NPS Form 10-900

OMB No. 10024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

U29

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determination for individual properties and districts. See instruction in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Minnequa Steel Works Office Building and Dispensary, Colorado Fuel & Iron Company

other names/site number CF&I Corporate Headquarters / 5PE4179

2. Location

street & number 215 and 225 Canal Street [N/A] not for publication

city or town Pueblo [N/A] vicinity

state Colorado code CO county Pueblo code 101 zip code 81004

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this [X] nomination [ ] request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property [ ] meets [ ] does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant [ ] nationally [X] statewide [ ] locally. ([ ] See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Georgianna Contiguglia, State Historic Preservation Officer — April 19, 2002
Signature of certifying official/Title — Date

State Historic Preservation Office, Colorado Historical Society
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property [ ] meets [ ] does not meet the National Register criteria.
([ ] See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is:

[ ] entered in the National Register
[ ] See continuation sheet.
[ ] determined eligible for the National Register
[ ] See continuation sheet.
[ ] determined not eligible for the National Register.
[ ] removed from the National Register
[ ] other, explain
[ ] See continuation sheet.

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action

Beth Boland — 6/6/02

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply)

[X] private
[ ] public-local
[ ] public-State
[ ] public-Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

[X] building(s)
[ ] district
[ ] site
[ ] structure
[ ] object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not count previously listed resources.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
3	0	buildings
0	0	sites
0	1	structures
0	0	objects
3	1	Total

Name of related multiple property listing.
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register.

0

6. Function or Use

Historic Function
(Enter categories from instructions)

Commerce/business
Health Care/clinic

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

Commerce/business
Vacant

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)

Mission/Spanish Colonial Revival

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation Brick; Concrete
walls Stucco; Steel
roof Ceramic Tile; Asphalt
other

Narrative Description
(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria
(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

[X] **A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

[ ] **B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

[X] **C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

[ ] **D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations
(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

[ ] **A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.

[ ] **B** removed from its original location.

[ ] **C** a birthplace or grave.

[ ] **D** a cemetery.

[ ] **E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.

[ ] **F** a commemorative property.

[X] **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions)

Industry
Architecture

Periods of Significance
1901-1955

Significant Dates
1901
1902
1921
1926
1931
1945

Significant Person(s)
(Complete if Criterion B is marked above).
N/A

Cultural Affiliation
N/A

Architect/Builder
Sterner, Frederick J.
Stickney, William W.
DeMordaunt, Walter
Rohl, W. R.

Narrative Statement of Significance
(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography
(Cite the books, articles and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

[ ] preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
[ ] previously listed in the National Register
[ ] previously determined eligible by the National Register
[ ] designated a National Historic Landmark
[ ] recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey
#_____
[ ] recorded by Historic American Engineering Record
#_____

Primary location of additional data:

[X] State Historic Preservation Office
[ ] Other State Agency
[ ] Federal Agency
[ ] Local Government
[ ] University
[X] Other

Name of repository:
Colorado Historical Society
CF&I Corporate Offices, Pueblo

Minnequa Steel Works Office Building and Dispensary | Pueblo County, Colorado
Name of Property | County/State

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 5.5

UTM References
(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

1.	13 Zone	533840 Easting	4232170 Northing	3.	13 Zone	533990 Easting	4232020 Northing
2.	13 Zone	533990 Easting	4232170 Northing	4.	13 Zone	533840 Easting	4232020 Northing

[ ] See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description
(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification
(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title James F. Munch, Director (edited and additional material supplied by OAHP staff)
organization City of Pueblo, Planning and Development date 18 May 2001
street & number 211 East "D" street telephone 719-543-6006
city or town Pueblo state Colorado zip code 81003

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps
A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs
Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.

Additional Items
(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of SHPO or FPO.)

name Rocky Mountain Steel Mills Company
street & number 1612 East Abriendo Avenue telephone 719-561-6825
city or town Pueblo state Colorado zip code 81004

DESCRIPTION

The Minnequa Steel Works Office Building and Dispensary sit on an approximately 5-1/2 acre site located in southeastern Pueblo. Interstate 25 runs along the eastern edge of the property and separates these buildings from the associated steel plant operations [not part of the nomination] that lie immediately to the east. The construction of the buildings that currently make up the complex began in 1901 with the Office Building and continued through 1971 with the Sales Office addition. A circa 1902 photograph shows the Office Building, Dispensary, and two other buildings (a Laboratory and Lunch Club, both no longer extant) surrounded by expanses of grassy lawns crisscrossed with tree-lined concrete walkways. Today, the buildings and their subsequent additions are surrounded by asphalt parking lots. The nominated parcel includes three buildings and one structure:

1. The Office Building is comprised of the original 1901 Mission style **Office Building**, the Mission style **Office Annex** constructed in three stages (1921, 1931, and 1945), and the 1971 steel facade **Sales Office**.

2. The Mission style **Dispensary/Employment Office** includes the original 1902 Dispensary and the 1926 Employment Office addition.

3. The 1955 **Main Gate House** was also designed in the Mission style. Constructed several decades after the popularity of the Mission style had waned, this building represents a continuation of the planned architectural design.

4. The large **Corporate Sign**, adjacent to Interstate-25 and the main gate, was erected in the 1960s and is noncontributing.

1. Office Building

Frederick J. Sterner designed the Office Building in the Mission style with a rectangular plan, brick walls covered with tawny colored stucco, and a gabled roof covered with red ceramic tiles. The building is 2-1/2 stories with a raised basement. A four-story tower topped with a domed roof and an elaborate finial marks the south facade. Curvilinear parapets with a decorative coping mark each end of the building and the several gabled roof dormers on the north and south sides. Each parapet end is highlighted by a round or a quatrefoil-shaped window with an elaborate surround (a *rosa* window). Portions of the roof that project out from the wall reveal exposed decorative rafter tails. Many windows have round arched openings.

South Elevation: The south elevation contains the main entrance and is dominated by the centrally located, four-story, domed tower, that divides the façade into east and west sections. The tower and two gabled roof dormers faced with curvilinear parapet walls break the overhanging eave line of the red tile roof. A large asymmetrical parapet wall extends westward from the tower, while a smaller parapet wall

is centered on the east section. A scupper and downspout separates the tower from the larger parapet. Three belt courses project out from the stuccoed wall and extend across the façade. The first belt course serves as a water table. The second one is a sill course for the first floor windows that are comprised of paired round arched windows with a centrally positioned roundel all set within a blind arch. These windows are double hung sash, six-over-six, now covered with one-over-one storm windows. (This window configuration differs from that seen on the architect's drawings.) Another sill course runs beneath the second story windows, which are rectangular, double hung sashes with eight over two vertical lights.

The three belt courses also run along the wall of the tower, and the pattern of first and second story windows also continues. Three tall, narrow, round-arched windows (double hung sash with six-over-one light) pierce the wall of the third story. The tower's third story projects through the slope of the gable roof and is capped by a cornice. Atop the square tower is an octagonal drum and a metal clad dome. The octagonal drum has four large primary faces on the south, north, east, and west sides with smaller faces at the corners. Within each of these planes is an arched opening that originally contained a window. The larger primary walls contained double hung, eight-over-eight windows; the corner walls contained double hung, six-over-six windows. Many of these window openings now contain vents. A molded projecting cornice separates the drum from the dome. The dome, capped with a decorative finial, was originally covered with a copper, standing seam roof. It appears that the copper has been covered with aluminum paint.

The west section of the south facade includes the large asymmetrical parapet wall with limestone copping now covered with stucco. A pair of small double hung windows has replaced the original *rosa* window opening with its elaborate surround that was centrally located within the parapet wall. This section also contains the main entrance, a gabled roof projection also marked with a curvilinear parapet. The gabled roof portal that covers the steps leading to the round-arched entrance has a red tile roof and overhanging eaves with exposed decorative rafter tails. The front and sides of the portal have round arched openings. The original double leaf entry doors have been replaced with a pair of commercial-grade, full view metal entry doors. Between the entry projection and the tower, breaking the second floor sill course, is a window that is similar to those of the first floor (a pair of round arched windows with a rondel set in a blind arch). Directly below this large window is a pair of two smaller rectangular windows.

The east section of the south façade is more symmetrical arrangement. Like its western counterpart, the eastern parapet wall is capped with a limestone coping that has been covered with stucco. A large round recessed opening centrally located within the parapet wall was once a round window. At the southeast corner, there were stairs leading to round arched French doors. The doors have been subsequently replaced with multi-paned casement windows.

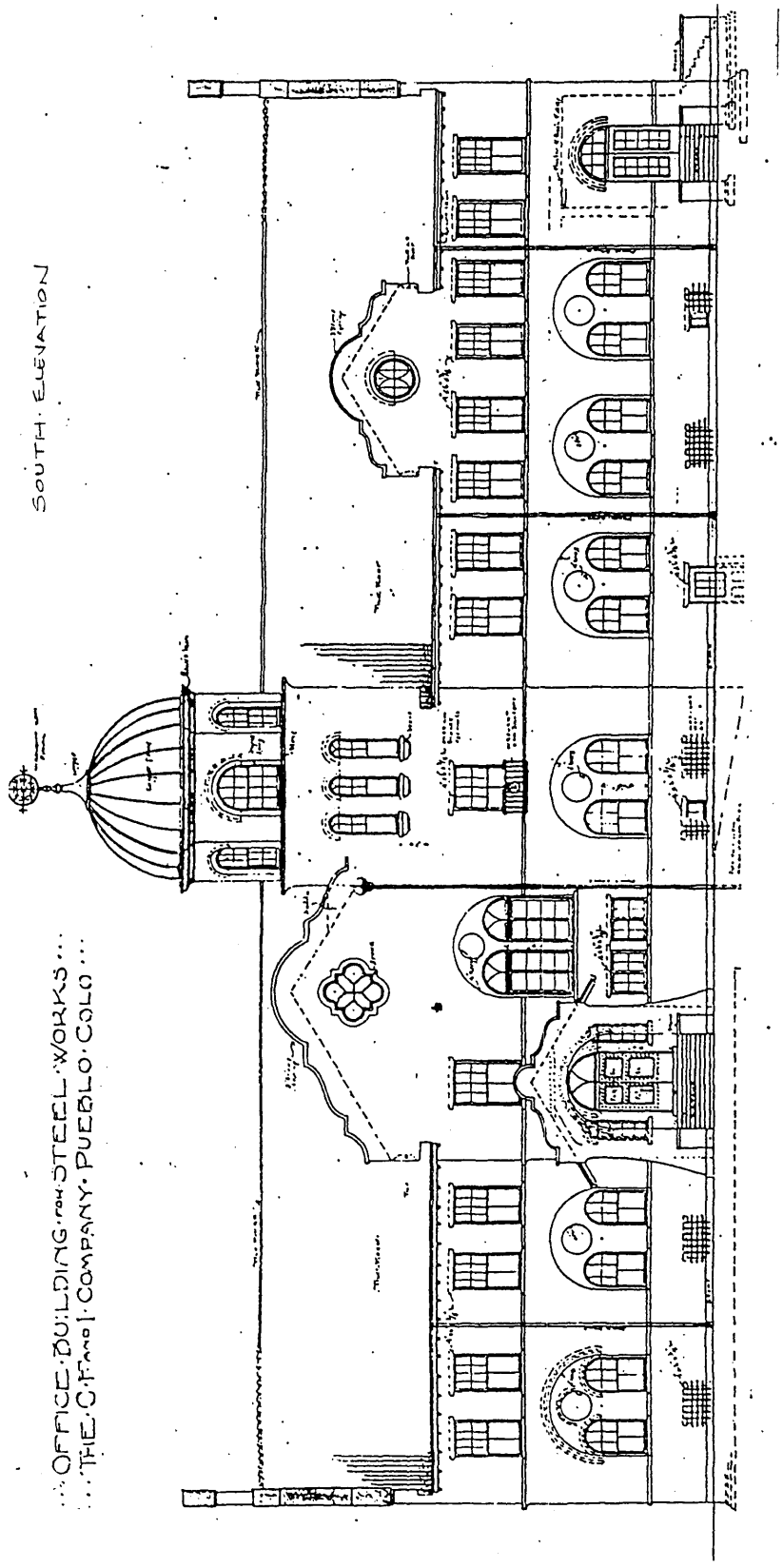
West Elevation: The gabled west end of the Office Building is faced with a curvilinear parapet wall capped with limestone coping that has been covered with stucco. A small belfry topped the parapet

