

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

____ New Submission XXX Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Rocky Mountain National Park MPS (Additional documentation- Trails)

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

I. Pioneer Settlement and Development of the Resort Industry, applied to Trails 1900-1945

IV. Transportation, Prehistoric and Historic Trails 6,000/7,000 years ago – 1920s

V. NPS Naturalistic Design, Construction of Trails 1920-1945

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Sierra Standish/ contract position (RMNP contacts- Dr. Bill Butler and Cheri Yost)

organization Rocky Mountain National Park date September 27, 2004

street & number 1000 U.S. Highway 36 telephone (970) 586-1332

city or town Estes Park state Colorado zip code 80517

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation.

(See continuation sheet for additional comments [].)

Sharonne Courtney State Historic Preservation Officer
Signature and title of certifying official

11/16/04
Date

State Historic Preservation Office, Colorado Historical Society

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Beth Boland
Signature of the Keeper

2/24/05
Date of Action

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**Rocky Mountain National Park Multiple Property Listing
Additional Documentation-Trails Amendment**

This document adds to the 1987 Rocky Mountain National Park Multiple Property Listing. It focuses upon one type of cultural resource at Rocky Mountain National Park (RMNP): trails. The following text develops the historic context surrounding trails within the park and establishes standards for a trail's eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places. This document should be considered an amendment, and attached to the 1987 "Multiple Resource Nomination" form. Please note that while the 1987 form was organized in a thematic format, this amendment adheres closely to the Multiple Property Documentation Form format. As a result, the following document is arranged differently than its 1987 parent.

In the 1987 document, the Methodology section reports on the survey process and standards for nomination eligibility applied to the park's buildings, roads and other cultural resources. The section finishes: "Time and financial considerations prevented the inventory from including archeological resources and historic trails within Rocky Mountain National Park." This amendment looks at trails, picking up where the 1987 document left off.¹

The 1987 multiple resource nomination establishes five historic themes surrounding the historic resources of Rocky Mountain National Park. These themes are 1) Pioneer Settlement and the Development of the Resort Industry; 2) Reclamation; 3) Mining; 4) Transportation; and 5) Rustic Architecture. In the past, trails probably served all five of these significant trends in the park. However, trails associated with Reclamation and Mining either no longer exist with historical integrity or are currently unknown. Therefore, the following amendment examines the three remaining themes: Pioneer Settlement and the Development of the Resort Industry, Transportation and Rustic Architecture.

The RMNP Trails Amendment also has significant ties to another document: Linda Flint McClelland's "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks Multiple Property Listing." McClelland's massive 1995 multiple property listing addresses a multitude of landscape features that can be found in state and national parks around the country. The RMNP Trails Amendment corresponds with and supplements McClelland's text.

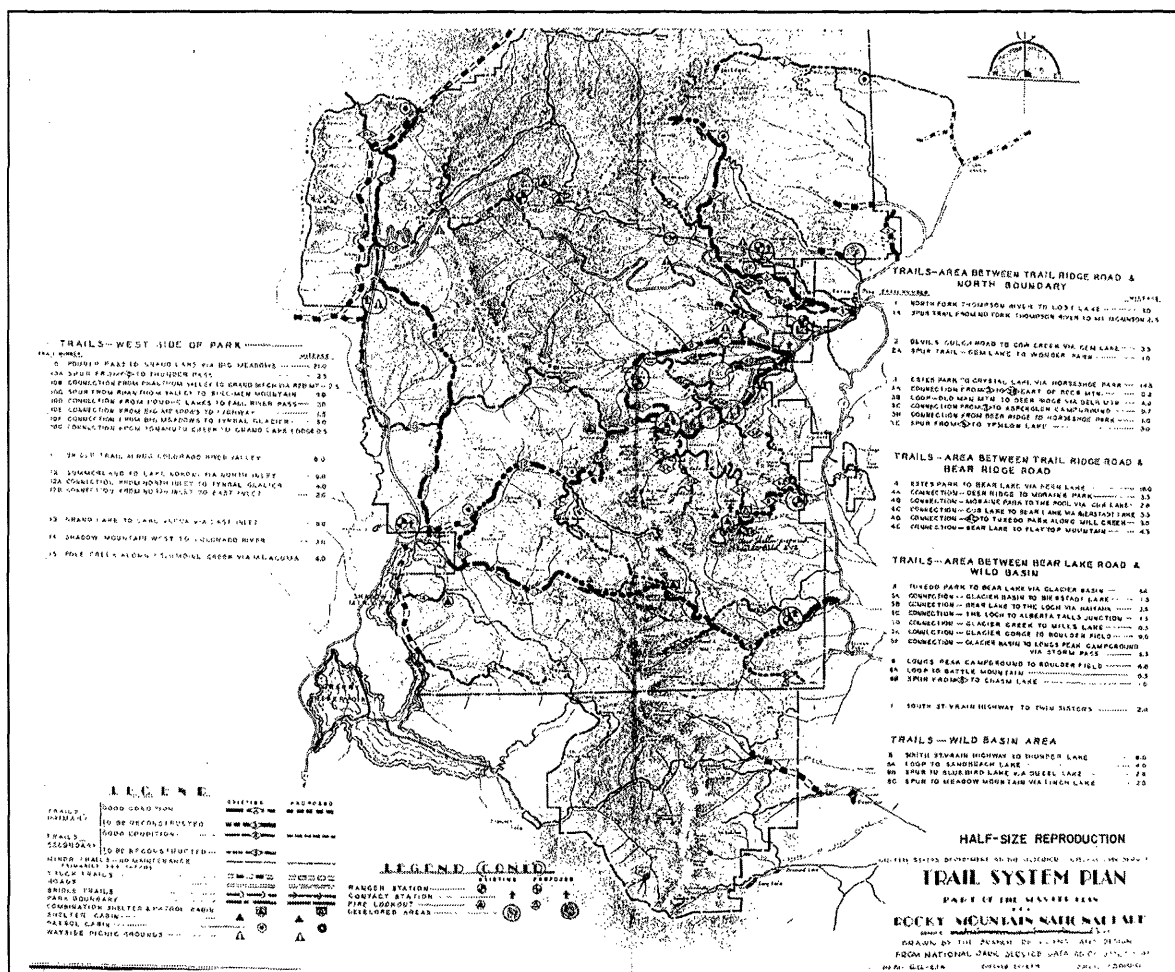
¹ Carl and Karen McWilliams; Revised Gregory Kendrick, "Multiple Resource Nomination for Rocky Mountain National Park," 1987. Item Number 7, page 3.

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While McClelland primarily presents context that bolsters the trails' eligibility for nomination under Criterion C, the RMNP Trails Amendment will flesh out details pertaining to this park and speak to registration requirements under both Criteria A and C.² Thus, this trails amendment takes its cues from two earlier documents.



Trail System Map, 1941, Courtesy of National Park Service Technical Information Center, Denver, Colorado

² Linda Flint McClelland, "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks Multiple Property Listing," 1995.

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E. STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

**I. Pioneer Settlement and Development of the Resort Industry, applied to
historic trails in RMNP, 1900-1945.**

In 1889, an early mountaineer in the future Rocky Mountain National Park commented upon the burgeoning tourist industry:

The lover of high mountain ascents finds a good field for novel expeditions throughout the range; for, with the exception of Long's Peak, the high elevations are rarely visited...Paths are to be made, trails to be cut, detail maps to be laid out, before the grandest scenes among the mountains can be shown to the tourist.³

Indeed, local tourism boosters recognized the value of showcasing these "grandest scenes" to their out-of-town visitors. Pathways evolved into trails, and residents transcribed their personal knowledge of the area onto maps. In the era before the designation of Rocky Mountain National Park, locals involved in the tourism business took it upon themselves to construct and maintain trails. After its creation in 1915, the National Park took responsibility for these pre-existing trails and added new ones. Thus, the era between 1900 and 1945 witnessed a steady stream of trail development that paralleled the growth of resorts and lodges.

With the advent of World War II, trail work slowed, and then nearly stopped. The period between 1945 and 1965—termed the "Years of Neglect" by one historian of the local trails—corresponds with the park's removal of privately owned lodges inside the park.

