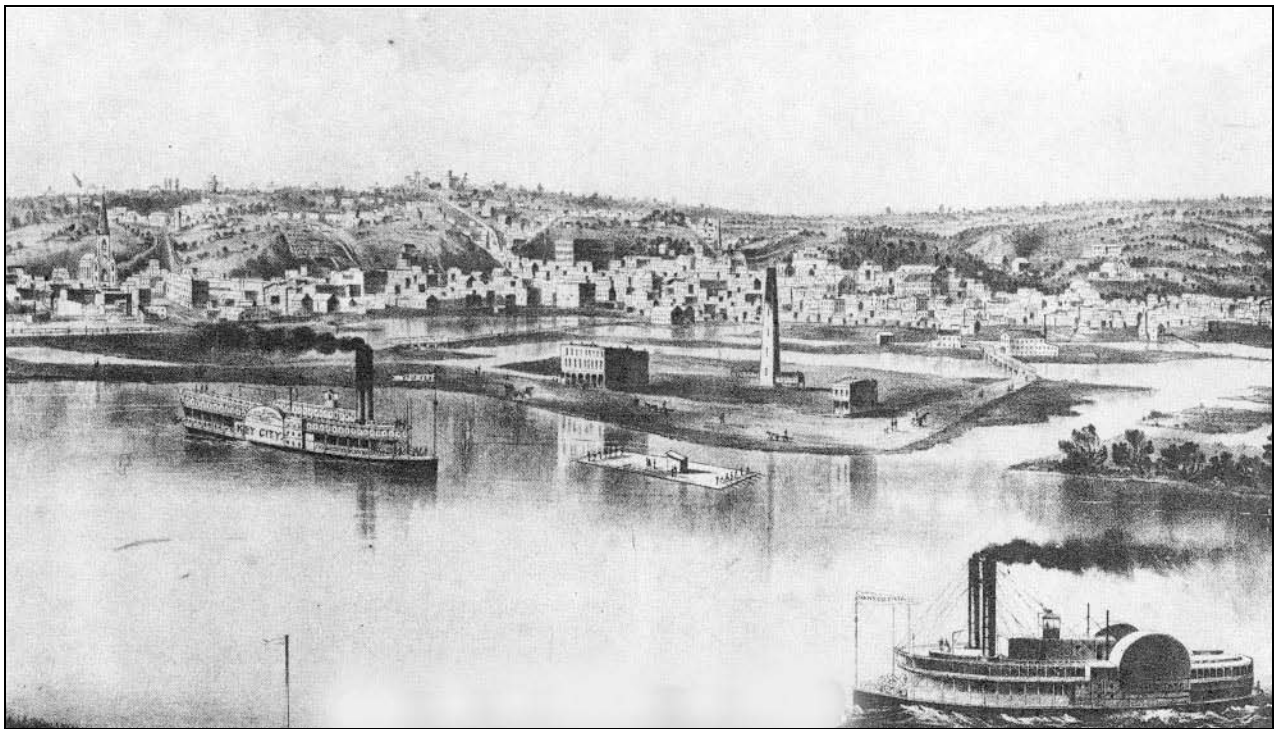




DUBUQUE—THE KEY CITY

The Architectural And Historical Resources of Dubuque, Iowa, 1837-1955

Post Phase III Version



JAMES E. JACOBSEN, HISTORY PAYS!

June 24, 2003

No city of the Union of equal population has in our opinion more reason to be proud of its position, character and reputation, than Dubuque, in developing all the elements of progress, placed by nature at its disposal. From its geographical position, nearly midway between Saint Louis and Saint Paul, it bids fair to justify its claims to be the “Metropolis of Iowa.”

Willard Glazwa, Down The Great River, p. 243, 1889

Credits and Acknowledgements:

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Lower photo, “Dubuque Forward,” Miss Isbelle Seipple, first prize poster entry, senior division, Made In Dubuque poster contest, *Dubuque Business*, May 1930, p. 6.

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**National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form**

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☐ New Submission ☒ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

The Architectural And Historical Resources of Dubuque, Iowa, 1837-1955

B. Associated Historical Contexts

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

Context #1, Frontier City on the Mississippi River, 1833-1858:

Context #2, The Key City, 1859-1893:

Context #3, Fitful Growth and Maturation, 1893-1910:

Context #4, An Era of Stability, 1910-1955:

Context #5, The Architecture of Dubuque, 1833-1955:

C. Form Prepared By

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Date June 24, 2003

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D. Certification

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

Signature and title of certifying official

Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

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

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each in the space below.

	Page Numbers
E. Statement of Historic Contexts	E-
F. Associated Property Types	F-
G. Geographical Data	G-
H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods	H-
I. Major Bibliographical References	I-

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

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Introduction:

To us Dubuque means...the hills and river that we long for when we go away, for the sunset light in the valley, the morning mists on the hills, the queer streets that go up among them, the glory of the crest, with its wide view east and west, the lovely light on the river shining away to southward, blue Sinsinawa, and the opal of the distant hills, the 'castled crags' and battlements of the bluffs,---this is Dubuque.

Edith N. Lane, "The Beauty of Dubuque, *Enterprise*, November 26, 1904

By any standard Dubuque is and has always been a distinctively different place by Iowa standards. On one hand the city served as the port of entry for Iowa settlement and was the state's first city. On the other hand Dubuque has always been geographically separated from the state and has made her fortune from a tri-state market area. If Iowa is protestant, Republican, and less than friendly with organized labor, Dubuque has assumed the opposite extremes by being predominately Catholic, Democrat and strongly pro-labor.

The city has been strongly self-reliant from the start, eschewing the out-of-state investors who dominated the development of the other Iowa cities. During the Civil War the city dared to lead in the political opposition to the national war policy and its attending repression of thought and action.

This conservative bastion has opened up in recent years. The invention of color photography brought fall tourism to Northeast Iowa, the queen of fall leaf colors. Belated road improvements finally conquered the topographical obstacles to integration. Mississippi River bridges, early and later, revived regional markets, and opened doors to the city (or as some allege, allow passersby to pass on by). Today like most cities the future hopes for continued growth are as rooted in suburban industrial parks and arterial road systems as they are in the historic city.

Dubuque, unlike most Iowa cities, never reached the vaunted 100,000-population figure (it was predicted to achieve that number by 1940), and large-scale growth sputtered out by World War I. The city never gained the acres and acres of bungalows and Tudor cottages, large numbers of steel Lustron houses and the like. Its building inventory largely pre-dates 1920 and consequently the architectural legacy of Dubuque is unmatched elsewhere in Iowa, both in quality and scale.

Dubuque is a strikingly different place because of its many differing heritages. Predominant among these is an Irish-German and strongly Catholic population which left its architectural mark in beautiful and massive churches and vernacular 19th century housing. Exploring the streets and alleyways of Dubuque's history teaches the visitor to appreciate the wealth of architectural surprises which mirror the heritage of Iowa's "Key City."

Historical History:

It is a daunting task to attempt to synthesize not only the findings of previous Dubuque historical surveys but also the historical and architectural contexts of the city. Dubuque has rightfully intrigued Iowa historians since the beginning of a state historiography and suffice it to say that the available secondary literature, which treats Dubuque, is extensive and fairly contextually exhaustive.

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The availability of generations of talented and inquisitive scholars at Dubuque's many institutions of higher learning has necessarily added to this historical legacy. Numerous religious histories, covering the range from parish to diocese, supplement the reading list.

It wasn't always this way. Historian James A. Edwards penned a promotional booklet for a planned book to be entitled Dubuque and Dubuque County. Edwards complained in the 1930s that Dubuque

...has never received that attention from historical writers which is demanded from its own importance and by its influences upon the growth and development not only of this part of the State, but throughout the Central West and Northwest

Obviously strenuous efforts have largely remedied this historical deficit (Edwards, unpaginated).

All of these historical compatriots, both past and present, have contributed to whatever quality this report can claim to possess. Absent their efforts, this writer would have labored with considerably less guidance and certainly less knowledge.

Geography:

Much of the Mississippi River channel which borders Iowa is of very recent origin. The ancient river course diverted from the present one below Clinton, Iowa, and followed what is termed the Princeton Channel, flowing southeast beyond present day Hennepin, Illinois, and then generally following the Illinois River southwest. This course developed as an ice margin drainage of Pre-Illinoian glaciers. Twice, Illinoian glaciers flowing southwest from the Lake Michigan area pushed the Mississippi's course westward into southeast Iowa. The ice closed off the channel and backed up river flow until an interim alternative course was created. Between 60,000 and 100,000 years ago, the present river course eroded its bed by as much as 100 feet. Between 25,000 and 21,000 years ago glacial flows from the northeast permanently closed off the Princeton Channel, and forced the Mississippi into its present Port Byron Gorge channel. The Quad Cities are located along this most recent river course, at a point where the river makes a pronounced westward turn. Up until 9,500 years ago the river channel was periodically flooded with catastrophic late Wisconsin glacial outwashes. Fine-grained sediments formed the Savanna Terraces which line the lower ranges of the watershed. Dubuque is positioned on one of these terraces. Since 9,500 channel changes have more gradual with reduced lateral channel movement and the formation of deltas. The Couler Valley, in the northwest part of the original city is an earlier channel for the Little Maquoketa River which now empties due east into the Mississippi (Bettis, pp. 12-15).

The Mississippi forms a reversed S shaped channel at Dubuque. The eastern bank is firmly defined by 200-foot high limestone bluffs. The river valley widens below Eagle Point Park and the west bank of the river was and remains less well defined. There is a broad and extensive network of islands and sloughs. There are no rapids in this stretch of the river and consequently no potential for hydropower. Note also that the lock and dam system construction site is just above the city and not at or below it. This meant that the city site had as much river depth as could be obtained although getting landed on firm shore was a challenge. The Savanna Terrace upon which the primary city developed lies 50-70 feet above the mean water level of the river (late 19th century city boosters would double this figure so as to quiet fears of flooding and pestilence). The terrace measured a half-mile in width with a length of two miles. Sheer-faced bluffs, rising some 200 feet, encircle the city site. It is said that like Rome, Dubuque had its seven hills and each hill sported a steeple

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or a college. Galena and Trenton limestone comprise the bluffs with Niagara limestone being present in the north end of the city. Several steep and narrow ravines radiated out from the terrace. On the north end, broader and flatter reaches of the terrace radiated out to the northeast and northwest, offering a distinct advantage for growth in that area (Horton, *The Urbanization Process...*, p. 2)

For a 15-mile radius beyond the bluff line lay rugged unglaciated country. The closest prairie lay several miles west. Good timber supply was to be had from atop the bluffs or from the river islands but the city site itself was adorned with a scattering of willows and other softwoods. Any future tree canopy would have to be planned and planted (*ibid.*).

Building stone was readily available, as was clay for making bricks. A high-grade lead ore was also to be found buried just at the bedrock surface. The terrace soil was gravelly and sandy and was easily drained a distinct health advantage although one that was balanced out by the proximity of backwater sloughs along the river frontage. While main river flooding was restricted, flash flooding down the several ravines was a real threat to life and property (*ibid.*, pp. 2-4).

It is the Galena Limestone that figures so prominently in the foundations of most of Dubuque's buildings. This stone was used in preference to brick and continued in its popularity right through the pre-World War I years. The stone is described as being almost pure dolomite with from three to eight percent silicon, and carbonate of lime and magnesium. In its natural state it is a light gray in color but iron oxidation transforms it into a light buff upon prolonged exposure (*The Industries of Dubuque*, p. 15).

Historian Raymond Lyon dared to challenge the idea of the seven hills of Dubuque. He explained that in actuality the bluff lines that surround the city are ridgelines or crest lines which have been eroded into a series of valleys (Lyon, p. 173).

Places and Names:

Dubuque, given the complexity of its history and physical setting, has accumulated an impressive array of place, landmark and neighborhood names. The following list of place names is derived from various sources:

Air Hill	Air Hill Street connects 8 th and University streets, it parallels Wilson Street (<i>Tribune</i> , December 21, 1871; Biays Bowerman)
Beach's Hill	South of Bluff and Dodge streets (Wilkie, p. 504).
Cavanaugh Hill	Southern Avenue was extended over it in 1861, "one of the best improvements of that year" (Oldt, p. 140).
Flatiron Park	Jones and Main (Wilke, p. 328).
Flats	An area defined by 14 th -16 th streets, Sycamore Street and the Railroad (Lyon, p. 159).
Frogtown	The swampy boggy area lying east of Couler Avenue and north of 19 th Street
Heidelberg of America	A citywide nickname which alludes to the hills and stone bluffs of Dubuque (Lyon, p. 330).
Kelly's Bluff	Above 2 nd Street (Wilkie, p. 143).
Key City	A citywide nickname coined by the Miner's Journal in 1854, became particularly popular in the late 1880s, the most enduring of Dubuque's several names (Lyon, p. 330).
Langworthy Hollow	Appears to reference the southern portion of the Couler Valley along Kaufmann Avenue and East 22 nd streets with specific reference to the area lying west of Central Avenue (Wilke, p.

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Lorimer Hollow 132).
The cut through which 8th Street ascends the bluffs from downtown, source of rampaging flash floods and key farm to market road as early as 1841 (Oldt, pp.70-72).
Madden Hollow Near South Bluff (Express-Herald, March 18, 1857)
Madison Hill opposite Jackson Square (Wilke, p. 207)

DISTRICTS AND NEIGHBORHOODS, CITY OF DUBUQUE	
MT. CARMEL DISTRICT	RHOMBERG DISTRICT
BRYANT DISTRICT	Lower Rhomberg Neighborhood
Mt. Loretta Neighborhood	North Rhomberg Neighborhood
Cleveland Neighborhood	Eagle Point Neighborhood
Grandview Neighborhood	UNIVERSITY DISTRICT
Curtis Neighborhood	Decorah Neighborhood
Country Club Area	Sunnyview Neighborhood
Southern Avenue Area	Green Street Neighborhood
WARTBURG DISTRICT	Devon Neighborhood
Fremont Neighborhood	Delhi Neighborhood
Sunset Ridge Neighborhood	St. Joseph Neighborhood
Coates Street Neighborhood	FLORA PARK DISTRICT
HILL DISTRICT	Hillcrest Neighborhood
West Eighth Street Neighborhood	Lenox Neighborhood
West Seventh Street Neighborhood	Falk Neighborhood
Fenelon Neighborhood	WESTERN SUBDIVISIONS
Langworthy neighborhood	WEST LOCUST DISTRICT
Mercy Hospital Neighborhood	Jackson School Neighborhood
West Eleventh Street Neighborhood	CLARKE DRIVE DISTRICT
West Fifth Street Neighborhood	Madison Park Neighborhood
Angella and Cornell Neighborhoods	Clarke Drive Neighborhood
Loras Neighborhood	Montcrest Neighborhood
Finley Hospital Neighborhood	NORTH END DISTRICT
Henderson Neighborhood	Twenty-Second Street Neighborhood
KAUFMANN AVENUE DISTRICT	Broadway Neighborhood
PARK HILL DISTRICT	Comiskey Neighborhood
Fulton Street Neighborhood	Holy Ghost Neighborhood
Gay Street Neighborhood	Thirtieth Street Neighborhood
Muscatine Neighborhood	Sacred Heart Church Neighborhood
KANE STREET DISTRICT	DOWNTOWN DISTRICT
Oakcrest Neighborhood	Jackson Park Neighborhood
Shady Lane Neighborhood	St. Raphael Neighborhood
Scenic View Neighborhood	Washington Street Neighborhood
LINWOOD DISTRICT	INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT
Windsor Neighborhood	The Flats
Burden Neighborhood	
Jefferson Neighborhood	

Figure 1: Dubuque Neighborhood list, 1962, Victor Gruen Report (p. 28)

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Figure 2: Dubuque Neighborhood Map, Victor Gruen Report (p. 28)

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Monkeytown	Martin Shaffner opened a pioneer-era inn in West Dubuque (Delhi and O'Hagan streets) And his purchase of a monkey from passing settlers made his inn a destination point for miles Around. Lyon attributes the name to a mining community in the west part of the city (Lyon, p. 141; <i>Telegraph-Herald</i> , August 13, 1933).
Park Hill	2800s block of Central Avenue, the scene of much house building in 1889 (Biays Bowerman)
Pikes Peak Range	A lead and zinc mining hilly area located south and southwest of the city. The name was coined during the California gold rush of the late 1840s (Lyon, pp. 313, 351-52).
Plank Road	A plank road crossed marshy areas along the Couler Valley, linking the city with Daytonville and Sageville. It followed the base of the bluffs and Smith & Company Brewery was built along it in 1856 (<i>Express-Herald</i> , Nov. 21, 1856; Biays Bowerman)
Prospect Hill	Located west of and at the top of the 4 th Street Elevator, mentioned in the <i>Tribune</i> , December 21, 1871, Biays Bowerman).
Rome of America	A city nickname which alludes to the claimed seven hills of Dubuque (Lyon, p. 330).
Summer Hill	area near Murphy Park, scene of house building 1889 (Biays Bowerman)
State of Dubuque	A city nickname which alludes to Dubuque's independence in politics during the 19 th century and state and federal prohibition early in the 20 th century (Lyon, p. 359; Wilkie, p. 221).
Summer Hill	J. H. Hill builds a frame house (<i>Tribune</i> , December 21, 1871)
West Point	Captain West builds a 100-step stairway (<i>Tribune</i> , December 21, 1871)
West's Bluff	M. Mattison builds a brick dwelling (<i>Tribune</i> , December 21, 1871)
Whiskey Hill	Near Southern Avenue, J. H. Hill builds a frame house there in 1871 (<i>Tribune</i> , December 21, 1871; Biays Bowerman)
Zollicoffer Lake	A Peru Township source of ice for city as of 1886 (Biays Bowerman)

Numerous key streets were renamed over time and those which traversed the several gorges in the western bluffs identified their respective cuts. Julien Avenue became University Street while the Lorimer Hollow Road became Julien Avenue, Couler Avenue became Central Avenue, West Eagle Point Road became Kaufmann Street, West 14th Street became Loras, West 17th became Locust, Mineral Street became West Locust (Lyon, pp. 430-31).

Key regional roads were wholly or partly renamed as the city expanded. The Cascade Road became Fremont, Centre Street became Asbury Road, and the Military Road became Rockdale Road (ibid.).

Why Is Dubuque at Dubuque?

Iowa historian Loren Horton concluded that Dubuque was established because of its nearby lead deposits and for no other reason. There were good reasons to avoid the future city site. It was a "cul de sac" in Horton's opinion, being hemmed in physically to the west, isolated from what normally would be a supportive agricultural market and supply source. It was equally isolated from points east by its initial lifeline, the Mississippi, given the long-term lack of a bridge of any sort and the difficulties that the location presented to bridge building. It wasn't until 1887 that the first wagon bridge was opened and it provided at best an indirect route to Illinois via Wisconsin. There was no waterpower source and the advantages of river commerce were hindered by the difficulty of accessing deep-water navigation. There was no federal interest in canal construction, arsenal establishment or national roads that might otherwise have spawned town-building interests. It was finally the ready wealth offered by the lead, a wealth that apparently was more democratic in its distribution than were the later gold and silver stampedes, that explained why the city started and why it grew to achieve the scale that it did (ibid., p. 4).

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My first impression, crossing from Dunleith, were unfavorable, it looked as though there was no room for a city, shut in as it was by the steep bluffs. But a few days gave me an opportunity to survey and note its advantages and judge of its future prospects...and I was really surprised to find from actually going over it so much space on which to build a city...

...[Dubuque] ... is the only point on the Mississippi river, above St. Louis, that has such vast territory to support her—from Davenport to St. Paul there is no place to compete with her—to the west for 200 miles, to the Missouri river, is a splendid country, nearly filled with a hardy population, bringing it rapidly into cultivation; they have already a railroad—several miles completed, and cars running—stretching across this fine territory west. How long before the immense products of this beautiful country must pour into the lap of Dubuque[?]....

Times, September 4, 1857 (copied from *St. Louis Republican*, August 24, 1857)

If one surveys alternative city founding sites along the Iowa side of the Mississippi River in the vicinity of Dubuque, a better location is not to be found. Invariably other nearby towns occupy similar raised, elongated and narrow terraces. Dubuque's alternative site might have been the mouth of Catfish Creek but the earliest settlers instinctively knew where to mine and where to live. Mississippi River city sites commonly occupied the mouths of rivers so as to take advantage of inland markets and power generation. Rock Island, Illinois, is another example of a city that chose not to build at the mouth of the Rock River, preferring a main channel frontage that did provide both the power and a readily bridged transportation corridor.

There were surely secondary explanations for Dubuque's establishment. As the story will indicate, Dubuque was the initial front door to Iowa settlement, and it was that state's first city. It served as a "forwarding and commissioning" support base for both points west and points northwest, up the Mississippi River. Early on the city was the base for religious and ethnic settlement for the Catholic Church's Irish and German adherents. The groundwork for future far-flung dioceses was laid from Dubuque, forming one parish at a time. Less studied by historians is the collective role played by the early Protestant churches (Methodist, Congregational, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist) and the small Jewish community in the city.



Figure 3: Dubuque as capital city under the proposed 1844 state constitution (Denny, p. 2).

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Dubuque's success was perhaps unwitting. Initially it was hoped that Dubuque would become a territorial administrative center and the northern boundary for the Iowa Territory was by no means fixed. As late as 1844 Edward Langworthy, attending the state constitutional convention in Iowa City, attempted to set the boundary at the 45th Parallel, deeply inside what became Minnesota. Dubuque would have been the "hub" of a larger state rather than a large city in the distant corner of a smaller state. One superlative advantage gained by its location was primary access to the log rafts which came in escalating numbers down river. Dubuque had first choice and the best shipping costs for these logs and consequently the city's lumber trade survived that of cities down river (Lyon, p. 56).

From the start, Dubuquers believed so fervently in their collective future that even fundamental questions about the legality of their land titles failed to dull their town building efforts. The very lead legacy which brought the first miner/settlers to the area resulted in a land ownership squabble that took 21 years and the U.S. Supreme Court to finally quiet. The same self-advocacy defeated Galena in its intention to become the western railroad hub along the Mississippi. Instead Dubuque had the only railroad that ran inland west of the Mississippi River above St. Louis) during the Civil War years. This was clearly a significant advantage for its industrial and retail growth and development during the lengthy 10-year hiatus in westward railroad expansion which followed the economic panic of 1857-58 (ibid., p. 6; Anderson, p. 26).

Clearly Dubuque paid a heavy price to imposing its growth upon its selected site. The July 1934 Housing Report observed that the city had faced "unusual topographical difficulties" which presented a severe handicap in laying out a street system. This reality exacted great initial costs and higher maintenance costs for streets, utilities and buildings as a result (July 1934 Housing Report, pp. 28-29).

When Was Dubuque Established?

The city celebrated its centennial in 1933, using the 1833 date which opened the area to white settlement. In deference to tradition, that beginning date is used in this report as well. The Old Settlers Association, founded in 1865 used very stringent residency criteria for its membership. Initially one had to be both male and in the county prior to 1847. The actual city establishment came well after 1833, with successive incorporations taking place in 1837 and 1841. Dubuquers relished their early birthright and pushed it as early as they could to make a distinction amongst other Iowa communities.

Context #1, Frontier City on the Mississippi River, 1833-1858:

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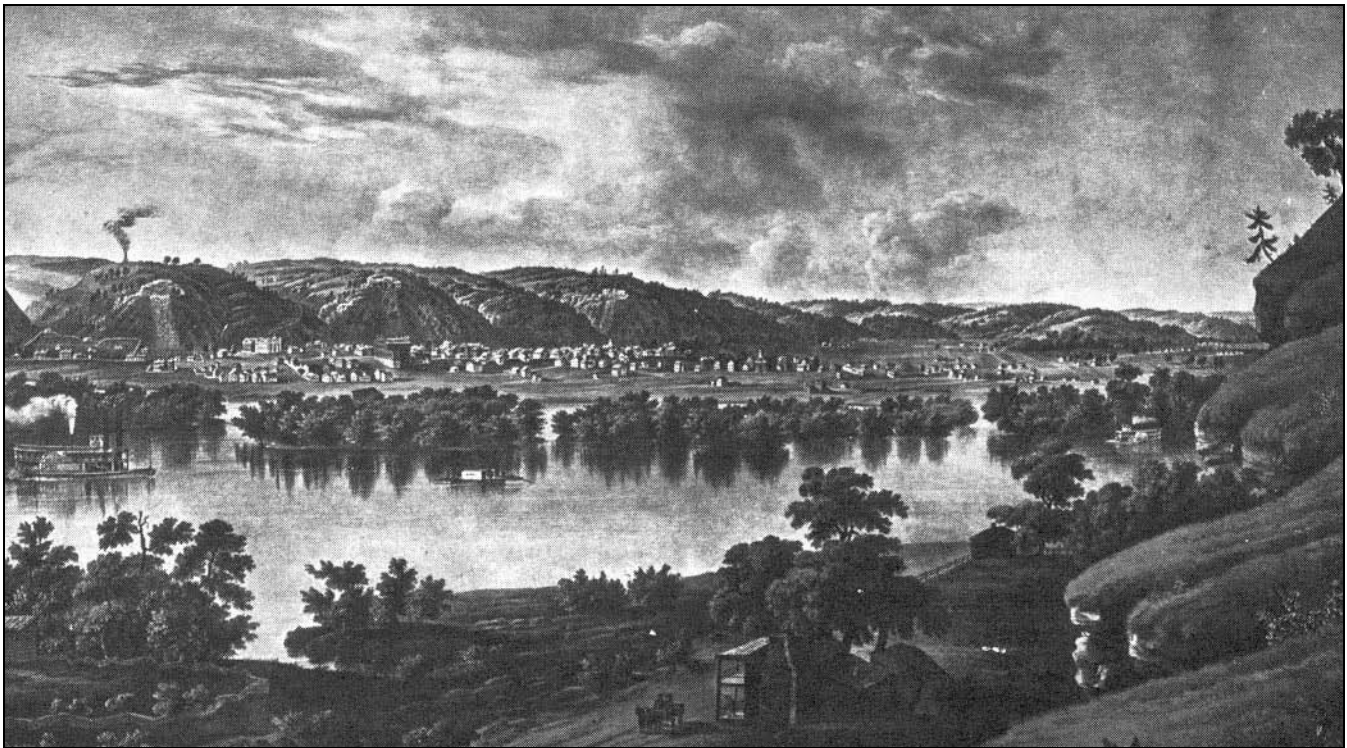


Figure 4: Dubuque, 1848 Lithograph by John Caspar Wild (Wilkie, p. 150, original State Historical Society of Iowa)

There is a general historical consensus that Dubuque's first historical era drew to a close with the national financial panic of 1857-58. That collapse brought dramatic closure to truly explosive city growth from 1852 through 1857 which increased city population from 4,012 to 15,957. The same point in time marks the emergence of an urban self-consciousness that replaced frontier make-do with architects, city ordinances and more concerted planning and development. The Civil War years which followed produced more internal strife than major building but wartime contracts served as the principal source of wealth for the next phase of city building, so that most difficult period is coupled to a later time.