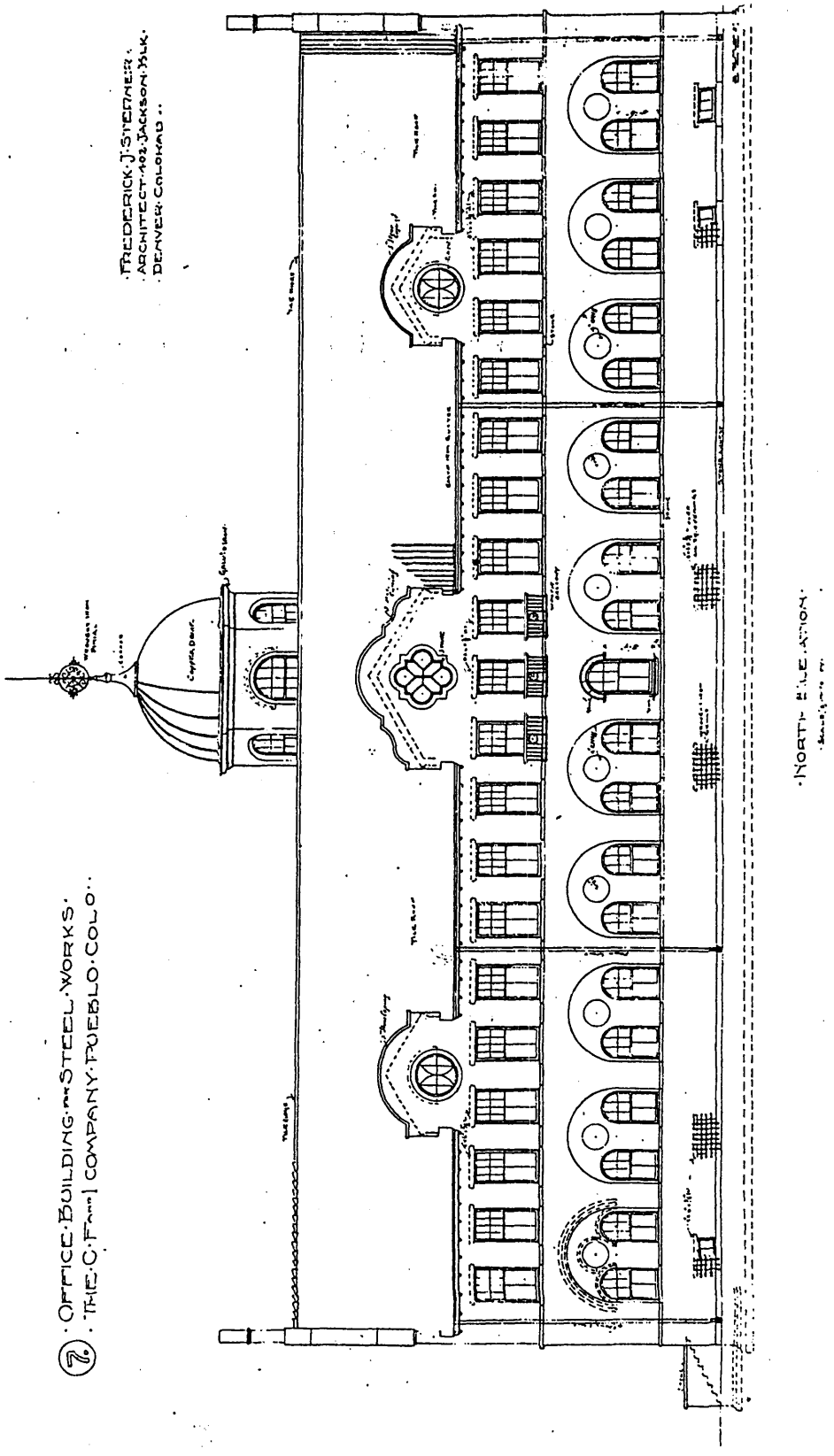
wall, but has since been removed. Three rectangular windows replaced a *rosa* window with an elaborate surround flanked by recessed roundels that were centrally positioned within the parapet. The belt coursing continues on the west side of the building with sill coursing marking the bottom of the first floor windows. These windows include three pairs of double-hung, arched windows (six-over-four light). The two pairs nearest the south facade continue the pattern of paired round arched windows with a centrally positioned roundel all set within a blind arch. The third pair does not include the roundel or the blind arch. The upper sill course highlights the paired, rectangular, double hung sash, second-story windows.

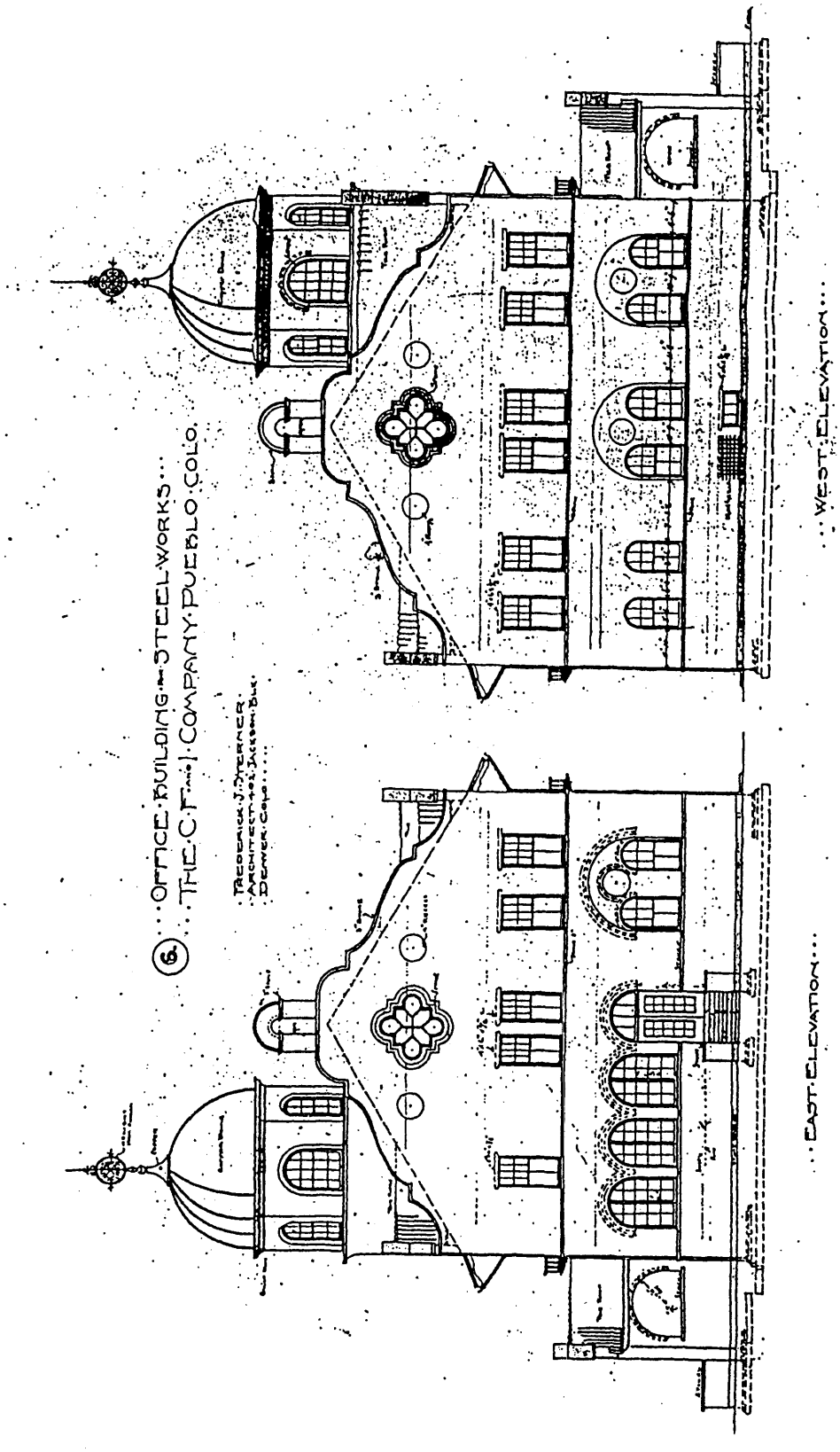
East Elevation: Like its counterpart on the west, the gabled east end of the building is also faced with a curvilinear parapet wall capped with limestone coping since covered with stucco, and the small belfry is also gone. The *rosa* window with it elaborate surround was replaced by a rectangular window opening filled with a pair of double hung windows. The flanking recessed roundels remain. The belt coursing continues on the east side. At the northeast corner is a window pattern similar to the south façade—a pair of round-arched windows with a roundel all set within a blind arch. The remaining first floor fenestration contains a series of four closely spaced, multi-light, round-arched windows. The most centrally located was originally a French doorway. The second floor contains a series of the rectangular windows.

North Elevation: The symmetrical north side of the building continues the belt coursing and fenestration pattern of the south façade. The first floor windows aligned with the sill course consist of a pair of round-arched windows with a roundel all set within a blind arch. Five sets of these paired windows each flank a centrally positioned round arched window (larger in size than the paired versions) capped with an elaborate molded label. It is a double hung, six over two, window. The regularly spaced, second story windows, also aligned with the sill course, are rectangular double hung windows. Three gabled roof dormers faced with curvilinear parapet walls project through the overhanging eaves of the roof. The cut limestone coping of the parapets has been covered with stucco. The largest roof dormer is centrally located opposite the tower. A metal fire escape replaced the *rosa* window within the parapet wall. Flanking the central parapet wall are two smaller, parapet walls with more simple curves. Historically they each contained a decorative round window.

Interior: The interior of the Office Building reflects changes in configuration and design that have occurred over time. The first floor has undergone the most alterations, currently reflecting a 1950s time period. However, the stairwell and second floor contain more original historic fabric and finishes, including wood paneled doors, wainscoting, and window and door trim. In the original design, the third floor was relatively unfinished except for the drying room in the stair tower. This room retains some of its original finishes, however the third floor reflects the increased need for additional useable office space that resulted in changes to the exterior to the building (i.e., the replacement of all of the decorative windows with rectangular double hung windows). The fourth level, which is located in the tower, was the blue print room. This room currently serves as a mechanical room. Although damaged, much of the historic fabric, including the wood balustrade, wainscoting, and window trim, remain intact in this room.


SOUTH ELEVATION
OFFICE BUILDING FOR STEEL WORKS
THE C.F. & I. COMPANY PUEBLO COLO


FREDERICK J. STEINER
ARCHITECT 402 JACKSON BLK.
DENVER COLORADO
NORTH ELEVATION
7. OFFICE BUILDING FOR STEEL WORKS
THE C. F. & I. COMPANY PUEBLO COLO.


WEST ELEVATION
EAST ELEVATION
6. OFFICE BUILDING-STEEL WORKS
THE C.F. & I. COMPANY PUEBLO, COLO.