When trail funding began to flow once more in the 1960s, it was for work within an altered, more pristine-appearing landscape.⁴

³ Frederick Chapin, *Frederick Chapin's Colorado: The Peaks About Estes Park and Other Writings*, James H. Pickering, ed., (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1995), 32-36. Adapted from Frederick Chapin, *Mountaineering in Colorado*, 1889.

⁴ Ramaley, William C., *Trails and Trail Builders of the Rocky Mountain National Park*, unpublished manuscript, 1974 (?), RMNP library, 79-75.

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Some of these resort-era tourist trails retain their alignment and landscape. Hikers and horseback riders of the 21st century can experience these trails in a way that their predecessors once knew them.

Early Tourism, 1900-1915

The first trails developed with little or no planning. Wild animals, Native Americans, hunters, trappers and livestock simply sought the route of least resistance; later, travelers and shepherds adopted these trails. By the early 1870s, mountaineers had established a hiking trail to the summit of Longs Peak—by far the most glamorous ramble for sightseers, even today.⁵ However, most recreational trails emerged around 1900 or later, popping up in a piecemeal fashion, at the behest of local innkeepers, trail guides, and citizen groups.

In the era of the early resort industry, trails linked a guest's accommodations with nature. A middle or upper class tourist could stay in a dude ranch or outlying lodge, orienting themselves close to the wild mountains. Even some hotels in Estes Park proper connected to trails. Visitors to Grand Lake discovered that mountain pathways began where the streets of the little town ended. Although the resorts often included amenities such as restaurants, stables, and social front porches, their locations facilitated quick retreat into the wilderness. Typically, trails began right next to the porch or stable of a lodge, leading into the mountains to a dramatic destination—an impressive view, a pretty lake or a promising fishing spot. Some trails delivered visitors to a campground or another lodge. Other trails traveled up to the Continental Divide, offering a multi-day trip. Tourists often traveled the trails in groups, on foot or horseback, and with the hired expertise of a local guide.⁶ Many sightseers probably anticipated the grand scenery promoted by the paintings of Albert Bierstadt and other landscape painters.⁷

⁵ Bird, Isabella, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 83-101. Bird toured the mountains in 1873.

⁶ Susan Q. Zietkiewicz, "Nature's Playground: An Environmental History of Early Estes Park," (M.A. thesis, Colorado State University, 2001), 70.

⁷ For more on the scenic value of the area, see Zietkiewicz, 31-53.

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The rugged topography—part of the attraction for so many tourists—dictated a limited set of routes to a given destination. In some cases, drainages offered the most agreeable course while exposing tourists to rushing water and potential fishing. Other trails followed ridgelines, moving more efficiently through light forest or wide-open tundra.

Like the trails, lodges sprang up organically. In some big western parks like Glacier, Yellowstone and the Grand Canyon, big railroad companies funded the development of lodges and promoted tourist travel. In Glacier, for example, whole trail networks were planned and built as part of a “European-style hotel/chalet/trail network” managed by a subsidiary of the Great Northern Railway. In contrast, Rocky Mountain National Park’s resorts and trails developed individually, owned and managed by locals.⁸

The turn of the century witnessed the first wave of collaborative trail efforts in the area. Around the nation, “village improvement associations”—exemplified by the Estes Park Protective and Improvement Association (EPPIA)—advocated preservation of local scenery and raised money to do so. In the Estes Park region, the Forest Service officially managed most of the scenic areas; however, forest rangers did not maintain trails to local satisfaction. It was, therefore, up to the residents to care for trails as they saw fit. EPPIA and its auxiliary, the Woman’s Club, organized dances, bazaars and other fundraisers to develop and improve popular trails. Lodge owners with mutual interests also cooperated to construct new trails and repair old ones; they wanted to ensure safe and sustainable pathways for their clientele. Estes Park’s summer-season newspaper whipped up interest by printing articles about popular hiking and horseback trips. Contemporary maps featured important pieces of information, like roads, terrain, hotels, and—of course—trails. Some trails possessed planned, steady grades and sturdy bridges. Others were left to an undocumented level of maintenance, probably maintained simply by repeated use. Even though the whole network of

⁸ Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 37, 61, 79; Ann Hubber, Historical Research Associates, Inc., “Glacier National Park Tourist Trails Historic District Nomination Form,” 1995.

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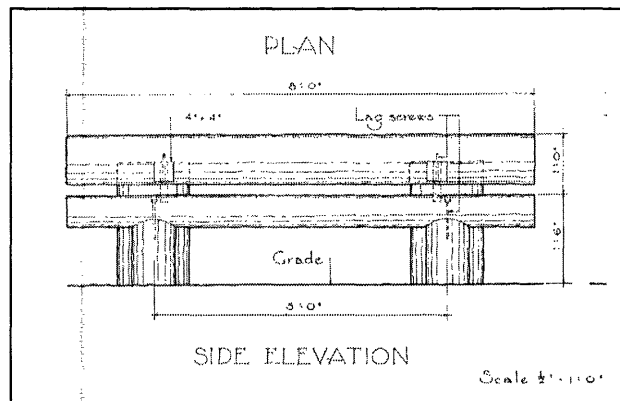
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local trails were not coordinated, routes consistently evolved in response to the needs of the growing tourist industry.⁹

Bench plan- Image found in
Albert H. Good, *Patterns from
the Golden Age of Rustic
Design, Park and Recreation
Structures from the 1930s*.



Rapid Development, 1915-1945

On January 26, 1915, President Woodrow Wilson signed Rocky Mountain National Park into existence. The managers of the new park intended to have a more comprehensive plan for preparing trails for mountaineers and other tourists. The first step was to take inventory. At the end of 1915, the park superintendent reported approximately 128.5 miles of trail stretching through the park. He proceeded to describe the condition of each one, indicating future trail work needs. Although the superintendent's notes were not terribly detailed, they reveal a trail system that clearly needed more attention:

⁹ J. Tracy Stakely, Margaret Coffin and Paul Weinbaum, Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, "National Register Nomination for Hiking Trail System, Acadia National Park," draft, March 1999, 6, 80-84; Charles R. Trowbridge, Superintendent's Annual Report, 1915, 10. RMNP Library; *Estes Park Trail*: "Leap Year Dance a Success," Aug. 3, 1912 (Vol. I no. 8), "Pushing Deer Mountain Trail," June 21, 1913 (Vol. II no. 2), 15-16; "Social and Personal," Sept. 12, 1914 (Vol. III no. 13), 12; "The Trails," July 6, 1912 (Vol. I no. 4); "The Fern Lake Region," July 20, 1912 (Vol. I no. 6); "A Trip to Hallett's Glacier," August 10, 1912 (Vol. I no. 9), 3-4; "A Trip to Gem Lake," Aug. 10, 1912 (Vol. I no. 9), 5; "The Boulder-Grand Pass," Sept. 6, 1913 (Vol. II no. 13), 2-7; "A Trip Up Forest Canyon," Sept. 12, 1914 (Vol. III no. 13), 8; "Estes Park and Surroundings, Colorado," map, from notes by A.E. Sprague, copyright by Enos Mills, drawn by Geo. H. Angell, 1905; "Estes Park, Colorado, and Surrounding Region," map, Copyright, 1910, by Burlington Route; "Road and Trail Map of Estes Park and Vicinity, Colorado," map, Copyright 1915 by F.P. Clatworthy, Estes Park.

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Summary of Trail Conditions, According to the Superintendent's Annual Report, October 5, 1915

Trail	Condition
Grand Lake Trail (a.k.a. the Flattop Trail)	Cleared of all timber. Needs repair work above timberline.
Grand Lake Trail (a.k.a. the Ute Trail)	No comment on status.
Bierstadt Lake Trail (from Hollowell Park)	Some of trail is in bad shape and in need of repair.
Bierstadt Lake Trail (from Glacier Creek)	Built by Forest Service in 1914. Trail in good condition.
Bear Lake Trail (intersects Flattop Trail)	Fair condition.
Bear Lake Trail (from "Miners Cabin" to lake)	Good condition.
Lock Vale ("Miners Cabin" to Loch Vale)	Built in 1913 by EPPIA. Trail needs repair.
Storm Pass Trail	Built by Forest Service in 1914. Trail in good condition.
Longs Peak Trail	Trail needs some repair.
Mill Creek Ranger Station to "The Pool"	Trail in fair condition.
Trail to Fern, Odessa and Helene Lakes	Should be repaired and extended to join the Flattop Trail.
Lawn Lake Trail	Needs repair.
Ypsilon Lake Trail	In good condition.
Crystal Lake Trail (Lawn Lake to Crystal)	Trail poorly built and needs construction.
Tombstone Ridge Trail	A scenic trail but is in poor condition.
Lost Lake Trail	No comment on status.
Specimen Mountain Trail	Trail poorly constructed. Needs considerable repair work.
Poudre River Trail	Little work other than "blazing" has been done on this trail.
Sand Beach Lake Trail	Trail in good condition.
Thunder Lake Trail	Trail in fair condition.
Ouzel Lake Trail	Built by Forest Service. In good condition.

