

CHAPTER NINE

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF BADLANDS NATIONAL PARK

Introduction

Badlands National Park (BADL) was originally authorized in 1929, and established in 1939 by Presidential Proclamation as a national monument, that was intended to preserve the scenic and scientific values of a portion of the White River Badlands and to make them accessible for public enjoyment and inspiration.¹ In 1968, lands on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation were added to the Park. This land is now managed under an agreement with the Oglala Sioux Tribe, and in 1976 approximately 64,000 acres within the monument were legally designated as wilderness. In 1978, Congress elevated the monument to National Park status.

Early Attempts to Attract Recognition (1909-1929)

In August 1870, Peter Norbeck was born to a Norwegian immigrant family on a farm in Clay County, southeastern South Dakota. Norbeck, who was elected to the state senate in 1918 and to the United States Senate in 1920, developed a life-long interest devoted to wild life conservation. He traveled thousands of miles throughout the west and worked closely with numerous individuals to protect and preserve the natural and cultural resources he witnessed. National Park Service Director Horace Albright, in writing about Norbeck, declared:

We are not likely to see soon another leader arise who will have such a broad knowledge of the conservation problems of the country and the courage, power and legislative skill in drafting and guiding through Congress the laws necessary to provide permanent solutions to these problems.²

Although Norbeck is perhaps most well-known for his work in securing national park status for Mount Rushmore, he traveled extensively to the Badlands, making five trips in one year to the area.³

In March 1909, as a state senator, he argued for Congressional approval of a joint resolution to set aside a national park in the South Dakota Badlands. The resolution read as follows:

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 there, in the geological formations to an extent, perhaps not elsewhere found; and

whereas this formation is so unique, picturesque and valuable for the purposes of study that a portion should be retained in its native state,

therefore be it resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring; That Congress be and hereby is requested to provide that the Secretary of the Interior shall select township of government land in the most picturesque portion of the region mentioned and the same shall be set aside and be kept as a National Park.⁴

The wording in this resolution proved to be important, as, over the years, the designation of parkland became increasingly complicated as legislators quibbled over how to select lands exhibiting scenery of “supreme and distinctive quality or some natural feature so extraordinary or unique as to be of national interest and importance.”

Norbeck was well aware that authorization of funding for a project did not necessarily guarantee its availability. Congress was increasingly reluctant, primarily for financial reasons, to confer the status of “national park” onto just any piece of land, but Senator Norbeck continued to campaign for recognition of the importance of the Badlands. In 1911, he traveled to the Badlands to see for himself the reality of what he had heard and read about.

The US Forest Service was also interested in setting aside the area as a national park. In 1919 the Forest Service had identified the potential to develop and manage natural areas for recreational use. Forest Ranger Louis Knowles, of the Harney District of the Black Hills National Forest, was sent to the Badlands in search of sites suitable for federal “Game Parks or Preserves.” His report described the landscape as “having suffered from the ravages of constant plowing” and that there was little remaining in the way of wildlife, there were also few trees as many had been felled for fencing. Fences that protected private property also marred the scenic views, in particular, the views of the Badlands Wall, a dramatic and irregular cliff which paralleled the north bank of the White River for nearly sixty miles, and was a favorite Badlands hiking spot.⁵

Knowles quickly determined that the federal government should identify the area to be included within the Park or monument boundaries, and restrict public access to the land for grazing and other private commercial activities pending park establishment. He also proposed constructing a road along the Wall that would allow greater numbers of visitors to experience the scenic views of the Badlands.⁶

By May 1922, Peter Norbeck, now a US Senator, introduced a bill for designating the Badlands area as a national park. On that same day, Congressman Williamson introduced an identical bill in the House of Representatives, however, neither one of these bills was successful. Norbeck explained the situation in a letter to a constituent as follows:

...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.’⁷

Land ownership was one of the obstacles that prevented the designation of the Badlands as a national park because the government required a certain number of acres to be

incorporated into a public recreation facility. The bulk of the property in the area was privately owned and the NPS refused to purchase privately-owned land for inclusion into a park.⁸

Norbeck was not alone in his efforts to obtain national park status for the Badlands, and he continued to work with others to promote the idea. In July 1928, Norbeck led a group of fellow Senators and National Park Service (NPS) officials on a trip to inspect proposed parks in the Dakotas and Wyoming. Their trip included a dinner stop at Ben Millard's hotel, located in the vicinity of the Wall, and a spectacle of Indian dance at Interior, South Dakota. Regrettably, it was decided that the Badlands formations lacked the grandeur and spectacle of the locations such as the Grand Canyon, or Bryce Canyon, and therefore could not be awarded National Park status.

Senator Norbeck settled for monument status, but he insisted that the State of South Dakota construct a highway through the proposed Badlands Monument and purchase most of the privately owned land, in the hope that this would ensure prompt tourism development of the site and full state cooperation as far as construction and maintenance of roads as well as purchase of lands was concerned.⁹

President Coolidge authorized the designation of the Badlands as a National Monument in 1929, stipulating that land must be acquired and roads built at the state's expense. Only after these conditions had been met to the satisfaction of the United States President, could a proclamation be issued and the lands dedicated as described. This bill also stipulated that the Department of the Interior could grant hotel and lodge franchises prior to fulfillment of the conditions.¹⁰

Private Development (1927-1929)

Tourism development had already begun in a small way in the vicinity of the Badlands prior to any discussion regarding possible designation of the area as a national monument or park. Visitors traveling by rail came through the local towns, taking advantage of the accommodation and lodging established there.¹¹

One description of travel through the Badlands indicates a campground with restaurant facilities on the outskirts of Interior, and curio stores in Interior and Scenic:

We spend more time than we had planned examining the place, so we find ourselves in Interior for the night. We pitch camp and during the night receive our first rain on the trip...The bacon and coffee are more than welcome when we return. After breakfast we strike camp and drive into town. There, Palmer's Curio shop attracts us for some time. We leave with several calcium silicate crystals and specimens of the world's only sand crystals...The most interesting person we met on our trip is found in Interior. He is Mr. Henry Thompson, who runs a little souvenir stand called "The Wonderland." He tells some very interesting tales of early days in the West.¹²

Further description indicates tourism infrastructure at Scenic:

We follow State Highway number 40 through other Badland wonders five miles farther. The road is very good. At Scenic we visit the widely known Museum Filling Station. Here we see a beautiful and interesting collection of stones from the Black Hills. In fact the entire building is covered with rocks, fossils and other interesting things embedded in concrete. Prehistoric animal bones and Indian relics from the Badlands are within. The bones, the curious animal pictures, the petrified eggs, the skeletons, Indian relics and numerous other curios are remarkable. They have attracted people from throughout the world, not for a hasty examination but for extensive study. This place is one of the important places to see in the Badlands. One cannot afford to miss it under any circumstances. The vicinity of Scenic is known to scientists as the greatest fossil field in the United States. Scenic is also an Indian Trading Post.¹³

Ben H. Millard also saw the opportunities for tourism in the area. Millard, who was born in Minnesota, moved to South Dakota in 1893. He was a businessman and a banker who later was employed by the South Dakota Department of Banking to oversee the distribution of assets of insolvent banks. He arrived in the Badlands to oversee the demise of the Bank of Interior, and once there, learned of attempts to establish a national park or monument. Millard saw the opportunities that the Badlands presented for development as a tourist attraction and began exploring potential sites for establishing tourist facilities. Coincidentally, Senator Norbeck's daughter had met and married Ben Millard's nephew the previous summer.

In 1927, Millard and Norbeck surveyed the area for a potential refreshment stand, hotel, and camp location. They agreed that a stand would do well at Cedar Pass and Millard's sister, Clara Jennings, purchased a tract of private land at ten dollars an acre on a relatively flat prairie at the foot of the pass. The Millards regarded this as a temporary measure until a more scenic location could be acquired. As it transpired, the land they purchased was far more suited to development in terms of its topography and open landscape. According to some sources, Patrick R. Downes, and his wife Sarah, previously homesteaded the land on which the Cedar Pass lodge stands. They apparently had a substantial home, consisting of a two-story, four-room house located north of the current highway alignment.¹⁴

Further homesteads appear to have existed in the area in which the Monument was eventually developed, although their exact location has not been verified for this report. Oral history indicates that:

John Everett came with his first wife, Cecilia Noonan and built a claim shack 12 by 14 feet. In 1915, they made an additional filing on 20 acres just below Cedar Pass. This was much better land and produced a much better living—one year they produced 30 bushels of beans. There was a

very good well of soft water—which was closed when the government took over the land.¹⁵

Millard opted to construct a simple dance hall using bark-covered boards at this location. He engaged bands to play once or twice a week and on holidays in the spacious, high-ceilinged building. To safeguard his investment, Millard mounted an advertising campaign valued at \$800 that brought visitors from as far away as Rapid City.¹⁶

State and Federal Highway Partnerships (1929-1976)

Language authorizing establishment of a national monument stipulated that land contiguous to the Badlands should be acquired, and that roads should be constructed by the state. Acquisition of land was no easy matter, however, road development was achievable in terms of developing state and federal highway partnerships. The State of South Dakota recognized the importance of establishing good roads as a means to encourage tourism in the area, which would likely result in increased revenue.

