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NEW MEXICO TOURISM: CONFLICT AND COOPERATION IN THE LAND OF
ENCHANTMENT

NEW MEXICO TOURISM: CONFLICT AND COOPERATION IN THE LAND OF
ENCHANTMENT

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
Of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in History

By

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New York University
Bachelor of Fine Arts in Film and Television, 2010

May 2013
University of Arkansas

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to analyze the impact that tourism and tourist sites have upon the surrounding communities in New Mexico. It will look specifically at Bandelier National Monument, El Santuario de Chimayo, and the International UFO Museum and Research Center in Roswell. These sites have all been the cause of tensions in their interactions with the local communities, over issues of culture, identity, or resource usage. But these tourist attractions have also brought economic stimulus to these areas, which has brought about a need for cooperation and compromise between the groups as they have negotiated how tourism should operate in the areas.

This thesis is approved for recommendation
to the Graduate Council.

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I. UNDERSTANDING TOURISM IN THE LAND OF ENCHANTMENT

For much of the twentieth century, tourism has played an important role in the economy of New Mexico, as it has in such other western states as California, Nevada, Colorado, and Texas. As travel to the West became easier through railroads, automobiles, and airplanes, tourists have flocked to these destinations. Reasons vary. Some come looking for the old frontier, while others the new West of Las Vegas or Los Angeles. Still others come for the desert, the mountains, the sunshine, the beach, or the snow. Dude ranches, ski resorts, and theme parks draw tourists in. All manner of attractions can be seen in the West.

This thesis will look at this important industry in one western state, New Mexico. New Mexico has long been called the “Land of Enchantment.” In her book of the same name, the journalist, poet and travel writer Lilian Whiting wrote that the “entire Southwest can only be accurately defined as the Land of Enchantment.”¹ The phrase unofficially became the state motto in 1935 when it was used for promotional purposes.² It was formally adopted in 2003. The state draws in its long history to entice visitors to see old Pueblo ruins, Spanish missions, and American frontier forts. Its two largest cities: Albuquerque and Santa Fe attract a lot of attention. The natural scenery of the desert, mesas, and mountains can fascinate visitors as well.

By devoting such energy and resources to tourism, the state of New Mexico has been able to capitalize on a stable industry. Industries come and go in New Mexico. Agriculture is reliant upon an erratic, often arid climate of the desert. Ranching and cattle drives were negatively

¹ Lilian Whiting, *The Land of Enchantment: From Pike's Peak to the Pacific*, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1906) p. 1.

² See Marta Weigle, *Alluring New Mexico: Engineered Enchantment, 1821-2001*, (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2010) pp. 91-100 for a more in depth study of the usage of the phrase.

impacted with the growth of the intercontinental railroads. The extractive industries such as mining and logging that take away natural resources are capricious in nature, lasting only as long as the resources do and subject to international economic conditions. Once the mines were depleted or the forest cut down, the companies packed up and shut their doors, leaving those towns that built up around that specific industry bereft of income. This process often caused the people to abandon it, creating a ghost town in the desert.³ The mid-twentieth century New Mexico economy was characterized by federal support. Military bases cropped up in Albuquerque, Carlsbad, Clovis, Alamogordo, Fort Sumner, and Roswell during the 1940s. Military research facilities like Los Alamos National Laboratory were secretly installed, in the case of Los Alamos to work on the Manhattan Project. Alamogordo became important as the Trinity Site where the first atomic weapon was detonated.⁴ But these places were all dependent on the federal government, leaving the state of New Mexico without any input when the government decided to shut down military bases as it did with Roswell's Walker Air Force Base in 1967. Tourism, on the other hand, is an industry that state and local governments can have a say in. Furthermore, its basic resource, the interest of outsiders, remains relatively stable and predictable.

Although tourism is an important industry for New Mexico, the state currently competes against the other southwestern states to draw in tourists. Between 2010 and 2011, New Mexico spent \$2,849,000 in tourism promotional advertisement, compared to \$18,402,000 by Texas and \$8,666,000 by Colorado. Utah spent an additional two million dollars over New Mexico, while

³ See Paul M. Jones, "Minescapes: Memories of Santa Rita," in *Telling New Mexico: A New History*, eds. Marta Weigle, Frances Levine, and Lousie Stiver, (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2009) pp. 41-44 for a description of Santa Rita, a copper mining town.

⁴ Ferenc M. Szasz, "New Mexico During the Second World War," in *Telling New Mexico: A New History*, eds. Marta Weigle, Frances Levine, and Lousie Stiver, (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2009) pp. 293-307.

Arizona was the closest with \$3,470,000. Comparatively speaking, New Mexico also feels that it has an image problem. Less is known about the state, its history, and its culture. This lack of knowledge makes New Mexico's tourism destinations not as well known as those of the other southwestern states. Not only do fewer visitors come to New Mexico, but there is also less of a chance that those visitors will make a repeat trip to the state. New Mexico consequently has adopted the goal of becoming the state with the "fastest growing leisure travel destination in the U.S."⁵ The Department of Tourism plans to improve New Mexico's image, spread information about the state's attractions to outsiders, and increase visitors coming by air travel. They believe that these effects will help increase tourist spending, tax revenue, and employment related to tourism.⁶ New Mexico also has one the earliest and longest running state magazines devoted to spreading the word of tourism called the *New Mexico Magazine*, which first began printing in 1923 as the official newsletter of New Mexico Highway Department.

Historians began to give Western tourism a closer look in the 1990s. Some cover the broader region, while others have broken it down to specific states or cities. The three primary studies that pertain to New Mexico, Leah Dilworth's *Imagining Indians in the Southwest*, Chris Wilson's *The Myth of Santa Fe*, and Hal Rothman's *Devil's Bargain*, all devote substantial attention to matters related to tourism in the Land of Enchantment. All three of these studies specifically speak of creating an idea of the Southwest to conform to an outsider's expectation of what it should be like and how it should behave if a tourist were to visit. *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* seeks to show how "Indians of the Southwest were mythologized within the contexts of ethnography, tourism, reformist strategies...[to present] images of Indians as ruins, ritualists, and artisans," which otherwise shows that they

⁵ James Orr, "The State of Tourism," p. 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

“were represented as people doomed to vanish or as living relics of the past.”⁷ Dilworth finds it important to note that these representations say more about the creators of these images like ethnographers or tourism officials, than of the actual subject matter. These creators used this idealized image either to sell a marketed idea about Native Americans or to bypass a messy history that was not really peaceful or idyllic. Likewise *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* looks at the way Spanish Pueblo architecture, Native American and Hispanic arts, romantic literature, and types of public ceremony that became codified in the 1910s have made Santa Fe “an extreme...example of the invention of tradition and the on-going interaction of ethnic identity with tourist image making” that has been used to draw in more visitors.⁸ Much of what is believed to be traditional about Santa Fe, Wilson points out, is actually an invention by the Museum of New Mexico and local businesses that were interested in promoting tourism in the area. By creating a unified notion of tradition, culture, and symbolism of Santa Fe, these boosters could market the city on that appearance, despite the half-truths of reinvention. The *Devil’s Bargains: Tourism in the 20th Century American West* states that “the embrace of tourism triggers a contest for the soul of a place,” which enacts, although unintentionally, irrevocable changes in culture and identity of that place.⁹ Furthermore, the bargain with the devil rarely produces the economic boom that communities believe it will, making it more harmful than helpful. Instead, successful tourism draws in the influence of outside capital and corporations who take over and implement changes that often bring in chain restaurants and hotels. These new businesses draw wealth away from locals and create a mass-

⁷ Leah Dilworth, *Imaging Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996) p. 3.

⁸ Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997) p. 7.

⁹ Hal K. Rothman, *Devil’s Bargain: Tourism in the 20th Century American West*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998) p. 11.

marketed area that looks like any other corporate chain commercial area that has cropped up across the country. Because of this effect, Rothman believes that “tourism is the most colonial of colonial economies.”¹⁰

From an anthropological view, Davydd J. Greenwood’s “Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization” offers a view that considers the ethnographic view of tourism. Greenwood, studying a daylong festival called the *Alarde* in the Basque region, has found that the Spanish government has turned a local celebration with meaning only to the inside community into a spectacle for outsiders. The result is a loss of meaning in the ritual for the local community, as well as a lack of desire to even participate in the event. Greenwood gives an anecdote to show how “culture brokers [or tourist promoters] have appropriated facets of a lifestyle into the tourism package to help sales in the competitive market.”¹¹ Like Rothman, Greenwood also points out the unequal distribution of wealth that results from tourism. He also states that “the commoditization of culture does not require the consent of the participants; it can be done by anyone” including those with no connections to the community or culture being exploited.¹²

Several works have focused on the Fred Harvey Company, which became the premier travel provider to the West, offering pre-arranged travel arrangements, hotel accommodations, restaurants, and curio shop stops for tourists to experience the destinations of the American Southwest at the turn of the twentieth century. The company was especially active in New Mexico. Notable works are *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company*, *Inventing the*

¹⁰ Rothman, *Devil’s Bargain*, p. 11.

¹¹ Davydd J. Greenwood, “Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization,” in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, eds., Valene Smith, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), p. 136.

¹² Greenwood, “Culture by the Pound,” p. 137. s

Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art, All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s, Alluring New Mexico: Engineered Enchantment 1821-2001, and “Railroads, Tourism, and Native Americans in the Greater Southwest.” While these studies have covered many aspects from art, architecture, ethnicity, and imagined ideas of place through advertisement, they have only looked at the history of tourism in New Mexico up to the 1940s. New Mexican historian Marta Weigle has reached past that stopping point to look at tourism in the second half of the twentieth century in “Canyon Caverns, and Coordinates: From Nature Tourism to Nuclear Tourism in the Southwest” and *Alluring New Mexico*. These works have also looked beyond the metropolitan areas of Santa Fe and Albuquerque. In Weigle’s article “Canyon, Caverns, and Coordinates,” she looks at the Grand Canyon (although not in New Mexico, it is a major tourist destination that has also received a lot of attention from scholars), Carlsbad Cavern in southeastern New Mexico, and Waste Isolation Pilot Plants from the U.S. Department of Energy that have become sites of tourism devoted to nuclear centers and history. *Alluring New Mexico* covers a wider array of attractions aside from the Fred Harvey Company and Indian Detours, the guided car tours to see the Pueblos, like Route 66, the Mother Road that stretched from Chicago to Los Angeles, and New Mexico’s contributions to space and atomic research. While these works finally broach more subjects, they continue to focus on the idea of engineering sites to attract visitors.

Marguerite Shaffer has taken the idea of engineered attractions further in her article “‘The West Plays West’: Western Tourism and the Landscape of Leisure.” She analyzes the intersection between the public’s imaginings of the West and the mythologies of the West in general within the consumer culture that sustains tourism. The result of this process has turned the mythologized versions of the West into the reality through tourism with “National Parks,

mountain resorts, dude ranches, preserved Indian ruins, historic frontier towns, casinos, theme parks, and an array of roadside kitsch [that] reveal a landscape of leisure steeped in the mythology of the frontier.”¹³ In other words, because popular culture, through sources like dime novels, films and art, has imagined that the West acts and looks a certain way, Westerners in the tourism industry have decided that these expectations must be met. So promoters of tourism have had to make the attractions conform to these expectations, thereby making the myth a reality. Furthermore, “consumer products – both goods and experiences – generate desire because they are linked with self-fulfilling fantasy and daydreams based on popular stories, films, and photographs,” which leads to an increase in consumer consumption that drives a tourist economy.¹⁴ Shaffer ends her article by listing additional avenues of research for tourism studies. She believes that “we need to come to terms with the ideological implications of consumer desire defined in terms of western frontier mythology. We also need to address the social, political, economic, and environmental relations that underlie the tourist’s West.”¹⁵

Of the major works on Western tourism only *Devil’s Bargains* takes some consideration into the third of those factors, the economic impact of tourism. Hal Rothman does so under the premise that tourism is inherently evil and negatively impacts the location. It is true that there are trade offs when a community accepts tourism within its economy, but for better or worse, tourism is here to stay as a major part of the Western economy. A greater understanding of its role is needed. Tourism needs to be examined as a legitimate economic venture, especially in a state like New Mexico, which is actively trying to encourage and grow its tourism industry.

¹³ Marguerite Shaffer, “‘The West Plays West’: Western Tourism and the Landscape of Leisure,” *A Companion to the American West*, p. 377.

¹⁴ Shaffer, “The West Plays West,” p. 378.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

Taking into consideration Shaffer's urgings, and paying special attention to Rothman's call to consider local economic factors, this thesis will look at the effect that tourism has on local communities by looking at several implications of tourism being embraced as the primary industry of Bandelier National Monument, Chimayó, and Roswell. These three locations illustrate how tourism can be a viable economic option when alternatives are limited. While tourism has caused some economic stresses in these three settings, its overall economic effect has been more complex and subtle than what Rothman described. The social and cultural consequences, too, have been mixed and continue to evolve. This thesis will explore some of the interactions among tourist attractions, their neighboring communities, and other businesses in and around Bandelier National Monument, Chimayó, and Roswell.

Bandelier National Monument, Chimayó, and Roswell have very different types of appeal—prehistoric ruins and nature, a Spanish shrine, and a connection to extraterrestrials—that interest different constituents. Each has created a different tourism niche: historical, religious, and science fiction tourism. In each, tourism is promoted by a different body, which is the dominant influence on building up these sites. In the case of Bandelier National Park this is the federal government through the National Park Service, for Chimayó it is the Roman Catholic Church through the Santuario de Chimayó, and in Roswell it is a local entrepreneurial business called the International UFO Museum and Research Center. All three places lack other obvious economic possibilities. All three also vary greatly in the way that the tourism industry operates. Bandelier National Monument, as part of the National Park System, is constricted in how it can promote itself as a tourism destination and what type of concessionaires can be there. Aside from the Church run Santuario, the tourism industry in Chimayó remains in the hands of local vendors, craftsmen, and business owners. Roswell, on the other hand, fits closest to what Rothman

described in *Devil's Bargains*. The small town is inundated with chain businesses. There are eighteen hotels and motels. At least half of its fifty restaurants are part of some nationally recognized chain. Wal-Mart, Sam's Club, Target, and K-Mart all have a presence in the area. But the crucial tourist destination is the locally owned International UFO Museum and Research Center that drives the industry. Each chapter will take a brief look at the tourist attractions available in each location before delving into a more detailed analysis of the history of tourism in the locale and the interaction, and often enough conflict, among various parts of the community and between the community and outsiders.

Bandelier National Monument, Chimayó, and Roswell have received previous scholarly attention, but none provides a wider picture of the role of tourism in those locations. Hal Rothman looked at Bandelier in two studies. The first is *Bandelier National Monument: An Administrative History*, which looks at the history of the monument through the administrative issues that have occurred with the founding and operating of Bandelier. His second work *On Rims and Ridges: The Los Alamos Area since 1880* expanded on that previous study by looking at the wider Pajarito Plateau. The studies are local in overview, but they barely address the issues of tourism to Bandelier National Monument.

Chimayó has been the focus of a number of studies, especially those centering on pilgrimage. *Pilgrimage to Chimayó: Contemporary Portrait of a Living Tradition* by Sam Howarth, Enrique LaMadrid, and Miguel Gandert documents the experiences of pilgrims through stories and photography as they walk to the Santuario. Similarly, Paula Elizabeth Holmes-Rodman describes her personal experiences walking from Albuquerque to Chimayó as part of a women's walk in "They Told What Happened on the Road." Don Usner and Elizabeth Kay, both with ties to Chimayó, have looked at the traditions and history of Chimayó in *Sabino's*

Map: Life in Chimayó's Old Plaza, Benigna's Chimayó: Cuentos from the Old Plaza, and Chimayó Valley Traditions. Laura Roxanne Seagraves' dissertation "A Bit About Dirt: Pilgrimage and Popular Religion at El Santuario de Chimayó" is an ethnological study of the shrine of the twentieth century. While all of these studies look at issues of pilgrimage in Chimayó, they do not expand that understanding to more generalized forms of tourism to the area.

For Roswell, most of the work has focused on the growth of the town in popular culture and not its tourism industry. Toby Smith's *Little Gray Men: Roswell and the Rise of a Popular Culture* gives both eyewitness details from the events of the 1997 UFO Festival while he describes how Roswell has fermented in the minds of popular culture. Shelly McGinnis takes a different approach with her dissertation "Dallas, Roswell, Area 51: A Social History of American 'Conspiracy Tourism.'" Whereas most of the works on Roswell look at how the image of Roswell has evolved, McGinnis looks at how those conspiracy theories have given rise to a different type of tourism, those based on seeing sites like Dealey Plaza where John F. Kennedy was assassinated, Area 51, or the Roswell crash site where the conspiracies all started. Although she does look at tourism industries in these locations, McGinnis does not delve into the impact of this conspiracy tourism on the community. One further article, Jeremy Rickett's "Land of (Re)Enchantment: Tourism and Sacred Space at Roswell and Chimayó, New Mexico" has looked at both Roswell and Chimayó with the belief that both locales are sites of pilgrimage for two very different types of believers. He at least considers the community's influences, when he says that it is a social construction by the community defines how others view the pilgrimage sites.

This thesis will look in greater depth at the role that tourism plays within a community. By looking into the interactions between tourism attractions with the local community and outside influences, I will attempt to create a better understanding of the effect tourism has as an industry. It is my intention to show a wider and more in-depth picture of the cultural, social, and economic ramifications of tourism on smaller communities that ultimately have few other options for their economy.

II. BANDELIER: RECREATION AND THE PREHISTORIC SOUTHWEST

Bandelier National Monument, established in 1916, offers visitors a chance to see the ruins and scenery that are unique to the Southwest, in particular northern New Mexico. Although these ruins are not as old as those that can be found around the ancient civilizations around the Mediterranean Sea and the Middle East, some date back nearly a millennium, long before Europeans arrived on the continent, and are some of the oldest preserved examples of life and culture in North America. The desert climate has allowed the survival of these ruins. Now present generations can explore what life was like for the Ancestral Pueblo People, the forefathers to many of the modern Pueblos, through the exhibits, reconstructions, and guides that Bandelier National Monument has to offer. Although, Bandelier is now firmly established among the Pajarito Plateau, that was not always the case. The founding of Bandelier and its growth as a tourist destination in New Mexico has not always been easy. Those federal entities, which favored the creation of a national monument, contended with local landowners for the right of land and resources. After its establishment, all of Bandelier's attempts to expand its boundaries, whether to encompass additional ruins or to further protect what was already inside its boundaries, met with conflicts between other federal agencies, businesses, and residents. Even as Bandelier became a prime recreational area, it had to deal with the tensions between the local communities and tourists coming from further away, as its resources and lands were spread thin to accommodate the additional visitors.

The visitor center is the main point of departure for Bandelier National Monument. The architecture of the visitor center and other buildings that serve as administrative, residential, and

maintenance offices is of the pueblo revival style, meant to mimic the ancient pueblos.¹⁶

Members of the National Park Services give information about hazards or portions of the Monument that may be closed due to weather. Inside the center, guests may purchase or borrow guidebooks. A Western National Parks Association bookstore is located in a separate room on the left hand side of the building, where more information about Bandelier and its former inhabitants can be purchased. T-shirts, posters, and small memorabilia are also available. To the right of the building is a small museum (currently as of summer 2012 the museum is undergoing a remodel) that presents exhibits on the history, flora, and fauna of the monument. In a separate building is a gift shop and snack bar. The snack bar offers pre-made sandwiches, candy, trail bars, water, and other beverages that can be consumed in the picnic areas or along the trails as long as all trash is picked up and thrown away in the proper receptacles. The gift shop has a large selection of New Mexican made goods from jewelry and pottery to jellies and salsa made with locally grown peppers. T-shirts, sweatshirts, and hats are available. Native American curios, pottery, and jewelry from the nearby Pueblos can also be purchased.¹⁷

Bandelier National Monument offers an array of trails, ruins, and scenic views to satisfy the most adventurous outdoorsmen to the novice day-tripper. The different trails vary in length and degree of difficulty. The most trodden path is the Main Loop Paved Trail. It departs from the backdoor of the visitor center and circles around, bringing visitors back where they started. The most commonly depicted sites that adorn brochures, websites, and guidebooks can be seen from this trail. At around a mile and a half long in length, the Main Loop allows people to experience just enough of a hike, ruins, and history to have a satisfactory visit without overdoing it.

¹⁶ Laura Soullière Harrison and Randall W. Copeland, *Historic Structures Report: CCC Buildings, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico* (Denver: National Park Service, 1988).