Historian Loren Horton studied Dubuque as a case study in city growth and planning in his 1972 work titled "The Urbanization Process In Early Iowa: Town Planning And Growth In Dubuque, 1833-1861." His painstaking investigation of these early years has done much to make some sense of what happened and most important for this study, why the city took the physical form that it did.

Lead Mining And Early Tales:

The Mississippi River was the super-highway equivalent in a time when extensive cross-country trekking and shipping was difficult to impossible to accomplish. European penetration into and control of the Upper Mississippi Valley necessarily was predicated on using the river as a transportation and communication corridor. The first regional tourists, the Frenchmen Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet, included the future site of Dubuque in their 1673 down river itinerary. Regional flags changed from France to Spain in 1763, and back to France in 1800. American cash

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on the Napoleonic barrel head in the form of the Louisiana Purchase switched theoretical flags to the United States in 1803 although only infrequent military parties could legally raise the colors there until 1833 (Sommer, pp. 4-5).

Beginning in 1783 Quebec-born Frenchman Julien Dubuque (1762-1810) negotiated with the Fox Indians to gain access to the Catfish Creek area ("Mines of Spain") lead deposits. He died in 1810 and his Indian compatriots rubbed out every physical trace of his mining and smelting operations, and took up the mining themselves. They made no land transfer to Dubuque but in 1796 Spain granted him an impressive 164,000 acres of land that roughly centered on the Dubuque location. In 1804 Dubuque paid off his St. Louis supplier, Auguste Chouteau with a land transfer of 63,815 acres. Included in that deal was what became Dubuque. This issue of land ownership would later hinder Dubuque's early growth (Horton, pp. 4-6).

The Indian lead smelting operation was inefficient, with a high percentage of the ore being burned off in open fire smelting. James L. Langworthy negotiated rights to survey the mining area and arranged to smelt the ore on the Illinois side, with Indian miners supplying the raw ore. By June 1830 Langworthy and brother Lucius H., were squatting on the Iowa side of the river. Federal soldiers entered the area in response to a Sioux-Fox tribal conflict and evicted the miners. Future president Col. Zachary Taylor commanded this force and future Confederate president Lieutenant Jefferson Davis sent soldiers from Fort Crawford. Recent archeological testing in the Union Park area produced artifacts which were associated with this military operation. On June 17, 1830 the miners at "Dubuque Mines" penned an extra-legal codicil that provided for allocating mining rights to 200-yard square claims. The eviction postdated this document. The miners returned in mid-1832 and were quickly evicted. The Black Hawk Treaty of September 21, 1832 terminated Indian land claims to the easternmost 50 miles of Iowa Territory and the miners, to the number of 200 men, again returned to the Iowa side. In January 1833 the military again evicted them. The new area was legally opened for resettlement on June 1, 1833 and the evictees and others poured back across the river. The U.S. Congress even legitimized the 1830 miner's articles and the mineral lots served as the first land survey (ibid., pp. 7-8).

Lead production peaked by 1840. Cupola (or reverberator) and Scotch hearth furnaces allowed for an 80% recovery rate from the ore and slag from previous mining efforts was eagerly reprocessed along with new diggings. The 1834 construction of a Yorkshire Scotch Hearth furnace, using a process that involved the injection of air into the furnace, directly facilitated lead production. These furnaces employed an overshot water wheel to pump the air. Catfish Creek was the site of the second such furnace. The Iowa mining was a part of a tri-state operation and many Iowa miners came from Wisconsin and Illinois and were veteran lead miners. Total Iowa production figures are unavailable over the course of the industry's development but by 1848, the other two states turned out 55,000,000 pounds of lead each year. Lead pigs were a major component of river shipping downstream to St. Louis (ibid., pp. 25-27; interview Tacie Campbell).

Historian William Wilkie observed that North Dubuque, particularly along the Bee Branch (now 32nd Street and south along Couler Avenue), was the post-1833 focus of lead mining activities. Shaft mining replaced surface digs and the improved furnaces increased output efficiencies (Wilkie, pp. 143-144).

The lead industry was significant because it brought about Dubuque's site selection and establishment and it laid the groundwork for the financial independence that Dubuque capitalists enjoyed in subsequent years. Funds from lead mining built up the city and capitalized future industrial development. The industry determined that the initial local population was almost exclusively male in its composition. The lead fixation diverted attention from other endeavors such as town foundation. Wilkie suggests that the initial mining fervor resulted from a false assumption that agriculture

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wasn't feasible in so northerly a location. Mining as the predominant local livelihood faded as farming succeeded and supplanted it (ibid.).

More optimistic historical sources credit the lead industry with aiding Dubuque in weathering the Financial Panic of 1837 and this point deserves further investigation. The following claim is offered by Dubuque Its Manufacturing And Commercial Facilities (1886, p. 13):

The financial revulsion of 1837 did not materially affect Dubuque. Its main resources were lead, produced steadily by the industry of hundreds of miners and the working of half a dozen smelting furnaces. This product commanded a ready cash sale in the markets of St. Louis and New Orleans. In all American mining districts paper money was received slowly and cautiously as a circulating medium, and accordingly the depreciated bank note currency of the Eastern States was despised, and gold and silver were the principal forms of money, and continued so for twenty years afterward...

Local historian Biays Bowerman rightfully points out that there was little besides mining to be affected by this earliest panic. Just four years had elapsed since the government had forcefully removed area miners and there are no accounts of the removing of any farmers. Rural lands weren't formally sold until 1846-47 (Biays Bowerman).

Regional Dominance and Self Image:

We are the most important point on the upper Mississippi, a point which has given our city the sobriquet 'Key City.' As the key she commands the whole of northwestern Iowa and southern Minnesota.

Express & Herald, January 1, 1858

Dubuque has always been the halfway point relative to the Mississippi River. It is midway between St. Louis and the Twin Cities and it was the midpoint of the Black Hawk Purchase, a 350-mile long narrow sliver of land that stretched from Green Bay, Wisconsin, to Keokuk. This north-south midway mark would later be augmented by an east-west measure, relevant to the railroad era, that of being halfway between Chicago and Sioux City. Dubuque expected selection as the Wisconsin territorial capital but lost out to little Belmont, Wisconsin. There was even an 1834 effort to rename the city "Washington." When Iowa Territory was separated off in 1838, it included all land between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and between Canada and Missouri and Dubuque continued to aspire towards being the central hub of a much larger (that is to say reaching northward) area than was finally assigned to the new territory and state. Dubuque from its inception had regional aspirations and these to a great extent were focused to the northwest and northeast, rather than to what would become present day Iowa (Oldt, p. 48).

Politically the city residents sought both direct representation and the status of being a center of government as the various and fleeting territorial designations (Michigan, Wisconsin, and then Iowa territories within a five-year period) came and went (Wilkie, p. 146).

Dubuque's role as a forwarding and commissioning base for the settlement of the Upper Mississippi River valley is less well appreciated. This role was certainly shared with all of the other larger emerging downstream river cities such as Quincy and Galena, Illinois, and St. Louis. Banking and transportation interests made possible the delivery of heavy equipment for new flour mills, construction material for developing new towns, and foodstuffs for the residents. The

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earliest steamboats conducted informal mail delivery systems and these persisted into the 1850s despite Postal Department efforts to suppress them. Dubuque was the northernmost substantial river city for many years and its lead revenues capitalized various local and regional ventures, one of which was the broad scale acquisition of upriver timberlands.

The natural market area for Dubuque lay across the Mississippi in northwestern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin. Market access would be long hampered by the lack of Mississippi River bridges but farm produce and stock could better reach Dubuque from these adjoining areas than it could from closer in Iowa counties. Retail services, newspaper circulation, and political-cultural dominance similarly cross state lines. Dubuque's principal rival in securing the trade area east of the river was Galena and the battle was an intense one, but one that was won before the outbreak of the Civil War. Galena attempted to deprive Dubuque of railroad access, seeking to serve as the Mississippi River's railroad hub in lieu of its competitor. Galena steamboat owners similarly monopolized river traffic to the detriment of Dubuque. Dubuque's regional ascendancy was best symbolized by its securing the federal land office in 1838, an early victory that went down hard in Galena. This office functioned until 1857 when it was consolidated with the Des Moines land office. Another symbolic victory for Dubuque was the securing in 1852 of the federal distributing post office, which "tended to excite the spirit of rivalry between the two places." In this instance, Dubuque prevailed because it enjoyed river-shipping advantages at all stages of navigation (Wilkie, p. 157; Childs, p. 116).¹

On the Iowa side 8th Street which ran through Lorimer Hollow emerged as early as 1841 as the route "over which a considerable portion of the business of the town with the country is done." Eighth Street was straightened and developed early as a key commercial cross street to the west of Main Street. Further south, measures were taken to divert flashfloods which "for the past two years has been ruining the property at the south end of Locust Street." The latter point was where the old military road climbed Whisky Hill on the way to Rockdale (*Iowa News*, May 29, 1841; Biays Bowerman).

It wasn't until late summer (August 6) in 1860 that sufficient area grain production was sufficient to cause Dubuque millers to form the Dubuque Grain Exchange and to call for the establishment of a grain-specific open market. The market was set up in the first ward. Yet another indication of the city's belated emergence as a grain-trading center was the construction that same fall of a grain elevator by the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad (Oldt, pp. 133, 136).

That same fall seasonal meatpacking also emerged as an important city industry in response to an increasing area hog production. The *Herald* observed that meatpacking was a business "previously neglected and not capitalized." The animals indeed had been shipped downstream live and meat was imported for local consumption. It would take the coming of the war before year-around meatpacking became a reality. By the winter of 1861-62 seven firms consumed 8,300 hogs. Five thousand head were shipped out on the hoof (*ibid.*, p. 124, 141, *Herald*, October 26, 1860).

Dubuque was also regionally dominant as a spring point for religious-based settlement. The Catholic Church played a critical role in the establishment of towns and parishes. The Dubuque diocese actively recruited foreign-born immigrants and much of the settlement of Minnesota and northeast Iowa was the direct result of the concerted effort by Dubuque priests and bishops to insure the provision of a protective church network for its adherents on the frontier.

¹ Galena also possessed a federal Marine Hospital. This federal program to aid the needs of inland and ocean-going mariners, existed from 1798 to 1870 and was funded through a tax on masters of coastal vessels, and was usually collected by customs officers.

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One substantial milestone in the city's development came in 1846 when area farming finally developed beyond a subsistence production level and products became available for external market (1880 History, p. 525).

The Battle For Regional Dominance With Galena, Illinois:

Galena, jealous of her rival, compelled Dubuque to struggle for existence and the complete supremacy of the latter over the former to day can be traced almost directly to the efforts employed to preserve its [Dubuque's] vitality.

1880 County History, p. 523

Galena transportation interests had a stranglehold on Dubuque exports until 1854. Up to that point all passenger traffic down river had to Galena and Dubuque was relegated to the status of a local marketplace. Dubuque interests began to invest heavily in steamboats during the late 1840s and early 1850s. Galena too placed her hopes on river traffic and her dominance of it. When the railroad reached Galena and was then extended westward to the shore opposite Dubuque, Galena was unable to react to the transformation which the rails brought to the region and Dubuque quickly superceded Galena. Dubuque had embraced the railroad and its potential from the beginning. Galena interests actually prohibited the passage of the railroad through that city and the result was the bypassing of Galena by the railroad! This redirection played into the hands of the Dubuque interests. Dubuque Senator George W. Jones successfully convinced Senator Stephen Douglas to amend the 1850 railroad land grant bill to extend the right-of-way 15 miles further west. Jones had much to gain from the extension personally given that he owned the terminal site at what would become Dunleith and then East Dubuque. His in-laws also operated the ferry service at that point. Iowa had failed up to that point to pass a similar land grant bill and it was therefore all the more critical that Dubuque realized at least proximity to a railroad link. 1853-54 proclaimed victory over the Galena interests and from that point on Dubuque enjoyed a diversified transportation network of river and rail (Johnson, An Army For Industrialization, pp. 58-65, cited hereinafter as Johnson; Oldt, p. 243).²

River Traffic Dominates:

The river as noted was both a transportation artery and an obstacle to overland east/west traffic. Steamboating actually developed first on the Upper Mississippi (above St. Louis) and a regional system developed and matured within the river valley. The cities of Galena, Quincy, Dubuque, Davenport/Rock Island, and others prospered in banking and financing, manufacturing and shipping. Regionally this network provided the jumping off point for the extension of settlement, agriculture and finally city building into Northern Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.

Galena dominated Dubuque in its ownership of steamboat interests. Its packet company (the Minnesota Packet Company, later the Galena, Dunleith, and Minnesota Packet Company, note the absence of Dubuque in that title) also controlled the Dubuque ferries and Dubuque shipping was greatly impeded even after the arrival of the railroad on the Illinois shore. It wasn't until 1854 that the first Dubuque-owned and operated steamboat was in service. Dubuque's river shipping was hampered by the lack of a good wharf/harbor. Steamboat landing counts at Dubuque for 1851 was an impressive 351, a figure that rose to 1,000 landings by 1857 (Wilkie, p. 234).

² One key impediment to the hopes of Galena's citizens was the silting in of the Fever River, its vulnerable link to the Mississippi River (Biays Bowerman).

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Steamboats we don't pretend to count; they come and go.
Iowa News, December 9, 1837

This increasingly frenzied steamboat activity reflected city growth and federal river harbor improvements made during this interim. The federal government appropriated \$14,000 to dredge the Barney Cut, a steamboat channel to link the inner and outer sloughs with the main river channel. The money was appropriated in 1843 and construction must have immediately followed by the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. The Corps also completed a harbor survey in 1853-56, which Horton says led to improved docking facilities. He adds that the work later facilitated construction of the first railroad bridge (Horton, pp. 28-29).

The "contemplated canal" which appears on the city plat (see below) was being "contemplated" as early as 1836. The required length was but a third of a mile. If the river current could have been diverted into the inner slough the slack water areas would have been drained and the health of the area much improved. By 1838, two canals were suggested to move the river channel. Nothing was done. The Dubuque Harbor Company and the Dubuque Harbor Improvement Company incorporated in the middle 1850s with the purpose of filling in the wetlands eastward to extend the riverfront to the river. Sixth and Third street were slowly extended eastward and by early April 1858 a bridge and levee system interlinked the several islands (ibid., pp. 31-32).

There were two federal pre-Civil War river improvements made at Dubuque. In 1844 Joshua Barney did some dredging to enable first class river steamers to serve the city and apparently built the first Mississippi dredge, titled the *Devasseur*. The Mexican War halted any river work 1846-47 and dredging resumed only in 1853. The federal funding included funds to improve the Illinois River was part of larger Illinois plans to build the Michigan-Illinois Canal between Chicago and LaSalle, located on the Illinois River. Dubuquers would benefit by any navigable shortcut across Illinois, a reduction of a 607-mile trip to just 188 miles. The 1853 dredging went beyond simply opening a cut to the main channel. In anticipation of a railroad-ferry link, the cut linked Dubuque and Dunleith. The 1853 dredge boat was named in honor of Senator George W. Jones who was instrumental in funding the work (Tweet, 1984, pp. 50-53, 149).

The advantage of river transportation brought with it the disadvantage of having to cross the river to access the resources and markets on the east side of the Mississippi. Regular river ferry services dated from 1838 between Dubuque proper and Sinipee, Wisconsin. Everything that crossed the river effectively paid a transshipment toll or tax in the form of the ferry fee, save for the three months that the iced over river could bear foot and wheeled traffic. Even after the arrival of the railroad in 1855 from Galena, ferries carried all goods, imported and exported, for Dubuques entrepreneurs. Road travel never effectively substituted for river shipment and the city consequently continued to rely upon the river and its north/south trade orientation (Wilkie, p. 234).

Newly elected mayor Jesse Farley made the key river access improvement in 1852. He decided to forsake efforts to bring the river to Dubuque but rather to take the city to the river. Efforts to dredge and otherwise use the "old channel" presumably Lake Peosta, were dropped and a series of street extensions on raised causeways began the long-term process of slough filling which produced the present day riverfront (Johnson, p. 65).

Railroad mania struck Dubuque as it did everywhere, beginning in the late 1830s. The Illinois Central reached Dunleith (East Dubuque) opposite the city on July 17, 1855 and that village was quickly platted as a result. There was no likelihood of a Dubuque bridge for the railroad but the Dubuque and Pacific Railroad, a Dubuque-owned railroad, was under construction by 1855, even before Iowa granted it land grant status in 1856. The first locomotive was delivered via

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river ferry to the new line by September 1856 and regular operations began the following May. By April 1858 the city had seven incorporated railroads on paper but just one with actual rails laid. By April 1861 100 miles of track reached a terminus at Cedar Falls. This first inland railroad tapped into a just-developing interior market area for Dubuque but its true economic significance would be realized after the war, by which time, railroad networks finally challenged the transportation supremacy of the river steamboat (Wilkie, pp. 235-26, Johnson, p. 72).

The Railroad Arrives and Fosters Growth:

Iowa side Railroad fever dated from 1847 when the first organized railroad meeting in the city called for the passage of a state charter for railroads. The survey for the Illinois Central was completed 1850-51, with grading done the next year. Cholera impeded progress during 1854. Appropriately, Galena residents used a pile driver to block the track when the first train traversed the finished line on February 6, 1855. Dubuque formally celebrated arrival of the iron horse on July 17, 1855 (1880 county history, p. 626).

The arrival of the Illinois Central Railroad opposite Dubuque in 1855, elevated the city from a local marketplace, which it was through 1854, to secondary entrepôt status (skipping the intermediate category of central marketplace) after 1855, taking away that same role from Galena. It was clearly the railroads arrival that made this possible and it was the long-term Mississippi River terminus of the rails, 1855-68, that enabled the city to hold on to its newly gained regional market role. Historian Timothy Mahoney states "Davenport, Dubuque, and, to a lesser extent, Quincy thrived for a somewhat longer period, encouraging local merchants, who interpreted their new found prosperity as an indicator of greater regional hegemony, to bypass Chicago and to establish direct contacts with New York, Philadelphia, and Boston." Dubuque experienced greater stability in contrast to the other major river cities. Mahoney determined "Dubuque... remained a local marketplace until the mid-1850s and then briefly performed a secondary entrepôt role between 1858 and 1860 in the development of the upper Mississippi River before settling into the role of a central marketplace." Mahoney fails to explain the cause for his claim that the city lost trading status after 1860. He elsewhere dates the period of serving as central marketplace to 1864-1868 (Mahoney, pp. 318-441).

The railroad challenged the river as the medium of transportation for immigrants and historian Helen Wulkow determined that "with the coming of the railroad there was a great influx of immigration to settle the farms of the Dubuque area." This hinterland development, particularly in agricultural products, would be most important to the city (Wulkow, p. 21).

The 1880 county history echoed this claim, stating that even the mere approach of the railroad westward from Galena:

Gave a new impetus to business and stimulated enterprise. Real estate once more ascended the plane of value. Lots in the suburbs were sold at so much per front foot, and property in the business portion of the city could scarcely be obtained at any price. The Germans began to come in and take upland for farms, gardens, etc.. Manufacturing interests were regarded as valuable. Couler avenue was built up by the German element who toiled in the workshops and saved their profits to be invested and lost in the financial crash impending. Farm products were in great demand, and, as one of their residents of Dubuque said in a recent occasion to the writer, the country folks were intoxicated with joy when they found the price of hog-meat had risen to \$3.50 per hundred. These were the prosperous days of a golden

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age for Dubuque. The best times of record, or within the memory of the proverbial oldest inhabitants, occurred between 1853 and 1858 (1880 county history, p. 530).

The railroad extension beyond Galena to the Mississippi River east bank, opposite Dubuque, masterminded by Senator George Washington Jones, was central to the demise of competitor Galena. For a time the city was the northernmost river city with rail access, a double advantage although river towns like LaCrosse also had Milwaukee rail links within a few years. The Illinois Central rail link was an indirect one to Chicago, the line ran east and then south to middle Illinois before shipments reached the junction with the company's Chicago line, and then ran the same distance back north to Lake Michigan.

The arrival of the Illinois Central sparked railroad fever on the Iowa side and Dubuquers financed the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad, which would reach as far west as Cedar Rapids by the early years of the Civil War. That company incorporated on May 19, 1853 and the line was complete to Dyersville by May 11, 1857. Jessup was reached in 1860 but financial woes plagued the company. It reorganized August 21, 1860. At the start of the Civil War the company had 80 miles of track, four engines and 71 cars. Dubuque interests were greatly frustrated with the painfully slow westward extension of the line (1880 county history, p. 632).

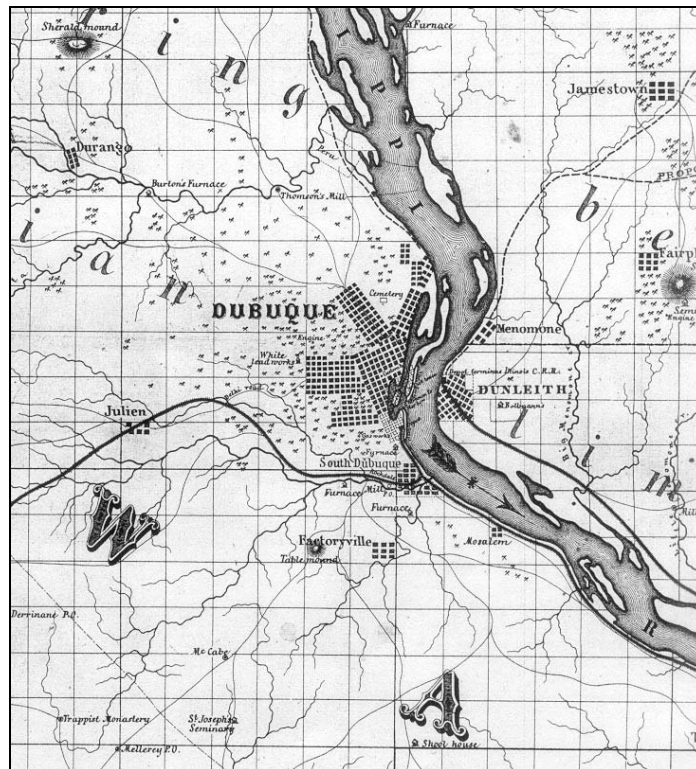


Figure 5: DeWerthern, H., *Dubuque And Vicinity, Iowa, 1858*.

This Dubuque railroad initiative, the logical if interrupted westward continuation of the vital Illinois Central line, was the truly significant portion of the larger initial railroad network. It tapped into and fostered the accelerated development of Northern Iowa agriculture and it extended Dubuque's market control and dominance into the Iowa

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hinterland. The line literally provided the city with things to ship further east, apart from goods which were produced in the city itself. Historian David Anderson states that this line was the only railroad running west of the Mississippi north of St. Louis as of the Civil War but this is not the case, half a dozen lines penetrated westward from Hannibal, Clinton, Davenport, Burlington, and Winona. The Dubuque and Sioux City was the northernmost Iowa line and enjoyed a longer line of operation as well as a unique wartime extension to Cedar Falls. The regional impact of the line, particularly during the war years is worthy of targeted historical investigation (Anderson, p. 26).

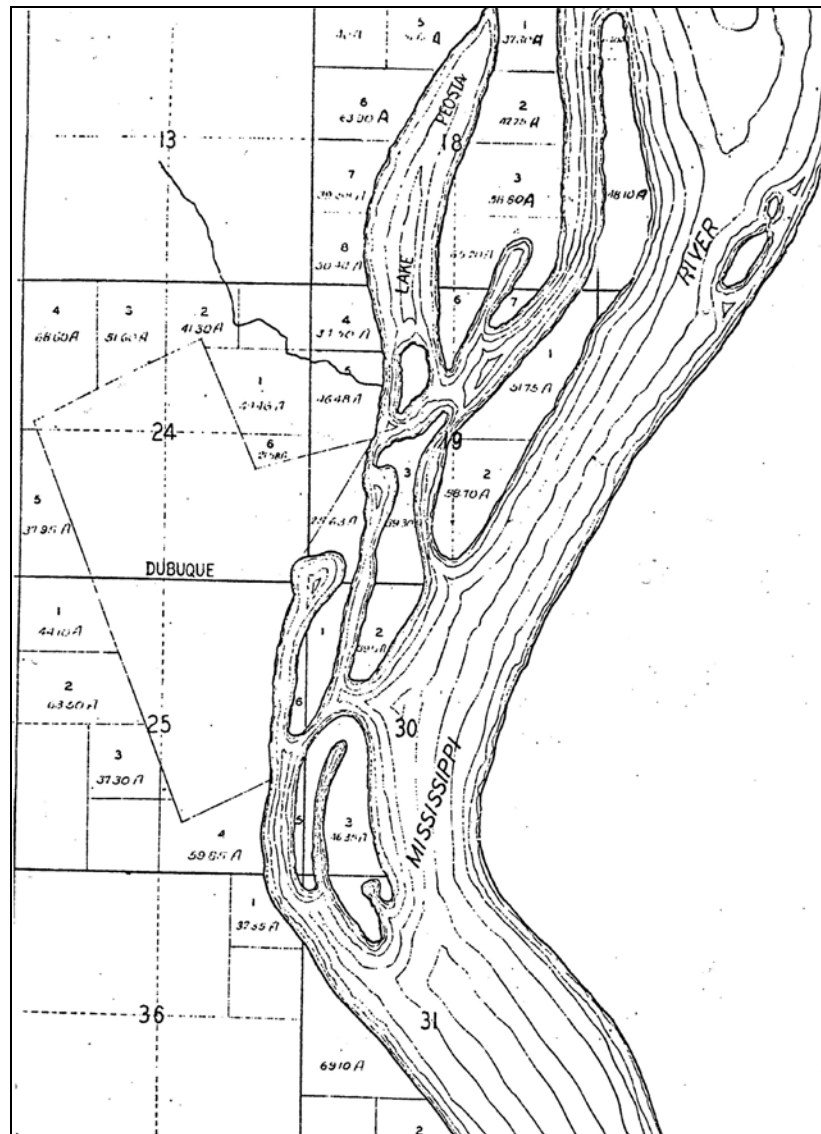


Figure 6: Original Plat and Outlots, Dubuque (Horton)

Early Stage Roads:

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The map presented below locates a number of important regional factors. The various lead mine site are individually marked with crosshatches and the key furnaces and mills located and named. Dubuque's first Iowa railroad, the Sioux City and Dubuque departs the city from its south end and follows the Catfish Creek drainage, making thereby a substantial diversion to the south and southeast in so doing.