Senator Norbeck and Mr. Millard recognized the importance of establishing good roads that encouraged tourism. The two worked together with the state highway department to ensure an appropriate scenic route was constructed through the Badlands. The route tourists were taking through the Badlands passed by the area Millard developed as his base. One route was described in 1929 as follows:

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.¹⁷

Several local residents of the Badlands area contributed to the establishment of the Badlands as a National Monument including A.G. Granger of Kadoka, Leonel Jensen a local rancher, Ted E. Hustead, owner and operator of Wall Drug, and Dr. G.W. Mills of Wall.¹⁸ One notable figure that contributed to publicity that helped raise awareness of the Badlands was Frank Lloyd Wright.

Wright wrote about South Dakota's natural wonders in several of his works, and was particularly convinced that the only way to visit them was by automobile. He wrote of the Badlands as nature's impressive architecture and clearly appreciated the aesthetic sensitivity that Millard and Norbeck had employed with respect to the natural forms and scenic potentials of the route they had persuaded state highway officials to construct through the Badlands. He described the experience as follows:

As we rode, or seemed to be floating, upon a splendid winding road that seemed to understand it all and just where to go, we rose and fell between its delicate parallels of rose and cream and sublime shapes, chalk white fretted against a blue sky with high floating clouds—the sky itself seemed only there to cleanse and light the vast harmonious building-scheme.¹⁹

South Dakota Route 40, mentioned in the description above, originally extended along current South Dakota 44, through the Badlands along what became South Dakota Route 16A (then South Dakota Route 240) to Belvidere, then south and east along current SD-63 and SD-44. In the late 1960's, SD-40 was rerouted to go southeast from the Badlands to SD-73 east of Wanblee. The old alignment of SD-40 between Belvidere and west of Cedar Butte became an extension of SD-63.²⁰

In the early 1970's, the entire route was re-designated a part of SD-44, which had been extending its way westward in the 1950's and 1960's. A new SD-40 was implemented in 1976 about 15 miles further south, in Pennington and Custer Counties.

Scenic highways became an important product that promoted tourism. Today, the Badlands Loop Scenic Byway comprises 31.5 miles of roadway, and along it there are 14 designated overlooks that allow visitors to stop safely and appreciate the scenic views.

Federal Land Programs (1933-1936)

During the depression, President Roosevelt initiated several programs to provide incentives and financial means to support further economic development. In June 1933, under executive order #6166, the monuments and public grounds of the nation's capital, an assortment of national monuments previously under the US Forest Service, and many battlefields and military cemeteries previously under the War Department were brought under the stewardship and management of the National Park Service. Furthermore, in 1934, under a cooperative agreement with the new Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the National Park Service assumed leadership for nationwide recreational planning and began to develop model parks, called recreational demonstration areas, on land considered 'sub-marginal' for agriculture.²¹

Although a number of federal programs provided funds and labor for the development of state and county parks, few provided funds for the acquisition of land to create the parks. The period during which recreation and tourism was rapidly becoming a lucrative source of income for both public and private entities, coincided with President Roosevelt's developing interest in land-use issues and the utilization of natural resources. At the same time, many farmers were struggling to make a living. Roosevelt considered sub-marginal land of limited value for agriculture and reasoned that it would be better suited to serve as public parks and recreational facilities. In 1934, the Federal Surplus Relief Administration provided 25 million dollars for the purchase of low-productivity or poorly used lands, five million dollars of this funding was for the acquisition of lands to be converted to recreational use. Later that same year, the funds were transferred to the FERA.

The FERA provided the funding necessary for the federal government to acquire land that was otherwise deemed substandard for agriculture but could be developed as public parkland. This program was in fact two-fold: in addition to funding land purchase, it facilitated the need to increase recreational facilities, and a means to provide demonstrations of how recreational facilities could be planned and developed.²²

Although some of the land needed to create the Badlands National Monument was located in the public domain, a large portion of the proposed area the monument was still owned by homesteaders, who had left the area after continual battles with drought and other natural disasters. A federal government report determined that sixty percent of the land adjacent to the area in the Badlands that was under consideration as a national monument, should be considered sub-marginal and “generally unsuited to agricultural uses...” with some of it “so badly eroded that it will not maintain a grass and hence is wasteland except for its recreational and scenic beauty.”²³

This was the land that lay south of US Routes 14 and 16 and west of US Route 73. The FERA subsequently purchased this land from those willing to sell and most people moved to the west coast, some were employed in the building of a dam called the Resettlement Project.

Beyond the primary goal of reclaiming sub-marginal lands, the program represented an effort to meet the need for increased recreational facilities. This included land suitable for daytime recreation facilities in the neighborhood of major population centers; waysides along major highways where motorists could rest and enjoy recreational activities such as picnics, and outdoors activities; extensions to national parks and monuments developed for recreational activities such as camping, picnicking, and swimming; and land adjoining state scenic areas. Once this land had been acquired, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and similar forms of relief labor provided opportunities for the land to be developed.

In developing parks from sub-marginal lands for recreational purposes, the NPS became involved for the first time in comprehensive planning, (later master planning), building park roads and trails, constructing rustic buildings and structures, and naturalizing and reforesting the landscape on a massive scale.

By 1936, forty-six projects had begun in 24 states. Criteria for acquisition of sub-marginal land called for some degree of scenic character and topographical qualities that made a system of roads and trails, a body of water, separate areas for daytime use and overnight camping. Whereas the Resettlement Administration was responsible for relocating displaced residents to areas outside the boundaries of parks, the NPS directed all planning and development. The Recreational Development Areas (RDAs) program, under the stewardship of the NPS, was to reclaim sub-marginal land and increase recreational facilities, this program had an enormous influence on the development of a national park design aesthetic focusing on naturalistic idioms, and encompassing an expanded repertoire of new types of structures to accommodate new activities within the parks.²⁴

Support and interest in purchasing land for the national monument came from various NPS executives. In November 1934, NPS Director Arno B. Cammerer recommended to the Secretary of the Interior that he approve additional land for inclusion in the proposed Badlands National Monument. He proposed that this be implemented by executive order of the President, and executed by acquiring privately owned lands through existing

federal government relief programs. Regional Director Herbert Maier also supported the idea of using sub-marginal lands to increase the recreational aspect of the Badlands. He wrote to NPS Washington headquarters regarding sub-marginal land in the area of Badlands National Monument as follows:

I have personally visited this area and cannot recommend it too highly as having national appeal of a type unlike any other area in the United States. The land in use is extremely sub-marginal for cultivation or grazing, and is highly desirable for acquisition and development as a Recreational Demonstration Project, Type IV, an extension to a present public holding.²⁵

In April 1935, officials from the Sub-Marginal Land Committee inspected areas in Jackson and Pennington Counties, certified them unsuitable for agricultural use, and recommended that they be made available for purchase by the NPS. Acquisition of the homesteads was complicated because many owners still held property rights, even though they no longer occupied the land. Many owners also owed taxes and mortgages on their lands in excess of their current value. In addition, some tracts of land had expired but unreleased oil leases.²⁶

Intervention came from the federal government in June 1936, in the form of approval from the Secretary of the Interior for the Badlands National Monument boundary extension, amending the original act of March 1929. This amendment authorized the inclusion of adjacent or contiguous lands, as determined by the US President within five years from the act approval, and capped the size of the monument at 250,000 acres. In the same month, President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered that all unreserved and non-appropriated 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 sub-marginal land program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.”²⁷

With public land potentially becoming available for purchase, the NPS could begin developing plans for recreational infrastructure.

