National Park Service
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Grant's Farm

Preliminary Boundary Adjustment Evaluation Reconnaissance Study

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This study has been prepared for the Secretary of the Interior to explore specific resources and advise on whether these resources merit further consideration as a potential boundary adjustment or as a new park unit. Publication or transmittal of this report should not be considered an endorsement or a commitment by the National Park Service to seek or support specific legislative authorization for the project or its implementation. This report was prepared by the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Region, and Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site. For more information contact:

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INTRODUCTION

This report evaluates the potential addition of Grant's Farm to the existing Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site and as a separate park unit for its historic resources associated with the Anheuser-Busch brewing company and the Busch family. Located in St. Louis, Missouri , Grant's Farm is a 273-acre established public attraction next to Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site, a unit of the National Park system.

Preliminary Boundary Adjustment Evaluation

The preliminary boundary adjustment evaluation assesses and makes a determination on whether the properties in question are likely to meet the criteria for boundary adjustments set forth in National Park Service Management Policies. A full boundary adjustment study would include public comment and an evaluation of the park's current boundary. For the purposes of this study, we will preliminarily evaluate the property proposed for inclusion.

Reconnaissance Study

Studies for potential new units (not additions to existing units) of the national park system, called Special Resource Studies, are conducted by the NPS only with specific authorization of Congress. However, Congress does permit the NPS to conduct preliminary resource assessments and gather data on potential study areas or sites. The term "reconnaissance study" is used to describe this type of assessment. A reconnaissance study examines the natural and cultural resources in a study area to provide a preliminary evaluation of their significance, and the suitability and feasibility of protecting those resources as a unit of the National Park system.

Since there is the need for both a Preliminary Boundary Adjustment Assessment and a Reconnaissance Study, this document presents information common to both types of reports, such as Historic Context and Existing Conditions, and then discusses each study in a separate section, in which criteria for the evaluation are considered. While judgments based on stated criteria are made in both studies, the conclusions are not considered final or definitive. The studies will attempt to determine the likelihood of meeting criteria, and suggest areas for further investigation if warranted.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In December 2009, William Shafroth, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife and Parks for the U.S. Department of the Interior directed the National Park Service to conduct a survey of Grant's Farm as a potential addition to the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site and as a potential independent new unit of the park system. The NPS began work on the study in early January, 2010.

A group of NPS staff conducted a site visit on February 4, 2010. The group included Dan Wenk, Deputy Director of the National Park Service; Ernie Quintana, Midwest Regional Director; Al Hutchings, Associated Regional Director, Planning and Compliance, Legislation, Construction and Communications for the Midwest Region; Tim Good, Superintendent of Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site; Tom Bradley, Superintendent of Jefferson National Expansion Memorial; Arlene Jackson, Chief of Interpretation for Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site; Pam Sanfilippo, Historian for Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site; and study authors Ruth Heikkinen, Planner for the Midwest Region and Natalie Franz, Community Preservation Planner (Intern) for the Midwest Region.

The visit included a tour of Grant's Farm conducted by the Busch family - Adolphus A. Busch IV, Beatrice Busch von Gontard, Peter W. Busch, Trudy Busch Valentine, William K. Busch and Andrew D. Busch - and Andy Elmore, General Manager of Grant's Farm. Also in attendance were Jim Sprick, Director of Special Services for Anheuser-Busch InBev Inc.; Judy Dungan, District Director for Senator Kit Bond; Michelle Sherod, District Director for Senator Claire McCaskill; Patrick J. Werner, District Director for Representative Todd Akin; and Kathy Waltz, Congressional Outreach Coordinator for Representative Russ Carnahan. Some members of the NPS team also made an offsite visit on February 5, 2010 to the Anheuser-Busch Brewery in St. Louis to view historic resources and access company archives. Field notes and photographs from the visits were combined with historical research and consultations to prepare this report.

Members of the site visit team in the Bauernhof courtyard.

For sharing their knowledge of the study area and facilitating access to it, we thank members of the Busch family, representatives of Anheuser-Busch InBev Inc. and U.S. Trust, who administer The August A. Busch Jr. Trust. We would also like to thank historians Bill Vollmar and Tracy Lauer, Senior Manager and Curator of Collections and Nelia Cromley, Archives Assistant for the Anheuser-Busch Companies for sharing their knowledge and documents with the study team.

Thanks to Tim Good, Arlene Jackson, Pam Sanfilippo, Tom Bradley, Al Hutchings, Rachel Franklin-Weekley and Don Stevens for their editing and Sändra Washington for editing and oversight of this project.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY AREA

Grant's Farm is public attraction located in St. Louis County to the southwest of the city of St. Louis, and is part of the Town of Grantwood Village. Located on the Busch family estate, the wildlife preserve and zoo grew out of the Busch family menagerie, and was opened to the public in 1954. Many of the famous Anheuser-Busch Clydesdales live on a section of the property, and are one of the principal attractions. The publicly accessible features of Grant's Farm are leased and operated by Anheuser-Busch InBev, Inc. A portion of the property not accessible to the public is the home of the Busch family and several other private buildings. The majority of the Grant's Farm property held in The August A. Busch Jr. Trust for six Busch siblings and their heirs.

The topography of the site consists of rolling hills, formed by upland drainage into the Gravois Creek, which passes through the property along its northeastern border. The Gravois Creek drains to the River de Peres, which flows into the Mississippi River about 6.5 miles east of Grant's Farm. St. Louis County in the area of Grant's Farm is a largely suburban area characterized by subdivision and commercial strip development. The property totals approximately 273 acres, and the boundary is well defined by roads, fencing, and edge vegetation. The deer park section of the property where grazing animals roam freely is divided into two sections by gates and fences, and visitors are transported by tram through these areas to view wildlife.

Resources of particular interest in the Preliminary Boundary Adjustment Evaluation are the Hardscrabble cabin originally built by Ulysses S. Grant and relocated to the site in 1907 and the archaeological remains of Wish-ton-Wish (the home of Grant's brother-in-law where Grant and his family lived for several years and where one of Grant's children was born.) Resources of note in the Reconnaissance Study are Busch family estate features: the French Revival style mansion known as the "Big House", the "Bauernhof" farm and service complex, and other historic buildings, landscapes, and landscape features associated with the Busch family ownership. All resources will be considered in both studies.

In addition to its historic buildings and structures, Grant's Farm is a designed and functional landscape. The property is primarily grazing fields and lawns and stands of large, mature trees, interwoven by a network of roads to circulate visitors. Perhaps the most recognizable resources of Grant's Farm are the animal tenants, of which there are over 400, representing 100 species. Those that do not live in the deer park section of the property are housed in a variety of buildings and animal enclosures.

The season for Grant's Farm runs from mid-April to October, and over the past six years has seen an average of 549,253 visitors each year. (Correspondence, February 2, 2010) Grant's Farm is free and open to the public, though there is a parking fee. Grant's Farm is not currently listed on the State or National Register of Historic Places. The Grant's Farm property has been designated a St. Louis County landmark, an honorific designation. The season for Grant's Farm runs from mid-April through late October. Grant's Farm also hosts school groups, summer day camp programs for children, and special events, and has six animal shows a day.

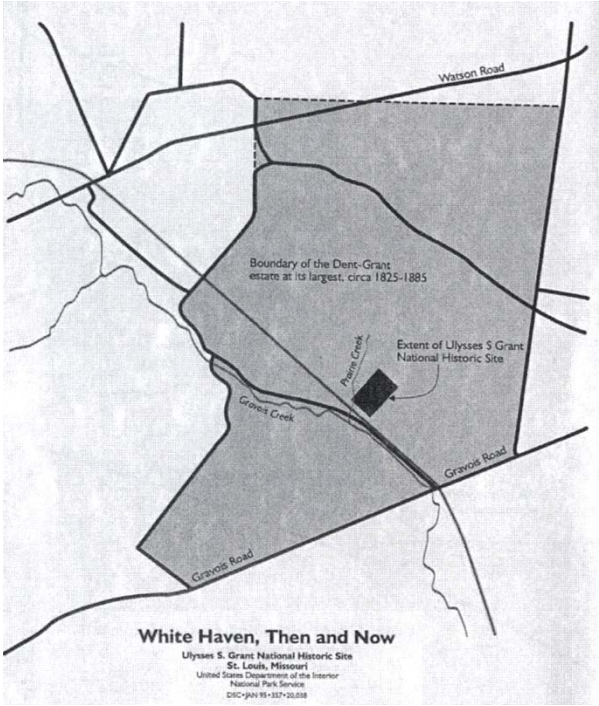
HISTORIC CONTEXT

The property that comprises Grant's Farm was critical in the lives of two important American families: The Grants and The Busches. The land was once part of White Haven, a farm worked and later owned by Ulysses S. Grant that once comprised approximately 850 acres. There is a wealth of information about the Grant's life at White Haven and its significance, but for the purposes of these studies, the connection with the property that is currently part of Grant's Farm will be the focus.

In the early years of the twentieth century, the parcels that today make up Grant's Farm, named in honor of their famed previous owner, were acquired by the Busch family, and became both a private retreat and a public relations venue for the Anheuser-Busch brewery. Relatively little published work about the Busch family at Grant's Farm exists, and for the purposes of these studies, the significance of the property in the lives of the Busches will be examined in the context of Anheuser-Busch history more broadly.

The Dents and Grants on the Gravois: White Haven 1821-1903

The property comprising Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site (ULSG) and the bulk of the Grant's Farm property was acquired by "Colonel" Frederick Dent, father of Julia Dent Grant, in 1821. The estate, called White Haven, was bisected by a stretch of the Gravois Creek, and had some improvement from previous owners. Dent was a merchant who owned a house in the City of St. Louis, but sought a country home to provide more space for his family and to escape the city's summer heat. One of Colonel Dent's sons, Fred, roomed with Ulysses S. Grant at West Point, and when Grant was stationed at the nearby Jefferson Barracks in 1843, he visited his former roommate's family at their country home. There he met Julia Dent, and became a regular visitor in courting her. (GMP, p. 4-9)



When Grant, a 2nd Lieutenant at the time, learned of his company's transfer to Louisiana in anticipation of war with Mexico, he went to the Dent home on the Gravois Creek to propose to Julia. Finding the creek flooded, the young Grant has some difficulty, but was successful in his crossing and his marriage proposal. Of his fording of the swollen creek and his proposal, Grant wrote in his *Memoirs* that "one of my superstitions had always been when I started to go any where, or do anything, not to turn back, or stop until the intended thing was accomplished." (Little, p.68) This began their four year engagement. While Grant was at war, he wrote frequently to Julia, often of his desire to be back with her and her family at White Haven, and to stroll with her on the banks of the Gravois. (Little, p.82) Frederick Dent was reluctant to consent to the engagement, as he did not feel that army life suited the lifestyle of his favorite daughter. He finally gave his blessing in the spring of 1847, and on August 22, 1848, Julia and Ulysses were married at the family townhouse in St. Louis.

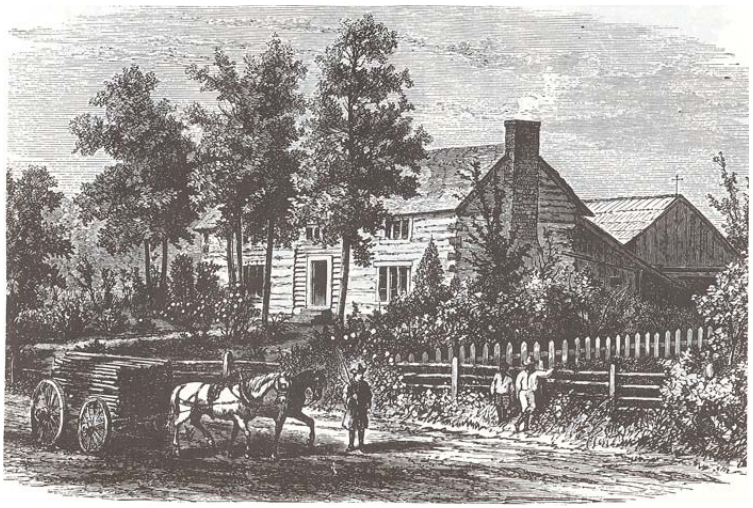
The White Haven property was a focal point in the lives of Ulysses and Julia for decades. They lived in three homes on the property, and three of their four children were born there. A military career for Ulysses meant frequent movement for the young couple, and in the early years of their marriage they moved to Detroit and Sackett's Harbor, New York. The Grants, and sometimes Julia alone, visited White Haven often, and their

first son Frederick Dent Grant was born there in 1850 while Ulysses was stationed in Detroit. After enduring separation from his family due to his military assignments, Grant resigned from the army and returned to White Haven in 1854 to rejoin his family and meet his son Ulysses "Buck" Grant Jr. who had been born in his absence. The Grants lived in the main house again for a short time, and then occupied Julia's brother Lewis' brick and stone house on the plantation, called Wish-ton-Wish. It was there that daughter Ellen Wrenshall "Nellie" Grant was born on the 4th of July, 1855. (Little, p. 100)

Ulysses S. Grant joined his aging father-in-law and brothers-in-law in the family venture of farming at White Haven, working alongside the slaves he managed. Frederick Dent had designated a plot of land north of the main house for Ulysses and Julia, and during the winter of 1854-55, Grant set about clearing the plot of timber, hauling wood to St. Louis, Jefferson Barracks, and to the coal mines. He also tended the crops he planted, largely potatoes and wheat. Tales of Grant's days as a woodsman were popular after his rise to power, and though it was an economically sound venture to sell wood in fuel-hungry St. Louis, the humbleness of the task contrasted with his later fame and position. (Little, pp. 101-104)

While in residence at the main house and at Wish-ton-Wish, Grant was 1-2 miles from his crops and timber, leaving them unprotected. Additionally, his growing family needed a place of their own. Grant began the construction of a two-story log cabin with several slaves in the spring and summer of 1856. The cabin, later named Hardscrabble, was then raised with the help of his neighbors. Grant himself laid the floors, made the staircase, and shingled the roof. The family moved in after the harvest in September of 1856. A home made by Grant's designs and his own hands, Hardscrabble was important in the life of Ulysses S. Grant, despite the family's short stay there. After the death of Julia's mother in 1857, the family moved back to the White Haven main house where in February 1858 their fourth child, Jesse, was born.

