

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-934 (Rev. 12-2015)

OMB Control No. 1024-0276 (Exp. 01/31/2019)

COLORADO FUEL AND IRON COMPANY ADMINISTRATIVE COMPLEX

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Historic Landmarks Nomination Form

1. NAME AND LOCATION OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Colorado Fuel and Iron Company Administrative Complex

Other Name/Site Number: 5PE.4179

Street and Number (if applicable): 225 Canal Street

City/Town: Pueblo

County: Pueblo

State: CO

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior, January 13, 2021.

2. SIGNIFICANCE DATA

NHL Criteria: 1

NHL Criteria Exceptions: None

NHL Theme(s): V, Developing the American Economy

1, Extraction and Production

4, Workers and Work Culture

Period(s) of Significance: 1901-1942

Significant Person(s) (only Criterion 2): N/A

Cultural Affiliation (only Criterion 6): N/A

Designer/Creator/Architect/Builder: Sterner, Frederick J.
Stickney, William W.
DeMordaunt, Walter
Robb, William A.

Historic Contexts: American Labor History Theme Study (2003)

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement. We are collecting this information under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (16 U.S.C. 461-467) and 36 CFR part 65. Your response is required to obtain or retain a benefit. We will use the information you provide to evaluate properties nominated as National Historic Landmarks. We may not conduct or sponsor and you are not required to respond to a collection of information unless it displays a currently valid OMB control number. OMB has approved this collection of information and assigned Control No. 1024-0276.

Estimated Burden Statement. Public reporting burden is 2 hours for an initial inquiry letter and 344 hours for NPS Form 10-934 (per response), including the time it takes to read, gather and maintain data, review instructions and complete the letter/form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate, or any aspects of this form, to the Information Collection Clearance Officer, National Park Service, 12201 Sunrise Valley Drive, Mail Stop 242, Reston, VA 20192. Please do not send your form to this address.

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3. WITHHOLDING SENSITIVE INFORMATION

Does this nomination contain sensitive information that should be withheld under Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act?

Yes

No

4. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. Acreage of Property: 2.6

2. Use either Latitude/Longitude Coordinates or the UTM system:

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (enter coordinates to 6 decimal places):

Datum if other than WGS84:

Latitude:	Longitude:
1 38.238784	-104.613712
2 38.238784	-104.613007
3 38.238386	-104.613011
4 38.238389	-104.612677
5 38.238061	-104.612675
6 38.237976	-104.612333
7 38.237974	-104.612151
8 38.237734	-104.612149
9 38.237720	-104.613696

OR

UTM References:

Zone	Easting	Northing
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As shown on the included sketch map, the boundary of the nominated property begins at the northwest corner of the block containing the resources at the intersection of East Abriendo Avenue and Bay State Avenue; thence east along the south edge of Bay State Avenue for a distance of approximately 200 feet; thence south approximately 145 feet (passing approximately 12 feet east of the east wall of Resource 4, the former CF&I sales office); thence east approximately 95 feet (passing approximately 12 feet north of the north wall of Resource 3, the office annex); thence south for approximately 121 feet (passing approximately 12 feet east of the east wall of Resource 3); thence east-southeasterly for approximately 102 feet; thence east for approximately 53 feet (passing approximately 9 feet north of the north wall of Resource 2, the former

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dispensary/employment office); thence south for approximately 88 feet (passing approximately 11 feet east of the east wall of Resource 2) to the intersection of the south edge (extended) of the sidewalk in front of the dispensary/employment office and office building; thence west along the south edge of the sidewalk for approximately 470 feet to its intersection with the east edge of East Abriendo Avenue; and thence north along the east edge of East Abriendo Avenue for approximately 389 feet to the point of beginning.¹ The area consists of parts of Pueblo County Assessor parcels 1512125003, 1512125004, and 1512125005 within Block 9 of the Suburban Land and Investment Company Subdivision.

4. Boundary Justification:

The boundaries of the district were selected to encompass the area of the Colorado Fuel and Iron (CF&I) Administrative Complex historically associated with its operation during the period of national significance and possessing a high degree of historic integrity. The northeast corner and eastern edge of the block are excluded from the boundary as this area no longer retains integrity, currently holding a paved surface parking lot and the 2017 Steelworks Park, which contains CF&I artifacts installed that year. The southern portion of the south parcel is also not included in the district as it holds resources either built after the period of national significance (the gate house and free-standing sign) or not associated with CF&I (the Bessemer Ditch). The portion of the steel plant on the east side of the freeway is excluded, as the property likely does not retain integrity. Significant components of the plant have been removed since 1951, including: the open-hearth furnace building, three of the four blast furnaces and associated stacks, spike mill, dolomite mill, two warehouse/storage buildings, coke ovens, by-products plant, and benzol plant. Several new buildings have been added, as well. Although other resources remain at the site, the steel plant is under different ownership and future retention of its components is uncertain.

¹ In this part of Pueblo, East Abriendo Avenue is oriented north-south.

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5. SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION: SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company Administrative Complex is a campus of buildings constructed in 1901 as the company headquarters for the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CF&I), the Trans-Mississippi West's pioneer steelmaker and principal fuel enterprise. The Administrative Complex is the property that best represents the history of CF&I, comprising the center of the firm's operations, where the company's direction and policies were planned, formulated, and implemented. The district possesses national significance under NHL Criterion 1 for its influential role in the development of the American economy through industrial extraction and production in the early twentieth century and as the central location from which the company's wide ranging business operations were administered on a day-to-day basis.² The company achieved national prominence in 1882 as the nation's first fully integrated steel manufacturing facility west of St. Louis, a position it retained until 1942.³ The enterprise garnered additional national significance as the West's dominant coal mine operator and coke distributor, representing an important aspect of the country's fuel history and illuminating historic processes that shaped America's natural and physical environment.⁴ The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company Administrative Complex importantly illustrates the role of eastern capital in developing western natural resources and industrial capacity. The complex is further nationally significant for its impact on labor and work culture through creation of CF&I's 1915 Employee Representation Plan (ERP), which stimulated the adoption of hundreds of similar measures throughout the country in the 1910s and 1920s.⁵

CF&I brought the steel industry to the West and dominated an immense fuel trade in the region. The company's ownership and administrative history during the first half of the twentieth century significantly demonstrates the essential interdependence of eastern capitalists and the extractive and productive industries that transformed the region. John D. Rockefeller, Sr., and his family controlled the company from 1907 to 1944. According to Emeritus Distinguished Professor of History William G. Robbins the Colorado-based CF&I "represented a powerful way-station, linking eastern capital (the 'men of Wall Street') with industrial production in steel rails and a vast, resource-rich hinterland that extended through the Rocky Mountain region and beyond."⁶ The

² The entire block holding the Administrative Complex was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2002 (James F. Munch, "Minnequa Steel Works Office Building and Dispensary, Colorado Fuel and Iron Company," Pueblo County, Colorado, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2001 [National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, DC]). In 2008, additional National Register documentation was approved reflecting a national level of significance in the area of Industry for the complex's association with CF&I's Employee Representation Plan.

³ Duncan Burn, *The Economic History of Steelmaking, 1867-1939* (London: University Press of Cambridge, 1940, reprint 1961), 346; 94; "Platts Steel Glossary," www.steelbb.com. "Platts Steel Glossary" defines an integrated steel mill as "a steelworks which operates the complete cycle of production processes—taking in iron ore, coal and other raw materials, and delivering finished steel products." This contrasts with a steel plant that produces new steel starting with iron and steel scrap. CF&I also was vertically integrated in that it owned and mined the raw materials (iron ore, limestone, coke, fluorspar, etc.) needed to produce steel, rather than depending on outside suppliers.

⁴ Thomas G. Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 18.

⁵ Eric Arnesen, Alan Derickson, James Green, Walter Licht, Marjorie Murphy, and Susan Cianci Salvatore, *American Labor History Theme Study*, draft, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, January 2003. The focus of the 2003 theme study is labor history and not industrial history; thus, the industrial significance of CF&I is not addressed. The CF&I ERP is not discussed and so-called "company unions" are mentioned in passing with no discussion of their transitional importance in the 1910s and 1920s. Examples of currently designated and potential NHLs are located primarily in the East and Midwest. The only resource west of the Mississippi River included on the study list for NHL consideration was the Ludlow Tent Colony (designated as an NHL in 2009).

⁶ William G. Robbins, Emeritus Distinguished Professor of History, Oregon State University, email to Thomas H. and R. Laurie Simmons, 3 April 2015.

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managers within the Administrative Complex directed this infusion of capital to improvements at coal and iron mines, coke, ovens, the steel and iron plant in Pueblo, and social welfare programs for workers. In terms of the company's importance from a national perspective, Robbins asserts:

The Rockefeller CF&I operation is a significant national story, because the Pueblo manufactory was the *first* and only steel production center west of the Mississippi River until the onset of the Second World War and the opening of steel plants in Fontana, California, and the Geneva Steel Works outside Provo, Utah. The CF&I, therefore, is a signal marker in the industrialization of the American West. From the formation of the company's predecessors in the early 1880s to the Second World War, CF&I was the *sole* producer of steel in the American West, virtually all of it involving the manufacture of steel rails, the vital material that linked the interior West to national markets. Decisions sent out from Rockefeller headquarters in New York to the CF&I offices in Pueblo were critical to the development of the West for more than half a century.⁷

By the start of the twentieth century, the interrelationship between the economy of the American West and the national and world economies was fixed.⁸ Robbins emphasizes the point: "By all accounts the West loomed large in the post-Civil War industrial program: as an investment area for surplus capital, as a source of raw materials, and as a vast vacant lot to enter and occupy. . . . Hence the great advances in production and the accumulation of wealth in the Atlantic-centered industrial economy depended heavily on resources from the American West."⁹ With substantial eastern investment sustaining and controlling it, CF&I completed a costly improvement program in the early 1900s and the Pueblo steelworks became America's eighth largest producer, comprising the principal heavy industry in the western states.¹⁰

CF&I's wide-ranging extractive and manufacturing operations aptly illustrate an important chapter in the nation's industrialization. The managers, engineers, and clerical staff within the Pueblo Administrative Complex oversaw the entirety of an extensive coal-mining, coke-production, and steel-making operation impacting a territory that Harry H. Campbell, former general manager of the Pennsylvania Steel Company, described as "an area which would overshadow a European empire."¹¹ H. Lee Scamehorn, author of two books examining CF&I's history, concludes that, in addition to its steel, coal, and coke production, the enterprise "attracted capital and labor to the West; founded communities in conjunction with mills, mines, and quarries; encouraged the development of agriculture, and mining of precious metals, secondary manufacture, and

⁷ Robbins, email to Simmons, 3 April 2015.

⁸ Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 267.

⁹ William G. Robbins, *Colony & Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 62.

¹⁰ Jonathan H. Rees, *Representation and Rebellion: The Rockefeller Plan at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, 1914-1942* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010), xi; H. Lee Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker in the West: The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, 1872-1903* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1976), vi and 5; Burn, *The Economic History of Steelmaking, 1867-1939*, 346. University of Colorado historian H. Lee Scamehorn (1926-2016) came early to recognize the significance of CF&I. In the 1970s, he proposed to study the company and secured a gift from CF&I to the Alumni Development Foundation of the University of Colorado to cover his expenses in undertaking research at locations in Colorado and elsewhere. In the preface to *Pioneer Steelmaker* Scamehorn reported: "The firm also promised the author full access to all pertinent records in its archives, in addition to freedom in assessing their meaning and in writing a narrative history for the years 1872 to 1903. These pledges have been fully honored in every respect." The company also provided funding for his second book (*Mill & Mine*) through a grant to the Colorado Historical Foundation.

¹¹ Harry Huse Campbell, *The Manufacture and Properties of Iron and Steel* (New York: Engineering and Mining Journal, 1903), 492.

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transportation; and sustained as a supplier of fuel the vital smelting industry.”¹² Historian Richard White found between 1870 and 1910 the number of western workers employed in extractive production rose by more than 84 percent, with the region containing a far higher percentage of its workers employed in such industries than the East.¹³ CF&I, which in 1910 employed fifteen to seventeen thousand persons, is an outstanding representative of this national trend.¹⁴ Staff within the Administrative Complex oversaw the recruitment, physical screening, and hiring of the CF&I workforce.

CF&I became the most significant of the fuel companies focused on extracting the West’s vast resources, and in so doing exerted an enormous impact on the process of coal mining, which historian Thomas Andrews describes as “perhaps the least mechanized of any major American industry through the 1920s.”¹⁵ Seeking manpower for its extensive operations the company strongly affected patterns of labor migration to the United States, attracting workers of diverse races and nationalities. The activities of CF&I were directed from its Pueblo headquarters and significantly influenced the demographics and physical form of the places where it operated, creating a legacy that survives today.¹⁶ Political scientist James Walsh, whose work has focused on the ethnic makeup of Pueblo, believes the industrial jobs that CF&I offered has had “a lasting cultural legacy,” through the city’s large Italian, Slovenian, Mexican, and Greek communities.¹⁷ Andrews credits the company with having a transformative impact, developing western cities, gold and silver mines, farms and ranches, and extensive rail networks; he argues “none of these could have adopted the forms they did in this dry, biologically unproductive land without the vast quantities of coal unearthed by southern Colorado’s miners.”¹⁸

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company Administrative Complex importantly represents the expansion of the nation’s coal, coke, and steel industries into an extensive new American region abundant with natural resources available for exploitation. Managers and staff in the complex managed one of only two locations in the country where sizeable amounts of steel were produced outside of the northeastern/midwestern core of the industry.¹⁹ As early as 1906, an article in *Scientific American* described this aspect of the firm’s national significance: “That the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company is one of the few steel companies not a constituent part of the United States Steel Corporation, and that it operates the only large steel plant west of the Chicago district, are features that have important bearings upon the company’s place in the iron trade. It is, moreover, absolutely independent of competitors, in that it owns sources for all its raw materials.”²⁰ As the region’s leading industrial center, Pueblo became known as the “Pittsburgh of the West,” with CF&I comprising “for several decades the principal heavy industry in the West,” according to Scamehorn.²¹ The construction of two new western steel

¹² Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 5.

¹³ White, *It’s Your Misfortune*, 243.

¹⁴ Rees, *Representation and Rebellion*, xi; *Rocky Mountain News*, 5 October 1913. A 1913 article reported fifteen thousand employees and a payroll of \$10 million.

¹⁵ Andrews, *Killing for Coal*, 15.

¹⁶ Andrews, *Killing for Coal*, 16-17, 63, and 291.

¹⁷ James F. Walsh, University of Colorado Denver, Denver, Colorado, email to Thomas H. Simmons, 28 July 2017.

¹⁸ Andrews, *Killing for Coal*, 16.

¹⁹ The Pacific Rolling Mill Company of San Francisco (no longer standing) added an open-hearth steel furnace in 1884 with a daily capacity of just thirty tons. The vicinity of Birmingham, Alabama, was the other distant location, but Birmingham’s steel production was not of the same scale as that of CF&I; it was not among the top ten rivals of US Steel during the early twentieth century, while CF&I ranked eighth. Burn, *The Economic History of Steelmaking*, 346.

²⁰ Lawrence Lewis, “The Minnequa Works of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company,” *Scientific American* 9 (September 1906): 214-216. The Bessemer works were renamed the Minnequa Works in 1901.

²¹ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 5.

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plants in 1942 and 1944 only came about as a result of wartime necessity and through federal subsidies and loans provided by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.²²

CF&I's production of steel rails was particularly important. By 1904, the company ranked as one of the top ten producers of rails in the country. The manufacture of rails made possible the expansion of transportation systems across the West for increasing exploitation and shipment of its extracted resources to the East and beyond, as well as the corresponding western import of manufactured goods.²³ Scamehorn argues that rail production by the Pueblo plant helped avoid complete western dependence on higher-priced eastern manufacturers, noting "the purchase of metallurgical goods in Pittsburgh or Chicago would have aggravated the adverse flow of payments that hampered growth in the underdeveloped Rocky Mountain region."²⁴

By 1910, Scamehorn observed, the company "became the undisputed leader of the West's expanding fuel trade."²⁵ Historian David Wolff characterized CF&I as "the behemoth of western coal producers."²⁶ The firm's isolation from the eastern steel industry facilitated successful marketing of its steel and iron products in the West and adjacent plains states, but necessitated development of its own infrastructure, labor force, and raw material supply chains. To provide natural resources for the steelworks operations, the enterprise developed coal, iron, fluorspar, and limestone mines and attendant communities of workers in Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico, Utah, and Oklahoma. As the firm's coal and coke arm grew beyond the needs of the company, it also served as the principal supplier of fuel for smelting, industry, transportation, and domestic customers in the region and beyond. Scamehorn observes that during its early history the firm's coal and coke sales provided more profit than the CF&I metallurgical departments, although the manufacture of iron and steel products in the twentieth century gradually outpaced its return on coal and coke.²⁷ Historian of the Rocky Mountain smelting industry James E. Fell, Jr. comments that the CF&I Administrative Complex was "the site of management for the mining and distribution of coking coal throughout Colorado and the West—the specific type of coal needed in smelting iron and silver-lead ore in many states and probably even in Canada and Mexico to a degree. The Southern Colorado field is to coking coal what Connellsville coke in Pennsylvania is to the rise of the steel industry at Pittsburgh, PA, and other areas...."²⁸

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. joined the CF&I board of directors in 1903. Robbins emphasizes that correspondence between Rockefeller representatives and CF&I officials in Colorado demonstrates "the financial overlords at 26 North Broadway in New York City were something more than disinterested absentee owners."²⁹ From an initial program to streamline and reduce the cost of the firm's operations after its acquisition, to its steadfast opposition to unionization efforts, to the creation of an innovative Employee Representation Plan, the Rockefeller executives determined or approved the course of action carried out by CF&I's administration in Pueblo.

²² Gerald R. Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 26.

²³ Kenneth Warren, *The American Steel Industry, 1850-1970: A Geographical Interpretation* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1973), 84.

²⁴ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 177.

²⁵ H. Lee Scamehorn, *High Altitude Energy: A History of Fossil Fuels in Colorado* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002), 9; Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, v.

²⁶ David A. Wolff, *Industrializing the Rockies: Growth, Competition, and Turmoil in the Coalfields of Colorado and Wyoming, 1868-1914* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2013), 181.

²⁷ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 5.

²⁸ James E. Fell, Jr., Louisville, Colorado, Email to R. Laurie Simmons, 25 March 2015.

²⁹ Robbins, *Colony & Empire*, 97.

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The Rockefeller period of CF&I ownership is especially significant for the 1915 owners' hands-on creation of an Employee Representation Plan (ERP, also known as the Rockefeller Plan or Colorado Industrial Plan) following the 1914 Ludlow Massacre.³⁰ Eschewing union recognition, the plan created a process for worker participation within the corporation, including the election of employee representatives, airing of grievances, and regular conferences between management and labor. Historian Jonathan Rees characterized the ERP as "the vehicle for an elaborate welfare capitalism program."³¹ In 1918, steel plant workers used the ERP system to convince management to implement the first actual eight-hour-day in the steel industry in the nation, five years prior to its implementation nationally.

The Pueblo Administrative Complex served as the management office for implementation of the Rockefeller Plan, which became the most widely known and influential representation plan in the nation, as Rees explains:

In its day the Rockefeller Plan brought employee representation plans into public consciousness for the first time because of continued interest in Ludlow. After CF&I introduced this arrangement in 1915, similar ERPs spread rapidly during World War I and reached all corners of American industry during the 1920s. These arrangements attained their greatest popularity during the New Deal years, when many companies used them to fight legally mandated collective bargaining with independent trade unions.³²

Scamehorn asserts the CF&I plan "had an enormous impact on the labor movement in the United States. As a substitute for independent unions, it was widely adopted, particularly by iron, steel, and railroad enterprises."³³ Historian David Wolff concurs that the Rockefeller Plan "became the model for the company union movement that spread across the country in the 1920s."³⁴ Publicist Ivy Lee aided CF&I in popularizing the plan to opinion-makers nationwide. Historian Gary Dean Best concludes, "The Rockefeller Plan accounted for all but a handful of the over 200 [employee representation] plans in existence in 1919."³⁵ Historian Andrea Tone judges that in 1919 "hundreds of companies used the Colorado plan as a model to establish representation plans of their own," ushering in a decade of company unionism.³⁶ Such labor-management arrangements lasted until the New Deal era in the 1930s.

The period of national significance for the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company Administrative Complex extends from 1901, the date of completion of the earliest building at the complex, until 1942, when the first of two other major western steelworks were built in California and Utah to support the war effort, thereby ending CF&I's reign as the sole steelmaker in the West.³⁷

³⁰ Arnesen, et al, *American Labor History Theme Study*. The events at Ludlow in Las Animas County, which occurred in southern Colorado in the midst of a 1914 coal strike, are documented in several books.

³¹ Rees, *Representation and Rebellion*, 2.

³² Rees, *Representation and Rebellion*, 2-3.

³³ H. Lee Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine: The CF&I in the Twentieth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 4.

³⁴ David Wolff, email to Thomas H. Simmons, 26 March 2015.

³⁵ Gary Dean Best, "President Wilson's Second Industrial Conference, 1919-1920," *Labor History* 16 (1975): 505-520.

³⁶ Andrea Tone, *The Business of Benevolence: Industrial Paternalism in Progressive America* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 121 and 124.

³⁷ Jeffrey DeHerrera, Cheri Yost, and Adam Thomas, *Forged Together in the Bessemer Neighborhood* (Denver: Historitecture, LLC, August 2012), 19. Regarding the selected period of significance, no historic photographs or maps could be located showing the block prior to 1901. DeHerrera, et al., does not describe development in this area, and it seems likely the area was undeveloped until construction of the Administrative Complex. The Minnequa Town Company, a CF&I subsidiary, organized in 1899 and in the same year platted the Suburban Land and Investment Company Subdivision, which includes the Administrative Complex.

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GROWTH OF STEEL AND COAL INDUSTRIES IN THE WEST AND THE ROLE OF EASTERN INVESTORS

Steelmaking in the United States boomed in the late nineteenth century. The production and use of steel significantly advanced America's role in the world economy and shaped the building of cities, the spread of industry and agriculture, and the growth of the transportation network. Development of the low-cost Bessemer and open-hearth processes enabled United States steel output to increase from 13,000 tons in 1860 to 11.4 million tons in 1900. Growth in the transportation, construction, agriculture, machinery, oil, and container sectors stimulated demand for the metal. As economic historian Robert P. Rogers finds, "Steel grew from a small sideline of the iron sector into its major product."³⁸ Most of the nation's early steelmaking concentrated in the northeast and Midwest, in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, with only two steel centers of significant size, Pueblo, Colorado, and Birmingham, Alabama, arising in more distant locations.³⁹

Richard White asserts the West required three major components to spur significant growth: a market for the resources it extracted, labor and capital to provide the manpower and means to produce goods or services, and a transportation system to move products to market. Building railroads to bring labor and supplies to the resource for its extraction and the transport of raw material for processing or to market constituted the first step in developing an extractive industry.⁴⁰ Spread of the national railroad network boosted the need for steel rails: United States railroad mileage expanded from 92,100 miles in 1880 to 163,500 in 1899, with three-fourths of the increase occurring in the 1880s.⁴¹ The expense of building railroads in the undeveloped western lands required outside capital, with much of it coming from the eastern United States and Europe.

Writing in 1947, journalist John Gunther succinctly noted that CF&I and its predecessor companies "made two things indispensable to the growing West—barbed wire and rails—and hence prospered."⁴² As the major western producer of iron and steel, the Pueblo plant manufactured rails, spikes, and track accessories for railroads, as well as mine rails, iron pipe, wire nails, bridge components, fenceposts, fencing, and wire products integral to the rapid development of the region. This ensured the West's significant participation in and influence on eastern and international markets.⁴³ Iron and steel produced by CF&I formed the basis for western manufacturing, including Denver's development as a leading center of mining machinery makers. The Pueblo steel mill began producing iron and steel rails in 1882, providing the essential components needed for the early transportation infrastructure connecting the West to its eastern markets. Iron and steel rails supplied to the Denver & Rio Grande Railway, Colorado Midland Railway, and other lines provided access to important gold, silver, and coal mining areas in the Colorado mountains, hay and livestock raising regions, and portions of Utah and New Mexico. The mines and agricultural areas, in turn, became major investment opportunities for American and European investors. CF&I continued its significant role in producing these products for railroads in the twentieth century.

Like steel, coal constituted a vital ingredient in the growth of America's industrial, domestic, commercial, and agricultural life. An abundance of coal enabled westerners to overcome factors such as the area's arid climate

³⁸ Robert P. Rogers, *An Economic History of the American Steel Industry* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 16-20.

³⁹ The Sloss Furnace National Historic Landmark in Birmingham, Alabama, represents a southern example of distant iron manufacturing.

⁴⁰ White, *It's Your Misfortune*, 243.

⁴¹ Kenneth Warren, *Bethlehem Steel: Builder and Arsenal of Democracy* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 32.

⁴² John Gunther, *Inside U.S.A.* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), 220.

⁴³ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 5; Robbins, *Colony & Empire*, 94. The Denver & Rio Grande Railway was the company's largest rail customer.