¹⁷ National Park Service, *Bandelier*, (General Printing Office, 2011).

Booklets available within the visitor center for only a dollar, or free if returned (it runs on the honor system), and numbered markers describe many of the excavated ruins, Ancestral Pueblo culture, and petroglyphs found along the way. The *big kiva* is a large pit once used as an underground structure for ceremonial and religious purposes. In the gully of Frijoles Canyon, a series of rock and mud constructed walls that are now only a few feet high in places connect to form a large circular village called *Tyuonyi*, which housed up to a hundred people with as many as four hundred rooms. On the cliffs to the east are the cave dwellings, or *cavetes*, rooms that were carved out of the soft volcanic tuff that makes up the cliff. Structures made of rocks, adobe, and wooden beams that were built up along the cliffs originally stood in front of these *cavetes*. The *talus houses* and *Long House* give a glimpse into the way the Ancestral Pueblo People lived, allowing visitors to climb up replica ladders and walk through reconstructed dwellings with smoke blackened ceilings. Petroglyphs, depictions carefully carved into the rock walls, can be found above the uppermost *cavetes*, where the roofs of the dwellings would have ended. The final marked point of interest is a painted design called a pictograph that has been uncovered and believed to have been part of a larger design that would have decorated the back of a room.¹⁸

The Main Loop descends out of the cliffs and crosses the Rito de los Frijoles, where the path forks. One side meanders back towards the visitor center through the trees, while the other extends the journey on to the *Alcove House*. This addition adds another mile to the trek along with a 140-foot vertical climb up a set of four ladders to reach the *Alcove House*. The path is unmarked, unpaved, and potentially quite muddy as it travels alongside and over at several points the Rito de los Frijoles, which is prone to flooding with afternoon storms. Portions of the forests have signs warning hikers to keep out as those areas that have been damaged by fire, are

¹⁸ Main Loop Trail Guide, Frijoles Canyon, Bandelier National Monument, Western National Parks Association.

potentially dangerous, or environmentally fragile. *Alcove House* sits high up in the cliff side and can only be reached by the ladders. Guide rails protect the outside of the small trails, preventing anyone from accidentally slipping down the side of a cliff. With the high climb and altitude of Bandelier, visitors with health issues especially of the heart or lungs are cautioned not to make the climb. At the top of the ascent is a large dome-like opening in the side of the cliff. Several cavities and holes that once contained wooden supports can be explored, but the real attraction is the *Ceremonial Cave* that lies in the center of this opening. Much like the *Big Kiva*, it is a large hole, but this one is still intact with its roof and can be entered through a ladder. The view from the entrance is impressive with the Frijoles Canyon, mountains, and trees extending off into the distance.¹⁹

Heading in the opposite direction from the visitor center leads tourists to the *Upper* and *Lower Frijoles Waterfalls* and on to the Rio Grande. This path doubles back from the points of interest, making it a three-mile trip to the *Upper falls*. The *Lower falls* journey adds an additional half-mile, and the Rio Grande trek runs a total of five miles. This is a longer and more difficult path than those of the Main Loop or Alcove House trails. It is also a trail undertaken for scenic enjoyment without ruins along the way. Visitors must be willing to make a four-hundred-foot descent and ascent. But for those willing to make the endeavor, they will find two different waterfalls and experience the Rio Grande up close on the very edge of the Bandelier National Monument boundary. The geology of the region is particularly notable along this path, as it goes from thick layers of volcanic ash called *tuff*, through volcanic rocks made from lava flows from the Jemez volcano, down to sedimentary layers in the Rio Grande Rift. Visually the orange colored tuff mixes between layers of black basalt going down the cliff sides. Further down into

¹⁹ National Park Service, *Bandelier*, (General Printing Office, 2011). Bandelier National Monument, Bandelier Vertical File, CSWR.

the lower canyon the walls changes to striped patterns caused by volcanic maars, the result of water that entered vents from volcanoes, the heat causing the steam to be pushed out with volcanic debris. On the eastern side of the Frijoles Canyon, the wall has a red tint from iron mixing with the volcanic tuff. The flora along the canyon differs from the sparse evergreens that are commonly found in the surrounding lands. Deciduous trees like cottonwoods, box elders, and Gambel oaks grow tall along the Frijoles Creek. Desert olive, chokecherry, Mormon tea, and sagebrush are the prevalent shrubs.²⁰ Guide booklets are available from the visitor center that explains many of these features.

Bandelier has two campgrounds for visitor use, Juniper and Ponderosa. Juniper Campground is located on the mesa overlooking Frijoles Canyon and the visitor center. Campers have access to tent spaces, tables, fire pits, trash receptacles, bathrooms, and water taps. This campground connects to the Main Loop trail through a two-mile stretch going up through the cliffs called *Frey trail*. There is also a trail that leads to the *Tyuonyi Overlook* and ends on the mesa above the Main Loop's *Long House* ruins. This overlook offers panoramic views of the Frijoles Canyon. The Ponderosa Campground, accessible from NM 501 or NM 4, is situated on the northern border of Bandelier. Ponderosa is designed for groups of more than ten people. Amenities are limited as water is only available when the temperature stays above freezing. The restrooms do not have running water. Picnic tables, fire grates, and small cooking shelters are the only other features. Paths from Ponderosa connect to the *Alcove House* trail.²¹

Seventy percent of Bandelier's backcountry is part of the National Wilderness Preservation System. It is accessible through seventy miles of trails leading to a number of ruins.

²⁰ Dorothy Hoard, *A Guide to Bandelier National Monument*, (Los Alamos Historical Society: Los Alamos, NM, 1983) pp. 15-21.

²¹ National Park Service, *Bandelier*, (General Printing Office, 2011).

The trails range in difficulty as they lead up, down, and through a number of canyons. This area of the monument has long been popular with backpackers. The *Stone Lions* are one of the most popular sites of these trails. Rocks were once carved into the shape of two life-size mountain lions crouched to the ground. A rock barrier surrounds these two lions. From long term erosion many details of the carvings have been lost. Another pair of stone lions is south of this effigy but outside Bandelier's borders. These carved mountain lions are unique to the Southwest.²² Another point of interest is the *Painted Cave*. The cave served as a canvas for generations of artists who filled and recovered the wall with pictographs and petroglyphs. The most visible are on the back wall where they have been protected from the elements. Some of the pictographs have been identified as a conquistador on a horse and a mission church, showing that this cave was still used by the time that the Spanish arrived in the region.²³ Several ruins of villages, including *Yapashi, San Miguel, and Frojillito*, can be found in the backcountry.²⁴ They consist mostly of overgrown mounds of rubble. Little archaeological work has been done on them. One other section, *Tsankawi*, is detached from Bandelier National Monument and is located eleven miles north on NM 4. A two-mile path leads visitors up a narrow path to the top of Tsankawi Mesa to the ruins where a rough ground plan can be discerned of a plaza with two kivas inside and several others outside. The path continues through a series of cliff dwellings and past petroglyphs.²⁵

²² See L. Bradford Prince, *The Stone Lions of Cochiti*, (Santa Fe: The New Mexican Printing Company, 1903) for a first hand experience of seeing the Stone Lions.

²³ Kittridge A Wing, *Bandelier National Monument*, National Park Service Historical Handbook Series No. 23. Washington D.C. 1955. Reprint 1961.

²⁴ Bandelier National Monument, Bandelier Vertical File, CSWR.

²⁵ Guide to The Tsankawi Trail, Ruth Armstrong Papers, CSWR. "The Mystery of Tsankawi," Ruth Armstrong Papers, CSWR.

Bandelier is situated on the Pajarito Plateau, which is located on the eastern side of the Jemez Mountains in north-central New Mexico. The plateau was created out of volcanic eruptions from the Jemez Crater over a million years ago.²⁶ The results were mesas and canyons formed from volcanic tuff, a soft rock that can easily be cut.²⁷ The first residents of the area were small bands of hunter-gatherers who traveled the Pajarito Plateau. Around A.D. 1150, the ancestors to the modern Pueblos settled in the Pajarito Plateau after migrating from the Four Corners area.²⁸ The Ancestral Pueblo People dug cavities into the sides of cliffs or built circular villages out of adobe that were easily fortified. They were sedentary agriculturalists who grew beans, squash, and corn. Fishing and hunting were important means of gathering food. Evidence of cotton cloth in the ruins points to a knowledge or access to looms. Villages along the Pajarito Plateau started from small pueblos on the mesa tops. The population hit its peak in the late thirteenth century, when droughts in nearby areas pushed more people into the region. By 1400, the villages had become large multistoried communities that contained one to four hundred rooms.²⁹ Between 1550 and 1600, many Ancestral Pueblos had abandoned the Frijoles Canyon as they moved away from the higher elevations, most likely due to extended periods of drought.³⁰

²⁶ B. W. Burton, *Geologic Evolution of the Jemez Mountains and Their Potential for Further Volcanic Activity*, (Los Alamos: Los Alamos National Laboratory, 1982), p. 1. C. S. Ross, R. L. Smith, and R. A. Bailey, "The Geology of the Jemez Mountains, New Mexico," *New Mexico Geological Society, Twelfth Field Conference*, pp. 139-143.

²⁷ Craig D. Allen, "The Setting." *The Pajarito Plateau: A Bibliography*, compiled by Francies Joan Mathien, Charlie R. Steen, and Craig D. Allen, (Washington, D.C.: 1993) p. 5.

²⁸ Patricia L. Crown, Janet D. Orcutt, and Timothy A. Kohler, "Pueblos Cultures in Transition: The Northern Rio Grande," in *The Prehistoric Pueblo World*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1996) p. 195.

²⁹ James E. Snead, Winifred Creamer, and Tineke Van Zandt, "'Ruins of Our Forefathers': Large Sites and Site Clusters in the Northern Rio Grande," in *The Protohistoric Pueblo World*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2004) p. 32.

³⁰ Crown, Orcutt, and Kohler, "'Pueblo Cultures in Transition,'" p. 195-197.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Pajarito Plateau and Frijoles Canyon were of interest to several competing groups who had different ideas about how the land and resources should be used. The ruins of the area held great interest for anthropologists and archaeologists. Bandelier National Monument is named after one such researcher, Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier. Bandelier was born in Switzerland, but immigrated to the United States in the 1848. Initially a banker in Missouri, Bandelier later found a great passion for ethnological research in the Southwest. Between 1880 and 1903, Bandelier conducted fieldwork throughout New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and Mexico on the various ruins and people of those areas. He visited Rito de los Frijoles in October of 1880, and stayed for several months, visiting the Stone Lions, Painted Cave, and Tyuonyi ruins. At the ruins, Bandelier made measurements, sketches, and general observations of the areas.³¹ In 1890, Bandelier wrote an ethnological fictional account of Pueblo life on the Pajarito Plateau called *The Delight Makers*. Bandelier was accompanied at times by Charles F. Lummis, a journalist, who reported on much of the history of the Southwest and compiled accounts of the findings for publication. Archaeologist Edgar L. Hewett was responsible for many of the ruin digs in the area.³² Hewett also fought for the creation of a designated national park around the present Bandelier National Monument effort after he researched in the area in the 1890s.³³

From the time that the Spanish settlers arrived in the area, small families of ranchers and sheepherders grazed their animals on parts of the Pajarito Plateau. Sheep originally were brought

³¹See Charles H. Lange and Carroll L. Riley, eds, *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, 1880-1882*, (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1966) pp. 165-169, 225-228, for journal entries relating to specific observations.

³² Edgar Hewett, *Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau, New Mexico*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 32, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1906).

³³Edgar Hewett, "Preservation of the Scientific Resources of New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review Records, CSWR. Hal Rothman, *Bandelier National Monument: An Administrative History*, pp. 2.

to the region in 1540, when Francisco Vasquez de Coronado marched north to the Zuni pueblos.³⁴ The small churro sheep with long, greaseless wool fared well in the plateaus and high altitudes of New Mexico, far better than cattle could.³⁵ Water from the Rio Grande and Rito de los Frijoles was a valuable commodity in the desert lands and areas with enough water to grow grasses and support animals even more so. Establishment of farms and ranches proved another threat to the prehistoric ruins. Besides bringing in more people to damage the ruins, settlement threatened the fragile ecosystem through overgrazing and erosion. Because much of the plateau remained part of the public domain, regulating access to and use of land around the ruins proved difficult.

At the same time of this scholarly notice, less savory interests also were manifesting among the ruins throughout the Southwest. Pothunters, scavengers, and others looking for Native American artifacts found that the unguarded ruins contained artifacts that could fetch a high dollar in the markets particularly back in the East. These pothunters, “persons who spend most of their working hours digging into Indian ruins and extracting artifacts for a profit,” competed with the archaeologists, but did so for personal gain rather than advancing knowledge and saving artifacts in museum collections.³⁶ Pottery was, and still is, one of the most sought after items of Southwestern cultures for collectors. Like many of the sites throughout New Mexico, the Pajarito Plateau was vulnerable to these pothunters, who destroyed cultural evidence and records through their actions. The ruins of the Pajarito Plateau like those found in Frijoles Canyon were vulnerable to these scavengers.

³⁴ John O. Baxter, *Las Carneradas: Sheep Trade in New Mexico, 1700-1860*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987) pp. 1-17.

³⁵ John L. Kessell, *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008) p. 173.

³⁶ Robert Huber, “They’re Robbing Us of Our Heritage,” *New Mexico Magazine*, May/June 1970, pp. 11.

The proposal to establish Bandelier National Monument inspired contentious arguments from its inception. These tensions between the residents of local communities and federal agencies continued throughout the twentieth century into the twenty-first century. The Antiquities Act of 1906 helped lay the groundwork for the establishment of national parks and monuments throughout the Southwest dedicated not to natural beauty but preservation of an ancient past, including Bandelier National Monument.³⁷ Besides scavengers and pot hunters, homesteaders and business interests from Santa Fe also competed with archeologists for use of the land. In 1916, Bandelier National Monument was officially established, after nearly two decades of proposals, arguments, and revisions to satisfy the desires of the local landowners and federal entities. A proclamation from President Woodrow Wilson recognized its “unusual ethnologic, scientific, and educational interests, and...public interests would be promoted by reserving these relics of a vanished people.”³⁸ This act established three areas to make up Bandelier National Monument: the main portion in Frijoles Canyon, a separate section eleven miles away, Tsankawi, and a second detached section further north called Otowi. Since this time, Bandelier has worked in conjunction with the local Pueblos to educate visitors about the Native Americans who once inhabited the area and those who still live in the region. The monument has sponsored events over the years that teach about the Pueblo cultures, pottery making, weaving, and history.³⁹

Administration initially fell to the purview of the United States Forest Service before being transferred to the National Park Service (NPS) in 1932. The Forest Service controlled the Santa Fe National Forests, which surrounds the lands of Bandelier National Monument. The NPS

³⁷ Antiquities Act of 1906, 16 U.S.C. 431-433, (1906).

³⁸ Proclamation No. 1322, 39 Stat. 1764, (1916).

³⁹ Bandelier National Monument Schedule of Events, Bandelier National Monument Folder, Ruth Armstrong Papers, CSWR.

wanted to expand the monument into a large national park, a change opposed by the Forest Service. This larger national park would have required the Forest Service to cede more land to the NPS, a move they were unwilling to make. The final compromise involved the NPS receiving “administrative control of the archeological ruins on the Pajarito Plateau” without any additional land.⁴⁰ This grant allowed the NPS to have a national monument that featured archaeological ruins, but also spectacular scenery that would attract numerous visitors.

In order to become a central tourist destination, Bandelier National Monument needed to improve access into Frijoles Canyon and create visitor amenities in the area. The NPS was aided in this endeavor by the Emergency Conservation Work program, part of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) that provided funding and manpower to build visitor and administrative facilities.⁴¹ The CCC brought in workers in 1933 to build the structures that would make Bandelier ready for visitors. One dilemma that Bandelier faced was the lack of access to the archaeological sites for visitors. An entrance road, winding safely down and around the cliff sides, was built. The only accommodation in the Frijoles Canyon, The Ranch of the Ten Elders, originally belonged to Judge Judson Abbott, who moved from Santa Fe to the Pajarito Plateau to take care of the archaeological sites in 1907. This ranch was bought by George and Evelyn Frey in 1925 and renamed the Frey Lodge. The Freys became the only concessioners to the newly established Monument through a 99-year lease granted by the Forest Services.⁴² They offered lodging and food to travelers, but most importantly they transported people and luggage down into the canyon, first on pack animals, and then through a cable and pulley system that could

⁴⁰ Hal Rothman, *Bandelier National Monument: An Administrative History*, (Santa Fe: Southwest Cultural Resources Center, 1988) pp. 37. See this work for a more comprehensive examination over the fights to create Bandelier National Monument.

⁴¹ Rothman, *Bandelier National Monument*, pp. 66.

⁴² “Bandelier Resident Reminisces,” Bandelier National Monument Folder, Ruth Armstrong Papers, CSWR.

carry goods through a big box up 1,100 feet to the rim of the canyon cliffs.⁴³ At that time there were twenty cabins for visitors, a dining room, and coffee shops, along with a stable of horses. As the only pre-existing buildings in the Canyon, they threatened the role of the NPS and its influence over Bandelier. The NPS felt that the Lodge, located directly across the creek from one of the main ruins, might draw people away from the planned headquarter building. But due to the binding nature of the Freys 99-year lease, the NPS could not completely remove them from the canyon. Instead, the Lodge was torn down and rebuilt by the CCC as part of the administrative compound further away from the ruins. The Freys retained private control over their newly built Lodge. In total, the CCC constructed 31 buildings, all in the pueblo revival design that gave “the appearance of a small southwestern village wrapped around three sides of a central wooded plaza.”⁴⁴ These buildings served as administrative offices, a museum, warehouses, blacksmith shop, garages, residences, and fire lookouts. Presently these buildings still serve as the administrative headquarters for Bandelier. The CCC in conjunction with landscape architects designed the trails that wound around the ruins, although over the years many of these have been worn away and replaced. By the time the CCC left Bandelier in 1940, the National Monument was ready for visitors. The Freys continued to own and operate the Lodge, but they closed the doors to the restaurant in 1969 and the Lodge in 1976. The buildings were acquired by the NPS and are still used for a variety of purposes from residences to storage sheds.

World War II and New Mexico’s role in the creation of atomic weapons brought dramatic demographic changes to the area surrounding Bandelier. Secret facilities were established for the Manhattan Project to develop nuclear weapons at the small nearby town of Los Alamos.

Bandelier was in the unfortunate position of standing between Los Alamos and Santa Fe. The

⁴³ Sheila Tryk, “Evelyn Frey,” *New Mexico Magazine*, May 1977.

⁴⁴ Harrison and Copeland, *Historic Structures Report*, pp. appendix

military wished to build a new access road and power lines through the detached Otowi section in 1943. Instead of taking this issue up through the proper channels to work, in conjunction with the NPS, the Army Corps of Engineers proceeded with the work, drilling holes for the placement of dynamite without permission. Chester Art Thomas, the custodian of Bandelier at the time, discovered what the Corps of Engineers did and took the issue to his supervisors. The result was a stalemate between the NPS, which was charged with protecting the interests and all cultural, scenic, and natural aspects of the lands, versus the U.S. Army, which was embroiled in a two-front war and needed to exploit all resources to win. Thomas and the NPS did not wish to oppose the war efforts, but they also had their own mission and purpose to defend. The two parties reached a compromise that allowed the military to continue its efforts but to do as little harm to the protected lands.⁴⁵ This compromise lasted until Thomas discovered in October of 1944, that the Corps of Engineers had secretly been clearing land for a power line right-of-way and had constructed several buildings on the cleared land. This time the struggle between the U.S. Army and NPS brought about an attempt by the military to take over the lands of the Otowi section that included the access road and two canyons.⁴⁶ Eventually resistance from the NPS forced the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to relent and find land outside of Bandelier's boundaries to build their needed utilities.

The permanence of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory and the founding of the Atomic Energy Commission in the area created a new power dynamic among the federal programs. The Commission was formed in 1946 and given fifty thousand acres of the Pajarito Plateau to create a community for the scientists who worked at the Lab, but also to create a buffer zone that would

⁴⁵ Chester Thomas memo. February 8, 1943. Bandelier National Monument.