The earliest interior stagecoach routes were established as of November 1836 when the first weekly mail service linked Dubuque and Fort Des Moines (the earlier location?). The various stage routes exiting Dubuque as of 1854 included routes to Council Bluffs, Fort Dodge, Keokuk, St. Paul, Decorah and Garnovillo. The Council Bluffs route followed the "military road" to the southwest, located on the map above as bypassing Table Mound and Factoryville. The Fort Dodge stage, running via Independence likely took the Delhi Road. The Keokuk stage route, via Davenport, branched southeast off of the military road above Factoryville. The Decorah and St. Paul stages probably took the Sageville Plank Road, branching to Durango, while the Garnavillo route took a more easterly branch from that same point, towards Specht's Ferry on the Mississippi (Oldt, p. 50; Commercial Report...1854-55, p. 10).³

Municipal Growth, 1833-1858:

The town of Du Buque is handsomely situated on the West bank of the Mississippi river in latitude 42° 30', about 500 miles by water, above St. Louis. It is built on a level prairie, which rises about fifteen feet above high-water mark, and it from a half-mile to a mile in width, from the river to the bluff, and about two miles in length. There are already surveyed, thirty-five blocks, which are sub-divided into two hundred and eighty town lots, all of which are occupied by houses and gardens. The village contains about two hundred and fifty buildings of different descriptions; among which are fifteen dry goods stores, and one methodist meeting house. A large Catholic church is now building and preparation is making for building a Presbyterian church.

Situated, as the twon is, in the vicinity of the richest lead mines, and surrounded by good farming country, with as fertile a soil as any in Wisconsin Territory, and located on the bank of the Mississippi, the great highway of the Western country, where steamboats continually arrive and depart, we may safely calculate that the place will continue to improve rapidly...

Dubuque Visitor, May 11, 1836

Initial Town Building:

Loren Horton concluded that there was no interest in town building apart from lead mining from 1833 through 1837. The settlement continued under its 1830 title "DuBuque Mines." The stuff of town building was available. The first down river log raft arrived in November 1833 and the first steamboat docking took place that same fall. Galena Engineer George W. Harrison prepared a town survey that same time at the instigation of private citizens but this was simply proposing a reality on paper only. On July 24, 1836, the U.S. Congress authorized funds to survey six Iowa communities including Dubuque. The federal act reserved public squares and recognized preemption rights by

³ The Delhi Road departed the city west from Julien Avenue (University Avenue today), following what is now Forest Lane to Delhi Street, then along University Avenue via Parsonville, Center Grove, crossing Catfish Creek, and then along Crescent Ridge Road. It continued west via Farley, Delhi, Monticello and reached Cedar Rapids (Biays Bowerman).

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landholders. The initial 1837 platting effort failed and new commissioners hired surveyor Garret Vliet to finally survey the town. This period was marked with public unrest and confusion about property rights. Finally preemptions were correlated with the survey lots and outlots, the plat was certified by the commissioners on November 1, 1838 and belatedly filed in the Dubuque Land Office on February 4, 1840. Public land sales began November 5, 1838.⁴ The Wisconsin Territorial Legislature accomplished Town incorporation in April 1837 but Horton suggests that the lengthy delay in platting the land showed a lack of concern for formalizing a community (ibid., pp. 8-15).

The downtown of 1840 stretched along Main Street between 1st and 3rd streets. There was just one brick building, that being Jesse Farley's building.

If the business houses, with their gable ends shadowing the pavement, were the reverse of ornamental architecturally speaking, the private residences possessed little in that regard to add to the spice of variety to the surroundings. They were confined as a rule to the limits of Bluff, Iowa and cross streets, in number scarcely exceeding three hundred, built of log or frame, and with a plentiful lack of the comforts to be found in those which line these thoroughfares today.



Figure 7: Original Town Plat, 1838

⁴ Prospective settlers might have found few attractive lots available. Just 60 of 220 lots were available once pre-emption claims were filed in September 1840 (Oldt, p. 69).

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But a few buildings stood north of 5th Street as of 1836. The town then comprised three churches, 50 stores and shops, 55 dwellings, a single warehouse and four principal and seven cross streets (1st to 7th, Locust to Clay streets). By the spring of 1838 there were two stone buildings, the only bank located west of the Mississippi River, 30 stores, three hotels, a lyceum, two academies, a reading room, printing office, coffee house, several billiard rooms, and "several elegant mansions." Three brick houses were erected 1837-38 and were "finished in the most elaborate style of the times. Leroy Jackson's residence (extant 1880) at Iowa and 17th streets, was said to be the first brick house in the county. James Langworthy's house (Iowa and 12th streets, non extant 1880) and Edward Langworthy (White and 14th, extant 1880) were the other two. Samuel D. Dixon's two-story frame house, built in 1839 was "regarded as an innovation upon the established custom (extant 1880) (1880 History, pp. 518-22; Oldt, pp. 51-52, 55, 59-60).

The plat was a curious one if only because of its avoidance of contact with the river. Its northwest corner was a full half-mile distant. A narrow triangular parcel barely touched its eastern point on the riverbank. No railroad reservation was provided nor was any bridge anticipated. The off-compass alignment appears to have been forced by the Couler Valley streets. The entire streetscape nicely alligns with that valley. Unlike many plats the Dubuque streets did not parallel the riverbank, likely because there simply wasn't a discernable bank! The plat breaks only once from its overall pattern. South from First Street the streets do appear to have followed the river. Dodge Street angles northwest prior to crossing Bluff before heading in a straight line southwest. Seven streets do the same, obediently climbing up the western bluffs in a straight line. Somehow, each today successfully reaches the bluff tops (West 17th, West 11th, West 5th, West 3rd, Dodge, University and Loras). Fourteenth (Loras Avenue) and 17th streets and Dodge Street ran as planned. The others were overly optimistic. Generally the platters ignored topography and only Bluff Street made accommodations to its namesake. Just one public area, later termed Washington Park, was provided for. No river frontage was reserved (ibid., pp. 15-16).

Horton found that the spacing and dimensions for the standard block was actually based on a pre-existing pattern of major buildings on Main Street between Second and Third streets. A row of buildings measured 64 feet in length and buildings opposite them were 64 feet distant. The basic downtown lot was therefore set at this width and street were made that wide. The resulting block, containing eight lots, four on each side, bisected by a southeast/northwest running alley, and measured 256 feet on their frontages. Alleys varied in widths and each block was slightly off square given this slightly narrower width. Odd lot lines and parcels possibly dealt with pre-existing buildings. Surely many buildings were moved to adjust to this new reality and many doubtless fronted on street lines or into the streets as well.

The finite amount of level land left its legacy in Dubuque. The standard parcel width is just 25 feet, a development scale that failed in most other communities. Houses are set cheek to jowl and the city's architecture was forced to adapt to this reality. This lack of land forced a more intensive usage of the area that was available. Double houses were numerous although admittedly apartment houses were not commonplace.

Quieting The Land Ownership Problem Allowing For Serious Town Building:

Recall that it was possible that every Dubuque titleholder was at risk of being dispossessed by the Chouteau heirs. Those interests finally forced a legal test case with one Patrick Maloney, recipient of a federal patent in 1847. The suit was filed in 1851. The Chouteau heirs lost in district court but appealed to the Supreme Court in early 1852. That

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court finally ruled on February 25, 1854, that the Julien Dubuque claim had no legal basis. Some 11,000 Iowa residents breathed a collective sigh of relief and went back to work building towns and farms (ibid., pp. 18-19).

Dubuque's initial growth outpaced that of any other Iowa city and Dubuque was the state's largest city until 1875. Between 1850 and 1860 the population of Julien Township (principally Dubuque) increased 460 percent (Wilkie, p. 185).

Perhaps one motivation for formalizing a town was the competition offered by an array of nearby small settlements. These were Eagle Point, Mount Pleasant, Couler Village, East Dubuque (not to be confused with present-day East Dubuque, Illinois, the former Dunleith which pre-dated Dubuque's establishment), Prospect Park, South Park Hill, Julien, Langworthy Hollow and Park Hill. At least some of these were actually incorporated, but most were simply concerted subdivision developments which had been pushed by Dubuque's leading developers. Dubuque reincorporated under the authority of the Iowa Territorial legislature on January 17, 1840. The act set initial city boundaries which absorbed all of the above named settlements. Caleb H. Booth was elected the city's first mayor, along with six aldermen, in March 1841 (ibid., pp. 20-21; Dubuque Manufacturing and Commercial Facilities, p. 11).

Eagle Point was the location of a separate lead mining operation.⁵ Eagle Point was also a Mississippi River ferry crossing to Sinapee, Wisconsin (Dunleith had the other ferry operation). The first city additions headed towards that place, running to the northeast. The flat broad Couler Valley to the northwest provided a second direction for city extension. A third growth area was atop the bluffs between Fourteenth (Loras) and Dodge streets. Horton singles out a small number of key developers; the four Langworthy brothers, Thomas McCraney, John King, Mathias Ham, Frederic S. Jesup and Frederick E. Bissell, as providing the capital and leadership in these extensions (Horton, pp. 19-21, 27).

The "town" population was about 1,000 persons as of 1836. This tripled to 3,108 persons by 1840 but growth was static for the next 12 years. The 1850 population registered just 4,071 residents, and the 1852 estimate was actually lower, with a count of 4,012 persons. No plats were filed until 1848 (ibid., pp. 22-25).

Several city architectural "habits" had surprisingly early beginnings. Stately houses on the bluff first appeared in 1846-47 when bluff top lots "began to attract notice" and commanded "fancy prices as compared with the havens of household comfort under the hill." General George Jones was apparently the first actual builder, starting "a princely resident" in the spring of 1847 near Julien Avenue. The Langworthy brothers followed suit, building on the 3rd Street extension "at the terminus of the highway." The 1880 county history noted "and from these beginnings the multitude of private houses which crown the summits of the hills have since been gradually added." Residents on the highlands paid for the privilege however. When wells went dry during a June 1863 drought water haulers charged \$.25-.35 per barrel delivered atop the bluffs, while the going rate below was \$.15-.20 (1880 history, p. 525; Oldt, p. 148).

The northward march of the recognized business district began during the summer of 1846 when Lucius H. and Edward Langworthy raised up a brick block on Main between 5th and 6th streets. "The location may have been regarded as distant from the center of trade at the time, but their judgement has been approved for many years" (ibid.).

The original city boundary encompassed 164 acres. In 1847 the city limits were extended to the northeast and in 1853 7,000 acres were annexed (Childs, pp. 109-10).

⁵ Eagle Point was laid out as a town in 1837, established by Mathias Ham, Thomas McCraney, F. K. O'Ferral, John Foley.

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The First and Only “Boom”:⁶

Growth during 1849 was described as “flat, stale and unprofitable.” Gold fever drained some 500 men away from the city and

“with them once more departed the prosperity which had for several years previous coquetted in Dubuque...mining, while not entirely abandoned, was engaged in at intervals and but carelessly prosecuted, and this interest did not revive to any appreciable extent until 1855. Emigration almost entirely ceased. The area of cultivation was measurable reduced, some of the farmers abandoning their fields, already in crops for the uncertain prospects held out in the gold diggings. Property in the city became unsalable, and residents wore an aspect of gloom and disappointment, for the times were hard and money scarce and little remained to encourage the hope for which had theretofore been indulged, that the probationary period of the city’s existence had passed (1880 History, p. 527).

That year the downtown contained 22 stores, five blacksmith shops, three cooperages, three carriage/wagon makers, two gunsmiths, two flour mills, and two liverys. There were seven master builders, two stonemasons, six plasterers and four painters working in the city (Childs, pp. 88-89).

The boom began in 1852. Forty additions were platted in Dubuque between 1848 and 1857. Just three of these pre-dated 1852. Thirty-seven plats were filed between 1852 and 1857. The city population increased by 50 percent between 1852 and 1854 (6,634 residents) and it doubled between 1854 and 1856 (12,284 persons). The year 1857 pushed the total to 15,957. The Panic of 1857-58 put an end to all this and the 1860 population total was down by 4,000 (13,000 total). The original city boundary of 1841 contained one square mile. The boundaries were extended in 1852 and again in 1854 in apparent anticipation of what was to come (Horton, pp. 21–25; Dubuque Manufacturing and Commercial Facilities..., p. 12).

Construction during 1853 surpassed that of the previous three years. The city gained two brick schools, a steam sawmill, sash factory, two breweries, the German Odd Fellows hall, and a brick warehouse, along with other improvements (Childs, p. 92).

During 1854 the city gained the Key City House and German Bank Building, other additions, and “residences, too, began to appear at points which but a short time previous had been vacant spaces on the city map” (1880 History, p. 530).

The year 1855 was “a year of unprecedented prosperity.” The city had a population of 13,000 and it was claimed that that figure would have been 2,000 greater “if dwellings could have been obtained the past season. The city brickyards, three in number, produced 8,000,000 brick that year. The large amount of building inflated lumber prices and seasoned lumber was scarce. There were 12 hotels (six first class, six second class) and 48 boarding houses. The hotels served an estimated annual patronage of 85,045 persons (Commercial Report---1854 & 1855, pp. 7, 9, 14).

⁶ No city worthy of the name wanted to have a “boom.” After the Panic of 1857-58 a “boom” meant uncontrolled and fleeting damaging over expansion. City builders instead boasted of sustained and solid growth and chided competitors who were booming. Most Dubuque historians are willing to term the 1850’s veritable boom years and the resulting deflation prior to the war underscores the use of the term.

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If any man does not like to hear the sounds consequent upon building, we advise him not to come to Dubuque, for at every point of the compass and in every part of our city busy tradesmen are actively engaged in erecting homes and places for merchandising. We have watched these buildings springing up with a rapidity really astonishing, and although we expected much to be done in his way during the present season, yet we never dreamed of such a commencement. What shall be the footing when the season shall come to an end? If the same spirit continues, we are sure to more than double that of the past, eighteen hundred and fifty six.

Weekly Express & Herald, April 22, 1857

By 1856 new construction forced the relocation of many older buildings and their movements frequently blocked the streets. City growth was so rapid during the year that Dubuque was favorably compared with Chicago's growth rate of 1854, a \$2 million growth figure. Dubuque's growth outpaced Chicago when compared to population. The first downtown paving project, Main Street, between 8th and 14th streets, using crushed blue limestone, and was completed in 1856. An 1853 fire prompted the authorization of fire fighting companies on July 17, 1854. Three volunteer companies formed between 1854 and 1857. A disastrous fire in June 1859 destroyed a four-store block, a theater, the Post Office and the Odd Fellows Hall, but it wasn't until 1869 that a downtown fire district, mandating stone or brick construction, was established (Horton, 35-36; *Weekly Express and Herald*, November 27, 1856).

Linwood Cemetery, consisting of ten bluff top acres located east of the Couler Valley, was purchased by the city in 1851 and the first municipal cemetery, Jackson Park, was (poorly) cleared of its burials only in 1856 (Horton, pp. 37-38).

The year 1857 was an important one for public improvements. The city started work on the new City Hall, three market houses, and three schoolhouses and chartered a horse railroad. The first water company simply hauled river water to private purchasers. The gas company, formed in 1853, was operating by 1856 (*ibid.*, p. 40).

Year	Total Construction		New Residential Construction			Notes:
	Total Value	Total Non-Residential	Number New S/F Houses	Total Value	New Multi-family Houses	
1836			55			
1837			3 brick houses			
1838						
1839						
1840						Several new buildings underway in May 1840, lumber abundant and cheap
1841						
1842						
1843						
1844						
1845						
1846						
1847						
1848						
1849						80+ brick buildings "many of them large and costly" (Oldt, p. 85)
1850						50 new buildings (Childs, p. 92)
1851						

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1852					100 new buildings (Childs, p. 108)
1853					
1854					333 total new buildings
1855			201		471 total new buildings, a total of 2,600 dwellings by years end
1856	\$1,167,145				502 new buildings
1857	\$ 558,500				378 new buildings
1858					

Construction materials shortages delayed the completion of a number of large 1856 building projects, these being the jail, Congregation and First Presbyterian churches and 16 warehouses. These rose to their foundation watertable lines and stopped. Delay was also the result of a late starting date that year. Brick was the critical factor and most of two months construction time (June and July) was lost. Several new brickyards were organized in response and existing yards expanded their machinery (*Weekly Express and Herald*, March 8, 1857).

The city population remained dominated by unmarried males into the mid-1850s and males just barely outnumbered females, a lingering reflection of its original settlement pattern. The city was compact and focused on the original river terrace location and ninety percent of the city population lived south of 17th Street as of 1856 (Wilkie, p. 185).

Prairie Fires.—We have noticed prairie fires for four or five nights past, at the westward in our own State, at the southeast in Illinois, and at the northeast in Wisconsin. On one or two evenings they were seen from our bluffs simultaneously in three States.

Daily Times, January 9, 1858

The U.S. Congress made the city a Port-of-Entry in 1858 and this qualified Dubuque for its own customs house. Marine hospitals also were established to meet the health needs of inland sailors and Dubuque appears to have gained one of these as well (Horton, p. 40).

The chart presented below summarizes annual construction activity in the years 1837-1858. Most annual progress reports are neither statistically based nor complete. The topographical setting of even a much-smaller city made the task of enumerating building starts a daunting one and there was no municipal overseer. The *Weekly Express and Herald* noted at the end of 1856 that it required “a labor of weeks” to amass the building list. It continued “We do not pretend that we have obtained every building erected in the city...we think that considering the peculiar topographical situation of our city, we have made a pretty clean sweep” (*Weekly Express and Herald*, November 27, 1856).

Banking and Capital In Dubuque:

Local wealth was from the start reflected in numerous banks. The Miner’s Bank of Dubuque, chartered under authority of the Territory of Wisconsin, was the first. The early banks were private ones, established in what was basically a hostile environment for state banks in Iowa. These banks performed a broad range of services including currency exchange, real estate, the issuance of bank notes (“stumptail currency”) and the provision of specie. These banks made regional commercial trade possible. Banks purchased municipal bonds for developments and collectively banks attempted to make some rhyme or reason of the value and exchange of an endless variety of municipal, financial, and public currencies. Little is known about the impact of these financial institutions upon city growth and development. It is notable that but few of the banks in the following list survived after 1860. Their demise likely marks the passing of

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the first generation of Dubuque's financial leaders. Almost from the start the city's banks clustered within a downtown financial district along Main Street.

Bank	Period of Service	Officers	Legacy
The Miners' Bank of Dubuque	1837-42, 1844-45	Ezekiel Lockwood, Thomas Martin	Crushed by the St. Louis "brokers" and locally opposed by Edw. Langworthy, lost charter 1845
Jesup & Stimson/Jesup & Co./Dubuque Savings Bank	1849-1857	T. S. or William Jesup, Edw. Stimson	
Finley, Burton & Co.	1849-1856	John W. Finley, G. W. Burton, T. F. Hay	
M. Mobley	1851-56		Reorganized and closed 1858
Cook, Sargent & Co.	1851	E. Geo. Cook, S. S. Sargent, W. J. Barney	Cook, Sargent, Barney & Co. 1853
J. L. Langworthy & Brothers	1851-61+		
Markle, Darrow & Co.	1853-58		
Herron Brothers	1854-57		
H. W. Markell	1855-63		
F. D. Henning & Co.	1856		
Taylor, Richards & Burden	1856-58		
Redman & Keim	1857-58		Succeeds T. S. Jesup & Co. 1857
Redman, Lovell & Co.	1858		Succeeds Redman & Keim
W. J. Barney & Co.	1858		Starts as a land agency 1852
City of Dubuque Branch of the State Bank of Iowa			Reorganized as National State Bank November 1865, merging with First National Bank
Gelpcke, Winslow & Co.	1858-61		Succeeded by Theo. Gelpcke & Co., fails May 6, 1861

The Great Financial Panic of 1857-58:

The best study of the impact and cause of the 1857-58 panic upon Dubuque is found in Russell Lee Johnson's Civil War study of Dubuque (An Army For Industrialization: The Civil War and The Formation of Urban-Industrial Society in A Northern City, 1996). The national financial collapse is attributed to over-speculation particularly in railroad construction and real estate and the particular trigger was the failure of the Ohio Life Insurance Trust Company in August 1857. Both held true in Dubuque but the city's real problem was that it was living beyond its means. Imports exceeded exports by \$7,000,000 by 1855 and the railroads arrival only skewed those numbers higher. The city's overall economy rested "on inflated real estate values, imbalanced trade, and a mountain of public and personal debt." The damage was so extensive that the city's economy was only just beginning to recover at the beginning of the Civil War (Johnson, pp. 72-74)

Eastern interests demanded payment and firms with trade extended on credit, failed. In Iowa crop failures in 1858 made things worse. Rural customers couldn't pay their bills to merchants. Four Dubuque retailers folded shop in May 1857. That September local capital rushed to back up Mordecai Mobley's bank. Just a week later the Herron brothers bank unaided, collapsed. That December Mobley's bank went under despite substantial loans and support. This finally crimped local optimism. During 1857 the city suffered 37 business failures, 26 more in 1858, 21 in 1859 and seven in 1860. Johnson notes "For the years 1857-1859, Dubuque with less than one-tenth of Iowa's businesses and about one-thirteenth of the state's population, accounted for anywhere from one-third to more than half of Iowa's liabilities" (ibid., pp. 79-84)

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Land speculation⁷ and “the weakness of a pre-dominantly commercial economy” were the root causes of the crash in Dubuque. It was suggested that capitalists had harmed city growth by sinking money into unproductive property, thereby making it unavailable for productive investment, and at the same time forcing emigrants to go elsewhere to settle due to the resulting inflated land values in and around the city. Johnson suggests that the city assessor (Kniest) deliberately deflated assessments, to the delight of working class Germans and the exasperation of Republicans who challenged him in the 1862 election charging that he was holding back city development (ibid., pp. 85-6).

In a business, as well as in a political point of view, the year 1857 has been a remarkable one. Many circumstances apparently conspired to embarrass and retard the progress and trade of our city during the entire year. In the first place the months of January, February, March, and a portion of April, were a season of unexampled cold. The severity of the weather during this period will long be remembered. So terrible was it, that it retarded and almost totally destroyed the usual winter trade of the country north, west and south of this city, which is tribute to Dubuque. Scarcely was this long and dreary winter fairly over, and the busy season of seed time and harvest passed, when the money crash, which has convulsed the whole nation came upon us. The effect of that calamity upon the trade of our city is yet too palpable and too severely felt to require description. But is it no exaggeration to say that from the two causes which we have mentioned alone, the trade and progress of Dubuque has been retarded at least 50 per cent.

But we have to add to these other causes. The events of the last few years have turned the tide of emigration, to a great extent, to other quarters of the Union...

From the remarks which we have just made it might be supposed that the statement of the trade and progress of the city for the past year, was to be a gloomy and a discouraging one...But there could be no greater delusion. Dubuque, even in the panic year, with all these discouraging and retarding obstacles on and around her path, has made solid, substantial and most encouraging progress. For this she is almost entirely indebted to the commanding advantages of her situation, and the first fruits of her incipient Railroad system. Dubuque is emphatically the Key City. She occupies a position immeasurably superior to that of any of her rivals, and, adding to her natural advantages the still more important auxiliaries of an extensive and judicious Railroad system, she is destined, inevitably, to become the great city, not only of the State, but of the vast region west of the Mississippi and north of the Missouri State line.

Dubuque Weekly Tribune, January 5, 1858

On the commercial front, the city had put all of its eggs in its commercial basket, relying upon that sector alone to carry the city forward. The panic experience taught all that manufacturing and not commerce, would generate true wealth. Local newspapers however also stressed mining and agriculture as offering the roads to wealth. The city was exporting its raw products, lead, timber and wheat without adding value to them, and in turn it imported finished (expensive) goods. Imports included furniture, which was not produced locally in sufficient quantity to meet demand (ibid., pp. 88-89, 94-95).

⁷ Hill top lots which could be “reached after fatiguing marches” were going for \$30 per frontage foot while bottom lots went for \$250-500. Property was being “held at rates that ordinarily would have defied the ambition of any but capitalists” (1880 History, p. 531).

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Last week business was lively in our city. Streets were filled with farmers and a great quantity of produce was changed for wares. We Dubuquers cannot complain too much at hard times when travelers who have seen the cities along the river assure us that in comparison with Dubuque are dead. They say Davenport is especially hard hit and business poor. If Dubuque did not walk with 7 league boots, its good to know that it went forward and not backward. Proof of it are the many impressive buildings erected in al parts of the city, among which are several to note with pleasure, built by our German fellow citizens—as of Messrs. Duttie and Shunk, and of Strobel and Rath, buildings notable for size and solidity

Der National Democrat, July 26, 1858

The long-term legacy of the panic was the delay in the completion of a number of building projects, particularly churches and the departure of at least one major architect, John Rague. The real estate pyramid collapsed and the city's total valuation followed, declining from \$13,100,000 to below \$9,000,000 by 1859. A great deal of city and county property was sold for taxes between 1858 and 1860. Rents plummeted by half for residences and more for stores in 1859. The city ceased its issuance of municipal script and turned to bonds to make ends meet. Immigration had ceased, one of the first signs of trouble, in 1857 and was only resuming by 1859. Even with the city "a shadow of its former self" however, foundations were being laid for the new Custom House and the Dubuque and Cedar Rapids Railroad was formed (1880 History, p. 531; Oldt, pp. 125-26, 144).