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and geographic isolation that previously had suppressed its development.⁴⁴ CF&I also produced substantial amounts of coke used in steelmaking and supplied coke to western smelters developed with eastern capital where economically important metal ores, such as gold, silver, and copper, were refined. Coal mining and coke production represented significant operations of the company. CF&I's Crested Butte properties were among the only anthracite coal mines west of Pennsylvania. Anthracite coal was a critical fuel for smelting, assaying, and blacksmithing.

Before the Civil War, coal production was focused in the eastern United States. Only with the opening of coalfields in Colorado, Wyoming, and New Mexico did it become truly national in scope. CF&I was instrumental in bringing about this change. Andrews observes that "in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, southern Colorado became a major coal-mining region. One could travel from Illinois to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Alaskan Arctic to Patagonia without coming upon a single area that produced more coal than the combined production of Colorado's Las Animas, Huerfano, and Fremont Counties."⁴⁵ In addition to the southern Colorado coal fields, CF&I operated extensive coal properties at Crested Butte in Gunnison County; bituminous and hard bituminous in the Roaring Fork and Crystal River valleys of Pitkin County; near Glenwood Springs in Garfield County; along the Colorado River at Rifle; and in Utah and New Mexico.

CREATION OF THE COLORADO FUEL AND IRON COMPANY

Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CF&I) organized on 21 October 1892 as a consolidation of two rival firms: the Colorado Fuel Company and the Colorado Coal and Iron Company. The new company, under the management and control of John C. Osgood and his associates, included metallurgical (iron and steel) and fuel (coal and coke) departments. The predecessor firms are discussed briefly below.

Colorado Coal and Iron Company

General William Jackson Palmer organized the Colorado Coal and Iron Company in 1880 "to market coal and coke and to build and operate an integrated iron and steel plant at Pueblo."⁴⁶ Palmer (1836-1909), born into a Quaker family in Delaware, started his first job at age seventeen with a survey party for a western Pennsylvania railroad line. He studied civil and mining engineering in England in the 1850s, before returning to the United States to work for the Westmoreland Coal Company and the Pennsylvania Railroad. Palmer's career was interrupted by the Civil War, during which he served as a cavalry commander, conducted espionage, rose to the rank of brigadier general, and received the Congressional Medal of Honor. Following the conflict, he traveled westward, fulfilling his view that "man has to go to the mountains for health, and he must go there likewise if he would get a true insight into things."⁴⁷

General Palmer became managing director of the Kansas Pacific Railway and in 1870 completed the last portion of that line to Denver, forging the community's first rail link with Kansas and the East. In October 1870, Palmer and close associates created the Denver & Rio Grande Railway (D&RG), a narrow-gauge line extending south from Denver along the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains. Initial plans envisioned the D&RG building south to El Paso, Texas, but the line turned its efforts westward as rich mining camps opened in the Colorado

⁴⁴ Andrews, *Killing for Coal*, 16.

⁴⁵ Thomas Andrews, "The Colorado Coalfield War of 1913-'14," History Colorado website, www.historycolorado.org (accessed 20 January 2015).

⁴⁶ H. Lee Scamehorn, "John C. Osgood and the Western Steel Industry," *Arizona and the West* 15 (Summer 1973): 136; Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 4-5. The Colorado Coal and Iron Company consolidated three earlier D&RG entities: Central Colorado Improvement Company, Southern Colorado Coal and Town Company, and Colorado Coal and Steel Works Company.

⁴⁷ *Colorado Springs Gazette*, 14 March 1909, 8; John S. Fisher, *A Builder of the West: The Life of General William Jackson Palmer* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1939), 57.

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mountains. Through D&RG subsidiaries, Palmer engaged in town building, establishing Colorado Springs, Salida, Alamosa, and Durango. He also organized the Rio Grande Western Railroad in Utah, as well as the Mexican National Railroad.⁴⁸ Scamehorn describes Palmer as “a man of great energy and broad vision” and “one of Colorado’s leading promoters of railroads and the principal developer of heavy industry at a time when the region was only a short step removed from a wilderness environment.”⁴⁹ The railroad would serve as a key component in Palmer’s business empire—carrying raw materials, transporting finished goods, purchasing rails and other railroad supplies, acquiring coal for fueling locomotives, delivering coal and coke to cities and smelters, and linking townsites platted by railroad subsidiaries.

The presence of the necessary raw materials for iron and steel manufacturing led Palmer and his associates to pursue erection of an ironworks in the Arkansas Valley of southern Colorado. The Central Colorado Improvement Company, organized by D&RG investors in 1871, initially championed the project, first proposing a site at Cañon City before suggesting in 1874 that South Pueblo was a better location. South Pueblo was equidistant from the coking coal and iron ores of the Trinidad vicinity and the magnetite of Fremont County. The company did not move forward with the project, however, and in 1880 it merged with the Southern Colorado Coal and Town Company and the Colorado Coal and Steel Works Company to form the Colorado Coal and Iron Company, with Palmer as its first president.⁵⁰

The Colorado Coal and Iron Company (CCIC) continued activities started by its predecessor firms, producing coal, manufacturing coke, improving and selling town lots and agricultural lands, and planning construction of an iron and steel plant. Construction of the steelworks began in February 1880 on a 1,280-acre site in the town of Bessemer, a community the company platted in 1881 abutting South Pueblo. The firm deemed the location suitable for several factors, according to Scamehorn: “It was a transportation center where raw materials could be economically and conveniently brought together; the city’s railroads afforded easy access to a vast regional market; and water was abundantly available.”⁵¹ In its early years, the plant included blast furnaces, foundry, machine shop, and converter house (with two five-ton Bessemer vessels), as well as puddle, nail, spike, and rail mills. CCIC appointed Daniel N. Jones, an experienced ironmaker with the Cambria Iron Company of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, as superintendent and chief engineer of the steel plant in April 1881. Scamehorn reports that “all of the essential resources were found in Colorado and, with the exception of some ore, came from properties owned or leased by the corporation.”⁵² The enterprise secured coke from El Moro in Las Animas County, iron ore from the Calumet area near Salida and Orient in the San Luis Valley, and limestone from a quarry a short distance south of the mill in Pueblo County.

In early 1882, the plant rolled its first 30 foot long iron rails, prompting Palmer’s biographer John Fisher to remark: “Until now all the rails used on Colorado railways had been imported from the East, which nearly doubled their cost, and this date marks a turning point in the history of the state. By 1882 the Colorado Coal and Iron Company was turning out great quantities of coal, iron ore, pig iron, and also of steel ingots, blooms, and rolled rails.”⁵³ The first steel rails were produced in spring 1882 and were laid by the D&RG on the last forty-five miles of its line from Durango to Silverton.⁵⁴ The plant also manufactured rails for the Chicago, Burlington,

⁴⁸ Robert Athearn, *The Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad: Rebel of the Rockies* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), 15.

⁴⁹ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 7.

⁵⁰ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 16-19. South Pueblo lay south of the existing City of Pueblo.

⁵¹ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 46.

⁵² Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 47.

⁵³ Fisher, *A Builder of the West*, 264.

⁵⁴ O. Meredith Wilson, *The Denver and Rio Grande Project, 1870-1901: A History of the First Thirty Years of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1982), 65.

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& Quincy Railroad. CCIC became the pioneer of western steelmaking, operating the only integrated iron and steel mill in the West, with a daily capacity of four hundred tons of iron, three hundred tons of steel rails, and forty tons of merchant iron and light rail sections.⁵⁵

The immense effort required to establish a steel works far from the industry's eastern roots is captured in journalist Herbert N. Casson's description of CF&I as "the Robinson Crusoe of the steel world."⁵⁶ About 1906, CF&I President Frank J. Hearne emphasized the pattern of steel history importantly represented by CF&I in describing the difficulties of establishing a plant in Colorado: "In this self-reliant State, we are compelled to develop all of our resources. We must make the best of what we have. We cannot run across the road to a neighbor and borrow anything we happen to need, as a man can in New York or Pennsylvania. We are wholly Western. All our customers are west of the Missouri River. We have had to produce practically all of our raw materials."⁵⁷ A 1906 article in *Scientific American* indicated that this aspect of CF&I's development represented a fundamental difference from its competitors further east, who had the advantage of entering regions with already existing coal and iron mines, transportation systems, and populations of laborers, as well as houses, food, supplies, and other needs of workers and their families.⁵⁸ The Pueblo-based enterprise faced the monumental task of developing all of this essential infrastructure before embarking on the manufacture of steel.

To support its workforce, in 1882 CCIC established a joint hospital with the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad in South Pueblo under the direction of Dr. Richard W. Corwin. The company also maintained dispensaries in the coal camps and at the steelworks. The medical program received partial funding through a one dollar a month deduction from employee wages. Workers overwhelmingly supported retaining the program in an 1885 referendum.⁵⁹ Scamehorn believes CCIC comprised "a pioneer in industrial medicine. Its program, the largest in the state, was a model for other employers."⁶⁰

The company's fuel department, which included coal mining and coke production, played a more important role in producing earnings than steel production did in its early years. In 1874, mining engineer R. Neilson Clark told Palmer the Trinidad coal field of Las Animas County was suitable for producing coke that could be used for industrial development, remarking: "I have never seen a more valuable deposit of coal west of the anthracite region of Pennsylvania."⁶¹ In 1880, CCIC held 13,571 acres of coal lands in Fremont (Coal Creek Mine), Huerfano (Walsen Mine), and Las Animas (El Moro Mine) counties of south-central Colorado and accounted for nearly one-half of the state's coal production. The following year the company acquired coal lands at Crested Butte in Gunnison County. The company's properties held coals suitable for domestic, steam, and metallurgical uses. The firm produced coke at El Moro and Crested Butte, and most of CCIC coke supplied silver-lead and gold smelters in Colorado and Utah before the steel plant opened. The smelters played an indispensable role in the Rocky Mountain mining industry by reducing ores to usable metals. Mining historian James E. Fell, Jr. observes that smelter operators viewed fuel as "an essential resource," with El Moro coke considered the best.⁶² CCIC shipped the product to Utah and Nevada by 1883 and Montana by 1884.

⁵⁵ Scamehorn, "John C. Osgood," 138.

⁵⁶ Herbert N. Casson, *The Romance of Steel* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1907), 309.

⁵⁷ Hearne quoted in Casson, *The Romance of Steel*, 309.

⁵⁸ Lewis, "The Minnequa Works of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company," 216.

⁵⁹ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 140-41.

⁶⁰ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 139.

⁶¹ Clark quoted in Athearn, *The Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad*, 32.

⁶² James E. Fell, Jr., *Ores to Metals: The Rocky Mountain Smelting Industry* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979),

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Decreased demand for iron and steel impacted the Pueblo steel plant in May 1884, when the converter and rail mill suspended operations. Other sections of the enterprise continued to operate, including the nail mill and cast pipe manufacturing, and the facility gained a merchant mill, which produced light rails and merchant iron. Company officials attributed losses posted by the steel mill to high operating costs and limited demand. With a renewal of railroad building in 1886, activity resumed at the plant as it filled rail orders for the D&RG and the standard gauge Colorado Midland Railway. Scamehorn indicates the return to full operations “attracted employees and new hands to Bessemer from all parts of the country.”⁶³ The company completed a second blast furnace in 1888 and the board of directors authorized a third unit in 1890. In the late 1880s to early 1890s, CCIC supplied steel rails to several railroads: 1888—the D&RG, Denver, Texas, & Fort Worth, and Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern; 1890—D&RG and Union Pacific; and 1891—Denver & Rio Grande Western, Rio Grande Southern, and Union Pacific.⁶⁴

CCIC invested nearly \$2.7 million in the steelworks from 1880 to 1892, but the plant posted profits in only five years during the period. Revenues from the fuel and real estate departments offset the losses in steel. The company expanded its coal properties during the 1880s, operating fourteen mines that produced 7.5 million tons of coal and manufactured 1.33 million tons of coke during the decade. CCIC acquired new coal lands in Fremont and Garfield counties, Colorado. By the early 1890s, CCIC’s fuel trade faced increasing competition from other companies, especially the Colorado Fuel Company.

Colorado Fuel Company

Brooklyn-born John C. Osgood (1851-1926) established the Colorado Fuel Company (CFC) in 1884. Orphaned and raised by relatives, Osgood began working as an office boy at fourteen years of age in Providence, Rhode Island. He moved to Ottumwa, Iowa, in 1870, serving as a cashier, first for the Union Coal and Mining Company and then for the First National Bank of Burlington. Osgood gained an interest in the Whitebreast Coal and Mining Company, became its president in 1878, and made it a principal supplier of coal to the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad (CB&Q). In 1882, he traveled to Colorado at the request of the railroad to locate fuel supplies for the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad (B&MR), a CB&Q subsidiary serving the Centennial State. Following the trip, the ambitious entrepreneur “decided to make for himself a new business career in the West where coal deposits were largely unexplored and only partially developed.”⁶⁵

Osgood relocated to Denver in 1882 and used his ties with the CB&Q to secure a contract supplying the B&MR with lignite purchased from sources in Boulder and Weld counties. In 1884, he drew upon Denver and Iowa investors to organize the Colorado Fuel Company, with himself as president. The firm’s charter authorized acquisition and working of coal lands, production and marketing of coal, and manufacturing and sale of coke. Initially, it bought and resold coal to the B&MR and leased and purchased coal mines. Osgood also formed other coal mining enterprises that operated mines in various parts of Colorado, including the Denver Fuel Company.

In 1888, with funding from prominent Denver businessmen, Osgood engineered a reorganization of the Colorado Fuel Company that brought all of his fuel ventures under one management, increased the firm’s authorized capital to \$5 million, and acquired other companies. Directly or through subsidiaries, the enterprise acquired coal lands in the Colorado counties of Gunnison, Garfield, Huerfano, and Las Animas, as well as Carbon County, Wyoming. In 1891, it purchased the Grand River Coal and Coke Company, establishing CFC

⁶³ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 64.

⁶⁴ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 66-67.

⁶⁵ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 81; Scamehorn, “John C. Osgood,” 134.

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as one of the West's leading fuel companies.⁶⁶ By 1892, CFC grew to encompass seven coal mines, nearly thirty-four thousand acres of coal land, and two coke oven plants, which threatened Colorado Coal and Iron's position in the industry. According to Scamehorn, Colorado Fuel's "volume production, effective management, and aggressive salesmanship garnered for it a major share of the trade with railroads and smelters" to the detriment of its competitor.⁶⁷ In contrast to CCIC, Osgood had run his company profitably and paid dividends to investors.

THE WEST'S FUEL TRADE: COLORADO FUEL AND IRON COMPANY'S CREATION AND GROWTH

The 1892 merger creating the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CF&I) was on John C. Osgood's terms and left him in control of the resulting enterprise. The new firm, with an authorized capital of \$13 million, consolidated the assets of Colorado Fuel (\$8.4 million) and Colorado Coal and Iron (\$7.1 million), creating a giant of the West's fuel trade.⁶⁸ The enterprise oversaw fourteen coal mines and 69,000 acres of coal lands containing approximately 400,000,000 tons of reserves suitable for domestic, steam, gas, smithing, and coking uses. The firm operated four coke plants with a total of eight hundred coke ovens having a monthly capacity of twenty-five thousand tons. The new combination also owned 2,311 acres of iron lands with two operating iron mines and conducted the West's only integrated steelworks, with the Pueblo steel plant boasting three blast furnaces with a combined daily output of four hundred tons of foundry, pig, or ferro-manganese iron. The plant included a converter with a capacity of five hundred tons of steel daily, a rolling mill, merchant iron mill, cast pipe foundry, spike mill, and supporting shops. Over the next decade, Osgood greatly expanded the firm, dominating the West's fuel trade and enlarging the steelworks to become the region's most significant heavy industrial firm.⁶⁹

Primarily interested in his rival's coal assets, Osgood initially hoped to exclude the steelworks from the 1892 merger, which "he viewed as an intolerable financial burden and an obstacle to his plan for dominating the western fuel trade," according to Scamehorn.⁷⁰ However, legal obstacles prevented that option, and reports of expert consultants who examined the steel plant convinced the fuel magnate that the works could be made profitable. CF&I hoped that a relatively small investment in the facility would enable the plant to manufacture "iron, steel rails, and other products at costs that would assure competition in the territory west of the Missouri River."⁷¹ To supervise the steelworks, it hired Theodore W. Robinson, a Massachusetts Institute of Technology graduate and furnace supervisor at the Milwaukee Works of the Illinois Steel Company. A number of other Illinois Steel veterans were tapped to fill managerial positions at the Colorado plant.

Improvement plans for the steelworks were postponed when sales declined in early 1893, perhaps a prelude to the onset of the Silver Panic that summer.⁷² The national economic downturn, linked to the demonetization of silver and other economic conditions, severely harmed Colorado's mining and smelting sectors and the industries supporting them. Osgood focused on expanding the fuel side of the company during much of the 1890s. The firm bought or leased the Colorado and New Mexico coal properties of the Santa Fe, Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific, and Colorado Midland railroads. The number of CF&I mines increased from fourteen in 1893

⁶⁶ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 90.

⁶⁷ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 83-90; Scamehorn, "John C. Osgood," 137.

⁶⁸ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 92-93.

⁶⁹ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 93-94; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 13. The company originally called the steel plant the Bessemer Works and renamed it the Minnequa Works in 1901.

⁷⁰ Scamehorn, "John C. Osgood," 138.

⁷¹ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 94.

⁷² Silver prices began declining in 1892, prompting a slowdown in western mining.

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to twenty-two in 1902, while coke plants more than doubled, from four to nine, including facilities at Redstone and Sopris, Colorado.⁷³ Over the same period, the firm's share of Colorado coal output rose from 45 percent (3.9 million tons) to 73 percent (7.5 million tons). Historian David A. Wolff reports CF&I's coal workforce grew from fewer than 4,000 workers in 1898 to almost 5,550 in 1902. Scamehorn found CF&I in 1903 was "the West's leading producer of coal and coke," a view echoed by Wolff, who called the company the "behemoth of western coal producers."⁷⁴ CF&I also entered into marketing arrangements with smaller coal producers in southern Colorado and northern New Mexico, serving as their agent.⁷⁵

By the early twentieth century, CF&I operated sixty-three company towns, which were established between 1876 and 1924, with fifty-four in Colorado, seven in New Mexico, and two in Wyoming. Company-supplied housing and infrastructure were required as many of CF&I's mines operated in remote areas. The associated Colorado Supply Company established stores in the far-flung communities to supply food, clothing, and other provisions for workers. The affiliated Colorado & Wyoming Railroad linked mining camps to the steelworks.⁷⁶

Staunchly opposed to union recognition of the company's workers, Osgood initiated a program of industrial paternalism through the firm's Sociological Department with the goal of improving the lives of workers in a way that would also benefit the company. Managers of the company towns exercised a great measure of control over the lives of their workers. Administered by Dr. Richard W. Corwin, who started Colorado Coal and Iron's medical program in 1882, the Sociological Department began its work in 1901 with construction of Minnequa Hospital in Pueblo and dispensaries in the mining camps. Corwin oversaw housing, water, education, social and industrial training, and sanitation in the mining camps, which included churches and clubhouses. These paternalistic welfare capitalism efforts aimed at producing healthy and more productive workers. As Scamehorn explains: "Corwin's emphasis on community and social betterment reflected Progressive Era middle-class concerns for Americanizing recent immigrants, who constituted the majority of the work force."⁷⁷ The isolated locations and controlling structure of the camps ensured the company became the dominant influence in the lives of workers and their families. Historian Rick J. Clyne judged the situation "gave CF&I an opportunity to mold its work force as it saw fit—and specifically, to ensure that camp residents would always act in the best interests of the company."⁷⁸ The firm publicized the work of the Sociological Department to its workers and others through its widely distributed magazine *Camp and Plant* (1901-04).

As the fuel department expanded, the steelworks reopened in 1894. In that year CF&I joined the Rail Maker's Association, an organization formed in 1887. The *Bulletin of the American Iron and Steel Association* reported the group's stated purpose was "to equitably allot among the steel rail manufacturers the tonnage of steel rails annually required by the railroad companies."⁷⁹ CF&I benefited from participation in the pool, which also sought to maintain minimum prices on heavy rail products. By 1895, the Pueblo plant was operating at close to

⁷³ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 98.

⁷⁴ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 14; Wolff, *Industrializing the Rockies*, 181.

⁷⁵ Scamehorn, "John C. Osgood," 140-41.

⁷⁶ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 197-200.

⁷⁷ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 15.

⁷⁸ Rick J. Clyne, *Coal People*, Colorado History, No. 3 (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1999), 21.

⁷⁹ *Bulletin of the American Iron and Steel Association*, 28 (20 January 1894): 20; Congressional Record, House, 9 December 1904, 113. The pool was a voluntary association of steel companies that created a management structure to allocate production among members in order to eliminate competition, maintain prices, and increase profits. The arrangement and the later Rail Association appear to raise anti-trust concerns. In 1904 Representative Robert Baker (Democrat-New York), complaining of a lack of federal anti-trust action against the pool, observed that the Rail Association "meets regularly; they do not even meet in secret. They make no pretense of covering up their actions, and at the end of their meetings they give out statements to the newspapers; and yet we are told by the Republicans that that little combination is a mere 'rumor.'" Baker asserted the effect of the pool was to raise the cost of steel rails to buyers.

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normal capacity.⁸⁰ A 1911 US Department of Commerce and Labor report described CF&I as “the only important factor in the [steel] industry in the far West” in the 1890s.⁸¹ When the Rail Maker’s Association collapsed in 1897, major steel producers formed a new pooling group called the New York Committee (also known as the Rail Association). The participants agreed to divide the national market for steel rails as follows: Carnegie Steel (39.75 percent), Illinois Steel (39.75 percent), Cambria Steel (13.5 percent), and CF&I (7 percent). Scamehorn found several factors motivated the larger eastern steel companies to include CF&I in the pool:

Its geographical location enabled it to influence a large regional market. Osgood, an aggressive businessman, was well known to eastern industrialists, who preferred him as a partner rather than as a rival. Perhaps more important, the men who controlled eastern mills also had close ties with railroads which were dependent on the Colorado enterprise for fuel. Finally, the Bessemer Works was expanded and modernized to make it a serious competitor in the West.⁸²

The pooling agreement, which lasted until 1904, resulted in increased income for the steelworks. Steel rail production expanded from 17,000 tons in 1898 to more than 128,000 tons in 1901, while revenues rose from \$343,000 to more than \$4 million.⁸³

Improvements Expand the Capacity of the Steelworks

The company invested \$500,000 in improving the steelworks in 1897-98, but Osgood planned a staggeringly greater outlay to modernize the plant and increase its output to serve the demand in what he saw as its natural market area: the entire nation lying west of the Missouri River. Shareholders approved an increase in the firm’s authorized capital in September 1899, from \$13 million to \$25 million, with half of the increase committed to modernization and expansion of the steelworks.⁸⁴ First steps included expanding and improving the rail mill, constructing a blooming mill (a type of rolling mill), and rebuilding two blast furnaces. In 1901, Osgood received shareholder approval to increase the authorized capital to \$40 million and to issue \$15 million in debenture bonds. The action was in response to pressure from John W. “Bet a Million” Gates, who had acquired a substantial stake in CF&I and wanted the firm to venture into new product lines that would reduce its reliance on rail production. The board of directors adopted this strategy on the premise that “a much larger tonnage of the proposed products could be sold in the markets tributary to the company’s works.”⁸⁵

The board of directors approved \$10 million in new construction at the steelworks. Scamehorn describes the expansion plan: “The character of the steel works was to be fundamentally altered with the erection of six 50-ton basic open hearth furnaces, a 40-inch blooming mill, 12- and 24-inch continuous mills, a hop and merchant mill, rod mill, plate mill, sheet mill, wire-drawing mill, and nail mill.”⁸⁶ Other elements of the 1899-1901 improvements included construction of an administrative complex west of the steel plant (see below) and a new hospital. The Colorado & Wyoming Railway was extended and new sources of water supply were secured. In

⁸⁰ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 95. CF&I received cash payments from the pool for limiting its production of certain rail products.

⁸¹ U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Report of the Commissioner of Corporations on the Steel Industry, Part I, Organization, Investments, Profits, and Position of the United States Steel Corporation* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911), 64.

⁸² Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 97.

⁸³ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 96.

⁸⁴ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 97.

⁸⁵ Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, *Ninth Annual Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1901* (Denver: Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, August 1901), 26.

⁸⁶ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 101.

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1901, CF&I acquired the rolling mill of the Laramie Iron and Steel Company, thereby removing an iron trade competitor in Wyoming. Increasing the capacity of the steelworks necessitated obtaining new sources of iron ore, which were secured from Fierro (Grant County), New Mexico; Sunrise and Hartville, Wyoming; and Iron County, Utah. Quarries at Lime and Howard in Colorado supplied limestone used as a fluxing material in making steel. The company also purchased scrap metal for its open-hearth furnaces. A 1913 article asserted CF&I provided a market “for the greater part [of scrap] gathered west of the Missouri river.”⁸⁷

“A PLACE OF BEAUTY AS WELL AS A BUSINESS”: THE CF&I ADMINISTRATIVE COMPLEX

To manage and support the modernized and expanded enterprise, CF&I erected the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company Administrative Complex (the subject of this nomination) in 1900-01. In May 1900, the company announced plans to construct an office building, medical dispensary, and laboratory on a full city block west of the steel plant. Buildings fulfilling similar functions within the plant had been razed to permit construction of a new blast furnace. The management engaged noted Denver architect Frederick J. Sterner to prepare plans for the buildings.

