Constructing A Sense of Place on Top of the World

Catherine E. Lovell

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Constructing A Sense of Place on Top of the World

Catherine E Lovell

Thesis Submitted to the Reed College of Media
At West Virginia University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science in
Journalism

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Abstract

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Catherine Lovell

This thesis examines written texts in summit logs by rock climbers at the peak of Baboquivari, located in southern Arizona. After scaling the mountain, rock climbers complete the ritual of documenting their success in a log located on the summit. Guided by the concepts of sense of place and ritual communication, this study investigated discourses articulated in summit logs in order to understand how rock climbers construct their sense of place for a contested landscape.

Baboquivari is the cosmological home of the Tohono O’odham and their creator I’itoi is believed to reside on the peak today. A good portion of Baboquivari is not located on Tohono O’odham lands, but on land overseen by the U.S. Bureau of Land Management. In 1998, the Tohono O’odham put forth a bill in order to regain ownership of the entire peak and rock climbers may have lost access to a premier climbing destination.

Utilizing a grounded theory approach, summit logs between April 1998 to April 1999 are analyzed to identify the construction of meaning of this contested place. The data was organized in categories of response: cultivation, celebration, and experience, culminating in a core category of stewardship. Stewardship presents both a strong sense of the right to be on Baboquivari and a commitment to the care and maintenance of the landscape and community for the purposes of rock climbing activities. The data further suggests that through both their practice and beliefs, rock climbers perceive a feeling of belonging or an insider status within a sacred space.
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I. Introduction

The mountain known as Baboquivari, one of Arizona’s most notable landmarks is located on the eastern edge of the Tohono O’odham lands, approximately 50 miles southwest of Tucson. The land mass rises 7,730 feet to meet the sky, the most notable peak within the 2,065 acres of the Baboquivari Peak Wilderness. “Its name is a Spanish attempt at rendering the original O’odham name, waw kiwulka, which translates as ‘rock drawn in the middle’” (Griffith, 1992, p. 14). The peak is composed of volcanic rock, surrounded by a harsh, Sonoran desert landscape that is filled with saguaro cacti, deep dry washes, mesquite and palo verde trees, and beautiful light. Baboquivari, more affectionately known as “Babo” to Arizona residents, is the center of Tohono O’odham cosmology and home to the creator, I’itoi. Surprisingly, a good portion of Baboquivari is not located on O’odham lands, but on land overseen by the U.S. Bureau of Land Management. It is a popular destination for outdoor enthusiasts and a landmark for undocumented migrants through a landscape known as “Death Corridor”. Like many sacred spaces, ownership of this region is contested and disputes over the proper use of land continue to this day.

The Tohono O’odham, which translates as “People of the Desert,” live in the southwest corner of Arizona and northern Mexico, in the heart of the Sonoran Desert. Unlike many other federally recognized tribes, the Tohono O’odham still live on a portion of the land of their ancestors (The Tohono O’odham Nation, 2011). In the Tohono O’odham Creation legend, I’itoi told the people to stay on the land where they were, and that is the land where they remain. At one time their lands stretched from central Arizona to the south of Sonora, Mexico, west to the Gulf of California, and east to
the San Pedro River, this land area was known as Papaguëria (Erickson, 1994). Now the
Tohono O’odham Nation has been condensed to a reservation of 4,453 square miles,
approximately the size of Connecticut, the second largest reservation within the United
States. Originally called the Papago, a Spanish word for “Bean Eaters”, the tribe has
survived in this arid region for thousands of years.

Baboquivari is a dynamic environment in which cultural stories and values of the
past mingle with the social and political present. The mountain towers over all other
peaks in the Altar Valley. The peak “can be seen from virtually every part of the
Papaguëria: from nearly every village in the United States and Mexico” (Griffith, 1992,
p.14). Quite literally, Baboquivari is the focus of Tohono O’odham daily life. “Babo” is
also one of the few peaks in Arizona that requires technical expertise to reach the summit
and has become a premier rock-climbing destination. While the Tohono O’odham culture
and legends are familiar to both climbers and the native community, those entering the
landscape have varying interpretations of these legends, leading to contested behavior
within the sacred space. In order to reach the top, or conquer the mountain, climbers
embrace the topography of Baboquivari; their physical and mental being is tested not
only by the environment, conditions, and geology, but the lore associated with the
contested space. As a result, climbers have developed their own customs to ensure safe
passage through the sacred landscape.

Rooted in the cultural concepts of sense of place and ritual communication, this
study will explore how the rock climbing community negotiates sense of place in the
physical space that is Baboquivari. This research is important in developing an
understanding of how contemporary cultures construct the meaning of landscape. This
grounded theory study investigates rock climber discourses articulated in summit logs as evidence of how a community engages, understands, and assigns meanings to place and journey in the physical and cultural landscape of Baboquivari.

**Tohono O’odham Creation**

In the Tohono O’odham Creation story, which has been recorded in oral tradition (Underhill, 1968), a child of the sky and darkness, First Born, completes the creation of the earth by adding the sun, moon, and all living things. First Born changed many of the animals into what they are today and sent them where they were to live, some in forests, some in mountains, and some in valleys. The Elder Brother, I’itoi, was born when “the flat earth met the sky with a crash like that of falling rocks” (Underhill, 1968, p. 13). I’itoi is said to have led the first Tohono O’odham people from the Underworld. After many years on earth, I’itoi went to live in a cave, *I'itoi Ki:*, on the west side of *wawikiwulk*, where he still resides today. I’itoi is thought to have protected the Tohono O’odham from drought, disease, and invading tribes and emerges only in times of great need (Saxton & Saxton, 1973).

The actual cave of *I'itoi Ki:* is considered so sacred to the Tohono O’odham that it has been designated as a tribal shrine, and its location is kept hidden from outsiders. In his book *The Desert Smells Like Rain* (1982), naturalist Paul Nabhan relays his experience of visiting the cave. After a difficult climb, Nabhan and his group were able to find the *I'itoi Ki:*, and entered through an entrance that was just wide enough to slide through. In the cave there were offerings, which were objects like “saguaro cactus syrup and a green frog figurine” (p. 21) and in the crags and niches were medallions, cigarettes,
bullets and chewing gum. It is a well-known story that if one goes into the realm of I’itoi, one must leave an offering to avoid the anger of the mischievous deity.

“The cave, in legend, is a large antechamber of an immense labyrinth, winding through the Baboquivari Mountains” (Nabhan, 2002, p. 14). The Tohono O’odham have a map to symbolize this story, referred to as the Man in the Maze. This complex design consists of a circular maze with a tiny human figure, I’itoi, standing at its top. This motif has come to serve as a symbol for the Tohono O’odham identity and has been used in pottery, basketry, and decoration inside churches and community centers (The Tohono O’odham Nation, 2011). “Traditionally the maze has been explained as a representation of a house that I’itoi built to keep his enemies from entering and finding him, however this design is also said to represent a visual parable” (Griffith, 1992, p. 165). The human figure at the top (which can stand for an individual, the Tohono O’odham, or humankind) must travel the difficult path, which symbolizes the search for the deeper meaning in life. At the center of the maze is a circle, which stands for death, and for becoming one with Elder Brother I’itoi (Griffith, 1992).

In 1998, Ed Pastor, a U.S. Congressman whose district includes the Tohono O’odham Nation, proposed a new bill “to provide for the restoration of certain Federal land of religious and cultural significance to the Tohono O’odham Nation of Arizona” (H.H. 4119.IH, 1998). This bill states that the Tohono O’odham believe the mountain is the home of their creator and that “the desecration of the mountain will lead to the destruction and end of the universe and the O’odham people”. However, this bill caused considerable worry to those who use this land for recreational purposes because it would allow the Tohono O’odham to limit public access to facilitate the religious and cultural
uses of the land. Despite testimony from Tohono O’dodham leaders, efforts to regain the sacred land were not successful for a number of factors. One of these factors was that the U.S. Bureau of Land Management was concerned with the loss of federal protection of the land, which is sanctuary to rare plants, birds, and animals. Another factor was concern that the tribe would no longer allow outdoor enthusiasts access to this land, which is one of the premier rock climbing sites in Arizona. Although the Tohono O’odham were willing to write into law that they would uphold the existing access requirements of the Wilderness Act, a solution was not agreed upon in the allotted time frame and the bill expired (“Tohono O’odham Losing”, 1998).

**Baboquivari and Rockclimbing**

The first recorded ascent of Baboquivari was completed by Dr. R.H. Forbes and Jesus Montoya on July 12, 1898 (Kerry, 1997; Green, 1999). When Dr. Forbes was a newly hired professor at the University of Arizona, an acquaintance challenged him to find a way to the top of the peak, then thought inaccessible. It took Dr. Forbes five tries, but on his fifth attempt he used a grappling hook to overcome the steeper sections. The two built a huge bonfire, seen from as far as 100 miles away, to signal their success to their friends. On his 82nd birthday, in 1949, Forbes successfully completed a reenactment of his first climb. Today the Forbes Route is still a popular route to ascend or more likely descend the summit. It is rated at 5.6 on the 15-point Yosemite Decimal System, a lower rating than many of the routes on the rock wall. As of 2018, rock climbers have established several routes to the top with varying degrees of difficulty; some, like *Dreams of I’itoi*, *Born of Water*, and *Universal Traveler*, are named for the deity who resides in
the sacred space.

Due to popular guidebooks, such as Kerry’s (1997) *Backcountry Rockclimbing in Southern Arizona* and Green’s (1999) *Rock Climbing Arizona*, many climbers are aware that Baboquivari is home to the Tohono O’odham god and creator I’itoi. Kerry’s passage about climbing the peak opens with the *I’itoi Ki*: motif (Figure 1) and an illustration of a Native American rock climber (Figure 2) wearing only a loincloth and a feather in his hair. Although the *I’itoi Ki*: motif is symbolic of the Tohono O’odham journey of life, some climbers assume this motif as symbolic of their own journey. Climbers are aware that the mountain is sacred to the Tohono O’odham, and those legends affect the ideas of their own paths through the desert landscape.

![Figure 1](image1.png) ![Figure 2](image2.png)

There are countless modern-day folktales of the mischievous deity who protects the mountain space. Many stories are spun by word of mouth around a campfire, but
evidence of folktales can be found in popular literature, such as magazines and blogs, climber forums, and YouTube videos. In a 1996 issue of the popular magazine *Arizona Highways*, Tucson-based climber Jim Boyer writes of rock climbers and the deity, “How exactly I’itoi feels about scratching their way up his mountain is a question a lot of climbers have had occasion to ponder” (p. 26). On two separate climbing trips to the summit, Boyer experienced the humor of I’itoi. On his first trip, he and his climbing partner were stranded all night on a tiny rock ledge in freezing weather. On a second excursion, Boyer and his girlfriend struggled up the peak, ran out of rope, and also lost the trail on the hike back to their vehicle. The deity was also responsible for hiding much-needed gear in a tree, a rock avalanche, and a dead truck battery.

In a 2007 blog entry, published on the site Rockclimbing.com, climber Michael Strassman states, “The Tohono O’odham people have built a shrine somewhere, and their prayers and offerings keep I’itoi pleasantly satisfied. But enter his realm unaware that you are trespassing and watch out!” Strassman narrates how after a celebratory bottle of wine on the summit, he angered I’itoi by pushing a “huge Volkswagen sized boulder” off of a rock ledge, thereby desecrating his realm. That night, Strassman’s clothes caught fire as he slept. On his next trip to Babo, I’itoi’s anger is blamed for losing the trail, a stalking mountain lion, and poison ivy breakout. Strassman tries to appease the god, by completing a more difficult climb on the Tohono O’odham side of the peak, carrying 100 pounds of gear, with an offering of a king-size Snickers bar. Not surprisingly, several readers expressed their disappointment and anger of Strassman’s behavior in the contested landscape. One blog reader wrote, “Access to climbing at Baboquivari is, and always has been, tentative at best. I have always considered climbing at Babo a privilege,
such privilege to be revoked by disrespectful behavior” (lovethesteep, 2007).

Although I’itoi is a Tohono O’odham god, mountaineers have developed their own actions and reverence towards the deity to suit the collective ideals of the rock climbing culture. One particular YouTube video, *Baboquivari, Southeast Arête*, featuring two climbers, Nick Cross and Ben Venter, documents the offering of a plastic punching kangaroo at the climbers’ shrine at the top of the summit. In the footage of this climb, Venter states that climbers have left various relics such as bandanas, hats, flags, carabineers, slings and other various objects for the deity. This climber ritual is similar to the Tohono O’odham ritual of leaving an offering at *I’itoi Ki*:.
II. Guiding Concepts and Literature Review

This study is guided by the cultural concepts of ritual communication and sense of place. Sense of place literature is drawn from several different disciplines, but the role of communication is not often considered in these studies. This study is motivated by the idea that rock climbers construct a distinct sense of place in the contested space of Baboquivari. A main way in which that sense of place is communicated is through written discourses articulated in summit logs. These messages completed after a physically challenging journey can help to further understand place meanings of a contemporary culture utilizing a contested space. Not only do rock climbers communicate place meanings through written messages, but those messages indicate what a culture thinks is appropriate and inappropriate use of place.

Ritual Communication

The ritual view of communication provides the basis for the discussion of the rock climbing community’s construction of a sense of place of Baboquivari. In *Communication as Culture*, media scholar James Carey distinguished between two views of communication—transmission and ritual. Of the two, he argued, the transmission view of communication is the most dominant and recognized in Western culture. This view is structured around the perspective that “communication is a process whereby messages are transmitted and distributed in space for the control of distance and people” (1989, p. 13). This view emphasizes power and the effectiveness of moving information across geography. Carey presented a more cultural approach in the ritual view of communication. “A ritual view of communication is directed not toward the extension of
messages in space but the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information or influence but the representation of shared beliefs” (p. 15). The ritual view of communication emphasizes the sacred ceremony, which requires community, fellowship, and participation. It is important to recognize that although these two processes are distinct, they often intersect.

Although less studied in communication scholarship, the ritual model provides a framework to investigate shared and contested cultural meanings. According to Carey (1989), “a ritual view conceives communication as a process through which a shared culture is created, modified and transformed” (p. 33). Rothenbuhler (1998) concluded that ritual could be thought of as either a noun or adjective. As a noun, ritual refers to things—rites, ceremonial events, activities, and social objects—while ritual as an adjective refers to aspects of the everyday—ordinary activities, processes, and events. Both aspects are defining elements of culture, as a ritual is something in which one is a participant, rather than an observer. The results of this study will hopefully provide an empirical example of how ritual communication plays a role in the construction of space and the maintenance of a culture across time.

**Sense of Place**

Sense of place is employed in several disciplines, such as urban studies, human geography, environmental psychology, anthropology, and landscape management. Often thought of as an elusive concept, quite simply it is “a way of expressing a relationship between people and place” (Williams & Stewart, 1988, p. 23). The concept describes the collection of meanings, beliefs, attitudes, symbols, values, and feelings that individuals or
groups associate with a particular locality (Steele, 1981; Williams & Stewart, 1988).

Place is a unique spot in the universe, the distinction between here and there, and it is what allows people to appreciate near and far (Gieryn, 2000). There are infinite possibilities of place: a physical location, a neighborhood, a home, an online community, or a mountaintop. The boundaries of place are composed by meanings and the activities that one can perform in relation to spatial setting. “What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place when we get to know it better and endow it with value” (Tuan, 1977, p. 6).