⁴⁶ M. R. Tillotson memo. October 20, 1944. Bandelier National Monument.

keep the research done at the Lab safe from outsiders.⁴⁷ The Atomic Energy Commission would remain the supervisory body until the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, a part of the Department of Energy, replaced it in 1974.⁴⁸ The United States Forest Service, which controlled the Santa Fe National Forest that surrounded much of Bandelier, and the NPS, often conflicted over land rights. The NPS had always wanted to make Bandelier National Monument a larger national park, but the Forest Service and local landowners prevented that effort. But with the Los Alamos National Laboratory, much of the land in dispute now was the property of the laboratory. Due to its work with the Manhattan Project, Los Alamos proved to be a growing scientific center that would continue to contribute to scientific endeavors of the future. The influence of the NPS and Forest Service declined in the face of Los Alamos and their needs fell secondary.⁴⁹

World War II also brought a boom in population to northern New Mexico. Between 1930 and 1950, the population of New Mexico rose from 423,317 to 681,187.⁵⁰ These growing cities of Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and Taos discovered an appealing weekend recreation retreat in Bandelier, but none as much as the expanding scientific community of Los Alamos. The population of Los Alamos grew to fourteen thousand in less than a decade by 1950. It was also only fifteen miles from Bandelier National Monument. Residents found recreation and enjoyment in the campgrounds, picnic areas, and other visitor amenities. There was less interest, however, in the prehistoric ruins of Bandelier. Overwhelming numbers of locals took over the limited resources of Bandelier, making it difficult for the NPS to provide services to those visitors who did come to see the ruins. Annual visitation numbers in the 1930s, after the CCC

⁴⁷ Atomic Energy Act of 1946, Pub. L. 585, (1946).

⁴⁸ Energy Reorganization Act of 1974, Pub. L. 93-438, 88 Stat. 1233, (1974).

⁴⁹ Hal Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges: The Los Alamos Area since 1880*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992) pp. 207-257.

⁵⁰ New Mexico Population by counties, 1930, 1940, 1950.

finished the improvements to the area, never reached fifteen thousand people. That number dwindled during World War II to only several thousand visitors each year. But in 1950, visitors numbered 47,059.⁵¹ The amenities at Bandelier could not support that many visitors.

Competition over land usage arose between locals wanting to spend their weekends in Bandelier and those visitors who came from farther away to see the ruins and walk the trails, the constituency and reason that Bandelier was founded for originally.

Overcrowding and limited resources plagued many of the national parks in the postwar years. Mission 66, a master plan for renovations in all national parks, intended to correct much of these problems.⁵² For Bandelier, the Mission 66 master plan included the acquisition of a portion of Frijoles Mesa, which lay between NM 4 and the initial park boundaries; “fee adjustments and reservations [of picnic areas] as the means of controlling day-use in Frijoles Canyon;” and the improvement of trails, amenities at the headquarter area, and additional seasonal employees.⁵³ The new lands of the Frijoles Mesa were turned into an extended campground, now known as the Juniper Campground. With over ninety campsites and a picnic area meant to attract local residents to that area, the NPS hoped it would leave Frijoles Canyon open to the tourists interested in seeing the ruins. The main objective of the Monument remained the management of cultural resources. These resources included not only the prehistoric ruins, but also the historic CCC district with its unique architectural design. Many of the ruins and excavation sites at Bandelier were stabilized and secured to be safe for tourists. Trails were redesigned to withstand

⁵¹ Bandelier Visitor Statistics, Bandelier National Monument.

⁵² The National Park Wilderness, National Parks and Monument Vertical File, CSWR.

⁵³ Rothman, *Bandelier National Monument*, pp. 85.

the pressures of increased visitors, which exceeded one hundred thousand by the early 1960s and two hundred thousand annually in the 1970s where it consistently remains to the present day.⁵⁴

The detached Otowi section of Bandelier National Monument, which had been in the midst of conflict during World War II, again became a source of contention in the following decades. Because the section was separate from the main section of the monument, protection of the ruins had always been difficult. Scavengers and vandals easily defaced the ruins and took items of value, items that often found their way into the homes of Los Alamos. It became increasingly difficult for the NPS to properly minister to the needs of the Otowi section. Conrad Wirth, the Director of the NPS, arranged to trade the Otowi section with the Atomic Energy Commission for a tract of land that lay adjacent to the newly acquired Frijoles Mesa, an area now called the Upper Crossing. Although debates occurred between how much of the Otowi section should be exchanged, in the end the entire section was transferred for the new lands.⁵⁵ The loss of Otowi for the NPS meant that they had to give up the archaeological value of the land to the Atomic Energy Commission and Los Alamos, but in exchange, the NPS received an additional buffer zone of the upper canyon that would prevent further encroachment to the principal ruins of the monument.

Bandelier National Monument was again shaped by federal proclamation, but this time by the passage of the Wilderness Act of 1964. The Wilderness Act affected the backcountry of Bandelier National Monument, designating those lands as wilderness areas to be left alone to protect the resources, natural and prehistoric, that were found in the undeveloped lands.⁵⁶ In

⁵⁴ Visitation Statistics for Bandelier, Bandelier National Monument.

⁵⁵ John F. Kennedy: "Proclamation 3539 - Revising the Boundaries of the Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico," May 27, 1963. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=24101>.

⁵⁶ The Wilderness Act, 16 U.S. C. 1131-1136, (1964).

1976, over twenty thousand acres of Bandelier backcountry were effectively established as wilderness area and kept from further development. This wilderness area was meant to keep as much of its wild character as possible.

The effects of the Wilderness Act were actually very harmful to the surrounding lands as environmental problems have since arisen in these wilderness areas due to the method of allowing the lands to grow wild and suppressing all fires. The 1977 La Mesa fire burned more than fifteen thousand acres in a week's time, much of it forestland. Residents of the area were quickly evacuated.⁵⁷ NPS scientists and archaeologists alerted by the smoke hurriedly worked to save what ruins they could, moving in front of bulldozers that were trying to put out the fire. By the time the fire was extinguished, forty percent of the ruins at Bandelier showed signs of fire damage.⁵⁸ Scars from the fire are still noticeable on trees and the land in Bandelier.⁵⁹ The devastation of La Mesa fire caused the NPS and Forest Service to reevaluate their approach to fire suppression.

The decade of the 1980s highlight the many competing claims and interests of the Pajarito Plateau. Los Alamos' quick growth over the last few decades left the town in need of land for residential development. One possible solution to this dilemma involved Camp Evergreen, an old Girl Scout retreat. This fifty-acre retreat, after years of disuse, was purchased by several Los Alamos residents: John and Kathy Umbarger, Dennis and Linda Perry, and Larry

⁵⁷ John Crewdson, "1,000 in New Mexico Battle Fire Threatening Nuclear Laboratory," *The New York Times*, June 21, 1977. "Forest Fire Checked at Los Alamos," *The New York Times*, June 20, 1977.

⁵⁸ See John D. Lissoway, "Remembering the La Mesa Fire," 2nd La Mesa Fire Symposium, (Los Alamos: Los Alamos National Laboratory, 1994), for a first hand experience of the La Mesa Fire. Diane Traylor, "Effects of La Mesa Fire on Bandelier's Cultural Resources," La Mesa Fire Symposium, (Los Alamos: Los Alamos National Laboratory, 1981).

⁵⁹ George Johnson, "Winds Strengthen Forest Fire in New Mexico," *The New York Times*, April 30, 1996.

and Sandy Luck, with the intention of turning the land into a high-density residential zone.⁶⁰ This purchase and the potential development of the land caused conflicts between several competing interests on the Plateau. The NPS, always on the lookout for newly available land, wished to purchase the property, but the partnership called the Westgate Families made the purchase before they could. Locals of Los Alamos were concerned that the developments would harm the “integrity of the area.”⁶¹ The Los Alamos Ski Club had intended to buy the land and exchange it, along with an additional forty acres along the Jemez River, to the United States Forest Service for a one hundred and fifty acre tract of national forest where the Ski Club would build new facilities.⁶² This issue carried over until 1985 when Camp Evergreen was sold to another developer, Paul Parker, who entered into talks with the Forest Service over the purchase of the land. One positive result of the maneuvering was that the citizens of Los Alamos supported the objectives of the NPS because they understood that having Bandelier National Monument in such close proximity was an added inducement for people to thinking about moving to Los Alamos.

Another conflict arose over the desire to build a new road directly from the Pajarito Plateau to Santa Fe. The previously existing road, New Mexico Highway 4, twists and curves through the plateau. In most places it was a two-lane highway and was bound to the constraints of the plateau’s topography. For the most part, traffic during rush hours was bumper-to-bumper along the narrow road between the turn off of U.S. 84/285 that led to Santa Fe, and Los Alamos. Because of the need to control access near Los Alamos National Laboratory, at that time a restricted area, and its fifty thousand acres of land, the proposed road would have to follow

⁶⁰ “Girl Scout Camp will turn into Three Homes,” *Los Alamos Monitor*, October 19, 1980.

⁶¹ “Camp Evergreen Sold to Local Partnership,” *Los Alamos Monitor*, November 18, 1980.

⁶² Clifton Swickard, letter to the editor, *Los Alamos Monitor*, March 31, 1981.

⁶² Rothman, *Bandelier National Monument*, pp. 130.

alternative paths. These routes as proposed by the New Mexico State Highway Department, although shortening the distance between Los Alamos and Santa Fe, would cut through parts of Bandelier National Monument or the detached Tsankawi section. The proximity of increased transportation to the monument's boundaries raised concerns about the effects of additional pollution and noise to the natural landscape and tourists' enjoyment of Bandelier. The Santa Fe National Forest and Forest Service also had reservations because the highway would divide the national forest into two sections, including the area designated for feral animals like wild burros and horses. The path that both the NPS and Forest Service supported connected south of the small town of White Rock and avoided most of the national lands. Residents of White Rock opposed this route because it would bring too much traffic through the small town.⁶³ Between disputes over the right to protect national parks and forests, local communities, and shorter routes, no new roads came out of this, although work has been done to expand sections of the existing road where possible.

One other difference of interests occurred between the Department of Energy and the NPS. The Department of Energy, the Public Service Company of New Mexico, and the Union Geothermal Company of New Mexico had undertaken the effort to build a "50-megawatt flash-steam electric powerplant" at the Baca hydrothermal reservoir in the Jemez Mountains, twenty miles from Los Alamos.⁶⁴ The proposed development raised many of the concerns that the NPS had expressed towards other changes over the years: pollution, increased traffic, noise, and the threat of damage to park lands. The power plant would be constructed on private lands owned by James Pat Dunigan, but the power generated would still need to be transported to Los Alamos to

⁶³ "White Rock Wants Bypass Out of Town," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 28, 1985.

⁶⁴ "Reasons For the Termination Of, And DOE Losses In, A Geothermal Demonstration Powerplant Project," Report by the U.S. General Accounting Office, September 29, 1983.

be of any use. Dunigan, on the lookout for his own property, wanted the route to approach Los Alamos from the southwest, which would take it through the Santa Fe National Forest and Bandelier National Monument. This route was favored by the Public Service Company of New Mexico because it reduced the distance to eighteen miles with an estimated \$100,000 cost for every mile of power line. This route had the additional providence of being outside the view of Los Alamos and the Pajarito Mountain Ski Area.⁶⁵ Furthermore, it bypassed lands owned by Native Americans of the area. Instead the power lines would stretch across lands protected by the United States Forest Service and NPS. The issue was taken to the highest level of the NPS bureaucracy, but the project was allowed to continue on a five-year trial basis to test the possibilities that steam offered. By January 1982, after only three and a half years, the project was terminated after the wells failed to produce the amount of steam needed to be a viable source of power. At only a third of the necessary operating rate, the project was scrapped and the Department of Energy was forced to pay \$45 million dollars on the failed project.⁶⁶ Although the power lines were never built, the idea of a power line right-of-way through Bandelier National Monument continued to be an issue through the following years.

Further natural disasters have created profound problems for Bandelier National Monument and the Pajarito Plateau, especially in the twenty-first century. Drought, fire, and floods have always been problems in the northern New Mexico area due to the nature of the desert climate, but human interference has exacerbated the issue at Bandelier. Fire suppression has long been the rule at the monument and in all national parks. The accumulation of underbrush and overgrowth of non-native plants, however, has created a fertile breeding ground

⁶⁵ Wayne Eckles to Regional Director John Cook, February 2, 1979, Bandelier National Monument.

⁶⁶ "Reasons For the Termination Of, And DOE Losses In, A Geothermal Demonstration Powerplant Project," Report by the U.S. General Accounting Office, September 29, 1983.

for wildfires. On May 4, 2000, during a proscribed burn at Bandelier National Monument, fifty mile per hour winds quickly spread flames that grew out of control. The Cerro Grande fire, as it was called, devastated the area. The fire affected forty-seven thousand acres of land. Over twenty-five thousand residents from Los Alamos and White Rock were forced to evacuate. Some four hundred housing units were destroyed while many other buildings were damaged, including the Los Alamos nuclear weapons lab.⁶⁷ Because the proscribed burn happened at an elevation of nine thousand feet, far above the ruins, the ruins were protected from fire damage.⁶⁸ The Federal Emergency Management Agency was forced to allocate \$539.5 million to compensate victims of the Cerro Grande fire. FEMA responded to over sixteen thousand damage claims from residents in the area.⁶⁹ Further payoffs brought the number to \$1 billion in restitution.⁷⁰ The cause of the fire was found to be an improper procedure and an inadequate number of people to tend the proscribed burn on the part of the NPS at Bandelier.⁷¹ This issue has placed officials at Bandelier in a difficult position as their abilities to properly maintain the monument and encourage tourism in the area have been called into question by other federal agencies with interests in the Pajarito Plateau area and by local residents who have to live with the effects of Bandelier's mismanagement.

Even without the impact of a proscribed burn, wildfires are a continual threat. Bandelier is in the tenuous position of having to attract visitors, while keeping them aware of the realities of dangers that may exist. Over one and a half million tourists visit the thirteen national parks in

⁶⁷ George Johnson, "U.S. Officials Said a Wildfire Was Likely," *The New York Times*, May 16, 2000. Kenneth Chang, "Huge Wildfire Forces Evacuation of Los Alamos, N.M.," *The New York Times*, May 11, 2000.

⁶⁸ "Hot Spots are Now Cool," USA Today, June 15, 2001.

⁶⁹ Wes Smalling, "Only a Handful of Claims Remain After Cerro Grande Fire, Office Says," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 22, 2003.

⁷⁰ "Interruptions may be just what CEOs need," *The Financial Post*, August 3, 2010.

⁷¹ "Fed Big Slams N.M. Fire Setters," *Daily News*, May 19, 2000.

New Mexico yearly, despite these dangers. In 2009, these visitors brought in a reported \$62.4 million in revenue for the state, so it is vital that the officials at the national parks and monuments find the best ways to protect visitors.⁷² The Las Conchas fire began on June 26, 2011 when a tree fell onto a power line west of Bandelier National Monument. This fire quickly grew into the most devastating wildfire in New Mexico's history, at that time, although the Whitewater-Baldy Complex Fire that affected the Gila National Forest in 2012 surpassed it.⁷³ Las Conchas burned over 44,000 acres within the first thirteen hours, a rate of an acre per second.⁷⁴ It raged for over a month until August 3, when the fire was finally 100% contained, having burnt 157,000 acres across the Pajarito Plateau.⁷⁵ Residents of Los Alamos and White Rock were again forced to evacuate. Los Alamos National Laboratory was constantly threatened by the wildfire.⁷⁶ Frijoles Canyon, with Bandelier's Visitor Center and the most frequented ruins of Tyuonyi, the Cliff Dwellings, and Alcove House, lay in the fire's path. Las Conchas affected sixty percent of the monument.⁷⁷ The fire touched the Santa Clara, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and Jemez Pueblos as well. To exacerbate the situation, monsoon-like rain flooded the rivers of the area in late August, especially the Rito de los Frijoles that runs through the Frijoles Canyon.⁷⁸ Fire damaged or destroyed the trees and ground cover of the fragile ecosystem. This led to rapid runoff and flash flooding from the rain, which further affected the lands and much of the monument was closed. Bandelier National Monument was able to reopen the small-detached

⁷² Susan Proscio, "Out'n'About," *Las Cruces Sun News*, September 22, 2011.

⁷³ "Wildfire Season 2012," *The New York Times*, June 26, 2012.

⁷⁴ Notes on Las Conchas fire, Bandelier National Monument.

⁷⁵ April Reese, "Buried in Wildfire Ash, a N.M. Monument Awakens to New Threat: Flash Floods," *The New York Times*, August 5, 2011.

⁷⁶ Elizabeth Harris, "Wildfire Continues to Burn Near Nuclear Facility in New Mexico," *The New York Times*, June 30, 2011.

⁷⁷ "Lake, Park Clean Up," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, August 24, 2011.

⁷⁸ Reese, "Buried in Wildfire Ash."

section of *Tsankawi* in late 2011, although the Frijoles Canyon and the backcountry remained closed. To safely and orderly move visitors in the case of another catastrophe, park officials decided to utilize a shuttle service, which picks up guests at the nearby town of White Rock and drives them to and from Bandelier's Visitor Center. Due to the limited parking spaces in the Frijoles Canyon, peak-visiting times overfilled the capacity of Bandelier and tourists previously had to be turned away from the monument. The large parking area at White Rock allows more cars and people to visit the monument. Park officials have decided to keep the shuttle service running for this reason.⁷⁹

The National Park Service's tenure in the Pajarito Plateau with Bandelier National Monument has been a struggle to maintain its position among the competing interests. In the case of the Bandelier, the NPS is an outside entity that runs the monument. Much of the Pajarito Plateau is also operated under some federal agency. As seen, the NPS frequently conflicted with other federal programs from the United States Forest Service to the Department of Energy and Atomic Energy Commission. Many of these interactions ended in stalemates, where neither party received its way, as well as a complete lack of improvement for basic necessities like road building. Or these meetings lessened the position of the NPS on the plateau as they were forced to concede. The mission of Bandelier National Monument has been to protect the resources, treasures, and nature within its boundaries, but limited land availability has led to conflicts with growing populations in the local communities, most notably Los Alamos. Because of Los Alamos's position with nuclear and scientific research, the needs and secrecy of the National Laboratory have also chiseled away at Bandelier's status. Compromises and concessions have had to be made to protect the great bulk of land that houses the many ruins. Due to the large

⁷⁹ "Bandelier Hopes to Keep Shuttle, Car Restrictions," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, September 3, 2012.

number of scattered sites throughout the region, Bandelier is incapable and unable to protect all of the ruins, so the NPS has had to make the difficult decisions of which ruins have priority. Furthermore, Bandelier National Monument has created some of its own problems through environmental practices, which have resulted in wildfires, erosion, and floods that left devastation in their paths. These environmental problems affected not only Bandelier, but also the neighboring communities of Los Alamos, White Rock, and the nearby pueblos. As a site for historical and natural tourism, Bandelier National Monument has contributed greatly to the rise of tourism in the area. But Bandelier has also made it difficult for tourists to visit, as well as, alienate some of its most fervent supporters through its actions and practices.

III. CHIMAYÓ: RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND TOURISM

The small village of Chimayó has become a major site for religious tourism in the United States because of the Santuario de Chimayó, a Spanish-era shrine built in the late 1810s. Besides the age of the small church, the remarkable aspect of the Santuario is the belief held by many that contained within its walls is a small pit that holds dirt that has healing properties. Many miraculous healings have been attributed to this dirt. Since the Santuario was built, people from the area have made a pilgrimage to the shrine to have their prayers heard. The village itself has been heralded as a glimpse of the real New Mexico, a timeless place that remains much as it was when the area was still Spanish territory. By this impression Chimayó embodies the land of *poco tiempo* to outsiders, as described by Charles Lummis in *The Land of Poco Tiempo*, a place where time slows down. Prior to World War II, those visitors to Chimayó traveled from short distances to pray at the Santuario. Since the 1940s however, tourists have come in increasingly large numbers, annually reaching two hundred thousand visitors. Most come to visit the Santuario, but many also stop to see the weavers whose families have been a part of Chimayó since its inception and have passed the traditions on through the generations. Chimayó also lies along the “High Road to Taos,” a self-styled artistic exploration along the Sangre de Cristo Mountains that runs between Santa Fe to Taos. The village retains much of its Spanish legacy and many of the villagers are descendants of the original settlers.

The rise of religious tourism in Chimayó, however, has also strained relations between the Roman Catholic Church, which oversees the Santuario, and many of the local residents. Many of the residents come from families that have lived in Chimayó for generations and therefore feel responsible for keeping Chimayó’s traditions and history, which they feel include

the Santuario. New undertakings by the Catholic Church threaten these traditions as the Santuario and nearby Santo Nino Chapel have been renovated, redecorated, and re-imagined to fit tourism's expectations. Conflicts between the Church and a portion of the local residents, along with modernity and tradition are at the heart of the tourism problems at Chimayó.