Architect Frederick Junius Sterner (1862-1931) played a key role in the development of the complex by designing its first buildings and establishing the precedent of its Mission Revival vocabulary. Born in England, Sterner came to the United States in about 1878 and studied architecture in New York. He came to Denver ca. 1882 and joined with Ernest P. Varian in a partnership, which operated in Denver until about 1900.⁸⁸ In February 1901 the *Pueblo Daily Chieftain* reported the administrative buildings would be designed in “the old Spanish mission-style, one of the most beautiful and conventional forms of architecture known.”⁸⁹ Plans called for the block holding the administrative buildings to be landscaped: “The three buildings, together with the [Colorado Supply Company] warehouse, will cover a five-acre ground, which will be laid off as a park with a variety of forest trees and gravel walks. The plans for the park are elaborate, and the company intends to make that part of town a place of beauty as well as a business.”⁹⁰ CF&I also used the Mission Revival style for Minnequa Hospital, designed in 1901 by Sterner, as well as the Colorado Supply Company (CSC) warehouse (on the Administrative Complex block), CSC retail store on the block to the west, and some CSC stores in coal camps.⁹¹ The company may have employed the Mission Revival style as a means of corporate branding. Architectural historian Virginia Savage McAllister observed the California building at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exhibition reflected the style, which gained “further impetus when the Santa Fe and Southern Pacific railways adopted the style for stations and resort hotels throughout the West.”⁹² The idiom was more often used in Colorado for churches, schools, and residences than in office/commercial applications.⁹³

⁸⁷ *Rocky Mountain News*, 5 October 1913, 5:6.

⁸⁸ Frederick J. Sterner, Architects of Colorado Series: Biographical Sketch, History Colorado, Denver, Colorado, 22 September 2007; R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, Lennox House, 5EP.3359, Colorado Springs, Colorado, National Register of Historic Places nomination, 21 May 1999; Bill Cogburn, Bygone Neighborhood Railroad Depots, King William Association website, San Antonio, Texas, www.ourkwa.org; *New York Times*, 29 June 2003. See also, Andrew S. Dolkart, *The Row House Reborn: Architecture and Neighborhoods in New York City, 1908-1929* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009). In addition to the CF&I Administrative Complex, Sterner designed the 1913 Greenbrier resort hotel in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia (designated a National Historic Landmark in 1990). He moved to New York City about 1909.

⁸⁹ *Pueblo Daily Chieftain*, 21 February 1901.

⁹⁰ *Pueblo Evening Star*, 20 April 1901.

⁹¹ Most of these other examples of CF&I Mission Revival buildings are no longer extant.

⁹² Virginia Savage McAllister, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 512 and 518.

⁹³ *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 July 1901, 5; James F. Munch, “Minnequa Steel Works Office Building and Dispensary, Colorado Fuel and Iron Company,” Pueblo County, Colorado, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2001 (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, DC), 16.

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Administrative employees moved into the two-story office building at the southwest corner of the block in December 1901. The first floor housed offices for the general superintendent, chief metallurgist, managers, stenographers, clerks, as well as space for the mailroom, storerooms, telephone and telegraph office, and vaults. The second story contained the engineering department, other offices, and a drafting room occupying the north half of the floor. Medical staff occupied the one-story dispensary to the east in 1902. The building included consultation, surgical, drug, and storage rooms, as well as a waiting room and sleeping quarters for the resident doctor.⁹⁴ Also completed in 1902 in the Mission Revival style were buildings housing a laboratory and a mess hall for the heads of departments lying north of the office building and the Colorado Supply Company warehouse at the northeast corner of the block (all no longer extant).⁹⁵ With completion of the Administrative Complex the main entrance to the steelworks was moved from its northern edge to a location southeast of the dispensary. Thousands of workers passed in front of the administrative buildings twice daily, using a viaduct over railroad tracks to access the plant.⁹⁶

Within the complex, CF&I managers and administrative employees in Pueblo worked on the day-to-day tasks of running the company, including formulating and implementing certain corporate policies, carrying out instructions received from New York, keeping company records, and addressing personnel matters. A roomful of draftsmen worked on projects throughout the CF&I empire. The dispensary staff conducted employment physicals, treated minor illnesses and injuries, and referred cases to the nearby company hospital. Among the important administrative matters considered were those relating to the company's labor force, including its efficiency, safety, rights, and living conditions. The administration also executed company policy during a series of labor disputes with unions who sought to secure workplace rights and collective power. CF&I's administration undertook initiatives to address workers' needs from the company's point of view, including the 1901 creation of the Sociological Department to implement the firm's welfare capitalism program. The effort focused on improving the education and health of company workers and included the planning of schools, recreational activities, and improved sanitary conditions in mining camps. In 1915 John D. Rockefeller, Jr. would deliver a lengthy address at the Administrative Complex explaining the proposed Employee Representation Plan to a joint meeting of management and worker representatives. Employees in the complex later would oversee implementation of the plan.

EASTERN INVESTORS SUPPLY CAPITAL FOR THE "INDUSTRIAL GIANT OF THE WEST"

Between 1899 and 1903 CF&I expended more than \$24 million on company-wide improvements with just under \$20 million devoted to the steelworks. Osgood's ambitious plans modernized and advanced the capacity of the Pueblo plant. The *Columbus Daily Enquirer* in 1901 judged CF&I "one of the few great steel companies in the country that is in open competition with J.P. Morgan's billion dollar steel combine."⁹⁷ Earlier in the year, Morgan engineered a merger of the three largest steel-makers in the United States and a number of smaller firms to form the US Steel Corporation, headquartered in New York City. It became the goliath of the American steel industry, capable of setting prices and dominating its sector. All other steel companies operated in the shadow of US Steel, which took measures to ensure that firms such as CF&I could not expand into its region of influence. Economic historian Robert P. Rogers cites CF&I as an example of the other steel companies that "developed geographic niches in the usual large-scale steel products," noting the Colorado firm "sold its products, mostly rails, in the western part of the United States."⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 142.

⁹⁵ *Camp and Plant*, 28 December 1901, 26.

⁹⁶ When Interstate 25 displaced the railroad tracks in 1959, workers used a newly constructed tunnel under the freeway to access the plant.

⁹⁷ *Columbus (Georgia) Daily Enquirer*, 17 May 1901, 1.

⁹⁸ Rogers, *An Economic History of the American Steel Industry*, 45.

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CF&I's prospects must have appeared attractive, as US Steel offered to purchase the company in October 1901. One contemporary account reported "that of all the independent concerns the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. would be the most valuable acquisition to the United States Steel corporation," as the Pueblo plant could supply the needs of the West, Pacific Coast, and Asian export trade.⁹⁹ The deal failed to materialize when Osgood, the firm's largest shareholder, demanded a higher price than US Steel was willing to pay.¹⁰⁰

During 1901-02, as work on expanding the steelworks continued, John W. Gates, the company's second largest shareholder, and Osgood struggled over control of the corporation. In August 1902 Osgood maintained that "the beginning of Mr. Gates' animosity toward me was when I refused to join him in selling out to the United States Steel Corporation. At that time he told me that if I persisted he would get even with me by ousting me from the management of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company."¹⁰¹ Gates disposed of his shares in 1902, and Osgood formed an alliance with railroad financier George J. Gould to retain control of the company. Labor disputes delayed the steelworks construction program, and construction activity disrupted steel production, resulting in lower revenue. By late 1902 or early 1903 the firm experienced a serious cash shortfall. To meet its current obligations Osgood sought an additional infusion of eastern capital.

Gould persuaded Frederick T. Gates (no relation to John W.), an adviser to John D. Rockefeller, Sr. to examine CF&I as a potential investment for the Standard Oil magnate. Gates concluded a stake in CF&I could yield high returns. In June 1903 Osgood agreed to cede control of the company if Gould and Rockefeller supplied funds to avoid its going into receivership.¹⁰² Rockefeller, using profits from his recent sale of Mesabi Range iron ore properties in Minnesota to US Steel, paid \$6 million for 40 percent of CF&I's stock and 43 percent of its bonds. The investment gave the New Yorker a significant interest in the company. Although Gould controlled CF&I, the Rockefeller investment was sufficient to place John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and associates of the family on the CF&I board of directors in 1903.¹⁰³

By 1904 the firm's rail capacity was six times its 1890 level, and CF&I was offering new product lines.¹⁰⁴ The *Duluth News-Tribune* characterized CF&I that year as "one of the biggest concerns in the west. It is to the west what United States Steel is to the east. Its board of directors includes E.H. Harriman, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., George J. Gould, Edwin Hawley and other financiers of hardly less note."¹⁰⁵ Taking its place among the top ten competitors of US Steel, CF&I manufactured about 2 percent of the US output and was vitally important to development in the Trans-Mississippi West. Scamehorn judges CF&I "in its day, the industrial giant of the West."¹⁰⁶ Statistics compiled by the American Iron and Steel Association in 1907 demonstrated CF&I's pre-eminence in the West: Colorado's steel capacity (consisting solely of CF&I's Pueblo plant) was reported as one million tons compared to 37,900 tons in the remainder of the region (for plants in California, Oregon, and

⁹⁹ *Grand Forks* [North Dakota] *Daily Herald*, 6 April 1901, 7.

¹⁰⁰ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 157.

¹⁰¹ Osgood quoted in *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 19 August 1902, 6.

¹⁰² Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 163-66.

¹⁰³ Chernow, *Titan*, 571.

¹⁰⁴ Warren, *The American Steel Industry*, 84.

¹⁰⁵ *Duluth News-Tribune*, 27 November 1906, 11; Lewis, "The Minnequa Works of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company,"

214. The Lewis article in *Scientific American* went further, describing the Minnequa Works in 1906 as "one of the largest iron and steel plants of America," a claim not warranted in light of a number of much larger plants in the Midwest and East.

¹⁰⁶ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 139.

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Washington).¹⁰⁷ In 1910 CF&I produced approximately 15 percent of the West's coal.¹⁰⁸ A 1902 letter in the *National Labor Tribune* asserted the company employed fifteen thousand men in its steel, coal, and coke facilities and estimated that workers plus their families numbered seventy-five thousand people.¹⁰⁹ In 1903 company president Frederick J. Hearne claimed seventeen thousand men worked across all CF&I departments.¹¹⁰ CF&I employed about fifteen thousand persons in 1910, principally in Colorado but also in New Mexico, Wyoming, Utah, and Oklahoma.¹¹¹

CF&I UNDER ROCKEFELLER CONTROL

In 1907 the Rockefellers gained outright control of CF&I after George J. Gould encountered difficulties in the financial panic of that year and sold his interest in the firm. John D. Rockefeller, Sr. biographer Ron Chernow asserts the family "had no long-term commitment to the company, which Senior planned to sell to US Steel as soon as he could wangle a fair price."¹¹² Earlier in the year company president Frederick Hearne died of a heart attack and Jesse F. Welborn succeeded him, but the Rockefellers installed a new management team with their former employee LaMont M. Bowers serving as vice president, liaison to the family, and the real power within the administration. Scholars differ on the degree of control exercised by company director John D. Rockefeller, Jr. ("Junior"). Chernow contends "Junior reflexively abided by his father's faith in absentee ownership and delegated wide authority to managers, monitoring their performance by ledger statistics."¹¹³ Rockefeller Jr.'s grandson, David Rockefeller, Jr. echoes this view, arguing his family "paid the price for not having first-hand knowledge of the management's treatment of those working in the mines and mills."¹¹⁴

Historian William G. Robbins, however, tempers these views by concluding the Rockefellers exercised "a powerful and influential role in company affairs."¹¹⁵ For example, the Rockefellers' unyielding opposition to union representation firmly guided CF&I policy in labor relations. When the Rockefeller Foundation was created in 1910, Junior became its first chairman. In order to "purify" himself of business associations, he resigned from all corporate boards except those of CF&I and American Linseed. Chernow speculates Junior remained at CF&I because the family held a controlling interest in the company and because he "felt it was his duty to engineer a turnaround, showing his father that he could solve a difficult situation."¹¹⁶ The Rockefellers continued to own and direct the course of the company until late 1944.

¹⁰⁷ American Iron and Steel Association, *Directory to the Iron and Steel Works of the United States* (Philadelphia: American Iron and Steel Association, 1908), xv. While CF&I dominated steel production in the West, the output of US Steel and other larger eastern companies was much greater; the states of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois reported a combined capacity of 29.6 million tons.

¹⁰⁸ Edward W. Parker, "The Coal Supplies and Coal Production of the United States," *Publications of the American Statistical Association* 13 (June 1912): 149; Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., *Nineteenth Annual Report for the Year Ended June 30, 1911* (Denver: Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., October 1911), 6. The great bulk of coal was still produced in the East, with Pennsylvania alone mining more than 150 million tons in 1910.

¹⁰⁹ *National Labor Tribune* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), 6 February 1902, 2.

¹¹⁰ *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver, Colorado), 25 August 1903, 3.

¹¹¹ Rees, *Representation and Rebellion*, xi; Chernow, *Titan*, 573. Chernow asserted CF&I ranked as "the second largest steel company and seventeenth-largest industrial firm in America" in 1910. The author does not provide a source for these statistics nor explain how he defines "largest."

¹¹² Chernow, *Titan*, 573-74.

¹¹³ Chernow, *Titan*, 572. Bowers previously ran a fleet of Great Lakes ships for the Rockefellers.

¹¹⁴ David Rockefeller, Jr., "Remarks," Steelworks Center of the West, Faces of CF&I Gala, Pueblo, Colorado, 27 February 2017.

¹¹⁵ Robbins, *Colony & Empire*, 97.

¹¹⁶ Chernow, *Titan*, 573.

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RECRUITMENT AND COMPOSITION OF THE CF&I WORKFORCE

To operate its far-flung empire of coal, iron, and steel CF&I employed an ethnically diverse workforce that brought large numbers of immigrant workers into its system of company towns, as well as cities and towns throughout the Rocky Mountain West. The influx influenced the development of businesses and cultural and social institutions. As late as the 1890s the firm's coal miners were mostly native-born Americans or immigrants from the British Isles. Labor shortages and strike threats led CF&I to recruit immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and Mexico.¹¹⁷ The 1899-1901 expansion of the steelworks required more workers for that plant as well as an increased labor force in the firm's coal mines to meet growing fuel needs. The company secured an adequate labor supply by soliciting for immigrant workers. Coal camp historian Rick J. Clyne commented: "Ethnic diversity was the most conspicuous social characteristic of the coal communities."¹¹⁸ It also shaped Pueblo's appearance, which resembled an eastern industrial city.

By 1903, Scamehorn concluded two-thirds of CF&I's 16,000 employees were foreign-born and included thirty different nationalities, many people from southern and eastern Europe, speaking twenty-seven different languages. A company tabulation of its labor force in that year listed 3,700 "Americans" (24 percent), 600 "negroes," and 1,000 "Mexicans," a category that embraced native Latinos as well as immigrants from Mexico. The largest nonnative subgroups were workers of Italian background (23 percent of total employees) and "Austrians," with 13 percent of the workforce.¹¹⁹ Historian Carl Abbott deems Pueblo "an industrial island with an immigrant labor force in sparsely settled southern Colorado."¹²⁰ He found that by World War I the steel mill's five thousand workers came

from Mexico, from Italy via New York, and from Greece and eastern Europe via Chicago. The "Pittsburgh of the West" was closer to an eastern industrial city than to a western commercial city. Its Roman Catholic families attended ethnically segregated churches where Italian or Polish or Czech was spoken as often as English. Workers belonged to ethnic societies like the Croatian Fraternal Union of American, read locally published foreign-language newspapers, and lived in Mexican, Italian, or Slavic neighborhoods clustered around the mills.¹²¹

Immigrants were also drawn to CF&I's Wyoming iron mines. As steelmaking expanded in the late 1890s and early 1900s, the company leased iron ore claims in the Hartville, Sunrise, and Guernsey areas of southeastern Wyoming in 1898 and purchased the properties in 1904. The region drew some iron miners who had worked in Minnesota's Mesabi Range. From 1899 to the late 1910s the area attracted a disproportionately large immigrant population compared to the rest of the state. In a study of the Hartville/Sunrise area, historian Phillip J. Mellinger found large groups of Italians and Greeks and smaller numbers of Japanese, Lebanese, and Scandinavians working in the area mines.¹²² A 1915 study by the YMCA of the southern Colorado coalfields

¹¹⁷ Brian Clason and Jonathan Rees, "Dr. Richard Corwin and Colorado's Changing Racial Divide," in *Making an American Workforce*, ed. Fawn-Amber Montoya (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014), 41.

¹¹⁸ Clyne, *Coal People*, 42.

¹¹⁹ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 35; *Camp and Plant*, 18 April 1903, 341 and 345. Andrews, *Killing for Coal*, 104. The Austrian category included a broad swath of geography from areas comprising the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In computing the percentage of foreign born, Scamehorn included all categories as foreign born except "Americans," "Mexicans," and "negroes."

¹²⁰ Carl Abbott, *How Cities Won the West: Four Centuries of Urban Change in Western North America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 83.

¹²¹ Abbott, *How Cities Won the West*, 104.

¹²² Phillip J. Mellinger, "Early Hartville and Sunrise: A Study of the Frontier and Immigration in Wyoming," MA thesis, Roosevelt University, Chicago, Illinois, 1969, 56-57; CF&I Steel Corporation, Sunrise (Wyoming) Iron Ore Mine, pamphlet (n.d.), Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

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found large numbers of Italians, “Mexicans,” Austrians, and Hungarians, as well as several dozen African American workers.

By 1918 about one-fifth of company miners were local Latinos or recent Mexican immigrants. Such diversity and language barriers were thought to deter efforts to organize unions. Historians Brian Clason and Jonathan Rees state the company “hoped that racial and ethnic divisions within the workforce would make it impossible for workers of all kinds to unite.”¹²³ By 1923-24 mine closures reduced the total CF&I labor force to 10,823. In that year a company census categorized employees in ten broad nationalities. “Americans” accounted for roughly 35 percent of the workforce; the company also employed 416 African Americans and 2,343 (22 percent) “Mexicans.” There were 1,892 employees (17 percent) with southern and western European nationalities; over 1,100 workers in this group had Italian backgrounds. Roughly 12 percent (1,296) of workers had national backgrounds in Greece or the Balkans. The small remainder of the company labor force had nationalities rooted in eastern Europe and Russia, Scandinavia, and Asia.¹²⁴

CF&I’s Sociology Department sought to shape the company’s largely immigrant labor force into better workers and “Americans.”¹²⁵ Historian Robin C. Henry asserts in the post-1915 era the YMCA worked to improve the environment of the coal camps and “to reconstruct the miner,” by shaping personal behavior and molding immigrants into citizens.¹²⁶ John D. Rockefeller, Jr. supported initiatives within CF&I and through the YMCA (which he had long supported financially) “that taught principles of democracy and a Protestant, middle-class work ethic, such as baseball teams, Bible and English classes, home and beautification contests, and citizenship lectures,” states Robin C. Henry.¹²⁷

THE 1913-14 COAL STRIKE AND CF&I’S NATIONALLY INFLUENTIAL EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION PLAN

John C. Osgood at his Colorado Fuel Company and William Jackson Palmer at the Colorado Coal and Iron Company initiated certain welfare capitalist initiatives and pre-emptive wage increases to forestall union organization. However, CF&I and its predecessor companies possessed a long history of labor strikes in coal mining operations, some dealing with local issues and others over general efforts to unionize the workforce. Coal miners staged seven strikes between 1879 and 1902. Some walkouts were limited to a single mine or group of mines, while others were more widespread. CF&I portrayed a three-month 1902 strike solely as an effort to gain recognition of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), while striking miners complained of specific grievances, including “the existing system of weighing coal, their inability to hire check weighmen, the use of scrip, restrictions on trade with independent merchants, the failure of wages to advance apace with the cost of living, and the ‘blacklisting’ of union members,” states Scamehorn.¹²⁸ Testifying before a state legislative committee investigating the strike, John C. Osgood underscored the company’s adamant opposition to the UMWA, professing a willingness to deal with local committees of miners but refusing “to treat in any manner” with an independent union.¹²⁹ The firm’s refusal to recognize the union continued under Gould and Rockefeller control during a strike of the northern and southern Colorado coalfields in 1903-04.

¹²³ Clason and Rees, “Dr. Richard Corwin and Colorado’s Changing Racial Divide,” 42.

¹²⁴ Nationalities of Employees [sic], 1923-24, Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, Steelworks Center of the West, Archives, Pueblo, Colorado.

¹²⁵ Fawn-Amber Montoya, “Introduction,” in *Making an American Workforce*, 5.

¹²⁶ Robin C. Henry, “In Order to Form a More Perfect Worker: John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and Reform in Post-Ludlow Southern Colorado,” in *Making an American Workforce*, 85 and 87.

¹²⁷ Henry, “In Order to Form a More Perfect Worker,” 88.

¹²⁸ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 126. “Scrip” was payment redeemable only at company stores.

¹²⁹ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 126.

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Ten years later a UMWA strike to gain union recognition resulted in the most violent labor conflict in Colorado history.¹³⁰ In September 1913 the union called a strike in the southern coalfield of Colorado, citing issues similar to those in earlier labor disputes: recognition of the UMWA as the miners' bargaining agent; a 10 percent increase in wages on tonnage rates; an eight-hour work day; payment for support work such as timbering, cleaning passages, and track laying; the right of miners to choose their own weighmen; semi-monthly pay days; the right to make purchases at any store, live in any house, and visit any doctor; enforcement of existing Colorado mining laws; and an end to the system of mine guards.¹³¹ According to contemporary estimates, the strike idled at least 70 percent of the miners in the region.¹³²

Positions quickly hardened on both sides. CF&I refused to negotiate the issue of union recognition, with President Jesse F. Welborn rebuffing a meeting with UMWA representatives. LaMont Bowers, CF&I vice president and the Rockefeller man inside the company, pledged in a letter to Junior to resist the organization's demands until "our bones were bleached as white as chalk in these Rocky Mountains."¹³³ On the union side, labor activist Mary Harris "Mother" Jones exhorted workers: "If it means slavery or a strike—as it seems to mean in this case—every mother's son of you should strike and stay on strike until the last one drops in his grave."¹³⁴ CF&I evicted workers and their families from its company towns and hired guards to protect its facilities. The UMWA established tent colonies to house strikers and their dependents, engaged in mass marches, and harassed replacement workers. Sporadic outbreaks of violence in various mining camps occurred between mine guards, strikers, and members of the National Guard.

The strike continued through the snowy winter of 1913-14. In early April 1914, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. appeared before the U.S. House Committee on Mines and Mining in Washington. Representative Martin D. Foster (Democrat-Illinois) asked why Rockefeller, as a CF&I director, had not made a personal investigation of coalfield conditions. He responded that he was "trained to act on the reports of trained and competent men who do make investigations. I have received the reports of the men in charge of the work out there and have made them responsible."¹³⁵ Rockefeller, Jr. took a hard line in testimony, portraying the company's refusal to recognize unions as a defense of workers' rights: "We stand ready to lose every cent we have invested in that company rather than that the workingmen of this country should lose their right to work for whom they please."¹³⁶

Two weeks after Rockefeller's testimony a labor tent colony of strikers and their families near Ludlow in Las Animas County, Colorado, came under gunfire from members of the National Guard and was destroyed by fire, resulting in the deaths of two women and eleven children who had sought shelter in a cellar pit. The Ludlow Massacre plunged the southern coalfield into what was known afterwards as "The Ten Days War," resulting in at least sixty-nine deaths and substantial property damage. In May President Woodrow Wilson dispatched federal troops to the strike zone to restore order. The strike continued, with coal company owners staunchly

¹³⁰ CF&I's hostility toward labor organizing, the 1913-14 coal strike, and the Ludlow Massacre are discussed at length in R. Laurie Simmons, Thomas H. Simmons, and Charles Haecker, "Ludlow Tent Colony Site," Las Animas County, Colorado, National Historic Landmark Nomination Form, 2008 (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, DC). The Ludlow site was designated an NHL in 2009.

¹³¹ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 171.

¹³² *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 September 1913, 1.

¹³³ L.M. Bowers, Colorado Fuel and Iron, Denver, Colorado, letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 29 September 1913, in Commission on Industrial Relations, *Final Report and Testimony*, Senate Document 415, 64th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1916), 8418.

¹³⁴ Jones quoted in *Fort Collins (Colorado) Weekly Courier*, 19 September 1913, 1.

¹³⁵ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 6 April 1914, 5.

¹³⁶ *Typographical Journal*, 44 (5 May 1914): 591.