Often the general concept of sense of place is an umbrella term encompassing the three constructs of place attachment, place identity, and place dependence. These place constructs have a considerable degree of overlap, but also have distinct characteristics. First, place attachment is considered the positive bond or link between people and specific places (Altman and Low, 1992). Second, place identity is defined as “those dimensions of self that define the individual’s personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals and behavioral tendencies and skills relevant to this environment” (Proshansky, 1978, p. 155). Finally, Stokols and Shumaker (1981) define place dependence as an “occupant’s perceived strength of association between him or herself and specific places” (p. 457). It develops from an individual’s perceptions that a particular place can satisfy their needs or desires, as compared to alternative places. Because certain places are better suited to certain activities, place dependence is not always a positive association with a location (Jorgenson & Stedman, 2001).
**Place as Social Construct.**

Greider and Garkovich (1994) assert that the relationship between people and place is determined by shared social and cultural experiences. Humans view the natural environment based on socially constructed knowledge. “Our understanding of nature and of human relationships with the environment are really cultural expressions used to define who we were, who we are, and how to be at this place and in this space” (p. 2). This symbolic interactionist perspective derives from Berger and Luckmann’s (1967) theory of the social construction of reality, which holds that humans draw on a combination of everyday experiences and shared knowledge of the world to form reality.

In a socially constructed landscape, place is defined by human interpretations of a specific setting (Stokowski, 2003), and the very same place can hold widely divergent meanings to individuals and cultural groups. Relph (1976) asserts that sense of place develops from a steady accumulation of experience. According to this view, those who have spent the most time, have the most experience, and a rooted history in one locale would have a stronger attachment to place than those with a more limited or superficial experience of one locale. “To be inside a place is to belong to it and identify to it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger is the identity to place…from the outside, you look upon place as a traveler might from a distance” (Relph, 1976, p. 49). To be outside of place is to have feelings of alienation and separateness.

**Relationships with Place.**

Several place studies have explored the distinction between insiders and outsiders. Hay (1998) compared a sense of place to a stable bond pair (like a marriage) in a study of
the rural community of Banks Peninsula, New Zealand. Long-term residents, both indigenous Maori and those of European descent, expressed a more rooted sense of place generated from “feelings of security, belonging and stability” (p. 25). Hay also determined that although tourists may feel strongly towards the aesthetic natural and scenic qualities of the peninsula, their sense of place was superficial compared with those who have a long history or ancestral ties to the area.

However, Kianicka, et al. (2006) concluded that residential status does not necessarily determine an intensity of sense of place. In a study of sense of place differences in the Swiss Alpine village of Alvaneu researchers found that residents and nonresidents derived place meanings from the same local landscape characteristics, but the meanings differed drastically. While residents believed their unique landscape to be more pristine than those of other nearby tourist destinations, they did not want that to be a deterrent for development. Residents were more likely to develop a sense of place from daily life and long-term memories associated with place. The views of nonresidents were more likely to be shaped by the aesthetics of the landscape and the activities that one could experience and viewed the environment as something they did not want to change. These disparate senses of place can explain why residents and nonresidents disagree on measures aimed at developing, altering, preserving, or restoring a particular environment.

Tuan (1977) concluded that sense of place could also develop rather quickly and intensely in unfamiliar places, similar to “love at first sight” (p. 184). This could be the result of dramatic landscapes or intensity of experience. “A brief but intense experience is capable of nullifying the past so that we are ready to abandon home for the promised land” (Tuan, 1977, p. 184). Exploring this idea, Frederickson and Anderson (1999)
conducted a qualitative study on people’s immersion in two completely separate wilderness areas, the Grand Canyon of northern Arizona and Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness in northern Minnesota. Participants in both locations documented a process of so intensely identifying with nature that individual significance encompassed the natural environment. Their sense of place developed from a combination of shared social experiences and a successful journey within a physically challenging and dramatic landscape.

Traditions, ritual, myths and symbols help in strengthening the attachment to place (Relph 1976). In her work on rural Minnesota, Bird (2002) demonstrated how humans utilize cultural narratives and folk legends to construct a sense of place. “We re-create place through historic reconstructions; we tell stories to locate us where we feel we should be” (p. 523). However, shared narratives create an inclusive cultural identity that often excludes others.

Place is not only defined by personal and social interactions, but by the physical attributes of the environment (Ryden, 1993; Stedman, 2003). “A knowledge of place is grounded in those aspects of the environment which we appreciate through the senses and movement: color, texture, slope, quality of light, the feel of the wind, the sounds and scents carried by that wind” (Ryden, 1993, p. 38). Stedman’s (2003) quantitative study in northern Wisconsin demonstrated that sense of place is not solely based on social constructions, but on concrete landscape characteristics. Utilizing surveys integrating environmental characteristics, human uses, constructed meanings, and place attachment and satisfaction, Steadman was able to explore the importance of environmental attributes among lakeshore property owners. In a study of emotional attachments to public lands in
southern Utah, Eisenhauer, Krannich, and Blahna (2002) found that there are two primary reasons why people are attached to special lands; the environmental features of a place and the interactions with significant others at the locale. Also utilizing emotional attachment, Davenport and Anderson (2005) conducted a qualitative examination of sense of place meanings of the National Scenic Niobrara River in Nebraska. The researchers linked place-based meanings to environmental perceptions and further concluded that any landscape change or development may affirm, negate, or transform participants’ place meanings.

**Mapping Contested Terrain.**

Understanding how places are contested is important in negotiating what cultures define as appropriate and inappropriate use. Environmental psychologists Williams and Patterson (1999) developed four approaches to understanding socially constructed landscape meanings: inherent/aesthetic, instrumental/goal-directed, individual/expressive, and cultural/symbolic. These approaches help scholars to explore environments as more than commodities and resources. Inherent/aesthetic meanings are the tangible emotional responses to the scenic features of landscapes. Different observers tend to make similar aesthetic judgments and there is little difference in aesthetic meanings among various cultural groups. However in the following three approaches, both individual and cultural groups are likely to have conflicting views of place. In the second approach, instrumental/goal-directed meanings encourage the human promotion and management of landscapes for behavioral and economic goals. In the third approach, individual/expressive meanings are the intangible and unique meanings that individuals
actively assign to places or things, these meanings often define a sense of self. Finally, the cultural/symbolic meanings of place inspire “emotional, symbolic, historic, spiritual, and cultural significance for a whole group” (McAvoy, 2002, p. 387).

**Native American and Place.**

Conflicts over Native American sacred places on public lands are widely discussed in place literature. Although all Native American ideology cannot be grouped together as one entity, there are some common values that are applicable to this study. McDonald and McAvoy (1997) identified four values held by Native Americans in relation to place. The first value is “the pervasive belief in the sacredness of life” (p. 149). To the Native American, religious experience is constantly present in the community and individuals at all times. The second value is an interdependent relationship between humans and nature. Third, there is both a heightened sense of connection and long historical ties to the land. And finally, importance is placed on the oral tradition and spoken word. These four values provide a fuller understanding of the complex sense of place held by distinct cultural groups whose values have been repeatedly overlooked in place debates.

Rudner (1994) investigated the importance of sacred sites to Native Americans, in particular contested sites located on public lands. Much of contested land is such because of a competing sense of place. The usual argument is between traditional Native Americans who view sacred land as an important part of tribal identity versus non-Native Americans interested in land as a commodity. However, Rudner also documented that within a single tribe sense of place meanings can differ drastically and create conflict
amongst a cultural group. Most especially this can happen when commodities found on tribal lands provide sources of employment for tribal members.

These disparate senses of place can be seen in the conflict over the Chuska Mountains located on the eastern edge of the Navajo Nation. Among the Navajo, the Chuska Mountains are considered a sacred male deity, a counterpart to Black Mesa, a desecrated female deity that has been mined since the Seventies. Navajo Forest Products Industry (NFPI) a logging industry of the Navajo Nation has been accused of overcutting the mountains. Dine C.A.R.E., a Navajo grassroots organization, encouraged the tribe to question NFPI’s violation of sacred sites and the environmental implications brought on by the logging of the Chuskas and other sites. The conflict was so extreme that family and friends of Leroy Jackson, leader of Dine C.A.R.E., questioned the manner of his unexpected death. “Development that desecrates sacred land destroys tribal culture and identity; the more disrupted tribal culture becomes, the easier it is to get at the land: the more land that is lost or corrupted, the more fragmented becomes the culture, and so on, in a terrible spiral of cultural degradation” (Rudner, 1994, p. 3).

Several scholars have examined the dispute between Native Americans and rock climbers at Devil’s Tower National Monument in northeastern Wyoming (Dustin, et al., 2002; McAvoy, 2002; Freedman, 2007), a dispute very like the one at Baboquivari. The 600-foot tower, the United States’ first national monument and popular climbing destination, is considered a sacred Native American site immersed in tradition and history. Devil’s Tower is the cosmological center in more than 23 Native American creation stories (Dustin, et. al., 2002). Similar to Baboquivari, Devil’s Tower requires specialized skills in order to reach the top and because of this physical demand the
monolith has become a premier rock-climbing destination. The popularity of this site has led to over 200 established routes, with debris and climbing gear permanently embedded into the rock. In 1995, several surrounding tribes asked for a ban of recreational activity during the month of June, the month of religious pilgrimage on the monolith. Mountain States Legal Foundation and a number of commercial climbing companies sued the NPS, claiming that the ban took away from their religion of climbing. After three years of litigation, the National Park Service has established a voluntary ban on recreational activity in June. Utilizing Williams and Patterson’s (1999) approach to mapping sense of place, McAvoy (2002) determined that climbers argued their case utilizing individual/expressive place meanings, which are the tangible and unique meanings that individuals actively assign to place. Native Americans, however, argued their case from a cultural/symbolic approach and focused on emotional, spiritual and historical attachment to the Tower and its surroundings.

Messages on Baboquivari

Alderman (2002) stated, “a discourse is a way of talking about writing, or otherwise representing the world to make it intelligible and meaningful” (p. 30). With this definition, we can look at any produced texts, including writings, drawings, maps, or any other written texts that occur when the author is within the immediate space as a framework to understand rock climbers’ construction of a sense of place. After successfully reaching the top of a mountain, rock climbers will often document their success in a summit log, also called summit register. Many peaks maintain a summit log, usually a small notebook, housed in a container to protect it from environmental elements. Often at commonly climbed peaks they are a source of information for how
many people utilize the space. Summit logs are generally placed by landscape management personnel, mountaineering clubs, or individuals interested in a particular locality. After reaching the summit of Baboquivari, climbers sign a log to document that they successfully scaled the peak. Messages are recorded in small thin notebooks and the climbers usually write in pencil. The Baboquivari summit log entries are an impressive model of how discourse can help determine sense of place.

Until recently all summit logs since the 1950s were housed in an antique ammunition can located at the top of Baboquivari, only available to those who had reached the top. Mountaineer Marvin Stafford compiled these logs and documented them in electronic form as a service to the climber community and to ensure that this community was represented in the design of a BLM Wilderness Use Plan in 2006 (Stafford, M., personal communication, Oct. 19, 2011). In order to assist in this plan, Stafford removed the registers from the summit and placed a new register in the ammunition can in which they are stored, with the message of “Maintained by Marvin G. Stafford mgstafford@comcast.net - (let me know when the book is about ⅓ full)”(Wetherell, 2006). However, the removal of the registers has been a source of conflict within the climber community. On November 15, 2006, climber Tom Wetherell wrote on a public forum titled Petition to Return Summit Registers to Baboquivari on the web site Mountain Project,

Mr. Stafford has taken it upon himself to “protect” the original and historic registers and for that I thank him. Yet I feel by removing them from the summit he has robbed all of us of the experience of reading the previous entries (something I take great pleasure in). I would prefer that the registers remained on the summit, properly protected, for ALL to enjoy.

The summit registers are an important part of the journey to the summit. Climbers expect
the logs to be available and able to be utilized by those within their community. The climbing logs are currently available online as part of an Arizona climbing forum and the original documents are housed at the Arizona Historical Society in Tucson, AZ.

There are a variety of messages in the summit logs. Many are about the view, climbing conditions, or just the documentation of one’s name and date. The logs contain many different handwritings, drawings, and quotations from literature. Although the motivations for documenting one’s name in the logs are unclear, it does seem to be part of the ritual of successfully reaching the top. Once a climber signs their name, they join a community of climbers who have successfully completed the journey to the summit. Because the earliest known summit logs are dated from over 100 years ago, it is a community that has developed over a long period of time. The ritual view of communication “centers on the sacred ceremony that draws persons together in fellowship and commonality” (Carey, 1989, p. 33). In this particular case, it is possible that the successful completion of a journey creates this community and the ritual of completing a summit entry helps to perpetuate a sense of place.
III. Research Question

The guiding theoretical concept and literature review provide the basis for this research. Sense of place is not only an indication of place meaning, but an identification of a culture. In order to understand the negotiation of the meaning of place, this study analyzed the entries in the Baboquivari summit logs from April 1998 through April 1999. This period was chosen because the ownership of Baboquivari was contested in the Congressional hearing of H.R. 4119, The Tohono O’odham Religious Area Restoration Act of 1998. If ownership had been granted to the Tohono O’odham, rock climbers may have lost access to a premier climbing destination.

RQ1: How do the summit logs illustrate the rock climbing community’s construction of a sense of place for Baboquivari?
IV. Method

The purpose of this study was to examine how the rock climbing community constructs a sense of place for the physical space Baboquivari. In order to investigate this research, a grounded theory methodology was utilized. Previous sense of place research has utilized both quantitative (e.g., Hay, 1998, Stedman, 2003, 2006; Eisenhauer et al., 2002) and qualitative (e.g., Frederickson & Anderson, 1999; Yung, Freimund, & Belsky, 2002; Davenport & Anderson, 2005; Kianicka, Hunziker, & Muller-Boker, 2006) methods, but they have typically used interviews or surveys to determine place meanings. Such work requires participants to consider their sense of a place for the specific purpose of research rather than for personal reasons. A grounded theory investigation contributes a more in-depth and nuanced view of sense of place by analyzing texts from participants who are documenting their successful journey through a contested terrain. The texts composed on the summit are a rich resource of those who have intimate experience with the challenges of the environment, direct evidence of how a community engages and understands the physical and cultural landscape of Baboquivari.

Sample

The 1998 Congressional proposal of H.R. 4119, the Tohono O’odham Religious Restoration Act, provided the time frame for the examination of sense of place on the mountain peak. In this act, ownership of Baboquivari was contested and rock climber access to the summit was threatened. Because the comments articulated in the summit logs were completed when the authors were in the contested space, analyzing these entries are perhaps the closest one can come to the experience of reaching the summit.
without actually being in the environment. Although some authors may document themselves without observation or reactivity from others at the summit, it is not necessarily a private act. “People construct texts for specific purposes and they do so within social, economic, historical, cultural, and situational contexts” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 35). Completing a summit log entry is the performance of a ritual and an interaction within a larger framework. The visitor is still in the contested space when they write an entry, and they join a community that has successfully completed the physically difficult journey of reaching the top.

**Grounded Theory**

According to Hallberg (2006) qualitative researchers “study phenomena and processes in their natural settings and intend to make sense of those matters in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (p. 141). First developed by sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967), grounded theory is described as “how the discovery of theory from data—systematically obtained and analyzed in social research—can be furthered” (p. 1). With the discovery of this method, Glaser and Strauss argued that qualitative research was a credible field in its own right rather than an early component of quantitative approaches (Charmaz, 2006). Qualitative researchers have been attracted to this method by the idea that theory emerges from individuals’ lived experiences (Piantanida, Tananis, & Grubs, 2004). Grounded theory is a general method that systematically compares data and explains and assigns meaning to the phenomena under observation.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) define the jobs of theory in research as
Grounded theory is both an inductive and deductive method that uses a specific set of procedures to generate theory. Unlike other research methods, the researcher does not seek to test a hypothesis and tries to approach the research area with few preconceptions (Hallberg, 2006). “Generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 6).