The New Deal Era (1929-1941)

Master planning within the NPS became a mandatory process in 1929 under the leadership of landscape architect Thomas Vint.²⁸ Principles established in 1916 that centered on landscape preservation and conservation determined policies that guided all future planning. Key park service personnel including the NPS Director, Stephen Mather, landscape architect, Thomas Vint, and others, determined that in order to conform to principles of preservation and conservation of the natural landscape, construction was to disturb the ground as little as possible and improvements were to be of native materials, and rustic in character. This concept was particularly prevalent in national parks in the west where landscape architects struggled to plan necessary visitor facilities in landscapes that encompassed vast areas of natural scenery.²⁹

Park designs that gave primacy to a philosophy that protected the natural environment provided for development in clusters, whereby buildings were grouped together functionally and aesthetically into an attractive and harmonious “ensemble.” Often this involved making a decision as to whether to retain or demolish existing government or concessionary buildings. Siting and location of facilities was further complicated by the need for certain structures to be visible to the public and others to be screened.³⁰

At the proposed Badlands National Monument, master planning conformed to principles set out by the main office of the Branch of Plans and Design, Western Division, San Francisco. Resident landscape architect Howard Baker surveyed the area in 1935, and in a subsequent report indicated that one major and two minor developed areas should be considered.³¹

The most pressing issue to resolve at Badlands was the provision of clean water to large numbers of people. To address the water problem, which was nearly as bad at Cedar Pass as it was at Wall, funding in the amount of \$22,000 was appropriated to fund a reservoir system. The funds were intended for the construction of a pipeline from the White River to a reservoir that would store 100,000 gallons, complete with a collection system, a pump house and pumping equipment at the White River, and distribution lines in the headquarters area. This water system was constructed between May 1940 and May 1941. In addition to the water system constructed in 1940, catch basins or dams remained on the land that had originally been built by homesteaders. According to oral history these catch basins were located to the west of Rock Spring, in the western portion of the Park, and on the road leading to what is known as Nevas Draw, a boneyard is located at one of these dams.³²

In addition to the need for water, an administrative facility was necessary to oversee management of the area. Such a facility would encompass offices, but also cover visitor facilities such as a museum, and concessionaire within the same general area. In order to concentrate facilities, and avoid their duplication and piecemeal siting throughout the monument, the NPS determined that it would be desirable to locate the headquarters, utility group, residential area, and visitor facilities in one, more or less, compact grouping.

The pros and cons of a future headquarters at either of the two already developed sites were debated. The Pinnacles site appears to have been the first choice for the headquarters due to its location at the juncture of two monument highways (US Highway 16 and State Highway 40). It was also of interest because of its proximity to Pinnacles Pass and its centrality within the monument area, which would facilitate administration. The connection to a transcontinental highway at Wall appears also to have been an advantage. Furthermore, park planners anticipated that a greater number of visitors would pass through the highly scenic Pinnacles area regardless of which entrance they used.

The private development that had already been established at Cedar Pass was also to be considered a potential site for headquarters development. Ben Millard’s tourism facilities included a one-story frame structure that functioned as a dining hall, lounge, and kitchen;

fifteen cabins; a gas station; and restrooms. Electricity lit the grounds and buildings, and a sewage disposal system emptied into septic tanks.

The NPS considered these facilities lacking in comfort and convenience, and inadequate for their projected visitation levels. Refurbishment appeared not to be a viable option, as this would still not meet NPS standards for quality accommodations. Initially the NPS had slated Millard's development for demolition, but possibly due to the way the development lay lightly on the land, conforming to NPS notions of preserving the landscape as far as was feasible, the development was retained and eventually incorporated into NPS ownership.

The Site Design for Pinnacles

The proposed headquarters site at Pinnacles was on a promontory of land that extended beyond the rest of the canyon rim, close to the precipitous cliff walls, and towering high above the canyon bottom. The site would provide magnificent panoramic views of the Badlands formations that extended across the land. Arguments against establishing a headquarters site at the Pinnacles included the fact that there was little land on which to develop an administrative headquarters. This would have to be attempted at the nearest town, Wall, which did not fall within the national monument boundary. The NPS had experienced problems maintaining administrative offices in towns or villages in the past, which made Wall less attractive. In addition, water supply was severely limited. Despite the many advantages of the Pinnacles site, it was ultimately rejected in favor of the Cedar Pass site.

A proposal for development at the Pinnacles site took into consideration the visitor experience combined with protection of the natural resources, as well as the need to facilitate the lives of employees. The proposed master plan of 1938 shows administrative structures, a museum, and the operator's building clustered along an axis formed by the entrance road and parking area. The proposed parking area was of a simple design, intended to avoid confusion yet large enough to accommodate both current and projected future needs. The circulation route and parking area were designed to allow visitors to go from their cars to the various buildings without having to cross traffic.

The 1938 Master Plan for the headquarters building notes that the design was intended to provide an effective architectural setting while offering commanding views of the Badlands formations both from within the building and from its associated seating terrace. The partially roofed terrace, situated between the two wings of the building and extending to the rear, was intended as a shady retreat and observation point. The concessionaire's wing was placed to the left of the main axis in close proximity to the cabin group that was also part of the concessionaire's responsibility. There was a sharp division between the concessionaire's units and government developments, each located on opposite sides of the main axis; yet they were still conveniently nearby. The concessionaire's wing would have a dining room and lounge from which visitors could view the spectacular and colorful landscape.³³

The proposed utility group was placed at a distance from the center of activities, and at the bottom of a deep draw out of view from the main highway and the administration and

concessionaire's area. In addition to the compact grouping of the utility buildings, the plan was to connect individual buildings by walls that would act as a screen. The buildings in the utility grouping were designed to allow for future expansion. The residential area was proposed to be placed at a point which was sufficiently far from the center of activities to afford some privacy, yet close enough to be within easy walking distance of both utility and administrative groups.

The Site Design for Cedar Pass

Cedar Pass was an attractive option for locating the Park headquarters for a number of reasons. The Park boundary and land acquisition issues were easier, particularly after Ben Millard offered to donate his land to the NPS. The Pinnacles site lacked available water, and locating administrative facilities in Wall was considered inefficient for park operations.

The proposed Cedar Pass site design was consistent with the Pinnacles proposal in its use of tight clusters and functional zoning. Zones promoted efficiency for those working onsite. For example, staff housing and administrative offices were in separate clusters, but employees could walk easily between the two areas.

The 1938 Master Plan was amended several times by 1949 to address the evolution of the new park; most notably in ca. 1943 when the NPS concentrated on developing Cedar Pass and abandoned the idea of locating a headquarters at the Pinnacles site. Sources differ as to the reason for choosing Cedar Pass over the Pinnacles. Some indicate it was the accessibility to water that made Cedar Pass the favored location. Others suggest it was Millard's offer to donate approximately 28 acres of land in the Cedar Pass area.³⁴

Reasons for retaining Millard's facilities at Cedar Pass are also unclear but in view of strained financial resources in the early years prior to and during World War II it can be surmised that Millard's improved facilities appeared more positive than they had initially. Rather than razing Millard's development the NPS assimilated them into new site development. By June 1940, five buildings had already been constructed at Cedar Pass, relating to maintenance and administration.³⁵

Once location had been settled, materials remained an issue to be decided. As a historically-used material it is not surprising that natural sod was given serious consideration as a possible building material for all the units in the headquarters area. In 1935, resident Landscape Architect Howard W. Baker had recommended adobe as a building material, but Thomas Vint preferred investigating the possibility of using sod. Eventually, the idea was rejected as impractical. A stone quarry was found within the monument area from which a hard, gray stone could be obtained in quantities sufficient to construct all of the proposed buildings. It is not known what type of stone this was. The 1938 Master Plan conceded that stone construction would be more expensive than sod, but felt it would also be "far more permanent, free of vermin attack, and the erosion to which sod is subjected." In addition, it would "eliminate the need of constant maintenance." Stone would also allow for the construction of large structures and, as noted in the plan "would lend itself to a freer and more interesting architecture."³⁶

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was brought into the Badlands to provide much needed labor. Initial construction efforts were impaired by the fact that the CCC camp had been located at Quinn Table, and their work was needed between Cedar Pass and the Pinnacles. Thus, laborers wasted much of the day traveling to and from the site. Consequently a mess kitchen, hall, and a CCC camp were constructed at Cedar Pass. An earlier CCC camp at Quinn Table was abandoned and transferred to the NPS.³⁷

The new CCC camp, which included a utility area, maintenance garage, and blacksmith shop, was located just south of the monument boundary on land owned by the Soil Conservation Service (SCS) and was protected from the prevailing, severe, northwesterly winds by the formations that surround it on three sides. Approximately 1,800 square feet of main water line had to be laid between the camp and the monument residential area, before the permanent reservoir could be used. In the meantime, the camp was supplied through a 6,000 gallon steel tank, which was subject to freezing in cold weather.³⁸

Although the camp was eventually dismantled, some of the buildings and associated features in the utility area were retained as the maintenance yard. The maintenance yard was separate from other functions in the Cedar Pass Developed Area and as such set a precedent for the location of maintenance facilities away from other developed area functions.

Addressing visitors' complaints that roads were inadequate and park managers' fears that cars parked along roadsides exacerbated erosion, the CCC constructed five new parking areas.

CCC labor constructed wood and concrete signage, improved roads with new layers of gravel, razed abandoned farmsteads, and constructed a building near the Pinnacles checking station that would serve as the temporary residence for the acting custodian until a more permanent building could be completed at Cedar Pass. The ranger played an important part in addressing visitor needs by documenting and ranking their requests for things like improvement of roads, expanded museum facilities, and restroom facilities.³⁹

Millard remodeled several cabins in 1941, added plumbing, and constructed one new cabin. When he constructed a sewer line from Cedar Pass lodge, intending to connect it with the NPS sewer system, CCC crews constructed a pipeline ditch from the reservoir at Cedar Pass to the highway, crossing at the junction of the highway and the headquarters area service road.