On the southern outskirts of Chimayó, in the Potrero, or the pastureland, sits a small adobe church called the Santuario. The small church peeks over the edge of an adobe fence, surrounded by undeveloped land. Through the wooden doors that lead the way into the courtyard are the graves of members of the church's founding family, the Abeytas. The Santuario itself is a simple building of adobe and wood construction that is longer in length than width. Two bell towers with metal roofs gleam in the Southwestern sun, as they stand proudly on the sides of the Santuario. A wooden door allows access to the building. The layout of the Santuario is essentially rectangular. The narthex at the front of the building leads to three rooms. One is a small office and across the entrance is a small prayer room. The final opening goes through the nave into the sanctuary. To the left of the sanctuary is the sacristy, which runs parallel to the nave. The north end of the sacristy leads to the *pocito*, the room where the "little well" of dirt is found. A door at the opposite end of the sacristy heads back outside.⁸⁰

The interior of the Santuario showcases many fine examples of Hispanic artwork, religious symbols, and pilgrimage souvenirs. Within the main doors, signs prohibit all use of cameras and photography, while simultaneously asking all sightseers to turn off their phones, respect the quiet and solitude of others, and take the time to partake of the ambiance of the

⁸⁰ See Ramon Gutierrez, "El Santuario de Chimayó: A Syncretic Shrine in New Mexico," in *Feasts and Celebrations in North American Ethnic Communities*, eds. Ramon Gutierrez and Genevieve Fabre, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995) pp. 73, for an image of the layout of the Santuario.

church. Hispanic art in the form of *retablos*, *reredos*, and *bultos* line the walls of the nave and the sanctuary showing a number of saints and biblical stories. The five *reredos*, a series of sacred paintings, two on each side of the nave and the fifth directly ahead of the center aisle behind the altar, are the largest pieces of art. The central *reredo*, painted by Molleno the “Chili painter,” who was active between 1815 and 1845, circles a six-foot, dark green crucifix with golden leaves painted on it, the crucifix of Our Lord of Esquipulas, the discovery of which led to the establishment of this very chapel. Around the crucifix are painted symbols important to the Catholic Church like the Cross of the Holy Sepulchre, a Franciscan emblem, and representations of the bread and wine at the Last Supper. The *reredos* on the left wall, both painted by José Aragón between 1820 and 1835, depict traditional biblical characters and saints: St. Francis of Assisi, St. Anthony of Padua, the Archangels Gabriel and Michael, St. Jerome, and Our Lady of Guadalupe to name a few. Molleno, who did the one closest to the door, and Miguel Aragón, whose is closest to the sanctuary, painted the final two *reredos* of the right wall. Aragón’s *reredo* includes several female saints: St. Gertrude the Great, St. Rosalie of Palermo, and St. Clare of Assisi, while Molleno’s portrays St. Dominic, St. Cajetan, St. Francis Xavier, and Our Lady of Sorrows.⁸¹ *Bultos*, small wooden carvings that depict the common Catholic subjects of saints and angels, are scattered amongst the *reredos* and hang from the walls.

The sacristy showcases the many pieces of memorabilia left by pilgrims. Crutches, braces, and casts take up a large portion of the small oblong room. People that found healing through prayers and dirt from the Santuario left these as signs of thanks. Small baby shoes are another popular offering, given to Santo Niño de Atocha so that he may never be barefoot as he

⁸¹ Santuario de Chimayó, *Santuario de Chimayó*, (Chimayó, NM: Santuario de Chimayó). See also DeBorhegyi, *El Santuario de Chimayó*, pp. 23-28, for a more detailed description of each *reredo*.

travels. Photos of loved ones, children, elderly, and military men and women serve as physical signs of remembrance, prayer, or gratitude. Icons and devotional cards of the saints are numerous throughout the room.⁸² Pilgrims used to be free to leave their offerings where they could find room and the sacristy would be periodically cleansed and reorganized to avoid over-cluttering the small space. Now the Santuario has initiated a more formal process that involves sending items, photos, or prayers requests through the office so that the custodians of the chapel may control the flood of offerings. The Santuario rotates the offerings in and out of the room, trying to allow all pilgrims the same opportunity to have their stories and prayers told.

In the final room of the Santuario, the *pocito*, remains the goal for pilgrims and tourists alike. The *pocito* or “little pit” holds the dirt believed to contain the healing properties that draws many to Chimayó. Although the Catholic Church does not recognize the dirt as the cause of any miracles, the dirt still holds an attraction to visitors, despite what the church leadership may say.⁸³ The *pocito* is a very simple room, all adobe and stone with an earthen hole three feet in diameter and about half that length deep. A small shovel or two are the only other objects on the ground aside from the well of dirt. From this hole, visitors can take a small amount of dirt with them when they leave.⁸⁴ Several small *bultos*, including the statue of the Holy Child of Prague observe the *pocito*.

The Santuario, which once sat alone, has become incorporated into a type of complex with other buildings and monuments of different religious and historical meanings. Severiano Medina’s Santo Niño de Atoche Chapel is also part of this pilgrimage site. Built in the mid-

⁸²“Holy Pilgrimages,” Chimayó Vertical File, CSWR. See also Gutierrez “El Santuario de Chimayó,” pp. 78-82, for an elaboration of items and numbers left in the sacristy.

⁸³ Erik Eckholm, “A Pastor Begs to Differ with Flock on Miracles,” *New York Times*, February 20, 2008.

⁸⁴ Santuario de Chimayó, *Holy Dirt*, (Chimayó, NM: Santuario de Chimayó, 2009).

nineteenth century, situated only yards away from the Santuario, and separated by a small fence, the Santo Niño Chapel is even smaller than its more famous counterpart. A large bell tower stands guard along the perimeter of the adobe fence. Three wooden crosses sit upon the top of the tower. The courtyard of the chapel, like the Santuario's, contains the graves of the Medina family. In the midst of the front façade of the chapel sits a statue of the Santo Niño de Atoche in his pilgrim robe, water gourd, and food basket. Above the Santo Niño is a larger, circular design painted in bright blues, greens, reds, and purples. Floral wreaths and hearts surround these pictures. The doorframe, door, and windows are intricately carved pieces of art as well that continue the same motifs of the hearts and vines. The door itself has a stained glass image of the Santo Niño de Atoche. On top of the apex of the church sits a bronzed cross with a heart in its middle and the St. James' scalloped shell design between the points of the cross, making a complete circle behind it.⁸⁵ Within the chapel, which has been renovated in the past twenty years since the Archdiocese's acquisition in 1992, hand carved benches line the sides of the nave. Images of saints on highly detailed wooden frames are arranged along all the walls from the door up to the altar. Banners with central words for the Catholic faith hang about the pews. Crosses and of course Santo Niños de Atoche fill much of the empty spaces and ledges. A transept cuts across the nave before the altar, creating two small spaces to the sides. Four tree sculptures, which depending on the season can be decorated accordingly, frame each side of the transept.⁸⁶

The altar is brightly colored with a number of scenes upon it painted by Fernando Bimonte, a contemporary painter originally from Uruguay who has taken up a studio in Chimayó. At the top of the altar, the original papier-mâché doll of the Santo Niño de Atoche that

⁸⁵ Santuario de Chimayó, *Santo Nino de Atocha*, (Chimayó, NM: Santuario de Chimayó).

⁸⁶ For images of the Santo Nino Chapel, holypilgrimages.us/SantoNino.html has several panoramas.

Severiano Medina brought back from Fresnillo, Zacatecas Mexico sits carefully protected in a glass case. Located in the right transept is another fresco by Bimonte, depicting scenes from the life of Christ from his birth to his resurrection. Opposite, in the left transept is a restored confessional booth from Durango, Mexico that was built between 150 and 200 years ago. A small opening near the confessional leads to the Santo Niño Prayer Room. Similar to the sacristy of the Santuario, the Prayer Room is filled with the offerings left by pilgrims, in this case with infant shoes as most of the votives. A *bulto* of the Santo Niño de Atoche stands in front of the small window decked out in all his accouterment. Smaller dolls of the Santo Niño and votive candles are also scattered about the room.

Both churches have their own separate museums and gift shops where visitors may learn more about the history of the saints and founding of the churches, and also take home their own images of the saints. These are non-profit shops providing funds to help pay for the running and maintenance of the Santuario and Santo Niño Chapel. The Praying Heart Portal serves as a museum and art gallery for the Santo Niño Chapel. Called a meditative area, it is occupied by artwork of religious significance. Some pieces elaborate on the differences between the Holy Children and the forms they take like Atoche, Prague, or the infant Christ. Since its opening in 2010, the Bernardo Abeyta Welcome Center serves as an information hub and a museum for the Santuario. Permanent collections by *santeros*, saint makers, and artists like Joseph Lopez, Ron Rundo, and Joseph Roybal are exhibited in these museums. One of the most impressive pieces is the fourteen bronze Stations of the Cross created by Gib Singleton, who had previously crafted the bronze crucifix on the pastoral staff carried by Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI.⁸⁷ In the Don Bernardo Abeyta Welcome Center, *santos*, traditional New Mexican religious

⁸⁷ “Holy Pilgrimages,” Chimayó Vertical File, CSWR.

sculptures, tell the story of the Penitente Brotherhood, the confraternity to which Abeyta belonged.⁸⁸

The long history of Chimayó has produced a syncretic culture, a blend of many traditions and beliefs that give the town its special flavor. These traditions have come from the Native American, Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American influences. Prior to Spanish colonization in northern New Mexico, Tewa Indians had strong cosmological ties to the area of Chimayó. The largest flat-topped hill in the area was called Tsi Mayoh, which means “flaking stone of superior quality,” created by volcanic activity twenty-million years ago that formed the mountain ranges and large depressions throughout the Southwest.⁸⁹ The mountain itself is made of loose pink granite and has a small cave on its northwest face. This cave has been sacred to the Tewa. From it a person can view the four sacred mountains: Conjilon Peak sixty miles to the north, Tsikomo twenty-five miles west, Sandia Crest ninety miles south, and Truchas Peak ten miles east. According to Tewa lore, the Towa é, pairs of brothers whose name means “person”, guarded over the Tewa pueblos from these sacred spots. One myth tells about the giant Tsi-mayo (obsidian chief) who preyed upon the people of the pueblos, roasting them in a large oven in the center of his home in the middle of a mountain before eating them. In the end, the Towa é killed the giant, causing smoke and fire burst out of the sacred spots including Tsi Mayoh that dried up the healing mud springs leaving only mud behind.⁹⁰ This hole of mud has been said to be the

⁸⁸ Chimayó Association of Businesses, *Chimayó...where traditions live on*, (Chimayó, NM: Chimayó Association of Businesses).

⁸⁹ John Peabody Harrington, “Ethnology of the Tewa Indians” *Bureau of American Ethnology 29th Annual Report*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916) pp. 341.

⁹⁰ The legend comes from Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, Vol. 17. (Norwood, Massachusetts: Plimpton Press, 1926) pp. 172. And Stephen de Borhegyi, *El Santuario de Chimayó*, (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1956) pp. 8.

same one that the Santuario de Chimayó was built over. Use of mud for healing and geophagy (earth eating) were not uncommon among Native Americans of the Southwest. Archeological evidence shows that the vicinity of Chimayó was inhabited during 1100-1400 AD, but abandoned prior to the arrival of the Spanish, possibly due to severe drought in the region.⁹¹

Spanish settlers arrived in the area in the early 1700s when the region became safe again after the Pueblo Revolt and subsequent Reconquest by Spanish forces (1680-1692). One speculation holds that after the Pueblo Revolt and Spanish Reconquest, the Tano Indians were moved into the Chimayó valley, but attempted another revolt. As a result of this rebellion, the Tano were forced to move again and Spanish settlers moved into the valley either as a buffer against further Indian rebellion or as acknowledgement of the fertile lands around the Santa Cruz River. Records show that a priest came from San Juan in 1706, to minister to the needs of the community.⁹² New Spain did not have the resources and manpower to employ civil and religious officials in all the many communities, especially those in the more dangerous and isolated areas of New Mexico. Local leaders took over these positions for the communities. A religious confraternity of lay members called the *Hermandad de Penitentes* or the Penitent Brotherhood of the Pious Fraternity of Our Father Jesus Nazarite arose in the areas that would be New Mexico and southern Colorado. The confraternity held the teachings St. Francis of Assisi (ca. 1181-1226) as their model. They practiced Tenebrae observations, penitential devotions, and passion plays, but the Penitentes became known mostly for their practices of self-flagellation, secret rituals, and

⁹¹ Edgar L. Hewett, *Handbook of Archaeological History*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1943). Adolph Bandelier *An Archaeological Reconnaissance Into New Mexico* (Boston: Cupples & Hurd, 1884). Stephen de Borhegyi, "The Evolution of a Landscape," *Landscape*, 1:26 (1954) 24-25.

⁹² De Borhegyi, *El Santuario de Chimayó*, p. 9.

using the *morada* or home for worship or the start of processions.⁹³ Secular priests, who phased out the Franciscans in New Spain in the eighteenth century, disapproved of the Penitentes and their practices. Similarly, the scarcity of trade in northern New Mexico and Chimayó's isolation from larger communities made the small village self-sufficient. Residents grew crops and fruits, raising sheep and goats, weaving, and making the goods that were needed. They would become known for their chili peppers, which were noted for its smoky-sweet flavor instead of its heat. Weaving techniques and knowledge about treadle loom design came north with the settlers, enabling them to build their own looms and weavings. The earliest recorded weaver in Chimayó and one of the forefathers of a Chimayó weaving dynasty, Nicolas Gabriel Ortega, was born in 1729, long before the government sent Juan and Ignacio Bazan around northern New Mexico to teach weaving techniques in the early 1800s in an attempt to increase the weaving industry of the area.⁹⁴ Many of these weaving skills and traditions have been passed down through the generations and are still in practice today.

Oral traditions run strong in Chimayó, with several competing stories about the founding of the Santuario. These multiple versions are part of what imbues a place with “its interpretive adaptability and ultimate popularity...[those] sacred sites that feature multiple founding myths provide multiple communities with meaning.”⁹⁵ The most popular version tells how Bernardo Abeyta saw a light on Good Friday in 1810 while performing penance. Following that light, Abeyta came to the hills near the Santa Cruz River where he found its source coming from the

⁹³ Marta Weigle, *Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood: The Penitentes of the Southwest*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976).

⁹⁴ Helen Lucero and Suzanne Baizerman, *Chimayó Weaving: The Transformation of a Tradition*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, year) pp. xvii, 15-16.

⁹⁵ Ricketts, “Land of (Re)-Enchantment,” p. 242.

ground. Digging into the soil, he unearthed a “miraculous crucifix of Our lord of Esquipulas.”⁹⁶ Astounded by this miracle, he sent word to Father Sebastian Alvarez in nearby Santa Cruz, who came to Chimayó to see this crucifix. Father Alvarez then led a procession back to Santa Cruz to place this crucifix at the altar of the church. But the next morning the crucifix had disappeared, only to be discovered again at the hole where Abeyta had originally uncovered it. Twice more the crucifix was brought to the church in Santa Cruz, but each time it always returned back to the hole in El Potrero. From this miracle, Abeyta understood that the crucifix should remain where it was and that a chapel should be built around the spot the crucifix was found.⁹⁷ This is the version that the longtime priest of the Santuario, Father Casimiro Roca, would tell as the true founding of the church.

The other versions of the legend have some similarities. One tells of a priest from Guatemala who came to the area to perform missionary work among the Native Americans. He brought with him a large crucifix, the same one that was discovered in El Potrero. This unnamed priest was killed by the Indians he attempted to convert and buried near the Santa Cruz River only to be uncovered when the river flooded in 1810.⁹⁸ The older inhabitants recognized this crucifix as belonging to a priest who traveled from Guatemala, specifically from a village called Esquipulas, which is a major pilgrimage site to a black Christ. A conflicting, yet similar account says that Bernardo Abeyta was instructed by a vision to dig in this location where he found the cross and a piece of cloth that belonged to two martyred priests.⁹⁹ In another account, Abeyta received a visitation from San Esquipulas while he was very sick. Abeyta moved to the

⁹⁶ De Borhegyi, “*El Santuario de Chimayo*,” p. 18.

⁹⁷ Julio Gonzalez and Jim Suntum, *Santuario de Chimayó*. See also De Borhegyi. Newspaper articles tell that this is the version Roca relates

⁹⁸ De Borhegyi, “*El Santuario de Chimayo*,” p. 19.

⁹⁹ “Santuario de Chimayó” Church and Missions Folder, Ruth Armstrong Papers, CSWR.

apparition, but the apparition of San Esquipulas had disappeared. Abeyta “knelt on the spot where it had stood and immediately he was cured.”¹⁰⁰ Word spread and others flocked to the site in hopes of receiving the miraculous healing as well. In honor of his healing, Abeyta built a chapel above the dirt. Yet another report says that it was Maria Manuel Trujillo, the wife of Bernardo Abeyta, who found the cure. Worried about her dying husband, she prayed for a miracle. She received it in the form of the Virgin Mary who instructed her to take some dirt from where she stood and bring it to her husband. Doña Abeyta complied with this order, brought the dirt to her husband, and spilt it over his failing heart, which miraculously cured him of this affliction.¹⁰¹ Elsie Clews Parsons, an anthropologist who recorded many stories among the Pueblo as part of the Works Progress Administration, has two versions of the story. Both sound much like the finding of the statue by Abeyta, but one ties the finding of “Escapu’la” to a herder from the Isleta Pueblo and the other by a herder from Picuris Pueblo who found “Sant Istipula.”¹⁰²

With so many conflicting versions of similar stories it is difficult to understand the chronology of events. It is known that on November 15, 1813 Bernardo Abeyta wrote a letter to Fray Sebastian de Alvarez of Santa Cruz asking permission to build a chapel “to honor and venerate, with worthy worship, Our Lord and Redeemer, in his Advocation of Esquipulas.”¹⁰³ Abeyta was believed to have been a devout Penitente, possibly even a *Hermano Mayor*, an Elder

¹⁰⁰ De Borhegyi, pp. 18.

¹⁰¹ “Santuario de Chimayó,” Chimayó Folder, Alice Bullock Papers, CSWR

¹⁰² Elsie Clews Parsons, “Isleta, New Mexico,” *47th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932) pp. 415-416.

¹⁰³ Petition of Bernardo Abeyta On Behalf Of The Residents of Potrero, November 15, 1813, New Mexico State Archives, Santa Fe

Brother of the confraternity later in his life.¹⁰⁴ Baptismal records tell of the christenings of a Juan de Esquipulas, the nephew of Bernardo Abeyta in 1805, and of a Tomas de Esquipulas, the son of Abeyta in 1813. This shows a familiarity with the cult of San Esquipulas from Guatemala in Chimayó.¹⁰⁵ In 1814 Francisco Fernandez Valentin, the Judge Supervisor and Vicar General of the Vacant See of Durango, granted permission to Abeyta to build the chapel. By 1816, the chapel was built in *El Potrero* by community efforts. Abeyta, as a prominent member of the Penitentes confraternity, served as a religious leader in Chimayó, administering the folk religion to the villagers. Due to the belief in the healing dirt, a syncretic form of spirituality arose which imposed a sacred Catholic site on top of a sacred Native American site and combined Catholic traditions of pilgrimage with Tewa and Guatemalan practices of geophagy, where the dirt is ingested directly or mixed with liquids to be imbibed. At times the dirt would be rubbed directly onto a person's body where the healing is needed. Due to its remote location in the foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, Chimayó continued to function as it had for the previous century and religious guidance was catered by local initiative like the Penitente Brotherhood. Upon Abeyta's death in 1856, the Santuario was passed to his daughter, Carmen Abeyta de Chaves. Upon her death, her daughter, Maria de los Angeles Chaves, received stewardship of the Santuario, becoming the last of the Abeyta family to possess ownership.

At the time of Bernardo Abeyta's death in 1856, a second chapel was constructed and gained prestige over Señor de Esquipulas. Without Abeyta's leadership and the distance between Chimayó and Guatemala, knowledge of the Señor de Esquipulas dwindled in the area. The miracles that had been associated with him were transferred to the Santo Niño de Atocha, the

¹⁰⁴ Alexander Darley, *The Passionists of the Southwest, or the Holy Brotherhood: A Revelation of the Penitentes*, (Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, 1968 reprint), p. 18.

