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1992
WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK

Historic Contexts
and
National Register Guidelines

RFQ-1242-0-0410 (9/26/90)
National Park Service, RMR-AC

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FIGURES AND PLATES

INTRODUCTION

1. GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY (1-2)

2. EARLY HISTORY OF THE BLACK HILLS, PREHISTORY-1900 (3-9)
   Native American Occupation, prehistory-1877 (3-4)
   Early Exploration, 1743-1860s (4-5)
   Mining in the Black Hills, 1860s-1870s (5-6)
   Open Range Ranching and Homesteading, late 1870s-1900 (6-8)

3. TOURISM IN THE BLACK HILLS, 1888-1900 (10-22)
   Ownership Dispute over Wind Cave and Creation of Wind Cave Reserve (13-18)
   Late 19th Century Tourism and Caves (18-22)

4. CREATION AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK, 1900-1918 (23-37)

5. AUTO TOURING IN THE BLACK HILLS AND WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK, 1907-1920S (38-41)

6. ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT AT WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK, 1927-1946 (42-55)
   New Deal Programs and the CCC, 1933-1949 (48-54)
   Wind Cave National Park Expansion, 1946 (54-55)

7. SUMMARY (56)

8. ENDNOTES (57-72)
9. CONTEXTS AND ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES (73-80)

Context: Recreation and Tourism in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave, 1890-1942 (74-76)
Property Type: Resources Associated with Tourism and the Early Development of Wind Cave, 1890-1942 (74-76)
  Description (74)
  Significance (75)
  Registration Requirements (75-76)

Context: Development and Administration of Wind Cave National Park, 1903-42 (76-80)
Property Type: Resources Associated with the Development and Administration of Wind Cave National Park, 1903-42 (76-80)
  Description (77-78)
  Significance (78)
  Registration Requirements (78-80)

10. METHODS (81-82)

11. FURTHER RESEARCH NEEDS (83-84)

12. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES (85-91)

APPENDICES

A. Wind Cave National Park Superintendents (A.1)
B. Visitors to Wind Cave National Park (B.1)
C. Buildings at Wind Cave National Park, 1942 (C.1-C.2)
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FIGURES AND PLATES

Figure 1. Wind Cave National Park within the Black Hills, 1991. (Introduction)
Figure 2. Wind Cave National Park Boundary Map, 1991. (Introduction)
Figure 3. Wind Cave, 1991. (Introduction)
Figure 4. Early Ranch and Farm Operations. (9)
Figure 5. Wind Cave National Park, January 9, 1903. (26)
Figure 6. Wind Cave National Park, 1915. (33)
Figure 7. Administrative Area, WCNP, August 1927. (43)
Figure 8. Headquarters Area, WCNP, as of January 1, 1943. (51)

Plate 1. Wind Cave, before 1903. (29)
Plate 2. Wind Cave National Park, 1924. (37)
Plate 3. Wind Cave National Park, c. 1939. (52)
INTRODUCTION

This report, "Historic Contexts and National Register Guidelines for Wind Cave National Park, South Dakota," provides both background information as well as historic contexts and related property types as defined by the National Park Service. Chapters 1-8 include both background information and data applicable to historic contexts related to the property types discussed in chapter 9. The project involved the archival research aspects of a traditional historical study; funding restrictions precluded a survey or even a sampling component. The report is intended to serve as the basis for a multiple property submission and to guide survey activities. As undertaken, the project differs from the scope of work included in the original Request for Proposals. As the project evolved, the product was refined following NPS staff suggestions, and it was decided the title, Historic Contexts and National Register Guidelines for Wind Cave National Park, South Dakota, would be more accurate than Historic Resource Study.

A constant historical theme regarding the Black Hills is that of American responses to, and uses of, natural resources. Early activities in the Black Hills emphasized heavy exploitation of natural resources, especially through mining. In time, the tourism potential of the varied resources in the Hills came to be realized. The private exploitation of Wind Cave in the 1890s was as an extension of the resort and tourism development of nearby Hot Springs. In addition, the particular responses to caves reveal turn-of-the-century feelings about the natural environment and are of interest in understanding the attraction of Wind Cave to contemporary visitors.

Awareness of the importance of tourism and tourist attractions increased as the automobile enabled more and more tourists, intent upon experiencing "Nature," to visit the Black Hills. The value of natural resources for their tourism potential added another layer to the exploitation process, often a less damaging one. But in the case of Wind Cave, some Black Hills residents came to feel that the tourism advantages it offered were in jeopardy. The concept of conserving irreplaceable natural resources came to the fore, and Black Hills residents joined with their political representatives and the federal government to preserve Wind Cave by removing it from the cycle of private exploitation.

With the establishment of the National Park Service (NPS) in 1916, a body of principles regarding conservation of natural resources and the public use and enjoyment of them affected the design, management, and development of Wind Cave National Park. Although established in 1903, it was not until the major public works programs of the 1930s that the facility saw major permanent improvements based on these NPS principles. Because of its small size and modest facilities relative to many other national parks, Wind Cave National Park was regularly threatened with deauthorization. Various techniques were brought into play to counter these threats, the most notable being the establishment of the Wind Cave Game Preserve in 1912, one of the first bison preserves in the nation.
Wind Cave National Park within the Black Hills, 1991.

Figure 1.

Figure 3.
1. GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

Wind Cave is one of more than one hundred such caves known to ring the fringes of the Black Hills. While typical of the genesis of Black Hills caverns, Wind Cave is among the largest and most exceptional. Boxwork, delicate interlaced calcite "fins" which form box shapes which stand out from the wall and ceiling surfaces, is the dominant formation. Ample quantities of popcorn (knobs resembling coral) and frostwork (calcite and aragonite crystals) as well as limited representations of dripstone and flowstone are also present. Unlike most caves, Wind Cave has few stalactites and stalagmites.1

All Black Hills caves are wind caves in that wind blows into or out of the entrance as cave atmosphere adjusts to changes in exterior atmospheric pressure. The speed of air movement is larger for caves with larger volume, especially if their entrances are small. Wind Cave was aptly named, and the small size of its original entrance was a factor in the notable velocity of its winds.2 Of varying size and depth, Black Hills caves are located in the outcrop of Pahasapa limestone that surrounds the Black Hills. Beginning some 30 to 50 million years ago, the solubility of limestone coupled with moving water percolating through it resulted in this extensive network of caverns filled with distinctive formations. A common characteristic of Black Hills caves is that they contain formations of calcite crystals, a distinctive and beautiful product of the cave-forming process.3

The Black Hills and the Rocky Mountains were thrust upward 60 to 70 million years ago by pressures deep within the earth. As part of this process, the North American continent buckled and warped upward when it met the earth’s crust. Subsequent erosion has revealed several of the layers of the resultant domed uplift. Among them in the Black Hills is highest point in the state, Harney Peak, (7,242 feet).4 Geological formations are a distinctive feature of the region. In addition to caves, the Black Hills region have been known for their splendid scenery and other memorable attractions for decades. Jewel Cave National Monument, the Badlands, Custer State Park, Needles Highway, Mount Rushmore National Memorial, and the Mammoth Site of Hot Springs are notable.

Wind Cave is located at the southeast edge of the Black Hills, ten miles north of Hot Springs, South Dakota. Its 44 square miles of rolling prairie grass uplands, which are interspersed with steep-walled canyons and sparse pine stands, contrast with the Black Hills’ dark tree-cloaked peaks to the north and west.5 The wildlife preserve that is part of Wind Cave National Park affords excellent conditions to support bison, elk, pronghorn antelope, mule deer, coyote, and a host of prairie dogs. Because there are no fences along the highways traversing the park, visitors may view wildlife in a seemingly natural setting. The low elevation and semi-arid conditions (average annual precipitation is 18") translate to a prairie environment where grasses are an important feature. The dominant grasses in this mixed or northern midgrass prairie are blue gramma, western wheatgrass, and little bluestem. Also represented are coneflower,
pasqueflower, pricklypear cactus, and threadleaf sedge. In all, over a dozen grasses and sedges comprise the Wind Cave grasslands.

The park is located at a pivotal spot, for the eastern and western ranges of many birds and plants cross in the vicinity. Distinctive birdlife include the western tanager, prairie falcon, golden and bald eagle, gray jay, chipping sparrow, flycatcher, and pine siskin. The park contains grasses associated with the shortgrass prairie such as the blue gramma as well as grasses and forbs of the midgrass prairie. In a similar vein, mammals from different ecotones--bison from the grasslands and deer from the forest--are present at Wind Cave National Park.
2. EARLY HISTORY OF THE BLACK HILLS, PREHISTORY-1900

Native American Occupation, prehistory-1877

Just as the Black Hills occupy an important area of intersecting ecosystems, they also lay between the centers of two prehistoric culture areas. The Middle Missouri River valley culture is found to the east and the High and North Plains cultures to the west. Representatives from both these cultures visited the Black Hills on a seasonal basis, attracted by its shaded, slightly cooler shelter in the summer. In addition, the Black Hills offered excellent hunting and good quality stone for tools. Because of these qualities, the Black Hills and Wind Cave vicinity have the potential to contain a diversity of archeological sites. A mitigating factor in finding those sites, especially the earlier Paleo-Indian examples, may be that they are now deeply buried or have been eroded away. Several Paleo-Indian sites have been found, however, including camps at Hell Gap and Agate Basin on the southwest corner of the southern Black Hills. Sites from this period date from between about 10,000 and 5,000 B.C.

From approximately 5,000 to 3,500 B.C., a period of drier and warmer environment occurred which has been termed the Early Archaic Period. The Beaver Creek Shelter (39CU779) in Wind Cave National Park dates from then and has fine potential for revealing new data about this time of cultural and environmental change in the southern Black Hills. During portions of the Archaic Period (5,000 to 1,000 B.C.) inhabitants apparently began to collect and process plant materials, because plant-processing tools (manos and metates) are found from this time. Technological changes continued into the Middle (3,500-1,000 B.C.) and Late (1,000 B.C.-A.C. 200) Archaic Periods, including a wider variety of projectile point designs and knives. The McKean Complex people date from the Middle Archaic Period and were excellent bison hunters who lived throughout the Plains, including the southern Black Hills.

During the Late Prehistoric Period (A.D. 200-1750), ceramic production was introduced to the Northern Plains, and the bow and arrow replaced the spear. The Vore site from this period is on the northwest edge of the Black Hills and was a place where many bison were killed. More and more nomadic peoples came onto the Plains during the Late Prehistoric Period. For example, people of the Initial Middle Missouri Tradition hunted in western South Dakota and took stone from local quarries. Others (Coalescent Tradition) came into the Missouri River valley from Nebraska, gradually replacing and forcing the earlier occupants northward. Representatives of the Coalescent Tradition continued their seasonal use of the Black Hills and Badlands, as shown by the many rock shelters containing their ceramics. People from this Tradition later were known as the Arikara, and the Middle Missouri people they largely displaced were known as the Mandan and Hidatsa.

As Euro-American settlement pushed Native Americans westward, a series of tribes continued the centuries-old seasonal use of the Black Hills region. These included the Kiowa, Crow,
Ponca, Cheyenne, and Dakota or Sioux. The first written reference to the Sioux in the area dates from 1640, and there are later references dating from 1775, 1778, and 1804.

The Sioux have been associated with the Black Hills through a series of treaties wherein they ceded land as well as their battle with US troops at Little Big Horn. It has been stated by some Native Americans, especially the Sioux, that the Black Hills area, including caves, have sacred qualities. The hot springs located at present Hot Spring, South Dakota, were visited for their recuperative qualities by Native Americans. It is believed that Battle Mountain in Hot Springs is named for a skirmish between the Cheyenne and the Sioux over control of the hot springs. Caves and hot springs have been linked to Native American mythology.

Archeological sites associated with the Native American presence in present WCNP were located in 1963. These included two shelters, two workshops, two open campsites, and two tepee ring sites consisting of 47 separate rings. Near the park are a medicine wheel and a buffalo jump. Remnants of historic period trails have also been located within WCNP.

Early Exploration, 1743-1860s

For men and nations alike, the seemingly endless lands of the American West have held great attraction because of the prospect of wealth through exploitation of their natural resources. Beginning in the mid-18th century and continuing at intervals into the 19th century, a variety of traders, explorers, scientists, and military convoys passed through and around the Black Hills. During the first half of the 18th century, France sought to explore and claim vast western territories including present South Dakota. These efforts brought the first known reference to the Black Hills. On January 1, 1743, a party led by the brothers Francois and Louis Joseph La Verendrye saw the Black Hills, so named because their heavy tree cover displayed a darkness in sharp contrast with the lighter grassy plains below. Following the Treaty of Paris signed in 1763, Spain temporarily acquired title to the vast lands west of the Mississippi River; no known visits to the Black Hills date from the Spanish period. As part of treaty considerations, France subsequently secured these lands from Spain, then sold them to the United States in 1803 as part of the Louisiana Purchase.

In 1804, the famed American explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, who were sent west by President Thomas Jefferson, provided the next recorded reference to what they termed "the Cout Noire or Black Mountain." Their maps are also the first to show the Black Hills. The expedition directed official and public attention westward and also helped assert American interest in the region. The maps and detailed descriptions of plants and birds provided fascinating new data about the mysteries of the West.

Beginning with the La Verendrye brothers, early exploration typically took place in the northern foothills of the Black Hills, and the southern foothills, where Wind Cave is found, were largely bypassed. Later fur traders and scientific expeditions primarily in the northern foothills included the Astorian party of 1811 interested in furthering the fur trade and Dr. Ferdinand C. Hayden,
a geologist who reached Bear Butte in 1854. Three years later Hayden returned as part of the Warren-Hayden expedition. The military sponsored this foray to gather geological and physical data, especially regarding mineral resources. Unlike earlier visitors, members of this group entered (rather than skirted) the Hills where they saw and named Harney Peak, a major visual landmark.11

Mining in the Black Hills, 1860s-1870s

Scientific expeditions fueled beliefs about the valuable and extensive mineral deposits to be found in the Black Hills. The region received considerable official and commercial attention in the 1860s and 1870s, especially after Dakota Territory was established in 1861. The territorial governor declared in 1862 that the Black Hills were "rich beyond conception in mineral resources of coal, copper and iron." Interest was both official and extra-legal. Charles Collins, a Sioux City, Iowa man, organized the Black Hills Mining and Exploring Association in 1872, despite the fact that the Hills were not then open to legal white entry. According to the Laramie Treaty of 1868, the Black Hills (and other lands) were to be sealed off from Euro-American use and settlement, to remain in the hands of the Sioux.12

Collins and others likely felt that it was only a matter of time before the lands they coveted were open to settlement. His and others' actions reflected the westward advancing line of white settlement. Increasingly impatient settlers, prospectors, and speculators strode the line the military established between Indian and American lands. They seemingly awaited a catalyst to propel them forward. Yet another military expedition into the Black Hills provided the stimulus. Led by Lt. Col. George A. Custer in 1874, they emerged with news of gold in the Hills and proceeded to trumpet these findings in the American press.13

The gold rush to the Black Hills commenced after Custer leaked his report. The US government attempted to keep miners out of the Hills but proved insufficient to counteract the lure of potential golden wealth. Prospectors immediately poured into the Hills and established mining claims, camps, placer mines, and crude roads. In a determined effort at mineral exploitation, their numbers swelled dramatically. A meeting held in August of 1875 at the new town of Custer City reportedly was attended by 1,200 miners, just before Brig. Gen. George Crook ordered them out. Despite the fact that the Hills were Indian lands, some 11,000 prospectors had populated Custer City by March of 1876, according to an Indian commissioners' report. In direct contradiction to the Laramie Treaty of 1868, the Sioux Indians were forced to cede the Black Hills to the US government in an agreement that was ratified in February, 1877.14

While present Custer County in which Wind Cave is located was the first center of mining, there is no evidence to suggest that the immediate vicinity of Wind Cave was a focus of gold operations. Just as early exploration of the Black Hills fell to the northern edge of the place, gold mining and related initial settlement activities lay in the northern reaches of Custer County. By the end of 1875, Custer City reportedly had a population of around 5,000 people living in 1,400 hastily constructed log buildings. A mining community was by its nature a fickle one,
and with each new report of a mother lode a new community sprang up near it. When news of
gold discoveries in the Deadwood gulch reached Custer in the spring of 1876, thousands deserted
Custer in favor of Deadwood to the north.¹⁵

Freight haulers and merchants from all directions scrambled to capture the freight and stage
business into and out of the Black Hills. During the 1870s and 1880s, important routes were
established from Cheyenne, Wyoming; Sidney, Nebraska; Yankton, Pierre, and Chamberlain,
South Dakota; and Bismarck and Dickinson, North Dakota. The presence of rail connections
from all these points was a key factor in their participation in Black Hills overland trade. When
rail service reached Pierre and Chamberlain in 1880, they largely supplanted the more distant
rail heads in other states as major entrepots for Black Hills-bound goods.¹⁶

During the brief boom period of 1875-77 when Custer was the focus of prospecting in the Hills,
freight haulers followed two routes north from Cheyenne and Sidney to reach the miners. The
Cheyenne route crossed the Cheyenne River near Camp Collier, then proceeded up the Pleasant
Valley to enter Custer from the southwest and (later) continue north to Deadwood. The second
route lay east of Pleasant Valley and generally hugged the eastern foothills of the Black Hills
en route to Rapid City and then Sturgis and Deadwood.¹⁷ Neither of these important routes
established in the late 1870s traversed the present boundaries of Wind Cave National Park
(WCNP) nor do other primary routes.¹⁸ However, a freight route (with a later passenger spur
route) between Sidney and Custer opened in 1884, a late example. The route should be regarded
as a minor local road serving permanent settlements rather than an example of an early, histori­
cally significant trail. From Buffalo Gap it extended northerly for some thirty miles before
cutting west into the Hills to Custer. The road established in 1884 was said to have functioned
as a freight trail until railroad connections arrived, which would have been 1885 for Buffalo Gap
and 1886 for Rapid City. Minor local routes, including the Cold Brook (or Creek) Wagon Trail,
crossed the present WCNP boundaries. (For further discussion of historic trails in the Black
Hills, see section above on early exploration and related endnotes.)¹⁹

Open Range Ranching and Homesteading, late 1870s-1900

While early settlement in the Hills was related to gold mining, other, more permanent,
communities dated from the next phase of land use and exploitation of natural resources. Rapid
City was located on the east edge of the Hills in a spot where early settlers had, without success,
sought gold. Established as a town site early in 1876, Rapid City functioned as a gateway to
the Hills. When the railroad arrived from Chadron, Nebraska in 1886, its permanence was
assured. The coming of the railroad also marked an important step in the continued exploitation
of Black Hills resources. Traditional agrarian settlers began to arrive and put down roots,
normal civil government was instituted, and additional economic ventures--cattle and sheep
ranching and farming--came to the fore.²⁰

The Northern Plains in general had seen large scale cattle operations beginning in the 1860s, but
the Black Hills were not open to legal settlement until after the Teton Sioux ceded the Black
Hills under an agreement ratified in 1877. Cattlemen in the Northern Plains typically selected a homestead site near a water source, then grazed their cattle on the public domain. They variously expanded their grazing opportunities by leasing Indian reservation land, buying land, and taking advantage of such federal programs as the Homestead Act of 1862, the Timber Culture Act of 1873, and the Desert Land Act of 1877 (amended 1890).21

In the late 1870s and continuing with growing intensity during the 1880s, cattle were brought to feeding ranges in the Black Hills in increasing numbers. The land surrounding the Black Hills, including its foothills, offered fine grazing prospects, and cattlemen fed their stock without charge on the open ranges in the public domain. Sheep ranchers also took advantage of these lands, and by 1884, an estimated 85,000 sheep grazed in the Black Hills. Demand from miners, tradesmen, and Indian agencies provided a strong local market for the livestock. Rail line construction soon linked the Hills with the East, and stockmen supplied meat from the Plains to an expanding marketplace. By 1880 cattlemen had established large scale ranches employing many ranch hands in the eastern foothills and at the confluence of the Belle Fourche and Cheyenne rivers.22

Another important range cattle area was centered around Buffalo Gap in present Custer County (just southeast of Wind Cave National Park). For example, W.G. Grimes reportedly ran 8,000 head of cattle in the area in 1880. Charles E. Roe, a Black Hills pioneer, worked for Grimes and also for another major concern, the Anglo-American Cattle Company. This venture expanded by buying out the TAN Ranch, the Bar T on Hat Creek, and the TOT Ranch at Edgemont. At one time the Anglo-American Company owned 34,000 head of cattle in South Dakota. Cattle were grazed all over the southern Black Hills during the 1880s. The open range period characterized by large scale ranches was as intense and nearly as fleeting as the gold rush in the Hills. At the end of the 1880s, settlers reduced herd size and operated out of smaller scale, more traditional homestead settings in the Wind Cave vicinity. The disastrous winter of 1886-1887 which decimated herds across the Northern Plains was also a factor in this shift, although the storms and resultant livestock losses were less severe in Custer and Fall River counties.23

Maps from the late 19th century showed ranches and homesteads dotting the landscape. The 1884 Andreas map simply declared approximately four unsurveyed sections west of Buffalo Gap as "cattle ranches." The open range period overlapped with the coming of homesteaders intent upon establishing a permanent farmstead or a small scale ranch. In some cases, homesteaders also worked as ranch hands to help make ends meet. Documentary evidence is not conclusive, but the following early ranch or farm operations were established within the boundaries of the present Wind Cave National Park.24 (See Figure 4.)

