

history of

# **BADLANDS**

National Monument

HISTORY  
OF  
BADLANDS NATIONAL MONUMENT

and

The White River (Big) Badlands of South Dakota

Printed at Rapid City, South Dakota, U.S.A.  
By Espe Printing Company

**First Edition**

Library of Congress Catalog Number: 68 - 19055

**Cover Photo: THE CASTLE**, five miles west of Cedar Pass and just west of Norbeck Pass, is a spectacular saw-tooth ridge which was named by early local ranchers. The spires rise more than 200 feet above the Fossil Exhibit Trail (see Figure 28) and approximately 450 feet above the lower grassland plains which are out of view on the left. The ridge is an eroded remnant of rock layers which formerly covered Badlands National Monument and surrounding areas.

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by

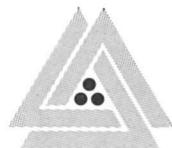
Ray H. Mattison

and

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edited by

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Bulletin No. 1

Published 1968 by the  
Badlands Natural History Association  
Badlands National Monument  
Interior, South Dakota 57750

This booklet is published by the Badlands Natural History Association, a nonprofit corporation dedicated to assisting the National Park Service in its scientific, educational, historical, and interpretive activities at Badlands National Monument. Organized in April 1959, the association is incorporated under the laws of the State of South Dakota. It is recognized by the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, as an official cooperating organization. A list of mail-sales items handled by the association may be obtained free by sending a card or letter to the address shown on the title page.

The Badlands Natural History Association wishes to thank the many local people who have contributed their know-how and resources in making this publication possible.

## CONTENTS

Introduction . . . . .	7
Chronology of Badlands National Monument and the White River (Big) Badlands . . . . .	9
Early Indians and Explorers . . . . .	11
The Settlers Come . . . . .	23
Legislation for Park Establishment . . . . .	27
The Depression Years . . . . .	37
Early Development of the National Monument . . . . .	43
Mission 66 Development . . . . .	59

## APPENDIX

A Annual Visitor Use, 1938 - 1967 . . . . .	65
B Custodians and Superintendents of Badlands National Monument . . . . .	67
C Picture Credits . . . . .	69
D Footnotes and References . . . . .	71
E Map of Badlands National Monument . . . . .	79



## INTRODUCTION

In 1951 the National Park Service (NPS) launched the concept of developing a documented history for each unit of the national park system. Known since 1964 as "park" histories, the studies were to be general in scope, spanning the history of each area with emphasis on park origin, legislation, visitor use, and all aspects of management.

Although sporadic research on local area history was done by the NPS in the 1950's and early 1960's, comprehensive research studies that finally led to a park history for Badlands National Monument did not start until 1964. In that year Ray H. Mattison, former Visitor Services Coordinator and Historian for the Midwest Region of the NPS, began the project by selecting some 300 pages of reference materials from the National Archives. Additional bibliographical materials were located in the **Congressional Record**, NPS historical files, and elsewhere. Former Chief Park Naturalist Robert A. Grom of Badlands National Monument did much in gathering photographs, maps, and historical data, and in writing additions and revising parts of the various drafts prepared by Mattison. By the end of 1965 a manuscript was completed, but publication was delayed. Mattison retired from the NPS in 1965 and Grom was transferred in May 1966.

In 1967 more historical evidence came to light which resulted in the editing, updating, and expanding of the 1965 manuscript. Much of this work was done by Joanne W. Stockert, wife of the Chief Park Naturalist. Copies of all documents and references not found locally but which were used as bibliography in the final manuscript were obtained for the files or library of Badlands National Monument. For those who are interested in learning how this national monument has evolved to the present time, the Badlands Natural History Association has published this history with the hope that it will provide a basic source of historical information on Badlands National Monument.

John W. Stockert  
Executive Secretary  
Badlands Natural History Association

February 19, 1968



# CHRONOLOGY OF BADLANDS NATIONAL MONUMENT AND THE WHITE RIVER (BIG) BADLANDS OF SOUTH DAKOTA

- 1823—First known party of white men, led by fur-trader Jedediah Smith, passed through the White River Badlands.
- 1849—First scientific party, under Dr. John Evans, collected paleontological specimens from the Badlands.
- 1855—The General William Harney Expedition, en route from Fort Laramie to Fort Pierre, passed through the present national monument.
- 1868—Present western South Dakota reserved to the Sioux by Fort Laramie Treaty.
- 1874—Dr. O. C. Marsh, distinguished Yale scientist, and party visited Badlands region.
- 1890—Much of the Badlands restored to public domain to be opened eventually to white settlement.  
A band of Sioux, under Chief Big Foot, passed through the area of the present national monument en route to Wounded Knee, where many were killed in battle with the army.
- 1907—The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad built through Interior near southern boundary of area. The Chicago and North Western Railway constructed through Philip and Wall near northern boundary.
- 1909—The South Dakota Legislature petitioned Congress to set aside a township in the Badlands region for a national park.
- 1922—Senator Peter Norbeck introduced the first bill in Congress to make a portion of the Badlands a national park.
- 1929—Badlands National Monument, comprising some 50,830 acres, authorized by Congress.
- 1936—Law enacted authorizing enlargement of the proposed national monument to 250,000 acres by presidential proclamation.
- 1939—Badlands National Monument, comprising about 150,000 acres, established by presidential proclamation.
- 1952—Congress authorized reduction in size of national monument. Area reduced by about 27,000 acres.
- 1957—Area further reduced by approximately 11,000 acres, leaving the national monument with an official acreage of 111,529.82 acres.
- 1959—Visitor center completed.  
Badlands National Monument dedicated by Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton.
- 1963—Bison reintroduced to the Badlands.
- 1964—Bighorn reintroduced to the Badlands.  
Cedar Pass Lodge acquired by the National Park Service.

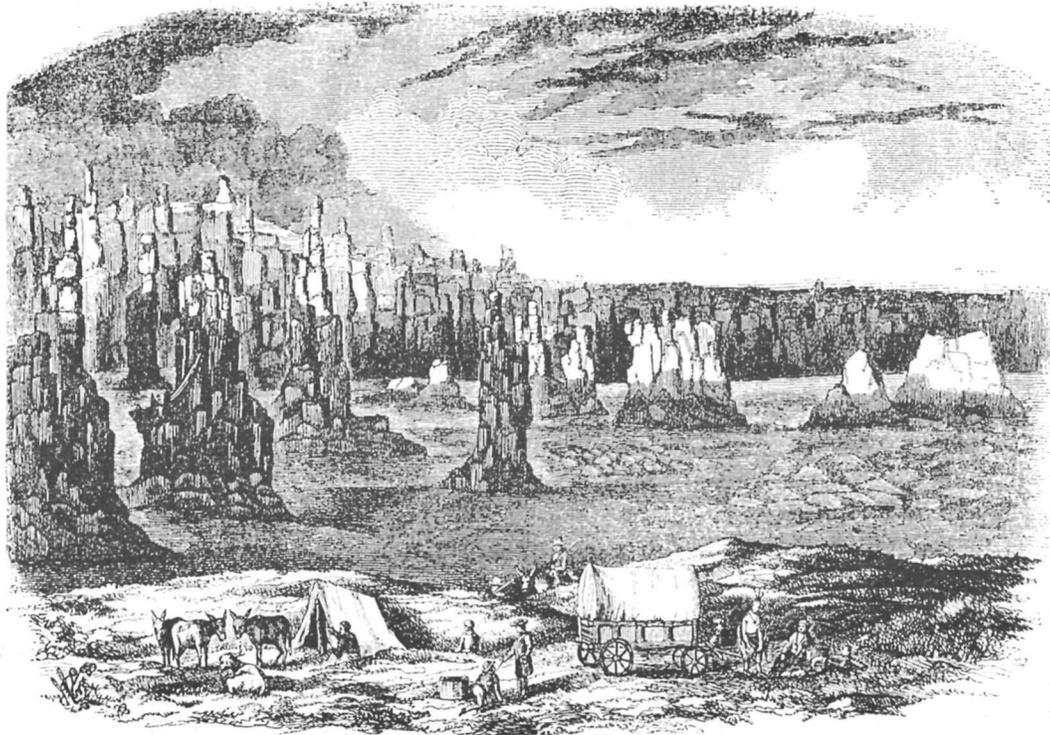


Figure 1

**LES MAUVAISES TERRES, NEBRASKA**

This is the earliest published view of the White River Badlands. The sketch was made in 1849 by Dr. John Evans when he was in the field with the Owen Geological Survey. The region at that time was a part of Nebraska Territory.

## EARLY INDIANS AND EXPLORERS

Little is known of the prehistory of the region which comprises Badlands National Monument. The time of man's entry into the Badlands-Black Hills region is unknown. The oldest Indian site found in western South Dakota is in the Angostura Basin south of Hot Springs. Studies indicate it to be a little more than 7,000 years old. Evidence shows that these early people were big-game hunters who preyed upon mammoth, large bison, and other animals that lived in the lush post-glacial grasslands.<sup>1</sup>

Firepits containing Indian artifacts have been found in the Pinnacles area of the national monument. Radiocarbon studies leave little doubt that hunters were already using this site by 900 A.D.<sup>2</sup> More archeological research will probably show that man hunted and made his home in the Badlands long before that date.<sup>3</sup>

Since about 1000 A.D. the Black Hills area has been occupied by a number of nomadic Indian tribes. Some of these subsisted primarily by hunting, while others lived on local food plants. These tribes probably belonged to the Caddoan, Athabaskan, Kiowa, and Shoshonean linguistic groups.<sup>4</sup>

During the 18th century, parties of Arikara from the Missouri River went on buffalo hunts as far west as the Black Hills. There they met with the Comanche, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Cheyenne at trading fairs where they acquired horses. The Arikara, in turn, traded horses with the Teton Sioux who had been slowly migrating south and westward since about 1670 from the headwaters of the Mississippi River. Around 1775 the Oglala and Brule, tribes of the Teton Sioux, moved west of the Missouri River to occupy respectively the Bad River country (around the present town of Philip, S.D.) and the region along the White River south of the Badlands. Because of their move from a timbered area to a plains region, the Sioux underwent great adjustment. As the result of acquiring guns from the whites and horses from other tribes, the Sioux became primarily a nomadic people, dependent on buffalo for sustenance.<sup>5</sup>

For more than a century prior to 1763, the upper Missouri Valley, including what is today Badlands National Monument, was under French control. Under terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1763 French possessions west of the Mississippi River were ceded to Spain. Spain returned the area, known as Louisiana, to France in 1800 in the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso.<sup>6</sup> In 1803 the entire region, which included all of the present states of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, and South Dakota, plus parts of eight other states, was purchased by the United States from France for \$15,000,000.

The early French-Canadian trappers called the region, which includes the present day national monument, **Le Mauvaises terres a traverser**, which translated means "bad lands to travel across." Other traders applied the term "bad lands" to this locality as well as to any section of the prairie country "where roads are difficult . . ." The Dakota Indians called the region **Mako Sica** (mako, land; sica, bad).<sup>7</sup>

Father Pierre-Jean de Smet called the White River **Mankizita-Watpa**. This Indian word commonly means "white earth river," or more literally, "smoking land river." The priest attributed the name to the river water which he wrote was "impregnated with a whitish slime."<sup>8</sup>

Early American trappers and traders called the attention of the world to the unusual geological features and extensive fossil deposits of the Badlands along the White River. The earliest known description of the region, believed to be the White River Badlands, is that of James Clyman, a member of Jedediah Smith's 11-man party, who passed through the area in 1823. Clyman described it as

. . . a tract of county where no vegetation of any kind existed being worn into knobs and gullies and extremely uneven a loose grayish coloured soil verry soluble in water running thick as it could move of a pale whitish coular and remarkably adhesive there [came] on a misty rain while we were in this pile of ashes [bad-lands west of the South Fork of the Cheyenne River] and it loded down our horses feet (feet) in great lumps it looked a little remarkable that not a foot of level land could be found the narrow revines going in all manner of directions and the cobble mound[s] of a regular taper from top to bottom all of them of the percise same angle and the tops sharp the whole of this region is moveing to the Misourie River as fast as rain and thawing of Snow can carry it . . . .<sup>9</sup>

When Maximilian, Prince of Wied, returned to Fort Pierre in 1834 after making his historic journey up the Missouri with Charles Bodmer, William Laidlaw, the trader of the fort, gave him a description of the Badlands. The German prince wrote:

. . . I much regretted that I could not remain long enough to visit the interesting tract of the Mauvaises Terres, which is some days' journey from hence. Mr. Laidlow [sic], who had been there in the winter, gave me a description of it. It is two days' journey, he said, south-west of Fort Pierre, and forms, in the level prairie, an accumulation of hills of most remarkable forms, looking like fortresses, churches, villages and ruins, and doubtless consisting of the same sand-stone as the conformations near the Stone Walls. He further stated that the bighorn abounds in that tract.<sup>10</sup>

Father de Smet visited the Badlands region in 1848. He described it as

. . . the most extraordinary of any I have met in my journeys through the wilderness . . . . Viewed at a distance, these lands exhibit the appearance of extensive villages and ancient castles, but under forms so extraordinary, and so capricious a style of architecture, that we might consider them as appertaining to some new world, or ages far remote.<sup>11</sup>

The Jesuit noted further, "The industry of the settler will never succeed in cultivating and planting this fluctuating and sterile soil . . . ." However, he believed that the fossil deposits in the region would be of interest to the geologist and the naturalist.<sup>12</sup>

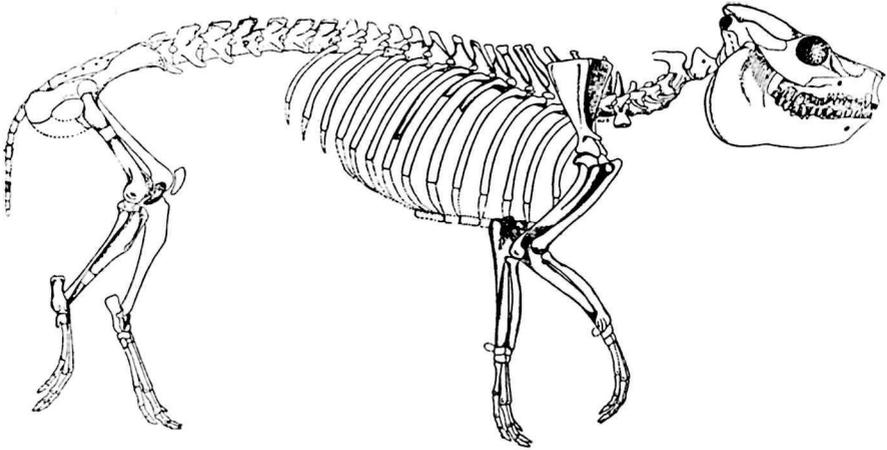


Figure 2

**OREODONT SKELETON**

Oredonts are the most common fossil mammals found in the Badlands. Several species of these now-extinct animals have been scientifically described.<sup>13</sup>

In the 1840's the reports of fossil remains in the White River Badlands aroused the curiosity of scientific circles in the East. In the fall of 1843(?) Alexander Culbertson, well-known fur trader of the American Fur Company, made a trip from Fort Pierre to Fort Laramie. Either on this particular trip or succeeding ones, he made a collection of fossils and bones in the Badlands.<sup>14</sup> This collection provided the basis for the first scientific description of a Badlands fossil. The description was written by Dr. Hiram A. Prout of St. Louis, published in 1846, and printed again in 1847 with greater detail. The paper described a lower-jaw fragment of a large rhinoceros-like animal which later was given the common name *titanothere* by Dr. Joseph Leidy in 1852. Another fossil from this same collection, a fragment of an ancestral camel, was also described in 1847 by Dr. Leidy, who in a few years became the authority on Badlands fossils and an outstanding paleontologist.<sup>15</sup> In the fall of 1847 the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia became the first known institution to receive a collection of fossils from this region.<sup>16</sup>

In 1848 another deposit to this institution, made by Culbertson's father, Joseph, included "a new fossil genus of Mammalia, found near the 'Black Hills' . . ." <sup>17</sup> These deposits aroused such interest that in 1849 United States Geologist David Dale Owen sent his assistant, Dr. John Evans, to the Badlands.<sup>18</sup>

Dr. Evans, accompanied by a fellow geologist, "five Canadian travelers who were to be our muleteers and cooks, and finally an Indian guide and an interpreter,"<sup>19</sup> set out westward from Fort Pierre after traveling by steamboat from St. Louis. Following five days of overland travel they reached the Badlands. One of the party was a Frenchman, E. de Girardin, a soldier of fortune employed as an artist on the expedition. His story of the trip was published in 1864 in a French travel magazine, *Le Tour du Monde*. After climbing a hill about a hundred meters (about 330 feet) high, he beheld "the strangest and most incomprehensible view."<sup>20</sup> (See Figure 4.)