¹⁰⁵ Archives of Diocese of Santa Fe, Santa Cruz Parish Records, 1805, 1813.

Holy Child. Fellow Chimayó resident Severiano Medina brought back a statue of the Santo Niño from Fresnillo, Zacatecas in Mexico, a place where the Santo Niño's popularity was growing. He then built a chapel in *El Potrero*, steps away from the Santuario de Chimayó, dedicated in honor of the Santo Niño de Atoche. Atoche refers to a city in Spain where Christians were held imprisoned by the Moors who refused entrance to the city to all except little children, no matter the reason. The prayers of the families were answered when a small child entered the city. He was "dressed like a pilgrim of that time" and carried a basket of bread and a gourd full of water. The child went to each prisoner, giving them bread and water from the basket and gourd that never emptied, and the child gave them all a blessing. In honor, this child was revered as the return of Christ in the time of need and called the Santo Niño de Atoche.¹⁰⁶ Tradition holds that since that time, he has wandered the world bringing healing and succor to people in need, as well as wearing out his shoes from his constant travels. In Chimayó, the lines between legends began to blur and at some point the lore said that it was the image of the Santo Niño that was discovered buried in the hole of healing dirt where the crucifix of Esquipulas had been found.¹⁰⁷ Medina's Santo Niño Chapel grew in popularity, overshadowing the Santuario with its veneration of the Santo Niño de Atoche. People prayed to the Santo Niño and left infant sized shoes for him to wear. Not to be outdone, the Santuario acquired its own Santo Niño figure, but in this case it was an image of the Holy Child of Prague who carries a globe in his right hand.¹⁰⁸ This statue was then placed in the room of the Santuario where the pit of dirt is housed.

Both chapels were held by the families who first built them until they were acquired by the Catholic Church. The Medina family held onto the Santo Niño Chapel until 1992. The

¹⁰⁶ E. Boyd, *Saints and Saint Makers of New Mexico*, (Santa Fe: Laboratory of Anthropology, 1946) pp. 126-127.

¹⁰⁷ De Borhegyi, *El Santuario de Chimayó*, pp. 21.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22.

Santuario de Chimayó, on the other hand, fell out of family hands in late 1929 when it was bought by an unnamed contributor. Prior to this purchase, the Santuario had fallen into disrepair. Several sacred images had been sold to the Spanish and Indian Trading Company, while the Santa Fe Curio department had supposedly put in an offer for the whole church. Another man was purportedly interested in acquiring the doors of the Santuario.¹⁰⁹ The Spanish Colonial Arts Society was formed for the purpose of regenerating interest in colonial arts and crafts. Started by Mary Austin, a writer who took a great interest in the Southwest, and Fred Applegate of Santa Fe, the Society raised the funds needed, primarily through the gift from the unnamed donor, to purchase the Santuario for \$6,000. The aim of the Society was to protect and preserve the nineteenth century artwork of the Santuario and to give the Santuario to the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, which would restore the church and safeguard the religious traditions of the area.¹¹⁰ The death of Fred Applegate and the Great Depression halted these ambitions, although several pieces of artwork were recovered and returned to the Santuario.

The Fred Harvey Company and its Indian Detours introduced a wider world to the Southwest. The company was a huge success in the first decades of the twentieth century before the Great Depression. It offered guided tours to tourist destinations like Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and the Grand Canyon using the railroads, cars, and their own company hotels. Pueblos became a great favorite as part of the Indian Detours. Santa Fe, as one of the primary destinations, gave rise to a larger market for Indian and New Mexican curios. Weavings from Chimayó gained popularity during this time and a demand for unique pieces developed.¹¹¹ With this success and

¹⁰⁹ Gross, Kelly and Company, Chimayó Vertical File, CSWR

¹¹⁰ "Nameless Donor Buys Chapel of Santuario," Chimayó Vertical File, CSWR

¹¹¹ *Indian and Mexican Arts*, Southwest Travel Literature, CSWR

publicity, more of the United States learned about Chimayó and its prized weavings, but not necessarily its churches.

The best known pilgrimage to Chimayó came after World War II when twenty-three military veterans made the trek. Prior to this occurrence, pilgrimages to Chimayó were very local in nature. Most pilgrims came from nearby villages that were within easy walking distance. These members of the 200th Coast Artillery, a part of New Mexico's National Guard, had been held as prisoners of war captured in the Philippines on the Bataan Peninsula. These men, familiar with the chapels of Chimayó, vowed that they would make the pilgrimage if they survived and returned home. Following the end of World War II, during Holy Week of 1946, twenty-three of the twenty-five veterans made the much-publicized pilgrimage to Chimayó to honor their vow in addition with five hundred others. Corporal C. Vigil started the walk in his hometown of Belen, ninety miles south of Chimayó.¹¹² This event brought Chimayó national attention and annual Holy Week pilgrimages have increased in number of participants, mostly Catholic, largely Latinos, over the decades.¹¹³

The restoration of the Santuario that the Spanish Colonial Arts Society wished to see was undertaken under the direction of Father Casimiro Roca in the 1950s. Newly arrived from Europe, Roca found the chapel in "a very grave situation."¹¹⁴ Upkeep of the chapel had been minimal over the preceding years. Pilgrims came once a year for Easter only. The Santuario was crumbling. Its walls were cracked, the foundation eroded, and the roof leaked. He recruited the help of the local community to make the repairs and "move this mountain (a small hill behind

¹¹² Josephine Chavez, "Chimayó," Chimayó Vertical File, CSWR

¹¹³ Ricketts, "Land of (Re)-Enchantment," p. 246.

¹¹⁴ "The Father of Chimayó," Chimayó Vertical File, CSWR

Potrero) from here to behind the Santuario!”¹¹⁵ Local contractors brought in heavy machinery and within a few days one hundred fifty thousand tons of dirt had been moved to shore up the Santuario’s foundation. The walls were plastered and the roof replaced by the workers who “did it for the Lord!” as they exclaimed.¹¹⁶ The Santuario now stands as it did when Roca completed the renovations, which blended in with the original construction of the building. In 1970, it was declared a National Historic Landmark. Because of his work to restore the Santuario and his tenure in Chimayó, Roca has become a highly respected member of the community. It is to him, that many members of the press have come to when searching for information about the Santuario, despite his insistence that healing is found in faith rather than the dirt.¹¹⁷ Also, Roca has been fundamental in solidifying the origin story of Bernardo Abeyta’s founding of the Santuario.

Presently the most heated controversy regarding Chimayó revolves around the future plans for the Santuario. The highly publicized pilgrimage of veterans in 1946 led to a dramatic increase in visitors to the Santuario, especially since improved road conditions have made the once isolated village more accessible. The numbers of pilgrims during Holy Week range from forty-to-sixty thousand a year, with the highest reported count being seventy-five thousand.¹¹⁸ In fact, pilgrims and tourists make up the largest percent of the two hundred thousand annual visitors to the Santuario, far outnumbering the number of local Chimayó villagers who visit. The annual pilgrimage has become so ingrained in the culture of northern New Mexico that the Department of Transportation has become routine in providing safe and clean passage for

¹¹⁵ Fr. Casimiro Roca, *A Long Trip for Two Short Legs: My Album of Memories*, (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2007) pp. 113.

¹¹⁶ Roca, *A Long Trip*, pp. 113.

¹¹⁷ “A Pastor Begs to Differ with Flock on Miracles,” *New York Times*.

¹¹⁸ “Pilgrims Make Trek to ‘Lourdes of America’” *Washington Post*, April 8, 2007.

pilgrims by closing off lanes along highways to vehicular traffic, posting guides along interchanges, removing snow when necessary, providing trash receptacles along the way to keep litter along the highways minimal, and ensuring safety at night with the provision of lights and glow sticks.¹¹⁹ Celebrities like Will Smith and his wife Jada Pinkett Smith have made their own trips to the Santuario, leaving with souvenirs of small samples of the dirt from the *pocito* and votive candles.¹²⁰ With this growing popularity and increasing number of visitors, citizens of Chimayó and leaders of the Santuario have differing visions and beliefs for future changes.

In February 2012, an independent group called the Los Niños Foundation released their plans for a multimillion-dollar retreat center at the Santuario, much to the dismay of the local population. The project would include a twenty-five room facility for the use of pilgrims near the Santa Cruz River and the Santuario. The Foundation plans to build the center in the same hacienda style typical of the area to blend into the architecture of the Santuario. The plan also calls for the renovation of two houses that sit across the street from the Santuario. Many locals especially object because one of the intended houses is the two hundred year old house of the Santuario founder Bernardo Abeyta, which will be turned into a museum upon completion. The second house sits next door to Abeyta's and is a hundred years old. Besides renovating the two houses, the Los Niños Foundation hopes to build a multipurpose community space beside the latter house. Gil Martinez of the Los Niños Foundation, who has been active in heading up this project, believes that the new additions will benefit residents of Chimayó, in particular the children of the area. Martinez has stated that the retreat center will provide jobs for some twenty-five to thirty people, depending on the center's occupancy level, and that a third of those jobs should pay more than minimum wage. He also intends the retreat center to have training

¹¹⁹ "Journey Begins for Faithful" *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, March 30, 2010.

¹²⁰ "El Mitote" *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, February 6, 2011.

programs for the youth of Chimayó in areas of cultural tours, gardening, and hospitality that would provide them with skills to help out in the future.¹²¹ As for the two houses, they would both be renovated like the Santuario has over the years, preserving the history and architecture for future generations.

Ultimately, the Catholic Church through the Archdiocese of Santa Fe will determine the future of the Santuario. Although the Archdiocese of Santa Fe is not directly responsible or involved in the project as it stands now, it does believe that “pilgrims and visitors to the Santuario de Chimayó area would benefit by having a facility close by where they could stay and experience the beauty and spirituality of the area.”¹²² The archdiocese has stipulated several goals that the Los Niños Foundation must achieve and channels they must go through before the archdiocese will endorse the project. Even though the proposed retreat center ostensibly has the backing of the Catholic Church, the Los Niños Foundation is responsible for garnering the support of the local community before any approval can be granted. Aside from the exterior renovations the Santuario has undergone, general needs like septic systems and additional parking have been addressed in the past as the Santuario deals with the sheer numbers of people who have visited.¹²³

Many locals do not share the confidence that the Archdiocese of Santa Fe and Martinez have with regards to the new changes. Many of the residents of Chimayó have lived in the area for generations. Some of them are descendents of the original Spanish settlers three centuries prior. These residents keep the traditions of the area alive. They are the keepers of the history of

¹²¹ “Jackie Jadmak column,” *Albuquerque Journal*, February 13, 2012.

¹²² Archdiocese of Santa Fe, Statement on Los Niños Foundation Proposed Retreat Center. February 15, 2012.

¹²³ Julie Ann Grimm, “El Santuario Seeks Space to Expand,” *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, April 24, 2007.

Chimayó. One such descendent, Don Usner, although he does not reside permanently in the area, has been crucial in recording stories from Chimayó. Two of his books, *Sabino's Map: Life in Chimayó's Old Plaza* and *Benigna's Chimayó: Cuentos from the Old Plaza*, contain anecdotes, remembrances, and folktales from the area that help preserve these traditions. Because of this love of home and way of life, these citizens are not happy about these proposals. Raymond Bal, president of the Chimayó Citizens for Community Planning (CCCP) and local business owner of El Potrero Trading Post has mounted the opposition to these expansions. His main fear is that these new developments will erode the cultural values, so the CCCP has been designed to “support responsible growth that is sensitive to and compatible with the historical assets and traditional cultural values of Chimayó.”¹²⁴ The CCCP aims to preserve both its historic and pilgrimage sites, and the natural resources, landscape, and agricultural traditions of the area. Chimayó has long been known for its chili peppers, but it is also famous for its weavers and artisans. The Ortega and Trujillo families run two of Chimayó's weaving shops. Both families have a long lineage of weaving in Chimayó. The Ortega's have been weaving for eight generations, while the Trujillo's for seven generations.¹²⁵ Irvin Trujillo, the current proprietor has received the 2007 National Endowment for the Arts National Heritage Fellowship and has had his work in the Smithsonian Institute.¹²⁶ Other artisans are known for their carvings, bronze work, paintings, and sculptures. Several shops sell many of these artworks and Native American curios. Aside from the chapels, Chimayó contains fourteen archaeological sites, some of which date back to Ancestral Pueblo and Tewa occupations over the past millennium and the CCCP

¹²⁴ [Sites.google.com/site/Chimayóplan/mission](http://sites.google.com/site/Chimayóplan/mission)

¹²⁵ Galeria Ortega, *Ortega's Weaving Shop*, (Chimayó, NM: Galeria Ortega). Lucero and Baizerman, *Chimayó Weaving*, pp. 143.

¹²⁶ http://www.arts.gov/honors/heritage/fellows/fellow.php?id=2007_11&type=bio

feels that it is their responsibility to protect all these historical sites and not just the most famous ones.¹²⁷

Apart from the local benefits, the proposed retreat center would increase the number of non-Chimayó citizens in the area who partake in the pilgrimages to the Santuario and the length of their stay in the area. Most pilgrims making the arduous trek to the remote chapels spend a small amount of time in the village before returning home. The archdiocese feels that the retreat center would “allow visitors to spend a longer period of time at Chimayó,” upwards of a few days where they can rest and find physical healing after the pilgrimage, but also take time for meditation and gain spiritual guidance.¹²⁸ Up to sixty visitors could stay in the retreat center at a time, which would allow for group retreats from church congregations around New Mexico, the United States, or abroad to use the new amenities that would be offered like the new restaurant and separate chapel while experiencing the serenity of Chimayó and the Santuario. These new guests to Chimayó could also bring in additional revenue to local businesses, especially those who specialize in one-of-a-kind crafts and pieces of art from Chimayó, but it would also increase the funds needed for general operations and maintenance of the Santuario.

A number of locals especially are uneasy about changes to the presentation and portrayal of the historic chapels. This is already evident in the additions made to the Santo Niño Chapel thus far, which came into the possession of the archdiocese in 1992. All the frescos that adorn the outside walls have been added since that time, whereas traditionally the adobe walls were kept plain. The artwork inside the Santo Niño Chapel created by Fernando Bimonte is also a contemporary addition. The paintings are brightly colored, giving the small Chapel a light and

¹²⁷ <https://sites.google.com/site/Chimayóplan/mission>

¹²⁸ Russell Contreras, “Santuario de Chimayó Retreat Center in the Works,” *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, December 2, 2011.

airy feel, especially when compared to the Santuario with its *reredos* and *retablos* that show sorrow and suffering. But the big difference here is that the artwork of the Santuario is over a century old with some pieces approaching two centuries in age, and have remained consistent throughout the Santuario's history, both in usage and overall compatible feeling with the church. Those in the Santo Niño Chapel, on the other hand, were commissioned over the past twenty years and lack an overall theme within the Chapel. The altar has a mock replica of the *Last Supper* originally by Leonardo da Vinci underneath a nearly cartoonish depiction of a Hispanic village scene. Hearts are a motif that runs throughout the Chapel.¹²⁹ Don Usner, also a descendant of Bernardo Abeyta, says these changes have “transformed [the chapel] into a kitschy shrine to bad taste.”¹³⁰ The gates outside the Santo Niño Chapel have, at times, been decorated with two large angels that look like Caucasian children with blonde hair and blue eyes. One of the worst offense, according to Usner, is the map of the Santuario that Usner says “brings Disneyland to Chimayó” with its depictions of the Santuario that rival a theme park.¹³¹ The drawings of buildings and statues appear to be caricatures, cartoonish in design and color, complete with “you are here” stars.

The grounds of the Santuario have already suffered under the renovations made by the Church. The grounds have “become cluttered, besieged with signs and pavement and gift shops,” taking away much of the aesthetic beauty of the place.¹³² As the Chimayó map describes, the outbuildings and recreation areas have all been given kitschy names like “Seven Days Creation” picnic area, “Luminous Mysteries Portal,” and “Holy Family Barn.” The grounds have become

¹²⁹ “Chimayó, New Mexico: Soulless Possession of Santo Nino,” *Revolution Culture Journal*, <http://www.revolutionculturejournal.com/E1%20Nino%20Chapel.htm>

¹³⁰ Don Usner, “Don’t Bring Disneyland to Chimayó,” *The New Mexican*, February 18, 2012.

¹³¹ Don Usner, “Don’t Bring Disneyland to Chimayó.”

¹³² Don Usner, “Don’t Bring Disneyland to Chimayó.”

overrun with statues taking up much of the empty space. Some of these statues celebrate the Penitente past or triculturalism of the area. Others feel out of place. The Madonna Garden received a new addition in 2011, a statue of Our Lady of La Vang, the Saint of Vietnam, in honor of the Vietnamese refugees now living in New Mexico.¹³³ This ethnic supplement added to the already tricultural diversity of Hispanic, Anglo, and Native American cultures of the area convolutes the focus of the Santuario, giving a “jumbled quality to the compound.”¹³⁴ These changes, possibly indicative of future plans, makes the citizens wary of the Catholic Church’s intentions to their beloved community. Aside from the community, the potential changes to the tourism of the area may impact how the residents, who not only live in the area, but also are the owners and workers of the shops and galleries, are viewed. The town that is already seen as “an unchanging and unchanged place; as such it exists in a romantic, quasi-religious, ideal time outside of time as it functions in the real world,” may find itself as the next Colonial Williamsburg, complete with period appropriate costumes.¹³⁵

Some members of the community feel that the Catholic Church should be supporting the local Holy Family Church, which many of the parishioners of Chimayó attend. Both the Holy Family Church and the Santuario are under the jurisdiction of the Holy Family Parish, but for the citizens of Chimayó, the Holy Family Church is where the locals go, as opposed to the Santuario that is visited by people outside the community. The Holy Family Church is also in need of repairs and locals believe that a portion of the money that would fund the new retreat center

¹³³ Russell Contreras, “Santuario de Chimayó retreat center in the works.”

¹³⁴ Tom Sharpe, “Building Spirituality or Ruining It?” *The New Mexican*, December 22, 2011.

¹³⁵ Laura Roxanne Seagraves, “A Bit About Dirt,” p. 192.

would be better spent on the Holy Family Church, as opposed to “adding buildings for visitors to the Santuario.”¹³⁶

Besides the harmful potential to the culture of the area, some residents are afraid of what an increase in people may do to the community. In particular they fear a rise in crime. Several residents have told reporters that they worry that more visitors staying in the area would lead to break-ins and theft from visitors’ cars and the new facilities, but there is also the belief that those crimes could move over into the homes of the citizens.¹³⁷ For all its idyllic allure, Chimayó has had a troubled criminal history. During the Holy Week pilgrimage of 2000, on April 21, two teenagers, Ricky Martinez and Karen Castanon were murdered as they walked from the nearby town of Española to Chimayó. Carlos Herrera, a nineteen-year old high school drop out, shot Martinez on the road as he drove by them, while Castanon was forced into Herrera’s truck and driven away to an arroyo north of Chimayó where she was killed. Pilgrims making their way to the Santuario had to be rerouted to bypass the crime scene and Martinez’s body. Carlos Herrera, the perpetrator of these crimes was found at the time of the murders both drunk and high on cocaine.¹³⁸ Herrera gave no reason for the crime outside of the fact that he was under the influence of drugs and alcohol, and happened to come across the two teenagers making the pilgrimage to Chimayó.

Illicit drug usage is one of the hidden secrets of Chimayó and surrounding lands that media and travel promoters do not mention. Rio Arriba County and Española to the west of Chimayó have the dubious honor of “highest rate of illicit drug overdoses of any state.”¹³⁹ Heroin, cocaine, and prescription drugs play a large part in these overdoses that average 42.5

¹³⁶ Jackie Jadrnak column, *Albuquerque Journal*.

¹³⁷ Jackie Jadrnak column, *Albuquerque Journal*, February 12, 2012.

¹³⁸ Michael Trujillo, *Land of Disenchantment*, pp. 63.