The next five years did not show a marked improvement in the management of all of these trails. The succeeding superintendent expressed his frustration:

Furnishing, as they do, the only means of access to the principal points of beauty and interest, it is regrettable that, due to the small

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amount of money available for the National Park, we are unable to make permanent improvements of trails, but must confine our work to the most necessary spring repair work, clearing out fallen timber, and corduroying bog holes.¹⁰

On a puny \$10,000 annual budget, the park staff could barely maintain the most widely used trails.

But 1920 initiated a different trend. A new park superintendent, Roger Toll—avid hiker and mountain enthusiast—recognized visitors' needs for trails. Concurrently, annual appropriations to the park increased with each year. The Colorado Mountain Club, a group of well-to-do mountaineers (of which Toll was a founding member) donated money for trail construction and erected registers at the top of peaks. And as citizens flocked in increasing numbers to parks around the country, RMNP could and did concentrate more manpower on trail work. A developing National Park design ethic—today called NPS Rustic Architecture and Naturalistic Design (developed later in this document)—stressed rugged, basic forms and native materials for all kinds of park buildings and structures; trail construction easily conformed. Larger park crews perpetuated and developed the naturalistic trail design. Although the Great Depression of the 1930s could have stymied this progress, federal relief agencies actually boosted trail development in national parks. The Public Works Administration funded capital improvements, and the Emergency Conservation Work program supplied labor with Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) crews. Thus the park maintained and improved popular old trails, and even added some new ones. In the meantime, local newspapers continued to promote the trails to tourists, and tourists continued to use trails.¹¹

World War II heralded change and diverted federal resources toward the war effort. Trail development and maintenance slowed to a stop. Before the 1960s—

¹⁰ L.C. Way, Superintendent's Annual Report, 1918, 10. RMNP library.

¹¹ Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Parks Service, 1916 to 1942* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993), 195; *Grand Lake Pioneer*, "Where Fires Are Spotted—See Rockies Anew with Hike to Shadow Mountain," July 26, 1941 (vol. 2 no. 6); "Hike to Cascade Falls," July 19, 1941 (vol. 2 no. 5); "Scenic Trails from Village Beckon Hikers, Riders," Aug. 9, 1941 (vol. 2 no. 8).

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when trail work would be seriously resumed—park policy shifted to favor a more pristine, untouched-looking park landscape. The prevailing aesthetic preferred the “natural” look for Rocky Mountain National Park. While this policy did not seem to extend to trails themselves, it did mean erasing other evidence of human presence, and nearly all of the privately owned lodges within the park were removed during or after this period.

Meanwhile, a widespread surge of visitation placed increased pressure on the outdated facilities in national parks. Congress responded with “Mission 66”—a system-wide program meant to bring modern improvements to the increasingly popular parks by 1966. The program shunted more funding toward RMNP’s infrastructure, including its trails network. Mission 66 conscientiously looked toward the future, unabashedly using synthetic materials and abstract forms. The program clearly moved beyond the rustic style that characterized Naturalistic Design. But trails, not being the highest profile structures in the park, and typically posing an accessibility challenge to heavy equipment and materials, did not broadly embrace the new methods and forms.

Nonetheless, the park’s landscape changed in the mid-twentieth century; so did the visitors’ trail experience. During the early resort period, backcountry journeys typically began at a privately owned resort surrounded by stables and outbuildings. Today, trailheads are marked by a parking lot, restrooms, and a posted map. But while park visitors may no longer spend their leisure hours playing bridge in a pine-paneled parlor or waltzing with other guests, they can still trek into the park and seek out nature.

Indeed, the same lakes, streams, boulders and views sometimes greet visitors in 2004 as they likely did 70 or 80 years ago; certain natural features have even earned mention on trail maps. In other instances, a trail may wind past a radically altered landscape. For instance, the 1982 failure of the dam at Lawn Lake swept a flood of debris down the Roaring River. The flood deposited a collection of tossed trees and boulders in the drainage and dumped dirt and rocks in the valley below, creating a large alluvial fan that is visible from miles away. The Lawn Lake Trail ascends past all of this flood evidence. Although the trail itself is

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unchanged in some places, the look and feel of this trail does not always reflect what tourists experienced during the historic period.

The trail construction style also constitutes part of the landscape. At RMNP, this style has not dramatically changed since the 1940s; the legacy of early park trail crews and CCC workers dominates the park's trail system. Many pathways reflect Naturalistic Design as early tourists would have known it.

Thus, a historic landscape—comprised of both natural and built features—surrounds hikers on certain trails within the park. While park visitors can no longer stay at resorts inside of the park, they can still follow trails that convey the resort-era hiking experience.

IV. Transportation, Prehistoric and Historic Trails (6,000-7,000 years ago-1920s)

Underlying the park's web of trails for recreation lies another, equally significant trail network: a system of trails used for basic transportation. These routes served Native Americans, trappers, early settlers, animals, and anyone else who simply wanted to get from one place to another.

Because they are not as visible, transportation trails can be more difficult to conceptualize than pathways built for sightseers. Instead of being an easily identifiable track in the earth, a transportation trail typically operated as a corridor, linking important economic, social or religious sites. Explains an archeologist:

The concept of *trail corridors*, or parallel trail networks, illustrates how indigenous trails are commonly expressed in mountain environments...A route is the more complete reality behind a trail, defined

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by evidence of patterned use, rather than formal structure.¹²

Typically, Native American trails were not consciously built; rather, trampling feet created trails through "patterned use." Monuments, also known as cairns or as piles of rock, seem to have been the only obvious guidance structures added to these trails. One 1914 observer noted:

The whole country was covered with Indian trails. In open parks, these trails would generally be very vague, as there was not reason for going in any one path; but over the mountains the trails were distinct and occasionally marked by monuments, the *ai yah ah* (put up-monuments). These piles of stones were on average about four feet in diameter.¹³

Although Native Americans and other travelers may have left relatively faint evidence of their passing, some routes are difficult to mistake. The high backbone of the Continental Divide provides only a few options for traversing the ridge. Certain cross-Divide routes move over comparatively smooth, flat mountains and allowed people to cross the width of the future park in less than a day. Archeological evidence suggests that prehistoric and historic travelers accessed these same routes over and over again. For example, the modern Trail Ridge Road traverses the mountains through an ancient corridor.

Various travelers used these early trails, and we know that some of them were Ute and Arapaho groups. Compared to the Ute, the Arapaho were relatively new to the region, having migrated from the upper Great Plains. But of the two groups, the Arapaho and their relationship to the RMNP area have been better documented. A 1914 naming expedition brought two Arapaho elders from their reservation in Wyoming back for a trek through the Rocky Mountain National Park area. Moving over the landscape, the elders recalled their experiences there in the mid-nineteenth century. They identified, named and described six major trails.

¹² Robert H. Brunswig and Thomas Lux, "Archeological Investigations of Native American Trails in Rocky Mountain National Park, Colorado," Greeley: University of Northern Colorado, 2003, 10.

¹³ Oliver W. Toll, *Arapaho Names & Trails: A Report of a 1914 Pack Trip* (Rocky Mountain Nature Association, 2003), 31.

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Unfortunately, the presence of other prehistoric trails is less understood:

Although many other trails currently or recently in use, in addition to those identified by the 1914 Arapaho visit, may also be prehistoric in origin, historical information for their existence is generally lacking or they have been extensively modified by the Park Service for modern use, making identification and association for specific trail with past Native Americans sometimes difficult to determine.¹⁴

As Native Americans were forced to move to reservations, more Euro-American trappers, hunters and homesteaders ventured into the area. The Divide remained insurmountable for horse-drawn wagons for decades, although people on foot or horseback crossed back and forth, commonly using the same corridors that Native Americans had used.

