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Big Bend National Park

The Formative Years

by

JOHN R. JAMESON





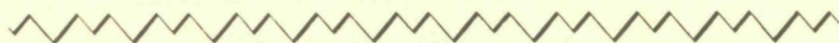


Big Bend in 1935. This picture was made soon after the State of Texas purchased ranches in the area, including this part of the Ira Hector Ranch. This is the east entrance to the Chisos Mountains; the basin is located beyond the gap in the center. The two surveyors, working with the Civilian Conservation Corps, were selecting a route into the basin, the first time that a right-of-way for a road into the lower Big Bend was surveyed.

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BIG BEND NATIONAL PARK

The Formative Years

By JOHN R. JAMESON

SOME SIX DECADES after the establishment of Yellowstone

★ National Park, Congress finally passed legislation in 1935 authorizing the Lone Star State's first national park. The long wait seems hardly worthy of additional comment since many states even today lack a national park while Texas has two—Big Bend and Guadalupe Mountains—plus several other sites administered by the National Park Service.¹ What justifies further examination is the fact that Texans had tried unsuccessfully since the first of this century to secure a national park. The area eventually designated as a park was the most unexpected and least known of the various proposals considered. Finally, although many books, pamphlets, and articles have been written about the Big Bend country's geology, flora and fauna, folklore and legends, archeology, and history, none of these examines more than an aspect or two of the park movement and its development. This study emphasizes the formative years of Big Bend National Park from the early 1930s into the 1970s, almost half a century.

Early Proposals

Several unsuccessful proposals for national parks in Texas were introduced in the U. S. House of Representatives during the first thirty years of this century,² but it was not until the 1930s and the "Great Depression" that any significant developments took place. In 1931 the Texas Legislature

adopted Senate Concurrent Resolution #9 which called for "an immediate survey" to determine if Texas' scenic areas measured up to national park standards. Senate Concurrent Resolution #73, passed two years later, pointed out that the state still did not have a national park or forest and called for their creation "in order to assist the unemployment situation in Texas."³

Senator Morris Sheppard pursued the matter of a national park for Texas and sent a copy of SCR#9 to Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur. "Please let me know," he asked, "if the survey requested [by SCR#9] can be made at an early date." The Secretary gave Sheppard's letter to Horace M. Albright, Director of the National Park Service. In his reply, Albright told the Senator that the Park Service had six projects pending in Texas—Davis Mountains in Jeff Davis County, Guadalupe in Culberson and Hudspeth Counties, McKittrick Canyon in Culberson County, Alto Frio Canyon in Uvalde County, and Texas within Jeff Davis, Brewster, Presidio, Pecos, Culberson, and Hudspeth Counties. He further indicated that his agency would eventually investigate each of these proposals to determine if they met the exacting standards necessary for a national park. Albright also reminded the Senator that the NPS had "almost one hundred other proposed projects on record for investigation, some with decided priority rights."⁴

The reply was hardly encouraging, yet Albright's negative attitude went even deeper than the tone of the letter implied. Shortly before the Director had written Sheppard, Albright had confessed to a private correspondent his strong disapproval of measures such as SCR#9 and cited an adverse Park Service report written in regard to a similar request from the State of Florida: "The underlying idea of the bill is the selection of a National Park within a State, thereby perhaps stressing the idea of location for a park rather than the idea of scenic grandeur irrespective of state lines." Albright then commented that if the scenery in a

state was not nationally recognized, "there was no use to hunt for it" as a national park site. Obviously he feared that the country could become burdened with parks that were national in name only.⁵ Albright had good reason for his stand since several inferior areas had been made into national parks.⁶

The Director's yardstick for the designation of a national park was that the prospective site must have "scenery of quality so unusual and impressive, or natural features so extraordinary as to possess national interest and importance as contradistinguished from merely local interest."⁷ These were indeed worthy criteria, but they expressed a certain degree of close-mindedness in regard to America's natural scenic resources. Albright assumed that there existed no remote areas of outstanding natural beauty or national worth that remained virtually unknown to the local citizenry as well as to the Park Service. Actually, at least two places did exist—the Everglades of Florida and the Big Bend country of Texas. The latter was so isolated that one local resident estimated that ninety-nine percent of his fellow Texans did not know of the existence of the area in Brewster County and its striking scenic and natural attractions.⁸ This was perhaps an exaggeration, but if applied to the NPS it represented understatement, for the Park Service was still unaware of the merits of the Big Bend country. The proposed Texas National Park, for instance, which included portions of Brewster County, did not include the geographical landmarks that today comprise Big Bend National Park, namely the Chisos Mountains and the three canyons of the Rio Grande—Boquillas, Santa Elena, and Mariscal.⁹

Big Bend State Park

The Big Bend country began to receive attention in February 1933 during the session of the 43rd Texas

Legislature. Abilene's Representative, R. M. Wagstaff, had read an edition of *Nature Magazine*, which devoted the entire issue to Texas. An article by J. Frank Dobie noted that the Lone Star State had not set aside any of its public lands for park purposes. He included among ideal prospective sites the hill country, the coastal areas, and the "wild Big Bend." Another story in the journal specifically concerned the Big Bend country and throughout the magazine were photographs of the region's magnificent canyons. The pictures and articles so impressed Wagstaff that he questioned E. E. Townsend, the representative from Brewster County, about their accuracy. Townsend replied affirmatively and Wagstaff purportedly said, "Then why don't you do something about it?" Wagstaff now regarded the Big Bend as having the potential of becoming "one of the grandest parks in the nation."¹⁰

Townsend needed no convincing, since he had been saying the same thing for almost fifty years. As far back as the summer of 1894 when he had worked as a river guard he visited the Chisos Mountains for the first time and was so overwhelmed that he observed that he had seen God as never before. He vowed that, if he could ever afford it, he would buy the whole Chisos Mountains for himself and friends and, when no longer wanted, he would give it to the state.¹¹ As the years passed, Townsend steadfastly held on to his vision. But as it became apparent that he would never be able to purchase the area, he realized there was "little hope of ever seeing it [a park] put through as a State or Governmental development."¹² Suddenly Wagstaff's interest in Townsend's dream revived the project.¹³

Wagstaff and Townsend introduced House Bill #771 before the Legislature on March 2, 1933. The bill passed and on May 27 Governor Mariam ("Ma") Ferguson signed it. The new act created Texas Canyons State Park on fifteen sections of land in the proximity of Santa Elena, Mariscal, and Boquillas Canyons.¹⁴ The area did not include Mount Emory or the scenic Basin of the Chisos Mountains.

Three months later, Congressman Ewing Thomason of El Paso notified Townsend that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had approved four Civilian Conservation Corps camps for Texas, one "near Big Bend in Brewster County." Later Wagstaff and Townsend individually introduced legislation to increase the size of the park, keeping the term "Big Bend" instead of "Texas Canyons." The Chisos Mountains were included in the expansion. The combined bill passed both houses and Governor Ferguson signed it on October 27, 1933. Under its provisions, 150,000 acres of unsold public free school land at a value of one cent per acre was transferred to the Texas State Parks Board. At the same time \$1,500 from the General Revenue fund was to be paid to the School Fund which retained all mineral rights to the land. In addition, tax delinquent lands in the area became eligible for park purposes. With a potential 225,000 acres, Big Bend now ranked as Texas' largest state park.¹⁵

National or International Park?

Townsend still was not content with anything less than a national park for Texas and, during the summer and fall of 1933, barraged the Park Service with photographs and letters extolling the virtues of the Big Bend country. As a result of Townsend's propaganda effort and also the proposed establishment of a CCC camp in the region, the relatively unknown area finally came to the attention of the NPS.¹⁶

The Park Service had the responsibility of designating and supervising the CCC camps in state and national parks. Roger Toll, chief investigator for the NPS, visited the Big Bend country during four days in January 1934 accompanied by Townsend, J. Evetts Haley, and others. Toll's subsequent report endorsed the Big Bend area for a national park and called it "decidedly the outstanding scenic area of Texas." He further remarked that it "gives promise of

becoming one of the noted scenic spectacles of the United States.” The National Park official also recommended the construction of the CCC camp at Santa Elena Canyon since the chance of finding water in the Chisos Basin appeared limited.¹⁷

Roger Toll was born and raised in Denver, Colorado and began his Park Service career in 1919. Over the next decade he served as Superintendent of Mount Rainier, Rocky Mountain, and Yellowstone National Parks. He prided himself on having climbed all of the fifty peaks within Rocky Mountain National Park during his tenure there. His appreciation of aesthetic natural beauty was not restricted by his own experiences in the Rocky Mountain West or along the Northwest Pacific coast. Indeed, he possessed the uncommon ability to find natural beauty where others, unaccustomed to a strange environment, might only see the bruising, cutting, and arid quality of the land. Also, Toll’s aesthetic sense surmounted what seemed a prerequisite for most of the early parks, a preoccupation with nature’s strange and unusual creations. To some observers, the Big Bend represented only harsh mediocrity, for it did not contain the highest peak in Texas nor were its canyons as deep as the Grand Canyon in Arizona. Yet Toll immediately comprehended the strange, compelling beauty that the local residents had long felt. His report would provide the impetus that officially began the movement for Big Bend National Park.¹⁸

Despite Toll’s favorable recommendation, Park Service officials still held reservations about the Big Bend project, specifically concerning adequate visitor access and facilities, the availability of potable water, and the absence of any federally owned land. Arno B. Cammerer, who succeeded Albright as Director of the NPS, commissioned another study to assess more fully the project’s feasibility; the study was completed in January 1935. The report quelled

any doubts about the suitability of the site and the eventual success of the park movement. It noted a unique factor as well—if Mexico were to establish a sister park adjacent to Big Bend's boundary on the Rio Grande, the two areas would constitute an international park which "would create ties of kindly sentiment between the Mexican and American peoples, now almost unknown to each other."¹⁹

The idea of an international park especially intrigued President Roosevelt, whose personal interest in the project helped bring about the passage of the enabling legislation in a record-breaking sixty-three days. On March 4, 1935 Congressman Thomason introduced House Resolution #6373, and on the same day Senators Sheppard and Tom Connally submitted Senate Bill #2131. Sheppard had printed in the *Congressional Record* several letters which stressed the international aspect of the proposed park.²⁰

As the legislation at the national level moved quickly through proper channels with virtually no opposition, popular support for the measure in Texas ran high. Particularly strong advocates were the citizens of Alpine and the surrounding vicinity who viewed the park as a great economic boost to a depressed region. In fact, of the three major park projects in 1935—Olympic in Washington, Kings Canyon in California, and Big Bend—only the Texas project passed without serious local and congressional opposition. Accordingly, action came on June 20, 1935 and Texas finally had its first national park, at least on paper. The act stipulated that before Big Bend National Park could be established, Texas had to present to the federal government title to all of the lands encompassed by the park boundaries. A further provision forbade the use of federal funds for land acquisition. Shortly after the passage of the enabling legislation, negotiations began with Mexico for an international park on the Rio Grande.²¹

Land Acquisition

Nine years passed before Big Bend was officially established. During that time, Governor James V. Allred's veto of an appropriation measure, unsuccessful private subscription campaigns (with failure largely due to the depression), and opposition over relinquishing the state's mineral rights to the federal government all delayed the land purchase project and subsequent establishment of the national park. Finally, in 1939 with strong support from Governor W. Lee ("Pappy") O'Daniel, Allred's successor, the 46th Legislature passed an act providing for the transfer of the land in fee simple title to the federal government. At the next legislative session in 1941, again at O'Daniel's insistence, an appropriation measure for \$1,500,000 passed. The appraised value of the land, \$1,486,000 including improvements, was well within the limits of the appropriation.²²

The land purchase program began in earnest almost immediately under the direction of Eugene ("Shorty") Thompson and E. E. Townsend. It proceeded so smoothly that by November, 1942 all but 16,142 of the approximately 708,000 acres had been acquired at a cost of nearly two dollars an acre. Newton B. Drury, who had succeeded Cammerer as Director of the Park Service in 1941, hoped that these private lands could be acquired as well. When Drury realized that much time would elapse, he recommended to the Secretary of the Interior that the acres already purchased would be accepted on the condition that the Texas State Parks Board would make every effort possible to complete the land purchase program. The Secretary concurred with Drury's suggestion.²³

On September 5, 1943 Governor Coke Stevenson presented the land deeds to Minor Tillotson of the Park Service. The Governor had yet to sign the deed of cession of

jurisdiction and forward it to the Secretary of the Interior. Before this could take place, a final check had to be made on the land titles, as well as other related matters. These were eventually accomplished and, on December 30, 1943, Stevenson signed the deed of cession. Six months later (on June 12, 1944) Big Bend gained full national park status.²⁴

During the next five years, the Texas State Parks Board acquired approximately one-half of the twenty-five sections desired. In the meantime, state officials advised the Park Service that it would be unwise to approach the economy-minded Legislature for another appropriation.²⁵ In 1947, State Senator H. L. Winfield, who had labored so effectively for the original \$1,500,000 appropriation, supported a bill for an additional \$125,000. He had refused to do so earlier because of a promise to the Legislature that the \$1,500,000 was all the state would have to pay for Big Bend.²⁶ However, the remaining private lands within the park had steadily risen from an estimated value of \$75,000 in 1945 to almost \$100,000 in two years.²⁷ The 50th Legislature refused to appropriate more than \$12,000. This, added to some \$5,000 from other sources, enabled the Board to acquire another 7,680 acres by April 1, 1949. Almost 9,000 acres remained in private hands, including several sections along the Rio Grande.²⁸

On April 13, 1949, Park Superintendent Ross A. Maxwell appeared before the Appropriations Committee of the Texas Legislature to plead for \$100,000 to purchase the private holdings. He reminded the lawmakers of their obligation to the federal government and further pointed out that the Park Service faced a serious dilemma. It had spent \$450,000 on improvements between 1948 and 1949 mostly for essential roads which had inadvertently caused private lands to increase in value. Whereas the owners of the Castolon tract on the Rio Grande had been willing to accept \$39,006 for their land in 1942, they now wanted \$125,000.²⁹ These and other key holdings seriously jeopard-

dized the development of the park's \$10,600,000 master plan. These private holdings also blocked visitor access to leading scenic features of the park, including the mouth of Boquillas Canyon.³⁰ Nevertheless, Maxwell failed to influence a Legislature content to let the federal government assume responsibility for land purchases.

In the late 1940s, Congress had appropriated money for the purchase of lands at the northern entrance to the park at Persimmon Gap, but these funds were restricted to road construction and right-of-ways.³¹ The troublesome Castolon property, therefore, was left untouched. These 3,756 acres were located on the international boundary and were consequently a constant source of trouble. Hundreds of Mexican laborers made illegal crossings here to work on adjacent ranches and farms. Some processed wax from *candelilla* plants and rubber from *guayule* plants and smuggled their products out of the park into Texas and Mexico.³²

Cattle and sheep grazing and the manufacturing of wax and rubber soon depleted the sparse natural vegetation of the private lands. The longer the lands remained outside of federal control, the worse the situation became. For example, if private owners made improvements on their land, they then demanded exorbitant compensation. Moreover, the Park Service became especially alarmed when it discovered that one individual planned to construct a hunting lodge. Land valued at \$55,000 in 1942 had risen to \$257,000 during the following twelve years.³³

Obviously, something had to be done before these private holdings increased even more in value. By August 1953, Congress realized that the state had no intention of acquiring the much needed property. It authorized the Secretary of the Interior "to procure, in such manner as he may consider to be in the public interest, the remaining non-federal land." Accordingly, by 1972 the Park Service purchased, condemned, and accepted donation of the remaining acres.