At the horizon, at the end of an immense plain and tinted rose by the reflection of the setting sun a city in ruins, appears to us, an immense city surrounded by walls and bulwarks, filled by a palace crowned with gigantic domes and monuments of the most fantastic and bizarre architecture. At intervals on a soil white as snow rise embattled chateaus of brick red, pyramids with their sharp-pointed summits topped with shapeless masses which seem to rock in the wind, a pillar of a hundred meters rises in the midst of this chaos of ruins like a gigantic lighthouse.<sup>21</sup>

De Girardin was also impressed by the large deposits of fossil remains in the area. "The soil is formed here and there of a thick bed of petrified bones," he wrote, "sometimes in a state perfectly preserved, sometimes broken and reduced to dust." The party discovered "petrified turtles," some of which were "admirably preserved and weighing up to 150 pounds . . ." The expedition also found "a head of a rhinoceros equally petrified, and the jawbone of a dog or wolf of a special kind, furnished with all its teeth." At places the scientists located "heaps of teeth and scraps of broken jawbones; . . . bones and vertebrae of the oreodon, the mastodon [sic] and the elephant." However, after exploring for three days in the region without having discovered "the elephants, the buffaloes, and the petrified men of which they had spoken to us so much," the party began its journey back to Fort Pierre.<sup>22</sup>

Dr. Evans himself was not only impressed by the scenic qualities of the Badlands but by the scientific importance of the region as well. He wrote:

After leaving the locality on Sage Creek, affording the above-mentioned fossils, crossing that stream, and proceeding in the direction of White River, about twelve or fifteen miles, the formation of the Mauvaisis Terres proper bursts into view, disclosing as here depicted, one of the most extraordinary and picturesque sights that can be found in the whole Missouri country.

From the high prairies, that rise in the background, by a series of terraces or benches, towards the spurs of the Rocky Mountains, the traveller looks down into an extensive valley, that may be said to constitute a world of its own, and which appears to have been formed, partly by an extensive vertical fault, partly by the long-continued influence of the scooping action of denudation.

The width of this valley may be about thirty miles, and its whole length about ninety, as it stretches away westwardly, towards the base of the gloomy and dark range of mountains known as the Black Hills. Its most depressed portion, three hundred feet below the general level of the surrounding country, is clothed with scanty grasses, and covered by a soil similar to that of the higher ground.

To the surrounding country, however, the Mauvaisis Terres present the most striking contrast. From the uniform, monotonous,

open prairie, the traveller suddenly descends, one or two hundred feet, into a valley that looks as if it had sunk away from the surrounding world; leaving standing, all over it, thousands of abrupt, irregular, prismatic, and columnar masses, frequently capped with irregular pyramids, and stretching up to a height of from one to two hundred feet, or more.

So thickly are these natural towers studded over the surface of this extraordinary region, that the traveller threads his way through deep, confined, labyrinthine passages, not unlike the narrow, irregular streets and lanes of some quaint old town of the European Continent. Viewed in the distance, indeed, these rocky piles, in their endless succession, assume the appearance of massive, artificial structures, decked out with all the accessories of buttress and turret, arched doorway and clustered shaft, pinnacle, and finial, and tapering spire.

One might almost imagine oneself approaching some magnificent city of the dead, where the labour and the genius of forgotten nations had left behind them a multitude of monuments of art and skill.<sup>23</sup>

Dr. Evans was equally awed by the rich paleontological deposits of the Badlands region. After describing the extreme heat of the region, he continued:

At every step, objects of the highest interest present themselves. Embedded in the debris, lie strewn, in the greatest profusion, organic relics of extinct animals. All speak of a vast fresh-water deposit of the early Tertiary Period, and disclose the former existence of most remarkable races, that roamed about in bygone ages high up in the Valley of the Missouri, towards the sources of its western tributaries; where now pastures the big-horned *Ovis montana*, the shaggy buffalo or American bison, and the elegant and slenderly-constructed antelope.

Every specimen as yet brought from the Bad Lands, proves to be of species that became exterminated before the mammoth and mastodon lived, and differ in their specific character, not alone from all living animals, but also from all fossils obtained even from cotemporaneous [sic] geological formations elsewhere.<sup>24</sup>

Dr. Evans drew a map (See Figure 3) of **Mauvaises Terres** (Bad Lands) and Dr. Joseph Leidy prepared a catalog as well as sketches of the most significant fossils the Owen Geological Survey Party found on its journey to the region.<sup>25</sup>

In 1850 Spencer F. Baird of the Smithsonian Institution arranged for Thaddeus Culbertson, a younger brother of Alexander Culbertson, to visit the Badlands under the auspices of the Institution. Born in 1823 at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, young Culbertson, a student at Princeton Theological Seminary, set out with his brother, Alexander, from Chambersburg in mid-February. The brothers left St. Louis by steamboat on March 19 and arrived at Fort Pierre May 4. With his brother

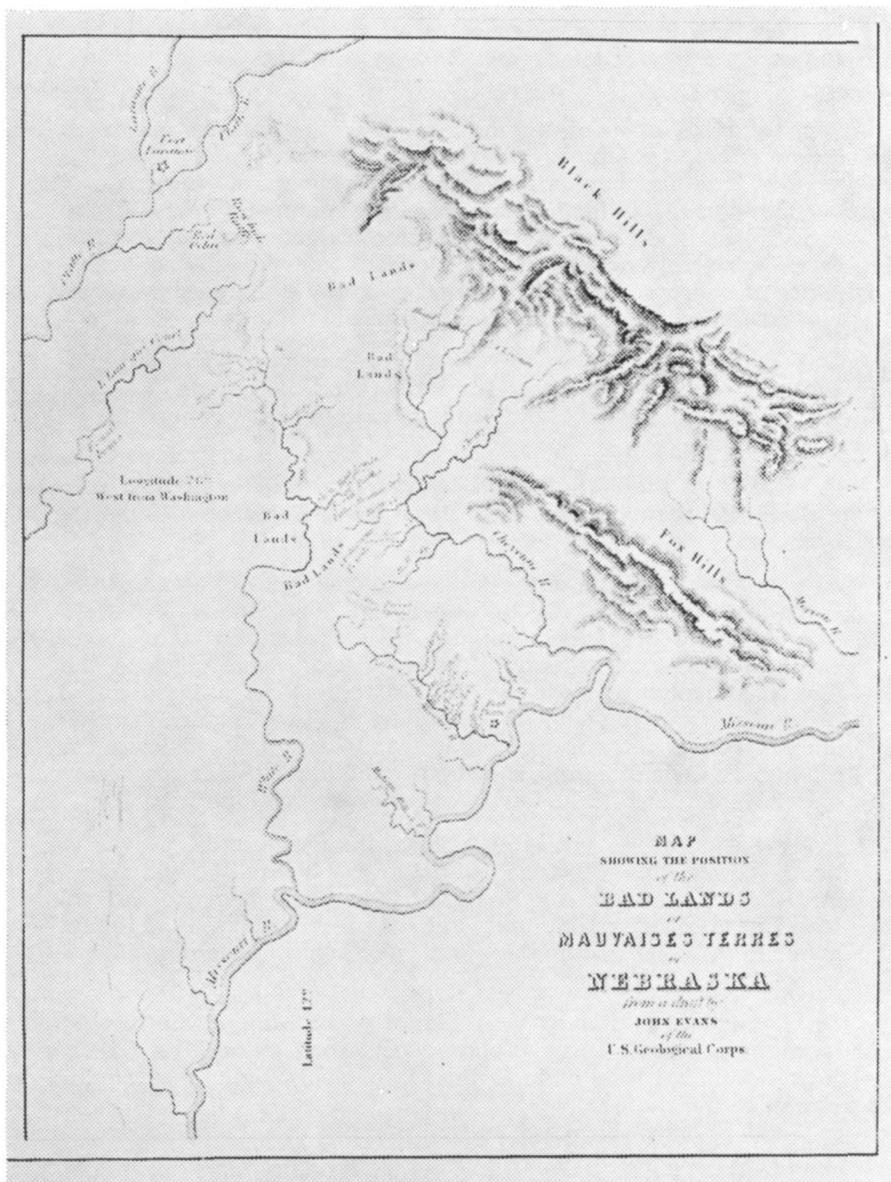


Figure 3 AN EARLY MAP OF THE WHITE RIVER BAD LANDS

supplying the equipment, Thaddeus and two others set out from the fur-trading establishment three days later. On May 11 they encamped at Sage Creek in the White River Badlands.<sup>26</sup>

Culbertson, too, was very much impressed by the Badlands as he approached them:

The road now lay over hills which became more steep and frequent as we approached the Bad Lands. These occasionally appeared in the distance and never before did I see anything that so resembled a large city; so complete was this deception that I could point out the public buildings; one appeared to have a large dome which might be the town Hall; another would have a large angular, cone shape top, which would suggest the court house or some magnificent buildings for public purposes; then would appear a long row of palaces, great in number and superb in all their arrangements. Indeed the thought frequently occurred as we rode along that at a distance this portion of the grounds looked like a city of palaces—everything arranged upon the grandest scale and adapted for the habitation, not of pigmies such as now inhabit the earth, but of giants such as would be fit to rule over the immense animals whose remains are still found there.<sup>27</sup>

Culbertson was also moved by the complete desolation of the Badlands:

Fancy yourself on the hottest day in summer in the hottest spot of such a place without water—without an animal and scarce an insect astir—without a single flower to speak pleasant things to you and you will have some idea of the utter loneliness of the Bad Lands.<sup>28</sup>

The young scientist was disappointed, however, with the fossils. Instead of finding well-preserved skeletons of different animals, he located only the imperfect remains of several turtles, a number of excellent teeth and jawbones, and several good skulls of animals.<sup>29</sup>

After rejoining his brother at Fort Pierre, young Culbertson proceeded up the river to Fort Union. On his trip he collected not only fossils but skulls, skins, and skeletons of buffalo, grizzly bear, white wolf, prairie wolf, and other animals. He also collected plants along the Missouri. Surprisingly, the fossil remains Culbertson collected were declared by Baird as "an exceedingly interesting series of Mammalian and Reptilian species including many that had never been described."<sup>30</sup>

In poor health, young Culbertson died in late August 1850, soon after his return to Chambersburg.<sup>31</sup>

In 1853 two geologists, Dr. F.V. Hayden and F.B. Meek, visited the Badlands region. Both were to receive national recognition later as distinguished scientists. They spent several days at Sage Creek, noted by travellers for the purgative qualities of its water. Both men and their horses experienced a weakening effect after drinking from the stream.<sup>32</sup>

Brevet Brigadier-General William S. Harney's expedition, in its punitive campaign against the Brule Sioux in 1855, crossed overland through a portion of the Badlands en route from Fort Laramie (old Ft. William) to Fort Pierre (old Fort Tecumseh) on the Missouri. Accompanying the expedition were Lt. G.K. Warren, U.S. topographical engineer, and Dr. Hayden who had visited the Badlands region two years earlier.<sup>33</sup>



**Figure 4 REMAINS OF THE FORT LARAMIE-FORT PIERRE TRAIL**

Here, just outside the most northern boundary of the present national monument, it is believed E. de Girardin made his poetic observations of the Badlands on the horizon, as recorded on page 14. Wagon-wheel ruts along the old trail — in the foreground — can still be traced for miles in unplowed terrain.

Warren was authorized to map the trail over which the expedition passed. This route, which crosses the western edge of Badlands National Monument, had been used since at least the early 1830's primarily by trappers and traders to transport furs and supplies between the two forts. Fort Pierre was abandoned as a military post in early 1857 soon after the route was mapped, and the trail fell into disuse as a major overland thoroughfare.<sup>34</sup> Remains of this historic route can still be seen.

Dr. Hayden and his party camped on Bear Creek, west of the present national monument, where Alexander Culbertson, Dr. Evans, and others had obtained their valuable collections in the 1840's. Dr. Hayden wrote, "We spent five days at this locality, and with the mammalian remains already collected in other places, our carts were loaded to their utmost."<sup>35</sup> Unlike his predecessors who had visited the region, Hayden was favorably impressed by the White River region. "Contrasted with

most of the country on the upper Missouri, The White river valley is a paradise, and the Indians consider it one of the choice spots of earth." <sup>36</sup>

Hayden revisited the White River Badlands in 1857 and in the 1860's. His records may be found in government reports and in several scientific publications. <sup>37</sup>

Captain John B.S. Todd, a cousin of the wife of Abraham Lincoln and later governor of Dakota Territory, also accompanied the Harney Expedition of 1855 and was impressed by the scenic grandeur of the Badlands. <sup>38</sup> On October 12, the day the expedition broke camp at Ash Grove Spring (now known as Harney Spring) southeast of Sheep Mountain Table, he recorded in his journal:

After leaving camp, we continued to ascend the gentle slope upon which it had been pitched, for nearly a mile, and on reaching the crest, the most superbly grand and beautiful sight burst upon our view, that my eye ever rested upon. Down for a thousand feet and more, the road abruptly wound into the valley below; while far away, on all sides, spread this magnificent panorama of mountain precipice and vale—solitary, grand, chaotic, as it came from the hands of Him "who doeth all things well." What a scene for the painter, what a wonderous field for the Naturalist! <sup>39</sup>

Todd also described "the remains of turtle, petrified, of all sizes, shattered and perfect, some not larger than the crown of a hat, others of huge proportions . . ." <sup>40</sup>

Beginning in 1870 other organizations began making important collections. Among these were the United States Geological Survey, Yale University, Princeton University, American Museum of Natural History, University of Nebraska, Carnegie Museum, University of South Dakota, and the South Dakota State School of Mines and Technology. <sup>41</sup>

In 1874 the Badlands were visited by the distinguished paleontologist Dr. O.C. Marsh of Yale University and his party. At that time the Indians in the region were in a very ugly temper as a result of the discovery of gold in the Black Hills by the Custer Expedition. Guaranteed much of present northwestern Nebraska and all of South Dakota west of the Missouri by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, they regarded white visitors to the western Dakota region as intruders. Accompanied by an army escort, Dr. Marsh and his party slipped into the reservation through the Red Cloud Agency (located along the banks of the White River near the present town of Crawford, Nebraska) at night without arousing the Indian sentinels and reached the fossil region. Hurriedly gathering and packing its specimens, the party returned to the agency less than 24 hours before a war party scoured the region for "the Big Bone Chief." At the agency, Chief Red Cloud informed Dr. Marsh of the manner in which the Indian Bureau was fleecing the Indians in their rations. Dr. Marsh carried this information to Washington, which resulted in a Congressional investigation of the agency. <sup>42</sup>

Mr. John Bell Hatcher did much of the collecting for Dr. Marsh, under the auspices of the United States Geological Survey, and is considered



Figure 5

**MUSEUM OF GEOLOGY, SOUTH DAKOTA SCHOOL OF MINES AND TECHNOLOGY**

The finest exhibits of Badlands fossils are on display in this museum. It is open to the public without charge throughout the year.

to be one of the most successful and original of all collectors who have worked in the Badlands.<sup>43</sup> He is responsible for beginning the practice of collecting and preserving complete skeletons of fossilized animals.<sup>44</sup>

While considerable collecting of fossils in the Badlands has been done by various organizations since 1870, it was conducted in a somewhat random manner at first. Since 1899 the South Dakota State School of Mines and Technology has sent students into the Badlands for brief field studies.<sup>45</sup> However, it was not until 1924 that a systematic means of collecting fossils in the Badlands was begun by a Princeton University professor, Glenn L. Jepsen, who was studying at the South Dakota State School of Mines and Technology. He organized the first School of Mines Badlands Expedition, which met with immediate success and laid the foundation for the present extensive paleontological collections of that school (See Figure 5).<sup>46</sup>

For many years large herds of bison roamed the Badlands during the summer months. About 1861, the year that the Dakota Territory was established, a drought began and continued for three years. The buffalo which used the region as their summer range left during that period. After the passing of the drought years, the herds, which had been driven far to the west by hunters, returned only in small bands. For a time great herds of mountain sheep, elk, antelope, whitetail and mule deer continued to roam the area in large numbers. The elk wintered in the southern Black Hills and went down into the Badlands in early spring. In 1877 residents of the Rapid City area and market hunters from the gold camps in the northern Black Hills killed large numbers, which ended the elk migration to the Badlands. Antelope as well as whitetail and mule deer were killed by market hunters and settlers. The mountain sheep was the last of the big game animals to disappear.<sup>47</sup>

Predatory animals such as coyotes, wolves, and black and grizzly bears were likewise common. Bears were exterminated early. It was