Though the Grants loved White Haven and poured their hard work into the farm on the Gravois, it did not prosper. The Grants left White Haven for Galena, Illinois in May of 1860 so that Grant could assist his brothers Simpson and Orvil in the Grant family leather goods business. One year later, Grant set off to work for the Governor of Illinois before being appointed Colonel of the 11th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, reentering military life with the richness of his experiences in the intervening years, including his hard work with the Dent family slaves and his disagreements with Frederick Dent over the slavery question. During the early years of the war, White Haven served as a base for the family until President Lincoln called him east to command all Union armies. His military successes and widespread fame catapulted Grant to national prominence, and the presidency.



Ulysses S. Grant's "Hardscrabble" Cabin

In the period between the end of the Civil War and his election as president, Ulysses S. Grant and his family acquired no fewer than eight homes, several of them given as outright gifts in Philadelphia and Galena, Illinois. None of these other properties could eclipse the importance of White Haven and the farm on the Gravois in his mind, apparently, as Grant spent years, time in litigation, and sums beyond the monetary value of his investment securing ownership of the Gravois farm. (Little, p. 215-220) A tangle of mortgages and lack of clear title to some parcels made the acquisition difficult, and obtaining ownership of approximately 750 acres took a period of nine years (1863-1872).

During his period in the White House, from 1869-1877, Grant managed his White Haven property from afar, seeing it as a place to retire in pastoral comfort, and perhaps raise horses. In his absence, he hired his cousin's husband to oversee the property, and clear the tenants off his land. Grant gave explicit instructions for the management of livestock and crops. Wish-ton-Wish, being used as a rental property and for storage, burned in 1873. Under the management of a second caretaker, costs at White Haven seemed excessive to Grant, and plummeting farm produce values and likely the suspicion brought about by scandals during his presidency caused him to lease the farm to tenants and end his experiment in farming from afar. His dream of post-presidency retirement was not to be. (Little, p.260-261) In 1879, returning from his trip around the world, he wrote to a friend that he was unsure where he and his wife would settle as private citizens. (Little, p.270)

The Grants settled in New York City and their summer home in Long Branch, New Jersey. In the early 1880s, they had been waiting for the right offer to sell the White Haven property, but in 1884, after a major financial swindle, the Grants were bankrupt. (Little, p.273) They mortgaged the White Haven property along with many of Grant's Civil War trophies to William Vanderbilt. Soon after, Grant was diagnosed with throat cancer, and as he raced against time to finish his memoirs, Vanderbilt offered to forgive the loan, but the Grants felt they must pay their debt. White Haven passed from their hands, and in July of 1885, Ulysses S. Grant passed away.

Following the Grants' ownership, the property was managed in much the way they would have planned, and Julia, upon revisiting White Haven in those years, commented on how well-preserved it was. (Little, p.277-278) The property was purchased from Vanderbilt by Luther Conn, a Kentuckian who fought with John Morgan's Confederate raiders. (Little, p.277) Conn sold off 132 acres of property north of the main house, a tract which included Hardscrabble. Though he sold the land, Conn retained the rights to the cabin itself separately. (NPS "Hardscrabble")

In 1903, Conn sold off the southern portion of the property to August A. Busch, Sr.. While the rest of the former Dent and Grant White Haven property changed repeatedly, the Busch portion of 273 acres began second life as the home of another prominent American family.

The Busch Family at Grant's Farm: Private Retreat and Public Attraction, 1903 - Present

By the first years of the twentieth century, the Anheuser-Busch Brewery in St. Louis was producing about one million barrels of beer annually. (Lauer and Perry, p.19) This amount was a vast increase from the roughly 500 barrels a year that George Schneider's Bavarian Brewery, the Anheuser-Busch predecessor, was producing in 1857. Schneider began his brewery in 1852 in the heart of St. Louis's rapidly-growing German community. The number of German immigrants grew precipitously beginning in the 1840s, and with them came a taste for and knowledge of lager beer, a beer whose fermentation process occurred in storage and could be more easily produced year round than the ales and porters that were popular in America previously. By 1860, there were over 50,000 German-born residents in St. Louis, and more than 40 breweries, most producing lager

beer. That same year, Eberhard Anheuser took over operations of the Bavarian Brewery, ranked 29th out of 40 by capacity. (Lauer and Perry, p.17)

Anheuser was a German-born soap manufacturer with little knowledge of brewing when he took over the business. Adolphus Busch, Anheuser's son-in-law and also a German immigrant, was a brewing supply salesman. He joined the business in 1865, and in subsequent years production soared; the Civil War had ended and the market was regaining strength through better times and the rapid population growth in St. Louis. Ten years later, the newly incorporated E. Anheuser Co.'s Brewing Association had become the second largest brewery in the city. The name was officially changed to Anheuser-Busch in 1879. (Plavchan, p.38-39) The brewery occupied the better part of a city block, bounded by Arsenal, 9th, Pestalozzi, and 13th Streets as they are known today. Growth of the brewery's production and market continued to dramatically increase.

Anheuser-Busch was as significant for their size as for their innovation. Looking for a beer that would have more universal appeal, Adolphus Busch and his friend, restaurateur Carl Conrad, developed a lighter colored beer with the delicate taste Busch named "Budweiser" in 1876. Wanting to expand the range of distribution for a beer with broader appeal, Busch looked to solve the problem of transporting the beer over long distances while keeping it safe and the flavor intact. After reading about the discoveries of Louis Pasteur, Adolphus Busch was the first brewer in America to pasteurize beer. (Plavchan, p.2) Other innovations included embracing the use of artificial refrigeration, and later the establishment of the St. Louis Refrigerated Car Company to supply the Anheuser-Busch shipping operation which, thanks to the extensive network of rail lines, was nation-wide. Anheuser-Busch was also notable for its innovation in marketing and national advertising. Continually growing success meant the expansion of the Anheuser-Busch Brewery complex, building projects which were under the direction of architect Edmund Jungenfeld, also a German immigrant, and his successor firms.

View of the Anheuser-Busch Brewery from an advertisement

August A. Busch was one of 13 children born to Adolphus Busch and his wife Lilly, and one of nine to survive to adulthood. After the death of his brother Edward, August A. became the eldest Busch son, though this did not guarantee him a place as heir to company leadership. His brother Adolphus Jr. rose through the ranks of Anheuser-Busch as quickly as his brother. August A. had shown little initial interest in running a brewery, but under the instruction of his father (who often wrote him extremely specific letters of direction and advice close to 20 pages in length) August A. rose to the top of the company. (Hernon and Ganey, p.56-57) He was made General Manager in 1909, and oversaw operations in his father's frequent absences. (Plavchan, p.110)

August A. Busch acquired a large tract of land in St. Louis County in 1903, a large portion of the former White Haven property. As his primary residence was at Number Two Busch Place on the property of the Brewery, the Grant's Farm property was first improved and used as a "rustic" getaway for hunting and horseback riding. A lodge and guesthouse were constructed in the "rustic" style made popular in the Adirondack Mountains of New York State during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. (Vollmar, "Busch Family…") These buildings appeared rustic, but typically had all the modern conveniences. Many of these

“camps” also drew on the influence of rustic Japanese architecture, and the Busch’s lodge was no exception, featuring a Japanese room and log and bark pagodas as landscape features. Like their Adirondack counterparts, the Busch buildings appear to be frame construction sheathed in bark. These were complimented by promenades, bridges, and other decorative landscape features in the same style, and even a fixed dirigible for viewing the grounds. The property featured a deer park, and photographs also show sheep grazing on the lawns. The exact dates for these improvements are unknown, and it is likely that while archaeological evidence may exist, there are no remaining structures from the estate’s “rustic” period.

Members of the Busch Family at Grant’s Farm during the 1900s.

It was in these early years of the estate that much of the acreage was dedicated to a deer park. Deer parks, or other enclosed hunting areas for royalty or the aristocracy, have been features of estates the world over since ancient times, and were popular with the upper class in Germany. Because they required large amounts of land and resources, such parks were very exclusive. The Busches were likely looking towards German models when establishing a deer park at Grant’s Farm.

Photographs of Hardscrabble from 1870, 1891, and 1941. The 1941 photo shows Hardscrabble in its current location.

Busch purchased Hardscrabble, the cabin that Ulysses S. Grant had built, and erected it on the property in 1907. Hardscrabble had been sold by Luther Conn in 1891 to a pair of real estate developers who carefully disassembled Hardscrabble and reconstructed it at Old Orchard in the growing St. Louis suburb of Webster Groves, Missouri. The cabin was sold again and moved to attract crowds at a coffee display at the 1904 World's Fair, The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, in St. Louis. The new owner, C.F. Blanke, wanted the cabin to remain at the fair site of Forest Park, but could not come to an agreement with the city about the maintenance of the structure. Subsequently, Hardscrabble was purchased by August A. Busch and assembled on the Grant's Farm property, about a mile from its original location. (NPS "Hardscrabble")

August A. Busch had wanted to make Grant's Farm his primary residence, but early on he faced both logistical concerns and opposition from his father. About 8.5 miles from the Anheuser-Busch Brewery, the location was too remote for a daily commute to the Anheuser-Busch Brewery by horse and carriage or in unpredictable early automobiles. Moreover, Adolphus Busch thought his son should remain in residence on the brewery property for both convenience and public image. (Correspondence, February 4, 2010) But by 1910, both automobiles and the roads they used were reliable enough to allow for an easy commute, and with urban expansion, wealthy St. Louisans were increasingly migrating to new areas outside the city. (Krebs, p. 179)

Rendering from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 1910.

For the primary residence of one of the most prominent and wealthy families in St. Louis, the existing rustic lodge on the property would not do. Neither would the woodsy promenades and bridges fit with the vision of a baronial country estate. According to newspaper accounts, the process of designing a massive French Renaissance Revival chateau began in the summer of 1910, documenting the proposed style, layout, and of course, the cost, estimated at over $300,000. (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* August 14, 1910)

August A. gave the commission for his new home to an architectural firm with which he was already familiar. The architects of the chateau were Widmann & Walsh, successor firm of Edmund Jungenfeld, who had specialized in brewery design and had a long history of commissions from Anheuser-Busch. Frederick Widmann was born in Germany, and was educated in public schools in Germany and St. Louis, and later learned the architectural profession in the firm of Edmund Jungenfeld, who at the time was partnered with Thomas Walsh. Robert M. Walsh was the son of Thomas Walsh, and also learned the profession in his father's office. (Stevens, p.440) Walsh was the principal architect of the project according to a newspaper account, which also identified Julius Pitzman, a Prussian-born landscape architect and planner as engaged on a system of "roads, lakes, and sewers" for the estate. (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* June 15, 1910) Another article identified George E. Kessler as the landscape architect in charge of the immediate grounds surrounding the chateau. (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* August 14, 1910) Both men were well known city planners and landscape architects in the St. Louis area and Kansas City, respectively. Pitzman laid out several of St. Louis's historic suburban neighborhoods, and Kessler was responsible for the landscape features at St. Louis's Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904. Construction was reportedly underway in the late summer of 1910 by the firm of Fruin and Colnan Construction Company. (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* August 14, 1910; Vollmar, "Busch Family…")

In 1911, Adolphus and Lilly Busch celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary. Both were from comfortable backgrounds and relatively well to do when they married, but during their union the Busch family had acquired significantly more wealth. Their fortune was so substantial by 1911 that, to commemorate the occasion of their wedding anniversary, they gave each of their children a mansion. Adolphus wanted to give August A. One Busch Place, the family mansion in the city of St. Louis, but August A. insisted on using the gift to finance the building of his home on the Grant's Farm property. Adolphus ordered his accountants to underwrite the construction, though he thought the site was too remote and the cost overly high, and had reservations about his son not living on the brewery property as the family had up until that point. (Hernon and Ganey, p. 79 and p.110; Correspondence, February 4, 1010)