All told, the federal government had acquired 8,561.75 acres at a total cost of \$300,375. These lands constituted ly one percent of the park acreage, yet required sixteen percent of the approximately \$1,822,120 expended for the Big Bend lands. The average cost per acre of the federal acquisitions had indeed been expensive—slightly over \$35.00.³⁴ After a land acquisition program which lasted nearly four decades, Big Bend National Park at last belonged to the public.³⁵

The Publicity Campaign

The publicity campaign for the national park began shortly after the passage of the enabling legislation in 1935. Texans took considerable pride in the scenic attractions of the Big Bend. Horace Morelock, President of Sul Ross College at Alpine, told the Midland Rotary Club that the view from the park's South Rim was "the most gorgeous panorama on the American continent." A favorite source of comparison was Big Bend's Santa Elena Canyon, which several Texas newspapers condescendingly rated equal to the Grand Canyon of Arizona.³⁶

Some Texans maintained that Big Bend's beauty surpassed not only that of the Grand Canyon, but other outstanding scenic areas as well. When Coke Stevenson, then a member of the Texas House of Representatives, made a plea in 1937 for the passage of his appropriation bill, he emphasized the money would help establish a park that would "excel Yellowstone." E. O. Thompson, a member of the State Railroad Commission, proclaimed the Texas Big Bend an area "that Europe, even with its Alps, cannot match." An editorial in the Woodville, Texas *Booster* asked, "Why go to Europe anytime?" The paper regarded the Big Bend as "far ahead of either Europe or Asia in beauty and sublimity."³⁷

Some Park Service officials reacted in a similar manner to the Big Bend's scenery and other attractions. One NPS publicist wrote a syndicated article that appeared in over two hundred Texas newspapers. He declared, "The Big Bend section is noted for scenic grandeur. Nowhere in America are more picturesque peaks, gorges, and valleys." Service geologist Carroll Wegemann said that the region was one of the "few areas in the United States" which remained "unchanged by the advance of modern civilization." Roger Toll, Superintendent of Yellowstone and chief investigator of prospective park sites, wrote that the Big Bend was "unspoiled." Minor R. Tillotson, Regional Director of the Park Service in the Southwest, regularly referred to the new park as the "last frontier of America."³⁸

These comments by the Park Service, the press, and other individuals contained exaggeration if not outright fantasy. Ross Maxwell, the first Superintendent of Big Bend from 1944 to 1952, acknowledged that the park "can't boast of awe-inspiring beauty which is found in some of the national parks, but it has scientific phenomena and scenic beauty mingled with historic incidents along the Texas-Mexico frontier that give it a charm and color that is not known in any other park." Maxwell remarked that he personally knew of several canyons in the United States which had "greater splendor" than Santa Elena. Concerning the unspoiled nature of the country, even today some of the land remains grassless as a consequence of overgrazing and bears the descriptive label "desert pavement." The statement about Big Bend as America's last frontier had a tremendous romantic appeal, but like some of the other observations, it was inaccurate. Alaska, for instance, more fully deserves the designation.³⁹

Although the Big Bend publicity organizers tried to eliminate the unpleasant or controversial, occasionally an adverse item slipped through. In 1937 newspapers reported that a black bear had stampeded nineteen goats off a 3,000

foot precipice in the park. The "goat tragedy" came at an inopportune time, for the NPS had just convinced the Texas Fish and Wildlife Department to place the black bear on the protected game animal list. The Park Service regretted that the story had been given to the press since it "will not be appreciated by local ranchmen."⁴⁰

The effort to emphasize only the positive features sometimes resulted in distortion of reality. In 1935, the Park Service commissioned a movie about Big Bend. Instead of instructing the film makers to emphasize its desert qualities, one official requested that most of the footage taken should deal with "the very interesting forest color" in the Chisos Mountains. Apparently he felt tourists would not respond to an arid vacation land. Yet when foggy weather interrupted the work of a *Life* magazine crew doing a photographic essay on Big Bend, one NPS critic objected to a story on this because it clashed with the image publicists had created that Big Bend was a year-round park with continuous sunshine.⁴¹

As much as the Park Service tried to quell it, unfavorable publicity continued to hamper the Big Bend park movement. The outbreak of World War II found the crusading journalist Drew Pearson in opposition. In his column titled "The Washington Merry-Go-Round," Pearson asked about a choice of "Gas Masks or Parks?" Wartime severely tested the sanctity of the national parks because the military demanded access to the country's resources. In the Big Bend area, a wax taken from the *candelilla* plant was used as a sealing compound in gas masks. According to the columnist, a patriotic New York millionaire had set up a factory to exploit the weed, only to be told by the NPS that he had violated Service policy which forbade the destruction of a park's natural resources. Pearson dramatically concluded, "So now the deer and the antelope, instead of gas mask wearers, will have the benefit of the *candelilla*."⁴²

As it turned out, Pearson had not received all of the facts, for much *candelilla* was available in sections of Brewster and Presidio Counties outside of the park boundaries. Also, the so-called millionaire had conducted a rather unstable enterprise and failed to pay for some of his machinery and other processing equipment.⁴³ The Big Bend weathered these and other challenges due as a result of the love Americans have for their national parks and also the well organized publicity activities at the national, regional, and local level.

Isabelle F. Story, Information Officer for the NPS, and her staff did a thorough job of keeping Big Bend before the public.⁴⁴ Articles and editorials on the park appeared in newspapers from coast to coast with several excellent pictorial features on the scenic attractions of the Big Bend area. One editorial carried by several dailies raised the following question: "Why should anyone ever leave Florida or California?" The answer: "They go to see Big Bend."⁴⁵

Celebrities Publicize Big Bend

One of the most effective publicity techniques was the utilization of well known personalities to promote the Big Bend. The noted Southwestern writer, J. Frank Dobie, accompanied the *National Geographic* party which investigated the region in 1938. Dobie also spent the winter of 1939 in the Big Bend country working on a book on long-horn cattle. Robert T. Hill, the prominent geologist-explorer who wrote the *Century* article that helped arouse interest in the idea of a Big Bend park, offered to publicize the area in a weekly newspaper column. The University of California's Herbert E. Bolton, foremost historian of the Borderlands and the American West, toured the Big Bend region while retracing Coronado's journey through the Trans-Pecos country. The major coup for the NPS was the

appointment of Walter Prescott Webb as historical consultant on the Big Bend. Webb, a professor of history at the University of Texas, ranked alongside of Bolton and Frederick Jackson Turner as an authority on the American West.⁴⁶ Webb accepted the new post at twenty dollars per day for a two month assignment while on leave of absence for the 1936-1937 academic year. During this period, he produced two articles that received nationwide circulation. However, his most dramatic contribution came from an expedition he made on his own time and expenses.⁴⁷ Along with three companions he took a fifteen mile float trip through the rapid-laden Santa Elena Canyon for a first-hand observation of the geology, flora, and fauna of the region. Webb purchased two specially constructed steel, flat-bottomed boats with air chambers and named them the *Big Bend* and *Cinco de Mayo*. The boats were sixteen and thirteen feet long, respectively, and could be dismantled into sections for portaging over a 250-foot high rockslide inside the canyon.⁴⁸

A few parties successfully had made the trip before, but it was still a dangerous undertaking, especially the rockslide itself, which had claimed several victims. The four men wore life preservers, while a speedboat waited at the mouth of the canyon in case of an emergency. A Coast Guard plane checked on their progress and watched for rising water and other hazards. A communication system enabled the party to signal the plane above with red and white flags.⁴⁹ The trip began on Sunday morning May 15, 1937 and it took approximately thirty hours to complete the fifteen-mile voyage. When news of the expedition's progress did not reach the outside Monday evening because of a breakdown in communication, the press assumed the worst. One headline read: NO WORD FROM FOUR EXPLORERS: BOATMEN STILL UNREPORTED AFTER ROWING INTO DANGER ZONE OF THE RIO GRANDE. Another stated: FOUR SCIENTISTS MISSING ON DANGEROUS RIVER TRIP. Actually, the men were

never in real danger other than the hazards of navigating the bulky vessels down the swift river, portaging over the rockslide, or being struck down by boulders plummeting "like comets" from the 2,000 foot canyon walls. They successfully completed the journey by Tuesday noon and Webb emerged from the experience an even more enthusiastic supporter of the park than previously. He described the desolate region as having "a peculiar romantic quality" and added that the most beautiful country he had ever seen was in the depths of Santa Elena Canyon.⁵⁰

The publicity efforts of several prominent political figures likewise aided the Big Bend movement. When the British king and queen visited Washington in 1939, Texas' eccentric governor, W. Lee O'Daniel, sent a telegram to King George, care of the White House, and invited him to come visit Texas and the Big Bend. O'Daniel also encouraged the King to "bring the Queen along." The Governor further publicized the park in 1939 in connection with the signing of legislation which made it possible to transfer the Big Bend lands in fee simple title to the federal government. He used four giant pens forty-two inches long, one of which was later presented to President Roosevelt.⁵¹

Another national supporter of Big Bend was Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, who came to Texas in the fall of 1937 to dedicate a New Deal water reservoir project, but who devoted much of his speech to Big Bend National Park. Besides mentioning the unique, scenic, and international possibilities of the area, he chided Texans for doing nothing about it. The Secretary said that even if Texas had to pay five times the estimated value of the park lands (then \$1,000,000), he believed that it would still be an excellent investment since the federal government would develop and maintain it without further expense to the state. Tourists would subsequently flock to the Big Bend. "Give me the profits that would accrue to the citizens of Texas from the establishment of this park," Ickes said, "and I

would undertake to buy the land necessary and turn it over to the Federal Government even if I had to raise ten million dollars for it." The Secretary continued: "Conservative investors would fight each other for an opportunity to put their money into a proposition that would pay so richly and inevitably."⁵²

Economic Arguments and Publicity Efforts

Economic arguments for a national park were the ones heard most often. Early in the Big Bend park movement, Arno B. Cammerer, Director of the Park Service, spoke in El Paso before a partisan group of representatives from Texas chambers of commerce, city and county officials. He told of severe economic conditions in Utah during the early twentieth century which forced the Mormons to sell eggs for five cents a dozen and to use surplus butter as wagon axle grease. Prosperity returned soon after 1919 when Zion National Park was established and provided a market for the area's products. Another NPS official calculated that park visitors to Big Bend would spend at least \$2,388,000 annually in the state, a figure which would justify a capital investment of \$79,600,000 on the basis of a three percent return. Yet all the Texans would have to pay was approximately one and one-half million dollars.⁵³

Texas newspapers likewise pushed economic arguments. The Fort Worth *Star-Telegram* reported that in Wyoming one-third of the out-of-state tourist income came from visitors to Yellowstone and Grand Teton alone. The same paper ran a series of articles on the importance of tourist travel to Texas and noted that Big Bend "likely offers more surprises to the visitor than any other attraction in or out of Texas." The San Antonio *Express* found that in 1936 tourism was the second largest industry in the state and that it grossed \$446,000,000. At the same time, crude oil pro-

duced revenues of \$450,000,000 and agricultural crops \$284,000,000. The *Express* saw no reason Big Bend could not generate \$4,000,000 during its first year and possibly boost tourism into a tie with crude oil as the state's leading business.⁵⁴

During the nine years between Big Bend's authorization in 1935 and final establishment in 1944, Texas newspapers gave extensive publicity to further legislative proposals and fund raising projects. In addition, the press featured articles on what there was to see and do in the Big Bend.⁵⁵ An editorial in the Lufkin *Daily News* summed up the attitude most Texans had for their proposed park: "It is a far cry from the piney woods of East Texas to the rugged grandeur of the Big Bend country, but the development of splendid possibilities out there for a national park of ultimate worldwide fame is an undertaking meriting the support of all sections of Texas."⁵⁶

National Geographic and *Literary Digest* were major magazines which featured articles on Big Bend before it was established as a park in June 1944. While gathering material for a story, Frederick Simpich, an Associate Editor with the *Geographic*, claimed that he had feasted on mountain lion meat, burro milk, and fried Spanish daggers. Simpich commented that the cougar flesh "looked and smelled like beef — but didn't taste like it." The author made several statements regarding the need for an international park, but most of his references to Big Bend depicted the area as a "waste of sun and silence" in which predators pillaged at will. The mountain lion which Simpich "feasted on," incidentally, was shot by a Mexican herdsman who recently had lost eighteen goats to the big cats.⁵⁷

State and local organizations contributed many hours of service, talent, and money to the Big Bend publicity campaign. Brewster County, which would greatly benefit from a national park, spent over \$35,000 promoting Big Bend with parades, barbecues, tours, and other public relations

activities. The Texas Federation of Women's Clubs conducted a successful educational program to tell as many Texans as possible about Big Bend. The organization sent scores of letters to chambers of commerce, automobile associations, and travel bureaus. Club members also served as volunteer speakers around the state. The Texas Big Bend Park Association, Rotary International, Kiwanis, and the Lions were just a few of the other groups who lent support to the park movement.⁵⁸

Development Plans for Big Bend

Park Service plans for the development of Big Bend National Park represent an interesting case study which illustrates the problems encountered when preservation and land use confront the reality of bureaucracy and American tourists. Even when closely supervised, people can easily alter or destroy the balance of nature. Except for overgrazing, the Big Bend area had shown little evidence of human occupation and exploitation. Before the passage of the enabling legislation in 1935, the region's semiarid character, lack of substantial mineral wealth, and rugged terrain had kept its population low.⁵⁹ As a result, the Service had undeveloped lands in which it could utilize proven policies rather than follow the haphazard "trial and error" approach used in parks established earlier. It immediately proposed a thorough study of the natural, historic, scenic, and recreational values of Big Bend and the adoption of a master plan to preserve the natural resources and to provide enjoyment for present and future generations.⁶⁰

A few weeks after the passage of the enabling legislation, a Service official visited the site of the proposed park. Commenting on deficiencies such as lack of good water, intense summer heat, shortage of development sites, and mediocre scenic qualities of the Rio Grande and Chisos Mountains,

he suggested that the area had few redeeming features. He concluded that until the proposed international park became a reality, Big Bend would remain "predominantly of local interest."⁶¹

George M. Wright, Chief of the Wildlife Division of the Service and a strong supporter of Big Bend, took issue with adverse criticism: "I feel that once an area has been given thorough study by the National Park Service and then recommended for park status, the submission of reports debating the question is not only wasteful but dangerous. . . . Our files, after all, are not confidential. Reports such as this . . . can be called in evidence against us at some time in the future."⁶²

Wright's determination for consensus within the Park Service did not accurately portray the situation. Indeed, throughout the planning and development of Big Bend, ideological conflict of one sort or another existed between the national and regional offices, not to mention various divisions within the agency. Rather than a constructive dialogue which could have produced a master plan in conformity with national park ideals, contradictions and reversals of policy became commonplace. These developments not only alienated the general public and local boosters, but even threatened the ecology of the Big Bend area.