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opposing union recognition. The UMWA finally ended the action in December 1914. CF&I estimated its losses from the strike at more than \$1.25 million, including missed revenue and damages to mining facilities¹³⁷

The 1914 Ludlow Massacre became a pivotal event in American labor history. President Wilson tasked the existing Commission on Industrial Relations (CIR) to investigate the strike and the events at Ludlow and make recommendations. Chaired by Senator Frank P. Walsh of Missouri and composed of representatives of labor, business, and the public, the CIR listened to testimony in Denver, New York City, and Washington during 1914-15, with the hearings receiving extensive newspaper and magazine coverage. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. avowed that his role as a director of CF&I did not include influencing the company's policies regarding its workers or the strike. During the commission's hearings in Washington, this position was undermined by the introduction of company correspondence showing Rockefeller, Jr. had been thoroughly informed and involved in decisions relating to the causes and events of the struggle.¹³⁸

The CIR found coal mine operators responsible for conditions leading to the 1913-14 strike and the ensuing violence. The commission described the strike as "a revolt by whole communities against arbitrary, economic, political, and social domination by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the smaller coal mining companies that followed its lead."¹³⁹ The commission identified John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and CF&I as the leaders of coal mine operators in shaping the response to the strike. As Scamehorn observes, most "Historians, almost without exception, have refuted the argument that the United Mine Workers was the culprit, concluding that the company [CF&I] caused the unrest that led to the walkout, and that it was largely responsible for most of the violence that culminated in the so-called 'Ludlow Massacre.'"¹⁴⁰

The Ludlow deaths profoundly affected Rockefeller, Jr.'s labor-management outlook. Grandson David Rockefeller, Jr. concluded that Ludlow "led to a jolting transformation in his [Junior's] relationship to his father; his attitudes toward human labor; and his thoughts about philanthropy . . . He was a sensitive man, reserved and a bit stern, as I remember him. But by appearing here [in Colorado] in person and feeling the anger and anguish of the bereaved families, he could not deny the imperative to better balance the interests of capital and labor during the rest of his working life. Ludlow was his 'wake up call.'"¹⁴¹ John D. Rockefeller, Jr. remained unwilling to recognize the UMWA as the workers' representative, but he was committed to developing a labor-management arrangement for avoiding violence in future industrial conflicts.

In the immediate aftermath of Ludlow, Rockefeller engaged Ivy L. Lee, a former journalist and public relations specialist, to shape public opinion and restore the reputation of CF&I and the Rockefellers. Following a 1914 trip to Colorado, Lee recommended that the company develop a comprehensive plan to deal with worker grievances. The Rockefeller Foundation engaged William L. Mackenzie King, former Canadian minister of labor who would later serve as prime minister, to prepare a plan addressing labor-management relations at CF&I. In August 1914, King outlined an employee representation plan that was embraced by Rockefeller, Jr.¹⁴²

In October 1915, following a tour of CF&I coal camps and other facilities in southern Colorado, Rockefeller, Jr. presented his Employee Representation Plan (ERP, also known as the Colorado Industrial Plan or the

¹³⁷ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 50; Andrews, "The Road to Ludlow," 7; *New York Times*, 9 December 1914.

¹³⁸ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 53; Long, *Where the Sun Never Shines*, 314-316; Graham Adams, Jr., *The Age of Industrial Violence, 1910-1915: The Activities and Findings of the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 165; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 315-327.

¹³⁹ George P. West, *Report on the Colorado Strike* (Washington, DC: Commission on Industrial Relations, 1915), 15.

¹⁴⁰ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 172.

¹⁴¹ David Rockefeller, Jr., "Remarks."

¹⁴² Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 167; Andrews, "The Colorado Coal Strike of 1913-14"; Chernow, *Titan*, 585.

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Rockefeller Plan) to managers and workers at the club house in the Pueblo Administrative Complex.¹⁴³ The plan gave workers the right to bargain collectively through elected representatives, participate in conferences with management, keep their jobs if they joined a union, shop at non-company stores, make recommendations about a variety of issues affecting their lives, and air grievances through established procedures. The ERP, approved by coal miners in 1915 and iron miners and steelworkers in 1916, was administered from the Pueblo Administrative Complex. Its benefits were publicized in the *Colorado Fuel and Iron Industrial Bulletin* and numerous public speeches by Junior. In early 1916 Rockefeller, Jr. mailed half a million copies of his booklet on the plan to union leaders, business heads, and newspapermen.¹⁴⁴

Jonathan H. Rees concludes the ERP “does not fit the stereotype of an employer-dominated company union,” arguing that Rockefeller, Jr. “tried to create a new labor policy that would be both humane and profitable for shareholders.”¹⁴⁵ Sociologist Eric Margolis later interviewed CF&I workers and reports they saw improvements following implementation of the ERP. Margolis judges that, “in the miners’ oral history, Ludlow marks the end of the era of industrial feudalism” within the company.¹⁴⁶

As part of its new program, the company permitted the YMCA to study conditions in its mining camps and prepare a report with suggestions for the social and physical betterment of the employees, their families, and camp life. One of the organization’s findings was the need for enhanced recreational opportunities. In response, the company-built YMCAs in many of the camps and in 1920 erected one of the largest Ys in the country (no longer extant), a \$225,000 four-story brick building immediately west of the Administrative Complex. Known as the Bessemer YMCA, it became a place for social and religious gatherings and screened films. The six YMCAs erected in the coal camps contained soda fountains, ice cream parlors, pool tables, and writing materials.¹⁴⁷

According to biographer Ron Chernow, Rockefeller, Jr., “became a prophet for improved labor relations throughout American industry, an evangelical role he enjoyed more than browbeating unions.”¹⁴⁸ Rockefeller’s transformation is illustrated in his December 1918 remarks to War Emergency Congress of the US Chamber of Commerce: “The soundest industrial policy is that which has constantly in mind the welfare of employes [sic] as well as the making of profits, and which, when human considerations demand it, subordinates profits to welfare. Industrial relations are essentially human relations. It is therefore the duty of everyone entrusted with industrial leadership to do all in his power to improve the conditions under which men work and live.”¹⁴⁹ Some in the business community viewed Junior as a dangerous liberal, Chernow notes.¹⁵⁰

Because CF&I was perceived as the instrument of one of the nation’s most powerful families, historian Lee Scamehorn asserts the impact of the ERP was magnified: “The actions attributed to the company took on a significance which would not have been there in the absence of the Rockefellers’ control.”¹⁵¹ In 1916 the Federal Industrial Commission characterized the CF&I labor plan as a “new departure for the United States”

¹⁴³ *Rocky Mountain News*, 2 October 1915, 12. The club house (department heads’ mess hall) is no longer extant.

¹⁴⁴ Rees, *Representation and Rebellion*, 55.

¹⁴⁵ Rees, *Representation and Rebellion*, xv and xvii.

¹⁴⁶ Margolis, “Western Coal Mining,” 105-106.

¹⁴⁷ Fawn-Amber Montoya, “Field Days, YMCA, and Baseball: Effect of CF&I’s Industrial Representation Plan of 1914 on Gender Relations in Southern Colorado Coal Mining Camps,” in *Making an American Workforce*, 109. The YMCA was demolished in 1964.

¹⁴⁸ Chernow, *Titan*, 589-590.

¹⁴⁹ John D. Rockefeller, Jr., “Representation in Industry,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 81 (January 1919): 168.

¹⁵⁰ Chernow, *Titan*, 590.

¹⁵¹ H. Lee Scamehorn, Longmont, Colorado, email to Thomas and Laurie Simmons, 7 September 2013.

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that was soon followed by other companies in the 1910s and 1920s.¹⁵² Mackenzie King assisted in creating some of these other plans. Historian H.M. Gitelman asserts the CF&I ERP “became the model for almost all subsequent company unions.”¹⁵³ Rockefeller, Jr. also implemented this type of plan at Standard Oil. By 1919 the list of leading US firms with employee representation plans included Bethlehem Steel, General Electric, Goodyear Tire & Rubber, Inland Steel, International Harvester, Proctor & Gamble, and Youngstown Sheet & Tube.¹⁵⁴ By 1922 more than seven hundred companies had adopted some form of ERP.¹⁵⁵

For CF&I, the ERP avoided recognition of unions as collective bargaining agents for its workers, reflecting the firm’s long vehemently anti-union stance. From the viewpoint of labor, the ERP and similar arrangements were employer stratagems for union avoidance, comprising serious impediments to labor organizing and the effective representation of worker interests. President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor questioned the power of workers under the ERP arrangement: “Imagine an organization of miners formed by the richest man in the world, who employs its members. What influence can such a pseudo union have to insist upon the remedying of a grievous wrong or the attainment of a real right?”¹⁵⁶ Frank Hayes, president of the United Mine Workers of America, denounced the ERP as “pure paternalism” and “benevolent feudalism.”¹⁵⁷

CF&I DURING WORLD WAR I, THE INTERWAR YEARS, AND WORLD WAR II

Historian H. Lee Scamehorn characterizes the 1915-33 era as an “economic roller coaster” for CF&I. The significance of steel grew for the company during this period, as coal’s importance lessened. After the end of the 1913-14 coal strike miners returned to work, steel plant operations resumed, and conditions in the company’s coal camps improved. Business in the fuel department was slow until mid-1915 when the impact of the war in Europe began to be felt. The company met the increased wartime demand for domestic and steam coal by increasing production in the Trinidad, Colorado, district and acquiring or opening a handful of mines in other areas. In 1918 CF&I centralized its coke production by erecting by-product coke ovens at the steel plant. In addition to meeting the fuel needs of the plant, the facility produced gas, naphtha, benzol, and tar which the company marketed. The greatly reduced demand for smelting coke resulted in closure of all the firm’s far-flung beehive ovens in coal camps except for those at Segundo.¹⁵⁸

In contrast to coal, steelmaking greatly increased in importance for CF&I. The latter part of 1915 saw large rail orders for the El Paso & Southwestern, Salt Lake & San Pedro, Denver & Rio Grande, and Alaska railroads.¹⁵⁹ World War I also stimulated the demand for steel products. The firm, for example, sold 33,450 metric tons of products, notably barbed wire, to the French government. By mid-1916 the steelworks rebounded to operate at full capacity; 591,981 tons of finished iron and steel products were produced in 1917.¹⁶⁰

An important development in worker relations occurred in the final year of the war, when CF&I adopted the actual eight-hour day in the steelworks. At the January 1917 ERP employee-management conference, an

¹⁵² Quoted in Walter G. Merritt, “Employee Representation,” *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science* 103 (September 1922): 36.

¹⁵³ H.M. Gitelman, *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre: A Chapter in American Industrial Relations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), xi-xii.

¹⁵⁴ “Employees’ Representation in the United States,” *Monthly Labor Review*, 9 (September 1919):123-24.

¹⁵⁵ Merritt, “Employee Representation,” 36.

¹⁵⁶ Samuel Gompers, “Rockefeller Organizes and Recognizes a ‘Union’,” *American Federationist*, 22 (November 1915): 976.

¹⁵⁷ Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 172.

¹⁵⁸ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 124-25.

¹⁵⁹ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 123.

¹⁶⁰ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 125.

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employee representative advocated adoption of an eight-hour day to replace the current twelve-hour day. He argued a shorter workday would enhance productivity while permitting workers to spend more time with their families and participate in community affairs. At that time the company demurred, indicating the ERP required only that it guarantee its workers “hours and pay as favorable as those prevailing at competing steel companies,” reports Benjamin Selekman, a labor relations scholar.¹⁶¹

In the summer of 1918 US Steel implemented the “basic” eight-hour day under which workers still worked twelve hours but were paid time-and-a-half over eight hours. CF&I management planned to follow suit, but workers renewed demands for an actual eight-hour day, overwhelmingly supporting the change even though it would mean a decrease in overall compensation. The company acquiesced, and the steelworks began the new system in November 1918. Labor relations scholar Benjamin M. Selekman comments: “The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company preceded the general introduction of the shorter workday by approximately five years. This pioneering work was made possible by the opportunity given the workers under the machinery of the Industrial Representation Plan [ERP] to express to managerial officials their real desires as to the length of the working day.”¹⁶²

In 1925 social researcher Mary Van Kleeck concluded that the ERP brought the company towns “tangible benefits such as good housing, clean streets, well-kept fences, better schools and playgrounds, more humane treatment by superintendents and foremen, checks upon the arbitrary power to discharge without warning for the least offense.”¹⁶³ Adoption of the Rockefeller Plan did not eliminate coal strikes; walkouts occurred in 1921, 1922, and 1927-28, and a steelworks strike took place in 1919. However, the strikes were accompanied by relatively little violence, and the company did not employ strikebreakers or mine guards or evict families from company towns.¹⁶⁴ Jonathan Rees concludes “the plan failed to keep enough employees happy throughout its lifetime to eradicate costly strikes” nor did it succeed in uniting management and labor in efforts to reduce costs.¹⁶⁵

Rees concludes that the 1920s were a troubled era for CF&I due to “fierce competition, low profits, and the cost of the \$17.5 million campaign to modernize their facilities.”¹⁶⁶ In 1920 CF&I shipped domestic coal to locations in Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico.¹⁶⁷ Following the wartime surge in coal production, demand dropped sharply by the early 1920s. A number of factors led to coal’s decline nationally: expanded wartime production was much greater than that needed for peacetime; coal was replaced by alternative fuels such as natural gas and oil; redesign of combustion equipment led to burning less coal; and a general post-war economic recession.¹⁶⁸ CF&I secured wage reductions and stepped up its efforts to market coal, adopting “Diavolo” as a brand name, packaging coal in boxes for fireplace use, and selling automatic stokers for home heating.¹⁶⁹ Between 1919 and 1924 the number of coal miners in the Trinidad district dropped by 20 percent.¹⁷⁰ CF&I addressed excess capacity in its coal operations by closing twenty-two mines between

¹⁶¹ Benjamin M. Selekman, *Employes’ [sic] Representation in Steel Works: A Study of the Industrial Representation Plan of the Minnequa Steel Works of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1924), 76-78.

¹⁶² Selekman, *Employes’ Representation in Steel Works*, 75.

¹⁶³ Mary Van Kleeck, *Employes’ [sic] Representation in Steel and Coal: A Study of the Rockefeller Plan* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1925), 3.

¹⁶⁴ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 68, 74, and 79-80.

¹⁶⁵ Rees, *Representation and Rebellion*, 59.

¹⁶⁶ Rees, *Representation and Rebellion*, 59.

¹⁶⁷ *CF&I Industrial Bulletin*, 21 June 1920, 1.

¹⁶⁸ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 127-28.

¹⁶⁹ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 128.

¹⁷⁰ “Production of Ingots, Payrolls, Average Number of Men Working and Average Monthly Earnings, Steel Works, 1915-

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1920 and 1932. Remaining coal properties were modernized to reduce costs. By 1925 CF&I's competitive position had eroded, but it still dominated the fuel trade in Colorado, Nebraska, and Kansas.¹⁷¹

Company officials had discussed an expansion of the Administrative Complex with a three-building office annex as early as 1918. A Pueblo newspaper article described the need for more space beyond the existing office building, reporting "eight or ten clerks have accommodation in the superintendent's club house, and the shipping department clerks have been moved to quarters inside the plant."¹⁷² The plans were scaled back by 1921, when the firm erected a smaller two-story office annex north of the office building, connected to it by a one-story corridor. The *CF&I Industrial Bulletin* reported that the annex would contain the auditing and operating departments and provide space for clerical workers then housed in the club building/mess hall.¹⁷³ Pueblo architect William W. Stickney designed the 45' x 90' fireproof annex, which continued the Mission Revival style with stucco walls adopted for the earlier buildings.¹⁷⁴

In August 1920, the steel plant operated with 6,658 workers, a high for the 1915-24 period. As steel demand slumped in the early 1920s the steelworks operated at 60 to 70 percent capacity, and the company reduced its workforce and won wage concessions from workers in 1921 and 1922. In 1923-24 CF&I tabulated a total workforce of 10,823 persons and produced a companywide breakdown of the number of workers by major functional division: steelworks, 5,836; coal mines, 4,164; Colorado & Wyoming Railway Company, 463; iron mines, 222; and lime and calcite quarries, 138.¹⁷⁵

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. commissioned a comprehensive study of the company by a New York law firm in 1925. The associated report found CF&I's position in the western steel market was being eroded, hampered by obsolescent components within the steelworks, a more limited product line than rivals, and deficiencies in management. Eastern competitors also were aided by favorable railroad freight rates to western markets.¹⁷⁶ Many business observers viewed CF&I as principally a maker of rails and nails. In fact, the firm manufactured merchant bars, reinforcing rods, netting, and wire products, but the Pueblo plant did not produce more lucrative goods such as sheets, plates, structural steel, cold-rolled steel, and tubing.¹⁷⁷ Following the 1925 study, Rockefeller initiated dramatic changes in the company's management and operations. Arthur Roeder, previously with American Linseed, became president in 1929, and Welborn became head of the board of directors. Steps to reduce costs included obtaining raw materials from the most efficient locations. The Sunrise

1924," The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and Trinidad District (Number of Workers by Ethnicity, 1919), CF&I Archives, Steelworks Center of the West, Pueblo, Colorado.

¹⁷¹ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 75, 79, 129, and 167.

¹⁷² *Pueblo Chieftain*, 17 August 1918, 1-2. The expansion plans prepared in 1918 by architect William Stickney envisioned three two-story buildings located north of the office building, with a corridor connecting to the center building.

¹⁷³ *CF&I Industrial Bulletin*, 15 September 1920.

¹⁷⁴ Munch, Minnequa Works Office Building National Register nomination, 18; Main Office Annex, 1945 Extension, Basement Plan and First Floor Slab and Beams, drawing, reference number 39861, Steelworks Center of the West Archives, Pueblo, Colorado; *CF&I Bulletin*, 15 September 1920. Stickney earlier designed the 1920 Steelworks YMCA (no longer extant) located across East Abriendo Avenue west of the office building. The National Register nomination incorrectly identifies the designer of the 1931 and 1946 additions as "W.A. Rohl." The company announced that upon completion of the office annex, the superintendent's club building to the north "will be refitted and turned over to the colored employees of the company for a clubhouse."

¹⁷⁵ Production of Ingots, Payrolls, Average Number of Men Working and Average Monthly Earnings, Steel Works, 1915-1924, The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, CF&I Archives, Steelworks Center of the West, Pueblo, Colorado.

¹⁷⁶ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 130-31.

¹⁷⁷ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 130.

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Mine in Wyoming served as the sole source for iron ore, and a new limestone quarry was opened at Monarch, west of Salida, Colorado.¹⁷⁸

The company experienced strong steel demand and revenues during the 1926-30 period, with steel production peaking in 1929 and 1930 at approximately 600,000 tons.¹⁷⁹ Business prosperity led CF&I management to decrease reliance on the sale of rails by expanding company product lines to include such items as ornamental wire, highway fencing materials, and road grader blades; construction of a seamless steel tube mill was contemplated. The Administrative Complex saw further expansions during this era. In 1926 the dispensary gained an employment office addition at its west end, designed by Pueblo architect Walter DeMordaunt. There new employees were screened and hired. The addition tripled the building's area; it then also housed the safety and benefit association offices. In 1931 company draftsman William A. Robb designed an east addition to the office annex that roughly doubled its original size.¹⁸⁰

During the 1920s and 1930s, CF&I engaged in new efforts to sell its expanded line of products. From 1929 to 1932 the firm published *Turnover*, a magazine covering such topics as the role of different divisions within the steelworks, new product developments, marketing techniques for retailers, and examples of projects using CF&I products. In the fall of 1929 the company engaged in a massive advertising campaign for its fence products, placing advertisements with endorsements from farmers and ranchers in the fifteen largest stock publications from Kansas and Nebraska west to the Pacific Coast. In conjunction with that effort *Turnover* carried an article exhorting retailers to "Keep your COLORADO fence on display where your customers can see it. You can't sell something that is hidden out back or in the cellar." The company produced store display materials, such as a metal sign showing all of the types of nails produced by CF&I.¹⁸¹

Turnover also carried profiles of longtime dealers and testimonials from them about CF&I products. The firm maintained a geographically extensive network of dealers throughout the West, as well as states along the western edge of the Great Plains, from Oklahoma to the Dakotas. In late 1930 CF&I began sponsoring the "Around the Fireside" program on KOA radio in Denver. Advertisements for the firm's Chemacol Processed Coal reached listeners in Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and Arizona.¹⁸²

"Where CF&I Steel Goes" was a regular *Turnover* feature that identified projects and companies using the firm's iron and steel products. During the 1929-31 period, the magazine identified manufacturers utilizing the firm's steel to produce agricultural implements in Hastings, Nebraska, and Greeley and Denver, Colorado; electric hoists, presses, and rakes in Denver; construction equipment in Sheridan, Wyoming; mine cars in El Paso, Texas; tool houses in San Angelo, Texas; automobile lifts in Ottawa, Kansas; jetties for river control in Topeka, Kansas; and playground equipment, such as merry-go-rounds and jungle-gyms, in Pueblo. CF&I provided structural steel for buildings in Omaha, Denver, Great Falls, Montana, Albuquerque, Lawton and

¹⁷⁸ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 136-37. As noted by Colorado National Register Coordinator Erika Warzel, CF&I's 1924 lease and subsequent purchase the following year of the Wagon Wheel Gap Fluorspar Mine & Mill in Mineral County, Colorado, ensured the company's sole source of fluorspar (aka fluorite), used as flux in steel production.

¹⁷⁹ Some of the 1929-30 production may reflect fulfillment of prior contracts, rather than new contracts as the Depression deepened.

¹⁸⁰ *CF&I Industrial Bulletin*, March 1927, 243; Munch, Minnequa Works Office Building National Register nomination, 15 and 18; Main Office Annex, 1945 Extension, Basement Plan and First Floor Slab and Beams, drawing, reference number 39861, Steelworks Center of the West Archives, Pueblo, Colorado.

¹⁸¹ *Turnover*, October-November 1929, 18 and December-January 1930-31, 11.

¹⁸² *Turnover*, October-November 1930, 5. KOA possessed the strongest signal of any radio station between Chicago and San Francisco.

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Altus, Oklahoma, El Paso and San Antonio, and Phoenix. The company supplied all the steel used in the 1929 Royal Gorge suspension bridge near Cañon City, Colorado, then the world's highest bridge.¹⁸³ Other projects included a bridge over the Rio Grande between Texas and Mexico, a dam in Arizona, oil derricks in Oklahoma, radio towers in Kansas, and fencing in Los Angeles and Oklahoma City.¹⁸⁴

CF&I's era of prosperity ended as the Great Depression's full impact fell upon the West. Scamehorn observes that by 1931 "the company's steel and fuel operations collapsed."¹⁸⁵ Steel production dropped to slightly more than 191,000 tons in 1932. In 1933 revenue from the sale of rails slumped to one-tenth of that three years previously.¹⁸⁶ Further coal mine closures occurred during the Great Depression, as natural gas became available in Colorado population centers and displaced coal for heating and cooking. CF&I trimmed its coal production to satisfy the internal needs of its steelworks.¹⁸⁷

In 1933 the company was unable to meet its bond payments and went into receivership. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. told an aide that year that he wished to dispose of his holdings in CF&I. Scamehorn opines that by that time the New York financier "had largely lost touch" with the company and his sense of obligation and personal ties had diminished.¹⁸⁸ The dismal economic conditions prevented Rockefeller from immediately selling his holdings in the company. The firm underwent reorganization and emerged from receivership in 1936 as the Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation. Rockefeller interests controlled 50.39 percent of the outstanding common stock of the new entity.¹⁸⁹

By 1937 the steelworks operated at 80 percent of capacity. The improved outlook led the corporation to acquire the California Wire Cloth Company with plants in Oakland and South San Francisco. The California firm had long used CF&I steel in manufacturing wire cloth, spring steel, stucco and fish-trap netting, and industrial screens. Scamehorn indicates the acquisition "gave the Colorado enterprise a direct role in the lucrative and expanding Pacific Coast market."¹⁹⁰

The company's coal operations benefited from coal codes promulgated under the National Recovery Administration and later New Deal acts, which provided regulation and stability to the industry. As the largest producer of coal in the region the fair prices resulting from the codes produced higher profits for CF&I. Annual company coal production rose from an annual average of 862,823 tons during 1931-35 to 1.23 million tons in 1936-40.¹⁹¹

The 1930s and early 1940s saw the demise of the ERP and ushered in CF&I recognition of unions. The New Deal's National Recovery Act of 1933 guaranteed the right of collective bargaining to workers. Later that year CF&I coal miners approved the United Mine Workers of America as their bargaining agent. The passage of the National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) in 1935 outlawed company unions. The ERP had continued at the steelworks, and CF&I modified the plan in an attempt to make it comply with the legislation. Workers overwhelmingly approved the revised plan in 1938, but the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), a

¹⁸³ Measuring 956' from its deck to the Arkansas River below, the Royal Gorge structure remained the world's highest bridge until 2001.

¹⁸⁴ *Turnover*, October-November 1929 through Fall 1931.

¹⁸⁵ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 139.

¹⁸⁶ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 140.

¹⁸⁷ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 75, 79, and 167.

¹⁸⁸ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 139.

¹⁸⁹ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 143.

¹⁹⁰ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 144-45.

¹⁹¹ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 146-47.