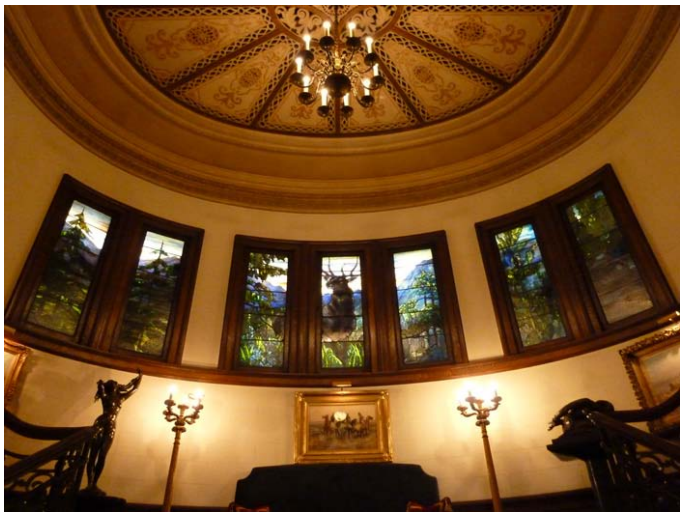
Birdseye view of the Big House from the South

The home August A. constructed was called a "palace" in the media, though it was simply nicknamed the Big House. Three stories high with a full basement underneath, the mansion had 26 rooms and 14 bathrooms. The home was described in a 1940 appraisal thusly:

> Built of solid brick walls with stone trim and reinforced concrete interior frame, on reinforced concrete foundations faced on the interior with brick and on the exterior with granite, this building is exceptionally well and substantially built. All interior partitions are plaster over gypsum blocks; all ceilings are plaster over metal lath. The roof frame is of wood. The trim is made of very heavy hardwoods, oak and walnut predominating. All floors are of oak except that the front lobby has plank flooring walnut veneered; the rear lobby has marble floor and wainscot and the kitchen and pantry have cork covering. On the first floor all ceilings, exception kitchen quarters, are of ornamental plaster, beautifully and artistically decorated. The main stairway has heavy ornamental trim and wainscot. The second floor has oak floor, enameled trim, and canvas walls and ceiling. The third floor has oak trim and painted walls. (Vollmar, "Busch Family…")

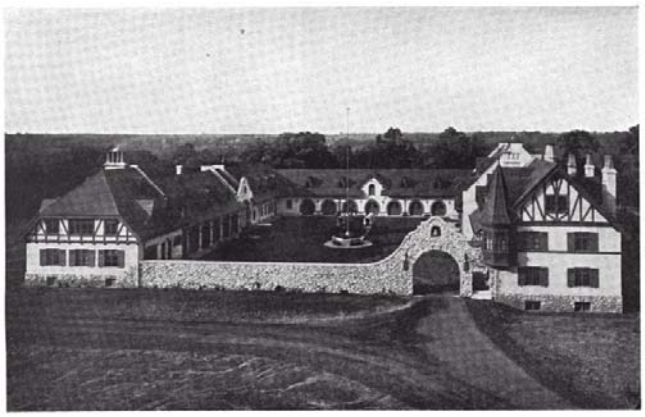
In addition to its strong and lavish construction, the house was ornamented by a set of Tiffany windows depicting a stag, fine furniture, and Rookwood tile. Over the years, a collection of American western art by artists such as Remington and Berninghaus adorned the walls.

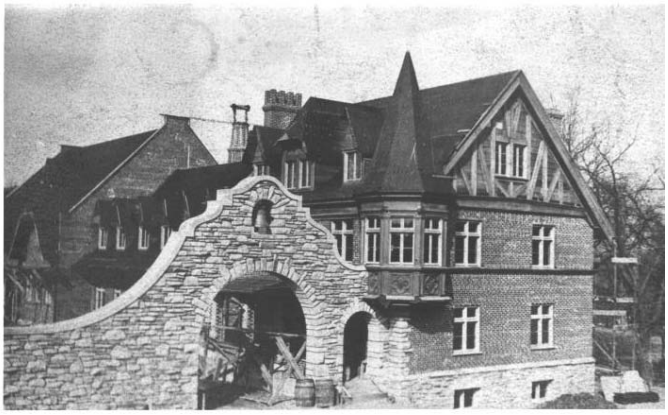
Though designated as the primary residence of August A. Busch, the Grant's Farm moniker remained. More than honoring the land's former owner, the name forged an association with Grant and with an activity that many men of unimaginable wealth from urban industry began to dabble in during America's Gilded Age: farming.



Tiffany windows and acoustic ceiling above the Big House staircase landing.

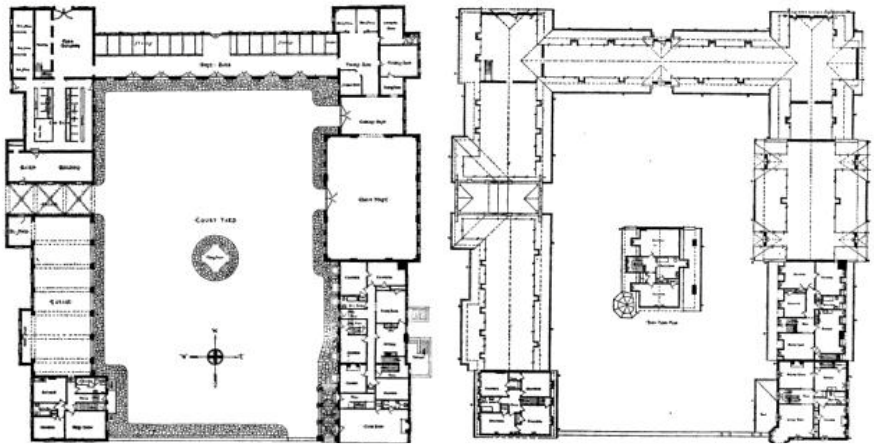
Like many Americans at the pinnacle of wealth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, August A. Busch was interested in beginning farming operations on his country estate. For reasons having to do with personal taste, trends, and with the greater forces of social and economic change occurring in America during this period, the care and keeping of dairy cattle became a recreational pursuit for the privileged alongside maintaining lavish yachts and European travel. These gentleman farmers of the Gilded Age were not playing at being paupers, but rather looking to experiment and elevate farm sanitation and methods with the aid of a retinue of agricultural experts, laborers, and of course, livestock. These farms were also showplaces, and no typical countryside dairy barn would suit the well-bred cattle of the American aristocracy. Designed with sanitation, efficiency, and beauty in mind, a new building type emerged to suit the needs of gentleman farmer patrons: the farm group. (Franz)





View of the Bauernhof shortly after completion; detail of the Bauernhof under construction

The farm group building type is characterized by four elements: a time period (roughly 1880 through the 1930s); a type of patron (the wealthy landowner for whom farming was not a primary source of income); design by an architect or builder following closely other models; and by physical characteristics. Physical characteristics of the type are: that functions that would typically be served by a number of separate buildings and sheds are contained in one building formed around one or more courtyards; design and construction materials ensure good ventilation and sanitation; and the building is designed in an architectural style and sited carefully to be visually pleasing. Though the idea of the gentleman farmer had been part of American society since Thomas Jefferson and his contemporaries, it was gaining new ground during this period, especially with the nouveau riche. This demand, and the need for a showpiece that was also built to the most current of specifications, spawned the farm group building type.



First and second floor plans of the Baurenhof by architects Klipstien and Rathmann

In the early 1910s, August A. Busch retained the architectural firm of Klipstein and Rathmann to build him a *bauernhof,* a German farmstead that combines living spaces for family, sheltering of animals and other farm operations. According to an article Ernest C. Klipstien wrote for the *Architectural Record* upon the Bauernhof's completion, August A. Busch requested that all the service buildings for his Grant's Farm estate be incorporated into the design, including worker's housing and space for a herd of eighteen dairy cows and twenty horses. Inspiration for architectural style came from photographs of the city of Rothenburg. The half-timbering and architectural details were meant to give an "old world" feel and the "appearance of age." Sculptures of storks in nests, a sign of good luck, were set along the roofline. (Klipstien, p.545) According to a 1914 newspaper account, the Bauernhof cost $250,000 to construct. (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* June 28,1914)

Klipstein and Rathmann were architects active in St. Louis and the surrounding area in the early decades of the twentieth century, and are best remembered for designing buildings for Anheuser-Busch and the Busch family, many in the Bavarian style. In addition to the Bauernhof, they designed the Stork Inn and several other neighborhood taverns commissioned by Anheuser-Busch in the 1910s as a response to growing anti-alcohol Prohibition movement. One of their most recognizable commissions for Anheuser-Busch is the Bevo Mill, a tavern built to resemble a Flemish windmill. (Baxter, p.14)

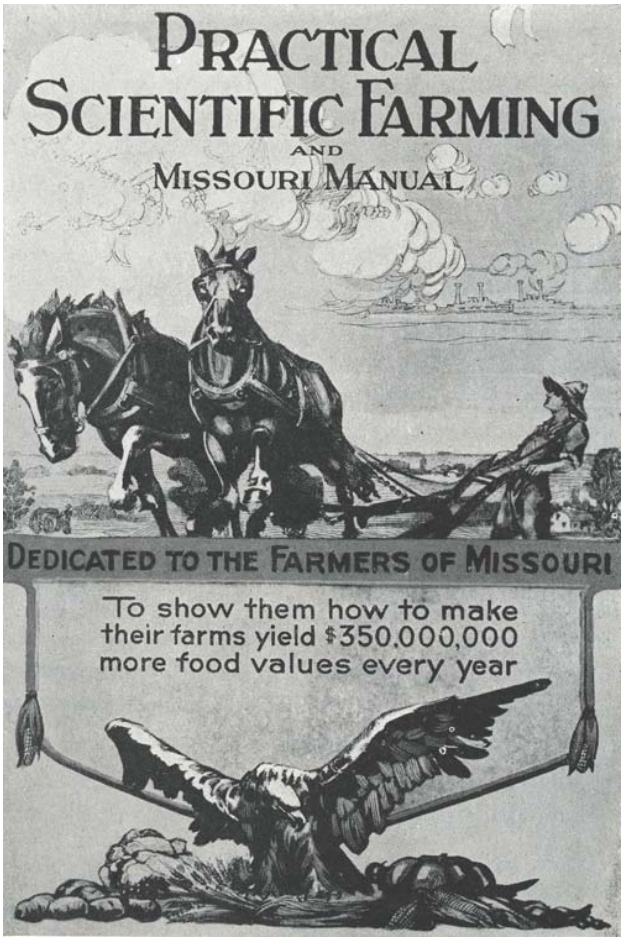
Entrance to the Bauernhof

Rich in architectural detail and the latest technologies, the Bauernhof is an example of the farm group type with another estate structure contained within it: the carriage barn. Facilities for recreation and transportation horses and carriages were typically housed separately from farming operations, but in keeping with August A. Busch's request that all service buildings be included in the Bauernhof, they are incorporated here. Horses were watered automatically on the half-hour with a water supply at the temperature of the stable master's choosing. (Klipstien, p.554) Similar provisions were made for the dairy cattle. (Klipstien, p. 557) The cows were

“beautiful Jerseys of the finest ancestry” and Kerry cows, an Irish breed of small stature but high milk output.(Krebs, p.181) The tight management of the farm operations would come to provide a contrast with the increasingly unpredictable business of beer in the teens and twenties.

Upon the death of Adolphus in 1913, August A. Busch, Sr. succeeded his father as the head of the brewery. (Plavchan, p.110) August A. was taking the helm at a time when alcoholic beverage manufacturers were beset by a vibrant temperance and prohibition movement. States had begun going dry in the 1910s, and in 1914 there was a decline in sales over those of the previous year. Bad weather and hard times were to blame, but so was a restricting market as states enacted laws banning the distribution and sale of alcoholic beverages. Despite the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association’s investment in advertising and media outlets to increase public support for the brewing industry and the virtues of beer, sales continued to decline.

New products and diversification enabled Anheuser-Busch to weather the anti-alcohol regulations and eventually, the most sweeping of all: prohibition. As early as 1906, August A. foresaw the need for a non-alcoholic cereal soft drink. Marketing began in 1916 for Bevo, a “near-beer” that had been years of research and experimentation in the making. The drink was an immediate, but short-lived success. A new bottling plant was constructed to meet the initial demand, and Anheuser-Busch began a broad advertising campaign, but prohibition changes in the manufacturing process altered Bevo’s taste and the increasing availability of home brew caused sales to plummet. (Plavchan, p.158-159) In an attempt to clean up the image of a drinking establishment, Anheuser-Busch commissioned several taverns, many in a distinctly Bavarian or Alpine style, where beer was served at tables rather than the bar. The subdued neighborhood tavern, however, could not supplant the image of the rowdy saloon in people’s minds.