Office Annex

The two-story Office Annex Office sits directly north of the Office Building and is connected to it via an enclosed pedestrian walkway. The Annex is comprised of three different buildings constructed over a 24-year period. The building is generally laid out in the shape of a reclining "F" with the first addition towards the west constructed in 1921 and designed by Pueblo architect, William W. Stickney. The subsequent additions, drawn by W.R. Rohl, were constructed in 1931 and 1945. These additions are constructed along a single double-loaded corridor, which travels east/west along the entire length of the building. The annex buildings are all two stories (although of varying heights) with full basements. They all have flat roofs behind curvilinear parapet walls highlighted with coping. The 1931 addition has curvilinear parapets on its east and west walls; the 1945 addition has curvilinear parapets on its south and north walls. The 1921 and 1931 portions are of masonry construction, while the 1945 addition is constructed of steel and concrete. The entire building has a tawny-gray stucco finish. Two sill courses encircling the building break up the smooth expanse of the stuccoed walls.

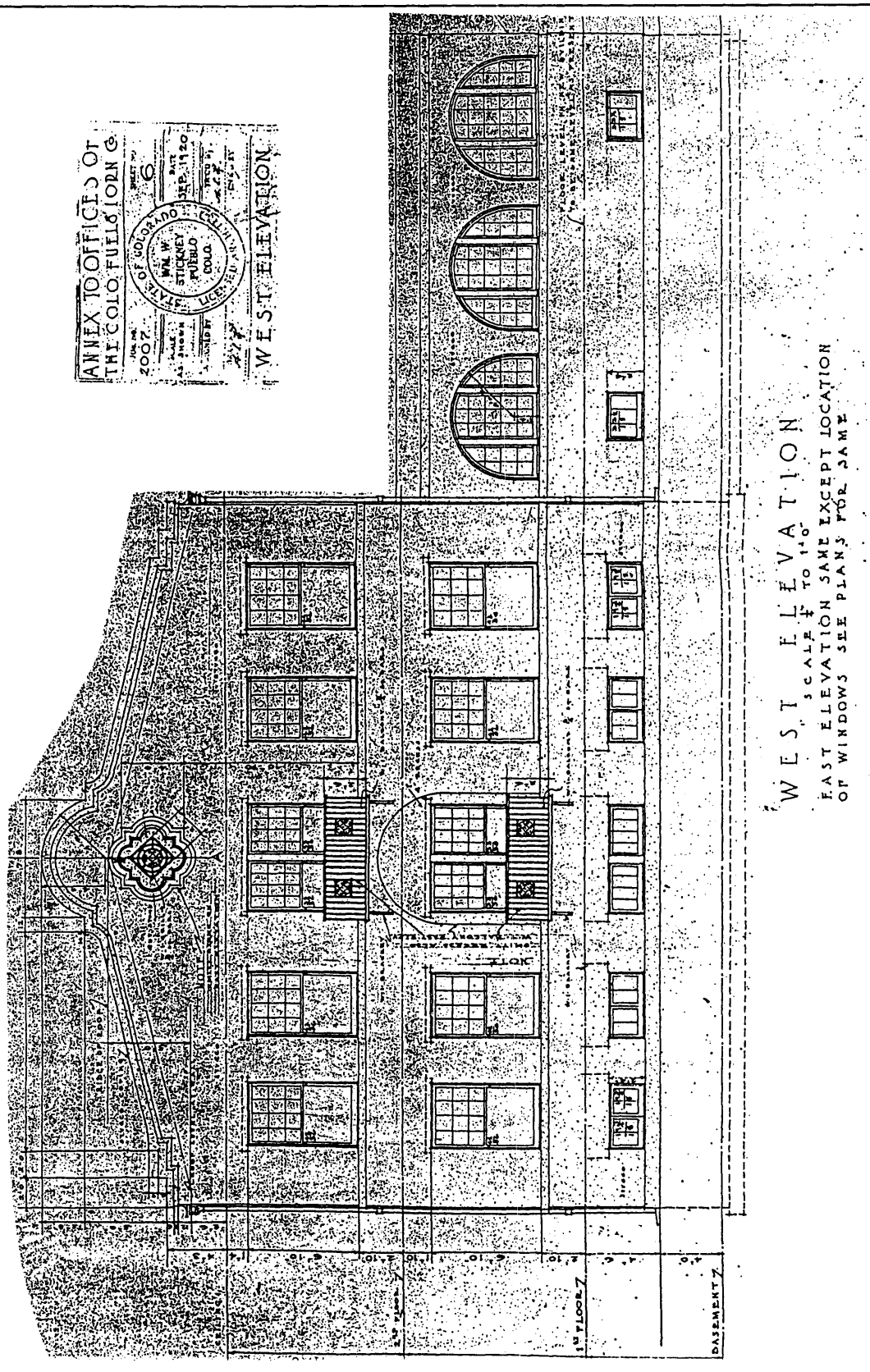
West Elevation: The west side and the enclosed pedestrian passageway reflect many of the same Mission elements found in the Office Building. The one-story flat roof pedestrian passageway connects both the first story and the basement the Office Building with the 1921 portion of the Annex Building. The passageway includes five rectangular multi-light, fixed sash windows on both sides. These windows include a triple window flanked by two single windows. A women's bathroom has been added to the passageway on the east side nearest the Annex. A sill course runs under these windows and a second belt course runs near the flat roof. The west end of the Annex [the 1921 addition] is marked by a curvilinear parapet wall (simpler in design to those of the Office Building) and a *rosa* window with an elaborate surround. A sill course underscores the first and second story windows, which are rectangular, double hung window with 12-over-1 lights. The central windows on each floor are paired and partially covered by shallow, wrought iron balconies.

South Elevation: The south face of the Annex, although partially obscured by the Office Building positioned in front of it and constructed in three sections over a 24-year period, maintains a continuity of Mission design elements. The main entrance is toward the east end of the 1945 addition and is marked by a simple curvilinear parapet wall. A smaller version of the curvilinear parapet tops the projecting entrance bay and the design is repeated again in the arched entry. Several concrete stairs lead to a single leaf, metal door surmounted by a semi-circular transom. The windows are evenly spaced across the façade and underscored with sill coursing. Both first and second floor windows are rectangular, double-hung sashes with twelve-over-one lights.

East Elevation: The east facade continues the belt coursing of the south facade, but not the regular fenestration pattern. The windows are rectangular double-hung sashes with either 4/4 or 2/1 lights. The offset projecting entrance bay continues the arched design seen on the south façade with concrete steps leading to a single leaf, steel and glazed door.

North Elevation: The back of the Annex with its highly irregular outline reflects the three different construction periods, although the 1971 Sales Office obscures the north elevation of the 1921 portion of the building. The majority of the heating, ventilation, and air conditioning units are housed on this elevation. While each addition has its own fenestration pattern, all the windows are rectangular, double-hung sashes. The 1921 and 1931 buildings have 12 lights over one, while the 1945 addition has two vertical lights over one. The sill coursing below the first and second floor windows continues on this elevation.

Interior: The Annex contains significant amounts of original interior design and finishes. The finishes reflect the time period within which construction occurred.


ANNEX TO OFFICES OF THE COLO. FUEL & IRON CO.
WEST ELEVATION
WEST ELEVATION
SCALE 1/8" TO 1'-0"
EAST ELEVATION SAME EXCEPT LOCATION OF WINDOWS SEE PLANS FOR SAME
1ST FLOOR
BASEMENT

Sales Office

The Sales Office, completed in 1971, lies directly north of the 1921 portion of the Annex and is attached to it via an enclosed pedestrian passageway. The contracting firm for the metal designed building was H.E. Whitlock, Inc., and Roderick L. Downing is the professional engineer whose stamp appears on the September 17, 1970 drawings. The building has an L-shape plan, a concrete foundation, and is one story in height. The walls are beige colored, metal vertical siding, and the foundation is concrete painted brown. The slightly pitched gable roof is covered with a built-up roof made of asphalt and tar covered with gravel. There is an attached gutter with exterior downspouts. The heating, ventilation, and cooling units are mounted on the roof. The tall, narrow, steel frame windows have tinted glass, and are evenly spaced in a mostly paired pattern.

West Elevation: The west façade contains the main entrance to the building. An extension of the nearly flat roof forms a canopy over the offset entrance. Several stairs lead to a concrete platform and the glazed and metal framed entrance. The bronze-colored, metal-frame, double doors are flanked by fully glazed sidelights and all the glass is tinted. A second entrance marked by a projecting vestibule is located towards the north end. A flight of concrete stairs rising at a right angle to the building leads to the vestibule, which is constructed of bronze metal and tinted glass. The windows appear in a regular, paired pattern along the facade. The windows south of the main entrance are operable with a small bottom-opening sash, while the windows to the north of the entrance have fixed sashes.

North Elevation: The north end exhibits the very shallow pitch of the gable roof. A centrally positioned entrance with its solid steel door is reached via a concrete staircase rising at a right angle. The fenestration pattern of mostly paired, evenly spaced windows continues on this elevation.

East Elevation: The paired fenestration pattern continues on this side, with two entrances at each end substituting for one of the paired window openings. Concrete stairs rising at a right angle lead to each entrance, which is comprised of a steel-framed door with full view glazing surmounted by a transom.

South Elevation: The south side of the Sales Office wraps around the 1930 addition and attaches to the 1921 annex addition.

2. Dispensary/Employment Office

Frederick J. Sterner also designed the Mission style Dispensary, constructed in 1902. The Employment Office addition, designed in the Mission style by Pueblo architect Walter DeMordaunt, was built in 1926 off the west end of the Dispensary. The one-story building has a modified I-shaped plan, a complex roof covered with red Spanish tile, and tawny gray-colored stuccoed brick walls. The Dispensary has a gabled roof with curvilinear parapets at each gabled [north and south] end capped with concrete coping. The Employment Office has an elongated, hipped roof section running east/west culminating in a perpendicular gabled roof section that also has curvilinear parapet walls. Round arched window and

door openings prevail. The majority of the windows are double hung sash with six-over-six lights. Large evergreen trees and shrubs obscure much of this building.

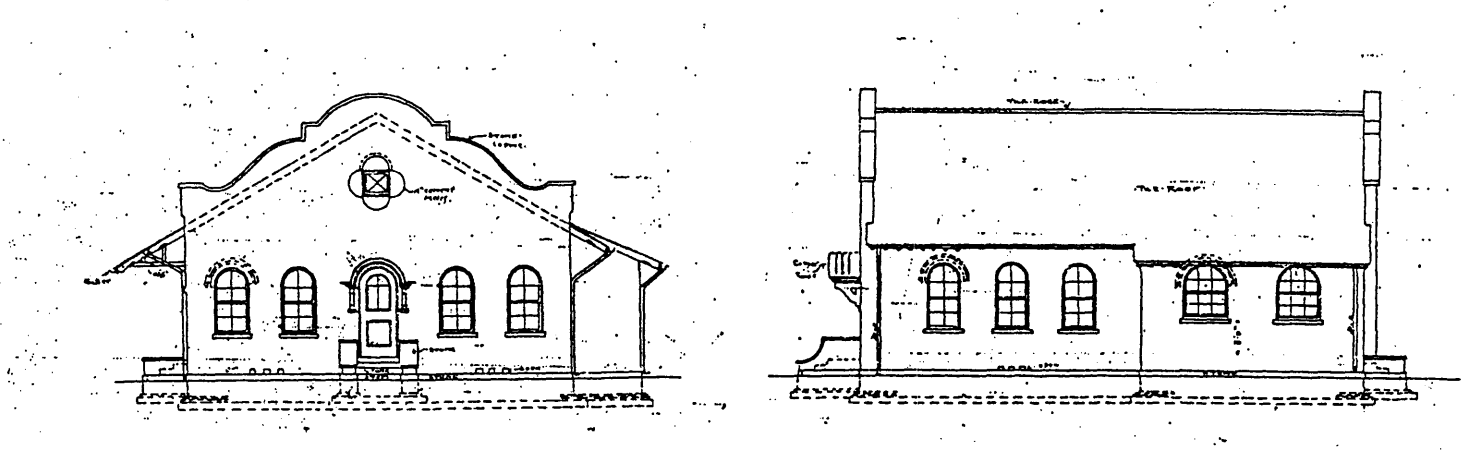
South Elevation: This facade contains three primary entrances. The major architectural features visible from this elevation are the two curvilinear parapet walled sections that anchor the east and west ends of the building. They are similar in design even though they were constructed twenty-five years apart. Each has a centrally positioned round arched entry marked by semicircular hood supported by brackets. Concrete steps lead to the four-light, arched door. On each side of the entrance are two round-arched windows. Above the entry hood is quatrefoil opening containing a small square vent. Between these two sections under the overhanging eave of the hipped roof is another centrally positioned entrance. The door is also arched, and it is flanked on both sides by a series of four arched windows.

