1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps Camp

Other Name/Site Number: Red Rocks Park-Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps District-Morrison Park District (5JF.442). Red Rocks Amphitheatre; Garden of the Angels; Garden of the Titans Park; CCC Camp SP-13; CCC Camp MA-1.

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 16351 County Road 93 Not for publication:

City/Town: Morrison Vicinity:

State: Colorado County: Jefferson Code: 059 Zip Code: 80465

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:	___	Building(s):	___
Public-Local:	X	District:	X
Public-State:	___	Site:	___
Public-Federal:	___	Structure:	___
		Object:	___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
18	7	buildings
5	1	sites
16	15	structures
0	3	objects
39	26	Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 27

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: Denver Mountain Park System MPS; Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks MPS

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	RECREATION AND CULTURE	Sub:	outdoor recreation, music facility
	LANDSCAPE		park
	DOMESTIC		institutional housing
Current:	RECREATION AND CULTURE	Sub:	outdoor recreation, music facility
	LANDSCAPE		park
	DOMESTIC		institutional housing

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION:
OTHER: 20th century naturalistic landscape movement
OTHER: Rustic
MODERN MOVEMENT
LATE 19TH & EARLY 20TH CENTURY REVIVALS: Pueblo Revival
OTHER: Vernacular

MATERIALS:

Foundation:	Concrete
Walls:	Stone, wood, stucco
Roof:	Asphalt
Other:	Concrete, stucco

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

INTRODUCTION

The Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) Camp is a stellar example of Federal and local government collaborative planning carried out with the manpower of the CCC, which developed public landscapes and advanced outdoor recreation from the mid-1930s until the CCC program ended in 1942. Red Rocks Amphitheatre is also nationally significant for its cultural value as a world-renowned concert venue, distinguished by its magnificent setting and natural acoustics. Located immediately northwest of the town of Morrison and seventeen miles southwest of downtown Denver, the 649-acre park contains the internationally renowned Red Rocks Amphitheatre and the 19-acre Mount Morrison CCC Camp. The governmental collaboration for this massive undertaking, which involved National Park Service (NPS), CCC, and City and County of Denver architects and designers, is superbly represented in Red Rocks Park's naturalistic landscape, which serves as a spectacular and harmonious setting for the monumental Red Rocks Amphitheatre.[1]

During the Great Depression, work relief programs created by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal shaped a very distinct and expansive public landscape, largely influenced by President Roosevelt's conservation ethics and creation of the CCC, NPS naturalistic planning principles, and an increased interest in recreation. These factors came together when the NPS and the CCC collaborated to design and develop America's parks. The conservation and recreation projects of the CCC in state and metropolitan parks institutionalized NPS design principles nationwide and, as historian Linda Flint McClelland explains, these parks remain physical reminders of the "broad social philosophy of the New Deal."[2] This philosophy materialized in a monumental way at Red Rocks Park when the young men put to work by Roosevelt's CCC, under supervision of the NPS, arrived to help the City and County of Denver enhance its mountain parks.

Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison CCC Camp is nationally significant under the themes Developing the American Economy, in the area of governmental policies and practices, and Expressing Cultural Values, in the area of architecture and landscape architecture. It is has also been evaluated as nationally significant under the "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks MPS" for its outstanding illustration of New Deal-era policy and practice concerning twentieth century park design.[3] The entire historic district meets NHL criterion 1 for its association with the CCC, one of the most popular New Deal programs. Red Rocks Park additionally meets NHL criterion 4 for its embodiment of CCC-era workmanship and collaborative design by landscape architects, architects, and engineers that was overseen by the NPS.

The collaboration between the CCC and the NPS was one of the most prominent collaborations in the history of American parks. At Red Rocks, this collaboration occurred during a time when the CCC program also partnered with local governments to improve state and city parks. The presence of both Federal and local influences is marked on the landscape, and is particularly evident in the design of Red Rocks Amphitheatre, the largest built resource in the naturalistic mountain park. Furthermore, the nearly intact CCC camp that housed the enrollees who developed the park and built the amphitheater, concretely illustrates the connection between this superlative landscape and its New Deal context.[4]

---

[1] The spelling "amphitheatre" has been used throughout, reflecting the official name "Red Rocks Amphitheatre."

[2] Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 7-8.

[3] Linda Flint McClelland, "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks MPS," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (8 August 1995).

[4] Ethan Carr, Linda Jewell, and Tina Bishop, "Responding to Rocks, Ridges, and Rills: Origins, Significance, and Ongoing Influence of CCC-era Landscape Architecture," http://www.asla.org/uploadedFiles/CMS/Meetings_and_Events/2012_Annual_Meeting_Handouts/MON-D8%20Responding%20to%20Rocks,%20Ridges%20and%20Rills%20Origins,%20and%20Influence%20of%20CCC-Era%20Landscapes.pdf (lecture, American Society of Landscape Architects, Phoenix, AZ, October 1,

Of the thousands of public parks developed during the New Deal era, many remain the anchors of their local park system. Today, Red Rocks Park is considered the "jewel" of the Denver Mountain Parks system. The park's defining project was the construction of Red Rocks Amphitheatre, which required the integration of a massive stone masonry and concrete outdoor amphitheatre into lofty sandstone peaks. Red Rocks Amphitheatre, designed by Denver architect Burnham Hoyt, was one of the most ambitious projects undertaken by the CCC in its short history in terms of size and scale. The adjoining Mount Morrison CCC Camp remains one of the most intact CCC camps in the nation in terms of extant buildings. The district, with its distinctive amphitheatre and adjacent work camp, remains one of the most complete and outstanding examples of the pairing of landscape architectural and architectural design produced by a New Deal work-relief agency during the 1930s.

Red Rocks Amphitheatre is also nationally significant under the theme Expressing Cultural Values in the area of visual and performing arts. It meets NHL criterion 1 for its status as one of America's best known performing arts venues. Throughout its history and continuing today, the amphitheatre is famous for its natural acoustics, design, and setting that create a sublime experience for both audience and performers. It has long hosted world-renowned artists of the day, including Helen Traubel, the famous Wagnerian soprano with the Metropolitan Opera, in 1948; Nat King Cole in the 1950s; The Beatles and Jimi Hendrix in the 1960s; Three Dog Night and Bruce Springsteen in the 1970s; and the Grateful Dead and U2 in the 1980s.[5] Red Rocks Amphitheatre is included in various lists of the world's top concert venues, including the second ranking on *National Geographic*'s international list of "Top 10 Outdoor Music Venues."[6] A 2013 *Rolling Stone* magazine article titled "The Best Amphitheaters in America" listed Red Rocks Amphitheatre as first, stating, "With the exception of Madison Square Garden, no U.S. venue of this size has such an amazing pedigree."[7] It continues to provide musicians and concert goers with superlative acoustical qualities and harmonious setting within Red Rocks Park.

Location

The Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps Camp District is located just northwest of the Town of Morrison in Jefferson County, Colorado, and seventeen miles from the center of Denver. It is a major destination in the Denver Mountain Parks system and is owned by the City and County of Denver.

DESCRIPTION OF THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE

The 649-acre district is oriented north to south, west of Mount Vernon Creek and Highway 93 and east of the 7,88l-foot Mount Morrison. Within the park, where elevations surpass 6,000 feet above sea level, land slopes up from east to west as the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains merge to create extraordinary scenery. Views to the east look beyond the narrow crest of the Dakota Hogback ridge, over the Denver skyline, to the uninterrupted horizon of the Great Plains. Vistas to the west meet the visitor with layers upon layers of red rock formations that emerge from the grassy foothills, which gradually transform into the Rocky Mountains just

---

2012, accessed February 19, 2014).

[5] The entire list of performances at Red Rocks, dating back to 1908, can be found at the Red Rocks Hall of Fame in the Burnham Hoyt Visitor Center, Red Rocks Amphitheatre.

[6] "America's 40 Best Music Venues," *Paste Magazine*, May 29, 2007, accessed September 30, 2014, http://www.pastemagazine.com/articles/2007/05/americas-40-best-music-venues.html; Dana Joseph, "10 Fabulous U.S. Music Venues," *CNN Travel*, November 20, 2012, accessed September 30, 2014, http://travel.cnn.com/explorations/play/best-usa-travel/10-fabulous-us-music-venues-639998 (Red Rocks is article cover photo); Julian Kimble, "50 Best Concert Venues in America," *Complex Magazine*, May 10, 2013, accessed September 30, 2014 (Red Rocks is Number 4, and the article cover photo); "Top 10 Outdoor Music Venues," from the National Geographic book *Four Seasons of Travel: 400 of the World's Best Destinations for Winter, Spring, Summer, and Fall, 2013,* accessed September 30, 2014, http://travel.nationalgeographic.com/travel/top-10/outdoor-music-venues/, (Red Rocks is Number 2, and one of only three venues in the United States, along with Great Stage Park in Tennessee and The Greek Theater in California).

[7] Steve Knopper, "The Best Amphitheaters in America," *Rolling Stone*, June 20, 2013, accessed September 29, 2014, http://www.rollingstone.com/music/lists/the-best-amphitheaters-in-america-20130620.

beyond. The dramatic setting yields the superlative performance venue at Red Rocks Amphitheatre, where 200- and 300-foot tall red monoliths frame the experience of both viewer and performer.

Before the Rocky Mountains rose west of present-day Denver, Colorado, the massive red sedimentary formations that give Red Rocks Park its name formed from the ancestral Rocky Mountains. Three hundred million years ago, the predecessor to today's range stood thirty or forty miles west of the current Front Range of the Rockies. During the Pennsylvanian Period, water, wind, and ice began to erode these mountains, and eastward-flowing rivers deposited their sediment in large alluvial fans, called the Fountain Formation. Sixty-five million years ago, when today's mountain range began to rise during the Laramide orogeny, the Fountain Formation bed was uplifted on its edge, creating magnificent "rock gardens" along Colorado's Front Range, as seen at the nearby Roxborough State Park, Garden of the Gods in Colorado Springs, and the Flatirons west of Boulder. In addition to these incredible formations, the towering geology of Red Rocks Park also created a natural amphitheatre with ringing acoustics, leading to its use as a natural amphitheatre for musical performances in the late 1800s. Creation Rock and Ship Rock, the two primary rock formations surrounding the amphitheatre, gradually rise 300 feet above the Stage Rock, forming iconic features of the amphitheatre. Stage Rock, where the performance stage is located, is on the east and forms a sounding board with its natural shell-like cavity in the front and an air hole at the top. Finally, the theater is open at the rear, reducing echoes. All of these natural elements give the site its extraordinary acoustical properties.[8]

Due to the dramatic change in topography in the park, where the plains meet the Rocky Mountains, the Colorado Natural Heritage Program Inventory identifies six native plant communities in the park: Douglas-fir forest, riparian shrubland; Rocky Mountain juniper woodland; mixed foothill shrubland; foothill prairie; and cottonwood riparian forest.[9] This array of native plant communities produces unusually diverse bird, mammal, amphibian, and reptile populations. The uppermost portion of the Red Rocks Park is a coniferous forest that transitions from the arid shrub lands below. Rather than dense forests, however, these are smaller communities depending on the microclimate. Rocky Mountain juniper *(Juniperus scopulorum)* dominates the south-facing slopes, along with scattered ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), with Douglas-fir *(Pseudotsuga menziesii)* communities on the cooler, moister, north-facing slopes. Many species of shrubs, grasses, and wildflowers are found in the Red Rocks plant communities.

Two major streams drain the historic district: Mount Vernon Creek, adjacent to Highway 74 on the east side of the amphitheatre, and Bear Creek, a perennial stream in the south section of the park. Bear Creek and Highway 74 in the southern section separate the Mount Morrison CCC Camp from Red Rocks Park. In the southern section of the park, the land slopes down to the Bear Creek drainageway, then rises slightly to the southern boundary of the Mount Morrison CCC Camp.

Along the banks of Bear Creek and the larger ravines in the park is a riparian plant community, containing large stands of cottonwood trees, flowering shrubs, and willows. The most common cottonwood is the plains cottonwood (*Populus deltoides*). However, early settlers introduced non-native species, such as Russian olive *(Elaeagnus angustifolia)*, that have spread into the Red Rocks riparian areas.

Grassland and mixed shrub communities dominate most of the park. Mountain mahogany (*Cercocarpus montanus*), wax currant (*Ribes cereum*), and three-leaf sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) are the most common shrubs, with thickets of more mesic shrubs along drainageways, including snowberry *(Symphoricarpos* spp.*),* wild plum

[8] Thomas Noel, *Sacred Stones: Colorado's Red Rocks Park and Amphitheatre* (Denver: Denver's Division of Theatres and Arena, 2004) 2

[9] Alan T. Carpenter and Claudia Brown, "Red Rocks Park Natural Resources Inventory," (Boulder: Land Stewardship Consulting, Inc., 2010), 9.

(*Prunus americana*), chokecherry *(Prunus virginiana),* golden currant *(Ribes aureum),* hawthorn *(Crataegus* spp.*)* and Wood's rose *(Rosa woodsii).* Local patches of smooth sumac *(Rhus glabra)* also occur. Grassland communities are diverse, with both cool- and warm-season grasses, including dominants like western wheatgrass (*Agropyron smithii*), needle-and-thread (*Stipa comata*), blue grama (*Bouteloua gracilis*), little bluestem (*Schizachyrium scoparium*), and significant patches of big bluestem (*Andropogon gerardii*), as well as colorful wildflowers. Abundant yucca (*Yucca glauca*) and cacti are also present.

Captivating residents and visitors alike, the area's scenery and natural amphitheatre inspired its development into a park, resulting in one of the country's most striking cultural landscapes.[10] In a prescient editorial in the September-October 1928 *Denver Municipal Facts*, journalist James H. MacLennan predicted that, "Some day it will come about that man's genius joined with the elaborations of Nature will make this place famous, the world over."[11] Indeed, this singular combination of geology and sound quality would be improved and developed even further by the CCC in an environmentally sensitive design during the 1930s.

DESCRIPTION OF RED ROCKS PARK

Red Rocks Park is the largest site in the district, and is located north of Highway 74, which crosses through the southern end of the district. Although intermittent groups of exposed red rocks dot the rounded hills throughout the entire district, a major ridge of sandstone monoliths runs north-south through the center of the park, historically inspiring imaginative names such as "Witch Face," "Roasted Goose," "Angel's Bathtub," "Toad Stool" or "Seat of Pluto."[12] The park and its interior roads are organized around the jutting ridge of sandstone rocks, providing spectacular views both into the park and beyond to Denver and the foothills.

The naturalistic park, which contains the striking monolithic rocks that first drew visitors to the area, was part of Denver's original park land purchase in 1928. The park contains other historic features constructed by its early developers, the City and County of Denver, the CCC, and the Works Progress Administration (WPA), including roads and parking lots, rubble stone retaining walls, and culverts. Although some of these features are not large enough to be included in the resource count, they nonetheless contribute to the overall historic sense of time and place.

The park has largely evolved from its original purpose as a driving park—intended as a segment in a circuit of natural and scenic areas interconnected by motorways through the foothills of the Rocky Mountain range—to a destination park centered on the amphitheatre. Most of the original loop road system remains extant, although one large portion of it has been straightened at Ship Rock Road, with the abandoned section converted to a segment of the Trading Post Trail. Other small road segments have been filled in for parking areas. Nevertheless, the road system maintains many scenic views both into and out of the park, as it was originally designed.[13]

The largest contributing structure in Red Rocks Park is the Red Rocks Amphitheatre, an outdoor venue designed by Denver architect Burnham Hoyt with the assistance of architect Stanley Morse and built by the

[10] Ethan Carr, *Wilderness By Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* ((Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 9. As landscape architect Ethan Carr argues, "It is the cultural value invested in natural places through their physical development as parks that best assures the preservation of those places in a relatively natural state...The designed landscapes in national and state parks, as works of art, directly express the value society invests in preserving and appreciating natural areas."

[11] "The Park of the Red Rocks Now Denver Property," *Denver Municipal Facts,* (September-October 1928), p. 3.

[12] Tom Noel, *Sacred Stones*, 4.

[13] Kevin M. Lyles and Trevor W. Hammrich, "Draft: Red Rocks Park" (August 25, 2014), HALS No. CO-8, Historic American Landscape Survey, 13-18. The road system is discussed in more detail below. For more in-depth discussion of the evolution Red Rocks Park, including the road system, see the Historic American Landscape Survey for Red Rocks Park (HALS No. CO-8)

CCC between 1936 and 1941. Later additions were designed by Stanley Morse in 1959. It is dramatically sited in the center of the park between three of the major red sandstone monoliths. Creation Rock acts as the northern wall, Ship Rock forms the southern wall, and Stage Rock serves as the backdrop on the east, presenting sweeping views of the entire Denver metro area. Mount Morrison serves as the backdrop to the west. The amphitheatre's plan is a slightly asymmetrical inverted "horseshoe," designed and built in response to the existing rock formations.

The native red sandstone is the common thread used throughout the theater to unite the seemingly disparate geometry of the theater to the natural site. The materials of the rock-faced walls, stairways, and seating risers were repeated in the planters separating the theater seating from the twenty-foot-wide outer stairs. The planters, built with quarry-faced sandstone walls and dressed-stone copings, were conceived by Burnham Hoyt as a transition from the theater aisle traffic. While the geometric planters are clearly Modernist in their stark functional aesthetic, the native juniper plantings were intended to "screen the late comers from the audience, and define the theater shape, forming a pleasant transition between the man-made theater and the natural rock cliffs."[14]

In 1959, the Stanley Morse-designed lighting towers were built on the north and south ends of the stage. They are red sandstone with panels of red and natural-colored concrete that match the original materials of the amphitheatre.[15] The shape of the towers, with their rounded corners on the stage interior side and roofs that sweep down from the two-story front to the lower rear section, are clearly Modern in their form and design, and complement the original curved stage planting beds and the rounded curves of the stage features.

Some alterations and additions have been made to the amphitheatre over the years in order to accommodate the increasing technical needs of performances and to improve visitor services, which have varying impacts on the key character-defining features of the 10,000-seat outdoor venue. These alterations include a metal stage roof in 1988, which compromised the historic openness of the stage. In 2003 the Burnham Hoyt Visitor Center was added to the west end of the amphitheatre, with most of the structure tucked neatly beneath the plaza. Entrance to the visitor center is through a small circular lobby located on the plaza, and constructed of random-range red sandstone. A winding stairway descends to an interior space containing educational exhibits and a restaurant, both opening to an outdoor terrace. The design of the entrance lobby blends with the original structure through use of a red sandstone veneer and a low profile circular entrance. Recently, other additions were constructed to improve visitor services at the amphitheatre. A wood and metal stairway was constructed to connect the Upper North Lot with a dirt trail that leads to Trading Post Road. A beer garden was constructed on the south slope, adjacent to the stairs that connect the South Ramp and the South Stairways, and another concessions platform was constructed between the South Stairways and Ship Rock. All have been executed with attention to the original design, materials, hues, and details.

DESCRIPTION OF MOUNT MORRISON CCC CAMP

The Mount Morrison CCC Camp occupies the southern portion of Red Rocks Park, south of Highway 74. The CCC Camp was constructed by U.S. Army contractors between 1935 and 1936 on nineteen acres along Bear Creek. The camp housed workers who built the Red Rocks Amphitheatre and other features in the park. The

[14] Stanley E. Morse, [typed manuscript, no title], Stanley E. Morse architectural records, WH889, box 2, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, 4.

[15] Prior to his work at Red Rocks, Stanley Morse worked on a PWA-funded recording project at Mesa Verde National Park under the supervision of archeologist and park superintendent Jesse Nusbaum. Nusbaum was a leader in defining a twentieth-century park architectural style based on the indigenous architecture of southwestern Indian tribes. For more on Nusbaum's contributions to national and state park design, see Laura Soulliere Harrison, "Architecture in the Parks National Historic Landmark Theme Study." National Park Service, Department of the Interior, November 1986, pp. 211-228, and McClelland, *Building the National Parks,* pp. 114 and 170-171.

Mount Morrison CCC Camp includes sixteen contributing buildings, three contributing structures, two contributing sites, and one contributing object. All of these resources date from the CCC period of 1935 to 1941.

The camp's buildings are grouped in two sections according to historic function and are aligned along the original curving interior road system. The barracks, mess hall, and officers' quarters are located in the "housing area" on the higher, southern section of the camp, and the utilitarian garages and workshops are located in the "service area," on the lower ground in the north by Bear Creek. The CCC buildings in the service area are scattered along the camp's interior road system. Most of the service yard is at a lower elevation than the housing section of the camp, although a few garages were located at higher elevation. Of the CCC-era buildings that were historically in this area, only an oil shed that measured 8 x 12 feet has been demolished.[16]

The recreation area, a third area within the camp site, is separated from the housing area and service area by Bear Creek. It is located north of the barracks and headquarters buildings, and east of the garages. The area was left undeveloped for recreation purposes due to its low elevation along the creek bed. Low grasses and shrubs are the predominant vegetation.

Today, the camp serves as the maintenance and operations center for Denver Mountain Parks. Retaining fourteen of the original fifteen camp buildings, Mount Morrison is one of the most intact CCC camps in the nation in terms of number of extant buildings. The camp also includes smaller landscape features that are integral elements of the camp and contribute to its historic sense of time and place. The landscape improvements, large and small, were typical of those made by the enrollees to improve the appearance of the spartan camps. The individual buildings retain a very high degree of integrity, with the major alteration the application of horizontal, masonite siding over the original wood siding on several buildings.

INVENTORY OF RESOURCES

A full listing and description of the resources in Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison CCC Camp follow. Each resource is listed by name, construction date in parentheses, contributing status, resource type, and a resource number that corresponds to the accompanying Resource Map (labeled in ascending order starting with #RR-1). Representative photographs are identified by numbers shown on the accompanying Photograph Map, and historic photographs and plans are included as figures. A table of all resources within the district, including Red Rocks Park site and Mount Morrison CCC Camp site, appears at the end of Section 7.

Red Rocks Park. (1880s-1928, 1929, 1931-1941) Contributing site, #RR-1.
Red Rocks Park is a 649-acre property lying east of County Road 93 and split by Highway 74 in Jefferson County, Colorado. The original land purchase included what became the 19-acre Mount Morrison CCC Camp site south of Highway 74. The area had served recreational purposes for several decades prior to Denver's acquisition of the land. The park has irregular boundaries, but is generally oriented north-south along jutting sandstone ridges. There are four entrances to the park: one on the north, one on the northeast, and two on the south. Each entrance has a road leading into the park, which join to form three large interior loops. The roads are designed as extensions of parkways that connected Denver with the various mountain parks, but converge on the interior of the park around the main features. Within the park itself, the curvilinear roads were designed to provide motorists with a wide variety of scenic outlooks, yet by following the natural contours they remain unobtrusive elements that complement the natural character of the park.

[16] "Camp Inspection Report, Camp MA-1-C, September 30, 1940;" In1940, in addition to the trucks, the camp equipment included one caterpillar, one grader, two compressors, and three cement mixers.

In 1928, the City and County of Denver purchased the 649-acre property, which contained the most significant natural features of the area—the natural amphitheatre and major monolithic rocks surrounding it—in order to create the park. Due to the effects of the Great Depression, however, the City and County of Denver was only able to complete a five-mile road system in 1929, and a Pueblo style Trading Post building and small square well house in 1931.

During the New Deal, the development of Red Rocks Park hit its zenith. The largest built feature of the park, as well as the most renowned, is the Red Rocks Amphitheatre. It was designed by architect Burnham Hoyt and built between 1935 and1941 by the CCC with assistance from the NPS. Other park features built in this period were constructed by the CCC, the Works Progress Administration (WPA), or the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). Nearly all of these features were built around, or to supplement, the use of the amphitheatre. These historic resources have remained in constant use since their construction, are in excellent condition, and retain a high degree of integrity.

The north-south orientation of Red Rocks Park is anchored by the amphitheatre in the north-central part of the park. The amphitheatre sits at the base of Mount Morrison, with a dramatic slope providing incredible unbroken views to the Denver metro area horizon and fifty miles east to Arapahoe County. From the peak of Mount Morrison, the entire Front Range is visible as well as the Continental Divide to the west. Both the park and amphitheatre also capture views of the adjacent Dinosaur Ridge (5JF.951) hogback formation located just east of Highway 94.

The remainder of the park is largely undeveloped. The overall park development was restrained, yet where man-made features were introduced, they were carefully designed to blend with the natural environment. Necessary visitor facilities, such as parking lots and pull-outs, were judiciously located and naturally screened. Roads (discussed below) took advantage of the natural topography and provided excellent views of the park and the vistas beyond. In the few areas where construction required re-vegetation, native plants were used.

Southeast of the amphitheatre is the Trading Post and overlook. Pedestrian trails start at the Trading Post and loop around the rock ridges in the southern portion of the park, and another trail system is on the north end of the park. A picnic area, featuring a shelter, outhouse, parking, trails and geologic markers, is also in the north section of the park (discussed below in greater detail).

Red Rocks Amphitheatre. (1936-1941; modifications 1959, 1988, 2003, 2014) Contributing structure, #RR-2. Red Rocks Amphitheatre is an open air theater located in the center of Red Rocks Park. Architect Burnham Hoyt was responsible for the original design concept as built by the CCC between 1936 and 1941; architect Stanley Morse, who was Hoyt's assistant, prepared all the construction drawings and recommended changes based on discoveries in the field. For the thousands of projects undertaken by the CCC, the NPS was asked to plan, design and provide technical assistance for all of those developments outside of national forests, which along with national parks, extended to state, county, and large municipal parks. At Red Rocks, the NPS provided design assistance and approval for both the theater project and master plans for the park, and monitored the progress and quality of projects through site inspections. Hoyt's design for the amphitheatre skillfully incorporated the principles and practices of the NPS with ancient theater forms and Modern architecture precepts. Beyond contributing to the national significance of Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison CCC Camp, Red Rocks Amphitheatre is also nationally significant in its own right for advancing the outdoor theater prototype in the twentieth century, at a time when the demand for outdoor recreation features had reached a new high. With its natural acoustical qualities, design excellence, and sublime scenery, the amphitheatre is one of the most successful outdoor venues in the United States. In 1973, Red Rocks

Amphitheatre was designated a Denver Landmark, and in 1990 it was listed in the National Register of Historic Places as part of the Red Rocks Park District.[17]

The amphitheatre is located at 6,000 feet above sea level and built on a steep slope that rises from the east stage to the rear of the amphitheatre on the west, conforming to the underlying rock strata. Two mammoth, flat sandstone rocks set on edge create a nearly vertical plane on the north and south, forming the side walls of the amphitheatre. Ship Rock on the south rises approximately two hundred feet, and Creation Rock rises three hundred feet on the north. Stage Rock on the east forms a sounding board with its natural shell-like cavity in the front and an air hole at the top.

The amphitheatre was built in stages, with construction starting with the dressing rooms and stage. After the stage was finished, rough grading began for the seating area. Due to the phased construction, discoveries made over the course of construction resulted in changes to Hoyt's original plan. For example, during grading for the seating, the CCC workers uncovered rock ledges at the base of Creation Rock. Since the stage was completed at this point, its centerline was already established between the two massive rocks. However, rather than removing the rock ledges on the sides to fit the original symmetrical plan and stage centerline, the architects instead moved the northern stairway to the south, which resulted in the loss of some of the seating. The result is a slightly asymmetrical inverted horseshoe shape, with fewer seats on the north than on the south and a "centerline" that is slightly offset.

When viewed in its entirety, the overwhelming impression of the amphitheatre is formed by the curving seating. In fact, there is a marked absence of straight walls and lines throughout the amphitheatre.[18] Red sandstone was used for the risers of all the seating, the walls, planters, and even the gutters and the rough natural slabs that create the side walls, but the walkways are concrete. The curved rows are accentuated by the reddish quarried stone that contrasts with the concrete of the walkways and the shadows of the overhanging seats. Following NPS design ethics, Hoyt initially recommended that sandstone be used for the walks as well. However, a visiting CCC administrator proposed concrete instead, resulting in the contrast of materials seen today.[19]

The layout of the theater can be described in four main sections: the stage with basement dressing rooms in the east; the seating area in the center; stairways on the north and south; and the plaza at the rear or "top" of the theater. Based on the topography, the main entrances to the theater were designed from the top in the west, as well as from the southeast and the northeast.

Stage Area

In 1936 construction for the stage and dressing room area began, and became the first section of the amphitheatre completed. The stage area was built into "Stage Rock" which had been used historically for this purpose when it was used in its natural state. Dressing rooms, toilets and storage were constructed first, by excavating two stories of an approximate 80 x70-foot area at the base of Stage Rock; projections from the rock

[17] Architect Burnham Hoyt called it a theater because it was neither round nor oval, as amphitheatres are by definition. George Cranmer, Denver's Manager of Improvements and Parks, insisted it be called an *amphitheatre* (with the English "re" spelling.), Noel, 56.

[18] Morse's description of the lack of straight line and use of curves and compound curves proved difficult for the project's first field surveyor: "It is understandable that the first field surveyor to tackle the curves and constantly changing levels on this job had to face up to giving up his liquor or giving up the job." The unidentified surveyor was replaced with City Engineer Al Stromberg; Stanley Morse, [typed manuscript, no title], Stanley E. Morse architectural records, WH889, box 2, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, 4.

[19] Linda Jewell and Steve Rasmussen Cancian, "Keeping the boys busy: Outdoor theatres of the Great Depression: on-site, incremental design gives form to the complex relationship of site and structure," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2004), 199.

discovered during excavation were turned into features of the dressing rooms. The roofs of the dressing rooms were then used as the floor of the 150 x 60-foot stage. Using photographs during construction, Morse placed the stage where it complemented the existing rock protrusions and varying colored strata behind. The original orchestra pit built by the CCC in 1936, and later covered by the stage in 1959, was 90 x 17 feet. It was built on two levels below sight of the audience, and was designed for 150 musicians. Large ramps leading to the stage were built wide enough to accommodate horses.[20] The stage area has a curved front edge to blend with the curved seats to the west. The red concrete flooring is on two levels, with a small lower section on the south. On either side of the front of the stage are high, curved edge retaining walls. Built in two levels of quarry-faced, ashlar sandstone, the lower section of the wall dates from the 1936 to 1941 construction period, and originally served as planters.

In 1959, George Cranmer, Denver's Manager of Improvements and Parks, suggested improving the sound quality, since acoustical problems had plagued the outdoor theater since its opening.[21] Stanley Morse was hired to design additions to address the sound, wind and lighting problems.[22] These alterations included the addition of flexible stage panels that served as sound reflectors, light projection services, and wind protections. In addition, the trap doors on the stage were removed and the floor replaced and the original orchestra pit was covered and converted to storage. These additions cost $175,000 and were completed in July 1959. Other improvements from this period include interior electrical services, stage lighting, and a service tunnel connecting the orchestra pit to the control room located beneath the seating. Simple metal balustrades that separate the two stage levels, the front of the stage from the seating, and at the stage rear where a ramp provides access for equipment may have been added at this time.[23] During the Cold War era of the 1950s, a Civil Defense control center for the Denver was built beneath the stage at Red Rocks; this was not visible to the general public.[24]

In 1988, a permanent metal stage roof was added. Since the 1940s, the performers were often drenched during evening storms. With the ever-increasing amount and size of electrical equipment and amplifiers, the danger of electrocution grew during the rock-and-roll era. The electrical equipment can now hang from the roof, which also protects performers from storms and the dangers of lightning strikes at high elevations. Metal beams support the flat beam joist roof. This flat-roofed metal structure has a large, high center section approximately 60 feet wide, 70 feet deep, and 40 feet tall. There are two lower sound wings set on either side. The rooflines are set below Morse's lighting towers. This alteration does not complement the original design and affects integrity of the stage area by changing the openness of the stage. However, while views to Stage Rock are impeded by the roof, patrons can still see over the roof to the views of the city and eastern plains beyond.

Lighting Towers

In 1959, Morse designed two lighting towers for either side of the stage in response to Cranmer's suggestions to improve the amphitheatre's sound, wind, and lighting problems. As with the original construction materials of the amphitheatre, the red sandstone of the lighting towers complements the surrounding rock formations. Their design continued the Modern style begun by Hoyt, and also exemplified the national trend toward cleaner, straight lines and rectangular features, while still remaining true to earlier NPS precepts of harmonizing color, texture, scale, massing and materials with the site.[25] The lower dressing rooms were expanded into the base of

[20] Jewell and Cancian, 196; Morse, 2.

[21] Dorsett, 211-212.

[22] By this time, Burnham Hoyt had closed his offices due to his battle with Parkinson's disease; Morse, 3.

[23] Morse, 3; Kelly Halpin, "Red Rocks Park & Amphitheatre: Evolution of the Landscape; Critical Changes Over Time," (master's thesis, University of Colorado Denver, 2012), 54-7; Noel, 63.

[24] "New Control Center for Civilian Defense to be Located Beneath Stage at Red Rocks," *Denver Post* (20 July 1955) 21.

[25] Harrison, "Architecture in the Parks," 18. Post-World War II park architecture and landscape architecture embraced modern design, new materials and technology. For scholarly examinations of postwar modernism in NPS park design, see

these towers. Also at this time, the walls for the planting beds were extended upward. The historic stone coping and slightly different colored sandstone serve to distinguish the two periods of construction.

Seating

Before amphitheatre construction began, the area between Ship Rock and Creation Rock provided seating when the site was used as a natural amphitheatre. Patrons sat on the large boulders that were strewn throughout the field. Denver Mayor Benjamin Stapleton had expressed strong opinions that these large boulders should somehow be left in place as the seating was constructed, but Burnham Hoyt insisted upon "seating, not setting."[26] (George Cranmer, Denver's Manager of Improvements and Parks, settled the issue by scheduling blasting on a day when he was out of town, so the mayor could not reach him.) For the design of the seating area, though, the architects based their design on the existing site conditions such as the steep slope of the amphitheatre seating and the rock strata formation, which provided south drainage, and aesthetic harmony with the rock formations.[27]

Morse noted the natural slope within the site, but in order to provide a comparatively level seating area extensive cut and fill were required. The northwest end of the site was excavated to a depth of 28 feet, while similar depths of fill were placed in the southeastern end to achieve the sloped plane in Hoyt's schematics.[28] An ingenious concession to the natural setting was the retention of the pre-existing north-to-south slope in the seating area. In contrast to typical theater seating, which has a constant elevation, the Red Rock Amphitheatre seating has a 3.33% cross-slope to the south. This not only mirrors the natural topography, but allows water to drain from north to south in the gutters beneath the seats, instead of having to add drain inlets. This cross-slope to the south gives the "finished auditorium a sense of the seats sweeping upward with the natural lay of the land."[29]

The amphitheatre, which seats nearly 10,000 visitors, was designed with "continental seating," referring to the lack of center or radial aisles. This emphasizes the long, curved rows and gives the impression that the seating area is a single, continuous design element. Each row is designed as a curved walkway with a shallow gutter beneath an overhanging, backless wood bench. The 4-foot-deep concrete aisles can accommodate people coming and going without disturbing seated patrons, thus compensating for the lack of center and radial aisles. There are a total of 13,371 linear feet of benches in 70 rows that vary in length from 135 feet to 230 feet. The wide wood bleacher or bench seating is supported by precast concrete brackets set on rock-faced ashlar red sandstone seat risers. The original wood seating was made of redwood timbers; in 2003, this was replaced with South American, rot-resistant *ipe* wood, which provides a fairly close match to redwood and is incredibly durable. Mechanical facilities were hidden in seating where possible; a projection booth was located under a section of removable seats in the center sitting area.

Side stairways

Access to theater seating is provided by twenty-foot-wide concrete stairs on both the north and south sides of the seating. Large sandstone planting boxes with native Rocky Mountain juniper trees separate these main access aisles from the seating aisles. The planting areas were intended to "screen the late comers from the audience, and define the theater shape, forming a pleasant transition between the manmade theater and the natural rock cliffs."[30] Some trees have died and were replaced unsuccessfully, but future attempts at re-planting

---

McClelland, *Building the National Parks, 462-470;* Ethan Carr, *Mission 66* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press,) and Sarah Allabach, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers National Historic Landmark Theme Study* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service).

[26] Morse, 5.

[27] Ibid, 2.

[28] Jewell and Cancian, 196.

[29] Ibid., 198.

[30] Morse, 4.

may be contemplated. There are two steps for every row of seating, and landings at every third row. There are 193 steps from stage to the top plaza (also known as the west concourse). In the past decade, accessible ramps were built from the parking lots to the edge of the amphitheatre. Halfway up from the stage, two red sandstone booths, one on the north and one on the south, were installed in place of the planters. Their original purpose is unknown, but by the 1970s they were used to house spotlights. In 2014, the booths were increased by a height of four feet to provide better stage lighting. Also in 2014, a concession area was created in a previously undeveloped area between the south stairs and Ship Rock on a platform measuring approximately 15 x 10 feet. The platform houses temporary concession carts during concerts. Sunken between the rock and the stairs, the wall around the platform utilized the same red sandstone used throughout the amphitheatre.

Plaza
During amphitheatre construction, the west plaza at the "top" of the theater seating was built as a large promenade terrace for use between acts as well as to accommodate people waiting to be seated. It also acts as the essential way people get in and out of the amphitheatre. Approximately five years after the amphitheatre was dedicated, additional restrooms and a concession were built here of the same sandstone and red-colored concrete construction as the theater. In 2003, the historic plaza materials were replaced with a new 24,000 square foot flagstone and concrete plaza, within the same general footprint as the original. This plaza serves as the roof for the new 30,000-square-foot, two-story, Burnham Hoyt Visitor Center completed that same year. In 2014 the plaza was modified with concrete platforms at the crest of the seating area to expand the accessible seating area.

South Ramp. (1954) Contributing structure, #RR-3.
This large elevated ramp extends over 500 feet from the north edge of the Upper South Lot and around the eastern side of Ship Rock, and finally through a cut in Ship Rock until it reaches a vehicular drop-off at the southeast entrance of the amphitheatre. At this point, it becomes the South Slope Stairway that leads into the amphitheatre. The metal, modernistic structure has a 13-foot-wide concrete deck, metal balustrade, and a few single iron tapering columns supporting it throughout the elevated sections.[31]

Trading Post. (1931) Contributing building, #RR-4.
Designed by Denver architect W. R. Rosche and completed in 1931, this building was originally called the "Indian Concession House." The Pueblo Revival Style was suggested by the Denver Art Museum Board of Directors, who wanted the building to not only reflect Native American architecture, but to harmonize with the surrounding natural landscape as well.[32] It was the first building constructed by the City and County of Denver within the park, and its main purpose was to house a museum, snack bar, and curio shop for park visitors, a purpose it still serves. The museum featured exhibits on the flora, fauna, and geology of the area, as well as a collection of "Indian curios."[33] In 1990, the Trading Post was listed in the National Register with the remainder of Red Rocks Park and in 1994, the Trading Post, its outbuilding (#RR-6), and cactus garden (#RR-31) were together designated a Denver Landmark.

The 77 x 56-foot building has an irregular plan and stepped massing, formed by a two-story central block with three-stories on the south, rear side with smaller one-story, set-back wings on the east and west sides. The smooth-textured, red earth-colored stucco of the battered walls has irregular, gently rounded corners, intended to resemble adobe pueblos. The west wing has a stairway leading to the basement, while the east wing has stairs with a stucco balustrade leading to a roof-top balcony. Beneath these stairs is a recessed porch with two

[31] "New Ramp and Stairs Erected," *Denver Post* (8 December 1954), 6.
[32] Ann Moss, "Red Rocks Park, Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation District" National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 3 October 1988, Section 7, pg. 2.
[33] "A City Home in Park of Red Rocks," *Denver Municipal Facts,* May-June 1931, 14.

entries. A rustic wood ladder leads from the roof of the one-story east block to the top of the two-story central block.

All portions of the building have flat roofs with parapets, but the front (north) parapet on the central two-story central block is Mission style with rounded, castellated corners and a rectangular opening with a bell. Round wood vigas extend near the roofline of the west and east sides of the two-story central block, as well as on the north façades of the adjoining one-story wings. Viga rafter tails also extend from the one-story, one-bay, flat-roofed entry porch on the front, and from both levels of the two-story porch on the rear. An addition to the southwest corner of the building, designed by architect Carl Bieler, added a garage on the ground level and other small rooms.[34] The band of windows on the second story of this addition has 3/1 divisions. Other windows are multi-light, straight-headed with rough-hewn lintels, and are deeply recessed within the battered walls. The double-entry wood doors on the north façade each have a rough-hewn wood lintel. There is a window above the main entry door, as well as one on each side of the door and one each on the north façades of the side wings. Added ca. 1998, the rear flat-roof porch has large, round logs for supports and posts, and each post is topped with a carved wood corbel. There are views to Ship Rock and Tethys Rock to the northwest, Seven Ladders Rock to the north, and Picnic Rock and Nine Parks Rock to the south.