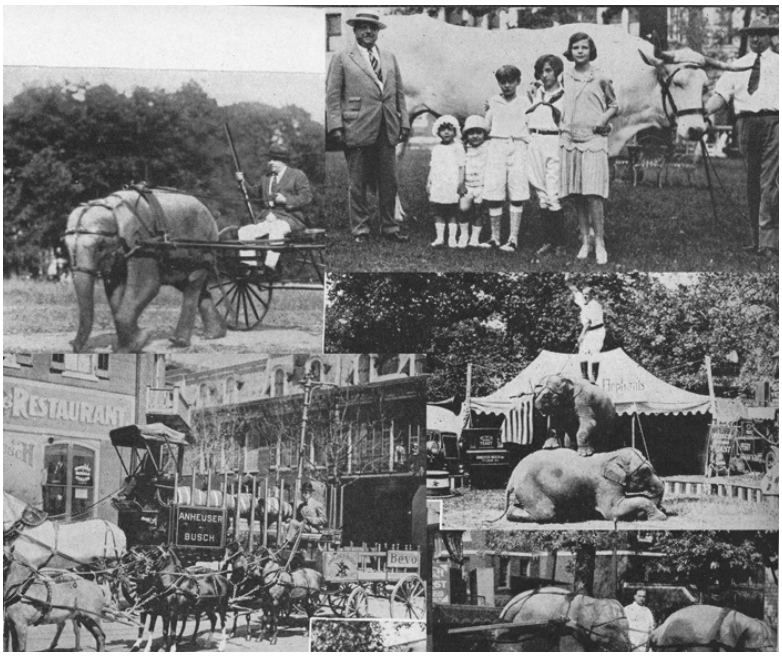
Adding to these problems was the outbreak of the Great War, and a rising tide of anti-German sentiment that followed. August A. Busch temporarily put aside his battle with the temperance movement and devoted his efforts to aiding the war and relief effort and improving Anheuser-Busch’s public image in the process. The company contributed to the Red Cross, subscribed to $4 million worth of Liberty Loan bonds, and leased space in the Bevo building to the War Department for the storage of munitions. (Plavchan, p.141-142)

On the home front of Grant’s Farm, August A. also found a way to make a contribution to the war effort. Not only was August A. interested in the latest farming technologies, he was also interested in the latest problems plaguing Missouri farmers, especially when it came to swine. In the years leading to World War I, hog cholera was a scourge, and August A. began a small breeding operation to produce a hybrid of the docile Duroc pig and a wild boar from the Black Forest region of Germany that would be resistant to hog cholera. These pairings successfully produced cholera-resistant pigs, but the experiments never made an impact, as getting more wild boar from Germany was impossible during the war years. (Krebs, p.181)

Missouri farmers were charged with producing more than ever during World War I, and in an effort to disseminate information about better agricultural practices, August A. published "Practical Scientific Farming and Missouri Manual" in 1918. The booklet was distributed free of charge and addressed topics from the use of manure as fertilizer to dairying, as well as images of President Wilson and text of his July 4th speech, heightening the patriotism of the pamphlet. Other efforts included sponsorship of an essay contest for grade school children about saving garbage to feed to pigs. These efforts would be the first of many to use Grant's Farm not only as a private retreat, but a place to burnish the Anheuser-Busch company image.

Prohibition advocates made the case that the liquor industry overall was using resources and labor that could be better directed towards the war effort and ought to be regulated. (Plavchan, p.144) On December 1, 1918, brewing operations ceased at Anheuser-Busch due to a proclamation by President Wilson that halted the wartime use of grain and food materials for the production of malt liquor. August A. embraced the ban, which ironically went into effect twenty days after armistice, mistakenly believing it would be lifted as soon as possible. (Plavchan, p.151) In January of 1919, the proclamation was amended to permit the production of non-alcoholic cereal beverages. In January the following year, the Eighteenth Amendment took effect, and the sale of intoxicating liquor was banned nationwide.

With brewing halted, August A., rather than liquidate the business, chose to diversify. This process had been happening throughout the teens, and August A. was quoted in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch as saying "…I am ready…All I can say is that I am looking ahead and planning on the theory that the country will have prohibition." (Plavchan, p.153) Despite his readiness for a "dry" country, August A. sincerely believed that someday the Eighteenth Amendment would be repealed. (Plavchan, p.155) Bevo had been an early entry into cereal soft drinks, and the manufacture of a near-beer under the Budweiser name also had some success. Soft drinks like ginger ale, yeast products, malt syrups, corn refining, and car bodies helped buoy the business through the 1920s. Some products were modestly successful; others were utter failures. Malt syrups could be used for breads and cookies, but many consumers used it to produce home brew. (Plavchan, p.178)



Images from Grant's Farm during August A. Busch, Sr.'s ownership

Grant's Farm was the inspiration for the branding of several prohibition era Anheuser-Busch products, including "Grant's Cabin Table Syrup" and the proposed "Grant's Cabin Ginger Ale." August A. decided to use the name "Anheuser-Busch Ginger Ale" but maintained the association with Grant's Farm by using a picture of Grant's Hardscrabble cabin on the label. (Plavchan, p.170) Several years later, bottles of Anheuser-Busch ginger ale displayed only the "A and Eagle" logo on the label. Bootleg liquor created a huge demand for mixers, and as other manufacturers entered the ginger ale business, the market was diluted by cheaper alternatives. As with many other products, August A. refused to compromise on quality to bring prices down.

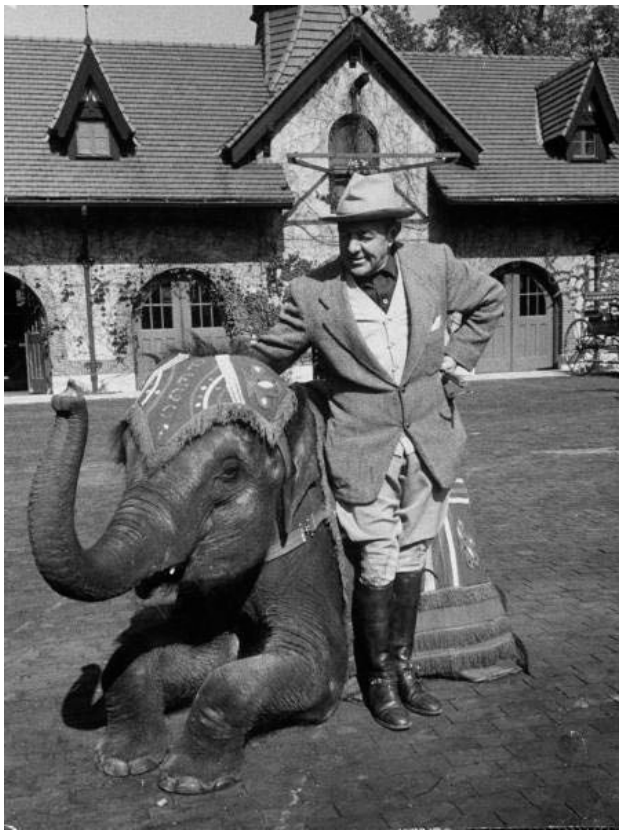
During these troubled times, the fine architecture and sumptuous grounds at Grant's Farm must have seemed an ideal reprieve from business pressures. August A. assembled a menagerie of animals there during the 1910s: a deer park with herding animals from three continents, two elephants, blue pigs, exotic birds, ponies, goats, and a frog named Budweiser. (Hernon and Ganey, p.111) In assembling his collection, Busch collaborated with the superintendent of the St. Louis Zoo. The estate buzzed with activity of the many animals and the retinue of caretakers and servants, and August A. enjoyed entertaining his grandchildren with his menagerie. But as his financial situation became strained after years of prohibition and the coming financial crash, more and more of his menagerie was sold, as their upkeep was a financial drain. Tessie, one of the elephants, was sold to the Ringling Bros.- Barnum & Bailey's Circus. A relative told the story of having gone to see her at the circus, and of Tessie recognizing her former owner, which so touched August A. that he had tears in his eyes. (Krebs, p.181; Hernon and Ganey p.158)

Adolphus III, August A. Sr. and August A. Jr. with the first case of relegalized beer for President Roosevelt

After the stock market crash of 1929 and the ensuing depression began, public support for repeal of prohibition gathered strength. August A. began to issue statistics on the effect of reopening breweries on the American economy, and wrote letters to congressmen advocating for the production of 3.2% alcohol by weight beer. (Plavchan, p.215) Anheuser-Busch was confident that a bill would be passed to allow the reintroduction of beer, and made ready for a promotional gimmick: an old-time beer wagon pulled by a team of Clydesdales. August A.'s son, August A. "Gussie" Busch Jr., purchased a herd of 16 from the Kansas City Stockyards in 1933. (Plavchan, p.217) A team of Clydesdales in New York City drew a case of Budweiser to former New York governor Al Smith in a ceremony at the Empire State Building, in recognition of his years opposing prohibition. A hitch of Clydesdales also delivered a case of beer to President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the White House. Anhesuer-Busch did not immediately recover their losses or their former power, but they were back in the business that had made them famous: beer.

That happy year for Anheuser-Busch was the last in the presidency of August A. Busch. In deteriorating health, August A. took his own life at Grant's Farm in 1934. After the mourners had left, the Big House was essentially shuttered, only to be used for special occasions, for the next twenty years. August A.'s widow Alice lived in a smaller mansion not far from the Big House, called The Cottage. Apartments in the Bauernhof continued to be used by caretaking staff and occasionally, members of the Busch family.

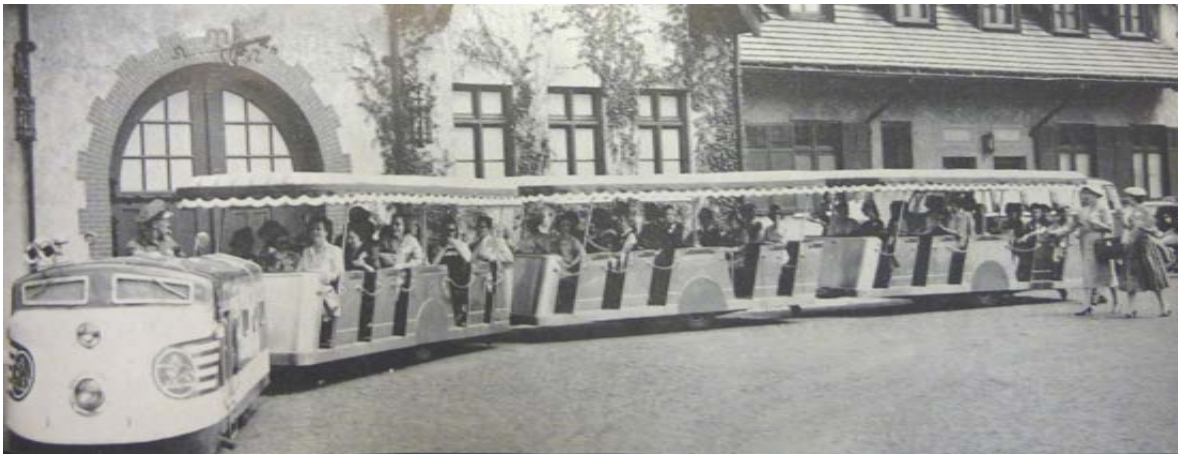
Control of Anheuser-Busch passed to Adolphus III, who had been running the company during his father's illness. The overwhelming majority of stock in the company was held by Busch family members, and his younger brother, August A. "Gussie" Busch Jr., and other relatives held positions of responsibility at the brewery. Following his father's lead in diversification, Adolphus III further grew the company's yeast products division. He was in control of the company until his death in 1946. (*New York Times*) The presidency then passed to Gussie, who reopened the Big House at Grant's Farm as a residence with his third wife Trudy and their growing family. Both he and his wife were avid equestrians, and in addition to acquiring more horses, Gussie began to restock his father's menagerie. (Hernon and Ganey, p.258-259) He took as intense an interest in it as his father had, though he had less of an interest in agricultural improvement and more an interest in entertainment.



August A. "Gussie" Busch, Jr. and an elephant, photographed for *Life* magazine in October 1959

Gussie was a larger than life character in St. Louis, a man with political connections who owned the St. Louis Cardinals baseball team and ran one of the largest employers in town, the Anheuser-Busch Brewery. But Gussie also used Grant's Farm to craft his and his company's image, even as he reinvigorated the estate as a playground for his interests. Grant's Farm, which had formerly been on the fringes of St. Louis, was enveloped by subdivisions and suburban development, and was much more accessible than ever. As part of the site tour, study team members were told that Gussie got the idea for inviting the public to Grant's Farm from the wife of a Cardinals player after having the team over for a picnic. (Correspondence, February 4, 2010)

In 1954, Gussie had opened Grant's Farm as a public tourist attraction, and in its first year it attracted thousands of visitors. (*Life*, p.128) He had Anheuser-Busch finance the operations there, accomplishing this by leasing most of the property to the company, which also paid him for concessions and expenses. (Hernon and Ganey, p. 379) In 1955, a largely pictorial feature shot by Margaret Bourke-White appeared in *Life* magazine, introducing readers to the family, the estate, and its animals. The deer park was once again home to an array of bison, elk, deer, and mountain goats. He expanded his menagerie to include exotic birds, camels, llamas, monkeys, and two new elephants, one named Tessie after the elephant his father had owned. For a time in the 1960s, Grant's Farm featured black and grizzly bears. Of course, Grant's Farm was also home to the famous Clydesdales. (Hernon and Ganey, p. 262) Anheuser-Busch employee publication *Budcaster* often featured photos and visitor numbers from the farm, noting that Grant's Farm was free and open to the public, one only need make reservations via postal mail, and later by telephone. The estate was the private refuge of the family and invited guests, but was interwoven with the Busch family business.