In May 1941, Millard donated 160 acres that enabled the NPS to construct a custodian's residence at Cedar Pass. Although the land was located close to the formations, it became the beginning of the headquarters' residential area. At the same time, Millard continued to actively develop the area, laying cement asbestos pipes to the reservoir and constructing septic and dosing tanks that would eventually constitute the sewer system at Cedar Pass headquarters.

The CCC was also active at Pine Ridge Reservation, providing wage-paying jobs and job training for American Indians for the first time. However, with the abolishment of the

CCC, the Indian reservation population was forced to find alternative assistance. With World War II employment opportunities, some Indians left the reservation to find work in the Black Hills military depot; most however worked as unskilled labor and received direct or indirect reservation relief. Reservation inhabitants supplemented their meager wages with welfare payments, land lease payments and agricultural operations.⁴⁰

World War II and the Monument as a Bombing Range (1942-1968)

During America's involvement in World War II, many of the CCC laborers were called to serve in the military, funding was reduced, and development slowed almost to a standstill. Nonetheless, planning for development of the monument continued.

Lands within the monument boundary were affected by a decision enabling the US Army to evacuate Indians and other residents from the portion of the monument known as the Pine Ridge Reservation in order to establish a bombing range. Because of the way in which this appropriation of land would affect grazing, park officials became concerned that a demand for grazing privileges within the monument would ensue. Indeed, stock farmers who had previously leased land within the reservation were left with no place to run their cattle once the Army had taken over the reservation.

In 1943, members of the 21st Service Group of the armed forces, constructed a bridge at the White River crossing west of Conata, a town severely damaged by the establishment of the Bombing Range in 1942 which eliminated travel to the south.

The bridge connected with an approach road that followed the water line from a point near the pumping station to join Highway 40 directly south of the monument headquarters area. From this junction, it was expected that traffic would go west to the town of Interior to reach the monument, but that some traffic would continue north along the monument service road through the utility and residential areas, and joining State Highway 40, (also referred to as the Badlands Highway), near Cedar Pass Lodge. Concern was expressed that, if this did not happen, the headquarters layout would be seriously affected. It was then decided to abandon the service road below the utility area, fencing it off at the pump house with the addition of a gate for employee use only. Thus, public access via this route to the utility and residential areas was severed.⁴¹

The proximity of the Bombing Range also adversely affected Scenic. A small town that provided services to locals as well as to the growing tourist industry, it boasted two filling stations, tourist cabins, three automotive garages with mechanics, two restaurants, and a bank, as well as agricultural and community facilities.⁴²

The Badlands Bombing Range was officially called the Pine Ridge Aerial Gunnery Range and continues to simultaneously unite and divide the Pine Ridge Reservation and the Badlands National Park. A historic marker at the Badlands National Park White River Visitor Center reads:

More than a third of a million acres of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, including much of what is now the South Unit of Badlands National Park, was set aside for gunnery and bombing practice by the US Army Air Corps at the start of World War II. Residents had to move on short notice. Some never returned.⁴³

On average, payment to land owners, Indian and non-Indian alike, amounted to \$2.85 per acre.⁴⁴

Tribal lands were to be leased rather than condemned, but the Tribe was offered only a penny an acre per year—and they settled for three cents. The displaced refugees were given no compensation for the cost of relocation, and the scarcity of replacement land made it impossible for most to continue ranching. According to some sources, fewer than ten percent were able to resettle in the area. The displacement of people from the Gunnery Range had effects that extended well beyond the range itself, with agricultural support towns also affected.⁴⁵

In all, 341,725 acres of land were taken for the Gunnery Range, and about 250 families were removed. Much damage was done to property, including cattle, and residents who refused to move were in constant danger. Once the range was closed and residents permitted to return, many reported having to pay too high a price for their lands than was initially indicated.⁴⁶

A general sentiment of resentment continues to this day among many of the Indians who had established homes in the area as it was felt that even after the gunnery lands were returned, the NPS: “got the best part of the bombing range” and payment is made to the Tribe in the form of leases, the land is considered to be under the control of the Park Service. The Tribes also complain of “jeep clubs” that come in, and “run the cattle from one end to the other.”⁴⁷

In 1963 and 1964, attempts to promote tourism prompted the concept of a land swap between the Oglala Sioux Tribe (OST) and NPS. The NPS report called for “a museum and campgrounds at Pine Ridge village, interpretation of the Wounded Knee historic site, a dance center in Kyle, a motel at Rockyford, a picnic area at Porcupine, and craft sales at Red Shirt.”⁴⁸

Prior to disposal of the gunnery range lands, the Interior Department’s Bureau of Outdoor Recreation undertook a study “to identify the conservation and recreation potential of the Badlands Air Force Gunnery Range.” However, oral history suggests that the OST was excluded from the discussions. As a consequence the OST requested the land be returned to them as had originally been promised. They felt they would be able “to preserve the natural resources as effectively, or more effectively, than any segment of government or other public ownership.”⁴⁹ The OST made three proposals for use of the land, including the following: a tourism and recreation project, re-establishment of livestock operations, and development of irrigated agriculture by OST members.

The outcome appeared as follows:

The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation incorporated these comments into their report but effectively ignored them in its recommendations. The only potential uses of the land that were analyzed were recreational in nature, and the final recommendation was that the surplus lands be divided up, administratively, between the Bureau of Sports Fisheries and Wildlife, and the National Park Service. The BIA agreed to this, pointing out that “tribal ownership of lands would not prevent the integration of appropriate areas into the Badlands National Monument.” The recommendation was made “subject to a cooperative agreement to be worked out between the Tribe, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the National Park Service.”⁵⁰

With passage of Public Law 90-468 in 1968, Congress authorized a land swap between the Departments of Defense and Interior that would create a South Unit of Badlands National Monument.⁵¹

Mission 66 (1956-1966)

Ten years after the end of World War II, economic prosperity catapulted Americans into a lifestyle that had greater flexibility, wealth, mobility, and opportunities for recreation. This new lifestyle prompted visitation at state and national parks to rise to record numbers. In 1955, the number of visitors to national parks totaled 50 million, twice the number that the parks were equipped to accommodate. A strategy for how to address this issue became of paramount importance to the NPS. Mission 66 was a ten-year program in which Congress authorized a financial package that would support development in the National Parks, bringing them up to twentieth-century standards by the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of the National Park Service in 1966.

Changes had already begun to occur that were later incorporated into the Mission 66 plan, these changes built on ideas that began in the early 1930s. In a statement describing the Mission 66 program, the NPS noted that:

Mission 66 is a forward looking program for the National Park System intended to so develop and staff these priceless possessions of the American people as to permit their wisest possible use; maximum enjoyment for those who use them; and maximum protection of the scenic, scientific, wilderness, and historic resources that give them distinction.⁵²

At Badlands, a master plan created in 1950 built on ideas developed in the 1938 Master Plan, developing the Cedar Pass area as the place where visitors could find accommodation and information. After creating various proposals, the NPS chose to develop an area that had already been built on, with tourist cabins and a lodge, developed by Ben Millard. The NPS chose to further develop this site although the horseshoe form of the cabin placement appears to be slightly different, possibly due to the realignment of the road extending from Highway 40 in front of the Lodge.

Developments brought the Badlands National Monument up to modern standards with the construction of new roads, installation of signs and telephone service as well as new accommodations and walkways.

Modern landscape features included gradually graded ramps and wide entry walks that were intended to accommodate the movement of large numbers of people. Plans also included the design of broad elevated terraces with aggregate stone surfaces and protective walls that would provide safe, uncrowded viewpoints.⁵³

By 1955, visitation had swelled beyond all expectations. The popularity of the Park, and public appreciation of its spectacular resources, fostered a new discussion in Congress regarding the need to increase the monument's size to have it designated as a national park. The number of campers and picnickers at the Park had increased by 200 percent since the end of the war. In May 1955, the Millard family donated two more tracts of land, totaling 18.5 acres, to the NPS. Of this total, 5.85 acres located in front of the Cedar Pass Lodge were donated for the relocated highway right-of-way; the remaining 12.65 acres made the development of the Cedar Pass campground possible.

In January 1956, a meeting was held to discuss Mission 66 and the development of Badlands National Monument; from this meeting, an executive committee was created for the purpose of steering development at the Park. The following month, a second meeting introduced the Mission 66 plan to members of the Wall Chamber of Commerce. Later that spring, the Superintendent of the Park spoke to the Commercial Club at Murdo, the Big Buffalo Farmers Union, and the Big Buffalo 4-H Club. This Mission 66 plan would greatly affect visitation, allowing far greater numbers than ever before to visit the Park, and likely providing benefits to local businesses. Consequently it was important for the NPS to keep the local population informed of their decisions.