The building's interior features a flagstone floor, and latilla ceiling of log beams with narrow branches. A concessionaire snack bar is at the rear, in the same location as the original small café. Wooden stairs with a rustic tree branch balustrade lead to the second story from the back of the building. The basement originally contained living quarters for the caretaker-concessionaire, who lived there until 1983.[35] Although the building was built by the Denver Mountain Parks division, rather than by a New Deal work relief program, it has been a key building in the park from the time of its construction, was included in the park's master plans, and has served as an important stop in the park for visitors to the amphitheatre from the time of its construction. Its exterior is relatively unchanged from the district's period of significance.

Trading Post Overlook. (ca. 1935)[36] Contributing structure, #RR-5.
The overlook is a large grassy outdoor terrace south of the Trading Post, approximately 3,200 square feet in area. It features an extensive curved masonry retaining wall on the south boundary. The random range stone wall on top of the retaining wall has geometric cut-outs (triangles, squares, circles, and diamond shapes), and rough stones set along the coping. Spectacular views to the south are framed between two major sandstone formations – Picnic Rock and Nine Parks Rock. There is a significant drop in elevation beyond the south retaining wall.

Trading Post Outbuilding. (ca. 1935) Contributing building, #RR-6.
Although this building appears in pictures during the period of significance, its original builder and purpose are unknown. This secondary storage building is located approximately 54 feet southeast of the Trading Post. The one-story, flat-roof, rectangular building measures 18 x 25 feet, and has red stucco walls with gently rounded corners like the Trading Post, as well as similar square multi-light windows set in deeply recessed openings on all four sides. There are two vertical wood plank doors on the south and north sides. The roof has a low parapet edge with round metal "canales" (roof drains).

[34] The title block for the addition plans show George E. Cranmer, Manager of Parks and Improvements, a position he served from 1935 to 1947, thus dating the addition to this period.

[35] Noel, 43.

[36] There are some long distance views of the Trading Post, ca. 1935-1936, taken during survey work for the amphitheatre, that show the stone wall for the overlook. The wall is not visible in the Trading Post "just built" photos from 1931. The builder is unknown (Denver Mountain Parks, WPA, or CCC).

Well House. (ca. 1931) Contributing structure, #RR-7.
The well house was constructed in the early 1930s by the City and County of Denver, and is one of a number of small well houses that were located through the Denver Mountain Park System for automobile visitors to fill their radiators. The 15 x 15-foot structure has large rectangular stone columns on the four corners, constructed of coursed, quarry-faced sandstone. These columns have short stone benches at each corner, and support a pyramidal roof with nonhistoric asphalt shingles. The well house retains a high degree of integrity, with the only alteration a concrete cover on the well and the installation of a picnic table. It is presently used as a picnic shelter.

Incinerator. (ca. 1929) Contributing structure, #RR-8.
This tall, circular incinerator structure is located east of Cave Rock along the Trading Post Trail and is believed to have been built to incinerate trash generated by Trading Post construction.[37] It is constructed of curved metal panels and has a conical roof with a tall, circular vent rising from the center peak.

Park Road System. (1929; 1935-1941; modifications, 1960s) Contributing structure, #RR-9.
Red Rocks Park was originally conceived as a driving park, and the road system was designed to offer exceptional views to drivers. When it was operated as a private park in the early 1900s, the area was likely crisscrossed by informal roads and trails created by visitors. After it was acquired by the City and County of Denver, the park road system was simplified and formalized. The initial grading for a five-mile loop road system within the park was completed by the city in 1929 with alignments that followed the contours. This was slightly expanded and upgraded by the CCC and WPA between 1935 to1941 following a master plan that was developed in conjunction with the NPS. Portions of the road system that pre-date the CCC-era are only contributing if they were incorporated into the NPS's master plan for the park. A portion of an abandoned road segment has been converted to a segment of Trading Post Trail. Today, the road system essentially leads all visitors from one of the four entrances to the amphitheatre and the Trading Post, connecting the other park features and vistas together. The curvilinear roads follow the topography and vary in width, narrowing to approximately 20 feet in steeper areas that are more confined by tall, monolithic rocks and widening to approximately 40 feet, revealing open views in the grasslands and along the ridges. Along the road sides are small swales and a varying side slope. [38] It is difficult to trace aspects of the road such as shoulders and edge treatments to a particular era of the park's development; however it is estimated that the swales originated when Denver first acquired the park and began road construction, because their design reflects the City's standard design for water management. Large boulders are spaced at irregular intervals along the shoulders of some parts of the road; this is believed to be an original treatment.

The variety of views along the scenic drives is astonishing. Due to rising topography, sharp curves, and the numerous sandstone ridges and outcroppings, views from the road are constantly changing. The various rock formations pop into view, then scenes become narrow and restricted when driving through canyons. After a bend in the road, wide-open panoramas to either the Continental Divide or the city of Denver and beyond to the plains suddenly burst into view. The amphitheatre is masterfully hidden from view along most of the interior park road system, yet it is visible from miles away on the east.

There are nine roads within the system—four of these are park entrances. The West Alameda Parkway (also Red Rocks Loops Road) entrance is the farthest north off of County Road 93, and is known as Entrance 1. A contemporary park entrance sign is located at County Road 93, and the actual entrance to the park is unmarked. A similar modern-day sign marks Entrance 2, which is also off of County Road 93 on the east side of the park, and leads into the north end of Red Rocks Park Road. Entrance 3 is on the south off of Highway 74, just west

[37] Lyles and Hammrich, 71.
[38] Ron Garrison. *Red Rocks Employees Manual* (Denver: City and County of Denver Theaters and Arenas, 2005).

of the Town of Morrison from the south into the park off of Highway 74, and is marked by a contemporary sign; this leads into the south end of Red Rocks Park Road. Finally, Entrance 4, marked by a contemporary sign, is also on the south off of Highway 74, and leads into Titans Road. Other interior roads include Ship Rock Road, Trading Post Road, Plains View Road, Red Rocks Trail Road, and Cemetery Road, which leads to a small cemetery outside the east boundary of the park. The road system includes a tunnel (counted as a separate resource), as well as over fifty smaller historic stone culverts, retaining walls and other features built by Denver and then adopted by NPS plans during the New Deal era, or constructed during the New Deal era.[39] While some of these are too small to count separately, most culverts are made of corrugated metal and have native stone headwalls, and are integral to the road system and contribute to its historic character.

The park contains approximately five miles of roads. Portions of the road have been straightened, and some the original curves of the road filled in for shoulder parking lots. Between 1938 and 1957, a small section of roadway running south of the amphitheatre was abandoned and replaced with a road on the west; this change occurred within the period of significance.[40] It is difficult to pinpoint when the roads transitioned from dirt to gravel to asphalt. Denver mostly constructed gravel roads beginning in 1929. Some dirt roads were oiled by the 1940s, and then later paved with asphalt by the 1960s. (At the time of the writing of this nomination, a Historic American Landscape Survey was being completed for Red Rocks Park. Please see that study for more detailed information on the landscape features and specific road segments.)[41]

Stone Culvert. (ca. 1930) Contributing structure, #RR-10.
Located on Red Rocks Park Road just north of the intersection with Ship Rock Road, this riveted, corrugated metal culvert with a quarry-faced ashlar stone headwall drains a dry creek bed. The road passing over the culvert measures 32 x 24 feet. The stone headwall extends beyond the road to form a low parapet wall that is three courses high.

Abandoned Stone Culvert. (ca. 1930) Contributing site, #RR-11.
Aerial photos that date to the period of significance indicate that this culvert and its 40-foot-long masonry headwall functioned as a bridge. It is located on the west side of Lower North Lot. The single span "bridge" only retains the east headwall, which is constructed of quarry-faced rubble stone surrounding a metal draining pipe. The low parapet wall is two courses high. It was abandoned as a bridge sometime after construction of the Lower North Lot.

Rock Ridge/Lizard Rock Tunnel. (ca. 1930) Contributing structure, #RR-12.
This tunnel, located on Alameda Parkway north of the amphitheatre, is carved through the red sandstone of Rock Ridge. The only tunnel in the park, Rock Ridge Tunnel is a rough semi-circular arch that measures approximately 60-feet-long, 26-feet-wide, and 20-feet-high. Built during the period of Denver park development, it provided access to the northwest side of the amphitheatre, and at the same time protected the natural rock formations within the park.

Top Circle Lot. (ca. 1929; modifications 2002-03) Contributing structure, #RR-13.
This circular lot is located south of the Upper North Parking lot, adjacent to Creation Rock and continues to serve its historic purpose as a drop-off and turn-around area at the top of the amphitheatre. As the end of Alameda Parkway within the park, it is an area for vehicles to circle around and return along Alameda Parkway. It was originally graveled with a vegetated island. The lot was paved with asphalt at some point prior to 1963.

[39] CCC Mount Morrison alum Joe Caton recalled working on the Red Rocks roads in Thomas H. and Laurie R. Simmons. "Red Rocks Park Historical Research," (Denver, 1994) 4; Lyles and Hammrich, 15.
[40] Caton, in Simmons and Simmons, 3.
[41] Lyles and Hammrich, 4.

Generally located in the same place and in the same configuration, with the interior island also paved, the circular lot has an area of approximately 16,600 square feet. It contains 50 parking spaces (14 in the interior, 31 along the perimeter, and 5 located on the tangent as the driver enters the circle) a drop-off area, and a 12-foot-wide sidewalk runs along its outward border. In 2002-03, the parking lot was renovated along with the visitor center construction. The work included new concrete pavement, concrete retaining walls clad in sandstone veneer, and lighting.[42]

Upper North Lot. (ca. 1938) Contributing structure, #RR-14.
The Upper North, Lower North, and Upper South parking lots were built in the New Deal era and follow NPS design principles of the period. To preserve scenic qualities, vehicle delineations do not exist in the parking lots; instead, parking is always orchestrated by attendants. The rock formations also serve as natural screens. Not only are the lots not visible to amphitheatre patrons, this method of construction minimized blasting. Instead of standardized, rectilinear parking lots, these areas are designed to follow the natural contours, thus harmonizing with the topography. The North Lot, however, required extensive fill and grading.
Although sited on the same general elevation as the amphitheatre, the Upper North Lot is concealed from view by amphitheatre visitors by Creation Rock. Located on the southeast side of W. Alameda Parkway and north of the amphitheatre, the mostly red gravel lot is roughly semi-circular in shape with an approximate area of 4.9 acres. The south end of the lot is paved, and connects with the driveway from the Top Circle Lot. This section is separated from the rest of the gravel lot by timber wheel-stops and large boulders. In 2012, a gravel trail with a timber staircase was built in a small canyon between two sandstone ridges, following the alignment of the funicular scar, to connect this parking lot to Trading Post Road.[43]

North Walk. (ca. 1940) Contributing structure, #RR-15
First appearing in NPS drawings in 1940, the approximately 710-foot pedestrian walkway connects the Upper North Lot to the lower amphitheatre near the stage. It was originally 5-feet-wide, with a 2-inch slope toward the hillside and a stone-lined gutter and "splash stones." From the Upper North Lot, it climbed gradually to the southeast, weaving through large boulders and over an elevated platform through the rock seam to the north staircase of the amphitheatre. Today, the trail follows the same alignment and provides the same experience, but is paved with concrete, slightly wider, and without an elevated platform in the rock seam. The stone gutters remain in place and functional. The handrails are a mix of original and replacement. An original pipe handrail is intact on the north side of the trail, north of Creation Rock. Along the rock seam, a different two-pipe rail system was installed on both sides of the trail. On the south side staircase, a contemporary decorative guardrail with steel pipe posts and top rails are enclosed with square steel bar stock to meet modern building codes.[44]

Lower North Lot. (ca. 1938) Contributing structure, #RR-16.
This gravel parking lot is located northeast of the amphitheatre and measures approximately 3.2 acres; it is also shielded from view by visitors at the amphitheatre by Creation Rock. Roughly triangular in shape, the red gravel lot required embankment to fill a natural drainage at the base of Lizard Rock. The lot is reached by two entrance points off Trading Post Road, which forms the eastern boundary of the nominated district. The western and northern boundaries of this lot generally follow the grade of a park road that was later abandoned.[45]

[42] Ibid., 33.
[43] Ibid., 34-35. The completed Upper North Lot may not reflect the full NPS design. A December 1937 plan for the Upper North Lot shows drive aisles, pedestrian walkways, and cut stone headwalls for the culverts, creating a more structured circulation plan and refined features for the lot. For reasons unknown, this plan was not executed.
[44] Ibid., 51.
[45] Ibid., 34-36.

Upper South Lot. (ca. 1942-55) Contributing structure, #RR-17.
This red gravel parking lot is linear in shape, oriented north-south, and approximately 4.7 acres. Its boundaries are formed by Ship Rock Road on the east, from which there are three access points, and a rising ridge on the west. It is sited south of the amphitheatre and at a lower elevation. It is shielded from view from the amphitheatre by Ship Rock on the north. In 2003, the northern portion of the parking lot was paved for a handicap parking area.[46]

South Slope Stairway. (1936-1941; modifications, 1990s, 2002-03, 2014) Noncontributing structure, #RR-18
During the period of significance, a sandstone stairway was built to lead visitors to the amphitheatre's south stairway. The stairway has five flights of eight stairs each, with landings in between. The South Ramp, constructed in 1954, then led visitors from the south parking area to this stairway for access to the amphitheatre. During the 1990s, the bottom of the stairway was extended by a large landing area that served as the roof for a first-aid and police room beneath. In 2002-03, the staircase was rebuilt, and restrooms and concessions were added beneath them. Little of the original stairway remains, except for the configuration at the top of the stairway—five flights, with eight stairs each and landings. Although the staircase uses the same sandstone material found throughout the amphitheatre, it is unknown whether the historic material was reused in the re-construction. This unknown, plus its modified design, makes the staircase noncontributing, although the top of the staircase retains the original design, and it continues to play an important, historic function leading visitors to the amphitheatre.

Beer Garden/Concession. (2014) Noncontributing structure, RR-18A
In 2014, a beer garden and concessions area was constructed within the large landing area and south slope—a grassy area between the amphitheatre seating and Ship Rock. The one-story building with a rooftop terrace was constructed using the same red sandstone used throughout the park. A platform area near Pulpit Rock, which anchors the transition between the South Slope Stairway and the amphitheatre's south stairway, was also expanded into space abutting the rock to create more room for concession carts. The same red stone used on the platform wall was used for these projects, and matching concrete was used for the floor. Although these features were not present or have been modified since the period of significance, they have a sensitive design, and do not detract from the historic monumental setting and feeling of the place.

Red Rocks Amphitheatre ADA-compliant restrooms and concessions building (2006-07) Noncontributing building, #RR-19
In 2006 and 2007, restrooms compliant with the Americans with Disabilities Act were constructed at the bottom of the north stairs, north of the stage. Built into the slope north of the North Stairway and south of Creation Rock, the rectangular building measures 26 x 10 feet, and has the same red sandstone veneer used throughout the amphitheatre. The flat concrete roof is accessible from the north stairway and is enclosed by a partial parapet and metal railing to serve as a terrace for concessions. The prominent rounded edge on its southeast side reflects the Modern design introduced by Hoyt and Morse.

Burnham Hoyt Visitor Center. (2003) Noncontributing building, #RR-20
The Denver architecture firm of Sink Combs Dethlefs designed the 2003 Burnham Hoyt Visitor Center, with references to Hoyt's original design for an agora at the top of the seating area. The only part of the Visitor Center that is visible to the general public is a small, one-story, circular lobby that contains the stairs and elevator that take visitors to the center below. This circular, flat-roof building is thirty feet in diameter and is built of quarry-faced, random-range ashlar red sandstone. The windows and doors have light concrete sills, and the roof cornice is smooth-faced red stone. The curved plan and building materials complement Hoyt's original design, as well as Morse's later additions to the amphitheatre. The small scale of the visible lobby does not

[46] Ibid., 36.

detract from the overall site. This addition to the amphitheatre complex was approved by the Denver Landmarks Preservation Commission and meets the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties by placing the new, under-plaza addition in a non-character-defining space, constructing it so there was no loss of historic character-defining features, and limiting its size and scale in relationship to the historic amphitheatre by placing most of the square footage out of public sight. Although the addition is differentiated from the historic resource, it is also compatible in terms of massing, materials, color, and the relationship of solids to voids. The terrain west of the Visitor Center is steep, undeveloped, and inaccessible and, therefore, is not a vantage afforded visitors.

The visitor center does not severely impact the amphitheatre's integrity because the two resources are never in the same field of vision. The majority of the visitor center is located beneath the plaza and theater seating and is, therefore, largely invisible to the public from the amphitheatre seating, from the northwest approach, and from the pedestrian concourse.

Pedestrian Concourse (ca. 1940, 2002-03) Noncontributing structure, #RR-21
From the Top Circle Lot, pedestrians access the plaza at the top of the amphitheatre via the pedestrian concourse. Originally a dirt path prior to the amphitheatre's construction, the concourse was constructed by the CCC according to 1940s NPS plans for a 25-foot wide, crushed stone path, with a rubble stone retaining wall. During visitor center construction, the historic materials were replaced. Today, the concourse is paved with concrete and has intermittent landings for accessibility, but it still serves its historic function to lead visitors to the amphitheatre. Retaining walls on the east and west sides of the concourse were reconstructed in concrete with sandstone veneer and two-course capstone. A continuous steel-pipe handrail is mounted to the wall.[47] Although the concourse was originally constructed during the period of significance, it now has a slightly different design and all of the materials from the period of significance are gone.

Visitor Center Service Drive (2012) Noncontributing structure, #RR-22
The concrete drive begins at the Top Circle Lot and descends to the lower level of the Visitor Center. A large concrete wall with steel pipe railing was built to retain the hillside on the west side of the drive. It is not compatible with design tenets during the period of significance. The drive is not accessible to the public, and was constructed to provide visitor center access to concessions and maintenance vehicles.[48]

Colorado State Highway 74. (1873, 1914, 1930s, 1960s) Noncontributing structure, #RR-23.
Between the main section of Red Rocks Park to the north and the Mount Morrison CCC Camp to the south, approximately 1,500 feet of the eighteen-mile highway runs east-west to intersect the district. The first four miles of highway west of the district were designated Bear Creek Canyon Scenic Mountain Drive and are part of the Denver Mountain Park system.[49] The road began as a toll road for mining and logging operations, and then received improvements over the years, including grading work by the City and County of Denver from 1914-1921 and realignment of the road by the CCC and the WPA in the 1930s.[50] During the 1960s, the stretch of Highway 74 within the park boundary was completely realigned, resulting in its noncontributing status. A portion of the original road remains extant and serves as a private driveway.[51]

[47] Ibid., 50-51.
[48] Ibid., 18.
[49] Ann Moss, "Bear Creek Canyon Scenic Mountain Drive," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (April 1990).
[50] Associated Cultural Resource Experts, "Highways to the Sky: A Context and History of Colorado's Highway System," Colorado Department of Transportation (April 2002), 11.25-11.31, http://www.coloradodot.info/programs/environmental/archaeology-and-history/highways-to-the-sky/highwaystothesky.pdf (accessed April 16, 2014).
[51] Lyles and Hammrich, 13.

Entrance 2 Bridge. Noncontributing structure, #RR-24
The CCC built a steel girder bridge at this location over Mount Vernon Creek. It was torn down in 2013. At the time of writing the nomination, a new concrete and metal truss bridge is being constructed.

Staircase from Top Circle Lot to Upper North Lot. (2002-03) Noncontributing, #RR-25.
A dirt pedestrian route, with what appears to be several wooden steps, is evident in a WPA aerial photo, presumably taken during the period of significance. It connected the Top Circle Lot and the Upper North Lot. Today, a concrete staircase with three landings constructed during the Top Circle Lot renovations connects the two parking lots.

Lower South Lot 1. (ca. 1979) Noncontributing structure, #RR-26.
Constructed later than the period of significance, Lower South Lot 1 is a red gravel lot, roughly triangular in shape, with an area of approximately 2.7 acres. It is bounded by Picnic Rock on the west, Trading Post Road on the northeast, and Red Rocks Park Road on the southeast. The gravel lot is located southeast of the amphitheatre and at a lower elevation. It is shielded from view from the amphitheatre by several sandstone ridges. This area was a grassy meadow during the period of significance; thus its presence is a distraction along the otherwise scenic road.[52]

Lower South Lot 2. (ca. 1979) Noncontributing structure, #RR-27.
Constructed outside the period of significance, Lower South Lot 2 is a red gravel lot, located immediately east of Lower South Parking Lot 1. The approximately 4.4-acre, irregularly-shaped gravel lot is bounded by Red Rocks Park Road on the west. The Trading Post is visible from this lot, but the amphitheatre to the northwest is shielded from view by several sandstone ridges. This area was a grassy meadow during the period of significance, and its presence detracts from the otherwise scenic road.[53]

Red Rocks Trail. (ca. 1980) Noncontributing structure, #RR-28.
The trail was built as a cooperative project with Jeffco Open Space (JCOS), which was founded in 1972. This dirt trail is located near the northern and eastern edges of the Park, and is used for hiking, horseback riding, and mountain biking. It starts at the Lower North Parking Lot, runs south and east for about one mile, where it intersects with Red Rocks Trail Road and splits. One segment extends north and exits the park's northern boundary to connect with the Jefferson County's Open Space trail loop, and the other segment exits the park's eastern boundary to connect to the JCOS Dakota Ridge Trail. Both of these connecting trails are outside of the park boundaries.

Geologic Overlook Trail. (ca. 1937, 2012) Noncontributing structure, #RR-29.
Located at the north end of the park near Red Rocks Trail, portions of this trail were constructed by the CCC in about 1937, but likely suffered significant erosion soon after construction. Later, the trail was extensively reconstructed and extended by volunteer work. The dirt trail now loops northwest to a high point, then descends to the Upper North Lot. A segment also extends south to connect this trail to the Lower North Lot. The trail, which has 73 timber steps and is one of the most popular overlooks in the park, does not have integrity of design, materials, and workmanship dating to the period of significance.[54]

Trading Post Trail. (ca. 1990) Noncontributing structure, #RR-30.
Built by the Volunteers for Outdoor Colorado (VOC), this dirt trail begins and ends at the Trading Post. It passes through spectacular rock formations and natural meadows south of the Trading Post. The trailhead,

[52] Ibid., 39-40.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 53.

located east of the Trading Post overlook and outbuilding, is marked by a kiosk sign. The trail includes several sandstone staircases. A wood and metal bridge and several culverts with stone headwalls are evident on the trail. The hiking-only, loop trail is approximately 1.5 miles long and is located at an elevation of approximately 6,280 feet. Most of the dirt, gravel, and rock trail is less than thirty-inches wide. The westernmost segment of the trail, measuring approximately 0.4 miles, was part of the original five-mile scenic loop road built by the City and County of Denver. This segment retains its original alignment, passes two natural drainages using the historic metal culverts and headwalls built for the road, and contains portions of the asphalt pavement. Although the trail is noncontributing as a whole, this segment is important to the history of the park and its road system.[55]

Trading Post Garden. (1960s) Noncontributing site, #RR-31.
During the 1960s, the local Cactus Club planted an approximately 4,000-square-foot cactus garden west of the Trading Post. The cacti were removed sometime before 2000, and a cooperative group began replanting the garden with native plants in 2006. However, several stone landscape features remain from decades of garden use, with some possibly predating the work of the Cactus Club.[56] These include a circular concrete water basin with rock edging and a central feature, rock-edged planting beds, and rock-lined steps along the southwest side of the Trading Post.

Picnic Shelter. (1996) Noncontributing structure, #RR-32.
Constructed after the end of the period of significance, this post and timber picnic shelter is located in the northern section of the park, at the north end of Plains View Road. The rectangular shelter measures 40 x 20 feet and has heavy timber posts on the perimeter supporting a hipped roof with exposed rafter tails. The roof is sheathed with asphalt shingles. A low sandstone retaining wall on the northwest side of the shelter provides additional seating.

Toilet Building. (1996) Noncontributing building, #RR-33.
Constructed after the end of the period of significance, and built in 1996 in conjunction with the nearby picnic shelter to the north, this small square, 10 x 10-foot structure has a steeply pitched gable roof, horizontal tongue-and-groove plank siding, and an open gable end on the north. There are separate entries for men and women.

Box Office 1. (2002, 2005) Noncontributing building, #RR-34.
Constructed after the end of the period of significance, this small box office was built in 2002 at the amphitheatre; in 2005, it was moved to the triangular intersection of Red Rocks Trail Road and Red Rocks Park Road. The 12 x 12-foot building is built of random ashlar Lyons sandstone on a concrete slab. It is eight feet tall, and features a six-inch-thick arched concrete roof covered with standing seam metal. An overhang on the south side supported by round wood posts shelters a metal door and windows for walk-up patrons. The windows are covered with a hinged wood shutter when not in use. Another metal door and a drive-up window are on the north side.

Box Office 2. (2005) Noncontributing building, #RR-35.
Constructed after the end of the period of significance, and located north of the drive-through lane for Box Office 1, this small rectangular building is built of random ashlar Lyons sandstone on a concrete slab. The 8 x 10-foot building has a flat concrete roof that extends slightly on the north, overhanging the ticket window on this side.

[55] Ibid., 54.
[56] "History," Native Garden in the Red Rocks, accessed 12 November 2012, http://redrocksgarden.wordpress.com/history/.

Box Office 3. (2005) Noncontributing building, #RR-36.
Constructed after the end of the period of significance, and located northeast of the drive-through lane for Box Office 2, this small rectangular building is built of random ashlar Lyons sandstone on a concrete slab. The 8 x 10-foot building has a flat concrete roof that projects slightly on the north to shelter the ticket window.

"Leaves of Grass" Sculpture. (2009) Noncontributing object, #RR-37.
Installed after the end of the period of significance, this sculpture is composed of three large angular arcs (blades) built from hand-forged, stamped steel. It is located along the South Ramp entrance. It was designed and constructed by local artist Tyler Aiello and commissioned by the Denver Office of Cultural Affairs. The blades, inspired by the blades of prairie grasses and yucca leaves native to Red Rocks Park, are formed by small circular discs welded into shape.

"CCC Worker" Statue. (2004) Noncontributing object, #RR-38.
Installed after the end of the period of significance, and located northwest of the amphitheatre's Visitor Center, along the southern edge of the Top Circle Lot, the CCC Worker statue is a six-foot-tall bronze statue depicting a shirtless worker with his left hand on his hip, and his right on the base of an ax handle with its head resting on the ground. The approximately three-foot-tall base is constructed of random ashlar red sandstone. On the north side of the base is a bronze plaque that reads:

CCC Worker
Erected in 2004 by Chapter 7, NACCCA
in cooperation with the City and County of Denver.
Dedicated in honor of the 3 million workers
who served in the Civilian Conservation Corps
from 1933 to 1942 and to those members of
Co 1848, SP-13-C, Morrison, Colorado,
who were the builders of this
Red Rocks Amphitheatre from 1936 to 1941.[57]

This statue was dedicated on Labor Day, September 6, 2004, and is the only statue honoring CCC workers in Colorado. It is the second of two memorials to the CCC placed at Red Rocks.

The CCC Worker Statue program was initiated in 1995 by Chapter #129 of Grayling, Michigan, with the intent to place at least one statue in every state.[58] The statue program was then undertaken as part of a nationwide interpretive effort by the National Association of Civilian Conservation Corps Alumni organization, and continued by the Civilian Conservation Corps Legacy organization. The life-sized statues are six-feet-tall and weigh 460 pounds. The bronze statue was designed by Jim Brothers and produced by Sergey Kazaryan.[59] The statue at Red Rocks was the twenty-seventh statue in the country to be placed.

CCC Memorial Plaque/Denver Landmark Medallion. (1988, 2005) Noncontributing object, #RR-39.
Installed after the end of the period of significance, and located immediately southeast of the CCC Worker statue, this memorial consists of a bronze plaque placed on a large, irregular sandstone boulder with a large

[57] Company 1848 left in 1937 and was replaced by Company 1860, who completed much of the amphitheatre's construction, along with Company 1822 from SP-14.
[58] "National Statue Program," Civilian Conservation Corps Legacy, accessed 15 January 2013, http://www.ccclegacy.org/statue_program.html.
[59] Elizabeth West, *Santa Fe: 400 Years, 400 Questions* (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2012) 299.

bronze plaque. When constructed in 1988 as the first memorial to the CCC in Red Rocks, the plaque was located on a boulder overlooking the walkway to the top of the Amphitheatre. However, when the Visitor Center was completed in 2003, this plaque was no longer visible, so it was placed on a boulder beside the CCC Worker statue. The irregular sandstone boulder also holds a circular Denver Landmark medallion.[60] The larger bronze plaque, erected by the CCC Alumni Chapter 7, reads:

RED ROCKS AMPHITHEATRE
PRINCIPAL CONSTRUCTION BY CIVILIAN CONSERVATION
CORPS COMPANY 1848, SP-13C, MT. MORRISON, CO.
1936-1941
DEDICATED AS A MEMORIAL TO ALL WHO SERVED AT
MT. MORRISON AND TO THE 3 MILLION WHO SERVED IN
THE CCC NATION-WIDE, 1933-1942. THE CCC LEFT ITS
HERITAGE IN THE PRESERVATION OF AMERICA'S NATURAL
RESOURCES FOR ENJOYMENT BY ALL GENERATIONS.
ERECTED BY
CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS ALUMNI CHAPTER 7
IN COOPERATION WITH THE CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER.
JUNE 4, 1988

Water Treatment Building. (ca. 2001) Noncontributing building, #RR-40.
Constructed outside of the period of significance, this rectangular, flat-roofed stucco building measures approximately 57 x 97 feet, and is located northwest of the amphitheatre. From W. Alameda Parkway, a dirt road leads northwest to the western ridge where the building is located.

Excel Electric Building. (2003) Noncontributing structure, #RR-41.
Constructed outside of the period of significance, this small, 20 x 20-foot, flat roof stucco structure has an entry door on the east side providing access to interior equipment. It is located on the western edge of the Upper North Parking Lot, east of W. Alameda Parkway.

Loading Dock. (ca. 2001) Noncontributing structure, #RR-42.
Constructed after the end of the period of significance, the loading dock is northeast of the Trading Post (#RR-4) on the east side of Trading Post Road. There are four large diagonal pull-off parking spaces, sized for semi-trucks, which adjoin a raised concrete loading dock; the entire structure measures approximately 7,800 square feet. A ramp is located on the southwest side of the dock, and both the dock and ramp have random ashlar sandstone walls with a concrete deck. The dock also has iron rails on the southwest, facing the diagonal parking.

Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) Camp site. (1935-36) Contributing site, #MM-1**.**
Located in the southernmost part of Red Rocks Park, immediately south of Highway 74 (Bear Creek Road), the Mount Morrison CCC Camp is among the few intact CCC camps that survive in the nation. It contains the highest concentration of original CCC-era resources of any camp in the nation, retaining twenty historic resources.[61] The CCC camp is located on a 19-acre tract of land that was purchased by the City and County of Denver in 1928 as part of the Red Rocks transaction. The site was used as a CCC camp from 1935 to 1941 to

[60] Red Rocks Amphitheatre was designated a Denver Landmark in 1973.
[61] Two buildings are now split in half, resulting in a camp resource count of twenty-two.

house two different CCC companies. It is shown within the boundaries of the park on master plans from the 1930s.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, national interest shifted to military preparedness, and funding for the CCC program was dramatically curtailed and soon terminated. As camps closed, the government transferred ownership of the buildings and structures to the military or other government and nonprofit entities devoted to the war effort or to the promotion of conservation, education, recreation, or public health. The Mount Morrison CCC Camp buildings and structures were transferred to the City and County of Denver, which already owned the land upon which the buildings were located, on January 21, 1943. Over the years, it has served as a youth summer camp and as headquarters for a Denver CCC alumni organization. Today, it continues as the maintenance and operations center for the Denver Mountain Parks. The camp's intact physical layout, the nearly complete collection of standardized buildings in their original setting, and the CCC-era landscape features provide a physical representation of the CCC program, including daily life, work, and recreation for the men of companies 1848 and 1860.

The camp is separated from Red Rocks Park by Highway 74, as well as by a ridge of sandstone rising over one hundred feet above the road. Other sandstone ridges are south of the camp, with spectacular views from various vantage points within the camp. Bear Creek runs in a generally east-west direction in the northern portion of the camp. The vegetation in the camp is a combination of plant materials found in the drier zones of Red Rocks Park, as well as a riparian zone along the banks of Bear Creek containing large stands of plains cottonwood trees. A historic photograph taken in 1936 shortly after the camp was built shows large deciduous trees along the creek and low scrub vegetation along the steep road embankments in the northwest section of the camp. The southeast section, however, was cleared of all vegetation during the 1930s when the ground was graded and leveled for construction. Today, the southeast section of the camp contains scattered mature coniferous and deciduous shade trees.

CCC camp layouts and buildings were designed and built according to U.S. Army guidelines. The 19-acre camp site plan is relatively unchanged since its occupation by the CCC from 1935 to 1941. The Army's plan for Mount Morrison divided the camp into three main sections based on common functions, topography, and Bear Creek. The northwest section of the camp contains the service area with utilitarian work buildings—garages, a workshop, and blacksmith shop. The southeast section on slightly higher ground is the housing area, which contains barracks, a mess hall, a recreation hall, and a bath house/latrine. The recreation area was left mostly undeveloped and is sited in the northeast quadrant of the camp, bordering Bear Creek. The camp road loops through the property, providing access to all of the buildings. Union Avenue on the east turns into the northeast entry road of the camp, and leads west through the recreation area into the service area after crossing Bear Creek. Here, the camp road winds through rising topography, and service buildings are aligned alongside the road. After turning back to the southeast, the road enters the housing area. Like Red Rocks Park to the north, the camp features a backdrop of dramatic red sandstone monoliths and low semi-arid hills on the south, and Bear Creek meanders through the northern portion of the camp site.

The buildings associated with the CCC camp were constructed using standardized plans and interchangeable parts developed by the Federal government from military models, specifically the Army's Series 600 mobilization-building designs of 1918. Intended as temporary, utilitarian buildings, this standardization allowed for quick erection and dismantling. Because many of the buildings shared similar architectural features, their uniform appearance formed a cohesive group. All of the buildings constructed for the camp were rectangular, generally with the gable ends 20-feet-long. For example, all of the 50-man barracks were 120 x 20 feet; the latrine was 48 x 20 feet, the Mess Hall was 176 x 20 feet, and garages were 20 x 20 feet or longer. The original foundations were wood piers, and the wood frame buildings were clad in five-inch, tongue-and-groove,

flush wood board siding. They all featured medium-pitched gable roofs with exposed rafter tails. The same windows were used throughout the camp, no matter the building function. The original windows were hopper-style, with a single square sash set in a simple wood frame with flat trim. Each window had six panes, and opened into the building through hinges at the bottom. Most of the original entry doors were five-paneled wood, although some workshop doors were solid tongue-and-groove with strap hinges.

In the 1980s, all but three of the buildings were covered with nine-inch horizontal, masonite siding, although the original siding is still extant beneath. Original siding was not covered on Garage 2, the Blacksmith Shop, and the Camp Commander's Garage. In some instances, historic windows, extant and visible from the interiors of the buildings, were covered by the siding. Since 1997, AmeriCorps National Civilian Community Corps (NCCC) teams have helped Denver Mountain Parks staff install new rolled-asphalt roofing on several buildings. This replicated the appearance of the original roofing, but with new installation methods and higher quality materials. The new roofing consists of a fiberglass base sheet applied vertically and polyester-based sheathing in the original green color.[62]

The five barracks in the housing area are arranged in a rough U-plan around an open assembly ground, with the headquarters building at the north end and the wash house/latrine at the south end. The Recreation and Mess halls are located southeast of the barracks. Within the assembly ground, a large circular area surrounded by mature lilacs marks the site where a flagpole was once located.

When transferred from the Federal government to the City and County of Denver in 1943, the camp contained fifteen buildings. Only one of those buildings has been demolished, a small 8 x 12-foot oil house. The remaining buildings are in good condition, with the exception of the camp commander's garage, which is in deteriorated condition. The most significant alteration was the division of both the Headquarters Building and Barracks 1 into two smaller buildings. These buildings were divided by removing small portions of the centers of the buildings, without moving the remaining components from their original locations. Other alterations include additions to garages 1 and 2, raising the roof of Garage 2 to accommodate larger trucks, and the application of masonite lap siding. Alterations to individual buildings are noted in the building descriptions.

The camp site retains a very high degree of integrity in the aspects of feeling, association, location, setting and design. The division between use areas in the camp is distinct, based on topography, vegetation and the road system. Military contractors smoothed the grade in the housing area to allow the barracks and bath house to be arranged in a typical CCC U-plan around an open assembly ground, but the uneven grade in the service areas resulted in a more haphazard siting of buildings along the camp road. The camp layout is intact and reflects the adaptation of military camp plans to site conditions by the Army. Workmanship and materials for the individual buildings have been impacted by the changes noted above, but the original materials are still evident in the interiors, which are remarkably intact. Overall, the camp presents a historic sense of time and place and provides a rare glimpse into daily life at a CCC camp.

Mount Morrison CCC Camp Road System. (1935) Contributing structure, #MM-2.
The Mount Morrison CCC Camp roads are irregularly laid out due to the variations in the site topography. The road system generally curves from the northeast entry of the camp to the west, then curves back to the southeast entry. The northeast entry leads west from Union Avenue, following Bear Creek and the north boundary of Morrison Park to finally enter the service/utilitarian section of the camp via a bridge over Bear Creek. The road continues west through the garages and shops, then curves back to the southeast following a rise in elevation to

[62] Merrill Ann Wilson, "Building #1a Colorado Cultural Resources Survey, Historic Building/Structure Form," in "Rehabilitation Plan and Recommendations for Civilian Conservation Corps Company 1848 Camp SP-13-C, Morrison, Colorado," (Denver, CO: City and County of Denver, Department of Parks and Recreation Planning Division, 21 August 1998), 2, 5.

the higher housing area of the camp. Before entering the housing area, another road turns west to the service buildings located on higher elevation. Once entering the housing section of the camp, the road splits to encircle the barracks. A straight drive lined with cottonwood and spruce follows along the front of the Headquarters building, and the other road leads southwest to circle around Barracks 3, 4 and 5.[63] At the south edge of the camp, the road turns to the east and eventually winds out of the camp between the Recreation and Mess halls. Here the camp road system connects with Red Rocks Vista Lane.

The roads are paved asphalt in most areas; the remaining are dirt. The known alterations to the road system include the addition of an access road to Town of Morrison water buildings located outside of the NHL boundary on the south, and the removal of a small circular drive south of the Camp Commander's Garage. This was replaced by a large dirt and gravel parking area.

Mount Morrison CCC Camp Bear Creek Bridge. (1935) Contributing structure, #MM-3.
This fixed, free-span bridge over Bear Creek is along the northern camp road, located east of Garages 1 and 2. It measures approximately 40 x 17 feet and has a timber deck covered with asphalt, with I-beams for the deck plate girders. The foundations and abutments are rubble stone walls, and the railing is decorative ironwork. In 2000, the decking was replaced and the bridge painted green to complement the Denver Park System buildings.

Mount Morrison CCC Camp: Housing Area
Mount Morrison CCC Mess Hall and Kitchen. (1935) Contributing building, #MM-4.
The Mess Hall and Kitchen is located in the far southeastern corner of the CCC camp, east of the Recreation Hall. The one-story, rectangular building is 176 x 20 feet. The foundation consists of concrete block piers set around the building's perimeter. The nonhistoric masonite siding that covers the historic siding extends to the ground, covering the foundation in most places. The main entry is on the north, and has historic double, five-paneled doors in a small gabled entry vestibule with wood steps. A single door on the east end of the north side is sheltered by a shed-roofed entry porch, with wood steps and deck. A small shed-roofed addition extends from the kitchen on the south side, which has two single doors—one is an original, five-paneled door; the other a nonhistoric flush door. There are twenty identical square windows spaced along the exterior sides, and two on the entry vestibule. South of this building is a large concrete platform and steps.