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union affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO), successfully challenged the revised ERP before the National Labor Relations Board. Steelworkers finally endorsed SWOC as their bargaining agent in July 1942.¹⁹² In assessing the impact of the ERP, Scamehorn concludes it played a transitional role in moving from the labor-management strife of the early twentieth century to a system of independent unions collectively bargaining with management.¹⁹³

Production at the steelworks during World War II marked an era of great prosperity for CF&I, which substantially expanded its facilities and workforce to meet defense production needs. In 1940 the US Army Ordnance Department engaged the company to produce 155mm artillery projectiles, and by war's end CF&I had manufactured 3.5 million shells.¹⁹⁴ The plant operated at more than 100 percent of capacity in 1942. Steel output rose from 362,211 tons in 1939 to 925,201 tons in 1944. Plant expansion included an additional blast furnace; an improved water supply system; a battery of coke ovens; and the first ore-bedding plant in the nation, which increased blast furnace efficiency by uniformly mixing ores. To secure sufficient iron ore during the war, the company expanded production at the Sunrise mine in Wyoming and developed the deposits it had acquired decades earlier near Cedar City, Utah. CF&I demand also stimulated mining for fluxing agents needed in manufacturing steel, such as limestone and fluorspar.¹⁹⁵

The steelworks and coal mines suffered a serious labor shortage during the war. The steel plant recruited women workers, including most of the employees on the artillery shell project, who replaced men called to military service. "Initially, they were hired to fill vacancies in the machine shop; but they were subsequently assigned to all departments throughout the plant and quickly adapted to a great variety of tasks, ranging from handling molds to operating cranes. The company insisted that they would not be barred from any job simply because they were females," reports Scamehorn.¹⁹⁶

War production had a beneficial impact on CF&I's bottom line, with earnings exceeding \$2 a share in 1941 and 1942 and reaching nearly \$3 a share in 1944. During the war, CF&I earned two Army-Navy E awards for outstanding production and a Department of the Treasury T flag for employee participation in war-bond drives. However, the corporation's unique position in steelmaking in the West ended when two new steel plants opened: a 1942 Kaiser plant at Fontana, California, and the 1944 Geneva Works Steel Company near Provo, Utah, operated by a subsidiary of US Steel.¹⁹⁷ The success of CF&I during World War II permitted the Rockefeller family to divest their interest in the Pueblo-based enterprise. In December 1944 they sold to a syndicate composed of Allen & Company and associates, headed by Charles Allen, Jr., a New York investment banker and chairman of the Wickwire-Spencer Steel Company.¹⁹⁸ CF&I's productive relationship with eastern investors continued.

CF&I IN THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Charles Allen, Jr. had ambitions of greatly expanding CF&I. He looked favorably on Henry J. Kaiser's 1945 proposal to merge the three western steel plants at Fontana, Geneva, and Pueblo into one company, but Kaiser dropped the concept as unfeasible. CF&I attempted to acquire the Geneva plant in Utah from the government

¹⁹² Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 139 and 148-51.

¹⁹³ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 160.

¹⁹⁴ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 152-53.

¹⁹⁵ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 153-54, 156-57, and 162.

¹⁹⁶ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 154.

¹⁹⁷ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 152-53 and 6. Scamehorn noted that these new plants closed during the postwar period, and described CF&I as a survivor.

¹⁹⁸ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 160. The total cost was approximately \$12 million, including common stock and bonds.

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after the war but lost the contest to US Steel.¹⁹⁹ Allen did succeed in expanding the company's reach in the steel industry. In 1945 the corporation acquired Buffalo, New York-based Wickwire-Spencer Steel and its subsidiary, the American Wire Fabrics Corporation of Mt. Wolf, Pennsylvania. In 1951 Worth Steel Company of Delaware came under the CF&I umbrella, followed by E. and G. Brooke Iron Company (Pennsylvania) and Richard Ore Company (New Jersey). In 1952, CF&I purchased the John A. Roebling and Sons Corporation (New Jersey), a manufacturer of electric wire, cable, and wire rope. Commenting on the Roebling acquisition, the *Trenton Evening Times* noted the Pueblo plant employed 8,500 workers, was "the only producer of railroad rails west of the Mississippi and is one of the two largest makers of wire and wire products in [the] western U.S. It has an annual pig iron capacity of 918,000 tons and steel capacity of 1,320,000 tons."²⁰⁰

The steel plant received improvements in the early postwar era, including modernization of the wire mill in the late 1940s, erection of a new rod mill in 1949, construction of a seamless tube mill in 1953, and installation of a basic oxygen furnace in 1961.²⁰¹ In 1966 the company changed its name to CF&I Steel, recognizing the fact it no longer played a role in the fuel trade and that iron did not constitute an important part of the products it offered. A 1968 improvement effort added a continuous bar mill and replaced a battery of coke ovens at the steelworks. Mining enhancements included beginning the longwall coal mining process at Weston, Colorado; developing an additional iron ore deposit at Sunrise, Wyoming; and exploring for additional Utah iron ore deposits.²⁰²

The Administrative Complex continued to evolve in the decades after World War II. In 1945 the office annex received a second addition attached to the east wall of the 1931 section.²⁰³ The new component continued the Mission Revival theme with plans drawn by draftsman William A. Robb.²⁰⁴ In 1959 the Colorado Department of Highways completed Interstate Highway 25 between the Administrative Complex and the steel plant. Workers thereafter accessed the plant via a tunnel underneath the freeway.²⁰⁵

The Crane Corporation acquired CF&I in 1969 in a move to diversify its holdings. In 1970 the corporate headquarters moved to Pueblo, a change that required additional space in the Administrative Complex. In 1971 the company erected a one-story sales office in the northwest corner of the block that connected to the north wall of the office annex by a short, enclosed corridor. The building's ribbed steel walls departed from the established Mission Revival architectural theme. Roderick E. Downing served as engineer for the project and H.E. Whitlock as general contractor.

Increased competition from foreign steel competitors led CF&I to close or sell off most of its postwar acquisitions.²⁰⁶ The firm replaced the plant's open-hearth furnaces in the early 1970s with an electric-arc furnace that used scrap iron to produce steel.²⁰⁷ During the 1970s enhanced environmental protection laws required the firm to invest millions of dollars in air and water quality control equipment. CF&I also expended

¹⁹⁹ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 163-64.

²⁰⁰ *Trenton Evening Times* (Trenton, New Jersey), 11 January 1953, 13.

²⁰¹ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 175.

²⁰² Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 175.

²⁰³ The 2001 National Register nomination for the complex reported the second story of the 1945 addition was not occupied until 1957.

²⁰⁴ Between 1960 and the early 1990s the 1945 section of the annex received a small one-story addition on its north wall.

²⁰⁵ Munch, Minnequa Steel Works Office Building, National Register nomination, 18.

²⁰⁶ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 175.

²⁰⁷ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 175.

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\$60 million to rebuild and modernize the rail mill. Completed in 1979, Scamehorn described the mill as “the most advanced unit of its kind in the United States.”²⁰⁸

The 1980s brought an end to the postwar boom and marked the collapse of the US steel industry. The downfall was caused by such factors as increased competition from foreign producers able to undercut domestic steel costs; effects of national economic recessions; failure to make technological advances in plants; the rise of cost-efficient mini-mills; and adversarial labor-management relations.²⁰⁹ Faced with decreasing demand, CF&I curtailed operations at its steelworks and mines. In December 1983 the company announced it would no longer manufacture steel from raw materials, marking the plant’s transition from an integrated mill to a specialty mill. This resulted in the closure or sale of mines and other unneeded assets and employee layoffs and wage concessions. In 1985 Crane spun off CF&I and in 1990 the steelmaker filed for bankruptcy.²¹⁰

Oregon Steel of Portland, Oregon, acquired CF&I in 1993 and assumed operation of the plant as Rocky Mountain Steel Mills. In 2006 the steel plant became part of EVRAZ North America, a subsidiary of EVRAZ PLC, an integrated steel and mining corporation headquartered in London with facilities in the Russian Federation, Ukraine, the United States, Canada, the Czech Republic, Italy, Kazakhstan and South Africa. EVRAZ North America includes fifteen steel plants at seven locations in the United States and Canada and is the largest producer of rail in North America.²¹¹

The Bessemer Historical Society (BHS) in Pueblo acquired the block comprising the Administrative Complex in 2002-03. The group’s mission is to offer “continuing education to the public through the preservation of historic archives, artifacts and buildings of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CF&I), and related activities leading to the industrialization of the entire Western United States.”²¹² BHS created the Steelworks Center of the West, which opened a museum in the former dispensary in 2007 and maintains an archive of CF&I company records (donated to the group in 2002) in part of the office building. EVRAZ North America, operator of the steel plant on the east side of Interstate 25, occupies the sales office in the Administrative Complex.²¹³

BHS installed other resources at the complex to illustrate CF&I’s rich history. In 2007 the group placed the restored CF&I Mine Rescue No. 1 railroad car on a section of track north of the dispensary.²¹⁴ A 1931 Karymorny merry-go-round was installed between the administration building and dispensary in 2015. The R.F. Lamar Company of Pueblo fabricated this playground apparatus in 1931 using CF&I steel. In 2017 Steelworks Park was created in the east part of the parking lot lying north of the dispensary. The park embraces the mine rescue car and features artifacts related to the company’s steelmaking and mining operations, such as industrial ladles, rail rollers, ore cars, and a small locomotive, as well as a sculpture of a steelworker.²¹⁵

²⁰⁸ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 179.

²⁰⁹ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 183.

²¹⁰ *New York Times*, 29 March 1992.

²¹¹ EVRAZ plc company profile, www.reuters.com; EVRAZ, Pueblo Fact Sheet, n.d.

²¹² Steelworks Center of the West website, www.steelworks.us.

²¹³ EVRAZ produces steel using an electric arc furnace and operates rail, rod/bar, and seamless pipe mills.

²¹⁴ The mine rescue railroad car is located outside of the nominated NHL boundary. Before it was moved to its current location it was individually listed in the Colorado State Register of Historic Properties in 1998. The car carried specialized equipment and personnel to quickly respond to mine accidents.

²¹⁵ The recently established Steelworks Park is located outside the nominated NHL boundary.

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CONCLUSION

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company Administrative Complex represents a significant aspect of the nation's industrialization for its role in managing the first steelworks west of the Mississippi River and the West's principal fuel company in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lawrence Lewis, in a 1906 *Scientific American* article, judged: "The history of the steel plant at Pueblo is that of the iron and steel industry west of Chicago."²¹⁶ Journalist Herbert N. Casson and others described CF&I as "the largest industrial corporation in the West."²¹⁷ Historian William G. Robbins deems Pueblo "the leading industrial center of the West" for several decades, noting that "by the early twentieth century, CF&I's Pueblo-based industrial operation represented the only fully integrated iron and steel manufactory in the western United States; it controlled mining enterprises in four states and territories and operated sales offices throughout the Rocky Mountains and the Far West."²¹⁸ Historian Diane F. Britton in her history of Irondale, Washington, underlines the significance of CF&I's achievement, discussing the enormous challenges faced by numerous entrepreneurs who unsuccessfully attempted to establish iron and steel plants in the West. She observed that aside from the Pueblo plant "private capital had never initiated and completed a large, integrated steelworks in the Far West."²¹⁹ The two steel mills erected in California and Utah during World War II only materialized with significant federal government assistance. CF&I also emerged as the West's largest fuel company, controlling vast areas of coal deposits and providing fuel to power railroads, towns and cities, and the regional precious metals smelting industry.

The early 1900s expansion of CF&I's steelworks and coal mining operations begun by John C. Osgood was saved from financial collapse through the injection of eastern capital from George J. Gould, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., and other investors. Administrative Complex staff directed the flow of capital into expanding raw material extraction and enlarging productive capacity. The Colorado firm became an example of how such external investments served to develop the West's natural resources and industry and integrate the region into the national economy. The 1907-1944 control of the company by the Rockefeller family also reflects the impacts of anti-unionism and the perils of long-distance ownership as illustrated in the firm's fractious labor-management history.

CF&I steel products, such as rails, barbed wire, pipes, nails, spikes, fence fabric, fence posts, beams, and bars, helped build and expand the West's transportation, agriculture, manufacturing, irrigation, and construction sectors. The company used print and radio advertisements for its varied product line and developed a dealer network extending from the western Great Plains to the Pacific Coast.

CF&I's 1915 Employee Representation Plan (ERP), while considered paternalistic by unions, comprised an important and influential transitional development in labor-management relations in the 1910s and 1920s that was emulated by hundreds of firms across the country. Under the ERP CF&I steelworkers gained the first actual eight-hour day in the nation. Historian H. Lee Scamehorn judges that Colorado Fuel and Iron Company's "heavy industry attracted capital and labor to the West; founded communities in conjunction with mills, mines,

²¹⁶ Lewis, "The Minnequa Works," 214.

²¹⁷ Casson, *The Romance of Steel*, 309; Strahn, Butte-Anaconda Historic District, National Historic Landmark, revised documentation, 2006. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company in Butte, Montana, was a similar giant in the mining sector, but it was not until 1910 that it absorbed most mining and smelting facilities in the Butte-Anaconda area under one ownership and control. Casson made his assertion about CF&I in 1907.

²¹⁸ Robbins, *Colony & Empire*, 94.

²¹⁹ Diane F. Britton, *The Iron and Steel Industry in the Far West: Irondale, Washington* (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1991), 36.

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and quarries; encouraged the development of agriculture, and mining of precious metals, secondary manufactures, and transportation; and sustained as a supplier of fuel the vital smelting industry.”²²⁰

The Administrative Complex was the hub where the various threads of CF&I’s activities merged. Managers and staff in the Pueblo complex oversaw and directed activities at the steel plant, operations of mining and coking facilities in far-flung locations, running of an interconnecting railroad, hiring of workers, and implementation and day-to-day execution of the company’s Employee Representation Plan.

PREVIOUS RECOGNITION

The CF&I Administrative Complex (Minnequa Steel Works Office Building and Dispensary Colorado Fuel & Iron Company) was listed in the National Register of Historic Places at the state level of significance in 2002; additional National Register documentation approved in 2008 recognized the historic district at the national level of significance for its role in developing and implementing Rockefeller’s Employee Representation Plan.

COMPARABLE PROPERTIES

The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company Administrative Complex is unique within the company in its association with the entirety of the firm’s expansive operations, serving as the site of CF&I’s Pueblo managerial headquarters. The managers and staff working within the complex of administrative buildings adjacent to the steelworks implemented plans and followed directions of the eastern owners, frequently formulated or influenced company policies, and performed the daily tasks associated with the operation of all components of the multi-state enterprise. The historic buildings of the complex developed in association with the continued improvement and restructuring of CF&I and its operations that resulted from the necessity of eastern involvement. While the New York owners charted the course of the company, historian Lee Scamehorn concludes the local managers made the day-to-day decisions “unless deemed incorrect upon review by [the owners in] New York.”²²¹

Comparable CF&I Resources

Although a variety of other historic resources associated with CF&I exist, including coal mines, company towns, parts of the steelworks, and coke ovens, each of these focused historically on a specific geographic area and limited company functions, unlike the overall purview of the Administrative Complex. These resources are discussed below.

CF&I Steelworks, Pueblo, Colorado (not nominated). The Pueblo facility was CF&I’s only steel manufacturing plant during the period of significance. A 2007 cultural resource survey undertaken in conjunction with proposed highway improvements found a potential National Register historic district embracing the steelworks and adjacent residential areas, but did not address the historic integrity of the plant; the sprawling steelworks has never been comprehensively field-surveyed.²²² At a macro level, a comparison of the 1951 Sanborn fire insurance maps covering the plant with 2013 aerial images reveals several changes, including removal of: the open hearth furnace building, three of the four blast furnaces and associated stacks, spike mill, dolomite mill, two warehouse/storage buildings, coke ovens, by-products plant, and benzol plant. Two or three new buildings have been added to the site since 1951.

²²⁰ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 5.

²²¹ H. Lee Scamehorn, Longmont, Colorado, email to Tom and Laurie Simmons, Denver, Colorado, 7 September 2013. CF&I also had administrative offices in Denver (the nine-story Boston Building, 828 17th Street, NRIS 78000841) and New York City (the thirty-one-story Standard Oil Building, 26 Broadway, a New York City Landmark) which are still extant. In both cases the CF&I offices comprised a very small presence compared to the totality of building tenants.

²²² S. Mehls, et al., *Bessemer-Lake Minnequa Historic District (Potential)*, SPE.5523, Management Data Form, WCRM, Inc., Boulder, Colorado, 2007. On file with History Colorado, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, Colorado.

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The demolition of the open-hearth furnaces and all but one blast furnace removed some of the plant's key steelmaking elements. The facility no longer produces steel from raw materials, but rather uses scrap. The adjacent steel works are directly associated with only one part of CF&I's nationally significant industrial activities. The plant would not necessarily be able to represent the company's broader regional/national activities in the manner of the Administrative Complex. The loss of several of the plant's key industrial resources from the pre-1942 period, as well as the lack of support for NHL consideration from that facility's current owner, indicates that the industrial portion of CF&I's overall Pueblo facility is not a viable candidate for NHL nomination at this time. The site may be reconsidered if owner support changes; however, the site's integrity should be evaluated.²²³

Ludlow Tent Colony Site, Las Animas County, Colorado (NHL 2006). The Ludlow Tent Colony Site is included as a comparable due to its association with a labor action that impacted CF&I. When miners in Colorado's southern coalfield dominated by CF&I went on strike in 1913, the United Mine Workers of America established a tent colony for workers and their families at this location in southeastern Colorado. In April 1914 a clash between strikers and Colorado National Guard troops resulted in the deaths of thirteen women and children. The event attracted national attention and exposed Americans to critical issues in industrial relations. In the aftermath of Ludlow, CF&I created an employee representation plan, a new form of labor-management relationship that provided workers with somewhat greater influence over their living and working conditions.

Ludlow is associated with an extremely important event in CF&I's and the nation's history, but the story it tells is different and less wide-ranging than that of the Administrative Complex. The Ludlow Tent Colony Site was owned by the labor union and established for workers in their effort to gain rights and influence the policies of coal operators. The Administrative Complex tells the broad story of industrial operations and management of a company with facilities in several states, employing thousands of people, controlled by eastern investors, and producing steel, coal, and coke that influenced the development of West's transportation systems, cities, agriculture, mining, and numerous other sectors.

CF&I Company Towns Associated with Coal and Iron Extraction. As discussed above, CF&I established scores of mines and company towns in the Rocky Mountain region associated with the extraction and processing of raw materials required in its steelmaking operations and to support its fuel department. The most intact of these towns is the National Register-listed Redstone Historic District in Pitkin County, Colorado (NRIS 89000934, listed 1989). Established in 1899 by John Cleveland Osgood as a model company town, the community housed workers at CF&I's nearby coal mine and coking ovens, and included worker cottages, civic and social buildings, and residences for managers. Osgood engaged New York architect Theodore Boal to plan the town and design its buildings, including Osgood's Cleveholm mansion (NRIS 71000216, listed 1971). Redstone operated until coal mining was abandoned in 1909. The resource retains a high degree of historic integrity and illustrates a settlement associated with the extractive component of the company, although Redstone is not representative of a typical CF&I company town. The 1989 National Register nomination asserted national significance "because of its representation of the company town concept of the early twentieth century, its association with prominent American industrialist John Cleveland Osgood, and the reflection of late Victorian styles in its architect-designed homes and public buildings."²²⁴

²²³ Sanborn Map Company, Pueblo, Colorado, fire insurance maps (Pelham, New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1951); Pueblo, Colorado, Google Earth imagery, 28 August 2013.

²²⁴ R. Laurie Simmons and Christine Whitacre, "Redstone Historic District," Pitkin County, Colorado, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1989 (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, DC).

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More typical CF&I company towns associated with coal mining in southern Colorado, such as Tabasco, Primero, Segundo, and Tercio, now consist of concrete foundations with no standing buildings. Other CF&I coal towns in Colorado, such as Crested Butte in Gunnison County (NRIS 7400227, listed 1974) and Rockvale in Fremont County, feature standing structures associated with CF&I that are intermixed with other buildings and more recent development.²²⁵ Sunrise, Wyoming, a CF&I iron mining community, is listed in the National Register (NRIS 05000925, listed 2005) and contains a number of standing buildings, foundations, and a mining pit.

CF&I company towns were not associated with the entire range of the company's endeavors, including the company's important industrial operations in Pueblo. With the exception of Redstone and Sunrise, the company towns do not retain standing buildings.

Steel, Iron, and Fuel Companies

CF&I played a unique role in the western United States as an enterprise that combined steel and iron manufacturing with a vast empire of coal mining, coke manufacturing, and fuel distribution. The Administrative Complex in Pueblo served as the operational headquarters of the company, overseeing manufacturing at the steel plant, coordinating the mining and transportation of raw materials from coal and iron mines, and directing coke production. CF&I was the major steel manufacturer in the West from 1881 until 1942. Other western steel manufacturers were much smaller in scale (such as the Pacific Rolling Mills Company, discussed below) or materialized decades later: the Kaiser plant in Fontana, California, in 1942 and the Geneva Works near Provo, Utah, in 1944, which were constructed after the US entry into World War II. Neither of the latter two plants are still extant.²²⁶ CF&I's fuel department (coal mining and coke production) dominated the western market. Academic experts have described the company as "the undisputed leader of the West's expanding fuel trade" and "the behemoth of western coal producers."²²⁷ No comparable fuel companies of the same size, scale, and influence existed in the West. The following summarizes the few much smaller operations that did exist and how they compared to the CF&I. No comparable administrative facilities for iron and steel or fuel companies were identified.

Pacific Rolling Mill Company, San Francisco, California (no designation). Pacific Rolling Mill began as an iron works in 1868.²²⁸ In 1884 (three years after CF&I) it added a Siemens-Martin open hearth furnace with annual capacity of ten thousand tons of steel and started producing structural shapes, forgings, rail, boiler plate, and castings. In 1898 the company was liquidated, the mill buildings were demolished, and the site became a shipyard. The company name lived on under the management of the former superintendent, and structural fabrication operations (but not steel manufacture) continued at a new location. This firm merged with the Judson Manufacturing Company to create the Judson-Pacific Company. Judson constructed open hearth furnaces for steelmaking in the 1917-20 period.²²⁹

²²⁵ Victoria Miller and Janet Boyd of the Bessemer Historical Society have led tours of the former CF&I coal camps in southern Colorado. Victoria Miller, Bessemer Historical Society, email to Thomas H. Simmons and R. Laurie Simmons, 4 November 2014.

²²⁶ *Deseret News* [Salt Lake City], 12 March 2008; Kaiser Steel Plant Site, Center for Land Use Interpretation, <http://clui.org>. Upgraded and modernized after the war, the Kaiser plant was disassembled and shipped to China in the 1980s. The Geneva Works stopped operation in 2001 and declared bankruptcy in 2002, followed by disassembly of the plant.

²²⁷ Scamehorn, *High Altitude Energy*, 9; Wolff, *Industrializing the Rockies*, 181.

²²⁸ San Francisco housed various industries including the 1849 Union Iron Works, but steel manufacture did not occur until 1884. Gray Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 125-27.

²²⁹ American Iron and Steel Association, *Directory to the Iron and Steel Works of the United States* (Philadelphia: American Iron and Steel Association, 1884); Marshall Maslin, *A Romance of Steel in California* (San Francisco: Judson Pacific-Murphy Corporation, 1946).

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The operation in San Francisco was much smaller than CF&I's Pueblo operation. Metal and brick buildings of Judson-Pacific remain on a city block in the east-central part of the city; the location appears to have been associated with steel fabrication and not steel production or administration.²³⁰

Sloss Furnaces NHL, Birmingham, Alabama (NHL 1981). Founded in 1880 by James W. Sloss, the Sloss Furnace Company manufactured pig iron. In 1886 financiers acquired and rapidly expanded the company, which reorganized in 1899 as Sloss-Sheffield Steel and Iron. The firm became one of the largest producers of pig iron in the world, and its facilities included blast furnaces, beehive ovens, thousands of acres of coal and ore land, five coal mines, and quarries. However, it never produced steel. An important aspect of the company's story was its large African-American workforce; the workplace remained rigidly segregated until the 1960s. The designated district includes two blast furnaces and about forty other buildings and structures associated with the manufacturing process. The property is described as significant for the important role it played in the development of Birmingham and for its historic resources, which "are reminders of the intense economic competition that began to develop between the predominantly agrarian South and the industrialized North in the later part of the nineteenth century."

Sloss Furnaces represents an important ironmaking operation distant from the northeastern and Midwestern center of the industry. Sloss exploited diverse resources in its production and was recognized as nationally significant in helping to industrialize the South. Sloss did not manufacture steel and is not located in the West.²³¹ It operated and influenced the industry in a manner much different than the CF&I, and did not impact western settlement and development.

*Other Industry Comparables*²³²

The CF&I Administrative Complex is notable as the operational headquarters of a Western enterprise dominating a manufacturing industry with one plant in a single location (steel and iron manufacturing), as well as operating a vast network for the mining of coal, iron, and fluxing agents and coke production. Historian Carl Abbott observed that other major western industries were not dominated by a single company. He noted the wood products industry had sets of large mills rather than "a single giant like CFI." The fish packing industry was similar, with several large canneries clustered in locations such as Astoria, Oregon, Monterey, California, and Bellingham, Washington.²³³ Historian William Robbins states: "With the possible exception of copper production in Butte, the Salt Lake Valley, and Bisbee in southern Arizona, CF&I has no rival in the American

²³⁰ By 1930, the West Coast boasted steel processing centers in the Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles areas, but these were small-scale enterprises, with most consisting of steel foundries where steel was configured into shapes rather than produced in the first instance. See Kenneth Warren, *The American Steel Industry, 1950-1970: A Geographical Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 232-39; Kelso Norman and E.C. Brown, *A Romance of Steel in California* (San Francisco: Clavering Press, 1946).

²³¹ Sloss Furnaces National Historic Landmark, "History," <http://slossfurnaces.com/history>; George R. Adams, Director Historic Landmarks Project, "Sloss Blast Furnaces," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, April 1978; National Park Service, "Sloss Furnaces, Birmingham, Alabama," <http://www.nps.gov/resources/site.htm?id=18582>.

