco Culture National Historical Park, Aztec Ruins National Monument, and Wupatki National Monument, to name but a few, cultural

resources are preserved in parks specifically because each preserves a cultural heritage. Contrary to much of the information disseminated through archaeological interpretations, through our educational system, in textbooks, and indeed, in the nations' mythology, present day Indians have neither disappeared nor ceased to function as dynamic, viable communities. A typical fallacy, for example, has allowed students of excavation to make the claim that the Anasazi, a presumed culture fictitiously created in the first place, mysteriously vanished, while in reality, Pueblo Indian descendants from these cultural traditions continue to function as communities as they have for centuries. Many of the Arizona and New Mexico parks have appropriated and preserved the Puebloan cultural heritage for the nation and only incidentally for the Pueblo peoples. Needless to say, the government official made a hasty retraction, but nevertheless, this incident is worthy of note because it bears on heritage issues facing ethnic communities, especially those of Native American Indians.

Traditionally, as sites are authorized as parks and come under the stewardship of the National Park Service, they are managed according to the mandate of the Organic Act of 1916, which charges the National Park Service "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such a manner and by means as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." In the Organic Act,

there is no mandate to seek advice from or consult with peoples having traditional associations with the resources of the park. Translated into practice, parks like Guadalupe Mountains National Park would typically be managed without consideration for the ties that contemporary communities have with some of the resources in the park, not to mention how some of those relations might have significance for peoples with regard to their freedom of religion, need for medicinal plants, concerns about the treatment of resources by parks, or how information about those resources was presented to the public through interpretive or educational programs.

Beginning in the Civil Rights era, certain legislative acts were passed having implications for how federal agencies, including the National Park Service, perform their responsibilities. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA), the National Environmental Policy Act of 1970 (NEPA), the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA), and more recently the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) are but a few examples of laws that require federal agencies and others to consider American Indian concerns and to consult with American Indians when they are affected by policy implementation. While each of these laws carries its own directives, their net effect was to create an atmosphere whereby the National Park Service found it necessary to formalize procedures for involving American Indians and other ethnic communities in consultations with the parks where traditional associations were a concern.

The initiative for developing policies for ethnographic work originated with the senior anthropologist in the Washington Office of the National Park Service, Dr. Muriel Crespi, who over the years, worked to establish ethnography programs in each of the parks' regions. As a consequence, regional ethnographers were hired in some of, what were at the time, the ten regions of the National Park Service. Although a reorganization of the National Park Service has since taken place, the regional ethnography

programs remain with ethnographers in positions to initiate research programs and to assist in implementing their findings in park operations. Ethnographic research collects data about peoples' associations with parks, and is used to establish consultations with associated peoples regarding the stewardship, management and interpretation of cultural resources significant to them. In this capacity Dr. George Esber served as the first regional ethnographer for the Southwest Region and initiated some of the first research in the regional ethnography program.

An ethnographic study was conducted at Guadalupe Mountains National Park to determine which communities had traditional associations to the cultural resources in the park, to learn the nature of the resources they were concerned with, and to ascertain their level of interest in and desire for involvement with the National Park Service. The services of Dr. Adolph Greenberg were contracted to conduct the research.

According to the NPS-28 Cultural Resource Management Guideline (1994), an ethnographic overview and assessment represents an initial comprehensive background study of types, uses, and users of a park's ethnographic resources. The study calls for a review of existing information and the identification of new data needs. The meaning and importance of specific locales and resources in the Guadalupe Mountains to the Mescalero and other contemporary American Indian communities remains at the level of historic and ethnohistoric documentation. Previous studies by the National Park Service identified the need to understand the historic period of Mescalero economic, religious, and military use of the Guadalupe Mountains. In addition, there exists oral commentaries and written documentation pertaining to recent Mescalero use of the area for religious purposes, as well as Mescalero solicitations to the National Park Service for permission to collect sotol and/or mesquite fruit for ceremonies. For the most part, such documentation does not contain Indian commentary or narratives on

the meaning of the Guadalupe Mountains to their people. Oral commentary revealed through ethnographic interviews and observations can inform park management of places that may require special attention or protection by the National Park Service. Moreover, the establishment of ongoing consultations with those affected Indian communities holds the potential to enhance not only the management of the park but its interpretative story.

A major component of the study was to establish a consultation relationship with the Mescalero Apaches because there is substantial historic documentation that they regularly used the resources of the Guadalupe Mountains during the 1700s and 1800s. However, their interest in the area continues today, although no ethnographic overview and assessment of their traditional and continuing association with the resources of the park—including significant natural and cultural areas, traditional use areas, sacred sites and locales, access trails, and access needs—had been undertaken until this project.