**Figure 6**

Jim Hart of Scenic, South Dakota, displays a trophy of an Audubon Bighorn Sheep shot on Sheep Mountain in 1903 by Charley Jones. These animals were last recorded on Sheep Mountain Table about 1910 and are now extinct.<sup>48</sup>

during the second decade of this century that coyotes and wolves disappeared from the Badlands, largely as a result of the work of the Biological Survey in its predatory-animal extermination program.<sup>40</sup>



Figure 7 GRAY WOLF

Adult animals weigh between 70 and 120 pounds and are the largest of the wild dogs. They were last seen in the present Badlands National Monument around 1913.<sup>50</sup>

The region which comprises western Dakota was a part of the Great Sioux Reservation recognized as such by the Fort Laramie treaties of 1851 and 1868. In the late nineteenth century the tide of white settlement had been steadily pushing westward. By an agreement on September 26, 1876, later formalized by U.S. Statute, the Black Hills region was opened to white settlement. An Act of Congress approved on March 2, 1889 (the same year South Dakota became a state), and proclaimed by President Harrison on February 10, 1890, restored to public domain the area between the White and Cheyenne Rivers. This included the present area of Badlands National Monument.<sup>51</sup>

On December 24, 1890, after escaping from military surveillance at Camp Cheyenne on the Cheyenne River, Chief Big Foot and his band of Miniconjous Sioux fled through what is now Big Foot Pass in Badlands National Monument to the White River where they camped. When the Indians reached Pine Creek on December 28, they were intercepted by the army. In attempting to disarm them the next day, the military precipitated the infamous "Wounded Knee Massacre" of December 29, 1890, when more than 150 Indians and 39 whites were killed. This was the last major clash between Indians and the United States Army.<sup>52</sup>

The famous western artist Frederic Remington was attached to a scouting party which went into the Badlands in search of Big Foot and his band. The first camp Remington made with the soldiers was on Christmas night with the thermometer well below zero. In an article written for *Harper's Weekly*, January 21, 1891, he described his trip into the region:

It was twelve miles through the defiles of the Bad Lands to the blue ridge of the high mesa where the hostiles had lived. The trail was strewn with dead cattle, some of them having never been touched with a knife. Here and there a dead pony, ridden to a stand-still and left nerveless on the trail. No words of mine can describe these Bad Lands. They are somewhat as Dore pictured hell. One set of buttes, with cones and minarets, gives place in the next mile to natural freaks of a different variety, never dreamed of by mortal man. It is the action of water on clay; there are ashes or what looks like them. The painter's whole palette is in one bluff.<sup>53</sup>

## THE SETTLERS COME

White settlement of the Badlands region was slow. Suited for grazing, the region in the 1890's was primarily the domain of cattlemen and sheepmen. At that time the region was surveyed by the Government.<sup>54</sup>



**Figure 8** **OLD INTERIOR, 1906**

Settled in about 1881, the town was known as Black until the name was changed around 1895. It was located about two miles southeast of the present town of Interior. In 1907, old Interior was abandoned in favor of the present townsite when the Milwaukee Road was built.<sup>55</sup>

Bruce Siberts, a Dakota cowboy, was in the Badlands several times during the early 1890's. He stated:

The big pasture west of the Missouri that the Sioux had turned over to Uncle Sam had few ranchers in it when I went there in 1890, but within another year or so there were all kinds of livestock roaming over it.<sup>56</sup>

Siberts' acquaintance with the Badlands was the result of his experience with cattle thieves who "holed up" there. The outlaws, after stealing Siberts' cattle, drove them to the Badlands.

Siberts started out in pursuit. During a week's stay in the Badlands, he saw thousands of head of stock, many of which were unbranded. Unable to recover his stolen cattle, he returned to his home on Plum Creek, a tributary of the Cheyenne River. He obtained a companion and went back to the Badlands. There the two men built several horse traps, captured a number of unbranded horses, branded them, and later sold the horses for \$600.<sup>57</sup> Siberts returned alone to the region the following year to obtain more unbranded horses, but lost his horses to outlaws. As a result he was left afoot many miles from home. Siberts succeeded in taking the horse of Bill Newsom, head of a group of cattle rustlers, and made his way to a railroad town in Nebraska. He returned to South Dakota by rail.<sup>58</sup>

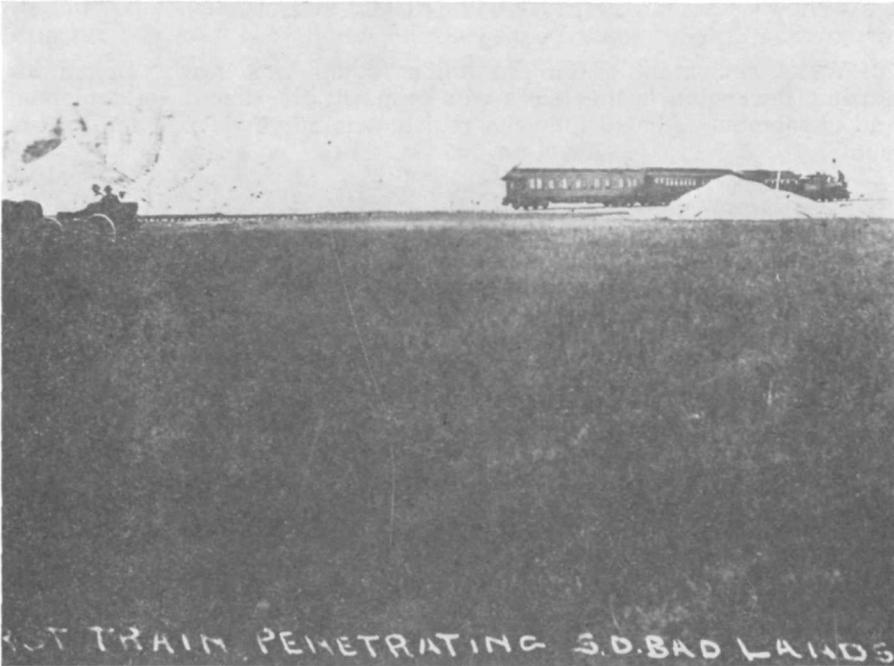


Figure 9 FIRST TRAIN PENETRATING SOUTH DAKOTA BADLANDS, 1907

Isolated from natural transportation routes, few settlers moved into the region until the coming of railroads. In 1907 the Chicago and North Western Railway Company built its line from Pierre through Philip and Wall to Rapid City. During the same year, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad Company (now known as the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company or, simply, the Milwaukee Road) completed its line from Chamberlain to Rapid City along the White River through Kadoka and Interior.<sup>60</sup>

There was considerable homestead activity in 1906 under the original homestead law of 1862, despite the fact that the 160-acre farm unit was inadequate in the region. Leonel Jensen, a long-time resident in the vicinity of the Badlands, stated that when his father came to the region in May 1906 there were few homestead buildings. In the fall of that year there was a homestead shack on practically every quarter-section of land, because many settlers had anticipated the coming of the railroads.<sup>60</sup> In 1912 the period to "prove up" on the lands was liberalized by changing the time of residence from five to three years. The Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 was applied to South Dakota by Congress in 1915, enabling settlers to acquire 320 acres instead of 160.<sup>61</sup>

The homestead laws were liberalized again in 1916 by the enactment of the Stock-Raising Homestead Act. This provided for 640-acre homesteads on lands officially designated as nonirrigable grazing lands.<sup>63</sup>

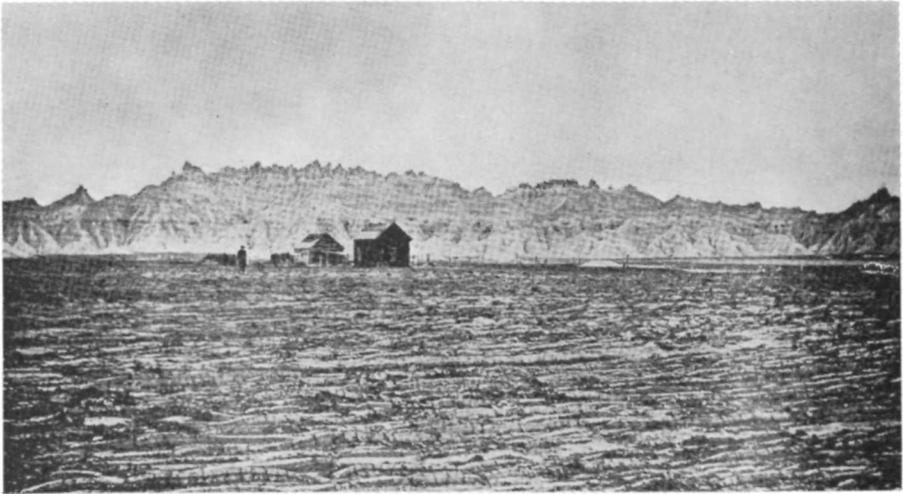


Figure 10

**A BADLANDS HOMESTEAD**

Newly plowed sod marks the beginning of a farm in 1911 northwest of Interior near the badlands wall.



Figure 11

Some Badlands homesteaders lived first in dugouts similar to the one belonging to the Josh Sullivan family as shown on this postcard mailed in 1909. It was located one half mile south of the present national monument boundary just off the Cedar Pass - Interior highway.<sup>62</sup>



**Figure 12**

Lumber to build the Louis J. Jensen home, located just west of the Badlands, was hauled by rail from the Black Hills to Wall, South Dakota. Taken in 1908, this photograph represents a typical house of the Badlands homesteading era.<sup>65</sup>

From 1900 to 1905 the population in western South Dakota increased from 43,782 to 57,575; by 1910 it was 137,687.<sup>64</sup> From 1910 to 1930 it continued to increase, but at a slower pace. In the decade following 1910 the population of Pennington County increased slightly from 12,453 to 12,720; by 1930 it was 20,079. In Jackson County, which contained no urban centers, the increase was much smaller. From 1920 to 1930 (no figures are available for 1910 to 1920) the population went from 2,472 to 2,636.<sup>65</sup> For a comparison with recent trends, the populations of Jackson and Pennington counties in 1960 were 1,985 and 58,195 respectively.<sup>66</sup> (The western or 87 percent of the present Badlands National Monument is located in Pennington County; the eastern section is in Jackson County.)

Between 1910 and 1920, increasing amounts of land in western South Dakota passed out of the public domain and into private ownership. Encouraged by the high prices for farm and ranch products resulting from World War I, many farmers and ranchers took advantage of the liberalized homestead acts. By 1922 less than half of the land which was later included in Badlands National Monument was publicly owned.<sup>67</sup>

## LEGISLATION FOR PARK ESTABLISHMENT

Stimulated in part by various individuals and groups, the South Dakota Legislature in 1909 petitioned the federal government to establish a township of Badlands as a national park. As read before both houses of Congress on March 16, 1909, the petition stated in part:

Whereas there is a small section of country about the headwaters of the White River in South Dakota where nature has carved the surface of the earth into most unique and interesting forms, and has exposed to an extent perhaps not elsewhere found; and

Whereas this formation is so unique, picturesque, and valuable for the purpose of study that a portion of it should be retained in its native state . . .<sup>69</sup>

However, no legislation was introduced on the proposal until more than a decade later.

A 1919 report by the U.S. Forest Service recommended that the Badlands area be set aside as a national park. The report also recorded considerable tourist travel to the Badlands. "The travel this year was several hundred times greater than in any former year . . ." Many visitors came over state route 40 (the Washington Highway) which connects the towns of Interior and Scenic with Rapid City. This road was under construction in 1919 and followed, more or less, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad. Visitors also came on passenger trains.<sup>70</sup>

However, accessibility to the scenic sections of the Badlands Wall from the Washington Highway were already being closed in 1919 by the construction of fences, except for a few low passes in the wall where side roads had been constructed. The Washington Highway and the railroad are both located two to six miles from the most picturesque Badlands features. The same report recommended that a road be built "along the course of the scenic points of interest" and that campgrounds should be constructed "at well chosen camp sites."<sup>71</sup> (Such a road was completed 16 years later by the State of South Dakota; see page 43).

While other individuals and organizations played an important part in the establishment of Badlands National Monument, Senator Peter Norbeck deserves more credit than any other legislator. Norbeck was born on a farm in Clay County in southeastern South Dakota, August 27, 1870, and was the son of a member of the 1871 Dakota Territorial Legislature. His public career began when he was elected to the state senate in 1908 and he served there until 1915. In 1914 Norbeck was voted lieutenant-governor of the state, and was elected governor in 1916 and 1918. His achievements as governor were many, including the founding of a state-enterprise program designed to help farmers. Another of his great accomplishments was the establishment of Custer State Park.

In 1920 Norbeck was elected to the United States Senate where he served continuously until his death in 1936. Although his chief interest was in farm-relief legislation, he was instrumental in passing the Migra-

tory Bird Act of 1929 and in securing federal funds for the carving of Mount Rushmore National Memorial.<sup>72</sup>

South Dakota's congressmen, William Williamson from Oacoma and Charles A. Christopherson from Sioux Falls, assisted Norbeck by their work in the U.S. House of Representatives. Christopherson's services in the House began in 1919, Williamson's in 1921.<sup>73</sup>

Figure 13  
EARLY ROAD THROUGH CEDAR  
PASS, 1908 or earlier



On May 2, 1922, during the second session of the 67th Congress, Senator Norbeck introduced the first bill (S. 3541) for making the Badlands area a national park. Entitled "A bill to establish the Wonderland National Park in the State of South Dakota," it proposed to set aside and withdraw from entry "all public lands lying and being within townships two and three south, ranges fifteen and sixteen east of the Black Hills meridian, and township three south, ranges seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen east of the Black Hills meridian."<sup>74</sup> The proposal provided that the Secretary of the Interior might add to the park from time to time any lands which may be donated to the United States for such purposes. It also stated that the Secretary of the Interior may authorize exchange of non-federal lands in the park for certain public lands of equal value outside the park. Finally, the bill provided that a sum not exceeding \$5,000 annually be appropriated by Congress for the maintenance and improvement of the park, if the State of South Dakota made an equal contribution. After the bill was read, it was referred to the Committee of Public Lands and Surveys.<sup>75</sup>

On the same day, Congressman Williamson introduced a bill (H.R. 11514) in the House of Representatives, identical to the first one submitted

by Norbeck in the Senate. This bill was referred to the Committee on the Public Lands and ordered to be printed.<sup>76</sup> No further action was taken on either the Norbeck or Williamson bills in the 67th Congress.

However, in October 1922 President Harding issued an executive order temporarily withdrawing all public lands in the seven townships to be included in the proposed park for the purpose of classifying them "pending enactment of appropriate legislation."<sup>77</sup> The total area within the seven townships was about 161,000 acres, of which 35,410 were classified as vacant.<sup>78</sup>

On March 3, 1923, Congressmen Christopherson and Williamson presented memorials from "the Legislature of the State of South Dakota urging Congress to set aside the Bad Lands as a national park . . ." <sup>79</sup>

In December 1923, in the 68th Congress, Williamson again introduced a bill (H.R. 2810) to establish Wonderland National Park. This proposal was identical to the one he and Norbeck introduced in the preceding Congress.<sup>80</sup> Like the earlier bill it, too, died in committee.

If the Norbeck papers, now at the University of South Dakota, are any indication of the public support the Senator received for his park proposal, only a few people in the early 1920's shared his views. Attorney General Byron S. Payne of South Dakota, Professor W.C. Toepelman of the University of South Dakota Geology Department, and W.H. Tompkins of the U.S. Land Office in Rapid City, all endorsed the Wonderland National Park proposal.<sup>81</sup> However, at that time the highways were relatively undeveloped. The automobile industry and tourism were both in their infancies. It was to take nearly another decade to gain the support of local and state chambers of commerce and other promotional groups for national parks and monuments.

It appears that the National Park Service did not give Norbeck encouragement for his idea of a national park in the Badlands. In a letter to a constituent in May 1924, the Senator wrote:

. . . regarding the Bad Lands National Park, [I] will state that the Park Service here will not approve a bill of that kind, — and therefore, we can not secure the legislation. They are, however, willing to approve the plan of having it designated by the President as a "National Monument". In practice, this means nearly the same thing, so Congressman Williamson and I have come to an agreement that we are going to accept that plan and work it out that way.<sup>82</sup>

Nevertheless, Norbeck continued to work for a national park instead of a national monument.