Prior to 1933, the Service strongly encouraged Americans to visit their national parks. Since it was a relatively young agency, it hoped to convince Congress that the larger the numbers of visitors, the greater the need for increased appropriations for protection and development. Various New Deal programs gave the Service the opportunity to emphasize to communities near proposed and established national parks the economic advantages which would result from federally-funded projects and increased tourism.⁶³

The Service utilized this economic approach to "sell" Big Bend to the people of the Lone Star State. To speed up land acquisition in the park, the Department of the Interior's In-

formation Officer frequently issued news stories to remind Texans that the CCC was spending \$100,000 annually in southern Brewster County, the site of the park. It also pointed out that the establishment of a national park would generate additional yearly expenditures of \$225,000 for development, maintenance, and protection. By 1937, the Service estimate the number of people who would visit Big Bend annually at 100,000 and the expenditure at \$4,000,000. A decade later, the forecast had risen to 240,000 visitors and by 1955 to half a million.⁶⁴

These predictions created the impression that the Service intended to develop Big Bend extensively. In reality, the agency had no consistent policy and reacted instead to economic and political conditions and the recreational whims of the public. From 1933 through 1941, the Service received approximately \$218,000,000 from New Deal emergency projects. These funds caused the agency to advocate a contradictory development program for Big Bend. One called for preserving and restoring the simple, primitive wilderness qualities of the area. The other advocated elaborate, complex, and expensive projects that would appeal to the anticipated hundreds of thousands of visitors to the "last frontier."⁶⁵

Making Big Bend Unique

An enthusiastic supporter of the paradoxical concept was Minor R. Tillotson, Southwestern Regional Director for the Park Service. In an address to a local booster group, he expressed the hope that Big Bend would maintain its frontier atmosphere. Automobile roads would be held to a minimum, but the park would have an extensive network of horse and hiking trails. Tillotson proposed to "give him [the visitor] chuck wagon instead of high hat hotel service—teach him to throw a diamond hitch and let him pack

out on the trail from the [Chisos Basin] Window to Mariscal." The Regional Director closed his speech with an appeal "to make Big Bend utterly unique among the national parks."⁶⁶

One suggestion for making the park unique was the proposal to construct a replica of Judge Roy Bean's Jersey Lily saloon. The Big Bend region, incidentally, originally had been under Judge Bean's so-called jurisdiction — "The Law West of the Pecos." Fortunately, or otherwise, nothing came of the proposal to build this frontier institution.⁶⁷ Two further ideas to set Big Bend apart from other national parks concerned longhorn cattle and the possibility of an international park on the Rio Grande.

The Service planned to establish at Big Bend an old time cattle operation with dude ranch facilities for tourists. The project received an endorsement at one time or another from the wildlife chief, head of recreational planning, and assorted biologists and environmentalists in the Park Service as well as representatives from other cooperating agencies. First proposed in 1935, the longhorn ranch by 1940 seemed as if it would become a definite fixture in Big Bend's development plans.⁶⁸

The Park Service justified the 200,000 acre ranch on historical, preservationist, and recreational grounds. The longhorn, the agency felt, had played as important a role in the West as had the buffalo. Both species were endangered, but only the buffalo had begun to recover. Except for a few head of longhorns in the Wichita Mountains Game Preserve in Oklahoma, no extensive efforts to preserve this vestige of the open range cattle industry had ever been made. Hopefully, visitors could view a show herd of thirty to forty longhorns while approximately four hundred others would be maintained for breeding purposes at Banta Shut-In, north of the Chisos Mountains and south of Tornillo Flat. Service officials maintained that the animals would not threaten the biological values of the Chisos Range and the

ranch would serve “as a shrine for the preservation of the true spirit of the pioneer West.” Entertainment for guests at the ranch would include spring and fall round-ups, brandings, and barbecues.⁶⁹

Local ranchers were not particularly excited over the idea of the longhorn proposal. The Service had begun moving ranchers and livestock out of the park during World War II despite a public clamor to let them remain to help feed and clothe the allies. Livestock industry supporters argued that the park could not be developed until after the war and that the ranchers should be permitted to stay until hostilities had ended.⁷⁰ The Service contended that the overgrazed land could not support cattle, goats, or sheep in its depleted state and that it would take from twenty-five to one hundred years before the range would return to its natural condition. Meantime, the war years would provide an ideal time for the recovery process to begin. Obviously, the Service also would have to exclude longhorns from Big Bend or else antagonize many local people.⁷¹

Further developments in the 1940s ended the possibility of a longhorn ranch for Big Bend. The war forced many government agencies to “tighten their belts,” the Park Service included. Costly programs such as the ranch and longhorn herds were delayed or dropped altogether. Furthermore, Director Newton B. Drury opposed the plan because it would violate policies regarding the introduction of exotic species into parks. Those who tried to justify the longhorn’s presence on historical grounds did not have a very strong case. J. Frank Dobie, for example, doubted if true representatives of the breed had ever roamed the Big Bend country.⁷²

Tillotson was disappointed about the abandonment of the longhorn project. He felt the Chicago office had acted too hastily and had not given the regional office and the superintendent enough “leeway in presenting their own ideas and suggestions for the proposed park development

before specific instructions were issued.”⁷³ This conflict over development policies between the national and regional offices was to continue throughout the 1940s.

Of all the ideas to make Big Bend unique, the best suggestion concerned the establishment of an international park on the Rio Grande. The Park Service reported to President Roosevelt in 1935 that the “atmosphere in the region is decidedly one of *manana* . . . this restful spirit in architecture and daily life . . . rather than ruggedness should be the spirit of the day.” Service architects drew up designs for a *hacienda*-style lodge and tourist complex on the Rio Grande, including a proposed Mexican restaurant.⁷⁴

Unfortunately, discussions between Mexico and the United States regarding the proposed international park broke off in the late 1940s. Service planners realized that, without an adjoining park on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande, the location of the *hacienda* development was unsuitable. Most tourists arrived during the hot summer months and preferred to remain in the Chisos Mountains where it was cooler. Temperatures along the river and near the international border often exceeded 110 degrees for several days at a time. Otherwise, the climate in this section of the park was ideal for vacationers for approximately eight months out of each year.⁷⁵

The Master Plan Versus Reality

In June 1944, Texas ceded jurisdiction of Big Bend and during the following month the federal government assumed control of its twenty-seventh national park. By this time the Service had a tentative master plan which represented a sound policy for restoring and maintaining the scenic, biological, geological, and historical resources as completely as possible. The three principal areas for physical developments were Panther Junction on the north-

east slope of the Chisos Mountains, the old Daniels and Graham Ranch on the Rio Grande near Boquillas, Mexico, and the Chisos Mountains Basin. In addition, a contract would be awarded to a concessioner to provide accommodations and services for visitors.

The Service selected Panther Junction as the site for park headquarters because of an adequate water supply, comfortable year-round climate, and its strategic location at the center of the park's road system. Visitor accommodations were a matter of much debate, but eventually the river site at the Daniels and Graham Ranch was selected. Here the Service planned to construct the main lodge as visitation increased and Congress would authorize the necessary funds.⁷⁶

During the period when Big Bend was a state park, the CCC established its headquarters in the Chisos Mountains Basin, where the enrollees constructed crude campsites, cabins, roads, and trails. The area had an elevation over 5,000 feet and soon became the principal summer tourist spot in the new national park. Despite increasing numbers of visitors, a 1948 Service report stressed that "development in this area will be restrained." Because of the relatively small area involved, extensive physical improvements "would seriously impair the scenic aspects . . . and depreciate its value as a visitor attraction." Moreover, it seemed doubtful that sufficient water resources were available for a large-scale tourist center. Nevertheless, Superintendent Ross A. Maxwell and Southwest Regional Director Tillotson persuaded Director Drury the next year to continue temporarily the development of the Basin so that there could be "good service in at least one area."⁷⁷ But by the mid-1950s the so-called temporary facilities had become permanent, and the Basin was to remain the major tourist center in the park.

The main selling point of the Basin was that most of the visitation occurred during the summer months when the

Rio Grande was quite hot. Conrad Wirth, one of the few in the national office who backed the Basin over the river development, suggested that "planners . . . spend a week down there [Rio Grande] during the hot summer days to determine whether it is a suitable climate for visitors." Maxwell estimated that ninety percent of all visitors would come to the Basin and accommodations and services for them would be necessary. He opposed making the location a "sacred area" for "Ph.Ds to spend a vacation" since this would exclude most of the park's visitors. Based on his first-hand observations as superintendent, Maxwell did not feel that "we will be able to satisfy Texans with a ballroom, shade trees and Mexican music on the banks of the Rio Grande."⁷⁸

The Secretary of the Interior awarded the concession franchise for Big Bend to National Park Concessions, Inc., a nonprofit distributing corporation that operated in parks that were remote from large cities and considered poor business risks by private enterprise. Although Service officials had optimistically spoken of a thriving tourist trade for the area, they evidently did not take themselves too seriously. The federal government eventually constructed and retained the ownership of the buildings used by the concessioner. Following World War II, however, Congress failed to appropriate adequate funds for physical developments and National Park Concessions had to pay for the erection of temporary visitor facilities. These expenses, plus limited visitation, resulted in a loss to the company of \$55,000 from 1946 to 1950.⁷⁹ One suggestion to minimize the problem was to close concessions in the Chisos Basin from November through April when there were few visitors in the park. But Superintendent Maxwell opposed the idea because the Service had promised the people of Texas year-round recreational facilities.⁸⁰

Tillotson had consistently emphasized that the Big Bend was "to be essentially a saddle and pack horse area," but

lack of funds for the saddle horse concession and for developing trails prevented the realization of these objectives until August 1949. Their addition considerably stimulated the concessions operation. Superintendent Maxwell noted that by 1952 the horse riding concession business had increased by three hundred percent. Big Bend's interpretive programs also suffered because of the lack of adequate congressional appropriations for national parks. Not until May 1947 was the first campfire program given and throughout the 1940s the park did not have a naturalist.⁸¹

Through the 1950s and early 1960s the number of tourists to Big Bend averaged only 80,000 annually, a figure far below the estimated 240,000. Although this was about one-tenth the visitors to other Western parks, the concession franchise no longer operated at a deficit and all talk of closing some of the facilities for part of the year had long since ceased. In fact, cabins and campsites were frequently filled to capacity during the Christmas and Easter seasons.⁸²

Meanwhile, the Service's limited budget and the temporary decline in visitors because of gasoline and tire rationing during World War II did more to preserve the "last frontier" and "unspoiled wilderness" of the Big Bend than any planning proposals. The park's isolation and its primitive accommodations discouraged all but the most adventurous vacationers. State and local boosters who supported the park largely because of expected economic returns were obviously disappointed. But on the positive side, the natural and historic resources remained stable.⁸³ In this respect, other national parks generally did not fare as well as Big Bend. Conrad Wirth, Director of the Park Service from 1951 to 1964, wrote in a 1966 *National Geographic* article about the degenerating conditions in the parks since the early 1940s: "Facilities were out of date and run down, roads were in dangerous conditions, trails were washed out, employee morale was at a low level, and even scenic beauty was deteriorating."⁸⁴

Mission '66

The postwar American public had literally “loved to death” its national park system. The system could adequately accommodate 21,000,000 people, yet it faced an annual onslaught of 55,000,000. The Service budget had remained inadequate to meet the increased usage thanks largely to the Cold War mentality and increasing military expenditures. In response to the crisis, in 1955 the Park Service presented President Dwight Eisenhower and Congress with a long-range package plan — Mission '66, which stated that present and future needs of the national parks would cost \$785,500,000 over a ten-year period. Both the President and Congress responded favorably to the idea. The program for physical improvements, restoration of park resources, increased staffs for protection and interpretation, and additional lands to round out the system eventually cost the American taxpayer over a billion dollars.⁸⁵

Big Bend alone received \$14,000,000 from Mission '66 to improve roads, bridges, trails, and tourist accommodations. The major visitor facilities included a lodge, restaurant, cabins, and campsites in the Basin. A Texas newspaper editor remarked that the extensive developments “will not sissify nor citify the wilderness which is the principal appeal of all national parks. It will bring the wilderness a little nearer to the average visitor, help him understand it and enjoy it without risk to his health and safety, and keep down the wear and tear on the car in which he will travel.”⁸⁶ The editor, however, did not mention the “wear and tear” on the ecology of the Big Bend.

A New Master Plan and Wilderness Proposal

The 1960s witnessed a large influx of visitors to the park and healthy revenues for West Texas communities. At the very time that the promised economic returns were finally becoming a reality, the balance of nature in the Chisos Basin and elsewhere in the park was greatly endangered by the increasing flood of people. Thus, in 1971, the Park Service prepared another master plan that recommended the designation of 533,900 acres of Big Bend lands as "wilderness," or roughly seventy-five percent of the entire area. Wilderness classification, incidentally, means the absence of public roads, developed campgrounds, and picnic facilities.⁸⁷

The master plan suggested that visitor use of the Basin should be limited and that overnight accommodations there should eventually be excluded. Also, the horse riding concession in the Basin should be moved, and Rio Grande Village (located at the site of the Daniels and Graham Ranch) should become the park's major tourist development. A secondary visitor-use area would be Castolon, southeast of Santa Elena Canyon. In addition, the plan encouraged more use of the desert areas and the building of tourist lodging and trailer campsites outside of the park to help relieve Big Bend of the masses that formerly headquartered in the Chisos Mountains.⁸⁸

A public hearing in Alpine, Texas in January 1972 brought determined opposition to the master plan and wilderness recommendation. Moreover, the Travel Department of the Texas Highway Department, the Texas Tourist Development Agency, and Governor Preston Smith were against the proposals. The only state agency to support the recommendations was the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department. The principal spokesman for local sentiment

was Johnny Newell, who headed the Big Bend National Parks Development Committee and held the gasoline concession for the park. Newell agreed with some points of the master plan but rejected the wilderness recommendation because of its ban on public roads in seventy-five percent of the park. He argued that a greater use of the desert area would hardly be possible without more convenient access than foot trails.⁸⁹

Although the 1964 Wilderness Act expressly did not "modify the statutory authority under which units of the National Park System are created," several Texans felt otherwise. State Representative Hilary Doran, Jr. from Del Rio and State Senator W. E. Snelson from Midland noted that Big Bend National Park was a gift of the people of the Lone Star State to the federal government. It was turned over with the understanding that it could be used by all of the citizens, not just a backpacking minority. Richard H. Pierce, manager of the Travel Department of the Texas Highway Department, expressed the same opinion. The wilderness recommendation would place most of Big Bend "off limits for casual family travelers . . . off limits for the station wagon family with youngsters, who are neither inclined nor equipped for crosscountry hiking and dry-camp survival . . . off limits for the senior citizens who travel so extensively, but are physically incapable of the rigors of backpacking across mountain and desert."⁹⁰

Carter ("Buck") Newsome, a former Texas Ranger and operator of the saddle horse concession in the Basin, regarded the master plan and wilderness recommendation as something "cooked up" by a "bunch of ecology nuts [who] think the horses are ruining that part of the park." Newsome opposed moving his concession to Rio Grande Village because a "dude can't survive in the kind of temperature that we have on the desert during the summer . . . They would faint and fall over the minute they stepped outside their air conditioned cabins."⁹¹

Newsome's protests apparently had some effect. The revised master plan, published after the public hearing, recommended that the horse concession "be relocated to a suitable site out of the Basin" and suggested Ceniza Flat, a site four miles below Panther Junction which was accessible to the mountains but not subjected to the harsh summer temperatures of the Rio Grande Village site. Another compromise in the revised plan relegated Rio Grande Village site from *the* major park visitor-use development to only *a* major development. Ceniza Flat was to be the "safety valve" to take pressure off of the Basin. Also, overnight accommodations would remain in the Basin.⁹²

The vocal minority who opposed the master plan and wilderness recommendation did so largely for economic reasons. A spokesman for the ecology groups supporting the proposals criticized the opposition for having "selfish, commercial interests." The charge was not altogether fair for groups such as Newell's Big Bend Development Committee wanted only what the Park Service had repeatedly promised — a prosperous tourist industry for West Texas. Not surprisingly, every city, chamber of commerce, and county in the vicinity of the national park unanimously disapproved of the wilderness recommendation. Many of the opponents of the wilderness proposal felt the Park Service had capably managed Big Bend and questioned the conversion of much of the area into an undeveloped wilderness. Apparently they were of the opinion that the Service would continue to build roads and construct visitor accommodations throughout the park.⁹³

The Park Service can be criticized for its ambivalent development policies and its exaggerated visitation predictions for Big Bend, but the agency never advocated a large-scale physical improvements program for the entire park area. In the 1970s the principal park roads and sites for visitor facilities are basically the same as those proposed in the 1930s. The furor raised at the public hearing indicated

that the Park Service has successfully publicized the economic reasons for a national park. In doing so, it failed to impress upon state and local people the significance of ecological, recreational, and inspirational justifications for wilderness.⁹⁴

Problems of a Desert Park

Big Bend's location in the largest and least accessible county in Texas contributed to the difficulties of its administration, protection, and visitor use. In addition, problems after World War II arose because of the lack of funds for national parks. Other troubles concerned trespassing livestock as well as international border incidents, particularly smuggling activities, fear of the hoof and mouth disease spreading from Mexico into the United States, and the proposed construction of a reservoir within the park boundaries.