East Elevation: The east side has three arched windows and a projecting shed roof extension illuminated by two arched 6/6 light windows that are slightly shorter and wider. The overhanging open eaves have exposed decorative rafter tails and attached gutters with downspouts.

North Elevation: The rear of the building mirrors the south facade with two curvilinear parapet sections at each end. Below the parapet of the Dispensary [east end] is a shed-roof extension illuminated by four evenly spaced, arched windows. The parapeted west end contains a quatrefoil opening containing a square vent above five arched windows. Between these two sections, under the hipped roof's overhanging eave and exposed rafters, are seven arched windows and a basement entrance door.

West Elevation: Seven arched windows punctuate the wall of the west end. The roof has an overhanging eave, exposed rafters, and an attached gutter with downspouts.

Dispensary - south and east elevations



3. Main Gate House

The Gate House is located at the southeast corner of the property. Although constructed in 1955 (long after the style had lost its popularity), this little building continues the Mission detailing established by its larger predecessors. The rectangular plan, one-story building has stuccoed brick walls that are painted white. The asphalt-shingled gabled roof has slightly overhanging eaves. The east and west gabled ends have curvilinear parapet walls capped with decorative copping. The building is the entrance to the tunnel that goes under Interstate 25 and accesses the industrial plant operations.

West Elevation: The façade with its slightly battered wall contains the entrance to the portal with two segmentally arched openings, each containing a metal turnstile gate. The entrance was on the right (south) side and the exit on the left (north). Between these two openings is a centrally positioned, flat-roofed guard house. Projecting from the façade with windows on all three sides (now covered with wood panels), the guardhouse allowed 270-degree visibility.

South and North Elevations: Both sides of the building are punctuated by three equally spaced, rectangular window openings. These openings have been covered with wood.

East Elevation: The curvilinear parapet on the east end matches that of the façade. There are no openings on this wall.

4. Corporate Sign (noncontributing structure)

South of the main gate and positioned perpendicularly to Interstate 25 is a large sign of steel I-beam construction. It was designed to be visible from the freeway. The Art Neon Company erected it in 1960. The sign boards are located on both the north and south facades near the top of the sign.

SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT

The Minnequa Steel Works Office Building and Dispensary are eligible under criterion A for their association with Pueblo's industrial development, specifically the steel industry and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CF&I). These buildings reflect the rapid improvements made at the steel plant that would have a dramatic impact on the city. In 1891, the company was characterized as a small steel plant in South Pueblo. However, the Minnequa Works of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company experienced phenomenal growth, and by 1906 it was the largest iron and steel plant in Colorado and one of the largest in America. Rapid enlargements at the plant did not begin until 1900, and the Office Building and Dispensary represent those improvements. Although the plant's industrial operations are located nearby, separated from the office complex by Interstate 25, these facilities have undergone substantial changes over the years, prompted by technological advances and the widening of the highway. Therefore the complex of administration buildings best represents Minnequa Steel Works and its subsequent impact on the city. The CF&I Minnequa Steel Works continued to be an important part of Pueblo's industrial heritage until the 1980s, when shutdowns and subsequent layoffs marked the end of the steel industry's dominance within the city.

The complex is also eligible under criterion C for its architectural significance, as it possess the distinctive characteristics of the Mission style. This style is easily recognized by the tile roof, semicircular arched openings, and the curvilinear gable or parapet wall rising above the roofline. The style is also characterized by simplicity with smooth walls that are usually stuccoed and often devoid of any ornamentation, except for stringcourses that may highlight the windows. While the original buildings and their subsequent additions certainly possess these elements, it is the decorative detailing that gives these buildings high artistic merit. Particularly notable are the metal-clad domed roof of the four-story tower and the coupled windows framed in blind arches on the Office Building, the *rosa* window [quatrefoil openings with elaborate surrounds] and the wrought iron balconets of the 1921 Annex addition, the elaborate entry hoods of the Dispensary, and the coping highlighting all the curvilinear parapet walls. The Minnequa Steel Works Office Building and Dispensary are considered to be one of the best examples of Mission style architecture in the state. While there are over two dozen Mission style buildings in Colorado listed in the National Register, the majority are churches and large scale residences. Although a popular style for domestic and public architecture (e.g., courthouses and depots), it is rarely found on industrial buildings. The Colorado Ute Power Plant in Durango [5LP1146], listed in the National Register in 1983, is an unusual exception to this pattern. Constructed in 1893, it is a very early expression of the style. However, the two-story stuccoed building with its stepped, curvilinear parapet walls and non-functional bell tower lacks the ornamental detailing of the Minnequa Steel Works buildings.

The buildings with their subsequent additions represent the work of several important architects. The prominent Denver-based Frederick J. Sterner was called upon to design the 1901 original office building and the 1902 dispensary. Although English-born Frederick Sterner spent only twenty-odd years in Colorado, it was a successful and active time. His earlier work in Denver during the 1880s was

dominated by medieval and Romanesque elements; in the early 1890s Sterner shifted from Victorian styles to design elements derived from classical architecture and its many revivals (Noel and Norgren 1987:219). With the exception of the National Register-listed 1900 Lennox House in Colorado Springs [5EP3359], the buildings at the Minnequa Steel Works are his only other identified foray into the Mission Revival style. Two prominent Pueblo architects were hired to design additions that continued the Mission style. William W. Stickney designed the 1921 addition to the office building. While most of Stickney's buildings were designed in the Tudor or Classical Revival styles, the office addition appears to be his only Mission style building. Walter DeMordaunt was the architect for the 1926 employment office addition to the dispensary. This building was one of DeMordaunt's earliest commissions in a long career that would be dominated by Mediterranean designed buildings. Although the 1931 and 1945 expansions to the Office Annex would be the work of a CF&I employee, W. A. Rohl, the emphasis on Mission elements continued. And despite its construction in 1955 after the style's popularity had waned, the Gate House was also designed with Mission detailing.

The period of significance begins with the construction of the Office Building in 1901 and extends through the construction of the Main Gate House in 1955. As there is no specific date to appropriately end the historical significance of the property, the architectural milestone of 1955 was chosen to conclude the period of significance. Post-1940 examples of the Mission style are rare, and continued construction in this style illustrated a conscious effort to maintain the corporate image that was created at the turn of the century. As the property continues to achieve significance into a period less than fifty years, it meets criterion consideration G.

Historical Background

These buildings, which housed administrative and employment operations for the CF&I Minnequa Steel Works, are significant for the role they played in the industrial and economic development of the community. CF&I was the largest single employer in the Pueblo Region and directly impacted the economic and social life of the community. The company was free from competition, as it owned the sources for all its raw materials. Due to this integrated nature of the steel making operations, what happened at Minnequa Steel Works had a ripple effect throughout the region. The economic history of the company is reflected in the development of the complex. The physical changes in the complex are generally associated with changes in ownership, and reflect changes in employment or operations made by the new owners. The Mission Revival style was selected as the corporate style for the company. The complex was designed not only to house the administrative functions for the Steel Works, but also to add value to another company venture, the creation of a "company town" by selling adjacent lots to its steel mill workers.

Colorado's mines produced coal that was used for a variety of purposes, including smelting ores, railroad operations, domestic heating, and providing fuel for emerging industrial factories. Railroad companies or their subsidiaries operated most of the largest mines in the state. One of the biggest coal operators was the Colorado Coal and Iron Company, an ally of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.

Headquartered in South Pueblo, the company was formed in 1880 as one of several "supplementary" enterprises for General William Palmer's railroad. The intent was to convert Pueblo into the "Pittsburgh of the West." The Colorado Coal and Iron Company built a single blast furnace that began making pig iron in 1881. The following year a Bessemer converter turned out its first steel—the first west of the Missouri River (Ubbelohde et al 1988:207), and the first rails were rolled.

By 1891, the company was "represented by a small and unimportant steel plant at Pueblo, worth about $3,000,000, the chief product of which was steel rails that only partly supplied the requirements of the local market" (Lewis 1906:214). Following a merger in 1892 that created the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the Minnequa Works would experience phenomenal growth. First the fuel properties (e.g., coal mines) were extensively developed, and after the revival of business following the 1893 depression, the steel plant was improved and slightly enlarged Rapid enlargements did not begin until 1900. In 1901, John C. Osgood, J. A. Kebler, A. C. Cross, and John Lathrop Jerome generally controlled the Minnequa Steel Works. These men collectively held business interests throughout Colorado that included mining and quarrying, railroads, coke operations, milling, and real estate development. When John D. Rockefeller acquired the CF&I in 1903, the 5-1/2 acre complex included the office building, the dispensary, a laboratory and a lunch club (no longer extant), and a main gate to the steel plant (not the existing one). John D. Rockefeller's primary interest in acquiring CF&I was the steel mill and its associated operations, not the surrounding town created by the company. By 1906, it was "one of the largest iron and steel plants in America, representing the investment of over twenty-five million dollars, employing between four thousand and five thousand men, and producing a wide variety of products" (Lewis 1906:214).

To increase production at the steel plant, the company needed additional workers. These additional workers were found in the immigrants enticed to come to Pueblo to be employed in the steel mill. In celebration of its 75th Anniversary, the *Pueblo Chieftain* published a number of articles about CF&I (20 November 1947). One of those articles whose headline read "CF&I's Largest Melting Pot is its Thousands of Workers" noted that "the company's employees are as varied in nationality as the chemical content of steel itself. The story of the CF&I is also the story of the great American migration and the generations of service which its workers have given in time and sweat; from all over the world they came...." The company helped assimilate these workers into the American culture through the publication of multilingual company newsletters, the creation of the sociology department by Dr. Richard Warren Corwin, M.D., and normal and polytechnic schools for education. In 1916, the Minnequa Steel Works saw the inauguration of an industrial representation plan between employees and management—the first in the United States. The addition of the personnel department to the Dispensary Building in 1926 reflected the company's interest in its workers.

Every applicant for employment at the CF&I had to pass through the dispensary to have a medical physical, and then through the personnel department where their immigration papers were checked. For many immigrants this portal was as important as the one they passed through at the various immigration locations when they first arrived in the United States. The expansion of the dispensary through the

addition of the personnel office in 1926 reflects the increased employment and the process developed to screen and hire thousands of new employees. The various colored lines that directed these men and women through the maze that finally resulted in employment are still visible on the floor of the building.

In December of 1944, Charles Allan and Associates acquired CF&I. Significant changes that occurred during this time period included construction of the final (1945) Office Annex addition and the Pueblo Freeway. The freeway, which separated the office complex from the mill, would become Interstate-25, reflecting highway engineers' desire at that time to place roadways along the urban seams where land was less costly. The anticipated construction resulted in the extension of the tunnel that connected the main gate with the mill, and the construction of a new main gate house in 1955.