To insure that he would include the most scenic parts of the region in the proposed park, Norbeck made frequent trips there. In answer to a constituent's letter, he wrote in November 1927, "I have visited the Bad Lands every year for sixteen years. A year ago I spent four or five days in them and this year I have made five trips into that area."<sup>84</sup> During 1927 a number of eastern newspapers carried photographs of the Badlands in their Sunday photo sections.<sup>85</sup>

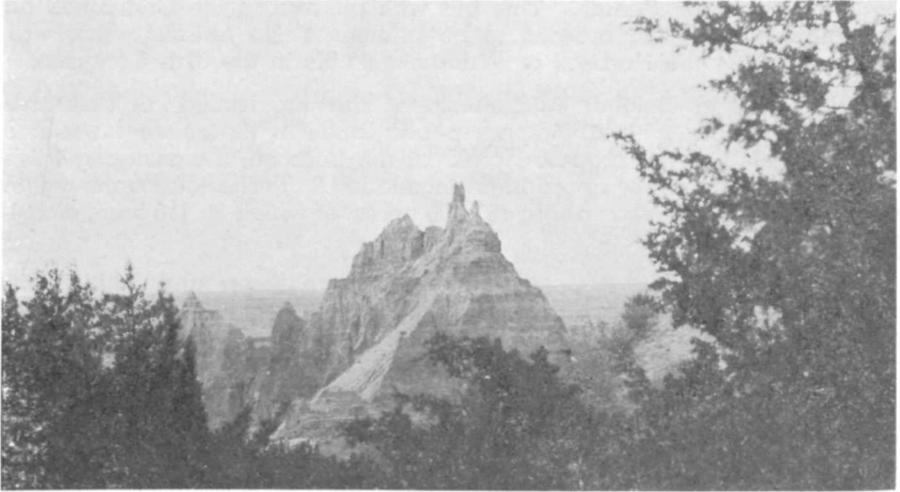


Figure 14

**VAMPIRE PEAK, 1930's**

Located near the present national monument visitor center, the peak has since lost its spires to erosion. According to local tradition the presence of bats around the formation caused J.I. Peterkin, a traveling artist, to give it this name around 1915.<sup>83</sup>

In the late 1920's Badlands visitors who arrived from the east via Kadoka or Cottonwood probably used Cedar Pass. The narrow and precipitous route through Cedar Pass was aptly described by one of those early visitors:

The passes become more crooked and the grades more steep. The road is bordered by profuse scrub cedar trees. There is a thrill in that drive! At first it looks dangerous, but the danger seems to minimize as we approach each more steep and more crooked and more narrow section. By taking it slowly the risk is small.<sup>86</sup>

The route passed the new Cedar Pass Camp (now Cedar Pass Lodge) and took visitors to the railroad town of Interior where they may have spent some time at Palmer's Curio shop and at Henry Thompson's souvenir stand which he called "The Wonderland." From Interior visitors traveled west over the Washington Highway to the railroad town of Scenic. In the late 1920's the Museum Filling Station in Scenic was widely known for its collection of Badlands fossils and Indian artifacts. They also provided guide services to visitors desiring to see Badlands features located off the road. Rapid City was reached by traveling northwest over 45 miles of good dirt road — except during rains.<sup>87</sup>

Support for the park proposal grew in the late 1920's. In October 1927 the Wonderland Hiway Association, in a letter to Senator Norbeck, wrote:

At a meeting of the Wonderland Hiway Association, an organization [sic] comprising the business men and local residents [sic] of the Towns through the Bad Lands, It was resolved;

That the Association would ask and petition the State Highway Commission . . . for a State Highway, Starting from Kadoka, West over Cedar Pass to Interior, S. Dak. West through The Bad Lands to Scenic over Highway #40 and from Scenic to Hermosa, S. Dak., Providing a suitable [sic] location can be found.<sup>88</sup>

The State Highway Commission gave the proposal its wholehearted support.<sup>89</sup>

The National Park Service, however, continued to oppose the area as a national park on two grounds. For one thing much of the land was in private ownership. Senator Norbeck explained in a 1927 letter:

The Park program is not as easy as it seems on account of so much of the land having gone into Private ownership. The Federal Government will not purchase land for park purposes. They never have. The State must and that will come slow.<sup>90</sup>

In the second place, the National Park Service believed that the area was more suitable as a national monument. The Senator continued in the same letter:

The Park Service is opposed to making it a National Park as they try to limit the Parks to the areas that are principally recreational. They would favor a plan to make the Bad Lands a "National Monument."<sup>91</sup>

Despite the objections of the Service to the Senator's park proposal, Norbeck's continued desire for a national park in the Badlands was stated in a letter written in November 1927 to Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior:

The Congressional delegation from this state will be united in an effort to create a Bad Lands National Park in South Dakota. If this is impossible they will desire to have certain areas set aside as national monuments.<sup>92</sup>

In April 1928 Norbeck wrote Representative Williamson asking him to help draft a bill for the park. The first part of the bill, Norbeck indicated, would "include the Badlands Wall proper, from a point about 4 miles east of Interior to a point 12 or 14 miles southwest of Wall."<sup>93</sup> The establishment of the park would be contingent on the building of a road by the State through the proposed area and the State acquiring 90 percent of the privately owned lands within it. The second part of the bill would authorize a national monument which would include Sheep Mountain and the surrounding area, some six to seven miles southwest of Scenic. The authorization of this area would be conditional upon the construction of a highway from Scenic to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and acquisition of the lands within the proposed monument by the State of South Dakota. The third portion of the bill would authorize the abandonment of Wind Cave National Park!<sup>94</sup>

The bills as finally presented to Congress by Norbeck and Williamson were somewhat different from the one which the Senator planned.

During the first session of the 70th Congress, Norbeck and Williamson



Figure 15  
SENATOR  
PETER NORBECK  
(1870 - 1936)

introduced identical legislation in their respective houses on May 8, 1928, to set aside the Badlands as a national park. Norbeck introduced S. 4385, "A Bill To establish Teton National Park in the State of South Dakota . . ." The bill authorized the Secretary of the Interior, through negotiation, to exchange privately owned lands within the proposed park for public lands of equal value outside. The bill contained a provision that when 90 percent of the privately owned lands within the proposed area had been acquired without expense to the federal treasury and transferred to the government for park purposes, the park would be set aside for the people, ". . . **Provided**, That the State of South Dakota shall have first constructed" approximately 40 miles of suitable road to specified points inside and outside the proposed park.<sup>95</sup>

Norbeck's bill was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys. On May 19 the bill was reported out without amendment. The accompanying report (No. 1246) gave a strong endorsement to the proposal.<sup>96</sup> On May 23, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole and passed the Senate.<sup>97</sup>

However, in the House where Williamson had introduced an identical bill (H.R. 13618), the park proposal ran into trouble. In a circular letter dated November 7, 1928, the National Parks Association claimed that the proposed Teton National Park had not been examined for standards by the National Park Service before the Senate acted on the proposal and that the bill was hurried through that body. Asserting that the proposed area was reported below standard by the National Park Service, the association charged:

Neither of these Senators [Norbeck and Nye], nor the Public Lands Committee which reported the bill and resolution, nor the Senate sessions which carelessly passed them, discussed the national aspects of this legislation. They did not consider the plan and standards of the national system which Congress had been building unit by unit, each painstakingly chosen, since 1872. They ignored the half century Congressional custom of awaiting the report of the Interior Department, to which Congress had entrusted the System's shaping from the beginning. They ignored the American people's enthusiastic interest in the plan and purpose of this unique world-famous institution, and its insistence in recent years upon park selection by the expert National Park Service . . . .

Thoughtlessness, apparently, but in practice this amounts to

Figure 16  
BEN MILLARD  
(1872 - 1956)



localism defying national aspirations. It seriously threatens national park standards.<sup>98</sup>

In a letter to Robert S. Yard, Executive Secretary of the association, Senator Norbeck accused the association of sending out a misleading report:

You criticise me for introducing and securing action in the Senate on a bill fifteen days after it was introduced and especially in view of the fact that it had not been investigated by the National Park Service.

You could truthfully have said that this legislation has been pending for a great many years—at least five years.

You could also have said that I have been trying all these years to get the Park Service to investigate the proposed area.

You could also have added that the Government land in this area was withdrawn by Presidential Proclamation many years ago in anticipation of park legislation. Why carry the idea that it was all a fifteen day affair when it is all of five years? It would be a hard rule to apply that the failure of the Park Service to investigate an important project should preclude a member of Congress from taking any action whatever . . . .

You also state that the project has been investigated by the Park Service and reported adversely. It is an astonishing fact that the knowledge of such reports should be withheld from me. Therefore, I doubt very much that any report has been made. I therefore wired the Park Service, asking who made the report and when. I have no response.<sup>99</sup>

Acting Director Arthur E. Demaray of the National Park Service, meanwhile, wrote Norbeck advising him that the Service had never prepared an official report on the park proposal and that the statement by the association that the proposed park was "reported below standard by the National Park Service" was without authority.<sup>100</sup>

In the House of Representatives where the proposal was considered in the second session, the bill (S. 4385) underwent substantial revision. After being considered by the Committee on the Public Lands, it was

reported out with amendments on February 19, 1929.<sup>101</sup> The revised bill changed the boundary of the proposed area, reducing it from 69,120 acres to about 50,760 acres<sup>102</sup> (50,830 acres according to another source<sup>103</sup>). The name was changed from Teton National Park to Badlands National Monument. It modified the requirements for the road which the state had to construct from 40 miles to 30 miles of total length. The requirement that 90 percent of the privately owned lands had to be acquired before the park could be established was dropped. Instead, it was now at the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior to decide when enough privately owned lands within the proposed boundary had been purchased so that the area could be proclaimed a national monument by the President. As before, the bill stipulated that the lands would have to be acquired without cost to the federal treasury. The amended bill had a new provision that the Department of the Interior could grant hotel and lodge franchises in advance of the fulfillment of the conditions.<sup>104</sup>

The amended bill was considered by the Committee of the Whole House on February 25, six days after the Committee on the Public Lands had acted on it. Two additional amendments were offered on the floor of the House and were accepted. The idea that the Secretary of the Interior could decide when enough privately owned land had been purchased so that the area could be proclaimed as a national monument was dropped in favor of requiring all privately owned land within the proposed boundary be purchased before the area could be established. The provision giving the Department of the Interior authority to grant franchises in advance of the establishment of the national monument was also deleted. This amended form passed the House of Representatives on the same day, February 25.<sup>105</sup>

When the House act was referred to the Senate on the next day, Norbeck asked his colleagues not to concur with the amended proposal. He asked instead that the modified bill be considered in a conference committee of the House and Senate.<sup>106</sup> On March 2, the conference committee recommended that the two amendments that were attached to the bill on the floor of the House on February 25 be dropped, returning the bill to the form it had when it was originally reported out on February 19.<sup>107</sup>

On the same day, March 2, the final bill was passed by both houses.<sup>108</sup> Known as Public Law No. 1021, the act authorizing Badlands National Monument was approved by President Calvin Coolidge on March 4, 1929. The signing of the act took place on the last day of Coolidge's term as President of the United States.<sup>109</sup>

The area authorized under this act (45 Stat. 1553) included 50,830.40 acres; of this amount, 39,893.85 acres were in the public domain. The remainder was state land or privately owned land.<sup>110</sup>

It is interesting to note that Senator Norbeck introduced a new bill (S. 5779) to establish Badlands National Monument on February 11, 1929. It was identical with the House amendments proposed for S. 4385 which were later reported out by the Committee on the Public Lands on Febru-

ary 19. The new bill, after being referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, was returned on February 20 with Senate Report 1842.<sup>111</sup> Meanwhile, Williamson introduced H. 17102 in the House, which was identical to S. 5779; it was referred to the Committee on the Public Lands.<sup>112</sup> Both of these bills died without further consideration.



**Figure 17**

**THE PINNACLES CONCESSION**

Operating since about 1935, this development was run on a seasonal basis. It offered summer visitors a few accommodations, souvenirs, refreshments, and gasoline until abandoned in 1950. The buildings were removed shortly afterward.<sup>118</sup>

## THE DEPRESSION YEARS

Among local persons who worked hard toward the establishment of Badlands National Monument after it was authorized in 1929 were Ben H. Millard, the original owner of Cedar Pass Lodge; A.G. Granger of Kadoka; Leonel Jensen, local rancher; Ted E. Hustead, owner and operator of the well-known Wall Drug Store; and Dr. G.W. Mills of Wall.<sup>113</sup>

Of these individuals, Mr. Millard made the greatest contribution to the establishment and development of the national monument. Born September 15, 1872, in Minnesota, he moved to South Dakota in 1893 with his parents. Millard entered the banking business in Sanborn County in 1899. In 1917 he sold his banking interests and entered the State of South Dakota Banking Department. On an assignment to Philip, South Dakota, Millard first saw the Badlands and became interested in them. He left the Banking Department and moved into the Badlands in 1927, homesteading below Cedar Pass on the present site of Cedar Pass Lodge, which he later built and operated.<sup>114</sup>

Millard worked closely with Senator Norbeck on development plans for the proposed Badlands National Monument. From September 1934 through July 1936, he was employed as a local Resettlement Administration project manager. In this capacity he was responsible for federal acquisition of private lands, most of which later became part of the national monument after it was established in 1939. The alignment of the first Badlands road, alternate U.S. 16, was largely a result of his ideas. In 1931 he selected what he believed to be the most scenic route, and staked it out with the aid of his employee, E.N. "Curley" Nelson (who returned to the Badlands in 1964 to become the first concessioner of Cedar Pass Lodge). Millard and his sister, Mrs. Clara Jennings, and later his son, Herbert, operated the Pinnacles concession from about 1935 to 1950.<sup>115</sup> Three important parcels of land were donated by Millard to the NPS in 1941, 1946, and 1955 for inclusion in Badlands National Monument.<sup>116</sup> Millard died at Cedar Pass Lodge in March 1956.

In special ceremonies on June 28, 1957, Millard Ridge, a prominent portion of the Badlands wall six-tenths of a mile long just east of Cedar Pass, was named and dedicated to his memory.<sup>117</sup>

In 1929 western South Dakota, in common with most of the farm belt, had been suffering almost a decade from the deflation which followed World War I. Both farmers and ranchers had been unable to fulfill obligations assumed during an earlier period of high prices. Many of the banks of the state were forced to close.<sup>118</sup>

With the beginning of the Great Depression in the fall of 1929, conditions became increasingly worse. A combination of disasters which included grasshopper infestations, crop failures, and drought struck the country. The south central and western counties of the state were most severely affected by these disasters.<sup>120</sup>

Several government programs on both the federal and state levels were authorized to assist those in need. The NPS made use of a number of these programs in various ways during the 1930's.

In November 1934, NPS Director Arno B. Cammerer recommended to Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes that additional area be approved for inclusion in the proposed Badlands National Monument. He contended that the proposed additions, which included a portion of Sheep Mountain, were as outstanding as the area originally authorized by Congress in 1929. Wildlife problems and administrative difficulties of the originally proposed area would be lessened by the change in boundary.<sup>121</sup>

In order to implement the proposed boundary change Mr. Cammerer recommended (1) that the President should be asked to issue an Executive Order withdrawing all public lands involved; (2) that all privately owned lands be acquired through an existing federal government relief program; and (3) that the next session of Congress be asked to establish the Badlands National Monument with the boundaries now recommended.<sup>122</sup>

The Secretary of the Interior approved the proposal for the boundary extension and in the same month President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered that all unreserved and unappropriated public lands in Pennington, Jackson, Fall River, and Custer Counties be

temporarily withdrawn from settlement, location, sale, or entry, for classification and use as a grazing project pursuant to the submarginal land program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.<sup>123</sup>

By January 1, 1935, the NPS had already obtained options for 23,000 acres from private land owners living within the proposed boundary extension area. This work was being done under the auspices of the Land Program section of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) which had been authorized by Congress in 1933.<sup>124</sup>

Early in April 1935, the NPS completed the "Final Report on the Badlands National Monument Extension Project, South Dakota R-1." The report included both the area previously authorized under Public Law 1021 and the proposed extension. The area, to be known as the Badlands Recreational Demonstration Project, would include 119,557.88 acres, of which 72,316.22 were privately owned. The proposed boundary extension received the support of Governor Tom Berry, Senator Norbeck, President C.C. O'Harra of the South Dakota School of Mines, and a number of prominent geologists, naturalists, educators, and others.<sup>125</sup>

In a letter to Harry L. Hopkins, FERA Administrator, on April 15, 1935, Acting Secretary of the Interior T.A. Walters wrote:

I hereby recommend for purchase certain lands for a project known as the Badlands National Monument Extension in Jackson, Pennington, Washington and Washabaugh Counties, South Dakota, proposed by the National Park Service of this Department for the conservation and development of the natural resources of the United States, within the meaning of Section 202 of Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act, pursuant to which funds have been allotted and transferred to the Land Program, Federal Emergency Relief Administration.<sup>126</sup>

Secretary Walters further stated that this project came within the

classification of lands as stated in a memorandum to him dated July 16, 1934. In it the Director of the Land Program said:

Demonstration Recreational Projects: These include projects in which the land to be purchased is to be used primarily for recreational purposes, as submitted by the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.<sup>127</sup>

The Secretary of the Interior recommended that the Badlands National Monument Extension be accepted as a Demonstration Recreational Project of the Land Program, FERA. The project was approved and adopted by the Land Program. The NPS expected that the cost of all the lands considered would not average more than \$2.66 per acre.<sup>128</sup>

Meanwhile, President Roosevelt, by a series of executive orders, created the Resettlement Administration, an independent agency, and transferred to it the land and related activities of the FERA. The Resettlement Administration operated until the end of 1936 when its powers, functions, and duties were transferred to the Secretary of Agriculture. Later, the name "Resettlement Administration" was changed to the Farm Security Administration.<sup>129</sup>

The work of appraising, securing options on, and purchasing private lands, begun under the submarginal land program of the FERA, continued under the Resettlement Administration.