²³² Academic experts, NPS staff, and State Historic Preservation Offices in the thirteen western states were contacted for suggestions of comparable properties. SHPO staff from Wyoming, Montana, and Nevada responded. Suggested comparables included: Wyoming—Sunrise (a CF&I iron mining camp); Montana—Bonner Company Town (a small 1880s lumber mill and associated company town that supplied ties to railroads and timbers for Butte mines and smelters) and Butte-Anaconda (included as comparable); and Nevada—Virginia City (an extensive and rich mining center), McGill (a small ca. 1906 town including mines, a smelter, company worker housing, and a building housing the headquarters of the Nevada Consolidated Mining Company; acquired by Kennecott Copper Corporation in 1933), and Basic Magnesium, Basic/Henderson (established in 1941, this resource included mining, manufacturing of magnesium metal, a railroad, and a company town for defense workers; supplied an essential component in the manufacture of aluminum, used in airplane bodies and munitions; acquired by the Anaconda Mining Corporation in 1941). The potential comparables were assessed as follows: addressed in the nomination (Sunrise and Butte-Anaconda); too small in scale (Bonner and McGill); not an example of a company (Virginia City); or do not retain historic integrity (Basic Magnesium).

²³³ Carl Abbott, Portland State University, Portland, Oregon, email to Thomas H. Simmons, 8 February 2014.

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West, and I would argue that it surpasses the copper business.”²³⁴ Potentially comparable properties are discussed below.²³⁵

Butte-Anaconda Mining District, Butte, Montana (NHL 1961; revised documentation 2006). The Butte-Anaconda Mining District is significant for its unrivaled position as the nation’s preeminent copper mining center ca. 1885-1934, as well as for the role it played in labor history. When asked for suggestions for comparable properties to CF&I, historian Carl Abbott of Portland State University remarked that “the best analogy that occurs to me is Anaconda, Montana, as a very substantial community built around a very large industrial enterprise.”²³⁶ The district, the nation’s largest NHL, covers 9,774 acres and 7,910 resources, including urban neighborhoods and transportation and mining resources. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company (ACM) organized in 1895 and established its executive offices on the sixth floor of Butte’s Hennessey Building in 1901.²³⁷

Within the Butte-Anaconda district ACM emerged as “the giant of the world’s copper industry.”²³⁸ The company acquired coal, land, and timber reserves to supply fuel and materials for its mining operations, owned a railroad, operated smelters, and maintained its executive offices in part of a building in downtown Butte. ACM initially did not engage in manufacturing until acquisition of the American Brass Company (a major producer of finished copper products) in 1922. ACM was not a fuel distributor to other companies or consumers.

Phelps Dodge General Office Building, Bisbee, Arizona (NHL 1983). Significant for its historical associations, this building housed the headquarters of the Phelps Dodge mining company from 1896 to 1961. Founded in 1834, the company evolved from a mercantile firm to a large-scale enterprise in such sectors as manufacturing, mining, railroads, and timber, but is best known for its pioneering role in western copper mining. The General Office Building now houses the Bisbee Mining and Historical Museum.

The Phelps Dodge General Office Building is comparable to CF&I for its location in the West, association with an extractive industry, and function as the headquarters of the company. The company’s history is significant for its role as a major western enterprise that was a pioneer in copper mining. The CF&I complex in Pueblo played a similar but broader role, serving as the headquarters for a firm that engaged in coal mining, coke production, steel and iron manufacturing, and fuel distribution in the western two-thirds of the country.

Pacific American Fisheries Office Building, Bellingham, Washington (no designation). Frank and E.B. Deming established Pacific American Fisheries (PAF) in 1899 by acquiring two existing fish canning firms. The firm became “one of the world’s major salmon canning operations,” and operated facilities in Puget Sound and Alaska until 1965.²³⁹ Headquartered in Bellingham, Washington, the company’s cannery and warehouses are gone, but a two-story brick office building erected in 1936 is extant, now used as an Amtrak station.²⁴⁰ At its

²³⁴ Robbins, email to Simmons, 5 April 2015.

²³⁵ It is acknowledged that administrative complexes may exist for industries other than those discussed herein, such as an oil or gas corporation or an automobile company.

²³⁶ Abbott, email to Simmons, 8 February 2014.

²³⁷ Derek Strahn, *Butte-Anaconda Historic District, National Historic Landmark, revised documentation, 2006.*

²³⁸ Michael P. Malone, Richard B. Roeder, William L. Lang, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 230.

²³⁹ Pacific American Fisheries Records, 1802-1994 (bulk 1899-1967), Center for Pacific Northwest Studies, Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington.

²⁴⁰ Jeff Jewell, Photography Curator, Whatcom Museum, Bellingham, Washington, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, 12 October 2018.

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peak in the 1940s, the company employed approximately 4,500 workers in Bellingham.²⁴¹ The PAF office building played a role similar to the CF&I Administrative Complex, serving as the administrative center for a large western industrial facility. The one- and two-story PAF building is a single building rather than a complex and has experienced some alterations, including the addition of an entrance canopy and a long station waiting shelter along the tracks.

²⁴¹ Port of Bellingham, Washington. Fairhaven & the Bellingham Cruise Terminal, www.portofbellingham.com (accessed 12 October 2018).

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6. PROPERTY DESCRIPTION AND STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

Ownership of Property

Private: X
Public-Local:
Public-State:
Public-Federal:

Category of Property

Building(s):
District: X
Site:
Structure:
Object:

Number of Resources within Boundary of Property:

Contributing

Buildings: 3
Sites: 0
Structures: 0
Objects: 0
Total: 3

Noncontributing

Buildings: 1
Sites: 0
Structures: 0
Objects: 1
Total: 2

PROVIDE PRESENT AND PAST PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF PROPERTY

(Please see specific guidance for type of resource[s] being nominated)

LOCATION AND SETTING

The CF&I Administrative Complex is located in the southern part of Pueblo, Colorado, a city of 110,291 population (2010) on the Arkansas River 116 miles south of Denver.²⁴² Although a trading post/fort occupied the future site of the city in 1842, it was later abandoned, and permanent settlement of Pueblo (Spanish for “town”) dates to 1858. Pueblo prospered as a manufacturing, smelting, and transportation center and was the state’s second most populous city from 1890 to 1960. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company constituted the city’s dominant employer during that period. The level 2.6-acre nominated area occupies an L-shaped portion of the city block lying northeast of Canal Street and East Abriendo Avenue (see Sketch Map) and housed the company’s management and administrative offices, including an office building, dispensary/employment office building, and office annex building (all contributing resources). Noncontributing resources include a sales office and a Karymor merry-go-round. Steelworks Park (constructed 2017), holding interpretive displays and artifacts of CF&I, occupies the northeastern portion of the block and is excluded from the district.²⁴³ Across Interstate Highway 25 to the east outside the nominated area stand the remaining resources of the former CF&I steel plant and the production facilities of EVRAZ Rocky Mountain Steel, the nation’s leading manufacturer of steel rails. To the south are a 1955 gatehouse building, 1960 advertising sign, and the Bessemer Ditch, which are also located outside the boundary of the nominated NHL district. Residential areas, once mainly occupied by workers at the steel plant, are present to the south and west of the Administrative Complex, while commercial buildings are located to the north.

²⁴² The north bank of the river was part of the Louisiana Purchase, while the south bank (originally part of Spain) was acquired by Mexico in 1821 when that country gained its independence. The southern area became part of the United States in 1848 as part of the Mexican Cession.

²⁴³ *Pueblo Chieftain*, 19 June 2017.

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HISTORIC PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The office building, office annex building, and dispensary/employment building were all constructed in the Mission Revival style, displaying smooth stucco walls, Spanish tile roofs, and shaped rafter tails. The office building included quatrefoil windows, balconettes, and a four-story tower with metal dome. The initial construction in 1900-02 also included a mess hall/club house and laboratory on the northern portion of the block along Bay State Avenue. The company landscaped the block with trees and lawns and constructed pathways connecting the buildings.

Between 1902 and 1949 a filling station was added at the northwest corner. The mess hall/club house, laboratory, and filling station displayed the Mission Revival style.²⁴⁴ In the late 1960s/early 1970s the laboratory, mess hall/club house, and filling station were razed. Reflecting the continued evolution of the complex, in 1971 a one-story steel sales office for the plant was erected in the northwest corner of the block. The historic buildings no longer extant were support buildings and not ones directly associated with managerial/office functions related to the administration of the company, for which the property is recognized as nationally significant.

After the 2002-03 ownership transfer to the Bessemer Historical Society (Steelworks Center of the West) the site began to assume functions interpreting CF&I's history. A Karymor merry-go-round (an example of a product constructed with CF&I steel) was relocated to the district in 2015 for interpretive purposes. In 2017 the asphalt parking lot in the northeast corner of the block became Steelworks Park, an interpretive area discussed below that is located outside the nominated NHL boundary.

PRESENT PHYSICAL APPEARANCE²⁴⁵

The 2.6-acre district extends approximately 389' north-south and 445' east-west and holds five resources: four buildings and one object. Three resources are evaluated as contributing, including three stucco Mission Revival-style buildings initially constructed between 1901 and 1921: the two-and-a-half-story office building (1901) at the southwest corner of the nominated area; the one-story dispensary/employment office building (1902 and 1926) at the southeast corner; and the two-story office annex building (1921, 1931, 1945, and post-1960) north of the office building. Noncontributing resources include a one-story steel 1971 sales office building at the northeast corner of the district and a 1931 Karymor merry-go-round, installed in 2015 between the office building and dispensary. The sales office and merry-go-round are evaluated as noncontributing because they were constructed or moved into the district after the period of national significance.

Use of the Mission Revival style for the district's historic buildings lends the area a uniformity and cohesiveness, reflected in the numerous curvilinear parapets, smooth stucco walls, red clay tile roofing, south-facing building orientation, and four-story tower with octagonal drum and domed roof. The office building, office annex, and sales office are connected by short, one-story enclosed corridors.

Wide concrete public sidewalks border the streets to the west and north; a similar sidewalk parallels the parking lot south of the office building and dispensary/employment building. Narrower concrete sidewalks extend from the south sidewalk to the office annex building and the parking lot to the northeast. The area east of the office building, south of the office annex building, and west of the dispensary/employment building is covered with

²⁴⁴ The 1902 Colorado Supply Company warehouse and a later garage and print shop were situated in the northeast corner of the block, outside the nominated area. They were all demolished by the late 1950s.

²⁴⁵ Munch, "Minnequa Steel Works Office Building and Dispensary," 16. Building descriptions are drawn from this 2001 National Register nomination supplemented by field work observations in October 2013 and November 2016.

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grass and holds a large locust tree, the Karymor merry-go-round, and a picnic table; a pine tree and juniper shrubs are adjacent to the west wall of the dispensary/employment building. Three pine trees are present east of the office annex building and north of the dispensary. A small pine tree stands at the southwest corner of the office building. Along the western edge of the nominated area, a row of mature elm trees stands west of the office building and office annex building, with juniper shrubs along both foundations. Farther north, the area between the sales office building and the sidewalk is in grass with several smaller deciduous trees; the concrete sidewalk from the sales office entrance to the public sidewalk is flanked by gravel planting areas with ornamental grasses.

Individual resources within the district are discussed below by contributing status. The included Sketch Map shows the layout of the complex and photograph locations. Alterations to resources and integrity are discussed in the individual resource descriptions, while the Integrity section addresses the site as a whole.

Contributing Resources

Office Building, 225 Canal Street, 1901 (Resource 1, building, Frederick J. Sterner, architect)

The two-and-a-half-story rectangular plan Mission Revival-style office building faces south. The building has a raised concrete foundation with narrow basement window openings (most are filled with plywood or louvered vents). The building's brick bearing walls are clad with smooth stucco. The gabled roof has red ceramic Spanish tiles and overhanging eaves with exposed shaped rafter tails. A four-story tower features a metal domed roof and a projecting finial. The east and west walls display curvilinear parapets; the front contains two gabled dormers with curvilinear parapets. All windows are wood unless otherwise noted.

Front (south wall). The asymmetrical front (south wall) is dominated by the central tower; it and two gabled roof dormers with curvilinear parapets form breaks in the overhanging eave. The lower part of the tower is square, with an octagonal fourth story lantern drum with a metal domed roof and an elaborate finial. The first story of the tower features a continuous sill course and a blind round arch with paired round arch six-over-two-light wood windows and a centrally positioned inset stucco roundel. The second story contains a flat-headed eight-over-two-light window with a continuous flared sill course, while the third story displays three narrow round arched four-over-one-light windows. The fourth-story drum is octagonal with each wall holding a round arched eight-over-eight-light window. There is a molded overhanging cornice, a ribbed metal dome, and a decorative metal finial.

West of the tower a projecting bay crowned by a curvilinear parapet with limestone coping also breaks the overhanging eave. The first story of this section contains two sets of paired four-light windows with a continuous sill course. To the west is a projecting gabled roof porch with a curvilinear parapet with limestone coping; the porch roof is clad with orange/red Spanish tile and has overhanging eaves with shaped rafter tails. The front and side walls of the open porch are stucco with battered piers and contain round arches; concrete steps extend from the porch deck to sidewalk level and have metal railings and stucco sidewalls. Opening onto the porch are double wood doors with rectangular upper lights with a round arched transom with flowing tracery. East of the porch at an intermediate level between the first and second stories is a blind round arch, similar to ones previously described but containing paired flat-headed four-over-one-light windows with round arched transoms with flowing tracery and a centrally positioned inset stucco roundel. The second story above the porch features a flat-headed eight-over-two light window with a continuous coved sill course. The dormer face contains a four-light window with a projecting sill. West of the porch and dormer the first story contains two blind round arches with paired windows, while the second story holds four eight-over-two-light windows with a continuous coved sill course.

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East of the tower the first story of the south wall contains three blind round arches with paired round arch windows and a blind roundel, a blank section of wall, and a shorter inset blind round arch containing paired six-over-two-light wood windows with stucco above. The second story east of the tower features nine eight-over-two-light wood windows with a continuous coved sill course. A gabled roof dormer near the center of the wall east of the tower breaks the eave line and has a curvilinear parapet with limestone coping and an inset stucco roundel on its face.

East Wall. The east wall has a curvilinear parapet with coping.²⁴⁶ There are no basement windows. The first story has a projecting sill course with four round arched window openings at the south end. The two south openings contain multi-light casement windows; the next opening features paired six-over-one-light flat-headed windows and the transom filled with stucco and containing an air conditioning unit; and the final opening holds paired six-over-six-light windows with a multi-light transom. At the north end of the east wall is a blind round arch with paired arch windows. The second story features a continuous coved sill course and six flat-headed eight-over-two-light windows arranged in a one-three-two pattern from south to north. The gable face holds a four-light window with a projecting sill flanked by inset stucco roundels.

Rear (north wall). East of the connector to the office annex the first story has a continuous sill course, with (from east to west) five blind round arches with paired arch windows, a round arch window now filled with stucco, and two Venetian arch windows). The second story features a continuous coved sill course the length of the wall and (from the east end) nine flat-headed eight-over-two-light windows, three similar windows with balconettes (a metal pipe extends from the basement level to the roof between the first and second of these windows), and one similar window. Two gabled roof dormers with curvilinear parapets with limestone coping break the overhanging eave; the east dormer face has an inset stucco roundel while the center dormer face is blank. A metal fire escape extends from the roof to the top of the connecting corridor. The connecting corridor covers the area on the first story that held one and a half blind round arches with arch windows. Above the connector on the second story are three eight-over-two-light flat-headed windows.

West of the connecting corridor the basement level holds one three-light flat-headed window. On the first story half of a blind round arch is visible with one six-over-two-light window present, followed by two blind round arches with paired windows (the inset stucco roundels contain metal louvered vents). The second story west of the connector holds five eight-over-two-light flat-headed windows. The west gabled roof dormer with a curvilinear parapet with limestone coping also breaks the overhanging eave; the dormer face has an inset stucco roundel.

West Wall. The west wall has a curvilinear parapet with limestone coping like that of the east wall. The basement level contains two flat-headed three-light windows, with the south window containing a louvered vent. The first story has a continuous sill course. There are two six-over-one-light round arch windows to the north followed by two blind round arches with paired arch windows. The second story features a continuous coved sill course and six eight-over-two-light flat-headed windows arranged in a one-one-four pattern. The gable face holds three one-over-one-light windows each with a projecting stucco sill.

Interior. The office building originally included offices for the plant superintendent, chief engineer, payroll, shipping, drafting, library, drying and blueprint room, and restrooms. The interior experienced modifications over the years to meet changing needs of the company but retains a number of historic design features which help it retain historic integrity. The first story has undergone more alterations, and its lobby reflects a 1950s

²⁴⁶ The east and west parapets are similar in shape to those of the 1798 Mission San Luis Rey de Francia (designated an NHL in 1970) in Oceanside, California.

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remodeling. The second story includes such elements as wood paneled doors, wainscoting, and window and door trim. A long open drafting room occupies most of the north half of the second story and features a high ceiling, beadboard wainscot, and plaster walls and ceiling. The third story includes original woodwork, floors, and balustrade. The tower's fourth story drum features wood balustrade, beadboard wainscot, plaster walls, wood floor, and window trim. The building contains several original steel storage vaults.²⁴⁷

Alterations and Integrity. The main entrance on the south features replaced steps and the addition of railings, sidewalls, and a lift on the east wall of the porch for accessibility. The round arch opening at the east end of the first story of the front originally contained a door with steps; it now holds a window. The west dormer on the front contained a quatrefoil window now replaced by a different window; the east dormer originally featured a round window with tracery, now changed to an inset stucco roundel. The second-story window of the tower initially had a balconette; the three windows on the third story each had a corbel below (all no longer present). The east and west gable faces contained a center quatrefoil window flanked by inset stucco roundels; the windows have been replaced with a window or windows. The east and west parapets were originally topped by "belfreys," which are no longer present.²⁴⁸ On the rear, the center dormer contained a quatrefoil window, while the flanking dormers held round roundels with tracery (all no longer present and filled with stucco). The office building retains a high degree of historic integrity. The mass, footprint, materials, and overall design of the building are intact, with the most significant changes involving windows. The interior, with the exception of a portion of the first story updated in the 1950s, retains extensive historic fabric evocative of an early twentieth century office building.

Dispensary/Employment Office, 215 Canal Street, 1902 and 1926 (Resource 2, building, Frederick J. Sterner (1902) and Walter DeMordaunt (1926), architects)

The one-story Mission Revival-style dispensary/employment office was erected in two stages: CF&I constructed the east dispensary portion in 1902, while the west employment office addition tripled the building's area in 1926. The building faces south toward an asphalt parking lot and is roughly I-shaped. It has smooth stucco walls, a raised foundation, curvilinear parapets with concrete coping, widely overhanging eaves with shaped rafter tails, and a Spanish tile roof. All windows are wood and have lug sills unless otherwise noted. Shrubs, ornamental grasses, small boulders, and gravel fill the area between the building and the concrete sidewalk to the south.

Front (south wall). The building faces south with the east section with curvilinear parapet marking the 1902 dispensary portion; the inset portion and the west section with a curvilinear parapet comprise the 1926 employment office section. The dispensary contains a center entrance with a round arch hood with decorative braces and a center hanging lantern. The round arched wood door has a four-light upper portion and a single panel lower part. The door opens onto a concrete ramp with metal railings and stucco sidewalls with projecting caps. Flanking the entrance are two round arched six-over-six-light windows with lug sills. The gable face features an inset quatrefoil panel containing a louvered vent. To the west the center section is stepped in and at its center contains a door similar to the one described for the dispensary section. A decorative lantern is above and to the west of the door, which opens onto a concrete stoop with concrete steps and stucco sidewalls with projecting caps. Flanking the entrance are four round arched six-over-six-light windows with lug sills. The west section features a concrete stoop and steps with metal railings and concrete sidewalls with projecting caps. The same type of door described for the other sections opens onto the porch and is sheltered by an elliptical metal

²⁴⁷ Andrews & Anderson Architects, *Minnequa Steel Works Main Office and Annex, Historic Structures Assessment*, Project #2007-M1-016 (Golden, Colorado: Andrews & Anderson Architects, 8 September 2008), 10-13.

²⁴⁸ The "belfreys" [sic] denoted on the original architectural drawings were small inverted U-shaped projections; they never held bells.

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hood with decorative braces and a center ornamental lantern. Flanking the entrance are two round arched six-over-six-light windows with lug sills; the two windows to the west have hammered/pebbled glazing. The gable face features an inset quatrefoil panel containing a louvered vent.

West Wall. Beginning at the south end the west wall has three six-over-six-light round arch windows placed close to the top of the wall. Farther north are two shorter four-over-four-light round arch windows. At the north end of the wall are two six-over-six-light round arch windows placed lower on the wall than the other windows.

Rear (north wall). The west section of the north wall contains five six-over-six-light round arch windows. The curvilinear parapet above contains an inset quatrefoil panel holding a louvered vent. The center section of the north wall steps in. At the west end of the center section are concrete stairs to a flush door providing access to the basement. Farther east are four shorter six-over-six-light round arch windows placed close to the top of the wall. At the east end of the center section are two six-over-six-light round arch windows and a round arch opening filled with metal louvers. East of the center section is a projecting shed roof bay with stepped parapets on the east and west, a Spanish tile roof, and a curvilinear parapet to the south. The west wall of this projection is blank and the north wall has four six-over-six-light round arch windows.

East Wall. The north end of the east wall is blank. A shallow shed-roofed bay projects out. Its north wall contains a flush metal door with a covered round arch transom. The door opens onto a concrete stoop with concrete steps with railings to the east and an L-shaped pedestrian ramp with railings to the north. The east wall of the projection holds two six-over-six-light round arch windows; the south wall is blank. South of the projection the east wall features three six-over-six-light round arch windows.

Interior. The building now houses the Steelworks Museum. The east end of the building contains the museum shop and the north half holds exhibit space, with the southwest corner featuring a community room and restrooms. The eastern portion includes original dispensary features, including an examination room with furnishings, ceramic tile walls and trim, and built-in cabinets; a cabinet for administering hearing tests; and X-ray equipment. The central east-west hallway displays paneled doors, wood trim, and colored lines in the linoleum that guided job applicants through the hiring process.

Alterations and Integrity. The pedestrian ramp on the porch at the east end of the south wall and the ramp at the northeast corner were added for accessibility. A window in the center section of the north wall has been filled with louvers. The louvers in the south wall quatrefoils do not appear to be original. The dispensary/employment office building retains excellent historic integrity with minimal exterior changes and retention of substantial interior fabric.

Office Building Annex, 1921, 1931, 1945, and post-1960 (Resource 3, building, William W. Stickney (1921) and William A. Robb (1931 and 1945), architects)

The two-story Mission Revival-style office building annex faces south toward the office building and displays a raised foundation, a complex roof, five curvilinear parapets, smooth stucco walls, continuous sill courses, and metal downspouts. The building was erected in four stages: 1921, a rectangular west section oriented east-west; 1931, a rectangular center north-south section; 1945, a backwards L-shaped east section; and post-1960, a small one-story addition on the north wall of the 1945 section—resulting in a backwards “F” building footprint. At the time of the 1921 construction a one-story enclosed corridor was built connecting the annex to the north wall of the office building. The fenced area between the annex and the office building is currently used for equipment storage, including a small metal utility shed. The building is described clockwise, beginning at the east end of the south wall.

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Front (south wall).

1945 Section. The south wall of this part of the building has a full-width curvilinear parapet with coping and continuous sill courses on both stories. All windows in this section are flat-headed. Most of the basement windows are covered with metal grilles. On the first story at the center is a one-story flat roof enclosed porch with a curvilinear parapet with coping. The east and west walls of the porch each hold a flat-headed two-over-one-light window. The metal frame glazed door has a three-light round arch transom and opens onto a concrete stoop with concrete steps and metal railings. The area surrounding the door is inset from the face of the wall. East of the porch on the first story is a twelve-over-one-light window, a window opening covered with HVAC ducting, and a twelve-over-one-light window at the east end. West of the porch the first story features (from east to west) a boarded-up window opening; a window opening modified to accommodate HVAC ductwork, and three twelve-over-one-light windows. The second story contains ten twelve-over-one-light windows.

1931 Section. West of the 1945 section is the 1931 two-story portion of the building. Both stories have continuous sill courses and each contains seven twelve-over-one-light windows. There is no entrance in this section of the wall.

1921 Section. Farther west is the original 1921 portion of the annex. A connecting corridor to the office building provides access to this part of the annex. A full-height metal vent pipe is present at the east end of the wall. East of the connector the first story contains three twelve-over-one-light windows; the second story holds (from east to west) a window with the upper part filled with plywood and two twelve-over-one-light windows. Above the connector the second story holds from east to west: a twelve-over-one-light window; a one-over-twelve-light window; a shorter window opening filled with stucco; and a window with a twelve-light upper sash and boarded-up lower sash. West of the connector each story features five twelve-over-one-light windows.

West Wall. The west wall (part of the 1921 construction) features a curvilinear parapet with a raised quatrefoil panel in the gable face; the center of the panel features a diamond-shaped opening holding a decorative wrought iron grille. The basement has five small windows: a three-light window at the center flanked by two sets of paired two-light windows (all with metal bars). The first story contains a center blind arch holding paired twelve-over-one-light windows facing a wrought iron balconette; flanking are two twelve-over-one-light windows. The second story is similar with center paired twelve-over-one-light windows facing a wrought iron balconet, flanked by two twelve-over-one-light windows.