Ethnographic research to obtain this information demands the recognition of American Indian tribal sovereignty as their communities are more than ethnic entities. They, unlike other ethnic communities, are self-governing with sovereign authority over their members and their lands and are recognized as such by the United States government. As a National Park Service project, the ethnographic overview and assessment proceeded accordingly and maintained a government-to-government relationship. After initial meetings with the staffs of Guadalupe Mountains National Park and the Southwest Regional Office of the National Park Service, Greenberg began the process of establishing official contact with the Mescalero tribal government. Because of a number of unforeseen events and issues with which the tribe was involved, official contact via a meeting with the vice president of the tribe did not occur until some 13 months into the project. The tribal official was amenable to the project and felt it desirable that the tribe participate as they

have a deep-seated, continuing interest in the Guadalupe Mountains. However, before the project could be considered by the tribal council, the scope of the project along with its implications for the tribe would have to be discussed in the tribe's cultural affairs and museum committees. Meanwhile, the contractor produced and sent a videoletter introducing the project, park staff, and the park to the tribe. After a reasonable period of time, the contracting officer's technical representative from the regional office determined that the project would have to be drawn to a conclusion, although that would not preclude the park and the National Park Service from continuing in their contacts with the Mescalero. As a consequence, this ethnographic study did not involve official ethnographic interviews or on-site visits to the park involving the Mescalero tribe. The final report relied on existing documentation regarding Mescalero interest and involvement in Guadalupe Mountains and as such there are noticeable and critical gaps in the existing database. Subsequent contacts have been made by the National Park Service with the tribal government and hopefully these will spur the development of ongoing consultations with the Mescalero tribe.

In addition to the Mescalero associations, National Park Service staff at Guadalupe Mountains National Park speculated about ongoing Tigua presence in the general vicinity of the Guadalupes. Official contact with the Tigua tribe of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo was made and the tribe agreed to participate in the project. Subsequent discussions, documentary research, ethnographic interviews, and an on-site consultation visit to the park revealed the extent of Tigua links to the lands now under National Park Service administration and most notably to the Guadalupe Salines on lands immediately adjacent to the park. Ethnographic interviews with the Tigua revealed a long-term association with the west slope of the Guadalupe Mountains, including the salt basin, gypsum dunes, and specific plant resources.

The final report (Greenberg 1996) for this project included recommendations for further consultations with the Mescalero and continuing consultations with the Tigua including a response to Tigua concerns about protection of and tourist access to the west-side sand dunes and to archaeological sites. The Tigua representatives were unanimous in their request that they be consulted regarding any changes in the disposition of the sand dunes relative to protection issues and tourist access and visitation. Tigua representatives were also of one mind in their willingness to assist the park staff in adding accuracy to the ethnographic interpretative story of Guadalupe Mountains National Park. They are opposed to any further excavations of the archaeological sites in the west-side boundary area and have recommended that the site be closed to the public. Finally, the Tigua noted that access to the area is important to the tribe and should be the subject of further negotiations.

What the legislative mandates and the project itself reveal is the critical need to recognize that an ethnographic component enhances the management of park resources and does so in a culturally-informed manner. The accomplishment of this goal requires transferring the mantle of authority about cultural knowledge from archaeologists, ethnographers, and historians to the rightful owners of traditional cultural properties and knowledge, who in this case are the identified American Indian communities. When this happens, the parks will be effectively and appropriately decolonized with respect to management and interpretation.

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Chapter 49

Guadalupe Mountains National Park: A 1920s Attempt at Preservation

FRED MACVAUGH is a graduate student in history at the University of Texas at El Paso, where he is writing his Master's thesis on the establishment, early administrative history, and socio-cultural significance of Carlsbad Caverns National Park.

Congress authorized Guadalupe Mountains National Park in 1966; the National Park Service dedicated the park in 1972. Attempts to set the area aside as either a national park or monument date back to 1924, if not earlier.

Anglo-Americans had known of the Guadalupe Mountains by the mid-1800s. Spanish explorers and Mexicans knew of them centuries earlier. Native American awareness, habitation, and use of the mountains and their hidden resources predated Columbus' discovery of the "New World." Yet, except for small numbers of Native Americans, few people settled in the Guadalupe Mountains or surrounding desert until the last decades of the 19th century. Spanish explorers and settlers, and their later Anglo-American counterparts, mostly bypassed the region. For certain, Anglos passed through the region on their way to California, or in some cases, for the Rio Grande valley. Anglo settlement in the Pecos Valley and Guadalupe Mountains area did not begin in earnest until the 1870s; thereafter, settlement slowly and steadily increased.