The interior is divided into two spaces: kitchen and communal dining hall. The kitchen is on the west end of the building, and is separated from the dining hall on the east by a framed fiberboard wall. The kitchen has original, narrow board flooring, while the mess hall features wide plank boards, also original. The kitchen cabinets are white painted wood, and the countertops are composite laminate with metal edging. The dining hall has fiberboard ceilings and walls, with a chair-rail at window sill height. Another historic interior feature is the original wood-burning stove used to heat the dining hall. Documented alterations include the removal of a partition separating the officer's mess from the enrollees' mess hall; construction of a new partition separating the kitchen from the mess hall; rebuilding of the east entry porch and steps; and adding a new entry cover over the former officer's mess area stairs. All of these alterations, including the re-siding of the building, occurred in 1986.[64]

Mount Morrison CCC Recreation Hall. (1935) Contributing building, #MM-5.
The Recreation Hall is located in the southeast section of the camp, west of the Mess Hall and kitchen, south of Barracks 1, and east of the latrine building. The one-story rectangular building is 105 x 20 feet. The foundation is a combination of concrete block on the south, wood piers on the north, and a small area of smooth dressed-

[63] The portion of the road which separates the west barracks from those on the east may not be original.
[64] *NACCCA Chapter Chatter & Comments, vol. 5, chapter 7* (June 1986) p. 1; *NACCCA Chapter Chatter & Comments, vol. 6, chapter 7* (July 1986) p. 1.

face and rough ashlar stone at the southeast corner. The nonhistoric masonite siding that covers the original siding extends to the ground in most places, covering much of the foundation. A pair of entry doors on the west side is sheltered by an open-ended gable vestibule, and a shed-roofed entry vestibule is located at the east end of the north side. There are fifteen visible windows spaced at regular intervals on the long side of the building, except at the east end, where the stage is located. Some windows at the west end of the building were covered when the siding was added. At the east end of the building, the gable roof is about eighteen inches higher to accommodate the stage on the interior. A modern flush door at the east end of the building is built into the foundation, and leads to an area beneath the stage.

A shed-roofed wing off the west end of the south side measures approximately 250 square feet and contains a small sitting room with a massive, exterior sandstone chimney. Based on the materials—concrete block on the exterior and flagstone flooring on the interior—the construction date of the wing is estimated to be ca. 1950, after the camp transferred it to the City and County of Denver.

The interior is intact, retaining its large rectangular open floor plan. The original plank wood floorboards in the main room are oriented in two different directions, changing approximately midway where the floor slopes upwards slightly towards the stage at the southeast end. The raised stage (replaced by CCC alumni in 1985) is wood, and has stairs on the north side and a simple wood balustrade. The walls are fiberboard, except for the southeast wall behind the stage, which features log siding and a 1950s-era mural depicting square dancers. The sheetrock ceiling has a spray textured coating, but most of the original braces and beams are still intact. The CCC enrollees used this building for relaxation activities after the end of the day's work. CCC Alumni Chapter 7 used the building as its meeting room, and a small collection of historic CCC artifacts is displayed as a museum. It is in good condition.

Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 1a. (1935) Contributing building, #MM-6.
Barracks 1a is located in the southeast portion of the camp site among four other barracks; it is directly southwest of Barracks 2 and northeast of the Recreation Hall.[65] This is the western half of a larger barracks building that was divided into two, one-story rectangular buildings at some point after 1935 by removing the center section.[66] Consequently, this building measures 52 x 20 feet. The foundation is concrete block on a poured concrete footing, although the original wood piers probably exist behind the concrete block to support the joists mid-span. Nonhistoric masonite siding covers the original siding. The three historic exterior walls retain all of their original openings—six on both of the long sides, and an entry on the northwest side. This entry is a raised portico porch with five-paneled wood door and concrete steps. A similar door was added to the nonhistoric southeast end. On the southwest side there are four historic windows and two five-paneled wood doors, and the northeast side has six windows.[67] The interior of Barracks 1a has been divided into four rooms, but retains original wood floor boards and a fiberboard ceiling. The barracks originally housed CCC enrollees, and was later used as sleeping quarters for summer camp attendees. It is in good condition.

Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 1b. (1935) Contributing building, #MM-7.
Barracks 1b is also located in the southeast portion of the camp site among four other barracks, a few feet east of Barracks 1a. It is the eastern half of a larger barracks building that was divided into two, one-story rectangular buildings at some point after 1935 by removing the center section. This portion is slightly smaller than Barracks 1a, measuring 45 x 20 feet. The foundation is concrete block, although the original wood piers

[65] The numbering system for the barracks has been used by the Denver Mountain Parks since at least the 1950s.

[66] Barracks 1 remained a single building at least up through 1955 according to aerial photographs. Even though it is presently divided into two buildings, Denver Mountain Parks still refers to the two sections as "Barracks 1."

[67] Merrill Ann Wilson, "Building #1a Condition Evaluation Report," in "Rehabilitation Plan and Recommendations for Civilian Conservation Corps Company 1848 Camp SP-13-C, Morrison, Colorado," (Denver, CO: City and County of Denver, Department of Parks and Recreation Planning Division, 21 August 1998), 4.

probably exist behind the concrete block to support the joists mid-span. Nonhistoric masonite siding covers the historic siding. The three historic exterior walls retain all of their original openings, except for the southwest side. A gabled portico entry porch with a historic five-paneled wood door is at the southeast end, and a similar entry portico was added to the nonhistoric northwest side. Although there are five windows on the northeast side, there are only four on the southwest. The interior is one large, single room with wood panels covering the original fiberboard walls. The historic exposed wood braces and trusses are intact, as are the original wood floor boards and fiberboard ceiling. There is also a historic metal stovepipe on the roof ridge. The barracks originally housed CCC enrollees, and was later used as sleeping quarters for summer camp attendees. It is in good condition.

Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 2. (1935) Contributing building, #MM-8.
Barracks 2 is located in the southeast portion of the camp site among four other barracks; it is directly northeast of Barracks 1a and 1b and southeast of the former Headquarters building. The long, rectangular building is 120 x 20 feet. The nonhistoric masonite siding that covers the historic siding extends to the ground and covers the foundation, which is a combination of original wood piers set on small concrete pads or a single rock on grade on four foot centers along the perimeter of the building. [68] There are three metal stovepipes on the end-gabled roof ridge. It retains the single entry doors at each gable end of the building; both are original five-paneled doors, although the east door has been covered with a plywood panel on the exterior. It originally had fourteen regularly spaced windows on the north side, and thirteen windows and a door on the south side. Although all of the windows are extant and visible on the interior, several were covered with masonite clapboards when the building was re-sided. Of the five windows visible on the southwest exterior side, four have been boarded over with plywood panels, and on the northeast side, two of the four windows have been boarded over. The interior retains its one-room, open floor plan, with original plank floorboards, exposed braces and trusses, and fiberboard ceiling and walls. The barracks originally housed CCC enrollees, and was later used as sleeping quarters for summer camp attendees. It is presently used for storage and is in good condition.

Mount Morrison CCC Bath House and Latrine. (1935) Contributing building, #MM-9.
The latrine is located in the southeast portion of the camp between the Recreation Hall and barracks 3 and 4. The building has the original poured concrete foundation. Nonhistoric masonite siding covers the historic siding. The 48 x 20-foot rectangular building has a shed roof entry vestibule on the northwest side and two wood entry doors covered by a small shed roof porch on the southeast side. All doors are historic five-paneled wood. Stone steps lead to the two separate entrances, and a flagstone terrace is on the northwest side. There are four windows on the northwest side, one on the southwest and three on the southeast (one boarded over with plywood). [69]

The interior has a concrete floor and five-inch, tongue-and-groove plank wood walls and ceiling. There are six toilet stalls on the south end with wood partitions. Three large metal sinks line the center of the northwest wall. An interior partition has one low washbasin remaining. The building originally was used as a bath house and latrine for the CCC enrollees and, later, by summer camp attendees. It is presently used for storage and is in fair condition.

Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 3. (1935) Contributing building, #MM-10.
Barracks 3 is located in the southeast portion of the camp among four other barracks; it is directly southwest of Barracks 4 and west of the Bath House and Latrine building. The long, rectangular building is 120 x 20 feet. The nonhistoric masonite siding that covers the historic siding extends to the ground and covers the foundation, which is a combination of concrete block and original wood piers. The gable-end entry porticos are extant, but

[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.

the doors are not original. The solid, tongue-and-groove vertical board doors with strap hinges may have been added when the barracks were adapted for use as a warehouse. A ramp was also added to the concrete stoop at the northwest gable entry. It originally had fourteen regularly spaced windows on both the north and south sides. All of the windows are extant and visible on the interior, but several were covered with masonite clapboards when the building was re-sided. Today, both sides have four operable windows visible from the exterior. There are three metal stovepipe chimneys on the front-gabled roof ridge. The interior is intact, retaining its one-room open floor plan with original plank wood floorboards, bare bulb light fixtures, exposed braces and trusses, and fiberboard ceiling and walls. The fiberboard ceiling has deteriorated in some areas, exposing the 1 x 8-inch ceiling boards in some places. The barracks originally housed CCC enrollees, and was later used as sleeping quarters for summer camp attendees. It is presently used for storage and is in good condition.

Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 4. (1935) Contributing building, #MM-11.
Barracks 4 is located in the southeast portion of the camp site among four other barracks; it is directly southwest of Barracks 5 and northeast of Barracks 3. The long, rectangular building is 120 x 20 feet. The nonhistoric masonite siding that covers the historic siding extends to the ground, covering the original wood pier foundation. The gable-end entry porticos are extant, but the door on the southeast side is two-paneled instead of the original five-paneled. It originally had fourteen regularly spaced openings on both the north and south sides. While all of the windows are extant and visible on the interior, several were covered with masonite clapboards when the building was re-sided. Today, the north side has eight operable windows and the south side has seven operable windows and a door.

The interior has been divided into two main sections: a larger open section on the southeast, and a smaller section on the northwest divided into three rooms. The building retains its original plank floorboards, exposed braces and trusses, and fiberboard ceiling and walls; the fiberboard ceiling has deteriorated in spots, exposing some of the 1 x 8-inch ceiling boards. The barracks originally housed CCC enrollees, and was later used as sleeping quarters for summer camp attendees. It is presently used for storage and is in good condition.

Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 5. (1935) Contributing building, #MM-12.
Barracks 5 is located in the southeast portion of the camp site among four other barracks; it is directly southwest of the former Headquarters building and northeast of Barracks 4. The long, rectangular building is 120 x 20 feet. The foundation is a combination of concrete block on the south and historic wood piers on the north. The nonhistoric masonite siding which covers the historic siding extends to the ground, covering the foundation in most places. It had fourteen regularly spaced openings on both the north and south sides; the south side had fourteen windows, while the north had twelve windows and two doors. While all of the windows are extant and visible on the interior, several were covered with masonite clapboards when the building was re-sided. Today, there are seven window openings still visible on the exterior of both sides; five have been boarded over with plywood panels on the south side. The gable-end entry porticos retain original five-paneled wood doors. A wood sign on the southeast portico is labeled “No. 4 Sleeping Quarters” (possibly dating from the 1950s or 1960s when it was used as a summer youth camp). There are three metal stovepipe chimneys on the ridgeline. The interior has been divided into two sections: a larger open section on the southeast, and a smaller single room on the northwest. The building retains its original plank wood floorboards, exposed braces and trusses, and fiberboard ceiling and walls. The three metal pipe openings for the chimney are also visible in the ceiling. The barracks originally housed CCC enrollees, and was later used as sleeping quarters for summer camp attendees. It is presently used for storage and is in good condition.

Stone Pond and Fountain. (ca. 1937) Contributing site. #MM-13.
Located between Barracks 5 and the CCC Headquarters building, the circular fish pond made of native rough-cut stone has a 4-foot-diameter and is less than 1-foot-high. The center stone fountain is approximately two feet high. The pond no longer holds water and contains overgrown grass. Based on the materials and workmanship, it is estimated to date to the CCC-era, and approximately to the time when the veteran company arrived and improved the camp's aesthetics.

Mount Morrison CCC Headquarters, Infirmary, Supply, Technical Service Quarters and Officers' Quarters (west portion). (1935) Contributing building, #MM-14.
During the period of use by the CCC, this building was originally 180 x 20 feet long and housed several different camp functions simultaneously: headquarters, supply, technical service and officers' quarters, and the infirmary.[70] The building had been constructed on fill that settled, and at some point after 1963, the settling necessitated the removal of a ten-foot central portion of the building, effectively cutting the building in two. [71] Therefore, the two buildings are counted separately.

The western building measures 92 x 20 feet. The one-story, gable-roof building has paired entry doors, as well as two other single entry doors on the south (front) side. The foundation, covered with plywood panels, is a combination of stone and concrete block walls around the perimeter, and stone and concrete block center support piers. There are fourteen historic windows visible on the exterior and spaced around the long, narrow building; others are covered by the masonite siding.

The interior is divided into two main sections. The east end was remodeled during its ownership by Denver Mountain Parks as living quarters, and contains a kitchen, bath, open living room area, and three small rooms; historically it contained the wash room. The west end has two rooms that contain original interior features corresponding to their historic functions, the linen room and infirmary for the CCC camp. This area retains original wood floors, fiberboard walls and ceiling, five-paneled interior wood door labeled "STOREKEEPER" which leads into the linen room, and varnished wood storage cabinets. These cabinets are located on the northwest side, and have plywood doors with simple wood frames. Original stenciled labels are visible on several cabinets, noting "COATS WOOL OD," "MACKINAWS W.O.D," "FRESH LINEN," and "SOILED LINEN." The building is in good condition, with the exception of foundation problems, especially at the northwest corner.

Mount Morrison CCC Headquarters, Infirmary, Supply, Technical Service Quarters and Officers' Quarters (east portion). (1935) Contributing building, #MM-15.
This eastern building measures 81 x 20 feet and is a one-story, gable-roofed rectangular building with an enclosed porch on the front, and shed roof extensions on the north and south sides. The foundation is covered with wood panels and is not visible. Most of the windows are typical of the others in the camp—six-light hopper windows; some are paired and others are single. In addition to the masonite siding and division of the original building, other alterations include windows on the south screened porch. Storm doors have been added to the entries. The interior of this building has been more extensively remodeled than the other buildings in the camp. This portion of the building originally housed camp officers, and likely the camp physician. It is currently used as the caretaker's residence and is in good condition.

[70] The building's "original" size is taken from property transfer records in 1942; however, nearly all of the sizes of the buildings listed appear to be overestimated, so these figures may be inaccurate.

[71] Aerial photographs from 1955 and 1963, as well as site plans from 1959, show that the building had not yet been divided. The settlement of the fill, and the subsequent construction of a new foundation, is the reason the ridge lines of the two separate buildings are not identical.

Mount Morrison CCC Camp: Service Area

Mount Morrison CCC Garage 1. (1935; addition 1974) Contributing building, #MM-16.
This long, rectangular building is located in the northwest section of the camp, and is the first building west of the Bear Creek Bridge. The one-story, gable-roof building has offices on the east end and garages, workshops, and storage in the remainder of the building. Set within a hill that rises to the south, the north wall is set on a high concrete block foundation raised above the elevation of the Union Avenue entrance road. The south side of the building is at ground level, with the visible foundation a concrete slab. The building is currently 138 x 24 feet; originally it was 114 x 24 feet, but Denver Mountain Parks constructed a 24-foot addition for offices on the east end in 1974. Windows in this addition are tripartite, with a large, center, fixed-sash window flanked by two smaller fixed sash windows. The remaining windows on the building are the historic original six-pane hopper windows. Entries are all on the south side. There are three sets of large, wooden double-doors that swing outward to serve the three garage bays. This side also has two solid, tongue-and-groove vertical board doors with strap hinges, which appear to date from the period of CCC use. The interior of the office section on the east end has wood floors. Based on historic plans for nearby CCC Camp SP-14 in Golden, and its original size, this building likely housed trucks. It presently serves as the Denver Mountain Parks District administrative offices, supply storage, and as a three-bay garage for operations equipment.

Mount Morrison CCC Garage 2. (1935) Contributing building, #MM-17.
This tall one-story garage is located in the northwest section of the camp, and is the first building on the north side of the Union Avenue entrance. Originally 70 x 20 feet, the building was expanded by Denver Mountain Parks with a 14-foot shed-roofed addition on the rear (north) side, expanding it to 70 x 34 feet. The roof was raised in order to accommodate larger park maintenance vehicles; thus this garage is taller than the others in the camp. The south side is open, and divided into stalls by supporting wood posts. The three closed stalls retain the original oiled tongue-and-groove wood, flush board siding. The building is in good condition. Although the alterations impact integrity of design for the individual building, it is in its historic location and still serves its original function, thus contributing to the overall character of the camp. On the ground adjacent to the east side of the building, historic concrete runners extend to the north. These were used historically to park vehicles for oil changes, which was facilitated by the ground sloping down to the north, allowing the enrollees access to the underside of the trucks.

Mount Morrison CCC Blacksmith Shop. (1935) Contributing building, #MM-18.
The blacksmith shop is located in the northwest section of the camp, north of the Union Avenue entry road and immediately west of resource #MM17. The foundation is a poured concrete footing. The 20 x 20-foot square building retains its historic tongue-and-groove, flush wood siding. A small gable-roofed cupola with vents is centered on the ridge line. The south side has a single entry door, and the east side has double, ten-foot-wide sliding garage doors. Both doors are crafted from solid, tongue-and-groove vertical boards. There are two original windows on the north, south, and west sides. The interior is a single open room. Historically, the building was used as a shop for metal work. Today, it serves as storage and is in excellent condition.

Mount Morrison CCC Workshop. (1935), Contributing building, #MM-19.
The workshop building is located in the northwest section of the camp, and is sited at the top of a rise on a higher elevation than the remainder of the camp buildings. Originally 100 feet long, approximately 20 feet of the west end was removed by Denver Mountain Parks. A pair of sliding garage doors and a single-entry door were added on this side, and the area was graded on the outside to allow vehicles to enter.[72] Today, the one-story, rectangular building is 80 x 20 feet, with nonhistoric masonite lap siding covering the original tongue-and-groove wood siding. There are eight historic windows on both of the long sides, with nonhistoric metal security bars. The east side has a single, nonhistoric door flanked by a historic window to the south; a metal

[72] Based on aerial photographs and sketches, this alteration possibly occurred prior to 1955.

window vent is above the door. There are two metal stovepipes: one on the ridge line, and another on the north roof slope. During the period of use by the CCC, the building served as a workshop and carpentry building. Although the alteration on the west end of the building impacts integrity of design, it is in its original location and clearly imparts its historic character as a utilitarian camp building.

Mount Morrison CCC Camp Commander's Garage. (1935) Contributing building, #MM-20.
This 20 x 20-foot garage building has a gable roof with much of its asphalt sheeting roof material missing, exposing the roof boards. The historic wood tongue-and-groove plank siding is also deteriorated. There are two pairs of swinging hinged vertical board garage doors on the east side, two windows on the west side, and a single window each on the north and south sides. The window openings are original, but missing the sash windows. This building served as the camp commander's automobile garage. It is currently used for sign storage, and is in poor condition.[73]

Mount Morrison CCC Camp: Recreation Area
Morrison Park. (ca. 1936) Contributing site, #MM-21.
Morrison Park is a small, two-acre recreational area that was used for sports activities by enrollees. In 1928, it was purchased by the City and County of Denver, as part of the single parcel that included the land for Red Rocks Park. Set in the flood plain along Bear Creek, it is bounded by the CCC camp entry road and a steep slope on the north, and the creek bed on the south. In addition to stone retaining walls along each side of the creek (counted separately), CCC enrollees built stone steps on the north side. The linear park is an open meadow surrounded by a thick enclosure of deciduous trees, and is today used for picnics and games.

Morrison Park—Bear Creek Retaining Wall. (ca. 1935) Contributing structure, #MM-22.Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) workers built this long stone wall along both sides of Bear Creek, apparently for flood protection as the soil was graded higher on the north side of the wall. The almost 600-foot-long wall is built of uncoursed rubble sandstone with concrete mortar and thin-coat coping; there is historic writing in a few places in the concrete. The wall varies in height, and is in fair to good condition.[74]

INTEGRITY

The Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison CCC Camp retains a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Mere miles from a major city, the scenic mountain park, with its winding road system and Modern, stone and concrete amphitheatre, harmonizes with the surrounding red rock mountain landscape. The adjacent CCC camp, with its army-influenced layout and original buildings, provides a strong connection to the New Deal partnership between the Federal government and the City and County of Denver. The park itself reflects the post-war park development in the 1950s, when such construction was once again possible. Although the park has sustained several modifications, the district as a whole still strongly conveys its nationally significant story.

Located in the foothills west of Denver, the location and setting of Red Rocks Park reflect the original intent of the City and County of Denver to develop a natural park for its residents. Red Rocks Park was designed with the NPS conservation ethic that blended man-made features, such as the park's roads and bridges, with their surroundings through the use of native materials, hand tools, NPS techniques, and CCC labor. Portions of the park's original dirt and gravel roads are now paved, and one 0.7 mile stretch has been straightened; however most of the road system that was expanded upon by the CCC maintains its exceptional design that carries

[73] This building was incorrectly identified in the National Register nomination as the blacksmith shop.

[74] The wall extends about another 170 feet to the east, onto property now owned by the Town of Morrison. Only the portion of the wall within the historic camp boundary contributes to this district, as it is the only part of the wall historically associated with the CCC and it influenced the camp's orientation near Bear Creek.

visitors through the park in a planned manner, over culverts with native stone headwalls built by the City and County of Denver, and through the natural landscape preserved by the NPS and CCC's sensitive design tenets.

The most outstanding historic resource within the district is the world-renowned Red Rocks Amphitheatre. The monumental scale, Modern design, and native materials of the amphitheatre reflect the partnership between the CCC, the NPS, and the City and County of Denver—a collaboration that is representative of Federal and local government partnerships nationwide during the New Deal. The amphitheatre retains a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The key character-defining features are the curving benches of the continental seating plan, gradually sloping floor rising with stone-faced concrete risers, side aisles separated from the seating with sandstone planters and juniper trees and, finally, massive rock formations on the sides, all of which are virtually unchanged from Burnham Hoyt's original vision.

The CCC arrived at Red Rocks with the overarching mission to develop public recreational opportunities at the park, and they accomplished just that. The amphitheatre brought increased use, which quickly necessitated some additions to maintain the exceptional experience for visitors and performers. In 1959, George Cranmer, Denver's Manager of Improvements and Parks, suggested improving the sound quality, since acoustical problems had plagued the outdoor theater since its opening.[75] Stanley Morse was hired to design additions to address the sound, wind and lighting problems.[76] The Stanley Morse-designed lighting towers adhere to the original design tenets of the NPS, the CCC, and Burnham Hoyt and they capture the national progression of park landscape design toward Modernism. Other changes that succeeded the CCC-era, but are encompassed within the period of significance, include increased parking and pedestrian access to the amphitheatre, such as Upper South Lot and the South Ramp. These additions to the park and amphitheatre represent a snapshot of the efforts by local park authorities to carry on the recreational development and harmonizing design tenets introduced by both the CCC and the NPS. As at Red Rocks, local park stewards nationwide helped establish those conservation and recreation ethics as a lasting national trend.

Since the period of significance, the most significant alterations to the amphitheatre are the metal stage roof (1988) and the new Burnham Hoyt Visitor Center (2003). The metal stage roof negatively impacts integrity of design and feeling of the stage. Although historic materials were not damaged in its installation, and is thus a reversible alteration, the roof disconnects both audience and performer from the uninterrupted views of Creation Rock and Ship Rock (for the performer) and Stage Rock (for the audience) and, if standing closer to the stage, the scenery to the east.

The Visitor Center was built at the rear (west) side of the amphitheatre. The majority of the building is recessed beneath the plaza and not visible to the public. The basement-level, west wall of the new Visitor Center replaced a historic stone retaining wall, and the new flagstone plaza (which serves as the roof to the Visitor Center) replaced the historic paving materials. Based on historic photographs, the new plaza sits within a nearly identical footprint as the historic plaza. The above-ground, circular sandstone lobby is small and unobtrusive. The Visitor Center complements and does not seriously detract from the original design and materials or from the amphitheatre's most significant character-defining features—the sloped seating plan with curved benches, side stairways with sandstone planters and juniper trees, and massive rocks formations. Post-1959 modifications to accommodate concessions during performances detract from the seamless transition between nature and the amphitheatre, and somewhat compromise the integrity of design, workmanship, and association of portions of the amphitheatre. As a whole, however, the massive amphitheatre still evokes an unequivocal connection to its history and landscape.

[75] Dorsett, 211-212.
[76] By this time, Burnham Hoyt had closed his offices due to Parkinson's disease; Morse, 3.

The Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps Camp also retains a remarkable degree of integrity of location, setting, workmanship, materials, feeling, association, and overall camp design, retaining all but one of its original camp buildings. The functional layout of the camp reflects the military-like discipline of the CCC's young male enrollees. The views of the park's massive sandstone monoliths from within the camp are a constant reminder of the proximity of the camp and the park to each other.

The major alterations to buildings include the addition of horizontal, masonite siding over the original wood siding, the division of two buildings, and the removal of their center sections, the raising of a garage roof, and construction of a couple of minor additions. With the exception of one deteriorated garage, all buildings are in very good condition and have been well-maintained by the City and County of Denver Parks and Recreation Department. The camp also retains historic landscape features such as stone walls, assembly grounds, and flag circle, and the pre-existing Morrison Park, which was adapted for recreation by the CCC men in approximately 1936 and 1937.

LIST OF RESOURCES

Res #	Resource name	Site ID	Original construction date; modifications	NHL		Building	Structure	Site	Object
				Cont	N/C				
RR-1	Red Rocks Park	5JF.442	1929; 1931-41	•				•	
RR-2	Red Rocks Amphitheatre		1936-41; 1959; 1988; 2003; 2014	•			•		
RR-3	South Ramp		1954	•			•		
RR-4	Trading Post		1931	•		•			
RR-5	Trading Post overlook		ca. 1935	•			•		
RR-6	Trading Post outbuilding		ca. 1935	•		•			
RR-7	Well House		ca. 1931	•			•		
RR-8	Incinerator		ca. 1929	•			•		
RR-9	Park Road System		1929, 1935-41, 1960s	•			•		
RR-10	Stone Bridge		ca. 1930	•			•		
RR-11	Abandoned Stone Culvert		ca. 1930	•				•	
RR-12	Rock Ridge Tunnel		ca. 1937	•			•		
RR-13	Top Circle Lot		ca. 1929, 2002-03	•			•		
RR-14	Upper North Lot		ca. 1938	•			•		
RR-15	North Walk		ca. 1940	•			•		
RR-16	Lower North Lot		ca. 1938	•			•		
RR-17	Upper South Lot		ca. 1942-55	•			•		
RR-18	South Slope Stairway		1936-1941; 1990s, 2002-03, 2014.		•		•		
RR-18A	Beer Garden/Concession		2014		•		•		
RR-19	Red Rocks Amphitheatre ADA restrooms		2006-07		•	•			
RR-20	Burnham Hoyt Visitor Center		2003		•	•			
RR-21	Pedestrian Concourse		ca. 1940, 2002-03		•		•		
RR-22	Visitor Center Service Drive		2012		•		•		
RR-23	Colorado State Highway 74	5JF.2733	1873, 1914, 1930s, 1960s		•		•		
RR-24	Entrance 2 Bridge		2014		•		•		
RR-25	Staircase from Top Circle Lot to Upper North Lot		ca. 1935-41, 2002-03		•		•		
RR-26	Lower South Lot 1		ca. 1979		•		•		
RR-27-	Lower South Lot 2		ca. 1979		•		•		
RR-28	Red Rocks Trail		ca. 1980		•		•		
RR-29	Geologic Overlook Trail		Ca. 1937, 2012		•		•		
RR-30	Trading Post Trail		ca. 1990		•		•		
RR-31	Trading Post Garden		1960s		•			•	
RR-32	Picnic Shelter		1996		•		•		
RR-33	Toilet Building		1996		•	•			
RR-34	Box Office 1		2002, 2005		•	•			
RR-35	Box Office 2		2005		•	•			
RR-36	Box Office 3		2005		•	•			
RR-37	“Leaves of Grass” Sculpture		2009		•				•
RR-38	CCC Worker Statue		2004		•				•
RR-392	CCC Memorial Plaque/Denver Landmark		1988, 2005		•				•
RR-40	Water Treatment Building		ca. 2001		•	•			
RR-41	Excel Electric Building		2003		•		•		

Res #	Resource name	Site ID	Date	Cont	N/C	Building	Structure	Site	Object
RR-42	Loading Dock		2001		•		•		
MM-1	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Site	5JF.442	1935-36	•				•	
MM-2	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Road System		1935	•			•		
MM-3	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Bear Creek bridge		1935	•			•		
MM-4	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Mess Hall & Kitchen	5JF.3204	1935	•		•			
MM-5	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Recreation Hall	5JF.3203	1935	•		•			
MM-6	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 1a	5JF.3196	1935, ca. 1960	•		•			
MM-7	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 1b	5JF.3197	1935, ca. 1960	•		•			
MM-8	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 2	5JF.3198	1935	•		•			
MM-9	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Bath House & Latrine	5JF.3202	1935	•		•			
MM-10	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 3	5JF.3199	1935	•		•			
MM-11	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 4	5JF.3200	1935	•		•			
MM-12	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 5	5JF.3201	1935	•		•			
MM-13	Stone Pond and Fountain		ca. 1937	•				•	
MM-14	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Headquarters, Infirmary, Supply, Technical Services Quarters, & Officers Quarters (west portion)	5JF.3205	1935, post-1963	•		•			
MM-15	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Headquarters, Infirmary, Supply, Technical Services Quarters, & Officers Quarters (east portion)	5JF.3206	1935, post-1963	•		•			
MM-16	Mount Morrison CCC Garage 1	5JF.3208	1935, 1974	•		•			
MM-17	Mount Morrison CCC Garage 2	5JF.3211	1935, addition date unknown	•		•			
MM-18	Mount Morrison CCC Blacksmith Shop	5JF.3209	1935	•		•			
MM-19	Mount Morrison CCC Workshop	5JF.3210	1935, pre-1955	•		•			
MM-20	Mount Morrison CCC Camp Commander's Garage		1935	•		•			
MM-21	Morrison Park		ca. 1936	•				•	
MM-22	Morrison Park – Bear Creek Retaining Wall		ca. 1935	•			•		

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: __ Locally: __

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A X B __ C X D
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A __ B __ C __ D __ E __ F __ G
NHL Criteria:	1, 4
NHL Criteria Exceptions:	N/A
NHL Theme(s):	III. Expressing Cultural Values 2. visual and performing arts 5. architecture, landscape architecture & urban design V. Developing the American Economy 7. governmental policies and practices
Areas of Significance:	Politics/government, architecture, landscape architecture, performing arts
Period(s) of Significance:	1929-1959
Significant Dates:	1935, 1936, 1941, 1959
Significant Person(s):	N/A
Cultural Affiliation:	N/A
Architect/Builder:	Burnham Hoyt, Stanley Morse, Civilian Conservation Corps, National Park Service, Works Progress Administration, U. S. Department of the Army
Historic Contexts:	VII. Political and Military Affairs, 1865-1939 H. The Great Depression and the New Deal, 1929-1941 XVI. Architecture Y. Rustic Architecture XVII. Landscape Architecture

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Introduction

The Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps Camp is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark (NHL) criteria 1 and 4.[77] Under Criterion 1, the property is significant under the theme "Developing the American Economy," in the area of governmental policies and practices. Together, the park and camp constitute a complete representation of a New Deal project executed with municipal collaboration. Red Rocks Park is owned and operated by the City and County of Denver, but its design and development were carried out in cooperation with the National Park Service (NPS) through a variety of New Deal work relief programs.[78]

During the Great Depression, the NPS expanded its focus beyond the preservation of Federal areas with scenic beauty to include planning for hundreds of state and local parks in cooperation with the CCC. Red Rocks Park is an outstanding representation of this collaboration. Here, the CCC assumed one of its most advanced and complex undertakings, Red Rocks Amphitheatre—a project conceptualized by the City and County of Denver and approved by the NPS. Red Rocks Park and the Mount Morrison CCC Camp are excellent representations of the collaborative efforts of the Federal and local governments in planning, designing, and constructing outdoor recreation projects during President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal."

Red Rocks Park is also significant under NHL Criterion 4 within the theme, "Expressing Cultural Values," in the area of architecture and landscape architecture as an outstanding public landscape and exceptional amphitheatre developed during the New Deal. CCC projects combined the need for public recreation and the conservation of natural features, and this remarkable setting blends sweeping Colorado scenery and 300-million-year-old sandstone formations with constructed roads, bridges, and the Red Rocks Amphitheatre, yielding one of the most magnificent integrations of man-made and natural monuments in the nation.

Red Rocks Park and the associated Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps Camp have been evaluated as nationally significant under the "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks MPS" for their illustration of New Deal-era policy and practice concerning twentieth century park design.[79] The New Deal-era design and construction in Red Rocks Park illustrate the principles and practices of naturalistic park design perfected by NPS designers in the 1920s and promoted for use in state, county, and metropolitan parks through the federal agency's supervision of CCC projects from 1933 to 1942. These principles and practices were intended to make parks accessible for public enjoyment and recreation, while protecting the significant natural, cultural, and scenic values that had led to their designation. The design tenets practiced in national parks influenced CCC-era design and construction in state and local parks through the technical assistance and supervision of NPS landscape architects and architects assigned to each CCC camp and park project, and through NPS publications, most importantly Albert Good's edited volumes *Park Structures and Facilities* (1935) and *Park and Recreation Structures* (1938).[80]

---

[77] Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps Camp was listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRIS 90000725) on April 3, 1990. The nomination was submitted with the Multiple Property Documentation Form for Denver Mountain Parks, and was listed as locally significant.

[78] Denver is officially the "City and County of Denver" and has been since before the period of significance for this nomination.

[79] McClelland, "Historic Park Landscapes," 194-195. Note, the MPS specifies that "local parks, including metropolitan and county parks, may also qualify for listing under this context if they possess naturalistic characteristics and natural components and if they were partially or entirely developed under the direction of the National Park Service through the CCC or WPA."

[80] The MPS defines "park naturalistic design" and was based on existing National Register listings and the contextual study by Linda Flint McClelland, entitled *Presenting Nature: The Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1917 to 1942.* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1993); a revised and expanded version was later published as *Building the National Parks*

The landscape design of Red Rocks Park reflects the design characteristics listed in the registration requirements for "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks Multiple Property Submission."

- Protection and preservation of natural scenery and features
- Prohibition of exotic plants and wildlife
- Presentation of scenic vistas through location of park facilities and development of overlooks
- Avoidance of right angles and straight lines in the design of roads, trails, and structures
- Use of native materials for construction and planting
- Use of naturalistic techniques in planting, rockwork, and log work to harmonize manmade development with natural surroundings
- Transplanting and planting native trees, shrubs, and ground covers to erase the scars of construction and earlier uses of the land.[81]

Park landscapes having national significance under the multiple property listing are those "pivotal in introducing and advancing the principles and practices of national park design and those maintaining a high degree of artistic quality and historic integrity."[82] Red Rocks Park represents an important stage in the adaptation of NPS principles to a metropolitan park. The NPS philosophy for designing recreational features that harmonized with the surrounding natural landscape was perhaps even more critical to metropolitan parks, which often featured less acreage than national parks, yet faced greater demands for recreational use by the nearby urban dwellers. Red Rocks Amphitheatre stands out as a masterpiece of naturalistic park design and is an exceptional example of the high artistry and quality craftsmanship of work completed by a New Deal work relief agency under the direction of the NPS. Marking the transition from rustic design to nature-based modernism, the amphitheatre furthermore reflects a significant stage in the evolution of twentieth century park architecture. Its architecture reflects the blending of regional and federal talents and a melding of classical amphitheatre design, contemporary Modernist design, and the Rustic design favored by the NPS and the City and County of Denver.

Red Rocks Amphitheatre is also nationally significant under the theme Expressing Cultural Values in the area of visual and performing arts. It meets NHL criterion 1 for its status as one of America's best known performing arts venues. Throughout its history and continuing today, the amphitheatre is famous for its natural acoustics, design, and setting that create a sublime experience for both audience and performers. It has long hosted world-renowned artists of the day, including Helen Traubel, the famous Wagnerian soprano with the Metropolitan Opera, in 1948; Nat King Cole in the 1950s; the Beatles and Jimi Hendrix in the 1960s; Three Dog Night and Bruce Springsteen in the 1970s; and Grateful Dead and U2 in the 1980s.[83] Red Rocks Amphitheatre is included in various lists of the world's top concert venues, including the No. 2 spot on *National Geographic*'s list of Top

---

(1998). The first group of related NHLS was designated in 1997 and documented in the theme study by Ethan Carr entitled *Wilderness by Design* (1998). Many of the park landscapes designated NHLs are referenced in the bibliography. Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison CCC Camp will be the first metropolitan park to be designated an NHL under the Historic Park Landscape MPS and one of the few NHLs to pair a completed park project with the CCC camp that carried out the day-to-day activities, as well as housed the enrollees who provided the labor.

[81] McClelland, "Historic Park Landscapes," 194-195. These characteristics are directly taken from the registration requirements in the MPS; they also appear in Appendix A, "Registering Historic Park Landscapes in the National Register of Historic Places," *Building the National Parks,* 511-512*.* The list is a synthesis of principles and practices based on scholarly studies noted above and reflects a close examination of original sources, including the records of Thomas Vint's Landscape Division, the *Inspector's Photographic Handbook* developed for use in Herb Maier's CCC district, Herb Maier's 1935 address to state park officials, and the portfolios edited by Albert "Ab" Good, including *Park Structures and Facilities* (1935) and *Park and Recreation Structures* (1938).

[82] McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 512.

[83] The entire list of performances at Red Rocks, dating back to 1908, can be found at the Red Rocks Hall of Fame in the Burnham Hoyt Visitor Center, Red Rocks Amphitheatre.

10 Outdoor Music Venues from around the world.[84] A 2013 *Rolling Stone* magazine article titled, "The Best Amphitheaters in America," listed Red Rocks Amphitheatre as No. 1, stating, "With the exception of Madison Square Garden, no U.S. venue of this size has such an amazing pedigree."[85] It continues to provide musicians and concert goers with superlative acoustical qualities and harmonious setting within Red Rocks Park.

The period of significance for the district begins in 1929, when the City and County of Denver began development of the road system in the Denver mountain park that was integrated into the Red Rocks master plan later executed by the NPS. The road system, as well as the Trading Post, Well House and Incinerator, were part of the evolving master plan that led to the full development of Red Rocks in the 1930s. For this reason, these four resources associated with the Denver Mountain Parks, which pre-date NPS and CCC involvement, are considered contributing to the national significance of Red Rocks. The period of significance extends through 1959, when amphitheatre additions that adhered to the park's original design were completed, equipping it to be one of the greatest performing arts venues in the world.

In the first scholarly examination of the CCC in Colorado, historian Robert Bruce Parham argues that Red Rocks Amphitheatre was the single most ambitious project undertaken by any of the camps supervised by the NPS, whether located in a national park or metropolitan area.[86] To realize the grand vision that Denver had for its mountain park, which was located in the foothills outside of the metropolitan area, the city partnered with the CCC and the NPS. When the CCC arrived in Denver to construct Red Rocks Amphitheatre, it expanded upon what was an already rich history of recreation in the city's foothills, preserved by the foresight of Denver officials when the city created the Denver Mountain Parks system. By blending the massive amphitheatre into the park's sandstone monoliths, adding to the system of winding scenic roads, and preserving native vegetation, the NPS and CCC enhanced the park's existing features and placed a distinct mark on the history of recreation at Red Rocks. Of the national, state, and city parks across the country that bear the distinct mark of NPS design and CCC workmanship, the Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison CCC Camp stands as one of the most monumental expressions of its kind.

The following discussion is organized chronologically, touching on each area of significance—government and politics, architecture, landscape architecture, and the performing arts—as it enters and exits the story.

Red Rocks Park: A Brief History of the Landscape

The towering red rocks for which the park is now named have captivated human interest for hundreds and perhaps even thousands of years.[87] By the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century, the Cheyennes had migrated to the region, separating into northern and southern bands by the early nineteenth century. Around the same time, they had been joined in the region by the Araphahos. In time, the Arapahos also evolved into

---

[84] "America's 40 Best Music Venues," *Paste Magazine*; "10 Fabulous U.S. Music Venues," *CNN Travel*; Kimble, "50 Best Concert Venues in America."; "Top 10 Outdoor Music Venues," *Four Seasons of Travel: 400 of the World's Best Destinations for Winter, Spring, Summer, and Fall, 2013.*

[85] Knopper, "The Best Amphitheaters in America."