In 1969, the Crane Corporation acquired CF&I from Charles Allan and Associates. Shortly after acquisition, the Crane Company constructed the metal clad Sales Office adjoining the Office Annex. Under the Crane Company, the CF&I corporate offices were moved to Pueblo and housed within the Sales Office. This was the first time in the company's history that the corporate offices were located in Pueblo.

Construction History

The signature building of the complex is the 1901 Mission style Office Building. Frederick J. Sterner, a noted architect from Denver, designed it along with the 1902 Dispensary. In May of 1900, the *Pueblo Daily Chieftain* announced "that the Colorado Fuel and Iron's intent was to erect an office building, medical dispensary, and laboratory." These new buildings were to replace those that were torn down within the plant grounds in order to make room for another blast furnace. Frederick J. Sterner is most noted for his residential designs. His client list includes many prominent Colorado families in Denver and Colorado Springs. His designs for CF&I are his only known examples of the Mission style in a non-residential application. He was the architect for Corwin Hospital, the company hospital (no longer extant) also designed in the Mission style.

The significance of hiring a noted architect and developing a corporate style is two-fold. CF&I not only required buildings within which to house the various administrative, engineering, and laboratory functions needed for the operation of the Minnequa Steel Works. They also had a "company town" and wished to enhance the value of the adjoining residential and commercial land near the Minnequa Works. It was important that CF&I buildings both develop a theme and add value to the real estate surrounding them.

The community development goal was reflected in two newspaper articles. The *Pueblo Daily Chieftain* on February 21, 1901 reported that "all of the structures will be constructed in the old Spanish mission-style, one of the most beautiful and conventional forms of architecture known." (The Santa Fe Railroad popularized the Mission Revival style as its western regional style. Similarly, the railroad was promoting migration and land development in California. It is not surprising that this architectural style

was chosen as the CF&I corporate style.) The *Pueblo Evening Star* reported on April 20, 1901 that "the three buildings, together with the warehouse, will cover a five-acre tract of 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 the town a place of beauty as well as a business."

The first addition to the complex was the construction of an Annex to the Office Building in 1921, designed by noted Pueblo architect William W. Stickney. Stickney is noted for his many revival-style buildings, including Parkview Hospital, Keating Junior High School, the Nurses Home at the Colorado State Hospital, Woodcroft Sanitarium (destroyed by fire), the Pueblo Day Nursery, and Pueblo City Hall and Auditorium for which he won a national award. Stickney also designed the Steel Work's YMCA (no longer extant). William Stickney was born in Longmont Colorado on October 26, 1883. He attended public school in Pueblo and graduated from the Harvard School of Architecture. In 1926 he sold his business to Walter DeMordaunt and moved his family to Los Angeles where he passed away on April 28, 1958.

In 1926, the Dispensary was enlarged through the construction of an addition to house the personnel department. Noted Pueblo architect Walter DeMordaunt drew these plans. DeMordaunt was born in Butte, Montana, on September 4, 1894, the son of a mining engineer. After graduating from high school in Butte he attended the University of Utah in Salt Lake City. While in school he worked in an architect's office in Butte and Salt Lake City. Upon finishing school he went to Washington, D.C., as a draftsman for the United States Shipping Board. After four months he was appointed Chief of the Division of Planning and Statistics in the Emergency Fleet Corporation. While in that position he moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the Hog Island Shipping Yard; he remained there during World War I. He then went to Wyoming as an architect, and in 1921 entered the architectural office of William W. Stickney. In 1926, he received his license as an architect. In that same year, Stickney decided to retire and DeMordaunt continued the office. The CF&I Company Employment Office appears as Project No. 2612 [the 12th project in 1926] in DeMordaunt's project note book.

A second addition to the Annex was constructed in 1931. W. A. Rohl drew the plans for the addition, dated March 19, 1930. Construction on the third and final addition to the Annex began in 1945, and the plans were again drawn by W.A. Rohl. These additions to the complex are significant for a number of reasons.

The construction of the Annex and its two subsequent additions reflect the growing economic activity at the steel plant. As the plant grew and became more integrated, it controlled all of the operations from mining and milling, the extraction of ore and coal, the transportation of raw materials, manufacturing and sales. The need to house additional administration functions also grew. This integration and growth is also reflected in the employment of individuals to design and construct company buildings. Initially, the company hired W.W. Stickney to design the 1921 Annex addition. By the 1930s CF&I was a totally integrated and self-sufficient company, such that the 1931 and 1945 additions were drawn internally by a CF&I employee, W. A. Rohl. While these last two additions were simpler and less "high style," they

still maintained elements of the Mission Style.

Also of interest is the succession of building technology exhibited in each subsequent addition to the Annex. This evolution begins with masonry and wood posts with wood floor joists in the 1921 construction, then brick with concrete floors in the 1931 section, and finally concrete floors and with steel posts and trusses in the 1945 addition.

Alterations to the buildings that reflect changing employment patterns are the addition of restrooms for women. The 1921 Annex and the 1931 Annex addition did not have women's restrooms. A restroom addition adjoining the pedestrian passageway was built during the World War II era when many women were drawn into the workforce. A women's restroom was included in the 1945 Annex addition.

The Main Gate was built in 1955 following the extension of the tunnel, which connected the manufacturing operations with the administration complex. The tunnel was built in anticipation of the construction of the Pueblo Freeway (that would became Interstate-25). The Pueblo Freeway physically separated administration from the manufacturing facilities. The completion of the Pueblo Freeway in 1959 resulted in the erection of the CF&I Corporate Highway Sign in 1960 by the Art Neon Company. It was during this time period that the Laboratory Building and Lunch Club, which were constructed as a part of the original complex in 1901, were demolished. The final addition to the complex was the Sales Office, which was completed on March 19, 1971.

This construction history and the architectural design of the complex reflects the evolution of the company over time. The history of the buildings began with the hiring of an architect from outside the Pueblo community, whose design goal was to create a corporate style of architecture to house the administrative functions of the Minnequa Steel Works and also to add value to the company-owned residential and commercial lots surrounding the steel plant. Two Pueblo architects continued the Mission Style with sympathetic additions to the existing Sterner buildings. The next generation of changes, the 1931 and 1945 Annex additions and the Gate House, were created "in house" and continued the Mission Style corporate design. The final addition, the 1971 Sales Office, reflected changing construction trends and the cessation of Mission as the corporate architectural style. This building is of steel frame construction and is clad in steel siding. The selection of materials reflected the singularity of purpose and mission of the company, which is steel production.

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GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

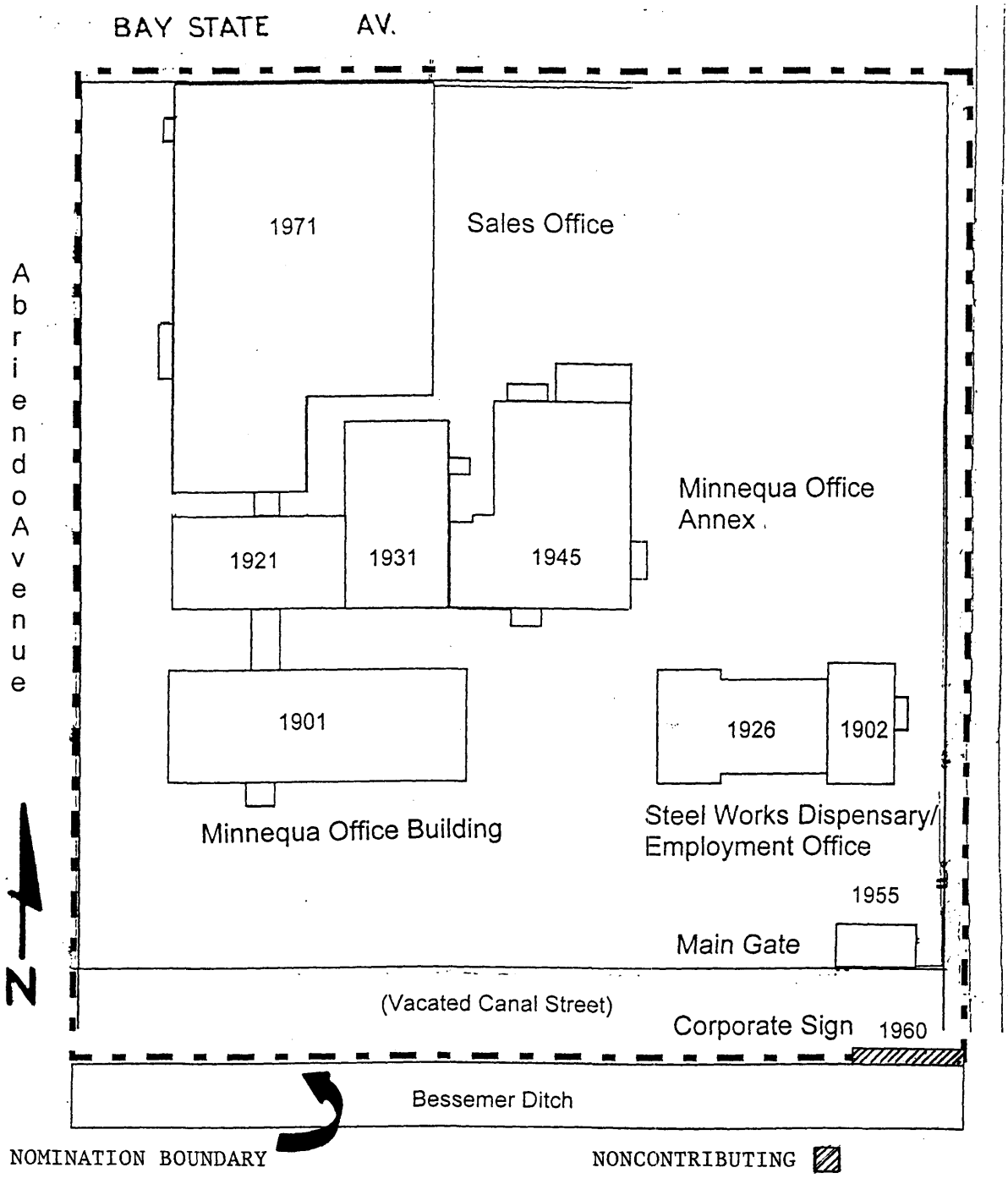
Verbal Boundary Description

The boundary of the nomination is roughly a rectangular parcel bounded on the west by Abriendo Avenue, the north by Bay State Avenue, the east by Interstate 25, and the south by the Bessemer Ditch.