One fascinating element about the Anglo-American exploration and settlement of the Guadalupe is the way in which the people interpreted the landscape and region. It is a process still very much occurring today in Guadalupe Mountains National Park and Carlsbad Caverns National Park. In fact, that is the reason for my interest: I am researching for and in the process of writing a thesis dealing with Carlsbad Caverns' history. I am looking at why Carlsbad Caverns came into the National Park System in 1923 as a national monument (Carlsbad

Cave National Monument). It was not until seven years later, in 1930, that congress upgraded the monument to national park status.

The way people interpreted the landscape and, in particular, the way Americans defined themselves (as a society) according to landscape and the West is extraordinary. Indeed, this is a trend readily visible at Guadalupe Mountains' sister park, Carlsbad Caverns. Names of cave formations—the way they were described and labeled in the 1920s and the way they are still identified and explained today—originate with cultural constructs prevalent in 1920s American society. These in turn can be traced back to Judeo-Christian philosophies—all the way back to the Greeks. Evidence of this trend is found throughout the entire Guadalupe Mountains–Carlsbad Caverns region.

Hence, writing about the history of national park units cannot be confined to the area within park or monument boundaries alone. Individual park histories are about the parks, yes, but they are also the stories about the surrounding regions and communities, stories about the people who first settled in a given region, stories, too, about the people who passed through while making their way elsewhere. For all of these people left their mark: maybe physical remains such as structures or inscriptions on canyon walls, maybe published or unpublished accounts of their travels and impressions, or, perhaps they named features encountered during their ventures and those names stuck.

Writing about the history of national park units cannot be confined to the area within park or monument boundaries alone.

The Delaware Basin is a perfect example; it includes the land stretching south from the Guadalupe escarpment. The mountain chain due south of El Capitan is called the Delaware Mountains. Both get their name from the Delaware, or Lenni Lenape, Indians who emigrated (due to increasing Anglo-American population pressure) from the Delaware–New Jersey–Pennsylvania area. These people slowly pushed west into Ohio and Illinois, then to Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, and beyond, where eventually they served as guides for United States military expeditions passing through the Guadalupe Mountains region in the mid-1800s. People such as Jim Shaw, John Connor, and Black Beaver (all Delaware) earned reputations as peerless guides, hunters, and negotiators. Black Beaver, perhaps the most famous, led Randolph B. Marcy's 1849 expedition in search of the most practical route between Fort Smith, Arkansas (now a National Park Service unit), and Santa Fe, New Mexico. Marcy's return trip brought him across what is now the Delaware Basin. Whether the basin is named in honor of Black Beaver is unknown; nonetheless, it is named for his people in commemoration of their knowledge of and ability to successfully lead Anglo-Americans through this area.

Clearly, the Guadalupe Mountains had been known for a long time. Apache habitation and use of the mountains predated the Anglo-American arrival in the area. (The mountain chain due south of the Delawares is named Apache Mountains.) All previous knowledge and use of the Guadalupe notwithstanding, the first genuine interest in setting them aside as a national park emerged in 1924.

The previous September, U.S. Geological Survey geologist Willis Thomas Lee visited Carlsbad to inspect some of the Bureau of Reclamation dam sites along the Pecos River because they were not holding as much water as expected or wanted. In hopes of developing a better understanding of the region's geology from within, he inspected Carlsbad Cave, then called the Bat Cave. After returning to Washington, D.C., Lee recommended that the cave be made into a

national monument. His scientific rationale for preservation—later quoted in a letter from Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work to President Calvin Coolidge—clinched it, and Coolidge signed the Carlsbad Cave National Monument proclamation on October 25, 1923. At the same time, Lee proposed a more extensive exploration of the cave. Wisely, Lee cautioned against limiting the expedition to the cave alone; he felt the surrounding country with its numerous caves, some reportedly as spectacular as the Bat Cave, needed to be explored as well.