1. Scholfield, NW 1/4, sec 15, R5, T6 (west of Cold Brook Canyon)
2. Charles Valentine, NE 1/4, sec 11, R5, T6
3. W.H. Rankin, NE 1/4, NW 1/4, sec 35, R5, T5
4. Tumley, NE 1/4, sec 34, R6, T5 (along Beaver Creek)
5. Reid, NE 1/4, sec 34, R6, T5 (along Beaver Creek)
6. Gordon, SE 1/4, sec 30, R6, T5
7. Timsley, NW 1/4, sec 26, R6, T5
8. Griffith, NW 1/4, sec 23, R6, T5
9. Parker, NW 1/4, sec 14, R6, T5
10. A.D. Ennis, NE 1/4, sec 12, R5, T5
11. Tarrant Ranch
13. 5.5 Mile Ranch, NW 1/4, NW 1/4, sec 18, T5S, R5E

The ranches and homesteads within present WCNP were small scale operations. Many early arrivals did not remain long. Those who did persist typically eked out a marginal living on modest farmsteads, limited by the topography and semi-arid climate. Feed-grain, forage crops, and livestock production with some limited fresh produce such as apple orchards characterized farming operations. Historic maps delineate small, widely dispersed fields of undetermined crops tucked amid steep canyons and rolling terrain, suggesting that farming operations were small scale and largely subsistence level. However, Charles H. Valentine briefly operated what was termed the Wind Cave horse ranch in the late 1880s and early 1890s before returning to his home in New York. Early in 1894, Valentine reportedly sold his horse ranch including 600 head of horses and cattle to New York investors for $18,000. It appears that while larger in scale than the norm, the Valentine venture was exemplary of the transitory nature of agricultural operations in the area.25
Early Ranch and Farm Operations.

Source: Original land surveys, Andreas Atlas, USGS maps

Figure 4.
3. TOURISM IN THE BLACK HILLS, 1888-1900

Unlike Custer City, a product of the gold rush, and Rapid City, an early settlement community tied to railroad development, Hot Springs initially saw itself as a resort community eager to exploit the tourism possibilities of Black Hills natural resources. The development of Hot Springs is thus part of this phase of development in the Southern Hills and represents another facet of the exploitation of natural resources. Hot Springs' history is intertwined with that of Wind Cave. Just ten miles apart, the two places were both developed and promoted as tourist attractions in the 19th century, and Hot Springs was the starting point for visitors heading for Wind Cave.

Hot Springs came to the attention of whites in the late 1870s, who noted "ten or twelve springs in the group." Native Americans had long treasured the springs' recuperative qualities; indeed, early white settlers reportedly found tepee rings (stones used to hold tepee covers in place) dotting the hillsides around Hot Springs, evidence of repeated Native American visitation to the place. In 1878 or 1879 the first homesteaders arrived and located claims on three quarter sections of land. Among them were George Trimmer and his wife, Mary Lone Wolf. Part Native American, she has been credited with making the first improvements to the hot springs bathing facilities, having "dug [the first tub] out by hand and carved the original bath-tub with hammer and chisel" around 1879.26

The 1878 arrivals sold their claims in 1881-82 to buyers who had ambitious plans. Fred T. Evans and Drs. A.S. Stewart and R.D. Jennings had a swift and profound impact on the development of Hot Springs. The doctors came to apply their medical knowledge to the treatment of invalids and others hoping to benefit from the soothing warm waters of the springs. Jennings established a combined hotel/hospital in a log cabin by one of the springs in 1881. Stewart joined the venture the following year.27 Fred Evans brought commercial expertise to the development of Hot Springs as a resort town. He had begun his career running streetcars in Sioux City, Iowa, then operated one of the earliest transportation companies in the Hills where he obtained important government hauling contracts. Once rail service reached Deadwood and overland freight service demand fell, Evans concentrated on the commercial recreational development of Hot Springs, beginning in 1881. His goal was to make it a "mecca of recreation seekers." Evans was well suited to capitalize on the resort, recreational, and medicinal opportunities Hot Springs offered. He had business connections with the Milwaukee Railroad serving Pierre and Chamberlain and also had had important government contracts. Later referred to as the "masterbuilder of old Hot Springs," Evans was responsible for the construction and development of important and enduring Hot Springs tourism landmarks.28

The doctors and Evans envisioned a major resort community (some called it the "Carlsbad of America") but initial growth was slow. In 1886, there may have been upwards of thirteen buildings of all sorts at the site. Hot Springs lacked good access, an important consideration for
the infirm and for tourists seeking a relaxing atmosphere. The situation changed in 1886, however, when the railroad reached nearby Buffalo Gap. Now, convenient transportation was but thirteen miles away, and soon reached Hot Springs itself. 29

Evans, Jennings, Stewart, and E.G. Dudley seized the moment and formed the Dakota Hot Springs Company in 1886. Their first project that year was to build a suitably large and commodious hotel, the wood frame Minnekahta. Hot Springs residents began to promote their community as a resort in earnest. They published an advertising booklet and established a newspaper in 1887 to tout the virtues of the place. 30 New residents flocked to the developing tourist mecca. From less than one hundred in 1886, the population grew to 583 in December of 1889. By December of the following year, Hot Springs' population had grown to 1,447. 31

Between 1886 and 1891, the direction and appearance that characterize Hot Springs developed. Using sandstone from Evans' and others nearby quarries, entrepreneurs built at least seven major public and private buildings, including the State Soldiers' Home, Fall River County Courthouse, and the Evans Hotel. In a project that well emphasized the recreational aspects of Hot Springs, Evans also built the Plunge in 1891. The large enclosed bath house combined the recreational and healthful aspects of Hot Springs tourism. Even more important to the continuing exploitation of the warm springs was the fact that two rail lines arrived in the summer of 1891. 32

The soothing warm baths of Hot Springs were not the sole potential tourist attraction in the area. Beginning in 1890, area residents sought to capitalize on another natural resource as a tourist attraction, Wind Cave. The brothers Jesse and Tom Bingham are credited with the initial discovery of Wind Cave in 1881. 33 The unusual properties of the cave—a sometimes strong wind alternately rushes in or out of it depending on barometric pressure—initially drew their attention. They said they heard it whistling (like the sound of blowing wind), saw the grass waving, and investigated.

Neither the Binghams nor others immediately thought to systematically capitalize on the find. There are reports of small parties from Custer and Hot Springs seeking out and visiting the cave in the 1880s, and the cave was viewed as a natural curiosity worthy of no more than this type of casual investigation. In July of 1886, for example, a party of 30-40 people from Custer camped overnight at the cave. 34

The arrival of the Jesse D. McDonald family around 1888 in the Black Hills brought on a new phase of cave use, one characterized by commercialism, development, tourism, and, ultimately, rancor and dissension. J.D. McDonald moved from Franklin County, Iowa, to Wyoming in 1887, then settled in the Black Hills the following year as an employee of New York businessman Robert B. Moss. 35 Beginning in 1890, J.D. McDonald launched an active campaign to promote Wind Cave as a tourist attraction. His regular visits to the Hot Springs newspaper were duly reported, as was progress on developing Wind Cave, "a natural curiosity of great beauty." 36 He encouraged local newspaper editors to see the "millions upon millions
of tons of magnificent rock work of nature's choicest designs," and the editors' visits became an annual event. McDonald arranged to have Wind Cave specimens exhibited in 1891 at the Ottumwa, Iowa, Coal Palace, an exposition designed to promote the community. Local sentiment favored these activities, for "such exhibitions of Black Hills specimens will have a tendency to advertise this section and will attract outsiders to this place."

In the spring of 1891, another important early participant in Wind Cave development, John Stabler, moved to Hot Springs from Chamberlain, South Dakota. Born in Pennsylvania in 1847, he moved to Wisconsin as a child. After serving in the Civil War, Stabler married and headed west and in 1871 acquired land near Melford, Nebraska. The family moved to Hastings, Nebraska, in 1874 where Stabler opened an implement business. The growing Stabler household (six children) then moved to Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1879 where Stabler briefly manufactured machinery using prison labor, then worked as a traveling salesman. The Stablers moved again, in 1888, to Chamberlain in the Dakota Territory and operated a hotel. The next destination was Hot Springs where Stabler leased the all-but-completed Hotel Parrott in 1891. With the arrival of rail connections in the summer of 1891, Hot Springs was a booming place with good prospects for a new hotel.

Stabler only operated the Parrott Hotel for a year, then began his involvement with Wind Cave. He bought a share of the cave from J.D. McDonald in 1892, and they formed the Wonderful Wind Cave Improvement Company (with George H. Bronte, son Charles Stabler, and M.V.B. Osmer). Early in May of that same year, the Stabler family began construction of a two-story 22x32' frame hotel at Wind Cave "for the accommodation of those visiting that justly noted natural attraction." By early June the building was nearly complete and ready for guests.

The company proceeded to promote Wind Cave through a variety of techniques. Some of their methods were questionable and underscored the highly commercialized approach the cave owners adopted. In July of 1892, they let it be known that a "petrified man" had been discovered near Wind Cave and proceeded to exhibit it. After the initial excitement abated in the Hot Springs area, the fake was sold and displayed, again for a price, in Nebraska and Kansas.

McDonald and Stabler, those "rustling energetic men," continued to promote Wind Cave as a Hot Springs area tourist attraction. They announced improvements to the passages so that it was "no longer a trial to go through the cave." A post office was established with John's son, George Stabler, as postmaster. They sold photographs of the cave and continued their annual excursions for editors. In one of the more outrageous exploits, McDonald and Stabler induced Professor Paul Alexander Johnstone, the "world renowned mind reader," to search for the head of a scarf pin hidden in the cave. After three grueling days and nights, Johnstone emerged shaken but victorious.

If the owners' statements are to be believed, these promotional efforts were productive. Between May 14, the beginning of the season, and August 25, 1893, 905 people reportedly paid to experience Wind Cave. Precise attendance figures are elusive. Based on an entry fee of $.50
and statements of annual receipts (which may have included specimen sales), it is possible that more than 900 paid to visit Wind Cave in 1890 and that nearly 1,500 visited the following year.\textsuperscript{43}

Sale of specimens provided an important avenue for enrichment. From the start, visitors to the cave had collected specimens of the distinctive stone formations. Several men from the Custer area, including later Wind Cave Superintendent Joseph E. Pilcher, entered the cave in September of 1884 and may have then blasted out an enlarged opening as well. Their intent was to loot the cave of its natural beauties, and they proudly returned to Custer "loaded with brilliant specimens of water formation." And, after a Sunday visit to the cave also in 1893, the Paul Kleemann family "returned home loaded with fine specimens and enthusiastic over the beauties of the subterranean wonder."\textsuperscript{44}

Small handbills listed what was available for sale from the McDonalds. These included boxwork for $.15 to $5.00, popcorn formations for $.10 to $2.00, and three types of geodes for between $.75 and $10.00. Sales extended beyond the immediate area as well: J.D. McDonald's son Alvin, well known as a guide at Wind Cave, traveled to the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago to help sell specimens in 1893.\textsuperscript{45}

During the 1890's when the McDonalds and Stablers were blasting and enlarging passages, they presumably obtained specimens as a by-product of these improvements. There was also a chamber in the cave that for a time was termed the "Specimen Grounds." Specimens were actively mined, not just collected or picked up as residue from blasting to enlarge passages. A visitor in 1892 "...heard the click of hammers and chisels working on the 'Frost Beds,' and soon after the party returned laden with their spoils."\textsuperscript{46}

It was clear from newspaper accounts that there was little if any local disapproval of these sales. Announcements were made of salesrooms opening for the tourist season in 1891 with J.F. Moore and J.D. McDonald as partners, in 1894 as an addition to Jensen's bar, and in 1895 at Moody's Specimen Store. The \textit{Hot Springs Star} even offered "a handsome collection" of specimens "to all cash-in-advance subscribers" the spring of 1894.\textsuperscript{47}

\textbf{Ownership Dispute over Wind Cave and Creation of Wind Cave Reserve}

In the 1890s, Wind Cave was developed as a privately operated tourist business. Its promoters felt they owned a valuable property whose resources could and should be exploited. Beginning in 1893, a series of legal disputes over who owned the cave revealed that the participants felt Wind Cave was not only valuable but worth fighting for. The wrangle dated from the circumstances surrounding the McDonald family's arrival at Wind Cave in the late 1880s.

Arguments over ownership involved two types of land claims important in the Black Hills, mineral claims and agricultural claims. Miners could obtain mining location certificates for specific veins or deposits of potentially valuable minerals. In order to retain the claims, they
had to show active working of the claim and show that there were in fact valuable minerals present. The definition of minerals included building materials such as stone, clay for bricks, and "paint rock" ground to make paint. The other major type of applicable land claim was an agricultural claim based on the Homestead Act of 1862. In order to qualify to receive 160 acres of land, claimants had to show they lived on the land and had improved it for agricultural use.

Two mineral claims had been located at the Wind Cave site in the late 1880s. Frank D. Hutton and Nels S. Hyde filed on July 9, 1886, and L.C. Faris on January 1, 1889. The Moss family’s South Dakota Mining Company acquired these mineral claims in 1889 with the intent of exploring and developing Wind Cave. The Moss family was based in New York City, and, like many easterners, they sought to invest their capital in the developing West in the late 19th century. Heading by John C. Moss and his son Robert B., the company, like others from the period, was established in the Black Hills by those intent upon investing in and capitalizing on the untapped natural resources of the place. However, a series of outside events drew the Moss family away from the Black Hills. John C. Moss died suddenly, and the family found itself near bankruptcy. The nationwide financial depression of the 1890s likely contributed further to their financial distress.

As part of their initial development plans, the family hired J.D. McDonald to oversee the cave and also contracted with Peter J. Folsom to assay the mineral contents of the cave. Although he later denied the association and acted contrary to it, McDonald was originally involved with Wind Cave development as an employee of Moss Engineering Company (later South Dakota Mining Company). The arrangement does not seem to have been secret, for McDonald was typically described in 1890 newspaper entries as the "manager of the Wind Cave property," not the owner. When McDonald and his family set up housekeeping at Wind Cave, the government had not formally surveyed the land surrounding it, and homestead claims could not be filed in advance of the surveys. After original land surveys were completed in 1892, Jesse D. McDonald filed a homestead claim that included the mouth of Wind Cave. The Moss family interests later stated that McDonald had been acting under their instructions and that he had agreed to turn over the property to them; the cave, therefore, belonged to them. It is unclear how they reasoned that an employee could file a homestead claim for a company.

Further legal complications dated from February of 1893 when Peter J. Folsom filed mineral liens on Wind Cave, contending that the Moss’s South Dakota Mining Company owed him money. An engineer from Bloomington, Illinois, named Folsom had been contracted to assay minerals from a Moss claim. During the summer he filed another lien, saying the company had failed to pay him for a second contract as well.

The long distance relationship between the Moss and McDonald interests also soured. In July of 1893, the Moss family’s South Dakota Mining Company sued the Wonderful Wind Cave Company, claiming (correctly) they were selling off their property in the form of Wind Cave
specimens. This occurred when the Stablers and McDonalds were actively and openly promoting "their" Wind Cave. The Moss family must have felt besieged from a number of fronts, with Folsom demanding satisfaction, and McDonald not acting as directed in caring for what the Mosses saw as their property. The Mosses carried on their Black Hills legal proceedings from afar. In some cases they (or their attorney) failed to appear in court, and the various claimants, including J.D. McDonald, John Stabler, and Peter J. Folsom, won by default or on the merits of the case. In the fall of 1895, the courts agreed with Folsom that he was due payment and awarded him the Moss property, Wind Cave; Folsom eventually replaced the Mosses as one of McDonald’s adversaries and joined forces with the Stabler faction.

Although the various lawsuits and US General Land Office (GLO) proceedings concerning mineral and homestead claims dragged on until 1899, a shift in local sentiments became apparent in 1895. An indication of the shifting alliances was the negative tone the newspaper took after McDonald canceled his subscription in a pique, complaining bitterly that Hot Springs residents did not properly support Wind Cave. The newspaper expressed surprise at this outburst while noting "there are some people, we are told, who do not feel favorably disposed toward the cave....[and]...not everyone is infatuated with that kind of attraction." Growing incensed, the editor railed against the "narrow-minded and suspicious accusations of the cave people." While the cave’s ownership remained in doubt in the late 1890s, the anti-McDonald sentiments continued, and John Stabler was now seen as the better half of the Wind Cave group. He was described as "just the kind of a man needed to describe the journey into the Cave for he always delights everybody and he impresses them with the beauties of the Cave...." Various terms "jolly John," and "honest John," he continued to actively promote Wind Cave. In August of 1897, guests of national renown, William Jennings Bryan (on a speaking tour) and the governor of South Dakota, visited the cave and were reportedly "enthusiastic over the beauty of the cave." Likely as a result of his growing connections, Stabler was named one of South Dakota’s commissioners to the Trans-Mississippi Exposition held in Omaha in 1898. Perhaps not unnaturally, a rift developed between the McDonald and Stabler forces in the late 1890s; probably as Stabler realized he had purchased an interest in a cave that was apparently not McDonald’s to sell. Stabler complained publicly that McDonald was mistreating him and stated that he did "not propose to be bulldozed or intimidated and will continue to assert my rights." The local newspaper reported "a coldness that was clammy has been growing like an iceberg between the two families." In 1897, the Stabler and Folsom sides formally joined together in league against McDonald. The McDonalds filed suits; the Stabler-Folsom group, countersuits. There were injunctions and restraining orders issued culminating in the spring of 1897 when the McDonalds were evicted from Wind Cave. Having taken possession, Folsom and Stabler formed the Black Hills Wind
Cave Company in the fall of 1898 (with Charles Stabler, John Stabler's son-in-law Peter T. Paulson, and Fred Whitfield). 56

The bickering among contentious property owners brought Wind Cave to the attention of public officials beginning in 1893 when the Moss interests first brought suit. With the entry of General Land Office into the fray, other federal departments also became involved. The US Geological Survey (USGS) sent two geologists to examine the cave in 1898. As a result of their brief, two-hour visit, they reported that the cave was extensive and had many large chambers. Noting that they considered the "box work" to be unique, they concluded that "altogether the Cave is regarded as one of great interest and beauty" that is enjoyed by "a large number of visitors." The tourism potential was thus acknowledged but no mention was made of the mineral value of the cave. 57

Feeling that it was crucial to their cause, the Stabler forces brought in an expert in an effort to establish the validity of their mineral claim. 58 On April 3, 1898, Professor Lucius J. Boyd of the South Dakota School of Mines examined the cave and soon thereafter sent his report to Stabler's lawyers. Boyd found deposits of gold, limestone, magnesia, and paint rock (the latter so named for when ground and mixed with oil it could be used as paint). Boyd carefully concluded (perhaps in more equivocal terms than Stabler would have wished) that "although within 500 feet from the surface, the [cave] formation has proven itself to contain the precious metals in paying quantities, I believe at a depth there will also be found the lower formations of the postdams and the gold bearing contacts so well known in the mining districts of the Black Hills." 59 But Boyd also stated that in the future the cave would be "of the greatest interest to the public as well as the state." Formations, not the amount of mining deposits, were what he described in glowing terms and in detail, calling them "something so magnificent which can never be forgotten." 60

A re-hearing before GLO officials was held April 18, 1898, and the Stabler forces presented Boyd's findings. Finally, at the end of July 1899, the long-awaited GLO decision was handed down. 61 Nobody won. The mineral claims were declared invalid, and McDonald's homestead claim was also canceled. The Secretary of the Interior held that neither the South Dakota Mining Company and Black Hills Wind Cave Company, on one side, nor Jesse D. McDonald, on the other, were entitled to the property. Further, the GLO and the Secretary recommended that the government hold the cave in reserve as a "public resort," removing it from the possibility of private ownership and exploitation. 62

A report GLO special agent C.W. Greene filed on December 4, 1899, summarized the rationale behind denying both mineral and homestead claims related to Wind Cave. 63 Regarding the homestead claims, Greene concluded that the land was "unfit for cultivation except in very small patches of from one half to probably three acres, with no water anywhere and no hope of finding it by sinking wells...." And that "if all the land under consideration was given to one man it would not pay to try and cultivate it, as all he could hope to use would be small plats found in the bottom of these dry ravines." 64
Turning to the mineral claims and Stabler's contention that "paint rock" was being mined and processed, Greene determined that "the Paint Mill shown in evidence to be a part of the improvements of the Mineral Claimants was one of those small hand grinders used in small paint shops." He searched for signs that the Stabler forces were actively removing valuable minerals from the property, "but found no evidence of legitimate mining" on the surface.

Greene also toured the cave in search of evidence of mineral development at the subterranean level. The would-be owners had contended they had made improvements to the cave related to its mining potential. But Greene saw no such improvements and, to the contrary, concluded "they have done considerable work in opening passages so that tourists can pass through without crawling as they did at first." Finally, Greene concluded that "none of the claimants, either the agricultural or mineral who have fought through the various hearings ordered by [the GLO] office would spend a day's time or a dollar in money, if the Cave were not there, it appears to me that the object to be attained is a patent to the land, and then the cave would be all you would hear of."