In 1933, the state of Texas established Big Bend State Park with headquarters in the Chisos Basin and retained the responsibility of protecting the area until 1944. Since much of the land in the park was privately owned, protecting its natural resources proved difficult. Commercial curio dealers, for instance, removed truckloads of small, rare cacti from the park area for sale in souvenir shops. As long as these specimens came from private lands, the state was powerless to intervene.⁹⁵

Wildlife was also threatened. Upon learning that the Colima Warbler in the Chisos Range was near extinction, one individual tried to collect the skins of all the species possible for his private collection.⁹⁶ Fortunately he failed, but by the time the area had become a state park the gray wolf and bighorn sheep had already been destroyed or driven away. Among the endangered species that did survive were the peccary and the black bear. Meanwhile, the

state enacted legislation in behalf of the threatened animals in the southern Brewster County section of the park, but there were not enough game wardens to enforce the measure adequately and the flora and fauna of the Big Bend would not be sufficiently protected until several years after the national park had become a reality. When the park opened officially in July 1944, the small staff of five still was ineffective. By the end of the decade, approximately fifty full and part-time workers were doing an adequate job of restoration and protection.⁹⁷

The archeology and paleontology of the Big Bend likewise suffered at the hands of vandals and souvenir collectors during the early years. When the Park Service unintentionally publicized information extolling the region's scientific wonders, institutions throughout the country hastened to the site to collect what they could before the federal government restricted their activities.⁹⁸ Even after the Park Service had issued warnings to the contrary, scientists from a major natural history museum continued excavations. Today, hundreds of dinosaur bones, fossil shells, petrified wood, and other prehistoric specimens from the Big Bend area are displayed in museums throughout the country.⁹⁹

The First Superintendent

The success of Big Bend depended largely upon the selection of an able administrator. In 1943 Ross A. Maxwell, a tall, ruddy-faced Oklahoma farmboy, became the first superintendent, a position he held until 1952. He was well suited for the position, having received his doctorate in geology from Northwestern University in 1936, the same year that he began work in the Big Bend country as a young geologist.¹⁰⁰ In addition to several important publications,¹⁰¹ Maxwell possessed the ability to get along with the

local people. Indeed, he made many close friends while placating anger over Park Service policies, especially in relation to predators and to grazing rights. One rancher remained an opponent of the Park Service throughout his life, yet he invariably exchanged Christmas cards with the Maxwell family and entertained them in his home.¹⁰² An official of the Texas State Parks Board summed up the general feeling West Texans held for the superintendent: "Doc . . . is just as plain as an old shoe . . . the salt of the earth."¹⁰³

*Life on the Last Frontier*¹⁰⁴

Reflecting on his frontier experience at Big Bend years later, Maxwell observed: "The conditions were not as bad as [those] faced by the people who settled this area from 1840 to 1870. They had oxen and covered wagons—we had cars and trucks,"¹⁰⁵ but that was the only advantage. The nearest doctor was over eighty miles away and the closest public school was the same distance. The park employees could do nothing about a physician, but they did do something about education. Parents tutored their own children until the fall of 1947, when the staff organized a public elementary school. Service employees subsequently voted to raise the tax on each \$100 valuation from ten to fifty cents to be eligible for state aid. One of the three school trustees was the chief park ranger, George Sholly, and another was Helen Maxwell, wife of the superintendent.¹⁰⁶ The same elementary school remains today, but some older children attend high school in Alpine and return home each weekend; other employees prefer to obtain transfers when their children reach high school age.¹⁰⁷

Park wives took the initiative in other areas and organized Sunday school classes and special Easter programs. Fifty-one people attended the first Easter service in 1949, including most of the local bachelors.¹⁰⁸ Various employees

conducted church services for the adults on a rotating basis throughout the year. Several musicians on the staff got together infrequently for informal concerts, and later some of the children organized their own band.¹⁰⁹

In general, Park Service personnel faced many hardships and deprivations during the 1940s. One of the greatest problems was obtaining fresh meat, milk, and eggs during the hot summer months. Maxwell asked permission of the regional and national offices of the Park Service for the staff to keep chickens and a cow, which normally was against Service regulations. The hierarchy argued that the Big Bend "pioneers" would have to get along primarily on canned foods.¹¹⁰ A truck was sent to Marathon or Alpine once a month for supplies until 1949 when an Alpine grocery firm began making weekly deliveries. By then the seventeen families and several bachelors were consuming from \$1,500 to \$2,000 worth of food monthly, or more than enough to make deliveries profitable.¹¹¹

Another hardship endured by the park personnel was the lack of communication from the outside world. Mail arrived only once a week at first, then increased to twice weekly. During the rainy season the unimproved Terlingua-Alpine road would sometimes be closed two weeks at a time. Even in the desert climate, snow can make the route impassible for as many as ten days out of the year.¹¹² By the 1970s, mail deliveries into the Big Bend were being made regularly from Monday through Friday to the park headquarter's post office at Panther Junction.

Throughout the 1940s Big Bend National Park was eighty miles from the nearest telephone or telegraph station. In 1947 KULF, a local commercial radio station in Alpine, agreed to broadcast emergency messages to the park, but the arrangement proved unsatisfactory for both parties. The following year, another system was tried whereby the Border Patrol relayed messages to and from the park via short wave; in 1953 the Big Bend finally obtained telephone service.¹¹³

Big Bend began its first year with an appropriation of only \$15,000 for administrative purposes. Although the amount gradually increased,¹¹⁴ the park remained understaffed and inadequately funded throughout the 1940s. Superintendent Ross Maxwell estimated that several national parks a quarter the size of Big Bend had twice the number of rangers. Because of the isolated nature of the assignment, ranger positions and others were often unfilled for months and the men finally obtained were usually inexperienced and had to learn their jobs in the field. If fortunate, their living accommodations consisted of an abandoned shack without running water or sanitation facilities. As a rule, the employees worked overtime repairing broken well pumps, rounding up trespassing livestock, or doing other menial jobs. Not surprisingly, they sometimes suffered morale problems.¹¹⁵ Maxwell occasionally combatted "Big Bend fever" among his employees with a punch made of a "secret ingredient."¹¹⁶

One person who adapted very well to the rigorous life demanded by the Big Bend country was Maggie Smith, who operated the concession at Hot Springs on the Rio Grande. She has been called the "godmother to the Mexican people," a well deserved epithet. When a young Mexican couple came to her store with the woman in the advanced stages of labor, she loaded both in the back of her pickup truck and raced for the doctor in Marathon. They did not make it in time and Maggie had to deliver the baby by the side of the road. The mother and child fared well, but the father was so overcome by the experience that he was ill during the entire trip back to Hot Springs.¹¹⁷

A further indication of Big Bend's primitive nature are the place names of the region. Several topographical features of the park lacked any identification, while others possessed two or three. Many reflected the Spanish-Mexican heritage of the area and often the anglicized spelling had only a minor resemblance to the original Spanish. For ex-

ample, *Mesa de Anguila* literally means Mesa of the Eels, a term hardly fitting its arid location.¹¹⁸ All told, the United States Board of Geographical Names rendered approximately four dozen decisions for the Big Bend area.¹¹⁹

More than 150,000 tourists visited Big Bend on the edge of the American frontier during the decade of the 1940s. Since the concessioners did not handle perishable items, the tourists had to bring most of their food supplies from the outside. Gasoline was available in the park toward the end of the decade, but it sold for five cents above the price charged at Alpine. None of the park's one hundred miles of primary roads were paved. Moreover, the heaviest visitation came during the rainy season between June and September. Although the average for these months was slightly more than an inch and one-half, most of this could fall within the space of an hour or two. Thus, park visitors occasionally found themselves trapped by flashfloods which swept down one or several of the fifty arroyos that crisscrossed the principal roads. Measuring sticks at the crossings indicated when the waters had subsided enough for fording. The entire park had only three culverts. Overnight facilities consisted of a few one-room, tar paper huts left over from CCC days. Before Big Bend obtained electrical service in 1953, these shelters depended on kerosene or gasoline lanterns for light. There also were several primitive campsites at Santa Elena Canyon and the Chisos Basin.¹²⁰

As noted earlier, the Park Service in 1956 initiated Mission '66, a ten year program so named because most of the master plan was to be completed by 1966, the fiftieth anniversary of the National Park Service. Over one billion dollars would be spent in the national parks developing the physical facilities and providing trained personnel for interpretive and protective programs.¹²¹ Big Bend profited by the pavement of approximately one hundred miles of road and the construction of bridges over the more troublesome

arroyos. A headquarters building at Panther Junction and a new modern lodge complex were constructed in the Basin with accommodations for over 200 guests. In addition, several hundred trailer and camp sites were built in the Basin and on the Rio Grande with sufficient drinking water and conveniently located flush toilets. By 1966 four grocery stores operated within the park area, but because of high prices visitors generally brought in their supplies from adjoining towns, just as they did in the 1940s.¹²²

The "Bloody Bend"

Modern conveniences and improvements throughout the rugged area today belie its tradition of violence. In 1900, the explorer Robert T. Hill called it the "Bloody Bend," because the region seemed to attract the worst elements from both sides of the border. One of the most famous local incidents, a raid by Mexican bandits on Glenn Springs, occurred in May 1916. Three soldiers of the Fourteenth Infantry, United States Army, were killed, as well as several civilians and an undetermined number of Mexicans. Although conditions are much more peaceful today, bullet-ridden bodies occasionally are found floating in the shallow waters of the Rio Grande.¹²³

Mexican nationals who processed and smuggled *candelilla* wax out of the park formerly caused considerable worry to the staff. The undermanned Park Service simply could not stop the practice, but more or less managed to keep it under control. On December 6, 1948 two park rangers sighted a party of fifty to seventy-five Mexicans near Santa Elena Canyon with thirteen processing vats and approximately one hundred mules and donkeys. The rangers later captured three of the culprits, as well as several donkeys and a substantial amount of wax. One of those arrested, a tearful fourteen year old boy, was released on his

promise that he would never cross the border illegally again. The two men were then taken to court and sentenced to ninety days in jail. News of the arrest and subsequent conviction put an immediate but temporary stop to the activities near Santa Elena Canyon. Because it is there for the taking and brings a good price, wax processing and smuggling have continued at Big Bend, but regular patrols and occasional convictions have kept it minimal.¹²⁴

Mexican livestock which crossed the Rio Grande constituted another international problem for park personnel. It first merely taxed the already overgrazed vegetation of the Big Bend, but matters became more serious when an epidemic of hoof and mouth disease broke out in 1947. Obviously the small staff could not patrol a hundred miles of the international border adequately and maintain an effective quarantine. Accordingly, the Bureau of Animal Husbandry in the United States Department of Agriculture employed special River Riders, varying in number from nine to thirty-five. In addition, employees of the Texas Livestock Sanitation Commission sometimes assisted in patrol work. At first these special details were under orders to confine their activities to turning the strays back across the river. Later, officials in Washington authorized the destruction of all Mexican livestock found in the United States except horses, donkeys, burros, and mules. The latter did not carry the disease, but nevertheless were subject to impoundment. Their owners subsequently had to pay substantial fines before recovering the property.¹²⁵

On one occasion, authorities seized eighty-seven horses and informed the owners that it would cost them eighteen dollars for each animal. The angry Mexican nationals claimed only one of their horses legally, then a few nights later they successfully rustled fifty-eight more. Needless to say, events such as this did little to insure good relations between the people on both sides of the border. Among other disagreeable activities were the poaching of deer in the park and the dynamiting of fish in the Rio Grande.¹²⁶

Incidents along the border have continued to the present. The park still does not have enough manpower to keep out Mexican livestock which crosses over from Coahuila and Chihuahua. Fortunately, danger of hoof and mouth disease no longer exists. However, employees have the larger problems today protecting camps along the river from looters, patrolling the border and combatting the flow of marijuana, heroin, cocaine, and other drugs from Mexico. On one occasion in 1972, Ranger George Howarth intercepted a well known smuggler known as "Bronco." When the ranger drew his gun, "Bronco" did likewise. The two men stared at one another until the smuggler retraced his footsteps back across the shallow river. "It's probably a good thing George didn't try to stop him," Superintendent Joe Carithers later remarked. "Somebody would've gotten hurt."¹²⁷

Another hazard encountered by the rangers is that of grass and forest fires, which are particularly dangerous during drought. Lightning has caused many fires and extensive damage to plant life, especially in the Chisos Mountains area. Fire fanned by brisk winds can spread rapidly through the tall and highly volatile basket grass and destroy thousands of acres of flora and fauna that help make Big Bend a land of contrasts. During the CCC period, a conflagration of undetermined origin destroyed the museum in the Basin and hundreds of specimens collected by Maxwell and others. Toward the end of the 1940s increased appropriations, a larger staff, war surplus fire fighting equipment, and an improved water supply minimized the dangers from fires.¹²⁸

Dam Builders on the Rio Grande

At various times, dam builders have threatened national park sites at Yosemite, Kings Canyon, Dinosaur National

Monument, and Big Bend. The latter location was particularly appealing because it lay on the Mexican-United States boundary and possessed three deep, narrow canyons. The construction of a series of reservoirs was one means of developing friendly relations between the two countries. Mexico especially welcomed dams that would provide hydroelectric power and water to irrigate the arid region. The United States Reclamation Service also supported the idea as well as other federal departments and agencies. The Park Service, however, opposed it because dams destroyed the natural environment.¹²⁹

Strong local support existed for the construction of dams. For example, Everett E. Townsend of Alpine, who had done so much to bring Big Bend to the attention of the National Park Service, favored reservoirs. In addition, the success of the Tennessee Valley Authority had affected the thinking of conservative Texans who now looked approvingly at the possibility of large-scale federal development on the Rio Grande. If recreation were one of the purposes of a national park, local citizens could not see how the fishing, swimming, and boating that a dam would provide could possibly conflict with Service policies.¹³⁰ Adding to the confusion was the fact that the agency had jurisdiction over several reservoir projects.¹³¹