Between 1850 and 1860 the city made little progress towards industrialization. The size of shops increased as did the total number of workers (1850, 43 shops, 173 hands; 1860 50 shops, 328 hands⁸). During the ten-year period capitalization increased, particularly in wood products and skins/leather (ibid.).

The confidence of Dubuquers was shaken by the sudden end to exponential growth, as was the social cohesion of the city. Johnson concluded:

As struggled with the consequence of commercial capitalist development, rapid population growth, and then economic depression, many felt that certain basic values, such as honesty, thrift, and hard work, were being abandoned for corruption, luxury, and idleness. This led, in turn, to a broader sense of social crisis...Dubuquers interpreted the Panic of 1857 both as a punishment for abandoning republican values and as a catharsis which could lead people back to the right way. At the same time, however, political disagreements over the road back to prosperity intensified and increasingly divided the city along ethnic and class lines (ibid., p. 96).

Ethnicity and Settlement:

Dubuque's foreign-born population, principally Irish and German, comprised 42 percent of the city's population as of 1860. Statewide, 28.3 percent of Iowans were foreign born as of that census year. The Irish were the largest ethnic group in Dubuque until the late 1840s. As early as 1839, an unsuccessful effort was made to form a militia regiment composed of Irish, German, French and Dutch émigrés (Wilkie, p. 185, Calkins, p. 43).

⁸ Many small shops failed to qualify for inclusion in the census Johson notes. The population schedules list 1,173 skilled workers while the industrial schedule accounts for just 328 of these.

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The original mining population was predominantly male and appears to have been of Northern origin although Calkin states that two-thirds of the 51 miners at Dubuque as of 1830 were Irish. Agriculturists settled in the area beginning in 1838 when the separate Iowa Territory was established. Cholera epidemics doubtless slowed settlement but sources are contradictory about the time sequence of these epidemics. Horton states that 1848-1857 witnessed incessant waves of the disease and specifies 1852 as the worst year. Another source says two successive epidemics struck in 1839 and 1840. Both Germans and Irish immigrated to America in record numbers beginning in the late 1840s and Dubuque's growth boom nicely coincided with these movements. The Catholic Church is credited by some sources with actively recruiting German and Irish Catholics to the state to build up the church. This important point deserves close consideration because the rapid population growth is likely attributable to this role of the church (Horton, p. 38; Dubuque Manufacturing and Commercial Facilities...., p. 11; Calkins, p. 43).

Others were equally willing to promote the city. "Letterette" wrote a letter to the *Chicago Journal* in 1857, one that would have warmed the heart of any Chamber of Commerce secretary. During three months of 1867, the writer claimed that 8,000 emigrants had been ferried across the river to Dubuque aboard the ferry-steamer *Peosta*. The writer continued:

The Key City is a marvel. Its elegant and tasteful residences, its substantial stores, its spacious streets, its air of something more than comfort and little less than luxury, indicate an eastern town on its hundredth birthday; while its improvements begun, its growing avenues, its nervous, restless action, its spirit of dashing and fearless enterprise, betoken the far-west city...

Amid this unredeemed wilderness--what a word for such a place!--splendid homes, such as we see on the banks of the Hudson and Potomac, are sprinkled everywhere niched in some narrow interval, perched upon some bold brow, nestled in some islet grove amid this 'sea' of land, or set upon the lookout summit of a bluff (*Daily Times*, December 24, 1857, copied from *Chicago Journal* "several weeks ago")

The Irish-born comprised the city's largest ethnic group as early as 1835 and maintained that distinction until the mid-1850s. They accounted for roughly a quarter of the city's population in the 1850 and 1860 census counts. They enjoyed fairly immediate political power and elected F. K. O-Ferrall mayor for successive three terms, 1844-46. Other prominent Irishmen were Patrick Quigley, who served in the Wisconsin territorial legislature, and Judge Charles Corkery. From the beginning the Irish gravitated to the south end of the city (termed "Dublin") and the Germans to the north end. Lyon locates Dublin as south of 3rd Street. It is probable that the Germans were dominant in terms of their wealth, business acumen, and politics although it wasn't until 1864 that a German resident was first elected mayor. Housing for the two groups was as different as night and day if some sources can be believed. The Irish were content, it was said, to reside in frame shacks in the former mining village areas, while German homes were of more substantial brick construction. Separate Catholic churches and parishes were established early on. By 1856 there were three German-language newspapers. Each group had its own shopping areas (Horton, pp. 41-42; Lyon, pp. 141, 294; Auge).

The Irish congregations struggled with Bishop Loras and their church over the issue of church support for the establishment of a separate parish, rather than a mere mission church and a clamoring for Irish priests, rather than French or German ones. They refused to pay their pew rents and twice caused the Bishop to flee the city to find tranquility elsewhere in the hopes that the locals could sort things out. The battle was no minor one and Loras at one time threatened a severe interdiction of St. Patricks parishioners. It was the Irish perception that Loras had used church

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resources to build new German parish churches. Loras had no animosity for his Irish congregates as is evidenced by his efforts to recruit Irish Catholics to the new diocese (Carey, pp. 32-33).

Irish ethnic organizations included the Shamrock Society (pre-1848), St. Raphaels Temperance Society (pre-1848), and the Royal Order of Hiberians (peaked in popularity 1840s-50s). As was the case with most groups, the Irish themselves distinguished sharply between "lace curtain" and "shanty" Irish (Wilkie, p. 285; Lyon, p. 141).

The Germans, in historian John Hawgood's words, "followed the frontier at a distance." They preferred developed land and were more clannish. The first large wave of German out-migration took place in 1854 (Hawgood, pp. 22-39).

The rapid growth of the German-born population of Dubuque is apparent in the 1850-1860 census counts. Germans accounted for 17.8 percent of the city population in 1850 and 32.4 percent just ten years later. There of course was no defined "German" nationality during these years and these figures represent German-speaking peoples, including Swiss, Luxembourgers and Alsatians. The Germans built three successive Germania Halls beginning in the 1850s, all of which were located in the northern end of the downtown proper (between 2nd and 3rd streets on Main Street, the northeast corner of 12th and Clay streets, and the southeast corner of Iowa and 9th streets) (ibid.).

As the chart shown above indicates, both ethnic groups reduced their proportions of landless households during the ten years 1850-60. Germans in particular developed a large land-owning middle class but both groups increased this class (Chart by Jim Jacobsen, data from Auge).

Swiss and Luxembourger minorities as noted tended to get lost in the larger "German" population. The Swiss Grütli-Verein, with 51 charter members, was formed in 1886. There was also the Amerikanischer Schweizer Club, a pro-assimilation group (ibid., p. 300).

Scots were present early on in Dubuque and had their Burns Club in place by 1859. Their St. Andrews Society offered assistance to the poor. Like the Irish, temperance was a dividing issue within their ranks, and the St. Andrews group split over the matter in 1855 (Lyon, p. 36).

The largest population of African Americans in what was to become Iowa, 72 in number, lived in Dubuque as of 1840. Much is made of the legal tolerance of slavery in the city at this time and the exact breakdown of free and slave is undetermined. Dubuque had 15 Jewish families in residence by this same time. Their numbers increased only during the 1880s and 1890s. A predominately Jewish neighborhood ("Jerusalem") developed on the flats along 14th and 17th streets although it is unclear when this occurred. Alex Levi, a French Jew, had the honor of being the first naturalized citizen in Iowa. He immigrated to the area in 1837 (Lyon, p. 141; McGee, p. 51).

The Role of the Catholic Church in Dubuque History:

The Catholic Church was present at Dubuque's inception, the first mass being said in the summer of 1833. The first church, St. Raphaels was begun in the summer of 1835. The Diocese of Dubuque was established on July 28, 1837 with just three churches. It covered a huge territory that included the settled areas of Eastern Iowa and Minnesota. Rev. Pierre Jean Mathias Loras (1791-1858), the first bishop, arrived in Dubuque on April 21, 1839. He found a town population of 2,500 half of whom were of the Catholic faith. Loras and a small number of French priests would

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transform the diocese within just a few years by means of their impressive efforts and commitments. They were off to a rough start however because none of them spoke German (and they weren't German)! The situation was so bad that some Catholics chose to attend Protestant services which were said in part German (mass was read in Latin and Latin is Latin) (interview, Mike Gibson, Oldt, pp. 871-72).

A measure of Loras' accomplishment was the jump in diocesan population, said to be 54,000 as of 1858. Loras oversaw 48 priests, 60 churches, 40 church stations. The new parishioners were German and Irish and both groups had experienced mass emigration from their homelands during the late 1840s. The population had settled the county, the city, and more broadly beyond those points. St. Paul Diocese was formed in 1850 (Oldt, p. 873).

Perhaps Loras and his minions redirected newly arrived immigrants to Dubuque but it is certain that he actively recruited religious orders to Dubuque and Dubuque County and these made possible the remarkable and in some instances nationally significant religious, educational and health institutions which would distinguish the Diocese. One of the most notable, the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was transformed from a small insignificant group of Irish nuns to the nation's largest order. They came to Dubuque in 1843. The Trappist Monks, Brothers of the Christian Institute and the Sisters of Visitation were the earliest orders to respond to Bishop Loras' recruiting efforts. The first parochial school was established in 1843 at St. Josephs Prairie, a point ten miles southwest of the city. Loras was apparently attempting to establish a separate rural Catholic community at that point. The New Melleray Abbey (formed 1849) was just two miles away. It wasn't until 1858 that the school was moved to Dubuque. This was later known as St. Josephs College, and is now Clarke College (Oldt, pp. 873-74).

Ambitious planning sometimes outdistanced financial realities. The new "uptown" cathedral languished for five years (1847-52) but never rose above its foundations. A replacement cathedral was begun in 1857 and finished in 1863. The German Catholics started St. Marys Church at 8th and White streets in 1851 and built the present-day replacement in 1864-67. The Sacred Heart and Holy Ghost congregations were formed from St. Marys in 1879 and 1895 respectively (Oldt, p. 876, Wilkie, p. 178).

From the beginning, Dubuque's churches were substantially built and reflected high style (Greek Revival and Gothic) influences in their designs. In contrast to residential and commercial construction, many of these buildings were built in cut stone. Several of these smaller churches never finished planned steeples (Oldt, p. 876).

Emerging Industrial and Commercial Base:

Save for lead mining and processing, most early Dubuque industries served a predominantly local market. The city developed a broad array of mostly smaller-scale industries and some of these were harbingers of larger things to come. Breweries, wagon and carriage manufacturing, saw and flour/grist mills, and seasonal meatpacking were examples (Wilkie, p. 261).

The 1850 federal census listed 46 industrial firms in the city, only one of which employed more than ten persons. The enumerator noted that it was impossible to determine the products of each firm because of their frequent relocations (Seventh Census...Products of Industry, MT1156, #37, National Archives, 1972).

ON THE BLUFFS.—The stranger visiting Dubuque should not fail to go to the bluffs just back of the city, and feast his eyes on the beautiful panorama spread out before him.

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It is a sight well worth seeing; worth the pencil of a Rembrandt or Alliston; worthy of a niche in the catalogue of American scenery; worthy the most impassioned rhapsodies on the part of every true enthusiast. Below the spectator many hundred feet, lies the business portion of Dubuque, with its rows of substantial brick buildings, clean pavements, glittering spires, stately churches, quiet dwelling houses, and the might father of waters, like a broad belt of silver, murmuring at their base. Directly opposite are the high bluffy shores of Illinois and Wisconsin, now clothed in all the glory of nature's brightest green, while Dunleith with its spacious elevator and depot buildings lies sleeping in the distance. The whole scene is one of sublimity, beauty and grandeur, and when viewed in the sunlight with the flickering shadows from waving trees and passing clouds cannot fail of impressing the spectator with the most profound feelings of awe and admiration...

(Herald, June 12, 1866)

Substantial breweries were established early, all by German immigrants. Mathias Tschirgi and Anton Heeb started their firms in 1844-46. Anton Gehrig purchased the Tschirgi brewery and sold it to Heeb in 1847. Tschirgi started a second brewery on Julien Avenue and he sold this facility to Kurtz & Welder. Tschirgi then established yet another brewery with Jacob Schwind, called the Western Brewery. The City Brewery (later called Key City Brewery) dated from 1852. Titus Schmid started a brewery for home consumption on Couler Avenue and it became the Iowa Brewery. By 1869 there were nine breweries in Dubuque but this number dropped to four by 1877 (Lyon, pp. 48-49).

Context #2, The Key City, 1859-1893:

We feel as the representative of the metropolis of the state a pride in our beautiful city, situated as it is in one of the most lovely and picturesque spots in the universe. The position of the city of Dubuque has been time and again presented in these columns as well as its geographical advantages, occupying as it does a prominent position in the valley of the Mississippi. Its arteries connect it with every nook and corner of the globe. By water its commerce, via the Wisconsin rivers, can reach the marts upon the great ocean, while its railway connections join it with all points where railroads reach. Our city has every advantage of communication for purchase and supply, and, it is hoped, before another year rolls over here she will have still greater commercial facilities than she now enjoys...Dubuque has passed its infantile condition, and is now ready to aid others to crawl toward the goal of wealth and prosperity...Dubuque possesses peculiar advantages over many cities in the state, especially those inland. The Mississippi river is an unexcelled thoroughfare of trade 'a commercial artery pushing forward from the almost extreme northern boundary of our broad nation to the gulf outlet' Hence the clamor by businessmen for the improvement of the river.

The Herald, January 1, 1880

The Civil War Divides the City:

The best and most comprehensive study of the impact of the Civil War on Dubuque is Russell Lee Johnson's two-volume study of Dubuque (An Army For Industrialization: The Civil War and The Formation of Urban-Industrial Society in A Northern City, 1996). A broad array of other excellent studies have focused uniformly on the theme of

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domestic opposition to the war effort and particularly upon the leading role played by Herald editor Dennis Mahoney.⁹ Johnson's study is the only comprehensive exploration of all of the wartime sub-themes and is therefore of great value and is highly recommended. His study used Dubuque to support his basic thesis that the war transformed Dubuque (and other industrial cities) and produced a society that fit more naturally with the postwar industrial society that followed.

The Civil War years set the stage for Dubuque's eventual industrial dominance. As of 1870 it was the 93rd largest industrial city in the country measured in gross product. Within 20 years it had advanced to 70th place. The war years witnessed the replacement of a patrician class leadership with an entrepreneurial class. This process of replacement was largely completed during the course of the war as patricians died or retired. The latter tended to be Republican in its political leanings. A fundamental distinction between the two groups was the preference for real property holdings on the part of patricians, and for personal property by the entrepreneurs. Curiously of 30 Dubuquers possessing \$100,000 in assets as of 1870, not one had seen military service during the war! (Johnson, pp. 166, 234-39).

Dubuque was singled out by the national press for its perceived opposition to the war. It had good company regionally, particularly in Milwaukee and Chicago, but Dubuque somehow emerged as the national example. Within Iowa war opposition was strongest in Keokuk, Burlington and the southeastern counties but alleged opposition was said to be throughout southern Iowa (ibid., p. 168).

Choose Your Side Or Hunt Your Hole!

...we seem to be between two fires as it is now getting dangerous to belong to either party or even to remain neutral...

Farmer George Smith, Henderson, Kentucky, July 1862

Today is hard to appreciate the all-or-nothing loyalty mindset of the Civil War years. Increasingly there was no middle ground where one could find sanctuary. Throughout the country, but particularly where regular or irregular military operations were underway, everyone was forced to affiliate with one extreme camp or the other. As a result the more complex spectrum of political and religious thinking was cruelly skewed into diametrically opposed opposition coalitions. In the North one was either for the war or in league with traitors (Jacobsen, Caught In The Middle: The Civil War Years on the Lower Ohio River 1998).

Dubuque was dominated by a business elite as of 1860 and that class almost exclusively made up the ranks of the two military companies. The working class was predominantly immigrant in composition. The Irish provided most of the unskilled labor. The working class of Dubuque was also notable for its lack of accumulated property. The Irish resided in the southernmost First Ward, the Germans in the northernmost Third and Fifth wards. Ethnic friction divided the working class. Immigration was a fundamental issue to the new Republican Party, given their Whig and Know-Nothing anti-emigrant origins. The Democratic Party in contrast linked its interests with the immigrant masses (Johnson, pp. 124-32).

⁹ See for example Hubert H. Wubben, *The Dubuque Herald In The Fight For The Northwest*, M.A. Thesis, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1958, Martin Edward McGrane, *Dubuque, editorial battleground 1860-62*, M.S. Thesis, Iowa State University, Ames, 1972, and Helen Wulkow, *Dubuque In The Civil War Period*, M.A. Thesis, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1941..

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Dubuque was politically Democratic from its earliest mining days and with few exceptions its mayors were members of that party. Johnson credits the struggle with the federal government over mining rights, the presence of prominent Southern-born leaders in the city, a general pro-slavery stance regardless of birthplace and the large immigrant population as strengthening Iowa's "Gibraltar of Democracy." Even then Democrats squabbled internally, essentially between miners' and immigrants' interests, and it took the loss of four successive mayor races through 1854 to bring them together under the general leadership of Dennis Mahoney (*ibid.*, pp. 133-35).

Mahoney and compatriot Joseph Dorr, came out of the panic experience with a strong anti-banking, anti-moneyed aristocracy and anti-eastern mindset. The latter in particular envisioned a Northeastern conspiracy to prevent the inevitable ascendancy of the western states and the opposition in Dubuque naturally were collaborators in support of that conspiracy. Railroad capitalization became the hot local issue, particularly when ownership of the Dubuque and Sioux City line passed to mostly eastern hands in an 1860 reorganization. Echoing Jacksonian Democracy, Mahoney and Dorr linked their interests with the working class and the people. This emphasis on what Johnson terms the "non-propertied" effectively drove wealthier Democrats either into opposition to Mahoney or out of the party. The anti-immigration "wedge" issue intensified with the brief presence of *Observer* in the city. The Irish and Catholic Church control were repeatedly alleged (*ibid.*, pp. 136-143).

Local Republicans elected their first candidate slate in 1857, then reappeared merged into a businessman-dominated reform party after the financial deluge. The municipal bailout of the debt-ridden Central Island Improvement Company set the stage for Democratic charges that if the people were to take the debt, why didn't they take the property as well? As of 1860, Johnson determined that business class occupations accounted for 73 percent of the Republican leadership and 57 of the Democrats. In terms of property ownership, the Republican leadership ranks were top-heavy and bottom-light, with an average difference of \$5,000 favoring the Republicans. Finally half of the Republican leaders were eastern-born and just over a third were immigrants while half of Democratic leaders were Irish or German born and just 38 percent were native-born. Southern-born leaders divided equally between the two parties in terms of percentage, but favored the Democrats two to one (*ibid.* pp. 144-58).

...Republicans can be thought to have rallied the successful, aspiring, and hopeful entrepreneurs, as well as those old settlers who adapted easily to the entrepreneurial view of economic competition. Republicans also attracted the support of those people most inclined to want to enforce some standard of behavior on the unruly mob of immigrants and workers. Democrats, on the other hand, drew their support from artisans and workers—whose ideology was rooted in the republican concept of independence—immigrants, old settlers uncomfortable with the entrepreneurial spirit, and men to whom the free market had not been kind.

Russell Lee Johnson (Johnson, p. 159)

Mahoney himself personified the Democratic ranks, his losses to the panic being self-reported at \$40,000. In the 1859 election Mahoney's party successfully seized city government, only to see the Republican/Reformers return victorious in both 1860 and 1861. The national Republican ticket was also bolstered, with 46 percent of the tally for Lincoln, contrasting with a 38 percent turnout for John Fremont in 1856. Johnson observed that it took the Civil War experience to return the city to its historic Democratic allegiance (*ibid.*, pp. 160-161).

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The coming of the war shattered the Democratic Party ranks and the more propertied (those actually owning more property than either Republicans or the residual Democrats) "War Democrats" aligned with the Republicans in a "Union Party" coalition. Despite these defections, no Republican would be elected in the city between 1861 and 1867 and in the 1865 vote, taken even as the South was being eviscerated, Republicans prevailed in just five of 55 ward-level election contests (*ibid.*, pp. 178-191).

Republican pro-war thinking interpreted the issue as one the "restoration of the health of American society" in Johnson's words. They saw the Southern struggle as one led by anti-democratic tyrants and autocrats. Indeed many War Democrats early on favored the strongest possible war effort hoping to free the Southern people from their controlling leadership and thereby quickly ending the war with the least cost to life and property. Republican and War Democrat support for emancipation, slowly and reluctantly developed over the course of the war, was explained as being beneficial to white free labor (slavery put the two races on equal footing, a free labor situation would quickly make evident the superiority of white labor), rather than an issue of fundamental human rights or racial equality. Many equated the Abolitionist with the Democrat, both being ranked as tyrants and anti-Unionists (*ibid.*, pp. 195-200).

This discussion is intended to set the stage for Dennis Mahoney's much discussed opposition to the war. Johnson notes that Mahoney was hardly the best person to take up the editorial pen against the war. While somewhat careful with his statements through 1862, he became increasingly strident and careless and he was less constructive and self-absorbed after his release from federal prison. Mahoney's long-term legacy was his public support which was represented by his 1867 election as county sheriff (*ibid.*, pp. 163, 190).

Initially Mahoney opposed secession as well as the Republican management of the war effort. He early supported a military draft thinking that it would either equalize the burden of the war (i. e., a rich man's war, poor man's fight) or it would expose the reluctance of the elite to perform military duty for all to see. His war opposition was largely rooted in his strict construction of the constitution and he saw the Republicans as using the war to federalize the country at the expense of the states with a resulting military despotism (such a conspiracy theory was nicely anti-Western from his perspective, Mahoney feared that the West would have to pay more than their share of the resulting war debt and that postwar tariffs would remain high to pay for the war). His opposition to the war was founded on a belief that the South could not be militarily subdued in a short war, nor could they quickly prevail over the North. Still he offered his services the state to raise and lead an all-Irish regiment, an offer that was not accepted. Mahoney's war opposition resulted in his arrest by U.S. Marshall Herbert Hoxie the morning of August 14, 1862. He was imprisoned in Old Capital Prison in Washington for nine weeks. Released without trial on November 11, he returned home to Dubuque but lost his paper to War Democrat Patrick Robb. Mahoney was one of a number of citizens who suffered detainment by the government during the war. This number included several Congressmen (*ibid.*, pp. 189, 202; 1880 county history, p. 533).

The Civil War and Dubuque's Economy:

Many in Dubuque were convinced that the allegations of disloyalty deprived the city of "favors" from either the state or federal government. The most potentially substantial charge was that the transcontinental railroad was routed southward where it bypassed Dubuque. Other charges centered on the withdrawal of capital or the Eastern refusal to credit orders from Dubuque merchants (*ibid.*, p. 201).

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Telegraphic linkage arrived c.1848 well before the railroad did and accessed the city at 7th Street. It came in the form of two competing companies and each struggled to sign up subscribers. The city gained a new submarine telegraphic cable from Dunlieth in early September 1861. In November 1863 poles were being erected to extend the wires to Cedar Falls. By this time Dubuque boasted that they were receiving telegraphic news several hours ahead of Chicago. Cairo, Illinois was the telegraphic starting point of war news and war correspondents' reports followed the Illinois Central northward across Illinois (1880 county history, p. 527; Oldt, pp. 83, 140, 150).

Real loss came with the closure of the lower Mississippi market and shipping route. Railroads now had no competition and struggled to pick up the traffic once divided between rail and river and freight rates went up. Frequently during the war a shortage of cars caused exports to pile up. The worst of these lasted three months during late 1863 and five to eight tons of freight accumulated. Another such car shortage occurred in January-February 1865 and it was estimated that a million bushels of grain were stalled on the Dubuque and Sioux City line. Dubuque merchants traveled to Chicago in 1864 to protest the shipping situation. The military monopoly on shipping also relegated non-essential loads to the siding. The shipping backup shut down operations on the Dubuque and Sioux City but even then revenue jumped \$136,000 between 1863 and 1864. The legacy of the loss of the river was the replacement of north/south grain shipping by east/west shipping, a "habit" that would not be changed until after World War II with the maturation of trade on the nine-foot Mississippi River channel (Anfinson, Chapter 2, p. 6; Wulkow, pp. 12-14).

Dubuque paid a massive financial penalty for its lack of a Mississippi River railroad bridge. Everything bound east on the rails had to be ferried over the river with the attending unloading, barge loading, and unloading/reloading on the Illinois shore. This and the train delays were termed the "Great Freight Blockade." The Illinois Central displaced those who made a living of delivering and crossing the goods by forming its own transfer company. Oldt noted "the city had paid large sums as unjust freight and transfer charges" throughout the war and this recognition of injury prompted postwar demands for a railroad bridge (Johnson, pp. 206-07; Oldt, p. 158).

Wartime construction in the North during the Civil War resumed at any scale only by 1863. Dubuque reports record levee work in August 1862, the construction of a floating planing mill, the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad passenger depot, and a railroad round house built in 1863. Hotels were busy and expanded and remodeled. By 1863 there were no vacant houses in the city. One loss, purportedly a punishment to a disloyal city, was the removal of the mail distribution center in 1863 (Oldt, pp. 144-147).

Inflation arrived with the war, particularly by 1862, driven by printing press currency issuances and private competition with military expenditures for the same goods and labor. Banks stored the greenbacks and issued their own script, further feeding the inflation frenzy during 1862-64. As a result the 1860 dollar was equal to the 1864 value of \$1.89. Wages actually lost value in response to inflation. Food prices in Dubuque were slow to escalate but did so by early 1863 and peaked in January 1865. Any energy or interest in relief for the poor during the war was exhausted by efforts to provide relief to soldiers and their families. Inflation was a boon to local stock companies, adding capital value to their operations. Specie (coin money) had nearly disappeared from circulation by early 1862, hoarded away due to its greater value over greenbacks. Packages of postal stamps largely substituted for coin, along with merchants' tokens and script (Johnson, pp. 208-214; Oldt, pp. 143-46).