[86] Robert Bruce Parham, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado, 1933-1942" (Master's thesis, University of Colorado, 1981), 91. This work examines the CCC's accomplishments in the state within the context of the overall national program.

[87] Archeological sites near Red Rocks Park evidence precontact life in the area. Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2003 (5JF.142), the Lodaiska Site near Morrison, CO, is a large multicomponent rock-shelter that "contained a substantial and diverse cultural assemblage representing approximately 7,500 years of [precontact] life along the Front Range...It is one of the only known shelters in Colorado with deposits representing the Paleo-Indian through the Middle Ceramic." Also, the Bradford House III, located four miles south of Morrison, CO, and listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1980 (5JF.52), "consists of a rock shelter situated within a bluff in a sandstone outcropping. . . Five occupations are represented, including three Plains Woodland levels located above a Late/Middle and an Early Archaic level"; Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, "Jefferson County: Listings on the National Register of Historic Places," History Colorado, http://www.historycolorado.org/oahp/jefferson-county (accessed March 9, 2015). There have been no known archeological surveys within Red Rocks Park.

northern and southern bodies, and along with the Cheyennes, were the last in a series of nomadic tribes to inhabit the plains east of the Rocky Mountains. The Utes, a tribe that lived mostly in the mountains to the west, frequently camped in the vicinity of Red Rocks and are thought to have used the area for traditional ceremonies.[88] These foothills, a margin between the Rocky Mountains and the Great Plains, often became a meeting ground for the regional tribes when the mountain Utes traveled east to hunt bison on the plains as the Plains Indians ventured west to expand their territories.[89]

Early Recreation and its Developers

When the first Euro-Americans began exploring the area that would eventually become Red Rocks Park, they extolled its natural beauty and unusual character. In 1820, the Army Expedition led by Stephen Long explored the Red Rocks area and commented on its "truly picturesque and romantic" scenery.[90] Perhaps inspired by reports from miners combing Colorado's mountains, tourist expeditions to Red Rocks began as early as 1860, even though Denver had only been founded two years earlier. In 1866, the wonders of the region were reported in the *New York Tribune* by Bayard Taylor:

> What appeared to be the ruins of giant cities arose behind the walls of rock, casting their shadows across the green. Rude natural towers, obelisks, and pyramids, monoliths two hundred feet in height, of a rich red color, were gathered in strange labyrinthine groups, suggesting arrangement or design. Beyond the Platte there was a collection of several hundred of these. Mr. Byers, who had visited the place, assured me that they greatly surpass the curious rock-images near Colorado City, called the Garden of the Gods."[91]

The increasing settlement of the Rocky Mountain and Great Plains regions resulted in growing conflict between the native inhabitants and settlers. A series of treaties forcibly removed the Arapaho and Cheyenne tribes to reservations in Montana, Wyoming, and Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) and the Utes to reservations in Southwest Colorado and Utah, ending native habitation in the region by the 1880s.[92]

In 1878, the area was first developed for visitors when John F. Gray and Leonard H. Eicholtz purchased the property that became the location of Red Rocks Park, which had been named the "Garden of the Angels" by its first recorded owner, Marion Burts. To encourage tourists to the site, Eicholtz worked with local residents to build roads, trails, and picnic grounds, as well as steps and ladders to help visitors climb the rocks.[93] On October 10, 1905, Eicholtz sold 720 acres containing the core of the red rock formations to John Brisben Walker for $5,000.[94]

---

[88] *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume 2: Special Resource Study (SRS) and Environmental Assessment (EA),* (Denver: National Park Service, Intermountain Region, 2000), p. 26; Cathleen M. Norman, "Historic Contexts Report: 1999—2002 Cultural Resource Survey of Unincorporated Jefferson County," (Golden: Jefferson County Historical Commission, 2002, 2004), 10; Virginia McConnell Simmons, *The Ute Indians of Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado), 5, 8; Noel, *Sacred Stones*, 11;

[89] Simmons , 5, 8; In March 2015, the Heritage Partnerships Program of the National Park Service Intermountain Regional Office, working with the NPS Office of Indian Affairs and American Culture, contacted the Arapaho Tribe of the Wind River Reservation, Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, Southern Ute Indian Tribe, and Ute Mountain Tribe of the Ute Mountain Reservation. NPS staff sent letters dated March 10, 2015, and made follow-up calls on March 30, 2015 to solicit information on tribal occupation and perspectives of the site. Heritage Partnerships Program also worked with the Colorado State Historic Preservation Office to solicit perspectives of the site during tri-Ute consultations in 2014 and 2015. At the time of writing this nomination, NPS had not received any comments from the associated tribes.

[90] Noel, *Sacred Stones,* 15.

[91] Bayard Taylor, *Colorado: A Summer Trip* (1867; reprint, Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1989) 149-150.

[92] Norman, 10.

[93] Noel, *Sacred Stones,* 20.

[94] Ibid., 26.

Along with his son J. B. Walker Jr., John Brisben Walker Sr. began to develop Red Rocks with the hopes of making it a major tourist attraction. In preparation for the park's grand opening on May 31, 1906, the Walkers built a road to the park's natural amphitheatre bowl, and constructed a wooden stage in front of Stage Rock for an opening concert. As the Walkers continued to host public concerts at the amphitheatre, including the Denver Musical Festival, accolades for the amphitheatre's natural acoustics began to pour in.[95] Dame Nellie Melba, an Australian opera soprano of worldwide renown, claimed of Red Rocks, "This is the greatest open-air theater I have ever seen," while Scottish soprano Mary Garden, often called the "Sarah Bernhardt of opera," wrote of the amphitheatre after a performance on May 10, 1911:

> Never in any opera house, the world over, have I found more perfect acoustic properties than those under Creation Rock in the natural auditorium at Mount Morrison. I predict that someday twenty thousand people will assemble there to listen to the world's greatest masterpieces. Never under any roof have I sung with greater ease or had a greater delight in singing.[96]

The Walkers continued to develop their "Garden of the Titans," as Walker Jr. renamed the park. Meanwhile, Walker Sr. worked behind the scenes to advance the concept of a mountain park system for Denver—a system where land would be purchased in the foothills and mountains near Denver for multiple parks, then connected by a road network, giving Denver residents access to the regional scenery. To encourage interest in the mountain parks concept, John Brisben Walker Sr. published numerous brochures that extolled the virtues of the foothills area of Jefferson County, and regularly brought visitors out to see the sights.[97]

The Denver Mountain Park System

The creation of the Denver Mountain Park System established the City as a pioneer in public recreation development. Earning the moniker of the "Father of the Mountain Parks," Walker is credited with persuading the Denver City Council to develop the mountain park system, which by 1941, grew to include over 13,000 acres of city-owned mountain and foothill land that boasted two scenic mountain drives and 31 parks, including a ski resort at Winter Park.[98]

Denver residents voiced their support when, in 1912, voters approved an amendment to the city charter establishing a one-half mill tax levy to acquire, develop, and maintain land beyond the city limits for mountain parks. That year, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. of the nationally renowned Olmsted Brothers landscape architecture firm from Brookline, Massachusetts, prepared a memorandum for Denver in which he reiterated the significance of a mountain park system and made suggestions for its creation and development. Denver responded by creating a Mountain Parks Commission. Momentum continued, and on April 15, 1913, the Colorado State legislature passed an act to allow cities to acquire land outside their corporate boundaries for park purposes, which opened the door for the creation of the Denver Mountain Park System.[99] The 1913 annual report of the "Special Park Committee" of the Denver city government outlined the purpose of a mountain parks system:

---

[95] Ibid., 31.
[96] Ibid., 29, 33.
[97] Sally L. White, "John Brisben Walker, the Man and Mount Morrison." *Historically Jeffco.* Vol. 18, Issue 26, 2005, 6; Noel, *Sacred Stones*, 32.
[98] White, 6; Ann Moss, "Denver Mountain Parks," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (3 October 1988) Section E, p. 1.
[99] Susan Baird and Tina Bishop, *Denver Mountain Parks Master Plan* (Denver: Denver Parks and Recreation, 2008), 24.

> To assure perpetually to the residents of Denver the sublime scenery of the Rockies, the preservation of native forests, and having a pleasure ground in the mountains for the thousands of annual visitors to the city easily accessible.[100]

With a funding system in place and new authority to purchase land, the City and County of Denver immediately hired the Olmsted Brothers to make recommendations for mountain park locations and a road network to connect them all, and even began purchasing land before the Olmsted Brothers completed their plan.[101]

The creation of regional park systems, like the one Walker had envisioned for Denver, grew out of the 19th-century urban park movement that promoted the development of natural areas for public use. Preserving native features and scenic vistas were important philosophies of this crusade. During the movement's formative years, landscape architects, such as H. W. S. Cleveland in Minneapolis and Charles W. Eliot, Jr. in Boston, established principles for preserving regional character that guided metropolitan park planning for decades. In particular, Eliot's plans for Boston were praised for their views that connected the parks' interior designed landscapes to their larger geographical context. Additionally, with an insistence on planning, Eliot found the most advantageous routes for roads and paths that guided visitors to the park's most characteristic scenery.[102]

During the early twentieth century, the urban park movement boomed as another movement, the City Beautiful Movement, brought "unprecedented awareness of city planning and encouragement to cities to become…pleasant places in which to live."[103] Under the leadership of Mayor Robert Walter Speer, Denver's mountain parks system extended the landscape architecture ideals of the American park and City Beautiful movements beyond city planning to include regional planning.[104] This trend spread nationwide as states, counties and municipalities began to form park commissions that set aside scenic reservations for "outdoor recreation and the convenient appreciation of regional scenery."[105]

Denver Acquires Red Rocks Park

Of the more than 40,000 acres identified in Olmsted's 1914 report, 8,000 acres in Jefferson County were purchased by the City for its new park system. Red Rocks was not, however, included in the list of potential park acquisitions suggested by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. This was likely not an oversight on the part of Olmsted, but an acknowledgment of the local political situation. Red Rocks was owned by Walker, now a prominent member of the Mountain Park Commission, and he still fostered dreams for its private development.[106]

However, in the 1910s, John Brisben Walker Sr. faced a series of setbacks, both financial and personal. First, World War I halted all his plans for developing the property. In 1916, Walker's wife died, then, two years later, his personal residence on Mount Falcon near Morrison was destroyed by fire. Realizing his elaborate dreams for developing the area would never come to fruition, Walker began to sell portions of his Garden of the Titans. In 1927, Walker sold the 649 acres that comprised the central portion of the park to the Park of the Red Rocks

---

[100] Moss, Section E, p. 8.

[101] Carolyn and Don Etter, *City of Parks: The Preservation of Denver's Park and Parkway System* (Denver: Denver Public Library, 2006), 8.

[102] McClelland, *Building the National Parks,* 48-51; "Historic Park Landscapes," Section E, 13-14.

[103] Moss, Section E, p. 2.

[104] Ibid., p. 3.

[105] Carr, *Wilderness By Design*, 6.

[106] The dates of acquisition for the mountain parks were: Genesee Park (1912), Cub Creek Park (1914), Fillius Park (1914), Turkey Creek (1914), Little Park (1914), Pence Park (1914), Bell Park (1914), Bergen Park (1917), Colorow Point Park (1916), Corwina Park (1916), Lookout Mountain Park (1916), Starbuck Park (1916), Daniels Park (1917, 1938), Deer Creek (1918), Forsberg Park (1918), Dedisse Park (1919), Echo Lake Park (1921), Summit Lake Park (1924), Red Rocks Park (1928), O'Fallon (1938), Newton Park (1939), and Winter Park Ski Resort in Grand County (1939).

Corporation, which subsequently sold the park lands to the City and County of Denver through condemnation proceedings in 1928.[107] With this acquisition, reflects landscape architect Ann Moss, "the ultimate park environment was part of the Denver Mountain Park System. Red Rocks was the crowning touch on an already incredible system."[108] That year, the City and County of Denver began promoting its new natural amphitheatre, and even suggested fashioning a venue similar to the "Hollywood Bowl" in Los Angeles. In the September-October 1928 *Denver Municipal Facts*, Journalist James H. MacLennan predicted that: "Some day it will come about that man's genius joined with the elaborations of Nature will make this place famous, the world over." [109]

Wasting no time, Denver officials made plans for constructing features within the park's boundaries, as well as linkages to connect it to the larger mountain park system. In 1929, a large workforce utilized mule-drawn wagons, steam shovels, and dynamite to build a 5-mile roadway through the rock formations at the newly named "Park of the Red Rocks."[110] Due to the rocky topography, the road's construction was very expensive and difficult; nonetheless, it was completed in only one year. A 1930 Denver publication praised the road's spectacular views of the plains, remarking that: "one of the charms of this highway is the fact it has been so landscaped as to take the views *out of* the Red Rocks into the same consideration as the views *into* them. . . Five miles is this highway of the Red Rocks, five miles of the most spectacular and perfect roadway in Colorado."[111] Known as the Red Rock Loop Drive, the dirt road adhered to design principles used throughout the Denver Mountain Park System –gentle grades and curves, two lanes of traffic, and most importantly, framing views of the key landscape features and vistas. It also featured access points off Bear Creek Canyon Drive in Morrison, and another off the hogback road linking the park to Denver.[112]

Another significant addition to the park was the "Indian Concession House" (now called the Trading Post), which housed a museum, gift shop, and restaurant. Designed by W. R. Rosche and built in 1931, its Pueblo Revival style was suggested by the Denver Art Museum Board of Directors, who felt the style would reflect the region's Native American heritage as well as blend in with the surroundings.[113]

By the 1930s, Denver's metropolitan park system was the second largest in the nation behind Phoenix, in terms of regional park systems outside city boundaries.[114] During this time, though, Denver and the rest of the country faced a failing economy that sank further into the Great Depression as the decade continued. Because of the changing economic conditions, the City and County of Denver had to put their plans for developing Red Rocks on hold. Although funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) may have been used earlier, after the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932 Denver had opportunities from the Federal government for financial assistance and manpower through New Deal work relief programs to develop what would become the park's signature features.

---

[107] The City and County of Denver were consolidated in 1901 after the Colorado General Assembly voted to split Arapahoe County into three new counties, White, 7; More land added in 1931, 1935, and 1938 completed the majority of the park, with a final 193 acres purchased in 2001. The district boundaries correspond with the land managed by Denver Mountain Parks during the period of significance, and do not include the 2001 purchase of 193 acres.

[108] Moss, Section E, p 12.

[109] "The Park of the Red Rocks Now Denver Property," *Denver Municipal Facts,* (September-October 1928), p. 3.

[110] Often shortened to simply "Red Rocks," the park's name gradually changed from "Park of the Red Rocks" to "Red Rocks Park." Sources from the 1930s through the 1950s use both park names interchangeably.

[111] *Denver Municipal Facts*, (March-April 1930) 17, 25.

[112] Ann Moss, "Red Rocks Park, Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation District", Section 7, p. 2; "Park of the Red Rocks Now Denver Property," *Denver Municipal Facts*, (September-October 1928), 2. "Denver Builds a New Scenic Road Through the Red Rocks," *Denver Municipal Facts*, (September-October 1928), 4, 10. Both of these articles have numerous photographs.

[113] Moss, Section 7, p. 2.

[114] United States, National Park Service, *1937 Yearbook Park and Recreation Progress* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938) 26; municipal park acreage in Colorado in: United States, National Park Service, *A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941) 147.

Red Rocks Park and the New Deal Landscape

The CCC and the "Golden Age" [115] of Public Landscape Design

In 1933, during the first 100 days of his first term, President Franklin D. Roosevelt worked with Congress to enact fifteen major laws, more than had been enacted in any other period of American history in such a short time. Designed to assist victims of the Great Depression and stimulate economic recovery, the public works programs initiated under this first phase of President Roosevelt's "New Deal" created a surge in public land development. Among them was the CCC, designed to meet two great needs: conserve the nation's natural resources and put young, unemployed men to work. On March 21, 1933, Roosevelt addressed Congress:

> I have proposed to create a civilian conservation corps to be used in simple work, not interfering with the normal employment, and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control, and similar projects…It will make improvements in National and State domains which have been largely forgotten in the past few years of industrial development. [116]

Congress quickly passed the law. Ten days later, on March 31, 1933, Roosevelt signed Executive Order 6106, Relief of Unemployment through the Performance of Useful Public Work, creating the Emergency Conservation Works (ECW), implemented with a workforce he named the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).[117] By early July 1933, 250,000 enrollees formed 1,468 camps that were represented in every state of the country. This became the nation's largest and most rapid mobilization of men witnessed to that date, even in wartime.[118]

Young men enrolled in the CCC program were housed together in 200-man camps located near their assigned projects, and these camps cropped up across the country in national forests, national parks, state and local parks, and on rural landscapes—becoming a staple of local work relief efforts. Since the program's funding was approved in six-month "periods" and the work was often considered short-term, these were temporary living facilities. Tents were common in the early periods of the program, but soon the Army constructed "semi-permanent" buildings for CCC winter quarters and longer-duration projects. As a result, of the over 4,500 camps built nationwide, very few remain.

This massive mobilization of the CCC program across the country required efficient management. The CCC differed from other New Deal agencies in that its operations and work projects were conducted with the cooperation of four Federal departments: War, Labor, Agriculture, and Interior. The Department of Labor directed the enrollee selection, while the War Department organized the 200-man companies and ran the day-to-day operations of the camps, including camp construction, as well as providing the enrollees' food, clothing, medical care, pay, and transportation. For the majority of thousands of projects undertaken by the CCC, the Departments of Agriculture and Interior planned the work projects and provided technical expertise. Within the

---

[115] Ethan Carr, Linda Jewell, and Tina Bishop, "Responding to Rocks, Ridges, and Rills: Origins, Significance, and Ongoing Influence of CCC-era Landscape Architecture," http://www.asla.org/uploadedFiles/CMS/Meetings_and_Events/2012_Annual_Meeting_Handouts/MON-D8%20Responding%20to%20Rocks,%20Ridges%20and%20Rills%20Origins,%20and%20Influence%20of%20CCC-Era%20Landscapes.pdf (lecture, American Society of Landscape Architects, Phoenix, AZ, October 1, 2012, accessed February 19, 2014).

[116] U. S. House, Committee on Labor, "Message from the President of the United States on Unemployment Relief," Doc. 6, 73rd Congress, 1st session, 21 March 1933.

[117] For the first few years of its existence, the program was officially Emergency Conservation Works (ECW). In 1937, its name was changed to the Civilian Conservation Corps, which had been its popular moniker for the previous four years.

[118] Robert Fechner, "Objectives and Results of the Civilian Conservation Corps Program" (Washington, D.C.: Civilian Conservation Corps, 1938), 7; John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967), 29-31, 45.

Department of the Interior, the National Park Service was asked to plan, design, and provide technical assistance for CCC projects in national parks, as well as in state, county, and municipal parks.[119]

The Naturalistic Design Approach of the CCC and the NPS

Between 1916, when the NPS was created, and the early 1930s, when it was asked to assist the CCC, the NPS had cultivated a naturalistic design approach that applied the fundamental principles of the regional park movement on a national scale. This created a new model of park design that incorporated the harmonization of roads and structures with the surrounding landscape through meticulous use of natural materials in an appropriate scale, design, color, and texture, the protection of natural features, and the use of hand tools. These design tenets suited the CCC's conservation mandate.[120]

The NPS had two internal divisions to assist and supervise New Deal projects—one for ECW/CCC work in national parks which was coordinated out of NPS's San Francisco field office by the Forestry Division headed by Forester John Hoffman , and another for state park ECW/CCC under the leadership of landscape architect and assistant director Conrad Wirth and Herbert Evison, a nationally recognized state park official. The two groups "shared a philosophical foundation advocating landscape preservation that harmonized with nature."[121] In May 1933, the NPS regionalized its state-park operations by creating four districts to handle the administration of 100 CCC camps for state and local government projects, with offices in Washington, Indianapolis, Denver, and San Francisco. The decentralized organization of the state park program brought the decision responsibilities closer to the field operations, yielding faster results and supplementing the expertise of the local agencies with newly hired NPS landscape architects, engineers, and architects. By 1935, when the number of camps assigned to the state and local/metropolitan parks division had grown to 475, the districts, renamed "regions," expanded to eight.[122]

The Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) in Colorado's state and local parks was initially assigned to NPS's CCC District III, headed by architect Herbert Maier, an innovator and promoter of NPS rustic design tenets well known for his design of park museums in Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Grand Canyon National Parks. Maier assembled a network of young designers-- several worked on design in the central office (which moved from Denver to Oklahoma City in 1934), while most were assigned to individual state or local parks where they provided design assistance and day-to-day supervision of ongoing project work. A handful of highly experienced landscape architects served as itinerant inspectors, ensuring that NPS standards for CCC work were met and providing an essential link between the NPS organization and state and local park officials.[123]

With the consolidation of the eight ECW/CCC districts into four CCC Regions in 1936, responsibility for Colorado ECW shifted to the newly formed CCC Region II which intended primarily to serve states across the Midwest. The regional office located at Omaha had evolved from the original Indianapolis district office headed by Paul V. Brown, formerly of the highly respected Indiana state park system. Brown continued to be

---

[119] Neil Maher, *Nature's New Deal: the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008) 50-51.

[120] McClelland, "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks," Section E, 38; McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 5-6.

[121] Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1917 to 1942* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1993), 230.

[122] Neil Maher, *Nature's New Deal: the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 72; Over the life of the program, the number of camps assigned to state park projects outnumbered those in national parks, accounting for seventy percent of all camps administered by the National Park Service; Wirth, 76, 131-132, McClelland, "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks," Section E, 38; Carr, 6.

[123] McClelland, *Building the National Parks,* 390-92, 400-402.The first inspectors hired in NPS's District III (later CCC Region VII) included Iowa State University professor P. H. Elwood, and practitioners Frank Culley of Denver and Harvey H. Cornell of Duluth.

the chief NPS official responsible for ECW/CCC design and construction in the Midwest, and CCC inspectors working for him now became the liaison for the Colorado projects, including the Red Rocks Park. One such inspector was Kenneth Mitchell, an experienced landscape architect who had worked in the NPS's ECW program since 1933 and previously worked for the Allegheny County parks in Pittsburgh.

Maier became NPS's chief spokesperson for rustic architectural design. With the assistance of architect Cecil Doty and landscape architect Harvey Cornell, he developed a pattern book that CCC inspectors in his district could carry to the field and use to illustrate various principles and practices of NPS-endorsed rustic architectural design and landscape conservation. These included the sloping and re-vegetation of park roadsides, the scaling of architectural members to harmonize with a natural setting, and the location and design of simple outdoor theaters. Typed commentary on the back of photographs in his *Inspector's Photographic Handbook* set the tone and vocabulary for discussing park design. The handbook helped ensure consistent design in his region. Using photographs primarily of his own work, he illustrated to his protégés the NPS design philosophy through examples of park buildings, graded roadsides and swales, footbridges, museums, and even amphitheatres.[124] Distributed to the regional state park design staffs, Maier's handbook was, according to Ethan Carr, "a powerful tool for quickly introducing new state park planners to the basics of NPS landscape architectural design." [125]

Architect Albert "Ab" Good of Akron, Ohio, became a consultant for the NPS in Washington, serving as the editor of a bound portfolio illustrating NPS principles and exemplary practices. It was intended as an honor roll of successful projects as well as a practical manual. He assembled an advisory committee that included knowledgeable and experienced designers including Herbert Maier, Thomas Vint, and Paul V. Brown who accomplished designers or particularly knowledgeable about successful NPS and state or local projects. With the committee's help Good was able to select examples from parks—metropolitan, state, county, and national—across the country, including entranceways, signs, fences, fireplaces, drinking fountains, bridges, shelters, comfort stations, and bathhouses. Good's technical commentary was informative as well as entertaining and reflected the influence of the broader field of twentieth century park designer and the opinions of leading landscape architects and educators such as Henry V. Hubbard, Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., and Frank Waugh. Good's first edition, *Park Structures and Facilities,* published in 1935, was immediately distributed to the inspectors, technical staff, and foremen in the state parks division. Expanded in 1938 to form a three-volume set, *Park and Recreation Structures*, reflecting how the country's recreation needs had influenced NPS planning, and also how NPS-assisted state and local park development inspired an increase in recreation. [126]

Master Planning

In order to construct these man-made features so that they complemented the NPS's mandate to protect the scenery, the agency relied on master planning, another tenet of landscape architecture. For national parks, NPS master plans detailed a six-year program of prioritized development that outlined an inventory of existing natural and constructed features, suggestions for proposed facilities, and goals for the development of the park as a whole. The NPS Branch of Plans and Design, led by chief landscape architect Thomas Vint, crafted a plan for every park in the national system. "Haphazard, unplanned work was not allowed," noted landscape architect and historian Norman T. Newton, "for every park an approved master plan was required." [127]

---

[124] Ralph Edward Newlan, James W. Steely, Susan Begley, and Ethan Carr, "Bastrop State Park," National Historic Landmark Nomination (6 January 1997), 39; Herbert Maier, "Inspector's Photographic Handbook," n.d. [1935], Photographs of Engineering Activities, Entry 127, Record Group 79, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[125] Carr, 281.

[126] McClelland, *Presenting Nature,* 255-262; Albert Good, ed., *Park Structures and Facilities* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1935); Albert Good, Ed., *Park and Recreation Structures* (1938; repr., New York: Princeton Architectural Press, Inc., 1999).

[127] Carr, 240-41, 255; Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1976), 580.

As NPS's state park ECW/CCC program expanded to serve diverse state, county and metropolitan parks, officials began to see the need to encourage the development of master plans as a precursor to project approval. With a sufficient number of master plans for national parks in place when the CCC program began in May 1933, the NPS rapidly established CCC camps, organized its technical staff, and put CCC enrollees to work. By depicting graphically from the onset how individual parks were to be developed, the plans would facilitate the coordination of ECW/CCC projects. Furthermore, master plans were viewed as a logical means of ensuring cohesive development and coordination between the NPS and local authorities. Planning was also central to the development of statewide and regional park systems. A 1935 progress report stated: "The Emergency Conservation Work program presented to the NPS the immediate opportunity to improve and develop further its national parks and also to extend its standards and influence in cooperation with the States in development of a National-wide system of State parks." [128] With passage of the 1937 Park, Parkway and Recreational Area Study Act, NPS's state park program expanded, and increasing emphasis was placed on the development of master plans as a condition for CCC project approval.

Recreation and the CCC

Initially, CCC enrollees exerted the overwhelming majority of their efforts on forestry, roadside work, and erosion control projects, but by the second CCC period in the winter of 1933-34 their developments expanded to swimming pools, campgrounds, park buildings, and outdoor theaters.[129] During the mid-1930s, Americans correspondingly and increasingly pursued outdoor recreation due to its relatively low cost, high levels of unemployment, increased leisure time, and a greater use of automobiles.[130] The CCC took some credit for this recreation boom, reporting in 1935 that: "there can be no doubt but that the Emergency Conservation Work has been, to a very large degree, responsible both for increased interest in all types of parks in which it is being carried on."[131] Indeed, attendance and usage at state and national parks grew exponentially. Some national parks saw the number of their visitors increase during the 1930s by nearly 500 percent.[132]

At this time, "the idea that outdoor recreation should be affordable and accessible to every American," says historian Linda McClelland, "became firmly ingrained in the national conscience."[133] The NPS quickly justified expanding the CCC program beyond the strict definition of "conservation" work by promoting recreational areas as significant resources in their own right. An NPS pamphlet from 1937 asserted:

> The complexity of modern life itself creates the need for recreation of this kind… One of the outstanding accomplishments of the Civilian Conservation Corps is its contribution to this recreation movement. Through this organization, the Federal Government, for the first time in its history, is actively cooperating with the States to provide the means and the facilities for the type of outdoor recreation which people are demanding today.[134]

From 1933 to 1942, the NPS's naturalistic design philosophy shaped the American park landscape, in part through the agency's collaboration with state, county, and metropolitan park authorities and the Civilian Conservation Corps. "The New Deal had remade the Park Service into an instrument of 'national planning,'" historians Ethan Carr and Susan Begely explain, and "the Park Service, in turn, articulated defining policies for

[128] *Summary Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work* (1935), 33.
[129] Maher, 70
[130] Maher, 67.
[131] *Summary Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work ,* 31, 34.
[132] Fechner, 15.
[133] McClelland, *Building the National Parks,* 420.
[134] *The CCC and Its Contribution to a Nation-wide State Park Recreational Program,* 3-4, as quoted in McClelland, *Building the National Parks,* 380.

that national plan."[135] The distinct mark of CCC workmanship in state and metropolitan parks institutionalized the NPS design and planning principles nationwide.

A 'Great Natural Open-Air Theater' for Red Rocks Park

In 1935, the increasing allowance of ECW for recreational development coincided with the appointment of the wealthy and well-traveled George E. Cranmer as Manager of Improvements and Parks by Denver's Mayor Benjamin Stapleton.[136] When Cranmer came into office, he was anxious to develop the entire mountain park system, but he had an ambitious proposal for Red Rocks in particular. Crediting a trip to Sicily, Cranmer envisioned a formal outdoor theater at Red Rocks to replace the natural boulder-strewn area in the park. In an article he wrote for the *Denver Post* in 1946, Cranmer recalled:

> We visited the wonderful theater at ancient Taormino [*sic*] in Sicily, built with infinite care and ability by the Greeks . . . Here we saw and heard a company of players perform in a Shakespearean drama. Their voice carried well in the open air much as they would have in Colorado's Red Rocks theater. I returned home resolved to do all in my power to develop our own Red Rocks into a great natural open-air theater. The opportunity came when I was appointed manager of improvements and parks.[137]

In fact, the ancient theatre of Taormina provided creative vision for other designers of outdoor theaters. Early twentieth century landscape architect Fletcher Steele visited the same Sicilian ruins during his European excursions, and found inspiration there for his design for Camden Amphitheatre, a National Historic Landmark in Camden, Maine.[138] The significant features of Taormina called out by Steele seem germane to the setting of Red Rocks Park:

> Bare bones of sky, sea and mountains were bleak, the size of walls, floor, and ceiling prodigious. Yet that could not disturb the sense of deep, warm appeal which affected him like sympathy in the adamant rock. Immensity could not scare away charm.[139]

George Cranmer believed that, with a grandiose setting that rivaled Taormina's for far-reaching views and scenic mountains, Red Rocks contained the perfect site for a similar, monumental outdoor theater. The acoustics of the site in Red Rocks were already well documented. All Cranmer needed were designers that shared his vision for a spectacular outdoor theater, and the money and manpower to construct it.

In 1935, the City and County of Denver chose architect Burnham F. Hoyt for this prestigious commission. Hoyt was considered one of Colorado's preeminent mid-twentieth century architects, although his reputation extended well beyond the state. Hoyt was born in Denver in 1887. His older brother Merrill, also an architect, encouraged him to leave for New York in 1908 to study classical disciplines at the Beaux-Art Institute, where he proceeded to win six Beaux-Arts competitions. His architectural training continued at the well-known firms of George B. Post and Bertram Goodhue. While in New York, Hoyt was credited with the design of the carved woodwork in Goodhue's St. Bartholomew's Church. Hoyt then served in the Army during World War I as a camouflage designer, returning to Denver at the end of the war to join his brother in private practice. His work during this period included the design of several fashionable homes as well as the clubhouse for the Cactus Club. After Hoyt toured Europe in 1926, he received a commission from John D. Rockefeller Jr. for the design

[135] Susan Begley and Ethan Carr, "Lake Guernsey State Park," National Historic Landmark Nomination (6 January 1997), 32.
[136] Lyle W. Dorsett and Michael McCarthy, *The Queen City: A History of Denver* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Company, 1986), 208-209.
[137] George E. Cranmer, "The Red Rocks Theater: One of the World's Natural Wonders," *Denver Post* (August 16, 1946).
[138] David P. Jackson, Lucinda Brockway, Ann Morris, and Linda Flint McClelland, "Camden Amphitheatre and Public Library," National Historic Landmark Nomination (23 August 2012) 31.
[139] Fletcher Steele, *Gardens and People* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1964) 217-218.

of Morningside Church in New York. He left Denver to accept this commission, and then accepted a post as faculty in the School of Architecture at New York University, first as a design critic. He eventually was chosen dean of the School, and likely would have remained there if not for the untimely death of his brother. Burnham returned to Denver to complete the commissions of his brother's office. While in Denver, he married Mildred Fuller in 1936, and the couple decided to remain in that city.[140] Hoyt's earlier work borrowed from historical styles, primarily classical, but his work from the mid-1930s and later, characterized by attention to proportion and rhythm and the natural expression of materials, showed a transition to Modern architectural ideals.[141]

While the City was able to contribute a small amount for architect Burnham Hoyt's salary, the massive amphitheatre project Cranmer envisioned for the park required extensive labor and materials. As he began work during the height of the Great Depression, Cranmer later recalled, "the last place I looked for money was the Denver city treasury." Not only were the City's coffers depleted by declining tax revenues, Denver's Mayor Benjamin Stapleton was by nature very frugal, Depression or no. To implement his vision for city and park improvements, Cranmer would have to look elsewhere for funding.[142]

Denver and the New Deal

President Roosevelt's New Deal work relief programs provided the perfect vehicle for constructing Denver's public projects. Using his political connections through Mayor Stapleton's Democratic colleagues, Cranmer was able to obtain both Works Progress Administration (WPA) and CCC approval for work projects in Red Rocks Park. The WPA was created by President Roosevelt and Congress in 1935, and paid workers in a variety of fields, including art, writing, and construction. With technical assistance from the NPS, these New Deal work relief programs provided most of the manpower and labor for Red Rocks' development, plus raw materials through a quarry opened by the WPA.[143] The CCC, however, beginning in 1935 was the key program used to develop several of the newly acquired mountain parks, including the monumental amphitheatre for Denver's "Park of the Red Rocks," as it was then called, an expenditure that would have otherwise seemed frivolous during the Depression.[144]

Because the amphitheatre construction would be undertaken by the CCC, in cooperation with the NPS, environmentally sensitive NPS design tenets would need to be followed. Hoyt realized that the park's incredible natural rock formations would determine the basis of his plan, dictating design elements such as entrance locations and retaining walls. Furthermore, in order "to convince nature lovers," he understood that the theater needed to harmonize with its magnificent landscape—a defining characteristic of NPS design and CCC workmanship.[145] However, Hoyt was increasingly applying Modern principles into his practice during the 1930s. Although some tenets of Modernism were not well suited for Red Rocks, such as the "machine aesthetic," some were ideal. For example, Frank Waugh noted that one of the most important principles of NPS design was "that all ornament be forbidden."[146] This corresponds with Modern approaches. Landscape historian Phoebe Cutler finds common ground between relief work supervised by the NPS in the 1930s and

---

[140] Thomas Noel and Barbara S. Norgren, *Denver, the City Beautiful and its Architects, 1893-1941,* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1987) 208-209.

[141] "Hoyt, Burnham F.," Colorado Architects Biographical Sketch, Office of Archaeology & Historic Preservation, Colorado Historical Society, (n.d.) 2.

[142] Dorsett, 211.

[143] Most WPA and CCC projects at this time were small scale, and often finished in a year or less. The scope and cost of Cranmer's amphitheatre project would typically have been better suited for the Public Works Administration (PWA), the agency that typically handled large construction projects. However, the PWA required a forty percent cash match, with the work going out to bid to local contractors. Unlike the PWA, the CCC and WPA provided all the labor costs, and furthermore used unemployed workers at a cheaper rate of pay.

[144] Dorsett, 210-211.

[145] Noel, *Sacred Stones,* 56.

[146] Frank Waugh, "Building the National Forest," *Landscape Architecture* 23 (July 1933) 263-264.

early Modernist architect Frank Lloyd Wright. "Some of the commandments ruling government park work appeared simultaneously in the buildings and writings of the era's most celebrated designer," notes Cutler, adding that "[Wright] and the Government Rustic designers shared a ground-hugging regard for nature." [147]

The CCC Arrives at Denver's Park of the Red Rocks

The proposed CCC project at Red Rocks was for a large masonry amphitheatre constructed in the natural bowl between Ship Rock and Creation Rock, two red monoliths that rise 200 feet and 300 feet respectively. Although the concept for the amphitheatre was approved, the project's scale and complexity delayed approval of the amphitheatre's final design plans. Prior to final approval of Denver's Red Rocks Amphitheatre, the CCC mobilized for the amphitheatre project—what would become, as historian Robert Bruce Parham explains, one of the largest projects undertaken during the entire history of the CCC. The CCC enrollees would be kept busy with smaller projects within the park while waiting for final approval of the amphitheatre's plans.[148]

Located immediately adjacent to Red Rocks Park on the south, the CCC camp site was included in the City's purchase of Red Rocks in 1928. However, it was physically separated from the park by a major road, rock formations, topography, and Bear Creek. Unlikely to have been included for any recreational development within the park, it nonetheless provided excellent access to the park and enough level ground for siting camp barracks, offices, and associated utility buildings. Construction of Army-standard Series 600 wood-frame mobilization buildings began in mid-June, with living quarters among the first completed.[149]

On June 30, 1935, a group of about 200 "junior" enrollees of Company 1848 that had been working in Durango, Colorado arrived by rail at Camp SP-13-C at Mount Morrison to engage in what historians today acknowledge as "one of the largest and most difficult projects undertaken by the Corps: the construction of Red Rocks theater."[150] No preliminary planning had been completed for the amphitheatre project in advance of the company's arrival, although an estimate of the proposed work program had been submitted to Herbert Maier's regional NPS office. With great anticipation for the amphitheatre project, the Mount Morrison CCC Camp was an early metropolitan park camp, established during the Fifth Enrollment Period—summer 1935—that first included metropolitan-area parks by that term.[151]

While awaiting approval for the amphitheatre project, the enrollees also worked to improve the roadways and bankside sloping within Park of the Red Rocks. Plans from October 1935 showed proposed roadside sloping work along virtually every section of the existing park roads. These plans were drawn by F. K. Mayer, and approved by CCC Superintendent John Harris, NPS Inspector Harry Dunham, and NPS CCC District Officer for Region VII Herbert Maier.[152]

While the work was hard and the schedule strict, the enrollees' lives at Mount Morrison were generally better than what most men faced at home during the Depression. A company commanding officer and project superintendent oversaw the daily and work-lives of the enrollees. Waking to reveille at six in the morning, Monday through Friday, the men were ready for physical training at 6:30 in the assembly ground. The enrollees then ate breakfast, policed the grounds, cleaned their barracks, took roll call, and left for work at 7:45 a.m. Although most were assigned to park projects, some enrollees stayed to work in the camp, which included kitchen work, or grounds, buildings, and equipment maintenance. The enrollees broke for lunch at noon, and

---

[147] Phoebe Cutler, *The Public Landscape of the New Deal* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1985) 78-79.
[148] Parham, 91.
[149] *Jefferson County Republican* , June 13, 1935, page 2. Courtesy Robert Audretsch.
[150] Alfred E. Cornebise, *The CCC Chronicles: Camp Newspapers of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2004) 237.
[151] "Narrative Report for August 29, 1935, SP-13," CCC, RG 79, NARA, College Park, Maryland.
[152] "Red Rocks Park, Plan of Main Portion," October 25, 1935. Denver Mountain Parks, City and County of Denver.

then worked until four in the afternoon. After the day's work was over, they returned to camp with about an hour and a half of free time, usually spent in recreation. After dinner, enrollees could attend voluntary educational classes or enjoy recreational activities such as ping pong and volleyball. Informal activities, such as glee club and drama, plus counseling and guidance, and lectures and educational films rounded out the camp offerings. Lights went out with ten o'clock taps.[153]

Preparing for the Amphitheatre

As the enrollees kept busy with camp and road construction, architect Burnham Hoyt developed the original schematic for the amphitheatre including the basic continental seating system, and the planters and perimeter stairs. In the fall of 1935, architect Stanley Morse was assigned to the project as Hoyt's assistant. Just twenty-nine years old when he was assigned to the project, Morse was also a native Coloradoan. Born July 14, 1906 in Mancos, Colorado, he received his Bachelor of Science in Architecture in 1929 from the Kansas State College in Manhattan, Kansas, where he was awarded the Freshman and Senior AIA Medals for Excellence. In 1933, Morse was head of a survey party that measured and recorded prehistoric cliff dwellings at Mesa Verde National Park, located near his hometown of Mancos. Morse credits this work with providing him valuable training in conservation work, and in drafting complicated structures.[154] In the 1930s, he also worked for John Gaw Meem in Santa Fe, one of New Mexico's most influential architects and experienced in southwestern architecture. Just prior to joining the Denver firm of Burnham Hoyt, Morse worked on the Ship Tavern and Casanova room at the Brown Palace hotel for Fisher & Fisher Architects. Prior to his death in 1968, Morse also designed the Earl A. Johnson Elementary School in Golden, Colorado; the Mapleton Combined School in Adams County, Colorado; Whatley Chapel and outdoor theater at what was then the Colorado Women's College Campus, and was the principal architect of Bears Stadium in Denver. Morse was licensed to practice in Colorado, Oklahoma, Washington, and New Mexico.[155]

Morse prepared the schematic design drawings, preliminary drawings, detailed working drawings and specifications, detail and construction drawings for the amphitheatre. Morse's plans were reviewed and approved by Hoyt, Cranmer, and the NPS. In addition to architects Hoyt and Morse, the City and County of Denver furnished the engineering surveys, consulting structural engineering, sanitary engineering, and took all the field measurements and elevations for the design drawings. The NPS provided consulting architects, landscape architects, and engineers, and prepared concrete detailing and general drafting. Further, the Federal agency provided design assistance for both the theater project and master plans for the park, and monitored the progress and quality of projects through site inspections. The CCC camp budget hired professional carpenters, stone masons, and other specialists as Local Experienced Men, LEMs, to train and supervise the CCC enrollees in their handiwork. Morse later noted that the dual role played by the NPS, not only provided supervisory oversight of the amphitheatre's design, but effectively served as contractor through its oversight of the CCC work:

> The National Park Service had realized the importance of Red Rocks Theater, and had placed some excellent supervisory personnel on the project. (Mr. Priester) The National Park Service had been projected into major construction as a contractor, and this was their largest undertaking. Experience in conservation construction qualified the National Park Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps uniquely for this painstaking work.[156]

---

[153] Salmond, 47-51, 138-141.; "Camp Report, SP-13-C. Aug. 18, 1936."