Programmatic changes encompassed education and interpretation, informing the visitor but also using information to protect the physical environment. Information was relayed to the visitor through a building designed specifically for the purpose of explaining the significance of the Park's natural and cultural resources. Gathering of information by park historians and naturalists was therefore given greater importance. This information was used in interpretive programs but also as a tool to better understand how to protect and preserve the Park's resources.⁵⁴

The new visitor information center became a focus point of the Mission 66 developments. Previously, the only contact visitors had with park staff had been via a small information station staffed by seasonal employees during the summer, with only 5.1 percent of park visitors actually stopping at this station.⁵⁵

Visitor Center

During Mission 66, interpretive programs focused on providing information to visitors through comprehensive exhibits housed at central locations. Attempts to do this had occurred at various parks in the 1930s with the construction of early museums, which tended to be small, uncomfortable places that provided minimal information. During Mission 66, at Badlands, much thought went into how information encompassing

indigenous natural features and cultural resources could be presented in the most advantageous way. This was a primary feature of the Mission 66 Visitor Center concept.⁵⁶

An ‘entrance’ Visitor Center established the mood of the park and introduced the visitor to the total interpretation of park values; the ‘en route’ center posed the problem of simultaneously introducing the visitor to the park and providing information about the site to be visited; most common was the ‘terminal’ Visitor Center located at a popular destination which supplied the visitor with a summary of park values, while incorporating relevant information about the area.⁵⁷

Placement of the Visitor Center was indeed crucial, as architects were encouraged to make use of surrounding views in their designs, and consider how the Visitor Center siting would influence the location of future buildings. It was felt that placement “affects how, in what sequence, the story is told as well as how much or how little.” NPS Naturalist Paul Schultz commented: “a Visitor Center should be in touch with the feature it interprets.”⁵⁸

The concept of a Visitor Center at Badlands National Monument began with a 1956 prospectus documenting the significance of the Monument, the condition of its existing facilities, and the adjustments required to accommodate the growing number of visitors at Cedar Pass. Superintendent George B. Sholly also submitted a “museum prospectus” in 1957, specifically addressing the visitor services requirements. He felt that Cedar Pass was an ideal location that allowed visitors to arrive from either the east or west and experience some of the Badlands formations before arriving at the Visitor Center. After viewing the exhibits and information, the visitors would then be able to enjoy the rest of the Park with new appreciation and understanding. In the museum prospectus Sholly outlined, in detail, the necessary public spaces within the Visitor Center, providing rough dimensions for each.⁵⁹

Cecil Doty, chief designer at the Western Office of Design and Construction (WODC) in San Francisco, California, incorporated much of this information into his preliminary drawing for the Visitor Center at Cedar Pass in February 1957. Using Sholly’s suggestions, Doty oriented the Visitor Center to face the Badlands Wall and provided the lobby with a “picture window” view of the formations. A prominent raised porch glass-enclosed lobby, views were afforded north toward the badlands landforms. To shield it from climatic extremes, the public entrance was located on the building’s north side at the rear of a large covered porch. The interior layout of spaces was intended to accommodate the programmatic requirements of the building and maintain separate visitor services and administrative functions. For example, public restrooms were constructed in a separate, exterior space, a corridor separated administrative functions from visitor space, and moveable partitions allowed for flexibility of space between the offices. A landscaping scheme consisted of porch planters and shrubs against the front façade.

An alternate design dated November 1957, displayed a ‘z’ shaped footprint and a porch spanning most of the front façade. As in the earlier design the glass lobby and other public functions were placed on the west side of the building; however, the visitor spaces appear more separated from the administrative zone, standing together as a suite at an angle to the main section. The restrooms are grouped together and placed at an opposite angle. Within this new geometry, the administrative corridor, still parallel to the highway and featuring storage to the north and offices to the south, takes on the additional function of connecting one angled section to the other.⁶⁰

After several refinements to the preliminary design, Doty handed over the plans to the Rapid City architecture firm of Lucas, Craig, and Whitman. The basic final design deviated only slightly from its conservative rectangular footprint and spare detailing. Doty’s “z”-shaped design was closer in many ways to an attempt to express Park Service Modern and would have been a strong rival in modern aesthetic design to other exemplary Visitor Centers had it been built. Lucas, Craig, and Whitman prepared and issued construction drawings with a few minor modifications such as reducing the number of skylights by half, and eliminating the planters at the porch, thus giving the porch a more utilitarian and severe appearance than originally intended. By May 1958, they had issued a complete set of construction drawings and two months later Corner, Howe, and Lee, also a local firm, began construction on the new Visitor Center at Cedar Pass.⁶¹

Extreme weather conditions caused a brief delay in construction of the Visitor Center when winds ripped the roof off the exhibit room portion of the building (consisting at that time of trusses and decking) from the walls, and it literally sailed across the access road, causing \$8,000 worth of damage. With the roof gone, one interior wall and one exterior wall crumbled. Fortunately, no injuries were sustained. Work resumed, and the Visitor Center was completed in late 1958 and dedicated at a ceremony in 1959. It was the first Mission 66 Visitor Center to be completed in South Dakota.⁶²

In 1958, the same building contractors—Corner, Howe and Lee, of Rapid City, South Dakota—also completed five new personnel residences at Cedar Pass. These new facilities permitted the addition of a permanent Park Naturalist and an Administrative Aide to the monument.

Camping

Although camping was a major component of parks from the 1930s on, it was only during the Mission 66 period that adequate financial support was provided for campground construction. Much damage had resulted from visitors camping in undesignated areas. Emilio P. Meinecke was the founder of the modern campground. As a plant pathologist, who discovered that human activity in the forests of California was killing the giant sequoias and redwoods, he developed planning concepts that were rooted in a concern to protect the natural environment. He advocated that campgrounds be divided up into individual campsites of legitimate sizes, each one offering approximately as much privacy, shade and other advantages as the other, based on the vegetation on the

ground and on the preservation of its essential features throughout the life of the campsite.”⁶³

Meinecke developed his ideas, expanding his theories in a publication, called *Camp Planning and Camp Reconstruction*, where he viewed the campground as “a community, of roofless cabins.” The Mission 66 planners built on Meinecke’s ideas for campgrounds, simultaneously expressing their own concerns to preserve the natural landscape, disturbing the land as little as possible by using the loop form to reduce development. At Badlands a campground was built to prevent further individual camping on random individually chosen sites. Signage provided effective direction to specific campsites. The layout and configuration allowed for panoramic views and protected the landscape by keeping traffic to a single access road. The campsites and associated utilities were clustered to minimize natural resource impacts.⁶⁴

Planners and designers worked to delineate campgrounds where many people could comfortably congregate in one area. A well-organized and regulated site would ensure that a limited space could be used efficiently. Key to the site organization was fulfilling the campers’ desire to feel immersed in the natural surroundings. Two characteristic elements of successful campsite planning were the campground road plan and division of the campground into individual sites. Other elements considered essential to the camping experience were automobile access; availability of picnic tables, shelters, and potable water; and sufficient spacing between sites. Meinecke, advocated the need to focus on the individual elements of the campsite to provide successful planning. He wrote:

There can be no doubt that the one-way road system is the most desirable and serviceable, and that it should be adopted wherever possible within the camp grounds. It restrains fast driving, cuts down dust nuisance and saves a great deal of space that may more profitably be thrown into actual camping or into screens to insure a higher degree of privacy in the camps.

and

The best utilization of the whole camp ground is secured by a one-way road which is lined on both sides by campsites. In the simplest case, that of a relatively narrow strip, the road leads through its middle, serving lots on either side. On larger grounds the road may swing back at the end to serve another single or double tier parallel to the first. In broader camp grounds of rectangular or square outline connecting roads run back into the main road at such an angle that the driver is forced to continue in the one direction and large rocks or other obstacles are placed so that he will not attempt to run against the one-way travel.⁶⁵

Campsite development became a priority at Badlands National Monument between 1956 and 1959. Picnic facilities were important daytime activity facilities that were part of the Mission 66 development. The Park Service employees installed thirty American Indian-inspired picnic shelters at the Cedar Pass campground as well as the necessary pit toilets, guard rails and timber barriers. Interpretive signs were also added around the site.

Camping had become very popular and as a result the campground road was extended by almost a half mile, and the campground itself expanded to accommodate a minimum of fifty more sites. It was then graded with parking spurs and covered with two to three inches of gravel.

Mission 66 campground development also included a campfire circle and amphitheater. The campfire program was an important feature of the campground and with the addition of evening programs consisting of lectures, slide-illustrated talks, and movies, it developed into a popular attraction.