Before 1944 the possibility of international reservoirs on the Rio Grande remained only in the discussion stage. However, in February of that year Mexico and the United States signed a treaty that called for the joint construction of a series of dams on the river. One of these was to be located between the mouths of Santa Elena Canyon and the Pecos River. All three of Big Bend's major canyons—Santa Elena, Boquillas, and Mariscal—were thus included as potential sites. Legally the park was in a hazardous position. Whether a treaty supersedes a congressional act or vice versa depends on the more recent ratification. Consequently, the agreement between Mexico and the United

States abrogated conflicting provisions of Big Bend's 1935 enabling act.¹³² Subsequent arrangements provided that the International Boundary Commission must keep the Park Service apprised of any possible dam development in the park. Nevertheless, if one of Big Bend's canyons were chosen, the Service had no recourse but to accept the decision.¹³³

Throughout the latter 1940s, investigations proceeded in the park with Boquillas and Mariscal Canyons receiving strong consideration. The Park Service hoped that the development already taking place in Big Bend would deter any dam construction in or near the park. Eventually, the International Boundary Commission rejected the sites in Big Bend mainly because of its isolation from markets for electrical power and the absence of sufficient irrigable land. Construction in the 1960s of the Falcon and Amistad Reservoirs south of the park apparently have ended the possibility of a dam in or near Big Bend National Park.¹³⁴

Ranchers and Predators

The National Park Service realizes the possibility of confrontation with local ranchers each time Congress authorizes a new park. In the mid-1940s a rancher wrote to the park superintendent that he considered Big Bend National Park a "curse" on the livestock industry of Texas. He regarded it as a "breeding ground" for predatory animals who sneaked from the sanctuary, slaughtered the neighboring sheep, goats, and cattle, and then returned to the safety of the national park. In retaliation, the irate rancher admitted that he permitted his cows and horses to graze illegally on the park's grasses. "You keep all your predatory animals within your park boundaries, and I will keep all my livestock from entering the Park," he told the Park Service.¹³⁵

Some stockmen opposed Big Bend because of the approximately 700,000 acres that were removed from the tax rolls. But when they found out that the county would lose only about \$4,200, their criticism of this issue subsided. Another area of strife concerned the argument that thousands of acres of land which could feed and clothe the allies during World War II was closed to domestic livestock. But the most persistent opposition continued over the issue of predators in the park. Park Service policy dictates that all wildlife receive protection, including large flesh-eating animals. Such a principle ran counter to the rancher's protective instinct for the safety of his livestock. His usual reaction was to destroy as many predators as possible. Occasionally the stockmen succeeded so well they completely eradicated some species, one being the wolf. In other instances, their efforts had little effect, as in the case of the coyote.¹³⁶

The first permanent cattlemen entered the Big Bend country after the Civil War and encountered numerous predators, but only the lobo seriously threatened their herds. The ranchers systematically battled the lobo by poisoning, trapping, and shooting. The lone survivor was killed in Pecos County in West Texas in the early twentieth century. Other predators such as mountain lions, black bears, coyotes, bobcats, and golden eagles likewise abounded. But since they did not really endanger cattle, ranchers killed them merely for sport.¹³⁷

Sheep and goat raisers came to the Big Bend about the same time as the cattlemen, but their numbers did not increase to significant proportions until the outbreak of World War I. The global confrontation produced ready markets for all types of agricultural products. Shortly after its conclusion, many ranchers left the Big Bend country because of the agricultural recession, drought, and poison weeds that devastated their flocks. In the 1920s they returned in force, and since sheep and goats were prey for all

of the big carnivores, the battle against predators now began in earnest. Private individuals employed their own trappers, one of whom destroyed 121 panthers and three bears in the Big Bend area between 1932 and 1945. The first government trapper began work in 1937.¹³⁸

The golden eagle was especially anathema to sheep and goat raisers. The elusive bird was difficult to trap and unless surprised on the ground feeding on a carcass, nearly impossible to shoot. In desperation, ranchers hired pilots and planes, organized eagle clubs, and for one hundred dollars a year bought protection from this predator. The state and county also paid some of the expenses for eradication. Between 1920 and 1942 one pilot spent approximately 1,400 hours in the air and claimed to have killed 2,500 eagles in the Big Bend region.¹³⁹

Another source of the stockmen's discontent was the realization that with the final establishment of Big Bend in June 1944, grazing rights in the park would cease. The Service did not actively begin to enforce the policy until one year later, and the small staff intensified its efforts throughout 1946. In 1947 the NPS imported the first pronghorned antelope into Big Bend as part of a plan to restock the native fauna of the area. Rumors circulated among ranchers that the agency had also brought in wolves from Arizona. The stockmen's fears appeared confirmed when one of their number claimed he had trapped a lobo, while several others reported actually having seen employees releasing carnivores inside the park boundaries.¹⁴⁰

Predator Incubator

The possibility of Big Bend National Park as a "breeding ground" for predators, especially coyotes, golden eagles, wolves, and mountain lions, incensed the ranchers. One claimed to have killed more than a hundred panthers in the

Big Bend area during a ten-year period. An editorial in the *Sheep and Goat Raisers Magazine*, the organ for West Texas sheep and goat interests, called Big Bend "the most perfect incubator of predatory animals in the United States today." The journal stated that a rancher whose property bordered the park employed one man full time trapping predators. Over a period of a few months he claimed to have captured eighty panthers.¹⁴¹

Stories about the mountain lion and other predators added fuel to the controversy. Sam Nail, who had raised cattle and horses in the Big Bend country since 1909, told a *National Geographic* writer in 1938 that in the three decades he had lived there, cougars had killed 600 of his horses and cattle. Another story concerned a round-up of 1,000 mares in 1947 near the Chisos Mountains at which time only one colt was in the entire herd. The ranchers surmised that panthers were to blame, since they supposedly delighted in killing helpless and weak animals. Similar tales recorded the cowardly nature of the lion. One told of a puma who consistently avoided encounters with a foe of equal strength. Yet on a single night it purportedly slaughtered seventeen sheep, much more than it could possibly eat. The theme of "bad" versus "good" animals was accepted by many without question. The caption of a photograph in the *San Angelo Standard-Times* of two dead cougars stated that they "had their last lamb just a short time before they were caught and slain." The accompanying article commented that the mountain lion regarded the lamb, long a symbol of innocence and purity, as a "preferred delicacy."¹⁴²

The golden eagle likewise had stories attributed to it. One witness told of watching the bird land on the back of a full grown sheep. As the terrified animal ran desperately about, the eagle, while holding on with one talon, slit the victim's throat with the other. The Park Service inadvertently added to the eagle's reputation with a press

release that depicted the bird as a "destructive outlaw." The writer commented that the eagle's depredations, however, were "far outweighed by the beneficial results in maintaining the balance of nature through his preying upon gophers, jackrabbits, and other rodents and parasites that are destructive to agriculture." The average rancher was not particularly impressed and considered the eagle a villain who should be destroyed.¹⁴³

Essential to the livestock industry's case against that of the Park Service was the firm belief that the Big Bend really was a "breeding ground" for predators. According to one theory, the prohibition against grazing forced flesh-eating animals to hunt domestic stock on private range lands beyond the park's boundaries. At the same time, they could find sanctuary in the park. Ranchers argued that the protection offered by the park caused an unnatural increase in predators and a corresponding rise in the number of victims. Another theory blamed the increasingly large deer population outside Big Bend on panthers which had purportedly forced them out of the park and onto adjacent grazing lands. When the big cats followed, they were not particular where their meal came from.¹⁴⁴

Late in 1947 the sheep and goat interests of West Texas felt that the predator problem had reached crisis proportions. They consequently sought the services of J. Frank Dobie in hopes that the internationally known author and storyteller could persuade the federal government to authorize a trapper to work within Big Bend National Park. Although a university professor, Dobie still had strong attachments to the cattle business. When Dobie accepted an invitation to give a talk before the West Texas Historical and Scientific Society, representatives for both the NPS and the ranchers attended.

Dobie delivered a typical rambling address, but one portion specifically concerned the Big Bend livestock interests. He said that they were no different from the Boston

manufacturers, since both desired government subsidies and a high tariff to give them more than their just due for their products. According to Dobie, the ranchers wanted federal money to clear their lands of prickly pear plants, build water tanks, and dig wells. Now they also demanded trappers to be maintained at federal expense inside the park itself. Dobie lashed out at the sheep and goat men as a group that "criminally mined the soil" so that after ten years the land was worth less than a dime an acre.¹⁴⁵ After the talk, no more was heard of the plan to enlist him as a spokesman for livestock interests.

Supt. Maxwell and the Predator Controversy

When the controversy began to accelerate in December 1947, Superintendent Ross Maxwell immediately visited the neighboring ranches and towns to determine attitudes of the local residents toward the park as a "predator incubator."¹⁴⁶ He found several prominent ranchers who believed that no increase had occurred in the predator population since the establishment of the park. One even considered Big Bend National Park among "the best things that ever happened to Brewster County." Another noted that if carnivorous animals had multiplied as much as the *Sheep and Goat Raisers Magazine* contended, the number of deer should have decreased in the park. He further stated that he would not go out of his house at night if hundreds of panthers lurked in the shadows, according to some stories. Maxwell made a special effort to talk to the individual who had allegedly trapped eighty cougars in a few months time. He told the superintendent that the magazine reporter misquoted—he had said "eight," and not "eighty."¹⁴⁷

Others, however, felt predators had substantially increased. A personal friend of Maxwell laid the blame directly on the park and said that he favored a government

trapper. Another who owned land adjacent to Big Bend indicated that he firmly believed that the park had caused a rise in the predator population.¹⁴⁸

Maxwell also interviewed several private and government trappers and game wardens and learned that the lobo purportedly caught was a large, dark coyote called a "chihuahua wolf." Most of those he talked with felt that the number of predators had not increased. Ray Williams, captain of the West Texas game wardens and the man who supposedly had bagged the 2,500 eagles previously mentioned, considered the protests of the sheep and goat men as a "bunch of nonsense" and doubted if they could prove their charges. Based on his extensive investigation, Maxwell concluded that two or three panthers on a single ranch would be an extraordinary number. Moreover, on several ranches there had been no sign of panther whatsoever, and most had not been bothered by predators to any significant degree.¹⁴⁹

The sheep and goat men eventually realized that radical proposals such as demanding a trapper within the park's boundaries would not help curb the alleged increase of predators. The Park Service definitely would not permit hunting and trapping and other violations of established NPS policy. Consequently, in June 1948 an executive committee of the Sheep and Goat Raisers Association met in Uvalde and approved a resolution which petitioned the NPS to appropriate funds for trappers and hunters to patrol the park's perimeter and protect the adjoining ranches from "reinfestation" of mountain lions, coyotes, bobcats, and wolves. The measure stated that the ranchers themselves had spent considerable money eradicating predators. According to the stockmen, those animals that were causing the trouble clearly came from the national park.¹⁵⁰

Park Service officials regarded the latest resolution from the ranchers as indicative that the furor over Big Bend's predators was subsiding. The conciliatory nature of the

measure encouraged Hillory Tolson of the NPS to express his appreciation to Ernest Williams, the Secretary of the Association, for the request to limit trappers to the exterior of the park. Tolson referred to Maxwell's investigative efforts which had revealed that mountain lions and bobcats were comparatively rare, wolves were nonexistent, but that coyotes had become more numerous. Due to the large quantity of small game present in the park, Tolson felt they would remain close to their food source. The Park Service official concluded that the evidence gathered indicated that the park's predators did not constitute a serious problem for the adjacent landowners.¹⁵¹

The ranchers still remained skeptical and in January 1949 requested the Fish and Wildlife Service in the Department of the Interior to study the predator problem in Big Bend National Park. The action infuriated the Park Service hierarchy and Director Newton B. Drury wrote to the head of the sister agency to remind him that "investigations of park problems are made only on request of the National Park Service." Nevertheless, Drury did permit the Fish and Wildlife Service to conduct a survey the following February.¹⁵²

Ross Maxwell personally guided the investigators through the park and especially looked for signs of coyote. After a thorough search, the Fish and Wildlife men concluded that both wildcats and coyotes were by no means abundant, and the number of coyotes in Big Bend constituted only one-tenth of those found outside the park. The investigators did find ample evidence of panthers, but so long as the deer population remained stable, they did not regard them as an immediate menace. Although not a serious threat to the ranches north of the park at the moment, the predators could be a different story in the future. Finally, Fish and Wildlife officials recommended that Maxwell attend Sheep and Goat Raisers meetings to improve relations between the Park Service and the livestock interests.¹⁵³

Maxwell followed the advice. In 1952, his last year as superintendent, he wrote, "the public relations between the park and all outside organizations has improved and I am sure that the present status is much better than it was in 1944 and 1945 when the park was first established."¹⁵⁴

Predator Problems Continue

The decade of the 1950s unfortunately did not produce the harmony which Maxwell had optimistically desired. The cougar population continued to grow to such proportions that the NPS even considered a policy of reducing the species. Park Service reports confirmed that ranchers and government trappers on properties adjacent to the park from 1952 through 1956 had killed over seventy-five mountain lions. In addition, in Big Bend itself a panther was disposed of after it seized a man's trouser leg along a popular hiking trail. Another cougar met a similar fate when a hunter tracked the animal into the park and a ranger dispatched it. Park Service employees by now assisted stockmen in their pursuit of predators, but rancher dissatisfaction with NPS wildlife policy continued.¹⁵⁵ Instead of rumors about the importation of wolves, a new one circulated about the Park Service bringing additional black bears into the park.¹⁵⁶ There was no validity to the allegations, but the fact it was made indicated the existing hostility toward the NPS still held by some local ranchers. Further ill feelings occurred when one or more unidentified culprits spread poison throughout the park, which resulted in the death of more than twenty coyotes.¹⁵⁷

The legal and occasional unlawful activities of a minority of stockmen, as well as climatic and ecological conditions, kept Big Bend's predator population stable throughout the 1960s. The number of cougars in the park has remained at an estimated strength of ten to twenty, while the golden

eagle has become virtually extinct. Yet due to the nature of his business, the rancher must favor predatory control measures. He cannot fully accept or understand a policy that protects even the despised rattlesnake. But as long as no significant increase in Big Bend National Park's predators exists, charges that the park represents a "predator incubator" appear greatly exaggerated.¹⁵⁸

Resume

Several factors contributed to the success of the Big Bend National Park movement. Individual efforts by E. E. Townsend and Roger Toll played a major part in the early years. Although President Roosevelt's high regard for national parks was well known, it was the idea of an international park on the Rio Grande that separated Big Bend from dozens of other proposals. The depression and the New Deal's CCC program not only brought the Big Bend region to the attention of the Park Service, but also provided funds, manpower, and a master plan for its development. The depression likewise affected the citizenry who quickly saw the economic advantages of a national park.

The element that especially made the Big Bend desirable in a realistic sense was the low economic worth of the land, much of which was overgrazed cattle, sheep, and goat pasturage. Unlike most Western states, Texas did not have a vast expanse of federally owned lands from which many of the early national parks were created. Even with the aesthetic, geological, biological, and international values of the Big Bend, the project never would have made it past Director Arno B. Cammerer if the land's economic worth had been substantially more than a few cents per acre.