Although the researcher follows a specific set of guidelines, the method allows for flexibility and creativity when examining data. These guidelines include the following nonlinear steps conducted throughout data collection, analysis, and writing: the constant comparison method, theoretical coding, theoretical sampling, theoretical sensitivity, and theoretical memos.

**Constant Comparison or the “Core” Category**

Grounded theory uses the constant comparison method to complete analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). During this process, the researcher simultaneously collects and codes units of data, which are constantly compared to every other unit of data to uncover similarities and differences (Hallberg, 2006, Charmaz, 2006). “Making comparisons assists the researcher in guarding against bias, for he or she is then challenging concepts with fresh data” (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p. 9).

Using a hierarchal coding system, the constant comparison researcher uncovers
concepts, categories, delineates categories, and unveils the relationships between them. Comparisons are continually made against previous concepts as the researcher develops hypotheses about the data, which will be verified during the analysis (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). Eventually, the researcher will integrate relationships around one central category, the core category. “The core category represents the central phenomenon of the study” (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p. 14). By utilizing the constant comparison method the researcher will develop a rigorous conceptual understanding that has been inductively built from data, and validated against further data (Charmaz, 2006).

**Theoretical Coding**

Coding is the fundamental analytic process in the grounded theory method (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). Charmaz (2006) describes coding as “naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorizes, summarizes, and accounts for each piece of data (p. 43). During this process, the researcher attaches labels to segments of data, which define the ideas and meanings that have emerged. Coding proceeds in three stages: open, axial, and selective.

The analysis begins with *open coding* in which the researcher codes the data in every way possible (Glaser, 2004). Labels may start as detailed descriptions of incidents and stick closely to the language of the data, but gradually patterns will emerge that yield conceptual codes. During this stage of analysis the researcher is “to remain open to all possible theoretical directions indicated by the readings of the data” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46).

In open coding, categories are identified by grouping conceptually similar events,
actions, and interactions (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). “Categories are higher in level and more abstract than the concepts they represent” (Corbin and Strauss, 1998, p. 7). Glaser (2004) and Charmaz (2006) recommend that the analyst constantly question what the data is, what the data suggests, the point of view of the participants, and the category the data indicates.

This study considered a summit log entry as a unit of analysis. A summit log entry can be defined as any message composed by a single author, separated by page space and date or any message composed by two or more authors in which it is known that they are experiencing the contested space at the same time (see example Appendix A). This unit of analysis lends itself to the grounded theory open coding process of incident-to-incident comparison rather than word-by-word, or line-by-line comparison.

During axial coding, categories that were discovered during initial coding are linked to subcategories (Corbin and Strauss, 1990) and the fractured data of open coding is reassembled in a cohesive way (Charmaz, 2006). The researcher is searching for the relationships between categories, which give the generated concepts descriptive power. During axial coding, “the subcategories answer questions about the phenomenon such as when, where, why, who, how, and with what consequences” (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p. 125).

Corbin and Strauss (1990), suggest a structured paradigm for reassembling data into a cohesive whole. As stated in Charmaz (2006), the researcher identifies three criteria for each category: “1) conditions, the circumstances or situations that form the structure of the studied phenomenon; 2) actions/interactions, participants’ routine or strategic responses to issues events, or problems; and 3) consequences, outcomes of
actions/interactions” (p. 61). This paradigm helps the researcher to develop relational statements to explain what is occurring repeatedly in the data.

The final step in data analysis is selective coding. “Selective coding is the process in which all categories are unified around a “core” category, and categories that need further explications are filled-in with descriptive detail” (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p. 14). It is at this point where all categories are logically and consistently integrated to form the explanatory whole. The researcher utilizes theoretical sampling to expand poorly developed categories until theoretical saturation occurs. Theoretical saturation occurs when data collection and analysis no longer yield new insights. From this point the researcher refines and sorts the data to develop the final theory. The generated theory is validated to ensure the explanatory power of the variety of cases within the raw data.

**Theoretical Sampling**

A grounded theory researcher uses theoretical sampling to complete the analysis. According to Piantanida, Tananis, & Grubs (2004) “theoretical sampling is one’s authentic commitment to attend fully and completely as possible to the phenomenon one is striving to understand” (p. 336).

“Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyzes the data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop the theory as it emerges” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 45).

Theoretical sampling requires the simultaneous collection and analysis of data. Although sampling and coding are described as separate components, these steps will be taking place at the same time.

Only after codes are discovered and placed in comparison groups may the
researcher determine what data can be sampled further and the sources from which it can be obtained. The researcher can only plan the initial sample size, but further data cannot be determined in advance of the emerging theory (Glaser, 2004). According to Corbin and Strauss (1990) “sampling in grounded theory proceeds not in terms of drawing samples of specific groups of individuals, units of time, and so on, but in terms of concepts, their properties, dimensions, and variations” (p. 8). It may be necessary for the researcher to increase the initial sample size based on the information discovered during the process or the initial sample may be sufficient. Theoretical sampling proceeds until the point of theoretical saturation. Saturation is the point in which further data collection no longer reveals new theoretical insights (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p. 143).

The initial sample of this grounded theory analysis included all summit log entries from 1998 (see Appendix B). However, the summit log of 1998 begins in April, after analysis of all entries from 1998, theoretical saturation did not occur. Sampling continued until April of 1999 (see Appendix C) when theoretical saturation occurred. The 1998 congressional proposal H.R. 4119, the Tohono O’odham Religious Restoration Act in which ownership of Baboquivari was contested, provides a unique opportunity for the examination of rock climbers’ sense of place. If ownership of Baboquivari were to be granted to the Tohono O’odham, rock climbers would have faced the possibility of losing access to one of the most popular climbing peaks in Southern Arizona.

**Theoretical Sensitivity**

Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest that a researcher “must be theoretically sensitive in order to conceptualize and formulate a theory as it emerges from data” (p.
Theoretical sensitivity is what a researcher brings to the study including personal and professional experience, methodological knowledge, and the ability to see theoretical insight into their area of study (Hallberg, 2006). Glaser (2004) describes two characteristics a researcher must have in order to be considered theoretically sensitive. First, the researcher must have the personal and temperamental bent to maintain analytic distance and second, the researcher must have the ability to develop theoretical insight.

Piantanida, Tananis, & Grubs (2004) suggest that “the researcher is obliged to strive not for objectivity, but for an awareness of his/her personality in relation to inquiry” (p. 336). Although a theoretically sensitive researcher is aware of their personality in relation to the phenomenon being observed, the researcher begins the analysis with as few preconceptions as possible. “Theoretical sensitivity is lost when a researcher commits to one preconceived theory, rather than remain open to possibilities that the data possess” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 46).

Memos

One of the most important procedures in generating theory and promoting theoretical sensitivity is the writing of theoretical memos (Glaser, 2004). Memos are the detailed written ideas of the researcher that begin with the first coding session and continue through the entire data analysis. Memos can include any “coherent texts, graphics, diagrams, matrices, tables, pictures, etc.” (Selden, 2004, p. 118), which allow the researcher to describe the data freely. “The use of memos is a system of tracking all categories, properties, hypotheses, and generative questions that evolve from the analytical process” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 10). Memo-writing helps the researcher to
locate concepts revealed in the relationship between categories, eliminate preconceived ideas, and track the generation of theory.
V. Findings

“It just doesn’t get much better. To everyone reading and signing this: All I can say is that I hope you’ve enjoyed this amazing place as much as I have.” (1)

The purpose of this study was to explore how the summit logs illustrate the rock climbing community’s construction of a sense of place for Baboquivari. There is limited qualitative research in sense of place studies and much of the qualitative research utilizes interviews or surveys rather than texts composed by participants (e.g. Freimund, & Belsky, 2002; Davenport & Anderson, 2005; Kianicka, et. al., 2006). The summit logs provide a rich supply of data, direct evidence of lived experiences, and a source of how a cultural group engages, understands, and assigns meaning in a contested terrain.

After completing the difficult journey to the top, climbers sign a climbing register to document their success. Climbers complete these entries for numerous reasons: to communicate to the rock climbing community, to document their accomplishment of reaching the summit, to thank others for their success, and to communicate to those who are in their thoughts during their time on the summit. A grounded theory analysis of the summit log entries dating from April 1, 1998-April 31, 1999 revealed a core category of stewardship. Stewardship in this case, is not ownership, but the feeling of the right to be in the space and a commitment to care of the landscape to ensure the continuation of rock climbing activity. Stewardship is revealed in entries that express the care and commitment of climbers to ensure the longevity of rock climbing activities, the hard work it takes to get to the summit, the contribution that climbers make to their community, and a heightened sense of awareness and reflection at the summit.

In this study, there were three primary categories uncovered that illustrate rock
climbers’ construction of a sense of place. These categories are *cultivation, celebration,* and *experience*. Although the entries have been separated into three categories, climbers completed entries that included many different subjects and fit into more than one category. This also led to more categories than number of entries and categories that were not mutually exclusive.

![Figure 3](image)

When climbers write in the summit logs, the information shared is different than the information that climbers would reveal to people who have not had the same experiences. For ease of reading, direct quotations from the Baboquivari summit logs are italicized. The number following the comment corresponds to the order of the comment in the summit log. Transcriptions of the 1998 and 1999 Baboquivari summit logs are available in Appendices B through C. The entries in the logs are an immediate response to the endeavor just completed, made when climbers are still in the contested space, still in the experienced place and often overwhelmed with the physical effects of the climbing feat they have just accomplished. The routes to the summit are physically challenging, stretching the climbers’ physical and mental state. After accomplishing such a feat,
participants will often want there to be a record of their accomplishment.

**The First Category: Cultivation of Climbing on Baboquivari**

When rock climbers complete entries regarding cultivation, they encourage the longevity of climbing activity on the mountain. Any entry that furthers, informs, and encourages the continuation of climbing activity on Baboquivari is included in this category. Scaling the mountain is a challenging endeavor, which tests both the mental and physical capabilities of all participants. When signing the logs, rock climbers document their successful journey and join a community. Entries of cultivation have been analyzed into two categories: Documentation Only and Climbing and Technical. The category of Climbing and Technical has been further analyzed into the four subcategories of Access, Lost and Found, Care and Maintenance of Existing Routes, and New Routes.

![Diagram of Cultivation Categories](image)

**Figure 4**

At this time there is no better record-keeping process than the climbing register, a resource that until recently was only available to those able to reach the summit. Entries
in this category are completed as a way to communicate to other climbers about the conditions of the landscape and climbing routes, the availability of access to the peak, or to document that they have reached the summit. For many mountaineers, this is the only way of communication with other Baboquivari climbers, and the logs are treated as an open forum.

**Documentation Only**

By signing the register, climbers document their participation in a community that has existed for a long period of time, one exclusive to those who have successfully scaled the monolith. This category falls under cultivation because documenting one’s success is the primary ritual of communication on Baboquivari peak. The documentation category is comprised of entries in which climbers have revealed only the very basics of information. These entries may include all or just a few of the following: name, date, age, route taken, hometown, weather conditions, and observations of wildlife. One example of such an entry was written on May 4, 1998: “May 4 Dusty Garrett & Louise Dawson via SE Arête in calm warm weather” (28). Although all entries contain an element of documentation, these entries are included in this category because there is such a limited amount of information about sense of place for Baboquivari. It is only known that the climber is there on this particular day, perhaps what route they took, the conditions of the day, or the basics of information about the climber who completed the climb. From these entries we know that climbers are utilizing this space and they are memorializing a personal event in the timeline of the climbing logs and sustaining the tradition of climbing on Babo.
Although there is limited information revealed about sense of place in these entries, we can learn that the rock climbers are diverse. Both men and women scale the peak and the ages that are recorded in the entries range from 18 to 69. Many climbers write of their hometowns, several in Arizona, but also hometowns are recorded from all across the USA and abroad. Also recorded in the summit logs are the paths utilized to reach the summit, most often the Forbes Route and the SE Arête.

**Climbing and Technical**

This category is comprised of all entries about the maintenance, care, and review of the climbing routes. Although climbers can access Kerry’s (1997) *Backcountry Rockclimbing in Southern Arizona* and Green’s (1999) *Rock Climbing Arizona* for information and maps of established Baboquivari climbing routes, the most recent information about the conditions of the routes are recorded in the summit register. There is no better record-keeping process of the climbing routes than the information recorded in the logs. This could be considered a valuable resource because climbers document the conditions and challenges of the route shortly after completing the journey to the top. It appears that climbers complete these entries with the expectation that other climbers read and value these journals. Examples of this communication will be further explored in the definitions of the following four subcategories of Access, Lost and Found, Maintenance and Care, and New Routes.

**Access (Subcategory of Climbing and Technical)**

This category includes all entries that mention rock climber access of Baboquivari. In 1998 the Tohono O’odham put forth a bill to regain ownership of the
entire Baboquivari peak, and climbers may have lost access to recreation on the mountain. Surprisingly, few entries in the summit log addressed this issue. However, one climber wrote, “I hope all who summit will appreciate the feat they have accomplished and realize they are part of a 100 year legacy that may end due to politics”(51). Another climber taped a news article that addresses the Tohono O’odham fight for Baboquivari ownership with the words written, “Babo in the News” and “You are here” (114). This entry is not necessarily a call to action but informing the community that they may not have access to this place anymore. This particular entry also expresses a greater depth of commitment to the contested space than what is typically presented in the summit register because a dedicated climber carried the news clipping to the summit.

*Lost and Found (Subcategory of Climbing and Technical)*

Entries like these demonstrate the camaraderie among the rock climbing community. One climber wrote an apology in her entry, “I think I dropped the clip on the last gate in the dirt road. Sorry folks.”(89). Entries such as these suggest that climbers are not only thinking about their personal journey to the summit, but how their actions and belongings will be viewed by others who are utilizing the space. Climbers will also write of belongings that they found and how to retrieve them. On December 16, 1998 Pat O’Herron and the Iowa Expedition wrote, “By the way we found a pair of shoes on the Arete –IF you’re looking for them give me a call”(113) next to a phone number and email address. In this particular entry, O’Herron demonstrates how climbers feel responsible for keeping the landscape clean of clutter and also care for other people’s belongings.

*Maintenance and Care of existing routes (Subcategory of Climbing and Technical)*
Entries about the maintenance and care of Baboquivari include warnings of physical or weather conditions that have affected the routes or trails, such as “The trail up is quite overgrown w/ all the rain this year but it has all been well worth the work” (71). Climbers also address issues about missing or deteriorating gear that is embedded in the mountainside, such as “Need to install more dike duals” (21) or “Where are the bolt & fixed pins, Oh well not really needed.” (5a).

Climbers would also address issues of unclear directions or confusing parts of routes, such as “Whoever called this “direct” needs to share whatever they were smoking. The traversing never ends” (32). Climbers would also rate the climb with stars or comments. One climber wrote, “Summitted SE Arete (1 star?) by noon. “Fun” route in spite of the numerous ‘over the river and through the woods’ episodes” (64). Climbers also may say the route is fantastic and no maintenance is needed. “Ya-ta-Hey! What an amazing route! Lotso great holds, in fact we’d rate the bushwack objectively more harrowing than the climb” (17a). By putting these messages of maintenance and care in the logs, climbers acknowledge the importance of their presence on the mountain and the safety of participants when they are in the contested space.