[154] Morse, 1-2.

[155] "Biographical Note," in Stanley E. Morse architectural records, WH889, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library.

[156] Morse, 5.

The "Ground Plan of Amphitheatre, Red Rocks Park," dated October 21, 1935, is one of the earliest known plans for the amphitheatre, and the title block lists architect Stanley Morse as the delineator and Burnham Hoyt as the architectural advisor. The box also shows the NPS and the Denver Park Board as "cooperating," and, as this was prior to the official approval for the project, there were no approval signatures for these cooperators. The number of designers and technical support staff was a direct reflection of the complexity of the project, as well as the scale of the monumental work. Although it might be supposed that this gathering of egos would cause strife, it instead fostered experimentation in design. Instead of perpetuating old and inadequate canons of design and construction, the team responsible for Red Rocks raised the standards for New Deal work relief projects.[157]

To create the plan, Morse described the team's design process as beginning with three fundamental concessions to the site: the stage location, the site slope, and the amphitheatre center-line.[158] First, the estimated three thousand-ton Stage Rock, used for music and drama performances since the 1880s, provided a natural backdrop as well as a stage platform. The rear sloped surfaces of Stage Rock both reflected sound naturally and served as a natural theatrical backdrop, meeting the design criteria outlined by Frank Waugh and Sheldon Cheney—authors of the two most widely utilized outdoor theater design manuals at the time.[159] Furthermore, massive rock platforms in front of Stage Rock would serve as the foundation for the stage. Second, the upward slope of the underlying rock strata mandated the seating design. By utilizing the natural slope for the entire theater, aesthetic harmony prevailed with the rock formations and strata, and the greatest overall harmony with the natural site. Not only was the east-to-west slope utilized for the tiered seating, each row of seating was designed to take advantage of the shallower south-to-north slope to provide natural drainage to the south.[160] Hoyt's concession to the site not only followed the underlying rock strata and thus the historic drainage patterns of the site, but it gave "a sense of the seats sweeping upward with natural lay of the land" and allowed runoff to drain in a shallow gutter beneath each row of seats instead of having to add undulations and intermediate drain inlets as a level seating plan would require. Once the stage and slope of the theater were established, the third design directive was the amphitheatre's center line. Seating construction followed a surveyed east-to-west center line, established from the aesthetic center and an opposing base line on the stage.[161]

Meanwhile, by November 1935, the CCC enrollees had completed improvements to several of the park's road sections, along with the camp's offices, a facilitating building, tool room, and repair garage. While these smaller projects were important, the proposed amphitheatre was at the forefront of the project planners' minds. The NPS assistant regional officer, Mr. Alcott, visited the camp in early November for the sole purpose of reviewing the plans for the amphitheatre.[162]

The Road System

At this time, work in the park had come to nearly a standstill as the company strength had dwindled down to almost one hundred men as a result of being called to other CCC duties. Nonetheless, several small projects were approved and underway, including construction of camp fireplaces, log table and bench combinations, all

[157] "Ground Plan of Amphitheatre, Red Rocks Park," October 21, 1935, Denver Mountain Parks, City and County of Denver.

[158] Morse, 2.

[159] Frank A. Waugh, *Outdoor Theaters: the Design, Construction and Use of Open-Air Auditoriums* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1917); Sheldon Cheney, *The Open Air Theater* (New York: Mitchell Kennerly, 1918); Frank Waugh's *Outdoor Theaters* (1917) and Sheldon Cheney's *The Open-air Theater* (1918) provided a history of outdoor theater architecture and guidance for the design of these features.

[160] Morse, 2.

[161] Ibid., 2,6.

[162] L. A. Gleyre and C. N. Alleger, *History of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado*(Denver: Press of the Western Newspaper Union, n.d.) 78-79; "Narrative Report Period October 1 to November 30, 1935, National Park Service, State Park Division, SP 13, Morrison, Colorado," CCC Camp SP-13 records, Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Record Group 35 (RG 35), College Park, MD: National Archives and Records Administration.

while road sloping work in Red Rocks Park continued. The roadside sloping project required engineering as well as physical labor.[163] A report from December 1935 and January 1936 emphasized the importance of improving the existing park roads to meet NPS design criteria:

> No sloping has even been done in the Park of the Red Rocks since the roads there were built (in the late 1920s). Using a system of profile staking, crews have been able to turn out a large amount of yardage on this job. The value to the park from the standpoint of road maintenance and general appearance will be great. This project is well adapted to winter operation and is within easy distance of camp.[164]

The roads were significant features of the park layout and design. Park roads and parking lots were often the focus of the Red Rocks master plans, and in some cases, even substituted for a master plan. While designed to carry visitors to the proposed amphitheatre, they also preserved the characteristic scenery of the foothills and the fantastic natural rock formations as they curved and meandered through the park and provided outstanding vistas and scenery, as noted earlier, which contributes largely to their significance.

NPS landscape architects were responsible for introducing bankside sloping along roads to the Denver Mountain Parks system, starting first with Red Rocks Park in 1935. Along with CCC roadwork in the park, Cranmer tapped the WPA to build critical road connections from the City of Denver to Red Rocks Park, as well as improve the park's entries. A. K. Vickery, City Engineer, prepared most of the WPA road project plans in Denver, and the Department of Improvements and Parks approved the plans. The NPS-funded park-design staff assisted the WPA by preparing drawings detailing specifications for side slopes on roads, for masonry work in drainage areas, and for road alignments. In preparation for the proposed amphitheatre, the WPA built a road to Creation and Ship rocks at what would be the top of the venue, carving out a tunnel through Lizard Head (later Tunnel Rock.) Also, the WPA slightly realigned the road running to the east of the amphitheatre, making it less curvilinear. Promoted by NPS Regional Director Herbert Maier, the concept of rounding and flattening of roadside cut and fill slopes was later required for all improved and new roads built in the park by the WPA during the 1930s.[165]

Park construction, roadwork, and park surveying kept the crews busy through the winter months and into the early spring of 1936. During this time, the CCC, the City of Denver, and the NPS further organized for the pending amphitheatre project. Maier visited the camp to review the plans for the amphitheatre, and a new planning board for the Denver Mountain Parks System was organized, comprising the "technical men" of the CCC camps in the Denver area. These men met at the Mount Morrison Camp to coordinate plans and study the possibilities of various areas, planning the work of the enrollees to the best advantage.[166]

In March 1936, Red Rocks Park superintendent John Harris reported that the "project under immediate consideration, is the out-door theatre in the Red Rocks. This project, if approved, will be both spectacular and unique in setting and design."[167] However, Harris explained that the overall objective for the camp was now

---

[163] "Narrative Report Period October 1 to November 30, 1935, SP-13," "MA-1 Inspection Reports," CCC, RG 79, NARA, College Park, Maryland.

[164] "Narrative Report for December 1935 & January 1936, Red Rocks Park, SP-13," "MA-1 Inspection Reports," CCC, RG 79, NARA, College Park, Maryland.

[165] Colorado O.P.; #165-84-1528, # 65-1-84-159, #665-84-1-192; Records of the Works Projects Administration (WPA), Record Group 69 (RG 69); National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), College Park, Maryland; Series 3 in Finding Guide (April 2007) Denver Mountain Parks archives, Denver Parks and Recreation Department Records, Denver Public Library Western History Collection, Denver, CO.; Noel, 46.

[166] "Narrative Report of February and March 1936, Red Rocks Park, SP-13," "MA-1 Inspection Reports," CCC, RG 79, NARA, College Park, Maryland.

[167] "March 31, 1936," [report from] John E. Harris, Superintendent," "MA-1 Inspection Reports," CCC, RG 79, NARA, College Park, Maryland.

more expansive, with its focus shifted to the overall development of the Park of the Red Rocks—the center of the Denver Mountain Park System, which he continued, was:

> Within a half hours drive of one third the population of Colorado, visited also by thousands of tourists, the Denver Mountain Parks are comparable in extent and potentialities to the National Parks. . . It is felt that the possibilities of Denver Mountain Parks have not yet been fully explored. Those in the camps who are concerned with planning, with the full co-operation of City officials, are working on a development program which it is hoped will bring out to the fullest extent, the value of the region as a great recreational area without sacrificing the essentially wilderness characteristics.[168]

With the camp still in its infancy and the massive amphitheatre project still awaiting Federal approval, CCC work proceeded in the form of roadside improvements, trail development, and a number of small projects. Attention was also turned toward the development of a master plan process to guide future improvement in Red Rocks Park, as well as in the entire Denver Mountain Park System.

Red Rocks Amphitheatre

On May 9, 1936, almost one year after the CCC arrived for the project, Denver received approval from U.S. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes to use the CCC to build Red Rocks Amphitheatre, and the enrollees began work two days later with nearly all assigned to "Project No. 120"— the amphitheatre.[169] The complexity, cost, and scale of the amphitheatre project had lengthened the typical approval process. The CCC program's statutory materials limit of $15,000 for projects that typically took one six-month enrollment period limited the size of buildings and structures that could be constructed. In special circumstances, the NPS could overcome these limits with strong justification and also, as historian Laura Soulliere Harrison explains, by breaking development into small components and building in stages or a modular manner.[170] As one of the most complex and ambitious structures constructed by the CCC, the Red Rocks Amphitheatre is an excellent example of this theory of staged construction put into practice. To insure that the work was coordinated and in accordance with NPS design standards, the NPS, in consultation with the City and County of Denver, provided its technical expertise and oversight of the CCC work in Red Rocks Park through master planning.

As junior enrollees, ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-five, the men of company 1848 were well suited to the heavy labor required for the first phase of excavation and masonry for the theater project—and the amount of work completed within the first few months was astounding. During this initial phase of construction, forty enrollees also received training from LEMs in excavation, while sixty men had LEM training in concrete, and thirty in masonry. Project superintendent John Harris and technical foreman A. J. Collins would have assisted the LEMs in the training. By November 1936, excavation, concrete work, and stone work were well underway for the stage and dressing rooms.[171]

On January 20, 1937, a "Master Plan" for the park was submitted. The coordination between Denver, the CCC, the WPA, and the NPS that began before the amphitheatre project received final approval that resulted in a

---

[168] "March 31, 1936," [report from] John E. Harris, Superintendent," "MA-1 Inspection Reports," CCC, RG 79, NARA, College Park, Maryland.

[169] Noel, *Sacred Stones*, 47.

[170] Harrison, "Architecture in the Parks National Historic Landmark Theme Study," 356; Progress reports are not available for all years of the CCC's involvement. However, an examination of the available reports and plans, photographic records, and architect Stanley Morse's description of the project phasing illustrates how the construction was rearranged to fit with the CCC's funding and scheduling constraints.

[171] Salmond, 47-51; Other voluntary academic and vocational courses were offered through a CCC-wide education effort, including courses in first aid, safety and health. Although counted separately from job training, they undoubtedly related to improving their work performance; "Camp Report, SP-13-C, Aug. 18,1936," CCC, RG 35, NARA.

cohesive plan for Red Rocks Park. Prepared by Earl J. Mann, NPS Landscape Architect and Senior Foreman for the camp, it shows interior park roads proposed for abandonment as well as new roads. As the CCC men were busy with the amphitheatre, the proposed road work was intended for WPA crews.[172]

Staged Construction, Staged Design

In spite of a seemingly perfect natural setting for an outdoor theater, in reality the construction of Red Rocks Amphitheatre faced significant challenges. The ultimate success of Burnham Hoyt and Stanley Morse's design was due in part to the unique ability of the architects, the NPS, and the CCC to adapt to site conditions presented during construction. Red Rocks Amphitheatre illustrates how designers work both on paper and in the field as the project evolves and the intricacies of the site are revealed. A prime factor cited for the incremental design process at Red Rocks was the six-month camp-approval, recruitment, and funding cycle of the CCC program. While designers were able to overcome this with Ickes' approval and by breaking planning construction into stages, at the same time, it possibly discouraged them from completing construction drawings too far in advance. Consequently, the incremental site design typical of CCC construction adhered to the program's short-term, cyclical funding.[173]

Hoyt's initial schematic diagram shows a formal and relatively symmetrical arrangement that seems to contrast with the surrounding irregular rock formations. However, Stanley Morse visited the site daily and kept track of construction progress, particularly noting site conditions revealed during excavation. In response, Morse modified the layout of the amphitheatre, and in some instances, even reshaped the site itself. For example, when the excavation began on the north end of the site by Creation rock, the CCC workers discovered rock ledges beneath. Instead of removing these ledges in order to fit the symmetrical seating plan, Hoyt and Morse adapted the seating arrangement to reflect the site's natural features by moving the northern outside stairway to the south. This resulted in a loss of seating and an asymmetrical plan, but still kept the seating centerline aligned with the already completed stage.[174] As a result, Morse noted that:

> There is no symmetry whatsoever in the entire theater layout. . . . There is a marked absence of straight walls and straight lines in the projects. Most of the construction is laid out with curves and compound curves, with a minimum of straight wall segment connections. It is understandable that the first field surveyor to tackle the curves and constantly changing levels on this job had to face up to giving up his liquor or giving up the job. He thought more liquor would solve the problem.[175]

Enrollees began construction of the theater seating by commencing with the center base line and progressing to the outer stairs. Since the continental seating had no radial aisles, each seating tier was designed as an uninterrupted curving walkway, varying from 240 to 300 feet long. The concrete walks were four feet wide, with low risers of quarry-faced, red Lyons sandstone in ashlar masonry. Above each riser, the overhanging seats were built of redwood timbers bolted to a concrete bracket. The precast brackets were set on the curved risers, beginning at the visual center (base line) of the theater.[176] Morse noted that: "The projecting seat brackets cast shadows and form a pleasing fabric effect, especially when viewing the entire theater from the parking area below."[177]

In May 1937, after nearly two years at the Mount Morrison Camp, the last of which they worked on amphitheatre construction, the junior enrollees of Company 1848 were replaced by Company 1860V, composed

[172] "Master Plan," E. J. Mann, January 20, 1937, Denver Mountain Parks, City and County of Denver.
[173] Jewell and Cancian, 212.
[174] Ibid., 196, 198.
[175] Morse, 4.
[176] Ibid., 6.
[177] Morse, 4.

of military veterans who transferred to the camp to take over the remainder of the amphitheatre work. Company 1860V was originally organized as a veterans' drought relief state park camp (DSP-1-C) in Greeley, Colorado, on July 20, 1934. The company moved to Morrison Camp SP-13-C on May 15, 1937. It was designated a "mixed" camp, with one "colored" enrollee.[178] The move was viewed as "a happy one in many ways . . . the Red Rocks Ampi-theatre (*sic*), the local project, offers a variety of phases where skill and training are essential as a project, is much more to their liking."[179] The company had 165 enrollees (but as a veterans company could have enrolled up to 250), with 113 men assigned to park work. Made up largely of Colorado and Wyoming veterans, Company 1860V worked on the amphitheatre project and also improved the Mount Morrison camp site, adding a lawn with flowers and shrubs, and recreational facilities, such as horseshoe courts and a ball diamond.[180]

Soon after Company 1860V arrived, and after construction on the Red Rocks Amphitheatre had been underway for more than a year, the managing partners expressed high hopes for an early completion. In the camp report from July 28, 1937, the inspector noted that:

> The only project occupied by this company is the construction of an enormous Amphitheatre in Red Rocks Park for the Denver Mountain Parks Park. . . . This project was started May 11, 1936 by a Junior Company and taken over by the present Veteran Company May 15, 1937. . . [and] in the opinion of the project superintendent, will be completed in July 1938.[181]

The NPS supervised the design and construction of specific site details for the amphitheatre and other features within the park, and the NPS staff was also responsible for Red Rocks Park's master plans in the 1930s. The Federal agency cooperated with the CCC, the WPA, and the City and County of Denver on the Red Rocks Park master plan—the essential link between site specific details and the overall cohesive development of Red Rocks Park. Stanley Morse prepared detailed drawings for specific elements of the amphitheatre as construction progressed. An updated "Amphitheatre Ground Plan" was submitted on February 23, 1938.[182]

Sometimes at odds with local park authorities, the NPS insisted on adherence to the master plan. After a December 1939 site visit to discuss alterations proposed by Denver park officials that departed from the approved plan, NPS landscape architect Kenneth Mitchell reported that:

> This manner of approach for master plan analysis and correlation of all planning thoughts proved worthwhile—achieving a common ground for all concerned with the exception of the city park officials who unfortunately have shown but little interest in the preparation of master plans for the development of their extensive metropolitan park system. The writer is of the opinion that effort should be expended

[178] Salmond notes that, while it was never the policy of the CCC to attempt a nationwide system of integration, the "mixing of the races was usually permitted only in those (Army command) regions where Negro enrollment was so slight that no Negro company could be formed." Elsewhere in the Army's Eighth Service Area, "mixed" camps typically mustered about 10% African Americans, or about 20 per 200-man company. This description fits Colorado's racial composition in the 1930s, Salmond, 91; "Camp Report, SP-13-C, July 28, 1937" ; A few days after the establishment of ECW, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 6129 on May 11, 1933, to amend the program to allow veterans. These enrollees needed to be certified by the Veterans Administration, but could be any age and be either married or single—as long as they needed employment; Gleyre, 83-84.

[179] Gleyre, 83-84.

[180] Ibid.

[181] "Camp Report, SP-13, July 28, 1937," "MA-1 Inspection Reports," CCC, RG 79, NARA, College Park, Maryland.

[182] Park planners typically revised the master plans annually to keep pace with the rapid progress made by the work of the CCC and WPA, McClelland, *Building the National Parks,* 304-305;"Camp Report, SP-13-C, March 28,1938," "MA-1 Inspection Reports," CCC, RG 79, NARA, College Park, Maryland.

> to expose our planning contributions to these park officials so that the present tendencies toward spasmodic alterations can be tempered toward predetermined decisions. [183]

Specific details concerning work to date, and proposed work, were also discussed in this meeting. Mitchell was critical of the proposal for what he considered "personality-inspired" alterations to the general development plan that were "now proving somewhat detrimental to the ultimate scheme as it affects the theatre."[184] Although the local park authority may not have seen the value of master planning, Cranmer nonetheless looked to the NPS's landscape architects for site-specific design recommendations.[185]

The regional office continued to come in conflict with the local park authorities over proposed alterations to the approved master plan. In September 1940, Mitchell revisited Red Rocks Park at the request of CCC Inspector Priester to review the city's request for additional parking accommodations and Cranmer's related idea for driving a tunnel through Ship Rock. Mitchell noted that alterations to the original parking plans were made during the construction process, which led to the parking predicament. While the upper parking area was "logically" increased in size to accommodate 1000 cars, the lower parking area was "illogically" decreased to nearly one-half its original carrying capacity. He provided advice on how to add additional parking at less expense and scarring than would be incurred if the tunnel were excavated and another large isolated parking area built. [186] In his progress report for September 30, 1940 the project superintendent wrote: "This project has been underway for several years and much time and money have been spent on it."[187] He remained unable to offer a date when the construction in the park would be completed.

One of the last camp inspections was conducted in 1941. Included in the report was a copy of a letter sent by CCC special investigator F. B. McConnell to CCC Director J. J. McEntee (Fechner's successor):

> I found a very fine veterans camp at Morrison. . . I went out on the work project to see the amphitheatre. The veterans have been working on this project for more than three years and it is the most beautiful piece of work I have seen constructed by any camp. It is cut out of stone, is immense in size with a seating capacity of ten thousand, and is a credit to all those have contributed to a part to [its] building.[188]

Morse's constant review and revision of this "most beautiful piece of work" at Red Rocks, seen in his nearly 125 sheets of drawings and documents from December 1935 until early 1941, reflects the incremental decision making process.[189] Although a rough schematic was submitted for initial approval for Federal funding and construction by the CCC, Morse recalled that: "The final layout plan for the entire theater was not actually completed until the construction was completed."[190]

---

[183] Kenneth F. Mitchell, Associate Landscape Architect, "Report to Regional Landscape Architect on Field Trip to Denver Mountain Parks – Denver, Colorado," (Denver, CO: Denver Mountain Parks files**,** December 5-10, 1939) 3**.**

[184] Ibid., 4.

[185] Ibid., 4-5.

[186] Kenneth F. Mitchell, Resident Landscape Architect, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Report to Regional Landscape Architect on Field Trip to Red Rocks Outdoor Theater, Denver Mountain Park System, Denver, Colorado" (Denver, CO: Denver Mountain Parks files, September 13-14, 1940) 3-4;

[187]"Camp Report, SP-13-C, September 30, 1940," "MA-1 Inspection Reports," CCC, RG 79, NARA, College Park, Maryland. The camp operated with the designation SP-13 through 1939, but in 1940 it was renamed MA-1, with the new acronym more accurately reflecting it as a "municipal agency" camp, rather than a "state park."

[188] F. B. McConnell, letter to J. J. McEntee, 12 May 1941, Camp MA-1 records, CCC, RG 35 (College Park, MD: National Archives and Records Administration). Special investigator McConnell worked for the CCC organization and was responsible for investigating complaints and problems concerning the operation of CCC camps. It is not known what concerns led to his visit to Red Rocks Park.

[189] Ibid.

[190] Linda Jewell and Steve Rasmussen Cancian, "Keeping the Boys Busy: The Revival of Incremental, On-Site Design by

Significance in Park Architectural Design

The design of Red Rocks Amphitheatre skillfully blends the requisite features from both ancient and modern outdoor theatres with a controlling architectural vocabulary rooted in NPS Rustic style. A key character-defining feature of the outdoor theater's design is the high quality of naturalistic rockwork that echoes the region's indigenous building traditions while setting forth a modernistic vocabulary of streamlined curtain walls, undulating stone-veneered surfaces, and reinforced-concrete construction.

In the United States, rustic architectural design advanced through the professional practice of American architects and landscape architects. The professional use of native stone in a rough, unfinished condition so that built features echoed and harmonized with the natural setting found early expression in nineteenth century urban parks by landscape architects Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux. In the 1880s the collaboration of Olmsted and architect Henry H. Richardson resulted in the design of structures that were sturdy, durable, attractive and superbly integrated with their site and setting. The turn-of-the century Arts and Crafts movement popularized by Gustav Stickley's periodical *The Craftsman* embraced this tradition and cultivated professional interest in the vernacular of the American frontier, as well as the indigenous methods of construction practiced by American Indian tribes.[191]

Naturalistic rockwork—marked by the use of native stone materials -- became a hallmark of twentieth century Rustic park architecture. Adopted by both architects and landscape architects for national park design and construction in the early twentieth century, techniques for stone masonry evolved into a distinctive national park style expressed in the construction of bridges and guard walls, culverts, overlooks, administrative buildings, and concessioners' lodges. Architects Herbert Maier and Stanley Underwood, in private practice, figured prominently in the evolution of methods of stone construction and the development of an aesthetic of rusticity for the design of park structures. Architect Elizabeth Jane Colter, working for the Fred Harvey Company at Grand Canyon, and Archeologist Jesse Nusbaum, in his role as superintendent at Mesa Verde, made close studies of indigenous methods practiced by the Indian tribes of southwestern Colorado; this work further defined the architectural vocabulary of the Rustic style and provided significant prototypes drawn from indigenous and regional traditions. In the routine and often redundant activities associated with road-building, trail construction, and landscape naturalization, the resident landscape architects of Thomas Vint's Landscape Division perfected stone-masonry techniques for park bridges, guardrails, culverts, terraces, retaining walls, stairways, and other small-scale improvements. By the late 1920s, the NPS's advanced standards for stone masonry and rusticated techniques of stone veneer, in combination with reinforced concrete construction, became the standard for bridge design and construction. What resulted were large-scale buildings designed by prominent architects and sturdily constructed bridges built to the engineering standards of the Bureau of Public Roads alike—these were heralded for their attractiveness, durability, regional appropriateness, and ability to convincingly blend structure and setting. By the end of the 1930s, through the ECW/CCC work supervised by NPS-employed designers and influenced by NPS-sponsored publications such as *Park Structures and Facilities* and *Park and Recreation Structures,* naturalistic rockwork and rustic stone masonry appeared in the design and construction of park structures of all types and at all scales and became ubiquitous in parks at all levels—national, state, and metropolitan.[192]

National Park Service Designers During the Great Depression" ([Washington, D.C: National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, 2002) 7, 194, 197-198; Stanley Morse, [typed manuscript, no title], Stanley E. Morse architectural records, WH889, box 2, Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, 6; Morse, 4.

[191] For further examination of the evolution of the NPS rustic style, see Harrison, *Architecture in the National Parks Theme Study;* McClelland, *Building the National Parks,* 91-122, 243-254.

[192] For a detailed examination of the evolution of naturalistic rockwork and the role of the Landscape Division, see McClelland, *Building the National Parks*, 185-290.

The ECW/CCC work at Red Rocks Park figures importantly in this context. As Historian Linda McClelland has remarked:

> Red Rocks Park was the direct heir of this rich architectural legacy. In its monumental scale, complexity of design, integration of landscape principles, metropolitan context, and, above all, the harmonious blending of structure, site and setting it stands as a unique and extraordinary example of twentieth century park architecture. Furthermore, through its protomodern design and forward-looking construction methods, it forged an important link between NPS rustic style of the 1920s and 1930s and modernism in American park design that prevailed after World War II.[193]

The NPS, CCC, and City and County of Denver merged these NPS Rustic, Modern, and ancient trends to create a unified and harmonious masterpiece. George Cranmer's original desire for a classical theatre based on his travels, the NPS's guidelines for harmonizing with nature, Hoyt's growing inclination towards Modernism, the CCC's cyclical funding nature, the need for resources during the Depression, and the difficulties presented by the massive rock formations would all seem to work against a successful outcome at Red Rocks. Instead, a progressive attitude fostered creative solutions to problems—truly a "New Deal" for outdoor recreation and park development. The culmination was a structure that blended architecture with nature, historic theater traditions with modern design forms, and where none of the seemingly competing elements conflict with each other. Stanley Morse later recalled, "Mr. Cranmer was quite sure of the possibility for world significance. His positive enthusiasm and knowledge of the requirements for a project of this scope was a prime factor in providing inspiration and direction for its final realization."[194]

For the model of the outdoor theater's form, Hoyt merged several theater forms with varying stylistic precepts into a cohesive masterpiece. The U-plan reflects the semi-circular ancient Greek theater form, as do the stone seat risers and the massive stairs connecting the floor of the amphitheatre with the "agora" at the top. Just as the ancient theatre at Taormina is set between peaks, the towering Ship Rock on the south and Creation Rock on the north formed a sculpted and sloping depression with natural acoustics. Also like Taormina, Red Rocks Amphitheatre is executed on a grand scale and boasts magnificent views beyond the stage, and broad stone-edged stairs and terraces framing arched rows of seating.

By rejecting ornamentation, Hoyt's resulting masterpiece remained contemporary while still blending with the surrounding landscape. At the same time, however, the low silhouettes and horizontal lines of the continuous seating, combined with the warmth of the native stone materials, serve to reconcile Modern architectural philosophies with the naturalistic design principles of the NPS. According to Professor of Landscape Architecture Linda Jewell's study of CCC-built outdoor theaters, all "have a uniquely close relationship to the landscape they inhabit, particularly to the earth from which they are carved."[195] Red Rocks Amphitheatre, almost appearing as if it emerged from the ground, stands out among all of these outdoor theatres as the premier example of blending with the surrounding landscape.[196]

The theater's construction was also one of the largest CCC projects of its kind in the entire nation. It included an 80 x 170 foot stage, an orchestra pit large enough to hold an entire symphony, large dressing and control rooms, a huge tiered seating area for 10,000`, a massive lighting system, and parking lots for over 4,000

[193] Linda Flint McClelland, Comments to the National Historic Landmark Program, 11 December 2014.

[194] Stanley E. Morse, "Brief History of Red Rocks Theater," Architectural Records, WH889, Western History Collections (Denver, CO: The Denver Public Library) 5.

[195] Linda Jewell, "Great Site Works: Two California Outdoor Theaters", *Places*: Vol. 10: No. 3, (1996) 65.

[196] Christopher Tunnard, *Gardens in the Modern Landscape* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948) 105-106; Marc Treib, "Axioms for a Modern Landscape Architecture," *Modern Landscape Architecture: A Critical Review,* (Ed.) Marc Trieb (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1993) 53-59.

automobiles. To accomplish this, the CCC enrollees removed 25,000 cubic yards of dirt, and used ten carloads of cement, 800 tons of quarried stone, and 90,000 square feet of flagstone in its construction. The 12,000 square feet of floor space made it the largest CCC project ever built.[197]

The NPS was unquestionably proud of its involvement at Red Rocks. The *1941 Yearbook Park and Recreation Progress* boasts: "The huge, unique amphitheatre in Red Rocks Park near Denver" as one of the year's highlights.[198] The theater exemplified the agency's signature design tenet that relates structures to the setting through the use of complementary color, texture and materials.[199] Along with the amphitheatre's materials, the shaping of the outdoor theater's plan related the form to the topography and exposed geologic features. For Red Rocks, a two or three hundred seat theater would have been lost between Creation Rock and Ship Rock, but the massive 10,000-seat theater was well suited for these monumental jutting sandstone ridges.

Red Rocks Amphitheatre and Park are not only outstanding examples of the NPS design principles and master planning process, but also demonstrate the skill and artistic craftsmanship of the CCC workers. Red Rocks Amphitheatre was an early and ambitious venture into park development that required demanding construction, and evidenced the faith of the agencies involved in the abilities of the CCC enrollees. The craftsmanship at Red Rocks was executed at extremely high standards—from the site work to the details of the amphitheatre, such as the red sandstone gutters beneath the seats and the rough natural slabs that create the side walls. The same, native red sandstone was used throughout the amphitheatre, on the stage, for the risers of all the seating, the walls, and the planters, while the walkways are concrete. The superior masonry and concrete work has stood through seven decades of use and exposure.[200]

Opening the Theater and Closing the CCC Camp

The grand opening for Red Rocks Amphitheatre was held on June 15, 1941. The event included speeches from the Governor and Mayor and a concert by New York City's Metropolitan Opera star soprano Helen Jepson. Broadcast over Columbia Broadcasting System radio, the grand opening garnered national coverage in *Time Magazine* and the *New York Times,* where music critic Olin Downes praised: "Nothing in the U.S. could equal the beauty and scenery of the outdoor theater."[201]

After Red Rocks Amphitheatre was completed in 1941, the CCC camp closed. Typical Army practice had been to dismantle abandoned CCC camps, but after 1940 the War Department held many abandoned CCC camps for possible use in connection with national defense, due to the threat of U.S. entry into war. When the Red Rocks camp was deemed unnecessary for the war effort, the Army entertained proposals for the property's use. Interest in the camp was expressed from as far away as Iowa. The City and County of Denver, however, had plans for the property, and applied for ownership of the two CCC camps for use as the "development and administration" of the Denver Mountain Park System.

On January 21, 1943, the "Regular Army" transferred what had been camp MA-1 at Mount Morrison and MA-2 in Golden to Denver, with a provision that the Army retained the right to use and occupy the property if required for military housing or storage "during the present emergency and for six months thereafter."[202] The City and County of Denver has used the camp continuously since 1942, with the camp serving as the base for

[197] Gleyre and Allerger, 79.

[198] United States, National Park Service, *1941 Yearbook Park and Recreation Progress* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941), 9.

[199] Morse, 4.

[200] Newlan, 29.

[201] Noel, *Sacred Stones*, 59-60.

[202] United States, National Park Service, "Shipping Tickets CCC," (August 6, 1942 and November 23, 1942), Inventory of the Mt. Morrison CCC camp upon transfer to the City and County of Denver (Denver, CO: Denver Mountain Parks records).

the Mountain Parks Division. Some buildings have been used during summer camps, and the Recreation Hall and Mess Hall have served as headquarters for a CCC alumni group. The ongoing use and maintenance of the camp has helped preserve the buildings, so that today it remains one of the best preserved CCC camps in the nation.

The CCC program was reauthorized and expanded several times over its decade-long history, and President Roosevelt at one time hoped to make the CCC a permanent Federal agency on a smaller scale. Budget concerns and politics led to scaling back the program prior to the 1936 election, but because the program was so popular, camps generally were only closed when projects were completed. Enrollment rates began to decline sharply after 1939, as young men were able to find better wages in the defense industry that was gearing up prior to the United States' entry into World War II. When the Joint Committee of Congress met to review the Appropriations Bill of 1941-1942, it recommended the elimination of all programs not essential to the war effort; the CCC was on the list to be eliminated. Still reluctant to eliminate such a successful and popular program, the Senate tied in its first round of voting. They later rescinded their action and the CCC program was terminated in June 1942.[203]

In existence for about a decade, the CCC made vital contributions to natural resource conservation and public recreation, had a lasting effect on its enrollees, and helped provide relief to a nation crippled by unemployment. As the first of Roosevelt's work relief programs established during the Great Depression, the Civilian Conservation Corps won over most detractors, eventually becoming the most popular New Deal program, with broad support cutting across party lines. In terms of social welfare, the Corps served as a precursor for other work relief and youth programs during the New Deal era and beyond, including the WPA, the National Youth Administration (NYA), and later the Job Corps and Peace Corps. The program provided significant benefits to the health, education, and employment outlook for almost three million young Americans, as well as immediate financial aid to their families. However, for its accomplishments in advancing the planning and development in the field of outdoor recreation during the 1930s, the Federal Government was justified in stating that:

> The Civilian Conservation Corps is the greatest working force for conservation that the United States has ever known. In the field of public recreation the Corps is helping to give expression to the highest meaning of conservation.[204]

The Post-War Park

Red Rocks Amphitheatre continued to reap accolades in the decades following its completion. Burnham Hoyt received the bulk of the credit for the design of Red Rocks Amphitheatre, and of all his projects, it brought him the most acclaim. Both the architect and the amphitheatre received national recognition in numerous architectural publications and design exhibitions, consistently garnering praise and recognition for its design and acoustics, and for Hoyt's skill. Much of the praise focuses on the placement of the man-made amphitheatre within the natural setting of Red Rocks Park. The May 1945 *Architectural Forum* recorded that:

> For a setting of weird natural beauty, Burnham Hoyt has designed an outdoor theater which in sheer dramatic structure is unrivaled in the world. Hoyt preserved the original flavor of a majestic setting—a restraint which for once admits nature as a full collaborator...With a minimum of architecture per se, Red Rocks Amphitheatre is unquestionably an architectural triumph.[205]

---

[203] Salmond, 66-67, 208-217.
[204] *The Civilian Conservation Corps and Public Recreation*, 3.
[205] "Red Rocks Amphitheatre," *Architectural Forum,* 5 (1945), pp. 97-102.

Similar contemporary recognition was received from around the world. The French periodical *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* noted in 1949 that: "The Red Rocks Amphitheatre, snuggled into the foothills of Denver, is a magnificent example of the discretion with which an architect has preserved the picturesqueness of a grandiose site."[206] In 1950, Hoyt received a letter from Modernist architect Walter Gropius, the founder of Germany's Bauhaus School and then chair of Harvard's School of Architecture, who wrote: "Red Rocks Theater is one of the great things in the United States, and I highly admire the humble way in which you have subordinated the architect under the great setting of nature."[207]

In 1957, the American Institute of Architects (AIA) celebrated its hundredth anniversary with an exhibit at the National Gallery of Art entitled *One Hundred Years of Architecture in America.* Among the seventy-five historic and contemporary buildings featured in what was considered the first comprehensive exhibit on American architecture, Red Rocks Amphitheatre was one of only two Colorado examples included – the other being the I. M. Pei-designed Mile High Center in Denver – and the only outdoor or recreational example featured in the entire exhibit. The AIA placed it in the category entitled "In Terms of Modern Life," believing it represented one of the new building types that emerged after the industrial revolution, and that was influenced in part by American architects as well as German refugee architects after 1933.[208] Further, Red Rocks Amphitheatre was chosen as one of the decade's fifty outstanding examples of American architecture in a 1957 exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.[209]

Although Hoyt received much of the credit for the amphitheatre, the workmanship is undeniably linked to the CCC. As historian Tara Mitchell Mielnik notes in her study, *New Deal, New Landscape: The Civilian Conservation Corps and South Carolina's State Parks,* numerous publications of the CCC and the New Deal report statistics on the number of enrollees and provide a tally of the complete work, such as number of acres reclaimed or miles of fencing. However, another way to evaluate the program, Mielnik states, is to examine the projects that are scattered throughout the country.[210] For the men who worked at the Red Rocks Amphitheatre, and for those CCC enrollees who worked on less recognized projects, the amphitheatre remains the most spectacular monument to their work.

A *New York Times* article in 1993 praising the "inspirational power unleashed when Government lends itself unstintingly to good design" listed five noteworthy public places in the United States.[211] Of Red Rocks, the author commended its "extremely simple design enhanced by the breathtaking majesty of the Rockies."[212] It continues:

> Wedged between spurs of 300-million-year-old red sandstone, Red Rocks is a dramatic departure from most parkland design, which often tends to be rustic, even quaint. Here, instead of logs, a vast sculpture of rock—sublime in its pure form—arrests the eye at the point where the Rocky Mountains meet the plains. Red Rocks . . . indeed belongs among the world's man-made wonders.[213]

---

[206] Noel, *Sacred Stones,* 64.
[207] Ibid., 63-4.
[208] Frederick Albert Gutheim, *One Hundred Years of Architecture in America, 1857-1957, Celebrating the Centennial of the American Institute of Architects* (New York: Reinhold Pub. Corp., 1957), 74, 82, 93.
[209] "Colorado Architects Biographical Sketch: Hoyt, Burnham F." (Denver: Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Colorado Historical Society, Revised 2 January 2004), 2.
[210] Tara Mitchell Mielnik, *New Deal, New Landscape: The Civilian Conservation Corps and South Carolina's State Parks* (Columbia, S.C.: The University of South Carolina Press, 2011) 28-29.
[211] The four other noteworthy public places were Fort Peck Dam in Montana, the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C., Hamilton Fish Park in New York City, and James Lee Court in Oakland, CA.
[212] Julie V. Iovine, "Design; In Praise of Public Places," *New York Times* (23 May 1993); *The New York Times*, Archives, Web, 20 September 2007.
[213] Ibid.