The publicity campaign for Big Bend National Park indicated that from the 1930s through World War II economic considerations dominated environmental atti-

tudes at the local, state, and national levels. To be sure, there was pride in the area's biological and geological uniqueness and even provincial braggadocio concerning its rugged scenery, but the most convincing arguments centered on the economic benefits to be derived from tourism. Even Drew Pearson's opposition had economic overtones—the relatively inexpensive exploitation of *candelilla* wax for national defense. The positive position, although couched in different terms, was still an economic exploitation of sorts, this time of scenic and recreational resources. Economic priorities have persisted until the present day as the controversy over the wilderness proposal for the park aptly demonstrates.¹⁵⁹

Considering that some park projects required scores of years before they attained full national park status, the nine year delay from the enabling act in 1935 to the establishment of Big Bend in 1944 was comparatively short.¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, it had an adverse effect on the long-range development of the park. From 1933 well into 1941 the National Park Service received a total of \$218,000,000 for various New Deal programs for its various parks. Over \$139,000,000 of this amount went to the Civilian Conservation Corps. Big Bend did have a CCC camp in the Chisos Mountains for a while; unfortunately, the CCC was discontinued in 1942 just when the park was ready to expand through its land purchase program. With America's entry into World War II, the formerly ample NPS appropriations ceased and the neglect of the national parks continued until well after the Korean War. These were key years for Big Bend and it would suffer from lack of personnel and funds; for almost two decades it remained substandard as to roads, visitor facilities, and interpretive programs.¹⁶¹ As a consequence, the physical development of Big Bend did not really reach fruition until the 1960s when Mission '66 finally made available much needed funds for improvement and development of all our national parks.

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1 Other Park Service sites in Texas are: Alibates Flint Quarries and Texas Panhandle Pueblo Culture National Monument, Fort Davis National Historic Site, Lyndon B. Johnson National Historic Site, San Jose Mission National Historic Site, Chamizal National Memorial, Padre Island National Seashore, Amistad National Recreational Area, and Sanford National Recreational Area.

2 Two proposals concerned Palo Duro Canyon and Jeff Davis County, neither of which passed. U.S. Congress, House, H.R. 11749, 60th Cong., 1st sess., 1908, 480; U.S. Congress, House, H.R. 13651, 60th Cong., 2nd sess., 1908, 706; U.S. Congress, House, H.R. 4734, 62nd Cong., 1st sess., 1911, 245; U.S. Congress, House, H.R. 330, 64th Cong., 1st sess., 1915, 21; U.S. Congress, House, 64th Cong., 2nd sess., 1917, Appendix and Index, 305; U.S. Congress, House, H.R. 9193, 68th Cong., 1st sess., 1924, 8497; U.S. Congress, House, H.R. 3590, 71st Cong., 1st sess., 1929, 2303.

3 *Journal of the Senate of Texas*, S.C.R. 9, 42nd Legislature, reg. sess., 97-98; *Journal of the Senate of Texas*, S.C.R. 73, 43rd Legislature, reg. sess., 1935. Senator Morris Sheppard had S.C.R. 9 published in its entirety in the *Congressional Record* and Representative John Nance Garner referred to S.C.R. 9's request for a survey for a national park in a memorial statement. U.S. Congress, Senate, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., 1931, 4001; U.S. Congress, House, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., 1931, 6213.

4 Sheppard to Ray Lyman Wilbur, February 24, 1931, File O-32, Part I, Records of Big Bend National Park, Record Group 79, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter cited as BBNP, RG 79, NA. Albright to Sheppard, March 2, 1931, File O-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

5 Albright to Vance Prather, February 3, 1931, File O-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

6 Before there were any real guidelines for the establishment of national parks, Congress authorized three parks that did not measure up to Albright's yardstick: Wind Cave in the Black Hills of South Dakota, Sullys Hill in North Dakota, and Platt in Oklahoma. See John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore, 1961), chapter six.

7 Albright to Prather, February 3, 1931, File O-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

8 C. B. Casey and Lewis H. Saxton, "The Life of Everett Ewing Townsend," *West Texas Historical and Scientific Society Publication* No. 17 (1958), 54.

9 U.S. Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1933* (Washington, D.C., 1933), 165; U.S. Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1934* (Washington, D.C., 1934), 176.

10 Wagstaff and Townsend relate slightly different versions of this episode. Townsend credited Robert T. Hill's "Running the Canons of the Rio Grande: A Chapter of Recent Exploration," *Century Magazine* (January, 1901), 371-387 with influencing Wagstaff. See Casey and Saxton, 52. Wagstaff in a newspaper interview in 1944 and later in a journal article recounted that he first read of the Big Bend region in *Nature Magazine* (December, 1930) and decided to introduce legislation for a state park during the 1931 legislative session. However, because of the possibility of the reinstatement of forfeited lands in the Big Bend, Wagstaff waited until the next legislative session before introducing the proposal. See *Abilene Reporter-News*, June 11, 1944; R. M. Wagstaff, "Beginning of the Big Bend Park," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, XLIV (October, 1968), 3-14.

11 Virginia Madison, *The Big Bend Country of Texas* (2nd ed.; New York, 1968), 230.

12 E. E. Townsend to Col. Robert H. Lewis, November 25, 1933, File 207, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

13 Although E. E. Townsend is considered the "father" of the idea and the reality of Big Bend National Park, others also saw the park potential of the region. For instance, Sgt. Jodie P. Harris, stationed with Company I, Fourth Texas Infantry at Stillwell Crossing in 1916 wrote about the possibilities for a national park in his service newspaper, *The Big Bend*. Harris also drew postcards for his relatives which depicted the same theme. See Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, October 10, 1937; April 6, 1958. There are others [see Harry Connelly, "Big Bend National Park Project Reality at Last," *West Texas Today* (September, 1941)], but in light of Townsend's numerous contributions to the park movement, he fully deserved the designation as father of Big Bend National Park.

14 Casey and Saxton, 54; Casey, "The Big Bend National Park," *West Texas Historical and Scientific Society Publication* No. 13 (1948), 30; *Vernon's Texas Statutes 1948*, Art. 6077b.

15 Casey, 31; "Historical Summary of Big Bend Legislation" (no date), Box A-11, Bastrop State Park Warehouse, Bastrop, Texas. Hereinafter cited as Bastrop SPW. *Vernon's Texas Statutes 1948*, Art. 6077c.

16 *Alpine Avalanche*, September 3, 1948. Townsend used many of W. D. Smither's photographs, the dean of the Big Bend photographers. Representative samples of his work can be found in his book *Chronicles of the Big Bend: A Photographic Memoir of Life on the Border* (Austin, 1976).

17 "Report on the Proposed Big Bend National Park," March 3, 1934, File 207, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Toll to Herbert Maier, February 19, 1934, File O-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA. The CCC camp that Representative Thomason had announced in June 1933 finally opened in May 1934. The camp was established in the Chisos Basin after a party led by E. E. Townsend discovered water there in April. Casey, chapter three.

18 Robert Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks* (3rd ed.; New York, 1970), 247-248; Albert Nelson Marquis, ed., *Who's Who in America, 1936-1937* (Chicago, 1936), 2430; Obituary in *Trail and Timberline*, No. 209 (March-April, 1936), 27-28.

19 Department of Interior, *Annual Report of the Secretary, 1933*, 153; Cammerer memorandum to Arthur E. Demaray, Conrad Wirth, and Harold C. Bryant, April 2, 1934, File O-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; "Report on the Proposed Big Bend National Park," March 3, 1934, File 207, BBNP, RG 79, NA; "Review of Proposed Big Bend National Park," May 1, 1934, File O-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; W. G. Carnes to L. I. Hewes, May 4, 1934, File O-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Maier to Wirth, December 22, 1934, File O-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; "Report of the Big Bend Area, Texas," January, 1935, File 207, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

20 Sheppard had first introduced the idea for an international park to Roosevelt on February 16, 1935. Sheppard to the President, February 16, 1935, File O-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; U.S. Congress, House, H.R. 6373, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935, 2916; U.S. Congress, Senate, S.B. 2131, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935, 2822.

21 Ross A. Maxwell, "History of Big Bend National Park" (ms), 1952, Big Bend National Park Library. Hereinafter cited as BBNP Lib. Demaray to Robert P. Allen, May 17, 1935, File O-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; U.S. Congress, Senate, 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935, 9620, 9818. For an analysis of the international park issue, see the author's "Big Bend National Park of Texas: A Brief History of the Formative Years, 1930-1952" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toledo, 1974), chapter eight.

22 For a more detailed treatment of the politics of fundraising and the land acquisition project for Big Bend, see chapters two and three in the author's dissertation. John C. Diggs memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, June 9, 1941, File O-32, Part IX, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, August 8, 1941; Frank Quinn to Minor Tillotson, December 18, 1941, File O-32, Part IX, BBNP, RG 79, NA. After several boundary adjustments, Big Bend's total area was set at just over 708,000 acres.

23 Tillotson memorandum to Director, NPS, November 10, 1942, File 601, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; G. A. Moskey memorandum to Wirth, May 1, 1943, File 601, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Drury memorandum to Secretary of the Interior, June 7, 1943, File 601, Part II, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

24 Hillory Tolson memorandum to Solicitor General, August 31, 1944, File 601, Part II, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Harry Connelly to Drury, June 11, 1942, File O-32, Part IX, BBNP, RG 79, NA; *Washington Star*, June 7, 1944.

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27 Tillotson memorandum to Director, NPS, March 27, 1946; Tillotson to James Record, June 11, 1947, File 610, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

28 "Annual Report for Big Bend National Park, 1947," July 7, 1947, File 207, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Thompson to Maxwell, January 13, 1949, File 610, BBNP, RG 79, NA; "Final Report of Big Bend Land Department," April 1, 1949, from files of Texas Parks and Wildlife Department.

29 The assessed value of the Castolon property in 1949 was only \$60,000, however.

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33 *Ibid.*; "Final Report of Big Bend Land Department," April 1, 1949, from files of Texas Parks and Wildlife Department.

34 U.S., *Statutes at Large*, LXVII, 497; Joe Brown, NPS, to the author, January 10, 1974.

35 There are, however, private mineral interests still within the park boundaries. But they concern only about one-half of one percent of the park acreage. And furthermore, the Secretary of the Interior has to authorize mineral exploitation in the national parks, which is not likely. Joe Brown, NPS, to the author, December 13, 1973. In 1972 the last land was acquired through condemnation. J. F. Carithers, NPS, to the author, December 6, 1973.

36 Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, September 10, 1937. Morelock gave credit for the statement to Herbert Maier of the NPS. See "Big Bend National Park Bulletin of Information," September 10, 1937, File O-32, Part V, BBNP, RG 79, NA. Santa Elena is often referred to as the "Grand Canyon of the Rio Grande." *Palestine Herald Press*, April 7, 1938; *Austin American*, April 14, 1936; *San Antonio News*, November 3, 1937; *San Angelo Standard-Times*, March 3, 1939; *Colorado City Record*, April 28, 1939.

37 *Amarillo News*, April 15, 1939; *Corpus Christi Caller*, April 15, 1939; Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, July 28, 1937; September 19, 1937; *Shamrock Texan*, April 15, 1939; *Alpine Avalanche*, March 5, 1937; *Woodville Booster*, June 1, 1939.

38 Leo A. McClatchy, "Interesting Things About the Big Bend" (ms), File 501-04, BBNP, RG 79, NA; NPS Press Release, April 26, 1936, File O-32, Part III, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, April 26, 1936; *Dallas Morning News*, April 26, 1936; Erle Kauffman, "The Big Bend of the Rio," *American Forests* (advance proof), File O-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, September 29, 1940; *Alpine Avalanche*, May 8, 1942.

39 Madison, 240; Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, October 5, 1944, File 501-02, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Jack Hope, "Big Bend: A Nice Place to Visit," *Audubon*, LXXV (July, 1973), 38-39.

40 NPS Press Release, September 2, 1937, File 0-32, Part V, BBNP, RG 79, NA; W. B. McDougall memorandum to Victor Cahalane, January 9, 1940, File 0-32, Part VIII, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Tolson to Maier, November 12, 1937, File 0-32, Part V, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

41 Maier to Townsend, April 20, 1936, File 0-32, Part III, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Dallas *Morning News*, January 17, 1945; Tillotson memorandum to Director, NPS, January 22, 1945, File 501-03, Part III, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

42 Dallas *Morning News*, October 26, 1942.

43 Eugene Thompson to J. V. Ash, November 1, 1942, File 501, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

44 The Park Service provided a series of twenty-eight Sunday features on the established national parks complete with pictures "in the hope the civic pride of Texans will be sufficiently aroused to put over the Big Bend park." Photographs of Big Bend as well as copy on the park were made available. See Story to Carl P. Russell, March 7, 1938, File 0-32, Part V, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Wirth to Regional Officer, Region III, August 7, 1937, File 0-32, Part IV, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

45 The following are only a sample of the non-Texas newspaper coverage for Big Bend—New York *Times*, November 24, 1935; *Christian Science Monitor*, January 30, 1936; July 21, 1944; Butte, Montana *Daily Post*, March 14, 1936; Denver *Post*, January 31, 1936; March 7, 1937; September 27, 1942; Philadelphia *Evening Public Ledger*, January 10, 1938; Miami, Florida *News*, September 27, 1941; Oakland, California *Tribune*, July 28, 1944; New York *Herald Tribune*, September 12, 1944; Detroit *News*, January 21, 1945; Cumberland, Maryland *Times*, November 13, 1944; Charleston, West Virginia *Gazette*, November 12, 1944; Mankato, Minnesota *Free Press*, November 11, 1944; Alexandria, Louisiana *Town Talk*, November 9, 1944; Portsmouth, Virginia *Star*, November 11, 1944.

46 Maxwell to Director, NPS, attention of Earl Trager, March 7, 1938, File 0-32, Part V, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Balmorhea *Texan*, February 24, 1939; Trager memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, January 16, 1939, File 0-32, Part VI, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Tillotson to Bolton, June 6, 1944; Herbert Kahler to Drury, June 23, 1944; Kahler to Bolton, June 23, 1944, File 204, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

47 Demaray to Herman Bumpus, February 6, 1937; Maier to Director, NPS, attention of Fred Johnston, April 24, 1937, File 0-32, Part IV, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Austin *Daily Texan* (University of Texas student newspaper), March 24, 1937; NPS Press Release, April 18, 1937; April 25, 1937, File 501, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

48 Webb was accompanied by James W. Metcalf, Acting Chief Inspector of the U.S. Immigration Service Border Patrol, Joe Lane, and Thomas Skaggs of McCamey, Texas. NPS Press Release, May 7, 1937, File 0-32, Part IV, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

49 *Ibid.*; Austin *Dispatch*, May 16, 1937.

50 Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, May 18, 1937; February 27, 1938; Oklahoma City *Times*, May 18, 1937; Austin *Statesman*, May 17, 1937; December 7, 1937; El Paso *Times*, May 17, 1937; Oklahoma City *Oklahoman*, May 19, 1937; Houston *Post*, February 20, 1938.

51 Austin *State Observer*, June 12, 1939; Harlingen *Valley Morning Star*, May 13, 1939; Galveston *News*, May 13, 1939; Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, May 14, 1939; O'Daniel to Roosevelt, October 17, 1940, File 0-32, Part VIII, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

52 Speech delivered by Secretary of the Interior Ickes at the Dedication of the Buchanan and Inks Dams, October 16, 1937, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, 12-29, National Parks, Big Bend, Texas, General, Part II, RG 48, NA.