*New Routes (Subcategory of Climbing and Technical)*

In 1998 there were already several established climbing routes on Babo, yet climbers continued to develop new paths to the summit. Routes are not stagnant, the environment is always changing, and climbers affect movement on the mountain. An example of this type of movement was completed on March 20, 1999, when Scott Conners and Bill Lundeen climbed the route Born of Water. “Great climbing, good pro (as in, way to many bolts.) Carried a “full rack” (as book says) and maybe a half dozen
pieces. We did a new variation for pitch 7 (straight up hand crack off huge ledge, up to belay on tree on pitch 8. (5.8+) fun” (51a). In this entry the climbers critiqued an existing route, wrote their opinion of the directions in the guidebook, and added an original path on the way to the top.

On March 25, 1999, Jim Boyer drew a map of a new route called Freak of Nature in the summit log (Figure 5). It’s a fairly detailed map, one that is rated, and there are x’s as symbols of where to place gear and directions on what moves to perform in order to complete the route. Climbers are still developing new paths to reach the summit, creating new challenges for themselves and the climbing community, inviting other climbers to test out the new routes.
The Second Category: Celebration

Entries such as these suggest that climbers value the landscape of Baboquivari as more than a place to rock climb. There are many reasons why climbers recognize the landscape as a place for celebration. Climbers express that they are celebrating an accomplishment, enjoying the reward of their accomplishment, or recognizing an historical event. Some climbers write of Baboquivari as a place for spiritual or personal reflection. The celebration category is separated into seven categories: Accomplishment, Happiness/Enjoyment/Fun, Reward of Reaching the Summit, Special Day/Event,
Gratitude, Presence, and Spiritual/Religion. In entries of celebration, climbers express the most variety and details of the meanings and values that they associate with this particular place.

Figure 6

**Accomplishment**

One theme that was expressed again and again was a feeling of accomplishment. By signing the summit logs climbers document that they have accomplished the challenge of reaching the top. But a simple documentation does not necessarily convey the difficulty of the climb. Entries in this category are descriptive of the climbers’ physical and personal challenges encountered on the journey to the summit. Some entries are just a few words stating that they, “*Finally made it*”(60). Many express doubt that they made it, such as “*Never thought we’d get here, but WOW! It was worth it*”(41). These entries further demonstrate the variety of skill sets within those who scale the peak, which range from climbing outside for the first time to those who have climbed several peaks. Climbers also reveal the different approaches and reasons to ascend Babo.
Entries of accomplishment have been further analyzed into the subcategories of New Challenge, Overcoming a Personal Challenge, and Another Peak.

**New Challenge (Subcategory of Accomplishment)**

Climbers utilize a unique set of skills to reach the summit. Many climbers recorded that they have experienced something new or accomplished a new challenge. A new challenge could be a first climb outdoors, such as “First real climb (not in a gym). Better than I thought it would be” (70). Other climbers wrote that they pushed themselves further on this peak than on any other, such as “Killer trip up the SE Arete, my third climb of my life, definitely the highest. AH YA” (27). Another climber wrote, “Virgin multi pitch climber” (24) next to her name, indicating that she also accomplished a new climbing skill. Entries that are also included in this category mention a first ascent, first solo climb, or a first climb together with another climber.

**Overcoming a Personal Challenge (Subcategory of Accomplishment)**

Also included in this category are those who document that they are overcoming a personal challenge. Although many of the challenges are rooted in the physicality of the mountain, those entries are not necessarily included in this category. Some climbers expressed that they were overcoming some type of personal physical hurdle, such as “Well...8 years after a bad back kept me from coming, I finally bagged the S.E.Aret.” (97). In fact completing the journey to Baboquivari may be part of a recovery process, as with Louis Anello, who wrote, “This is one of my greatest voyages, this is also a 1 month anniversary to stomach surgery/nature heals all---I leave a part of myself” (52).

**Another Peak (Subcategory of Accomplishment)**
There were several entries in which the climbers would draw a simple figure of a mountain next to their name, just two connected triangles that encompass a number. This number indicates how many peaks that the climber has scaled. In these entries Baboquivari is not necessarily a special place or journey or a specific challenge, but another mountain of many that they have successfully conquered. An example of this type of entry was completed by several climbers on November 27, 1998 (Figure 7).

![Handwritten note](image)

**Figure 7**

**Happiness, Enjoyment, and Fun**

One of the most common themes throughout the sample analysis was happiness, enjoyment, and fun. It was quite common for climbers to express their joy in the moment. Mountaineer Kevin Cowan wrote an entry that conveys this sentiment, “Ol Kev’s on top of another one, and loving every minute of it” (53).

Climbers often document what is occurring in the physical environment and the
physical attributes of the environment that were contributing to their state of contentment. One climber wrote, “The sun is warm, breeze is cool the spirit is alive, and I’m content...” (23a).

Several climbers write of elation at the top, such as, “Dreams can come true! This place is awesome!” (46). Climbers often proclaim exclamations about the journey or weather, or summit. Comments such as, “Yippy Ki Yea!” (59) or “Hooray! Climbed the SE Arete. So fun. That’s all” (55a).

There are also a few comments, which demonstrate the attitude that those who reach the top of Baboquivari are an exclusive group. It’s not an endeavor that everyone is capable of successfully completing. Rock climbing is an extreme sport and those who climb are often impressed with magnitude of what they are doing. One comment that expresses this attitude, “Wow! Life on the edge! Sooo sweet” (8). There are also similar comments such as “Climb free, climb hard” (27). This type of comment demonstrates that climbers are encouraging of others and of rock climbing.

Baboquivari is higher than any other peak in the Baboquivari range and many climbers enjoy the feeling of being higher than anyone else. “Great climb up. Clear and brisk at 12:20 pm. Clears the senses up here” (8a) or “Sitting up in the sky is not so bad” (10a). Some climbers express that they are really feeling elation in the moment. “This is truly the center of the universe! The shadows at sunrise and sunset are spectacular” (71).

Climbers also write of what they believe to be interruption of contentment on Baboquivari peak. On February 24, 1999, climber Brian Schuster wrote, “Too bad there are too many military planes flying around on reservation land!!! They suck!!” (20a). This comment demonstrates an unwelcome outside condition that is affecting this
climber’s sense of place.

**Reward of Reaching the Summit**

After reaching the summit, a physically and mentally taxing endeavor, climbers often take the time to rest and enjoy the reward of a successful journey. Climbers express they are enjoying food, naps, marijuana, and chocolate. “*This rules!! Plenty of sunlight left. I’m taking a NAP! Oh yea’*”(63).

Some climbers celebrate reaching the summit with alcohol and many comment about how great the tequila tastes. On April 14, 1998 mountaineer Pat O’ Herron wrote, “*Hope you enjoy the Sauza we left!!*”(14). And then throughout the time frame of the sample analysis, tequila was mentioned several times. One such climber wrote, “*Beautiful day and climb, the Sauza tasted especially good atop Baboquivari!*”(48). Because tequila was frequently mentioned, it is implied that there is generally a bottle on top. These comments also demonstrate the camaraderie that exists among the climber community.

**Special Day or Event**

This category is comprised of entries in which the climbers write that they scaled Baboquivari to celebrate a specific day or event. A special day could be a birthday, holiday, or anniversary. Entries may be brief, such as “*Happy Birthday Jennifer!*”(65) or “*Last party up before 1999!*”(1A). Or perhaps climbers wrote a little more, indicating just how important the journey to Baboquivari is to celebrating a special day. One climber wrote, “*I have given myself a great birthday present today. My 52nd birthday!* It
took me 15 years to return. Worth every second’’(101). Climbers also mentioned that they came to Babo for an event such as “2nd time up for sunrise & sunset...truly a spiritual experience”(72) or “Winter Solstice 98”(115).

Commemoration of Forbes and Montoya (Subcategory of Special Day/Event)

This subcategory comprises entries that celebrate the 100th anniversary of rock climbing on Baboquivari Peak. Professor R.H. Forbes and his companion Jesus Montoya completed the first recorded climb of the peak on July 12, 1898. To signal their accomplishment of reaching the top, Forbes and Montoya built a bonfire that could be seen from as far as 100 miles away. On July 12, 1998 and on the days before and after, several climbers record that they are celebrating Forbes’ and Montoya’s epic climb. Some of the climbers not only commemorate the climb by scaling the original Forbes route, but also reenact the exact events from 100 years ago. One entry states, “We will camp like Dr Forbes and Sr. Montoya. Probably have a fire also’’(51). By reenacting the events of 1898, climbers believe they connect to the past in a unique way. They acknowledge those who have established climbing on this particular peak and keep the past relevant in the present.

Marvin Stafford, the mountaineer who scanned the Baboquivari climbing logs as a service to the climber community, wrote of summiting the peak for the 31st time. “I really wasn’t coming back! But Pete and Tom and Dave talked me into this “100th anniversary” of Forbes Epic Trip” (54). Although Stafford has climbed the peak several times and had not intended to scale it again, he was convinced to be a part of the special event. Other climbers write that they are there to have a good time. One man who climbed with a friend wrote, “Celebrating the 100th. Two old timers having too much fun.
Many climbers write they believe they are doing something important by commemorating those who have established mountaineering on the peak. This is a way that climbers connect to their community in the past. Climbers celebrate the actions of those who helped them to achieve their goal of reaching the summit. These particular entries acknowledge more than any other entries that those who climb on Babo are a part of a community with a long history on the peak.

**Gratitude**

One of the most common themes throughout the sample analysis was the expression of gratitude. Climbers were grateful for a multitude of reasons, quite often the day, climb, friends, family, and the community of climbers. This category includes entries addressed to spiritual deities, previous climbers, family members, and also entries that addressed no one in particular. Entries of gratitude demonstrate that rock climbers believe that there are several influences, which have helped them to scale the summit. In addition, these types of entries reveal climbers not only believe in themselves and their abilities, but the skills, resources, and people who have shaped those abilities.

Entries of gratitude demonstrate that climbers believe that scaling the peak is not solely an individual achievement. Climbers rely on information, education, and expertise from the people who climbed the peak before. Climbers would thank previous climbers for supplies, route establishment and maintenance, and information about the peak. One such example of gratitude was written, “Thx for emergency rations up here. Sauerkraut & tequila – lunch of champions” (89).
Climbers also thanked their fellow climbers who shared their journey to the top of the peak. These entries most often mentioned climbing partners. One such entry stated, “This was truly aw(e)some climb made possible by my rock climbing mentor John Diaz” (61). Many climbers wrote of specific people who influenced or encouraged them to pursue the sport, such as “I love you Barbara-without you-I wouldn’t be here! Thanks!” (12a). Also climbers wrote of family members who allowed them to enjoy climbing, for example “I thank my wife & family for allowing me to pursue my passion” (46a).

Many climbers expressed gratitude to spiritual deities, such as God, I’itoi, or other spiritual deities. One climber wrote, “Thanks to I’itoi and Great Spirit for another day full of good, in your face living!” (51a). And then there were several expressions of gratitude addressed to no one in particular. “Thanks for the beautiful climbing & amazing views!” (57a).

**Presence**

This category is comprised of entries in which the author communicates to or about people who are not physically sharing the contested site with them. After a physically and mentally challenging climb to the Babo summit, many climbers write of their personal lives and the people most important to them. Comments often address family, friends, or romantic partners. Although the climbers are not sharing the physical space of Baboquivari, something about the journey or the summit inspires climbers to write of others as if they are in their presence.

Many climbers wrote of their fellow climbers. The journey to the top is very
challenging and not every climber who sets out to the summit makes it there. However, the climbers who did reach the top would sign someone else’s name to recognize their accomplishment. One such climber wrote the entry, “I love you, Shannon. I’m really sorry you’re not here with me. Todd Adams, Mesa, AZ (and almost Shannon Martonick)” (60).

Climbers would often mention family members and people that they planned to share climbing with in the future. “I’ll have to bring my new daughter Cassalena Rose up here sometime. Until then, I’ll see you on top of another Arizona sky island.” (53). For some, rock climbing may be an activity that does not fit into one’s current lifestyle. One climber wrote, “Randy, find another partner, cause I ain’t coming back!!! My love, thoughts, wishes and dreams are now of you, Kim. I love you” (67). This entry related that this particular journey is the end of one stage of life and he plans to begin another.

Some climbers mention how climbing was inspired by the actions of others in the past. One such climber wrote of his parents for inspiring his enjoyment of nature. “Thinking of you, Mom and Dad, in Germany. Thank you for taking me into the mountains when I was only 3 years old. The fire is still burning. Hope it’ll last many more years” (12a).

Also included in this category are entries in which the climber uses the summit log as a means to communicate to those who will never be able to respond. In that heightened state of reflection, several climbers wrote of those who were deceased. One climber wrote, “Rob, are you up there watching me? I hope so. Watch closely” (29).
Spiritual/Religion

One of the main themes throughout the sample analysis was religion or spirituality. Included in this category are those entries that reference a higher power, sacredness, or general feelings of spirituality inspired by the environment of Baboquivari. To these climbers, Baboquivari is more than a beautiful place or a challenging rock climbing journey, it is a place of spiritual reflection. Within this category there are different degrees of spirituality. Many have general feelings of spirituality, many think about their faith in a higher power, and many recognize the place as sacred to others but not necessarily to themselves. Although climbers mention I’itoi frequently in the summit logs, those entries are not necessarily spiritually motivated. However, it is significant that climbers have developed an informal etiquette to address the deity who is thought to protect the mountain space.

General Feelings of Spirituality or Religion (Subcategory of Spiritual/Religion)

Included in this category are those entries that reference general feelings of spirituality inspired by the environment of Baboquivari. For some, the journey to the top inspired such feelings, such as “Spiritual journey! Glad to be alive” (9a). One climber wrote, “2ⁿᵈ time up for sunrise & sunset...truly a spiritual experience” (72). Or another climber wrote, “It is a holy place. A spirited adventure” (39). In these entries it is unclear what inspires the spiritual reflection, but in these entries climbers believe that climbing Baboquivari is more than a challenging climbing adventure. Also included in this category are messages of hope or blessings.

Higher Power (Subcategory of Spiritual/Religion)
Several comments demonstrated climbers’ faith in a higher power. Entries included in this category address God, I’itoi, or other spiritual deities. Several climbers wrote of God as a creator of the environment. One climber wrote, “Thanks God for providing with such a nice day & places like this” (33). Another mountaineer wrote, “Praise be to God who made the heavens & the earth!” (36). Climbers also wrote of other spiritual deities such as, “Give thanks to the mountain spirits, mother earth, and Great Spirit!” (4), demonstrating that there is a lot of diversity in the spiritual beliefs of the community that enters the mountain landscape.

Several climbers wrote of the Tohono O’odham deity I’itoi as a creator, such as “Give thanks to Creator I’itoi” (110) or “Thank you I’itoy for creating such a powerfull place” (20a). Entries like these demonstrate that those who write of I’itoi believe that Baboquivari is I’itoi’s home. One distinction between entries of I’itoi and those that address God is that Babo is a specific sacred place. The entries that address God recognize Babo as a special place out of many.

Baboquivari is also the main sacred location to other indigenous groups. On May 23, 1998, a climber who only left the first name Jackie signed, “Nowhere else can be as special but to be here on the sacred Vav gi val with Creator Se he’, birds, bee, plant life, cool breeze & Byron” (40).

I’ioci as a rock climber deity (Subcategory of Spiritual/Religion)

Within the summit logs, many participants mention the Tohono O’odham deity I’itoi. However, there is a lot of variety in the way in which I’itoi is acknowledged. As demonstrated earlier some climbers believe I’itoi is a creator and sacred being. In other entries he is addressed as a friend or companion and entries that address the deity are not
necessarily spiritually motivated.