Striking workers during the war were publicly supported and ice cutters and carpenters were successful in their 1863 strike actions. Other successful strikers were tailors, shoemakers, cabinetmakers and wagon makers. The

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newspapers supported these successes but denied their support, and victory, to others including typesetters. Successful strike actions benefited from the labor shortage that came with the war (ibid., pp. 215-17).

Several business sectors directly or indirectly benefited from the war. Shipping demands overwhelmed the Dubuque & Sioux City. In general wartime railroads expended little in infrastructure or rolling stock and the massive resulting profits made possible the resumption of westward construction. The grain trade emerged from the war as a key sector in the city's economy and Dubuque was said to be only secondary to Milwaukee and Chicago as a grain shipping point (ibid., pp. 218-19).

Pork packing was one industry, later of major importance to the city, that had its real start as a result of the war. Previously the industry was strictly seasonal and largely local but some proportion of scale and permanent operations were in place by 1861-62. By the winter of 1862-63 there were 11 local packing firms in business. This number was cut by more than half to six by the next winter but the total slaughter actually increased. The number estimated to have been shipped live from the city was double the number killed, some 25,800 head. Still the city's packing industry lagged behind the other state packing centers, located in southeastern Iowa. William Ryan, a friend of Ulysses Grant, relocated from Galena to Dubuque in the early war years and is said to have received large government packing contracts as a result of his high connections (Oldt, pp. 147, 151).

War contracts promoted the development of the city's industrial base. Oldt reported that cannon were cast in the city in 1861 but offers no particulars as to the firm or contracting entity. Luflin Smith possessed a quantity of gunpowder and might have been manufacturing it when Col. William Allison was instructed in late August 1861 to seize it "in the name of the State of Iowa—and detail a squad to hold the same." A month later, the powder, stored at Newton and Dubuque, was released back to its owner. The Revenue Collector at Dubuque originally impounded the powder due to rumors that it was to be shipped south to disloyal hands. The owner protested that it was mostly blasting powder but there was 100 barrels of gunpowder. Allison hired a secret service man to watch both warehouse and the ferry prior to being ordered to drop the matter. Julius Graves produced lead shot briefly (June 1862) in the shot tower and then in a lead mine shaft although he had no direct army contracts. He also sold war bonds through his bank and supplied the recruits at Camp Franklin. Tailor Mark W. Smith produced army uniforms and one of his contracts called for 660 employees. In 1864 George Beaubien had a contract for harness and Thomas Connolly had one to make wagons. New lead lode discoveries and soaring prices produced a veritable boom in lead mining during the war. Buying and selling horses was another profitable venture. All three of these businesses enjoyed postwar growth. Other firms located to the city during the war and added to the developing industrial base. One example, a tobacco factory relocated to the city from Ohio but stayed just two years before removing to Chicago for better market and shipping advantages (ibid., pp. 222-229, 237; Wulkow, pp. 19-20; Allison to Baker, August 27, 1861, Baker to Allison, August 21, September 22, 1861, Record Group 101, State Archives).

Johnson determined that between 1860 and 1870 Dubuque tripled its number of industrial workers, tripled the amount of its industrial capitalization, increased its payroll wages five times, and the result was a fourfold increase in gross product. Larger mechanized factories now accounted for 45 percent of the workforce. Non-mechanized artisans shops grew in number but employed fewer workers than they had in 1860. Engineers increased from 30 in 1860 to 81 in 1870 (Johnson, pp. 165, 229-30).

Johnson notes that crime increased in the city through and after the war and that this was one of its direct legacies. Of 595 volunteers found in the 1860 census, Johnson determined that 65 received medical discharges for

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sickness or injury, 41 were wounded and left the service early, 62 died in service and in sum one of five soldiers came home with a disability or had died. Working class soldiers were more likely to die in service. Comparing the 1860 and 1870 occupations in Dubuque, Johnson found that the shift from commercial to industrial activity was reflected in the downward mobility of "high non-manual" to "low non-manual" roles, while the working class experienced an upward mobility, from low manual to artisan level occupations. Johnson uses Steven Ross's more descriptive term "particularists" meaning that these men were performing and repeating a single production process in 1870, while in 1860 the true artisan would have completely produced and had control over the production of an item such as a wagon. Between 1860 and 1870 nearly every industry added more labor to its production process. Johnson also found that while all workers in 1870 tended to own more property than did their 1860 counterparts (more likely personal than real property) veterans were better able to accumulate such property than were non-veterans. One theory was that enlistment bounties and substitute fees provided a savings nest egg that workers could never have accumulated. At the same time he found no upward movement on the part of veterans and their occupations. The veterans were more likely to stay in Dubuque. Johnson concluded that the veteran was "better able to cope with life and work in [an] increasingly urban-industrial Dubuque" (ibid., pp. 700-01, 717, 723-26, 733-35, 774).

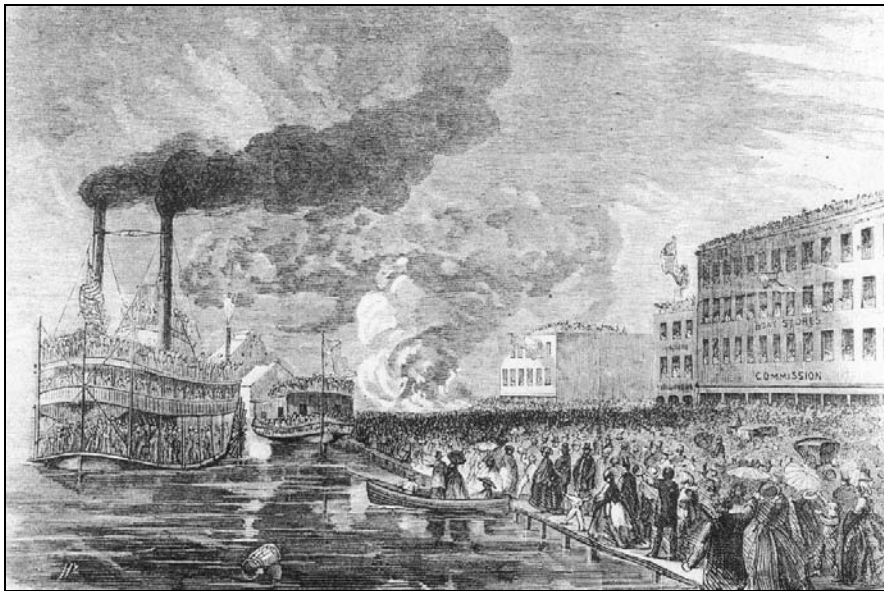


Figure 8: Departure of the 1st Iowa Infantry Regiment companies from Dubuque's Lower Levee, April 22, 1861 (sketch by Alexander Simplot, *Harpers Weekly*, reproduced in "Our Early Years," p. 73).

Politics; Pre-war and Wartime Elections:

The 1860 election in Dubuque reflected the divisive nature of the national ticket. The Democratic Party split with a northern candidate, Stephen Douglas ("the Giant Killer") and southern candidate John C. Breckinridge. Constitutional Unionist party candidate John Bell further split the traditional Democratic vote. Abraham Lincoln headed the Republican slate. Evening torch light processions were the favored political expression of the time and Dubuque was replete with the shows of strength for each candidate. Douglas visited Dubuque on October 17, 1860, drawing an estimated 15-20,000 listeners in the public square. His procession avoided passing beneath a Lincoln banner suspended over Main Street. Five hundred torches promoted his coming visit, the vanguard being the "Young Giants" boys club.

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Termed “the Secessionists in Dubuque” by the *Herald*, supporters of Breckinridge, led by the city’s postmaster, fired off five cannon for their man at a June 7, 1860 gathering. A post-election Lincoln Ball at Turners Hall indicated, according to the *Herald*, that “the late antagonism of political parties has become merged with a pleasanter feeling, the idea of Union seemed to be a prominent one—we’ll bet on the Union, its all safe here in Dubuque” (*Herald*, June 7, 11, October 2, 3, 17, November 21, 1860).

Douglas had carried the city (49 percent in the city, 58 percent on the full county vote) over Lincoln (46 percent city, 39 percent county) with Bell and Breckinridge both relegated to 119 votes (two percent). Four years later, Lincoln was rebuffed (42 percent city, 34 percent county) and peace candidate George McClellan won by a landslide (57 percent city, 65 percent in the county) (Wilke, p. 231).

To Arms! The Dubuque Area Military Mobilization:

Dubuque provided a proportionate number of volunteers including an impressive number of military companies. Sufficient recruits prevented the military draft from operating in the city throughout the war. Heeding Russell Johnson’s findings, it is probable that the pre-war rosters of the two prewar infantry companies suffered a certain winnowing by the time they went off to the front. All had to be recruited up to full strength from their pre-war rosters of 30-odd men each. Four of six pre-war militia companies saw formal federal military service.¹⁰

<u>Company Title</u>	<u>Original Captain</u>	<u>Regimental Designation</u>
Governor’s Greys		1 st Iowa Infantry
Jackson Guards	F. Gottschaulk	same
Washington Guards	R. G. Herron	Company G, 3 rd Iowa Infantry
City Guards	M. M. Hayden	3 rd Independent Battery

The federal defeat at First Manassas/Bull Run, Virginia, on July 21, 1861, signaled a long war and Iowa feverishly turned to recruiting three-year volunteers. Dubuque was designated a rendezvous point for new Iowa infantry regiments and a military camp was established along the riverbank south of Eagle Point. Governor’s aid Col. Addison H. Sanders of Davenport was ordered to the city on August 9 to select and establish the camp. He was given only until August 15 to have it ready! Two rows of ten (60x20) frame barracks flanked a 40-foot wide street. Officer quarters were nearby along a timberline near Lake Peosta. Most of the barracks were ready by late August 1861. The camp was enlarged in September 1862 by the construction of additional or perhaps replacement barracks. Allison recommended in early August 1862 that perhaps wood shingle roofs should be used this time (apparently in lieu of plank roofs) “as they may be needed for other regiments [later on].” By the time the camp was dismantled in late 1863, and in January 1864, it contained 50-60 shanties, a hospital, commissary building, and stables in addition to the original buildings (McFarlane, Forbish, *Herald*, January 4, February 22, November 14, 1860; Adj. Gen. N. B. Baker to Sanders, August 9, 14, 1861; same to Hon. Wm. Vandever, August 10, 1861, Allison to Baker, August 3, 11, 1862, Record Group 101, State Archives).¹¹

¹⁰ Dubuque’s accomplishment of meeting its quota is all the more impressive when viewed in a regional context. Northeast Iowa lagged behind the rest of the state in recruitment. Adjutant General Baker complained to Col. Allison “I regret that Northern Iowa is so slow in raising troops...Better late than never.” (Baker to Allison, August 28, 1861, Record Group 101, State Archives).

¹¹ An unsuccessful search was made at both the State Archives in Des Moines and the National Archives in Washington to secure a map and plan for the camp. The campsite might possess significant archeological potential if the specific site can be determined. Preliminary indications are that the camp site has been completely destroyed in the process of filling the sloughs south of Eagle Point.

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The camp was used as a rendezvous point for the assembling regiments. Individual completed companies reported and the larger unit was formed. Some training was carried on and sham battles were fought on the heights of Eagle Point. The following units were organized at Camp Union/Franklin during the war:

- 3rd Independent Battery Light Artillery—September 24, 1861—Capt. Hayden (Dubuque's fifth company)
- 9th Regiment Infantry-September 24, 1861
- 12th Regiment Infantry-November 25, 1861, completely filled in just six days by October 26, depart by rail due to iced-in steamers, November 28, 1861 (this was the last use as Camp Union)
- 21st Regiment Infantry-932 men by August 26, 1862, 3,600 men in camp as of September 9, regiment departed September 15, 1862
- 27th Regiment Infantry-October 3, 1862, formed from excess men from 21st departs mid-October 1862
- 32nd Regiment Infantry-October 6, 1862, formed from excess men from 21st departs November 16, 1862
- 38th Regiment Infantry-December 4, 1862, departs same month by rail for Cairo, Illinois.
- 42nd Regiment Infantry-departed after Christmas, failed to fill its ranks and men were transferred to 43rd Regiment Infantry (also never organized) and the 7th Iowa Cavalry.

Governor Kirkwood removed the rendezvous point designation and the buildings were auctioned off as noted above (Baule, pp. 1-17).

Two 90-day service companies from Dubuque comprised part of the 1st Infantry Regiment and were badly bloodied at the battle of Wilson's Creek in August 1861. Company A, 3rd Iowa Infantry was the first three-year unit from the city. Hayden's battery, noted above, was partially raised in the city. Two companies of the 12th Infantry Regiment and one of the 16th Infantry Regiment were wholly credited to Dubuque. Dubuquers comprised most of four companies of the 21st Infantry Regiment, Company F of the 37th (Graybeards) Infantry Regiment, two companies of the 44th Infantry Regiment, and Company A of the 46th Infantry Regiment (100-day service). Over 300 recruits went to the 12th U.S. Infantry (regular army). A total of 2,600 men saw service from the city and county (1880 County History, pp. 414-15).

For whatever reasons, Dubuque was the preferred beat for military recruiters and as of the fall of 1862 a dozen or more competed for men. A year earlier, the same was the case and former county prosecuting attorney William M Crozier warned State Adjutant General Nathaniel Baker that the state and the county were losing credit for recruits secured in Dubuque. Crozier noted that a Fort Dodge company had passed through the city en route to joining a Pennsylvania regiment, a Captain Schaeffer had raised two companies for Missouri service under Major General John C. Fremont, and a 64-man sapper & miner (engineer) company had departed to that same department from the city. Crozier warned

Besides all our Northern river towns have or have had recruiting offices for the General Government and for Wisconsin and Illinois regiments.

If our men are thus permitted to leave in organized bodies for the service of other states, it will be no wonder if we have to resort to drafting (Crozier to Baker, September 20, 1861, Record Group 101, Adjutant General, General Correspondence, 1861, Box 2, State Archives).¹²

¹² Crozier signed as 1st Lieutenant of the Dubuque Battery, apparently Hayden's 3rd Iowa Battery. Northern Iowa recruiters were hindered by the refusal of Dubuque-Sioux City railroad to honor the state's travel passes north of Farley or the stage company to do the same north of Cedar Falls (Crozier to Baker, December 10, 1861, Ibid., Box 4).

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Despite its reputation for hostility to the war effort, there is every indication that the camp was a popular point of visitation. Special regional trains and omnibus lines accessed it regularly. On October 20, 1862, Governor Kirkwood visited the city and reviewed the 12th Regiment. The public responded with calls for blankets during the fall of 1862. The city hosted the state fair in September 1862 and the soldiers provided a full dress parade as part of that event. There was mortality at the camp with at least eight deaths, several to typhoid fever, and measles was the base cause. One death resulted from a soldiers' melee on October 14, 1862. Two companies of the 27th Regiment, from Waukon and Guttenburg, rioted and one death and two others injured. Liquor was finally banned in the camp and residents complained of thievery around the camp. Dubuque was also deemed a haven for military recruiters, as is reflected in the oversupply of recruits which flooded the nearby camp in the fall of 1862. At its height 15 recruiters had their offices in operation as of August (Baule, p. 15).

The Home Front, Soldiers Relief:

The extent of divisiveness in Dubuque is measured by the fact that in 1863, the two contending camps held their own Fourth of July celebrations.

Poverty as already noted was worsened by inflation during the war. Relief of the poor prior to the Civil War was limited at best to "the worthy poor" those who were on hard times through no fault of their own. Public relief was generally limited to the physically and mentally handicapped. Denial, particularly in Dubuque, worked as well. There simply weren't and couldn't be any poor in the city given its opportunities. Seasonal poverty, particularly during the winter, afflicted day laborers. Female heads of households were prone to hard times given limited employment opportunities. The Panic of 1857-58 worsened the situation particularly for working class families. Private relief during these years came predominantly from the business class. Public assistance was offered through the County Poor House and "House of Refuge" (a reform school for juvenile delinquents). Assistance vanished entirely in 1859-60 (Johnson, pp. 619-33).¹³

With the departure of so many men to military service the situation worsened. A local businessmen's relief organization ("Volunteer Fund Board") was formed as early as late April 1861 to support the families of the city's two 90-day companies. The group pledged its support for the first three-year unit (Company A, 3rd Regiment Infantry) but it folded in January 1862 after running out of funds and expending just one third of its \$6,000 in pledges. The war had outlasted the short-term enthusiasm of the members (ibid., pp. 634-39).

Patriotic women of the city first formed the Ladies Volunteer Labor Society and uniformed and completely outfitted the first two companies. Like their male counterparts, membership came largely from business class ladies. In late 1861 the group became the Dubuque Ladies Aid Society, committed to providing the needs of men in the service. This group took on the role of the defunct mens' group when it folded. Some women entered the workforce as retail clerks and the like in response to the labor shortage. The county Board of Supervisors on several occasions took no action on providing relief apart from qualifying soldiers' families to be considered by the Superintendent of the Poor (243 families were aided in 1863, 116 of which were soldiers' families). The county's provision of \$50 enlistment bounties were also seen as sources for family support. Their reluctance to help was fuel to Republican charges of Democratic disloyalty. Other Iowa urban centers had done considerably more it was pointed out. The board also turned down a

¹³ See also Russell Johnson's "A Debt Justly Due": The Relief of Civil War Soldiers and Their Families in Dubuque," *Annals of Iowa*, Vol 55, No. 3 (Summer 1996) pp. 207-38.

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funding request for a Soldiers Home in the city in late 1863. The home would have been the equivalent of a “USO” of later times. The proposal was deemed to be a private charity and could not be publicly funded. It was finally established with the unanimous support of a politically divided City Council. In January 1864 the Board acted to limit assistance to the families of those soldiers who were actually credited against Dubuque County’s enlistment quota (ibid., pp. 640-56, 664).

Completely lost in all of this was any consideration of other families in poverty. By 1864 a new approach to soldiers’ relief was being adopted, championed by the United States Sanitary Commission, a pseudo-early version of the Red Cross. This approach stressed directly aiding soldiers and not their families. Soldiers were thereby returned to their familial role of breadwinners and families would indirectly be assisted through them. Johnson notes that while the earliest volunteers were primarily younger, unattached males, volunteers by early 1864 were older and more commonly with familial responsibilities. In March 1864 a state law levied a county tax for the relief of soldiers families. This represented the first state attention to families rather than their soldiers. The Ladies Aid Society turned its attention to soldiers’ relief, affiliating with the national USSC. The hallmark event of this effort took the form of the “Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair” which was held in the City Hall, Turners Hall and the surrounding area June 21-29, 1864.¹⁴ All the counties of northeast Iowa participated and a very impressive \$84,000 was raised. The Ladies Aid Society did continue some minimal family relief efforts throughout the war. A Christian Commission Auxiliary, dedicated to direct soldiers assistance, formed in November 1864 (ibid., pp. 665-77).

The Wood Processing Industry Has Its First Beginning:

Dubuque was well placed compared to other down river Iowa cities because floating logs could be more cheaply rafted to it. Local steam sawmills were in operation in the city as early as 1837-38 (1880 county history, p. 385).

The lumber industry reached its most extensive level by 1861 when seven to eight firms were in operation and largely capitalized. By 1867 fifteen firms were in place. They landed 25,000,000 board feet of lumber via the river, most of which was shipped west on the railroad. Beginning in 1867 the Herald presented an annual end-of-year report on the growing lumber industry paralleled the general progress reports. Its purpose “called the attention of all northern Iowa to the immense business of Dubuque in lumber...the largest lumber market on the Mississippi river above St. Louis.” The 1867 lumber industry had total sales of 40,000,000 feet of lumber with sawn lumber, lath, shingles and pickets being the mainstay of those sales in descending order of magnitude (Oldt, pp. 139, 162-63; *Herald*, December 29, 1869).

The Dubuque Cabinet Makers Association:

This furniture-making German cooperative of artisans was established in 1867 with \$18,000 capitalization and 13 members. An 1870 *Herald* account described the new venture:

[It] is a very successful attempt at co-operative labor...Its board of officers consists of a president, secretary, director, and foreman, and they are elected every year. By its articles of agreement no one can become a member unless he can work—speculators not admitted. All questions coming before this association are determined by the two-thirds majority. All its members must hold \$500 in stock; no more

¹⁴ In the City Hall the lower floor featured booths with a 25’-wide central passageway, the second floor a library and floral departments, packing and appraisal room, and the third floor childrens’ amusements. The Turners Hall offered refreshments on its two floors. An adjoining building the east of City Hall contained hardware and agricultural departments as well as household implements (The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair...1864).

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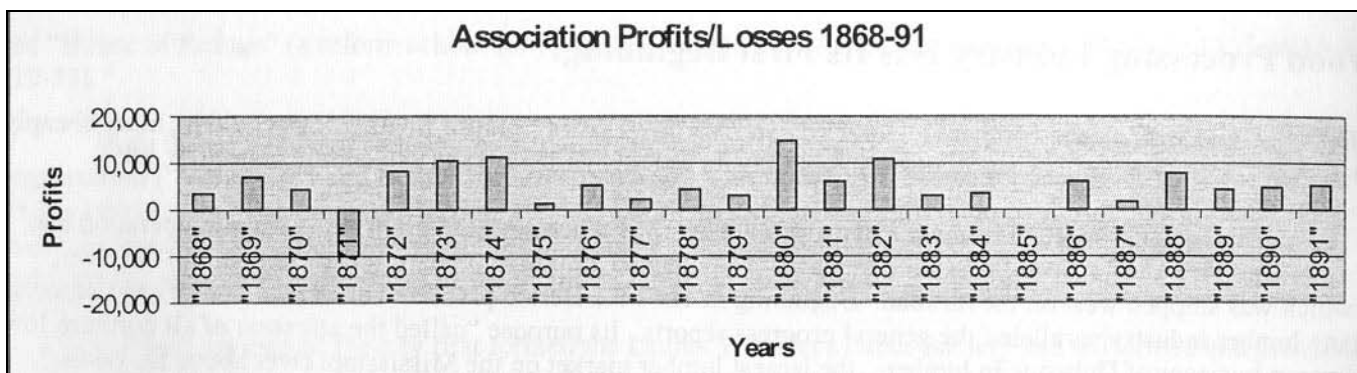
and no less. It is growing gradually stronger and is extending its sphere of usefulness; and is, as we understand, a body entirely harmonious in action. It was first organized with 13 members. Its sales for this last year will aggregate \$60,000 (*Herald*, December 23, 1870).

It remained in operation as late as 1924. In 1902 it celebrated its 25th anniversary. The organization had a three-story factory at Jackson and 10th streets and a storefront where its products were marketed. The factory burned January 11, 1870 with a loss of \$15,000. It was soon replaced in 1871 with a new three-story brick factory¹⁵ on this same site and the association eased the new adjacent four-story Arthur McCann building, due east, for use as a furniture warehouse. The company reorganized August 15, 1877. In 1894 it purchased the former Universalist Church building at 10th and Main streets and built a new three-story block there the next year (survives as 1000 Main). That property was in turn sold to the Dubuque Electric Company in 1924 (Lyon, p. 108; *Tribune*, December 20, 1871; *Herald*, July 25, 1872).

The Dubuque Cabinet Makers Association has put up, near the foot of 9th st[reet]., a four story frame building 32x60, which they have filled with machinery of every kind necessary to the carrying on of their trade. This work was commenced on the 15th of June, and is an illustration of remarkable enterprise. The association is now composed of fourteen men, while twelve others work for them as employees of the association. The cost of the buildings, machinery, etc. is estimated at about \$15,000.

Herald, September 5, 1867

By 1874 the association employed 75 hands and 12 caners in cottage industry. Their annual products totaled \$80,000 and wages were \$32,260. In late 1881 they erected a new factory at White and 10th (or 16th?) Street for \$12,000. The White Street factory is extant and currently houses Rhomberg Furriers (ibid., January 1, 1874, December 4, 1881).



Annual company profits indicate a loss of \$9,823.86 during 1871 and 1885 yielded a profit of just \$46.04! Company officers were D. L. Wullweber, Georg Schüler, Henrh. Wunderlich, John Stuber, Chas. W. Wullweber, H. Tischer, Richard Herrmann and directors included Gottlieb Schneider, C. Jacobi, John Foerst, Bernard Baumhover, Richard Herrmann, and John Jehring. Factory foremen were Joachim Kurz (1867-71), Georg Schüler (1871-1874), Christ Jacobi (1874-1891) and Gottlieb Schneider (1871-86) (Uebersicht ueber die Gruendung und den Verlauf des Geschäftes der Dubuque Cabinetmakers Association 25 Jahrestag, 15 Juni...1867-1892, pp. 6-7).

¹⁵ This building survives today as Rhomberg's Fine Furs. This firm has occupied the building since 1907.

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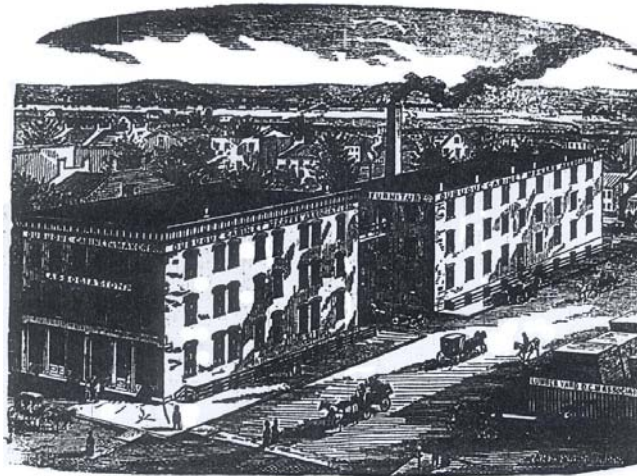


Figure 9: 1895 view of the Association plant, 1000 White, view northeast

This cooperative association, given its long-term success and its German ethnic linkages, is certainly historically significant and any surviving industrial or commercial properties should be investigated for their ability to interpret the history of this organization. The White Street factory (1000 White) is recommended as being historically significant under Criterion A given its long-term link with this unique association. That building was occupied by the Dubuque Tanning and Rope Company in 1911. Richard Herrman (1849-1941) joined the association in 1871. He purchased the association factory and storefront and sold both in 1908, so the organization must have ceased operations prior to that time. He then operated a furniture store at 544 Main Street (Herrman & Sons) (Lyon, p. 200).