In a 1935 letter to Assistant NPS Director Conrad L. Wirth, Senator Norbeck pointed out some of the problems and drawbacks of the land acquisition program by writing:

The land varies a great deal in quality, and the poor lands are being obtained for the scheduled price, but the good lands are not.

He went on to say that

A very large percentage of this land, maybe thirty to fifty per cent, is on the tax delinquency list, with about four years of taxes. The price offered is less than the taxes held against the land, and the owner is not anxious to sell if he cannot get a nickel out of it . . . .

Considerable of these lands, however, have already been abandoned by the owner on account of the amount of taxes due.<sup>130</sup>

Counties were reluctant to sell land to the federal government because this would mean withdrawal from the tax lists, thus reducing the counties' incomes. Norbeck recommended that the federal government pay more for the land by a "boost of one dollar an acre . . ." <sup>131</sup> Meetings were being held in various parts of the region to protest the low prices being offered.<sup>132</sup>

The desperate situation of the times was expressed well in a letter dated September 2, 1935, from a local rancher's wife who wrote:

After 6 years [of] crop failures on the so called submarginal land of Western South Dakota we are facing financial disaster unless we sell our land to the government.<sup>133</sup>



Figure 18

CEDAR PASS WINTER WONDERLAND

During the same month, the average price being offered per acre was \$2.85.<sup>134</sup>

To gain Congressional approval for the boundary extension of the proposed Badlands National Monument, the proponents secured the attachment of a rider to the Taylor Grazing Bill revision authorizing the enlargement. The grazing bill was vetoed in 1935 although there was no opposition to the rider.<sup>135</sup>

The bill was reintroduced the following year and was passed. Approved June 26, 1936 (49 Stat. 1979), the law authorized the President to round out the authorized national monument boundary by proclamation within five years and stipulated that the entire area could not exceed 250,000 acres. Lands to be included must be "adjacent or contiguous thereto, . . . including, but not being restricted to, lands designated as sub-marginal by the Resettlement Administration . . ." <sup>136</sup> This law gave the NPS sufficient flexibility in fixing a suitable boundary.

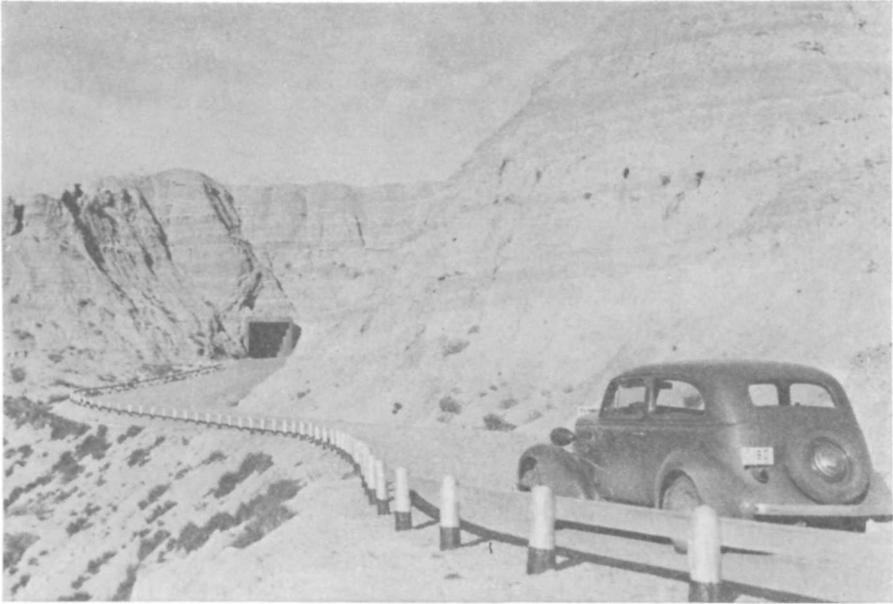
Norbeck worked tirelessly in promoting every aspect of the area's development until his death in December 1936. He actively participated in securing aid from various governmental relief agencies for the land acquisition program of the area, and for building roads, erecting buildings, and other purposes.<sup>137</sup>

As early as February 1935 Governor Tom Berry of South Dakota urged Secretary Ickes to establish the national monument formally through a presidential proclamation. He pointed out that the basic conditions of Public Law 1021 had been met: (1) a 30-mile highway, built at a cost of approximately \$320,000, starting at Interior and going over Big Foot Pass and on to Sage Creek, was completed in 1935 by the state and approved by the NPS; (2) the state had acquired such privately owned lands within the area as were required by the Secretary of the Interior.<sup>138</sup>

However, NPS Director Cammerer deferred making such a recommendation until some 9,780 acres of state lands, located within the authorized national monument boundary, had been transferred to the Service.<sup>139</sup>

Also, it was not until three years later, in 1938, that the United States formally accepted title to 1,395.79 acres of land donated by the trustees of the Custer State Park board who acted as purchasing agents for the State of South Dakota. Senator Norbeck had been a member of this board. The land was purchased from private owners with funds authorized by the state legislature for the expressed purpose of fulfilling partial requirements of Public Law 1021. Cost to the state was approximately \$12,000 for 1,280 acres of this donated land.<sup>141</sup>

By early July 1938 Director Cammerer considered that South Dakota had met all the conditions of Public Law 1021. Under this act the federal government had acquired title to about 48,000 acres of the 50,830 authorized. Within the extension authorized by the act of June 26, 1936, the NPS included an additional 97,976 acres. In all, the boundary recommended by the Service included some 148,806 acres (later revised to 150,103.41, and still later revised again to 154,119.46 acres for the same amount of land<sup>142</sup>) of which the government owned 113,578.59 acres.



**Figure 19** **UPPER (PINNACLES) TUNNEL, 1938**

This 175-foot by 16-foot tunnel was located in the national monument about two miles southeast of the present Pinnacles Ranger Station. It and Lower (Norbeck) Tunnel, situated about three miles west of Cedar Pass Lodge near the base of Norbeck Pass, were in use only about four years before being obliterated.<sup>140</sup>

Director Cammerer therefore asked the Secretary of the Interior to approve the establishment of the national monument and that a proclamation be submitted to the President for final approval.<sup>143</sup> On January 25, 1939, President Roosevelt formally proclaimed the establishment of Badlands National Monument.<sup>144</sup> It became the 77th national monument and the 151st area in the federal park system which is administered by the National Park Service.<sup>145</sup>

The complicated land-ownership pattern in the national monument along with grazing would plague the NPS for years. When the area was proclaimed in 1939, the NPS administered substantial tracts of land outside the national monument's boundary. These tracts were located in the land utilization projects of the Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service. On the other hand, the SCS had land utilization tracts under its jurisdiction within the boundary.<sup>146</sup>

## EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL MONUMENT

Under the general direction of the NPS, various relief agencies such as the Emergency Relief Administration (ERA), the Resettlement Administration, the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) worked on development projects in the area. Only a few scattered reports are now available on the work of these agencies. About 150 persons were employed at the area in January 1937 on such projects as resurfacing, backsloping, ditching, and grading roads.<sup>147</sup> This included major reconstruction of the Sheep Mountain Canyon road, completed the same year.<sup>148</sup>

One project of interest completed June 30, 1940 by ERA labor, under the Public Roads Administration, was the obliteration of two tunnels along the Pinnacles-Cedar Pass road. They were constructed during the first half of the 1930's (see Figure 19) when the road was built by the State of South Dakota; the road was completed in 1935. The tunnels proved to be impractical because of inadequate width and maintenance problems.<sup>149</sup>

In July 1940 the ERA project in the area was discontinued. Among the types of work accomplished since July 1, 1936, when the project was initiated, were the construction of five project headquarters buildings, prospecting for water on the national monument, the development of a well near the site of the old Pinnacles Checking Station, and ten road jobs which included road construction, widening, graveling, building culverts, and banksloping. The construction of parking overlooks, and the obliteration of buildings and clearing of 16 farmstead tracts, also took place during that time.<sup>150</sup>

During the 12 months between July 1939 and July 1940, the ERA project employed an average of 150 relief workers.<sup>151</sup>

Since the national monument is located a relatively short distance from Wind Cave National Park, the older area co-ordinated the business of Badlands during its early years. On August 11, 1939, Chief Ranger Howard B. Stricklin of Wind Cave became acting custodian of the newly designated area and was later placed in charge of the local ERA and CCC projects.<sup>152</sup> Although the ERA project was terminated in July 1940, the CCC work continued until June 1942.<sup>153</sup>

When Stricklin arrived to take charge, there were no living quarters of any kind in the area. He lived at the CCC camp at Quinn Table while his family remained at Wind Cave. Temporary offices were established in Wall pending a decision regarding the location of permanent headquarters.<sup>154</sup>

Considerable thought was given to the selection of a headquarters site. For a time the Pinnacles area was considered.<sup>155</sup> However, in late 1939 it was finally decided to locate the center of operations at Cedar Pass.<sup>156</sup> This decision was due, in part, to the offer by Mr. Ben H. Millard, owner of Cedar Pass Lodge,

to donate approximately 28 acres of strategically located land in the Cedar Pass area to the Service to be used as a headquarters area.<sup>157</sup>



Figure 20 CEDAR PASS LODGE, early 1930's

The lodge was begun in 1928 at about the same time the large dance pavillion building in the background was constructed. People from as distant as Rapid City came here to dance to the music of Lawrence Welk and other name bands. More cabins for the lodge were built from its lumber when the pavillion was removed in about 1934.<sup>159</sup>

The Department of the Interior accepted Millard's donation in May 1941.<sup>158</sup>

The decision to develop the Cedar Pass area for headquarters greatly altered development plans. The CCC enrollees numbering 207 in February 1940 were encamped at Quinn Table some 35 miles west of Cedar Pass. Since much of the development was taking place at Cedar Pass, it was necessary to drive them between these two points each day.<sup>160</sup>

One of the great handicaps of Cedar Pass as a headquarters area was the lack of water. To develop a satisfactory supply, the NPS found it necessary to go to the White River, three miles south. One of the major projects undertaken soon after selecting the headquarters site was to dig a trench and lay pipe to the river. Since this stream is intermittent above ground, but has a dependable subsurface flow, water was collected in perforated pipes laid on hard clay and shale about eight feet below the river bed. The pipe brought water to a sump on the river bank where it was pumped to a 100,000-gallon storage tank above the headquarters area.<sup>161</sup> Work was begun on this reservoir in April 1940 and completed by the CCC in September 1941. At the same time the CCC also erected a checking station at Pinnacles which Stricklin and his family occupied from November 15, 1940, until about May 15, 1943.<sup>162</sup>

Handicapped by the location of the original CCC camp at Quinn Table, a new camp was authorized at Cedar Pass and work on it began in June 1941. Five months later the new camp was occupied.<sup>164</sup>

At that time the only visitor-contact point in the Cedar Pass area was at Cedar Pass Lodge. During the summer season Mr. Millard lectured



**Figure 21 PINNACLES RANGER STATION AND CHECKING STATION, 1941**

Completed in 1941, the ranger station also served as quarters until January 1965 when the new Pinnacles ranger station-residence was completed. The checking station was removed about 1958 to make way for road improvement, and the old ranger station was razed in April 1967.<sup>165</sup>

nightly to lodge guests on the geologic history of the Badlands, thereby initiating interpretive programs. He also showed movies of the Badlands and other scenic areas. A temporary park ranger, who checked travel in the Cedar Pass area during the day, took part in the evening programs.<sup>166</sup>

The problem of stock grazing in the national monument grew increasingly worse during the 1940's. The acting custodian complained early in 1940:

Until the boundary is fenced and we are in a better position to know what is private and what is monument land, there appears to be very little that can be done to prevent this.<sup>167</sup>

In December 1941 he wrote in a similar vein:

During past winters it has been the practice of local stockmen to allow herds of horses and cattle to drift into the monument area to graze unrestrictedly over public as well as private lands and along the monument highways. There is such a large amount of private and county-owned land within the monument boundaries (31,000 acres out of a total of 150,000) that it is difficult to restrain stock from grazing on National Park Service land as well as on the land that is owned or leased by private individuals.<sup>167</sup>

It soon became obvious that Badlands National Monument would be a popular attraction because of its location near U.S. Highways 14 and 16, both well-known national highways going through the Black Hills. In 1941 there were 70.02 miles of road in the national monument. Of this,

61.52 miles were constructed by the state and 8.5 miles by the federal government; 29.87 miles were graveled and 40.15 were dirt roads.<sup>168</sup>

Although the roads through the area were only partially developed, thousands of travelers turned off the through highways to view the scenic Badlands.

Stricklin reported in September 1941:

More than a quarter of a million visitors had passed through Badlands National Monument by the close of the travel season on September 30, representing an increase of approximately 30 percent over the previous year, for the period during which an actual count was made.<sup>169</sup>

The entrance of the United States into World War II in December 1941 had a great impact on the area and its operations. Since many of the CCC enrollees would be absorbed into the armed forces, the project work soon came to an end. The acting custodian reported in the spring of 1942, "On March 25, after two years and five months of productive work in Badlands National Monument, CCC Camp Badlands, NP-3 [located at Cedar Pass], was abandoned."<sup>170</sup> Work was continued on several projects undertaken at Camp Badlands by a CCC side camp with the view toward completing the projects or leaving them "in such condition that the facilities involved may be used, and the materials, all of which have been on hand for some time, may be protected against deterioration and loss."<sup>171</sup> However, the side camp was also closed in the following June, leaving practically all of the construction projects in various states of completion.<sup>172</sup> In December 1942 most of the CCC buildings at Cedar Pass were dismantled and removed by the armed services.<sup>173</sup>

Another result of the nation's entrance into the war was a sharp drop in visitors to the Badlands. Stricklin wrote in June 1942 that "Most of these visitors appeared to be genuine vacationists . . . [who] had a vacation coming, and were trying to get it in before gas rationing became nation-wide."<sup>174</sup> He estimated that travel in March 1943 was 87 percent under that for March 1942, and that "All foreign [out-of-state] visitor cars stopping for information were headed for defense jobs, or were military personnel, changing their headquarters from one part of the country to another."<sup>175</sup> The effect of the war on travel to the national monument is reflected in the travel figures of the area for the years from 1941 to 1945. (See Appendix A.)