Rear (north wall). The rear of the annex also displays three eras of construction.

1921 Section. The west section of the north wall is connected to the 1971 sales office building to the north (the connector is described with that building). The wall features continuous sill courses on both stories. West of the connector the first story contains five twelve-over-one-light flat headed windows, while east of the connector there are six twelve-over-one-light windows. The second story holds twelve twelve-over-one-light windows.

1931 Section. Abutting to the east is the projecting two-story north-south 1931 addition to the annex. This part of the annex has a shallow gable roof. The west wall features a curvilinear parapet with coping and full-height stucco chimney at the south end. North of the chimney is a one-story stucco L-shaped entrance to the basement level. The basement windows north of the entrance are covered with bars, and one has an air conditioning unit. The first and second stories both have continuous sill courses and contain flat-headed twelve-over-one-light windows in a paired-single-paired-single arrangement.

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The north wall of the wing features continuous sill courses on both stories. The basement level contains one- and two-light windows, some with bars and some partly filled-in with stucco. The first and second stories each contain seven evenly spaced flat-headed twelve-over-one-light windows. The east wall features a curvilinear parapet with coping and continuous sill courses on both stories. Near the center of the wall is a projecting flat roof entrance to the basement level with a curvilinear parapet and a three-panel wood door. The first story has a single one-over-one-light window at the north and three sets of paired one-over-one-light windows farther south. The windows are obscured by a large metal HVAC structure that extends most of the length of the wall. The second story features a single flat-headed twelve-over-one-light window at the north end, followed by paired twelve-over-one-light windows, a single twelve-over-one-light window, and two sets of paired twelve-over-one-light windows.

1945 Section. To the east lies the 1945 two-story gabled-L addition to the annex. At the west end of the short north wall is a concrete stoop with metal railings and stairs; double metal doors with rectangular lights open onto the stoop. Above the stoop on the second story is a flat-headed window opening filled with stucco. To the east the wall steps out and is blank except for a rectangular metal louver panel halfway up the wall. The building then projects out in a north-south gable-roof wing. The west wall of the wing displays continuous belt courses on both stories. The first story contains five flat-headed windows that are boarded up. The second story holds six flat-headed windows.

The north wall of the north-south wing features a curvilinear parapet with coping and continuous sill courses on both stories. The first story of the north wall displays a projecting metal framework supporting HVAC ducting. The east part of the first story is obscured by a post-1960 addition. The second story contains six evenly spaced flat-headed windows from west to east as follows: two two-over-one lights; one four-over-one light; one one-over-one light; one four-over-one light; and one one-over-two light.

Post-1960 Section. A flat-roof, one-story concrete block addition clad with stucco is attached to the north wall of the 1945 section. Its year of construction is unknown but information suggests it was built between 1960 (not present in a historic photograph of the complex) and 1993 (the year CF&I declared bankruptcy). The west, north, and east walls are blank. The west wall features a metal ladder at its south end.

East Wall. The east wall is part of the 1945 addition to the annex and features roof coping and continuous sill courses on both stories. The basement level contains two-light windows, some of which are filled with HVAC equipment. From north to south the first story contains seven flat-headed windows, as follows: four two-over-one-light windows; a window filled with HVAC ductwork; and two two-over-one-light windows flanking a blank section of wall. Farther south is a one-story, projecting flat-roof enclosed porch with a curvilinear parapet; the entrance features a blind curvilinear arch with a metal door with a rectangular light, which opens onto a concrete stoop and steps with metal railings. South of the porch the first story holds a two-over-one-light window. The second story contains nine flat-headed windows, as follows from north to south: one two-over-one-light window; one four-over-one-light window; five two-over-one-light windows; a window opening filled with stucco; and one four-over-one-light window.

Connecting Corridor. The connecting corridor is L-shaped and has a flat roof with coping. The west wall has a raised belt course near the top of the wall and a continuous sill course. The basement level contains two window openings: the north one is boarded-up and the south one holds a one-over-one-light window. There is a center flat-headed triple fifteen-light window flanked by single fifteen-light windows. A metal ladder is attached to the wall at the south end.

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The east wall of the connector has a rectangular projection at the north end containing restrooms. Its east wall contains a basement window partially filled with glass blocks, an off-center twelve-over-one-light window with hammered/pebbled glass and a continuous sill course, and a louvered vent near the top of the wall. The south wall of the restroom projection features three basement windows filled with stucco, a short window opening filled with stucco, and a twelve-over-one-light window with hammered/pebbled glass; there is a continuous sill course. South of the projection the east wall of the connector holds a flat-headed triple fifteen-light window with a single fifteen-light window farther south.

Interior. Erected to provide more office space for the growing company, the annex housed components of the purchasing, invoicing, and other departments, the Colorado & Wyoming Railroad, and the Colorado Supply Company. Offices were located off a double-loaded central corridor extending east-west through the building. Ten vaults were included to house records. The north end of the 1945 addition held a large open office.

Alterations and Integrity. Changes to the office building annex after the period of significance include the two-story 1945 addition and one-story post-1960 addition to the north wall. The building displays some window alterations (boarded-up or filled with stucco) and installation of HVAC apparatus on exterior walls and/or in window openings. In 1945 the connector from the annex to the office building received a restroom addition on the east to provide better facilities for the large numbers of women workers added to the administrative staff during World War II. The office annex building retains integrity and reflects the growth and evolution of CF&I over several decades. The 1945 addition to the east employs the same materials (stucco) and architectural idiom as the earlier components to the west. The one-story post-1960 concrete block addition at the rear northeast corner is small in scale.

Noncontributing Resources

CF&I Sales Office/EVRAZ Office Building, 1612 Bay State Avenue, 1971 (Resource 4, building, Roderick E. Downing, engineer, and H.E. Whitlock, contractor)

The one-story steel building measures approximately 223' x 132' and is generally rectangular except for a 65' x 53' notch at the southeast corner, necessary to avoid the projecting 1931 section of the office annex. The sales office connects to the 1921 section of the office annex to the south via a very short, windowless, one-story enclosed corridor clad with ribbed steel. The building features a raised concrete foundation, ribbed steel walls, and a slightly pitched side-gable roof with overhanging eaves.

The building faces west and has a slightly off-center entrance toward the south. A flat hood shelters the entrance which features: double glazed metal doors with sidelights and overlights, a concrete stoop and steps, and railings composed of steel rail sections produced by the company. The walls are composed of ribbed steel panels and contain evenly spaced paired and single narrow tinted windows (mostly fixed single light). The north wall has a center entrance with flush steel door opening onto a concrete stoop and stairs and the same window pattern as the front. The east (rear) wall displays the same window pattern, a similar entrance to the north, and a second entrance to the south with a concrete stoop and pedestrian ramp.

Alterations and Integrity. The building appears to retain high integrity; however, it is assessed as noncontributing because it was erected in 1971 after the period of national significance for the district.

Karymor Merry-Go-Round, 1931 (Resource 5, object, R.F. Lamar and Company)

The Karymor merry-go-round is currently located between the office building to the west and the dispensary/employment office to the east. The R.F. Lamar and Company of Pueblo, Colorado, built the merry-go-round in

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1931 using CF&I steel in its fabrication. Lamar patented the Model S merry-go-round in December 1929.²⁴⁹ The octagonal apparatus measures approximately thirteen feet in diameter and features a rotating steel framework attached to a central hub mounted on a vertical steel axle. Brace rods extend from the top of the hub to the outside ends of curved steel components which support wood board seats.

Alterations and Integrity. The merry-go-round served the Prairie Hill School in rural Pueblo County until it closed in the 1950s. Disassembled in 2013, the merry-go-round was re-constructed at its present site in 2015. It appears unaltered and retains all elements of integrity except location. It is assessed as noncontributing since it was moved into the district after the period of national significance.

INTEGRITY

The CF&I Administrative Complex retains a high degree of historic integrity dating to the period of national significance (1901-1942). Requirements of an evolving workplace brought additions and modifications over a forty-year period, but continued adherence to the Mission Revival style and its themes, such as stucco walls and curvilinear parapets, resulted in a harmonious unity of design.

Location. The historic resources within the district maintain the highest level of integrity of location as they remain on their original sites.

Design. The complex as a whole maintains a high level of integrity of design, effected through establishing the Mission Revival style as the controlling vocabulary. Some modification or removal of original design elements has occurred over the years. The principal alteration is changes to several windows, including replacing or covering most of the quatrefoil windows. A lift and pedestrian ramps were installed to meet accessibility needs, and external HVAC structures were added for environmental quality control.

The contributing buildings of the complex are being restored by the Bessemer Historical Society (BHS) with funding from the Colorado State Historical Fund, which has thus far awarded \$980,000 for projects including completion of a master plan, exterior stabilization and restoration, construction documents, acquisition, and archival preservation.²⁵⁰ Other major grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Save America's Treasures, Preserve America, Boettcher Foundation, El Pomar, and Gates Foundation also provided funds for restoration projects.²⁵¹ The work is informed by the master plan and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and guided by the staff of the Colorado State Historical Fund and the National Park Service.

Setting. The principal feature of the original setting and the rationale for the construction of the complex remains—the steel manufactory across what is now an interstate highway to the east. Other changes resulted from growth of the state's transportation system, evolution of the steelworks operations, and more recent repurposing of the complex as a museum. The construction of Interstate 25 in 1959 replaced an area containing multiple railroad tracks that had divided the steel plant from the Administrative Complex. A tunnel under the freeway and a new gatehouse provided access for workers. Non-administrative support buildings in the northern portion of the block were removed by the late 1960s, including a Colorado Supply Company warehouse, mess hall/club house, laboratory, filling station, print shop, and garage. Some of this area was converted to a surface

²⁴⁹ R.F. Lamar, Pueblo, Colorado, Merry-Go-Round, patent number 1,739,725, 17 December 1929; Ralph F. Lamar, "The Spirit of Young America: Karymor Merry-Go-Round Plays Prominent Part in Play Supervision," *CF&I Industrial Bulletin*, August 1928, 22-23. Lamar filed the patent 29 August 1927, which constituted a refinement of a February 1927 patent (number 1,667,163).

²⁵⁰ The archival grant was made to the City before the founding of BHS. Exterior projects will include restoration of the quatrefoil windows.

²⁵¹ Corinne Koehler, Bessemer Historical Society, email to Thomas H. and R. Laurie Simmons, 27 February 2014.

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parking lot for employees, and in 1971 the CF&I sales office was erected in the northwest corner of the block, reflecting the continuing evolution of the complex to meet company needs. The older buildings on the site have been converted to house a museum, staff offices, and the CF&I archives. A small Karymor merry-go-round was relocated to the district in 2015 for interpretive purposes, as an example of a product manufactured with CF&I steel.

In 2017 the 1950s/1960s asphalt parking lot for employees in the northeast corner and east side of the city block was replaced by Steelworks Park. The park (that is located outside the nominated NHL boundary) commemorates and interprets the history of CF&I through the display of historic artifacts associated with the company, including a railroad mine rescue car, two large industrial ladles, a Davenport locomotive, ore carts, rail rollers, and a sculpture of a steelworker.

Beyond the city block holding the Administrative Complex, components of the former CF&I steelworks on the east side of Interstate 25 are visible. To the south are two CF&I resources built after the period of national significance and located outside the nominated NHL boundary: the 1955 gatehouse and 1960 advertising sign. The gatehouse continued the Mission Revival style, while the sign employed CF&I steel to inform passersby on the newly completed interstate highway of the presence of the steelworks. The block to the west, which once held the massive Steelworks YMCA (demolished) and the Colorado Supply Company Store (destroyed by fire), is now mostly an asphalt parking lot and is outside the nominated NHL boundary.

Materials. The complex retains a high degree of integrity of materials, as evidenced in the buildings' smooth stucco walls, clay tile roofing, wood windows, and shaped rafter tails and in the office building's metal dome and balconettes.

Workmanship. The careful workmanship employed in the original construction of the administrative buildings is evident in the curvilinear parapets, smooth stucco walls of the buildings, stucco sill courses, tile roofing, quatrefoil window molding, Venetian arches, wrought iron balconettes, and tower with ribbed metal dome. The dispensary/employment office displays talented workmanship in its door hoods, braces, and shaped rafter tails.

Feeling. The complex still conveys the feeling of a campus of cohesive buildings planned and utilized by a large industrial concern during the early twentieth century. Utilization of the Mission Revival style, the south-facing orientation of the historic buildings, and alignment and connection of the office building and its subsequent additions illustrate the planning and evolution of the complex and the scope of the widespread operations directed from the site. The buildings' interiors convey the feeling of a large early twentieth century Administrative Complex through their quality of design and materials and their division into rooms serving the company's multitude of functions. These spaces are also planned for restoration and have received grant funding. The looming stacks and blast furnaces of the former CF&I steelworks to the east are tangible reminders of why the Administrative Complex was situated here. While excluded from the district, adjacent Steelworks Park enhances the sense of feeling of the complex by displaying and interpreting a variety of resources historically associated with CF&I.

Association. The complex still retains a close association with the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Since the Bessemer Historical Society acquired the property in 2002, the historic buildings continue to be used to perpetuate the history of company, with the dispensary/employment office housing a museum and the office building and office annex becoming a repository for archival records, artifacts, and related offices for museum staff. Conservator M. Susan Barger, who assessed the CF&I archives in 2005, concluded the 34,000-linear feet collection comprised "probably the largest and most complete business archive in the United States and without a doubt will be the most important collection dealing with the history of industrialization in the western United

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States.”²⁵² Other academics familiar with the archives echo this conclusion.²⁵³ Approximately half of these records were originally housed in the Administrative Complex; the remainder were consolidated from locations throughout the steel plant and in other CF&I buildings.²⁵⁴ The former sales office still houses the administrative offices of EVRAZ Rocky Mountain Steel, which operates the steel plant on the opposite side of Interstate 25.

Resources within the District

- Resource 1: Office Building (1901), contributing building
- Resource 2: Office Annex (1921, 1931, 1945, post-1960), contributing building
- Resource 3: Dispensary/Employment Office (1902, 1926), contributing building
- Resource 4: Sales Office (1971), noncontributing building
- Resource 5: Karymor Merry-Go-Round (1931, relocated 2015), noncontributing object

²⁵² M. Susan Barger, *Conservation Assessment Program Report for Bessemer Historical Society/Steelworks: Museum of Industry & Culture* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Museum Development Associates, 17 November 2005).

²⁵³ Ronald Maize, Assistant Professor of Latino Studies and Development Sociology, Cornell University, letter in support of National Endowment for Humanities grant, 2009; Fawn Amber Montoya, Assistant Professor of History, Colorado State University Pueblo, letter in support of National Endowment for Humanities grant, 2013. In 2009 sociologist Ronald Maize observed: “Quite simply, the residuals that are contained in the [CF&I] archives are not matched anywhere else. The mining collections from Arizona State University, University of Colorado Boulder, the state historical societies of Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico, and the Western History Collection of the Denver Public Library are all incredibly valuable repositories but nowhere can the story of mining in the southwest be more completely and more thoroughly understood than at BHS archives.” Historian Fawn Amber Montoya asserted “This collection is historically significant to the History of the United States and to the West because it shows the process of industrialization of the region and reflects what immigrant communities came into contact with when they arrived in the region. It also gives a broader picture of how corporate business influenced the economy of the time.”

²⁵⁴ Victoria Miller, Museum Curator, Steelworks Center of the West, Pueblo, Colorado, email to Thomas H. Simmons, 27 September 2018.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- X Previously listed in the National Register (fill in 1 through 6 below)
Not previously listed in the National Register (fill in only 4, 5, and 6 below)

- 1. NR #: 02000628
2. Date of listing: June 6, 2002
3. Level of significance: State
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: A X B C X D
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A B C D E F G
6. Areas of Significance: Industry, Architecture

NOTE: On October 14, 2008, additional National Register documentation was approved reflecting a national level of significance in the area of Industry for the complex's association with CF&I's Employee Representation Plan.

- Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation:
Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No.
Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.
Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No.

Location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office: History Colorado, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, Colorado
Other State Agency:
Federal Agency:
Local Government:
University:
Other (Specify Repository): Steelworks Center for the West, Pueblo, Colorado

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8. FORM PREPARED BY

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Date: October 19, 2018

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Figures Log

Location Map

Sketch Map with Photograph Locations

Figure 1. This ca. 1905 postcard view northeast shows the sweep of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company's steelworks in the background and the administrative complex in the left foreground. Courtesy of the authors, historic postcard image collection, Denver, Colorado.

Figure 2. Denver architect Frederick J. Sterner prepared plans for the office building (above) and the dispensary. Courtesy of Steelworks Center for the West, Archives, Frederick J. Sterner, Office Building for Steel Works, Pueblo, Colorado, ca. 1901.

Figure 3. The completed office building is shown in this April 1902 photograph (view north-northeast). Courtesy of *Camp and Plant*, 12 April 1902.

Figure 4. The 1902 dispensary is shown in this photograph (view northeast) prior to the construction of its western employment office addition. Courtesy of Steelworks Center of the West, Archives, Pueblo, Colorado.

Figure 5. Employees at the steelworks bar mill, ca. 1900. Courtesy Steelworks Center of the West, Archives, Pueblo, Colorado.

Figure 6. Overview of the landscaped complex published in *Camp and Plant*, 11 October 1902 (view northwest), with the office building at left and the dispensary at right. The mess hall/clubhouse is above the dispensary and laboratory is to above and to its left. Courtesy of Steelworks Center of the West, Archives, Pueblo, Colorado

Figure 7. This extract from the 1905 Sanborn fire insurance map shows the administrative block at that date. Courtesy of Sanborn Map Company, Pueblo, Colorado, fire insurance map (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1905).

Figure 8. The extent of the steel plant is shown in this 1918 oblique aerial view. The administrative complex is identified by the arrow. Northern Avenue is near the bottom of the image and railroad tracks pass between the plant and the administrative buildings. Courtesy of *CF&I Industrial Bulletin*, 31 July 1918.

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Figure 10. CF&I's Minnequa Works steel plant covered a large tract in the southern part of Pueblo, Colorado. Courtesy of Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department, photograph by Theodore Anderson, image number X-10630, ca. 1913-20, Denver, Colorado.

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Figure 12. Rows of company houses are shown in this ca. 1915 overview shows Primero in Las Animas County, Colorado, one of CF&I's company coal camps. Courtesy of the authors' historic postcard image collection, Denver, Colorado.

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LOCATION MAP



The labeled red polygon is the nominated area.

Point	Latitude:	Longitude:
1	38.238784	-104.613712
2	38.238784	-104.613007
3	38.238386	-104.613011
4	38.238389	-104.612677
5	38.238061	-104.612675
6	38.237976	-104.612333
7	38.237974	-104.612151
8	38.237734	-104.612149
9	38.237720	-104.613696

Image Date: 28 August 2013

Datum: WGS84

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CF&I Administrative Complex: Sketch Map



Contributing Status

- Contributing
- Noncontributing

- 5 Photo Location and Camera Direction



==== NHL District Boundary

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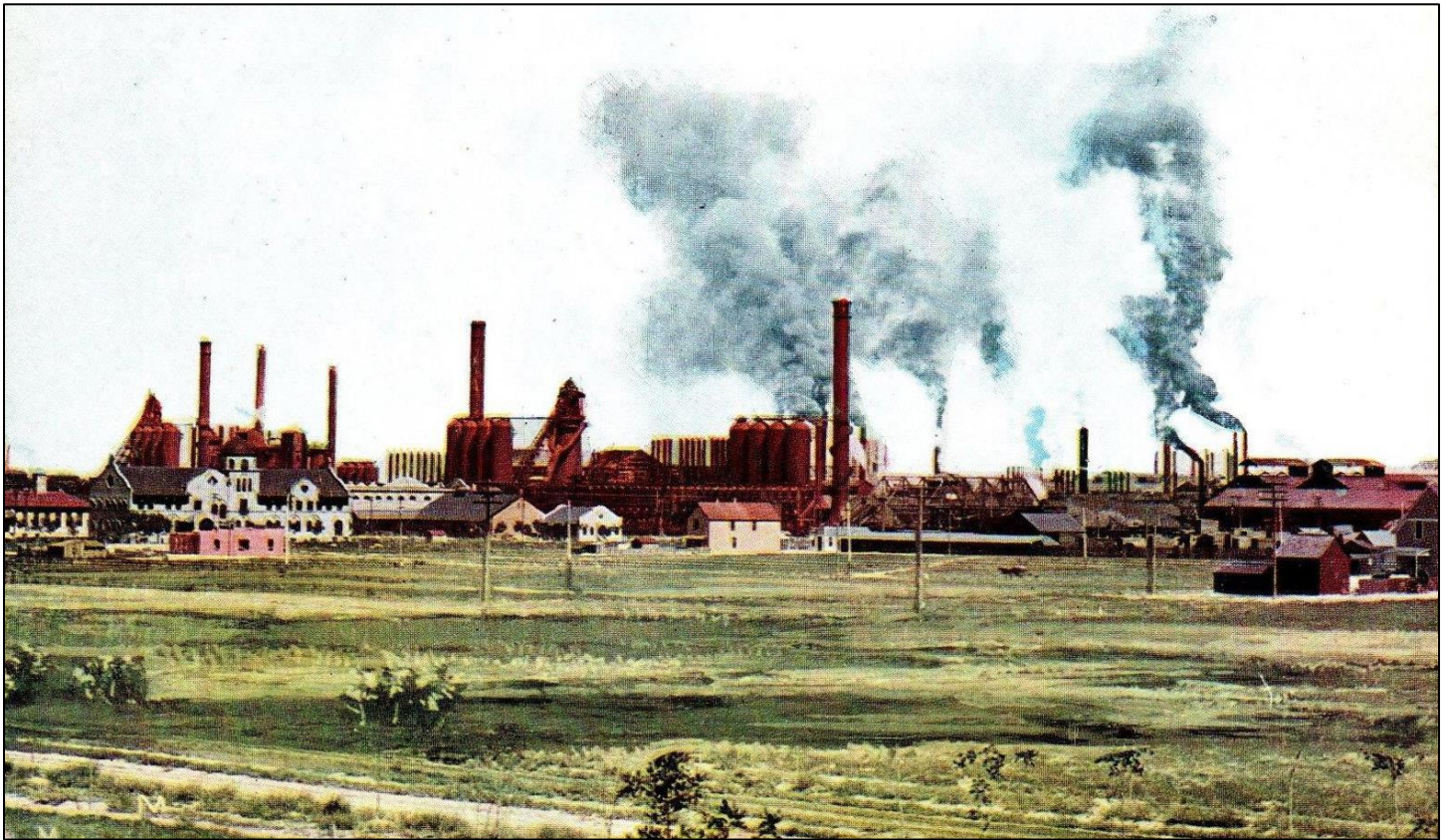


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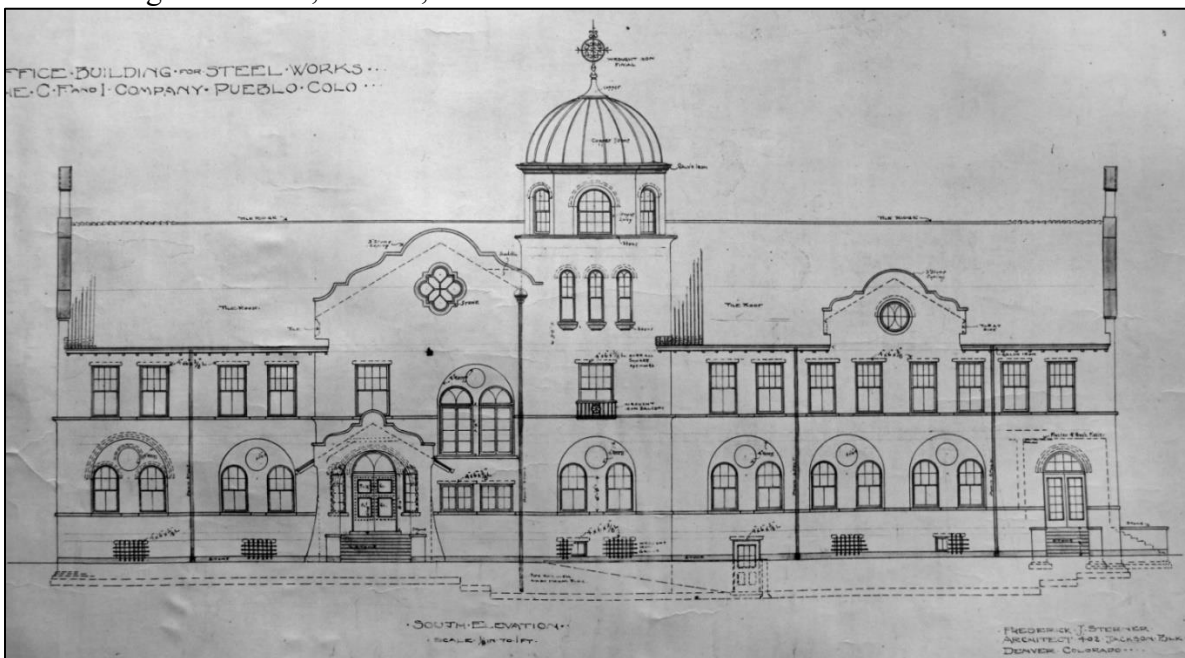