Red Rocks and the Performing Arts

The acoustics of Red Rocks Amphitheatre, plus the striking Red Rocks Park, combine to provide a concert venue unlike any other in the world. Although World War II silenced most concerts at Red Rocks during its first five years, after the war ended, the amphitheatre hosted regular outdoor concert seasons beginning in 1946, including the Denver Symphony Orchestra's ongoing Red Rocks summer concert series from 1946 to 1961. By the 1960s, however, many felt that more popular acts, rather than classical shows, would revive the venue. Taking heed, pop performers were booked, and the next several decades saw popular performers including The Beatles, Diana Ross and the Supremes, and Jimi Hendrix. In June 1983, rock group U2 gave a famous concert at Red Rocks that was recorded in a concert film, *U2 Live at Red Rocks: Under a Blood Red Sky*. The band's performance, highlighted by lead singer Bono scaling a lighting tower and raising a white flag, was one reason this event was subsequently included in *Rolling Stone* magazine's 2004 list of the "50 Moments that Changed Rock and Roll."[214]

Performers in recent decades have enjoyed Red Rocks Amphitheatre so much that many chose it for live concert recording releases; concert videos are particularly popular due to the striking setting. In addition to U2, John Denver, Stevie Nicks, and the Moody Blues have all released videos of performances at Red Rocks. However, the acoustics at Red Rocks are just as revered. As noted in *Wired* online, "Live music rocks hardest in the open air, sonically speaking. Natural arenas like the Gorge Amphitheatre in George, Washington – or the Hollywood Bowl in Los Angeles or Red Rocks in Colorado – give concertgoers more audio bliss by offering less interference."[215] Consequently, numerous music performances have been taped at Red Rocks and released by artists such as Neil Young, the Nitty Gritty Dirt Band, and the Dave Mathews Band.

With the theater's growing popularity and ability to attract major headliners came the pressure to compete with other state-of-the-art venues. In 1999, the City announced an improvement plan that some feared would turn the amphitheatre, as reported in *The Denver Post*, "into a clone of corporate kitsch."[216] The plans proposed to replace the juniper planters with box seats, narrow the seating and add a riser at the top of the theater to accommodate more people, build a visitor center, sell advertising, and construct restrooms and concessions on the natural south slope as an option to stabilize the eroding soil. Opponents of these plans brought awareness to the park and theater's irreplaceable beauty and historic significance. Organizing into the Friends of Red Rocks, this group garnered support from Denver residents, musicians, and scholars, including Vincent Scully, Sterling Professor Emeritus of the History of Art, Yale University, who wrote of Red Rocks: "It is one of the few works of contemporary civilization that can be called sublime. There is no other word, and it is valued in those terms by architects, planners, and theater people all over the world, as by millions of ordinary people everywhere."[217]

Through these efforts, and after two public meetings held by the Denver Landmark Preservation Commission, Denver abandoned its plans for the increased seating, box seats, and the south-slope addition. Instead, the City developed plans for a new under-plaza visitor center that would reference to Hoyt's original drawings that depicted an "agora," or marketing place, at the top of theater. That plan, developed by Hoyt, had not been completed. The Friends of Red Rocks felt that adhering to Hoyt's original design acknowledged the high responsibility of caring for this special place. Completed in 2003, the new Visitor Center is largely underground and offers a gift shop, restaurant, and a museum.[218]

---

[214] Noel, 70-71; Glenn McDonald, "Historic Venues: Red Rocks Amphitheatre," (7 January 2013) *Fender,* Web, 30 May 2013.

[215] Nathan Mattise, "Sound Science: World's Best Outdoor Music Venues," (29 June 2012) *Wired,* Web, 30 May 2013. In the online article, Red Rocks Amphitheatre is the featured photograph.

[216] The Denver Post article was included an a report compiled by Russ Alaimo, Friends of Red Rocks, titled "2004 Red Rocks Renovations—A Change in Plans to Save the Rocks, Draft," March 2014.

[217] Vincent Scully, "Letter to the Denver Landmark Preservation Commission," October 28, 1999, Friends of Red Rocks.

[218] Noel, *Sacred Stones,* 89-90, 94.

Red Rocks Amphitheatre's reputation among performing artists and the concert industry has remained at a consistently high level since its construction. An example of this recognition from the concert industry is provided by *Pollstar,* an international concert tour magazine that annually recognizes artists, tours, promoters, and concert venues with awards in several categories. The award nominees are selected by a group of concert business professionals and voted on by subscribers to the magazine. After Red Rocks was honored as the best small outdoor venue eleven times, in 2001 the magazine finally decided to remove the amphitheatre from the competition and instead named the coveted honor the "Red Rocks Award."[219]

Comparison of Red Rocks Park, Amphitheatre, and Mount Morrison CCC Camp to Similar Properties

The outstanding collection of resources at Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison CCC Camp District requires a three-part property comparison, as few existing properties combine the exceptional work and design of the NPS and the CCC with the extant CCC camp and the international renown of Red Rocks Amphitheatre. In order to capture the significant design and fame of the amphitheatre, the scale of the CCC project at the park, and the distinct collection of extant CCC buildings at the camp, the following list includes exceptional outdoor music venues (divided into venues known for their natural design and/or their national renown), outstanding New Deal recreational projects, and mostly complete extant CCC camps. Considering these facets, the closest comparable property in this list is Mount Tamalpais Mountain Theater, formerly known as the Sidney B. Cushing Memorial Theatre in Marin County, California. Like Red Rocks, it was constructed by CCC enrollees during the 1930s, it evokes the natural design methods and workmanship of the CCC, and its design and construction were done under the supervision of the NPS. It does not, however, retain the associated CCC camp, nor have the widespread popularity of Red Rocks Amphitheatre. What Mount Tamalpais Mountain Theater lacks in fame, other pre-Depression outdoor theatres in this list provide, such as the Hollywood Bowl in Los Angeles and the Greek Theater in Berkeley, California. Although these are both renowned outdoor music venues, they lack the naturalistic NPS design and association with the CCC. Each of the following properties is comparable to Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison CCC Camp District in at least one, but never all, of these three ways—renown as an outdoor music venue, outstanding New Deal recreational project, and extant CCC camp. The combination of properties in this list illustrates the superlative grouping of resources at Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison CCC Camp District, and its unmatched ability to carry forward the legacy left by New Deal recreation projects nationwide.

Comparison of Red Rocks Amphitheatre to Other Outdoor Music Venues

Red Rocks Amphitheatre is world-renowned for its harmonious design within the natural setting of Red Rocks Park. The connection between the setting, performer, and audience is strengthened by the amphitheatre's natural acoustics. The following list of properties includes other renowned outdoor music venues of national and regional significance that are more than fifty years old and that have one or more of the characteristics that make Red Rocks an outstanding music venue. The list is divided into two subheadings: Famous Outdoor Theaters and Natural Outdoor Theaters.

Famous Outdoor Theaters

California

- Hollywood Bowl, Hollywood, Los Angeles County
  The Hollywood Bowl is one of the largest outdoor amphitheaters in the United States, seating almost 18,000. Since 1922, there have been five band shells, with the fifth completed in 2004. The present shell follows the concentric Art Moderne ring design from the 1920s. The acoustics of the amphitheater deteriorated with the construction of the first permanent shell and seating in 1926, and continued over the years due to the construction of the Hollywood freeway in 1952, hillside grading, and residential development. While the

[219] "Pollstar Awards Archive," *Pollstar,* Web, 31 July 2012.

2004 shell improved the acoustics, it resulted in the demolition of the historic stage and shell; the present structure is not historic. Like the Hollywood Bowl, Red Rocks Amphitheatre embraces modern outdoor theater design. However, unlike Red Rocks, the NPS was not involved in the design of Hollywood Bowl, so it does not reflect a blending of NPS design principles with correlated Modern design tenets. Red Rocks also retains a very high degree of integrity, while the Hollywood Bowl no longer retains historic integrity.

- William Randolph Hearst Greek Theater, Berkeley
  Designed by John Galen Howard and constructed in 1903, the Greek Theatre is a concrete structure consisting of two main parts: the high Classical stage and the seating. Modeled after the theater at Epidaurus, it was the first permanent outdoor theater modeled on a Greek prototype to be built in California. It was built within a natural amphitheatre bowl, open to the west. It is owned and operated by the University of California, Berkeley. As with Red Rocks, and as stated in the National Register nomination for the Greek Theatre, the "architectural and environmental merit of the Greek Theatre are inseparable."[220] However, it is the Greek Theatre's fame, rather than its design, that is more closely comparable to Red Rocks Amphitheatre. Both venues are often found in top lists of the nation's, and the world's, outdoor theaters.

Illinois

- Ravinia, Highland Park
  The Pavilion at Ravinia was constructed in 1904 as part of the amusement park built by the A.C. Frost Company to gain ridership for the fledgling Chicago & Milwaukee Electric Railroad. Now, more than 100 year later, Ravinia is home to the oldest outdoor music festival in North America, and has a history of hosting world-renowned musicians, such as Louis Armstrong, Ella Fitzgerald, Yo-Yo Ma, and Frank Zappa. In 1949, the original wooden pavilion burned down and was replaced by a new pavilion with a capacity of 3,400, double the original capacity. The theater is part of the Ravinia Park Historic District that was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1982.

Maryland

- Merriweather Post Pavilion, Columbia
  Nestled in 40 acres of forest between Baltimore and Washington, D.C., Merriweather Post Pavilion was designed by architect Frank Gehry and holds just over 19,000 people. It opened in 1967 and was meant to be the home of the National Symphony Orchestra, but went on to host popular recording artists including Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin. In 2010, *Billboard* magazine ranked it the second best amphitheatre in the country for top-selling shows behind the Hollywood Bowl, and in 2013, *Rolling Stone* magazine ranked it fourth in its list of Best Amphitheaters in America, the same list that Red Rocks topped.[221]

Massachusetts

- Tanglewood, Lenox
  Located on hundreds of acres of lawn and meadows in the Berkshires, Tanglewood has been the seasonal home of the Boston Symphony Orchestra since 1937. The Koussevitzky Music Shed, which seats 5,100, was built for the 1938 season. The venue was designed by local engineer Joseph Franz. In 1959, modifications to the shed included construction of the Edmund Hawes Talbot Orchestra Canopy, which helped create the now

[220] "Hearst Greek Theatre," National Register of Historic Place nomination, 1982, accessed September 30, 2014, http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/NRHP/Text/82004644.pdf.

[221] Erik Maza, "Merriweather Post Pavilion ranked second-best amphitheater in the country; Virgin Mobile FreeFest helped," *The Baltimore Sun*, December 1, 2010, accessed September 30, 2014, http://weblogs.baltimoresun.com/entertainment/midnight_sun/blog/2010/12/merriweather_post_pavilion_ran.html; Steve Knopper, "The Best Amphitheaters in America," *Rolling Stone*, June 20, 2013, accessed September 29, 2014, http://www.rollingstone.com/music/lists/the-best-amphitheaters-in-america-20130620.

famous acoustics. The venue hosts programs of classical, jazz, and popular music, and has a lawn seating capacity of some 15,000.

New York

- Saratoga Performing Arts Center, Saratoga Springs
  Constructed in 1966 along a natural downward slope along Geyser Creek, the Saratoga Performing Arts Center is a steel-and-concrete structure that seats 5,200 under its shelter and approximately 20,000 more on its sloped lawn. It is surrounded by hiking trails, geysers, and mineral springs. The center hosts the New York City Ballet and The Philadelphia Orchestra, as well as chamber music, jazz, rock and pop concerts, and opera. Its website touts that the design of a series of baffles and sound-reflecting surfaces make it one of the most acoustically acclaimed outdoor performance venues.[222] Its longest performing relationship is with Ray Charles (32 years) and Chicago (32); most performances were by James Taylor (19); and the largest crowd was 40,231 for the Grateful Dead in 1985. The venue is a noncontributing resource within the Saratoga Spa State Park NHL District.[223]

Natural Outdoor Theaters

California

- Mount Helix Nature Theater, La Mesa
  Sloping east on a 1,320-foot summit, twelve miles east of San Diego, Mount Helix Nature Theater has 5,000 designated seats, and can accommodate 8,000 people on the surrounding boulders and walls. Constructed between 1924 and 1925, the "nature theater" was designed by architect Richard Requa and landscape architect Emerson Knight. Like Red Rocks, Mount Helix was constructed of indigenous stone and concrete colored to match the local soil, with a slightly asymmetrical fan-shaped scheme that reflects the topography. Today, the venue hosts its long-running Easter sunrise service, drama, musicals, graduations, and weddings.[224]

Maine

- Camden Amphitheatre, Camden, Maine
  Located behind the Camden Public Library, this amphitheater and the library grounds were designed by nationally renowned landscape architect Fletcher Steele between 1928 and 1931, on land donated by Mary Louise Curtis Bok in 1916. Steele is regarded as the key landscape architect in the transition from Beaux Arts formalism through Art Deco to Modern landscape design, and the amphitheater in Camden is an example of this transition. As such, it shares a design philosophy similar to the Red Rocks Amphitheatre. The U-shaped Camden Amphitheatre has stone seats with grassed terraces, also with stone walls which can serve as seating. A large grassy area serves as the stage area, and stone steps lead to the library. Red Rocks Amphitheatre, on the other hand, is located within a large park noted for its natural features, in particular the large stone outcroppings that give their name to the park, and which are an integral features of the amphitheatre. The Camden Amphitheatre is listed as a NHL along with the adjoining library building.[225]

Comparison of Red Rocks Park to Other New Deal-Era Recreational Projects

Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison CCC Camp District represents the entire public landscape design process during the Great Depression, along with one of the most ambitious achievements constructed during that time—Red Rocks Amphitheatre. Most of the comparable properties were chosen because of their outstanding

[222] "History," Saratoga Performing Arts Center, accessed September 30, 2014, http://www.spac.org/about/history.

[223] Lucy A. Breyer, "Saratoga Spa State Park District," National Historic Landmark nomination, 1985, accessed September 30, 2014, http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/NHLS/Text/85002357.pdf, 7-1.

[224] Jewell, Great Site Works, 68-9.

[225] Jackson.

representation of New Deal recreational development, but exceptional examples of individual CCC-constructed outdoor amphitheatres are also examined. There have been several national and state park CCC projects designated as National Historic Landmarks under the multiple property listing "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks MPS," but no representative of a CCC-built metropolitan park has been designated.[226] While Red Rocks Amphitheatre alone is significant due to its singular size, scale, and design, its siting within Red Rocks Park is integral to its national significance. It is also the only CCC-built outdoor theater that retains the associated work camp, thus presenting a more complete picture of the New Deal landscape. Linda Jewell and Steve Rasmussen Cancian's study of the design and construction process of CCC-built amphitheaters suggests that Mount Tamalpais Amphitheater (Cushing Memorial Theater) in Marin County, California, is the closest comparable outdoor theater to Red Rocks, based on design philosophy and construction history. Also based on Greek theater forms, it was built by the CCC in the 1930s, and its rustic construction methods compare to Red Rocks Amphitheatre. Both it and the Flagstaff Theater in Boulder County, Colorado, are smaller than Red Rocks; Flagstaff is considerably smaller.

California

- Mount Tamalpais Mountain Theater, Marin County
  This CCC-built theater was formerly known as the Sidney B. Cushing Memorial Theatre. Designed by San Francisco landscape architect Emerson Knight, who became a NPS inspector for the CCC program in 1935, the Mountain Theater is located in Mount Tamalpais State Park. It was built by CCC enrollees supervised by the NPS, who with the exception of one season in the winter of 1938, were all veterans. It is located on the southeast slope of the mountain, with earth-imbedded native stone seating for 4,000.[227] It is most comparable to the Red Rocks Amphitheatre in terms of historical associations with the CCC and its size. In its original schematic plan, it represented a formal open-air theater arrangement seemingly imposed on the landscape. In execution, however, the materials and changes made in the field during construction more closely align its final appearance with the principles of Rustic architecture as promoted by the NPS during the 1930s. Red Rocks Amphitheatre, on the other hand, retains architect Burnham Hoyt's vision of Modernism, and the surrounding park with its large parking areas is better suited to serve the recreational needs of a metropolitan park. Mount Tamalpais theater was also constructed by veteran CCC enrollees, although the associated CCC camp which housed the workers during the construction of Mount Tamalpais is no longer extant.

Colorado

- Flagstaff (Sunrise) Theater, Boulder County (5BL.4940)
  Constructed by the CCC for a municipal park system under the direction of the NPS, Flagstaff Amphitheatre is located within Boulder Mountain Park, and is much smaller in scale than Red Rocks, seating about 400. Schematic designs were prepared by Saco DeBoer during his association with the NPS, although changes in the field were made during construction. As one of the earliest examples of an outdoor amphitheatre built by the CCC program, it was used as an example not only in Albert Good's 1938 *Park and Recreation Structures*, but also in Herbert Maier's *Inspector's Photographic Handbook* to illustrate the principles of Rustic architecture and harmony with nature. Its stone seats are set in a semi-circle facing east with vistas over the city of Boulder serving as a backdrop to the stage. The steps have been replaced over the years, the original campfire circle infilled, and recently a modern handicap accessible ramp was added to the south side of the amphitheatre. Prior to the addition of the accessible ramp, it was determined eligible for the National

[226] For a comparably sized outdoor theater with a strong tie to the performing arts, the Hollywood Bowl offers a contrast to Red Rocks by virtue of its Art Moderne design and alterations over the years. The Camden Amphitheatre NHL in Maine provides an additional link in the transition from classically inspired outdoor theaters of the 1910s to the National Park Service and modern theaters of the 1930s and later.

[227] Joseph H. Engbeck, Jr., *By the People, For the People: The Work of the Civilian Conservation Corps in California State Parks, 1933-1941* (n.p.: California State Parks, 2002), 65-67.

Register; it is also designated as a local Boulder County landmark. Like Red Rocks, the Flagstaff Theater is set within a larger park containing many other features built by the CCC. The two parks share similar historic associations, in that they were both developed by the municipal park division of the CCC program in the NPS. The parks are within the same CCC and NPS regions, and are separated by less than fifty miles. Herbert Maier and Saco DeBoer were both involved in some aspects of their development as well. Boulder Mountain Park may be worthy of further research to determine its eligibility for designation at the national level of significance. The theater is an excellent example of the Rustic style as promoted by the NPS, however it is much smaller in scale than Red Rocks, and there is no hint of modernism in its original execution. The natural features in the two parks also give them a distinctly differing character, in part because one of the projects of the Boulder CCC camp was reforestation of the Flagstaff mountainsides. It also no longer retains the associated CCC camp, located at the foot of Flagstaff Drive and the Flatirons, although a few foundations are extant.

New Mexico

- Bandelier CCC Historic District, Bandelier National Monument, National Historic Landmark
  With thirty-one contributing resources, the Bandelier CCC Historic District contains the largest collection of CCC-built structures in a National Park. Until a few years ago when a major addition was built onto the visitor center, the collection had not been altered by new construction. Designed and built to mimic a Native American pueblo complex, the buildings are excellent illustrations of the NPS guiding principles of Rustic architecture, drawing from local history and harmonizing with the natural surroundings. The approximately 54-acre district was designated under the context "Architecture in the Parks National Historic Landmark Theme Study."[228]

Oklahoma

- Platt National Park Historic District, Sulphur, National Historic Landmark
  The 848-acre district encompasses the former boundaries of Platt National Park, established as the nation's sixth national park. It contains the most cohesive and intact collection of CCC-era landscape design features in a national park, and although it does not contain an amphitheatre, it fully illustrates the landscape design and master planning process as developed and implemented by the NPS. The CCC's involvement at Platt National Historic District lasted from 1933 to 1940, and represents the evolution of this program from its early conservation mandates to later recreational development. It was designated a National Historic Landmark under the multiple property listing "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks MPS."[229]

Oregon

- Timberline Lodge, Mount Hood National Forest, National Historic Landmark
  Timberline Lodge, located on the south slope of Mount Hood, is comparable in size and scale to Red Rocks Amphitheatre, and is among the most monumental recreational features completed by a New Deal work relief program. The building is 360 feet long, four stories high, and covers approximately 40,000 square feet. It is one of the best examples of "Cascadian" architecture, the first distinctive American mountain architecture style. It differs from Red Rocks in that it was proposed and constructed by the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and the design and construction were supervised by the U.S. Forest Service Regional Engineer's Office. Like Red Rocks, though, the USFS's design team was aided by a consulting architect; in

[228] Laura Soulliére Harrison, "Bandelier Buildings and Frijoles Canyon Lodge," National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form (1985); Laura Soulliére Harrison, "Bandelier CCC Historic District," National Historic Landmark nomination (25 May 1987).

[229] Heidi Hohmann, James Wright Steely, and Linda Flint McClelland, "Platt National Park Historic District," National Historic Landmark Nomination (19 August 2008).

this case, Gilbert Stanley Underwood. On September 28, 1937, President Roosevelt visited the lodge and dedicated it as a "monument to the skill and faithful performance of workers on the rolls of the Works Progress Administration."[230]

Texas

- Bastrop State Park, Bastrop County, National Historic Landmark
  In 1933, the CCC began the development of Bastrop State Park. Although the individual resources within the park were smaller in scale than Red Rocks Park, the high number of contributing resources (66) indicates the extensive involvement of the New Deal in the park's development. Most of the park facilities were built by the CCC, although the swimming pool and golf course were WPA projects. As in Red Rocks Park, the work was supervised by the NPS, and it epitomizes the artistic quality and high aspirations for state parks that were designed by the NPS and overseen by CCC regional director Herbert Maier. The park would serve as a showplace of state park design and construction in Texas. The 2,054-acre historic district was designated a National Historic Landmark under the multiple property listing, "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks MPS," as an example of the excellent work that resulted in state parks from the collaboration of the Park Service, the CCC, the WPA, and state park authorities. Red Rocks is similar, although it illustrates the collaboration between the Federal agencies and a municipal government. [231]

Wyoming

- Lake Guernsey State Park, Platte County, National Historic Landmark
  Lake Guernsey State Park was developed beginning in 1934 on Federal land that had been purchased for the Bureau of Reclamation's North Platte River Project. It was one of the first two Reclamation/Park Service/CCC projects initiated, and was soon viewed as a showplace of state park design in Wyoming (although it technically is a Federal Bureau of Reclamation project). Among its sixty contributing historic resources, the park features a lakeshore and skyline drive, overlooks, picnic shelters, trails, and museum. Of the two CCC camps in the park, only one remains as a site, with most of the buildings removed. It was one of the first CCC-era state parks to be recognized for its architectural significance when it was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1980. An 8,602-acre district was later designated a National Historic Landmark in 1997 under the multiple property listing "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks MPS."[232]

Comparison of Mount Morrison CCC Camp to Other CCC Camps

The following list of comparable camps covers only those that retain at least fifty percent of their original buildings. Along with extant buildings, CCC camps can also be categorized by their geographic area and the Federal agency that supervised the associated work projects. The CCC was administered through nine service (later, corps) areas. Colorado was located in the Eighth Service Area; presently, the only other NHL designated camp (Rabideau CCC Camp in Minnesota) was in the Seventh Service Area. This list is arranged alphabetically by state, and contains the historic name of the camp, its historic designation status, and the associated Federal agency that supervised the camp's work project. This list reveals that few camps in the West retain a high percentage of original CCC camp resources.

Hawai'i

- Camp Kōke'e (Kok'e), Island of Kaua'I (NPS state park camp) National Register of Historic Places

[230] Carolyn Pitts, "Timberline Lodge," National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form (8 July 1977).
[231] Ralph Edward Newlan, James W. Steely, Susan Begley, and Ethan Carr, "Bastrop State Park," National Historic Landmark Nomination (6 January 1997).
[232] Susan Begley and Ethan Carr, "Lake Guernsey State Park," National Historic Landmark Nomination (6 January 1997).

Listed on the National Register in 1996, the district is located on the island of Kaua'i and contains fifteen contributing buildings, one contributing structure, and one contributing site. Of the fifteen contributing buildings, eleven were associated with the CCC camp, out of the twelve that were originally constructed. The simple buildings have board-and-batten siding with corrugated metal roofing. The "recreation lodge" was damaged by Hurricane Iwa in 1982, and was subsequently demolished. A cook's house and garage have also been demolished. The camp was occupied from 1935 through 1942. In 1943, the camp became headquarters for the 443rd Aviation and Construction Battalion. After the war, it was used irregularly by local groups until 1966, when it housed the Job Corps Program. In the 1970s, it was used again by the Youth Conservation Corps. It was effectively abandoned after the hurricane in 1982. Although the camp was associated with a state park, much of the work dealt with reforestation, including collecting tree seeds, fighting forest fires, fire break construction and eradication of feral mammals. Unlike other CCC camps, it was built to house only ninety-eight corps men.[233] The camp at Mount Morrison is more representative of the typical camp size found in the lower forty-eight states during the CCC's existence, while Camp Kōke'e illustrates a smaller camp built while Hawai'i was a U.S. Territory.

Michigan

- Camp Gibbs CCC Camp (Forest Service camp) National Register of Historic Places
  Located in the Ottawa National Forest, Camp Gibbs retains sixteen of its original nineteen CCC camp buildings, including four barracks, bath house, army office, dispensary, education building, power house, supply house, and two garages. The district also includes a dump site where supplies and equipment were buried when the camp was abandoned in 1941. Established in 1935, its barracks are arranged in an unusual circular pattern, radiating like spokes from a central point. While Camp Gibbs does retain a high number of original buildings, their original tar paper siding has been covered with horizontal asphalt siding, and the interiors of most of the buildings have lost their integrity as well.[234] Camp Gibbs provides insight into a Forest Service camp located in a different geographic location from Red Rocks, and the camp's unusual plan shows the diversity in layout that occurred in the nearly 4,500 camps across the U.S.

Minnesota

- Rabideau CCC Camp (Forest Service camp) National Historic Landmark
  Located in the Chippewa National Forest, the Rabideau Camp is surrounded by second-growth forest. The large common-use buildings are located in the center of the camp on a north-south axis, while the barracks and other support buildings are to the east and west. The 112-acre district retains the original unpaved central loop road system, with views of the lake from portions of the camp. Listed as a National Historic Landmark on February 17, 2006, the district contains twelve contributing buildings, three contributing structures, and two contributing sites. The buildings have original shiplap siding with green rolled asphalt roofs, and several were restored by the Forest Service in 1986. There have been some alterations on the extant historic buildings, however, including door relocations, window infills, and interior remodeling. The key differences between the camps at Morrison and Rabideau are their geographic location, associated project agency, building construction and siding, and number of buildings. The Rabideau Camp was associated with a Forest Service project in the upper Midwest. The extant Rabideau buildings feature palisade construction with original siding. [235]

[233] Kate Reinard and Marsha Erickson, "Civilian Conservation Corps Camp in Kok'e State Park," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (March 1996).

[234] R. O. Christensen, "Camp Gibbs (2010182)," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (September 1993).

[235] Rolf T. Anderson, "Rabideau Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) Camp." National Historic Landmark Nomination. November 15, 2003, Section 7.

The National Historic Landmark nomination for the Rabideau CCC camp provides a thorough examination of extant CCC camps (see Section 8, pp. 40-46).[236] Although a number of camps were evaluated for comparison in the Rabideau nomination, several of those evaluated contained few, if any, physical structures or buildings. The Rabideau NHL nomination further notes that among these camps:

> . . . the Mount Morrison, Bear Brook, Gibbs, North Bend, and Rabideau camps stand apart as the best examples of surviving CCC Camps in the United States. . . Mount Morrison may also be a good candidate for NHL designation, following additional analysis and evaluation . . . it would augment the story of the evolution of the CCC as a New Deal program from its initial focus on forest management to recreational development.[237]

Montana

- Birch Creek CCC Camp (Forest Service camp) National Register of Historic Places
  Of the original fifteen camp buildings, eight are extant today, although only six retain integrity. The remaining buildings are the welfare building, barrack, army headquarters, hospital, army and forestry headquarters, classroom, garage & repair shop, and storage. The ornamental stone fences, a fountain, and an ornamental post entrance are significant extant landscape features.[238] It was listed on the National Register in 1982, but the Montana State Historic Preservation Office notes that there has been additional loss of integrity since it was nominated.[239] Although located in the western interior like the Morrison Camp, Birch Creek has fewer extant camp buildings and was associated with a different Federal agency.

New Hampshire

- Bear Brook CCC Camp (NPS state park camp) National Register of Historic Places
  Bear Brook CCC Camp, located in Allenstown, New Hampshire, was one of only four camps in New Hampshire to house a veterans company, and was the last active CCC camp in the state. It retains eight of the camp's original thirteen buildings. The buildings are presently clad with wood shingles, although they were originally sheathed with tarpaper. Work projects completed by the camp include the construction of trails, a swimming pool and beach, a recreation area, picnic shelters, parking area, an evergreen plantation area, and other recreation-related buildings. The approximately 2-acre district, containing ten contributing buildings, was listed in the National Register in 1992. The Bear Brook CCC Camp shares some similar history with the Mount Morrison Camp, as both housed a veterans company later in their operation. However, the Bear Brook camp has fewer extant buildings, and modifications to the existing buildings for new uses have reduced its integrity, compared to Mount Morrison.[240]

Pennsylvania

- Camp SP-8/Laurel Hill Camp (NPS state park camp)
  Established in 1935, Camp SP-8 developed the Laurel Hill Recreation Demonstration Area (now Laurel Hill State Park). The Recreation Demonstration Area (RDA) program was administered by the NPS using labor from the CCC and the WPA. Although they were public parks, these areas were not part of a state or national park system. The camp retains thirteen buildings and one structure: nine barracks, a recreation hall,

[236] Ibid., Section 8, 40-46.
[237] Ibid., Section 8, 44-5.
[238] Joan Louise Brownell, "Birch Creek CCC Camp F-60," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form (March 1982).
[239] Zane Fulbright, "Beaverhead-Deerlodge National Forest," Heritage Property Monitoring Report, Montana Historical Society (23 May 2001, 19 September 2001).
[240] Marlene Elizabeth Heck, "Bear Brook State Park Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) Camp," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (March 1992).

mess hall, infirmary, and wood shed.[241] It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1987 under the "Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) in Pennsylvania State Parks" thematic nomination.[242] The camp's proximity to the extant historic resources built by the enrollees is similar to Red Rocks, although as an RDA, it represents a different facet of the NPS's state parks division in the CCC.

- Camp SP-15/Camp Rockwood (NPS state park camp)
  Located in the Third Corps Area in southwestern Pennsylvania, the camp retains fourteen buildings, including the mess hall, recreation hall, officers' quarters, infirmary, garage, and eight barracks. The buildings were originally covered with tar paper and batten, which has been replaced with clapboard on almost all the buildings. The work of Camp Rockwood was administered by the NPS through its state park division. In this case, however, the project was a "recreation demonstration area" for the state of Pennsylvania, while the Morrison Camp's work was associated with a municipal park agency. Like Morrison, Camp Rockwood is also located close to the enrollees' work project, the Laurel Hill Recreation Demonstration Area (now called Laurel Hill State Park).[243]

Washington

- North Bend CCC Camp (Forest Service camp) National Register of Historic Places
  Currently known as Camp Waskowitz, this camp was located in the Ninth Corps Area. There are ten contributing buildings and two contributing objects in this locally designated, 9.5-acre property. The buildings are in good condition and feature board-and-batten siding. In 1992, the National Register nomination form noted that the camp had lost only one building, the machine shop. However, there are also ten noncontributing buildings and four noncontributing structures, which impact the integrity of the district.[244] Mount Morrison Camp has no noncontributing buildings constructed after the period of significance, and was associated with the NPS.

Conclusion

The Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison CCC Camp is nationally significant as an exceptional representation of CCC activities and workmanship during the Great Depression. Under the area of significance of politics/government, the district is especially reflective of the time during CCC history when the agency extended its projects into state and metropolitan parks for recreation, working in close collaboration with the NPS. The collaboration between the CCC, the NPS, and the City and County of Denver at Red Rocks Park is unmistakable on the landscape. The NPS-influenced naturalistic design of the park, with its winding, scenic roads and native vegetation, sets a remarkable scene for the monumental Red Rocks Amphitheatre, designed in a combination of Rustic and Modern architectural styles by the NPS and Denver architects. This extraordinary example of local and Federal collaboration is further strengthened by the adjacent and nearly complete CCC camp that housed the young men and veterans who built the amphitheater, one of the largest and most complex CCC projects in the agency's history. The complete evolution of the designed landscape from 1935 to 1959 remains vivid at Red Rocks, from the time the CCC enrollees began construction, through the development of the park master plan, to the City of Denver's final additions to the Modern amphitheatre.

The internationally renowned Red Rocks Amphitheatre set within the striking topography of Red Rocks Park in the Rocky Mountain foothills is also extraordinary within the area of significance of architecture. Red Rocks

---

[241] John Milner Associates, "Laurel Hill State Park," Pennsylvania Historic Resource Survey Form, Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Resources (October 1986).

[242] Patrick W. O'Bannon and William R. Henry, "Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) in Pennsylvania State Parks: 1933-1942, Thematic Resources," National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form (15 October 1986).

[243] John Milner Associates, "Laurel Hill State Park."

[244] Erin Younger, "Camp North Bend," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (23 July 1992; rev. 3 September 1992).

Amphitheatre is an exceptional example of the high artistry and quality craftsmanship of work completed by a New Deal work relief agency under the direction of the NPS in the 1930s. By incorporating local red sandstone and flagstone, Red Rocks exemplifies the NPS's goal of relating structures to the setting through the use of complementary color, texture and materials. The shaping of the outdoor theater's plan to the topography and existing rock ridges related the form to the topography and exposed geologic features. Further, the amphitheatre's Modern features designed by Denver architect Burnham Hoyt, including the curvilinear stair elements, rounded stage features, and linear banding above the restroom windows reflect the moment in time that the amphitheatre was constructed—when the CCC partnered with local park authorities to expand recreation in American parks nationwide. Stanley Morse continued these modern tenets with the 1959 additions that addressed acoustic issues stemming from New Deal-era construction, improving the experiences of both visitors and performers.

Within the area of significance of landscape architecture, Red Rocks Park and Amphitheatre are outstanding examples of how the principles and practices of the NPS's design theories were carried out in a metropolitan park by the muscle of the CCC during the Great Depression. The NPS had developed a design philosophy for its national parks in the 1920s, which called for preserving outstanding natural features while still allowing for their enjoyment by the general public. From 1933 to 1942, the NPS was able to promote this philosophy across the nation through its collaboration with state, county and metropolitan park authorities and the CCC. Red Rocks Amphitheatre and Park are nationally significant in this context as a pivotal example of the NPS's influence in introducing its principles and practices of landscape design to a metropolitan park, and for the exceptionally high artistic quality of the outdoor theater. The cohesive character of the park resulted from the influence of the NPS's master planning process as well as the expertise of NPS staff working in conjunction with the City of Denver's architects. The union of built features to the natural site was enhanced by design elements that harmonized with the setting. Red Rocks Amphitheatre and Park, combined, constitute a significant example of a recreational landscape built by New Deal work relief agencies.

Within the area of significance of performing arts, Red Rocks is nationally significant as a renowned music venue, respected by world-famous musicians for its striking setting, design, and natural acoustics. These qualities create a connection between the music, performer, and audience that is unmatched by any other venue in the nation. The amphitheatre is consistently ranked as a top venue in the world in lists compiled by musicians, concert industry experts, and music fans. Its fame speaks volumes of the legacy of the CCC to increase public recreation in the United States.

Red Rocks Amphitheatre's status as an internationally renowned performance venue prompted some changes to the park over time. Most evident was the 1988 addition of a metal roof on the stage to protect performers from lightning. The red metal cover disrupted the openness of the historic stage and the connection between visitors and the viewshed. In 2003, the construction of the Burnham Hoyt Visitor Center also compromised the amphitheatre's integrity by replacing the historic plaza at the top of the amphitheatre with all new materials. The new plaza became the roof of the new visitor center. Although a roughly 30,000 square-foot addition, the visitor center is mostly under the amphitheatre and never in the same sight line as the historic venue. Over time, the park's main attraction for visitors evolved from a scenic driving tour guided by a loop road system, to a destination park, where today, all roads lead to the amphitheatre. Although the majority of the historic road system is extant, portions have been realigned and bridges replaced for more efficient or safer navigability to the amphitheatre.

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Anderson, Rolf T. "Rabideau Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) Camp." National Historic Landmark Nomination. November 15, 2003.

Arrington, Leonard. "The New Deal in the West: A Preliminary Statistical Inquiry." *Pacific Historical Review,* Vol. 38. August 1969, 311-316.

Baird, Susan and Tina Bishop. *Denver Mountain Parks Master Plan.* Denver: Denver Parks and Recreation, 2008.

Begley, Susan and Ethan Carr. "Lake Guernsey State Park." National Historic Landmark Nomination. 6 January 1997.

"Biographical Note." Stanley E. Morse Architectural Records. WH889. Western History Collection. Denver, CO: The Denver Public Library.

Brownell, Joan Louise. "Birch Creek CCC Camp F-60." National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form. March 1982.

Butler, William B. "The Archeology of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Rocky Mountain National Park." [Estes Park, CO]: National Park Service, Rocky Mountain National Park, 2006.

"Camp Progress Report." *NACCA Chapter Chatter & Comments, Chapter 7.* 5 (June 1986): 1-2.

"Camp Progress Report." *NACCA Chapter Chatter & Comments, Chapter 7.* 6 (July 1986): 1-2.

Carr, Ethan. *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture & the National Park Service*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Cheney, Sheldon. *The Open Air Theater.* New York: Mitchell Kennerly, 1918.

Christensen, R. O. "Camp Gibbs (2010182)." National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. September 1993.

Civilian Conservation Corps Legacy. "National Statue Program." Accessed 15 January 2013. http://www.ccclegacy.org/statue_program.html.

Civilian Conservation Corps, Record Group 35. Camp Narrative Report, File: Colorado Camp SP-13, 29 August 1935, October 1 to November 30 1935, February and March 1936. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

——. Camp Inspection Reports, File: Colorado Camp MA-1, 18 August 1936, 28 July 28 1937, 28 March 1938, 6 February 1939, and 20 September 1940. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

——. "Records of the Liquidation Unit." National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

"A City Home in Park of Red Rocks." *Denver Municipal Facts.* (May-June 1931): 14.

"Colorado Architects Biographical Sketch: Hoyt, Burnham F." Denver: Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Colorado Historical Society, Revised 2 January 2004.

Colorado State Planning Commission, *Yearbook of the State of Colorado.* Denver, CO: 1943-44.

Colorado O.P. Records of the Works Projects Administration. Record Group 69. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

Cornebise, Alfred Emile. *The CCC Chronicles: Camp Newspapers of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2004.

Cornell, Harvey H. "Landscape Architecture in the Southwest. United States, National Park Service, *1941 Yearbook Park and Recreation Progress.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941. 65-68.

Cranmer, George E. "The Red Rocks Theater: One of the World's Natural Wonders" *Denver Post.* August 16, 1946.

Cutler, Phoebe. *The Public Landscape of the New Deal.* New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1985.

"Denver Builds a New Scenic Road Through the Red Rocks." *Denver Municipal Facts.* September-October 1928.

Dorsett, Lyle W. and Michael McCarthy. *The Queen City: A History of Denver.* Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Company, 1986.

"The Dynamite Road: Denver's New Scenic Drive through the Park of the Red Rocks." *Denver Municipal Facts.* March-April 1930.

Engbeck, Joseph H. Jr. *By the People, For the People: The Work of the Civilian Conservation Corps in California State Parks, 1933-1941.* N.p.: California State Parks, 2002.

Etter, Carolyn and Don. *City of Parks: The Preservation of Denver's Park and Parkway System.* Denver: Denver Public Library, 2006.

Fechner, Robert. "Objectives and Results of the Civilian Conservation Corps Program." N.p.: Washington, D.C., 1938.

Fulbright, Zane. "Beaverhead-Deerlodge National Forest." Heritage Property Monitoring Report. Montana Historical Society. 23 May 2001, 19 September 2001.

Garrison, Ron. *Red Rocks Employees Manual.* Denver: City and County of Denver Theaters and Arenas, 2005.

Gleyre, L.A. and C. N. Alleger. *History of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado.* Denver: Press of the Western Newspaper Union, n.d.

Good, Albert H., editor. *Park Structures and Facilities.* Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1935.

Good, Albert H., editor. *Park and Recreation Structures.* Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1938. Reprint (3 vols. in 1), New York: Princeton Architectural Press, Inc., 1999.

Gutheim, Frederick Albert. *One Hundred Years of Architecture in America, 1857-1957, Celebrating the Centennial of the American Institute of Architects.* New York: Reinhold Pub. Corp., 1957.

Halpin, Kelly. "Red Rocks Park & Amphitheatre: Evolution of the Landscape; Critical Changes Over Time." Master's thesis, University of Colorado Denver, 2012.

Harrison, Laura Soulliere. "Architecture in the Parks National Historic Landmark Theme Study." National Park Service, Department of the Interior, November 1986.

——. "Bandelier Buildings and Frijoles Canyon Lodge." National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form, 1985.

——. "National Park Service Region III Headquarters." National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1985.

Heck, Marlene Elizabeth. "Bear Brook (New Hampshire) State Park Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) Camp." National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, March 1992.