Among the climber community there are many modern day folktales about I’itoi, the mischievous deity who protects the mountain space. Several entries suggest that rock climbers believe that Baboquivari is I’itoi’s place and he still resides there. Because of this belief, rock climbers seem to follow an informal protocol within his realm, this included expressing gratitude, making offerings at the climber shrine, and hoping for safe passage through the landscape. These actions demonstrate that rock climbers have co-opted the Tohono O’odham deity I’itoi to suit their own purposes.

As part of the informal climber protocol, several climbers expressed gratitude to I’itoi for the day, climb, or mountain. One climber wrote, “Another phenomenal day on Babo-thanks I’itoi” (32). Another climber wrote, “Hey I’itoi, thanks!” (84). These remarks are often how one would address a friend.

Climbers would also write of offerings they left for I’itoi, demonstrating the ritual of leaving objects at the climbing shrine located on the summit. One entry states, “Here’s a little something for you I’itoi to spice things up” (53). Climbers would demonstrate that they believed Babo was I’itoi’s place and that they would like to avoid his mischief and have safe passage through the mountain landscape. Or an entry that a climber who wrote “We will stay the night on the summit, as long as he allows it...” (103).

Another climber made a plea to I’itoi, “Heard about some frat boys gracing the summit w/ no climbing gear & sparkling white tennis shoes. ¿I’itoi?” (90). This entry indicates that climbers believe Baboquivari is a place for climbers with knowledge and respect for the gear, environment, and skill that it takes to climb such a peak. In this case frat boys is an insulting term, descriptive of those outside of the climbing community,
who are unprepared to enter the space because of their attire and lack of gear.

**Sacred for Others (Subcategory of Spiritual/Religion)**

Climbers also wrote of recognition of Baboquivari as a sacred place for other cultural groups. “I can see now why the Indians regard such a place as sacred. The views are just fabulous” (34). Another climber wrote an entry that included a Tibetan Buddhist prayer, “OM MANI PADME HUM-A general thank you to the Tohono O’odham Native Americans who through their understanding permitted me to climb their holy mountain” (21a). Although the mountain is not necessarily sacred to all participants in the summit logs, there is evidence that climbers recognize the importance of the monolith to indigenous cultures.

**The Third Category: Experience**

This category comprises entries in which the climbers write of what they are feeling at the moment on top of Baboquivari. Climbers often comment about the day, the physical beauty of the landscape, the experience of what they have just accomplished, or how they are enjoying the moment. Entries of experience are separated into five categories: Personal Performance, Observations from the Top, Shared Experience with Others, Repeat Visitor and Anticipation of Future Challenges.
Although entries in this category can be just a simple comment such as “Beautiful Day”(47) or “Great climb”(5a) many entries include much more detailed information about the participants’ journey and the experience of being at the top. The information in this category is not necessarily useful to other rock climbers, it is different than climbing information, or entries about the maintenance of the routes. These comments include personal impressions of the mountain, their view on the aesthetics of landscape, the importance of the place to them, or of the people with whom they are sharing the experience of place.

**Personal Performance on the Climb**

Several entries claim that climbing Baboquivari is a physically difficult endeavor. Many climbers wrote of the challenges they overcame on the trip up to the summit, the hardships that they endured, and the injuries they sustained. Some climbers recounted
their hardships, “Hiked through a hail storm, slept in the saddle stream, dried out for a
day”(88). One participant left visual evidence of the difficult climb with a fingerprint in
blood next to the words “blood from war wounds”(5). Another climber wrote, “Almost
lost Scott on the way up. He’s ok though.”(87).

The summit logs give climbers the ability to vent their frustrations to other
climbers. However, some climbers were also boastful of their performance with
comments such as “Ripped it up!”(49) or with comments about how long it took them to
reach the summit. “Took the Forbes route. Barely a breeze. Clearest day yet! 4 ½ hours
from the ranch!”(53a). Climbers also wrote of their disappointments or unexpected
challenges and how they got through their experience on the mountain. “We got here late
(5:00) and could not find the rappel station on Forbes. The night was a bit cold, but
pleasant”(120).

**Observations From the Top**

At the top of the peak, climbers may take the time to document their observations
of the Baboquivari landscape, these comments address the view, weather, or wildlife.
Entries in this category are descriptive of the physical environment of Baboquivari and
quite often climbers’ reactions to those observations. Some entries are very brief, such as
“Life is good-the view is Fine”(9). Participants would also create drawings of the
vegetation and wildlife. (Figure 9) Some entries are more inspired, such as “Watching the
hawks and falcons play in the updrafts was a gift, lazy gliding with breath taking dive
bombs! SE Arete is fun but...the top is well worth it”(66). Participants may also write of
what they believe to be negative aspects in the environment. One climber wrote, “I never
thought ladybugs could disgust me, but the millions of them on that holly shrub over there are a little bizarre” (89).

Shared Experience

This category is comprised of entries in which climbers revealed that they are sharing the space and experience of climbing the mountain with others. Several climbers write of whom they are sharing the summit with, who came on the climb, or whom they met along the way. Some entries are quite simple, such as “ER Expedition 98A” (3) in which it is assumed that a group of individuals climbed the peak together. In other entries, several climbers signed their names under one date, so that it is known that individuals climbed the peak at the same time but want recognition of their individual accomplishment. Some climbers share an entry in the summit logs, therefore the space on the mountain, but will write their own details of themselves or journey next to their name.
They might include their age, the number of peaks that they have climbed, or comments about their individual experience.

Some entries reveal much more information, such as that they are on a journey with friends or family. This is an important detail because the people who they are with have an effect on how participants view sense of place for Baboquivari. One climber revealed they had a great experience, “Snow, ice, good friends, great day!!” (10). Or perhaps the climbing experience was not that great, but their friends have made the journey enjoyable. “Came up the SE arête, a little warm today but good friends make it fun!!” (65) Some entries suggest that the summit is more special place because they are sharing the space with others, such as “Extraordinary place to be with a group of fine people” (92).

From many entries, we can assume the mountain is a social landscape and the community of rock climbers is welcoming. Baboquivari is not only a physical space or challenge, but also a place to congregate, a place to tell and gather stories, and a place to introduce to others. “Happy to share summit experience w/ Pat and Maureen. We feel lucky to have run into them this morning on the way up” (13). From this entry we know, that they were not planning to run into Pat and Maureen, but they met them on the mountain.

Many climbers mentioned that they are sharing the landscape with someone they are close to or love. Many climbers shared the experience with romantic partners. One woman wrote, “Another great day and a spectacular climb with the man of my dreams” (89). Participants also write of relationships they have with their fellow climbers, often their rock climbing partners. “Finally back climbing something with my best
partner Tim. It’s been too long dude. Great day” (97). Also several entries demonstrate that climbers introduce the space to others. One father wrote, “35th Anniversary of my first hike up Babo, with the first of the next generation” (116). His son shares the entry and therefore the contested space with him, but writes that he likes his home environment of CO better.

**Repeat Visitor**

This subcategory includes entries in which the participants write that they are returning to Baboquivari. The reasons that participants return to the summit are varied. Participants may be there for the challenging climbing routes, or because they think the landscape so beautiful, and yet others for some undefined reason.

When participants write that they are returning to Baboquivari, they are not only writing of that particular moment, but recalling their experiences with the place in the past. Some climbers write that they are only returning for the second time. By 1998, there were several established routes to the summit of Baboquivari. Rock climbers could scale the peak several times without repeating the same path to the top. Some climbers mention that this feat is different than the last time they scaled the peak. One climber wrote, “Summited before noon... Won’t get lost in the dark this time” (49), indicating that they were more prepared for the challenge than the last time they climbed Babo. Some climbers mention that they had such a good time they had to come back, “20 days later am I a glutton for punishment or what? Guess I’ve been working too hard and not climbing enuff lately, cuz I can’t add either!!? (10-17 to 11-7 ≠20)” (98). Some climbers write that they are returning after a long absence. “Second trip in over 10 yrs. That’s too
long to be away from such a beautiful place.” (33)

Throughout the sample analysis there are climbers who state that they have been to Babo repeatedly. One climber wrote a number next to his name, indicating that he scaled the peak numerous times. “Don Morris (26th time)” (37). Climbers also write they will return in the future. “This is my 12th ascent of Babo & I never tire of it. See you again soon.” (50a)

Rock climbers that return again and again to Baboquivari believe it is a special place and there are a few climbers who write several entries in the summit registers. Within the timeframe of this sample analysis, April 1, 1998-March 31, 1999, mountaineer Pat O’Herron signed the summit register 6 times. He completed the very first entry of this particular register, “Came out today to drop off the new register, figured a peak this awesome deserves it” (1). Throughout the logs, he writes of a variety of experiences. O’Herron utilizes different routes and accomplishes new challenges. He climbs the peak to take in the beauty in solitude and also climbs the peak to have a good time with friends. On “May 6th/7th” he completed an entry, which demonstrates just how special the site is to him, “SE Arete—it’s about 4 am. Did the headlamp solo of the arête so I could take in the stars and watch the sun rise from one of my favorite places” (30). He also introduces Babo to other climbers, writes entries regarding the maintenance of the peak or other challenges other climbers may encounter. These types of entries and the frequency of entries demonstrates a sense of responsibility and commitment of place. Because he writes so frequently in the logs, it is obvious he cares about Babo and the people who utilize the mountain and believes it is a special place.
Anticipation of Future Challenges

Getting to the summit of Baboquivari is a physically demanding endeavor and many climbers expressed concern about the anticipated challenges in the return journey. “I am glad to have made it; however, the “real work” is downhill” (34). Many wrote of the challenges on the way up and how they were nervous about the way down. “Alex Kopperud-came up Forbes Route-had to learn to self-belay on ladder pitch. Hope to get to bottom in one piece. Solo’s suck” (11a). Some participants were unsure about getting down in the dark. “We’re slow and it’s dark. Hope we find the repels!” (5a). Others wrote that they were not attempting to get down in the dark and had now planned to sleep on summit. There are hurried entries because a storm was approaching, like “Better get down-there’s a storm coming!!! Wooo doggie” (22). One group of climbers wrote of an anticipated challenge that was unrelated to the rock climbing. On December 16, 1998, one climber wrote, “We realized that we were out of gas upon arriving at the ranch, so hopefully, the drivers on 286 will be kind to hitchhikers. Always an adventure” (113).
VI. Discussion

Guided by the cultural concepts of ritual communication and sense of place, this study asked how the summit logs illustrate rock climbers’ sense of place for Baboquivari. As land conflicts become more common and volatile, it is important to understand how communities conceptualize contested places. Baboquivari is a contested landscape, sacred to the Tohono O’odham and an important destination for rock climbers. The preceding grounded theory analysis of how climbers illustrate their sense of place suggested a core category of stewardship. Stewardship, in climbers’ words, presents a strong sense of the right to be on Baboquivari and the commitment to the care and maintenance of the landscape and community for the purposes of rock climbing activity.

The attitudes of stewardship illustrated in the summit log entries are separated into the three categories of cultivation, celebration, and experience. Although the entries have been separated into three categories, climbers completed entries that included many different subjects and fit into more than one category. This led to categories that are not mutually exclusive. The data further suggests that through both their practice and beliefs, climbers perceive a feeling of belonging or an insider status within sacred space.

When a climber documents their success in reaching the top, they complete a ritual, which contributes to the continuation of climbing activity on the peak. Tuan (1977) expresses that “place is a pause in movement” (p. 138). The summit logs encourage rock climbers to “pause” in their journey before continuing their movement down the mountain. Usually an entry includes the expected information of a name, date, and the route taken. However, further information recorded in the summit logs, always in this particular position at the top of the peak, provides a method of communication in which
climbers reveal that they understand Baboquivari in different ways.

One of the most important observed themes within the summit logs was participant *cultivation* of rock climbing activity on the peak. As in previous studies, the physical environment appears to have a strong effect on individuals and place meanings (Ryden, 1993; Stedman 2003). Baboquivari is well suited to rock climbing activities, and the landscape provides numerous challenges: Climbers are subject to the physical landscape characteristics, such as the shape and texture of terrain, and they have a tactile approach to the environment in comparison to those who are simply viewing or hiking through the landscape. The data revealed that the environment of Baboquivari is always changing, and environmental elements have an effect on the routes and climbing gear embedded in the rock. Participants contribute to the maintenance and improvement of existing routes by expressing criticism in their entries, such as climbers Chet Carter and Brian Issa, who wrote “*BTW, Where are the bolts & fixed pins?*”(4a) or the climber who only left the first name Greg, who wrote “*That’s a 5.6 move?*”(86). The physical landscape also inspires rock climbers to develop new routes as illustrated with “*The I’itoi Dance*”(61a) or “*Freak of Nature*”(50a), which further cultivates climbing activity on the peak.

Although the common purpose of this community is to scale Baboquivari, rock climbing activity is not the only reason that participants find the mountain to be a special place. Baboquivari is a socially constructed landscape, and the literature on place (e.g., Greider & Garkovich, 1994; Stokowski, 2003) suggests that the meanings and experiences that participants associate with a particular locale determine their sense of place. “The natural environment is transformed into culturally meaningful phenomena
and is then viewed from the perspective of these cultural definitions” (Greider & Garkovich, 1994, p. 6). As revealed in the data, climbers have varying experiences while they are in the contested landscape, and the reasons they climb the peak are diverse.

Comments such as, “Life is Good-The view is fine”(9) or “My hardest & most exposed yet!”(31a), demonstrate that climbers celebrate themselves and their own success on top of the peak. Climbers experience the place with a group or climb solo, which can have an impact on place meaning. And the several climbers who write that they are celebrating those who established climbing on the peak demonstrate the importance of climber history to those who continue to climb Babo.

Tuan (1977) expressed that a strong sense of place could develop quickly and intensely, similar to “love at first sight”(p. 184). Climbers also reveal that the dramatic landscape of Babo and intensity of their experience can originate a strong sense of place. After a difficult journey, climbers can often be overwhelmed with the beauty of the environment and, in a heightened sense of reflection, think of people who they love or people who have made an impact on that experience. Climbers may also have illustrated that their climb was extremely difficult and that they are worried about the journey back down. Participants in this situation may not have much time to pause and reflect on their experience because they are anticipating their immediate future.

Due to the 1998 Congressional proposal of H.R. 4119, the Tohono O’odham Religious Restoration Act, the time frame of April 1, 1998-April 31, 1999 was chosen for analysis of the summit log entries. In this act the Tohono O’odham sought to reclaim ownership of the entire Baboquivari peak, and recreational access was threatened. Despite national and local coverage, very few climbers mentioned this conflict within the
logs. This may have been due to lack of knowledge or that addressing such conflict would have been an interruption of place in a locality in which climbers feel they have a right to be.

As demonstrated in the summit logs, climbers do recognize the importance of the mountain to other cultural groups because they express gratitude to the Tohono O’odham for allowing rock climbing activity on their most sacred peak. The community of Baboquivari climbers is not necessarily a culturally homogenous group and the view of the mountain as a sacred place varies. This observation of the contested space aligns with Stokowski (2003) who asserts, “The very same setting can mean very different things to different individuals associated with it” (p. 369). Some participants also wrote of I’itoi as their Creator and of Baboquivari as his most sacred place. Other climbers expressed that they did believe that Baboquivari was a sacred place created by God, but one distinction is that it is a sacred place of many, not one specific place.