Visitors to Grant's Farm ride the tram in 1957

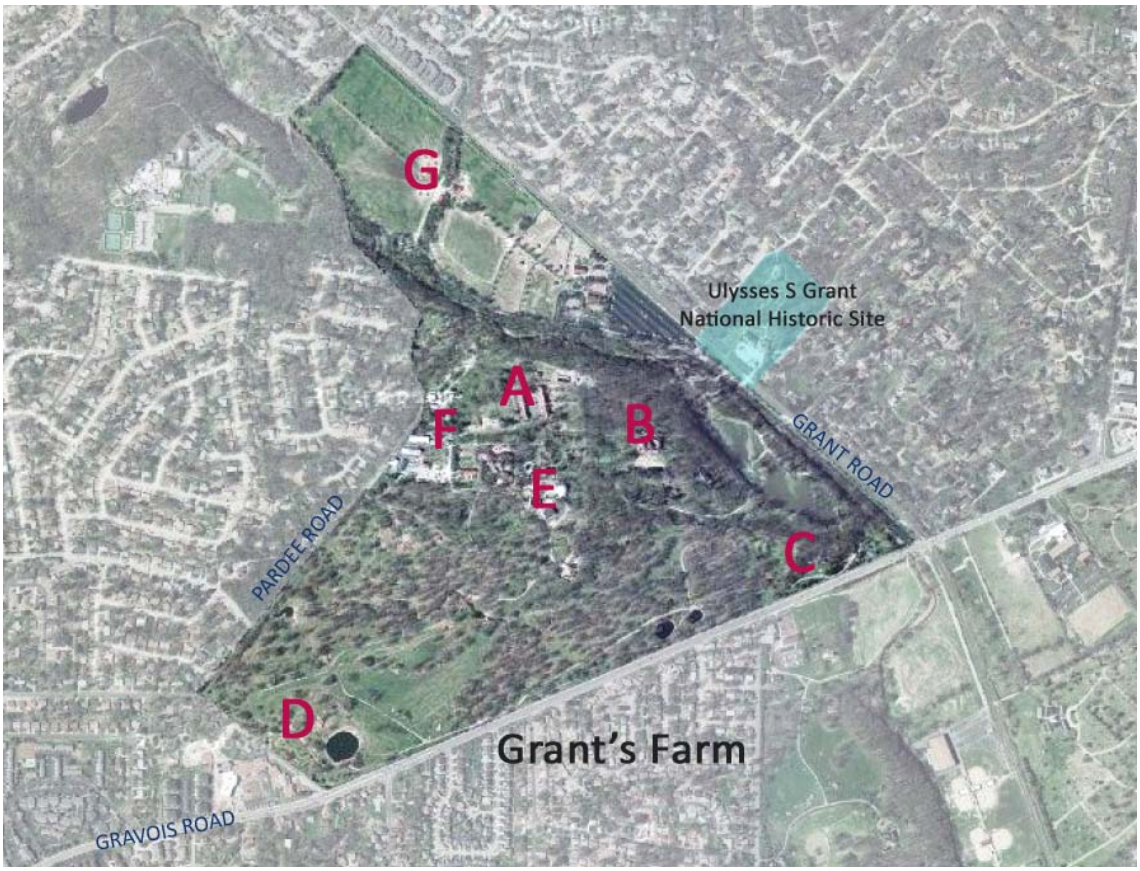
Gussie Busch remained at the helm of Anheuser-Busch until 1975, when he retired, though he remained an active figure, especially with the St. Louis Cardinals. He held nearly 13% of the total stock of Anheuser-Busch, and his net worth could change by millions with minor fluctuations of the market. Gussie continued to drive horses at Grant's Farm until his death in 1989, in the same room where his father had died. All ten of his surviving children were by his bedside. The death of one of the most famous and wealthy men in the country led to exhaustive press coverage of his will. (*Lhotka*) August A. Busch III, Gussie's son by his second wife who had been running Anheuser-Busch since his father's retirement, effectively received control of the company. Gussie bequeathed to his six children by Trudy, among other things, Grant's Farm, placed in a trust for the six of them. His desire was that the property would be kept up the way he and his father had developed it. (*Lhotka,* Hernon and Ganey, p. 404)

Since the death of Gussie Busch, the Big House has been used by Busch family members for holidays, special occasions, and visits. In 2009, Anheuser-Busch was taken over by Belgian-Brazilian corporation InBev to form Anheuser-Busch InBev Inc., which continues to lease the majority of the farm and run it as a public attraction.

August A. "Gussie" Busch, Jr. at Grant's Farm, photographed for *Life* magazine in October 1959

EXISTING CONDITIONS AND RESOURCE DESCRIPTION

This section will provide a description of the major resources and existing conditions on Grant's Farm. Because of the size of the property and the number of buildings, sheds, enclosures, landscape features, and other notable resources, this assessment cannot be considered comprehensive. It does, however, provide a cursory assessment of the most prominent and significant resources under consideration.



A. The Bauernhof; B. The Big House; C. Hardscrabble; D. Wish-ton-Wish site; E: Tier Garten area; F. Maintenance; G: Clydesdale operations.

The Grant's Farm property includes several parcels, the largest of which, south of Grant Road, is owned by The August A. Busch Jr. Trust (Louis B. Susman, et al., Trustee) from the U.S. Trust arm of Bank of America. The property is held in trust for six Busch siblings and their heirs. All properties are in the zoning jurisdiction of the village of Grantwood Village, in St. Louis County. (St. Louis County Department of Revenue) The parcels are locally zoned as "animal preserve." (Correspondence, February 1, 2010)

The topography of the site consists of rolling hills, formed by upland drainage into the Gravois Creek, which passes through the property along its northeastern border. The Gravois Creek drains to the River de Peres, which flows into the Mississippi River about 6.5 miles east of Grant's Farm. St. Louis County in the area of Grant's Farm is a largely suburban area characterized by subdivision and commercial strip development. The property totals approximately 273 acres, and the boundary is well defined by roads, fencing, and edge vegetation. The deer park section of the property where grazing animals roam freely is divided into two sections by gates and fences, and visitors are transported by tram through these areas to view wildlife.

Hardscrabble

The Hardscrabble cabin sits on the southern edge of the Grant's Farm property and is visible from Gravois Road. The one-and-a-half-story cabin has four rooms and a dogtrot hall with a staircase to the upper floor. While Hardscrabble is visible to visitors on the tram tour of the property, it is open to the public only several times per year. The grounds immediately surrounding the cabin are well manicured, and two historic (but unrelated to Grant) wagons to the west of the cabin complete the scene.

As discussed in Historic Context, Ulysses S. Grant's Hardscrabble cabin was an important building in the life of President Grant and his family. Hardscrabble was the first home of the Grant's own, constructed by Ulysses S. Grant with the help of his family, neighbors, and slaves. After the cabin was sold in 1891, it was disassembled and relocated several times before being reconstructed at its current location in 1907. The cabin underwent a major restoration effort in 1977. While the building, constructed of hewn logs, has much of the appearance it did during its period of significance, there is some question about how much historic integrity the building retains. Historic integrity is generally evaluated through seven aspects or qualities: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. While in some respects, such as association, the building has strong integrity, others such as location were compromised when the building was moved following Grant's death. Further study would be needed to determine the full extent of historic integrity.

Wish-ton-Wish

The remains of Wish-ton-Wish are located on Grant's Farm, primarily below ground in what is now an animal enclosure. Built in 1848-49 by Lewis Dent, it was described as an "English villa" but had stone accents similar to many German homes in the region. It was a two-story brick building on the plot of land belonging to Lewis at the southeastern end of what was then the Dent's White Haven property. (Little, p.110) The Grants lived in this home during the mid-1850s, prior to their living at Hardscrabble. Some investigation has been done at the site, though more extensive study may be warranted. In 2004, a Geophysical Investigation was conducted at the Wish-ton-Wish site by Steven L. De Vore of the Midwest Archaeological Center. He concluded that the site possessed archaeological integrity and was eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. (De Vore, p.72)

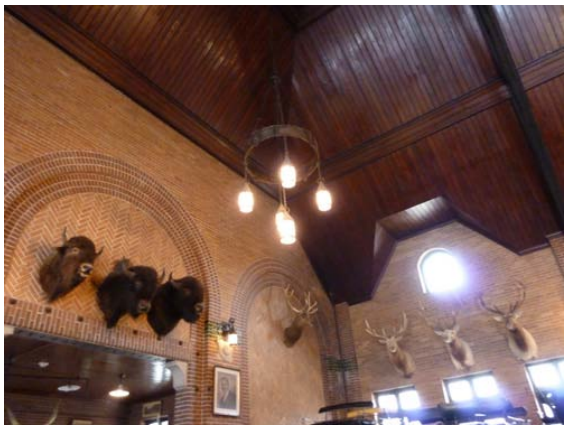
The Big House

The French Revival chateau "Big House" maintains a high degree of historic and architectural integrity, and appeared to the survey team much as it did in the 1940s assessment description. (See "Historic Context") The home has two facades of importance: the south façade, referred to as the "front", features a large veranda and overlooks the deer park. From the south façade's central entrance, the visitor enters a large entrance hall with a massive staircase. Over the staircase landing are Tiffany stained glass windows depicting a stag, and the ceiling above the landing is perforated to allow sound from the third floor ballroom to permeate the house. The north façade is approached by a drive which circles in front of the north entrance. The lobby is more intimate and clad in marble. The chateau is visible to current visitors to Grant's Farm as a distant vista, and the area immediately around the house is well screened by trees from closer view during the visitor season by foliage.

The Big House is used by members of the Busch family periodically for family events and gatherings. The house and immediate grounds are not accessible to normal Grant's Farm visitors. Many artifacts and artistic works are displayed inside the home, which retains many of its original fixtures and finishes. Collections of art, furnishings, firearms, and taxidermy are prominent in the first floor and second floor hall interiors. (See "Collections" below)

The Bauernhof

As discussed in "Historic Context," the Bauernhof is an example of the farm group building type. It is a typical example in many respects, but atypical because of its incorporation of recreation and transportation horses and carriages that were typically housed separately from farming operations. The building today combines office spaces, display, and visitor services. Courtyard capacity is 332 when current tables and seating are in place, and the courtyard can be tented for special events. Special event capacity at the Bauernhof is about 800 people. (Correspondence, February 2, 2010)



Most ground floor areas of the Bauernhof are open to the public or have been converted to visitor services. Few areas have experienced structural changes. The residence known as the VIP Apartment, which members of the Busch family used as a hunting lodge and sometimes a residence, is virtually unchanged according to Grant's Farm employees. (Correspondence, February 2, 2010) The Farm Manager's residence and staff living quarters are now used as office space. The study team was unable to visit all spaces in the Bauernhof. The Carriage House, where the collection of carriages is on display, is unchanged except for the addition of steam heat at some point in the past. The stables, tack rooms, and hayloft are similarly unchanged. In the northwest section of the Bauernhof, the Dairy and Dairy Office area have been converted to guest restroom, the beer cooler, and an employee break room. The workshops and garages are now the main concession area, hospitality bar, and small gift shop. According to Grant's Farm staff, all change were built in a fashion that if removed the building would return to very near original state, though these areas were not visited by the study team. (Correspondence, February 2, 2010) Despite some modification to provide visitor services, the Bauernhof appears to maintain a high degree of historic and architectural integrity, and retains many of its original interior fixtures and finishes.

The Cottage

Constructed in the 1940s for Alice Busch after the death of her husband, August A., The Cottage (also known as "The Dowager House") is larger than its name would suggest, though modest in comparison to the Big House. The home had a long construction timeline because of materials rationing during World War II. The building is a two-story brick home in a colonial revival style. The retired family butler currently resides in The Cottage. It is part of the estate that is not accessible to visitors.

Birdseye view of The Big House (left) and The Cottage (right) from the south

St. Hubert Chapel

This small chapel is within sight of the Big House front porch to the southwest, and was built in 1959 in honor of William Kurt Busch's christening. The chapel is dedicated to St. Hubert, patron saint of the hunt. The chapel appears to retain many late 1950s features like asbestos shingle siding on the exterior and paneling on the interior. It is still used occasionally for special events by the Busch family.

Tier Garten Amphitheater and Elephant Theater

Tier Garten Amphitheater can seat 380 people and is used for animal shows. The Elephant Theatre can seat 300 people. Both are located in the vicinity of the Tier Garten, the area of Grant's Farm dedicated to the display of enclosed animals, educational programs, and entertainment. The dates of construction are unknown and the condition not assessed by the study team. (Correspondence, February 2, 2010)

Xcursions Gift Shop

The newest structure on the Grant's Farm property, this gift shop was constructed in the last 3 or 4 years. It is the endpoint for the tram tour. Nearby is a carousel, which was added last year. (Correspondence, February 4, 2010)

Other Buildings and Facilities

There are numerous other structures on the property which can be placed into three categories: estate structures, animal housing and enclosures, and maintenance facilities.