Hohmann, Heidi, James Wright Steely, and Linda Flint McClelland. "Platt National Park Historic District," National Historic Landmark Nomination, 19 August 2008.

Howett, Catherine. "Modernism and American Landscape Architecture. *Modern Landscape Architecture: A Critical Review.* Ed. Marc Trieb. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1993.

Hubbard, Curtis. "Barry Fey put the rock in Red Rocks." 5 May 2013. *DenverPost.com.* Web, 30 May 2013.

Iovine, Julie V. "Design; In Praise of Public Places." *New York Times.* 23 May 1993. *The New York Times* Archives. Web. 20 September 2007.

Jackson, David P., Lucinda Brockway, Ann Morris, and Linda Flint McClelland. "Camden Amphitheatre and Public Library." National Historic Landmark Nomination, 23 August 2012.

Jefferson County Open Space. "Mount Falcon Park Historical Background." Accessed 19 November 2012. https://www.co.jefferson.co.us/jeffco/openspace_uploads/mount_falcon_park_history.pdf .

Jewell, Linda. "Great Site Works: Two California Outdoor Theaters." *Places.* Vol. 10: No. 3, 1996.

Jewell, Linda and Steve Rasmussen Cancian. "Keeping the Boys Busy: Outdoor theatres of the Great Depression: on-site, incremental design gives form to the complex relationship of site and structure." *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes.* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2004): 187-214.

Jewell, Linda and Steve Rasmussen Cancian. "Keeping the Boys Busy: The Revival of Incremental, On-Site Design by National Park Service Designers During the Great Depression." Washington, D.C: National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, 2002.

John Milner Associates. "Laurel Hill State Park." Pennsylvania Historic Resource Survey Form, Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Resources. October 1986.

Leuchtenburg, William. *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal.* New York: Harper & Row, 1963.

Liberatore, Paul. "Veterans of 75-year-old Civilian Conservation Corps Honored at Mountain Theater." *Marin Independent Journal.* 12 April 2008. *Marinij.com.* Web. 30 April 2013.

Lyles, Kevin M. and Trevor W. Hammrich. "Draft: Red Rocks Park." August 25, 2014. HALS No. CO-8. Historic American Landscape Survey.

McCarthy, Michael. "History of the CCC in Colorado." *1930 Employment 1980: Humanistic Perspectives on the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado.* Ed. Thomas Lyons. Boulder, CO: Colorado Division of Employment & Training, 1981.

McClelland, Linda Flint. *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

——. "Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks." National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form. 8 August 1995.

——. *Presenting Nature: The Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1917 to 1942.* Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1993.

——. "Waugh, Frank Albert." *Pioneers of American Landscape Design.* Ed. Charles A. Birnbaum and Robin Karson. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000.

McClelland, Linda Flint and Reed L. Engle. "Skyline Drive Historic District" National Historic Landmark Nomination. 1 May 2008.

McConnell, F. B. Letter to J. J. McEntee. 12 May 1941. CCC Camp MA-1 records. Civilian Conservation Corps, Record Group 35. College Park, MD: National Archives and Records Administration.

McDonald, Glenn. "Historic Venues: Red Rocks Amphitheatre." 7 January 2013. *Fender.* Web, 30 May 2013.

Maher, Neil. *Nature's New Deal: the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Maier, Herbert. "Inspector's Photographic Handbook." Photographs of Engineering Activities, Entry 127, Record Group 79, National Archives, Washington, D.C. n.d. [1935].

Mielnik, Tara Mitchell. *New Deal, New Landscape: The Civilian Conservation Corps and South Carolina's State Parks.* Columbia, S.C.: The University of South Carolina Press, 2011.

Mitchell, Kenneth F. "Report to Regional Landscape Architect on Field Trip to Denver Mountain Parks – Denver, Colorado." Denver, CO: Denver Mountain Parks files. December 5-10, 1939.

Mitchell, Kenneth F. "Report to Regional Landscape Architect on Field Trip to Red Rocks Outdoor Theater, Denver Mountain Park System, Denver, Colorado." Denver, CO: Denver Mountain Parks files, September 13-14, 1940.

Morse, Stanley E. Architectural records. WH889. Western History Collection. Denver, CO: The Denver Public Library.

Moss, Ann. "Red Rocks Park, Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation District" National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. 3 October 1988.

Native Garden in the Red Rocks. "History." Accessed 12 November 2012. http://redrocksgarden.wordpress.com/history/.

"New Control Center for Civilian Defense to be Located Beneath Stage at Red Rocks." *Denver Post* (20 July 1955) 21.

"New Ramp and Stairs Erected." *Denver Post,* 8 December 1954, 6.

Newlan, Ralph Edward, James W. Steely, Susan Begley, and Ethan Carr. "Bastrop State Park," National Historic Landmark Nomination. 6 January 1997.

Newton, Norman T. *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1976.

Noel, Thomas and Barbara S. Norgren. *Denver, the City Beautiful and its Architects, 1893-1941.* Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1987.

Noel, Tom. *Sacred Stones.* Denver, CO: City and County of Denver, Division of Theatres and Arenas, 2004.

O'Bannon, Patrick W. and William R. Henry. "Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) in Pennsylvania State Parks: 1933-1942, Thematic Resources." National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form. 15 October 1986.

Paige, John. *The Civilian Conservation Corps and The National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History.* Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1985.

Parham, Robert Bruce. "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado, 1933-1942." Master's thesis, University of Colorado, 1981.

"The Park of the Red Rocks Now Denver Property." *Denver Municipal Facts.* (September-October 1928): 2-3, 11.

Pinto, Leonard. "The CCC in Colorado—The Enrichment of Social Life: The Gift of a People to Themselves." Thomas Lyons, Ed. *1930 Employment 1980: Humanistic Perspectives on the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado.* Boulder : Colorado Division of Employment & Training, 1981, 98-133.

Pitts, Carolyn. "Timberline Lodge." National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form, 8 July 1977.

"Pollstar Awards Archive." *Pollstar.* Web, 31 July 2012.

"Red Rocks Amphitheatre." *Architectural Forum.* 5, 1945.

Reinard, Kate and Marsha Erickson. "Civilian Conservation Corps Camp in Kōke'e State Park." National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. March 1996.

Rogers, Elizabeth Barlow. *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001.

Rose, James. "Freedom in the Garden." *Pencil Points.* October 1938. Reprinted in *Modern Landscape Architecture: A Critical Review.* Ed. Marc Trieb. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1993.

Salmond, John A. *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967.

Series 3 in Finding Guide. April 2007. Denver Mountain Parks archives. Denver Parks and Recreation Department Records. Denver Public Library Western History Collection, Denver, CO.

Simmons, Thomas H. and Laurie R. Simmons. "Red Rocks Park Historical Research." Denver, 1994.

Steele, Fletcher. *Gardens and People.* Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1964.

Taylor, Bayard. *Colorado: A Summer Trip.* 1867. Reprint, Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1989.

Treib, Marc. "Axioms for a Modern Landscape Architecture." *Modern Landscape Architecture: A Critical Review.* ed. Marc Trieb. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1993.

——. *Garrett Eckbo: Modern Landscapes for Living.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Triggs, Henry Inigo. *The Art of Garden Design in Italy.* London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906.

Tunnard, Christopher. *Gardens in the Modern Landscape.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948.

Turiciano, Nic. "Red rocks Easter Sunrise Service brings record crowd of nearly 12,000." 31 March 2013. *Denver Post.* Web, *Denverpost.com,* 30 May 2013.

[U.S.] Civilian Conservation Corps. *The Civilian Conservation Corps and Public Recreation.* Washington, D.C.: Federal Security Agency, Civilian Conservation Corps: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941.

U.S. Emergency Conservation Work Organization. *Summary Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work on the Operations of Emergency Conservation Work, For the Period Extending from April 1933, to June 30, 1935*. Washington, 1935.

U. S. House, Committee on Labor. "Message from the President of the United States on Unemployment Relief." Doc. 6, 73rd Congress, 1st session, 21 March 1933.

U. S., National Park Service. *1937 Yearbook Park and Recreation Progress.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938.

——. *1938 Yearbook Park and Recreation Progress.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938.

——. *1941 Yearbook Park and Recreation Progress.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941.

——. *The CCC and Its Contribution to a Nation-wide State Park Recreational Program.* [Washington, D.C.]: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1937.

——. *A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem of the United States.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941.

——. *Proceedings of the National Park Service Conference of State Park Authorities in the Auditorium of the Interior Building.* Washington, DC, February 25. 1935. Unpublished minutes. Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, Main Interior Library.

——. "Shipping Tickets CCC." August 6, 1942 and November 23, 1942. Inventory of the Mt. Morrison CCC camp upon transfer to the City of Denver. Denver, CO: Denver Mountain Parks records.

Unrau, Harlan D. and G. Frank Williss. *Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s: Administrative History.* Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, September 1983.

Waldman, Mark. "1930 Employment 1980." *1930 Employment 1980: Humanistic Perspectives on the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado.* Ed. Thomas Lyons. Boulder, CO: Colorado Division of Employment & Training, 1981.

Waugh, Frank. "Building the National Forest." *Landscape Architecture.* 23. July 1933.

Waugh, Frank A. *Outdoor Theaters: the Design, Construction and Use of Open-Air Auditoriums.* Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1917.

West, Elizabeth. *Santa Fe: 400 Years, 400 Questions.* Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2012.

White, Sally L. "John Brisben Walker, the Man and Mount Morrison." *Historically Jeffco.* Vol. 18, Issue 26, 2005.

Wickens, James F. *Colorado in the Great Depression.* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979.

Wilson, Merrill Ann. "Rehabilitation Plan and Recommendations for Civilian Conservation Corps Company 1848 Camp SP-13-C, Morrison, Colorado." Denver, CO: City and County of Denver, Department of Parks and Recreation Planning Division, 21 August 1998.

Wirth, Conrad. *Parks, Politics and the People.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

Wolfenbarger, Deon. "New Deal Resources of Colorado's Eastern Plains." National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form. 27 January 2007.

Younger, Erin. "Camp North Bend." National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. 23 July 1992; rev. 3 September 1992.

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register.
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

_X_ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
_X_ Federal Agency
_X_ Local Government
__ University
__ Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 649 acres

UTM References:

Point	Zone	Northing	Easting	Latitude	Longitude
A	13	4391257	480971	39°40'14.82"N	105°13'13.35"W
B	13	4391660	481766	39°40'28.64"N	105°12'45.09"W
C	13	4391651	482967	39°40'28.87"N	105°11'54.16"W
D	13	4391335	483358	39°40'22.27"N	105°11'40.05"W
E	13	4389032	482965	39°39'3.37"N	105°11'54.68"W
F	13	4389031	482565	39°39'3.16"N	105°12'10.66"W
G	13	4390845	480978	39°40'2.17"N	105°13'13.87"W

Verbal Boundary Description: The boundary of Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison CCC Camp is shown as the solid line on the accompanying USGS Morrison 7.5 minute quadrangle map.

Boundary Justification: The boundary includes all acreage identified by the Mountain Parks Commission on September 30, 1924, as the land that "the City should purchase" from John Brisben Walker for the park surrounding the natural amphitheatre.[245] That land identified in 1924, and purchased in 1928, makes up the historic district, and represents all land presently associated with Red Rocks Park and the Mount Morrison CCC Camp, which is owned by the City and County of Denver and which was present during the period of significance from 1935 to 1959.

[245] Mountain Parks Commission. Meeting Minutes. September 30, 1924.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

Name/Title: Deon Wolfenbarger, Historic Preservation Consultant

Address: Three Gables Preservation, 320 Pine Glade Road, Nederland CO 80466

Telephone: (303) 258-3136

Date: June 28, 2013

Edited by: Christy Dickinson
National Park Service
National Historic Landmarks Program
12795 W. Alameda Parkway
Denver, Colorado 80228

Telephone: (303) 987-6690

Edited by: Linda McClelland/Barbara Wyatt
National Park Service
National Historic Landmarks Program
1201 Eye St. NW (2280), 8th Floor
Washington, DC 20005

Telephone: (202) 354-2252

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
April 17, 2015

1. Red Rocks Park from east side of C-470 on Alameda Parkway. This view shows the amphitheatre's magnitude, even from a distance, and how its dominance was blended into the landscape; view to southwest.

Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 1/25/2014.

2. Red Rocks Park, from east side of C-470 on Alameda Parkway. This view shows the amphitheatre's magnitude, even from a distance, and how its dominance was blended into the landscape; view to southwest.

Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 1/25/2014.

3. Parking Lot (foreground); Creation Rock (right); Ship Rock (left); Red Rocks Amphitheatre (middle ground); view to northwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

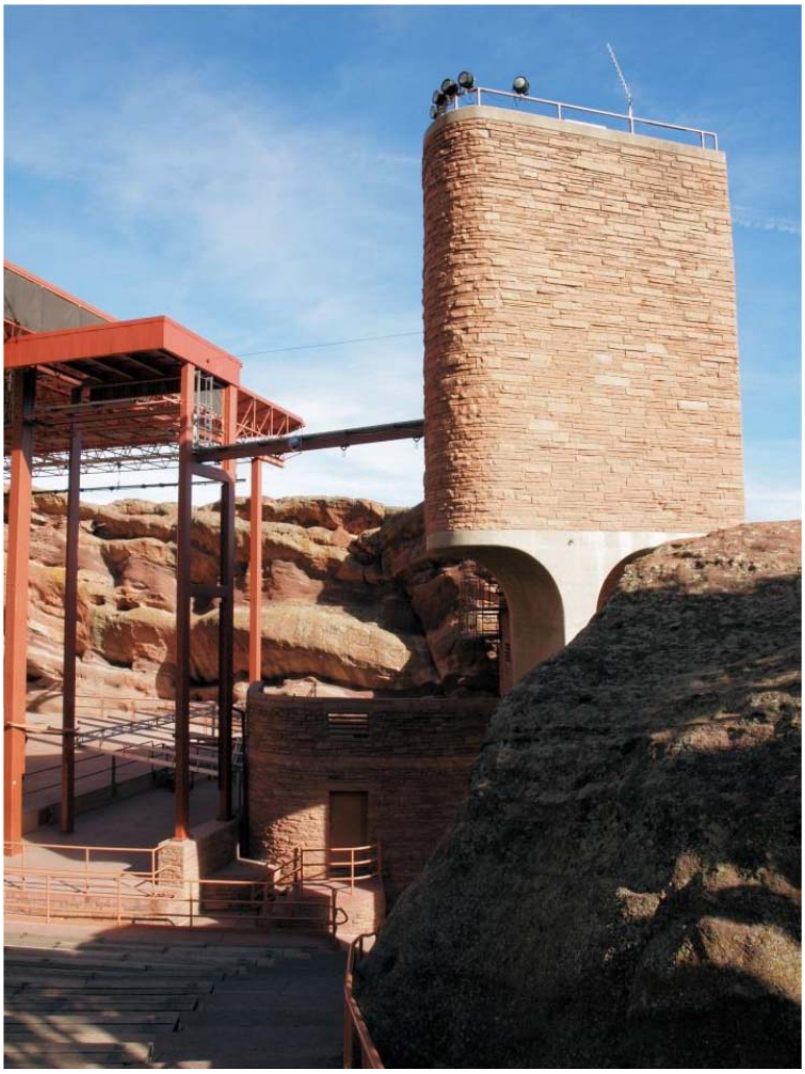
4. East end of Red Rocks Amphitheatre; view to northwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 10/11/2012.

5. Seating at Red Rocks Amphitheatre, Creation Rock; view to north.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

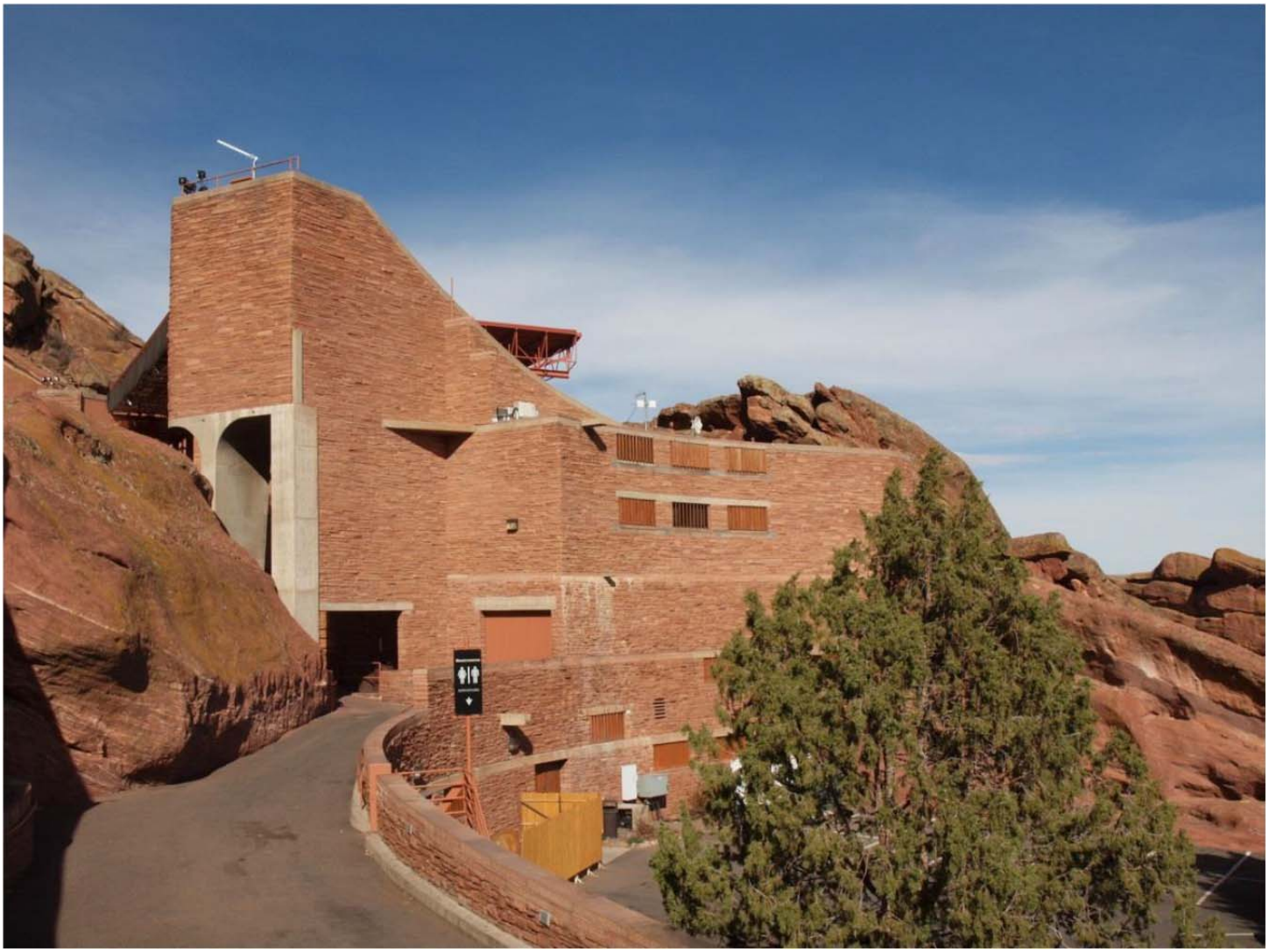
6. Seating, stage, and stage canopy at Red Rocks Amphitheatre; view of Denver; view to east. Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

7. Stone planters, seating at Red Rocks Amphitheatre, Ship Rock (background); view to south/southwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 11/14/2012.

8. Stone planters, south stairway, seating at Red Rocks Amphitheatre; view to west.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 11/14/2012.



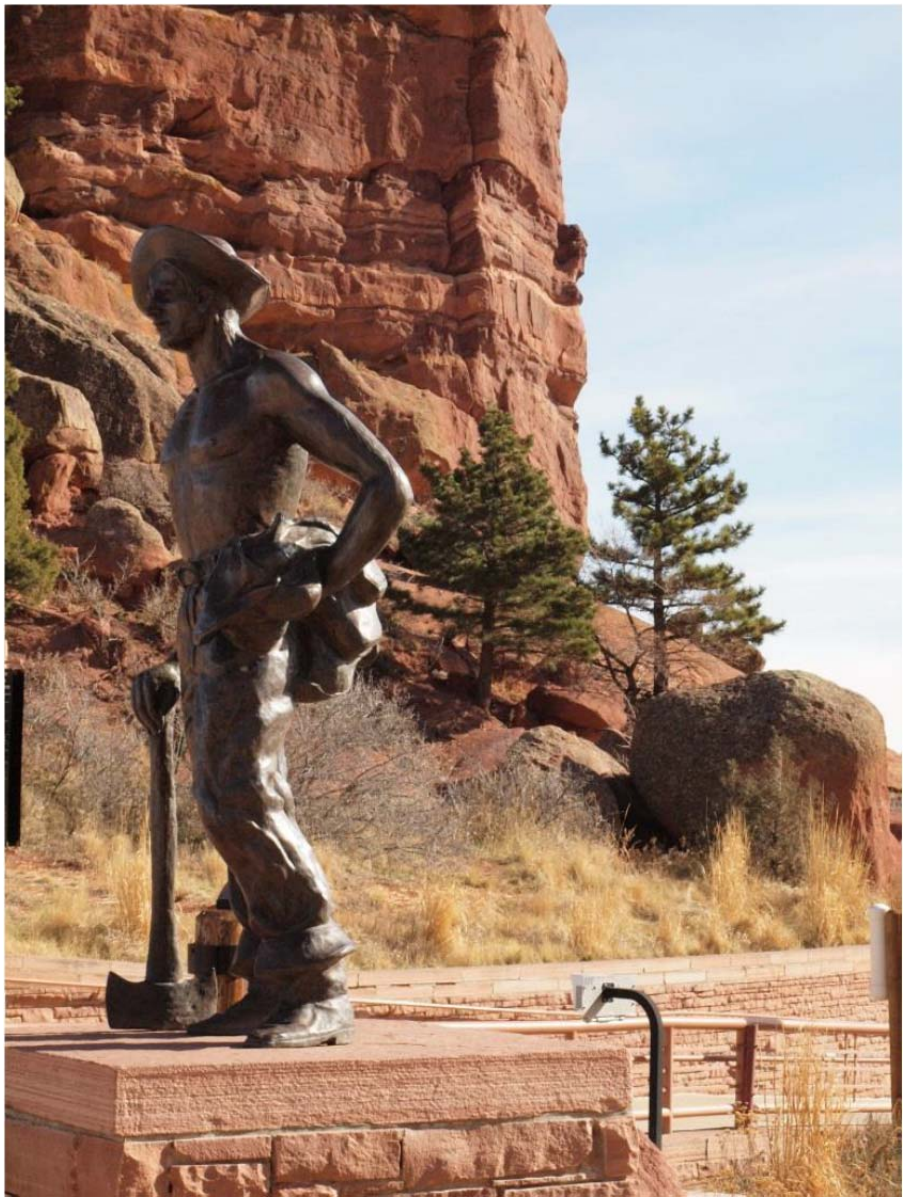
9. South end of stage, Stanley Morse's addition (1959); view to east.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 11/14/2012.



10. East end of amphitheatre stage, dressing rooms, ramp; view to north.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 11/14/2012.

11. West plaza, Burnham Hoyt Visitor Center (2003), Creation Rock (right); view to northwest. Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

12. West side of Burnham Hoyt Visitor Center, Upper South Parking Lot; view to south.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 11/14/2012.



13. CCC Worker Statue (2004); view to southeast.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 11/14/2012.

14. South ramp (1954); view to northwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 10/11/2012.

15. Trading Post and stone wall; view to north.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

16. Southwest (rear) side of Trading Post and stone wall; view to west/northwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 10/11/2012.

17. Trading Post outbuilding, stone wall; view to southeast.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 10/11/2012.

18. Lower North Parking Lot; view to southeast.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

19. Rock Ridge Tunnel; view to southeast.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

20. Rock Ridge Tunnel; view to southwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

21. Stone retaining wall for W. Alameda Parkway, stone bridge for abandoned road; view to northwest. Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 1/18/2013.

22. Red Rocks Park Road and Trading Post Trail crossing; view to northwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 11/14/2012.

23. Lower South Parking Lot 1; view to southwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 11/14/2012.

24. Stone bridge on Red Rocks Park Road, north of intersection with Ship Rock Road, Park Cave Rock (right); view to north. Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

25. Overview of Mount Morrison CCC Camp, from Red Rocks Park; view to southeast.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 11/14/2012.

26. Stone wall along Bear Creek in Morrison Park; view to east.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

27. CCC Camp Blacksmith Shop (left) and garage (right); view to northeast.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

28. CCC Camp Workshop; view to west/northwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

29. CCC Camp Commander's Garage; view to northwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

30. CCC Camp Infirmary/Officers QuartersMM14 & 13; view to northwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

31. CCC Camp Barracks 1a and 2; view to northeast.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

32. CCC Camp Barracks 1b and 2; view to northwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

33. CCC Camp Barracks 5; view to north/northwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

34. CCC Camp Bath House and Latrine; view to west/northwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

35. CCC Camp Recreation Hall; view to west.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

36. CCC Camp Mess Hall & Kitchen (left), Recreation Hall (middle), Barracks 1b (right); view to west/northwest. Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

37. Southwest side of CCC Recreation Hall; view to northwest.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

38. Interior, Recreation Hall; view to southeast.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

39. Interior, Mess Hall and Kitchen; view to east.
Photo by Deon Wolfenbarger, 9/26/2013.

Figure 1. "Red Rocks Park, Plan of Main Portion," 10-25-1935; Plans showing the extent of the proposed "roadside sloping" work, along virtually every section of the existing park roads. These plans were drawn by F.K. Mayer, and approved by CCC Superintendent John Harris and National Park Service Inspector Harry Dunham, as well as NPS Regional Officer Herbert Maier. These smaller projects were aimed at improving the recreational experience of visitors to Red Rocks Park. Source: Denver Mountain Parks, City and County of Denver.

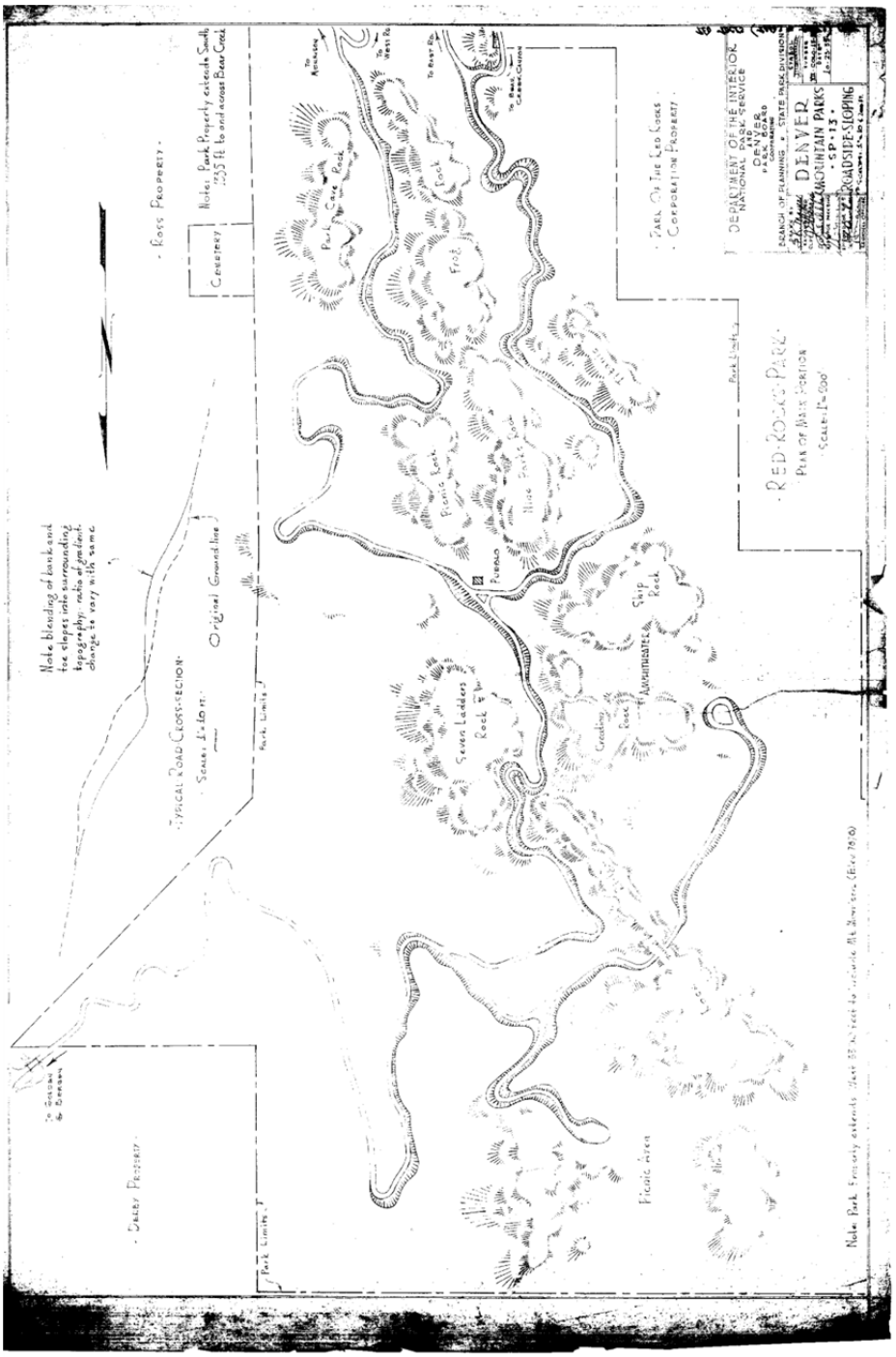


Figure 2. "Master Plan," E. J. Mann, 1-20-1937; Prepared by Earl J. Mann, National Park Service Landscape Architect and Senior Foreman for the camp, the park's master plan shows interior park roads proposed for abandonment as well as new roads. A section of road and a foot trail already completed by the CCC were noted in the northern portion of the park. As the CCC men were busy with the amphitheatre, the proposed road work was intended for WPA crews. Source: Denver Mountain Parks, City and County of Denver.

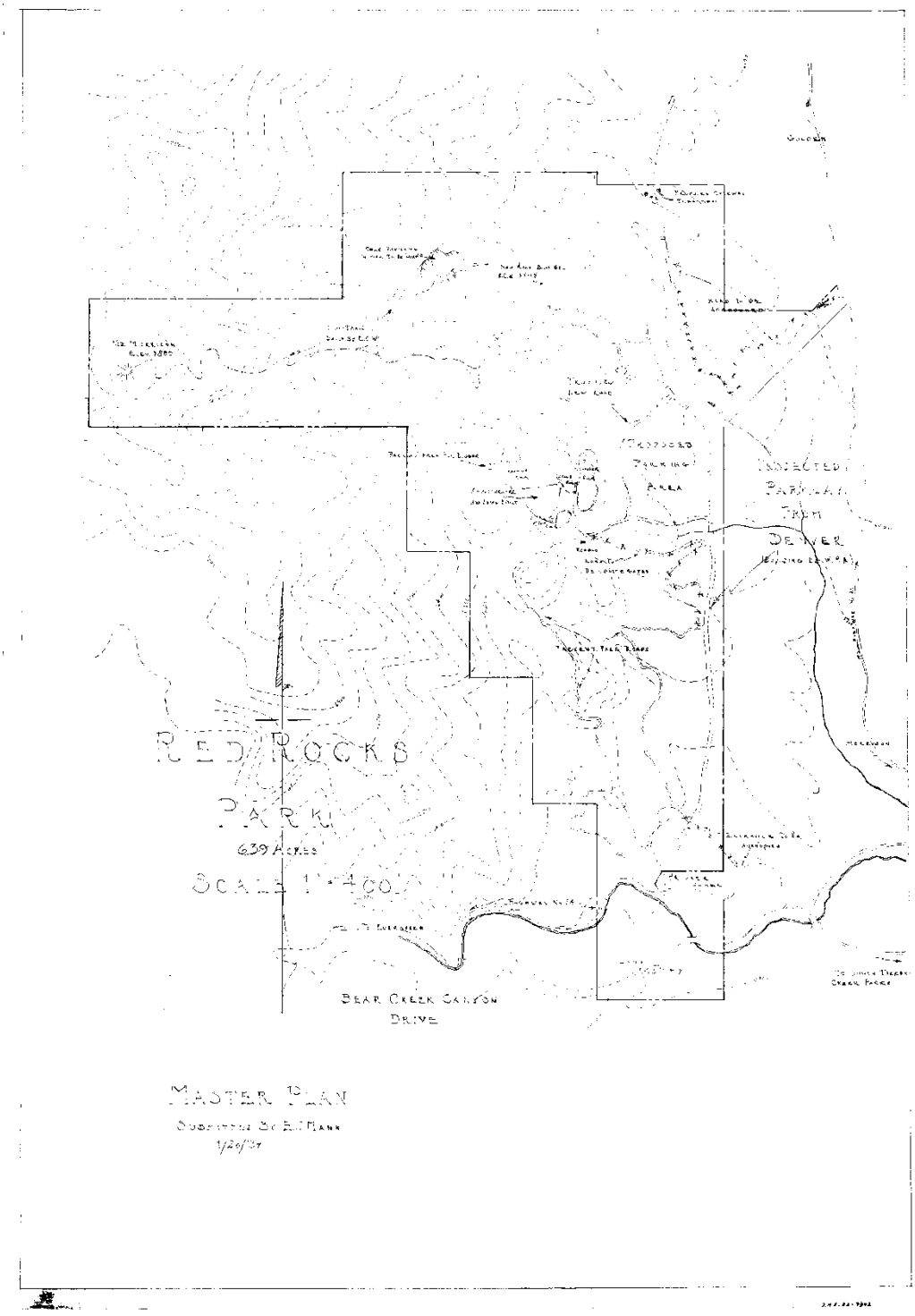


Figure 3. “Red Rocks Park Area Plan,” 11-6-1939; Earl Mann completed two versions of a “Red Rocks Park Area Plan” in 1939, showing general use areas, parking lots, roads under construction by the WPA, and the loading concourse “under construction.” Source: Denver Mountain Parks, City and County of Denver.

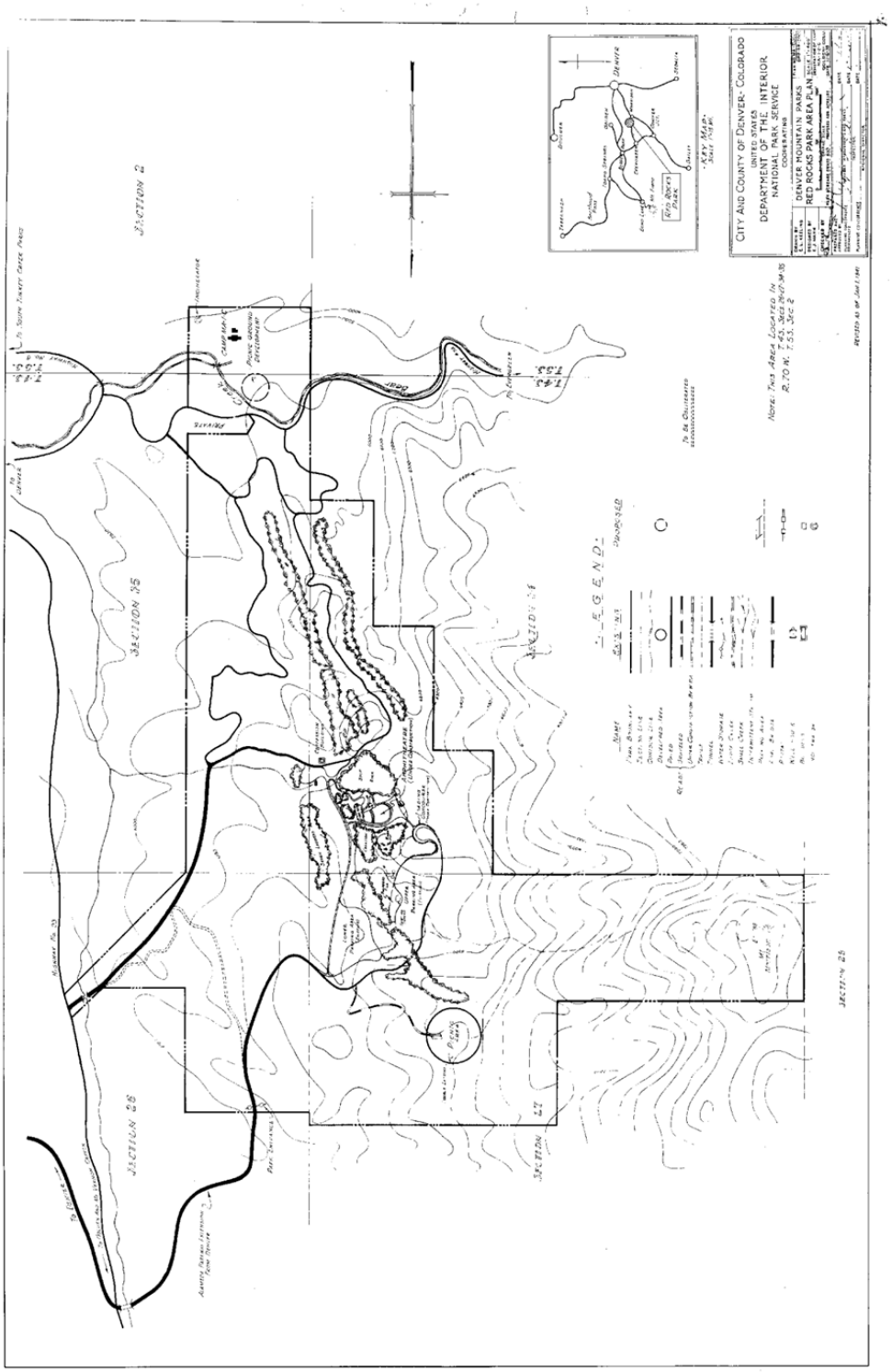


Figure 4. “Red Rocks Park Circulation Plan,” 10-10-1940; In October 1940, the National Park Service prepared a circulation plan for Red Rocks Park, while architect Stanley Morse continued to revise his plans for the amphitheatre, taking into consideration the geologic conditions uncovered during construction. Source: Denver Mountain Parks, City and County of Denver.

Figure 5. "Ground Plan of Amphitheatre, Red Rocks Park," 10-21-1935; One of the earliest plans for the amphitheatre. Architect Stanley Morse was the delineator and Burham Hoyt was the architectural advisor. The National Park Service and the Denver Park Board were "cooperating," and as this was prior to the official approval for the project, there were no approval signatures. This plan was likely used in the application for camp SP-13's work project. Source: Denver Mountain Parks, City and County of Denver.