¹³⁹ Trujillo, *Land of Disenchantment*, pp. 75. See also Morgan and Morgan 2002 study.

versus a national average of 7.3 deaths per 100,000 people. These problems also include multi-generational use of illicit drugs.¹⁴⁰ Michael Trujillo in his book *Land of Disenchantment* described stepping over hypodermic needles three times as he walked to the Santuario one Good Friday, a fact that no other author has noted when discussing Chimayó or the Santuario. It is even said that Chimayó is a “central location in the valley’s drug trafficking” problems.¹⁴¹ It is because of this growing drug problem that the proposed spiritual center is intended to “help children” of the area.¹⁴² By providing training and work for the youth of the area, the retreat center would imbue them with skills that could be beneficial for the future. This would potentially protect these young people from the threat of illicit drugs by giving them something additional in their lives to focus on and goals to achieve. Similarly, the Chimayó Museum, which presents the history of the village, has a program called the Los Maestros del Norte. This program teaches youth of the area the skills of New Mexican folk art creation. The subjects range from working with tin, metal, wood, clay, and bone, as well as weaving. The museum displays many of these pieces of art and help students to set up booths at the Spanish Market, a gathering of over two hundred native New Mexican artists held annually in July in Santa Fe.¹⁴³ One of the requirements of the Los Maestros del Norte program is to abstain from drug use and to stay in school therefore paving the way for better futures for the youth of Chimayó.

Several factors are driving these discussions for a new retreat center. For many citizens in Chimayó there are few economic opportunities in Chimayó itself. Chimayó has a population of

¹⁴⁰ Erik Eckholm, “A Grim Tradition, and a Long Struggle to End It,” *New York Times*, April 8, 2008.

¹⁴¹ Trujillo, *Land of Disenchantment*, pp. 61.

¹⁴² Jackie Jadrnak column, *Albuquerque Journal*, February 13, 2012.

¹⁴³ Chimayó Association of Businesses, *Chimayó...where traditions live on*, (Chimayó, NM: Chimayó Association of Businesses.)

3,400 people with about a third of that figure in the work force.¹⁴⁴ The primary employment fields are construction, education, health care services, and public administration. But many of these jobs require a thirty-minute commute to nearby Santa Fe, Los Alamos, Española, or Taos. Tourism is the main economic source in Chimayó. While the weaving shops have an online presence and can conduct much of their business that way, they are direct recipients of the traffic that comes through Chimayó to see the Santuario. The weaving shops employ workers that weave from home, Ortega's Weaving Shop has upwards to ninety additional weavers who supplement their income through their craft, but without the thriving tourism industry of Chimayó, these goods would not have the market that they currently enjoy.¹⁴⁵ The few eateries in town could support themselves through local traffic, but the bed and breakfast accommodations, four in number, are dependent on tourism. Without the benefit of the popularity of the Santuario, Chimayó could potentially have ended up as a ghost town like Madrid, Shakespeare, and Cerrillos at the end of World War II when the needs of the war effort drew men and women into the military and factories in the bigger cities.¹⁴⁶ The opportunities are not available in Chimayó, except for those who can market the legitimacy and uniqueness of their skills, as many of these weaving families have done through their long lineage of Chimayó weavers, to make their goods desirable. For the residents of Chimayó, the traditions of the area are under threat by the new changes to the beloved chapels. The Santuario de Chimayó has also had to market itself as a church of miracles that people believe in, otherwise it would never have the international publicity and the number of pilgrims and tourists who grace its doorstep.

¹⁴⁴ 2006-2010 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates. Census records American Fact Finder.

¹⁴⁵ "Chimayó wool-weavers," Chimayo Folder, Ruth W. Armstrong Papers, CSWR.

¹⁴⁶ "Ghost Towns of New Mexico," Ghost Town Folder, Ruth W. Armstrong Papers, CSWR.

Currently a group of people from Chimayó and the Los Niños Foundation are still in talks about the future plans for Chimayó. In an attempt to compromise, Gil Martinez has “scaled down” the plans for the new retreat.¹⁴⁷ These new plans will move the location of the sleeping rooms away from the historic structures of El Potrero, so as not to overcrowd the small neighborhood. Due to the proposed retreat center, Chimayó’s El Potrero has been put on the New Mexico Heritage Preservation Alliance’s endangered properties list.¹⁴⁸ Concerned citizens from outside of the Chimayó community feel that the proposed center is “an unfathomable level of cultural and historic resource commodification” to a “unique cultural and historic treasure.”¹⁴⁹ Opinions are split over the ramifications to the historic building or the potential for economic development in the area.

The Santuario de Chimayó has played a pivotal role in the development of Chimayó as a religious tourist site. As tourism is the largest industry in Chimayó, the Santuario is the driving force of the economy. This religious tourism is not without its problems for the local community. This case shows what happens when a large outside entity, like the Roman Catholic Church, or other corporations, enter into a local community. The Church’s attempt to dictate how the tourism of the Santuario runs has increased tensions with the local community, many members of which have lived in the area for generations and have personal or familial ties to the Santuario. These tensions range from issues of identity to dealing with outsiders to the economic impact of tourism. Whether visitors are making a religious pilgrimage during Holy Week or coming to see the Santuario for personal reasons, they are coming in large numbers to visit the humble church. These numbers have brought their own demands to the residents of Chimayó to supply food,

¹⁴⁷ “In Brief,” *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, February 8, 2012.

¹⁴⁸ “In Brief,” *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, April, 24, 2012.

¹⁴⁹ Tom McIntosh, “Letters to the Editor,” *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, February 23, 2012.

souvenirs, curios, and lodgings. The proprietors of these businesses, most of which are local residents and are supplied by locally crafted goods, have thus felt the impact of tourism. Because of the growing tourism to the Santuario, the Catholic leadership, from the Holy Family Parish through the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, have tried to cater to the needs of the visitors through the additions to the Santuario grounds, museums, and gift shops. The desire to endorse the Los Niños Foundation's plan to build a large retreat center in Chimayó derives from the Church's mission to provide spiritual guidance. The tensions in Chimayó come from the fact that many of the residents also feel that they have their own mission to safeguard their culture, religious monuments, historical sites, and way of life in general. These citizens have used other channels, like the grassroots Chimayó Citizens for Community Planning to gain local strength to push back against these outside efforts. Through this method, they are adding their own voice to the argument to dictate their own terms, something that the *Devil's Bargains* says does not happen when large corporations take over the tourism industry. Part of what the Chimayó residents want to protect is the image and identity of their town and beloved Santuario, which they feel the Catholic Church has harmed with all the changes and additions that have been made. Whether the Archdiocese of Santa Fe accepts the retreat plans will determine the future growth of the small community. These new changes threaten the very culture of the small village. Residents do not wish for their village to forever be seen as a timeless, unchanging place, but they also do not want their traditions and culture to be threatened, ruined, or marketed as a part of the Santuario complex.

IV. ROSWELL: OUT OF THIS WORLD ENCOUNTERS

Roswell, New Mexico, a two-time All American City, has become synonymous with extraterrestrials, Unidentified Flying Objects (UFOs), and government cover-ups. Media has turned the town into a household name through films and television shows like *The X-Files*, *Independence Day*, and *Roswell* that have been created since the late 1980s. The city of Roswell has in turn capitalized on this notoriety and has modeled itself as a center for alien enthusiasts. While Roswell has discovered the economic possibilities of tourism, the town itself struggles with how it should be portrayed. The Roswell Welcome sign at the entrance to the city tells visitors that Roswell is the “Dairy Capital of the Southwest.” This innocuous sign makes no mention of the aliens or UFOs that have come to define the small town. In fact, Roswell is home to a Leprino Foods mozzarella cheese production plants, one of the largest in the world. The history of the city is as varied and significant to American history with its connections to outlaws and scientific discoveries as it is infamous for its association with extraterrestrial life. That is what has created the rift regarding Roswell’s image and future. Roswell and its residents are conflicted as to which features and history should be promoted. The current UFO craze has contributed greatly to helping a struggling economy, but local town pride would rather keep the town and its citizens’ contributions in the forefront of visitors’ minds.

The International UFO Museum and Research Center (IUFOMRC), located prominently on Roswell’s Main Street, remains the main destination for UFO enthusiasts, the curious, and the skeptics alike. The marquee outside the renovated movie theater proudly displays the UFO logo for all to see. A statue called the “Mac Brazel Debris Find,” featuring a horse and rider, alien,

and broken pieces of a UFO, greets visitors as they walk towards the entrance. After paying the small fee to enter the museum (the IUFOMRC is the only museum in Roswell, NM that does not have free admittance) visitors are free to explore. The IUFOMRC comprises three areas: the first, the museum proper, which chronicles the events of the 1947 crash and other UFO encounters around the world; second, the Research Center comprising of fiction and non-fiction books, magazines, videos, and toys of aliens, UFOs, and space; and finally, the gift shop and picture area.¹⁵⁰

The aim of the museum is to promote discourse about the possibility of UFOs by examining the “official story” of the Army and the “conspiracy theories” that have arisen. The museum is laid out as a large horseshoe that curves around a central movie viewing room. The museum begins with the events of the July crash of 1947 and focuses purely on Roswell for the first half before examining UFO sightings and encounters around the world. The museum presents information on the people involved, the projects of the Army and Air Force, and how UFO/alien encounters have been characterized. Included are the conflicting stories and evidence and viewpoints that suggest something else may have occurred in Roswell. The newspapers, official documents, information plaques, alien artwork, and large dioramas often overshadow the more informative pieces. One of the largest, situated towards the back of the building, consists of three large grayish-green aliens complete with big black eyes, large oblong heads, and small limbs walking along a desert with a UFO flying above them. As photography is allowed and even encouraged within most of the museum, this diorama is a favorite among visitors who want a photo of themselves amongst the aliens. Another diorama contains two large test tubes with alien life forms inside. The final life size diorama is a replica from a scene in *Roswell*, a 1994

¹⁵⁰ International UFO Museum and Research Center, (Roswell, NM: International UFO Museum and Research Center).

film that featured many of the people involved in the initial Roswell Incident. Here a doctor in all white and a man in a black suit and fedora, both with surgical masks over their faces, stand over a hospital bed containing an alien. Near the figures sits a variety of surgical implements. Newspapers featuring titles pertaining to aliens are scattered around the scene as well. Smaller diorama models like “Wow, What’s This?” and “Nazi Foo Fighter” explore the possibility that Allied soldiers came upon UFOs in the top secret Nazi bases. A large wooden carving with a diagram that explains the specific symbols suggests that Meso-Americans had encounters with visitors from the sky.¹⁵¹

The Research Center connects to the Museum near the main entrance, but it is not as well publicized. From my time doing research there, several visitors who wandered through the area commented that it “could be a museum of its own.” The Research Center winds through several smaller rooms. The first is filled with books and video material about aliens, UFOs, abductions, space, and anything else possibly related to the topics. There are several smaller video-viewing rooms that contain televisions and several chairs. Beside this room is a long hallway that displays alien toys, collectables, and movie memorabilia from *Star Trek*, *X-Files*, *Alien*, and many other works of popular culture. The final room consists of several tables and chairs, and the archives filling shelves along the walls. Here visitors are free to look into the labeled boxes if they wish to discover magazines, newspaper articles, and reports on various subjects relating to UFOs and Roswell’s 1947 crash. Directly opposite the Research Center across the lobby are the gift shop and photo area, the only two places where photography is not allowed within the Museum. For a small fee visitors can pose with cutouts of aliens and receive an official IUFOMRC photo to

¹⁵¹ International UFO Museum and Research Center, Roswell Vertical File, CSWR.

document their visit. In the gift shop they can find souvenirs, t-shirts, and toys to bring home or give to friends and family.

Much of Main Street and even many businesses in Roswell have adopted the UFO theme in their advertisements. All the streetlights in the blocks surrounding the IUFOMRC, while typical in design, boast two almond shaped black eyes giving them the appearance of extraterrestrial beings. Storefront windows display painted aliens, UFOs, and designs depicting outer space, even those wholly unconnected with any facet of UFO tourism. The Wal-Mart Supercenter at the far north end of town features big-eyed green aliens welcoming customers. The chain restaurants that line Main Street have taken up the theme. The McDonald's is designed to look like a flying saucer from the outside and has a space-themed play center inside. The Kentucky Fried Chicken has a large green alien statue greeting customers as they enter the door. Arby's has made sure that aliens know they are welcome, even including the phrase in an alien language. The hotels also display their acceptance of aliens, with the Super 8 showing that "[Aliens] feel at home" when they stay there and even have a large silver flying saucer parked out front. Others have played on the Old West themes and have put green aliens on wagons to exaggerate the tropes. Gas stations, jewelry stores, insurance agents, self-storage facilities, and radio stations have all used the gimmick in one form or another. Despite the campy nature of many of these advertisements, they seem to succeed in satisfying tourists' expectations and desires that brought them to Roswell.

Aside from the extraterrestrial tourism appeal, Roswell has over the last century been home to a number of visitor attractions. Twelve miles east is New Mexico's first state park, the Bottomless Lakes. These lakes are actually sinkholes that range from depths of 17 to 90 feet, but seemed bottomless to herders used their lariats to gauge the distance, a feat that proved

impossible at the time.¹⁵² The lakes and surrounding land were designated as a state park in 1933, and the Civilian Conservation Corps built several recreation areas over the following two years. A series of seven bodies of water, known as Lazy Lagoon, Cottonwood Lake, Mirror Lake, Devil's Inkwell, Figure Eight Lake, Pasture Lake, and Lea Lake, make up the Bottomless Lakes. Fishing, swimming, scuba diving, and camping are popular activities.¹⁵³ Eleven miles northeast of Roswell is Bitter Lake National Wildlife Refuge. This land was set aside in 1937 to serve as a safe oasis for wintering and breeding migratory birds traveling between the Chihuahuan Desert and the Central Flyway of North America. Nearly four hundred bird species, fifty-five mammals, thirty fish, and fifty reptiles and amphibians have been known to inhabit the Refuge, many of which can be learned about in the Headquarters' Interpretive Center at the entrance to Bitter Lake.¹⁵⁴ There is an eight and a half mile designated automobile tour loop through the wetlands along with specified hiking trails. Each season the animal population changes as the shorebirds come in during spring, dragonflies in summer, ducks in fall, and in winter the geese and cranes roost. In early September, Bitter Lake National Wildlife Refuge holds a Dragonfly Festival where one of the most spectacular and diverse groupings of dragonflies can be seen.

Roswell boasts its fair share of museums besides that devoted to extraterrestrials. The Roswell Museum and Art Center (RMAC), located at the intersection of Main and Eleventh Street, has been a staple of Roswell's culture since the Works Project Administration built it in 1937. The American Association of Museums accredited RMAC into its system in 1978, making

¹⁵² Energy, Minerals, and Natural Resources Department, *Bottomless Lakes State Park*, (Santa Fe: New Mexico State Parks Division).

¹⁵³ A Cultural Guide to Roswell, Roswell Vertical File, CSWR.

¹⁵⁴ U.S. Fish and Wildlife Services, *Bitter Lake National Wildlife Refuge*, (Albuquerque: US Fish and Wildlife Services, 2007).

it the first of New Mexico's museum to receive such an honor.¹⁵⁵ Within the Pueblo style walls of the RMAC, twelve galleries contain paintings and historical presentations about and significant to Roswell, Chaves County, and New Mexico. Paintings by Georgia O'Keeffe and Roswell native Peter Hurd adorn the walls beside new works that have come out of the Artist-in-Residence program, a fellowship for up to a year that pays housing, supplies, stipend, and studio space for artists to fully concentrate on their art.¹⁵⁶ The program, which began in 1967 under the direction of Donald B. Anderson, a local businessman, art collector, and painter, has become a highly desirable prize for artists. The museum created a full replica of pioneer rocketry scientist Robert Goddard's workshop with several of his original inventions and tools as well as his rocket tower, which is outside in the courtyard and visible to observers outside the museum. There is also a Robert H. Goddard Planetarium connected to the RMAC for astronomy education.¹⁵⁷ The Aston Collection of the American West, a permanent collection, contains over 3,500 pieces of clothing, weapons, jewelry, and history of New Mexico's Native American, Spanish, and frontier days. Current exhibits showcase the founding and history of Roswell as part of the New Mexico's centennial statehood celebration. A second art museum opened in 1994 to accommodate the growing number of works produced through the Artist-in-Residence program. The Anderson Museum of Contemporary Art, named after Donald B. Anderson, offers seventeen thousand square feet of galleries. From its walls or ceilings hang more than three hundred pieces of artwork that range from photography and painting to fiberglass sculptures. Great White Sharks made of golf bags, wood, and oil paints dangle above the heads of visitors. Abstract paintings, bizarre sculptures, and graphic prints are part of what can be found.

¹⁵⁵ Carole Larson, "Museum Keeps Roswell On Top Of Art World," *New Mexico Magazine*, May 1987.

¹⁵⁶ Roswell Museum and Art Center, Roswell Folder, Ruth W. Armstrong Papers, CSWR.

¹⁵⁷ Roswell, Roswell Vertical File, CSWR.

The Historical Center for Southeast New Mexico tells the history of Roswell and Chaves County. The museum resides in a prairie style house built in the early twentieth century by James Phelps White for his family. At the death of his wife Lou Tomlinson White in 1972, the house with many of its original possessions was donated for the purpose of becoming a museum. Many of the exhibits display early twentieth century styles of furniture in the entryway, parlor, and dining room downstairs. Upstairs presents different aspects of Roswell's history with famous Roswellians like Roy Rogers, John Denver, and Demi Moore and other well-known persons who have had some connection to Roswell.¹⁵⁸

Walker Aviation Museum at the Roswell International Air Center, on the site of the former Walker Air Force Base and the McBride Museum at the New Mexico Military Institute, highlight the military history of the town. The Walker Aviation Museum currently occupies two rooms in the entryway of the airport, but there are plans to move into its own space. Memorabilia from World War II and the base make up the bulk of the museum from helmets and old equipment to letters and pictures. Models of the Enola Gay hang from the ceiling.¹⁵⁹ The General Douglas L. McBride Museum focuses its attention on the contribution of New Mexican citizens in the armed conflicts from the Spanish-American War and on. Combat paintings from Peter Hurd, a former NMMI graduate himself, are a main part of the exhibits.¹⁶⁰ One further point of interest lies several blocks east of the Roswell Museum and Art Center. During World War II, Roswell held German prisoners of war who were put to work in the fields and on flood control of Spring River. They made a German iron cross on one bank, which despite Roswell citizens

¹⁵⁸ Historical Center for Southeast New Mexico Museum, (Roswell, NM: Historical Center for Southeast New Mexico Inc.).

¹⁵⁹ Walker Aviation Museum, (Roswell, NM: Walker Air Force Base Museum).

¹⁶⁰ Roswell, NM, Roswell Vertical File, CSWR.

covering it up with concrete, is still visible. A section of the Berlin Wall is also displayed at the small park.

The Spring River Park and Zoo has special appeal to children. The 34-acre park is the only free zoo in New Mexico. The Capitan Trail features native animals like foxes, raccoons, and bobcats, while the Plains portion has bison and prairie dogs. Predators like coyotes, wolves, and bears can be found near deer and antelope enclosures. A children's zoo and ranch area has pigmy goats, miniature horses, and Texas longhorn cattle. Further extensions for a "world safari" are planned. One of the big draws of the park is the antique wooden horse carousel that was refurbished by Marianne Stevens, another Roswell local, well-known in the carousel world for her restorations of antique pieces. Stevens donated the carousel to Spring River Park in the 1970s.¹⁶¹ Besides the carousel, there is an antique miniature train that became a fixture in the park in 1976. The train gives rides around the park. Both rides only cost a quarter, a modest inflation from the ten cents originally charged.¹⁶²

While Roswell's present and future are tied to UFOs and outer space, the town's past is firmly rooted in agriculture. The town is located in the southeastern quadrant of New Mexico, far away from the larger centers of population, then and now. Abundant water from the small waterways of the Spring, Hondo, and Pecos Rivers, and two Berrendo tributaries and the lakes that surround and bypass the town made the area an ideal location for ranching and farming in the otherwise inhospitable desert of southeastern New Mexico. Van Smith, the founder of Roswell, built several adobe buildings in the 1860s to serve as a boarding house, mercantile shop, blacksmith shop, and stables. It was for his father, Roswell Smith, that the first post office

¹⁶¹ John Jarrel, "Carousel Lady," *New Mexico Magazine*, January 1976.