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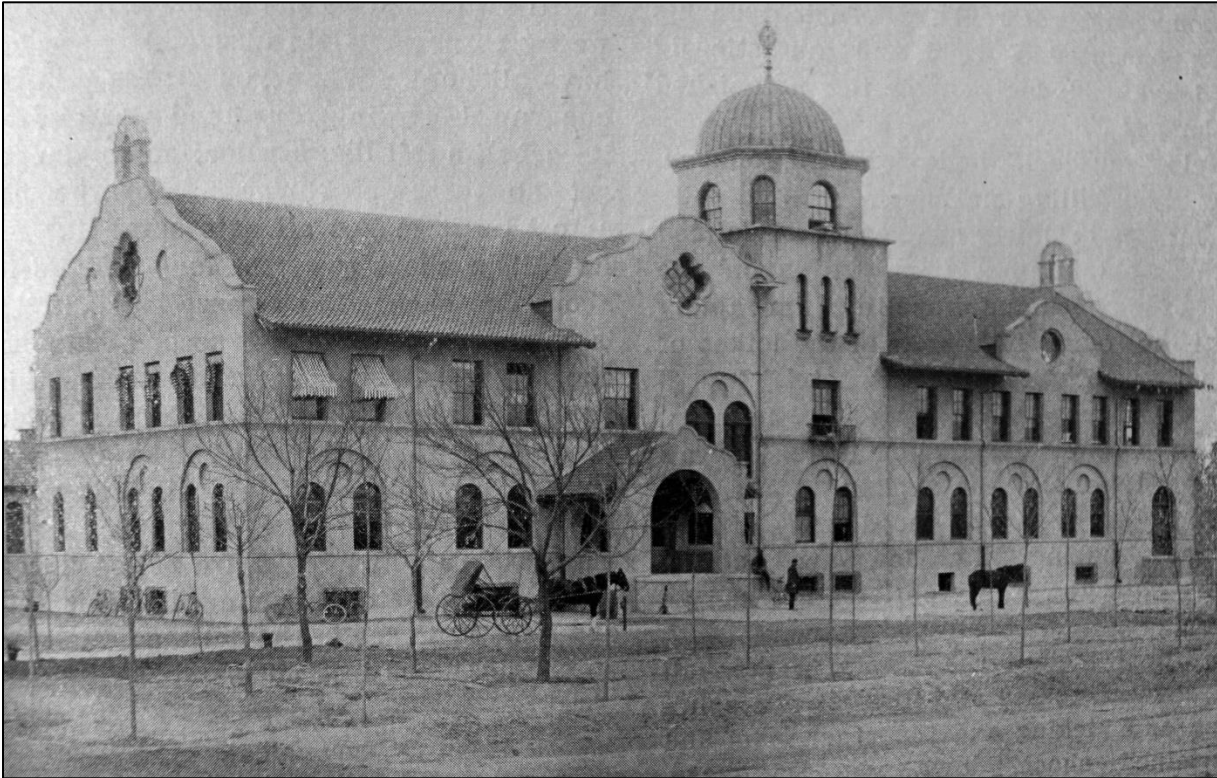


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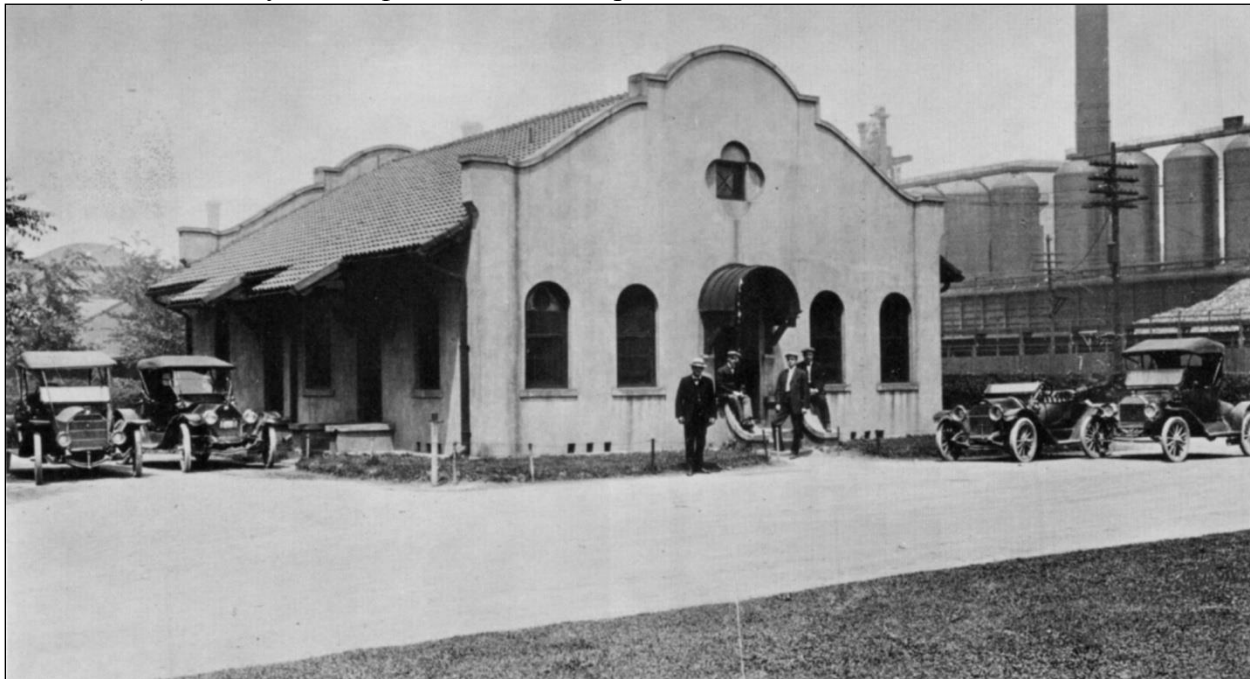


Figure 4. The 1902 dispensary is shown in this photograph (view northeast) prior to the construction of its western employment office addition. Courtesy of Steelworks Center of the West, Archives, Pueblo, Colorado.

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Figure 5. Employees at the steelworks bar mill, ca. 1900. Courtesy Steelworks Center of the West, Archives, Pueblo, Colorado.

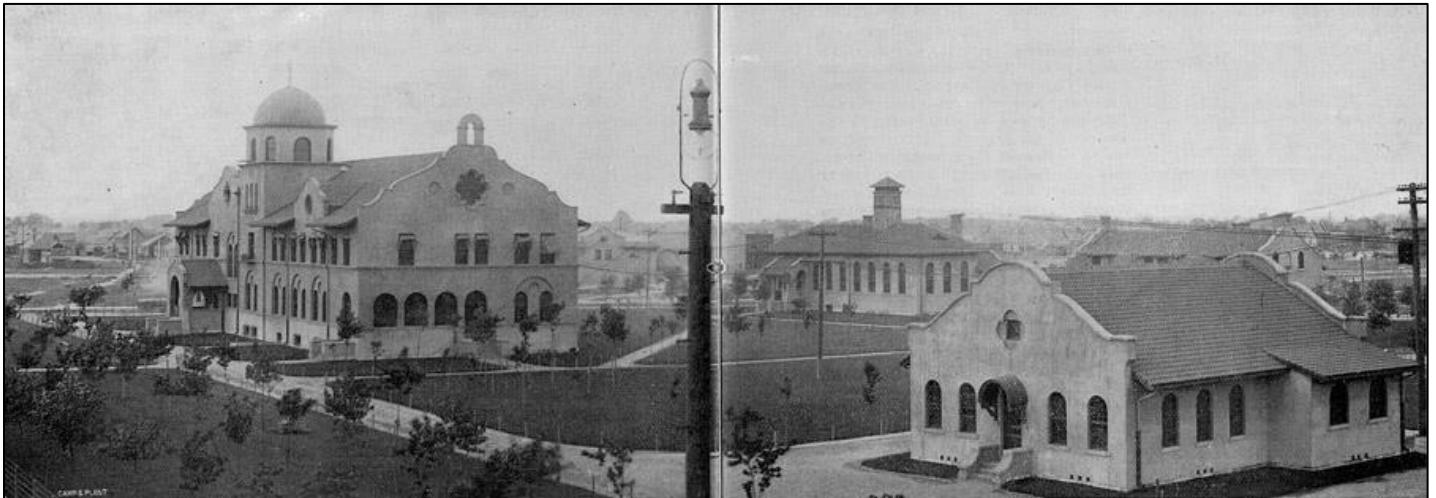


Figure 6. Overview of the landscaped complex published in *Camp and Plant*, 11 October 1902 (view northwest), with the office building at left and the dispensary at right. The mess hall/clubhouse is above the dispensary and laboratory is to above and to its left. Courtesy of Steelworks Center of the West, Archives, Pueblo, Colorado.

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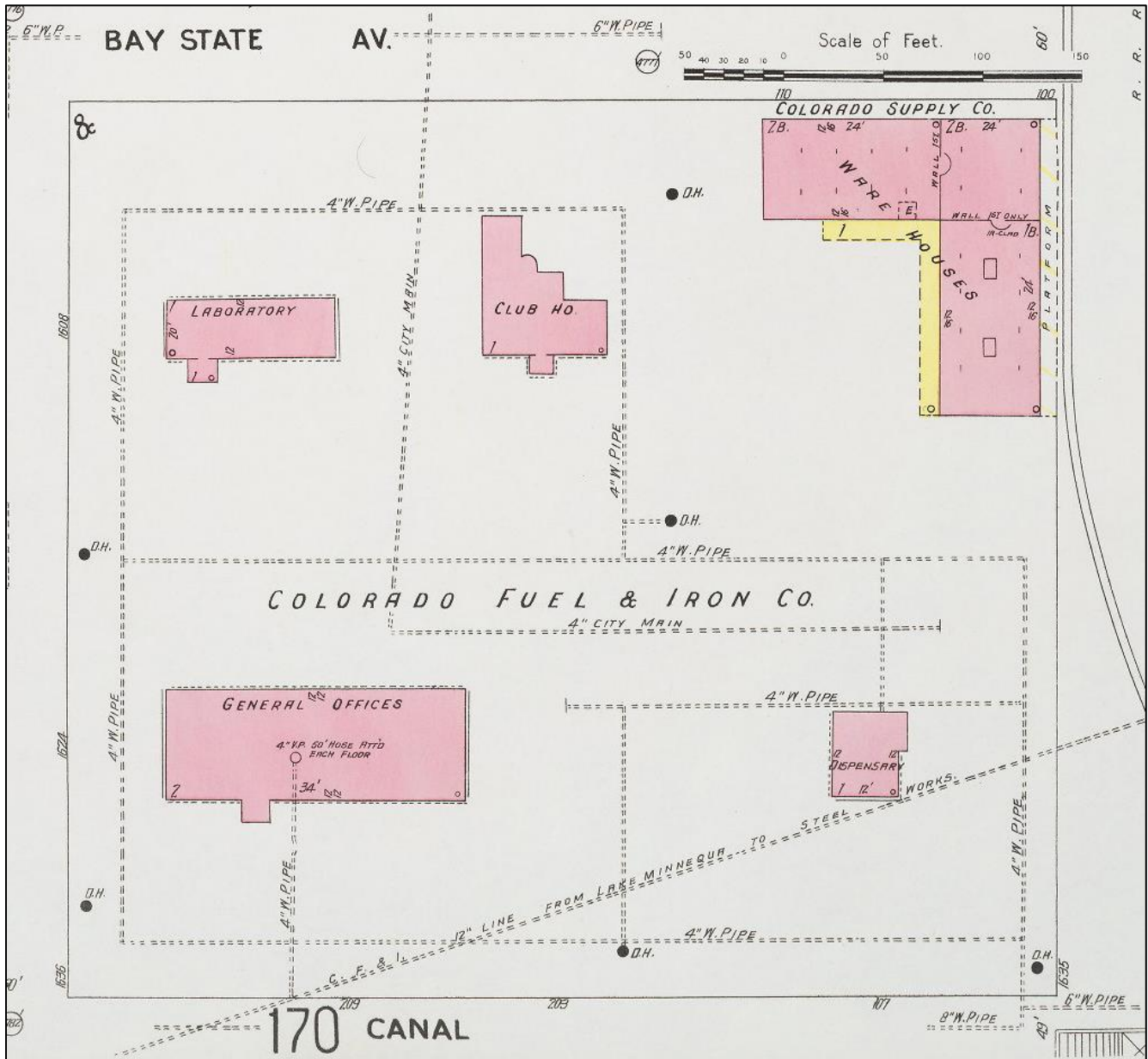


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Figure 8. The extent of the steel plant is shown in this 1918 oblique aerial view. The administrative complex is identified by the arrow. Northern Avenue is near the bottom of the image and railroad tracks pass between the plant and the administrative buildings. Courtesy of *CF&I Industrial Bulletin*, 31 July 1918.

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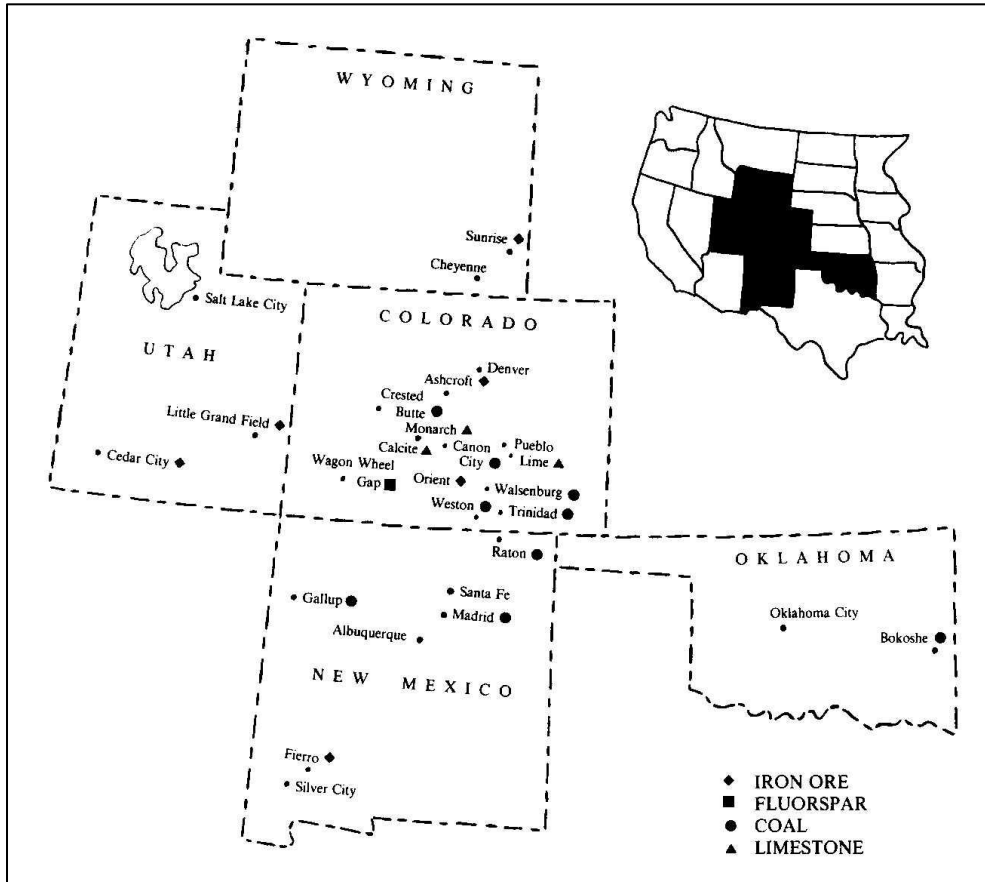


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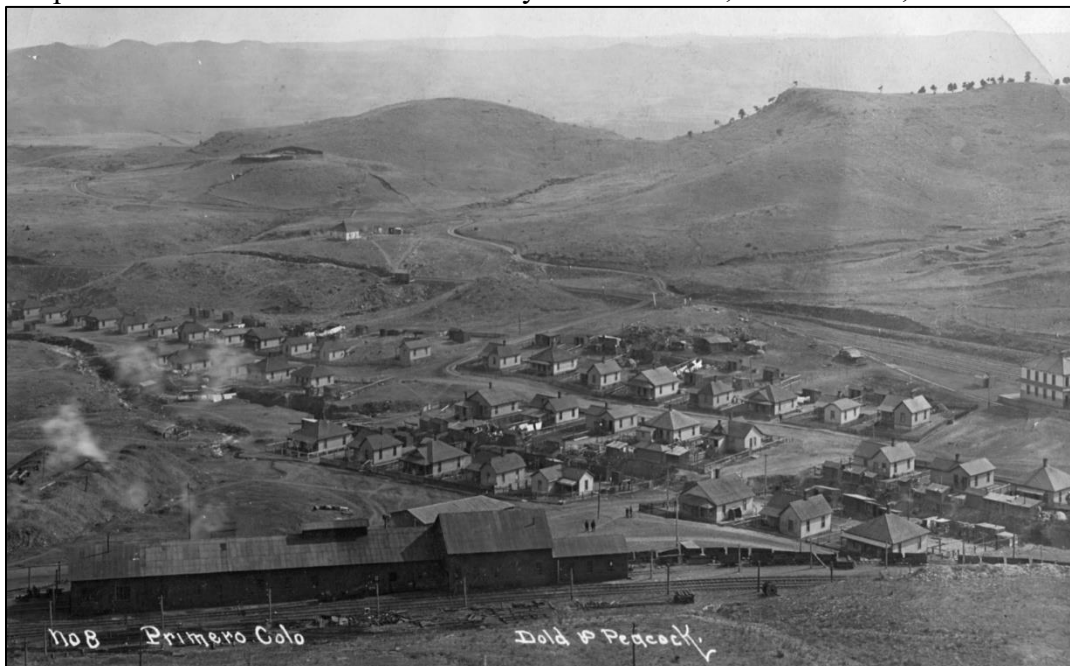


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Photograph Log

Name of Property: Colorado Fuel and Iron Company Administrative Complex
City or Vicinity: Pueblo
County: Pueblo
State: Colorado
Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons
Date: As indicated

Photo 13 of 17. Overview of complex with office building (left) and dispensary/employment office (right), with steelworks at right and Bessemer Ditch in foreground. View north-northeast. October 2013.

Photo 2 of 17. Office building front (south wall). View north. November 2013.

Photo 3 of 17. Office building (front and west wall), with west wall of office annex (left) and dispensary/employment office (right). View northeast. November 2013.

Photo 4 of 17. Office building front and east wall with office annex to right. View northwest. October 2013.

Photo 5 of 17. Office building rear (north wall) with connector to office annex at right. View west-southwest. November 2013.

Photo 6 of 17. Office building interior, stairs to second floor. View south-southwest. November 2013.

Photo 7 of 17. Office building interior, second story drafting room. View east. October 2013.

Photo 8 of 17. Office building interior of fourth-story drum with former steelwork visible through window. View east. November 2013.

Photo 9 of 17. Dispensary/employment office front and east wall with office building to left. View northwest. November 2013.

Photo 10 of 17. Dispensary/employment office rear (north wall) and west wall. View southeast. November 2013.

Photo 11 of 17. Dispensary/employment interior, examination room. View south. November 2013.

Photo 12 of 17. Office annex front (south wall at east end), with office building to left and Karymor merry-go-round in foreground. View north-northwest. November 2013.

Photo 13 of 17. Office annex front (south wall), with office building to left. View west-northwest. October 2013.

Photo 14 of 17. Office annex west and south walls, with connector to right and sales office to left. View east-northeast. November 2013.

Photo 15 of 17. Office annex (east wall), with post-1960 addition to right. View southwest. November 2013.

Photo 16 of 17. Sales office front (west wall). View east. November 2013.

Photo 17 of 17. Sales office north wall and rear (east wall). View southwest. November 2013.

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Photograph 1. Overview of complex with office building (left) and dispensary/employment office (right), with steelworks at right and Bessemer Ditch in foreground. View north-northeast.



Photograph 2. Office building front (south wall). View north.

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Photograph 3. Office building (front and west wall), with west wall of office annex (left) and dispensary/employment office (right). View northeast.



Photograph 4. Office building front and east wall with office annex to right. View northwest.

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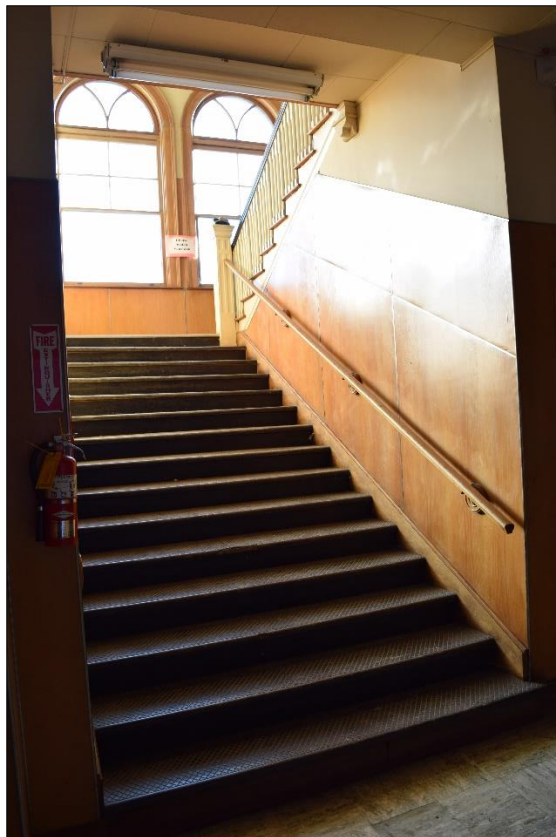
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Photograph 5. Office building rear (north wall) with connector to office annex at right. View west-southwest.



Photograph 6. Office building interior, stairs to second floor. View south-southwest.

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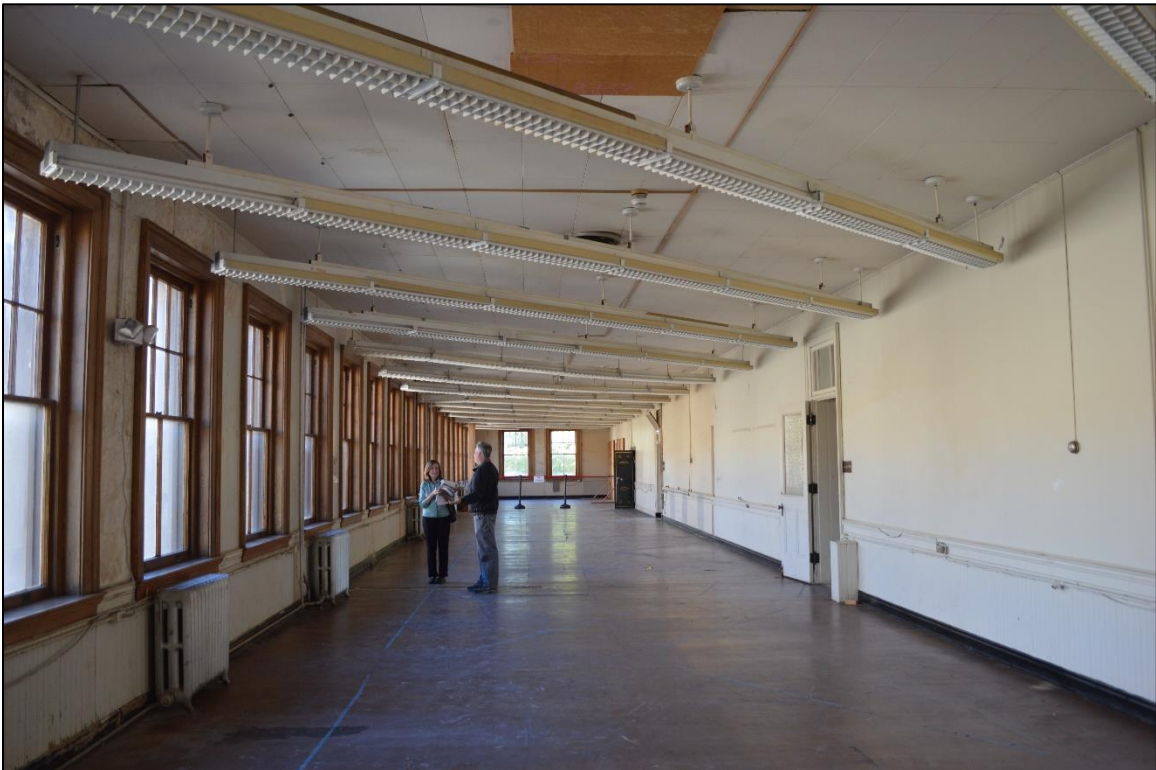
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Photograph 7. Office building interior, second story drafting room. View east.



Photograph 8. Office building interior of fourth-story drum with former steelwork visible through window. View east.

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Photograph 9. Dispensary/employment office front and east wall with office building to left. View northwest.



Photograph 10. Dispensary/employment office rear (north wall) and west wall. View southeast.

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Photograph 11. Dispensary/employment interior, examination room. View south.



Photograph 12. Office annex front (south wall at east end), with office building to left and Karymor merry-go-round in foreground. View north-northwest.

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Photograph 13. Office annex front (south wall), with office building to left. View west-northwest.



Photograph 14. Office annex west and south walls, with connector to right and sales office to left. View east-northeast.

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Photograph 15. Office annex (east wall), with post-1960 addition to right. View southwest.



Photograph 16. Sales office front (west wall). View east.

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Photograph 17. Sales office north wall and rear (east wall). View southwest.