The region's popularity increased, and tourists utilized some of the transportation trails for their own pleasure. In particular, the cross-Divide trails served both practical and recreational demands: they connected Estes Park and Grand Lake and guided the traveler through dramatic scenery.

In the early twentieth century, the advent of automobile travel diminished the significance of transportation trails. Soon, roads successfully brought cars over the Divide. A journey that once required one full day or more was reduced to a matter of hours. While some hikers and horseback riders might arguably use the park's trails to achieve travel today, it is rarely because they don't have the option to use a vehicle on Trail Ridge Road.

V. NPS Naturalistic Design in the Construction of Trails in RMNP, 1920-1945

In January of 1917, Enos Mills—the introductory speaker at the National Parks Conference in Washington, D.C.—stood up in front of officials from the Department of the Interior, members of Congress, and various influential

¹⁴ See Toll; Brunswig and Lux, 41.

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specialists. Among these notables, Mills could claim some fame of his own. Considered the individual most responsible for the creation of Rocky Mountain National Park in 1915, Enos Mills had earned a national reputation as a naturalist. But this day, Mills did not just talk about nature. He told his audience that parks should be prepared for all visitors and, in this service, should build structures that were attractive and fit harmoniously into the environment.¹⁵

In these comments, Mills exhibited the budding design theory that would influence national parks for more than two decades. The approach emerged from contemporary, mainstream landscape design and emphasized simplicity and harmony with nature. "NPS Rustic Architecture" embodies this philosophy, and it is the fifth area of context in the 1987 "Multiple Resource Nomination for Rocky Mountain National Park."

As the 1987 document explains, Stephen T. Mather, the first director of the National Park Service and his assistant, Horace Albright, collaborated to develop an appropriate architectural style for the new system of parks. The 1918 National Park Service "Statement of Policy" reflects their ideas:

In the construction of roads, trails, buildings, and other improvements, particular attention must be devoted always to the harmonizing of these improvements with the landscape...All improvements will be carried out in accordance with a preconceived plan developed in special reference to the preservation of the landscape...¹⁶

This particular style could be manifest not only in Rustic Architecture—buildings—but also in non-architectural features like roads and trails. Linda Flint McClelland uses the term "Naturalistic Design" to incorporate all of the structures that reflect Mather and Albright's vision. In "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks Multiple Property Listing,"

¹⁵ National Park Service, *Proceedings of the National Parks Conference*, 39. Paraphrased in Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 130-131.

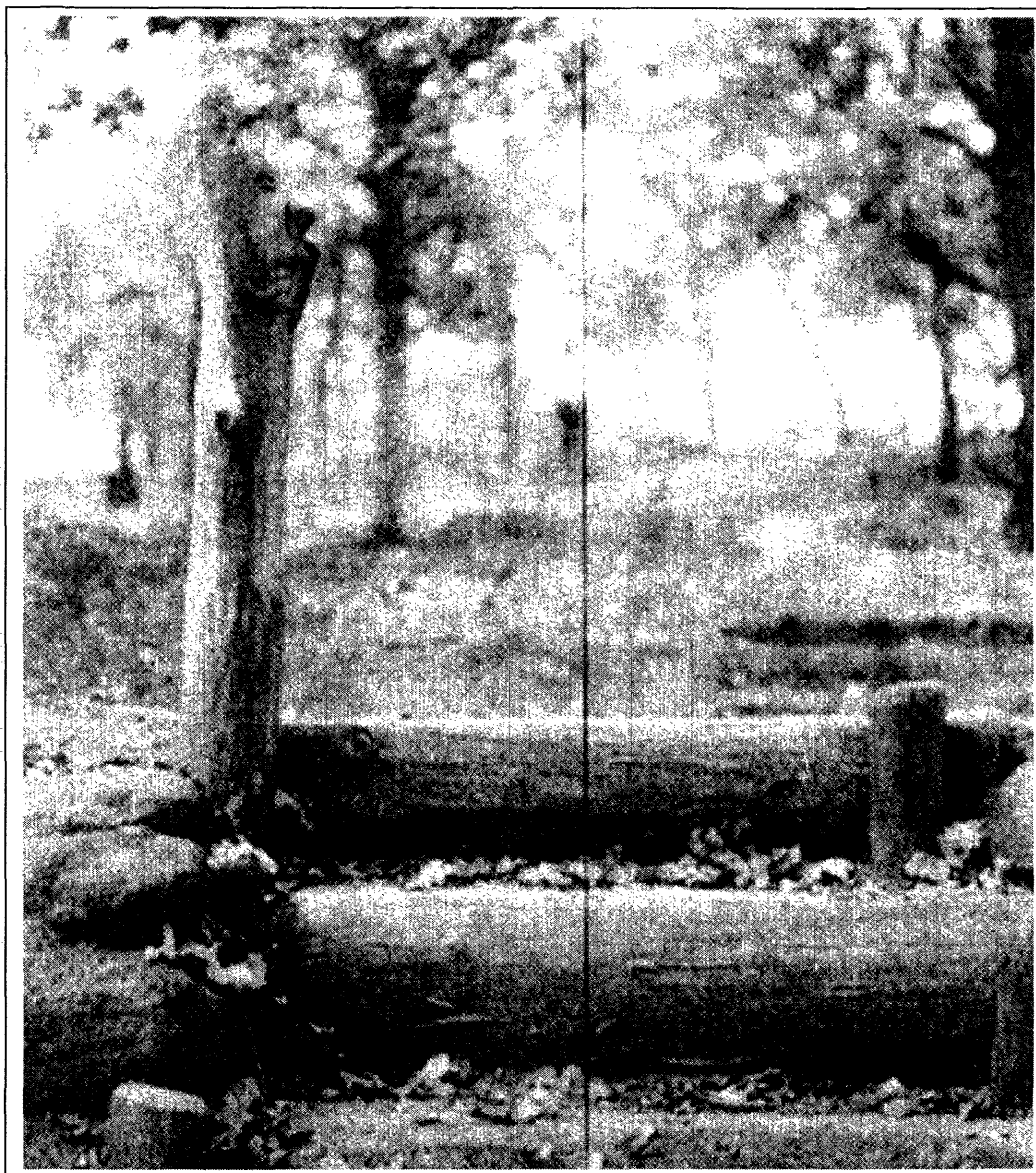
¹⁶ William C. Tweed, et al., *National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942*, (San Francisco: National Park Service, Western Regional Office, 1935), 3-4. Quoted in "Multiple Resource Nomination for Rocky Mountain National Park," 34.

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Log Trail Stairs- Image found in Albert
H. Good, *Patterns from the Golden
Age of Rustic Design, Park and
Recreation Structures from the 1930s.*

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McClelland extensively describes the unifying characteristics of Rustic Architecture and non-architectural features:

...this naturalistic ethic of design called for the preservation of natural features; the enhancement and presentation of scenic views, natural vegetation, streams, and rock outcroppings; and the use of native materials for construction and for naturalistic plantings...and situated manmade elements in harmony with the natural topography and surroundings.¹⁷

Even though RMNP's 1987 form uses only "Rustic Architecture" to describe its fifth historical theme, "Naturalistic Design" clearly expands upon the same concept—and allows trails to be integrated into the theme.

The simplicity of trail building lent itself to Naturalistic Design. A primary use of park trails during this time period was to visit nature, both during the trail trip and at the trail's destination. In the backcountry, users perceived their path as the only human evidence around them. A style described to give "the feeling of having been executed by pioneer craftsmen with limited hand tools" came easily to trails built in remote areas with only shovels, picks and axes.¹⁸

There was a subtle transition, however, between trails that were built with rough simplicity and trails that were conscientiously built to Naturalistic Design standards—the latter being built to last while promoting a blend with the natural setting.

In the 1920s and 30s, the presence of professional landscape architects (sometimes known as "landscape engineers" in the twenties) and civil engineers increased in the parks. Typically, engineers wanted trails to be functional while landscape architects were concerned with their aesthetic quality.