**Practice-Based Insider Status.**

Previous place studies have explored the distinction between insiders and outsiders; however, they often define insiders as having a residential status. Similar to the findings of Kianicka et. al (2006), Baboquivari rock climbers demonstrate that residential status does not necessarily determine an intensity of sense of place. In this particular case, an insider status does belong to the climbers. The difficulty of the rock climbing routes ensures that those who sign the summit log are part of an exclusive community, who have the mental and physical capabilities to successfully reach the top.

Another observed theme that strengthens the argument of climbers as insiders is
that several climbers write that they are Repeat Visitors to Baboquivai. Previous literature asserts that sense of place develops from a steady accumulation of experience (Relph, 1976). Due to their frequency and variety of experiences, Repeat Visitors believe they have a more intense sense of place than those with little experience on the peak. These climbers are the true stewards of Babo because they demonstrate the most commitment to ensure Babo as a landscape for rock climbing activity and they continuously return to the peak. The reasons these climbers return are not always documented, but some write that it is their favorite place, a place in which they feel a strong connection. “To be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger is the identity to place” (Relph, 1976, p. 49). Because their names appear frequently in the log and in a variety of situations, one can speculate that they are the one’s maintaining the routes and ensuring that gear is safe that is embedded in the rock.

Repeat Visitors also explore rarely climbed routes, develop improvements to existing routes, and establish new ways to scale the summit. In the timeframe of this analysis, there were two new routes, “The I’itoi Dance”(61a) and “Freak of Nature”(50a), cultivated by climbers that were returning to the peak. In the summit logs, climbers drew detailed maps, with x’s and dotted lines to represent pathways, ratings, and numbered the amount of pitches needed to complete the route. According to Tuan (1977) drawn maps “intimate a desire to enshrine communal geographic knowledge in cartographic form” (p. 77). Repeat Visitors explore the mountain intimately in order to develop new routes and share that knowledge with their community furthering rock climbing activity in the contested landscape.
Belief-Based Insider Status.

Similar to Bird (2002), in which participants utilize cultural narratives and folk legends to construct their sense of place, Baboquivari climbers demonstrate use of narratives in the logs. Bird (2002) expressed that “shared narratives serve culturally to construct a sense of place and, with that, a sense of cultural identity that includes some people while excluding others” (p. 520). Another theme that lends itself to insider status, is the construction of I’itoi as a rock climber deity. According to the Tohono O’odham creation story, I’itoi led the original Tohono O’odham people from Baboquivari and he still resides there today. As revealed in the logs, climbers also illustrate their belief that I’itoi resides on the peak, but they have co-opted this deity to suit their own purposes. Climbers have also duplicated the Tohono O’odham ritual of leaving an offering for the deity at a climber shrine located on the summit. They also express gratitude towards him for a safe journey and question I’itoi for allowing non-climbers, those who lack the skills or have inappropriate gear, into his realm. These stories demonstrate that climbers have their own meaning for I’itoi, one that is quite different from the Tohono O’odham.

Another observed theme that lends itself to the argument of insider status is a shared sense of history. Although climber history on Baboquivari peak is relatively short in comparison to the Tohono O’odham, rock climbers do have a historical perspective. During the timeframe of the analysis, several climbers celebrate the first recorded ascent completed by Dr R.H. Forbes and Jesus Montoya on July 12 1898 as a way to pay homage to their predecessors. The climbers reenact the exact events from 100 years ago recognizing Forbes and Montoya who established climbing culture in the contested landscape. As revealed in their texts, climbers have a history of continuous climbing on
the peak, a place they believe they have a right to utilize.

This study also enhances the literature that examines competing claims to space for cultural groups. The results of this study align with that of McAvoy (2002). Those findings suggest that rock climbers’ sense of place is based on the individual/expressive meanings that individuals assign to place, which are the tangible and unique meanings that individuals actively assign to place (Williams & Patterson, 1999) rather than place meanings as a homogenous cultural group. While the Tohono O’odham recognize Baboquivari as their ancestral origins, in this examination, climbers assign meaning to Baboquivari based on participation in specialized activities and their intensity of experience. Climbers leave their real life to pursue an activity in which they gain value. Participants connect with nature, themselves, their community, reflect, and then return to their normal life. Although it’s a favorite place, a storied place, or an overwhelmingly sacred place, they still use Babo for recreational purposes. As discussed earlier, there are a few climbers who express that Baboquivari is their most sacred place, further demonstrating that those who climb Babo assign meaning to the place in a variety of ways.
VII. Conclusion

This research enriches existing sense of place literature by establishing categories of responses for a place. In the Baboquivari summit logs, varied senses of place are revealed, and this research identifies both practice and belief-based portrayals of routes to insidership in the contested landscape. These portrayals communicate participant’s perception of the earned right to a sense of place. Previous sense of place research has utilized qualitative methods (e.g., Frederickson & Anderson, 1999; Yung, Freidmund, & Belsky, 2002; Davenport & Anderson, 2005; Kianicka, Hunziker, & Muller-Boker, 2006) but has typically used surveys and interviews to explore place meanings. This study provides an example in which the relationship between people and place is examined through the participants’ own words composed in the contested space. The grounded theory methodology allows a new perspective to emerge from the data.

Completing an entry in the summit log enables climbers to leave part of themselves on the mountain. It is a vessel of communication for those who use contested space; a way to communicate to future climbers and join the conversation of those who have climbed before. The summit log also maintains a sense of security and trust that allows climbers to feel safe climbing in that environment.

This study may provide assistance in contested space conflicts because it provides an in-depth examination of communications composed by individuals utilizing a contested landscape. This study identifies new routes by which participants communicate a right to that landscape. Managers or rock climbers can utilize the findings to argue the importance of pristine lands for recreational use. Climbers value a wild landscape and are willing to maintain the environment for the purposes of rock climbing activity. Also the
ties, meanings, and values that climbers associate with this locality are not insignificant, they recognize the place as more than a spot to rock climb, it is unique, a place like no other.

Limitations

This study explored only the rock climbers’ sense of place for Baboquivari in one specific timeframe. In this particular study, rock climbers are physical outsiders of Baboquivari and for the most part, they are leaving their home environment and participating in recreational activities in which they gain value. It is a challenging environment in which participants have to work hard in order to pursue routes to insiderness. These activities may have no relation to the activities of existing physical insiders. Access to this particular group is limited by the physical difficulty of the journey and to those with a specific skill set. Because of these limitations the results cannot be generalized in other contested land conflicts without further examination.

When climbers complete an entry, it is a relatively private act, but that does not mean that climbers are not concerned with how their comments may be received within their community. One limitation is that there may be social pressure and etiquette when completing an entry, which would have an effect on their sense of place. Also, the summit logs were originally scanned by mountaineer Marvin Stafford to complete a wilderness plan for the Bureau of Land Management; it is always possible that the logs are incomplete, especially if the materials were not in good condition. The researcher can only examine the data written within the logs, and it is unknown how many climbers successfully reached the top but did not leave any documentation.

Future Research
The entries in the summit register present a rich framework that illustrates the rock climbing community’s construction of sense of place, providing an empirical example of how ritual communication contributes to place meanings. However, this study provided only the rock climber sense of place for Baboquivari. Several cultural groups utilize the space and the activities that one associates with the space are diverse. Further qualitative study of other perspectives would enhance the body of knowledge about sense of place in this contested terrain.

Future research should focus on testing the categories uncovered in this particular study. The model developed in this study can be applied to other wilderness areas in which participant logs are utilized. Several peaks maintain a summit log and popular hiking trails often have registers. Participant logs are a powerful vessel of communication in which individuals reveal their sense of place while they are still experiencing a particular locality. Through both their practice and beliefs, Baboquivari rock climbers communicate a route to insider status in the contested terrain. Further examination of different sets of logs would help to understand the reliability of the revealed categories and if separate individuals recognize the same dominant themes in other wilderness areas.

Although this time period was chosen because of the Tohono O’odham Religious Restoration Act, further investigation of the Baboquivari summit logs in more recent years may be beneficial. The value and meanings that people associate with place are “processive rather than static” (Eisenhauer et al., 2000, p. 439) and those meanings may change over time. The results of this study would be enhanced if it was understood how and if stewardship is passed on to others. In order to uncover that question periodic investigation may be necessary.
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Appendix A

Visual Explanation of Summit Log Entry Separation
Appendix B

1998 Baboquivari Summit Log Transcriptions

1. April 11th-Came out today to drop off the new register, figured a peak this awesome deserves it. What a beautiful day!! Kind of windy, well actually really windy, but sunny and warm. The water run off is still substantial enough for the stream to flow in the gulley that the trail from Baboquivari Peak Ranch follows. It just doesn’t get much better. To everyone reading and signing this: All I can say is I hope that you’ve enjoyed this amazing place as much as I have. S.E. Arete Pat O’Herron & {Patrick J. O’ Herron} Frank {?}

2. April 11th 1998
Southeast Arete route; awesome view; screemin’ wind. {Terry L. Patel} Alb, NM

3. 4/11/98 ER Expedition 98A, SE ARETE GREAT CLIMB just a bit windy {P.A.} Paul Freshour, Albequerque, NM

4. April 11th
What a climb—what a wind. We made it and the sun is about to set. Give thanks to the mountain spirits, mother earth, and the Great Spirit! Save our Mother. M’ alias Mike Mitchell Cedar Crest, NM

5. 11-Apr-98
Climbed up with Paul Freshour, Jerry Peace, and Mike Mitchell. Piece of cake…. (I am wiped and the sun is setting)

{Fingerprint in blood}. blood from war wounds.
6. 14-Apr-98
Pulled a full monty on Southeast Arete
and plan to make it back to the car
before dark (yeah right). Beautiful
climb, clumsy directions, but managed
to find our way anyway. Chapped lips
from the blustery wind but the temper-
ature could not be better.

“I believe in miracles”
Greg, Julie, Rich, Nate
P.S. Gaye I hope you have
dinner ready for us
when we get home-
HA HA

{arrow to above comment}
Yah Right-now look N.W…
squint your eyes & look as far
as you can see. Can you see

(continued from previous page)
Us in Santa Cruz waving to you…
Heeloolooo.
9. Same day-Same Party
   ‘Wish you could have made it amy…
   Life is Good-The view is Fine-
   Spread the Peace…ASLT. {drawing of stick figure and grass}

10. 4/19/98
    Snow, ice, good friends, great day!!
    Scott Conners

11. 4/19/98
    Honored to be here – feels good to be so high up.
    What a happy day…..
    Love to all
    Lesley Joy Coviello
    Tucson, AZ

12. El major de la humanidad
    ha llegado a esta cima o
    llegará. Disfruten de todo
    lo que esta ofrecido aquí.

    O. Gordon 4/19

    (The best of humanity has arrived or will arrive. Enjoy everything that is offered here)

13. Ahhh, what a beautiful day! SE Arete great
    route with fine moves and great exposure. Happy
    to share summit experience w/ Pat and Maureen.
    We feel lucky to have run into them this
    morning on way up.
    First trip to AZ. From NH, land of granite
    and hardwood forests. Have been blessed w/
    fantastic weather and now look forward to
    a few more days of climbing and enjoying our
    vacation together. The stars and wildflowers
have been a real source of wonderment and joy. We like AZ.

Maury McKinry 22 Apr
Karen Eisenberg N. Conway, NH

{drawings of succulent, saguaro, ocotillo, and lizard}

14. April 22\textsuperscript{nd} 1998
Beautiful weather. Nice route. Can’t get enough of this place.

Pat O’Herron & Maureen Beck-Crystal {Line}

Hope you enjoy the Sauza we left!!
Hard to beat A. Good weather, good climbing, good friends. Live your dreams.

Moe

15. Southern Arizona Hiking Club – 4-25-98
Elizabeth Planteen
{unreadable signature}

16. 4/25/98
Ken Wagenknecht & Dave Condit. 1\textsuperscript{st} climb together, had a great time on SE Arete worth the 3 stars from the exposure alone! We’re to climb the Elephant’s Trunk tomorrow if the weather holds!

17. 4/25/98
Don Eydenberg & Brett Gladish
Yes, Viva Tequila! We enjoyed the Sauza. But not as much as the climb or the awesome vistas.
My 2\textsuperscript{nd} time atop Babo. Wahoo!
18. SAHC 4/25/98
Guide-Wade Teter-Linda Miller
Pat O’ Donnell Yeah! 315 peaks!
Elizabeth Planteen
Jean Little
Mart Rodriguez
Deanna Tarransky (a defining moment in my life! Thanks to Sylvester & Wade)
Kathy Teter
Evie Cohen-to the steep part-good for her
Sylvester
Charles Wilma Thanx Wade & Linda
Bob Cardell
Linda Miller

19. Hi Mom!- The Gods and you are
Looking down upon us now. I love you
Jeff {?}

20. 4/25/98 – Jeff Azersky
Bill Shillu from East Side

21. 4/25/98 Southeast Arete
Very enjoyable! My first climb in 10 years. Gary Bolton

Thanks for all the fish! Bob Manthy
Need to install more dike duals – Craig Kafra

Wow, I am a hap, hap, happy climber
Jim Porter

22. 4/25/98 Dan “sexy pants” Coombs
Brian “Hubba Hubba” King
{DB in circle}
Fantastic
Better get down – there’s a storm
coming!!! Wooo doggie!

23. 4/25/98
   James Delaney “ebl”
   {?} SE Arete

24. Brian {?} “great day for a walk in the park – Thanks
   For to-Kill-Ya”
   Mary Hayden
   Virgin multi pitch climber

25. 1- May-98
   Steve Anderson and Jonathan Hoffman
   NSS 24144
   Perfect weather! Came up from
   West Side.

________________________________________________________________________

26. May 2 (SAT)98
   YEh! Our first assent of the SE Arete
   Like it; love it (CABA)
   Gerry Rattley
   Terry Dutton
   Dave Tanton

27. May 3 (SUN) 98’
   Killer trip up SE Arete,
   My third climb of my life, definitely the highest. AH YA.
   Brendon McKeon

   *A note from my masterful
   leader. {arrow pointing down}

   life is good
   climb hard
   climb free

   Tim McCale
28. May 4 Dusty Garrett & Louise Dawson
   via SE Arete in calm warm weather

29. 6-May
    SE Arete
    Beautiful day & great climb
    Susan Barnhart
    Ellen Kress
    Rob, are you up there watching me? I hope so.
    Watch closely.

30. {drawing of a smiling face with tongue sticking out}
    May 6th/7th 1998
    S.E. Arete – It’s about 4 am. Did
    The headlamp solo of the arête so I could take in the sunrise from
    one of my favorite places.
    Patrick O’Herron

31. 5/10/98 S.E.A
    Gary Faulkenberry
    John Madocks

32. May 10th 1998 Time Lost (South Face Direct) S.D.?!?
    Definitely time lost on this route. Whoever called this “direct” needs to share whatever they were smoking.
    The traversing never ends. Actually I + we really liked this route (Frank excluded). Always amazing to do-route
    that long on all gear (not that you get a chance to place much).
    Another phenomenal day on Babo-thanks I’itoi.
    Pat, Jason, & Frank
33. 5/16/98 (4 hrs)
Second trip in over 10 yrs
That’s too long to be away
from such a beautiful place.
Thanks God for providing with
such a nice day & places like
this.

Wayne A. Martin
{drawing of smiley face}

34. 16-May-98

This was an interesting climb to such a beautiful
Place. It has been over 12 years since I made it here.
I am glad to have made it; however, the “real work” is
Downhill. I can see now why the Indians regard such a place
As sacred. The views are just fabulous.