By the 1920s, Lee was a recognized authority on the geology of the Southern Rocky Mountains. He had studied them for years; in 1912 he had recommended that Capulin Volcano be reserved as a national monument. (Although his superiors at the U.S. Geological Survey rejected his recommendation, the National Park Service did preserve Capulin Volcano as a national monument in 1916.) Lee also wrote a very popular history of Rocky Mountain National Park published in 1917. In recommending a thorough exploration of the Bat Cave and Guadalupe, Lee had two equally important justifications: first, he wanted to study how the cave and its stalactites, stalagmites, and other formations had formed; second, he believed he might find caves containing remains of hitherto little or unknown prehistoric peoples who had inhabited the Guadalupe Mountains. He also cited possible botanical, faunal, and geographical discoveries as equally important reasons for such an exploration and study.

The National Geographic Society approved Lee's proposal and allocated \$16,000 for a six-month expedition, which commenced in March 1924. For the first half of the expedition, Lee and other expedition participants such as James "Jim" Larkin White (the man recognized as the first major explorer of Carlsbad Cave) and Carl Livingston (a local attorney and amateur archaeologist) chiefly worked at the cave. Toward the middle of the expedition, with the bulk of the photographic and surveying

Lee judged the area worthy of inclusion in the National Park System. Basically, he considered the rugged mountains and canyons on par with some of the other crown jewels of the 1920s National Park System.

work in the cave completed, Lee turned his attention to the Guadalupe Mountains. With White, Livingston, and others, Lee rode on horseback through many of the canyons such as McKittrick and Gunsight canyons. As a result of these excursions, Lee judged the area worthy of inclusion in the National Park System. Basically, he considered the rugged mountains and canyons on par with some of the other crown jewels of the 1920s National Park System; consequently, he advocated their reservation as a national park or, at the least, a national monument.

Texas officials enthusiastically greeted Lee's proposal. In fact, during the summer of 1924, Texas Governor Pat Neff, the state's newly created state parks board (1923), and the state's highway commissioners joined New Mexico's governor and highway commissioners at Carlsbad Cave National Monument. After touring the cave, Lee took them to the Guadalupe Mountains, where he and others, such as Judge J.C. Hunter of Van Horn, stressed the importance of reserving the Guadalupe Mountains as a state or national park. Lee even went so far as to propose an interstate national park incorporating both Carlsbad Cave and the Guadalupe Mountains.

Today, the questions are: What impressions did people have of the Guadalupe Mountains? How did they describe them? What did they compare them to? What value did they ascribe to them? People equated exploration of Carlsbad Cave with conquest of the West—meaning, the West of myth as much as the West of reality. While understandable, it is nonetheless surprising, for Carlsbad Cave is a cave. Nevertheless, the entire western experience—contact, exploration, description, conquest, and preservation—is defined within the cave and its development as a park unit. People equate Jim White with the western experience, for instance; he is compared with and revered as much as America's explorers and pioneers. Most telling is the persistent image of White as a cowboy despite his having worked as a guano miner for 20 years prior to the federal government's creating the monument.

Definition and description of the Guadalupe Mountains landscape similarly consisted of identifying it with the West of popular conception: of a heroic and violent place where individual men triumphed over savagery, where outlaws assumed the guise of heroes, where men (and women) persevered and survived in spite of an unforgiving desert. Hence, the parks represented the West and, by extension, America. Even Lee, an erudite eastern scholar and respected geologist, couched his descriptions of the mountains and desert in these terms. "It is the Wild West," Lee wrote, "the land of adobe shack, of range cattle and goats." He also wrote that this is an area where sombrero-hatted cowboys are common sights. Once, it was the land of gunfighters and gold seekers, where the whitened bone of oxen that perished on the long stretches between watering holes along the Butterfield Trail are remembered by old timers. Other writers in the 1920s, including guidebook author Blanche Grant, portrayed the Carlsbad region as a land infested with desperate outlaws such as Billy the Kid and Geronimo. Blood had run free, she wrote, during many a showdown in the town of Old Phenix (near Carlsbad), which by the 1920s was no more than crumbling adobe ruins. Such portrayals shaped peoples' perceptions of and experiences in southeastern New Mexico and west Texas, including the Guadalupe Mountains and Carlsbad Cave.

By the 1920s, the "frontier" as defined by historian Frederick Jackson Turner had been "closed" for little more than 30 years. Still, many Americans, particularly easterners, looked to the West to recapture some essence of the imagined American identity of rugged individualism, strength, and democracy. At the same time, these people sought escape (if only momentarily) from an oppressive, corporate-controlled East. In searching for the defining elements of American character, either real or imagined, they sought spiritual rejuvenation. As Turnerian as this description seems, it is the way people understood themselves and their place in the world in the 1920s. Turner did not create the civilization versus savagery or garden versus

Lee even went so far as to propose an interstate national park incorporating both Carlsbad Cave and the Guadalupe Mountains.