Functional trails were meant to be safe and sturdy. This indicated gentle grades, sufficiently wide pathways for stock, and dry rock walls to reinforce the tread.

¹⁷McClelland, "Historic Park Landscapes," 1995, 3.

¹⁸Tweed, 26.

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Some trail builders, particularly in the low mountains of the northeast U.S., abandoned gentle grade and ascended with a “vertical vision.” The Appalachian Mountain Club—an active hiking group similar to the Colorado Mountain Club—preferred to build steep trails and long stairways that went straight up. But among the expansive western mountains, the terrain already provided travelers and mountain enthusiasts with plenty of challenge. Well-planned historic western trails characteristically made the route easier with lower grades and pathways cleared of obstructions.¹⁹

Meanwhile, the aesthetic aspect of trail design purposefully blended with and called attention to the natural environment. Trails contoured to the shape of the land, and incorporated native rock and wood into drainage features. Trail planners also made a point of guiding visitors past remarkable vistas. These planners essentially scripted the trail experience, shaping how visitors saw—and see today—the national park around them.

Both functional and aesthetic trail traits are consistent with Naturalistic Design. In 1934, the National Park Service’s Office of the Chief Engineer published “Standards For Trail Construction.” A fold-up guide meant to be brought into the field, “Standards” concisely described the expectations for national park trails. The guide highlighted technical details for grade, trail width, drainage features, and switchbacks. However, it also encouraged workers to minimize the impact of construction upon the scenery and reminded workers that plans would have to be approved by the Branch of Plans and Design (a.k.a. the NPS landscape architects) before construction.²⁰

“Standards” codified in 1934 what was already routine for park trail crews. The guide spelled out techniques, possibly anticipating the coming flood of largely unskilled but able-bodied workers. In the Great Depression years of the mid and late 1930s, federal New Deal-era programs provided a surge of work crews and funding to national parks. The Emergency Conservation Work agency offered

¹⁹ Robert C. Birkby, *Lightly on the Land: The SCA Trail-building and Maintenance Manual* (Seattle: The Mountaineers, 1996), 12-15.

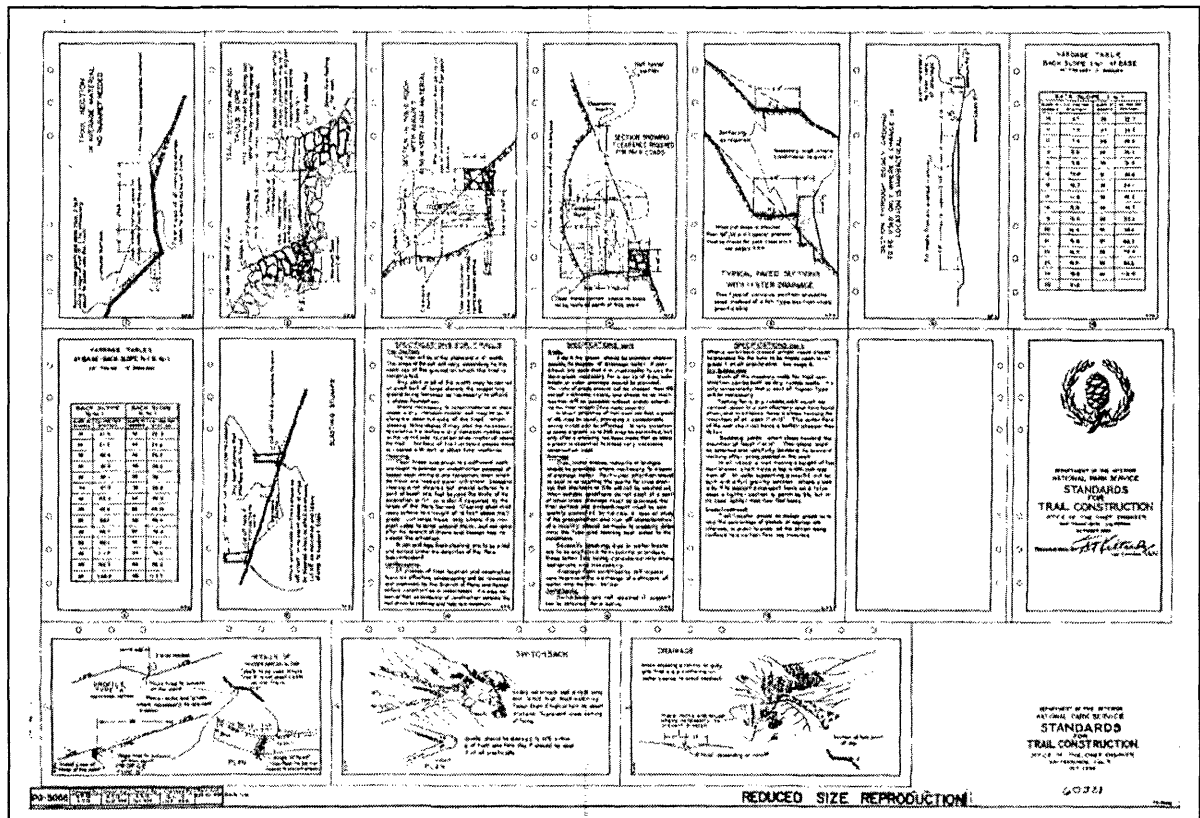
²⁰ Department of the Interior, National Park Service, “Standards For Trail Construction,” Office of the Chief Engineer, San Francisco, California, October, 1934.

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Standards For Trail Construction, 1934
Courtesy of National Park Service Technical Information Center
Denver, Colorado

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manpower in the form of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Typically young and from poor families, CCC members worked hard for modest pay. The crews helped develop park infrastructure, including trails. Meanwhile, the Public Works Administration (PWA) funded a swell of physical improvements in public places like schools, post offices, and national parks. Park trails received a sizeable share of these monies. With the sheer volume of their numbers and attention to hand work, the men employed by New Deal-era programs perpetuated and expanded Naturalistic Design in trail networks, even as their own skills developed. Today, examples of their work testify to the sustainability of Naturalistic Design in national parks.

Naturalistic Trail Design at Rocky Mountain National Park

In 1915, the spottily managed collection of trails became the responsibility of Rocky Mountain National Park. The young park did not immediately have the resources to perform much more than minimal maintenance on the most popular routes. But on the national level, ideas were beginning to stir about how park landscapes should look, and this would eventually trickle down to influence trails at RMNP.

In the 1920s, the trails network was held to a higher standard. New factors—a growing park budget, a superintendent with a passion to make the park accessible, and committed rangers—combined to pump energy and resources into trail work. For most of the decade, experienced rangers directed the trail crews. Meanwhile, “landscape engineers”—trained in the developing notion of Rustic Architecture and Naturalistic Design—began to design high profile buildings like entrance stations and residences. Although trails received little if any attention from the “experts,” it was understood that the overall expectation for landscape projects had been refined.

In 1929, a landscape architect first tried his hand at trails in Rocky Mountain National Park. Allison van V. Dunn, recently arrived from the Western Field Office in San Francisco, replaced the long-time rangers in their role of overseeing trail

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work.²¹ His presence ushered in a new era of trail planning and documentation.

The 1930s brought more professionalism and regimentation to trail projects. Trail planners responded to the surge of resources and able-bodied workers made available by New Deal programs. Documentation of trail projects bloomed—and the drawings reflected the criteria set forth in the 1934 “Standards For Trail Construction.”

During these boom years for NPS trails, RMNP distinguished itself with a comparatively minimalist style. The period brought striking, relatively elaborate—yet still naturalistic—structures to many national parks’ trails. In other big western parks like Glacier and Yellowstone, flagstone terraces and blasted tunnels complemented grand landforms like boulders and cliffs. In the resulting effect, these structures commanded extra attention from visitors yet still harmonized with the scale and form of nearby topography.²² In contrast, RMNP’s trails retained a naturalistic subtlety; construction methods rarely called attention to themselves. Steady grades and unembellished viewpoints trained the visitor’s gaze upon the scenery, not the trails.