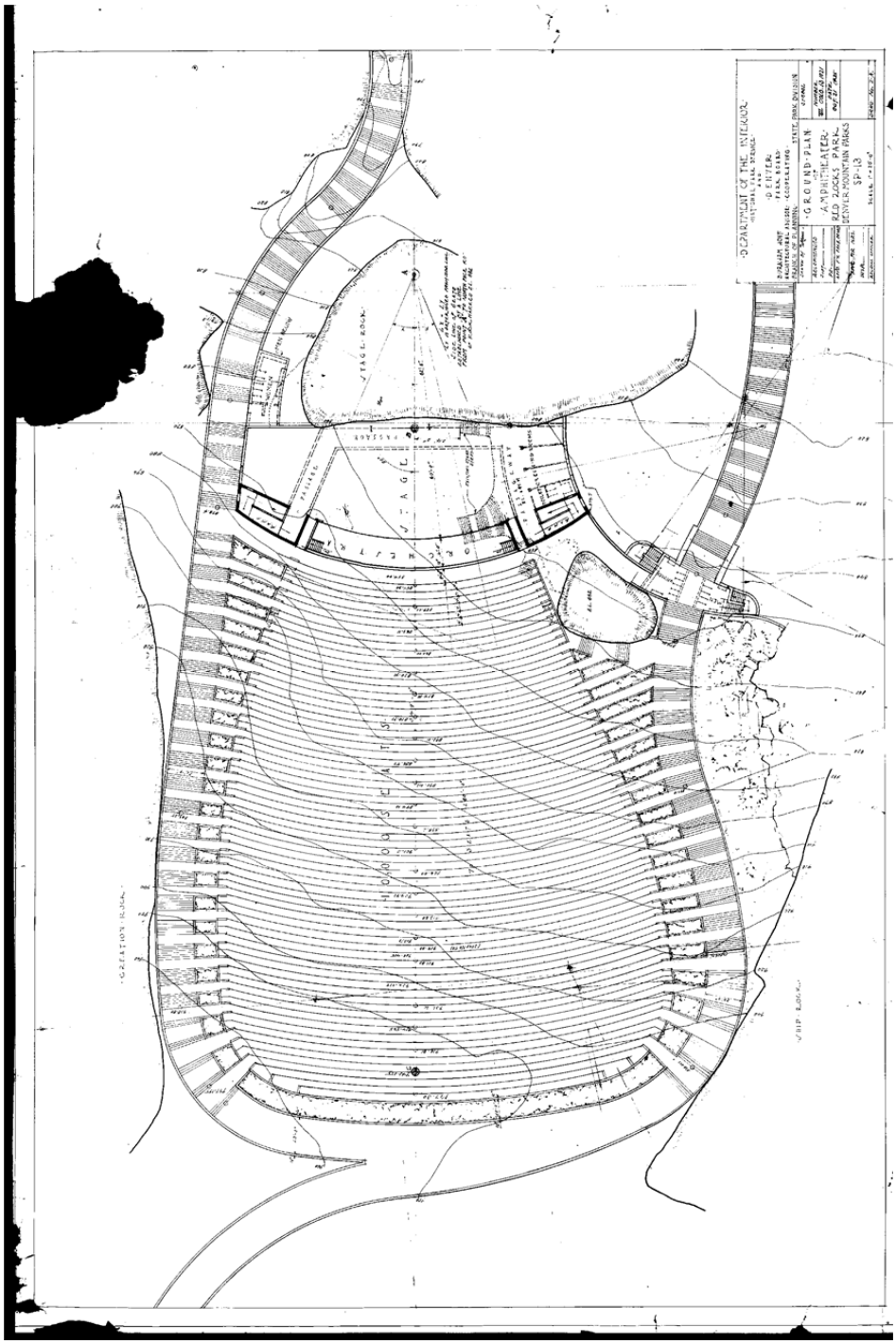


Figure 6. "Birds Eye View Perspective of Amphitheatre," March 1936; In March 1936, Herbert Maier, Regional Officer of the National Park Service, visited the camp to review the plans for the amphitheatre. This period also saw the organization of a planning board for the Denver Mountain Parks System, comprised of the "technical men" of the CCC camps in the Denver area. These National Park Service men met at the Mount Morrison Camp to coordinate plans, and study the possibilities of various areas so that the work of the camps were planned to the best advantage. Source: National Archives and Records Administration.

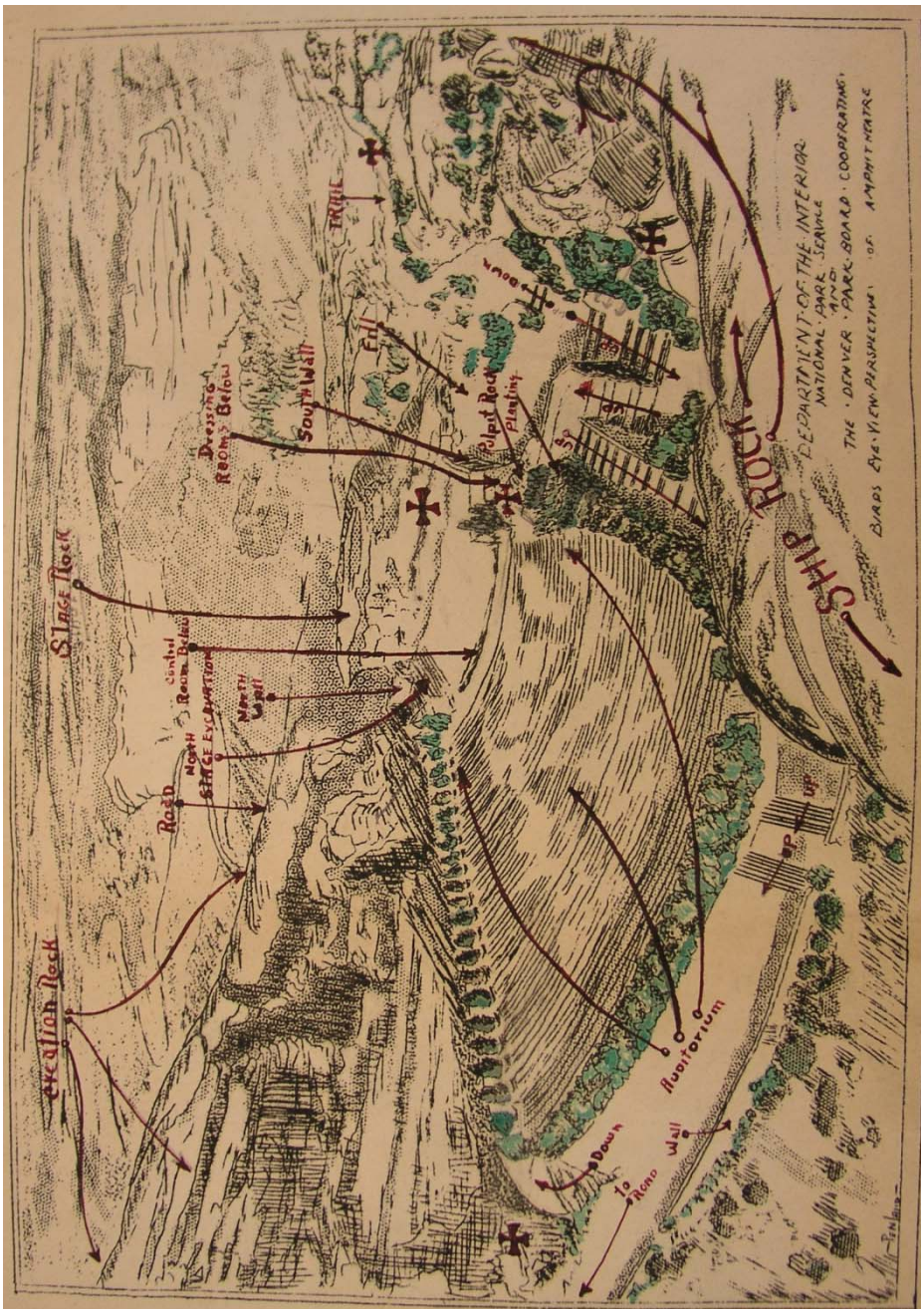


Figure 7. “Amphitheatre,” 10-15-1940; During grading for the seating, the CCC workers uncovered rock ledges at the base of Creation Rock. Since the stage was completed at this point, its centerline was already established between the two massive rocks. However, rather than removing the rock ledges on the sides to fit the original symmetrical plan and stage centerline, the architects instead moved the northern stairway to the south, which resulted in the loss of some of the seating. The result is a slightly asymmetrical inverted horseshoe shape, with fewer seats on the north than on the south and a “centerline” that is slightly off-kilter. Source: Denver Mountain Parks, City and County of Denver.

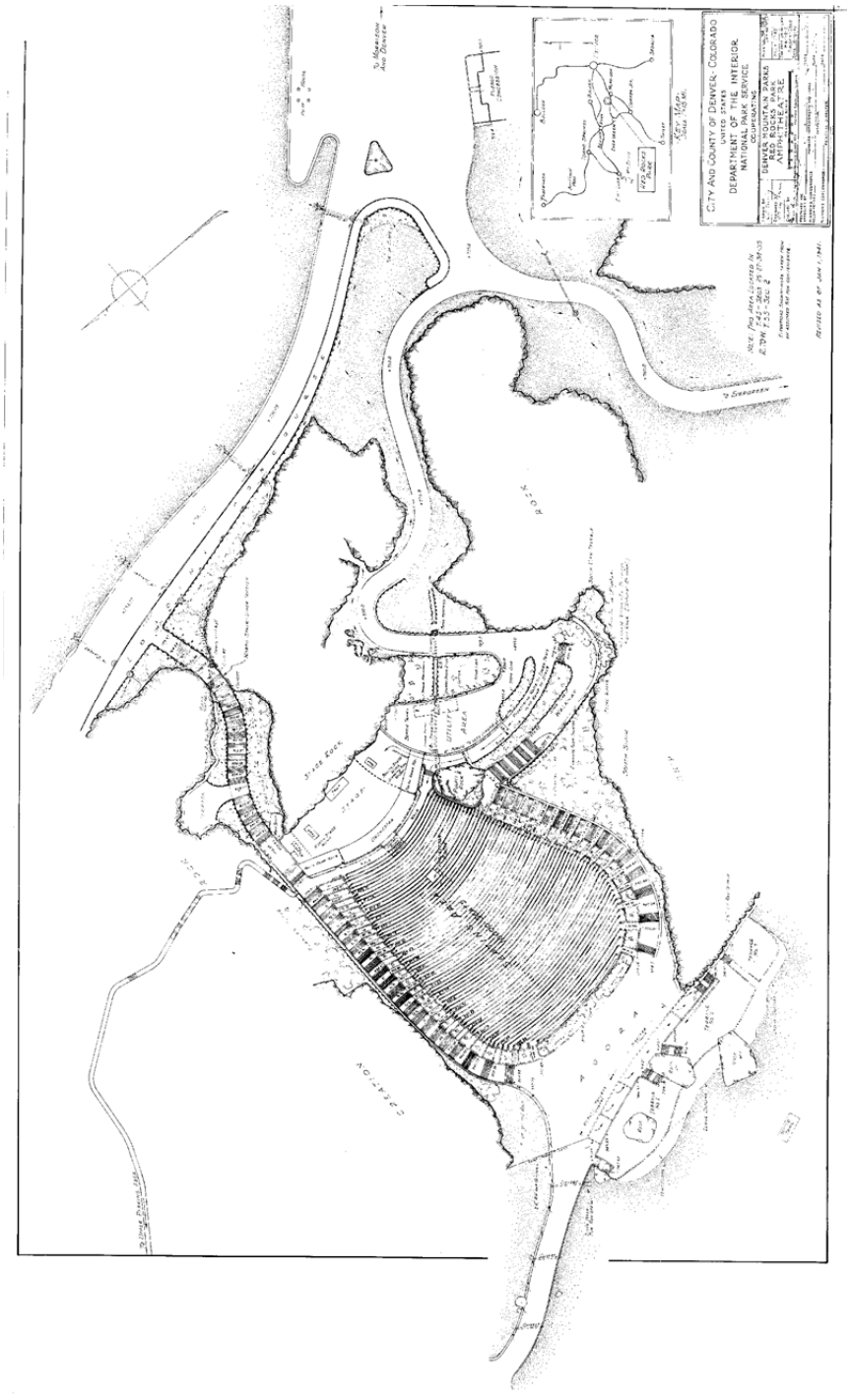


Figure 8. Site plan of CCC Camp, ca. 1950s. Source: Denver Mountain Parks, City and County of Denver.

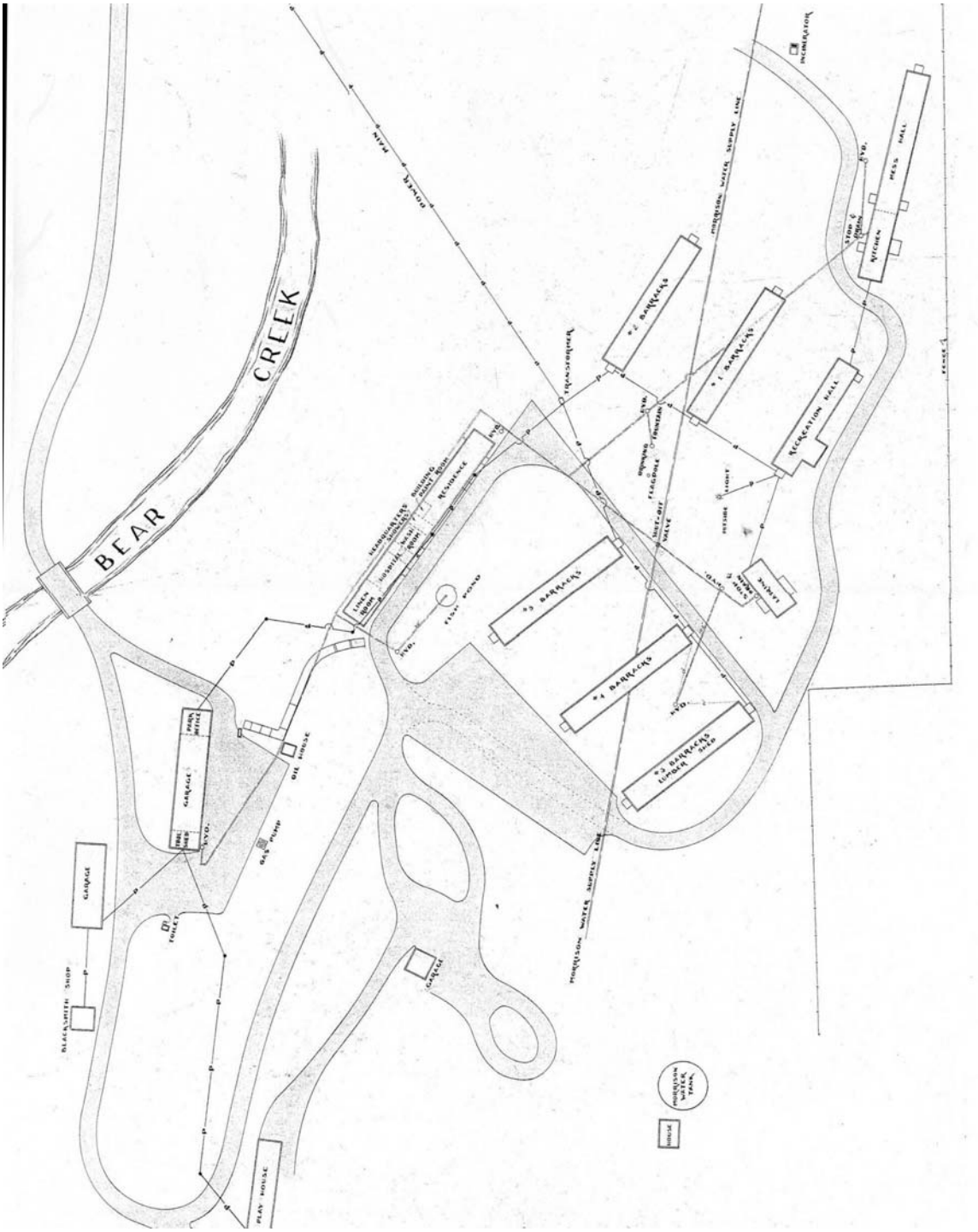


Figure 9. Historic Photographs of Mount Morrison CCC Camp. Source: Denver Mountain Parks, City and County of Denver.

Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps Camp

CCC Workers leaving for work on Red Rocks Amphitheatre

Figure 10. Historic Photographs of Red Rocks Amphitheatre & Park – during construction. Source: National Archives and Records Administration.

26 June 1936; Excavation for the south wall footing

24 July 1936; Excavation for south stage; Note dressing room excavation and south wall form

Figure 10, con't

7 August 1936; Stone work on south stage wall

9 November 1936, Concrete mixer setup for second deck of south stage pouring

Figure 10, con't

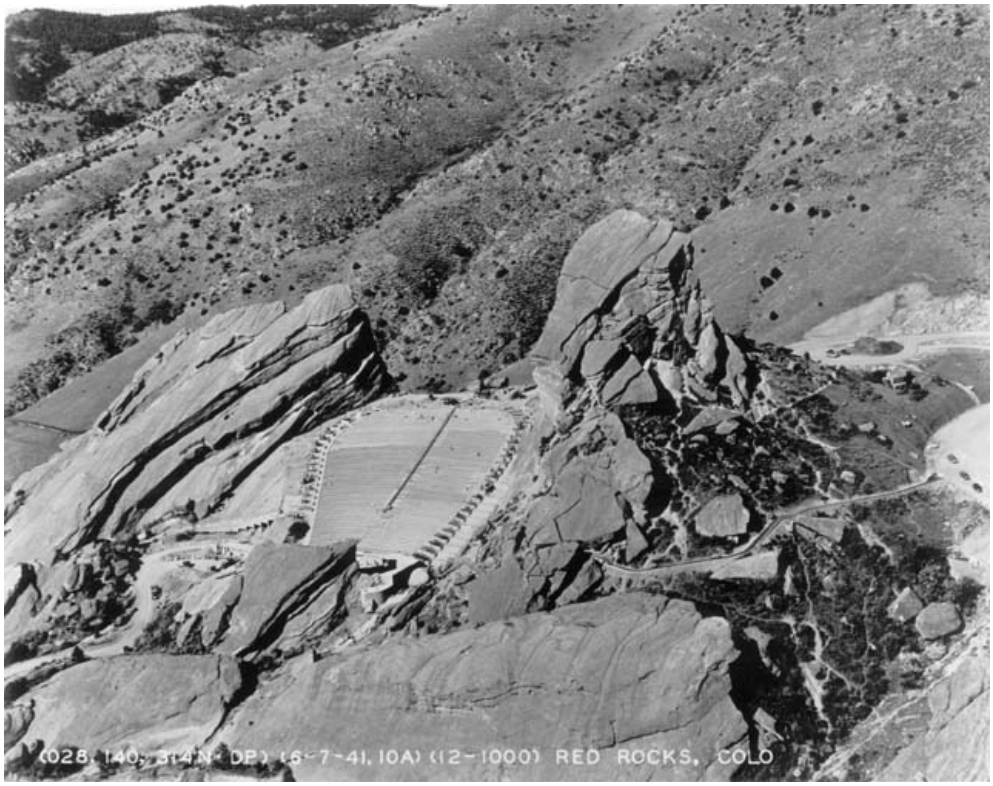
9 November 1936; East orchestra pit and second story deck – from Pulpit Rock

March 1936; Interior Park road, before and after
[Left] High bank at curve;[Right] Same, after work is done; note blending of new and original contours
From Camp SP-13 Summary Inspection Report

Figure 11. Historic Photographs of Red Rocks Amphitheatre – after construction. Source: Denver Mountain Parks, City and County of Denver.

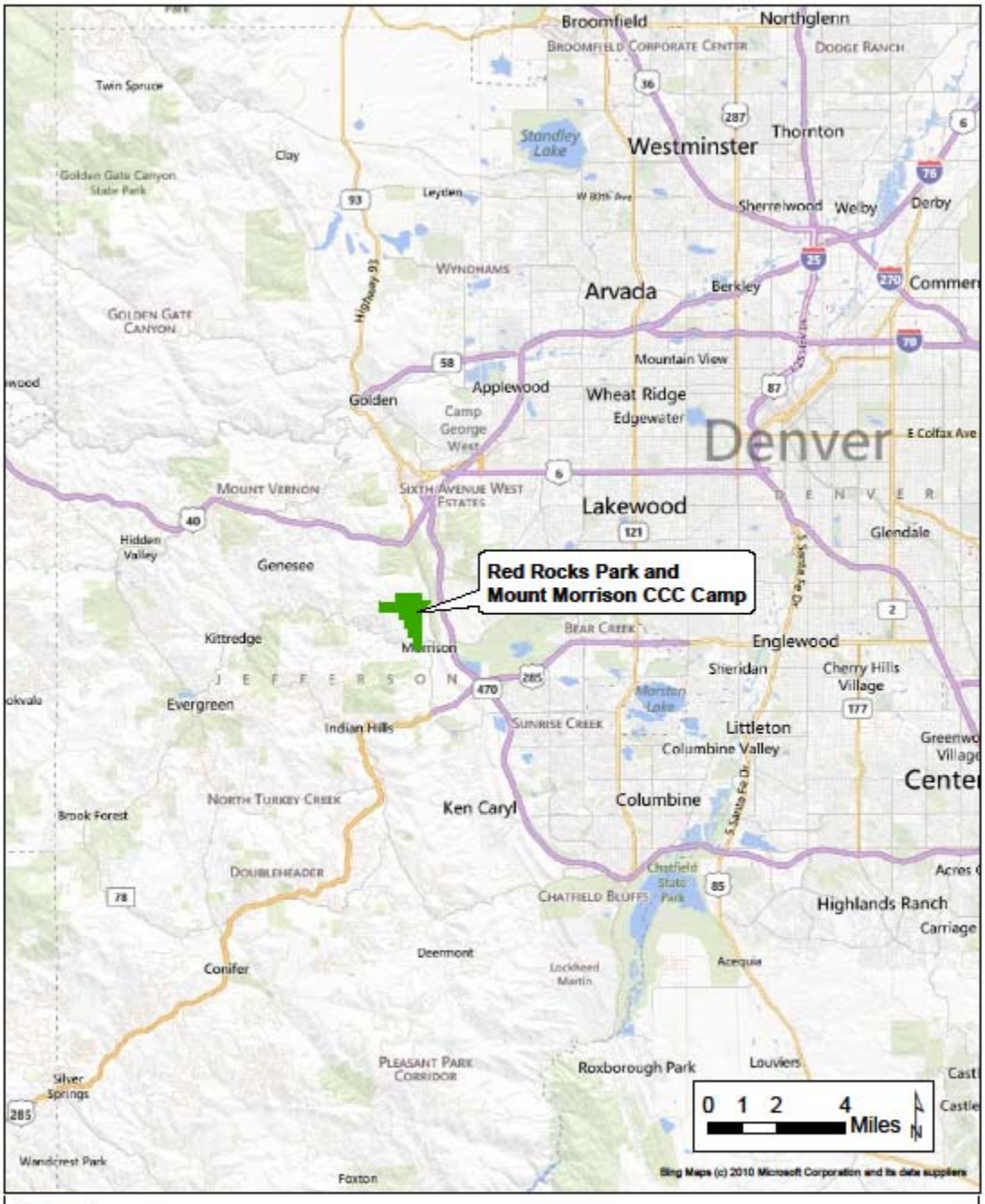
Aerial view of Amphitheatre and parking lots, WPA, photographer Tom Parker, date unknown

Figure 11, con't



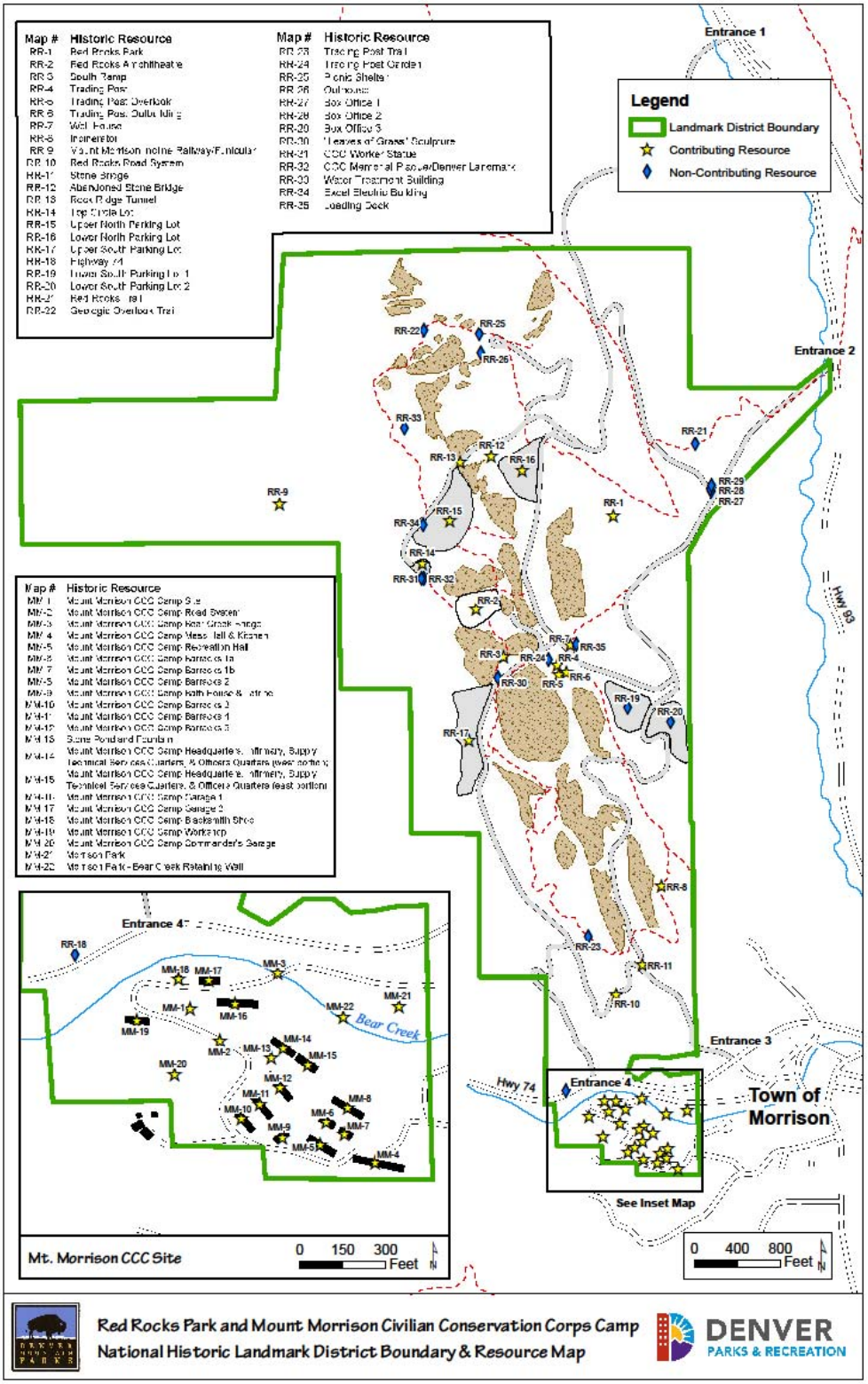
1941 aerial view of Amphitheatre Figure 11, con't

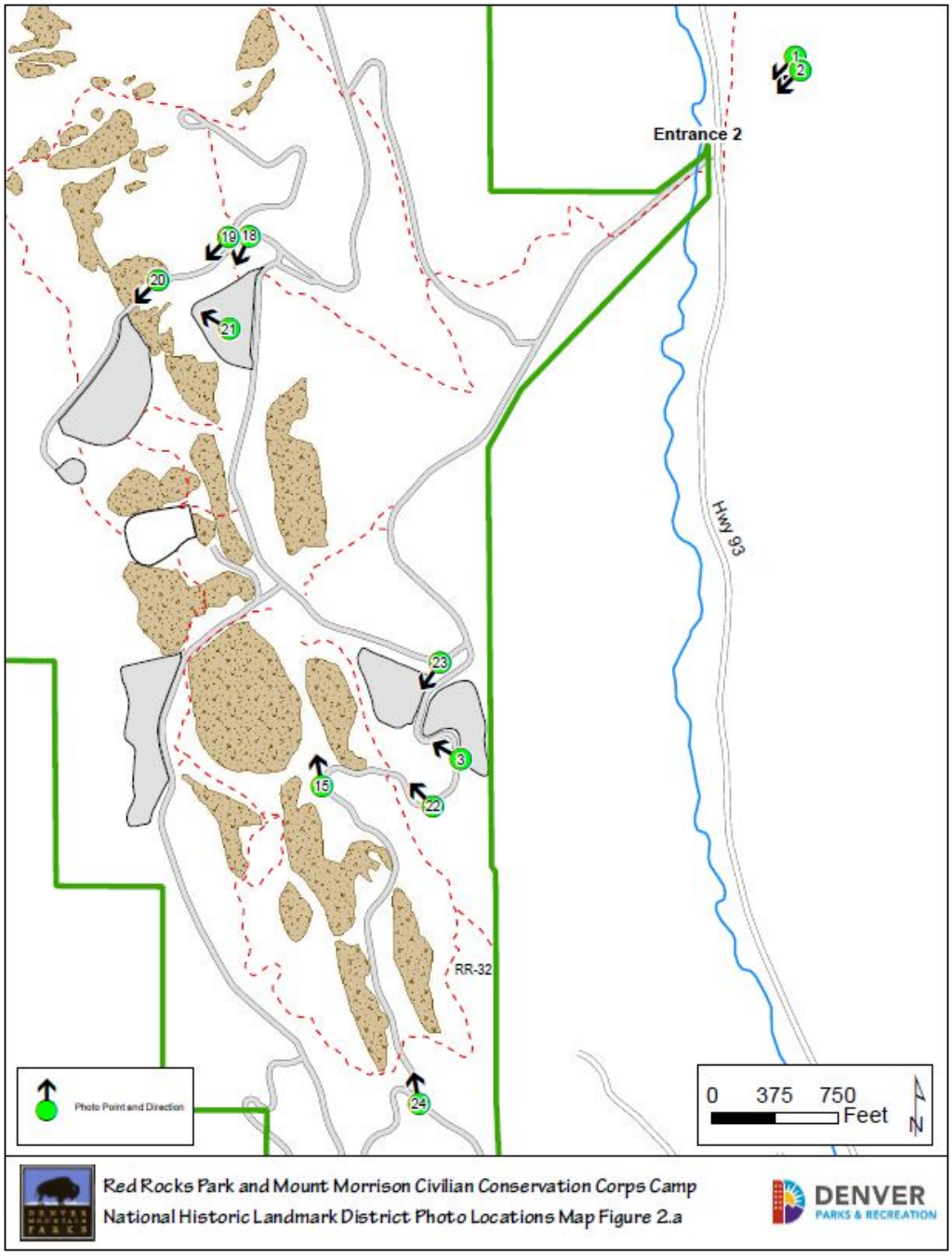
Aerial view of Red Rocks Park and CCC Camp, 1955

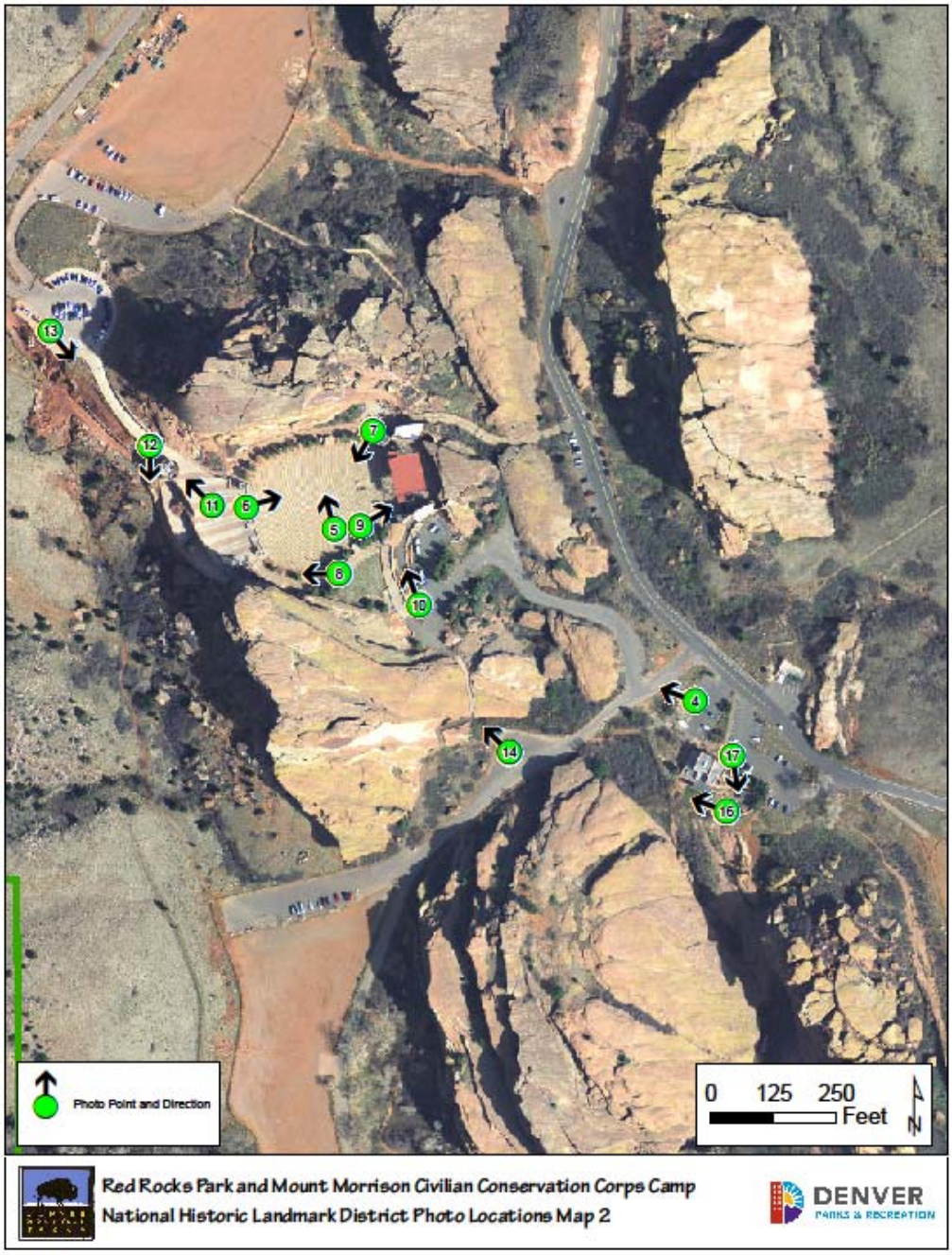


Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps Camp
National Historic Landmark District Location Map

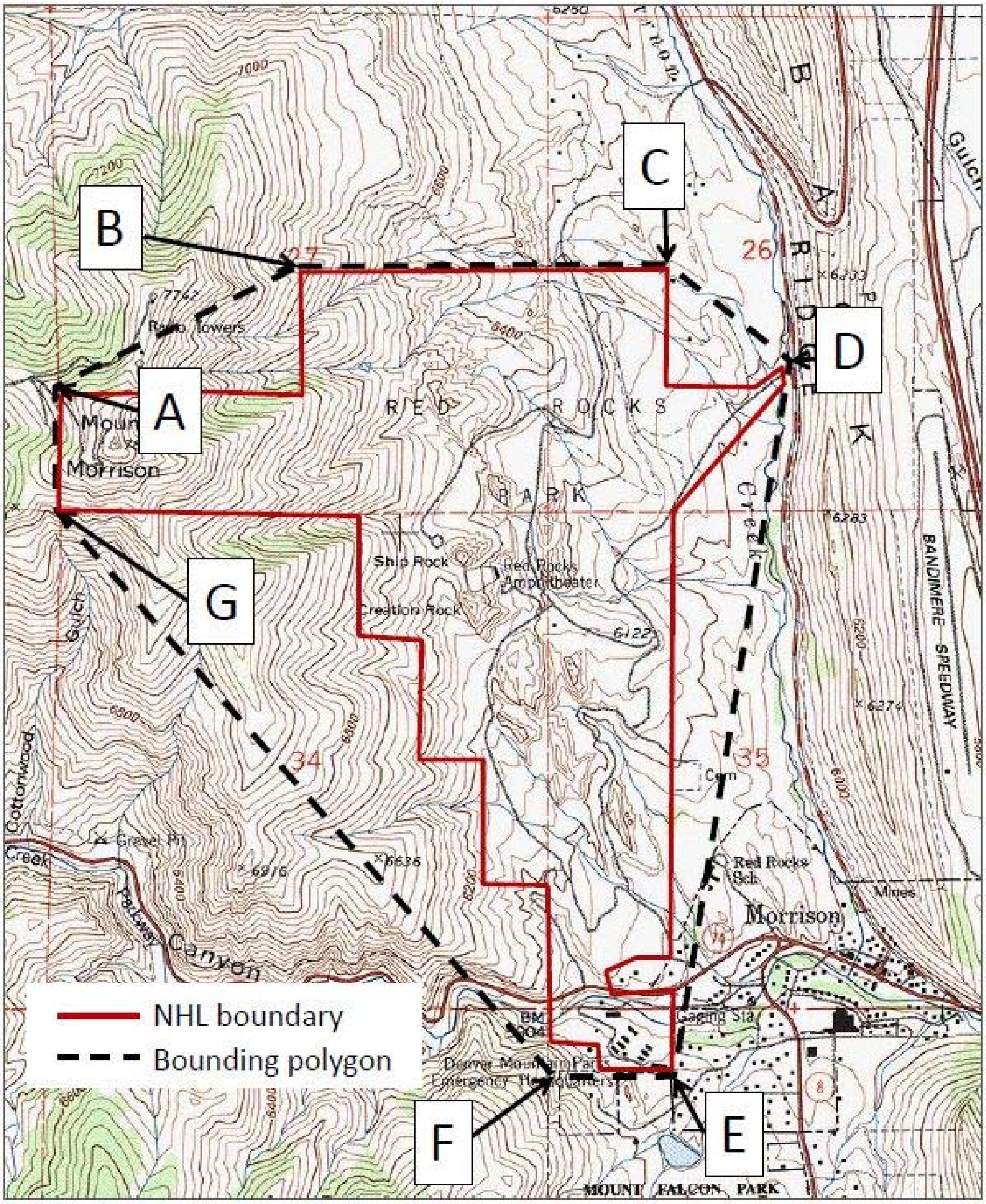
DENVER PARKS & RECREATION


Map # Historic Resource
RR-1 Red Rocks Park
RR-2 Red Rocks Amphitheatre
RR-3 South Ramp
RR-4 Trading Post
RR-5 Trading Post Overlook
RR-6 Trading Post Outbuilding
RR-7 Well House
RR-8 Incinerator
RR-9 Mount Morrison Incline Railway/Funicular
RR-10 Red Rocks Road System
RR-11 Stone Bridge
RR-12 Abandoned Stone Bridge
RR-13 Rock Ridge Tunnel
RR-14 Top Circle Lot
RR-15 Upper North Parking Lot
RR-16 Lower North Parking Lot
RR-17 Upper South Parking Lot
RR-18 Highway 74
RR-19 Lower South Parking Lot 1
RR-20 Lower South Parking Lot 2
RR-21 Red Rocks Trail
RR-22 Geologic Overlook Trail
Map # Historic Resource
RR-23 Tracing Post Trail
RR-24 Tracing Post Garden
RR-25 Picnic Shelter
RR-26 Outhouse
RR-27 Box Office 1
RR-28 Box Office 2
RR-29 Box Office 3
RR-30 "Leaves of Grass" Sculpture
RR-31 CCC Worker Statue
RR-32 CCC Memorial Plaque/Denver Landmark
RR-33 Water Treatment Building
RR-34 Excel Electric Building
RR-35 Loading Dock
Map # Historic Resource
MM-1 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Site
MM-2 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Road System
MM-3 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Near Creek Footage
MM-4 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Mess Hall & Kitchen
MM-5 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Recreation Hall
MM-6 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 1a
MM-7 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 1b
MM-8 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 2
MM-9 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Bath House & Latrine
MM-10 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 3
MM-11 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 4
MM-12 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Barracks 5
MM-13 Stone Pond and Fountain
MM-14 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Headquarters, Infirmary, Supply Technical Services Quarters, & Officers Quarters (west portion)
MM-15 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Headquarters, Infirmary, Supply Technical Services Quarters, & Officers Quarters (east portion)
MM-16 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Garage 1
MM-17 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Garage 2
MM-18 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Blacksmith Shop
MM-19 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Workshop
MM-20 Mount Morrison CCC Camp Commander's Garage
MM-21 Morrison Park
MM-22 Morrison Park - Bear Creek Retaining Wall
Legend
Landmark District Boundary
Contributing Resource
Non-Contributing Resource
Entrance 1
Entrance 2
Entrance 3
Entrance 4
Hwy 93
Hwy 74
Bear Creek
Town of Morrison
See Inset Map
Mt. Morrison CCC Site
0 150 300 Feet
0 400 800 Feet
Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps Camp
National Historic Landmark District Boundary & Resource Map
DENVER PARKS & RECREATION


Entrance 2
Hwy 93
RR-32
Photo Point and Direction
0 375 750
Feet
N
Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps Camp
National Historic Landmark District Photo Locations Map Figure 2.a
DENVER
PARKS & RECREATION


13
12
11
8
7
5
9
6
10
4
14
17
16
Photo Point and Direction
0 125 250
Feet
N
Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps Camp
National Historic Landmark District Photo Locations Map 2
DENVER
PARKS & RECREATION


Entrance 4
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
Photo Point and Direction
0 75 150
Feet
N
Red Rocks Park and Mount Morrison Civilian Conservation Corps Camp
National Historic Landmark District Photo Locations Map 3
DENVER
PARKS & RECREATION


A
B
C
D
E
F
G
NHL boundary
Bounding polygon
RED ROCKS PARK
Ship Rock
Red Rocks Amphitheater
Creation Rock
Radio Towers
Mount Morrison
Morrison
Red Rocks Sch
Gaging Sta
Denver Mountain Parks Emergency Headquarters
MOUNT FALCON PARK
BANDIMERE SPEEDWAY
Cottonwood Creek
Canyon
Gulch
26
27
34
35