Progress at Badlands was reported in a public presentation of the Mission 66 plan, covered by the local *Rapid City Journal* and *Yankton Press*, and in a report from the superintendent as follows:

The coming year will see a great change take place at Badlands. For the first time, an adequate exhibit room will be available for our visitors. The latest development in audio visual aids will help the visitor decide where to go and what to see. Adequate housing for seasonal employees will enable us to recruit better qualified seasonal personnel. In short, a new era is beginning. The future visitor to Badlands will be exposed to more and better interpretive facilities than ever before. It is our duty to see that these facilities are properly used to provide the services without which these facilities are useless. We hope that we can measure up to the challenge that lies ahead.⁶⁶

Trails were also an important feature of Mission 66 development. The original Monument road system traversed the Badlands Wall but during Mission 66 it was realigned and extended around the fringe of Sage Creek Basin to Sheep Mountain connecting to State highway 40 at the southwest corner of the Monument. Alterations to park roads included scenic overlooks with roadside parking located at intervals. Short lateral spurs were constructed to campgrounds, at Cedar Pass, Sage Creek and Dillon Pass Campgrounds, and Conata and Sage Creek Picnic Areas. Short, paved self-guided trails intended as a means to interpret natural features and allow the visitor to experience the 'feel' of the Badlands.⁶⁷

Re-Designation of the Monument to National Park Status (1952-1985)

A further change that occurred was in boundary adjustments. When Custodian Howard Stricklin was returned in January 1946 from his role in the war, he found that approximately 14,000 acres of land within the monument, previously owned by Jackson and Pennington Counties, had been sold at auction, primarily to stockmen owning adjacent lands. At least one new owner began plowing, to plant grain crops.

J. Estes Suter replaced Custodian Stricklin who was transferred to Grand Canyon National Park in 1948, and in June 1952 Superintendent Suter noted boundary adjustments made to the monument in May of that year. Congress directed the Secretary of the Interior to adjust monument boundaries without exceeding the authorized 154,119

acres. The eventual adjustment, by order of the Secretary of the Interior, took place on October 3, 1952. The net result was a reduction of the monument to 121,883 acres, but within this, 3,954 acres on Sheep Mountain (individually allotted lands within Pine Ridge Reservation) were added to the monument.⁶⁸

In 1952, Congress authorized a 27,000-acre reduction in the size of Badlands National Monument. This was to ensure that the monument conformed to federal standards for this type of designated park. The proposed reduction prompted a reassessment of the land needed for a significant National Monument at the Badlands. A memo stated:

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 the 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. [FN]

In 1966, NPS Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., wrote in a “National Geographic” article, “We are doing our level best to plan for tomorrow, as did the architects of the famous Mission 66, now completed.” He spoke of a plan called ‘Parkscape U.S.A.’ that proposed to expand the National Park System by 1972 in order to meet the needs of a new generation of tourists. Expanding the parks meant the NPS would need to acquire more lands and to develop cooperative programs with other agencies to develop both outdoor recreation opportunities and approaches for better management and park preservation.⁶⁹

The most recent development to occur in the park system since land had first been designated as worthy of conservation was increased development of recreation. George Hartzog emphasized the need to publicize these recreation areas, using the multitude of media now available. He predicted that by the year 2000, American workers would receive a month of vacation annually, and a three-day weekend. Increasingly, the majority of the population was urban, and therefore needed a means to escape to the fresh air and beautiful countryside. The emphasis within parks would be expanded opportunities for recreational activities. In order to avoid damaging park resources, new ways of accessing the interior of natural conservation areas were being considered; it was felt that roads were intrusive no matter how well they were designed. Helicopters, aerial tramways, or cog or funicular railways on steep slopes were also possibilities entertained as alternatives to automobile access.⁷⁰

Hartzog’s ideas were reflected in developments at the Badlands National Park where increased visitation from 1966, led to the need to expand facilities beyond the provisions of the Mission 66 program. Even before Mission 66 developments were completed, many areas showed signs of inadequacy and it was clear that the Park needed more land and larger facilities.

In 1968, Congress expanded the National Monument area by 133,000 acres, increasing the Monument acreage to 244,000. Much of this land had previously been part of the Pine Ridge Reservation.

In 1969 a new plan was developed showing the Cedar Pass Developed Area with extant headquarters, campground, and concession area, and the design for expanding the campground development began in 1967.

By 1970, visitation had caused crowding of all areas, in particular parking had become a severe problem. For example, makeshift parking was used for the fourth season in a row in an attempt to remove some of the overflow from the Visitor Center parking lot and from along US Highway 16A. The small twenty-eight-space parking area had been inadequate for peak season traffic since at least 1963 and indeed parking had begun to be problematic only a few years after the opening of the Visitor Center. At this time visitors parked on road shoulders and along the private access road to the residential and utility area.

Visitor parking intruded into zones set aside for administration and park personnel residences, and a change was made in the road that ran from the Visitor Center to the residential and utility area. A new parking lot was constructed at the Visitor Center and the access road to the residential area leading directly off the southeast rear side of the Visitor Center was obliterated in favor of a road that ran from the southeast rear of the Visitor Center parking lot to the utility/maintenance area. A short spur road was constructed off the main utility/maintenance road leading to the residential loop and dead-ending to the south in the apartment complex area.

At the campground too, parking had become a problem in the early sixties. In 1962 parking at the entrance to the campground had been realigned. A 1963 proposal for the expansion of the campground remained pending still in 1977. At the Cedar Pass Lodge, parking had also become a problem. In 1971, plans were drawn modifying the existing parking, adding a lot to the rear of the lodge.

As part of a response to increased visitation new cabins were planned for concession employees, a new restaurant and curio store, a possible swimming pool and horseback riding facilities. In the administration area expansion of interpretive and information services were identified as necessary expansion projects as well as office space and storage. Two new residential facilities, four apartments, and a vehicle storage structure were required and in the maintenance area an increased capacity for heavy motorized equipment and flammables was needed. At the campground an entrance kiosk, all season comfort station, and relocation of the amphitheater were indicated as planned. It was also proposed to realign US Highway 40 south of the campground to join US Highway 16A at a point further north of the developed area. This project was not executed however. Existing development in 1977 is shown to include new employee parking in the rear of the Visitor Center, as well as parking in the front of the Lodge.⁷¹

In November 1978, Badlands National Monument was re-designated Badlands National Park. To achieve National Park status, a site must meet the following criteria:

Have relatively spacious land and water areas, so outstanding in quality and beauty as to make imperative their preservation by the federal government for the enjoyment, education and inspiration of all people. They should embrace a sufficiently comprehensive unit as to permit public use and enjoyment and effective management of a continuing representation of its flora and fauna. They should be adaptable to a type of management that can provide a range of opportunities for human enjoyment, such as camping, picnicking, hiking, horseback riding and sightseeing in a natural setting consistent with the preservation of the characteristics and features that merit their establishment. They will most often contain a diversity of resources and values, including scenic and scientific.

In contrast, monuments generally include larger acreages than parks, are concerned with preserving primarily scientific resources and are not of sufficient size to support a broad range of visitor services, as for example at national parks.⁷²

Changes continued to occur within the Cedar Pass landscape during the 1980s: an extension was added to the lodge, improvements were made to the residences, and additional residences were built.

Ranger residences were built at Sage Creek Basin Ranger Station including one 3-bedroom house, two 2-bedroom houses and one 6-unit seasonal employee units.

Relations with American Indian Populations (1976-2006)

A 1976 Memorandum of Agreement between the Park Service and the Oglala Sioux Tribe established the right of Tribal members to hunt within the South Unit, however no management plan was developed, and hunting was not allowed. The Park Service reaffirmed the ban on hunting in 1987, stating that game populations were insufficient to sustain hunting.

The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1979 guaranteed OST members perpetual access to a number of spiritually important locations as specifically identified. Some members of the Tribe feel they should have a greater role in the running of the Park, however this has yet to be discussed fully. Currently, tribe members run the concession at Cedar Pass Lodge, sources agree they continue to hunt in the South Unit and use the lands in ways that their ancestors had, such as gathering plants. Complete agreement between the Oglala Sioux Tribe and the NPS has yet to be sealed on the use of the lands that are incorporated into the Badlands National Park.⁷³

Recognizing the Historic Significance of Badlands National Park (1993-2006)

Research into the historic significance of various aspects of Badlands National Park has been undertaken primarily in the developed area of Cedar Pass. Individual resources that have been evaluated and found eligible for their significance include the Cedar Pass Road, the Cedar Pass to Northwest Entrance Road, and the Ben Reifel Visitor Center. In addition, a recent Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) prepared by John Milner Associates in 2005, found the Cedar Pass Developed Area to be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criteria C in the area of planning. The South Dakota State Historic Preservation Office (SDSHPO) concurred with the findings of the CLR.