At the end of 1900, Wind Cave was set aside temporarily until Congress was prepared to establish a permanent reservation. The unpleasantness, awkward publicity, and general contrariness of the principals likely contributed to local sentiment for removing Wind Cave from the contentious hands of these prospective owners. The editor of the Hot Springs Star announced in 1896 that "the full benefit of this leading natural attraction [Wind Cave] will never be realized as long as the short-sighted, narrow-minded insolent policy of the alleged proprietor [McDonald] is continued."

By the turn of the century, Hot Springs enjoyed a full and growing tourist trade. It can be assumed that local leaders did not consider the battles over Wind Cave ownership to constitute appropriate advertising. It seems probable that local leaders took advantage of their political contacts to bring Wind Cave to the attention of the various federal agencies.

That Hot Springs residents were politically connected at the state and national levels seems clear. Dr. A.S. Stewart, one of the original Hot Springs developers, is known to have visited Washington, D.C., in 1882 as one of the members of a South Dakota delegation interested in statehood. With his railroad and governmental contacts, Fred Evans likely was well acquainted with people of influence. And tiny communities in remote locations do not readily obtain such public institutions as the State Soldiers Home and the Veterans Administration Battle Hill Sanitarium without some political connections.

Various elected officials were indeed aware of Wind Cave. In the summer of 1895, Senator Richard Pettigrew and Congressman (later Senator) Robert J. Gamble of South Dakota visited the cave and reportedly "came back wildly hilarious about the wonders that they had seen." S.E. Wilson, a prominent Republican leader in the Hills, was another early backer reportedly instrumental in having Wind Cave withdrawn from private hands. Another significant proponent of Wind Cave and Hot Springs during this period was Eben W. Martin. Born in
Jackson County, Iowa, Martin practiced law in Deadwood beginning in 1880. First elected to Congress in 1901, he represented the Black Hills until 1915, with the exception of one two-year term. Although he did not move to Hot Springs permanently until 1920, he owned property there (including a plunge bath) and was prominently identified with its interests. 73

Late 19th Century Tourism and Caves

The pages of the newspaper in Hot Springs were regularly filled with enthusiastic references to the wonders of Wind Cave, including the names of various formations and newly discovered chambers. Although early cave visitors named the formations based on their similarity to familiar things or descriptive features, they typically were unable to characterize or even describe in much detail the cave as a whole. Statements are filled with passages stating the writers' inability to convey the majesty of the place. During his 1899 visit, Agent Greene was struck by the grandeur of the "subterranean wonders" but felt that "no one can form an idea of this cavern without having first seen it." A promotional booklet, likely from 1891, contended that "it is simply impossible to give the reader the slightest idea of the extent and loveliness of this cave." And "no one has ever been able to describe the marvelous beauty of this great Cave..."74

Still, the more intrepid visitors did attempt to describe the qualities and characteristics of the cave, the experience of visiting it, and the various specific formations and chambers. These statements reveal attitudes prevalent in the late 19th century, including the role of the cave within the spheres of American tourism, recreation, and natural resources. American responses to tourist attractions often displayed a combination of seemingly contradictory responses, including the "sacred and the profane, the mythic and the trivial, the solemn and the irreverent."75

This paradoxical mixture of emotions embodies a number of American values--and contradictions. On the one hand, a tourist attraction was looked upon as a place of pilgrimage where the expectation was to experience the special characteristics of that "shrine" intensely and emotionally. Wondrous objects, scenes, and attractions were supposed to evoke an emotional experience on an elevated moral plane. But operating alongside this mysterious and solemn set of responses was a strong dose of commercial exploitation and sensationalism. Just as fairs and markets took place next to medieval religious shrines and churches in Europe, souvenir stands and other aspects of commercialization stood cheek by jowl with such scenes of dramatic and potentially emotionally intense experience as the Niagara Falls and the geysers at Yellowstone.76

Tourists journeyed to natural wonders such as Niagara Falls for the emotional or pleasurable experience or both. Contemporary writings about Niagara Falls in New York and Mammoth Cave in Kentucky revealed that writers did not attribute the same moral influence to caves as they did to the showy, spectacular, above-ground falls. Unlike Niagara Falls, it was not
suggested or implied that the emotional experience surrounding a visit to a cave would ideally lead to moral improvement.77

A visit to a cave evoked different responses due to their subterranean characteristics. A cave was seen as something dark, silent, and mysterious. Religious symbolism and related ritualistic meanings were part of a cave visit. A distinct separation between the workaday above-ground world and the cool enveloping precincts of the cave added to the impression. By entering the chasm, one was initiated into its mysteries. A guide inducted into the special secrets of the cave was necessary to lead the visitor through its inner recesses. Without the leader, one could become lost or fail to properly interpret what was experienced, just as a priest or other religious leader interprets the religious domain. The journey through the cave was difficult with narrow passages to squeeze through, steep inclines, and the prospect of becoming lost—but it was ultimately rewarding. A cave tour was perceived as a metaphor of life and of religious searching and redemption.78

The experiences surrounding Wind Cave reflected many of these American responses and attitudes towards caves. The visit represented a distinct change from the everyday world, an entry down into a very different place: "the [trap] door was opened and we bid farewell to the sunlight."79 Writing in 1892, a visitor described his pilgrimage. At the start, there was a feeling of beginning an extraordinary journey, as "...I donned some ragged and dirty clothing, in place of my ordinary suit, and...with a candle in my hand, like one doing penance, I was ready to go down into this yawning grave and explore this new world 'Inferno'."80 (Protective clothing was also issued at Mammoth Cave.) Still another account noted that "...all candidates for admission must don" special clothing before they ventured "down, down into the darkness...into an unknown and unsightly abyss."81

The difficult nature of the journey through Wind Cave was often described in some detail in early accounts. "It was down, down, down, by slopes, by steps, by ladders, by ropes; stooping, crawling, sliding; face down, face up; now on one side of the body, then on the other, till the first noted space or chamber was reached."82 An 1890 description mentioned "crawling and stumbling over the numerous precipices and mammoth rocks." Reaching one formation required "exceedingly hard travel, crawling and dragging [ourselves] along." But, finally, "one is more than repaid for the hardships...by seeing so many beautiful pictures and figures of nature's very delicate penciling and carving."83

Such a difficult journey might be well expected to require an expert guide, one imbued with special knowledge or qualities. At Mammoth Cave, Stephen Bishop filled this role. A former slave, he was well versed in the mysteries of the cave and had investigated many passages. Alvin McDonald, the son of Jesse D. McDonald, was the counterpart in Wind Cave during the early 1890s. Alvin, "the genial guide whose curly locks are so familiar to Wind Cave visitors," was intimately involved in cave matters. His diary revealed the considerable time he spent in the cave. His activities included all night forays into its undiscovered recesses, the wholesale removal of specimens for sale, and guiding parties through the cave. He displayed an all-
consuming devotion to the cave and its attendant mysteries. Upon his untimely death from typhoid fever the end of 1893, 20-year-old Alvin was recalled as the "chief guide" who "knew the cave like a book." "No other is so familiar with the miles of intricate passages and chambers...." The role of the guide loomed especially large when visitors considered (with some relish) the vast darkness of the cave. When temporarily separated from the rest of the party, "silence and darkness fell upon me like some real, tangible horror." "It was simply horrific blackness." To highlight cave formations and underscore the darkness, guides burned strips of magnesium ribbon at places. "Chaos could not be more desolate and the day when the 'earth was without form and void' could not equal that five minutes in the darkness of the cave." 

Attitudes toward Wind Cave displayed the contradictory images of the sacred and the profane that were one facet of American attitudes toward caves. One the one hand, Alvin McDonald was the spiritual guide who introduced initiates into the glorious mysteries of the cave. But, as has been noted, he (and his family) were also actively exploiting the very shrine he had taken upon himself to explore, care for, and revere. Diary entries describe getting "a good load of frost and popcorn work," also "some fine geodes and crystallized box work." Similarly, area residents described with awe the special qualities of the cave, that "natural curiosity of great beauty." Yet they clearly considered the cave to be primarily a tourist attraction, listing it among the "attractions of Hot Springs" in 1892, along with the Plunge Bath, Battle Mountain, and the Soldier Home, among others. They entreated tourists to pay a visit. "Nature well repays with beauties and wonders the adventurous tourists' hard climb." Newspaper accounts from the 1890s repeatedly mentioned the large number of visitors to the cave. "Wind Cave is becoming a wonderful attraction, coach load after coach load [of tourists] going out every day." 

Visitors to Wind Cave, in effect, participated in its creation by christening some of the features and chambers. The process reflected the spiritual response some of these growing numbers of visitors sought to feel. The titles fell into several categories. There were images of paradise and its earthly manifestations, such as the cathedral; names referring to the descent into Hades and its spiritual darkness; and titles relating to the act of creation of this mysterious natural wonder. At Wind Cave simple descriptive terms lacking strong emotional associations (Red Hall), names of above-ground places (the Dining Room), terms with literary or historical associations (Milton's Study), and titles from organizations such as the Methodist church or the YMCA were also given to chambers, rooms, and formations.

Especially before the tourism aspects were well developed, many of the appellations were primarily descriptive. An 1892 account mentioned the Coral Room, Monument Room, and the Frost Beds. Another early description, from 1890, mentioned the Snow Ball House, Red Hall, Monument Hall, and the Cataract. As the cave's promoters increased their efforts to attract visitors and discovered new chambers, they often selected names imbued with spiritual or symbolic meaning. Known chambers were also re-named. References to paradise and
Christianity included the Church Steeple, Sampson’s Palace, Garden of Eden, Pearly Gates, Saints’ Rest, St. Domanic Chamber, St. George’s Palace, Bishop’s Gaze, Noah’s Beard, and the Tabernacle. References to the underworld were more limited and consisted of the Devil’s Track or Lookout, Devil’s Keyhole, and Dante’s Inferno.

Those who considered themselves well educated could draw inspiration from the cave place names with literary or historical associations. These included Milton’s Study, Lincoln’s Fire Place, Linneaus’ Grotto, Napoleon’s Tomb, and the Monte Cristo Palace. In addition to names having literary or symbolic overtones, a number of rooms were named for their perceived resemblance to above-ground rooms or functions (Post Office, Fair Grounds, Opera House, the Parlor). Visitors left calling cards in the boxwork, which resembled individual post office boxes, at the “Post Office” chamber. By so doing, they further participated in the mysteries of the place by leaving their individual mark upon it.

The interest in bestowing names on cave formations is particularly revealing of attitudes. The idea of the cave as a magnificent natural creation offered visitors the chance to feel as though they could actually participate in some way in this awesome process of creation. By discovering new chambers and by experiencing the discoveries of others, they too were part of a magnificent natural order. By bestowing names on the mysteries discovered in the cave, visitors (both paying tourists and the cave operators) were perceived as having participated figuratively in the "creation" of the cave. Following one of their annual visits in 1892, local newspaper editors were very pleased to report they had been “invited to christen” a new room and had chosen the name, Editor’s Sanctum. Other names referred to specific events. Johnstone’s Camp Ground recalled the three-day ordeal the mind reader had spent in the cave searching for a secreted object. Roe’s Misery was named for a guide, C.F. Roe, who became stuck in the then-narrow passage.

The names, personalized the cave for visitors, made them feel as though they were a part of it. In an unabashed effort to attract visitors with special affiliations, cave promoters allowed social and religious organizations to name places in the cave. Members of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, Methodist Church, Eastern Star, Grand Army of the Republic, and the Odd Fellows could all visit their "rooms" on the Garden of Eden Route. Members of the YMCA, Daughters of the American Revolution, Order of Woodmen, Knights of Pythias, UCT, and the TPA could find their halls on the Pearly Gates Route. The Masonic Temple and AOUW Hall lay on the Fair Grounds route. Even groups with rather small memberships were included. In the Fair Grounds proper was located the Room of the South Dakota Teachers’ Association and the Room of the South Dakota Federation of Women’s Clubs.

Comments about the origin of the cave referred to rational, scientific explanations of the natural forces at work: science existed beside myth. Scientific matters were mentioned in cave accounts and tours, particularly theories explaining the forces behind the formation of the cave. The tour guides "convey[ed] a great deal of really scientific information in a genial and interesting way." But the cave did not reveal all its secrets to inquiring minds; it was reported that it "puzzles
scientists." Its mysteries were worthy of coverage in an issue of *Scientific American* in 1900. Described as more than a "great curiosity" and as "a strange land" in local accounts, the cave was compared to "a sponge covered over with a young mountain," a "titanic convulsion of nature." It was described as a "colossal sponge" of "paralleling crevices" and "eight tiers of chambers overlaying one another."93

By seeking to understand it, tourists were thus afforded the chance to participate, in a sense, in the creation of the cave. This quest for understanding added to the solemn status of the cave. Tourists indulged themselves in a fascination with the enormity of the creative process. Scientific explanations were another manifestation of the creation process, of understanding the gigantic forces at work.94 Operating alongside ponderous scientific theories, like the solemn adjacent to the trivial, were reports of the lighter side. Lest the tourist fear too much scientific explanation, it was reported that a trip "was full of fun and amusing incidents." The guides were "entertaining gentlemen and fine descriptive artists." Scientific interpretation and a good time were combined. "At each chamber the procession would halt...[and the guide] would make a few explanatory remarks, tell a story and start a song familiar to all...."95

The festive mood further fostered the sacred associations with a cave, for participants partook joyously of the awesome creative energies which had combined to produce the cave and, indeed, were still at work. The increasing references to the pleasurable aspects of a visit to Wind Cave underscored its role as a tourist stop. Where in 1891 visitors "slowly and wearily...walk, scramble, climb, slide, according to the character of the surroundings," beginning in 1893 there was increased emphasis on the ease with which one could experience the cave. "...It is no longer a trial to go through the cave, but on the contrary a pleasure." And, "...access to the chief points of interest has been made easy." The aspects of a religious pilgrimage fraught with peril but also with rewards seemed downplayed in order to lure tourists to visit the attraction.96 "Visitors need not change their clothing or undergo any extra ordinary fatigue during their trip and the darkness of the side passages, domes and chasms is lighted up so as to render additional enchantment to the wonderful scenes."97 The pilgrimage associations remained, but in distilled fashion. Take for example the following statement made in 1900: "[W]ith white canvas caps to cover the head and a candle in the hand the start is made."98

Just as the myriad associations with the cave's mysteries were at times contradictory, participants both gloried in the wonders of the cave while buying or selling the very specimens that contributed to its splendor. The dichotomy of the sacred and the profane as represented in responses to natural resources was well represented at Wind Cave.
4. CREATION AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK, 1900-1918

When the lands the McDonald and Stabler factions so bitterly contested were withdrawn from availability for private acquisition in 1900, there were two large national parks in the country: Yellowstone and Yosemite, six smaller parks, and one reservation under Department of the Interior management.99 By the turn of the century, several factors contributed to a change in public perceptions regarding the conservation and management of natural resources. The establishment of Wind Cave National Park is a product of this change. Some factors regarding this shift dated from the 1890s. The US Census report for 1890 stated that, for the first time, there was no distinct boundary between the line of settlement and unsettled lands in the country. The situation sparked concerns among some that the vast lands and natural resources that comprised America would be "used up." In part in response to these fears regarding finite natural resources, the Forest Reserve Act passed in 1891 authorized the president to set aside vast tracts from the public domain. These forest reserves, including the Black Hills Forest Reserve established in 1898, provided a local example of setting aside areas of the public domain for those in the Wind Cave area interested in preserving other types of resources.

Official statements regarding possible national park standing for Wind Cave dated from as early as 1898. A United States Geological Survey report from that year concluded that "the cave is of sufficient extent and importance to be reserved as a national park." Late in 1899, the General Land Office also used the term "national park" in reference to Wind Cave. In 1900, the Secretary of the Interior reported (in nearly identical language as the December 1899 GLO letter) that Wind Cave was "a cavern of considerable size and possessing wonders of such surpassing interest as that it should be set apart as a park or pleasing ground for the people." But because of the questions surrounding ownership, he concluded it inadvisable "at this time to have the same set apart as a national park." Hence, he recommended a temporary withdrawal of the lands in anticipation of congressional action.101

Accordingly, the Secretary of the Interior directed the GLO to temporarily withdraw all of section 1 and the SE1/4, NE1/4 and Lot 2 (or 1) of section 2, T6S, R5E, BHM, the first among several early withdrawals. This was directed "pending final determination of the question of the advisability of recommending the setting of said lands apart as a National Park for the purpose of preserving the beauties of the natural curiosities of the Wind Cave."102

Although the Stabler and McDonald interests had both lost in their bids to own Wind Cave, some members of the Stabler family continued to reside at the cave immediately after the 1900 withdrawal. On March 13, 1901, John Stabler died, depriving the private interests of their leader. The following month the US government took temporary charge of the cave and closed it pending selection of a custodian for it. (It appears the Stablers then left the property.)103
Congressman Eben Martin was in the forefront of efforts to shepherd the necessary legislation to create Wind Cave National Park (WCNP) through Congress. After his election in 1901, he displayed keen official interest in Wind Cave, which was located in his district. Aware of the nearness of the 1901 tourism season, he and Senator Robert Gamble urged the government to re-open the cave as soon as possible. Early in May, the Secretary of the Interior issued regulations permitting tourists to visit the attraction at no charge, an event Martin duly reported to his constituents. As there was no provision for employing a custodian, the government simply announced that Wind Cave was government property, that no fees would be charged, and that no "specimens or natural curiosities" were to be removed. 104

C.W. Greene, the GLO special agent in Rapid City who had reported on Wind Cave in 1899, was placed in charge of arrangements. Because of their knowledge of the cave, he allowed George Stabler (son of John), Elmer McDonald (son of Jesse D.), and Peter T. Paulson (John's son-in-law) to serve as guides. While there was no admission fee charged, those wanting a guided tour had to pay for it. Stabler was also allowed to provide meals at the cave for a charge. For a fee of $1.50, liveryman C.L. Jensen continued his longstanding role of transporter of visitors to the cave. Jensen's stable served as unofficial headquarters for Wind Cave visits during this transitional period. 105 The arrangement allowed Hot Springs boosters to take advantage of the 1901 tourist season. Local Hot Springs sentiment appeared to favor the change from contested private ownership to public control and certainly applauded the opening in time for the 1901 tourist season. The Hot Springs newspaper contended that more tourists than ever seemed to be visiting the "great natural curiosity" since the government had stepped in and hoped that the cave would "continue to receive an immense amount of free and most effective advertising." 106

Early in 1902 additional official consideration of Wind Cave's status took place. In letters to the Department of the Interior and to the GLO, Congressman Martin suggested that the cave be attached to the adjacent Black Hills Forest Reserve as a means to care for and preserve it. The GLO commissioner rather casually saw "no reason why it should not be included in the reserve" but suggested it would be well to wait until additional information was available following completion of a cave survey. The purpose of the survey was to determine the extent of the cave and thus how much land should be set aside. The Secretary soon decided against attachment to the forest, which would have put the cave under Department of Agriculture management, and directed the GLO commissioner to prepare the bill establishing WCNP. The action suggests Department of the Interior officials felt Wind Cave should be a national park. 107

In April of 1902, Myron Willise, a Rapid City civil engineer with the US Department of the Mineral Survey, surveyed Wind Cave. In a report submitted May 24, 1902, Willise and GLO special agent M.A. Meyendorff stated that, although unsafe or broken stairs and narrow crawl spaces prevented a complete inspection, the cave might extend under as many as 15 sections of land, that "many tons of specimens" had been removed, and that the many unseen crevices could be explored for "the next ten years." Willise concluded, "the possibilities of wonderful discoveries by exploration are beyond the most visionary ideas of man." 108
The month after receiving Willsie and Meyendorff's report, in June of 1902, the Secretary of the Interior transmitted it to the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands of the Senate and the House of Representatives along with a draft of a proposed bill to establish Wind Cave National Park. That same month the measure passed in the Senate and was referred to the House, which approved the measure early in December 1902. Park proponents emphasized the practical and economic aspects behind creation of WCNP. The GLO commissioner carefully noted that "no public interests will suffer by setting these lands apart." Indeed, it was contended that federal control was the only way to protect it from "spoliation and defacement." Investigative reports had previously pointed out the poor quality of the land above the cave. The importance of tourism was also cited as a reason for creating the park, for large numbers of tourists were said to visit it each year. Having dealt with the economic rationale supporting national park status, proponents turned to its natural qualities. The cave was described as "of unusual and wonderful beauty." Its chambers contained "curious natural formations of rare beauty" that should be preserved. There appears to have been little opposition. On January 8, 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt signed the legislation that "set apart certain lands in the State of South Dakota as a public park, to be known as the Wind Cave National Park."(Figure 5.)

The nation's newest national park initially consisted of 16 1/2 square miles, minute in comparison with Yellowstone's more than three thousand square miles of varied and rugged scenery. The smaller size was typical of subsequent national parks established outside the far west. New reserves in the East, Midwest, and South were of limited size. The establishment of Wind Cave National Park in some measure opened the door for creation of other smaller parks across the country.