Wolfgang Gosler
& Erich Karkoschka
U of A Ramblers Hiking Club

35. 21-May-98

From the East Side

Ted Brasket   age 68   5X   Prescott AZ
Jeanette Vincer  5X   Prescott AZ
Judy Ware  2X   Oceanside, CA

Spectacular Climb!!
Ernie Spiehler

36. 21-May-98

Dreams can come true! This place is awesome!
Praise be to God who made the heavens & the
Earth!

Patricia Miller Tucson AZ

37. 23-May-98
Up from Riggs Ranch early to avoid heat –
Commemorating R.H. Forbes climb of July 1898
100 years of Babo mountaineering
Don Morris (26th time)

38. May 23rd-with Don Morris; 1st time
by SE Arete, this time via the Forbes
Route from Rigg’s Ranch. Perfect temp on
top, light breeze, a bit hazy. A magnificent
mountain! Ty Schuling
Redlands, CA (former Tucsonan)

39. 5/23/98 Pail Norberg & Mellissa
Mast!?!…Wow Great Adventure
My 3rd Summit!
It is a holy place. A spirited adventure.
thank you Mellissa

40. {drawing of heart with flower growing at top}
Today I’m on top of the world
with Byron
Nowhere else can be as special but
to be here on the sacred
Vav gi val with Creator, Se he’,
birds, bees, plant life, cool breeze
& Byron.

                 All my relations – may all good blessings
                 be for you also.

                      Jackie
                      5/23/98

41. 23-May-98

Never thought we’d get here,
but WOW! It was worth it.
came via the SE Arete, west approach
darkness is coming…
Diana Rempe-Cesta
Justin Cestas

42. 24-May-98
Charles Wilma

43. Phil – Ponce
Galesburg {?}
May 24 – 1998

44. Eddie Cornelas 5/24/98

45. Kevin G{?} 5-24-98

46. Johnny Baumgartner 5/24

47. 24-May-98   Beautiful day!
    From the East-
    Pat Acheson
    Rich Acheson
    Rich Gnagy
    Patty Kline {94 under drawing of mountain}
    Ted Brasket  age 64  6x  Prescott AZ

48. 25-May-98
    Rick Topinka via SE Arete w/
    Josh O’Brien Beautiful day and climb,
    the Sauza tasted especially good
    atop Baboquivari. Thanks to the
    donor.

49. 6-Jun-98
    Ripped it up! Brought my gear up
    myself Chip! Awesome climb – thanks
Steve

Summited before noon…
Won’t get lost in the
dark this time.

Steve Meyer
&
Seth Dawson

50. June 12 – Perfect day up Forbes route
will be back for the SE Arete. The
ladybugs rule this mountain-
Molly Costanza, Carl Robinson

51. 12-Jul-98
100th Anniversary First Ascent
of Baboquivari Peak

Congratulations to my buddies
Kevin Cowan and Lou Anello for
accompanying me Tom “Woody” Woodrow
for our first ascent of this beautiful
mountain. We have planned this trip
for months and have accomplished our
goal successfully and without disappointment.
to be up here today early before the heat.
We understand a large group is planning a
reenactment also. We wish them luck as
they have not arrived yet. It is hot
and hazy. The view probably only 20 or
30 miles. I hope it clears up this afternoon.
We will camp like Dr. Forbes and Sr. Montoya.
Probably have a fire also. I hope all who
summit will appreciate the feat that they have
accomplished and realize that they are part of
a 100 year legacy that may end due to politics.
Good luck and a safe descent to all.

Tom Woodrow
3650 E. Blacklidge
Tuc AZ 85716
“Babo Wabo”

52. Louis Anello 12/7/98 It’s great to do this
on the 100th anniversary. This is my first climb/that
Is technical. The insects are just as thick as the
sights are vast & overwhelming. This is one of the
(continued from previous page)
best things I’ve ever done for myself. I want to
say hello to my wife Rebecca & my daughter Kayla. I love you
both. This experience will always be priceless to me. This
is one of my greatest voyages, this is also a 1 month anniversary to a stomach
surgery/nature heals all ------ Louis Anello I leave a part of Myself!
Tuc Arizona, 12-7-98

53. Ol Kev’s on top of another one, and loving
every minute of it. I’ll have to bring
My new daughter, Cassalena Rose, up here
sometime. Until then, I’ll see you on top
of another Arizona sky island.
100th Anniversary Kevin B. Cowan
& our first ascent. {signature}

P.S. Here’s a little something for you
I’itoi to spice things up.

54. 12-Jul-98 I really wasn’t coming back!
But Pete and Tom and Dave talked me into
this “100th anniversary” of Forbes Epic Trip.
So this is my 31st summit trip, and
I really am not coming back!
July is a good month for insects, but
not for mountaineers. It’s a
great place, but I’m outa here!
Marvin A. Stafford

55. Soo grateful to be here – just a(s) good
as fine music – art – etc. Thanks to
God and good people for being able
to appreciate it. Loma

56. Forbes 100th 7-12/13-1998
Pete Cowgill
Judy Bodkin
Tom Harlan
Jonathan Hoffman NSS 24144
Doug Marcoux 1st timer!  18 yrs. old
Patrick McHugh 1st timer!  20yrs. old
   “Loved it, but now…we have to get down from here.”

57.  7/13/98 AZB
    I’ve planned this for a couple of months as well – although I found the date to be the 13th of July as the first ascent 100 years ago – ok well regardless – a great trip anyway. Solo up the Forbes route. Will return for SE Arete sometime when cooler.

58.  7/14/98 that’s funny – For the past 20 years I thought the 100th fell on the 14th.
    Oh, well, any excuse.                Jim Hartley

7/14/98 – Celebrating the 100th.
Two old timers having too Much fun. My horse loved it!
                        Tom Nevers
My horse almost refused to rappel down.

59.  8/9/98
    Yippy Ki Yea! Our first Time at this summit. It Was our hopes to stay here For the full moon (or almost). No such luck. Bushwacking at Night w/ no moon (cloud cover) Makes it quite difficult. So We made a morning summit & Guess what? Cloud cover. Great times though. Good Luck to all.

    ¡Que Te Via Bien!
    Jason T. &
    Pete H.
    Tucson, AZ
60. 8/22/98

Finally made it! Just the Forbes route. The sun’s going down. Gotta go.
I love you, Shannon. I’m really sorry you’re not here with me.

Todd Adams
Mesa, AZ
(and almost Shannon Martonick)

61. 8/23/98

This was a truly aw(e)some climb made possible by my rock climbing mentor John Diaz.

Lynn Moravek
John Diaz

62. 9/12/98

{drawing of sun and stick figure} Yes!

Hot, humid, lots of bugs.
Hell Yeah!

Seth (top wind)

63. This Rules!!

Plenty of sunlight left
I’m taking a NAP!

Oh yea Shawn Lowery

64. 9/19/98

Summitted SE Arete (1 star?)
By noon. “Fun” route inspite of The numerous ‘over the river and Through the woods’ episodes
Gracias por la tequila!  
Bill Lundeen  
Love your Mother!

65. 9/19/98  
Happy Birthday Jennifer! Came  
up the SE Arete, a little warm today  
but good friends make it fun!!  
Scott Conners

66. 9/19/98  
Watching the hawks  
And falcons play in the  
Updrafts was a gift.  
Lazy gliding with  
breath taking dive bombs!  
SE Arete is fun but…  
The top is well worth it!  
Holden Chase

67. 9/26/98  
Finally, I made it (after  
a 3 year wait). SE Arete,  
I will have to say  
that it was worth  
the wait. Randy, find  
another partner, cause I  
ain’t coming back!!! My  
love, thoughts, wishes and  
dreams are now of you,  
Kim. I love you.  

Indy

68. Staged for perfection.  
Saddle 9/24-9/25  
Summit 9/26/98  
I ain’t coming back either.  
Thanks, Indy  
Love ya, B  
Mano
69. 26-Sep
   We are fortunate people.
   I’m glad I invited myself along. For the benefit of all beings.
   
   Cassie J {?}

70. 26-Sep-98
   First real climb (not in a gym)
   Better than I thought it would be.
   And the views from the top of the world is breathtaking.

   John Saul
   “The Raga-Muffin Hiker”

71. 9/27/98
   This is truly the center of the universe! The shadows at sunrise and sunset are spectacular. The trail up is quite overgrown w/ all The rain this year but it has all been well worth the work.

   Lisa Spaler “Little Miss”

72. 9/27/98
   2nd time up for sunrise & sunset…truly a spiritual experience

   John S. Engen (Tucson)

73. ¡Gracias a I’itoi para el ‘Commerorativo’!

3-Oct-98
   The Berry Brigade made the Summit on our 2nd attempt.
   (1st attempt April 10-11, but iced
in) What a thrill to be back just one before my 49th birthday and as luck and love would have it, my two brothers, Jeff and Gordon are with me. Love is sent through the cosmos and back to my family Richard and Tianya Sheaske in Bisbee.....

“Fine day! Fine day! What a lunch spot”

Yahoo!
Lynne Berry
Gordon Berry, Oct. 3, 1998, Bisbee

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74. 10/3/98

HEart & Soul add beauty
& effort = Bliss

G.B.

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75. 10/6/98

South East Arete Primo Day
Will return tomorrow

{Neil G{?} Snively

76. 7-Oct Crystal Line

77. Wendall Smith Ed Gardner
S.E. Arete
9-Oct

78. 10/10/98
I soloed SE Arete with
4 friends from America
Pedro Garcia   Enrique Hernandez IV

79. 10/10/98
Yahoo! Lisa’s 1st lead & on Forbes route!
Thanks for the tequila Pedro
Don & Lisa “The Action Couple”
& Pete Conklin too scared for SE A
Kathy Clevenger Sonny “SP” {Handheller}

80.  Ralph H. Morrietta III
239 pm 10/10/98
Came alone started at
cabin 10:08 AM 2nd time
up here. I’ll be back

81. 10/17/98
Night hike in last night to
Lions Head was, well adventurous.
But now we have oodles
of time to nap here.
{?} Wagner

82. 10/17/98
Beautiful day! NE wind
Climb SE Arete & headed back
to lion’s ledge to get some sleep
Mike {?}

83. 10/17/98
Cool Climb – finally got here!
Great day – great summit with my
sweetheart!

Dara Schneider
Gilbert, AZ
84. Yes, after all these years in AZ! Climbed SE Arete with My honey GOOB! Now we just have to make it back to the saddle yee haw! Hey I’itoi, thanks!

Tim Schneider
Phx, AZ

85. Justine, Stephen SAHC
18-Oct {?signature} SWEDEN
Sir Douglas too

86. SE Arete 3rd times a charm
First time So where is the start?

Let’s try here. 1 hr later “This can’t be it”. Back down on Lion’s edge “Oh this is obviously it”. OK, but it too late in day to start. 2nd time from the east side. “let’s go around peak on the north”. On Arete “So it is getting dark soon” Rap down 3rd time “That is a 5.6 move?” Be back again.

Greg

87. 24-Oct
Subway is good.
Scott Cowley

Love the view. Almost lost Scott on the way up. He’s ok though.
Reston Condit
88. Oct-98
Hiked through a hail storm
Slept in the saddle stream
Dried out for a day
SE Arete
I’itotti Dreamin
Perry Teeters &
Doug Bolin
My best friend

89. 10/24/98  SE Arete

Thx for the emergency rations
up here. Sauerkraut & tequila-
lunch of champions. I think
I dropped the clip on the last
gate in the dirt road. Sorry
folks. I never thought ladybugs
could disgust me, but the
millions of them on that holly
shrub over there are a little bizarre.
Thanks for the great register,
Pat O’ Herr(?)

Another great day and a
spectacular climb with the man
of my dreams.

Andy & Mandy

90. 24-Oct
Andy & Heather Chlup
& Darren Green via the
Forbes Route
Did 2nd summit of Babo
Congrats to the virgin mountaineers
A & H on their first ascent
Heinous wind but otherwise great
*Heard about some frat boys
gracing the summit w/ no climbing
gear & sparkling white tennis shoes.
¿I’itoi?

91. 10/31/98  BOO!
   Bud Johnson
   Happy Halloween Forbes Route    No wind-
   Happy Halloweenie      Denny James
   “What a Great Halloween”   Pat Cicero

92. 10/31/98
   Climber the SE Arete. Beautiful exposure
   Center of the universe. Extraordinary place to
   be and with a group of fine people.
   Cloudshadows. Thank you Babo.
   Happy Halloween! And Happy Birthday Al!
   Ceridwen Ferrill

   {arrow pointing down}
   Thank you, I’itoi, for a
great climb! I wanna bark
like a dog – Bruce McKenzie

93.   {drawing of jack o’lantern}

   Climbing good,
   So are my partners, 31-Oct-98
   So is the weather,
So is Born of Water,
   So is Al’s birthday cake.
Happy B-day buddy. Our second B-day climb – Here’s to
many more! Hello all. Please send cash.

   God bless.
   Alive and awake – Jeremy Collins

94. Halloween ’98
   Up via ‘born of water’
All the raving about Baboquivari is True!

I’ll be back, this place is superb

Emily NZ {drawing of smiling face with pointy ears}

Mark Heinlein

Birthday Boy 26 y.o.

{arrow to following entry}

95. 10/31/98

Happy Halloween! Third time is a charm – Born of Water in 5 hrs, very good route – and went smoothly – even brought a birthday cake, too… Great trip, Great friends, Great Day, and one Incredible Mountain.

Thanks to I’itoi

Al Currano

96. 11/1/98 Kim Steiner Norwood, CO Superb!!?! (Where’s the rap?)

Tom Jay Montrovia CO.

SE Arete – Primo

Thanks for the Tequila

97. 11/7/98 Greg Opland, PHX

Well…8 years after a bad back kept me from coming, I finally bagged the S.E. Arete. Grrrreat route. If there wasn’t that big uphill sport – filter approach, this thing would be jammed! Finally back climbing something with my best partner Time. It’s been too long dude. Great day.
98. 11/7/98

Back again 20 days later
am I a glutton for punishment or
what? Guess I’ve been working
too hard and not climbing enuff
lately, cuz I can’t add either?!?

(10-17 to 11-7 ≠ 20)

Anyways, suds & za @ “Z”’s
in Tucson is sounding pretty good
now. Thanks Holmes we need to
do this more often!           Thanks I’itoi
Tim “Toolman”
Schneider     Phx, AZ

99. 11/7/98 Killer Climb
good hiking good company
Aw(e)some view

Bart Man
I’ll be back

100. 11/7/98

Yay! I finally
Made it up here!
Loved it!

Leslie Hall
& Dave Weeks

101. 11/7/98 I have given myself
a great birthday present today.
My 52nd birthday! It took me
15 years to return. Worth every
second.

{Ricardo}
102.  11/7/98  We made it to the top. I made it to the top after only my second time trying Virgil J. Lewis “Tohono O’odham”

103.  11/7/98  Great day. Beautiful peak, the bluest of skies. We will stay the night on the summit, as long as he allows it…
Dean Delano

104.  11/8/98  Sunday – Church service has begun! A mountaineers sanctuary this is – and not a bad climb – 24 hrs – bottom to top – SE Ridge All the way from Jackson, WY. Alright enough bullshit – Beautiful Day – and Extraordinary Summit Nelson Laur

105.  11/8/98  No. 2 from Jackson. Just a Beautiful day in Paradise Brian Schmidt

106.  11/8/98  Another beautiful view of S. AZ! Ryan Houston

107.  11/8/98  “It’s all in good fun!” Ed Hillary {arrow to following entry} Estoy de acuerdo Sue C. (I agree)

After a chilly, unprepared bivvy at the top of Don’s crack, we’ve arrived! Dehydrated, tired, ready for a fat Sunday brunch somewhere on the way back to Prescott. Give thanks to Creator I’itoi. {peace sign} 2000 G’s Party. Unknown

109. 11/24/98

What a sight, driving towards Baboquivari From Hwy 15 late in the day. Beautiful Light, beautiful mountain. Quite hazy today But it was a good climb in any case. What’s up with all the carp people Seem obliged to leave up here?