Significantly, NPS staff or CCC workers typically planned, performed or supervised trail work, even as outside contractors constructed roads, buildings and other park structures. In consequence, trail construction was informed by local knowledge and skills—and still is today.²³

The nationally developed Naturalistic Design was not the only influence upon trail construction; trail workers, themselves, brought a particular touch. Between 1920 and 1945, the culture of trail building ripened, effecting the quality of the construction. Working trails involved intense labor, rugged backcountry living conditions, and constant interaction with other members of the crew for an entire summer season. This combination proved quite attractive to particular

²¹ Edward J. Ramaley manuscript, Edward J. Ramaley collection, RMNP archive, (193-?); *Estes Park Trail*, July 5, 1929 (Vol. IX no. 12), Second Section, 3.

²² Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 233-242.

²³ *Ibid.*

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individuals; in fact, at one point volunteers comprised the bulk of the park's crew, even while road construction was needy for paid labor.²⁴ Crewmembers, invariably male but ranging from college-aged to middle-aged, worked and relaxed together. As one man who built trails in 1929 and 1930 commented, "...individual personalities had a great influence upon what was accomplished, and the story of the construction is of people as much as things."²⁵ Although trails conformed to standards, their nuances represented the efforts of distinct, though usually anonymous, trail crews.

The boom of the New Deal era brought national park infrastructure to new heights, only to be overshadowed by World War II in the early 1940s. Funding and manpower suddenly had a more urgent function. Resources drained from the parks, establishing a pattern of neglect that continued into the 1950s. However, the parks' postwar popularity drew attention to the increasingly inadequate facilities.

In response, Congress launched "Mission 66," a construction program meant to make the parks comfortable and accessible to the mounting numbers of visitors. Planned to take place between 1956 and 1966, the program was oriented toward the future. Mission 66 construction utilized modern, unornamented forms and synthetic materials. Despite the departure from the crude forms and materials of Rustic Architecture/Naturalistic Design, the new structures still used colors and textures that blended with the natural setting.

Most Mission 66 developments affected front country roads, visitor centers, restrooms and other high profile areas. Like other frequently used facilities, some pathways near parking lots received a coat of asphalt to make them more accessible. And during an era of emerging sensitivity to ecological resources, paved trails helped reduce human impact upon vulnerable but high use areas. However, backcountry remoteness seems to have insulated most trails from this kind of development. Thus, even as the park received more funding during the

²⁴ Roger Toll, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, mid-1920s.

²⁵ Edward Ramaley, "Construction on the North Inlet Trail," 3. Ramaley manuscript, RMNP archive.

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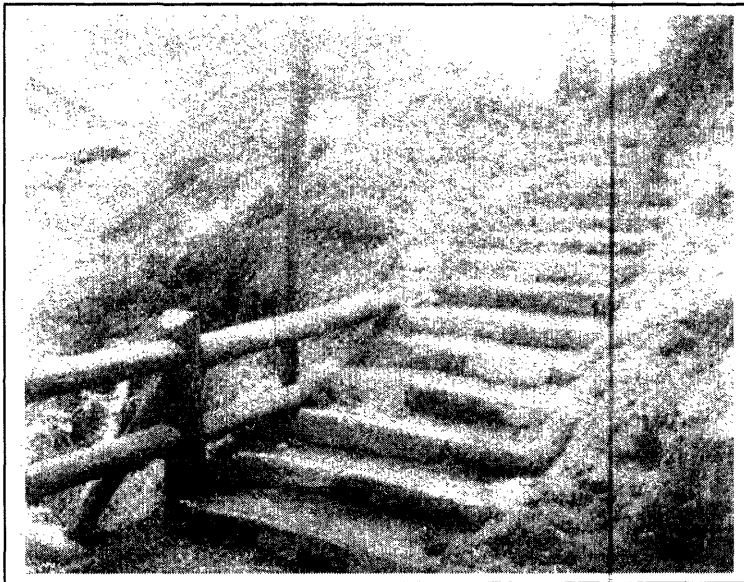
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Mission 66 era, trails remained relatively primitive—in keeping with their naturalistic background.

Indeed, trail techniques at Rocky Mountain National Park have changed little since the 1940s. The unsophisticated but carefully planned style of Naturalistic Design proved serviceable through the remainder of the twentieth century, and still does today. Shovels, picks and saws remain essential tools. Even now, most equipment and supplies are hauled on the backs of mules, horses and workers. Native stone is still used to repair old walls and build new ones. Workers depend upon experience, skills, and muscles to get things done. Certainly, crews wear modern NPS uniforms and take advantage of some modern devices and materials. However, they continue to regard their predecessors' work with professional respect and admiration.



Stone Trail Stairs-
Image found in Albert H.
Good, *Patterns from the
Golden Age of Rustic
Design, Park and
Recreation Structures
from the 1930s.*

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F. ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Property Type: Trails

Description: It is impossible to identify the first trails that wound through the Rocky Mountain National Park region. Most likely, rudimentary trails criss-crossed the region centuries before European explorers arrived to notice. These trails emerged under paws, hooves and human feet. They required only repeated use to reinforce their presence; unused trails faded into oblivion. Useful trails were used over and over, and typically provided the path of least resistance.

Sometimes, the path of least resistance followed a ridgeline, drainage, or mountain pass. In these cases, the trail existed as a "corridor" and represented a continuous swath of turf rather than a narrow, demarcated line in the ground. Most travelers—animals, Native Americans, or later, settlers and tourists—used these corridors to move from one place to another. For example, the most accessible routes over the Continental Divide saw heavy traffic: if a person chose the appropriate route, he or she could cross the Divide in under one day.

The first conscientious trail construction began in the late nineteenth century. Mountaineers and tourists ventured through the area frequently enough to create a demand for reliable trails. Guides, lodge owners and business people in the Estes Park and Grand Lake areas wanted to meet the needs of their clientele. Unlike the earlier trail users, this new clientele did not want to simply get from one place to another; they wanted to enjoy the experience of travel. Trails that served tourists led to pretty destinations and good fishing holes. Some trails led visitors to other lodges, campgrounds, or on a pleasure excursion over the Continental Divide. These early tourists traveled both on foot or horseback, and sometimes retained the leadership of a local guide.

Documentation of these late nineteenth and early twentieth century tourist trails is spotty. Maps and newspaper articles indicate when and where a trail was built. However, these old records rarely describe methods, materials, or the identity of the workers. Officially, the U.S. Forest Service managed most of the local scenic

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areas, and even took responsibility for some trail construction. However, no one group or agency systematically coordinated the whole trail network.

Significantly, trail builders of this early resort period established many of the park's popular modern trails. Tourists of today see much of the same natural landscape that their counterparts 100 years ago saw. But while some of these early alignments are still intact, the construction methods have not proved to be as durable.

After Rocky Mountain National Park was founded in 1915, the park maintained and improved trails to a distinctively new standard. "NPS Naturalistic Design" dominated landscape planning in national parks through the 1920s, 30s, and 40s. This style stipulated that buildings and structures be constructed of native materials and appear to blend in with the natural environment.

Through this period, professional engineers and landscape architects increasingly took responsibility for trail planning. There was now a subtle transition from trails that were built with rough simplicity to trails that were purposefully built to Naturalistic Design—the latter being built to last while maintaining a harmonious relationship with the natural setting. As a result, both the structural soundness and the aesthetic quality of trails at RMNP became more pronounced.

Available manpower facilitated the implementation of Naturalistic Design in the park trails. A growing budget in the 1920s made trail crews and extensive trail work possible. In the 1930s, depression-era federal aid programs brought even more labor to the park: Civilian Conservation Corps crews camped and worked in RMNP for nearly a decade, and spent much of their time maintaining and improving trails.

After World War II, the widespread use of Naturalistic Design in parks would eventually be replaced by "Mission 66," a forward-looking style that emphasized modern, unornamented forms and synthetic materials. The program also aimed to dramatically improve comfort and accessibility for visitors. Trails, however, do

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not generally reflect this shift; only front country trails, like pathways near roads and parking lots, received a coat of asphalt to make them more durable and easy to use. For the most part, it has remained practical to apply the style of Naturalistic Design to backcountry trails.