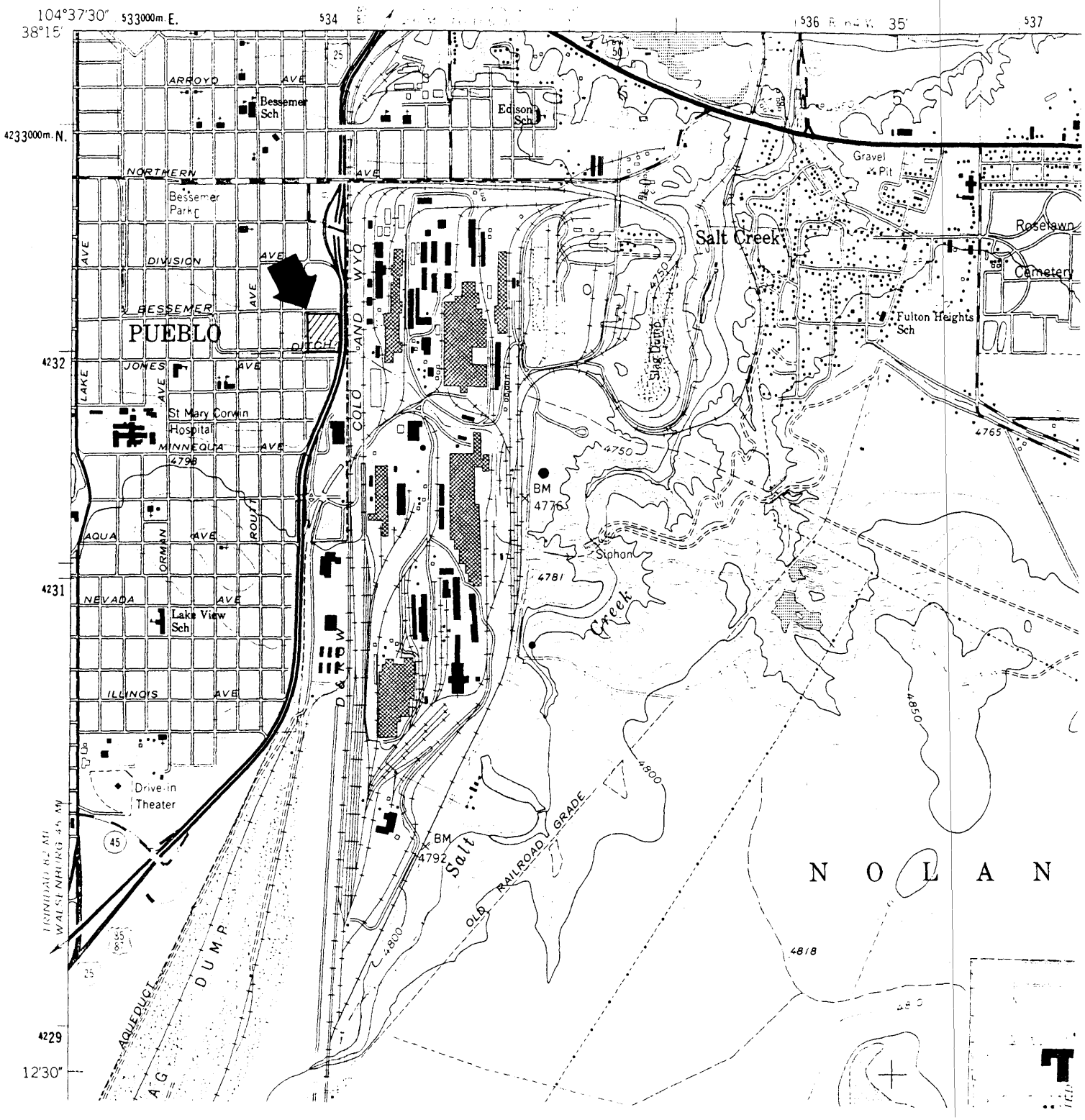
Boundary Justification

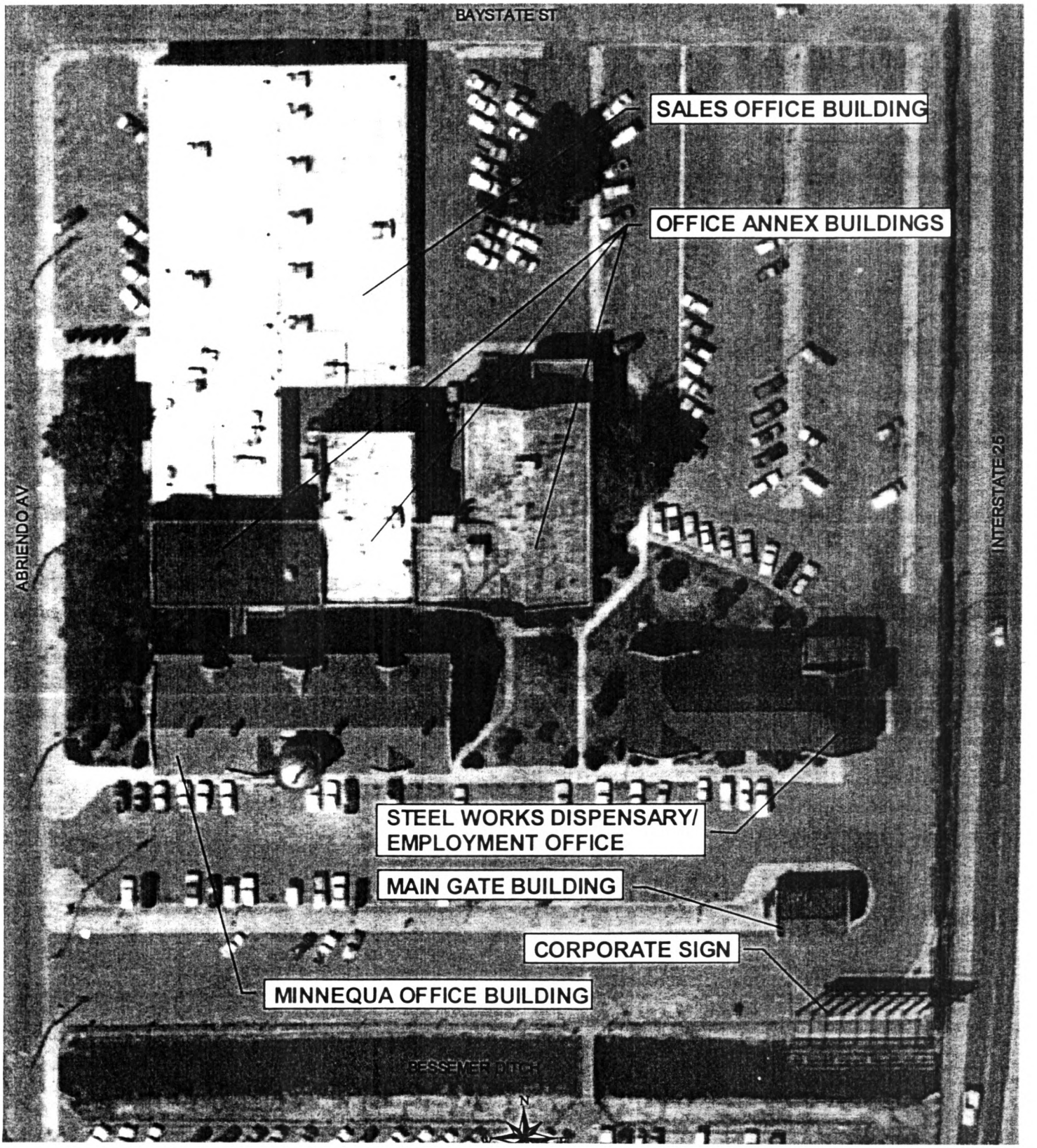
The nominated property includes the entire parcel historically associated with the administration buildings of the Minnequa Steel Works.

SKETCH MAP

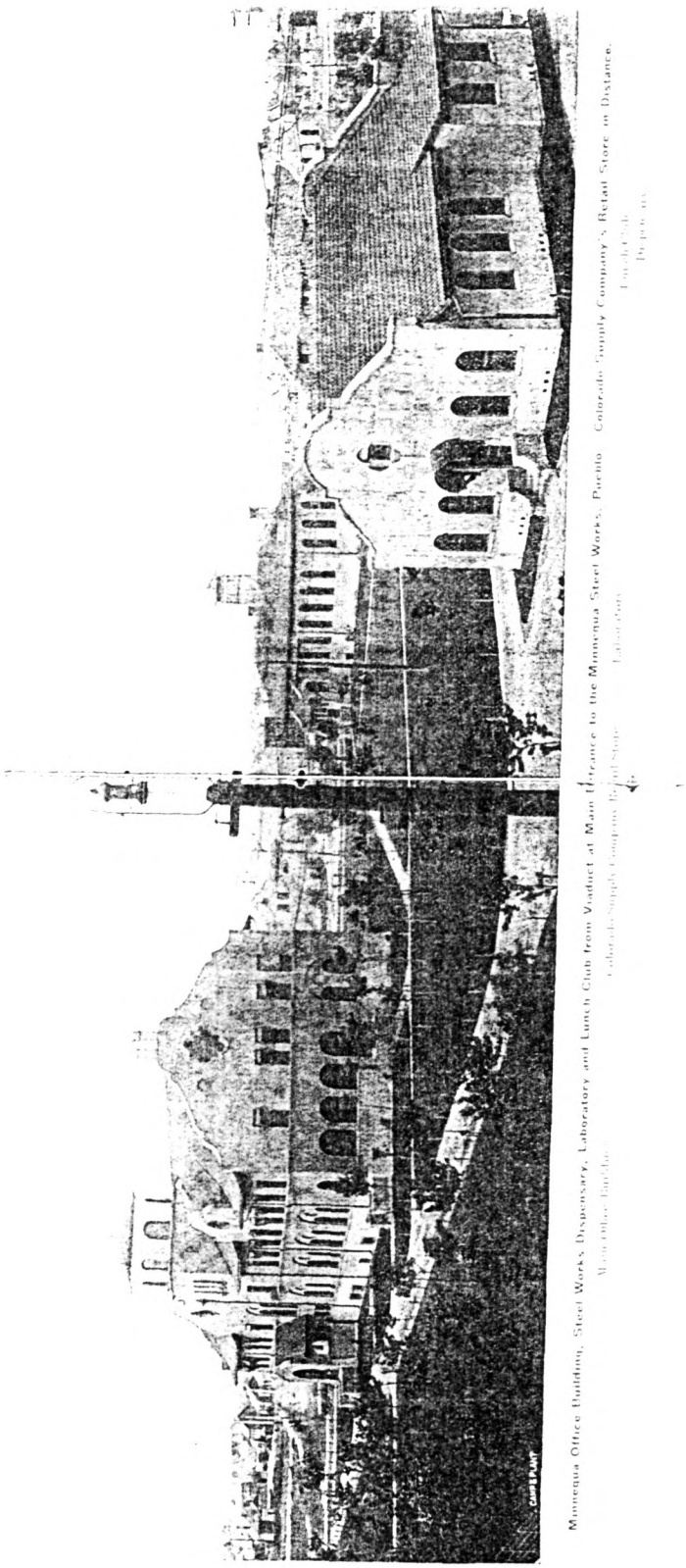

BAY STATE AV.
Abriendo Avenue
INTERSTATE
1971
Sales Office
Minnequa Office Annex
1921
1931
1945
1901
Minnequa Office Building
1926
1902
Steel Works Dispensary/ Employment Office
1955
Main Gate
(Vacated Canal Street)
Corporate Sign
1960
Bessemer Ditch
N
NOMINATION BOUNDARY
NONCONTRIBUTING

U.S.G.S. MAP - Southeast Pueblo Quadrangle




BAYSTATE ST
SALES OFFICE BUILDING
OFFICE ANNEX BUILDINGS
ABRIENDO AV
INTERSTATE 25
STEEL WORKS DISPENSARY/
EMPLOYMENT OFFICE
MAIN GATE BUILDING
CORPORATE SIGN
MINNEQUA OFFICE BUILDING
BESSEMER DITCH
N

This photograph taken in October 1902 shows the Office Building on the left and the Dispensary in the foreground at right.