Efforts at the national monument during the war were devoted largely to preventive maintenance. Changing his headquarters from Pinnacles to Cedar Pass in June 1943, Stricklin was able to give closer attention to the headquarters area.<sup>176</sup> Such routine tasks as filling washouts, cleaning ditches, reclaiming gravel, cutting roadside weeds, repairing guard rails, cleaning up debris, and temporary patching of roads occupied most of the staff's time. Other tasks, such as repairing water lines, painting signs, keeping the buildings in repair, and servicing and repairing the area equipment also required much attention.<sup>177</sup> The cottage that the custodian and his family rented from Millard at Cedar Pass was destroyed by fire on November 27, 1943.<sup>178</sup>



**Figure 22** **CEDAR PASS, June 1950**

The buildings of Cedar Pass Lodge can be seen behind the white frame structure, which served as a visitor center and headquarters until 1959. Remnants of two spires on Vampire Peak remain on the left. It was observed on November 22, 1950, that one of the two spires of this famous landmark had fallen, apparently during a thunder storm.<sup>189</sup>

During the ten years following the end of World War II, there was slow progress in the area's development. Work on the custodian's residence at Cedar Pass, begun in 1941, was completed in 1946.<sup>179</sup> Early in 1953 two additional houses, both prefabricated, were completed.<sup>180</sup> In January 1948 commercial power was brought to Cedar Pass and Interior with the completion of a single-phase power line by the Rural Electrification Administration.<sup>181</sup> The Northwestern Bell Telephone Company extended telephone service to the national monument headquarters in September 1952.<sup>182</sup> (This service was officially taken over by the Golden West Telephone Cooperative, Inc., in October 1960.)<sup>183</sup>

During the travel seasons of 1946 and 1947 there was much adverse criticism of the national monument roads. The maintenance equipment was in poor condition and usually undergoing repairs when most needed.<sup>184</sup> In the summer of 1948 about 4 miles of road was black-topped between the Cedar Pass junction and Norbeck Pass; this represented the first paving of U.S. Route 16A in the national monument.<sup>185</sup> The present northeast entrance road, about 3½ miles long, was completed in October 1951. It opened up a new area of the Badlands known as the Window Section.<sup>186</sup> This road was made possible by the donation in 1946 of a 160-acre, strategically located land parcel by Mr. Ben Millard who had purchased it from Jackson County in March 1941 for this purpose.<sup>187</sup>

During the late 1940's and early 1950's buildings constructed as tem-

porary structures in the ERA and CCC period were remodeled and continued in use for headquarters and utility purposes.<sup>188</sup>

Both the grazing and the land ownership problems at the national monument were compounded by the war. With increased rainfall in the region during the decade of the 1940's and the rising price of beef, the situation of the ranchers greatly improved. Under a plan suggested by Congressman Case in January 1943 to help in the "Beef for Victory Program," the Service authorized for the first time in April the issuance of grazing permits on federally owned grasslands within the national monument. Under this program, the lands were divided into seven grazing units. An orderly grazing plan was established with the cooperation of the Soil Conservation Service.<sup>190</sup> Stricklin was able to identify and locate all cattle and sheep outfits that claimed to be using the national monument lands in conjunction with their SCS allotments.<sup>191</sup> Following the war authorized grazing remained one of the area's major management problems for over a decade.

Stricklin wrote about an interesting sidelight of the grazing problem:

The roundup and disposal of several hundred head of unclaimed and so-called wild horses in the Sage Creek basin was a source of much concern on the part of both ranchers and the Custodian, the ranchers claiming the wild stallions were enticing away their mares. The Custodian's concern was partly because of the damage these herds were doing to the range, but largely because it was practically the only program of any kind on which the National Park Service and the ranchers could even remotely agree. Several roundups were collaborated in, during which the herds were drastically reduced. Airplanes were used on at least one of the roundups to flush horses out of the canyons and keep them from breaking back on their route to Scenic and the loading chutes. Jack and Mamie Close, ranchers on Quinn Table, were the leaders among the ranchers in this work.<sup>192</sup>

Feral horses were eventually eliminated through roundups and returned to their owners. The last roundup took place in the national monument in 1933.<sup>193</sup>

With the improvement of their lot, many ranchers who had been destitute only a few years earlier were in a position to purchase county lands within the national monument boundary. The custodian reported in April 1943 that practically all such land within the boundary was leased for grazing and that much of it was recently bought by sheep and cattle ranchers.<sup>194</sup> In 1946 Stricklin reported a considerable change in land ownership where much of the land formerly controlled by Pennington County had passed into private ownership.<sup>195</sup> Later the same year Jackson County auctioned all of its 3,000 acres of land within the boundary to private individuals. Practically all of the 14,000 acres which was owned by the two counties two years earlier had passed into private ownership.<sup>196</sup>

The location of the boundary had been a subject of discussion since the national monument was established in 1939. The area contained a

large acreage of grassland which the Soil Conservation Service believed should be released for grazing purposes. There was also overlapping jurisdiction between the two federal agencies.<sup>197</sup>

After several years of study, the NPS and the SCS arrived at an understanding on the national monument boundary and mutual land problems. In 1946 the two agencies signed an agreement known as **Recommended Program of Procedure** for boundary adjustment of Badlands National Monument. The NPS agreed:

- (1) to transfer to the Soil Conservation Service NPS lands outside the existing national monument boundary in order to compensate for 1,220 acres the SCS had turned over for inclusion in the national monument prior to its establishment in 1939;
- (2) to transfer to the SCS equivalent lands (computed on a live-stock-carrying-capacity basis) for lands that were to be acquired from the SCS by the NPS as the result of revised boundary studies;
- (3) to transfer to the SCS federal lands which the NPS planned to eliminate from the national monument to use in exchange for non-federal lands remaining in the national monument after the boundary changes were made.<sup>198</sup>

The plan made it possible to transfer, without legislation, 3,676.19 acres of NPS lands lying outside the park boundary to the SCS. This was done by order of the Secretary of the Interior in July 1949.<sup>199</sup> These lands were acquired under the Resettlement Administration program and, in 1936 were transferred to the NPS. When Badlands National Monument was established in 1939, these lands were not within the boundary.<sup>200</sup>

In order to carry out the main objectives of the plan, Congressional action was necessary. In 1950 bills (H.R. 7342 and S. 3081) were introduced in the 81st Congress by Representative Case and Senator Chandler Gurney to implement the proposed land exchange. H.R. 7342 was passed by the House without amendment, but later the bill died in the Senate. The senate bill (S. 3081) was not considered.

In 1951 Senator Francis H. Case, who had just been elected to that office, and Congressman E.Y. Berry introduced identical bills (S. 896 and H.R. 3540) in the 82nd Congress. These were similar to the ones proposed a year earlier. Berry's bill passed the House on July 2, 1951, without amendment. The House Act was referred to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, which recommended that section five of H.R. 3540 be dropped. This section would have provided authority to include 4,000 acres of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in the Sheep Mountain area provided certain conditions were met. The committee believed "that a satisfactory solution should be worked out with the Tribal Council of the Oglala Sioux Tribe of Indians, and any others interested, before legislation with regard to these lands is enacted."<sup>201</sup> The bill in its amended form, including another minor change recommended by the committee, passed the Senate on January 24, 1952.<sup>202</sup>

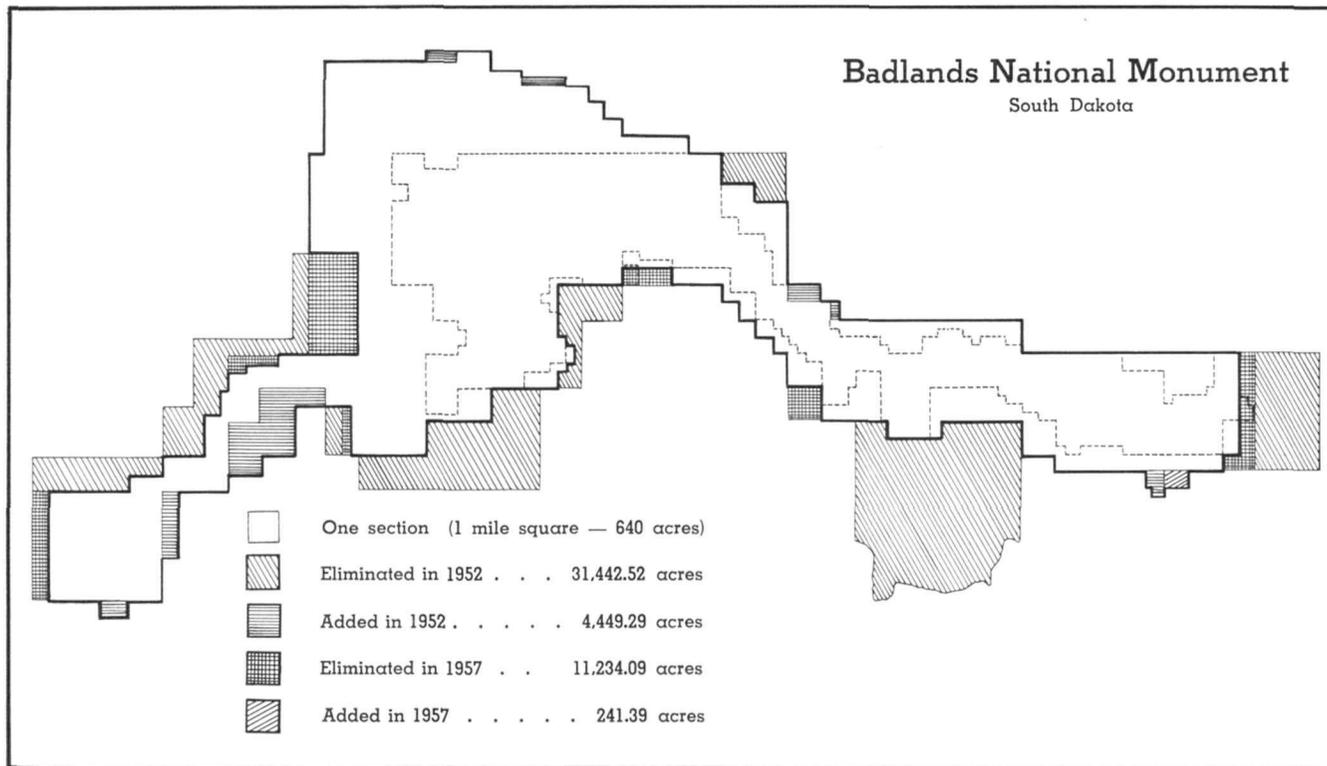


Figure 23

**AREA CHANGES IN BADLANDS NATIONAL MONUMENT**<sup>203</sup>

Area authorized in 1929 (dashed line) . . . . . 50,830.40 acres  
 Area upon establishment in 1939 . . . . . 154,119.46 acres  
 Area after changes of 1952 . . . . . 122,642.52 acres  
 Area after changes of 1957 (heavy line) . . . 111,529.82 acres

Acreage figures are latest available and may be different from figures which were current during each of the four times the park boundary has been redesignated. Because of these acreage revisions, additions to and deletions from the park do not total correctly.

Shortly afterwards on February 8, telegrams were sent to Congressmen Berry, Senator Case, and Senator Karl Mundt by the executive committee of the tribal council of the Oglala Sioux Tribe. The messages urged the congressmen to do their best to get Section 5 restored so it would be possible for the tribe to negotiate with the federal government for exchange of the land in the Sheep Mountain area for other lands.<sup>204</sup> The House, however, did not heed this resolution but voted instead to concur with the Senate's amended version. The bill became Public Law 328 after being signed by President Harry S Truman on May 7, 1952.<sup>205</sup>

Under this law, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to adjust and redefine at his discretion the exterior boundary of the national monument by appropriate reductions or additions. The law specified, among other things, that the adjusted area could not exceed the existing 154,119 acres.<sup>206</sup> (An official figure of 150,103.41 acres was used as the total acreage of the area at the time it was proclaimed as a national monument in 1939. A revised figure, listing 154,119.46 acres for the same area, was used as the total acreage from about 1943 until October 1952.<sup>207</sup>)

Immediately after the bill became law, proposed boundary changes received considerable attention. Some believed that the area of the national monument should be reduced. A strong supporter of this view was the South Dakota Stock Growers Association. It was the organization's belief that the size could be reduced by about one-half without destroying any of its scenic value. They estimated that 3,000 head of cattle would be without grass if the NPS carried through its plan to fence the area and eliminate grazing from the national monument. One of the biggest problems was the large acreage of private lands located within its boundary. Many ranchers believed that these lands ought to be eliminated "from the Badlands National Monument wherever a reasonable boundary adjustment can be made."<sup>208</sup> Others contended "that all of the grassland west of Pinnacles [Sage Creek Basin] could be removed from the Park and that such removal would in no way destroy the attraction to the tourist."<sup>209</sup>

A 1953 memorandum from the Regional Director to NPS Director Conrad L. Wirth explained how Sage Creek Basin had become largely government-owned:

Sage Creek Basin was a submarginal waste in the 1930's due to prolonged and severe drought conditions and considerable acreages of private lands were acquired by the Resettlement Administration in connection with its submarginal land program . . . . Other private parcels became tax delinquent and were ultimately sold to private owners by Pennington County in the 1940's. Because of favorable climatic conditions of the past several years, the basin has recovered from its condition of the 1930's; it now contains a considerable acreage of good grasslands . . . . We venture the opinion that had vegetative conditions of the basin in the 1930's resembled those of today, a submarginal land program would not have been undertaken so far as the basin is concerned.<sup>210</sup>

Owing to the great interest generated by the proposed boundary

changes, the NPS issued a statement in July 1952 giving reasons why it would not be "advisable to eliminate from the Monument the grasslands west of the Pinnacles, as suggested by the South Dakota Stock Growers Association."<sup>211</sup> It said in part that

These flatter lands with their cover of native grasses and wildflowers, typical of the surrounding prairie country, are valuable for park and wildlife purposes. The preservation of this relatively small exhibit of native grass is an important responsibility in itself, since no comparable section of the Great Plains has been set apart to be preserved in its natural condition.<sup>212</sup>

The statement also indicated that about 31,700 acres of other lands were to be eliminated from the national monument, including more than 12,000 acres of privately owned lands. It indicated that the Soil Conservation Service agreed to these revisions and that they were "the same as those which the Congress considered when it authorized boundary revisions by enacting Public Law 328."<sup>213</sup>

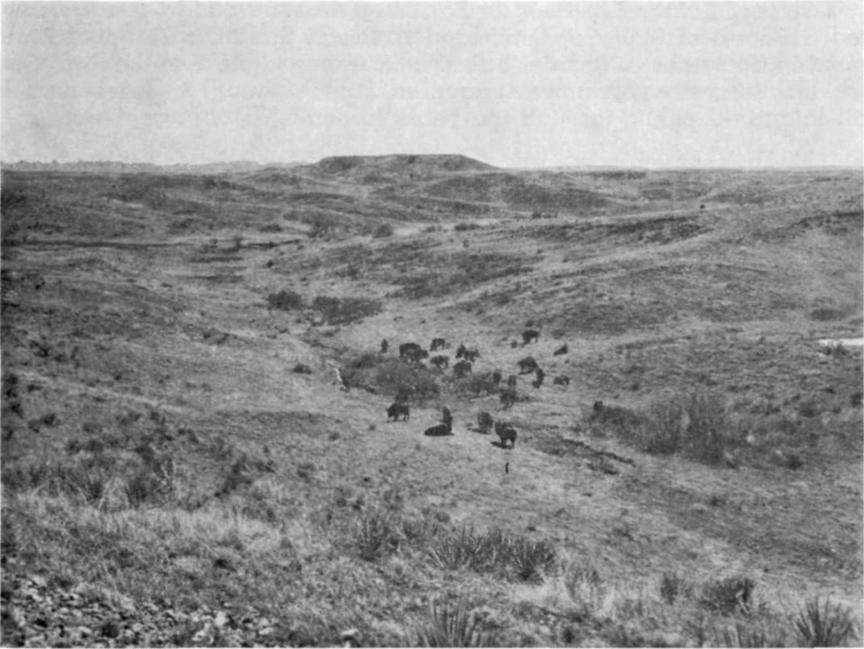
On October 3, 1952, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Joel D. Wolfsohn issued an order revising the boundary of the national monument. The order showed that 30,802.52 acres, more or less, were "hereby transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture for use, administration, and disposition in accordance with the provisions of Title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act . . . ." This reduced the size of Badlands National Monument, according to the order, to 121,883.12 acres.<sup>214</sup>

The Order was performed to provide lands for the Soil Conservation Service to enable those persons having private land in the monument to trade for Soil Conservation Service lands outside the monument, and to make a few administrative adjustments in the monument boundary.<sup>215</sup>

However, discrepancies in the land records led the NPS to investigate the status of lands within the former boundary.<sup>216</sup> By late 1953 it was found that 31,442.52 acres were eliminated from the national monument by the October 3 order instead of 30,802.52 acres. Of these 12,916.32 acres were private lands; the remaining 18,526.20 acres were transferred to the Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture.<sup>217</sup>

There were also lands totaling about 4,449 acres added to the national monument by the October 3 order; these lands included "2,581.88 acres of public domain, 336.88 acres of purchased land, 981.79 acres of Soil Conservation Service land and 548.56 acres of private land . . . . The net result of the boundary adjustments was a loss of 26,993.23 acres of land in Badlands National Monument."<sup>218</sup>

Even before the October 3 order was enacted there was already talk about further reduction of the area boundary. In a memorandum dated December 5, 1952, Director Wirth wrote to the Regional Director in charge of Badlands National Monument:



**Figure 24** **A PORTION OF SAGE CREEK BASIN**

In 1953 over 25,000 acres were recommended by the NPS for deletion from this section of the national monument.<sup>219</sup> Later, studies revealed that the area should be retained. Today it is home for bison, deer, pronghorn, prairie dogs, and other animals. Sage Creek Primitive Campground is located in its northwest section.