One wonders why neither Congress nor the National Park Service set aside the Guadalupe Mountains until 1966 despite interest as early as 1924.

wilderness dichotomies. No, one can find these ideas in Greek writings. They are in the Bible. No doubt, these are social and cultural constructs that have existed in one manner or another from the time of man's cognitive beginnings. Turner just proclaimed wilderness and the frontier as democratic-making conditions, as original American ideas. He was the most recognized, most authoritative champion of a heroic America, and as a result people identified, and continue to identify, individualism, strength, and democracy as separate and distinct American characteristics.

In view of this, and given the fact that Americans set aside other National Park System units (e.g., Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Grand Canyon) for similar reasons, one wonders why neither Congress nor the National Park Service set aside the Guadalupe Mountains until 1966 despite interest as early as 1924. This is a 40-year gap. How did other writers and the media describe the Guadalupe Mountains–Carlsbad Cave West, and how did these portrayals change between the 1920s and 1960s? How did peoples' perceptions of wilderness change?

Roderick Nash, among other scholars, has written about wilderness in America and its significance in American society. Still, I am interested in seeing a comparative analysis written in which attitudes toward the Southwest in the 1920s are contrasted with those 40 years later. Then one should compare these attitudes with those which led to Carlsbad Cave National Monument's creation, for the cave was compared as much with western landscape and the West-as-experience as it was with lesser caves such as Mammoth Cave in Kentucky or Luray Caverns in Virginia. How do these, in turn, compare and contrast with those [attitudes] underpinning Guadalupe Mountains National Park's establishment?

There are several reasons why I think the Guadalupe Mountains were not incorporated into the National Park System in the 1920s. First, they were too inaccessible for many tourists. Paved roads did

not exist in this region; indeed, few roads at all existed in the region. Highway 62-180 between El Paso and Carlsbad, which passes just south of the mountains, was not opened until the late 1920s. (Both Texas and New Mexico developed the road because of Carlsbad Cave and the interest in expanding it into a national park. Businessmen in the region, including El Pasoans, wanted to ensure that tourist dollars flowed into their coffers. At the same time, many merchants wanted the road as a more direct access route to markets; discovery of potash and oil in the region in the mid-1920s only expedited development.) Roads between Van Horn and Carlsbad or Pecos and Carlsbad similarly did not serve as "major" automobile arteries until after the creation of Carlsbad Cave National Monument. If the region's inaccessibility was one cause for the Guadalupe Mountains not being set aside as a national monument or park in the 1920s, it is ironic. Why? Because the majority of tourists who visited Carlsbad Cave during the 1920s and 30s drove from central and east Texas.

Second, the absence of concerted state or local support in Texas may also explain why Guadalupe Mountains National Park was not authorized until 1966. Although Lee and others expressed interest and commitment to preserving the Guadalupe Mountains, little appears to have been done toward that end either on the federal or state level. In Texas, at least, greater emphasis appears to have been placed on establishing parks nearer the state's more populated east. Similar to the dearth of popular support was a lack of commercial support from the railroads, which historically played a central role in the development of early national parks. (Carlsbad Cave itself was the subject of much publicity from the railroads, especially the Santa Fe Railroad.) Indeed, the railroads continued to have enormous influence on park development and publicity through the 1940s, at which time automobiles surpassed trains as the principal means by which tourists traveled to national parks. Regardless, it appears that the railroads paid little attention to the Guadalupe Mountains.

A third factor that may have delayed creation of Guadalupe Mountains National Park is Congress' penny-pinching, which in turn made National Park Service administrators wary of proposed parks, many of which were of questionable, pork-barrel-politics quality such as Wind Cave. And since the Guadalupes were similar to yet smaller (in size) than other existing mountain parks, they may have been viewed as "second class" when compared to the Grand Tetons, Mount Rainier, or Mount Olympus. When Congressman John Morrow of New Mexico requested an increased appropriation for Carlsbad Cave National Monument in the early 1920s, Louis Cramton, chairman of the subcommittee on Interior Department appropriations, explained that the National Park Service should be thankful to get any money at all for monuments. Congress was trying to cut back on expenses, he added, and developing the crown jewels of the system—Yosemite and Yellowstone, for example—superseded the creation of new parks. Only once the National Park Service adequately developed these parks would Congress consider creating and funding new parks. As can be seen, then, there was insufficient support in Washington, D.C., for new parks or, perhaps, even for additions to existing parks or monuments.