Significance: Trails in Rocky Mountain National Park may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A for their association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad historical patterns of the country, the state, or the region. These properties may be significant in the fields of Entertainment/ Recreation, Politics/Government, and Transportation. Trails associated with the area of entertainment and recreation were developed and used during the early resort era around Estes Park and Grand Lake. Many of these trails facilitated recreation and showcased natural beauty, promoting the area's popularity among visitors. Sometimes, trails earned individualized reputations based on distinctive natural features, a challenging route or memorable scenery. Trails connected to the area of politics and government owe their significance to the sustainable construction of 1930s federal relief programs. Construction funded by the Public Works Administration, worked on by the Civilian Conservation Corps—or both—typifies many of RMNP's older trails. Still other trails may be significant in the area of transportation; some routes have been traveled for literally thousands of years, facilitating a connection between the eastern and western sides of the Continental Divide.

A trail may be eligible under Criterion C as a structure demonstrating NPS Naturalistic Design, in the area of landscape architecture. This historic design connects Rocky Mountain National Park to a widespread landscaping trend in the Park Service. Trails within RMNP express a distinctly subtle interpretation of this design style.

Registration Requirements: Integrity of location rests in a trail's alignment. For most trails, the starting and ending points remain unchanged, but the exact route between these points has shifted. Some realignments are small, and affect only several hundred feet of trail. Other realignments can change miles of a trail and alter its character. If the change was made during the period of significance, the

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shift can be considered part of the historic construction. If the alignment was shifted after the period of significance, it can detract from a trail's integrity. To be eligible for the National Register under Criterion A or C, the trail should have a majority of its historic alignment.

Specific requirements under Criterion A:

1. Early Resort-era Trails, Rocky Mountain National Park:

Between the early 1870s and 1945, trails developed to serve the burgeoning resort industry around Estes Park and Grand Lake. In order to qualify for the National Register, in the area of Entertainment/Recreation, these trails must have been used by tourists on foot and/or horseback. The trail must possess its historical landscape, i.e., features that early tourists would have experienced: landforms (e.g., waterfalls, distinctive rocks, or precipitous inclines), views, and destination(s). In some cases, these features earned mention in historical accounts by trail users. Maps, photos and texts can confirm the consistent appearance of trails.

Associated features:

Elevation Markers: These typically round metallic features were often installed at ground level between the early 1870s and 1945. They reflect the presence of science- and research-oriented visitors, recording who was there, the elevation of the spot, and the date. Early survey parties were associated with the U.S. Forest Service, U.S. Geological Society, Colorado Agricultural College (now Colorado State University in Fort Collins), the Bureau of Public Roads, and the National Park Service. The markers were meant to be seen by early tourists. They do not detract from a trail's integrity.

Telephone Pole Stumps: Though rarely visible from a trail, these stumps are remnants of an era when above-ground telephone lines connected remote parts of the park—with the safety of visitors in mind. The stumps suggest the early

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resort era but, being chopped almost to ground level, they retain little integrity of their own.

2. Prehistoric and Historic Transportation:

In order to qualify for listing on the National Register under Criterion A, in the area of Transportation, trails must have been used by prehistoric or historic peoples to move to destinations of economic, ceremonial or social significance. Travel is a nearly universal need, and the period of significance is broad—from the Archaic Age (six to seven thousand years ago) until the end of the early resort era in 1945. These trails can be described as corridors, rather than strict pathways marked and worn into the ground. The routes are logical, easy and relatively quick; they are not laid out for scenic or recreational purposes. Such trails should have some time depth with demonstrated repeated use.

Associated features:

Rock Cairns: These conical mounds of native rock marked the trail. Cairns could be a vital guide above timberline, where other natural markers were scarce and storms could create a disorienting whiteout. Cairns are sometimes historic and sometimes less than 50 years old; the tradition of erecting cairns dates from prehistory up until modern times. Because they are such simplistic structures, it is difficult to accurately date many cairns.²⁶

3. The New Deal and the Civilian Conservation Corps

In order to qualify for listing on the National Register under Criterion A, in the area of Politics and Government, trails must have been built or significantly improved with funding and/or labor provided by New Deal programs. Some RMNP trails were the recipients of either Public Works Administration funding, Civilian Conservation Corps labor, or both. Very sustainable trails resulted; the grade, alignment, and rock walls reflect modern trail work. Often, trail projects were documented by contemporary, one-page NPS plans that mentioned which

²⁶ For more information on cairns, see Brunswig, Robert H., and Thomas Lux, "Archeological Investigations of Native American Trails in Rocky Mountain National Park, Colorado," Greeley: University of Northern Colorado, 2003, 10.

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CCC crews were supposed to complete the job (these documents are often available at Denver's Technical Information Center). Completed PWA and CCC projects were often recorded in the superintendent's monthly and annual reports.



Stone Wall along North Inlet Trail
Courtesy of Rocky Mountain National Park
Taken by Edward Ramalay, 1929-1930

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Specific requirements under Criterion C:

1. Association with NPS Naturalistic Design, 1920-1945:

In order to qualify for the National Register, a trail must have been built under the developing influence of NPS Naturalistic Design. As with trails that qualify in other areas, these trails must retain their historic destination. For this style, alterations to built trail features are to be expected and can be consistent with a trail's integrity. Trails are inherently ephemeral structures. Builders anticipate the materials—wood, dirt and rocks—will not keep their form indefinitely. At Rocky Mountain National Park, wooden structures experience the “freeze-thaw” effect: in the summer, water seeps into pores and cracks; in the winter, this water freezes and expands, pressuring the wood from the inside. Trail tread can be protected from erosion, but some dirt will usually wash away. And rocks, though relatively stable components of a trail's design, can shift and settle. Therefore, much of the RMNP trail network does not possess original materials. However, maintenance techniques have changed little since the historic period and are frequently consistent with Naturalistic Design. Integrity, therefore, rests largely with the use of maintenance methods and materials that have steadily mirrored Naturalistic Design between 1945 and today.

Naturalistic Design should be evident in a trail's design, materials, and workmanship. The 1934 NPS “Standards For Trail Construction” most concisely describes these three elements. In 15 pages, this document uses drawings, tables and text to demonstrate expectations. “Standards”—designed to apply to trails in all national parks—provides a model that can accommodate a variety of topography. A trail's design should be observed in person and, when possible, compared to old photos and original drawings. Some of RMNP's trail drawings are stored at the Technical Information Center in Denver.

Grade is an essential aspect of Naturalistic Design. The park has abrupt changes in elevation, but “Standards” dictates that grade should not be steeper than 15% except where it cannot be avoided. Not only should the grade be low, it should be

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fluctuating if possible. The use of fluctuating grade—"in order to avoid all strain being confined to a certain few leg muscles"—most closely adheres to the ideals of Naturalistic Design.²⁷ Switchbacks should be minimally used; their zigzag pattern clashes with the natural lines of the scenery and can encourage "cross cutting" at turns by travelers, promoting erosion. A wide, curving trail is most desirable. However, some inclines are too steep and/or narrow to cross without switchbacks. In these cases, the trail should become level at the turns. Width should be between 1.5 and 4 feet, as it appropriately accommodates foot traffic or stock animals. Width may vary in places, but in order to adhere to "Standards" should not exceed 4 feet for extended stretches of trail.

Materials have changed since the era of Naturalistic Design. For example, non-native dirt and chemically-treated wood often comprise the tread and erosion features in modern trails, while trails from the historic period likely used dirt and wood taken from the immediate surroundings. To ameliorate the discretion, non-native materials should look like they are native. For example, logs should reflect the trunk dimensions of nearby trees.

In Naturalistic Design, integrity of workmanship poses an ironic twist: structures appear primitive, yet actually reflect skill and experience. Historically, crews depended upon basic hand tools for most of their work. Like today, everything had to be carried in on the backs of mules or men. Therefore, transportable tools—shovels, rock bars, picks and saws—performed most of the work. The simplicity of these tools helped define the outcome: trails were usually plain, but built to last. Significantly, trail workers of the historic period sometimes had access to a gas-powered air compressor to power jackhammers; they

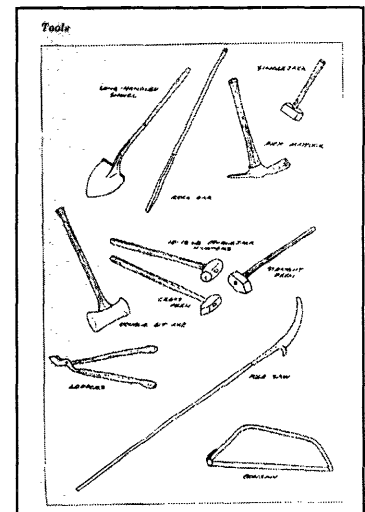


Image found in Stephen S. Griswold, *A Handbook on Trail Building and Maintenance, For National, State, and Local Natural Resource Managing Agencies*. 1996

²⁷ "Standards," 15.