As noted, the government took control of Wind Cave in April of 1901. In what appears to have been a casual arrangement, the facility was opened for the 1901 and 1902 summer tourist seasons with little federal management or control. In September of 1902, Capt. Seth Bullock, Forest Supervisor of the adjacent Black Hills Forest Reserve, was also given responsibility over Wind Cave. Bullock was a former Rough Rider and enjoyed Republican political connections. He immediately put George Boland, a forest ranger, in charge and also arranged to have George Stabler and his wife, Elmer McDonald, and Peter Paulson continue as guides. It was announced the cave would be open from nine to five and that the guides would charge the former fee of $.50. Stabler and his wife were also allowed to continue operating the hotel at the site. Thus, Department of Agriculture employees were responsible for a Department of the Interior facility and delegated daily work to private individuals.

During this period it was common practice to award government positions to one's political allies. Capt. Bullock and Congressman Martin were frank in their search "for a suitable person to recommend" to be park superintendent. In June of 1903, they offered the name of William A. Rankin as the first superintendent at Wind Cave National Park. Rankin served in the position until May 1, 1909. He enjoyed the endorsement of Bullock as well as "many of the leading Republicans of Deadwood." As one of the enlisted men (a sergeant) who served under Bullock
WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK

Embracing Sections 34, 35, and 36, T.5 S., R.5; Sections 1, 2, 3, E of 4, E of 9, and Secs 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, E of 16, T.6 S., R.5; Section 31, T.5 S., R.6; Sections 6 and 7, T.6 S., R.6.

All East of BLACK HILLS MERIDIAN

SOUTH DAKOTA

Containing 10,522.17 acres

Wind Cave National Park, January 9, 1903.

Source: Loring, 1911.

Figure 5.
during the Spanish-American War and also a forest ranger in the Black Hills, Rankin was well known to Bullock. (Bullock and Rankin were proud of their associations with President Roosevelt and his Rough Riders and attended his inaugural in Washington, D.C., in 1905.)

The newly designated superintendent had charge of a 16 1/2 square mile park. Roughly square in outline, it amounted to 10,522 acres on the following sections of land and followed the 1902 recommendations of Meyendorff and Willsie:

- **T6S, R5E, Black Hills Meridian (BHM):** Sections 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, East 1/2 Sections 4, 9, 16
- **T5S, R5E, BHM:** Sections 34, 35, 36
- **T6S, R6S, BHM:** Sections 6, 7
- **T5S, R6S, BHM:** Section 31

Included within the boundaries of the park were 320 acres initially set aside as school lands and also a number of privately held claims (719.39 acres). These nonfederal intrusions were dealt with in a regular manner. The state of South Dakota and the holders of five entries determined to be *bona fide* perfected claims selected other lands in lieu of those within the park; other imperfect entries were canceled.

The report of Agent Greene dated December 4, 1899, included descriptions of the buildings at what became Wind Cave National Park. The following indented portions are verbatim excerpts from Greene’s report, except where bracketed. The bracketed notations are drawn from Greene but rephrased.

**Jesse D. McDonald, Homestead Entry (HE) 4149.** S1/2 NW1/4 and Lots 3 and 4, Section 1, T6S, R5E. The site included the visitor entrance to Wind Cave.

- [cave entrance used by visitors], a good log house 18x24 feet with a one story board, shed roof kitchen on the back 10x14 ft. [The kitchen was moved to Thomas W. Moffitt claim, SE 1/4, section 1 and used as a claim shanty on the SE1/4 of section 1 after McDonald lost possession of the cave to the Stabler faction.]
- a board barn 14x30 feet, [shed-roofed], will hold 8 horses
- the land was all fenced with two wires on posts, but of late years has been neglected and now a large part of it is down.

Also on the site but apparently not claimed by McDonald:
Wind Cave Hotel, built of rough pine boards in 1892, 64 feet long by 32 feet deep, one part 18 feet wide, is two story high, partitions are either of rough boards or muslin stretched on studding.

Greene does not describe a flat-roofed portion of the McDonald house/cave entrance which likely was present during his inspection. Historic photos (Plate 1) show this small flat-roofed log building attached or adjacent to the McDonald log dwelling. The footbridge is above this flat-roofed portion. A typed note in the Wind Cave library refers to this building as well as "a bridge across gulch which rested in part on small entrance cabin roof" which is shown on the undated historic photograph. The 1892 hotel building is shown perched above the McDonald house.114

Still other settlement buildings in various states of disrepair were located within the original Wind Cave boundaries. On their respective farmsteads Elmer McDonald, Peter T. Paulson, and George A. Stabler had each built a frame house and a log barn.

Elmer L. McDonald, HE 4148. SW1/4 Section 1
- good fence of two wires on posts well built, about five acres broke on the SE 40 acres but not in crop
- one story frame house 16 x 20 with cave at back going into the side hill
- small log barn of little value.

P.T. Paulson, HE 4199. S1/2 NE1/4 and Lots 1 and 2, Section 1
- good frame house 18 x 24 feet, lathed and plaster, and painted
- log barn 16 x 210 feet dirt roof [sic]

George A. Stabler, HE 4151. S1/2 NE1/4 and Lots 1 and 2, Section 2
- about 3 acres fenced in extreme north east corner
- frame house 16 x 24 feet, shed kitchen 10 x 18 feet with entrance to cave in side hill
- log barn 20 x 24 feet

The facilities at the new national park were in deplorable condition. (Plate 1.) In October of 1903, Superintendent Rankin characterized the hotel as "in a very degraded state; in fact unfit to live in during the year." He found the cave house in "very good condition," although it was "exposed to high water during the seasons." Rankin took limited steps to improve the facility and in 1905 could report that he had repaired stairs and walks leading to and within the cave (a constant effort through the years), improved some cave pathways, and opened a small stone quarry. The latter was done to provide materials for a superintendent's cottage that was also built in 1905.115
Wind Cave, view toward south, before 1903.
Buildings on site, including cave house entrance of logs
with bridge across ravine, steps leading down to cave,
hotel above. Before national park status.

Source: WICA Archives, Neg. 2680, undated.

Plate 1.
The other notable change to the site during this initial period was construction of a crude two-mile water line between Beaver Creek and the cave site. The system was constructed cheaply—pipes were laid only 8-10" below ground—and the line was to be a continual source of cost, annual repairs, and frustration in the coming years. Nonetheless, it served an important basic function. The problems illustrated the dearth of appropriations (just $2,500 a year) and the priority Department of the Interior officials placed upon Wind Cave National Park.116

Struggling with inadequate facilities and meager appropriations, Superintendent Rankin formalized cave operations. Tours were conducted in the morning and in the early afternoon and lasted from 2 1/2 to four hours. As before, the guides charged $.50 for each cave visitor; from that income they had to pay for a candle and white cap for each visitor, also magnesium ribbon to dramatically light recesses of the cave. A noon meal (also $.50) continued to be offered at the hotel. During the early years, the wife (or other relative) of the superintendent received the meal concession at the park.117

Between 1903 and 1914, six men filled the position of superintendent. (See Appendix A., Wind Cave Superintendents.) Two of the six were sons of superintendents who died on the job. None had experience in managing a federal facility. Political connections were a factor in selection of five superintendents (the sixth, Frederick N. Dille, filled in as an acting superintendent and was employed by the US Biological Survey).

The first decade of the history of Wind Cave National Park, 1903-14, was a time of limited federal involvement, minimal financial support, and modest change at the park. Federal management of national parks in general in the 1900s was a dismal and sometime thing. The lack of a specific agency to manage national parks was a factor. During this period the Department of the Interior had responsibility for a wide range of federal facilities and departments, including the Bureau of Education and the Territory of Alaska. National parks were but one of a number of competing demands upon the staff and suffered from a lack of unified administration as a result.118 In addition, management of national parks was not vested solely with the Department of the Interior; the War Department maintained troops at Yellowstone, Sequoia, General Grant, and Yosemite. The Secretary of the Interior admitted in 1910 that "the treatment of our national parks, except as regards the Yellowstone, has not had heretofore the benefit of any well-considered or systematic plans," (a situation he intended to remedy).119

Wind Cave was not the only national park to suffer from neglect and from want of a coherent administrative policy, but because of its size it was consistently overlooked, and its needs placed near the bottom of the priority list. Not only was the approach to national parks less than unified during this period, the emphasis was placed squarely upon the monumental, posing something of a threat to the smaller and, of course, below-ground Wind Cave. In his annual report for 1910, the Secretary of the Interior stated:
Of the national parks that have been created by congressional action, the following are entitled to rank as worthy of being called national institutions: The Yellowstone, the Yosemite, the Sequoia, the General Grant, the Mount Rainier, the Crater Lake, the Glacier, the Mesa Verde, and there should be added the Grand Canyon.

Continuing, he spelled out his views even more plainly:

The Wind Cave National Park...[and Sullys Hill and Platt National Parks] may be said to be local parks having no sufficient national characteristics to warrant their development as such. Owing to its inaccessibility and the fact that its scenic attractiveness is not sufficient, in all probability, to inspire a greater number of visitors to the park, it should be classed as a local or state park, and can never in any sense of the word become a national park.

Wind Cave enthusiasts could not be faulted for feeling as though their national park was threatened. It is possible they cast about for ammunition to bolster their national standing (although no definitive statements have come to light). Congressman Martin had first suggested in 1902 that additional land near Wind Cave be set aside "as a National park where buffalo, elk and other native animals could be preserved." This "very lightly timbered area...was a natural haunt of buffalo and elk...." Martin's comments in 1902 appear to be the first reference to a possible game preserve at the Wind Cave and offer further evidence of the local awareness of the importance of tourism and recreation to the Black Hills economy and Wind Cave's place within that economy.

Game preserves were a topic of interest at the turn of the century. In 1906, the Biological Survey (part of the Department of Agriculture) noted congressional attention toward "refuges or game preserves." The report also stated there was some "misapprehension" about the subject, expressed concern about proper management of the seven bird refuges created between 1903 and 1906, and announced plans to research foreign refuges as well as the hundreds of private preserves in the United States.

Congressman Martin was among those politicians interested in game preserves, especially as they related to Wind Cave. In 1911 he (and others) assisted a representative of the American Bison Society, J. Alden Loring, on his visit to western South Dakota. During this period, some Americans became concerned about the loss of natural resources, including the bison. Their activities and ideas were another manifestation of apprehension about the close of the frontier, the role of humans in protecting threatened species deprived of their natural environment, and the finite nature of the nation's natural heritage.

Loring was in South Dakota to inspect three possible sites for a buffalo and game preserve: the Sioux Indian Reservation at Rosebud, the Bald Hills south of Pactola, and Wind Cave National Park. In a manner that suggested the decision had already been reached before his trip west,
he quickly dispensed with the other possibilities in favor of Wind Cave. The site contained the requisite amounts of grazing land, timber (for fence posts and natural cover) and water, and was sufficiently accessible to automobile and rail travelers. Loring concluded "the park is suited for buffalo, elk, deer, antelope and mountain sheep, all of which in bygone years lived there." Further, there was considerable support in both Rapid City and Hot Springs for the preserve.\textsuperscript{124}

With the approval of the American Bison Society and Congressman Martin, the project moved forward. Federal legislation was approved August 10, 1912:

For the establishment of a national game preserve, to be known as the Wind Cave National Game Preserve, upon the land embraced within the boundaries of the Wind Cave National Park...for a permanent national range for a herd of buffalo to be presented to the United States by the American Bison Society, and for such other native American game animals as may be placed therein. The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to acquire by purchase or condemnation such adjacent lands as may be necessary for the purpose of assuring an adequate, permanent water supply and to inclose the said game preserve with a good and substantial fence and to erect thereon all necessary sheds and buildings for the proper care and maintenance of the said animals, $26,000, to be available until expended.\textsuperscript{125}

The report to the American Bison Society seemed to differentiate between the 16,800 acres of the proposed reserve and the 10,522 acres of the existing national park. Loring failed to emphasize that all but 6,278 acres of the proposed reserve was already set aside as Wind Cave National Park. (Figure 6.) The game preserve was essentially created out of existing Wind Cave parkland and given a substantial $26,000 inaugural present. The process provided another layer of protection for WCNP preservation against Department of the Interior opposition to it, produced a notable appropriation, and provided for condemnation of lands.

The American Bison Society and other eastern organizations donated game animals. The original herd of 14 buffalo came from the New York Zoological Society's holdings and arrived at Wind Cave on November 28, 1913. The following year the beginnings of the elk population arrived, 21 head from Jackson Hole, Wyoming, also ten antelope from Alberta, Canada, a gift of the Boone and Crockett Club of New York. (Horace Albright of the Department of the Interior was a long time member of this activist conservation organization.) By 1918, the numbers had increased to 42 buffalo, 80 elk, and 15 antelope. Part of the increase was due to additional importations of stock in 1916 and 1918, and it took some time to establish the herds, especially the antelope.\textsuperscript{126}

Establishing the game preserve under the US Biological Survey added another federal agency with responsibilities in the Black Hills. The increasing prominence of the federal government was a trend that continued. The early 1910s marked a step, however small, away from earlier practices regarding national parks in general, including Wind Cave. One of the changes was
Wind Cave National Park, 1915.
Shows areas purchased for game preserve, game fence.
Source: Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1915.
the inaugural of a somewhat more systematic approach to administering the parks. Beginning in 1911, W.B. Acker in the Office of the Secretary of the Interior in Washington, D.C., initiated modest improvements toward a unified approach to administering all the national parks within their purview, despite shortages in time, money and staffing.127

The situation changed even more in 1913 when President Woodrow Wilson named Franklin K. Lane Secretary of the Interior. Lane chose Adolph C. Miller, then a professor at the University of California at Berkeley, as his Assistant to the Secretary. Miller, in turn, brought Horace M. Albright, one of his students, on as his assistant, all in 1913.128

One of Miller’s responsibilities was to bring some order to the national parks for Secretary Lane had upgraded park matters to the assistant secretarial level. As Miller’s time was increasingly taken up with Congressional matters related to banking (his primary area of expertise), young Albright came to handle more and more of the duties, correspondence, and routine matters that cross the desk of a federal bureaucrat. In short, Albright became an expert on national parks. With the arrival in 1915 of Stephen T. Mather, a wealthy businessman, to direct the national parks in the Department of the Interior, the stage was set for notable changes in the federal government’s approach to conservation of these natural resources.129

In the summer of 1913, former Secretary Fisher, along with his replacement, Secretary Lane, toured some of the better known national parks: Yellowstone, Glacier, Yosemite, and Mount Rainier. The tour symbolized both the department’s increased emphasis upon national parks and that that emphasis remained firmly placed upon the largest, most prominent examples. In other words, Wind Cave was not included on the tour.130 The 1910s indeed saw a shift in the federal approach to natural resources. Led by Stephen T. Mather and Horace Albright in the Department of the Interior and others committed to the national parks, legislation was passed and signed August 25, 1916, by President Woodrow Wilson creating a new federal agency within the Department of the Interior, the National Park Service (NPS).131

Many of those behind creation of the NPS constituted part of the progressive movement of the early 20th century. These earnest individuals were committed to applying principles of efficient business management to governmental operations among other things. In fact, one tenet of the progressive creed was that successful businessmen (such as Stephen Mather) should step forward and temporarily work in government, and then resume private life. Progressives believed in using government to improve the American way of life. The emphasis on proper administrative practices was a manifestation of reformers’ desires to improve society.

Progressive approaches extended to many facets of American life, including the environment and conservation of natural resources. The matter of the national parks revealed a split among progressives between the "aesthetic conservationists" and the "utilitarian conservationists." Establishment of the NPS marked a divergence from the prevailing attitude that natural resources existed primarily to be exploited for their economic potential. Gifford Pinchot, chief of the US Forest Service, epitomized the approach of the utilitarian conservationists. In contrast, the
aesthetic conservationists such as Mather and Albright stressed preserving natural resources for their scenic or recreational value. Yet, as Stephen Mather, the first director of the NPS, demonstrated so conclusively, even aesthetic conservationists committed to preserving natural wonders recognized the economic (even utilitarian) value of tourism as it related to the national parks. Mather was a realist: if the public did not support the idea of national parks, Congress would not appropriate funds for their development. Thus, the public had to be made aware of the wonders of the national parks and then they had to visit them for Mather’s concepts to take hold and thrive.

The legislation creating the NPS revealed a potential conflict between allegiance to the natural resource, on the one hand, and the wants and needs of the public, on the other. Paradoxically, the enabling legislation stated that the agency had a responsibility "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life [sic] therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." There were two masters to balance, the "scenery" and the "enjoyment of the same." Further, the natural resource was to remain "unimpaired" for future appreciation. Reconciling and balancing these two conflicting mandates became a major guiding policy of the NPS. As the Wind Cave superintendent was reminded in 1918, "You should bear in mind that the park is set aside first of all for the pleasure and enjoyment of visitors."

Commitment to raising the standards and administration of national parks was one manifestation of the increasing professionalization of the Department of the Interior and attempts to create a unified national park system. In the summer of 1915, there occurred the first official Department of the Interior inspection of Wind Cave National Park. The inspector (Mark Daniels) was initially aghast at the unsightly appearance that greeted him but later concluded that it was largely because Superintendent Brazell was "energetically repairing, remodeling and cleaning" the place.

Wind Cave may not have been considered among the leading lights in the constellation of the nation’s parks. Still, changes at the facility reflected the new interest in national parks and the desire to create a unified system. One of the changes in practice at Wind Cave was a shift in how guides were paid. Where in the early years they acted independently, collecting $.50 from each cave visitor, beginning in 1914 guides were paid a salary as temporary or seasonal employees during the busy three- to four-month season. The practice of relying solely on locals also appears to have begun to change; in 1914, Acting Superintendent Dille intended to choose one or two college students as guides. Also, the government began to provide candles and other supplies.

Changes to the physical plant at Wind Cave in the 1910s were minor but illustrative. Using part of the $26,000 appropriation for the game preserve, the 80-acre Jonathan West homestead which former Superintendent Rankin had purchased was acquired, probably in 1914. The property was the last piece of privately held land within the original boundaries of Wind Cave National Park.
Its farm buildings provided living quarters for Biological Survey use. Total WCNP acreage now stood at 10,899.22, a figure that remained unchanged for seventeen years.\textsuperscript{138}

There were also changes in the 1910s around the entrance to Wind Cave proper, all minor. A stone retaining wall to halt erosion was built in 1909 and native trees were planted. Also, the old hotel received some repairs: whitewashing, replacement windows, and a new roof on the north wing. The cave house was also fixed up, including raising the roof by two feet and applying weatherboard over the logs, and a 10x10' blacksmith shop was built, apparently near the cave entrance. (In 1914 it was moved to a less obvious spot behind the carpenter shop.) In 1911 a barn was built for the superintendent's use.\textsuperscript{139}

Just four years after repairs were completed on the hotel the Stablers had built in 1892, it was razed. Built in its place in 1913 was a frame 20x40' one-story registration office with dressing rooms for visitor use. A 12x12' ice house was built in 1915. The six-room superintendent's house built in 1905 received a two-room addition with bath in 1918. Repairs to stairs and other improvements within the cave were a continual occurrence. Some improvements, such as the ice house and the blacksmith shop, were of such simple construction that their removal was directed but a few years after they were built. The buildings from the 1910s may be characterized as of modest design, construction, cost, and materials.\textsuperscript{140}

Also during the 1910s (1914), a minor but telling structure was erected at WCNP, a "small pavilion for the use of tourists and auto drivers." The open, rectangular building was intended to provide shade for visitors. While modest, the pavilion reflected the growing importance of vehicular traffic at Wind Cave. Park headquarters were located on the one main road through the park. "From regions south and east this is the route to all of the Black Hills country and to much country in Wyoming and Montana."\textsuperscript{141}

With the changes completed by 1915, when the first official Department of the Interior inspection occurred, the physical plant was essentially in place as the setting for the tremendous automobile-related increase in attendance that occurred during the 1920s. (Plate 2.) The modest registration building was the last major construction at WCNP for the next 16 years. Appropriations remained small, but did increase from $2,500 in 1917, to $4,000 in 1919, to $7,500 in 1922, and finally reached the $10,000 mark in 1923. Appropriations hovered between $10,000 and $11,000 through the 1920s.\textsuperscript{142}
Wind Cave National Park, view toward southwest, 1924.
From left to right, office/store, dwelling, shed, portion
of superintendent's house. See Figure 7, map of site in 1927.
Source: WICA Archives, Catalog No. 1032, 1924.
Plate 2.
5. AUTO TOURING IN THE BLACK HILLS AND WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK, 1907-1920s

The "auto era" at Wind Cave may be dated from 1907 when the park superintendent issued T.A. Smith a permit to transport passengers from Hot Springs by automobile for the 1907-08 season. The remaining seven permits were for horse-drawn livery. Permission for the auto was "granted as an experiment" and with the understanding that it would not interfere with other means of conveyance at the park. Specific procedures were outlined, including, in general, a six m.p.h. speed limit. The transition was swift, and by 1910 the Wind Cave Superintendent reported that the automobile was more popular than horse drawn vehicles because of the time savings. In 1911, 11 of the 12 permits to transport passengers were for automobiles. By 1912, it was contended that the old deteriorated hotel at the cave should be razed and not replaced "because nearly all of the people that come to the cave, come in automobiles and are able to get back to Hot Springs in time for dinner." In 1914, for the first time, all 11 permits were for automobiles. It is no wonder that the automobile was preferred: the two-hour trip by carriage was reduced to just 50 minutes.