Industry Drives Municipal Growth:

[Dubuque] was originally a mining town, built upon the mineral wealth taken from its hills. Later it had the river traffic which made it a shipping and distributing center for all sorts of products and commodities. The lumber business, brought by the river facilities, for a long while waxed strong and made the Dubuque the leading city of Iowa. Still later the brewing industry carried on, even after the earlier ones had begun to wane...

William Smith (*Dubuque Business*, February 1930, p. 4)

The *Herald* lamented in late 1870 “while a manufacturing metropolis we do not rank as high as our advantages of position should place us, and while we make comparatively moderate showing of products considered in the light of business promise which we now have with our new and competing railroad lines hastening to completion, still we have no reason to feel seriously hurt to review our present manufacturing resources...” The 1870 federal census had found 219 qualifying manufacturing firms (products valued over \$500) yet the *Herald* listing enumerated just 121. The Second and Third Wards were the most industrialized with 68 firms and 485 positions. Total jobs were 790. Eleven firms employed more than 20 hands (the largest four were A. A. Cooper, wagons, 62 hands; C. Herrncourt, furniture, 40 hands Carr & Austin and Co., sash and doors, 30 hands, and Rouse & Dean, machinists, 46 hands). Breweries, ale producers, and distilleries numbered nine and employed 91 workers. Wagon and vehicle makers numbered 11 and employed 137 workers (*Herald*, December 23, 1870).

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As late as 1873, the *Daily Times* could still enumerate the city's principal industrial employers in a fairly short listing. Thirty-one named firms and unspecified cooperages accounted for 1,095 jobs. Just six firms employed over 50 men and just two exceeded 100 positions. Clearly the wagon makers (Cooper and Connelly) and the lumber yards (Iowa Lumber, Dubuque Lumber) were poised to expand exponentially as rail connections delivered a regional-national market to the city (*Daily Times*, January 1, 1874).

By 1880 the city had 346 industrial establishments with a total capitalization of \$3,446,866. Total employment was 3,003 87 percent of these workers being males aged 16 or older. Total wages paid were \$1,339,730. The industrial clusters in order of size was as follows, in descending order:

Sector	No. Firms	Capitalization	Hands	Materials Value	Product Value
Other	45	\$959,080	391	\$ 535,565	\$ 813,396
Carriages, wagons	9	\$532,900	283	\$ 324,250	\$ 627,000
Sawed lumber	4	\$295,000	160	\$ 212,200	\$ 345,000
Liquors, Malt	6	\$265,000	63	\$ 110,132	\$ 211,125
Mens Clothing	18	\$241,150	260	\$ 254,875	\$ 403,000
Slaughtering, Meats	5	\$183,000	133	\$1,237,400	\$1,370,000
Foundries, Machine Shops	4	\$157,500	109	\$ 86,960	\$ 181,320
Sash, doors, blinds	3	\$114,000	86	\$ 191,000	\$ 284,000
Printing, Publishing	8	\$111,800	91	\$ 38,300	\$ 137,475

The miscellaneous category, of undetermined composition claimed the most workers. It and mens clothing accounted for 86 percent of the 292 female industrial jobs in the city. Product value didn't necessarily correlate with capitalization. Slaughtered meats, with five firms, accounted for 22 percent of the total industrial value of product. It also had the closest profit margin, with the cost of its materials equal to 90 percent of its product value (1880 Census, Report of Social Statistics Of Cities, pp.732-33).

Total manufacturing output during 1881 was \$9,071,000 and that of jobbing sales \$13,385,900. Lead mine production was a mere \$36,000 with just three operating smelters. Dubuque was termed "the Banner City of the State in Manufacturing, Jobbing and General Trade" by the *Dubuque Trade Journal*. The *Journal* compiled what it claimed was a 90% accurate first time survey of the city's outputs. Total jobs in manufacturing were 3,729 hands and the total steam horsepower of the plants was 2,222. Jobbers and manufacturers had a total of 200 salesmen in the field (*Dubuque Trade Journal*, February 20, 1882).

Value of Manufacturing Products, Six Largest Sectors

Sector	1881 Product Value
Pork Products	\$2,170,000
Machinery, boilers, etc.	\$1,472,000
Lumber, lath and shingles	\$ 550,000
Sundry Manufacturers (60 minor Establishments)	\$ 457,000
Oat Meal, Flour, mill feet	\$ 390,000
Wagons	\$ 325,000

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<u>Sector</u>	<u>1881 Product Value</u>
Groceries	\$3,000,000
Hardware	\$2,000,000
Grain and commission produce	\$1,806,400
Dry Goods and notions	\$1,250,000
Lumber, lath and shingles	\$1,062,000
Boots and Shoes	\$ 800,000

No city was industrially self-sufficient of course and every hopeful metropolis was constantly on the watch for new industrial niches that could be locally filled. An 1882 listing included a woolen mill, cotton mill, malleable iron works, brass works, glucose factory, syrup factory, match factory, paper mill, tannery, white lead factory, pottery, fruit canning plant, nail factory, glass factory, locomotive works, distillery, agricultural implements maker, rolling mill, iron pipe maker, hardwood stock works, rope and twine works, glue factory, stamped ware factory, and electric lights factory. That same year there was local call for producing pressed brick. Indeed the same lack was true of the entire Northwest and the "territories" as well. Consequently the more expensive pressed brick had to be imported at higher cost.

All that could be made in Dubuque would find a ready market in Iowa Minnesota, Nebraska, and Dakota. The saving on freight alone from Philadelphia and St. Louis, the principal sources of the present supply, would almost pay the first cost of manufacturing. As a shipping point there is no better place in the northwest than Dubuque.

It was suggested that there were ample local clay supplies (*Dubuque Trade Journal*, February 20, August 21, 1882).

Boat building at Dubuque dates from 1870 and Dubuque firms led the way in the evolution of river steamers from wood to iron construction. The *Clyde*, built at Dubuque, was the first iron-hulled craft built on the Mississippi River. Iowa Iron Works was established in 1851 but only turned to building boats at this time (in 1895 it relocated to the southern side of the Ice Harbor). The Dubuque Marine Ways was built at Eagle Point in 1871 and was soon rated as the best facility on the Mississippi River and the largest one north of St. Louis. A marine way consisted of a broad level beach inclined towards the river. A series of parallel tracks supported wheeled dollies which could collectively lift a craft out of the river for repairs ashore. Diamond Jo Reynolds also had a boatyard at Eagle Point and produced boats for 37 years. The Iowa Iron Works began producing small navy craft for the federal government in 1891. It was nearly bankrupted by the failure of the engine on the *Ericsson Torpedo Boat #2* (a failure in design, not construction) but Senator William Allison forced the navy to pay its bills. Reorganized in 1904 as the Dubuque Boat and Boiler Works, the company survived as the was the leading city boat builder. It built military vessels during both World Wars and finally built pleasure craft. When it closed in May 1972 it was the second oldest such firm in the country (Lyon, pp. 42-44).

It was long claimed that "laborers can live more cheaply in Dubuque than elsewhere." The city was also "situated so as to receive the overflow of products from the great Northwest" specifically timber. As of 1887 the largest lumber product was wood shingle production. Three firms collectively turned out shingle products annually valued at \$745,000 (*Industries of Dubuque*, 1887, pp. 17-18).

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By the end of 1889 there were 205 manufacturing plants employing 6,992 hands and mustered an impressive 10,890 horsepower rating in its industrial power plants. The 96 jobbing houses employed 1,967. Traveling men from the city numbered 313. The 1892 Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory enumerated over 200 manufacturing firms, 150 jobbing firms (300 salesmen, over 3,000 employees) and gave the following total (1891) figures for the several sectors of the city's economy (Oldt, p. 192; 1892 Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory, p. 455):

Manufacturing	\$19,036,200
Jobbing Trade	\$25,696,500
Retail Business	\$16,069,500
Lead & Zinc Ores	\$ 962,400
Miscellaneous	\$12,857,659

The Lumber Industry in Dubuque:

Dubuque had the advantages of location (literally the state's headwater location for receiving log rafts from the Upper Mississippi River system, it cost \$6,000 to deliver a raft to St. Louis in the 1870s), financial backers (who, it is said, actually purchased timber assets upstream,¹⁶ and funded mill and yard construction) and a labor source (Baffoe, Goerd, p. 5).

While much is said about the city's massive timber processing industry, it is worth noting that Dubuque was in fact a relatively small player. By the early 1890s there were two-dozen milling centers along the Mississippi River between Minneapolis and Hannibal, Mo. Three of these consumed over half of the timber produced in the region. Minneapolis processed 491 million board feet of lumber, Winona 119.5 million feet, and Clinton, Iowa 101.7 million feet. Dubuque and the other 20 centers, accounted collectively for the remaining 452.4 million feet. By 1897 mills in Minnesota out-produced all mills down river from them (Anfinson, Chapter 5, pp. 3, 13).

Although dwarfed in overall scale of operation, Dubuque claimed in the 1880s that its Standard Lumber Mill was a close rival to the W. J. Young Mill in Clinton as the world's largest single mill (Goerd, p. 3 citing *Time- Journal* September 18, 1921).

The timber to feed these mills, was delivered in massive log rafts. As of 1860 these contained an average 300,000-500,000 feet of timber. Ten years later the average was two million feet and by 1890 that figure was up to 3.5 million. The record raft, shipped in 1895, contained 7.5 million feet. A raft of 1.5 million feet of timber could be consumed in the construction of 125 houses, and this amount of timber covered three to four acres of river surface. Even as raft sizes grew however, timber shipping declined as the white pine forests were decimated. The opening of additional timber ranges north of the St. Croix River in the 1880s staved off the inevitable exhaustion of these resources. The marked decline in timber shipping took place between 1890 and 1906, when the totals plummeted from 719,000,000 board feet in 1890, to 465,000,000 in 1900, and just 193,000,000 in 1906. The rafting season lasted from early May through mid-November and the rafters had to deal with log pirates. The pirates hid behind islands and would break the perimeter ring and secret away logs. The final raft ran in 1912. Some companies rafted sawn lumber to reduce shipping costs (ibid., p. 12; Goerd, p. 5).

¹⁶ Ron Goerd presents this most interesting claim and cites the Herald-Journal of August 24, 1930 as a source. Dubuque interests owned extensive timberlands and operated their own large lumber camps. This is an important claim, one that would explain Dubuque's role in the industry and it is worth historical investigation.

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By late century timber shipping alone dominated the river traffic and it is a curiosity that significant river channel improvements were belatedly being made by the federal government even as this trade slipped away. At its peak in 1890 there were 100 raft boats and as many sawmills in operation. By 1900 the mill count was down to 80, and by 1903 there were just 36 sawmills running between St. Louis and Minneapolis (ibid., p. 13).

Ron Goerdts dates the emergence of Dubuque as a hub for lumber processing to 1865 although the first substantial mill, Knapp, Stout & Company dated from 1852. It wasn't until 1867 that the Times declared Dubuque "finally a lumber center." By this time a dozen firms processed 30,000,000 feet of lumber from the river. Beginning in the late 1860s newspapers carried annual progress profiles of the emerging industry (*Times*, August 15, 1867).

Nothing but railroads and export duties restrained the Dubuque lumberyards from an export trade of greater magnitude...

Times-Herald, January 31, 1910

The industry comprised two subsets, the lumber mills and the planing mills. The latter produced doors, frames, sash and molding and continued to grow after 1890 even as the mills lost momentum. By 1889 value of product in the planing mills reached \$3,500,000 and it wasn't until 1923 that production value peaked at \$23,000,000. The planing mills survived into recent years in large-scale operations and several firms continue in operation today, representative of a lengthy and economically vital industry (ibid., p. 10).

The following key lumber/planing firms established the city's reputation in this industrial sector. Nothing remains from the sawmill firms but numerous buildings represent the planing and milling firms:

Standard Lumber-founded 1856 as Ingram, Kennedy & Day, 7th and Jackson, claimed to have the largest mill on the Mississippi River, burned out in 1911 the last survivor of its trade in the city, the Shot Tower survives as an artifact of the great fires, the tower serving as a watchtower for fires.

Peter J. Seippel, Dodge & Locust, established 1897, incorporated 1904, specialized in hardwood floors, rafted cut and dried planks, planing mill only.

Spahn & Rose, jobbing only, no mill, operated 16 branch yards at its highpoint

Dubuque Woodenware & Lumber Company, head of Railroad Avenue, Eagle Point, founded 1867, also claimed to be largest mill on the river, burned out in 1869, 1902, turned to jobbing and retail only

Knapp & Stout, 8th and Washington, owned 100,000 acres of timberland in Wisconsin, operated three large mills with 1,000 employees, as of 1869 claimed to be "probably one of the heaviest manufacturers and dealers in lumber on the Mississippi River" (*Daily Times*, January 1, 1869).

Weston Burch & Co., founded 1869, Washington, between 10th & 11th, four large Wisconsin mills, 450 employees (*Times*, February 17, 1869).

Carr, Ryder & Adams, claims to be largest manufacturer of doors, sash, millwork, and blinds in the world.

Capital and Banking:

Bank	Period of Service	Officers	Legacy

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J. L. Langworthy & Brothers	1851-61+		
Babbage & Co.	1861-64		
H. W. Markell & Co.	1855-68		Closed January 6, 1868
Theo Gelpcke & Co.	1858-61		Fails May 6, 1861
City of Dubuque Branch of the State Bank of Iowa	1858	F. N. Goodrich, L. D. Randall	Opposed by Mahoney and the <i>Herald</i> , Reorganized as National State Bank November 1865, merging with First National Bank 1866
First National Bank	1864-present	Franklin Hinds, H. M. Kingman, R. E. Graves, W. H. Clark after 1866 consolidation	Dubuque's first national bank, merged with National State, 1865, and Peoples Savings 1875, nearly closed August 16, 1893, for 95 years on northwest corner Main and 5 th (1867 to 1962)
German Savings [State] Bank	1864-present	J. H. Thedinga, Wm. Fuchs	323 Main Street, renamed "German Bank" 1873, builds new Main St. building 1901, renamed German Savings Bank 1904, opens Couler Ave. branch 1905.
Merchants National Bank (branch)	1865-73	F. W. H. Sheffield, R. A. Babbage	Fails September 26, 1873
Babbage & Co.	1861		92 Main Street
Peoples Savings Bank	1866-75	John Thompson, J. K. Graves	Merges with First National
Dubuque Savings Institution	1868-71	Charles Crocker, W. Woodward	
Commercial National Bank	1871-c.1888	R. E. Graves, H. L. Stout	92 Main Street, closes March 20, 1888, insolvent
Dubuque County [State] Bank	1875-c.1891	W. G. Steward, A. Lumback, E. A. Lull	
Second National Bank	1876-c.1922	W. L. Bradley, W. P. Large	605 Main Street
Building & Loan Asso.	c.1877-1900		Liquidated November 1900
Iowa Trust & Savings	1884-1932	Geo. L. Torbert, F. D. Stout, J. E. Allison	To 7 th & Main 1895
German Trust & Savings	1887-1932	John Bel, D. Rhomberg	Northwest corner Clay/Central and 13 th , later part of Union Trust & Savings Bank
Dubuque Clearing House Association	1891-c.1927	P. J. Lee, E. W. Duncan	Eight banks organize April '6, '89' (Oldt, p. 203).

The May 6, 1861 failure of the Gelpcke & Company bank echoed similar failures in 1857-58 and reflected the uncertainties of the early war era. William Allison dispersed an angry crowd, fresh from gathering at Theo. Gelpcke's residence (extant?) and fueled by rumors that the banker had fled town with the bank's specie. The final payout was just 20 cents on the dollar (Oldt, p. 138).

One of the principal causes of the prosperity of our manufacturing is the accomodation that our enterprising men are constantly receiving from our banking houses. Without banks no factories can exist, and our banking houses command a high standing at home and abroad. They also aid in every commercial interest.

States (Dubuque City Directory for 1873-74, p. 10

A large number of banks served the city during the years 1858-1893, but just four functioned through the second half of the 1870s. There were six major banks during the late 1880s and early 1890s. A near loss was the First National,

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which briefly closed in mid-August 1893 when withdrawals overwhelmed its ability to make payments. Depositors agreed to accept certificates of deposits and the bank reopened at the end of the month (Oldt, pp. 195-96).

The Financial Panic of 1873:

The panic of 1873, cannot, in the light of its effects, be properly so designated. It was rather a change of time. The rapid rate in which the American people had lived and transacted business, could not hold out. Black Friday came as a warning of the punishment that followed quickly in its wake, and the tight times which came with the close of 1873 were simply in the nature of an admonition that happier days were in store.
1880 county history, pp. 529-30

Merchants National Bank closed its doors on September 26, 1873 in response to a run that was triggered by reported bank runs in Chicago. Chicago banks had stopped currency transfers to outside banks. The First National Bank immediately restricted the size of checks it would pay out. Merchants collapsed when it was discovered that bank cashier Richard A. Babbage had embezzled up to \$350,000. Babbage thereby became one of the city's more notable scoundrels (Lyons, p. 23; 1880 county history, p. 622-24).

Despite these financial losses, the city emerged relatively unscathed from the national financial downturn. The Herald observed:

Considering the general financial depression that has prevailed all through the northwest the greater portion of the year, the only wonder is that Dubuque could enlarge so much, and her doing so, is proof positive that she is in a measure independent of outside capital and relies upon her own resources (*Herald*, November 22, 1874).

...we are moving on the goal of metropolitan greatness, i.e. pre-dominance in wealth, enterprise and industry, in all the branches of trade and commerce, in all of the relations of business, church and state, in short all that goes to makeup the greatness in its private and public interests, and surely, in these particulars non can gainsay the fact that Dubuque has fairly earned her reputation as the metropolitan city of Iowa.
Herald, October 31, 1875

Similar claims were made again in 1878 when the Herald noted "owing to the general stagnation of business throughout the country, the supposed scarcity of money and the consequent timidity of capitalists, the outlook at the beginning of 1878 was anything but flattering for building or improvements during the year..." The year's substantial new buildings were "not built by fictitious or borrowed capital, but are all paid for, and that with the money of their own owners" (*Herald*, January 3, 1879).

Increasingly, after 1880, it was charged that Dubuque's growth was being hindered by the reluctance of locals to invest locally. The *Herald* reported signs that

"the great bulk of money invested this season in this manner has been by men of who have no practical knowledge of the business they take an interest in, but put their money in it with a very commendable

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view to help their city while they do good for themselves. Many of them have heretofore placed their money in other ways which may have been profitable to them, but helped Dubuque very little, if any at all. A change has taken place in this regard, and its good effects will soon be shown in the advancement of the general welfare of our city (*Herald*, January 1, 1881).

The *Herald* and *Trade Journal* chided local capitalists in 1882 for their failure to invest locally in other Dubuque industries. "[Dubuque] as a financial center is reported stronger in proportion to size than any other point in the union. It is an evidence of resources, and of the very profitable nature of the legitimate business which has been and is falling to us as a heritage. While Dubuque capitalists are enterprising, wide awake, and working for the good of their own city, they have not been liberal in investing elsewhere. Now that the opportunities for the use of the surplus capital are becoming so numerous at home it is hoped that less will be sent abroad" (*Herald*, December 4, 1880).

Wholesaling and Commercial Development:

The year 1869 was rated one of "unusual dullness in trade and of general business apprehension. During the ten years last past there has not been a season more unpromising to the merchant, mechanic and farmer..." (*Herald*, December 16, 1869).

The 1880 dry goods trade was double that of 1879. A regional wholesaling trade was fast developing. "Out jobbing merchants are reaching out along the arteries of our commerce...[and] every facility can be offered to country merchants desiring to purchase goods at wholesale, as every branch of business is here represented." (*Herald*, January 1, 1880).

Total retail sales during 1881 were \$9,542,153 or 29 percent of the total industrial, jobbing, retailing and mining output for that year. It is a later premise (c.1903) that the city's retail was principally a local market and one that failed to expand and capture a broader regional market. The composition of the following list appears to describe a very local market based retailing trade, although this was still quite early in the city's development (*Dubuque Trade Journal*, February 20, 1882).

Value of Retail Trade, Largest Sectors

<u>Sector</u>	<u>1881 Product Value</u>
Groceries and provisions	\$1,381,123
Dry goods and notions	\$1,159,398
Miscellaneous	\$ 682,124
Retail liquors, beer, ale	\$ 449,761
Teamsters	\$ 449,125
Butchers meats	\$ 389,867
Clothing	\$ 378,975
Hotels, restaurants, bdg. Houses	\$ 372,432
Hucksters and marketeers	\$ 359,000
Wood and coal	\$ 348,720

By 1887 it was claimed that Dubuque's business comprised fully a twelfth of the state's total business. That figure showed "the supremacy of Dubuque in commerce and manufacture, as far as Iowa is concerned, and her important

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position in the northwest.” The wholesale and jobbing business exceeded that of any other Iowa city. This feat was attributed to the growth of two new railroads as well as to the completion of the first wagon bridge across the river in 1887 (*Herald*, November 24, 1887; *Times*, February 27, 1887).

Dubuque claimed as of that same year to possess a wholesale and jobbing trade nearly twice that of any other Iowa city. It was said:

In the Jobbing Trade Dubuque holds her own against all odds, and it is an acknowledged fact that even the Chicago wholesale houses do not deign to send their representatives, except in few cases, to grounds held by the jobbers of Dubuque, while she has always held the fields in contention with Chicago, St. Louis and St. Paul houses.

This was due to the jobbers’ ability to purchase in quantities equal to their big city competitors and because Dubuque was closer to the consuming markets than was Chicago or the eastern cities. In dry goods alone the city had two wholesalers and 20 retailers and “quite a number of our houses are direct importers.” One unnamed dry goods wholesaler was said to be “the most extensive in the whole Valley of the Mississippi” shipping its goods “all over the Northwest, besides through the adjoining States east of the Mississippi.” Total annual sales in dry goods alone were \$3,000,000 (*Industries of Dubuque*, 1887, pp. 16-17).

River Traffic Declines in the face of Railroad Dominance and Growth:

The Mississippi River shipping trade waned in the face of railroad competition. As railroad access points along the river developed, the river packets increasingly turned to providing service between several of those points in lieu of making longer river runs. The Civil War with its long-term elimination of access to the Lower Mississippi River, redefined the national shipping network. What was a north/south traffic reoriented to an east/west rail route and this re-imprinted shipping “habit” survived as long as trains dominated shipping over trucks. After the war, the developing regional agriculture out-produced available shipping resources, further strengthening rail-shipping preferences. Railroads could simply carry more. Another factor was the early dominance of Chicago over St. Louis as a grain-shipping center. The former led in adapting steam power to grain elevators and this advance enabled Chicago elevators to both ship by the carload in bulk and to sort grain according to grade. As early as 1857, Chicago possessed greater grain storage capacity than its southern rival. Chicago was a link in the developing Great Lakes east/west-shipping route. The inadequacies of the river helped the railroads. Uncertain water levels coincided with the harvest and shipping season (Anfinson, Chapter. 2, pp. 6-9).

Timber rafting increasingly dominated the river shipping as packets and other freighting declined. The massive log rafts left their legacy in the form of the current navigational channel. Even today the ghosts of the great lumber rafts define the broad sweeps of the curves in the nine-foot deep Mississippi River navigation channel and they largely determined bridge placement and channel clearances between bridge piers. Passenger traffic waxed and waned. The Diamond Jo Company, headquartered in Dubuque, attests to the resiliency of the river packet in the face of railroad competition.

The “groundwork” for the river improvements of the next century was laid beginning in 1866. The first river channel maps were prepared by the Army Corps of Engineers between 1866-69. The first dredging/snag boats were authorized in 1867. By 1876 the thousands of dangerous snags (sunken trees) were eliminated and many sandbars

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flattened. The first closing dam experiments were made in 1873, closing off redundant channels to focus the main channel flow. The Corps completed a comprehensive Mississippi River basin survey in 1879 and then radically altered the river channel over the next 25 years. Two very basic down river improvements eliminated historic obstacles to river shipping. The 1877 completion of a canal around the Des Moines Rapids and the blasting of a river channel through the Rock Island Rapids in 1886 set the stage for broader navigational improvements (Anfinson, Chapter 2, p. 36, Chapter 4, pp. 4, 26).

The elimination of upstream forest cover and these initial tamperings with the natural river coincided with several record flood years. The record flood level at Dubuque, 21.7 feet, was set on June 23, 1880. The second highest water level followed by eight years, 21.4 feet on May 12, 1888 (Dubuque Business, October 1929, p. 28).