The basis for a final solution [of the boundary problem at Badlands National Monument] lies in a reassessment and restatement of Monument objectives and significance. If it is found, as appears likely, that our chief concern and purpose should be with the badlands formations, then the boundaries should be drawn accordingly, with due regard for badlands protection, interpretation and attendant development needs. If we are to retain some or all of the grasslands, we must have strong and valid justification for doing so and be prepared to disclose and defend what specific Monument purposes and uses they are to serve.<sup>220</sup>

In order to determine if the grasslands west of Pinnacles should be kept, the NPS contracted with a number of prominent scientists to make studies of the area in 1953. Dr. Theodore E. White, a paleontologist with the Smithsonian Institution, determined in June 1953 whether or not potentially fossiliferous areas would be excluded by proposed boundary readjustments.<sup>221</sup> Late that summer archeological investigations were undertaken by Archeologist Paul L. Beaubien of the NPS Regional Office in Omaha, Nebraska. He recorded some 30 prehistoric Indian sites and one historic Indian site believed to have been used by Chief Big Foot's band a few days before the infamous battle at Wounded Knee in December 1890.<sup>222</sup>

Professor F.W. Albertson of Fort Hays Kansas State College submitted a **Report of Study of Grassland Areas of Badlands National Monument** in September. In brief he said, "it seems to me that the Park Service has an extremely interesting area, which should be preserved for all interested public through the years to come."<sup>223</sup>

Meanwhile, support grew for retention of the boundaries as spelled out by the October 3, 1952, secretarial order. The Rapid City Chapter of the Izaak Walton League of America, the South Dakota State Highway Commission, the South Dakota Department of Game, Fish and Parks, the Black Hills and Badlands Association, and prominent local persons, including Sid Soma, Dr. G.W. Mills, Ted Husted, and Leonel Jensen, all from the town of Wall, were but a few of the many who advocated retention of the present boundary.<sup>224</sup>

Although the South Dakota Stock Growers Association and some local ranching interests continued to advocate "the transfer of administration of all grazing lands within the monument not needed for road and development purposes," it became evident to these people that opposition was building up against further acreage reduction in the park.<sup>225</sup>

In April 1954 the NPS recommended no boundary changes until the problem was explored further. Director Wirth said:

it seems apparent that there is a very considerable number of people . . . which strongly support the retention of the Badlands National Monument not only as a striking example of geological formations, with areas of paleontological interest, but also for preservation of a segment of the plains grassland and native wildlife as added attractions. On the other hand, there is also a difficult problem of inholdings and grazing complications, with strong sentiment from the livestock owners for a reduction of the Monument.<sup>226</sup>

He recommended, among other things, that exchanges of private land inside the boundary for federal lands outside be pushed vigorously, and that Dr. Adolph Murie, NPS Biologist, should study the wildlife possibilities of the national monument.<sup>227</sup>

In his report Dr. Murie said:

Badlands National Monument has national significance, first of all because it is a sample of the Badlands. The values of this monument are of outstanding significance in the fields of geology, paleontology, archeology, and biology. The eroded terrain has scenic value for many, and in Sage Creek Basin and in the section north of Cedar Pass one finds the atmosphere of the early scene, when this country was far beyond the frontier . . . .

In Sage Creek Basin we have an opportunity to preserve the prairie dog-blackfooted ferret community, with many other associated species of the region . . . . Likewise the rare kit fox may possibly be preserved in the basin. The value of Sage Creek Basin for preserving these rare native species is contingent on size and its present size is none too large . . . .

Concerning boundaries in general over the monument it appears that any eliminations would be harmful to public values. Only in minor details, in connection with land adjustments, should any territory be sacrificed. Sage Creek Basin, especially, should not be reduced . . . .<sup>228</sup>

Also during the summer of 1954, the NPS requested Dr. James D. Bump, Director of Museum of Geology of the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology at Rapid City, to make a geological and paleontological appraisal of Badlands National Monument. Quotations from his report point out his strong feelings for the area:

The Big Badlands of South Dakota, from a paleontological standpoint, probably constitutes the richest Oligocene region in the world . . . . [The quantity of] paleontological materials given up to man over the past 100 years is of astounding proportions. This prehistorical treasure represents more than 250 species of the vertebrate life of thirty million years ago . . . .

The Badlands National Monument is a part of the greatest badland-eroded section in North America . . . . I can think of no other geographic area of like-size that has the unusual natural beauty, the undisturbed plant and animal life and the wealth of scientific information to offer the public . . . .<sup>229</sup>

He ended his report by making a number of recommendations, some of which follow:

The present boundaries must remain intact. Removal of any lands, except perhaps some thin scattered fringes, would seriously cripple future development and greatly reduce the attractiveness of the Monument . . . .

Under no circumstances should any part of the Sage Creek Basin be withdrawn. Its scientific and natural value cannot be overestimated and it is my opinion that this section will in the future become one of the most interesting and educational of the entire Monument.<sup>230</sup>

As a result of Dr. Murie's wildlife study and Dr. Bump's geological and paleontological appraisal, the Service began formulating definite ideas in April 1955 concerning further revision of the boundary. An elimination of 11,124 acres including 4,234 acres of privately owned lands was proposed. This is only about one-third of the 32,000 acres which was being widely talked about as a possible reduction in size during 1953. The larger reduction would have included much of the grasslands west of Pinnacles. Addition of 4,460 acres, including 3,954 acres of Pine Ridge Indian Reservation lands and 246 acres of Department of the Army lands located on the Indian reservation, was also proposed. Net reduction in area would be about 6,664 acres.<sup>231</sup>

Since the mid-1930's there have been various suggestions that a road be constructed to connect Sage Creek Basin with the Sheep Mountain locality. Although it was not in the master plan for the national monument in the 1950's, planning for the ultimate boundary was done so that the road could be built if ultimately needed.<sup>232</sup> However, Dr. Murie recommended against the road proposal in his report.<sup>233</sup>



**Figure 25**            **BADLANDS NATIONAL MONUMENT VISITOR CENTER**

Dedicated in 1959, the building houses the national monument's administrative offices, exhibits on the Badlands, and a small theater in which there are narrated slide programs on the highlights of the Badlands. The facility is open all year.

On April 12, 1956, an open meeting was held in Wall, South Dakota, to discuss proposed boundary changes with ranchers, stockmen, and local businessmen. No opposition to the proposals was voiced. The meeting also provided an opportunity for discussion of development plans, including fencing and grazing matters.<sup>234</sup>

On March 22, 1957, Acting Secretary of the Interior Hatfield Chilson issued an order eliminating 11,234.09 acres from the national monument, of which about 4,000 acres were private land. The total area of Badlands National Monument was fixed at 111,529.82 acres. This also included an addition of 240 acres of federal land which, among other things, increased the utility area at headquarters and provided a much needed disposal area. An additional 1.39 acres of federal land, located along the White River three miles south of headquarters, were added, since water storage tanks and a water pump, all part of the area's water system, are located there. More than 7,000 acres of the 11,234.09-acre reduction were transferred to the Department of Agriculture, under provisions of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, and became available for exchange for private land remaining inside the new boundary. As a result of the secretarial order, there was a net reduction of 10,992.70 acres in the size of the national monument. The new boundary included 98,486.39 acres in federal ownership and 13,043.43 acres of non-federal land.<sup>235</sup> Since then, the Service has acquired title to 6,356.71 acres of the non-federal land within the boundary. As of December 1967 there were 104,843.10 acres of federal land and 6,686.72 acres of non-federal land within the boundary of Badlands National Monument.<sup>236</sup>

On January 2, 1954, the Secretary of Agriculture transferred the Land Utilization Program, including lands in the vicinity of the national monu-



Figure 26                      **RIBBON-CUTTING CEREMONY AT BADLANDS NATIONAL MONUMENT  
DEDICATION, SEPTEMBER 16, 1959**

Left to Right: NPS Regional Director Howard Baker, Region Two (now Midwest Region); Conrad Wirth, NPS Director; Fred Seaton, Secretary of the Interior; Congressman E.Y. Berry; Mrs. George H. Sholly, widow of Badlands National Monument Superintendent; Mrs. Ralph Herseth; and Governor Ralph Herseth of South Dakota.

ment, from the Soil Conservation Service to the U.S. Forest Service.<sup>237</sup> This, in part, prompted a **Program of Procedure for Land Exchanges**, a revision of the **Recommended Program of Procedure**, to be drafted. The new agreement was signed in September 1954 by officials of both services. It states in part that all future land exchanges are to be handled by the Forest Service. This includes exchanges with private parties who own land inside the national monument boundary. One objective of such land exchanges is to eliminate all non-federal lands from within Badlands National Monument.<sup>238</sup> Since 1954 elimination of such lands has come about largely through exchanges, although in a few instances actual purchases were made.

Concurrently with boundary adjustments, the NPS gave considerable thought to a grazing management plan for the area whereby grazing might be eliminated without serious hardship to the local ranchers. As a result the Service presented a plan in May 1948 to grazing permittees outlining a schedule for the gradual termination of grazing on federally owned national monument lands by December 31, 1961.<sup>239</sup>



## MISSION 66 DEVELOPMENT

In 1956, the National Park Service launched a 10-year park conservation development program known as Mission 66. This was to have great impact on the national monument. Under the program an expenditure of nearly \$5,000,000 for roads, trails, buildings, and utilities was planned. Among the major projects undertaken and completed between 1956 and 1960 were a realignment and oil surfacing of main roads, the development of the Conata Picnic Area and the Cedar Pass and Dillon Pass campgrounds, and the erection of utility and storage buildings, three multiple-housing units, five employee residences, and an amphitheater.<sup>240</sup>

In May 1955 the Millard family donated two tracts of land totaling 18.50 acres to the NPS. Of this total, 5.85 acres, located in front of Cedar Pass Lodge, were donated for the right-of-way of the relocated highway; the remaining 12.65 acres made possible the development of Cedar Pass Campground.<sup>241</sup>

The visitor center was completed in May 1959. This large structure houses the national monument headquarters, interpretive exhibits, and an audiovisual presentation of the Badlands story.<sup>242</sup>

The installation of exhibits in the visitor center was essentially completed by November 1960.<sup>243</sup> Some of the materials used in the exhibits were donated by a number of individuals and institutions. Mr. Herbert Millard, son of the late Ben Millard, gave a large mass of sand calcite crystals now in the Small Wonders Exhibit. Dr. Winter of the University of South Dakota at Vermillion donated the plant collection in the Great Plains Grasslands Exhibit. The mounted badger in the Wildlife of the Grassland Exhibit was a gift from Orville Sandall of Kadoka, South Dakota. The skull of an Audubon Bighorn, on display above the Breaks in the Grassland Exhibit, was donated by Willard Sharp of Interior, South Dakota. In the exhibit showing a number of Indian artifacts are casts of early-man points donated by the University of Nebraska State Museum.<sup>244</sup>

The South Dakota School of Mines and Technology in Rapid City, South Dakota, donated both the lower jaw and the upper jaw, including skull, of a fossilized titanotherium, which is in the Badlands Bones Exhibit. The materials for the articulated oreodont fossil in the same exhibit were also donated by the school. The oreodont fossil is of particular interest because it was found northwest of Imlay, South Dakota about 100 feet from where a famous fossilized oreodont with unborn twins was excavated. The latter fossil is on display at the Museum of Geology at the school (see Figure 5).<sup>245</sup>

The first full-time resident park naturalist for Badlands National Monument was assigned in June 1958 to aid with the local interpretive program.<sup>246</sup> For a number of years previously, a park naturalist who had been assigned to Black Hills areas of the NPS also served the national monument on an irregular basis.<sup>247</sup>



**Figure 27** **CLIFF SHELF NATURE TRAIL**

The loop trail, completed in 1962, is constructed over a geological slump which has lush plant cover. To acquaint the visitor with the area's natural history, a trail leaflet is provided. Here, naturalist-guided walks are offered daily during the summer months.<sup>250</sup>

On September 16, 1959, following the completion of the visitor center, the NPS dedicated Badlands National Monument. The featured speaker for the event was Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior, who gave the dedicatory address. Some 350 persons attended the ceremony.<sup>248</sup>

Tragedy struck a short time prior to the dedication with the sudden death of Superintendent George H. Sholly on August 19. As a tribute to him, the new amphitheater was named the George H. Sholly Memorial Amphitheater.<sup>249</sup>

After the boundary of Badlands National Monument was redefined by secretarial order in March 1957, the NPS began a long-range program for fencing it. The first segment of fencing was completed in 1957. By early 1961 some 108 miles were fenced with 20 miles still to be completed. To fence non-federal land excluding state land within the national monument would require an additional 92 miles of fence.<sup>252</sup>

In December 1961 letters were delivered to all inholding owners and to all persons who grazed stock within the national monument in that year. The letters terminated all grazing on federal lands within Badlands, and gave a short history of grazing in the national monument, the reason for termination, and the objectives and plans of the Service now that grazing was no longer permitted. Most of the private land located



Figure 28

#### FOSSIL EXHIBIT TRAIL

Completed in 1962, this paved trail is unique in that along it are displayed partially excavated fossils protected by clear plastic domes. A shelter, located midway along the trail, houses exhibits which tell a brief story of Badlands fossils.<sup>251</sup>

inside the boundary was not fenced, so unless steps were taken to fence the tracts used for grazing, stock would still trespass on federally owned lands.<sup>253</sup> Superintendent John W. Jay and Chief Park Ranger James F. Batman attended the legislative-committee meeting of the South Dakota Stockgrowers Association in Rapid City on November 30, 1961, where the matter of fencing the inholdings was discussed. Although at the time of this meeting the Service had no plans to fence any of the private inholdings, it later decided to assist with the fencing on an equal cost-sharing basis in the interest of better landowner-Service relations and in consideration of special situations relating to livestock management that faced some of the owners of private land in the national monument.<sup>254</sup> This offer was made to the landowners by letter from Superintendent Jay dated May 9, 1962. As a result three landowners accepted the offer.<sup>255</sup> By 1964 all of the inholdings on which grazing was being done were fenced either on a 50-50 basis or by the individual owners.<sup>256</sup>

Despite the Service's hope that grazing on the national monument's federally owned land would be terminated at the end of 1961, it continued. Due to drought conditions of 1961 and early 1962, Congressman Berry requested on behalf of the ranchers that grazing be continued during 1962. NPS Director Wirth decided to set up an emergency grazing program that would include only those ranchers who held permits in 1961. Accordingly, special-use permits were issued to 26 ranchers during 1962. This was the last year that grazing was permitted on federally owned lands in the national monument.<sup>257</sup>

Some livestock trespassing by local ranchers continued, nevertheless. In November 1962, the United States Attorney took direct action against five ranchers who had been in trespass for some time.<sup>258</sup>

As early as 1919 a U.S. Forest Service report expressed the idea that "Sage Creek Basin contains a large acreage of land that can be used for a game preserve for buffalo, elk, deer, antelope and mountain sheep."<sup>259</sup> In 1935 the proposed Badlands National Monument plus the Badlands Recreational Demonstrational Area (most of which was later included in the national monument when it was established in 1939) were considered to be favorable localities for the reintroduction of buffalo, mountain sheep, and pronghorn.<sup>260</sup>

However, after the national monument was established, the NPS believed that the area was too small to provide a wildlife range.<sup>261</sup> Dr. Murie's report

recommended that no buffalo be introduced on the monument because of the artificial conditions under which they would have to be maintained. If it were deemed desirable to fence an area for buffalo the most suitable spot would be north of Cedar Pass.<sup>262</sup>

Concerning bighorn sheep he "recommended that the bighorn be introduced when the opportunity develops, and that Sheep Mountain Peak be added to the monument for the use of the bighorn."<sup>263</sup>

Pronghorn, commonly referred to as antelope, were seen during the 1940's on rare occasions in Badlands National Monument and just outside the north boundary. However since 1959, 100 or more head have been reported annually in the national monument. These animals have come from the outside since there has not been any formal reintroduction of pronghorn inside the boundary.<sup>264</sup>



**Figure 29**                      **AMERICAN BISON AGAIN IN THE BADLANDS**

After an absence of about a century, buffalo were reintroduced into the national monument in 1963. The fast-increasing herd roams largely in the 45,000 acres of Sage Creek and Tyree Basins.<sup>265</sup>



**Figure 30** REINTRODUCTION OF BIGHORN SHEEP, 1964

These Rocky Mountain Bighorns are closely related to the now-extinct Audubon Bighorns.<sup>269</sup>

Immediately after grazing was terminated on national monument lands in 1962, the range underwent a remarkable recovery, due to the abundant rainfall of the 1962 and 1963 seasons. Questions arose as to why the range was not being utilized. Superintendent Frank Hjort recommended that bison be reintroduced as a means of getting the wildlife restoration program underway.<sup>265</sup>

In November 1963 the first herd of bison, comprised of 28 head from Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park in North Dakota and Fort Niobrara National Wildlife Refuge in Nebraska, were released in Sage Creek Basin. In October of the following year, this herd was enlarged by an additional 25 head from Theodore Roosevelt. The herd has done well and by the end of 1967 numbered 122 individuals.<sup>266</sup>

Since 1963 the buffalo have shown that they prefer the remoteness of Sage Creek Basin and have demonstrated little desire to leave that area.<sup>267</sup>

In January 1964 in cooperation with the South Dakota Game, Fish and Parks Department, bighorn sheep were reintroduced. Twelve head of Rocky Mountain Bighorns from Colorado were released in a 370-acre holding pen with the view toward eventually restocking Badlands National Monument and other parts of South Dakota. This flock was supplemented by ten more animals the following month.<sup>270</sup>

Unfortunately, losses were suffered by both adults and lambs during the first two and one-half years. The situation improved early in 1966 with no further losses until the summer of 1967 when the peak flock of 27 individuals suffered a severe setback. In September, when all but 13 had succumbed to a respiratory infection, the bighorn were released

from the holding pasture. They now roam the rugged Badlands south of Pinnacles Overlook.<sup>271</sup>

In February 1964, the NPS purchased Cedar Pass Lodge, together with 72 acres of the surrounding land, for \$275,000 from the Millard family. The lodge is now being run on a contract basis by a concessioner.<sup>272</sup>

Increased travel to the area during the years of Mission 66 fully justified the expanded development program of the national monument. From 1956 to 1966 the number of visitors increased 65 percent (see Appendix A).