53 El Paso *Herald-Post*, November 10, 1936; Tillotson, "The Big Bend National Park as an Asset to the State of Texas" (ms), March 27, 1941, File 0-32, Part VIII, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

54 The following are only a small sample of the Texas newspapers that emphasized economic arguments for Big Bend: *El Paso Herald-Post*, November 10, 1936; *Galveston Tribune*, December 12, 1936; *Houston Post*, May 28, 1937; *Houston Press*, October 21, 1937; *San Angelo Times*, February 23, 1938; *San Antonio Evening News*, November 16, 1938; *Del Rio Evening News*, December 12, 1938; *Abilene Reporter-News*, December 1, 1938; *Dallas Times-Herald*, December 1, 1938; *San Antonio Express*, September 12, 1938; *Dallas Morning News*, March 3, 1939; *Colorado City Record*, April 28, 1939; *Dallas Dispatch Journal*, May 18, 1939; *Graham Reporter*, June 24, 1939; *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, July 31, 1938; January 26, 1937; *San Antonio Express*, March 24, 1937; February 25, 1939.

55 *Austin Statesman*, April 7, 1939; *Houston Press*, April 17, 1939; *Wichita Falls Record News*, May 22, 1939; *Amarillo Daily News*, November 25, 1938; *El Paso Times*, October 17, 1937; *Dallas Morning News*, October 31, 1939; September 25, 1938; October 1, 1940; July 6, 1944; July 7, 1944; July 9, 1944; July 10, 1944; October 30, 1938; April 24, 1938; *Houston Chronicle*, November 28, 1937; *Galveston Tribune*, September 11, 1937; *Austin American*, May 1, 1936; *Alpine Avalanche*, May 14, 1936; January 1, 1937; *Yoakum Herald*, November 10, 1938; *Marshall News-Messenger*, March 14, 1939.

56 Quoted in the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, August 24, 1937.

57 "Park for 'Texico': Big Bend International Reservation for Texas and Mexico," *Literary Digest* (March 21, 1936), 3; *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, February 27, 1938; Frederick Simpich, "Down the Rio Grande: Taming This Strange, Turbulent Stream on Its Long Course from Colorado to the Gulf of Mexico," *National Geographic*, LXXVI (October, 1939), 430, 439.

58 *Pecos Enterprise*, April 8, 1938; Morelock to Drury, January 6, 1942, File 0-32, Part IX, BBNP, RG 79, NA; *Marlin Democrat*, May 23, 1939; *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, March 7, 1939; May 21, 1939. Other organizations which helped publicize Big Bend and worked for its establishment were the Daughters of the American Revolution, Texas Federation of Garden Clubs, Texas Junior Chamber of Commerce, Texas Congress of Parents and Teachers, Zonta Club, Texas Real Estate Association, Cooperative Club, Texas Hotel Association, Texas Press Association, U.S. Highway 67 Association, Texas Club in New York City, International Parks Highway Association, as well as various other businesses, schools, and chambers of commerce.

59 There were numerous small claims in Big Bend but the only major mining activities were quicksilver operations at Terlingua and Study Butte and these were beyond the proposed park boundaries. "Report of the Big Bend Area, Texas," January, 1935; "Report on the Proposed Big Bend National Park," March 3, 1934, File 207, BBNP, RG 79, NA. The population in Brewster County in the mid-1930s was 6,800, or about one person per square mile.

60 "Report of the Big Bend Area, Texas," January, 1935, File 207, BBNP, RG 79, NA; NPS Press Release, March 3, 1935, File 0-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Bernard F. Manbey, "Proposed Big Bend National Park Report on Suggested Park Boundary, Engineering Requirements and General Notes," August 19, 1935, File 0-32, Part IX, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Cahalane memorandum to Regional Directors, Regions I, II, and IV, December 8, 1944, File 204, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

61 E. A. Pesonen, "Report on the Big Bend Proposed National Park," August 21, 1935, File 0-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA. Pesonen was an assistant supervisor in the NPS. He had other criticisms in addition to the above. Pesonen cited a geologist who called the area "interesting but not unique" and a historian who said the Big Bend was "only of local significance historically."

62 Wright memorandum to Wirth, September 5, 1935, File 0-32, Part II, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

63 Donald C. Swain, "The National Park Service and the New Deal, 1933-1940," *Pacific Historical Review*, XLI (August, 1972), 317, 327.

64 NPS Press Release, December 11, 1937, File 0-32, Part V, BBNP, RG 79, NA; San Antonio *Express*, September 12, 1938; Ward P. Webber memorandum to Thomas Vint, May 2, 1947, File 857, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Dedication Speech for Big Bend National Park by Douglas McKay, November 21, 1955, BBNP Lib. None of these estimates was at all accurate; for instance, in 1966 only 166,548 people came to the park. During the 1970s and 1980s the figure given for twenty years earlier should be realized. Official Annual Visitation Figures, 1944-1972 (through June 30), July 27, 1972, BBNP Lib. The "energy crisis" in late 1973 almost halved the number of visitors the following year—January through November 1973, 329,607; January through November 1974, 177,703. Visitation is now back to normal and has, on occasion, surpassed "pre-crisis" averages.

65 Shankland, 303.

66 Max Bentley, "Big Bend Park: Regional Executive Gets His First Look, Visions it as 'Utterly Different' Among National Parks," *West Texas Today* (October, 1940), 7.

67 E. R. Beck of Fort Worth first suggested the "Jersey Lilly" idea. Tillotson commented that it "may be well worth investigating." Tillotson to W. W. Thompson, December 22, 1942, File 620, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

68 J. D. Coffman, "Report on the Forest and Vegetative Aspect," August 9, 1935, File 0-32, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Maier to State Park ECW, attention of Wirth, October 30, 1935; Wirth to Will C. Burnes, September 21, 1935; Wright memorandum to Demaray, October 17, 1935; File 0-32, Part II, BBNP, RG 79, NA; W. B. McDougall, "Preliminary Report on a Plant Ecological Survey of the Big Bend Area," November 30, 1935, File 207, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Walter Prescott Webb to W. R. Hogan, September 5, 1937, Walter Prescott Webb Papers, General Correspondence, 1937, Box 2M260, Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas at Austin.

69 "Report on the Field Investigation Together with Recommendations for the Establishment of a Boundary Line for the Big Bend National Park Project," September 9, 1935, File 0-32, Part II, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, August 8, 1938; Maxwell and Borell, "Special Report: Longhorn Cattle Range Studies, Big Bend Area, Texas," June 10, 1937, File 0-32, Part IV, BBNP, RG 79, NA; "The Big Bend National Park Project, Texas," 1939, File 501, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

70 Pat McCarran to Ickes, April 25, 1944, File 601, Part II, BBNP, RG 79, NA. McCarran was United States Senator from Nevada and a member of the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

71 Big Bend remained overgrazed throughout the time the longhorn proposal was discussed. A Park Service study found that fifty to one hundred acres would be required to sustain each longhorn and this was only after substantial recovery of the depleted range. McDougall, "Texas Longhorn Cattle: A Brief Report from the Point of View of Animal Husbandry," May 8, 1936, File 207, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Wirth to R. E. Thomason, March 10, 1944, File 900-01, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Walter P. Taylor, McDougall, and William B. Davis, "Preliminary Report of an Ecological Survey of Big Bend National Park, March-June, 1944," File 204, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

72 Additional evidence of the low priority the Park Service held can be seen by its removal in 1943 from Washington, D.C. to Chicago to make room for agencies directly concerned with the war effort. Drury memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, June 8, 1942; Tolson memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, May 30, 1944, File 601-01, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Taylor, McDougall, and Davis, "Preliminary Report of an Ecological Survey of Big Bend National Park, March-June, 1944," File 204, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Dobie, *The Longhorns* (New York, 1941).

73 Tillotson memorandum to Director, NPS, September 28, 1944, File 601-01, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

74 "Report of the Big Bend Area, Texas," January, 1935, File 207, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Manbey, "Proposed Big Bend National Park Report on Suggested Park Boundary, Engineering Requirement and General Notes," August 19, 1935, File 0-32, Part IX, BBNP, RG 79, NA; "The Big Bend National Park Project, Texas," 1939, File 501, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Tolson memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, May 30, 1944, File 601-01, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Tillotson, "Suggested Outline of Concessionaire Operations in Big Bend National Park," March 29, 1944, File 900-03, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

75 Concern about a central location in a future international park originally caused park planners to consider the river site for headquarters and the main tourist development. Oliver G. Taylor, "Comment on Big Bend National Park Master Plan," August 26, 1944, File 601-01, BBNP, RG 79, NA. The general manager of the organization that had the concessions operation at Big Bend said he was "particularly interested in the thought that the Mexican and southwestern atmosphere be maintained in this area," W. W. Thompson to Director, NPS, June 27, 1944, File 900-05, BBNP, RG 79, NA. Yet the concession restaurant failed in this regard for neither Texas nor Mexican specialties were served. Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, January 12, 1948, File 900-05, BBNP, RG 79, NA; "National Parks Concessions, Inc. Schedule of Rates for 1949 Season," File 900-06, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

76 Opinions as to the location of the main park development vacillated between the Chisos Basin and the Rio Grande. Generally, the national office favored the latter while the regional office and the superintendent supported the former.

77 "Big Bend National Park: Its Past—Its Future," September 20, 1948, File 501-04, BBNP, RG 79, NA. The following provide information on work done by the CCC: Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, July 25, 1937; December 12, 1937; NPS Press Release, December 11, 1937, File 0-32, Part V, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Wirth memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, February 23, 1940, File 0-32, Part VIII, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, June 20, 1949, Records of Newton B. Drury, Director's Personal File, Big Bend National Park, 1940 to March 1951, RG 79, NA. Hereinafter cited as Drury File, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

78 Tillotson memorandum to Director, NPS, July 11, 1945, File 900-05, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Wirth memorandum to Director, NPS, May 22, 1945; Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, May 7, 1945, File 600-03, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Tillotson memorandum to Director, NPS, November 11, 1944, File 718, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

79 Manley W. Allen to C. L. Andrews, April 26, 1948; Tolson memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, June 9, 1944, File 900-02, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Demaray to Thomason, January 30, 1946, File 900-05, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Chris E. Taylor memorandum to Director, NPS, May 12, 1949, File 900-06, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Demaray memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, September 12, 1949, Drury File, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

80 Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, June 20, 1949; Tillotson memorandum to Director, NPS, July 11, 1949; Demaray to H. S. Sanborn, August 4, 1949; Demaray memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, August 4, 1949; Sanborn to Demaray, September 5, 1949, Drury File, BBNP, RG, NA.

81 Tillotson memorandum to Director, NPS, April 28, 1942, File 600-03, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Maxwell, "History of Big Bend National Park" (ms), 1952, BBNP Lib.; Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, November 6, 1947, File 900-05, BBNP, RG 79, NA; "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, May, 1947," June 6, 1947, File 207-02.3, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Maxwell memorandum to Director, NPS, May 28, 1947, File 204, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

82 Official Annual Visitation Figures, 1944-1972 (through June 30), July 27, 1972, BBNP Lib.

83 Although Park Service experts debated the extent of the range recovery, none doubted that there had been noticeable improvement since the cessation of grazing in 1945. See File 718, BBNP, RG 79, NA. With the establishment of the park and the subsequent curtailment of hunting and trapping, Big Bend's deer, panther, coyote, javelina, beaver, quail, and dove populations increased. Maxwell memorandum to Director, NPS, October 5, 1945, File 720-04, BBNP, RG 79, NA. An examination of the "Annual Animal Census Reports," "Biennial Animal Census Reports," and "Wildlife Inventories" in the BBNP Library also reveals a relative stability of wildlife populations.

84 Wirth, "The Mission Called 66," *National Geographic*, CXXX (July, 1966), 11.

85 *Ibid.*, 11, 15-16. A good "insider's" view of the Park Service is William C. Everhart, *The National Park Service* (New York, 1972).

86 Presley Bryant, State Editor for the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, quoted in Madison, 249.

87 The following definition of wilderness is from the 1964 congressional act creating a national wildlife preservation system: "an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain . . . an area of undeveloped Federal land retaining its primeval character and influence, without permanent improvements or human habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural conditions . . ." U.S., *Statutes at Large*, LXXVIII, 891; *Wilderness Study: Big Bend National Park* (Washington, D.C., 1971), 20. The final environmental statement provides for the wilderness classification of an additional 25,700 acres, or roughly seventy-nine percent of the total park acreage. *Big Bend National Park: Final Environmental Statement: Proposed Wilderness Classification* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 1. Background on the Wilderness Act can be found in Michael McCloskey, "The Wilderness Act of 1964: Its Background and Meaning," *Oregon Law Review*, XLV (1966), 288-321.

88 *Big Bend National Park Master Plan: Preliminary Draft* (Washington, D.C., 1971).

89 Later, other state agencies, some of which had not been contacted in 1972, voiced support for the wilderness proposal. These included the Historical Commission, Department of Agriculture, Industrial Commission, Water Quality Board, Air Control Board, Water Rights Commission, and the Highway Department's engineering division. The Texas Tourist Development Agency continues to oppose the proposal. *Big Bend National Park: Final Environmental Statement*, 131-132, 153-170; *Odessa American*, January 16, 1972.

90 *Ibid.*; *Wilderness Study: BBNP*, 18; *Wilderness Recommendation: Big Bend National Park, Texas* (Washington, D.C., 1973), Appendix, Hearing Officer's Report.

91 *Odessa American*, January 16, 1972.

92 *Big Bend National Park Master Plan* (Washington, D.C., 1973), 20-21; *BBNP Master Plan: Preliminary Draft*, 21-23.

93 *Odessa American*, January 16, 1972; *Wilderness Recommendation: BBNP*, Appendix, Hearing Officer's Report. Area chambers of commerce, cities, the West Texas Council of Governments, and other local organizations are steadfast in their opposition to the wilderness proposal and "that the development of the area should *not* be absolutely and irrevocably frozen by an act of congress." See Dorothy L. McBride, Mayor of Alpine, to Bill Rabenstein, Chief Park Naturalist, BBNP, March 4, 1974 and Newell to Robinstein (*sic*), March 1, 1974 in *BBNP: Final Environmental Statement*, 172-177.

94 After 1966 acceleration of the Southeast Asian conflict put a stop to the ample federal funds the Park Service had received during Mission 66. In fact, funds for visitor-use improvements have declined \$30,000,000 annually. In fiscal 1972 the Service needed \$1,800,000,000 for improvements, yet only received \$40,000,000. This is certainly another factor that will affect the national park system, but it is too soon to tell if the same disastrous consequences will occur that befell the parks after World War II. Everhart, 239.