PHOTOGRAPH LOG

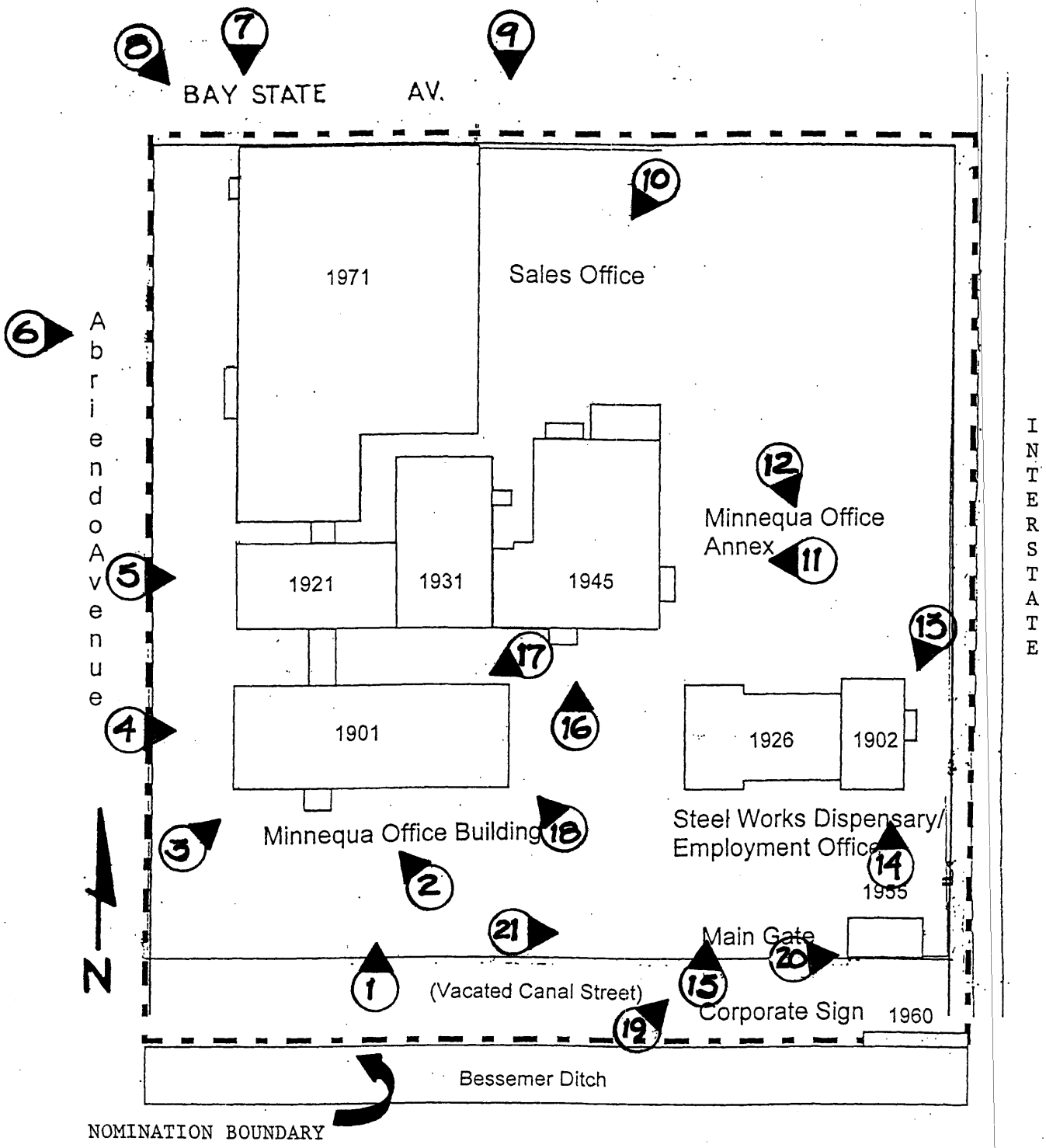
The following information is the same for all photographs:

Name of property: Minnequa Steel Works Office Building and Dispensary
Location: Pueblo, Pueblo County, Colorado
Photographer: Catherine Green
Photograph date: May 18, 2001
Location of negatives: City of Pueblo, Office of Planning and Development, 211 E. "D" St.

photo description

1. Looking north at south façade of Office Building
2. Looking northwest at south facade of Office Building
3. Looking northeast at the southwest corner of Office Building
4. Looking east at west side of Office Building
5. Looking east at west end of 1921 Annex
6. Looking east at west face of Sales Office
7. Looking south at northwest corner of Sales Office
8. Looking southeast at north side of Sales Office
9. Looking south at east side of Sales Office and north (rear) wall of Office Annex
10. Looking southwest at east of Sales Office and north (rear) wall of Office Annex
11. Looking west at east end of 1945 Office Annex
12. Looking southeast at north side of Dispensary/Employment Office with Corporate Sign in background.
13. Looking southwest at northeast corner of Dispensary
14. Looking north at south façade of Dispensary
15. Looking north at south façade of Dispensary/Employment Office. CF&I blast furnaces on the east side of Interstate 25 in background.
16. Looking north at south façade of 1945 Office Annex
17. Looking southwest at north (rear) wall of Office Building
18. Looking northwest at east end of Office Building
19. Looking northeast with Main Gate House at right, Dispensary/Employment Office on left, and CF&I blast furnaces in the background.
20. Looking northeast at front of Main Gate House
21. Looking east towards Main Gate House

SKETCH MAP
(with photograph numbers and direction)



Additional Documentation for NRIS # 02000626

The Minnequa Steel Works, Office Building and Dispensary, Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, was listed on the National Register at the *State* level of significance, in the area of *Industry*, on June 6, 2002. The purpose of this additional documentation is to establish the property's *National* level of significance in the area of *Industry* for the period 1915 to 1935.

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this additional documentation meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ☒ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

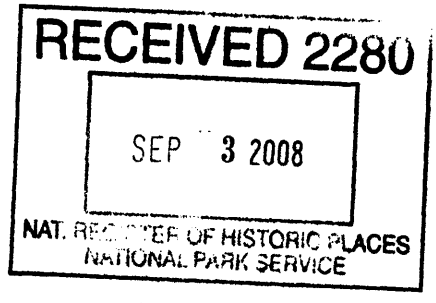
Edward C Nichols State Historic Preservation Officer 8/13/08
Signature of certifying official/Title Date

Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Colorado Historical Society
State or Federal agency and bureau

Additional Documentation Prepared By:

Name/title: Corinne Koehler, Board President (Based on research prepared by Jill Seyfarth)
Organization: Bessemer Historical Society
Street & number: 215 Canal Street
City or town: Pueblo, CO 81004
Telephone: 719-564-9086

Date: May 20, 2008



SIGNIFICANCE

The Minnequa Steel Works Office Building and Dispensary, at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CF&I) in Pueblo, is nationally significant under Criterion A in the area of *Industry*. As the site of the adoption and implementation of John Rockefeller Jr.'s influential Employee Representation Plan (ERP), the property is associated with a pivotal national movement in labor-management relations. The ERP introduced a pioneering non-union alternative to owner-worker relations.

The ERP constituted Rockefeller's response to the bloody 1914 altercation between striking CF&I miners and the Colorado National Guard at Ludlow, Colorado. National figures, including President Woodrow Wilson and the congressionally appointed Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, focused on Ludlow and on the Rockefeller management methods in their investigations into the national uprisings of labor in often violent strikes and protests. The widespread influence of these efforts and the concerns of the American people are also evident in the intensive national daily press coverage of the commission hearings.

The CF&I ERP formed the model for the "company union" employee representation programs enacted in corporations across the nation from 1915 until federal legislation discouraged this practice in 1935. Over 2.5 million employees of American companies worked under the provisions of a company union during this time.[1] Prior to 1935, numerous federal agencies, including the National War Labor Board, endorsed the company union system advanced in the ERP. The period of significance for the national level of significance begins in 1915, with the establishment of the ERP at CF&I, and ends in 1935, with the passage of the National Labor Relations Act that discouraged the practice of establishing ERPs.

Background

As the majority owners of the CF&I Company, the Rockefeller family followed their standard business philosophy of avoiding any involvement in the day to day operations of their companies. The Rockefellers believed in entrusting operations to the managers they hired for such tasks. This approach served the Rockefellers quite well. By 1910, with over 15,000 workers, CF&I employed about 10 percent of Colorado's labor force. CF&I mines and quarries operated in Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Wyoming. In 14 of the 24 mining communities, CF&I owned all of the property and the buildings.

While not a single one of the 14 CF&I-owned mining communities was unionized in 1913, national labor unions experienced some local influence. In 1914, CF&I coal miners striking for better pay, better working conditions, and in support of national union activities lived in a tent colony in Ludlow, Colorado, after being evicted from company-owned houses. On April 20, 1914, Colorado State Militia members attacked the miners' camp. Striking miners, women and children died and the tent colony burned to the ground. Children suffocated in a pit under a burning tent constituted over half the dead. The violence escalated in southern Colorado until President Woodrow Wilson sent federal troops to quell the conflict.

The Rockefellers, represented by John D. Rockefeller Jr., faced intense national public scrutiny and severe criticism for their labor practices. The *Rocky Mountain News* ran an editorial about Ludlow entitled "The Massacre of the Innocents" while outraged citizens picketed Rockefeller's New York City home.[2] The industrialist testified for three days in January 1915 before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations to defend his family's role in the Ludlow affair. The findings of the Commission

[1] Greg Patmore, "Employee Representation Plans in North America and Australia, 1915-1935: An Employer Response to Workplace Democracy," undated manuscript on file at the Bessemer Archives, Pueblo, Colorado, page 1.
[2] *Rocky Mountain News* April 22, 1914.

placed the blame for the conditions leading up to the conflict squarely on the shoulders of CF&I and John Rockefeller.

Rockefeller was shamed by the public perception of his family and catalyzed by the violence of the conflict. He also appreciated the impact that so much negative public attention would have on other Rockefeller endeavors, both charitable and profitable. He committed to devising a new form of labor-management negotiation that could replace what he saw as union-driven conflict. He hired a recognized labor expert, the former Canadian minister of labor (and future two-term prime minister) William Lyon Mackenzie King, to recommend a new approach. Rockefeller also hired Ivy Lee, the former public relations specialist at the Pennsylvania Railroad, to clear the names of the Rockefellers and CF&I and to advise on the best way to successfully implement the new plan.

While Lee launched a vigorous campaign to tell CF&I's side of the conflict, King worked out new procedures for management and labor to communicate without violence and to further worker welfare. Rockefeller biographer Ron Chernow noted this trailblazing effort as "a courageous departure from the prevailing business ethos."[3] Rockefeller's major motivation was most likely humanitarian, but the new procedures had a very practical edge as well. In 1914, President Wilson and members of the House Mines and Mining Committee proposed that union representatives and owners agree to a truce and create a grievance committee at each mine. This suggestion too closely approached union recognition for Rockefeller. CF&I needed to have an alternative in place as soon as possible. Rockefeller responded with his Employee Representation Plan.

The ERP provided a structure for employee representation, a process for employee grievances, and programs for employee welfare and the improvement of working and living conditions. It divided the mining employees into units based on the mining camps and organized the steelworkers by divisions of the plant. The employees elected one representative for every 150 workers in that division. Some representatives served on one of four committees:

Sanitation, Health and Housing
Safety and Accidents
Recreation and Education
Industrial Cooperation and Conciliation (later amended to add Wages)

The program established quarterly conferences and an annual conference, which were all held at the Minnequa office complex in Pueblo. The elected representatives and company officials met at the conferences to discuss issues of concern with the ERP's stated intent to avoid friction and to further friendly and cordial relations between employers and employees. The goals of the meetings, as noted in the Plan, were to increase efficiency and production and to improve working conditions. The employee newsletter, *The Industrial Bulletin*, which had been established as part of the ERP to improve communications between management and the workforce, reported the meeting proceedings in detail. A management employee, called the "industrial representative," oversaw the program. It appears that the industrial representative was housed in the Minnequa Office complex for most of the time that the ERP remained in place.

The ERP provided grievance procedures and defined the policies for hiring and firing employees. It called for wages to be relatively similar to those of other companies in the industry and specifically forbid management discrimination against employees who maintained membership in outside unions.

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[3] Ron Chernow. *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* Random House, New York. 1998, pp. 584-585.