To an even greater extent, the lack of a concrete scientific rationale may have thwarted efforts to preserve the Guadalupe Mountains. Little about the region was known in the scientific community prior to the National Geographic Society's six-month expedition led by W.T. Lee; in fact, the region's geology, paleontology, and archaeology was all but known. Granted, Lee made inroads, publishing articles about and lecturing throughout the East on Carlsbad Cave and the Guadalupes. He even proposed a second National Geographic Society expedition to the Guadalupe Mountains. Unfortunately, Lee died in 1926 before anything further came of his proposal. And with Lee's death, genuine scientific interest (for the gain of knowledge rather than money) in southeastern New Mexico appears to have receded for

many years. Consequently, another 40 years passed before Americans, the National Park Service, and Congress recognized the scientific, natural, and educational uniqueness inherent in the Guadalupe Mountains.

Again, what did transpire during those 42 years between Lee's 1924 expedition and 1966 which eventually culminated in the creation of Guadalupe Mountains National Park? How did the National Park Service change? How did America change? And how did peoples' perceptions of the Guadalupes change? Without an understanding of these changes on local, state, regional, and national levels, no one can rightfully claim to understand the history of Guadalupe Mountains National Park. This, then, is the task that lies ahead: to learn and write about Guadalupe Mountains National Park as an individual park unit and as a product of an ever-changing, ever-modifying American society. A thorough history of the park, therefore, should help readers understand the park's history; more importantly, perhaps, it should help readers understand American history in its broadest sense.

Bibliographical note

Many scholars have studied and written about nature, wilderness, and the West in the hopes of better understanding their roles and significance in America's history. Among the most notable scholarly works are Hans Huth's *Nature and the American: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957) and Roderick Nash's *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982, 3rd edition).

Other scholars have examined singular facets of nature, wilderness, or preservation in American history. Often, these scholars study and write for the purpose of providing a more detailed yet broadly applicable understanding of Americans' attitudes toward nature, the past, and preservation. Two excellent examples are Alfred Runte's *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979) and Hal Rothman's *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

Congress was trying to cut back on expenses and developing the crown jewels of the system—Yosemite and Yellowstone, for example—superseded the creation of new parks.

National Park Service historians or contract historians hired by the National Park Service likewise research and write about the histories of individual park units and/or the regions in which park units are located. Judith K. Fabry's *Guadalupe Mountains National Park: An Administrative History* (Santa Fe: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southwest Region, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, 1988) and Mark Hufstetler's and Lon Johnson's *Watering the Land: The Turbulent History of the Carlsbad Irrigation District* (Denver: National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region, 1993) are pertinent examples. Presently, Hal K. Rothman is finishing a historic resources study of the Carlsbad Caverns–Guadalupe Mountains region for the National Park Service.

Despite the abundance of books, monographs, and articles written about the history of nature, wilderness, the West, and the National Park Service, little has been written about the Carlsbad–Guadalupe Mountains West. And much of what has been written deals with narrowly defined subjects. Fabry's history on the Guadalupe Mountains is a case in point. Primarily, she writes about the history of Guadalupe Mountains National Park from the time of its establishment to the 1980s. Her treatment of early attempts to establish the park—either by addition to Carlsbad Cave National Monument or as a separate and distinct park or monument—is cursory at best.

To gain any understanding of interest in and efforts to establish Guadalupe Mountains National Park prior to the 1960s, one must look to the primary documents that exist. Such documents can be found in various locations. First and foremost, the local newspapers—the *Carlsbad Current* and the *Carlsbad Argus* (later combined and published as the *Carlsbad Current-Argus*)—contain scores of articles which detail early interest in and efforts to establish a state or national park in the Guadalupe Mountains. The El Paso and Van Horn newspapers in all likelihood published similar articles.

A second place where one can find information is in records relating to Willis Thomas Lee and the National Geographic Society's expedition. These records can be found in several places: (1) the Carlsbad Caverns National Park library and archives, where several of Lee's Carlsbad Caverns manuscripts are housed in addition to newspaper and magazine articles gathered since the 1920s; (2) at the National Geographic Society archives in Washington, D.C., where Lee's expedition proposals, correspondence, and reports are housed; and (3) in the Carlsbad Caverns records maintained in Record Group 79 (Records of the National Park Service) at Archives II, National Archives and Records Administration, in College Park, Maryland.

Note: At present (2003), FRED MACVAUGH is the regional archivist for the National Park Service's Midwest Region. His presentation was a spur of the moment addition to the symposium, which filled in for another presenter who was unable to attend.