Pool and Pool House

Estate structures include the pool and pool house, play house, and cheese/ice house. Visible from the front porch of the Big House to the southeast, the pool and pool house appear to have been constructed after the Big House was completed, but the construction date and condition is unknown. During the site visit, the pool was covered with a tarp and the pool house closed for the season. The play house is a children-scale, one room structure on the lawn near the Big House featuring a working fireplace. The cheese/ice house is built into the side of a hill near the Gravois Creek. (Correspondence, February 4, 2010)

Animal enclosures include barns and structures for the housing and sheltering of animals and facilities for their care, including the Clydesdale Stables which house up to 35 Clydesdales and also house a gift shop. The Barbary sheep enclosure includes a large false rock structure for the sheep to climb on in the vicinity of the Wish-ton-Wish remains.

Clydesdale Stables

Maintenance facilities include barns and sheds for the storage of equipment including the tram fleet. These range in age from the 1910s to within the last 10 years. The older structures appear to have lost some architectural integrity to later modifications such as the addition of vinyl siding. There are also a number of houses on site for critical staff. Currently, four families live on the property. (Correspondence, February 4, 2010)

Birdseye of the Tier Garten area.

Roads

Roads on Grant's Farm are paved, and it is presumed that some of these follow the layout designed by Pitzman in the early 1910s. There are several bridges on the property, including one visitors use to cross the Gravois Creek when entering the property. There are also paved walking paths through the Tier Garten area for visitors to view enclosed animals.

Landscape Resources

The landscape of Grant's Farm is dominated by open fields and mature trees, primarily oak, hickory, buckeye, sycamore, and other deciduous trees. Sometime after the Busch family purchased the property, a small spring-fed lake was created near the Gravois Creek. There are several other small, manmade bodies of water on the property, stocked with koi and goldfish. There appears to be little to indicate the survival of landscape resources relating to the period of Ulysses S. Grant's occupation and ownership.

There are a number of landscape features at Grant's Farm that are notable. The historic rifle barrel fence runs along Gravois Road near the Hardscrabble cabin. The fence was made from 2,563 rifle barrels that August A. Busch purchased from an armory in downtown St. Louis that was shutting down. (Correspondence, February 4, 2010) In the deer park are the remains of several jumps from a steeplechase course. Along the lake is a stone footbridge. In the vicinity of the Cottage is a large stone foundation of an earlier structure. These and other features were only briefly viewed by the study team.

Collections

The Busch family amassed large collections of western art, furnishings, firearms, and taxidermied animals. Many of the artworks have specific connections to the Busch family and Anheuser-Busch, having been commissioned by the family or used in Anheuser-Busch advertisements. The collection includes paintings by Frederic Remington, Oscar Berninghaus, and other painters of the American west. Based on a May 4, 2006 Sotheby's appraisal, the art collection at the Big House was valued at $9,869,750. The furnishings of the home include many pieces of antique furniture, an original barber's chair, and a pair of Tiffany lamps. Taxidermy animals represent dozens of species. The furnishings and taxidermy do not have current appraisals.

August A. Busch assembled an extensive collection of carriages, wagons, and accessories related to driving horses, a tradition his son Gussie Busch continued. Many of these items are on display in the Carriage House portion of the Bauernhof. They have not been appraised recently.

Animals

Grant's Farm is currently home to over 400 animals, representing nearly 100 species of mammals, birds, reptiles, arachnids and insects. (See Appendix A) The animals range in size from insects to elephants. Perhaps the longest animal residents of Grant's Farm, are both of the African elephants who have been living there since the mid 1980s.

Natural and Wildlife Resources

The natural resources of the Grant's Farm property are primarily its wooded areas and the section of the Gravois Creek which passes through the property. Both have been managed as landscapes, and thus fall under the category of Landscape Resources. (See above.) Because of the active management of the property as landscape, especially for grazing, it is unlikely the property provides homes for threatened or endangered native plant or animal resources. The most commonly observed native animal species by the study team was Canada geese.

Neighbors

Neighboring properties to Grant's Farm are primarily Grantwood Village residents to the north and east, and residents of an unincorporated area of St. Louis County to the south. Most notably, Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site (ULSG) is located across Grant Road from the main Grant's Farm entrance. Other neighbors include the women's Catholic college preparatory school Cor Jesu Academy, the Town of Crestwood's Whitecliff Park, and Grant's Trail, an 8 mile "rails-to-trails" bike path, originating in the St. Louis neighborhood of Bella Villa and ending in the Oakland neighborhood.

There is a parcel of undeveloped land to the south of Grant's Farm across Gravois Road, currently owned by St. Louis Campus LLC, a subsidiary of a nationwide builder of retirement communities that has been in bankruptcy. The current status of the property is unknown, but there do not appear to be plans to develop the property at present. (Correspondence, February 1, 2010)

Any further study would require a more thorough and complete survey of Grant's Farm's buildings and other resources.

Birdseye of Baurenhof and Tier Garten area.

PART 1: PRELIMINARY BOUNDARY ADJUSTMENT EVALUATION

This preliminary boundary adjustment evaluation is to determine if Grant's Farm is likely to meet the criteria for an addition to an existing unit of the national park system (the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site). A full boundary adjustment study would include a more detailed evaluation of the park's current boundary, legislative history and park purpose, as well as a more complete evaluation of existing resources. Elements of the boundary adjustment study process that will be briefly addressed in this report are:

- Review of the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site's enabling legislation
- Evaluation of the properties proposed for inclusion within an expanded boundary for their history, ownership, cultural and natural resources, and potential to complement the purpose of the park.
- Applying the Criteria for Boundary Adjustments

Boundary adjustments primarily fall into one of three categories: technical revisions, minor revisions based on statutorily defined criteria, or substantial revisions. This preliminary boundary adjustment evaluation falls into the final category. For the purpose of conducting an assessment of a park's boundary, adjacent real property is considered to be land located contiguous to but outside the boundary of a national park system unit.

Criteria for Boundary Adjustments

This preliminary boundary adjustment evaluation assesses and makes a determination on whether the properties in question meet the following criteria published in National Park Service Management Policies 2006 (Section 3.5). In order to justify an adjustment of a park boundary, the property must meet at least one of the following criteria:

1. Protect significant resources and values, or to enhance opportunities for public enjoyment related to park purposes;

2. Address operational and management issues, such as the need for access or the need for boundaries to correspond to logical boundary delineations such as topographic or other natural features or roads; or

3. Otherwise protect park resources that are critical to fulfilling park purposes.

All recommendations for boundary changes must also meet the following two criteria:

- The added lands will be feasible to administer, considering their size, configuration, and ownership; costs; the views and impacts on local communities and surrounding jurisdictions; and other factors such as the presence of hazardous substances or exotic species.

- Other alternatives for management and resource protection are not adequate.

Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site Enabling Legislation

Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site (ULSG) was authorized by Public Law 101-106 (October 2, 1989)

> …to preserve and interpret for the benefit of all Americans a key property associated with the life of General and later President Ulysses S. Grant and the life of First Lady Julia Dent Grant, knowledge of which is essential to understanding, in the context of mid-nineteenth century American history, his rise to greatness, his heroic deeds and public service, and her partnership in them.

The "key property" is White Haven Farm. The enabling legislation emphasizes specific points about Ulysses S. and Julia Dent Grant, and gave the Secretary of the Interior the authority to accept White Haven as a unit of the national park system. Boundary adjustments that protect significant resources or expand the park's ability to interpret White Haven Farm would be within the spirit of the legislation. However, acquiring the new property in order to expand the mission of ULSG to include interpretation of Busch resources would require a change in legislative purpose.

Property Proposed for Inclusion

An evaluation of the property proposed for inclusion and the resources therein are a critical part of a Boundary Adjustment Study. Factors to consider are property history, ownership, cultural and natural resources, and potential to complement the purpose of the park. History, ownership, and cultural and natural resources have been described in earlier sections of this document. This section will consider the potential to complement the purpose of the park.

The property proposed for evaluation and potential inclusion into ULSG includes 273 acres once owned Grant, the Hardscrabble cabin originally built by Grant, and the archaeological site of Wish-ton-Wish, one of the former residences of Ulysses S. Grant and his wife Julia Dent Grant.

At one time, Grant owned 850 acres in the area. Nearly ten acres of the original lands are protected at Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site and 273 acres of the property have been privately owned by the Busch family since 1903. At the time of Grant's ownership, the land was used for farming, grazing, and harvesting timber. Currently, the majority of the Grant's Farm property is managed as a public attraction, with the remainder used as a Busch family home. The remaining lands formerly owned by Grant have been developed for other uses. (See Existing Conditions and Resource Description: Neighbors)

There are Grant-related resources at Grant's Farm that could complement the existing National Historic Site, and potentially help fulfill interpretive objectives. In the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site General Management Plan (GMP), Grant's Farm is identified as a possible partnership opportunity, to address parking and joint visitation between the two sites. At the time the GMP was crafted, the potential to acquire Grant's Farm could not have been foreseen, and this is likely the reason such a possibility was not addressed.

Applying the Criteria for Boundary Adjustments

In the case of Grant's Farm, the property is best considered under criterion 1, protecting significant resources or enhancing opportunities for public enjoyment related to park purposes. In addition to meeting this criterion, it must be feasible to administer; and the other alternatives for its management be inadequate.

An addition of the Grant's Farm property to ULSG could protect directly related and likely significant resources related to the ULSG mission, namely lands once owned by Ulysses S. Grant, the archaeological site of Wish-ton-Wish, and Hardscrabble. Despite questions surrounding the historic integrity of Grant's Cabin, the National Park Service believes that interpreting the life of Ulysses S. Grant and Julia Dent Grant at Grant's Farm might be feasible. These portions of the property would likely be found eligible for a boundary expansion under existing legislation.

Many of the resources of Grant's Farm are not related to the existing park purpose, however, and therefore likely would not be appropriate for a boundary adjustment to ULSG without a legislative change. Addition of the Grant's Farm property to ULSG would likely marginalize resources associated primarily with the Busch family, as interpreting the Busch family history would be tangential under an addition to the existing National Historic Site. Alternatively, any legislative change that expanded the ULSG purpose to include the story of the Busch family would likely diminish the prominence of the Grant story. It may not be possible to adequately tell both stories in a single unit of the national park system.

Since a boundary adjustment encompassing all of the Grant's Farm property would extensively increase the size of the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site, a major commitment of staff and other resources would be necessary to administer the added property. Adjusting the boundary of ULSG to include the Grant's Farm property would increase the size of the unit by 273 acres over its current size of 9.65 acres. Operational changes would need to take place for the property to be used and interpreted in the spirit of the ULSG enabling legislation as it stands now. While Grant's Farm possesses maintenance facilities that could be converted to NPS use, the costs of operation weighed against the potential benefits as an addition to ULSG make addition of the entire property likely to be found infeasible by a full Boundary Adjustment Study. A finding of feasibility may be possible if the Grant's Farm property could be subdivided such that only the portions containing Wish-ton-Wish and Grants Cabin were considered for boundary expansion.

Currently, the resources of Grant's Farm are both adequately protected and publically accessible. The lands and collections of Grant's Farm are owned by The August A. Busch, Jr. Trust and leased by Anheuser-Busch InBev, Inc., which owns the animals. Adequacy of long term protection may be more difficult to determine because the Anheuser-Busch InBev, Inc. lease on the Farm can be terminated at any time with proper written notice. Because of the recent change in company management, it is unknown whether Anheuser-Busch InBev, Inc. will continue to operate Grant's Farm in the same way over the long term. It is also unclear how the property would be used if the current owners no longer had the benefit of the Anheuser-Busch InBev, Inc. lease. A more thorough look into local zoning and subdivision regulations may yield a better picture of possible outcomes for the property or portions of the property as a result of different development/operational scenarios. Any future boundary study would need to examine Grant Farm management proposals at the time of the study in order to determine appropriate treatment of Grant resources.

PART 2: RECONNAISSANCE STUDY

Studies for potential new units (not additions to existing units) of the national park system, called Special Resource Studies, are conducted by the NPS only with specific authorization of Congress. However, Congress does permit the NPS to conduct preliminary resource assessments and gather data on potential study areas or sites. The term "reconnaissance study" is used to describe this type of assessment. Its conclusions are not considered final or definitive.

A reconnaissance study examines the natural and cultural resources in a study area to provide a preliminary evaluation of their significance, and the suitability and feasibility of protecting those resources as a park unit. The Special Resource Study process is an extensive one, designed to involve the public and affected parties; further examine significance, suitability, and feasibility; and identify and evaluate potential resource protection strategies, boundaries, and management alternatives. (See Appendix B)

If according to the reconnaissance survey a study area appears potentially eligible for inclusion in the NPS system, then NPS may recommend that a Special Resource Study be authorized by Congress. This reconnaissance study focuses on the Busch family-related resources at Grant's Farm; Ulysses S. Grant related resources were considered in Part 1: Preliminary Boundary Adjustment Evaluation.