The growing numbers of automobile tourists reflected the notable American enthusiasm for the motor vehicle. Wind Cave lay on what was termed the "Denver-Deadwood Highway, the Black Hills part of which is famed for its beautiful and varied scenery." Tourism promoters and auto enthusiasts mapped specially named routes such as this highway across the nation. Among these routes was the Black and Yellow Trail, a transcontinental highway that crossed the Black Hills en route to Yellowstone. Even the federal government joined in, and in 1924 the National Park Service promoted the "park-to-park" highway. Neither of these routes passed through WCNP.

As noted, in 1911 it was reported that most of the tourists came to Wind Cave by automobile. By 1915, the increase in automobile travel across the park was "very marked." Significant numbers of them were headed for "the mountain regions to the north" and had "camp equipage" with them. Many of these travelers stopped at Wind Cave, and, using a new compilation system, attendance figures rose beginning in 1916.

As they traveled to and through the park, visitors were afforded the chance to see game animals; a fence built in 1915 enclosed a 4,000 acre pasture in the west part of the park boundaries along parts of the highway. It ran for 3 1/2 miles, and the visitors could view the wild animals with increasing ease. For example, a male antelope who arrived in 1924 consistently remained close to the fence, apparently to obtain sweets from visitors.

The number of visitors to Wind Cave National Park was on the increase. Between 1905 and 1915, annual visitation to the cave ranged between 2,817 and 3,988 and averaged 3,254. (See Appendix B.) Beginning in 1916, the number of visitors to and through the park was not less
than 9,000 a year, with "best ever" years typically reported year after year. It should be noted that the number of cave visitors, at least in 1916, remained similar to previous years (2,815). (Cave visits are not available for all years.)

Beginning in 1916, a new method of counting was instituted which included the number of automobiles that passed through the national parks. Several national parks (not WCNP) were self-contained and issued automobile permits, making computation a simple matter. Superintendent Thomas Brazell contended that most cars passing through the park stopped there, and he estimated the number of park visitors to be 9,000 for 1916. The technique was likely a conscious change on the part of national parks administrators as well as an awareness that in the self-contained parks many did indeed "visit" and "experience" a national park strictly through the view of their windshields.

Changes aimed at increasing the number of visitors to national parks were an important aspect of NPS efforts to improve national parks. On another front, Mather, Albright, and others skillfully mounted a major public relations campaign to inform the public about the special qualities of the nation's parks. They brought in Robert Sterling Yard, an experienced journalist, to promote in print the virtues of national parks. The strategy worked. And with the increasing numbers of touring automobiles on the roads and highways, visitorship to, and appreciation of, national parks soared. No longer were remote and seemingly exotic attractions in the West primarily visited by the wealthy and locals. Now the increasingly affluent American middle class, who could afford gleaming new roadsters, joined the tide. In the 1910s, the American middle class discovered the joys of "autocamping" or "gypsying." Thousands of families took to the countryside in their automobiles equipped with camping paraphernalia. To simply select a spot by the road and set up camp was deliciously individualistic, recalling the treks of hardy pioneer stock, as well as being inexpensive. Hundreds of "gypsying" families passed through, camped at, and visited WCNP in the 1910s.147

Beginning in the 1910s, South Dakota boosters sought to capitalize on this American love of auto travel through a variety of strategies. They sought improved roads, especially on transcontinental routes. For example, the Twin City-Aberdeen-Yellowstone Park Trail Association was formed in 1912; brightly painted yellow stones marked the route, portions of which eventually became present US Highway 12. In the Black Hills, Lawrence County and Deadwood boosters embarked upon good roads projects beginning in 1911. A 1915 publication called on motorists to come to "the center of good highways in the Black Hills."148

These exhortations notwithstanding, the quality of the roads was highly variable and improvements slow. Many Black Hills roads were inadequate, especially in poor weather. The dearth of good roads was named as a factor in low attendance at the caves in the Black Hills, then the major tourist attraction there. Still, construction of bridges in the early 20th century, including the Beaver Creek and Pig Tail bridges in present WCNP, were indeed improvements. Wind Cave superintendents also valued good road quality and worked to improve them. In 1918, for example, much of the main road was raised for better drainage and widened to accommodate
the growing numbers of vehicles. Signs detailing tour schedules were posted along the highway as well.\textsuperscript{149}

Commercial clubs and other South Dakota supporters advertised road quality, accommodations, and area attractions. As early as 1908, the Black Hills were characterized as "a paradise for campers." Rapid City published a brochure in 1919 lauding "the mountains [which are] yearly drawing thousands who are just becoming acquainted with the wonders of this most scenic part of the United States."\textsuperscript{150} Wind Cave personnel participated in this information exchange. Beginning in 1918, they provided "for the benefit of the motoring tourist" information on hotel accommodations, service garages and camp sites, maps and details about other national parks, as well as other Black Hills attractions. "In short, we assist the tourist all we consistently can and do everything possible to make him feel welcome and at home in his national park."\textsuperscript{151}

Another tactic was to provide special services for the automobiling tourists. The growing number of autocampers effectively halted the practice of simple roadside camping by the 1920s. Property owners objected, and the roadsides had become littered and congested. In response and to compete for the tourist dollar, communities all across South Dakota established municipal tourist camps. Initially offered at no charge, the camps later had a fee attached to them, to discourage "riff-raff." Rapid City offered a successful public pay camp that was "different, convenient, family-oriented, and good clean fun." The State of South Dakota also offered camping facilities in the early 1920s, at Custer State Park just north of Wind Cave. In 1923, 50 camp sites were regularly filled during the summer season there. That same year, there were more campers at Wind Cave than ever before. The importance of the automobile was apparent. More than 92 percent of all cave visitors arrived in a private automobile in 1923, a number that rose to 96 percent the following year.\textsuperscript{152}

The Black Hills as a tourist destination received a tremendous dose of free publicity in 1927 when President Calvin Coolidge spent his summer vacation at Custer State Park. During his stay journalists from all over the country also came to the "summer White House," and reported on the Black Hills. Coolidge dedicated sculptor Gutzon Borglum's ambitious plans for transforming Mount Rushmore during this visit, and the nation became aware of yet another tourist attraction in the Black Hills. Although he was but a few miles from Wind Cave, Coolidge did not visit it or the game preserve.\textsuperscript{153}

The increase in Wind Cave visitors was particularly marked in the 1920s (as in other national parks). The efforts of the NPS to improve park quality and visitation to them bore fruit. At Wind Cave the number of visitors increased tenfold (1014.5 percent) between 1916 and 1926, from 9,000 to a remarkable 85,466. (See Appendix B.) Since the wildlife preserve was as popular as the cave, cave and non-cave visits were included in these totals. Visitor totals for some years are estimates. No auto licenses were issued at Wind Cave (unlike ten other national parks), and it is unclear how accurate the count of non-cave visitors was. What does seem clear, however, is that increasing numbers of the automobiling public came to and through Wind Cave National Park in the late 1910s and throughout the 1920s. Only three years, 1919, 1921,
and 1927, showed declines in the number of visitors. Increased publicity about the virtues of the Black Hills undoubtedly contributed to the rise in numbers. And, although he did not visit Wind Cave, the presence of President Coolidge in nearby Custer State Park the summer of 1927 focused international attention on the Black Hills. The summer after Coolidge was in the Black Hills, WCNP visitorship increased by 23.8 percent, to 100,309.
6. ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT AT WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK, 1927-1946

Despite the notable increase in visitors to the facility in the early 1920s, questions again were raised about the advisability of retaining WCNP within the NPS and about the NPS's commitment to it. In 1927 Superintendent Roy W. Brazell charged that "this park has reached the turning point of its career." He urged the NPS to give "an appropriation that will meet its actual needs or it will have to cease to function as a National Park by being disposed of [to] the State or private interests, or be abandoned." "It simply cannot continue as it has." 154

Aware of the dismal quality of the facilities at Wind Cave, NPS officials discussed what to do. In 1928, Acting Field Director Horace Albright suggested that the dual administration the NPS and the Biological Survey shared ought to be changed. NPS Director Mather had talked about the problems with interested congressmen. Out of those discussions came the hope that the situation would change within the next year or two "to eliminate the park altogether." The Secretary of the Interior seemed to concur with these thoughts of abolishment, stating in the 1928 annual report, "If [emphasis added] this area is to continue to function as a national park its facilities should be expanded to the point where the needs of the visiting public may adequately be met." 155

Brazell's statements in 1927 might have been suspect since he resigned under a cloud the following year after 14 years with the NPS, but an inspector of the facility, Thomas Vint, termed the buildings a "disgrace" in 1928:

The buildings at Park Headquarters compose about the most perfect haywire outfit we have in the Park System. They are a disgrace to the United States Government and the National Park Service. They are in a class with the development on one of the many homestead failures typical of the western states. These are rather strong and unqualified statements but they do not require an expert's opinion for verification. 156

After nearly a quarter century of neglect, the condition of Wind Cave at last came to sustained official attention in 1927 and 1928. NPS officials, field investigators, and politicians paid visits to the site. On July 28, 1928, NPS Director Mather brought the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Public Lands to Wind Cave as part of its tour of national parks. Having seen the site and weighed the possibilities, the decision was made to retain Wind Cave as a national park and to upgrade its facilities. In 1928 and again in 1929, park revenues were, for the first time, greater than regular annual appropriations, perhaps a factor in deciding to retain and improve the park. The time of questioning marked a turning point in the fortunes of Wind Cave National Park, for the NPS determined to institute reforms and finally committed substantial funds for improvements. 157
To be retained:
1. Superintendent's residence
2. Shed
3. Cess pool
4. Dwelling
5. Barn with fence
6. Cave entrance

Demolition proposed:
7. Log building
8. Office/store
9. Pavilion

Construction proposed:
10. Administration building/store

Administrative Area, WCNP. August 1927.
Source: National Archives Record Group 79, Box 444.
The park superintendent who replaced Brazell, Anton J. Snyder, arrived June 10, 1928. Although inexperienced, he represented the increasingly professional, trained personnel the NPS sought. Snyder immediately instituted changes in operations, including adding three times for cave trips to the traditional morning and early afternoon time slots. (Given the tremendous increase in visitors—610 went through the cave on one day, July 6, 1929—it is surprising in some respects that an expanded schedule had to wait until 1928.) Snyder had 13 seasonal rangers on staff during the summer season in addition to one permanent ranger. However, he lacked clerical assistance to handle the increasing paperwork as well as maintenance or other engineering personnel.  

As the number of parks and other facilities under the NPS grew (18 parks in 1929), so did the requirements for reports and paperwork. The increasing number and type of field inspections were a manifestation of these changes within the NPS. The more regular inspections at WCNP were part of the attempt to upgrade national parks. An important aspect of the inspections was the application of data amassed in the field toward preparation of master plans for the individual parks. Thomas Vint, who visited Wind Cave in 1928 and came away with such scathing descriptions of the buildings, is credited with developing and refining the master plan process within the NPS in the late 1920s.  

In his report of 1928 on WCNP, Vint recommended a new administration building and a new concessionaire building, the two to be connected by an open porch. In addition, he called for an equipment shed, shop building, warehouse, bunkhouse for guides, and a messhouse. Director Mather continued his interest in Wind Cave and directed NPS official A.E. Demaray to visit the facility in the fall of 1928. Demaray (later NPS Director) spent a day with Superintendent Snyder and came away with an additional recommendation, an adequate water system, as the "park's most important need."  

While NPS officials looked into facilities at the Wind Cave, the Biological Survey instituted changes in the late 1920s at the game preserve. An additional 3,600 acres were fenced off in 1927, resulting in two pastures for the 175 buffalo, 95 elk, and 25 antelope. Another improvement was construction of a dam (and related roadway) at Cold Spring Creek near their headquarters at the former West ranch at the north end of the park. Nearly complete in 1929, the facility was considered by the NPS to be "inconsistent with park policies to permit an artificial lake or reservoir....[and unlikely to] be any improvement on the present naturally pretty stream." Unfortunately, the dam, a brainchild of South Dakota Senator Peter Norbeck, was found to be poorly conceived. The lake the dam created was located over porous rock, and water simply drained out, earning it the nickname of "Peter's Puddle."  

Once the NPS concluded that it was time to improve Wind Cave, annual appropriations began to increase. Between 1916 and 1929, annual appropriations had risen from just $2,500 to $11,000, increases which had certainly not kept pace with the growing number of visitors using the facility. But in the late 1920s general road funds were provided for highways within the park, including $54,000 in 1929. In 1926 and 1929, these funds allowed for more than ten
miles to be improved; steep grades were lessened, curves broadened, roadways widened. In addition, these improvements all but eliminated the old "trail" that was a "curse to the park and a source of exasperation to drivers." 1152

The road funds marked the onset of more funding, and the 1931 appropriation for the park proper was substantial. Of the $51,880 total, $36,750 was for construction projects, including new water and sewage systems, a rangers’ dormitory with four sleeping rooms, and a powerhouse containing a reconditioned 25-horsepower semi-Diesel engine for running a cave elevator. In addition, the Robert McAdam ranch, which contained an important water source for the park, was purchased in 1931. And at last, electric lighting for the cave was installed, an idea mentioned as early as 1902. 1153

The need for electric lighting in the cave had long been sought. Writing in 1915, an Interior Department inspector stated, "It is astounding to think that the Federal Government would cling to the primitive method of using a candle held in a ragged hole punched through the side of a bucket as a type of lamp illuminating the path of a tourist." 1154 By 1930, gasoline lanterns had replaced candles. Superintendent Edward D. Freeland, who replaced Anton Snyder in March of 1931, was ecstatic with the improvement, for "the natural beauty of the cave is brought out and enhanced by the new lighting...." Beauty aside, it should be noted that the 1931 lighting deteriorated after only two seasons due to cave moisture and had to be rewired in 1937. 1155

With all these improvements in the works, the Wind Cave superintendent was able to conclude that the park "has received more in the way of material development and improvement than in all the previous years of its parkhood put together." New quarters for administration and concessions remained elusive, however, and in 1930 Mr. and Mrs. C.C. Gideon, who had just been named concessionaires at the park, put up a temporary building for serving lunches to tourists. The Gideons ran a similar successful operation in Custer State Park. Gideon had assisted President Coolidge during his stay there. In addition, he had helped design and build the attractive log buildings in the park. 1156

By the 1930s when WCNP received sustained official attention, the NPS had developed a body of design principles to guide architectural and landscape architectural design choices for national parks. As has been noted, one of the guiding principles of the NPS was to ensure that natural resources remained "unimpaired for future generations." But alterations to the landscape were necessary to allow the public to visit, enjoy, and appreciate natural wonders. The question, still on the table, was how best to resolve these conflicting goals. In the early 20th century, and when the NPS was in its infancy, progressive planners from the American Society of Landscape Architects and the American Civic Association worked with NPS officials, especially Horace Albright, to form a policy. In 1918, the first NPS policy statement on the subject was issued:

In the construction of roads, trails, buildings, and other improvements, particular attention must be devoted always to the harmonizing of these improvements with the landscape. This is a most important item in our programs of development and
requires the employment of trained engineers who either possess a knowledge of landscape architecture or have a proper appreciation of the aesthetic value of park lands. All improvements will be carried out in accordance with a preconceived plan developed in special reference to the preservation of the landscape, and comprehensive plans for future development of the national parks on an adequate scale will be prepared as funds are available for that purpose.\[^{167}\]

The principle of harmony with the landscape guided the sustained period of development in national parks during the 1920s and 1930s. As the concept was refined, especially under Thomas Vint, the application of the harmony principle included using local materials and also building in a scale that fit the surrounding landscape. Local architectural traditions were stressed, though not always adopted. In many cases a distinctive rustic appearance resulted, regardless of whether the stylistic influence was Colonial American, Pueblo Revival, or Spanish Revival. These designs have been termed rustic architecture or "parkitecture," an especially apt moniker.

Intended to reflect NPS design principles, Wind Cave improvements were part of a six-year master plan of development. Thus, a rangers' dormitory was designed to conform to the "new style of architecture prescribed by the [NPS] Landscape Division." At times, officials seemed at a loss as to how to describe and interpret the new buildings at Wind Cave. The 1931 power house was described as built of "native stone and Spanish stucco" in a manner "setting the style for all future buildings in the park." The following year an employee's residence and a two-car garage addition to the superintendent's house were also built of native stone and "Spanish" stucco. In 1935, the style was described as "stone and stucco in the California style of architecture."\[^{168}\] And in 1935, NPS landscape architect Howard W. Baker described the process by which design decisions were made for Wind Cave by calling the style "northern Spanish." Baker explained that when the first appropriations came through, the "type of architecture that was to predominate" was selected. "We chose to use the northern Spanish architecture, which harmonized with the landscape, having a not too rustic but pleasing character."\[^{169}\]

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, California architects had led in the refinement of styles which interpreted and adapted Spanish motifs and materials, recalling the Spanish heritage of the state. Across the country, homebuilders and other designers chose stucco walls, clay roof tiles, asymmetrical massing, multiple window panes, and simple arched window and door frames—reflections of Spanish styles and Californian interpretations. Since the stylistic influence emanated from California based on Spanish inspiration, it was referred to in Wind Cave accounts variously.\[^{170}\]

Stucco, whether "Spanish," "Northern Spanish," or "Californian," was less in keeping with NPS principles of park building design than it was the more economical choice for WCNP. Stone had repeatedly been called for as a natural construction material for the park. (And stone was used for many landscape objects at the park, including foundations, retaining walls, and entry signs.) In 1902, GLO special agent M.A. Meyendorff depicted nearby Hot Springs as "nested
among red crags of gypsum," suggesting a relationship between the cave area and the distinctive stone. In 1914, Acting Superintendent Frederick N. Dille called for a stone building to house the cave entrance. He characterized the present wood building as being "of such a nature as to be placed in ridicule by not having a neat stone structure about the entrance." In a 1929 report, an NPS inspector also suggested use of native stone for new administration building. Also in 1929, Superintendent Snyder recommended a "new stone administration building." In his 1928 report, Thomas Vint recommended the concessions building be of log construction similar to those in adjacent Custer State Park. Noting that visitors often went to both facilities, he felt a similar appearance would be appropriate. None of these recommendations was adopted; the use of stucco was apparently not mentioned by those familiar with WCNP.

Perhaps as part of the master plan, the dual administration at Wind Cave was also eliminated during this period. The problems of dual administration had regularly been mentioned in reports. On July 1, 1935, the NPS took over responsibility for the game preserve from the Biological Survey. As part of this change, the process of removing interior fences and replacing them with a game proof fence surrounding the entire boundary of the park was begun. The goal was "as nearly as man can [to] restore it [to] a picture of the range and the wildlife of the days of the Sioux." By this time, nearly 200 buffalo as well as antelope and deer populated the game preserve, enjoying a range that increased from 7,000 to 11,000 acres when the NPS took charge and altered the fencing. The game apparently approved of the change. On the first day the antelope found they could enter the newly expanded range, they covered it "in a comparatively short time, running in all directions," then settled down to enjoy it more quietly.

NPS officials remained actively involved with, and concerned about, the fortunes of Wind Cave. In March of 1931, they replaced Anton Snyder with Edward D. Freeland as superintendent in an effort to repair deteriorated relations with local groups. Horace Albright, by now Director of the NPS, participated in the decision, noting that Snyder was inexperienced in dealing with local concerns when he was thrust into the job. And he had a poor role model in the former superintendent who, in Albright's estimation, was "not a competent man." Director Albright continued to play an active role in Wind Cave improvements, including a visit in 1932. What he saw he liked: "I am extremely pleased with the development in Wind Cave that has taken place since I was there about two years ago. The transformation was so great that I hardly recognized the place." 

Under the leadership of Horace Albright, the NPS continued many of the goals and policies dating from its beginnings when Mather was director and Albright his assistant. But Albright also tightened up administrative procedures and delegated more responsibility. In the 1930s, operations expanded notably into new areas. The definition of the NPS mission broadened to include historic sites such as battlefields and historic houses. In addition, educational programs designed to inform the public about the assets of a particular NPS facility were launched. The educational programs, which eventually led to the concept of visitor centers containing interpretative displays, remain a cornerstone of NPS operations. When combined with the
development of master plans to guide park development, these 1930s era additions provided much of the framework of the modern NPS.