Scott Freeman   Richland, WA
Greg Kimmel

110. 11/25/98

Phil & Mark Kahl via SE Arete

111. 11/25/98 1315

John Bradford & Al Schademan
Up the S.E. Arete
SLC UT

112. 5hrs up
11/27/98 Day after Thanksgiving
Elaine Baldwin
Jack Wickel {2x under drawing of mountain}
John Cheslick {90 under drawing of mountain}
Charles Knapke {2x under drawing of mountain}
Greg Ri?2x
Marna A. Roach {2x under drawing of mountain}
David Baldwin
113. December 16\textsuperscript{th} On top of it all with Jason, Pete, & Mike – It’s Mike & Pete’s first time up here and I’m stoked that they love it as much as Jason & I do. Beautiful day despite the wind – it’s really cranking. Mike just said “Today couldn’t get much more perfect.” He’s right. Right now we’re lounging and letting time cure the effects of drinking a box of wine on the way in. We realized that we were out of gas upon arriving at the ranch, so hopefully, the drivers on 286 will be kind to hitchhikers. Always an adventure.

Pat O’Herron & the Iowa Expedition

By the way we found a pair of shoes on the Arete—IF you’re looking for them give me a call (520)620-6050 – send me an email patricko@u.arizona.edu

114. {article about Baboquivari}

Babo in the news

You are here {arrow pointing photograph of mountain in pasted article}

115. 12/20/98

Tom Hargis & Jim McCarthy

Beautiful, clear, sunny day –
Very little wind, warm in the sun
Winter Solstice 98
SE Arete – Fine day
Lonny Horton
Unreadable

116. 12/29/98 Kirk McDonald 35\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary

of my first hike up Babo, with the first of the
next generation

Alex McDonald – Colorado is better
More water and more tall trees, not
as hot – fun anyway. Not to windy – most route

Good to be back – Beautiful day. Gail McDonald

117. 12/30/98: Jim Boyer &
Joel Herk; Southeast Arete
2 hrs from car

118. 12/30/98
Peter J. Fagergren
Dee Gates
Ammon Core – The other side
Looks great! Patagonia, AZ
David Fagergren
Erik Fagergren
Patagonia Science & Hiking Club
Daniel Fagergren

119. 12/30/98 S.E. Arete
Camron Guthrie
Kristine Buchanan
Great Falls, MT

120. 12/20-31, 1998 SE Arete
We got here late (5:00) and
could not find the
first rappel station on Forbes.
The night was a bit cold,
but pleasant.

J & S Clark 7:00 AM
31-Dec

{arrow to above comment} My bro & sister-in-law
(5/6/00) Scott Nicole Clark
Josie Hetyei
Geoff Creighton
The monsters of rock
Partners in climb.

BORN OF WATER

A mega classic!
Last Party Up Before 1999!
HAPPY NEW YEAR
Appendix C
1999 Baboquivari Summit Log Transcriptions

1a. Elizabeth Gieseke  
Jan. 1 1999

The mountains surround
in a hazy ring.
This summit is the
place of Kings.
Where mother Earth
is a queen –
only a mountain
could be so serene

{unreadable signature}
{unreadable signature}

2a. Party – Clint Bagas{?}
   Kirk Bagas{?}
   Lou{?}
   Liz Gieseke

1st of '99 YAHOOO
up SE Arete to HEAVEN!!

{drawing of 2 suns with faces}
ENERGY

3a. 1/2/99  John Hayes & Jane Quale
Beautiful, clear day, 70° -
Forbes Rt.

{John Hayes}

A fabulous beginning to a spectacular
new year. Thank you I’itoi!
{Jane Quale}
4a. Jan 4 or 5? Not really sure!
Anyway, great climb. We’re slow and its
Dark. Hope we find the repels!
BTW Where are the bolt & fixed pins,
Oh well not really needed.

CHET CARTER
BRIAN ISSA
Logan UT.

5a. January 10
Dan Rampe – San Francisco, CA
Clint Rogers – Berkeley, CA
S.E. Arete

6a. January 12, 1999
Will Will Banks Chandler AZ
Keith Hamlett Chandler AZ
Kyle Hamlett Chandler AZ
Great Climb Cold & Brisk

7a. Jan 12 ‘98
Great climb up. Clear and brisk
at 12:20 pm. Clears the senses
up here.

Greg

8a. Mick & Jack Jan 17, 99
Spiritual journey! Glad to be alive.

9a. January 24-99
Sitting up in the sky is not so bad.

Sam was here
with 4 hot guys
YEEHAW

10a. February 3? 1998
-Alex Kopperud – came
up Forbes Route – had
to learn how to self-belay
on ladder pitch. Hope to get
to bottom in one piece. Solo’s suck
Alex Koppered – age 20 – Wasilla, Alaska

12a. Feb. 6\textsuperscript{th} – 1999
Thomas Emde (Eddy)
Terrebonne – Oregon
SE – Arete – solo – up/down
Life is so great – 2 days after my 44\textsuperscript{th} – B.day
Those mountains are great!
Thinking of you, Mom and Dad, in Germany.
Thank you for taking me into the mountains when I was only 3 years old. The fire is still burning. Hope It’ll last many more years.

Love and peace (peace sign) I love you- Barbara – without you – I wouldn’t be here! Thanks!

13a. 2/12/99
Squalf & Muy – Tippy Turtle Alpine Grope
“Authority is to be outwitted, ridiculed, & avoided.”
14a. 2/13/99  Peter Noebels solo SE Arete
       Roger Dale - spring look out up –
       Rock is great – got to love it!
       John deucey Maiddendorf – nice root
       With Jim & Roger. Roger’s first aid! Cool.
       Now for more fun…Good groveling
       J. Boyer    Not again…

15a. 2/14/99
       SE Arete – perfect day! A true
       Classic!    Happy Valentines Day  JB.
       Thanks Bill Lundeen!    Liza Wenacur    Aspen, Colorado

16a.  Feb 17 1999

       YA-TA_HEY! What an amazing route!
lotso great holds in fact we’d rate the
bushwack objectively more harrowing
than the climb. Slight breeze, very
warm (esp to us from the Great White
North-WA State) Visibility great
with a little haze. Time for photos
and the TRADITIONAL TOBLERONE
chocolate bar.  Hook-em horus!

       UT Grads    Paul Poevich    Port Orchard WA
       Andy Collins    Bremerton, WA
       MIT Grad    William Young    Peoria AZ
       (we let him climb with us anyway)

17a.  Feb. 19, 1999

       Wow. Born of water to a
       beautiful summit. Little lost
       on the last 2 pitches. What
       else to say?

       Liz Gorman    Boston, MA
       Alex Kossett    “   ”
18a. Tim Toula and Sybil Hill climbed (5.12d)
all the way up and found a
big bag of {drawing of marijuana plant}. Thanks for
dinner! {arrow to above drawing} That’s POT
To you & me. What a
beautiful place.

But I didn’t inhale…in case I become president

TNT {unreadable initials} #3

The cosmos showers its fortune on the summit today

Why did the blonde put lipstick on her head?
She wanted to make up her mind

19a. Feb. 24 1999

Thank you Lt’toy for creating
such a powerful place. I also
want to thank my good friend Jacob –
Sack for taking me to my first technical
summit. Without friends and creators
what would we have???

Today I feel like I really
did accomplish something. Who says
you have to work for money, when
you can work for something like this!!!
Too bad there are too many
military planes flying around on
reservation land!!! They suck!!!

Thank you
Brian Schuster
Sells, AZ & Minnesota

20a. Feb 24/1999

-OM MANI PADME HUM- A general thank you
to the TOHONO O’ODHAM Native Americans
who through their understanding permitted me to
climb their holy mountain. May the opportunity
exist for future climbers forever.
THANK YOU! Jacob Sack
Western U.S.
21a. 2/27 or 2/26/99 (who knows)
Don’s Crack – fun!!
Kathy Davis & Pat O’Herron – Great day, Grand Adventure
(I’m a woman of very few words!)

22a. Saturday 2/27/99   Bill Lundeen (Hi Kathy!)
Fun route to a meeting
with I’itoi on Babo’s top.
The sun is warm, breeze is cool,
the spirit is alive, and I’ m content…
An eternal moment – what else is there?
This one’s for you, Liza – miss you lots
and wish you & JB well in Colorado

23a. 2-28-99
Southeast Arete – Wonderful route!!!
clear sunny day but somewhat hazy. Last
nights camp on Lions Ledge was very quiet
and peaceful. Now how do you get off
of this thing?

{drawing of happy face with hair} Marty Karabin
Phoenix, AZ

24a. This was so much fun! I’m
sitting down to look at the vista
This is great.

25a. 2-28-99 Harvey Scott Delos Reyes

26a. 2-28    Southeast Arete, great climb,
camping on lion’s ledge excellent!

            Rich LeMal
27a. Dougal McCarty  2-28-99  Wilson, WY
Andy Carson  SE Ridge

Chris North  NZ
Bruce McKenzie AZ
Don’s crack – a great route despite
The second pitch. Lovely sustained
climbing & great pro.
I’ve gotta repeat what everyone
says: “Great Mountain”.

28a. Another great day for a walk
in the park. Where’s the TO-KIL-YA.
Brian DeDe

29a. Nice stroll….now let’s
see how the hell to
get down!!
{unreadable signature}

30a. Keith J. Rampmeriez

31a. {unreadable signature}
My hardest & most exposed yet!
Great day!

32a. Sweet climb – great pitches. What’s next?
{unreadable signature}

33a. 3/13/99  Annie Sepic – Born of Water –
nice climb, but where the heck
is the finish?!?
Matt Luck – enough!

34a. 3/13/99  We made it! Shitty finish on Crystal Line, Suns going down, so gotta Run!
               Yo-shapoopi
               
               Brian Larear
               Matt Spirlin

35a. 3-14-99 1st Ascent – terrific day
1:30 pm. Great weather, solid rock and an excellent courtesy my bro.-Brian!
               Thanks for the memory
               Ron Paterik

36a. 3-14-99 1:30 Really fun route!
               Came from Seattle for this one. Brian Paterik

(continued from previous page)
I thank my wife & family for allowing me to pursue my passion

37a. 3/14/99 SE Arete from the west side. Started at Babo camp at 500 AM→ summit 315Pm. Great day.

               Wob Wob
               Rhody Lody Mt Club
Now for the short hike back down!

PJ O Regan

Janice Dubois

Brad Sherman

38a. 3/18/99
SE Arete – peregrine’s nesting
On the East face – Got up
@ 5am & on the summit
@ 1:30 – not bad for a
guy in pantyhose!

{drawing of sun} SUNSHINE!

Kristen Read
Bean Bowers

39a. 3/9  Came up S.E. Arete. Waited
3 yrs for this climb and well
worth it. Beautiful, beautiful day!
Mild wind, warm weather -----
Couldn’t ask for better. Thanks to
My buddy Mike for bringing me.
One hell of a view!

Chuck Breite
St. Louis MO
http://home.earthlink.net/nbreite

P.S. Lost sunglasses! Bummer

40a. 3/14/99  This makes my 12th
assent of Babo & I never
tire of it. See you
again soon.

Mike Meitner
Tucson, AZ
www.arizona.edu/~meitner
41a. 3/20/99  Scott Conners & Bill Lundeen
Born of Water 10.C
Pretty good rock for Babo!
Great climbing, good pro (as
in, way many bolts). Carried
a “full rack” (as book says) and maybe
used a half dozen pieces. We did a
new variation for pitch 7 (straight up
hand crack off huge ledge, up to

(continued from previous page)
low-angle corner, left to face &
belay at tree on pitch 8. (5.8+) fun
Thanks to I’itoi and Great
Spirit for another day full of good,
in your face living!

42a. I’itoy and Divine {drawing of symbol} Mother—
Spirit and Nature dancing together!
Victory to Spirit and Victory to Nature!
  Steve Schliebs
  Sedona AZ
  Spring Equinox 1999

43a. Took the Forbes route. Barely
a breeze. Clearest day yet!
4 ½ hours from the ranch.
  Greg Chatel
  Tucson, AZ

44a. March 21 1999  Dave Homes
  Tucson, AZ

45a. 3/21/99
Back Again!! Just couldn’t get
Enough. Yesterday Born on Water today Don’s Crack
Or should I say Don’s Gully or maybe a better
Name would be veggie delight!! You pick it!
P.S. 5.8+?? NOT!!
  Scott Conners
  Bill Lundeen
46a.  3-23-99
Hooray! Climbed SEArete. So fun.
that’s all. {smiley face} thanks Andy.
-Greta Brugman
A good day on top had some
fun in the sun.
Andy Pinkham
Prescott AZ

47a.  3-23-99
Great weather, great
climb, great day. S.E. Arete
Love the view! Nice to get out
of Tucson.
Emily & Mike

48a.  3-23-99
What a great way to welcome
in the Spring. {smiley face} Thanks for
the beautiful climbing & amazing views!
{unreadable}
Betsy & Steve

50a.  America Sucks
3/25 New route       East Face
Jim Boyer solo
No bolts drilled

VI 5.10 A5a
Freak of Nature

{drawing of map of new route, drawn with 3 paths, x’s, and ratings}

51a.  3-28       My first time on Babo – brought
my best friend up the Forbes Route what a
powerful mountain I am grateful.
Melissa Mueller
Tucson/29 Palms/Lander WY
CA

What an adventure! My best friend brought me up the mountain – my first rock climb! The mtn- so quiet, so strong. Thanks to I’itoi especially.
Liz O’Donoghue
Oakland, CA

52a. Excellent climb I’m sold on Arizona climbing! A perfect day & a perfect piece of rock.
30 Mar 99 Mike Cauley
14:59 hrs Edmonton, AB – Canada

53a. This peak rocks! Love the weather, love the rock. Chocolate tastes good.
30 Mar 99 Pat David
Ottawa Ont Canada

54a. Australian in Arizona/Great weather fun climb.
Scott Carnie
Sydney Australia

Great day  Great friends  good fun
Tom Sutton
Ottawa Ont. Canada

55a. April 5, 1999
Climb after snow storm.
crampers ice axe from 80’
cliff.

Neal {unreadable}

56a. 18 {unreadable} 1999
{unknown language!}
Gorgeous day here @ 7700 feet, no wind
No haze & no people. Lots of snow patches,
Hope you brought margarita mix as well.
Keep laughin’, and thanks
To the Tohono o’odham

drawing of I’itoi ki} ←”you are here”

Cheers ------Jeff McQuaid

57a. Sometime in April ‘99
Chuffing Great
The Boys
Keith Paul & Dave   England

58a. 4/24/99
Richard Whitcomb {85 under drawing of mountain} DPS
Judy Hummerick {83 under drawing of mountain} DPS

59a. 4/24/99
Bud Johnson
Denny James
Kelvin Javier
Morning rain in town.
The clouds burned off,
Bright sunny day

60a. 5/14/99 SE Arete
Garnet Roehm x4
Matt Roehm
Perfect late Spring day
Arete was exciting route

61a. 4/27

Mike Strassman
Jackie Carroll

New Route on West Face
“The Iitoi Dance”

{drawing of dancing figure} Iitoi
    Iitoi
    Iitoi

{drawing of mountain, with new path up rock wall, with number ratings, x’s, and symbols to display rock holds}