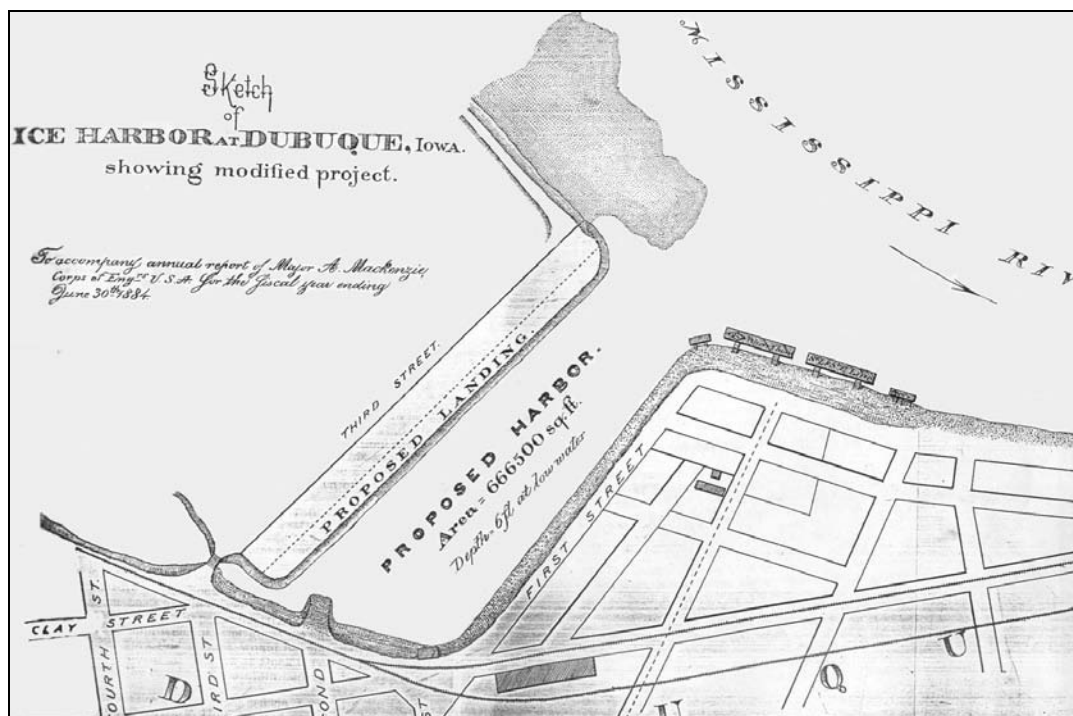


Figure 10: Ice Harbor Plan, 1884

Note that steamboat traffic is served not from harbor but from wharfbuoats.
The Diamond Jo Wharfbuoat is second from the left (Report of the Chief Engineer, 1886).

Dubuque required assistance from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to solve a number of river transportation problems. There was the problem of direct river access as well as the need for protection for vessels which overwintered at Dubuque. There was also the problem of newly forming bars which threatened to completely isolate the city from river traffic. The New Barney Cut of 1858-59 had diverted water flow through Lake Peosta and had over time caused a bar formation to block almost the entirety of the city's riverfront, forcing ferries and other craft to either back out or make a difficult sharp turn to pass below the foot of the bar to reach the city. The Corps of Engineers sent C. W. Dunham to study the situation in 1876 and \$41,000 was appropriated between 1876 and 1881 to dredge out the bar and to dam up the various previous cuts which had formed the bar. Most of the dredging work was completed in 1884 (Chief Engineer, 1876, pp. 695-98, 1885, p. 262).

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The other problems were solved by transforming the old Waples Cut into an “ice harbor.” Originally planned in 1880, the harbor would measure 502,000 square feet with a low-water depth of six feet. A sluiceway through the Third Street causeway would prevent the accumulation of stagnant water in the harbor. Congress appropriated \$20,000 in August 1882 to start the project and B. E. Linehan of Dubuque was awarded the dredging contract. The project turned out to be more of a federal-local partnership when the City Council acted aggressively to buy up the land around the harbor and to strictly control the use of the harbor. The dredging costs were lower than anticipated and with additional funding the Corps produced a larger harbor with 164,000 additional square feet as well as a broad landing embankment along the Third Street side of the harbor. The work was complete by 1886. During the first winter of 1883-84 the harbor sheltered 10 steamboats, two wharf boats, two dredge boats, 33 barges and flats and 200,000 feet of lumber (*ibid.*, 1885, p. 1572; 1886, pp. 1691-93).

Arriving steamboats had to pay a \$10 docking fee to use the city’s wharf. In late April 1876 steamboats were refusing to pay the fee and even the Diamond Jo boats refused. City Wharfmaster Warring threatened to seize the boats but was met with a show of resistance and desisted. The city lost even more ground when the Harbor Improvement Company offered its 3rd Street Wharf for free landings. That same year a new steam ferryboat, the Key City, was put into service at Dubuque. Built by Johnson & Kahlke, it measured 100x25, was powered by two vertical steam engines and double screw propellers and had a carrying capacity of 18 wagons. The ferry was briefly used that summer to run freight to Galena when the Illinois Central line was washed out. Omnibuses filled the same function west of Dubuque (*National Democrat*, January 20, April 27, July 13, 1876).

By 1880 the city was exporting the region’s grain surplus. The *Herald* noted “Nearly all of the grain purchased in Dubuque seeks a market on the lower Mississippi, and a large quantity is shipped directly to Liverpool...Dubuque is one of the most extensive depots on the river between St. Louis and St. Paul, for river freight, its shipments and receipts being greatly in excess of any other point on the river between the points just named.” Each winter the railroads increased their shipping rates in the absence of river competition. The *Herald* complained “much has been written upon water commerce, displaying its advantages and disadvantages, and so long as an antagonism exists between rail and water communication low prices will prevail on the river. All lines are well patronized by our businessmen” (*Herald*, January 1, 1880).

Flash Floods Down The Ravines:

Owing to the humidity of the climate and a topographical specially favorable to drainage, the death rate is remarkably low, only 14.3 per 1000 of population.

The Industries of Dubuque, 1887, p. 20

The above reference likely applied to drainage vis a vis the main town and the river. Dubuque from its earliest years suffered recurring and frequently catastrophic flash floods down its several principal ravines and uphill-running streets to the west. The worst flood, on July 4, 1876, destroyed the village of Rockdale, located south of Dubuque near the mouth of Catfish Creek, killing 39 residents. This was the worst flash flooding since 1851. In Dubuque 17th Street was gullied and gouged “to such an extent that all former damage there seems not worth mentioning in comparison” observed one resident. One chasm measured 100x40. Streetcar tracks on Clay and 17th were buried by three feet of flood debris. There was one fatality in the city, a drowned infant. Other cascades damaged Mineral Street, Kauffman Street,

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and Dodge Street "as usual got scoured and torn by the storm." The city suffered \$15,000 in damages to a July 2, 1889 storm (1880 County History, pp. 475, 488; Oldt, p. 192).

Massive storm sewers, particular the Bee Branch sewer along the Coult drainage, were built beginning in 1898-99 and enlarged to remedy this problem. Any blockage of these large drains results in flooded streets, particularly in the lower Couler Valley.

Generally speaking, the destructive freshets occurred when more than three inches of precipitation were received within a 24-hour time period. This amount was exceeded on the following dates (Twentieth Annual Yearbook of Agriculture, 1918, p. 763):

September 18-19, 1874	September 26, 1881 (4.01 inches)
September 8-9, 1875 (5.4 inches)	August 23-24, 1885
July 4-5, 1876 (4.55 inches)	May 9-10, 1890
September 5, 1876	
July 6-7, 1879	June 2-3, 1890
June 3-4, 1880	June 16, 1892
September 25, 1880	July 26, 1896 (4.82 inches)
July 10, 1881	

Dubuque's single recorded earthquake occurred on August 31, 1886. Pictures and chandeliers were set to swinging and the residents living above the German Bank Building on Main Street came rushing out of their apartments fearing that burglars were undermining the bank below (*Herald*, September 1, 1886).

Dubuque as a Key Railroad Hub, Belated Mississippi River Railroad Bridge Construction:

Dubuquers called constantly for a railroad bridge, but serious demands and any real hopes came after 1865. Some recognized that gaining the bridge would actually harm the city's regional trade position as through-trains effectively bypassed the city. This was in accordance with Dubuque's historic penchant for slowing down the traveler, even today traffic lights ornament the city's "interstate" approaches. It was suggested that major cities like Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Baltimore all prevented trains from simply passing across the city. The bridge and tracks should be designed to only indirectly connect to lines stretching west. Nothing was done and the completion of the railroad bridge marked the downgrading of the city from "secondary entrepôt" to a "central marketplace" (Johnson, pp. 232-33, Mahoney, p. 327).¹⁷

The interests of Dubuque and Northern Iowa suffered for many years in consequence of the lack of transportation facilities between Dunleith and Dubuque 1880 county history, p. 637

The Dubuque-Dunleith Railroad Bridge:

¹⁷ Oldt noted without further details that steam railroads were taking trade away from the city as early as February 1861 (Oldt, p. 137).

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An independent bridge company was formed in 1867, headed by company president William B. Allison. The local press advocated a combination rail/vehicular bridge but couldn't prevail. Stock was sold in Dubuque, Boston and New York. The Keystone Bridge Company of Philadelphia was awarded the contract. The bridge was finished December 15, 1868, two weeks ahead of schedule (1880 county history, pp. 637-39, incredibly one of the shorter spans of this original bridge still survives, having served until recently as a county vehicular bridge).

It is unclear as to when other rail lines were able to lease access to this bridge. At first, the Illinois Central enjoyed a clear advantage with the other lines making their crossing at Clinton or points above Dubuque.

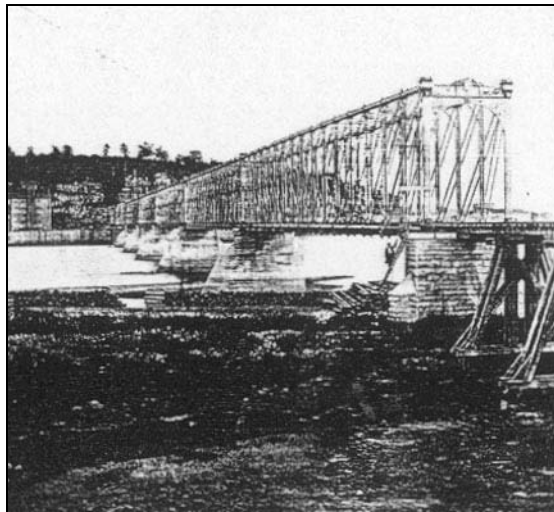


Figure 11: Railroad bridge viewed towards Illinois, 1873 (Bennett, p. 26)
Note the low elevation of the Dubuque end of the crossing point.

Laying Rails Further West:

Midwestern trail terminal points were fixed throughout the war and immediate postwar years. The Dubuque & Sioux City line actually contracted bridging and grading of 44 additional miles of track from Cedar Falls to Iowa Falls although rails didn't reach the latter point until after the war. The Iowa Falls & Sioux City Railroad was organized in 1867 to further extend the line but it was soon after leased by the Illinois Central Railroad and the line was completed to Sioux City on July 7, 1869 with 326 miles of trackage. It wasn't long before the unified ICRR was charged with rate discrimination against the city (ibid., p. 626).

The Chicago, Clinton, Dubuque & Minnesota, so constituted in 1873, replaced a number of north-south rail lines which sought to link Minnesota and Clinton, to the south. The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy with a more direct east/west link to Chicago, approached Clinton from Prophetstown, Illinois. The CCD&M established its shops in north Dubuque and provided 100 jobs (ibid.).

Other lines sought to add other southerly routes. The Dubuque, Cedar Falls and Minnesota Railroad was a Cedar Falls firm but was Dubuque-funded. It graded a line to Waverly in early 1858 but didn't resume construction until 1863-

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64 when Waverly was finally reached. It was subsequently leased to the Dubuque & Sioux City and then leased to the ICRR. The Dubuque & Muscatine Railroad was a relative latecomer, being incorporated in early 1880 in Clinton (ibid.).

Collectively the city's railroads aided substantially to the local employment rolls and to the annual calculations of city improvements. It was primarily the railroads, followed by industry, which filled the vast river frontage and transformed slough and open water into level land for industrial and railroad use. While the city was later chastised for giving up its riverfront to these uses, there would have been no riverfront absent the relentless dumping of barrow. The process was incremental, raised trestle was first infilled and bermed and then the intervening areas built up.

The Great City On The River:

The *Herald* predicted that "some city between St. Paul and St. Louis, on the Mississippi river, is destined to be a large town." Each major city in the Midwest states was situated on a river "and hence their prosperity." The *Herald* asked "Why not Dubuque for Iowa?" Dubuque had the river location and as of 1885 was "rapidly drawing to herself a railroad system unsurpassed by few cities in the northwest..." The Dubuque and Northwestern, then under construction, was financed by a special tax levy in 1883. The line was complete to Durango and being graded toward Farley. Eventually it would link up with the Minnesota and Northwestern, 160 miles to the northwest. A similar initiative in 1870 had put in place the north/south Dubuque and Minnesota route (the "River Road") that was now the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad (as of May 1880). The line linked Clinton and Lacrosse with branches to Cascade, Waukon and Preston. The Milwaukee system linked Dubuque with St. Paul and many Iowa cities to the west and southwest. The company's machine shops were built at Dubuque with "one of the largest round houses in the state." The Illinois Central Railroad gave Dubuque alone an unbroken line access to New Orleans, a singular Iowa advantage. Two trains left the city to that seaport each day. The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy was building a new route along the east bank of the Mississippi River from Oregon, Illinois to St. Paul. Dubuque was to become the main point on the line and the company had purchased four riverfront acres for improvements. This link would connect Dubuque and St. Louis. The Chicago and Northwestern had just reached Galena and was to come on to Dubuque. The Dubuque and Dakota, "peculiarly a Dubuque enterprise" linked Bremer and Franklin counties and would serve as a key feeder line to the new Dubuque and Northwestern (*Herald*, December 20, 1885).

Extensive as will be our railroad facilities they are only a part of the ample facilities offered for heavy shipping. The Mississippi rolls by the city, and must forever be a highway, not only for transportation itself, but also by its free tolls and low rates must always check all combinations among railroads to force high prices. In this regard alone it is invaluable, for it forever acts as a check upon all transportation routes

Herald, December 20, 1885

I must not forget her railroad interests, for they have become of more importance to our Western cities than even our mighty rivers.

Dr. Samuel Wood, *Chicago Journal of Commerce*, (reprinted in the *Daily Times*, July 13, 1877)

A Mississippi River Vehicular/Pedestrian Bridge, At Last!:

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The river at this point is bridged by Architect J. Frost, who finished the job night before last. McShaw of Anamosa was first to try the strength of the new bridge, yesterday, and he was speedily followed by others.

Herald, December 19, 1860

River ice eliminated the obstacle normally presented by the river. The other eight months of the year only the ferry service or the railroad transfer service were options for crossing man, beast or freight to or from Illinois. Rough ice meant that even this natural bridge was not available. Such was the case late 1880 when wagon traffic couldn't make the crossing. The *National Democrat* editor wondered why the railroad bridge couldn't be temporarily floored for emergency use. He wished that the long-awaited pontoon bridge, "better than none," was in place and wondered why Minneapolis could claim three bridges (*National Democrat*, November 25, 1880).

Dubuquers had hoped fruitlessly for a combined use bridge when the railroad bridge was designed and built. They now considered adding side passageways on the bridge but the city refused to accept liability for any accidents. Another alternative was the construction of special railway carriages which would have been used to cross wagons across the bridge. Combination bridges were uncommon but Davenport had one courtesy of the federal government and Rock Island Arsenal. Pontoon bridges were increasingly favored by Upper Mississippi River communities as of the middle 1870s. The Secretary of War had veto power over design and construction over navigable streams and these bridges further required the passage of federal enabling legislation. The Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad led the way with the construction of a double floating draw span railroad bridge at Prairie du Chien in late 1873. The necessary legislation curiously followed on June 6, 1874, authorizing another bridge to be built by the same company at Clinton. On March 2, 1875 Dubuque secured the passage of legislative approval for a vehicular pontoon bridge. Dubuque's act specified that government approval had to precede construction. This was the problem. The bridge had to be a mile above or below the railroad bridge. This placed it above Eagle Point. Dubuquers wanted 3rd Street. Efforts to raise funds failed (Laws...Construction of Bridges, pp. 104-05, 112-13; Lyon, pp. 355-56).

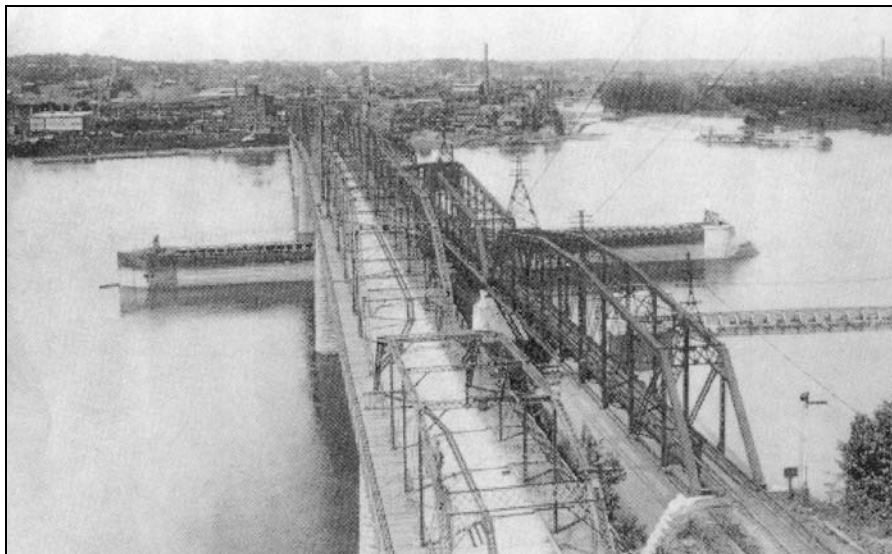


Figure 12: The Illinois "gateway" to Dubuque, twin bridges (undated photo, Dubuque County Historical Society)

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The ice story of 1880, referenced above, indicates that no progress had been made by that time, and that pontoon hopes still were being considered. The winter of 1885-86 pushed the issue to the fore when thin ice stopped ferries but blocked crossing on the ice. Losses to the city were estimated at \$75,000 and merchants demanded a permanent bridge. East Dubuque was opposed to any bridge outside of its boundary and the government approved their proposal for a permanent bridge site 225 feet south of the railroad crossing. The bridge company board approved the concept of a high wagon bridge just below the existing bridge on August 9, 1886. Construction started in the spring of 1887, with four completed spans by mid-July. The bridge opened with great fanfare on November 25, 1887 (Lyon, pp. 355-56; Oldt, pp. 189, 191).

Fitful Streetcar Service:

The Dubuque Street Railway Company was organized in October 1867 and established a three-mile long line that connected the Jones Street ferry, Main Street, 13th to Clay, 18th to Couler and the fairgrounds. Service opened May 23, 1868 with five horse-drawn cars. The service was less than impressive and the company was purchased in 1872 by a new consortium. The ten-cent fair was cut in half. In 1877 a separate company, the "Hill Street and West Dubuque Steam Railway Company" was formed to tackle the bluffs. Photographer Samuel Root documented first day of service north from 8th and Main streets on July 12, 1877. The route ran along Hill and 3rd streets to Alpine and Julien (now University) streets, via Broad (now Mt. Pleasant) Street. Two years later the route was extended to the Western Brewery at Julien and Delhi streets, for a total distance of two miles. The company car barn was located at that same point. The company shut down in 1884 and pulled up its tracks. A third transit company, the Key City Electric Street Railway Company, sought to duplicate the hilltop service of the Hill Street company but it had an even shorter existence, less than one year between 1888 and 1889. It instead unsuccessfully competed with the Dubuque Street Railway Company, offering a duplicate north/south service (Lyon, pp. 202-03; WPA History, pp. 62-63; Wilkie, pp. 328, 330; 1880 County History, pp. 640, 642; Oldt, p. 191).

The main purpose of the car line was providing north-south travel within the downtown, and to the distant fairgrounds. No consideration was made of even providing access to the base of the bluffs, let alone to the bluff tops. There was considerable public demand for this in 1876. Car service during this era was generally poor but progress was realized with the 1872 line purchase by J. K. Graves and J. Rhomberg. Historian Oldt notes "it became useful and ornamental to the city instead of being a nuisance and a disgrace as it formerly was." An Eagle Point line extension was finished in 1887. It is possible that the success of the 4th and 11th Street private elevator companies, during the late 1880s, reduced the need for car service to the highlands (Oldt, pp. 173, 178, 189).

By 1889 the company was called the Dubuque Electric Railway, Light and Power Company, but commonly was termed the "Allen & Sweeney Line." In April 1890 cars first reached Stewart, later known as Union Park (ibid., pp. 192-93).

Municipal Growth, 1859-1893:

Construction in Dubuque began to substantially recover by 1863-64. Building improvements still outpaced new building starts. The *Herald* noted "People have not been so anxious to launch out into new enterprises of building" despite the fact that "every available house in town is taken...and the demand exceeds the supply." The city was benefiting from its wartime role, particularly in hotel accommodations with the rebuilding of the Peosta House heading the city improvement list. Rail transportation improvements resulted in a new roundhouse. A soap and candle factory was also gained (*Herald*, January 1, 1864).

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By the fall of 1867 new construction was underway throughout the city “and in every variety of style and expense” and the newspaper writer found it “impossible to be systematic in our birds eye review of the matter.” Most notable were the new planing mills raised up by the Dubuque Lumber Company and by Carr and Austin. The *Herald*’s annual report was filled with humor noting that there were 60 families in the city with the names of Smith, Smyth or Schmidt and 17 families bore the name Myers. Henry Kroll, town sexton “during the past healthy season, has rested from his labors digging graves for others, and dug a fine cellar or basement for himself , just beyond the fair grounds, where he has erected his own monument in the shape of a large brick dwelling.” No area was improving faster than Seminary Hill. There was some minimal growth in West Dubuque “with nothing being allowed to go to wreck.” Older buildings were giving away to new ones or to make-overs. The Surveyor General’s office on Main went down and another property “of some antiquity” was remodeled. Five substantial residences (J. A. Rhomberg, Jacob Christman, Henry Louray, W. J. Knight and Sol Turck) were being built (*Herald*, September 5, 1867).

The city was booming by 1868 and the *Herald*’s enumerators struggled to document the growth. Over 60 miles of streets were canvassed and many owner/builders could not be tracked down to secure building details. Frequently only the lady of the house was on hand and “though she would very probably have been able to tell the number of cows, chickens and children, was rarely able to tell the dimensions of the house she lived in or its cost.” The same source proudly observed

Progress has been the watchword of Dubuque during the past season. Unexampled activity is public improvements has been manifested. From the mouth of Catfish to Eagle Point, and from the Levee to West Dubuque, the sound of the saw, the hammer and the plane has resounded from every block. Standing on the bluff and overlooking the city, the roofs of new dwellings dot the scene like islands in an archipelago. No section of the city is going into dilapidation, or is even at a standstill; everywhere are indications of activity, thrift and enterprise...(*Herald*, December 13, 1868).¹⁸

The *Daily Times* was equally exuberant, estimating a population growth of more than two thousand residents within the past year. The Illinois Central alone would bring “some hundreds” of new jobs within a year. “More and better buildings have been erected than has ever been in any one year previous—some of them of a character that would do credit to more pretentious cities (*Daily Times*, January 1, 1869).

House construction was for once outpacing local stone cutting. The *Herald* reported “The large number of dwelling houses under course of erection in town has made an unusual demand for cut stones, used in window sills, doors, caps and water tables.” This reference to stone production is important because it attests to the local use of cut rather than cast stone at this time (*Herald*, June 19, 1868).

The year 1869 was a poor one financially (“one of unusual dullness in trade, and of general apprehension” observed the *Herald*, the least promising in ten years) but despite this slowdown “there have been improvements surpassing those of any single previous year in our history.” Improvements that year included Ryan’s new packing house, the gas works, the Methodist and Second Presbyterian churches, the Oglesby Block and 30 buildings valued at more than \$5,000 each. The *Daily Times* echoed the lack of growth during 1869, when it contrasted the city’s situation two years later. It noted

¹⁸ The writer had used exactly the same text a year earlier to describe city growth! (*Herald*, September 5, 1867)

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They are surprised to see this [progress], and well they may be—But two years ago stores without number stood on Main street with cards hanging in the windows on which were inscribed the fatal words ‘to Let,’ business of every description was raveled out at the heel, many of the most enterprising and stirring merchants and commissionmen had deserted a city which they predicted would soon have grass growing in its most public thoroughfares, immigration closed, real estate went down, and building was stopped. In short, Dubuque presented all the outward tokens of being a city from which the light of improvement and enterprise had forever departed...

The *Times* credited the securing of a second railroad, the Chicago, Dubuque & Minnesota Railroad, with “giving renewed vitality and vigor to the constitution of a city almost drugged to death by the spirit of reckless speculation and short-sighted, unremunerative investments.” During 1870 the “fire demon” ran riot but new construction replaced and exceeded the losses. The construction of two new railroads boosted “an enterprising spirit among our citizens, not excelled, if equaled, at any former period” (*Herald*, December 16, 1869; December 18, 1870; *Daily Times*, June 15, 1871; *Oldt*, p. 165).

Improvements in 1871 led the *Herald* to declare “not another city in the state can equal us” as construction values exceeded \$1.1 million. Improvements in 1872 fell just below those of the previous year, a hint of troubled times to come. Many building plans were cancelled in the face of brick shortages despite increased production plans on the part of the city’s eight brickyards (a total of 6,100,000 bricks burned). The railroads had tied up much of the early supply and consequently “Guttenberg was made to pay tribute of many brick” to fill Dubuque’s building needs. The building season was cut short by “the tightening up of the money market during the later summer and fall months” (*Herald*, December 17, 1871; November 24, 1872; *Times*, November 23, 1872).

It would be pleasant to describe [in more detail] the picture that nature and art spread out before the eye from several elevated points in Dubuque. The great river, spanned by a magnificent railroad bridge; the bluffs on both sides, crowned with spring’s richest verdure; the vast expanse of water seen above and below the city at one glance of the eye; the hills crowned with beautiful villas; and all these forming a grand framework for the rapidly rising and expanding commercial and manufacturing city of Dubuque...The hills, valleys, ravines and rolling glands in the more western part of the city furnish admirable sites for residences, gardens and choice retreats, unsurpassed by any western city I have yet visited...

Dr. Samuel Wood, *Chicago Journal of Commerce*, (reprinted in the *Daily Times*, July 13, 1877)

The first stirrings of laborers’ organizing were heard in 1872. The *Herald* published the following account of a new union, formed in mid-1872:

Working Men’s Association In Dubuque—A few evenings ago the journeymen-cabinet makers of Dubuque armed themselves into a workingmen’s association of thirty-five members; elected officers and hold another meeting on Friday night next. Their object is to connect themselves with the workingmen’s associaton in the east for the general benefit of the craft in this city. Next we shall expect to hear the eight-hour question discussed, and the pulling up of old and driving down new stakes in working hours (*Herald*, June 26, 1872).