Rockefeller and his staff took an elaborate series of steps to ensure the employees would vote to enact the new plan. At the end of 1914, Rockefeller replaced CF&I president Lamont Bowers with Jesse Wellborn, a man Rockefeller perceived as more sympathetic to the idea of changing management-employee relations. Mackenzie King communicated extensively with Wellborn to introduce and develop the new ideas defined in the ERP.

Rockefeller became more involved in management decisions and acknowledged that management had a moral obligation to ensure the well-being of the company and workers. At Rockefeller's behest, Wellborn hired David Griffiths, a well respected miner, to serve as the first Industrial Representative and held elections in January of 1915 to designate employee representatives for future negotiations with management.

Upon the advice of Ivy Lee and Mackenzie King, who had both traveled to Colorado after Ludlow and observed the mood of CF&I employees, Rockefeller conducted a thorough tour of the CF&I holdings in late September 1915. Described as a "royal tour of democratic proportions" by historian H.M Gitelman, the entire two weeks received daily coverage both locally and in national publications, including the *New York Times*.[4] Rockefeller devoted the first week to tours of the mines and mining communities, with his first stop at Ludlow followed by a descent into the Frederick Mine at Valdez. The first week terminated with a trip to the Denver corporate offices.

After completing the good will portion of the tour, the daily press introduced the ERP to the public in measured doses. Rockefeller and his entourage met extensively with management during the second week of his tour to finalize the plan. Near the end of the trip, in a speech in Denver on October 2, 1915, Rockefeller formally introduced the ERP. The next day, he traveled to Pueblo. In a morning meeting at the Minnequa offices with the elected employee representatives and the officers of the company, Rockefeller gave a fifteen minute speech to outline the provisions of his new plan and to ask for comment and discussion in advance of putting the plan to a vote by all of the mining employees.

The October 4 *Pueblo Chieftain* reported that by noon the preceding day, the ERP had received a vote of approval from the executive committee of the employee representatives, including six union members who voted in favor. The *Chieftain* published the entire plan. The first edition of the *Industrial Bulletin* gave a full report of Rockefeller's activities, along with a photograph of the great industrialist seated on the lawn among CF&I employees outside the Minnequa Office Building. Miners later voted 2,404 to 442 for acceptance of the ERP. The company offered the steelworkers a nearly identical plan in May 1916. Workers accepted the plan in a 2,321 to 866 vote. Salaried office employees adopted the ERP in 1919.

The revolutionary program experienced successes and failures at CF&I. The mining camps saw vast improvements, including new social halls in every camp, improved health care and improvements to company housing. Churches and schools, some paid for solely by Rockefeller money, were established in the camps. At the steelworks, employee input led to upgraded working conditions.

With employee involvement, CF&I established a pension plan in 1917. The employee welfare programs created the nation's largest industrial YMCA, which the company built in 1920 on a site across the street from the Minnequa office complex. CF&I demolished the YMCA building in 1964.

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[4] H.M. Gitelman. *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre: A Chapter in American Industrial Relations.* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1988, p. 200.

The implementation of the eight hour work day at the steelworks constituted the most precedent-setting employee-initiated change at CF&I. Using the ERP process, steelworkers convinced management to reduce the work day from ten or twelve hours to an eight hour day. CF&I implemented the first eight hour work day in the steel industry on November 3, 1918, after union representation at other steel companies failed to affect this reform.

The ERP's largest failure was that it did not resolve conflicts over wages, and strikes continued, albeit at much more peaceful levels than previously. Critics cited the primary fault of the plan was that employees did not feel completely protected in their criticisms of the same company that controlled the grievance process. Workers could not call upon an independent or outside expert representative.

Promoting his belief in the new approach of the ERP, Rockefeller toured the country giving speeches. The public appeared interested in what he had to say. He received speaking invitations from such diverse entities as the YMCA, Chautauqua and Cornell University. He printed and distributed half a million copies of the ERP in a booklet entitled, *The Colorado Industrial Plan.* At the request of the *Atlantic Monthly,* Rockefeller wrote an article in 1916 explaining his philosophy and introducing his management plan to the public.[5]

Rockefeller worked to instill ERPs in other companies, beginning with those held by his family. Rockefeller transferred CF&I employee Clarence Hicks to Standard Oil to adapt and implement the CF&I plan. Standard Oil employees voted to adopt an ERP in 1918. With approval from Rockefeller, Hicks advised other companies interested in developing employee representation plans. William Dickson, the vice-president of the Midvale and Lukens Steel Company, consulted with CF&I to develop a plan, which was adopted at Midvale on September 22, 1918. Rockefeller's lead author of the CF&I plan, William Mackenzie King, worked with another former Rockefeller employee, Ivy Lee, to develop the program at Bethlehem Steel. General Electric employed King to develop their ERP. King also assisted former CF&I employee Arthur Young, who had been hired in part to create an ERP at International Harvester. Other companies to adopt ERPs in 1918-19 included Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Inland Steel, Wisconsin Steel and Standard Steel Car. *Iron Age* lauded the ERPs in an article in its September 26, 1918, edition.[6]

Once established, the employee representation plan movement grew with support from the federal government during World War I. Viewed as a progressive response to labor-management conflict, federal agencies supported employee representative programs including the National War Labor Board, the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, the United States Railroad Administration Board and the United States Fuel Administration.[7] In 1919, 145 companies had ERPs in effect, covering 403,765 employees. By 1928, 399 companies operated with such plans covering 1,550,000 workers.[8]

Historians tie the development of these plans to the model provided by CF&I and Rockefeller's efforts. In discussing CF&I's program, historian David Brody noted, "The experiment had been carefully, if not skeptically, observed, and by mid 1918 there appeared little doubt of its success in settling grievances and alleviating discontent."[9] H.M. Gitelman, in his analysis of the legacy of Ludlow, sets Rockefeller's plan apart as an unprecedented successful procedure for employee-management communication that

[5] Gitelman p. 200.
[6] David Brody. *Steelworkers in America, the Nonunion Era.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960, p. 226; Patmore p. 4; Gitelman pp. 252-253.
[7] Gitelman p. xii; Patmore p. 4.
[8] Patmore p. 5.
[9] Brody p. 226.

"became the model for almost all subsequent company unions."[10] Historian Lee Scamehorn's assessment is "the Employee Representation 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."[11]

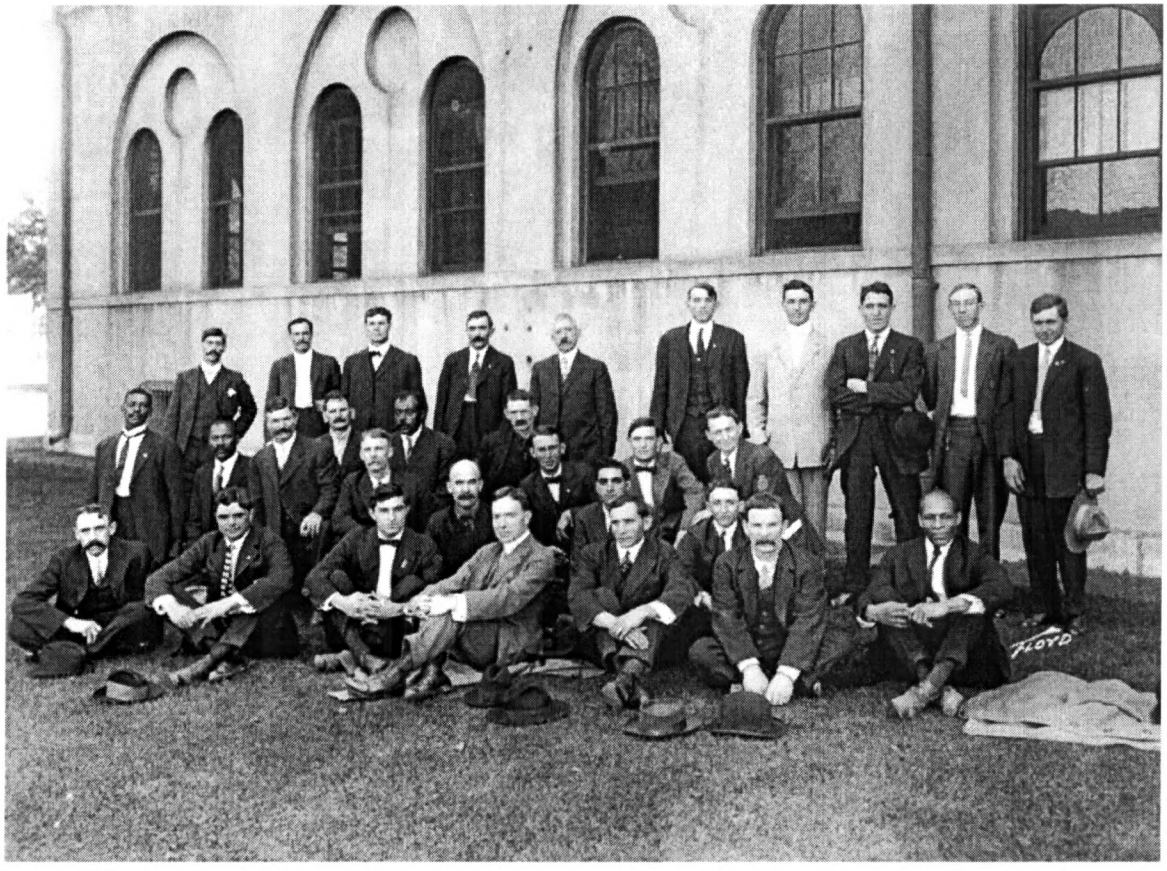
Ironically, it was not the economic ravages of the Great Depression, but the legislation introduced to revive the American economy that led to the demise of the employee representation plans. Section 7(a) of President Franklin Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of June 1933 recognized the rights of workers to bargain and organize collectively. Unions grabbed this opportunity to recruit new members while employers rushed to set up new plans to discourage unions in their work place. From 1934 to 1935, the growth in employees covered by employee representation plans exploded from 1.8 million to 2.5 million. Provisions of the 1935 National Labor Relations Act (also known as the Wagner Act) were directed at the purportedly sham plans and basically rendered all such plans illegal. By 1939 various test cases heard by the Supreme Court found employee representation plans to be illegal, spelling the end for the Rockefeller Plan and its progeny and a steep rise in membership in unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Some companies struggled up until the early 1940s to keep a semblance of their employee representation plan, but unions eventually prevailed. CF&I's fractional deconstruction of the Plan over many years illustrates a situation similar to other companies undergoing the same dismemberment of their plans. Within months of the passage of the Wagner Act, and in accordance with the act, the CF&I miners voted 877 to 273 to select the United Mine Workers of America as their collective bargaining agent. The miners' election came on October 30, 1935, just three months after CF&I declared bankruptcy and began operating under receivership.

The steelworkers were not so eager to abandon the ERP. In their first vote in 1938 the plan passed with a strong majority. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), the administrative body for the Wagner Act, pursued the issue and CF&I reorganized and renamed the plan (to the Employee Representation Organization) to indicate a break from the old ERP and compliance with modern law. The NLRB and the unions were not deterred. After numerous court cases, elections and campaigning, the steelworkers voted out the employment representation plan in July 1942 in favor of the United Steelworkers union. This ended the CF&I's management-labor operations under the ERP.

[10] Gitelman pp. xi-xii.

[11] H. Lee Scamehorn. *Mill and Mine: The CF&I in the Twentieth Century.* Lincoln, Nebraska: University Press of Nebraska, 1992, p. 4.



A photograph published in the Industrial Bulletin *(Volume 1 No. 1, October 1915) shows John D. Rockefeller Jr. (seated in center of front row) with the employee representatives and management personnel gathered at the Minnequa Office Building during his October 3 visit to introduce the ERP. This issue of the* Industrial Bulletin *also published Rockefeller's remarks in English, Italian, Greek and Spanish translations.*
Photo Source: Bessemer Historical Society CF&I Archives.