Cedar Pass Road is a 2.2-mile long, approximately 22-foot wide corridor running from the intersection of the Loop Road with the road to Interior (SD 377) to the intersection of the Loop Road with the Old Northeast Entrance Road. The historic Cedar Pass to Northwest Entrance Road is a 30-mile long, approximately 22-foot wide corridor running along the Loop Road from the intersection of the Loop Road with the road to Interior (SD 377).

Draft National Register nominations for the two roads were prepared concurrently in 1993 in conjunction with a Multiple Property Documentation Form for Historic Roads Resources in Badlands National Park. Each of the roads was found to possess significance under National Register Criterion A in the areas of Conservation, Entertainment/Recreation, Landscape Architecture, Politics/Government, and Transportation. The Cedar Pass Road, also referred to as Route 2 to Cedar Pass Campground, was determined significant during the period 1935–40, and the Cedar Pass to Northwest Entrance Road during the period 1934–35.

Each of these roads was determined to be significant for its contribution to efforts conducted over three decades to establish Badlands National Monument. Indeed, the roads were considered a critical feature of the park because for visitors to fully enjoy and appreciate the scenic beauty and scientific value of the park's geologic formations in an age in which the automobile had become fundamental to tourism and recreation, visitors would have to experience the landscape via a motor trail. In addition, the roads were designed with the intent to expose the visitor to every possible scenic view, to minimize intrusion on the land, and to emphasize the uninhabited aura of the place. Also, the roads were designed to meet the high standards of landscape architecture embraced by the park since the early 1930s, when master planning first began.

The Ben Reifel Visitor Center at Cedar Pass was determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic places in 2002. It was deemed significant under National Register Criterion A for its association with the National Park Service's (NPS) Mission 66 program at the state level as the only remaining Mission 66 visitor center in South Dakota to retain substantial integrity.⁷⁴ Despite the fact that the Visitor Center is not yet 50 years old, it is considered significant because it displays characteristics of a building type and style introduced into the national parks during the Mission 66 era.

The Cedar Pass landscape is a complex of resources, including the lodge and cabins, the two campgrounds, the Visitor Center and parking, the seasonal and single-family residences, the maintenance area, and the roads within the Cedar Pass Developed Area. Together these resources can be understood as an expression of Mission 66 planning concepts, which were intended to achieve the following:

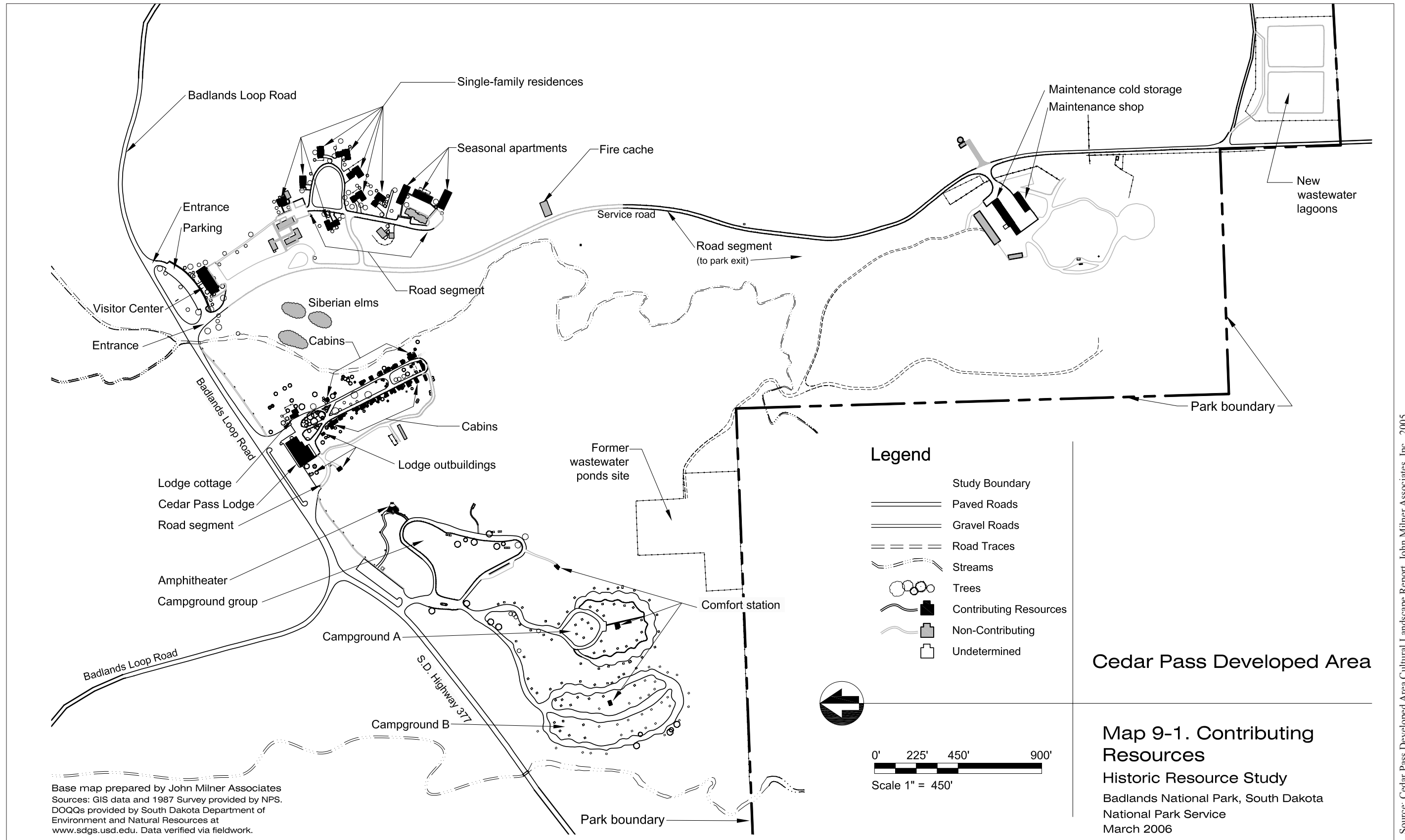
- improve access by developing interpretive facilities as close to the resource as possible;
- expand interpretive opportunities by extending interpretation into the landscape through a range of experiential activities;
- establish synergies between educational programs and signature park resources;
- use curvilinear forms to allow for multiple views and an unimpeded processional;
- manage visitor movement;
- cluster relatively dense site planning of new facilities and complexes;
- utilize a unifying design concept that made use of an armature or datum along which development occurred;
- employ zoning of like uses;
- practice the visual and physical separation of different uses;
- avoid fragile resources in site developments;
- incorporate existing features into new designs; and
- espouse the use of modern materials and construction methods and minimizing of detailing and ornamentation in order to avoid distraction from the surrounding natural or historic resource.⁷⁵

As such the Cedar Pass Developed area is considered eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C (see Figure 8).⁷⁶

In addition, it is likely that future research will find other, both surface and subsurface, resources within the Badlands National Park, that are eligible for listing in the National Register for their association with attempts to create a tourist attraction, conserve a nationally significant place of profound scenic and scientific value, and create a National Park.

National Park status for the Badlands was achieved after a long process and the determined efforts of a few individuals. Development progressed slowly, but proved to be sensitive to the natural resources, while concurrently offering greater numbers of visitor services and facilities. In the process of developing a National Park, a valuable resource

was protected and preserved, but new resources, such as the scenic roads, the Visitor Center, and entire Cedar Pass Developed Area, were created as concessions to tourism. These resources add to the value of the Park and should be preserved for future understanding and interpretation of how tourism has affected the landscape. They exemplify how tourism development and conservation of natural resources can be successfully balanced through well thought out and sensitive design and planning.



Source: Cedar Pass Developed Area Cultural Landscape Report, John Milner Associates, Inc., 2005.

Figure 8: National Register eligible resources.