95 A. F. Robinson to Secretary of the Interior, Wirth, and Maier, June 6, 1936, File 0-32, Part III, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

96 William O. Douglas, *Farewell to Texas: A Vanishing Wilderness* (New York, 1967), 52-53.

97 George F. Baggley memorandum to Wirth, March 9, 1936, File 0-32, Part III, BBNP, RG 79, NA; NPS Press Release, January 15, 1937, File 0-32, Part IV, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Maier memorandum to Director, NPS, November 12, 1937, File 0-32, Part IX, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

98 Demaray memorandum to Acting Regional Director, Region III, September 7, 1938, File 0-32, Part VII, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Tolson to Clark Wissler, October 3, 1940, File 0-32, Part VIII, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

99 It should be pointed out that executives of the museum promised to comply with Park Service wishes. However, a few of their overzealous scientists for unknown reasons disregarded NPS requests. Roy Chapman Andrews to Tolson, October 11, 1940; Demaray to Barnum Brown, July 31, 1940; Demaray to Brown, September 5, 1940; Kirk H. Scott to Brown, October 9, 1940; Scott memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, October 10, 1940, File 0-32, Part VIII, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, October 1, 1938; Maxwell memorandum to W. F. Ayres, August 6, 1938, File 0-32, Part VII, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

100 Story memorandum to Horton, October 19, 1943, File 201-10, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Dallas *Morning News* (clipping with no date), File 201-06, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

101 In addition to numerous articles, Maxwell has published two excellent books on Big Bend. See Maxwell, John T. Lonsdale, Roy T. Hazzard, and John A. Wilson, *Geology of Big Bend National Park, Brewster County, Texas* (Austin, 1967); Maxwell, *The Big Bend of the Rio Grande: A Guide to the Rocks, Geologic History, and Settlers of the Area of Big Bend National Park* (Austin, 1968).

102 Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, January 23, 1948, File 719, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

103 Quinn to M. M. Harris, September 22, 1943; Tillotson memorandum to Director, NPS, September 23, 1943, File 201-06, BBNP, RG 79, NA. After leaving the NPS Maxwell taught at the University of Texas at Austin until retirement.

104 As noted previously, the publicity campaign for the park constantly referred to Big Bend as America's "last frontier." A recent *National Geographic* article also echoed this theme as do the brochure issued by National park Concessions, Inc. and an advertising flyer for a real estate promotion. The latter encourages prospective buyers to purchase land soon before there is none left in "The Last of a Last Frontier." Nathaniel T. Kenney, "Big Bend: Jewel in the Texas Desert," *National Geographic*, CXXXIII (January, 1968), 104-133. Ron C. Tyler, *The Big Bend: A History of the Last Texas Frontier* (Washington, D. C., 1975) places it in its proper perspective, the Lone Star State's "last frontier."

105 Maxwell to the author, August 6, 1973.

106 Interview with Robert Wear, September 21, 1972; Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, June 17, 1946, File 843-03, BBNP, RG 79, NA; "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, August, 1947," September 4, 1947; "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, September, 1947," October 1, 1947; "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April, 1948," May 6, 1948, File 207-02.3, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

107 Everhart, 159.

108 Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, April 19, 1949, File 843-03, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

109 Interview with Robert Wear, September 21, 1972; Wear, "Where the Pavement Ends," *Texas Star*, (May 21, 1972), 9.

110 Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, September 27, 1944; Tolson memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, October 14, 1944, File 201-10, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

111 Maxwell to the author, August 6, 1973; Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, February 11, 1949; Tillotson memorandum to Superintendent, BBNP, February 15, 1949, File 900-05, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

112 Tolson to First Assistant Postmaster General, November 27, 1946; Maxwell to H. K. Coale, June 27, 1947, File 204, BBNP, RG 79, NA; "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, August, 1947," September 4, 1947, File 207-02.3, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

113 The park also has telegraph service. Maxwell memorandum to Director, July 21, 1944; Tillotson to Glenn Burgess, March 13, 1947; Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, March 6, 1948, File 660-04.3, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

114 The next year it was just over \$25,000. The budget for 1974 was \$1,055,400. "Annual Report for BBNP," July 1, 1946, File 207, BBNP, RG 79, NA; *Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 93rd Cong., 1st sess., Part II, Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1974* (Washington, D.C., 1973), 353.

115 Maxwell to Bernard DeVoto, November 22, 1948, File 504, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Maxwell memorandum to Director, NPS, May 28, 1947, File 204, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Maxwell's Advance Report, May 21, 1948, File 207, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

116 Interview with Robert Wear, September 21, 1972.

117 Virginia Madison and Hallie Stillwell, *How Come It's Called That? Place Names in the Big Bend Country* (2nd ed.; New York, 1968), 49-50.

118 Other possibilities include Mesa of the Angels or Eagles since *anguila* could be the English corruption of the Spanish for angel (*angel*) or eagle (*aguila*). Both are more appropriate than Mesa of the Eels. Maxwell, *The Big Bend of the Rio Grande*, 3-4.

119 The Board's decisions occasionally angered the local residents. For instance, Santa Helena became Santa Elena and Dead Horse Canyon was changed to Boquillas. Native Big Benders objected because several of the decisions such as the Dead Horse Canyon example erased names very much a part of the folklore and legends of the region. Maxwell memorandum to Superintendent Edmund Rogers, Yellowstone NP, May 20, 1946, File 731-01, BBNP, RG 79, NA; *Decisions of the United States Board of Geographical Names: Decisions Rendered Between July 1, 1938 and June 30, 1939* (Washington, D.C., 1939).

120 Maxwell to DeVoto, November 22, 1948, File 504, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Tolson memorandum to Director, NPS, and Regional Offices, July 15, 1944, File 601, Part II, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Harold Radcliff memorandum to Regional Forester, Region III, November 24, 1948, File 715, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

121 Everhart, 34-37.

122 More detailed information on the park facilities can be obtained from a general information bulletin from the Superintendent, BBNP.

123 Hill, 371; O. L. Shipman, *Taming of the Big Bend* (Marfa, Texas, 1926), 148; Madison and Stillwell, 42; Interview with Ron C. Tyler, October 10, 1973.

124 Sholly memorandum to Superintendent, BBNP, December 8, 1948, File 208-48, BBNP, RG 79, NA; "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, December, 1948," January 7, 1949; "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, January, 1949," February 7, 1949, File 207-02.3, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

125 "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, February, 1948," March 8, 1948; "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, April, 1947," May 9, 1947, File 207-02.3, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, February 28, 1947; August 3, 1948, File 208-48, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

126 Jose Pontones to Superintendent, BBNP, April 21, 1949; Maxwell to Pontones, April 27, 1949, File 208-06, BBNP, RG 79, NA; "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, February, 1949," March 9, 1949, File 207-02.3, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

127 Hope, 46.

128 Loyd Wade to Frank Quinn, May 24, 1944, File 883-01, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA; P. P. Patraw telegram to Director, NPS, April 21, 1948, File 883-03.1, BBNP, RG 79, NA; "Statement of Elmer Davenport, Project Superintendent, Museum Fire of December 26, 1941," December 29, 1941, File 883-05, Part I, BBNP, RG 79, NA. Reading through the Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports from 1944 through 1949 indicates the difficulty of preventing and controlling fires and the progress made.

129 Ise, 472; Maier to Wirth, October 21, 1935, File 0-32, Part II, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Maier to Director, NPS, November 13, 1936, File 0-32, Part III, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

130 "Report of the Big Bend Area, Texas," January, 1935, File 204, BBNP, RG 79, NA; *Dallas Times-Herald*, September 13, 1936; Cas Edwards, "Needed: A Good Dam," *Texas Game and Fish*, (May, 1945), 4-5; Edwards to Drury, June 22, 1945, File 501,-02, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

131 For instance, under the New Deal the Park Service administered Lake Texoma on the Texas-Oklahoma border. Today, the NPS controls the United States side of the Amistad Reservoir on the Rio Grande.

132 The enabling legislation stipulated that the Federal Power Act did not apply to Big Bend. The treaty abrogated this provision. Treaty Series 994 "Utilization of Waters of the Colorado and Tijuana Rivers and of the Rio Grande: Treaty Between the United States of America and Mexico," signed at Washington, D.C. February 3, 1944; ratified by Mexico October 16, 1945; effective November 8, 1945 (transcript of the treaty in File 660-05.4, BBNP, RG 79, NA).

133 "Memorandum of Understanding as to Functions and Jurisdiction of Agencies of the United States in Relation to the Colorado and Tijuana Rivers and the Rio Grande below Fort Quitman, Texas under Water Treaty signed at Washington, February 3, 1944;" Jackson Price memorandum to Wirth, November 24, 1948; Tillotson memorandum to Superintendent, BBNP, December 21, 1948, File 660-05.4, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

134 Tillotson memorandum to Director, NPS, May 25, 1944; L. M. Lawon to Tillotson, September 14, 1948; Tillotson memorandum to Director, NPS, February 17, 1949, File 660-05.4, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

135 G. A. Morriss to Maxwell, August 18, 1946, File 900-01, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

136 Maxwell, "History of Big Bend National park" (ms), 1952, BBNP Lib; Wirth to Regional Officer, Region III, June 2, 1937, File 0-32, Part IV, BBNP, RG 79, NA. The coyote has proven to be the most immune to predator control efforts. Attempts to destroy this species seem to cause it to thrive. Recently the coyote has appeared in Maine. See John N. Cole, "The Return of the Coyote." *Harper's Magazine*, CCXLVI (May, 1973), 48-51.

137 Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, April 16, 1948, File 719, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

138 *Ibid.*; J. O. Langford with Fred Gipson, *Big Bend: A Homesteader's Story* (Austin, 1955), 153.

139 Madison, 151.

140 "Annual Animal Census Report for Big Bend National Park, 1950," BBNP Lib; El Paso *Herald-Post*, December 3, 1947; San Angelo *Standard-Times*, December 7, 1947; December 14, 1947; Townsend to Maxwell, December 17, 1947, File 719, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

141 San Angelo *Standard-Times*, December 14, 1947; "The Big Bend Park Incubator," *Sheep and Goat Raisers Magazine* (February, 1948—typed copy of editorial in File 719, BBNP, RG 79, NA).

142 Simpich, 430; San Angelo *Standard-Times*, December 14, 1947; January 28, 1948.

143 San Angelo *Standard-Times*, January 28, 1948; NPS Press Release, May 8, 1937, File 0-32, Part IV, BBNP, RG 79, NA. One Park Service official wrote the following about the press release: "This is about the worst eagle story I have yet seen and I've heard of them eating babies by the dozen!" [BHT] Ben H. Thompson to [Connie] Conrad Wirth (no date), File 0-32, Part IV, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

144 San Angelo *Standard-Times*, December 14, 1947; January 28, 1948.

145 Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, February 1, 1948, File 719, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

146 "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, November, 1947," December 5, 1947; "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, January, 1948," February 4, 1948, File 207-02.3, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, December 23, 1947, File 719, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

147 Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, January 23, 1948; April 16, 1948, File 719, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

148 Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, January 23, 1948, File 719, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

149 Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, April 16, 1948, File 719, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

150 Maxwell to the author, August 6, 1973; Ernest Williams to Demaray, June 28, 1948, File 719, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

151 Tolson to Williams, July 15, 1948, File 719, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

152 Director, NPS memorandum to Director, Fish and Wildlife Service, January 25, 1949, File 719, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

153 Maxwell memorandum to Regional Director, Region III, February 10, 1949, File 204, BBNP, RG 79, NA; Director, Fish and Wildlife Service to Director, NPS, March 16, 1949, File 719, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

154 "Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Report, March, 1949," April 6, 1949, File 207-02.3, BBNP, RG 79, NA; San Angelo *Standard-Times*, March 13, 1949; Maxwell, "History of Big Bend National Park" (ms), 1952, BBNP Lib.

155 "Annual Animal Census Report for Big Bend National Park, 1951;" "Biennial Animal Census Report for Big Bend National Park, 1952-1953;" "Biennial Animal Census Report for Big Bend National Park, 1954-1955;" O. C. Wallmo, "Work Study Report on Mountain Lions in Big Bend National Park, December, 1952 to January, 1959," BBNP Lib.

156 Williams to Tom Connally, October 17, 1950, Drury File, BBNP, RG 79, NA.

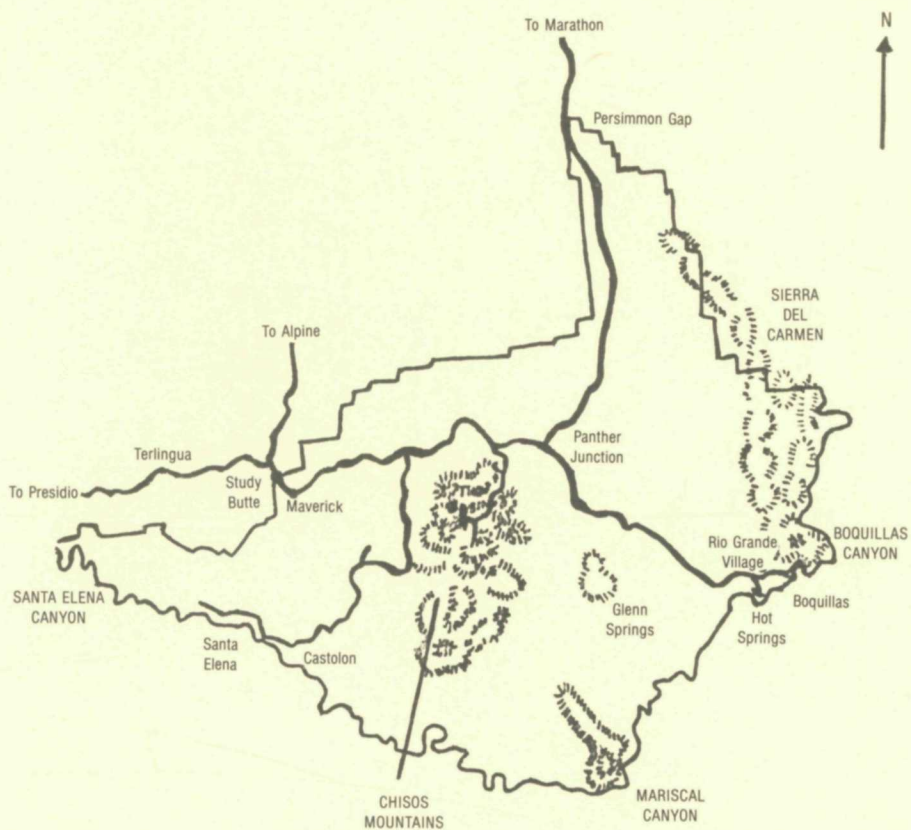
157 "Annual Animal Census Report for Big Bend National Park, 1951," BBNP Lib.

158 Douglas, 159, 163; "Wildlife Inventory: Estimated Populations of Certain Species in Areas of the National Park Service" (from 1963 to 1968 Field Reports), BBNP Lib.

159 Swain, 312-332 treats the historical development of the economic perspective in the National Park Service. Relevant chapters in Ise, *Our National Park Policy* and the concluding chapters of Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (rev. ed.; New Haven, 1973) show that economic rationalizations were not peculiar to the Big Bend park movement. Opposition to wilderness proposals that allegedly would restrict the development of visitor facilities in the park is documented in the environmental statement and wilderness recommendation cited in notes 87 and 90 above. A good summary of the opposition's position is in *An Alternative to the Master Plan and Wilderness Proposal for Big Bend National Park* (Temple, Texas, 1972).

160 An extreme example is Grand Canyon National Park in Arizona. Senator Benjamin Harrison first proposed the area for a park in 1886. It was not established until 1919.

161 Shankland, 306, 311; Everhart, 33-34; F. Fraser Darling and Noel D. Eichhorn, *Man and Nature in the National Parks* (2nd ed.; Washington, D.C., 1969), 26, 40.



MAP OF BIG BEND NATIONAL PARK