Criteria for Inclusion in the National Park System

The following are the criteria a site must meet for inclusion in the National Park System. This study will be only a cursory review and application of the first three criteria. A more in-depth review of resources would be needed to make a final determination.

1. **National Significance:** Determinations of an area's national significance are made by NPS professionals in consultation with scholars, experts, and scientists following specific criteria. For cultural resources, significance is evaluated using the National Historic Landmark criteria. (See Appendix C) For this reconnaissance study, only the *potential* for National Significance will be addressed.

2. **Suitability:** A property is considered suitable if it represents a resource type that is not currently represented in the park system or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by another agency or entity. Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the type, quality, quantity, combination of resources present, and opportunities for public enjoyment.

3. **Feasibility:** To be considered feasible, an area must be of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure long-term protection of the resources and to accommodate public use. The area must have potential for efficient administration at a reasonable cost. Other important feasibility factors include landownership, acquisition costs, current and potential use, access, level of local and general public support, and staff or development requirements.

4. **Necessity of Direct NPS Management:** Even if a resource meets the criteria of national significance, suitability, and feasibility, it will not always be recommended that a resource be added to the park system. There are many excellent examples of important natural and cultural resources managed by other federal agencies, other levels of government, and private entities. Evaluation of management options must show that direct NPS management is clearly the superior alternative.

1. National Significance

In this preliminary evaluation of National Significance, the potential for the Grant's Farm property to be considered nationally significant is addressed. In a full Special Resource Study, the property would be much more thoroughly evaluated in a process akin to nominating it as a National Historic Landmark (NHL). (See Appendix B) NHL nominations seek to evaluate and establish "the properties' integrity and strength of historical associations in relation to comparable properties". (NPS, National Register Bulletin) As of this writing there have been no Historic Structure Reports, National Register of Historic Places nominations, or other documentation or historic resource assessments of the property as a whole.

The Anheuser-Busch Brewery has been a National Historic Landmark since 1966, recognized for being the site of industrial developments like pasteurization and refrigeration that enabled national distribution of beer. The National Historic Landmark nomination has not been officially updated or amended since its initial designation.

For the Grant's Farm property, there has been no determination of significance by the Missouri State Historic Preservation Officer, which is the first step in listing on the State or National Register of Historic Places. Only the specific Grant-related Wish-ton-Wish remains has been examined in any detail by the National Park Service. (De Vore) Because the story of Grant's Farm is so closely linked to the history of the Anheuser-Busch Brewery, its national significance could be evaluated in that context. However, without the benefit of more extensive evaluation by NPS cultural resource professionals, the likelihood that Grant's Farm would be deemed nationally significant is conjectural.

While every effort was made in the limited time and scope of this study to uncover information that might lead to a determination of its likely significance, further research would certainly yield more information. Evaluating the significance of Grant's Farm may require a theme study on industrial magnates and their estates in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, in order to place the Busch development and use of the estate in context with others of the same era. Further research into the rich Anheuser-Busch Companies archives would likely provide additional pertinent information about the history and impact of Grant's Farm as a private retreat and public attraction.

The National Park Service believes there is potential for a positive determination of national significance, if further study is undertaken.

2. Suitability

The following are the National Park Service's Management Policies requirements for suitability:

> An area is considered suitable for addition to the National Park System if it represents a natural or cultural resource type that is not already adequately represented in the national park system, or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by other federal agencies; tribal, state, or local governments; or the private sector.
>
> Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the potential addition to other comparably managed areas representing the same resource type, while considering differences or similarities in the character, quality, quantity, or combination of resource values. The comparative analysis also addresses rarity of the resources, interpretive and educational potential, and similar resources already protected in the national park system or in other public or private ownership. The

comparison results in a determination of whether the proposed new area would expand, enhance, or duplicate resource protection or visitor use opportunities found in other comparably managed areas. (*Management Policies 2006*, section 1.3.2) (See also Appendix B)

For this suitability comparison, we considered comparable sites to be estates from America's Gilded Age of the late nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century, a period when consolidated wealth in the hands of the industrial magnates and businessmen led to a building boom in country estates. There are innumerable Gilded Age country house museums in the United States, administered by the private owners, non-profit groups, and state and local governments. The National Park Service administers Vanderbilt National Historic Site, a site representative and illustrative of the Gilded Age. Many sites consist of the house and immediate grounds exclusively; fewer sites have the original or close to the original acreage of the estate intact. Within this broad category, it is unknown how many sites relate directly to the themes and features of Grant's Farm: brewing industry history, entwining the private residence with business promotion, gentleman farming, and menageries.

The Pabst Mansion in Milwaukee, Wisconsin is an example of a brewing family's residence, though the Pabst family's brief tenure there suggests that it does not address the interplay between private estate and business. The Flemish Revival Pabst Mansion is open year round. Vanderbilt National Historic Site in Hyde Park, New York is an excellent example of a Gilded Age estate. Once about 400 acres, the gentleman farm buildings and land associated with those operations are not part of the park unit. Even lacking these features, the site is of a comparable size to Grant's Farm at about 212 acres. The Marshall Field III Estate, Caumsett State Park on Long Island, New York, is an intact example of later estate (c.1925), including extensive landscaped grounds and one of the most intact examples of the farm group building type. The site is open for recreational use of the grounds, but currently offers no regular access to building interiors or guided tours.

An example of an extensive, intact Gilded Age estate is Biltmore. The Vanderbilt home at Biltmore was also a French Revival chateau, but the estate was and is on a much larger scale than Grant's Farm, approximately 125,000 acres. The site is a privately owned vacation destination open to visitors. Perhaps the closest analogous site to Grant's Farm is Hearst Castle (also known as Hearst San Simeon State Historical Monument) part of the California State Parks System, the estate of William Randolph Hearst. Hearst's expansive estate featured an extensive private zoo, which began in 1923 with the acquisition of grazing animals for deer park-like enclosures. The menagerie was curtailed beginning in the late 1930s, and though descendants of some of the original zebra remain, they are not managed as an attraction in the way of Grant's Farm. Both Biltmore and Hearst Castle are much larger examples of Gilded Age opulence, and are destination estates, far from any urban center. Grant's Farm differs in that it was eventually a suburban estate whose location enabled its owner to travel to work in St. Louis each day. Biltmore and Hearst Castle were getaways, while Grant's Farm was more closely tied with the Busch family business.

Despite these examples, it is unusual to find estates of champions of American industry well-preserved and open to the public. Comparable estates discussed above cover some features also found at Grant's Farm, however Grant's Farm differs from these estates in that its land is still actively used as a wildlife preserve and zoo. Taken together, Grant's Farm represents a seemingly unique combination of resources. Taken separately, elements like the mansion and wildlife preserve/zoo are resources well represented elsewhere.

Currently, the Anheuser-Busch company history and some history of the Busch family is interpreted at the Anheuser-Busch Brewery in downtown St. Louis, Missouri. The Brewery has been a National Historic Landmark since 1966. Visitors to the brewery are able to tour the site where guides discuss the growth and innovation of Anheuser-Busch, the current brewing process, and the Busch family in the context of company

history. One and Two Busch Place, the residences of Adolphus Busch and August A. Busch on the brewery property, were torn down in the 1920s to make way for brewery expansion. (Correspondence, February 5, 2010) The only building of the residential complex that remains is the round stable building, currently used to house a hitch of Clydesdales and open to the public who take the Anheuser-Busch Brewery tour.

Given the volume of visitors to the site annually, it is clear there is substantial interpretive and educational potential. While the limited scope of this reconnaissance study precluded our ability to thoroughly research comparable properties, from this initial surface-level investigation, it is not clear whether Grants Farm would or would not be a suitable addition to the National Park System.

The most challenging factor in considering the suitability of the site is the wildlife preserve/zoo operations, and the animal residents of Grant's Farm. The animals are owned and cared for currently by Anheuser-Busch InBev, Inc. The question of whether the NPS should endeavor to manage the animals as they are now, in reduced numbers, or at all, would be a major focus of any further study. It is not within the mission of the National Park Service to manage zoos, however, the menagerie at Grant's Farm is a historic use of the property and may be found historically significant.

3. Feasibility

In determining a property's feasibility as a potential unit of the National Park system, a number of factors must be taken into account. To be feasible, a property must meet two requirements: (1) be of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure sustainable resource protection and visitor enjoyment (taking into account current and potential impacts from sources beyond proposed park boundaries), and (2) capable of efficient administration by the Service at a reasonable cost. Factors considered for these requirements also include landownership patterns, public enjoyment potential, access, current and potential threats to the resource, staffing requirements, local planning and zoning, the economic and socioeconomic impacts of designation, and the level of support for the property's inclusion in the National Park system.

At 273 acres, the site is of a sufficient size and configuration to provide for operation of a public site. As stated in Existing Conditions and Resource Description, the area adjacent to Grant's Farm is almost completely developed, and there are no immediate or foreseeable future developments that would hinder future site operations. (See Existing Conditions and Resource Description: Neighbors) The Town of Grantwood Village zones the Grant's Farm parcels as "animal preserve." The property boundary is well defined by roads, fencing, and edge vegetation. Given the number of visitors to Grant's Farm as it is currently operated, it is unlikely that these neighbors would see any substantive physical or operational changes related to NPS management of the site. Public enjoyment and accessibility infrastructure is already in place because of its use as a public attraction. The potential for public enjoyment is high, as evidenced by strong visitation.

Due to the abbreviated nature of this study, information on costs associated with acquisition, development, restoration, and operation are minimal. The 273 acres comprising Grant's Farm are subdivided into five parcels and assessed by the St. Louis County Department of Revenue separately. The current (2009) value of the largest parcel (214.12 acres) $8,125,200. (St. Louis County Department of Revenue) This figure appears to include the majority of structures on Grant's Farm but does not include the very valuable art and carriage collections, furnishings, or animals. The current bottom line cost after revenues for the farm operations, the Big House, and the Clydesdale operation falls between $3.5 million and $4 million. Total sales revenue for Grant's Farm in 2008 was $4.2 million. (Correspondence, February 2, 2010)

A more extensive study would look more deeply at acquisition costs, and the costs of administering a comparably-sized unit of the National Park Service if the site were found to be nationally significant and suitable. For brief comparison both in size and structural resources, Vanderbilt National Historic Site in Hyde Park, New York is a comparable unit. The property covers 212 acres in a suburban town, and features extensive landscaped grounds, gardens, a Beaux Arts mansion with art and furnishings, a smaller Pavillion, carriage barn, and other structures. The site has approximately 21 full time equivalent (FTE) staff, and has a base operations budget of around $1.2 million. Site visitation was 412,270 in 2007.

Currently, operations at Grant's Farm employ 234 part-time staff during the summer season when the park is open to guests, and 10 year-round staff to manage publicly-accessible aspects of Grant's Farm. The August A. Busch Jr. Trust, which owns the property, employs 20 full time employees on grounds and maintenance, 6 part time, and 7 seasonal workers. The Trust also employs 3 salaried and 2 part time employees at the Big House. (Correspondence of February 2) These numbers should give some indication of how many employees would be necessary to operate Grant's Farm in a manner similar to its current use; they are in excess of the resources NPS devotes to the similar Vanderbilt National Historic Site.

Both historic buildings and maintenance facilities on the property appear to be in excellent condition. While some original configurations have been modified, particularly in the Bauernhof, buildings of historic significance from the Busch era appear to maintain good historic integrity. (See Existing Conditions and Resource Description) Previous and current management activities have well protected the resources. More detailed assessment of Busch-related historic buildings and their integrity would be critical to a Special Resource Study, as would an assessment of the collections (e.g art and animals) on Grant's Farm. Other parks such as Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site and Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site manage domestic animals as part of the cultural landscape, but no other park currently manages the range or number of domestic and captive exotic animals found currently at Grant's Farm.

Without further investigation, it is difficult to quantify the economic and socioeconomic impacts of designation beyond potential loss of tax revenue. Taxes on the largest Grant's Farm parcel held in trust were $120,682.63 in 2009, and on the two Grant's Farm Manor Inc. properties where the Clydesdale operations are located, taxes were a combined $2,105.26. A total of about $122,787.89 of tax revenue went to St. Louis County for the Grant's Farm property in 2009. St Louis County's 2009 budget (adjusted appropriation) was $507,925,477.00. (St. Louis County, 2010 Adopted Budget) While local governments are eligible for federal payment in lieu of taxes to help offset losses in property taxes due to non-taxable federal property within their boundaries, historically these payments have not kept pace with lost potential property tax revenue.

As mentioned above, the property is owned by The August A. Busch Jr. Trust and Grant's Farm Manor Inc., both of which are controlled by members of the Busch Family. The owners of Grant's Farm are very supportive of the property's possible inclusion in the National Park system. As this report is a preliminary document and does not require or seek public comment, the local and general public support for inclusion is unknown.

Currently, the resources of Grant's Farm are both adequately protected and publically accessible. As mentioned above under the boundary adjustment section, adequacy of long term protection may be more difficult to determine because the Anheuser-Busch InBev, Inc. lease on the Farm can be terminated at any time with proper written notice. Because of the recent change in company management, it is unknown whether Anheuser-Busch InBev, Inc. would continue to operate Grant's Farm in the same way over the long term. It is also unclear how the property would be used by the Trust if the lease were terminated.