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also used explosives. Correspondingly, trail integrity is not compromised by the use of modern mechanization as long as the construction is not dominated by these methods.



Image courtesy of Rocky Mountain National Park
Circa 1910s

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Associated features:

Trail Steps: Water bars made from log or stone can mimic the "trail steps" of the 1930s. Although the contemporary ideal asked that these steps rise 6 inches or less, trail steps of the period frequently broke this rule. It is therefore consistent with Naturalistic Design for trail steps to rise more than 6 inches. Log or stone drainage features may sometimes mimic trail steps.²⁸

Rock Walls: Dry rock walls may be a mixture of original and added stones. These walls can range in height and length; some may only be 2 rocks high, others may be 20 rocks high. Mortared walls were not typically constructed during the historic period, and do not contribute to a trail's eligibility. Older stone walls can sometimes be identified by their heavy lichens and the appearance of having sunk into the surrounding earth. This does not indicate that newer stone walls, built in the historic style, detract from the integrity of the trail.

Bogwalks/Elevated Causeways: Modern bogwalks (a.k.a. elevated causeways) provide a striking trail feature. They typically pass through terrain characterized by thick forests, downed logs, overgrown vegetation, and boggy ground; in contrast, the trail is high, dry, firm, and pale as it winds through the dark woods. The tread, composed of fill dirt, usually carries travelers several inches above the surrounding surface. The bogwalk should be flanked with logs or stones that appear to have come from the local environment. Many of the logs that line the tread have partially decomposed into the lush surroundings, adding to the perception that the trail merges with the scenery and corresponding with the aesthetic element of Naturalistic Design. "Standards," however, recommends avoiding marshy areas; yet if a trail has historically implemented bogwalks, they do not lessen the integrity of the trail.

²⁸ For more on trail steps, see Albert H. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures, Part I-Administration and Basic Service Facilities* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1938), 161-168.

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Wooden Stock Bridges: These bridges have a life span of about 30 years at Rocky Mountain National Park. Consequently, there are no known bridges that date to the historic period. Wooden bridges must reflect historical design to ensure that they do not detract from a trail's integrity. Original designs were sometimes documented, and may be available through the Technical Information Center archives of the National Park Service.

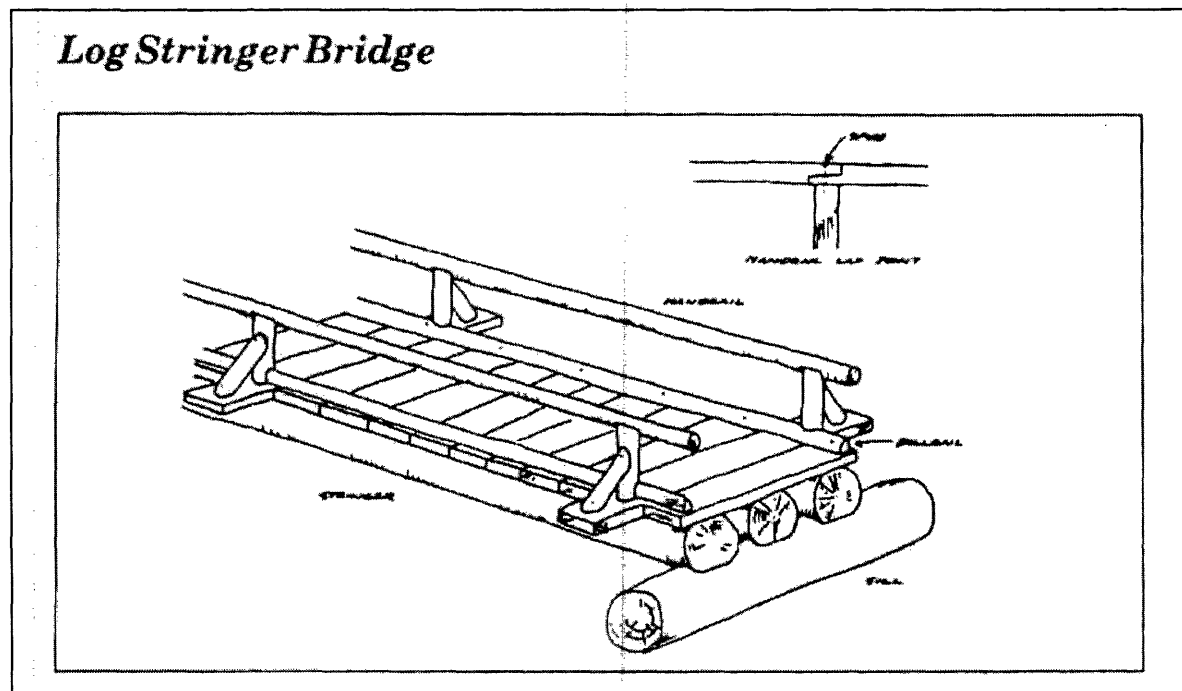


Image found in Albert H. Good,
*Patterns from the Golden Age of
Rustic Design, Park and
Recreation Structures from the
1930s.*

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Wooden Footbridges: As of yet, there is no evidence that the wooden foot bridge/stock ford combination that is common on park trails is a Naturalistic Design feature used during the historic period. However, these basic, casual bridges are compatible with Naturalistic Design, and do not detract from a trail's integrity. They are frequently repaired and replaced due to wear and tear.

Patrol Cabins and Shelters: Previous park surveys have already documented many of these buildings for their association with Rustic architecture. If they have been determined eligible in the area of Rustic architecture and were along the trail during the historic period, than they contribute to the trail's significance. For a partial list of these buildings, see the 1987 "Multiple Resource Nomination for Rocky Mountain National Park." Some buildings have been nominated since 1987.



Signs: Signs that adhered to Naturalistic Design were typically made of wood and/or stone. At RMNP, all signs have probably deteriorated or have been removed to make way for newer signs. Due to wilderness policy, signs in the backcountry can only contain directional information and they are replaced frequently. Modern signs will not detract from a trail's integrity if they are wooden and relatively simplistic. The use of paint, carving, milled lumber, and logs are consistent with Naturalistic Design.

Image found in Albert H. Good, *Patterns from the Golden Age of Rustic Design, Park and Recreation Structures from the 1930s*.

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H. SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

The RMNP Trails Amendment is meant to augment the 1987 "Multiple Resource Nomination for Rocky Mountain National Park." Although the 1987 document provides the overarching historical context for the park, it does not deal with trails. This amendment picks up where the 1987 document leaves off.

This amendment connects with a second document: Linda Flint McClelland's "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks Multiple Property Listing." The massive 1995 listing addresses landscape features in parks across the country, providing guidance for the material set forth here. McClelland's document focuses upon landscape architecture, providing context that bolsters trails' eligibility for nomination under Criterion C. The RMNP Trails Amendment fleshes out details pertaining to this particular park and speaks to eligibility standards under both Criteria A and C.

A list of approximately twenty potentially eligible trails was generated by the park's trail staff, and trails were researched in the summer, autumn, and winter of 2003. The research process started with a brief investigation into each trail's background. William Ramaley's unpublished manuscript "Trails and Trail Builders" proved invaluable in summarizing individual trail histories. Next, modern maps were compared to historic maps to determine whether trail alignments had shifted, and if so, how much. With a refined list of fifteen trails, the survey was initiated. Trails were hiked and recorded with field notes and black and white photographs. Additional research drew upon five significant sources: the superintendent's monthly and annual reports, the *Estes Park Trail*, historic photographs, historic trail plans, and a trail worker's diary. These sources are stored in RMNP's library, RMNP's archives, the Estes Park Library, and the National Park Service Technical Information Center in Denver.

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Fire Lookout, Shadow Mountain, Rocky Mountain National Park

Both images found in
Albert H. Good,
*Patterns from the
Golden Age of Rustic
Design, Park and
Recreation Structures
from the 1930s.*