New Deal Programs and the CCC, 1933-1939

The concept of master plans served an immediate purpose in the 1930s, for the NPS was already prepared to participate fully in New Deal programs. The precise time when the Great Depression, that matured in the 1930s, began varied with the place (farm states were well into a financial depression in the mid-1920s), but an important turning point can be dated at March 4, 1933. On that date President Franklin D. Roosevelt inaugurated the New Deal. In what has been termed the One Hundred Days of the Roosevelt administration, Congress passed at his behest sweeping legislation designed to help the unemployed, halt economic decline, and bolster confidence in the American economy. Among the measures Roosevelt and his advisors devised were a series of public works programs. He had formulated the concept of addressing employment and environmental problems together through a public works program while governor of New York. In his acceptance speech at the Democratic convention on July 2, 1932, Roosevelt reaffirmed his belief in this approach.176

New Deal public works programs included the Works Progress Administration (WPA), Civil Works Administration (CWA), and the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW). Better known as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the ECW left a lasting and tangible legacy in state and national parks all across the nation. Given Roosevelt’s longstanding interest in the CCC concept and his involvement with it during the New Deal years, the program should be considered an important example of his personal philosophy.177

In operation between 1933 and 1942, the CCC was the most long-lasting of New Deal unemployment relief programs. The CCC was also among the most popular, for it assisted people while also conserving natural resources. Participants were male, single, young, reasonably physically fit, and unemployed. They came to CCC camps specifically built for their use. With its experience in managing thousands of troops, the Army was given responsibility for building and operating the camps. The Department of Labor was charged with selecting suitable recruits to serve in the CCC. And the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior planned and oversaw projects in their respective domains, especially parks and forests.178

The CCC was also known as "Roosevelt’s Tree Army," a reference to the considerable work in forest protection and conservation. Of the total 16,953 CCC camps established between 1933 and 1942, 6,650 (39 percent) operated in national, state, and private forests under the direction of the Department of Agriculture’s Forest Service. In addition, there were 5,469 more camps that operated out of other Agriculture bureaus; in all, 71 percent of CCC camps performed work for this federal agency.179

CCC camps in state (2,507) and national (841) parks constituted about 20 percent of the total number, and the Department of the Interior accounted for 26 percent of the total. Just under
five percent of CCC camps were located in national parks, including Wind Cave. It should be noted that, while there were 4,043 camps established in Department of Interior facilities over the nine-year life of the CCC, they were located in a total of 655 parks and related recreation areas, as shown below.¹⁸⁰

Number of CCC Camps under the Department of the Interior¹⁸¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State Parks</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan parks</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National park areas</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County parks</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal defense areas</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDAs</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TVA areas</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>655</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of CCC camps and the number of men who populated them was remarkable; in all, more than 2.5 million men served in the CCC. The bulk of CCC work under NPS direction took place in non-federal parks. In the initial round of CCC camps, South Dakota was allotted 13 camps intended to house 3,600 enrollees, the largest per capita quota in the nation. It was difficult to fill the ranks from within the state, however, and an average of 20 percent who served in the CCC in South Dakota were from other states. A substantial number (60 percent) of the total number had the opportunity to work in the forests and parks of the Black Hills. By the end of 1941, more than 26,500 men had served in the CCC in South Dakota, nearly 16,000 them in and around the Black Hills.¹⁸²

The first CCC camp in the nation was established in 1933 in Virginia’s George Washington National Forest. Organized July 9, 1934, Civilian Conservation Company 2754, Camp NP-1, at Wind Cave National Park was the only national park camp in South Dakota. With its slightly later inaugural, Camp Wind Cave benefitted from the normal fits and starts associated with establishing a national program of the proportions of the CCC.¹⁸³

Living in a temporary summer camp, the initial 200 men at Camp Wind Cave began construction of more permanent camp buildings on August 2, 1934, and completed the task by October 6, 1934. The first buildings to go up were the mess hall and a bath house. The site was a few hundred yards east of what became the new (and present) public entrance to the Wind Cave, "in an area protected by the hills of Wind Cave Canyon." The Army typically altered the standard CCC camp plan to fit the topography, with a crescent shaped arrangement the result in this instance. Buildings fanned outward from a water reservoir on the hilltop. Among the buildings in the camp were eight barracks, a mess hall (with kitchen and store room), supply building
Members of the CCC provided the labor for fundamental and much-needed improvements at Wind Cave in three categories: cave improvements, landscaping, and building construction. (Appendix C, Buildings at WCNP, 1942.) Before 1934, there had been no funds earmarked for cave improvements, and past changes had consisted of haphazard and minor maintenance. CCC workers, in contrast, hauled out accumulated debris from years of previous casual work, replaced flimsy wood stairs with concrete ones having iron railings, lowered trails where the ceilings were low, added improved indirect lighting, and concealed lighting cables. The CCC was intended to be a labor-intensive program, and all concrete was painstakingly hauled by hand to the stair-step forms.

The CCC was also responsible for major building construction projects. (Figure 8, Plate 3, Appendix C.) In 1935, it was reported that "greater developments occurred in this park during the past year than in any year in its history." Finally, the long sought administration building was completed. Built under the direction of the Henry Carlson Company of Sioux Falls, it consisted of "two units connected by a loggia," and was described as "stone and stucco in the California style of architecture, harmonizing with all other buildings at park headquarters." Part of the old administration building, "an archaic frame structure," was moved to the CCC utility area for use as an equipment shed, the rest was razed. "Use of the new building facilitated more efficient park administration and improved service to the public; its cost was $35,987." Changes to the landscape were similarly ambitious. To encircle the game preserve and eliminate the need for unsightly fencing along highways, the CCC put up 18.6 miles of high woven wire game fence around the park boundaries, continuing plans already in effect. To provide better access for fire detection and protection, they constructed a network of truck trails. Steep slopes were graded as an erosion control measure along roadways. Native trees and shrubs were planted, especially around park headquarters. Old roads and trails were obliterated. New footpaths between the administration building and the new cave entrance were built as well as a "log and stone foot-bridge," parking areas with "curbs of native stone," and guard rails consisting of a low stone wall on either end of the new administration building. And, in clear recognition of the ascendancy of the automobile, a parking lot was enlarged in 1935 north of the new administration building.

In addition, work begun in 1934 on a new superintendent’s residence, a new employee’s residence, and a combined garage and equipment building were completed the next year. The park superintendent also reported that in 1935 an old shingled dwelling (the Ranger Cabin, HS-5) was moved up from near the road and remodeled. In 1939, construction began on a two-story, 12-stall garage (Utility Garage "A") in the Utility Area. (Since responsibility for park road maintenance had been transferred from the Bureau of Public Roads to Wind Cave on July 1, 1938, the garage was doubly welcome.) In 1940, Utility Garage "C" was completed.
Headquarters Area, WCNP, as of January 1, 1943. Building numbers (1-13) have been added and related to Appendix C, Buildings at WCNP, 1942.

Source: [Report], Field Trip by Howard W. Baker, [1938], National Archives Record Group 79.
Wind Cave National Park, view toward southwest, c. 1939.
View shows some WCNP buildings the CCC constructed
including Administration Building in foreground
Source: WICA Archives, Neg. 2556, undated.

Plate 3.
Perhaps the most ambitious project was installation of a modern high speed elevator and related power house. Preliminary work began in 1934 when funds were allotted for the elevator. A cave survey to determine the best location for it was conducted at the same time. The survey was completed during fiscal year 1934, and the site chosen was on the "short route" within the cave. Construction commenced in August, 1935 and continued throughout the fiscal year. CCC personnel constructed the building, but experts were brought in to install the elevator.\textsuperscript{189}

To complete the elevator project, the cave elevator building was completed by the fall of 1939 using no outside skilled labor, only CCC workers. The new building replaced a temporary corrugated iron structure which a Wind Cave superintendent had described in denigrating terms as resembling a "California cotton gin or a stamp mill" from Black Hills mining days. The replacement elevator building was in harmony with the materials and design of other WCNP buildings. It consisted "of a lobby; first-aid room; comfort stations; transformer room and heater on the main floor, motor-generator room on the second floor and elevator equipment in the tower." The construction project was a remarkable feat; the elevator reportedly remains the highest elevator in the state.\textsuperscript{190}

By the fall of 1939, it could be reported that "many of the major jobs contemplated for completion by CCC have been accomplished." On October 31, 1939, Camp Wind Cave was closed down and personnel transferred to a new camp at Badlands National Monument (established that same year). A small spike, or side camp was detailed from Custer State Park to complete several minor unfinished tasks. In 1941, the buildings comprising Camp Wind Cave were razed.\textsuperscript{191}

Superintendent Freeland summed up the contribution of the CCC to Wind Cave: "Conservation and development of the Park has resulted in the conservation and development of some fine young Americans." Former South Dakota governor Leslie Jensen, a Hot Springs native, concurred, "The Wind Cave CCC camp is the outstanding camp in the entire Hills from the standpoint of permanent and visible work accomplished that will forever inure to the benefit of the general public and the National Park Service."\textsuperscript{192}

In addition to the Emergency Conservation Work program, other federal programs affected the development of Wind Cave National Park. Beginning in 1933, the federal government was authorized to work with states to develop regional recreational areas. This effort was part of NPS involvement with the creation of state park systems and the role of the CCC in their development. In 1934, the NPS and the National Resource Board began to study recreational needs all across the country. The information thus gleaned was to be used to make decisions on establishing what were called recreational demonstration areas (RDA). The RDAs were to be located on submarginal farmland. Initially, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was charged with purchasing this submarginal land, but in 1935 the Department of Agriculture's Resettlement Administration assumed responsibility for purchasing land and relocating farmers to better lands, and the NPS had responsibility for developing and managing these purchased lands.\textsuperscript{193}
In general, the NPS intended to develop these former farmlands (often using CCC crews), then turn them over to states or other non-federal units of government. These lands were in theory located near congested urban centers and were developed with the intention that low-income groups could reach them for outdoor recreation. Possible activities included camping, picnicking, hiking, swimming, and boating. But the NPS also used the RDA program to develop waysides along highways and to extend the boundaries of NPS holdings, including in South Dakota the Badlands National Monument and Wind Cave National Park. The RDA program was active between 1936, when the NPS assumed developmental control of 46 areas in 24 states, and 1942, when additional legislation allowed the agency to divest itself of holdings.194

Located adjacent to the north and east boundaries of WCNP, the Custer Recreational Development Area consisted of approximately 20,000 acres, 90 percent of which was ideal for grazing a game herd. Unlike the typical RDA, it was not developed with numerous recreational uses in mind nor was it near an urban center. In 1939, only two of the former land owners (creation involved more than forty deed transactions) still remained on the land but were soon to vacate. An estimated thirty to forty buildings stood in the RDA but were slated for removal.195

**Wind Cave National Park Expansion, 1946**

With the substantial commitment of time and funds in the 1930s, it would have appeared that the future of WCNP as a national park was secure. Yet in 1945 questions again arose about the future of Wind Cave. Under consideration was ceding the national park to the State of South Dakota to make it (and nearby Jewel Cave National Monument) a part of adjacent Custer State Park. State officials and the Chambers of Commerce and three other civic groups in Rapid City and Custer favored the idea. In staunch opposition were Hot Springs residents, including their Chamber of Commerce and Kiwanis Club. In 1946, the matter was settled.196

Through the leadership of South Dakota Congressman Francis Case, the former Custer RDA was divided between Wind Cave and Custer State Park under legislation President Harry S Truman signed on August 9, 1946. With the stroke of a pen, WCNP increased from 11,718.17 acres to 28,059 acres. At the same time, the Forest Service exchanged some of the lands that went to the WCNP and obtained lands that once formed part of the west edge of WCNP.197 (See Figure 2.)

Congressmen Case and others had initially favored abolition of Wind Cave National Park by combining it with the much larger Custer State Park holdings. However, a meeting with interested parties from the NPS, the Forest Service, and the State of South Dakota convinced Case to change his mind. A strong reason was the perfect conditions the area offered as a "natural habitat of the plains animals."198
Case and other South Dakota leaders, including Governor M.Q. Sharpe, were attracted by the prospect that the National Park Service will feature the Wind Cave buffalo herd as THE herd in the National Park system. Mr. Merriam’s [region III director, NPS] point that Wind Cave, as a cave, is not the most singular or most outstanding cave in the county, [sic, country?] but that the buffalo herd can become the most outstanding herd, and in connection with that of the State Park, be an attraction without rival in its field is impressive....
7. SUMMARY

Most of the development of present Wind Cave National Park occurred during the 1930s. CCC crews and public works monies "transformed the park headquarters from a very ordinary place into one of the beauty spots of the Black Hills." Political compromises increased the size of the park notably in 1946. With these actions the essential form and characteristics of WCNP were in place, and subsequent changes should be viewed as amplifications of the existing setting. For example, in the mid-1960s and 1970s volunteers and NPS staff explored and mapped previously unknown portions of the cave. Exploration continues, but as of early 1992, only 65 miles of passageways have been mapped. (At its establishment in 1903, the estimated extent of explored areas was but eight miles.) Speleologists now consider Wind Cave to rank among the world's most significant examples because of its extent, complexity, and formations. While the buffalo preserve did not reach the superlative level South Dakota and NPS leaders discussed in the late 1940s, the habitat provides an excellent opportunity for viewing a variety of wildlife in as natural a setting as possible. The historical development of WCNP illustrates changing attitudes toward natural resources, especially the role of the National Park Service in conserving them, the effect federal management has on a natural resource, and the importance of tourism and recreation to the Black Hills economy.
8. ENDNOTES

Many of the annual reports submitted by various Wind Cave superintendents were only available as typed copies at the well-maintained library at the park. For that reason, all annual reports for the park are simply referred to as, for example, "1934 WCNP annual report." The many memoranda, copies of correspondence, oral histories, undated clippings, and other unpublished documents are cited in detail in the endnotes but may not appear in the bibliography. "WCNP-HF" refers to the well-organized historical files located at Wind Cave National Park. A series of park superintendents have clearly been deeply interested in the historical development of WCNP and have worked to collect related documents and writings. Records from the National Archives were also consulted, either using copies at Wind Cave or from the repository in Washington, D.C.; National Archives documents are designated by their Record Group (RG) number in these endnotes. Record Groups 79, 49, and 22 were used.


3. Black Hills Caves issue, pp. 235-246; Sierra Club Guides, p. 188.

4. Sierra Club Guides, p. 188.


7. Documentary accounts regarding the importance of caves in general to the Sioux include the following from "Some Caves of the Black Hills--Wind Cave," The Black Hills Engineer (December 1938), p. 272: "From various sources have come colorful Sioux legends, the common theme of which seems to be that the cave was sacred, being the dwelling-place of the four winds. The buffalo lived there also, and when the Great Spirit is no longer displeased with his red children, the sacred animals will come forth again in great numbers from their subterranean home." Also, from The Sierra Club Guides to the National Parks: Rocky Mountains and the Great Plains (n.p.: Steward, Tabori & Chang, 1984), p. 181: "The Dakota,
or Sioux, believed the Black Hills to be sacred. According to one of their legends Wakan Tanka, the Great Spirit, sent the buffalo out from the center of the earth through the mouth of the cave to darken the northern Great Plains." Further ethnographic and historical research is necessary on this topic.


Over the years there has been speculation that the Jedediah Smith party of twelve fur traders may have crossed Wind Cave National Park boundaries on their 1823 fur expedition. According to James Clyman, who was on the expedition and later published his recollections (penned in 1871, but published in book form in 1928), they crossed the Cheyenne River probably near Beaver Creek near Buffalo Gap. Historians disagree about the route, and some (Dale Morgan and Carl Wheat. *Jedediah Smith and his Maps of the American West*. San Francisco: n.p., 1954) feel the route was farther south along the White River, while another contends the trail was much to the north of Buffalo Gap, along the Belle Fourche. See "Clyman’s articles first literature of Black Hills," *Rapid City Daily Journal*, September 30, 1956; "Figure of Jedediah Smith looms in history of West," *Rapid City Daily Journal*, October 14, 1956.

It has also been contended that the Smith party continued west through the southern Black Hills to the headwaters of the Cheyenne and then to the Rocky Mountains. Clyman mentioned a "grove of petrified timber" on the southwest rim of the Black Hills. It has been suggested that it was the southeast rim, more particularly some hills north of Buffalo Gap that are within the confines of the national park. Further, since a bear attacked and mauled a member of the party, reportedly somewhere along Beaver Creek, it is possible that historic archeological remains could exist within Wind Cave National Park from that 1823 expedition. The source for this, Wind Cave Superintendent Earl Semingsen, erroneously refers to the diaries as Jedediah Smith’s, rather than James Clyman. The evidence remains fragmentary and inconclusive. Should archeological evidence be uncovered within the Wind Cave boundaries that might be associated with the early exploration period, it should be examined with the Smith expedition in mind. See Earl M. Semingsen, Superintendent, to Jerry Brennan, Rapid City attorney, July 24, 1958 and Brennan to Semingsen, August 7, 1958, WCNP-HF, Prepark era, Box 1, File 7; Cleophas C. O’Harra, "Custer’s Black Hills Expedition of 1874," *The Black Hills Engineer*, XXX, pp. 221-222.

12. Robinson, p. 204, quoting Territorial Governor Jayne; Schell, pp. 88-89, 125.


15. Andreas, pp. 116-118; Schell, pp. 140-41.


18. Another source described a stagecoach trail commencing in Sidney that came through Chadron, Nebraska, then continued north to the town of Buffalo Gap at some unspecified time. Rather than serving Custer, whose boom period had passed, it ran along the eastern edge of the Black Hills to Hermosa, Battle Creek, Spring Creek, and finally, Deadwood. See Harold R. Jones, memo to historical file, December 10, 1951, WCNP-HF, Prepark era, Box 1.

19. A long time area resident, Carl Sanson, recalled that a somewhat later passenger spur of the freight route to Custer cut a more northwesterly approach and passed through the present park boundaries and that one of the many stage stations was located near the south boundary of the present national park. He also stated that a way station stood a few miles north of the boundary between Wind Cave National Park and Custer State Park, and it appears there were a number of such stations. Referred to as the West Fork of the Sidney-Black Hills Trails, the freight trail ran, according to Sanson, less than a mile east of the Sanson family homestead, which was just west of Buffalo Gap. See Jack C. McGee, seasonal ranger naturalist, Report on Sidney-Black Hills Freight Trail, August 18, 1964, WCNP-HF Prepark era, Box 1, File 7; Interview with Carl Sanson and his sister Friede, July 2, 1958, WCNP-HF Prepark era, Box 1, unnumbered file.

Sanson was part of a road crew that helped build Service Road 5 in the park. Seasonal Ranger McGee checked in 1964 and could discern "deep indentations that often ran for the length of a block before they were again lost under the modern road-bed" where Service Road 5 deviated from the older route.


advantage of these various federal land acts. Documents related to land transfers when WCNP was established or its boundaries increased only mention Homestead Entry claims. The National Register nomination for the Lonnie and Francis Ayres Ranch in Custer County addresses settlement patterns in the Wind Cave vicinity and states in Section 8, page 1: "Most ranch claims in the northern and central parts of the county were acquired through the Homestead Act."


24. Original Surveys: Township No. 6 South, Range No. 5 East of the Black Hills Meridian; Township No. 5 South, Range No. 6 East of the Black Hills Meridian; Township No. 5, Range No. 5 East of the Black Hills Meridian. Surveys were conducted at intervals between 1879 and 1892; boundaries for Wind Cave National Park were added to the original survey maps in 1906. The Andreas Atlas map of 1884 showed the Tarrant Ranch and a "Ranch" in the unsurveyed lands of Township 5 South, Range 6 East of the Black Hills. They were located along the trail between Buffalo Gap and Custer, and the "Ranch" was shown along Lame Johnny Creek. The map does not appear to be particularly accurate, especially in its location of this creek. The Tarrant name is not shown on other maps. Also, the United States Geological Survey maps surveyed in 1879-98 (Harney Peak) and 1898-99 (Hermosa) show the 5.5 mile Ranch (section 18, T5, R5) within the present boundaries of Wind Cave. (This version of the 1901 edition was printed in 1948.) For an oral history related to the Turney and Turnley homesteads, see Transcription tape, no date. Ella Elizabeth Scott Gay Recollections, WCNP-HF, Prepark era, Box 1.

25. *Custer Chronicle*, July 16 and 30, 1887; *Hot Springs Star*, June 16, 1893, January 4, March 9, 1894; Schell, p. 336. In the 1887 entries he is referred to as N. Valentine.


30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., p. 10.


33. John W. Bohi, "Seventy-five Years at Wind Cave: A History of the National Park." *South Dakota Historical Collections* XXXI (1962): 365-66; Clark, "History," p. 9. John Wells has also been credited with discovering the cave in 1884 but other accounts have him as among a party who entered the cave in that year; in 1877 Con ("Lame Johnny") Donahue, a thief who was hanged, is also said to have found it. It has been suggested (Bohi, p. 365), with good reason, that Lame Johnny received credit in an effort to enhance the mythology of Wind Cave. John Stabler, who knew better, published a promotional pamphlet around 1898 that included the Lame Johnny tale.

Various reasons for the Bingham's presence by the cave have been offered. Rufus E. Pilcher, guide and later superintendent at the cave from 1909 to 1911, stated that Tom (not Jesse) Bingham happened upon the cave while hunting up cattle. See Rufus E. Pilcher to editor, *Custer Chronicle*, January 24, 1966, copy of letter at WCNP-HF, Park Establishment, Box 1, File 4. Jesse Bingham was described as "the noted cattle thief" in an 1890 newspaper account, so it seems reasonable they could have been looking for cattle. See "The Wonderful Wind Cave," *Hot Springs Star*, August 29, 1890. Another source stated that Jesse was following a wounded deer up a ravine when he heard the cave opening whistling. See Bohi, p. 365. Or, that John Dennis, the Bingham's half-brother and uncle to Mrs. Charles Roe, was dressing a deer in 1880 when he heard the cave winds. "Hot Springs nonagenarian [Charles Roe] recalls pioneer events," *Rapid City Daily Journal*, January 27, 1952. Katie Stabler recalled that it was rabbits the Binghams were hunting (Katie Stabler's Memoirs, WCNP-HF). The several stories, all from longtime area residents actively involved with Wind Cave, illustrate the potential pitfalls of oral history.