- ¹ See Sage Creek Campground Redevelopment Plan and Environmental Assessment, Badlands National Park, 2003.
- ² Gilbert Courtland Fite, *Peter Norbeck: Prairie Statesman* (Columbia, MI: University of Missouri, 1948).
- ³ Senator Norbeck to J.W. Parker, Ipswich, SD, November 7, 1927, quoted in Ray H. Mattison and Robert A. Grom, *History of the Badlands National Monument*, Interior, SD, Badlands Natural History Association, 1968.
- ⁴ Mattison and Grom, *History of Badlands National Monument*, 27; Jay A. Schuler, *A Revelation Called the Badlands: Building a National Park 1909–1939* (Interior, SD: Badlands Natural History Association, 1989), 8; Louis Knowles Report, Norbeck Collection of Papers, Badlands National Park Library, F656.N6N111 No. 1.
- ⁵ Mattison and Grom, *History of Badlands National Monument*, 27.
- ⁶ Schuler, *A Revelation Called the Badlands*, 13-18. Taken from John Milner Associates, Inc., “Cedar Pass Developed Area Cultural Landscape Report,” 2005.
- ⁷ Senator Norbeck to Vice President H.E. Beebe, Bank of Ipswich (SD), May 5, 1924, Norbeck Collection of Papers, Badlands National Park Library F656.N6N111 No. 1, quoted in John Milner Associates, Inc., “Cedar Pass Developed Area Cultural Landscape Report,” 2005.
- ⁸ Senator Norbeck to J.W. Parmley, Ipswich, SD, November 7, 1927, Norbeck Collection of Papers, Badlands National Park Library F656.N6N111 No. 1.
- ⁹ Mattison and Grom, *History of Badlands National Monument*, 31-32.
- ¹⁰ House of Representatives Report No. 2607, 70th Congress, 2nd Session, quoted in Mattison and Grom, *History of the Badlands*, 34.
- ¹¹ See Chapter 8, BNP Historic Resource Study for clarification of accommodation in local towns.
- ¹² P.D. Peterson, *Through the Black Hills and Bad Lands of South Dakota* (Pierre, S.D.: J. Fred Olander Company, 1929), 26.
- ¹³ P.D. Peterson, *Through the Black Hills and Bad Lands Of South Dakota* (Pierre, S.D. J. Fred Olander Co. 1929) 23.
- ¹⁴ *Jackson-Washabaugh County 1889-1989, A Continuation of Jackson Washabaugh County History, 1915-1965*, published in 1966 (Kadoka, SD: History Book Committee of Kadoka Centennial Committee, 1989), 12.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Jay Schuler, *A Revelation Called the Badlands: Building a National Park, 1909-1939* (Interior, SD: Badlands Natural History Association, 1994), 26.
- ¹⁷ P.D. Peterson, *Through the Black Hills and Bad Lands of South Dakota* (Pierre, S.D. J. Fred Olander Co. 1929) 23.
- ¹⁸ Mattison and Grom, *History of Badlands National Monument*, 37.
- ¹⁹ Quoted in Jay Schuler, *A Revelation Called the Badlands: Building a National Park, 1909-1939*, 29.
- ²⁰ South Dakota Unofficial Highways page, <http://www.dm.net/~chris-g/sdhwy2.html> (accessed October 27, 2005).
- ²¹ Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 328.
- ²² McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 414.
- ²³ Sub-Marginal Land Program, Certificate of Recommendation for Land Acquisition, Jackson and Pennington Counties, South Dakota, April 5, 1935, Miscellaneous Papers, Badlands National Park Library.
- ²⁴ McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 414-420.
- ²⁵ Herbert Maier, Regional Director to Land Program Division, RE: Badlands National Monument Extension, NPS, Washington, DC, April 2, 1935. John Milner Associates, CLR 2005.
- ²⁶ Sub-Marginal Land Committee Statement, April 5, 1935, Miscellaneous Records, BNP Library, quoted in John Milner Associates, CLR 2005.
- ²⁷ Land Program Division Regional Officer Herbert Maier, “Report on Badlands National Monument Extension Project,” April 2, 1935, Miscellaneous Records, BNP Library.
- ²⁸ McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 293.
- ²⁹ McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 138.

- ³⁰ McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 145-148.
- ³¹ Howard W. Baker, Resident Landscape Architect, "Report to the Deputy Chief Architect, Branch of Plans and Design, Western Division, San Francisco, on Development of Proposed Badlands National Monument," November 13 and 14, 1935. The idea of adobe or sod buildings appears to have been dropped early on in the planning and design process.
- ³² Oral History interview conducted with Dr. Ray Lemley, NPS, March 27, 1970.
- ³³ NPS 1938 Master Plan, Badlands National Monument.
- ³⁴ Karsmizki, DRAFT National Register Multiple Property Nomination, Section E, page 20; Mattison and Grom, *History of the Badlands*, 43.
- ³⁵ Superintendent's Reports for April 1941.
- ³⁶ National Park Service, "1938 Master Plan; Badlands National Monument, South Dakota" (Department of the Interior), no sheet #.
- ³⁷ Superintendent's/Custodian's Reports, September 1941.
- ³⁸ Superintendent's/Custodian's Reports, September 1941.
- ³⁹ Superintendent's/Custodian Reports called the ranger station a checking station not a check-in station, possibly because rangers were positioned to check on the needs of visitors.
- ⁴⁰ Richmond L. Clow, "Tribal Populations in Transition: Sioux Reservations and Federal Policy, 1934-1965," in *South Dakota History*, 387.
- ⁴¹ Superintendent's Reports, September 1943.
- ⁴² David R.M. White, "An Ethnographic Overview and Oral History of the Badlands National Park," 2001; Interview with Tony Kudnra, August 20, 2003.
- ⁴³ "An Ethnographic Overview," 304.
- ⁴⁴ Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Washington DC: Island Press, 2000), 123-125, quoted in White, "An Ethnographic Overview," 303;
- ⁴⁵ Will Spindler, "Interior Celebrates Golden Anniversary," *Interior Index*, Special Golden Anniversary Edition (undated; hand-dated June 22, 1957, copy included in Current Events Club n.d.), quoted in White, "An Ethnographic Overview," 304.
- ⁴⁶ McCabe, n.d.: 7, quoted in "An Ethnographic Overview, Chapter 9, 304-308.
- ⁴⁷ (BADL-021) quoted in "An Ethnographic Overview," Chapter 9, 304 -308.
- ⁴⁸ Burnham, 136-137, quoted in An Ethnographic Overview, Chapter 11, 321.
- ⁴⁹ An Ethnographic Overview.
- ⁵⁰ Oglala Sioux Tribal Council Letter from Johnson Holy Rock, Chairman, to E.E. Allen, Regional Director of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, November 9; Position Statement on the Badlands Air Force Gunnery Range (GSA Control No. D-SD-467) by the Oglala Sioux Tribe. Correspondence on file at Badlands National Park, quoted in "An Ethnographic Overview, Chapter 11, 320.
- ⁵¹ An Ethnographic Overview, Chapter 11, 321.
- ⁵² "What is Mission 66," in Badlands National Park Mission 66 folder, National Archives – Plains, Kansas City, MO.
- ⁵³ McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 466.
- ⁵⁴ McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 466.
- ⁵⁵ This information station was moved to the Pinnacles area after the opening of the new Visitor Center at Cedar Pass. Superintendent's Notes, 1958.
- ⁵⁶ Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People*, 45.
- ⁵⁷ Sarah Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2000), 28.
- ⁵⁸ Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type*, 28.
- ⁵⁹ Carey and Co. Inc Architecture, "DRAFT Determination of Eligibility Cedar Pass Visitor Center," Badlands National Park, Interior South Dakota, 2002, 9: 21.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 22.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, 25.
- ⁶³ E.P. Meinecke, *A Campground Policy* (Ogden, Utah: US Forest Service, US department of Agriculture, 1932) 10, quoted in McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 278.
- ⁶⁴ McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 282.

⁶⁵ E.P. Meinecke, *Camp Planning and Reconstruction* (California Region: US Forest Service, S.B. Shaw, 1933?), 7.

⁶⁶ Annual Report on Information and Interpretive Services, January 1959, Mission 66 Folder, BNP.

⁶⁷ “Mission 66 for the Badlands National Monument,” (Interior, SD: NPS), 4.

⁶⁸ David R.M. White, “An Ethnographic and Oral History of the Badlands National Park, National Park Service,” 2001, Part III, Chapter 11, p.318.

⁶⁹ George B. Hartzog, “Tomorrow in our National Parks,” *National Geographic* 130, No.1 (July 1966): 48.

⁷⁰ Hartzog, “Tomorrow in our National Parks,” 80.

⁷¹ John Milner Associates, Inc., “Cedar Pass Developed Area Cultural Landscape Report,” 2005.

⁷² Ernest Allen Conally, Associate Director to Honorable George McGovern, United States Senate, December 4, 1972.

⁷³ “An Ethnographic Overview,” Chapter 12, 328-335.

⁷⁴ Carey & Co., Inc. Architecture, “Determination of Eligibility; Cedar Pass Visitor Center, Badlands National Park; Interior, South Dakota” (San Francisco: prepared for the National Park Service, March 2002), 2.

⁷⁵ This eligibility is based on readings of Linda Flint McClelland’s *Building the National Parks*, Conrad Wirth’s *Parks, Politics, and the People*, Amanda Zehman’s DRAFT *Multiple Property Determination of Eligibility for Grand Canyon Village Mission 66 Planning Effort*, and the drawings and plans of the 1950 Master Plan for Cedar Pass and their amendments.

⁷⁶ See John Milner Associates, Inc., “Cedar Pass Developed Area Cultural Landscape Report,” 2005.