¹⁶² Roswell, NM, Roswell Folder, Ruth W. Armstrong Papers, CSWR.

was named. The name eventually stuck to the whole town.¹⁶³ John Simpson Chisum, the cattle baron, also picked the area to be his headquarters. Originally settling at Bosque Grande, thirty-five miles north of Roswell, in 1875 he relocated to the head of the South Spring River southeast of town where he established the South Spring River Ranch with an estimated eighty thousand head of cattle.¹⁶⁴ In 1877, Captain Joseph C. Lea, the “Father of Roswell,” purchased Van Smith’s holdings, which included the mercantile shop, boarding house, and several hundred acres of land in the center of Roswell. With this land and his interest in ranching, Lea built irrigation ditches off the Spring River to water tracts of land that were then used for cultivating vegetables, grain, and fruit orchards for human and animal consumption.¹⁶⁵ This desert oasis proved an ideal location as more ranchers moving cattle throughout the Southwest chose to settle in the area. Roswell claims a connection to the notorious outlaw Billy the Kid, of the nearby Lincoln County War fame, who once worked on the cattle ranches in Roswell. Pat Garrett, the Lincoln County Sheriff who became famous for his killing of Billy the Kid, once ran for sheriff of Chaves County, but lost.¹⁶⁶

Coming out of its cattle days, Roswell made a name for itself as a military and science site. The New Mexican Military Institute, the “only state-supported, coeducational, military junior college in the nation,” was founded in 1891.¹⁶⁷ In 1930, Dr. Robert Goddard, the “Father of Modern Rocketry,” picked Roswell to be his base of operations for his experiments on jets and rockets. His work would become crucial during World War II when the United States

¹⁶³ Frieda Bryan Hyatt, “The Roswell Story- Building a City” *New Mexican Magazine*, May 1962.

¹⁶⁴ Elvis Fleming, *Roswell, NM: A Brief History*, (Roswell, NM: Historical Society for the Southeast New Mexico, Inc., 2003), pp. 3.

¹⁶⁵ “The Roswell Story.” Fleming, *Roswell*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁶⁶ Fleming, *Roswell*, pp. 4.

¹⁶⁷ Cathy Nelson, “NMMI: A Century Salute,” *New Mexico Magazine*, October 1991.

military branches finally recognized the worth of his experiments, but most would be realized only after German and Japanese scientists showed what these innovations could do in military situations. His scientific contributions paved the way for sending rockets into space.¹⁶⁸ In 1941, the War Department established a flying school in southern Roswell as part of the war effort. Originally called the Roswell Army Flying School, it would be turned into a full time Army and later Air Force Base. In November of 1945, the Roswell Army Air Field became the new home of the 509th Composite Group, at the time the only atomic warfare group in the world, and was the home base for the *Enola Gay*, the B-29 bomber that delivered the atomic bomb to Hiroshima.

Following World War II, the renamed Walker Air Force Base, recognizing Brigadier General Kenneth Walker of Cerrillos, New Mexico, played an important role in Roswell's economy. By the 1960s, Roswell's economy was continuing to grow, becoming one of the strongest in the state. At that point, it was the third largest city in population behind Albuquerque and Las Cruces and was the business hub for southeastern New Mexico.¹⁶⁹ Its workers were mainly employed in agriculture, petroleum, military, banking, and retail fields. Chaves County reported income of \$32 million from agricultural endeavors with another \$48 million from non-agricultural industries. Banking and construction made up another part of the thriving economy. Walker Air Force Base brought in another \$15 to \$25 million annually and employed many residents directly or indirectly as they supplied military needs around town.¹⁷⁰ The city's population in the mid-1960s was about forty thousand, nearly doubling that of twenty years earlier.¹⁷¹ Then in March of 1965, Roswell received the devastating news that the Air Force

¹⁶⁸ Dorothea Magdalene Fox, "Dr. Goddard" *New Mexico Magazine*, September 1960.

¹⁶⁹ 1940 and 1950 Census records.

¹⁷⁰ "The Roswell Story."

¹⁷¹ 1960 and 1940 Census records.

would phase out Walker Air Force Base. It was fully closed on June 20, 1967.¹⁷² During the same period, several petroleum companies had also left the area, further hurting the struggling economy.

Walker Air Force Base was renamed the Roswell Industrial Air Center. Eastern New Mexico University, located in nearby Portales, ninety miles away, opened a branch of its school including a Technical and Vocational Training Center in some of the buildings of the base. Thiokol Chemical Corporations in conjunction with the Bureau of Indian Affairs took over several buildings and offered vocational training in electricity, carpentry, machinery, and welding to volunteer Native Americans. Pan American World Airways opened a training program for pilots, much as the Air Force had done using the base's thirteen thousand feet of runways. Other manufacturing companies in pyrotechnics, electronic components, denim clothing, and packing suppliers saw the potential of the facilities and the work force of Roswell.¹⁷³ These new companies employed eighty to two hundred workers each, small numbers when compared to Roswell's population. Leprino Foods remained, while others closed after a short time. The Transportation Manufacturing Company, which produced buses, would employ up to nine hundred workers, but caused further devastating layoffs when it closed. Nova BUS replaced Transportation Company, but closed its doors in 2002.¹⁷⁴ By the 1970s, the city's population had declined to 33,908 as residents left to seek employment elsewhere.¹⁷⁵ Roswell's agricultural industries were less affected by the closing of Walker Air Force Base and continued as a thriving industry, generating a healthy income. But they had little effect on Roswell's unemployment problems. Feedlots did not necessitate large numbers of workers to function

¹⁷² Fleming, *Roswell*, pp. 8-11.

¹⁷³ Dean Tidwell, "Roswell: Another City on the 'Go,'" *New Mexico Magazine*, April 1968.

¹⁷⁴ Fleming, *Roswell*, pp. 11.

¹⁷⁵ 1970 Census records.

properly. Mechanization of farming equipment made farmers and ranchers less dependent on additional help as well.

As the economy and population dwindled in the 1970s, the city attempted to promote itself as an ideal location for retirement. Citing the pleasant year round weather, golf courses, cultural benefits, and excellent medical care, Roswell tried to regain some of the numbers that fled when many of the jobs left the area. It began a campaign promising retirees that they would find that Roswell was “rich in history and tradition.”¹⁷⁶ Roswell claimed to have the largest chapter of American Association of Retired Persons or AARP in New Mexico. There were groups to support retired teachers and federal employees. Others brought together retirees from specific states and regions. Eastern New Mexico University offered adult education courses in the arts and languages. Bridge, gardening, bird watching, domino, and stamp clubs were organized to interest an older population. The Roswell Museum and Art Center, Symphony, and Little Theater showcased the culture of the town.¹⁷⁷ Although the campaign did successfully bring in retirees and Roswell’s population began to slowly even out from the losses it sustained after the closing of Walker Air Force Base, the campaign did little for the economy of Roswell. Few new jobs became available as many of the adult education courses and groups were headed by a volunteer staff. Roswell found itself in the same position it had been in earlier, not enough jobs to support the working population, but now there were additional people living in the city.

As Roswell was wrestling with its future and facing severe economic problems, a local event that had happened earlier fit in well with an emerging national obsession. This event offered Roswell a new direction and opportunity, but it also created new tensions for the town. The incident that has since made Roswell the mecca for UFO enthusiasts and conspiracy buffs

¹⁷⁶ Fact Finder on Retirement Living, Roswell Folder, Ruth Armstrong Papers, CSWR.

¹⁷⁷ Fact Finder on Retirement Living, Roswell Folder, Ruth Armstrong Papers, CSWR.

occurred in early July 1947, following on the heels of numerous sightings across the United States of unexplained lights in the skies and flying objects. These previous sightings made the nation ripe to explore the occurrence of a crashed object in the desert of New Mexico.

Newspapers around the United States and even in England reported the story with fascination, especially when they could include the initial press release from the Air Force. Donald Keyhoe wrote several books during the end of the 1940s and early 1950s called *The Flying Saucers Are Real*, *Flying Saucers from Outer Space*, and *The Flying Saucer Conspiracy*. He gained a number of followers partly because he was a major in the United States Marine Corps at the time when he was writing these books.

Although this story created interest at the time, it was only in the late 1970s and early 1980s when the Roswell story became widely associated in the popular mind with UFOs. What is known about the 1947 Roswell Incident would be distorted over time, which would add credence to conspiracy theorists who would argue over the minutiae of details as proof of a cover up. Dates and eyewitness accounts seem to change with each retelling. New discoveries of people involved in the incident are added in the subsequent publications. All the competing stories have generated interest in the legend, the event, and the location. Roswell would capitalize on the interest, however begrudgingly.

What can be known about the events is a relatively straightforward. At some point between the middle of June and early July, local rancher William W. “Mac” Brazel found some debris in a field seventy-five miles northwest of Roswell. Descriptions of this debris ranged from “rubber strips, tinfoil, wood sticks, Scotch tape, other tape with a floral design and...rather tough paper” to unknown materials that “wouldn’t break,” contained “petroglyphs,” and were unlike

anything ever seen.¹⁷⁸ This debris was reported to local authorities, who then contacted the military from nearby Roswell Army Air Field to investigate. The military relocated the debris to the base in Roswell. A press release reported that “Roswell Army Air Field...has come into possession of a flying saucer,” although no details were released.¹⁷⁹ The following day, July 9, 1947, the newspaper retracted the article, saying that it was not a flying saucer that had been found.¹⁸⁰ Instead it was the remains of a weather balloon lost from Alamogordo Army Airfield a month prior. This weather balloon was part of an experiment by Charles B. Moore, a New York University graduate student at the time, on polyethylene, a lightweight plastic that can withstand pressure from high altitudes.¹⁸¹

Interest in the crash then died down. No new evidence was released and no more was said officially about the incident. Three decades later, fascination sparked back to life as a progression of books, magazine articles, and television shows excited imaginations once again. Starting with an article in the *National Enquirer* in 1979 by a former base intelligence officer, Jesse A. Marcel, stationed at Roswell Army Air Field during the 1940s, the new works brought forward new evidence and testimonials that had previously never been heard. Books by UFO experts who had studied as physicists including Charles B. Moore of the weather balloon experiment or Air Force pilots gave validity to these stories in titles like *The Roswell Incident*, *The Truth About the UFO Crash at Roswell*, *The Real Roswell Crash-Saucer Coverup*, and

¹⁷⁸ The first description comes from Leon Jaroff “Did Aliens Really Land?” *Time*, (2 June 1993) pp. 63. The second description is from Kal K. Korff, *The Roswell UFO Crash: What They Don't Want You to Know*, (Amherst, New York, 1997) pp. 18.

¹⁷⁹ “RAAF Captures Flying Saucer on Ranch in Roswell Region,” *Roswell Daily Record*, July 8, 1947, IUFOMRC.

¹⁸⁰ “Harassed Rancher who Located “Saucer” Sorry He Told About It.” *Roswell Daily Record*, July 9, 1947, IUFOMRC.

¹⁸¹ James McAndrew, *The Roswell Report: Case Closed*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Officer, 1997) pp. 40.

*Crash at Corona: The U.S. Military Retrieval and Cover-Up of a UFO.*¹⁸² These books specifically said that the debris found in the desert was alien spacecraft of some type, built out of material never before encountered that did not dent or burn when experimented on. Furthermore, there were several human-like extraterrestrials in the crash. Accounts vary from three to seven life forms and whether some were still alive when taken into custody. The military reportedly threatened the people who witnessed the event. Supposed hidden documents somehow made their way into the hands of a television producer or were discovered concealed in the National Archives. One was the Operation Majestic 12, or MJ-12 report, which claimed to have briefed President Dwight D. Eisenhower about UFOs. Another document supposedly confirmed the truth of the MJ-12 report.¹⁸³ *Unsolved Mysteries* and *Alien Autopsy: Fact or Fiction* ran as television specials investigating Roswell. Conflicting stories of extraterrestrials, UFOs, government conspiracy, and military secrets appeared in abundance around the nation. By 1993, the legend had grown so large and inconsistent that Steven Schiff, the Congressman from the First District of New Mexico, called on the Secretary of Defense, Les Aspin, to “direct such a review be undertaken on the priority basis” regarding the events of 1947.¹⁸⁴ With so much ongoing speculation in this event, contradictions would run rampant as ufologists disbelieved what the federal authorities released. The fact that the Air Force came back and said it was from “a

¹⁸² For an in depth analysis of the evolving myths about the Roswell Crash see David A. Clary, *Before and After Roswell: The Flying Saucer in America, 1947-1999*, (Philadelphia: Xlibris Corp., 2000).

¹⁸³ See Shelley E. McGinnis, “Dallas, Roswell, Area 51: A Social History of American ‘Conspiracy Tourism,’” Ph.D. diss. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina of Chapel Hill, 2010) pp. 108-115 for a more detailed evolution of how Roswell became cemented as a government conspiracy.

¹⁸⁴ Steven Schiff Papers, CSWS, UNM,

balloon-launched classified government project designed to determine the state of soviet nuclear weapons research” appeared to confirm that a larger governmental conspiracy was involved.¹⁸⁵

A growing constituency of believers, proponents, and skeptics alike began to take notice of the small Southwestern town of Roswell. Inquiries poured into the Roswell Chamber of Commerce. People wanted to know more about the famous event, the crash site, and the airfield to which everything was removed. Several entrepreneurial locals saw the possibility this interest created. John and Sherron Price opened “Outa Limits” video store in 1987, playing on the theme of space travel, with a flying saucer as the store’s logo. Price turned one corner of his store into an homage featuring newspaper articles about the 1947 Incident and a copy of the MJ-12 document. He continued to add to this collection, bringing in a flying saucer float complete with aliens he built for the State Fair in 1991.¹⁸⁶ The UFO Enigma Museum, the name he used when he split the displays from the video store in 1992, with its “campy, spaceman kitsch” displays, informed visitors about the 1947 Crash, UFOs, and the Roswell Army Air Field.¹⁸⁷ The Enigma Museum faced competition from the International UFO Museum and Research Center that opened in September of 1991. The IUFOMRC was the brainchild of three men: Walter Haut, a former Public Information Officer who served at the Roswell Army Air Field and was responsible for the article that appeared in the *Roswell Daily Record* saying that the Roswell Army Air Field “has come into possession of a flying saucer;” W. Glenn Dennis, a retired mortician who according to some versions of the 1947 tales had been consulted by the military concerning youth sized coffins and how to handle bodies that had been exposed to the elements;

¹⁸⁵ General Accounting Office to Steven Schiff, July 28, 1995, *Steven Schiff Papers*, CSWR.

¹⁸⁶ UFO Encounters, Roswell Vertical File, CSWR.

¹⁸⁷ Descriptions about the UFO Enigma Museum are taken from Matthew Holm and Jonathan Follet, *Gray Highway: An American UFO Journey*, (New York: Toadspittle Hill Productions, 1998). Quote from pp. 92.

and J. Max Littell, a local real estate developer. Capitalizing on its connections to the crash, legitimacy as a nonprofit museum, and support of the civic leaders of Roswell, the IUFOMRC quickly grew as the rightful authority on all things UFOs and tourist destination. The UFO Enigma Museum was unable to compete.

The establishment of the International UFO Museum and Research Center with the backing of the Chamber of Commerce opened a new economic avenue for Roswell. Visitors coming to Roswell to go to the IUFOMRC would usually stay longer than a few hours, especially considering the two hundred mile distance between Roswell and Albuquerque, New Mexico, El Paso, Texas, or Amarillo, Texas. Roswell has the unhappy position of being in a section of the state far from urban centers and major highways. Interstate 40, the former Route 66 that cut across much of the United States, is two hundred miles north. Many of the roads to Roswell are two lane highways and stops are infrequent. Fort Sumner is the closest place of interest to Roswell, but is eighty miles north. Carlsbad Caverns and Alamogordo are both over a hundred miles away. Until the popularity of UFOs in Roswell, traffic to the city had always been rare. Now the city has been finding ways to increase that traffic. In 2008, American Airlines began offering flights directly from Dallas, Texas to Roswell and in 2009, added a flight between Roswell and Los Angeles, California.¹⁸⁸

Gift shops specifically catering to the UFO and alien crowd began popping up around Main Street with names like Alien Corner, Alien Zone & Area 51, Gifts from the Angels, Planet Roswell, Roswell Landing, Roswell Space Center, and Star Child. All of these stores offer the requisite hats, t-shirts, coffee mug, and key chain paraphernalia typical to any souvenir stand, but these are all specific to Roswell playing off of the UFO theme. They have t-shirts with guilty

¹⁸⁸ “Council Takes a Flyer on Roswell Jet Service,” *Ruidoso News*, January 10, 2008. “L.A.-Roswell Tourism Promoted,” *Albuquerque Journal*, July, 23, 2009.

looking alien children pointing their fingers at another saying, “I didn’t do it,” in reference to the 1947 crash. Another popular theme combines the aliens with another controversial presence in border states, illegal immigrants from Central or South America. Images portray “illegal aliens” as extraterrestrial beings with the iconic green bulbous heads wearing serapes and sombreros. Alien Zone and Area 51 offer a play center for children in one half of the building and in the other they run a picture funhouse where visitors could have their photo taken with the aliens. The Spacewalk at Roswell Space Center offers a black light experience, taking visitors aboard an alien craft to view space.¹⁸⁹

The most popular time to visit Roswell, the anniversary of the crash in the first week of July, is also the occasion of the annual UFO festival. This festival was first pushed by Stan Crosby, a fourth generation Roswell citizen and husband to the then director of the IFUOMRC, Deon Crosby, but did not gain any support with the city until Thomas Jennings was elected mayor in 1994. Seeing the potential of a festival and the UFO museums, Jennings wanted to capitalize on the possibility of a tourism industry in Roswell. The city granted Crosby \$3,500 for the promotion of the first UFO Encounter in 1995, which he put on with the help of the IUFOMRC.¹⁹⁰ This first festival included an alien costume contest, a 5K and 10K fun run, tours of the crash site, an art and craft festival, a laser show, a parade, and lectures.¹⁹¹ It was considered a success, bringing in a thousand out of town visitors who filled hotel rooms, patronized restaurants, and bought souvenirs. This would set the trend for the following years. For the third festival, UFO Encounter ’97, also the fiftieth anniversary of the crash, Roswell put on an even bigger show. The city stretched the festival out from July 1 to July 6, instead of just

¹⁸⁹ Roswell Spacewalk, Roswell Vertical File, CSWR.

¹⁹⁰ “Roswell Journal,” UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

¹⁹¹ Registration packet for Roswell UFO Encounter, UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

over a weekend, and offered even more events like a film festival, alien soapbox derby, and all night dance party at a ranch at one of the supposed crash sites. It brought in bigger names for the lecture series including Stanton Friedman, a physicist who has made his name writing about Roswell and government cover-ups.¹⁹² This anniversary festival reportedly attracted forty-eight thousand visitors, doubling the population of Roswell for the week.¹⁹³ Hotels in Roswell were completely booked by April 1997, and tourists were told to look for accommodations in Portales, ninety miles away, or Carlsbad, seventy-six miles away, as anything closer was also already booked up.¹⁹⁴ Prior to the festival, *Time*, *Popular Science*, and *Popular Mechanics* magazines all ran cover stories about Roswell, the UFO festival, UFOs, and New Mexico as the tourism destination that summer as they explored the myth of the Roswell crash and expounded on the upcoming fiftieth anniversary festival.¹⁹⁵ The economic benefits of the festival were upwards of \$2.5 million, possibly as close as \$5 million.¹⁹⁶ Subsequent festivals have consistently drawn in ten thousand visitors and generated \$1.25 million annually for the local economy.¹⁹⁷ Apart from the festivals, UFO tourism in brings in \$5.2 million annually to Roswell, a substantial boon for the small town..¹⁹⁸ The Tourism Association of New Mexico inducted Walter Haut, one of the

¹⁹² "Close Encounters," IUFOMRC. See Toby Smith, *Little Gray Men: Roswell and the Rise of a Popular Culture*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000) as a eyewitness to the events of the UFO Encounter '97.

¹⁹³ Neil Terry, Anne Macy, and James K. Owens, "Bikers, Aliens, and Movie Stars: Comparing the Economic Impact of Special Events," *Journal of Business and Economic Research* 7, no. 11 (November, 2009).

¹⁹⁴ UFO Encounter '97 Facts, UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

¹⁹⁵ Bruce Handy, "Roswell or Bust: A Town Discovers Manna Crashing from Heaven and Becomes the Capital of America's Alien Nation," *Time*, June 23, 1997, 34-39. Leon Jaroff, "Did Aliens Really Land? An Examination of Events in 1947 Shows Something Did Happen," *Time*, June 23, 1997, 40-45. Dawn Stover, "1997, 50 Years After Roswell." *Popular Science*, June 1997, 82-88. Jim Wilson, "Roswell Plus 50." *Popular Mechanics*, July 1997, 48-53.

¹⁹⁶ "Roswell Welcomes Aliens," UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

¹⁹⁷ Terry, Macy, and Owens, "Bikers, Aliens, and Movie Stars."