Because of this great increase in travel, the summer visitor may find some of the scenic-overlook parking areas full, the visitor center crowded, and the nightly campground amphitheater program with "standing room only." Since increased visitor use is practically assured in the foreseeable future, plans are already being made to provide additional facilities for visitors to Badlands National Monument.

## APPENDIX A

### ANNUAL NUMBER OF VISITS TO BADLANDS NATIONAL MONUMENT SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT <sup>273</sup>

Year	Total Visits	Percent increase or decrease over previous year
1938*	175,000	
1939	205,100	17.2
1940	190,243	-7.2
1941	252,878	32.9
1942	87,231	-65.5
1943	10,149	-88.4
1944	10,349	2.0
1945	31,377	203.2
1946	230,403	634.3
1947	339,843	47.5
1948	384,133	13.0
1949	373,076	-2.9
1950	447,654	20.0
1951	607,965	35.8
1952	580,902	-4.5
1953	658,691	13.4
1954	664,997	1.0
1955	630,881	-5.1
1956	663,246	5.1
1957	701,094	5.7
1958	810,837	15.7
1959	825,184	1.8
1960	878,625	6.5
1961	833,279	-5.2
1962	1,044,768	25.4
1963	1,073,971	2.8
1964	1,079,837	0.5
1965	1,091,261	1.1
1966	1,094,754	0.3
1967	1,188,666	8.6

Average annual increase in number of visits in the last 15 years has been about 5%.

In September 1954, 15½ years after the national monument was established, the five millionth visit was recorded. A total of ten million visits was attained just seven years later in July 1961. On August 16, 1966, Superintendent Frank A. Hjort officially welcomed a traveler and his family who represented the 15 millionth visit to Badlands National

Monument. At the present rate of travel increase, the 20 millionth visit is expected in 1970. As of December 31, 1967, the total number of visits to the national monument since its establishment in 1939 is 16,991,394.

The NPS travel year has been the same as a regular calendar year since January 1, 1953. Before that date, the NPS travel year was from October through September. However, total visits prior to 1953 have been recalculated to show actual calendar year totals.

\* The figures for 1938 have not been used to calculate total visitation to the national monument since the year is before the area was officially established.

**APPENDIX B**  
**CUSTODIANS AND SUPERINTENDENTS**  
of  
**Badlands National Monument** <sup>271</sup>

- |     |                     |                                 |                                      |
|-----|---------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1.  | Howard B. Stricklin | Acting Custodian                | August 11, 1939—December 31, 1943    |
|     |                     | Custodian                       | January 1, 1944—July 18, 1944        |
|     | (Military furlough; | July 19, 1944—January 13, 1946) |                                      |
|     |                     | Custodian                       | January 14, 1946—July 13, 1948       |
| 2.  | Warren K. Leland    | Custodian                       | July 19, 1944—March 20, 1945         |
| 3.  | Lyle K. Linch       | Acting Custodian                | June 22, 1945—January 13, 1946       |
| 4.  | John E. Suter       | Custodian                       | July 27, 1948—December 31, 1948      |
|     | John E. Suter       | Superintendent                  | January 1, 1949—January 8, 1953      |
| 5.  | John A. Rutter      | Superintendent                  | April 12, 1953—November 30, 1957     |
| 6.  | George H. Sholly    | Superintendent                  | January 26, 1958—August 19, 1959*    |
| 7.  | Frank E. Sylvester  | Superintendent                  | February 15, 1960—October 29, 1960   |
| 8.  | John W. Jay, Jr.    | Superintendent                  | December 11, 1960—October 31, 1962   |
| 9.  | Frank A. Hjort      | Superintendent                  | February 10, 1963—September 23, 1967 |
| 10. | John R. Earnst      | Superintendent                  | October 22, 1967—                    |

\* Mr. Sholly died from a heart attack on the evening of this date.



# APPENDIX C

## PICTURE CREDITS

The sources for illustrations used in this publication are shown below. Dates when each of the photographic illustrations was taken are noted, if known, in parentheses. **Department of the Interior, National Park Service** has been abbreviated to DINPS for use in designating illustrations supplied by the NPS. The numbers to the left correspond to figure numbers under the illustrations in the text.

1. **Report of a Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota; and incidentally of a portion of Nebraska Territory, 1852, page 196.**
2. Figure 64, page 127, South Dakota School of Mines Bulletin 13, November 1920.
3. **Report of a Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota; and incidentally of a portion of Nebraska Territory, 1852, between pages 196 and 197.**
4. DINPS (November 20, 1967). Note: The Badlands Natural History Association is grateful to Mr. Leonel Jensen, local rancher, for help in locating the site of this trail. It is in S $\frac{1}{2}$  sec. 30, T. 1 S., R. 15 E. of the Black Hills Meridian.
5. South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, Rapid City, South Dakota.
6. **The Rapid City Daily Journal**, Monday, September 27, 1965.
7. Louis Blumer, Wall, South Dakota (about 1911).
8. A.E. Johnson, Interior, South Dakota (December 1906).
9. Ted E. Husted, Wall Drug Store, Wall, South Dakota (1907).
10. Plate No. 56B, South Dakota School of Mines Bulletin 13, November 1920.
11. Keith Crew, Interior, South Dakota; from a postcard mailed June 5, 1909.
12. Leonel Jensen, Wall, South Dakota (fall 1908; Louis J. Jensen family).
13. Leslie Crew, Interior, South Dakota; from a postcard mailed December 19, 1908.
14. Rise Studio, Rapid City, South Dakota.
15. Black Hills Studios, Inc., Spearfish, South Dakota.
16. DINPS.
17. DINPS.
18. DINPS (December 6, 1964).
19. DINPS (1938).
20. DINPS (about 1934).
21. DINPS (June 1941).
22. DINPS (June 7, 1950).
23. DINPS.
24. DINPS (spring 1964).
25. DINPS (August 1960).
26. DINPS (September 16, 1959).
27. DINPS (summer 1962).
28. DINPS (July 1962).
29. DINPS (January 9, 1964).
30. DINPS (January 25, 1964).

The Badlands Natural History Association wishes to extend its sincere thanks to these individuals and organizations for granting the association permission to use the illustrations.

Handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is extremely faint and illegible due to the quality of the scan. It appears to be a list or a series of entries, possibly names and dates, but the characters are too light to transcribe accurately.

# APPENDIX D

## Footnotes and References

All references used in compiling this history are on hand in the Badlands National Monument library or files for further study. Where actual reports, correspondence, or books were not available, copies have been obtained from such sources as the National Archives, Library of Congress, National Park Service, and various public and university libraries.

For the sake of simplicity, the following abbreviation has been used where appropriate:

PNC — copies of items from the Peter Norbeck Collections, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, which pertain to the establishment of Badlands National Monument are in a bound volume in the national monument library.

- 1 Dee C. Taylor, **Salvage Archeology in Badlands National Monument, South Dakota** (Missoula: Montana State University, 1961), pp. 79, 80.
- 2 **Ibid.**, p. 75.
- 3 **Ibid.**, p. 80.
- 4 Herbert S. Schell, **History of South Dakota** (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), p. 16.
- 5 **Ibid.**, pp. 17-23.
- 6 **Ibid.**, pp. 24-36.
- 7 Lt. G.K. Warren, **Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska and Dakota in the Years 1855-'56-'57** (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1875), p. 26; J.R. Macdonald, "The History and Exploration of the Big Badlands of South Dakota," **Guide Book Fifth Field Conference of the Society of Vertebrate Paleontology in Western South Dakota**, ed. James D. Bump (Sponsored by the Museum of Geology of the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, Rapid City, August 29 - September 1, 1951), p. 31.
- 8 Hiram M. Chittenden, and Alfred T. Richardson, eds., **Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J., 1801-1873** (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1905), vol. 2, pp. 622, 623.
- 9 Charles L. Camp, ed., **James Clyman American Frontiersman 1792-1881** (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1928), p. 24.  
Note: Dale Morgan was of the opinion that the jornada which Clyman describes was through country south of the White River, and that Smith's party by-passed almost entirely that portion of the South Dakota Badlands now set apart as a national monument [Dale L. Morgan, **Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West** (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1953), p. 386, f.n. 10]. Just a year later, however, Morgan published new evidence found in the Gibbs map to back up the opposite interpretation of Clyman's journals. He now believes that the Smith party followed the White River exclusively, keeping to the north bank all the way to possibly near the mouth of Willow Creek, located east and a little south from the present town of Hot Springs, South Dakota. This means the party would have at least seen, and perhaps passed through the present Badlands National Monument. [Dale L. Morgan and Carl I. Wheat, **Jedediah Smith and his Maps of the American West** (California Historical Society, 1954), p. 49.]
- 10 Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., **Travels in the Interior of North America by Maximilian, Prince of Wied** (Cleveland: The A.H. Clark Company, 1906), vol. 3, p. 90.
- 11 Chittenden and Richardson, **op. cit.**, p. 624.
- 12 **Ibid.**, pp. 624, 625.
- 13 Cleophas C. O'Harra, **The White River Badlands** (Rapid City: South Dakota School of Mines, Bulletin No. 13, Department of Geology, November 1920), pp. 123, 128.
- 14 John Francis McDermott, ed., **Journal of an Expedition to the Mauvais Terres and the Upper Missouri in 1850**, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 147 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 1.

- 15 Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 31; *American Journal of Science*, vol. 3, no. 7, 2d series, January 1847, pp. 248-250; O'Harra, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24, 110-117, 161.
- 16 McDermott, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 2; Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- 19 E. de Girardin, "A Trip to the Bad Lands in 1849," *South Dakota Historical Review*, I (January 1936), 60.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 62.
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 65.
- 23 David Dale Owen, *Report of a Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota; and Incidentally of a Portion of Nebraska Territory* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Co., 1852), pp. 196, 197.
- 24 *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 198.
- 25 *Ibid.*, pp. 198-206, 539-572.
- 26 McDermott, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 3, 54, 55, 59.
- 27 *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 64.
- 30 *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 4.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 32 Lt. G.K. Warren, "Explorations in the Dakota Country in the Year 1855," *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 76, 34th Congress, 1st Session* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 76.
- 33 *Ibid.*, pp. 66-76.
- 34 Letter, Will G. Robinson, Secretary, South Dakota State Historical Society, to John W. Stockert, September 26, 1967; South Dakota Historical Society, *South Dakota Department of History Report and Historical Collections* (Pierre, S.D.: State Publishing Company, 1962), vol. XXXI, p. 280.
- 35 Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- 37 O'Harra, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 161-163.
- 38 Ray H. Mattison, ed., "The Harney Expedition Against the Sioux: The Journal of Captain John B.S. Todd," *Nebraska History*, XLIII (June 1962), 92, 130.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 O'Harra, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
- 42 Charles Schuchert, and Clara Mae LeVene, *O.C. Marsh, Pioneer in Paleontology 1915-1965* (Marceline, Mo.: Walsworth, n.d.), p. 11; Interview, A.E. Johnson, *Soldier and Brave* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 135, 136.
- 43 O'Harra, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
- 44 Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
- 45 O'Harra, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
- 46 Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- 47 Louis Knoles, Forest Ranger, "A Report on the Bad Lands of South Dakota," 1919, pp. 20, 21.
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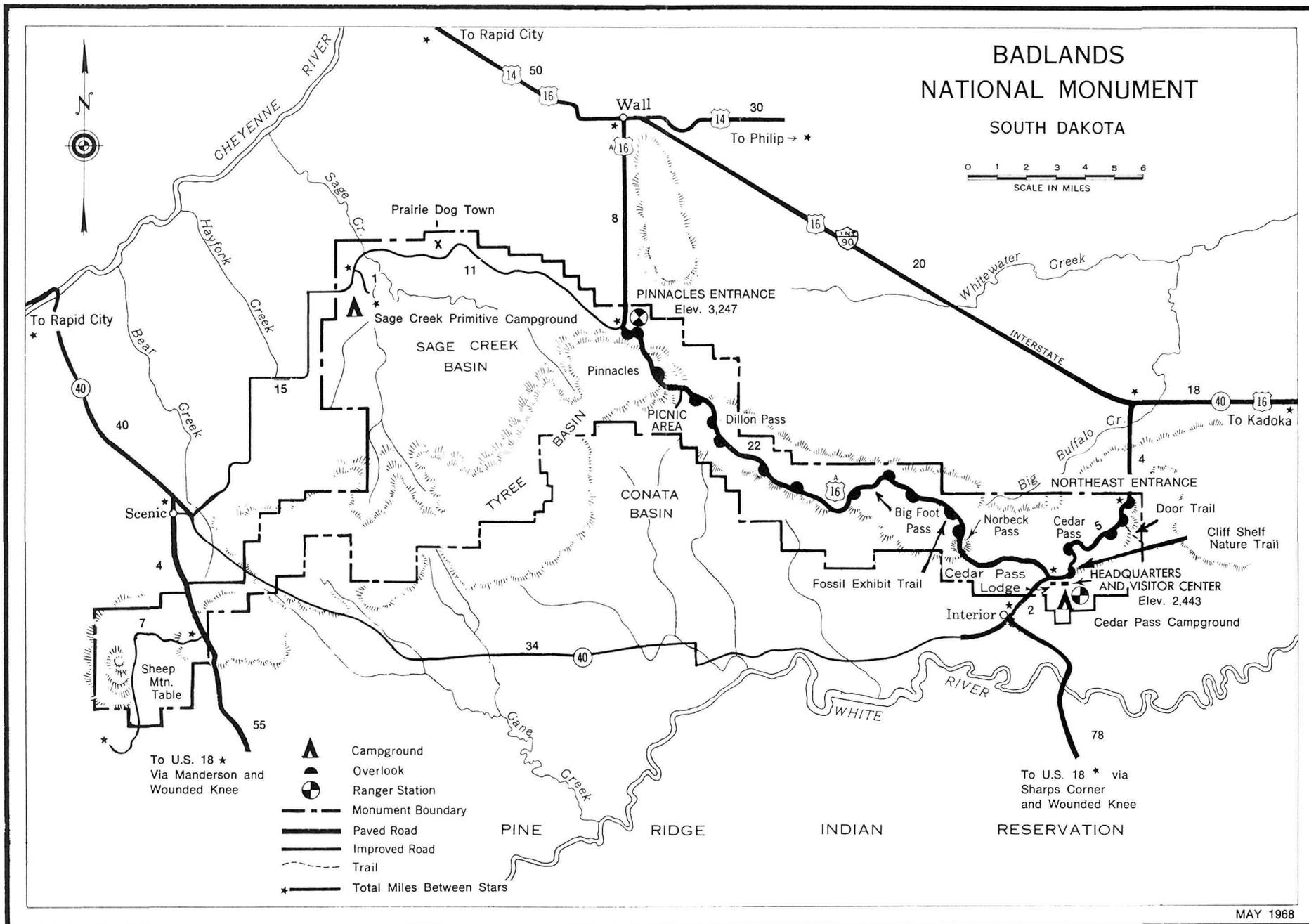
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## APPENDIX E

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## Map of Badlands National Monument



MAY 1968