35. "Last rites for E.L. McDonald held in Florida," *Haakon County, South Dakota Pioneer-Review*, January 24, 1963; Elmer McDonald was the son of Jesse D. McDonald. Irene McDonald Long obituary, *Rapid City Journal*, June 9, 1973; Mrs. Long was Elmer's daughter. Copies in WCNP-HF, Prepark era, Box 1, File 5. It is possible the McDonallds knew the Moss family in Iowa Falls, Iowa, which is six miles south of the Franklin County line. The Mosses lived in Iowa Falls in the late 1880s and early 1890s.

36. *Hot Springs Star*, June 20, 1890.
37. "The Wonderful Wind Cave," *Hot Springs Star*, August 22, 1890; the Star faithfully recounted these annual visits in the 1890s.


40. John Stabler obituary, typed copy at end of Kate Stabler Memoirs, WCNP-HF, pp. 22-3; Bohi, p. 392; *Hot Springs Star*, May 6 and June 3, 1892.

41. *Hot Springs Star*, July 15, August 26, September 30, 1892. The local newspaper later referred indirectly to the petrified man as a hoax. See *Hot Springs Star*, December 2, 1892, and February 3, 1893. A member of the Schofield family, who journeyed to Hot Springs from Chamberlain with the Stablers, later stated that the man was fabricated from plaster of paris at the Hotel Parrott. And that it was only after the fake began to crack and peel that it was sold. See Interview with Mrs. George M. Smith and her mother Mrs. Mary Gregory (formerly Mrs. William M. Schofield), July 7, 1958, WCNP-HF.

42. *Hot Springs Star*, February 3, March 10, May 19, June 9, June 23, and November 3, 1893.

43. *Hot Springs Star*, August 25, 1893; Bohi, p. 405, gives annual receipts of $464.65 in 1890 and $749 in 1891, and notes that the entry fee was $.50 in 1893.

44. Bohi, p. 367, quoting a September 13, 1884 *Custer Chronicle* article; Rufus E. Pilcher to editor, *Custer Chronicle*, January 24, 1966, copy of letter at WCNP-HF, Park Establishment, Box 1, File 4; *Custer Chronicle*, August 19, 1893.

45. Price List of Wind Cave Specimens, undated, WCNP-HF, Prepark era, Box 1, unnumbered file; *Hot Springs Star*, November 3, 1893.


47. Rufus Pilcher letter, 1966; Alvin (also known as Alvah) McDonald’s diary, March 27, 1891, WCNP-HF; *Hot Springs Star*, March 30, June 8, 1894, and April 27, 1895.

48. Gladys Moss Bingham, daughter of R.B. Moss, to Edward Freeland, WCNP Superintendent, January 15, 1938, WCNP-HF Prepark era, Box 1, File 4; Bohi, p. 397.

49. For reference of McDonald’s managerial capacity see for example Neighborhood Notes, *Hot Springs Star*, December 26, 1890; typed copy of payments from Moss to McDonald, January 30-March 15, 1890; WCNP-HF Prepark era, Box 1, File 1; Bingham to Freeland, 1938, WCNP-HF.
50. Bohi, p. 397-8. As early as 1891, McDonald claimed that "about two years ago" he had bought the cave and small house which O.F. Day had constructed there, according to the local newspaper. Bob McAdam, an 1890 arrival in the Hot Springs area who was one of Wind Cave National Park's first guides, also recalled that a Day had such a mining claim. It is possible that Day was "squating" on the site in advance of federal surveys and the opportunity to file a homestead claim. See "A day at Wind Cave," Hot Springs Star, September 25, 1891; McAdam interview, WCNP-HF; "Bob McAdam rite. Burial in Custer Cemetery," Hot Springs Star, July 9, 1964.


52. Complaint, South Dakota Mining Company vs. Wonderful Wind Cave Improvement Company, July 25, 1893. Typed copy. WCNP-HF, Prepark era, Box 1, File 4.

53. Hot Springs Star, August 31, 1895.

54. Hot Springs Star, August 27 (quoting Bryan), September 10, December 3, 1897, and January 14, 1898. Bohi, p. 405, erroneously gives 1892 as the date of the Bryan visit.

55. Hot Springs Star, October 9, 1896 (quoting Stabler) and February 26, 1897.

56. Bohi, pp. 399-400; Hot Springs Star, April 2, 16, May 14, 21, July 9, 1897 and September 9, 1898.

57. Director, USGS to Secretary of Interior, January 4, 1900. National Archives Record Group 79 (hereafter, RG79), Box 96, WICA letters received, 1899-1904.

58. "Wind Cave examined by experts," Hot Springs Star, April 8, 1898; also April 1 and 29, 1898.


60. Ibid., quoting pp. 2 and 6. Portions of the 1898 Boyd report became part of the House Committee on Public Lands Report No. 2606 in 1902.

61. "Wind Cave examined by experts," Hot Springs Star, April 8, 1898.


63. Greene examined the land holdings of Jesse D. McDonald (T6W, R5E, Sec. 1, NW1/4, S1/2 and lots 3 and 4), Elmer L. McDonald (T6S, R5E, Sec. 1, SW1/4), Peter T. Paulson (T6S, R5E, Sec. 1, NE1/4, S1/2 and lots 1 and 2), George A. Stabler (T6S, R5E, Sec. 2, NE1/4, S1/2 and lots 1 and 2), Thomas W. Moffitt (T1S, R5E, Sec. 1, SE 1/4, considered abandoned).
64. GLO Special Agent C.W. Greene to Commissioner, GLO, "Proposed Wind Cave National Park, South Dakota. December 4, 1899. RG 79, Box 443, File 204, Wind Cave Inspection, p. 1.

65. Ibid., p. 4.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid., p. 7.

68. Ibid.


70. Hot Springs Star, October 2, 1896.


72. Hot Springs Star, August 31, 1895; Clifford A. Wilson, son of S.E. Wilson, to Earl Semingsen, Wind Cave Superintendent, October 18, 1951, WCNP-HF, Park establishment, Box 1, File 5.


74. Greene to Commissioner, 1899, RG79, Box 443, File 204, p. 7; The Carlsbad of America, Hot Springs, South Dakota (Hot Springs: Evans Hotel, [1891]). Excerpt is a typed memo to the Historical File, WCNP-HF, August 26, 1952; Black Hills Wind Cave Company, "Torchlight reflections of Wind Cave," promotional pamphlet, c. 1898. Copy in WCNP-HF, Prepark era, Box 1, File 3.


76. Ibid., pp. 13-18.

77. Ibid., pp. 16, 31, 44.

78. Ibid., pp. 31-34, 44.

79. A day at Wind Cave," Hot Springs Star, September 25, 1891.

80. Morris, p. 119.

81. "Going through Wind Cave," Hot Springs Star, July 12, 1892.
82. Morris, p. 119.


84. Sears, p. 33; *Hot Springs Star*, June 9, 1893.


87. Alvin McDonald diary, January 15, 21, 1891, WCNP-HF.

88. *Hot Springs Star*, June 20, 1890; "A day at Wind Cave," *Hot Springs Star*, September 25, 1891; *Hot Springs Star*, July 1, 1892.

89. Sears, pp. 38-42.


94. Sears, p. 42.


96. "A day at Wind Cave," *Hot Springs Star*, September 25, 1891; *Hot Springs Star*, February 3, 1893; Sears, p. 44.


99. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of National Parks...for Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1916* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), Appendix E., The National Parks at a Glance, p. 88. The other national parks were Casa Grande Ruin (established 1889), Sequoia (1890), General Grant (1890), Mount Rainier (1899), Crater Lake (1902), and Platt (1902); the Hot Springs (Arkansas) Reservation was set aside in 1832.


101. USGS report quoted in US Congress, House, Congressional Record, 57th Congr., 1st Session, HR Report No. 2606. Wind Cave National Park, June 20, 1902, p. 2; Binger Hermann, Commissioner GLO to Secretary of the Interior, December 20, 1899, WCNP-HF, Park Establishment, Box 1, File 5; Secretary of the Interior to Commissioner GLO, January 6, 1900, WCNP-HF, Park Establishment, Box 1, File 5.

102. Secretary of the Interior to Commissioner GLO, January 6, 1900, WCNP-HF, Park Establishment, Box 1, File 5.

103. *Hot Springs Star*, March 22 ("In memorium of John Stabler"), April 26 ("Uncle Sam in charge"), 1901.

104. "Uncle Sam in charge," *Hot Springs Star*, April 26, 1901; "Wind Cave will open," *Hot Springs Star*, May 3, 1901; "To reopen Wind Cave," *Hot Springs Star*, May 10, 1901; "Wind Cave now open," *Hot Springs Star*, May 17, 1901. Last-named article includes the federal notice dated May 7, 1901 outlining Wind Cave regulations and quotes from a letter from the GLO commissioner to Congressman Martin.


107. Eben W. Martin to Secretary of the Interior, February 13, 1902, RG22, Box 727, WICA Game Reserve; GLO Commissioner to Secretary of the Interior, March 28, 1902, RG79, Box 96, WICA letters received, 1899-1904; Bohi, p. 416.


112. Martin to Secretary of Interior, May 5 and June 29, 1903, RG79, Box 96, WICA letters received, 1899-1905; "Wind Cave's superintendent," Hot Springs Star, July 31, 1903; "Rankin Ridge officially named at Wind Cave," Hot Springs Star, February 14, 1952; Rankin to Secretary of Interior, February 6, 1905, RG79, Box 98, letters received 1905. Rankin later bought the Jonathan West property at the then north end of the park; Rankin Ridge in the park was named in his honor.


114. Alvin F. McDonald (?), typed note, WCNP-HF, Prepark era, Box 1, File 5; photos #570 and #563, WICA Archives. Numerous other accounts, including one by Superintendent Rankin in 1903 (Rankin to Secretary of Interior, October 19, 1903, RG79, Box 96, WICA letters received 1899-1904), combine the dwelling with cave entrance, which was effected by means of a trap door.

115. Rankin to Secretary of Interior, October 19, 1903, RG79, Box 96, WICA letters received 1899-1904; 1905 Wind Cave annual report, RG79, Box 98, Letters received 1905.

116. Secretary of Interior to Rankin, November 10, 1906, WCNP-HF, Park establishment, Box 1, File 9; General Superintendent and Landscape Engineer of National Parks to Secretary of Interior, June 7, 1915, WCNP-HF, Park establishment, Box 2, File 5.

117. Rufus Pilcher to Earl Semingsen, WCNP, c. 1953, WCNP-HF, Park establishment, Box 1, File 4; Seth Bullock to Secretary of Interior, June 20, 1905, WCNP-HF, Park establishment, Box 1, File 11.


121. Ibid., pp. 55-56.

122. Eben W. Martin to Secretary of the Interior, February 13, 1902, RG22, Box 727, WICA Game Reserve.


128. Ibid., pp. 18-22, 26-28.

129. Ibid., pp. 27, 41.

130. Ibid., p. 27.


135. Secretary of Interior to Superintendent Brazell, February 18, 1918, RG79, Box 443, File 205.

136. General Superintendent and Landscape Engineer of National Parks to Secretary of Interior, June 7, 1915, WCNP-HF, Park establishment, Box 2, File 5.

137. Acting Superintendent Dille to Secretary of Interior, May 25, 1914, WCNP-HF, Park establishment, Box 1, File 11; General Superintendent and Landscape Engineer of National Parks to Secretary of Interior, June 7, 1915, WCNP-HF, Park establishment, Box 2, File 5.


139. 1909 and 1911 WCNP annual reports; Bohi, p. 427.

140. 1913, 1914, 1915, 1918 WCNP annual reports.
141. Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Wind Cave National Park, 1914, pp. 7 (quoting) and 10.


143. First Assistant Secretary of Interior to Superintendent Rankin, July 9, 1908 and Superintendent R. Pilcher to Secretary of Interior, July 8, 1910, WCNP-HF, Park establishment, Box 1, File 16; 1911 and 1914 annual reports; William Boland to Secretary of Interior, November 1, 1912, RG79, Box 546, WICA appropriations, part 3; Rankin to Secretary of Interior, July 1, 1908, WCNP-HF, Park establishment, Box 1, File 16.

144. 1916 WCNP annual report; 1920 Report of the Secretary of the Interior for Wind Cave.

145. 1911 and 1915 WCNP annual reports.

146. 1917 WCNP annual report; Bohi, p. 437. However, it was reported in the 1914 WCNP annual report that travelers along the road saw little of the buffalo and other game animals; perhaps their population was not yet sufficient.


150. Doane Robinson, "The Picturesque Black Hills, a Paradise for Campers," Dacotah (October 1908): 81-58; Rapid City, South Dakota, the City of Seven Valleys (Rapid City: Rapid City Commercial Club, [1919]), p. 38, quoted in Lee, p. 199.

151. 1920 WCNP annual report.

152. Belasco, pp. 4, 124; Lee, pp. 210, 212; 1923 and 1924 WCNP annual reports.


155. Albright to NPS Director, September 27, 1928 and Acting NPS Director to Albright, October 3, 1928, RG79, Box 443, File 201, Administration; Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1928, p. 19.

156. Thomas C. Vint, Chief Landscape Architect, to Director of NPS, September 8, 1928, RG79, File 443, Box F204-010.

158. 1929 WCNP annual report.


160. Thomas C. Vint, Chief Landscape Architect, to Director of NPS, September 8, 1928, RG79, File 443, Box F204-010; A.E. Demaray to Mather, September 11, 1928, RG74, Box 443, File 204-020, Inspections by headquarters officers.

161. 1927 WCNP annual report; A.E. Demaray to Mather, September 11, 1928, RG74, Box 443, File 204-020 (quoting); 1929 WCNP annual report; Bohi, p. 446.

162. 1926 and 1927 WCNP annual reports, (quoting from 1927).

163. Commissioner GLO to Secretary of Interior, June 6, 1902 (Willsie and Meyendorff report) in US Senate, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Report No. 1944, Wind Cave National Park; 1930 and 1931 WCNP annual reports.

164. General Superintendent and Landscape Engineer of National Parks to Secretary of Interior, June 7, 1915, WCNP-HF, Park establishment, Box 2, File 5.

165. 1931 WCNP annual report; Bohi, p. 457.

166. 1930 WCNP annual report.


168. 1931, 1932, 1935 WCNP annual reports.


171. Commissioner GLO to Secretary of Interior, June 6, 1902 (Willsie and Meyendorff report) in US Senate, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Report No. 1944, Wind Cave National Park; Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Wind Cave National Park, 1914, p. 10; H.E. Williams, Special Agent, "General Report on Wind Cave National Park, South Dakota," October 2, 1929,
RG79, Box 443; 1929 WCNP annual report; Thomas C. Vint, Chief Landscape Architect, to Director of NPS, September 8, 1928, RG79, File 443, Box F204-010.


174. Albright to C.C. Gideon, Wind Cave concessionaire, March 24, 1931, RG79, Box 443, File 201-006, pt. 2; Albright to Freeland, September 30, 1921, RG79, File 443, Box 201-006, pt. 2.


179. Wirth, p. 127.

180. Wirth, p. 127.

181. Wirth, p. 145.


8/71


189. Freeland, pp. 28-30; 1934, 1935 WCNP annual reports.


191. 1939, 1941 WCNP annual reports.

192. Freeland, p. 32; 1940 WCNP annual report; Congr. Francis Case to NPS, August 14, 1939, Case quotes letter he received from Jensen, RG79, Box 1695, ECW work project.


194. 1937 Report of the Secretary of the Interior, p. 38; Paige, p. 118; 1939 WCNP annual report; Ise, pp. 465-66. The addition to Wind Cave National Park is not mentioned by Paige or Ise, perhaps because it began as the Custer RDA and was associated with Custer State Park.

195. 1939 WCNP annual report.


197. 1943 WCNP annual report; Bohi, p. 462.

198. Lawrence C. Merriam, Regional Director NPS to Director NPS, December 31, 1943. WCNP-HF, 1936-41, Box 1, File 1.

199. Case to NPS, April 8, 1946, RG79, Box 1684, File O-32.

9. CONTEXTS AND ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

A particular historical topic contains a variety of information, much of it interesting and useful for enhancing our understanding of that topic. Some of this type of information is considered to be background information for the purposes of this project. The research into a particular set of topics is also useful for eliminating certain avenues from further consideration as historic contexts; such was the case, for example, with gold mining and major historic trails regarding present WCNP.

To be an historic "context" in the National Park Service use of the word, data from the background information is fashioned into contexts including property types. The contexts and related property types are directly applicable to the types of properties that it appears, based on the documentary evidence, WCNP either once had or still has. Thus, while medicinal baths and spas could be examples of the property type, recreational facilities, within the context of recreation and tourism in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave, they are not included in this context/property type statement, which is designed to lead to nomination of standing structures within the confines of WCNP. The contexts and related property types discussed below are drawn from the contextual study that preceded it in this report. The contextual study follows traditional NPS topics for an historic resource study and thus includes background information, and the findings have then been applied to context development. The property types are primarily based on historical associations rather than architectural characteristics.

Properties associated with these contexts may be buildings, structures, objects, districts, or a combination of these resources. The cluster of buildings near Wind Cave itself was intended to be a unit and should therefore be evaluated as a district. The district contains examples of both the property types: resources associated with tourism and the early development of Wind Cave, and resources associated with the development and administration of Wind Cave National Park.

Examples of a property type could relate to more than one National Register Criteria and more than one context. It is expected that most examples would be considered under Criterion A; that is, associated with events or patterns important in illustrating the relevant context(s). "Public recreational resources," a subtype of resources associated with the development and administration of WCNP, might also be significant under Criterion C and embody the distinctive characteristics of a type of construction, NPS "parkitecture." Bridges and the cave elevator might also be eligible under Criterion C for their engineering characteristics. Specific requirements and characteristics are discussed below.

The purpose of this document is to study and evaluate the historical development of Wind Cave National Park (WCNP). No survey was undertaken; prehistoric and historic archeological
resources are not included in the property type analysis. The present boundaries of the national park constitute the boundaries for this project.

Context: Recreation and Tourism in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave, 1890-1942

Property Type: Resources Associated with Tourism and the Early Development of Wind Cave, 1890-1942
Subtype: Road resources

[According to NPS personnel, extant properties include the historic cave entrance and stairs, Norbeck Dam, Pig Tail Bridge, and Beaver Creek Bridge.]

Description

This context could have related property types sprinkled throughout the Black Hills, but for the purposes of this document only those within the confines of WCNP would be considered. Possible examples in the Black Hills could include hotels and other lodging, concession or souvenir stands, restaurants, privately owned tourist attractions, and bridges and other improvements designed to encourage recreation and tourism. Known but razed properties at WCNP that fit within this category include a hotel, related barn, concession stand, and the "cave house."

The unifying feature is that the resources were conceived of, and developed as, tools for encouraging recreation and tourism in the Black Hills, especially in the Wind Cave vicinity. Properties designed and developed by the National Park Service are not included. The development efforts were a combination of private initiative (private owners, booster organizations, concerned citizens) and governmental responses (state highway planners, state and federal elected officials). For example, early managers of Wind Cave sought to increase visitorship at the cave through a combination of preservation and modest development about the cave entrance. And in recognition of Alvin McDonald's devotion to Wind Cave, he was buried near his beloved cave; visitors stopped at both the cave and his grave, which became part of the tourist attraction. In another example, federal monies (through Senator Peter Norbeck) resulted in a recreational addition within present WCNP, the Norbeck Dam. While less successful than envisioned and counter to NPS principles of natural resource management, nonetheless the dam is an example of this property type.

Subtype: Road Resources. Recognizing the importance of good access, state officials and local boosters worked together to build and promote good transportation facilities in the Black Hills. With the onset of the auto era, increasing numbers of tourists flocked to the Hills. Black Hills proponents improved roads, built bridges, and carved out entirely new routes more suited to the automobile. Pig Tail and Beaver Creek Bridges are fine examples of these efforts and may also be significant under Criterion C for their engineering. The distinctive Beaver Creek
Bridge was designed by J.E. Kirkham, an important bridge engineer with the State Highway Commission, and is said to be the largest and most complex reinforced bridge in South Dakota.

Significance

Tourism constitutes one of the most important economic activities in the Black Hills. Significant examples of this property type call attention to the role of tourism in the Hills economy and illustrate the effect of tourism and recreation on area development. The early history of Wind Cave (before NPS involvement) is a good example of efforts to promote the tourism potential of Hills natural resources. Combined private and public efforts to provide improvements such as better roads and tourist attractions effectively illustrate this important facet of Black Hills economic development.

At WCNP eligible properties are locally significant instances of the role of tourism and recreation in the Hills and are significant under Criterion A in the category of entertainment/recreation. They illustrate changing attitudes toward natural resources, private and governmental efforts to capitalize upon these resources, and the importance of tourism and recreational pursuits to the Black Hills economy.