¹⁹⁸ "Roswell Invasion," UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

three original founders of the IUFOMRC, into the New Mexican Tourism Hall of Fame in 2002 because of the success of the IUFOMRC in Roswell.¹⁹⁹

As tourists and interest in all things Roswell and UFOs have grown over the years, so have the number of businesses trying to attach themselves to the theme. UFO Encounter '04 brought in the arrival of Alien Encounter, an abduction themed haunted house with a maze and gift shop. The Crash Site Café and Crash Down Diner are two restaurants that played on the UFO crash theme, serving food items like Cosmic Sludge, Fried Alien, Melt Down, and Capt. Kirk Burger. Danny Bowen, the owner of Crash Site Café has even been guest on chef and television personality Bobby Flay's Food Network show, where he had assistants dressed as aliens.²⁰⁰ Murals of aliens and UFOs can be found throughout downtown Roswell. Outside of the Visitor's Center, the mailbox has been painted to replicate the popular *Star Wars* character R2-D2. Shelley McGinnis calls this a community's "'winking,' playful approach that is quite typical of pop culture's use of conspiracy theory."²⁰¹ By using the motifs in such a manner, it shows that the community does not hold the tourist images as reverent, but can instead play with the images that have benefited Roswell.

Aside from Roswell citizens, others in New Mexico have found that referring to Roswell can be beneficial. A craft brewery located in Moriarty, NM, just outside of Albuquerque, has two beers, one a Roswell Alien Amber and the other a Roswell Alien Wheat that prominently display a smirking green alien with flying saucer on their logos. Their blurb about the Alien Wheat tells consumers to "get ready to have your taste buds abducted!"²⁰² Nationally based companies have made the decision to use Roswell's aliens for their own needs. Atlanta-based Coca-Cola picked

¹⁹⁹ "New Mexico UFO Museum Founder Inducted," *Albuquerque Journal*, October 31, 2002.

²⁰⁰ "Extraterrestrial Encounters," UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

²⁰¹ McGinnis, "Dallas, Roswell, Area 51," p. 190.

²⁰² Sierra Blanca Brewery, *Roswell Alien Wheat*, (Moriarty, NM: Sierra Blanca Brewery).

Roswell as one of twenty-four cities to be represented on the Coca-Cola bottles saying, “if aliens ever were to land on Earth and taste their first Coca-Cola, this just might be the place that would happen.”²⁰³ Coca-Cola has also designed the vending machine that is situated on Main Street in front of one of the many souvenir stores to feature an alien drinking a Coke and giving it the “thumbs up.” Similarly, three hundred U-Haul rental trucks featured a flying saucer with an alien on the side panels and the line, “What happened in Roswell, New Mexico?” as part of its advertising campaign in 1998.²⁰⁴ The corporate chains, restaurants, vendors, and hotels in Roswell have all taken up the motif. The appeal of Roswell’s UFO mythology is too irresistible for local and national companies who have found an economic impetus due to the connection.

Roswell is synonymous with aliens, not to mention the rising number of alien enthusiasts and the plain curious who have come to the small New Mexican town, however, has also spawned a number of conflicts and tensions within the community. As Roswell became associated with UFOs and aliens, the pervasive use of images and the growing lore has led some to argue that the UFO theme has become campy and overdone, making Roswell look like a circus. Others stress the economic advantages of being the “UFO Capital of the World.” The first group points out that those residents outside the hospitality and tourism industries have not shared as much of the economic benefits and some resent being known as the UFO capital of the world, when previously they were voted an All American City. In an effort to change the image of the town, city officials submitted Roswell to the National Civic League and again won the All-American City Award in 2002, the same prize they won in 1978 when they tried to promote

²⁰³ “Roswell Selected on Coke Bottles,” UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

²⁰⁴ “U-Haul Inc. To Put UFO Image,” UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

the town as a retirement destination.²⁰⁵ Many, including the Visitor's Center and Chamber of Commerce feel that UFOs are overshadowing the other historical, cultural, and entrepreneurial contributions that Roswell offers. Local pride runs strong in Roswell. Its citizens have long been proud of the history and the contributions that have been made by fellow Roswell residents. They have put up statues to celebrate the cattle baron John Chisum and memorialized Robert Goddard through the recreation of his workshop and launch tower at the Roswell Museum and Art Center. The smaller museums of the area are operated to educate citizens and outsiders of the contributions Roswell has made scientifically, militaristically, historically, and culturally. Now that local pride is threatened by the increasing UFO tourism. Supporters of the Roswell Symphony complain that no matter how much they try to promote it few tourists take advantage when they are in town. There are similar feelings around Bottomless Lakes, Bitter Lakes National Wildlife Refuge, and the Roswell Museum and Art Center, not to mention the smaller, less-known museums in the area.²⁰⁶ The Visitor's Center has a difficult time balancing the need to fulfill tourists' desires to see aliens while promoting the other tourism aspects in Roswell, especially while, as of July 2012, they had a large background of an alien spacecraft with two grey aliens on either side, left over from that year's UFO Encounter, set up for photography opportunities to mimic an abduction scene when the flash from the camera is used. They also have an entire Hall of Fame display case that shows all the different magazines, movie posters, and mini biographies about people who have made Roswell the UFO capital of the world.

The city of Roswell has found itself in a dilemma because of this divided opinion over the UFO mania that drives in two hundred thousand tourists annually and has helped bring the

²⁰⁵ All American City winners by years, 2002 and 1978, <http://www.allamericacityaward.com/things-to-know-about-all-america-city-award/past-winners-of-the-all-america-city-award/>

²⁰⁶ "Roswell's UFO Festival is Ready to Land," UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC

town's population back up to nearly fifty thousand. Earlier city officials promoted the UFO theme. They helped the IUFOMRC overcome John Price's Enigma Museum as the prime museum in Roswell by giving the IUFOMRC their official approval. Then officials allowed Stan Crosby, the man behind the UFO festival idea, and the IUFOMRC to deal with the festival as they wished, giving small amounts of money to be used for promotion. In 2007, the city opened talks and accepted proposals towards building a UFO amusement park that would have an "indoor roller coaster that would take passengers on a simulated alien abduction."²⁰⁷ New Mexican state officials approved \$245,000 for Roswell to fund initial planning of the theme park. That project has stalled because the City of Roswell did not plan to run the theme park but rather wished for private individuals or businesses to do so. The appropriated state money however, must go only to the city. The transfer of funds is on hold.²⁰⁸ Although city leaders, would still like to see the UFO-themed amusement park built, they now find themselves pressed to curtail some of the carnival-like aspects that have arisen in Roswell. In 2007, the same year they pushed for the amusement park, the city took over "primary responsibility for the events" of the sixtieth anniversary of the Roswell Incident by providing better marketing and organization of the annual festival event schedule.²⁰⁹ The result was a split in the festival with the city handling the Amazing Roswell UFO Festival that was geared towards the family fun-filled experiences, while the IUFOMRC took on the Roswellian Experience 2007 and featured the more serious speakers concerning what happened in 1947. Part of what the split between the city and the museum centered around the subject matter presented at the festivals. The city wished to limit topics like

²⁰⁷ "Out of this World," UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

²⁰⁸ "Future Unclear," UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

²⁰⁹ "Out-of-this-world Event," UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

“Alien Earth-seeding theories” that promoted the belief that aliens were responsible for human life on Earth, a theory that a conservative Christian town like Roswell refused to promote.

Throughout all this, International UFO Museum and Research Center has continued to grow and attract more visitors. Now in its third location, the museum has outgrown that spot as well. Julie Shuster, executive director and daughter of founder Walter Haut, and Jack Swickard, the head of the museum board, have explored options for further expansions for the museum. Aside from the need for more space for exhibits, the IUFOMRC has limited parking available, and the museum can become overcrowded during peak days. Opposition from local downtown businesses met the first option, a location outside of town, nearly ten miles from Roswell’s city limits.²¹⁰ At the present location of the museum on Main Street and 1st Street, all of the souvenir stores are within a few blocks radius, making it easy to walk along Main Street and see them all. The museums like the Historical Center for Southeast New Mexico and the Roswell Museum and Art Center are located only a few blocks past the souvenir stores. This centralized location, ideal for the other businesses on Main Street, provided easy accessibility and visibility from the IUFOMRC to the rest of Roswell’s tourism industry. But if the IUFOMRC moved from its current location that focal point would be lost. Although many businesses in Roswell resent some aspects of UFO tourism, they are aware that they owe much of their prosperity to tourism and to the IUFOMRC for drawing tourists in. A second option was supported by many of the businesses in downtown Roswell. Holsum Inc. proposed selling land they owned to the IUFOMRC to build the new museum, because they saw the IUFOMRC as being “vital to the economic health of downtown Roswell.” This land was located further north on Main Street and across the street from the spaceship shaped McDonalds. This option would allow the IUFOMRC

²¹⁰ “Merchants Fear Move,” UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

more space and parking, but would keep it located near enough downtown to not negatively affect the other souvenir businesses.²¹¹ Due to the economic downturn of the late 2000s, the IUFOMRC has yet to make any official plans. They have remained in the converted movie theater, but they have been granted the right to demolish a two-story building on the southwest corner of Main Street and 2nd Street beside the IUFOMRC.²¹² This will allow the IUFOMRC to cater to a higher number without hurting the rest of Main Street's businesses.

As much as city residents feel that the UFOs have gone too far in Roswell, officers of IUFOMRC believe that the city of Roswell is responsible for the carnival-like atmosphere and do not appreciate its new interference in the planning of the UFO festivals. They claim the IUFOMRC is dedicated to serious debates and discussions about what happened in 1947. The increasing campy nature that the UFO festivals have headed towards and the use of flying saucers and aliens adopted for advertising campaigns are not appreciated by the IUFOMRC. The city's desire to promote its local attractions, contributions, and pride has been hampered by the UFO industry.

The commercialization of the mythology of the 1947 UFO crash and Roswell by the International UFO Museum and Research Center, local souvenir vendors, and national companies to tourists and consumers has created a rift between local interests in Roswell. Scholar Jeremy Ricketts, who says that Roswell is held as a sacred place by some constituents, states that places of pilgrimage, like the location of the crash site, "are largely social constructions created by interpretive communities that work to re-enchant believers and tourist-pilgrims who seek deep meanings in sacred geographies."²¹³ The "interpretive community" in

²¹¹ "UFO Museum Offered a Downtown Building," UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

²¹² "Building Demolished to Add Parking," UFO Festival Files, IUFOMRC.

²¹³ Ricketts, "Land of (Re)-Enchantment," p. 241.

this case is Roswell. More than just the International UFO Museum and Research Center and the earlier Enigma Museum have led to the degree of UFO tourism in Roswell. City officials, chamber of commerce, and many of the Main Street businesses have also played a part. Everyone who has every told the myth, sold an alien souvenir, or promoted the UFO Festival in some manner have impacted Roswell.

The promotion of Roswell as a mecca for UFO tourism has impacted the town in several key ways. Roswell as the “UFO Capital of the World” has provided the town with a new key industry, something Roswell has been struggling with since the closing of Walker Air Force Base in 1967 that could help support the town. This new economy and town atmosphere encouraged a boost in population that reversed the dwindling that followed the closing of the base. More than anything, the association with extraterrestrials has given the town a new identity. Perhaps more importantly, it has brought money into the town and to the residents. Some members of the community certainly feel that not all of these points have been beneficial to Roswell. But therein lies the problems caused by tourism. In the case of Roswell, the tourism industry is a locally supported endeavor. It began as an effort by small local entrepreneurs and has remained in the hands of local businesses. Although there are corporate chain restaurants and hotels in Roswell, they serve to support the industry as opposed to interfere in managing it. Most of the influence on tourism comes from the IUFOMRC and the city officials. The tensions have come from the inability of some residents to fully support the UFO tourism. Instead local pride struggles with the desire to support the contributions of the town and its residents. The confluence between past histories with the extraterrestrial future has left the local populace split. Because of this ambivalence, the identity of Roswell is in constant influx. This is evident when looking at how the town portrays itself as the “UFO Capital of the World” or the “Dairy Capital

of the Southwest.” Tensions have also come about between those in Roswell who directly benefit from tourism and those who do not receive compensation. Other issues revolve around the playful use of aliens versus the serious nature of extraterrestrial study the IUFOMRC promotes.

V. CONCLUSION

Tourism has long held significance in the economy of New Mexico since the first railroads arrived with Eastern visitors. The Fred Harvey Company created a monopoly on luxury tourism by offering full service travel arrangements for Eastern visitors to see the deserts, pueblos, and Spanish buildings. Bandelier National Monument, Chimayó, and Roswell are not the only tourist destinations in the state; rather they serve to illustrate greater points. Many of the communities have unique attractions like the Deming duck races or Albuquerque's hot air balloon festivals; cultural attractions like the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe or the numerous pueblo events; even a number of outdoor recreational areas from Carlsbad Caverns National Park to the Capulin Volcano National Monument. These three chosen sites show conflicts that are not just limited to the tourism industry, but also serve as examples common throughout the history of New Mexico and of the greater American West as these areas have grappled with issues involving the federal government, religious organizations, and private enterprises.

In the case of Bandelier National Monument, one of the biggest issues is the use of public lands and the role of the federal government. Land rights have long been a dilemma in the West, especially as involves public lands, right of access, and Mexican Land Grants. In the case of the federal government's presence in the West, Richard White said it best in "The Current Weirdness of the West" when he said that "in the West, hatred of the federal government plays somewhat differently than elsewhere in the country because the federal government is particularly visible and important in the West" with the number of national parks and forests,

Indian reservations, and Bureau of Land Management.²¹⁴ The Pajarito Plateau is a perfect example of this prevalence of federal agencies. Not only is Bandelier operated by the National Park Services, but also it is competing against other federal programs in the area like the Department of Energy, the Forest Service, and the Los Alamos National Laboratory. Bandelier's history shows the continuing challenges that affect these land rights as other entities begin to vie for the same land and access to meet growing demands, whether for more housing, utilities, or other industries.

Chimayó illustrates the example of the preservation of a unique culture with long established Spanish roots against the interference of outside influences. The coming of Anglo-Americans in New Mexico and the American West transformed much of the society and cultures of the people already living there, much of which was already a syncretic culture to begin with. Some, like those of isolated Chimayó, were able to keep much of their culture. But now these communities are threatened by capitalism, larger than life entities like the Roman Catholic Church, and outside tourists. Other cultures have felt this encroachment, this feeling of novelty, of being a place suspended in time. For Chimayó, this interference affects the appearance of the town, the meaning of the Santuario and Santo Nino Chapel, the image of the residents of the Chimayó, and the behavior of the tourism industry itself as the Los Niños Foundation attempts to push its proposed retreat center onto the village. Chimayó furthermore lacks alternatives to combat the problems that have arisen like unemployment and increasing illegal drug usage.

Roswell is indicative of the many towns that were abandoned when the major industry that sustained the community left the area. Extractive industries like mining left many small communities abandoned when resources were used up and there could be no more work done at

²¹⁴ Richard White, "The Current Weirdness in the West," *Western Historical Quarterly* 28, no. 1, p. 8.

that spot. From those settlements left behind, ghost towns arose. Some of these ghost towns like Madrid, high upon the Sandia Mountains, has transformed itself into an arts and crafts village along the Turquoise Trail, NM 14, that runs from Albuquerque to Santa Fe and passes through several other former mining towns. When Walker Air Force Base was closed, Roswell lost its major industry and was left with a number of buildings and runways that no longer had a use. The town had to find a new purpose for many of these unused facilities, as well create many new jobs for those people displaced when their livelihoods and time were no longer needed by the military. Instead of disappearing into obscurity, Roswell was able to revitalize its economy in a very unique way by promoting a trade based off the events of its history. Tourism based on the UFO phenomenon has since created many new opportunities for the town.

In each of these cases, a primary leader within the tourism industry leads the effort to promote tourism and bring in interested parties, namely the National Park Services, the Catholic Church through the Santuario de Chimayó, and the International UFO Museum and Research Center. These spearheads are responsible for much of the traffic that comes through the tourist attractions. In many ways, they are the direct liaison between the local community and outsiders. As the main promoters to a tourism attraction, these entities wield a lot of power in the economy of these areas. But they also must deal with the concerns of the local community. Furthermore, these industry leaders have capitalized on a unique interest or aspect of their community, which they are marketing as a must see tourist site. Bandelier National Monument, with its scenic trails, has a number of very fine examples of prehistoric ruins. The small village of Chimayó has great selection of artisans and weavers, but mostly it has a Spanish era shrine with a fascinating history and traditions attached to it that still drives people from across New Mexico to make the pilgrimage, as well as visitors from further a field. These people come for a variety of personal

reasons, but all come to see the small adobe church where they can pray and collect a small amount of healing dirt from the *pocito*. Roswell has taken its past history with the military, federal government, and unexplained happenings to create a tourism industry based on UFOs, aliens, and conspiracy theories.

As shown, a closer examination of tourism can help us to understand the relations between tourist attraction, local community, and outside influences. An understanding of tourism delves deep into the hidden tensions of a location, the interconnectedness of a community, and the motivations that drive these interactions. Tourism is more than a constructed image of a place as previous studies have suggested. More happens in tourism than just how tourists view the sights they are seeing or how natives see the tourists. While it is true that there are certain threats to communities, their way of life, and outsider's views of that place as elaborated in *Devil's Bargains*, it must also be understood that tourism is a conscious decision undertaken by a community, spearheaded by a few entrepreneurial members, for the fact that it does offer some ambiguous *something* to the local economy, community, and population. In the cases of Bandelier National Monument, Chimayó, and Roswell, without a thriving tourism base these communities would not exist like they presently do. The lands reserved and protected by Bandelier would likely have been sold off to ranchers, loggers, skiers, or to the Atomic Energy Commission. The prehistoric ruins would not have been preserved as they are for future generations to see, nor would the natural sights and resources be protected for our enjoyment. Pothunters might have taken all the artifacts and pieces of ruins to sell them to collectors or the black market. Chimayó, likewise, would have dwindled down to a few families who felt that the longtime familial connection to the land and location were worth staying for, while others moved away to find jobs and economic security. The churches and other buildings would have sagged

and crumbled into disrepair. The traffic and general knowledge about the small community that is known from its connection to the Santuario would be greatly lessened, thereby diminishing the prosperity of the weaving and artisan shops. Roswell, too, could have gone the way of the other ghost towns of New Mexico that disappeared when their main economy disappeared. Or it may have continued to grow as a retirement community with a small population of younger people caring for a much greater number of retirees.

Tourism also promises the exposure to new sights and new experiences to the general public. These three tourism locations offer unique attractions that are rarely seen elsewhere. Bandelier National Monument protects the ruins of a bygone culture against the encroachment of modern times and preserves it so that current and future generations may experience the ruins and natural sights. The Santuario de Chimayó is one of the few shrines in North America where visitors make such devoted pilgrimages to pray and seek healing, both through the dirt and through piety and dedication in their beliefs. Roswell offers a stage for discourse about all things UFOs, extraterrestrials, and government cover-ups. These attractions do not appeal to everyone. But others who are interested can have their curiosity satisfied.

As it is stands, the move to tourism has allowed for a greater preservation of culture and identity to the community because of the ability by local residents who have the power to influence these views. Local cooperation is imperative for tourism to succeed, because without the support of the community, as promoters, employees, or consumers, then the endeavor has little chance of making it off the ground. The souvenir stores in Roswell show support by the community. The owners consciously chose to participate in tourism because they saw the lucrative economic possibilities from such a venture. They were not capitulating to the inevitable or giving up principles to follow a cause they did not believe in. Some people in the town may

not like all the UFO and alien paraphernalia around Roswell, but they have to acknowledge that the mania surrounding the tourism industry is beneficial. In Chimayó, residents may not support the plans of the Los Niños Foundation's to build a multi-million dollar retreat center, and they should not have to submit to the demands without giving their input, because these are changes that would affect their community and culture. But, they also have to remember that many of them owe some allegiance to the Santuario because of its role in supporting the small community through the tourists and pilgrims who annually visit. The nearby communities and residents of Bandelier National Monument may conflict with the National Park Services, but in the end they appreciate the benefits that Bandelier offers for recreation and as a perk for potential new residents.

The undertaking of turning a place into a tourist attraction has not been an easy or straightforward path for these three locations. There have been many conflicts between principle influences. Tensions have arisen between tourist attraction and local community over representation of image, culture, or history. It has become necessary appease the various entities involved to deal with these disputes so as not to injure the tourism industry. By analyzing these tensions, tensions that are often prevalent in all types of business and industry, it is possible to grasp a deeper understanding of how tourism operates as an industry, as a liaison between tourists and those affected by their coming, and as the final voice that solves local concerns.

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