In summary, a number of factors combine to lead the study team to believe the addition of Grant's Farm to the National Park System as a separate unit with the purpose of preserving and interpreting the story of the Busch family is unlikely to be feasible. The cost of acquiring the estate, including the house and the art collection within it, would be well beyond the start-up costs of a typical national historic site. Of more concern would be the potential cost of operating the Farm's menagerie and maintaining the extensive maintained landscapes and structures over time. The NPS faces critical staffing and funding shortfalls in current units of the national park system and would be hard pressed to find adequate funding to support the Grant's Farm resources to the level sustained by the Busch family.

4. Necessity of Direct NPS Management

Management alternatives are not typically addressed in reconnaissance studies. Because this is a preliminary document, management options will not be considered. It may be noted, however, that the resources of Grant's Farm are currently well protected and maintained, and are publically accessible. A Special Resource Study would be unlikely to find that direct NPS management would be superior to current management.

CONCLUSION

Findings

In conclusion, this study finds the following:

- **Preliminary Boundary Adjustment Evaluation:** The addition of portions of Grant's Farm could add important Grant-related resources to Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site. However, adding the entire Grant's Farm property to the boundary of Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site would likely not be appropriate or feasible. If a smaller parcel could be carved to encompass the Grant-related resources of Grant's Cabin and Wish-ton-Wish, the smaller section might comprise an eligible and feasible addition. A boundary assessment to consider the addition of a smaller area may be warranted. Modification to the current configuration of Grant's Farm may run counter to the Busch family's desires for long term preservation of the estate. The family's willingness to consider subdividing the property would be a major factor in evaluating the desirability of a boundary adjustment.

- **Reconnaissance Study:** There is potential for the Anheuser-Busch and Busch family–related resources to be determined as **nationally significant**, but these would need to be evaluated more thoroughly before a definitive statement is made. The **suitability** criteria likely would be met in a full study, if the resources are deemed compatible with the NPS mission and policies. It seems unlikely, however, that the **feasibility** criteria would be met in any future study. Costs of acquisition and management of the structures, collections, and maintained landscapes would likely be infeasible for the NPS.

Future Considerations

The National Park Service typically undertakes boundary studies during the completion of a General Management Plan for the park unit. A boundary study for Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site should be undertaken at such time as the General Management Plan is updated, if the current owners are willing to consider dividing the Grant-specific resources from the remainder of the Grant Farm. A stand-alone boundary adjustment study may be warranted based on the timing of any General Management Plan update.

A Special Resource Study requires specific authorization by Congress. In a Special Resource Study, the National Park Service would, among other things, undertake comparative studies to make a determination of national significance, and conduct a more extensive inventory of buildings, landscapes, animals, and other assets of the property. Any future Special Resource Study would also look at management options for the site, including affiliated area status. As part of a full study, NPS would address the legal and policy implications regarding management of a wildlife preserve/zoo. Further investigation into regulations, law, and policy would be required for scenarios involving management of animals by the National Park Service as a historic collection. Finally, a critical component of a Special Resource Study would include a public involvement component to gather public input on discussions of criterion and potential future management options. Under the current conditions, it is likely a Special Resource Study would produce negative findings for feasibility and the need for NPS management.

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IMAGE CREDITS

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APPENDIX A: GRANT'S FARM ANIMAL INVENTORY

Mammals	Total
Bison	8
Yak	2
Zebu	4
Watusi	5
Highland	5
Longhorn	4
Galloway	3
White Elk	6
Brown Elk	7
Red Deer	6
Pere David Deer	3
White tail deer	5
Fallow Deer	64
Sika Deer	10
Axis Deer	17
Blk B. Antelope	8
Aoudad	6
Alpaca	2
Llama	3
Dromedary Camel	2
Breeding goats	77
Wild horse	3
Donkeys	3
Grant's Zebra	1
Miniature Pig	1
Opossum	1
Ferret	2
Chinchilla	1
Rats	0
Capybaras	2
Fennec Fox	2
Red Kangaroo	2
Hedgehogs	2
Guinea pigs	5
Mini - Horse	2
Norwegjian Fiord	1
Haflinger	1
Paint Horse	1
Mini-Donkey	5
Hackney Pony	1
Oberlander horse	2
Icelandic Pony	1
African Elephant	2
R.F. Lemurs	4
Mammal Total	**292**

Birds	Total
Waterfowl	
Mute Swan	4
Black Swan	2
Trumpeter Swan	2
Chilean Flamingo	4
Lesser Flamingo	2
Crowned Crane	1
Pekin Ducks	5
Plimgrim Geese	1
Chinese Geese	1
Egyptian Geese	4
African Geese	2
White Stork	3
Call Ducks	2
Runner Ducks	8
Muscovy Ducks	5
Ratites	
Red Neck Ostrich	2
Macaws	
Hyacinth Macaw	1
Military	1
Greenwing	3
Scarlet	4
Blue and Gold	4
Severes	2
Catalina	1
Amazons	
Mealy	1
Yellow crowned	2
Lorikeets - Rainbow	1
Lorikeets - Duvyenbode	1
Cockatoo - Moluccaan	1
Fowl/Poultry	
Guinea Fowl	3
Chickens	0
Bantam Aracauna	0
Peacocks	11
Bird Total	**84**

Reptiles, Amphibians, Arachnids and Insects	Total
Aldabra Tortoise	**2**
Spurred Tortoise	**1**
Blue Tongue Skink	**1**
Green Iguana	**3**
Red Tailed Boa Constrictor	**1**
Corn Snake	**1**
Bearded Dragon	**0**
Ball Python	**1**
3-Toed Box Turtle	**2**
Eastern Box Turtle	**1**
Burmese Python	**1**
Others	
White's Tree Frog	**1**
Hissing Cockroach	**30**
Pink Zebra Beauty Tarantula	**1**
Texas Brown Tarantula	**1**
Reptile, Amphibian, Arachnid and Insect Total	**47**

Grand Total
423

As of December 17, 2009. Provided by Anheuser-Busch InBev, Inc.

APPENDIX B: MANAGEMENT POLICIES 2006: 1.3 CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION

Congress declared in the National Park System General Authorities Act of 1970 that areas comprising the national park system are cumulative expressions of a single national heritage. Potential additions to the national park system should therefore contribute in their own special way to a system that fully represents the broad spectrum of natural and cultural resources that characterize our nation. The National Park Service is responsible for conducting professional studies of potential additions to the national park system when specifically authorized by an act of Congress, and for making recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior, the President, and Congress. Several laws outline criteria for units of the national park system and for additions to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System and the National Trails System.

To receive a favorable recommendation from the Service, a proposed addition to the national park system must (1) possess nationally significant natural or cultural resources, (2) be a suitable addition to the system, (3) be a feasible addition to the system, and (4) require direct NPS management instead of protection by other public agencies or the private sector. These criteria are designed to ensure that the national park system includes only the most outstanding examples of the nation's natural and cultural resources. These criteria also recognize that there are other management alternatives for preserving the nation's outstanding resources.

1.3.1 National Significance

NPS professionals, in consultation with subject-matter experts, scholars, and scientists, will determine whether a resource is nationally significant. An area will be considered nationally significant if it meets all of the following criteria:

- It is an outstanding example of a particular type of resource.
- It possesses exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation's heritage.
- It offers superlative opportunities for public enjoyment or for scientific study.
- It retains a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of a resource.

National significance for cultural resources will be evaluated by applying the National Historic Landmarks criteria contained in 36 CFR Part 65 (Code of Federal Regulations).

1.3.2 Suitability

An area is considered suitable for addition to the national park system if it represents a natural or cultural resource type that is not already adequately represented in the national park system, or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by other federal agencies; tribal, state, or local governments; or the private sector.

Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the potential addition to other comparably managed areas representing the same resource type, while considering differences or similarities in the character, quality, quantity, or combination of resource values. The comparative analysis also addresses rarity of the resources, interpretive and educational potential, and similar resources already protected in the national park system or in other public or private ownership. The comparison results in a determination of whether the proposed new area would expand, enhance, or duplicate resource protection or visitor use opportunities found in other comparably managed areas.

1.3.3 Feasibility

To be feasible as a new unit of the national park system, an area must be (1) of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure sustainable resource protection and visitor enjoyment (taking into account current and potential impacts from sources beyond proposed park boundaries), and (2) capable of efficient administration by the Service at a reasonable cost.

In evaluating feasibility, the Service considers a variety of factors for a study area, such as the following:

- size
- boundary configurations
- current and potential uses of the study area and surrounding lands
- landownership patterns
- public enjoyment potential
- costs associated with acquisition, development, restoration, and operation
- access
- current and potential threats to the resources
- existing degradation of resources
- staffing requirements
- local planning and zoning
- the level of local and general public support (including landowners)
- the economic/socioeconomic impacts of designation as a unit of the national park system

The feasibility evaluation also considers the ability of the National Park Service to undertake new management responsibilities in light of current and projected availability of funding and personnel.

An overall evaluation of feasibility will be made after taking into account all of the above factors. However, evaluations may sometimes identify concerns or conditions, rather than simply reach a yes or no conclusion. For example, some new areas may be feasible additions to the national park system only if landowners are willing to sell, or the boundary encompasses specific areas necessary for visitor access, or state or local governments will provide appropriate assurances that adjacent land uses will remain compatible with the study area's resources and values.

1.3.4 Direct NPS Management

There are many excellent examples of the successful management of important natural and cultural resources by other public agencies, private conservation organizations, and individuals. The National Park Service applauds these accomplishments and actively encourages the expansion of conservation activities by state, local, and private entities and by other federal agencies. Unless direct NPS management of a studied area is identified as the clearly superior alternative, the Service will recommend that one or more of these other entities assume a lead management role, and that the area not receive national park system status.

Studies will evaluate an appropriate range of management alternatives and will identify which alternative or combination of alternatives would, in the professional judgment of the Director, be most effective and efficient in protecting significant resources and providing opportunities for appropriate public enjoyment. Alternatives for NPS management will not be developed for study areas that fail to meet any one of the four criteria for inclusion listed in section 1.3.

In cases where a study area's resources meet criteria for national significance but do not meet other criteria for inclusion in the national park system, the Service may instead recommend an alternative status, such as

“affiliated area.” To be eligible for affiliated area status, the area’s resources must (1) meet the same standards for significance and suitability that apply to units of the national park system; (2) require some special recognition or technical assistance beyond what is available through existing NPS programs; (3) be managed in accordance with the policies and standards that apply to units of the national park system; and (4) be assured of sustained resource protection, as documented in a formal agreement between the Service and the nonfederal management entity. Designation as a “heritage area” is another option that may be recommended. Heritage areas have a nationally important, distinctive assemblage of resources that is best managed for conservation, recreation, education, and continued use through partnerships among public and private entities at the local or regional level. Either of these two alternatives (and others as well) would recognize an area’s importance to the nation without requiring or implying management by the National Park Service.

(See National Significance 1.3.1; Suitability 1.3.2)

APPENDIX C: NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK CRITERIA

36 CFR § 65.4 National Historic Landmark criteria.

The criteria applied to evaluate properties for possible designation as National Historic Landmarks or possible determination of eligibility for National Historic Landmark designation are listed below. These criteria shall be used by NPS in the preparation, review and evaluation of National Historic Landmark studies. They shall be used by the Advisory Board in reviewing National Historic Landmark studies and preparing recommendations to the Secretary. Properties shall be designated National Historic Landmarks only if they are nationally significant. Although assessments of national significance should reflect both public perceptions and professional judgments, the evaluations of properties being considered for landmark designation are undertaken by professionals, including historians, architectural historians, archeologists and anthropologists familiar with the broad range of the nation's resources and historical themes. The criteria applied by these specialists to potential landmarks do not define significance nor set a rigid standard for quality. Rather, the criteria establish the qualitative framework in which a comparative professional analysis of national significance can occur. The final decision on whether a property possesses national significance is made by the Secretary on the basis of documentation including the comments and recommendations of the public who participate in the designation process.

(a) Specific Criteria of National Significance: The quality of national significance is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering and culture and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association, and:

(1) That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained; or

(2) That are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States; or

(3) That represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or

(4) That embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

(5) That are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or

(6) That have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree.

(b) Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are not eligible for designation. Such properties, however, will qualify if they fall within the following categories:

(1) A religious property deriving its primary national significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or

(2) A building or structure removed from its original location but which is nationally significant primarily for its architectural merit, or for association with persons or events of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association consequential; or

(3) A site of a building or structure no longer standing but the person or event associated with it is of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association consequential; or

(4) A birthplace, grave or burial if it is of a historical figure of transcendent national significance and no other appropriate site, building or structure directly associated with the productive life of that person exists; or

(5) A cemetery that derives its primary national significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, or from an exceptionally distinctive design or from an exceptionally significant event; or

(6) A reconstructed building or ensemble of buildings of extraordinary national significance when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other buildings or structures with the same association have survived; or

(7) A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own national historical significance; or

(8) A property achieving national significance within the past 50 years if it is of extraordinary national importance.

National Park Service
U. S. Department of the Interior

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