Registration Requirements

Eligible properties must be located within the present boundaries of WCNP. Under Criterion A, eligible facilities must be directly associated with tourism or recreation. They must also demonstrate clear and positive patterns of usage related to this topic, not merely stand as an example of the topic. For example, the Norbeck dam does not at this time appear to meet these tests. While it was directly associated with Norbeck's interest in recreational development, it was initially a design failure since it leaked; further, it was opposed by NPS personnel. Based on currently known information, the data does not support that the dam was a positive instance of efforts to capitalize on the recreational aspects and related economic benefits to the Black Hills.

Under Criterion C, eligible properties within WCNP must embody the distinctive characteristics, types, and methods of construction of the period, especially as they relate to tourism and recreation. The period of significance begins with the 1890s, when intensive efforts to promote the recreational and tourism potential of the Hills were inaugurated, and extends to 1942, the end of the historic period.

Alterations must necessarily be considered individually. In the case of properties which have been subjected to constant use over the decades, some change is expected. The cumulative effect of the changes—the threshold after which it can be confidently stated that too much of the historic fabric, setting, and association has been obliterated—must be assessed on a case-by-case basis. The more modest the design, the more likely that the cumulative effect of a number of small changes over time will exceed acceptable standards for integrity. Thus, numerous small
changes to the cave entrance possibly including replacement stairs, removal of statuary and other modest adornments from the Alvin McDonald grave, or constant tinkering with a malfunctioning dam might cumulatively destroy the character-defining historic qualities of the resource in question.

Alterations to properties may be acceptable if the changes are at least 50 years old and thus part of the historic fabric. For example, if CCC crews altered the cave entrance and stairs in a manner that is visually sympathetic to the original and to the natural resource, these changes may constitute an important part of the historical qualities of the resource. Whether more than 50 years old or more recent, alterations must compatible in design, scale, materials, and setting with the original property and be reasonably unintrusive.

Subtype: Road resources. Road bridges are eligible under Criterion A in the area of recreation and tourism if they were built on roadways of demonstrable importance to tourism and recreational use and are located within present WCNP. A minor bridge, trail, or road, especially if it was not used by the public, would be unlikely to merit National Register listing. Road resources not used by the public would not be expected to rate highly since they play lesser roles in the recreation and tourism economy. In addition, the historic materials, form, and setting of the bridge must be intact. Road resources specifically developed by the National Park Service are not part of this subtype; such resources are more properly associated with the development and administration of Wind Cave as a national park (see context below).

In order to be eligible under Criterion C in the area of engineering, a bridge must be a good, representative example of a bridge design important in Black Hills bridge construction. The Beaver Creek Bridge is a good example. If key engineering design elements remain prominent and intact, it is possible that a property may be eligible under Criterion C even though there have been other alterations to form, setting, and materials.

Context: Development and Administration of Wind Cave National Park, 1903-1942

Property Type: Resources Associated with the Development and Administration of Wind Cave National Park, 1903-1942

Subtype: Public Resources
Subtype: Administrative Resources
Subtype: Roads and Trails

[According to NPS personnel, extant properties include: visitor center, elevator building, garage, storage building, recreation hall, carpenter shop, maintenance shop, fire cache, gas station, mixing circle shed, historic quarters (7), rock retaining walls and related features on main access road.]
Description

Significant examples for the property type are directly associated with NPS development and administration of natural resources within the present boundaries of WCNP. Included in the category are properties designed following National Park Service principles ("parkitecture"), products of Civilian Conservation Corps projects, and properties reflecting federal guidelines for Wind Cave National Game Preserve, including US Biological Survey improvements.

The key factor that distinguishes these properties from other governmental improvements is that they are directly and positively related to the development of Wind Cave as a national park or a national game preserve. The role of the National Park Service in developing, approving, managing, or building them—regardless of the particular federal agency that initially implemented them—is another important factor. The examples at WCNP are likely to date from the park’s pivotal period of physical development, the 1930s, but may date from 1903, when the park was established, to 1942, the end of the historic period.

Potentially important properties include administration buildings (also known as visitor or interpretive centers), public elevator entrance to the cave, the cave itself, utility buildings and structures, staff housing, notable objects (entry signs, retaining walls), and park plan. To make distinctions between them, facilities are grouped under the subtypes of public resources (intended primarily for public use), administrative resources (management of resources and administration of the facility), and roads and trails (public use and administrative use). Subtypes may overlap when a property houses multiple uses, such as an administration building which is also the visitor center and the park plan which was designed for both public and administrative use. A district may contain examples of all the subtypes. Description comments pertain to all three subtypes.

Under Criterion C, properties reflecting "parkitecture" design principles should be of a suitable scale and placement so that they blend well with the natural surroundings. Materials and colors should also be in harmony with the environment. At WCNP the use of tinted stucco and native stone reflects NPS design principles and is therefore an important character-defining feature. Examples should be evaluated for how they convey to the visitor that WCNP is an NPS facility. The presence of character-defining features, the degree of alteration to a particular property, and its location are important factors to consider. Monumentality and artificiality are counter to NPS design principles, and significant examples at WCNP are likely to be modest, harmonious, subtle, or collective in their impact.

Governmental efforts at conserving natural resources implies consideration of the landscape. Changes to the landscape (both above- and below-ground) thus form a part of this property type. Major facilities at WCNP tend to be grouped around a central spot, the cave, and should be considered as a district. Within that district a number of landscape features—curbs, retaining walls, paths, parking plans, landscaping—contribute to the overall recognition that one is indeed at an NPS facility.
Utility buildings (especially remote ones) not associated with an important theme related to park development and operation are less likely to rank highly. Many examples are likely to be small in scale and modest in design and use. Location, prominence, function, and representativeness become important considerations in assessing these examples. Modest examples may well contribute to the overall appearance and impact of a district.

Roads and trails include resources the public and NPS staff use and also resources generally limited to NPS staff use only. The more public transportation routes, whether simple trails or paved roads, are more likely to rate highly because of their higher visibility. Resources which were developed as part of the park plan may illustrate an important feature of the plan and therefore be significant, especially in a district. Roads and trails are prey to alteration--route re-alignment, erosion, construction of less steep or perilous paths--and these changes need to be taken into consideration. Trails and roads still occupying their original location possess higher integrity than notably altered examples. In general, roads and trails are unlikely to rank highly individually, and their roles within a district or overall park plan should be assessed.

Significance

Federal activities regarding the conservation of natural resources represent a fundamental shift in American responses to the environment. The development of national parks such as WCNP illustrates NPS policies and principles which balance responsibility for preserving natural resources with public participation and appreciation of them. Important examples illustrate a key NPS principle, that of establishing harmony between the built and natural environments.

At WCNP eligible properties are locally significant applications of federal involvement and are significant in the categories of conservation and entertainment/recreation. The historical development of WCNP illustrates changing attitudes toward natural resources, the role of the National Park Service in conserving them, and the effect federal management has on a natural resource.

Registration Requirements

Subtype: Public Recreational Resources. The subtype includes the visitor center, elevator building, notable objects (entry signs, rock retaining walls), cave improvements, and park plan. It is distinguished from the subtype "administrative resources" in that the public recreational resources were provided for the public's enjoyment and appreciation of the national park. Resources are eligible under Criterion A if they (individually or a district) were intended to enhance public viewing and appreciation of the national park and its natural resources. These goals are fundamental to the National Park Service's development of WCNP. Under Criterion A, eligible properties within WCNP must be strongly and directly associated with conservation of natural resources or be directly associated with the development of WCNP for public use. They must also demonstrate clear and positive patterns of usage related to this topic, not be merely stand as an example of the topic. Eligible properties must date from between 1903, the
beginning of significant federal involvement and operation of the park, and 1942, the end of the historic period.

Public recreational resources are eligible under Criterion C if they were designed with due regard for NPS design principles. Under Criterion C, eligible properties within WCNP must embody the distinctive characteristics of types and methods of construction of the period as they relate to NPS principles of appropriate park design. At WCNP significant examples must display such character-defining qualities as tinted stucco, local rock, and a scale and appearance in harmony with the surroundings.

Alterations must continue the application of NPS design principles. Eligible resources must have integrity of location, design, setting, materials and association such that they evoke NPS design principles and qualities. However, it is expected that buildings intended for public use and enjoyment will see alterations over time, such as provision for access by the handicapped. Changes may also illustrate evolving NPS practices. For example, the administration and concessions building at WCNP has been sensitively altered to be a visitor center which provides space for interpretive displays and activities, an important modern NPS practice.

Alterations more than 50 years old may be part of the historic fabric. Whether more than 50 years old or more recent, changes must be compatible in design, scale, and materials with the original structure. Alterations must necessarily be considered individually. In the case of properties which have been subjected to constant use over the decades, some change is expected. The cumulative effect of the changes—the threshold after which it can be confidently stated that too much of the historic fabric, setting, and association has been obliterated—must be assessed on a case-by-case basis. The more modest the design, the more likely that the cumulative effect of a number of small changes over time will exceed acceptable standards for integrity.

Subtype: Administrative Resources. The subtype includes administration buildings, staff housing, and utility buildings (garages and gas stations, storage facilities, maintenance shops, fire cache, mixing circle shed). It is distinguished from the subtype "public recreational resources" in that the administrative resources aid in the administration and operation of the national park.

Resources are eligible under Criterion A if they (individually or a district) were important examples constructed to provide for the administration and operation of the national park. Under Criterion A, eligible properties within WCNP must be strongly and directly associated with federal management practices regarding natural resources or be directly associated with the administration of WCNP. They must also demonstrate clear and positive patterns of usage related to this topic, not be merely stand as an example of the topic. Because of the often utilitarian nature of these buildings, significant examples may be modest in design, plan, and details. Eligible properties must date from between 1903, the beginning of significant federal involvement and operation of the park, and 1942, the end of the historic period.
Administrative resources are eligible under Criterion C if they were designed with due regard for NPS design principles. Under Criterion C, eligible properties within WCNP must embody the distinctive characteristics of types and methods of construction of the period as they relate to NPS principles of appropriate park design. At WCNP significant examples would display such character-defining qualities as tinted stucco, local rock, and a scale and appearance in harmony with the surroundings.

Alterations must continue the application of NPS design principles. Eligible resources must have integrity of location, design, setting, materials and association such that they evoke NPS design principles and qualities. However, it is expected that buildings with administrative and utilitarian uses will see alterations over time. Changes may also illustrate evolving NPS practices. Alterations more than 50 years old may be part of the historic fabric. For example, one dwelling at WCNP (building 4, Figure 8 and Appendix C of this document) was built in 1905 to be the superintendent's house. As part of CCC improvements, it was converted into a Rangers' Dormitory in 1935. These 1935 changes included the application of stucco and other features following NPS design principles and are thus significant changes. Whether more than 50 years old or more recent, changes must be compatible in design, scale, and materials with the original structure.

Alterations must necessarily be considered individually. In the case of properties which have been subjected to constant use over the decades, some change is expected. The cumulative effect of the changes—the threshold after which it can be confidently stated that too much of the historic fabric, setting, and association has been obliterated—must be assessed on a case-by-case basis. The more modest the design, the more likely that the cumulative effect of a number of small changes over time will exceed acceptable standards for integrity. Thus, numerous small changes to an example might cumulatively destroy the character-defining historic qualities of the resource.

Subtype: Roads and Trails. Roads and trails intended for public use may be eligible under Criterion A in the area of recreation and tourism if they are of demonstrable importance to tourism and recreational use and are located within present WCNP. They must have been well designed as part of an overall park plan. A minor trail or road, especially if it was not used by the public, would be unlikely to merit National Register listing. Road resources not used by the public would not be expected to rate highly since they play lesser roles in the recreation and tourism economy. Eligible road resources must have been specifically developed by the National Park Service.
10. METHODS

The project involved the archival research aspects of a traditional multiple property submission. But funding restrictions precluded a survey or even a sampling component, and this portion of the project was envisioned as the first of two steps. Because of the two phases involved, it is expected that additional information will come to light during a survey and result in modifications and refinements to this document, which serves as the basis for a multiple property submission.

As undertaken, the project differs from the scope of work included in the original Request for Proposals. Refinements are based upon the research design that was submitted as well as a meeting held between the consultant and NPS staff at Wind Cave National Park (Michael Schene, Ph.D. and William Swift, April 3, 1991). In that meeting it was agreed that the Historic Resource Study as defined for this project was to follow the format of a multiple property submission. Hence, it was to include identification and discussion of important historic contexts, treatment of related property types, and a discussion of methods employed. As the project evolved further, the product was refined following NPS staff suggestions, and it was decided the title, Historic Contexts and National Register Guidelines for Wind Cave National Park, South Dakota, would be more accurate.

Unlike earlier Administrative Histories prepared by NPS, the product was not to be an exhaustive recitation of all events related to the national park or monument. Rather, the events leading up to the establishment of Wind Cave National Park and other topics of value in understanding the historical development of the facility within the NPS were to be stressed. The approach has been found in other forums to be of considerable value in assessing National Register eligibility of surveyed resources.

Research methods were a blend of the broad with the particular. General research helped set the stage for understanding specific developments at the facility. Political themes from the Progressive era and also those relating to the establishment and development of the NPS were explored and applied to WCNP. Such cultural manifestations as American responses to wilderness, attitudes toward recreation, the development of tourism, and the role of the automobile provided a broad overview within which to assess the facility. The historical development of the Black Hills region, including mining, ranching and other agricultural aspects, were contexts for understanding pioneer settlement uses and patterns that affected the present facilities. Study of these topics related to early exploration and settlement eliminated that context for standing structures within WCNP.

Over the years several WCNP superintendents actively supported collecting historical data on WCNP. The result is an excellent, well organized historical library located in the interpretive
center. A wealth of information is available there--some of it contradictory--but much of it extremely useful. This collection eliminated the need to visit some of the libraries and archives initially considered important. Holdings at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. and at the South Dakota Historical Society in Pierre supplemented the WCNP collection.

Based on research at these facilities, it became apparent the key contexts for understanding the historical development of WCNP were essentially those outlined in the research design: early land use, establishment of the national park, and evolution of WCNP, especially under the NPS. The impact of tourism and recreation and the role of the automobile appeared as more dominant themes than initially envisioned. What emerged as the unifying factor were the themes of efforts at public conservation of natural resources and changing attitudes toward them.

The typology for the property types was based on associations with the contexts discussed in this document. One property type, public recreational facilities, was also based on relationships with NPS design principles. The standards of integrity outlined in the registration requirements sections were based on National Register standards for assessing alterations. Research literature was used to assess the potential for the presence of examples of the property types.
11. FURTHER RESEARCH NEEDS

The following research areas were either beyond the scope of the project or lacking in sufficient data. Property types for prehistoric and historic archeological sites should be developed as part of archeological studies of WCNP.

Prehistoric Sites

Archeological survey and testing have been limited but have brought to light some intriguing possibilities meriting further study at WCNP. Prehistoric sites in the park, as well as nearby ones (medicine wheel, buffalo jump), should be explored in greater detail, especially the burial site. The history of the use of the lands which comprise WCNP will not be complete until this component is studied further. Both prehistoric and early contact aspects (especially Arikara and Sioux presence) need to be investigated in more detail. The topic is particularly important since caves figure in Native American mythology.

Historical Archeological Sites

Much of what functions as background information in this report may be helpful to historic archeological research into early historic land use in present WCNP. An attempt was made during the project to study these topics related to early exploration and settlement in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave since park personnel were interested in being able to assess the significance of historic archeological sites. However, the goal and intent of the project as defined by the NPS was to concentrate on the key historic contexts applicable to standing structures. Research revealed that early exploration and settlement were not contexts for which WCNP once had, or still has, standing structures.

Agricultural Operations, 1870s-1920s. It is apparent from the research that a variety of homestead sites are contained within WCNP. Some may offer the potential for a "sealed deposit" that would reveal data about how early settlers lived. Agricultural operations include both cattle ranches and farmsteads; homesteaders are known to have come into the area beginning in the late 1870s. Thirteen early ranches or farmsteads have been identified from historic maps, and NPS staff is aware of some specific site locations, including the Game Ranch site.

The area within WCNP was not well suited to farming, if only because of the topography. In fact the land was so marginal that the federal government bought thousands of acres as part of the Custer Recreational Development Area in 1946. It should be noted that there is the potential for a number of homestead sites within these RDA acres, and some may not have a high potential for revealing important information.
Exploration-Era Sites, 1743-1874. This includes historic archeological sites from the period when fur traders, explorers, military expeditions, and scientists entered the Black Hills. In general, these early arrivals were present only temporarily and their interest lay in learning about the natural resources, especially fur-bearing animals and mineral deposits. Major expeditions did not have the WCNP environs as a specific goal. Based on considerable, but often contradictory and inconclusive research, it does not appear that major expeditions even crossed park boundaries. There are at present no known related sites, although it is certainly possible that representatives from one of these types of groups camped within WCNP at one time or another. There is fragmentary and inconclusive data suggesting the remote possibility that Jedediah Smith's expedition passed through present WCNP in 1823. Should archeological evidence be uncovered which might be associated with the early exploration period, it should be examined with the Smith expedition in mind.

Transportation Routes, 1743-1903. Transportation routes include early trails and roads associated with the early development of the area. It is highly unlikely that the earliest known explorers of the area traversed WCNP or left a notable trail. Local market roads, minor freight or stage trails, and in general routes in use only briefly or locally are unlikely to yield significant information.

Mining Sites, 1874-1903. With the exception of Wind Cave proper, research has brought to light no evidence that extraction activities occurred in the WCNP environs, and there are no known examples.

CCC Facilities, 1930s. The plan and design of CCC camps is a well documented property type, although it is certainly possible that new information about how these plans were adapted in the field could come to light from an archeological investigation of CCC facilities at WCNP. The CCC camp at Wind Cave was the only such camp at a national park in the state.

Buildings and Architecture

The second intended phase of the project, survey and nomination of historic properties, should be completed. The use of the term, "English Vernacular Revival," in the original nomination of the WCNP historic district should be discussed. Character-defining stylistic attributes should be developed further based on the historic record, which used terms such as Spanish, Northern Spanish, and Californian to refer to the stylistic influences, and survey data.
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------. Photo archives.

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Maps


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# APPENDIX A.

## WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK SUPERINTENDENTS

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Appendix A.1
APPENDIX B.

VISITORS TO WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK, 1904-27

Source: Annual reports for Wind Cave National Park and of the Secretary of the Interior

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<td>Visits</td>
<td>3,199</td>
<td>3,988</td>
<td>3,592</td>
<td>2,817</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>16,742</td>
<td>36,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1922</th>
<th>1923</th>
<th>1924</th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1927</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visits</td>
<td>38,000</td>
<td>28,336</td>
<td>31,016</td>
<td>41,505</td>
<td>52,166</td>
<td>69,267</td>
<td>85,466</td>
<td>81,023</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that in 1916 the National Park Service changed the method of counting visitors to include those who passed through a national park. At Wind Cave pre-1916 totals refer to the number who toured the cave.
APPENDIX C.

BUILDINGS AT WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK, 1942

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year Built/Altered</th>
<th>Built by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Administration &amp; Operator’s Building&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1935, 1937</td>
<td>NPS, CCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Elevator Building&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>CCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Superintend. Residence&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1934, 1941</td>
<td>NPS, CCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rangers’ Dormitory&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1905, 1935</td>
<td>CCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Employee’s Residence&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>? 1935</td>
<td>---, CCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Employee’s Residence&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>NPS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Employee’s Residence&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>NPS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<sup>1</sup>Two separate units connected by a roofed arcade. Space for administrative offices and concessions. Guides’ room and employees’ quarters in basement.

<sup>2</sup>Contains 2 elevator shafts, but only one installed.

<sup>3</sup>Living and dining rooms, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, rear porch; 1941 sunroom addition.

<sup>4</sup>Dormitory space for 12 men, also a guest room. Originally built [1905] as superintendent’s residence and converted in 1935.

<sup>5</sup>Old dwelling remodeled in 1935; 5 rooms and bath.

<sup>6</sup>Four rooms and bath.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Building Description</th>
<th>Year (NPS/CCC)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Employee’s Residence</td>
<td>1931 1938</td>
<td>NPS CCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Equipment Shed</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>NPS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Fire Equipment Shed</td>
<td>1938 CCC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Work Shop</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>NPS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Old Fire House</td>
<td>undeter.</td>
<td>undeter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Power House</td>
<td>1935 1938</td>
<td>NPS/CCC CCC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Trip by Howard W. Baker, Regional Landscape Architect, June 4 to 23 Inclusive - 1938. (Includes assessments of Wind Cave National Park, Jewel Cave National Monument, and 10 other state and national facilities in the region.) Location: National Archives Record Group 79, Howard N. Baker Field Trip; copy also on file, Wind Cave National Park Historical File, 1936-41, Box 2, File 18, at Wind Cave National Park Library.

Note: See Figure 8, in this report, Headquarters Area, A Part of the Master Plan for Wind Cave National Park...as of January 1, 1943, for related map.

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7Four rooms, bath and breakfast nook.

8Built as Rangers’ Dormitory and Mess House in 1931; remodeled for residential use in 1938. Six rooms.

9Built from plans entitled "Machine Shop Shed." Used to store park equipment and employees’ cars.

10Heated and partially underground. Three stalls. Built from drawings entitled "Underground Garage."

11The original powerhouse, converted to work shop.

12Slated for removal; in poor condition.

13Addition (7x16”) in 1938 to provide heater and wash room space. Construction took place from 1935 to 1939.