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One reason for this flurry of labor organizing was due to the influx of laborers to Dubuque. The city directory of 1873-74 observed “the number of mechanics has very largely increased within two years” as a result of lumber and manufacturing growth as well the gain of two railroad shops (Chicago, Dubuque & Minnesota and Chicago Clinton & Dubuque railroads, which more than mitigated the loss of the Illinois Central Railroad). New construction in the previous two years included a water works and ten miles of mains (which reduced fire insurance rates), the extension of the street railway to six total miles, new churches and schools and “the greatest substantial evidence of the growth of Dubuque since 1865, is the erection, in 1872, of the great number of large buildings on Main and other streets for commercial and other purposes. These are about fifty in number and include the largest carriage and wagon manufactory the second largest in the United States (Dubuque City Directory for 1873-74, pp. 10-11).



Figure 13: Central Market Place and City Hall, Central and 13th streets, c.1880
(courtesy Dubuque County Historical Society)

Laboring men and mechanics were building most of the city’s new homes by 1873 and these were located in the outskirts of Dubuque. The *Herald* offered its end-of-year tally under the heading “How Dubuque Stands on her Pins in Hard Times.” Reflective of those hard times or despite them, its progress report showed “a greater proportion of money paid out by the poorer classes of the community to secure homes, and the number of dwelling houses erected is large than in any previous year.” Total construction value was down once again from the previous year and from 1871 (*Times*, January 1, 1874; *Herald*, November 9, 1873).

While the city fared better with the economic downturn of 1873-74, new construction did diminish. The *Herald* admitted that mechanics and builders had turned to “job and piece work, rather than the erection of new buildings.” Still, “a number of costly houses have been put up. That will compare favorably with those built in previous years.” Growth continued northward, the same source noted “As usual the greatest activity in building circles has been manifested in the vicinity of Couler Avenue and Eagle point.”

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The majority of these are owned by laboring men and mechanics, a favorable symptom, for this class are the real bone and sinew of the city, and when they build themselves houses it shows that they have faith and intend to stay...

Beginning in 1873, filling operations in conjunction with the railroads began to make substantial progress. In 1874 200,000 yards of fill were hauled from barrow sites six miles above the city (*Herald*, November 22, 1874).

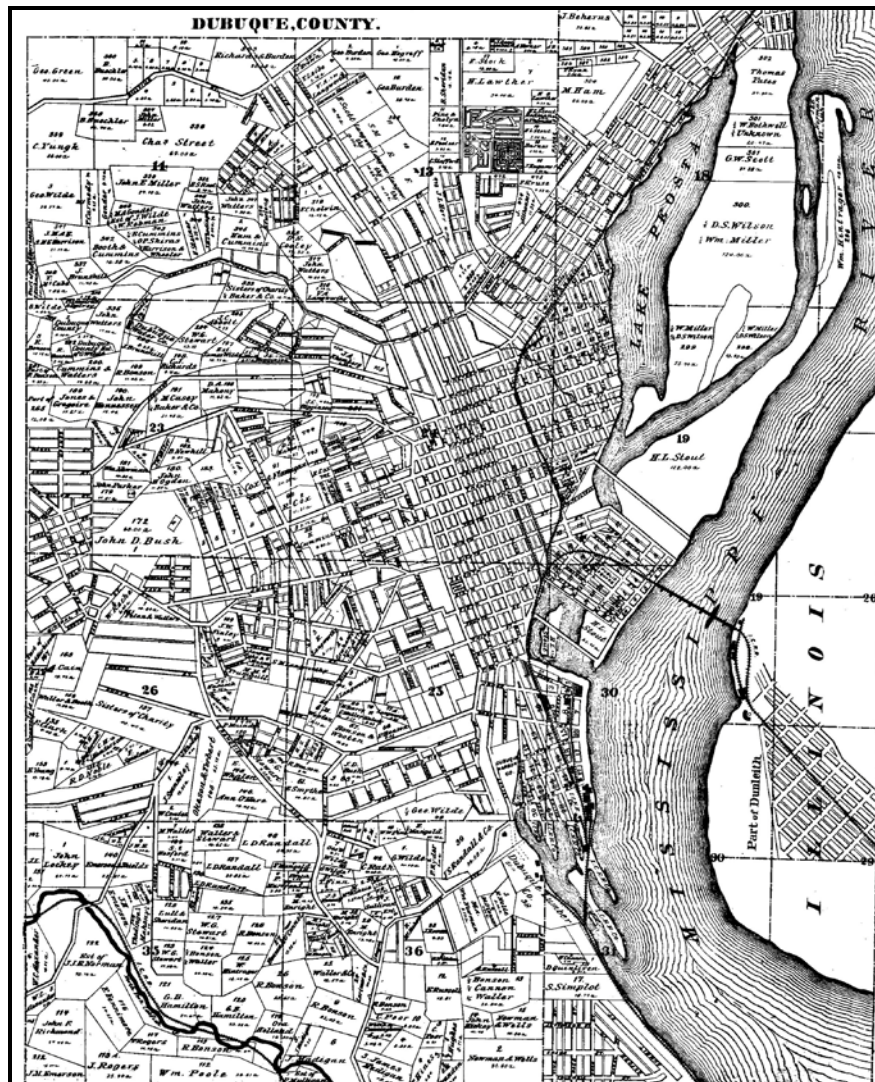


Figure 14: Dubuque, 1875 (Andreas Atlas, p. 111)

During 1875 it was the Fifth Ward where growth was particularly evident. "Throughout the length and breadth of our principal thoroughfares extensive improvements have been made...and indications now point to greater results for 1876 than have every been recorded in the annals of our city's history. The zenith of her glory has not yet been reached,

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but she is steadily going forward to that high estate and will get there in the 'near-bye and bye' at the rate she is now progressing" (*Herald*, October 31, 1875).

Dubuque had rallied by 1876 in time to weather yet another national economic downturn. Record floods of that year devastated many parts of the city. The *Herald* lauded "the Key City of the west" for its steady growth and the efforts of its citizens to "adorn and improve" the city. Once again the paper challenged no "city in Iowa or the west, of its population, can show a better record, during 'these times that try men's souls' and their pockets" (*Herald*, December 2, 1876).

The building season opened in mid-January. The *National Democrat* reported "New buildings are to be expected in great numbers this spring...the architects Heer & Näscher have their hands full of plans and drawings. Building designs for Blumenauer, Couley, Peaslee, Peabody and others we had occasion to see are real fine structures...do the architects great honor." The year total of \$500,000 was "a surprising and successful one considering the bad times." The Building and Loan Association was formed in early February 1876 and within 15 months had 450 stockholders and an operating capital of \$450,000. This had translated into 17 new house starts within a year's time. These houses were put up at less cost than the builders had been paying for rent and would otherwise not been built. The work of the association merits historical investigation. The Association was still going strong as of mid-1881 at which time it was ereceing a number of new houses in the Sanborn Addition (*Der National Democrat*, January 13, 20, October 26, November 9, December 7, 1876; *Times*, "How We Build," May 4, 1877; June 1, 1881).

The new building count was down during 1877 but the *Herald* assured its readers that "the buildings erected this season, although not as numerous as in former years, are of a costly and permanent class, and add greatly to the beautiful architectural reputation Dubuque has at home and abroad." Total improvements exceeded a million dollars, proof that the city remained "determined to keep her place as the metropolis of Iowa." The city gained a new opera house, two churches, three hotels and three factories. There was also the palatial Main Street residence of Alex Young "intended to eclipse, in point of magnificence, any dwelling heretofore erected in the city" (*Herald*, December 14, 1877).

The next year the *Times* suggested that "many will no doubt be agreeably surprised at the excellent showing" made in 1878. A "stringent" money market was the cause. The year witnessed "not many business blocks" being built "the most of the money being expended on dwelling houses and improvements on houses built in former years." The *Herald* acknowledged "hard times" for the year but otherwise painted the years growth in a more positive light with "hundreds of new cozy homes erected all over the city...[along with] new palatial dwellings and stores, factories and warehouses." Business had been average and the bad times weathered because "in a word, Dubuque owns itself and it is paid for too" (*Times*, December 11, 1878; *Herald*, January 3, 1879).

Growth continued through 1880 with notable improvements including St. Josephs Academy on Seminary Hill, the Sisters of St. Francis orphan's asylum on James Street, and the Home for the Friendless. Local money was now being invested in local firms and their expansions and virtually every manufacturing firm in the city "has felt the need of greater facilities for the work and more room." Despite high construction total valuations, the actual counts for new buildings was low with "improvements" outweighing new building. *Der National Democrat* observed "Building goes on here this fall so well that all the master carpenters have their hands full. There are no masons to be had at all and carpenters are scarce. Pay then is up substantially which is a good sign." Materials costs were also on the rise. Brick in Dubuque sold for \$3.90-4.00 per thousand count in 1879, but cost \$7.00 a year later (*Herald*, January 1, 1881; *Der National Democrat*, October 21, 1880; AABN Summary, No. 220, March 13, 1880, p. 112).

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Compiling the annual improvements was by 1880 a tremendous challenge and the *Herald's* editor wished for "an ordinance compelling builders to apply for building permits" to save his efforts. The same source observed "The past year has been one of extreme prosperity to Dubuque. But few failures have occurred, and those of so slight a character that the commercial centers felt them as a flea bite." By this time it was claimed that the city "contains more beautiful churches than any other city in the state." The record growth of 1880 continued into the next year and it was claimed that the city's growth outpaced that of the entire state. Railroad division point consolidation to the city brought new workers to Dubuque and "augmented our population considerably" with north end residential growth around the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul shops. During 1882 the unprecedented growth continued and Dubuque was "never in a more prosperous condition" with the erection of a record number of new buildings. Even as the end-of-year report went to press, the *Herald* noted "at least fifty residences are now in course of construction" which were not counted. The paper copied the *Dubuque Trade Journal's* boast that "this city is reported stronger in proportion to size than any other point in the union." The 1883 progress report noted "an increase of population and the existence of general prosperity" (*Herald*, January 1, 1880; December 4, 1881; December 4, 1881; December 19, 1883).

The year 1882 witnessed a record-breaking number of new buildings. At least 50 new residences, then still under construction, were left out of the annual count. Fully 17 local manufacturing firms expanded their facilities. The city population was said to have grown by 6,000 in just two years (*Herald*, December 31, 1882).

Whether business is active or slack, whether this is a boom year or not, one thing is assured: The demand for tenement houses is far in excess of the supply. Every house or suite of rooms having a roof and four walls is filled. A family dissatisfied with their premises no sooner moves out than another moves in

(*Herald*, August 2, 1883)

During 1884 60 brick houses were built with a total value of \$81,060, for an average cost of \$1,351. There were 66 new frame houses, valued at \$56,890, an average cost of just \$862. Thirty new business blocks were completed, worth \$71,875 while other new construction was valued at \$16,718. Repairs totaled \$50,000 for an annual new construction total of \$1,276,543 (*Institute of American Builders*, Vol. V, No. 1, February 1885, p. 13).

By 1886, Dubuque editors were first complaining that other Iowa cities were inflating their annual construction figures. The *Herald* derided its two chief competitors noting that local counts avoided "the exaggeration employed by many cities on their building statistics, particularly Des Moines and Sioux City" which had become "proverbial." An honest summary of a "rather dull" year was "not cooked up for effect." Again in 1889 that years report closed with the boast that "Dubuque has no need to grumble and although she does not toot her own horn as much as Sioux City and Des Moines she is getting to the front all the same" (*Herald*, January 1, 1887; December 23, 1888; December 29, 1889).

This sustained growth during the early 1880s was in contrast to the known pattern in other cities. The 1884 new construction levels continued the boom. Total improvements during 1885 (over \$600,000) were "less than the previous year, owing to the general business depression..." Construction costs in 1886 were one third cheaper and the result was an explosion in cheaper middle class housing. The *Herald* interpreted the phenomenon as "a splendid indication of...a steady increase of a permanent population, a thriftiness of the people who thus build homes for themselves." Architects reported that it was a great year to build and they "never knew building to be so cheap." A three-story double-brick was

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raised up for \$3,000 when normally it would cost up to \$5,000 (Dubuque: Its Manufacturing and Commercial Facilities, 1886; *Herald*, January 1, 1887).

By 1887 the city required the filing of building permits for new construction but the ordinance was so ignored that the city engineer estimated 350 new buildings lacking the mandatory permits. The city was being "substantially built up" but it wasn't a boom. "Dubuque has not claimed to itself one of the 'building booms' which is here to-day and gone tomorrow. But it has ever claimed and maintained by indisputable proof that it has such a steady, prosperous growth as places it in 'the front rank of substantial American cities'" (*Herald*, November 24, 1887).

A real estate boom developed during the spring of 1887, said to have been the greatest since 1857. Speculative downtown investing reflected the rapid growth of that area. The *Herald* observed "money has been ready and eyes have been sharp in searching out bargains." The Commercial National Bank purchased the corner of Sixth and Main streets and as a result "liberated considerable capital which was holding in the hands of other parties for the purpose of buying it, and the holders have not been adverse to placing it elsewhere." Transactions were not being made with the usual one-third payment but were sold for cash (*Herald*, March 13, 1887).

The non-boom was gone by 1888 which was described as "a rather dull one." This was interpreted as evidence that the city "while not inflicted with an inflated boom fever, has progressed steadily and conservatively in the right direction." The best thing that could be said about 1889 progress was that "Dubuque is not dead." The *Herald* added \$200,000 in new construction to the permit total filed with the city (*Herald*, December 23, 1888; December 29, 1889).

The 1890 construction figures exceeded those of the previous year by 275%. This gain was unmatched by any Iowa city and was proof that the city "has entered upon an era of material prosperity that means for her a step far in advance of any other city in the Hawkeye State." Building permits accounted for just 20% of all new work and the 123 house starts fell far short of the estimated 600 house starts. The 1891 total was thought to be double that of 1891 although the year total was determined by multiplying the house count by the average house cost indicated by the actual permits. At any rate the *Herald* predicted "The boom has just started and it is not a wild prediction to state that the future has in store for Dubuque ten fold greater prosperity than the past has produced." Real estate prices were reported as being very firm and experiencing a sharp increase during the spring of 1890 (*Herald*, March 27, April 13, 1890; January 18, 1891).

The city had five directories printed during the 1880s and "so rapid...and extensive have been recent changes" that a new directory was needed by 1890. During 1889 the city gained a new Hotel Julien, Grand Opera House and two new electric railway and light companies. The new growth was expressed in the extension and widening of a number of streets, and the creation of new ones. Confusion resulted from conflicting street names. Optimistically the new directory estimated the city population to be 41,631. This figure was just 26% off the mark, given the 1890 federal census headcount of 30,311! The *Herald* berated the "Bad work of the [1890] census" and estimated "this city will not be set down for more than two-thirds or three fourths of the population to which it is entitled" (Hardie & Scharle's Dubuque Directory 1890-91, introduction; *Herald*, June 19, 1890).

Dubuque is booming.—Private enterprise is shown in the erection of a \$75,000 opera house, a \$300,000 system of electrical railway, factories and additions to same, and many elegant residences costing \$5,000 to \$75,000 each. Let public enterprise be shown by a unanimous vote for a \$125,000 court house

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Herald, June 1, 1890¹⁹

Record new construction continued through 1892, thought to be in excess of the \$2,000,000 figure. The numbers were bolstered by the new Irving School, county courthouse and the Odd Fellows Hall. Most remarkable was the sudden predominance of frame residences with 88 percent of identified construction materials being of frame construction. This shift might have been linked to “an unfortunate trouble between the boss carpenters and boss bricklayers” during the summer. The “troubles” had force the abandonment of plans to erect “some buildings.” The new Dubuque Pressed Brick works “terminated the trouble.” Another mark of progress was the laying of the first paving brick on Main Street during the summer and fall of 1891 (*Herald*, December 25, 1892).

The 1892 Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory enumerated nine banks, three colleges, two opera houses, two hospitals, “the finest hotels to be found in Iowa,” over 200 manufacturing firms, 150 jobbing firms (300 salesmen, over 3,000 employees), 55 miles of paved roads, 29 miles of electric street railway. “Its improvements are of the most metropolitan character” 1892 Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory, p. 455).

Year	Total Construction		New Residential Construction			Notes:
	Total Value	Total Non-Residential	Number New S/F Houses	Total Value	New Multi-family Houses	
1859						
1860						
1861						
1862						
1863		5	8		1 double	2,719 total dwellings in the city, Incomplete, new engine house, roundhouse, brewery, factory, custom house stopped, sealed, more repairs than new building
1864		4	9		2	Incomplete, Peosta House rebuilt, brewery, Dub & SC RR roundhouse, one store
1865						
1866						
1867			54		8	<i>Herald</i> says about 100 new buildings worth at least \$800, 10 valued over \$10,000, Oldt says 121 new buildings
1868	\$647,300 (Times, new buildings, \$52,300 streets)	19	81		5	<i>Times</i> tallies 208 new buildings, Not over 200 improvements, 100 over \$1,000 in value, Incomplete, business blocks on Main and small houses on Southern Avenue, Oldt says both 135 and 150 new buildings
1869		15	97		8	Methodist, 2 nd Presbyterian churches, Oldt says 176 new buildings
1870		11	66		2.5	A total of 3,619 dwellings in city, <i>Times</i> reports 161 new buildings, Augustus and Farley mansions
1871	\$969,362	24	95		2	Ryan mansion, National Demokrat building, Levi Block, <i>Times</i> reports 159 buildings new or remodeled, 15 new buildings on Main Street alone, \$16,184 streets, \$535,000 by railroad, water works and 8 miles of mains
1872	\$ 835,251	24	84		7	139 new buildings, 4 mansions, \$13,200 for sidewalks

¹⁹ The new courthouse vote was barely in favor of the new and present building, the plurality being just 794 votes. Opposition came from the rural towns and districts of the county (*Herald*, June 5, 1890).

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1873	\$ 721,906	21	95		17	
1874	14 bldgs., lime kiln, saw mill, 2 schools, church		36 (15 brick)		6	60 total new buildings, driving park opened, two new schools, \$23,000 in street work, Engine House 4 th and Locust
1875	\$672,055 28 new business blocks		63 (28 brick)		6	181 new dwellings and other buildings excluding the 28 new business blocks, \$13,000 for streets, \$14,000 for schools
1876	\$ 529,913	23	78		7	
1877	\$1,000,917 total, over \$700,000 in buildings, repairs		56 (24 brick)		6	21 other new buildings
1878			125	\$488,370		
1879	\$943,100	28	47		2	Democrat says \$19,661 public improvements, \$500,000 total
1880	\$803,374		38		6	77 new buildings worth \$728,832, Democrat says \$624,000 private and \$336,000 in improvements overall
1881	\$1,065,295	39	71		2	Chic. Mil. & St. Paul depot/shops
1882	\$1,268,950		155		8	
1883	\$ 304,900	24	155		6	Iowa Coffin Co. factory
1884	\$ 903,600	30	126		18	
1885	\$ 600,000					
1886	\$955,000	18		103	3	Minn. & NW RR roundhouse, freight house, Academy of Visitation school, incomplete
1887			"hundreds of new dwellings"			350 total new buildings, Cooper mansion, German Congregational Church, Staples & Vibber Diamond Block, Bishops Block, Ill. Central Station, 11 th St. Elevator
1888	\$1,678,700	23		87	9	75 architect-designed buildings costing \$1,500-2,000, Wallis Block, ICRR Depot, \$60,000 street work, Sacred Heart Church, 11 th Street Elevator
1889	\$1,485,850	27		102	15	Summit Cong. Church, Key City Elec., Julian House, Grand Opera, Murray, Mangold, Salot and Powers blocks, U.S. Electric, W. Locust and Cooper schools
1890	\$4,076,700		123/600			\$2,884,200 permits total, \$1,192,500 estimated unreported new residences, other
1891	\$2,078,700					1892 City Directory total figure for improvements
1892	\$1,586,581 total private, \$298,618 public		174 (at least 128 frame)		9	Total expenditures estimated in excess of \$2,000,000 due to an estimated \$150,000 not reported.
1893						No data found.

Ethnicity and Dubuque:

The Iowa 1885 census indicates that 39 percent of the city, or 7,433 persons, were foreign-born. Perhaps more important, of the 18,897 native-born residents, 6,448 reported a foreign-born father, and 7,921 had a foreign-born mother. The foreign-born represented the following home countries, in decreasing order by count (Census of Iowa, 1885, pp. 107, 211):

Country	Number	Percentage	Percentage
		Foreign-born	City Population

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German	4,143	55.7	15.7
Ireland	1,696	22.8	5.3
England	519	6.9	1.9
Scotland	117	1.5	N/A
France	87	1.1	N/A
Bohemia	86	1.1	N/A
Scandinavia	42	0.56	N/A
Other	516	6.9	N/A

The Irish immigration peaked in Iowa c.1880, ten years before German arrivals. Irish migration across the United States was slower and more complex, while Germans tended to pre-select and travel to a location where other relatives were already residing. As of 1870 Irish-born Iowans predominated in 21 counties. The Germans were the state's largest foreign-born ethnic group. They continued to reach places like Dubuque although the majority were farmers and not urban dwellers. Waves of German emigration occurred in 1873, 1882, and between 1907-14. Historian John Hawgood divides German-American history into three eras; the transplantation of German culture, 1819-1855; the hyphenated period, 1855-1919; and the separate German American, post 1919 (Calkin, pp. 153, 169; Hawgood, p. 39).

Historical investigations of Dubuque's two predominant ethnic groups, the Irish and the Germans, have focused primarily upon initial settlement or institutional studies. Plentiful German sources, particularly newspapers, remain obscure because of the difficulty of translation. One area particularly deserving of attention is the differentiation of the German Catholic and Protestant subgroups in Dubuque. By 1880 Dubuque Germans were distributed amongst two Catholic, a Lutheran, a German Presbyterian and three or four smaller Protestant congregations. Another claim, related to this religious distinction as well as to the Irish-German relationship, is that it was German Catholics who established the parochial education system in Dubuque (Faust, p. 461; Peters, p. 87).

The German community was served by a large number of local and regional newspapers. The *Iowa Staats Zeitung* (1856-?) and the *Northwest Demokrat* (c.1857-73) and the *Volks Tribune* (1857-61) were the first, the former evolved into a pro-Republican paper. The *National Demokrat* (1856-1880s) was established to challenge it, given the reality that most Dubuque Germans were pro-Democrat. The last-named was the only local German paper and the oldest German language organ in northeast Iowa. Its editor, Fred A. Gniffke, oversaw its operation for over 23 years. There were also Catholic (*Luxembourger Gazette*) and Presbyterian (*Der Iowa Presbyterian*) German newspapers. The last-named relocated to Dubuque in 1870 (1880 County History, pp. 599-601).

German language and culture was supported by the early archbishops in the belief that language was a key tool in retaining church allegiance and membership. Mass was uniformly offered in German and German was taught in the parish schools. Numerous German social and cultural organizations date to this time period. The German Mechanics Benevolent Association was formed in 1866. The Socialer Turnerverein, combining cultural and athletic values, organized in 1863 and located at their Germania hall at 9th and Iowa streets (the building later housed the Ames Company). The Turnverein experienced an infusion of younger members during the mid-1880s and by 1890 was able to build a new hall. The Svegebund formed in 1879. Catholic organizations included the St. Alphonses Society (1867), a young mens group. The Schuetzen Gesellschaft, formed in 1855 and incorporated in 1865, was a particularly successful organization, serving as a German male country club. Their first shooting range was at 30th and Jackson streets. The railroad took over the range in 1887 and a 23-acre park was purchased on the Sageville Road. The group reincorporated

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in 1890 as the Dubuque Shooting Society. Still operating, the city council acted in 1978 to reroute a new highway around the historic club grounds (Willging, pp. 10-22; Lyon, pp. 36, 125-27).

German musical groups flourished. The Dubuque Saengerbund (incorporated 1873) was formed in 1878, a merging of the Heiretia Saengerbund and the Dubuque Saengerbund. It briefly carried on the work of the pre-Civil War Dubuque Saengerbund. Two particularly noteworthy events mark the success of this organization. In 1874 the Northwestern Saengerbund of America held its annual meeting in Dubuque and in 1896 that same regional organization once again met in the city. The latter hosting, while successful to the participating groups, left the local organization saddled with a huge debt principally in the form of a temporary hall, erected at Couler and Kauffman. Another German band was the Katzenjammers, formed in 1890 (*Catholic Daily Tribune*, July 1, 1936; Lyon, p. 235).

The German Theological Presbyterian Seminary, founded c.1855, purchased the former Episcopal Seminary at the head of Iowa Street in 1872. The emergence of a number of German banks is recounted in the banking section of this and other contexts, as is the history of the notable Dubuque Cabinet Makers Association, a successful collective business venture (1880 County History, pp. 579-89).

On the Irish side of Dubuque the Fenian movement (the Irish Republican Brotherhood, 1857-68) was strongly supported. Ostensibly an anti-Anglo, pro-Irish independence effort, in North America it took the form of a number of unsuccessful efforts to liberate Canada from British rule. In Dubuque the Scousfield Circle of Fenians led by Commander John O'Neill hosted four annual balls between 1867 and 1870. The Fenian Brotherhood formed only in 1868, just as the movement peaked (Calkin, p. 65).

The city's First Ward, called "Dublin," in the south end of the city. As of 1860 the Irish-born comprised 13.9 percent or 1,800 of the city's total population of 13,045. There were 535 Irish families. Occupations included day laborers (305), building trades (63), mining (56), merchants (13), manufacturing (8), female servants (196), and justices (2). Property owners included 151 persons or 10.8 percent. Personal property was owned by 199 individuals or 7.4 percent (Calkins, p. 63).

German-Irish ethnic friction continued unabated into the post-war years. Two fatal inter-ethnic altercations marred the city's early history. Irishmen interrupted a German party at the Western Brewery Hall on December 31, 1857 and in the ensuing melee, the Irish suffered two dead and as many injured. An 1862 fatal incident at the Civil War rendezvous camp was also due to ethnic rivalry. In one venue at least, that of baseball, the Irish triumphed resoundingly in 1887, beating the best the Germans could put forth with a score of 22-6. German-Irish tensions were lessened somewhat as a result of the Archbishop's temperance campaigns (Undated *Telegraph-Herald* article "Dubuque Baseball Began in 1855," post-1954; Lyon, pp. 175-76).

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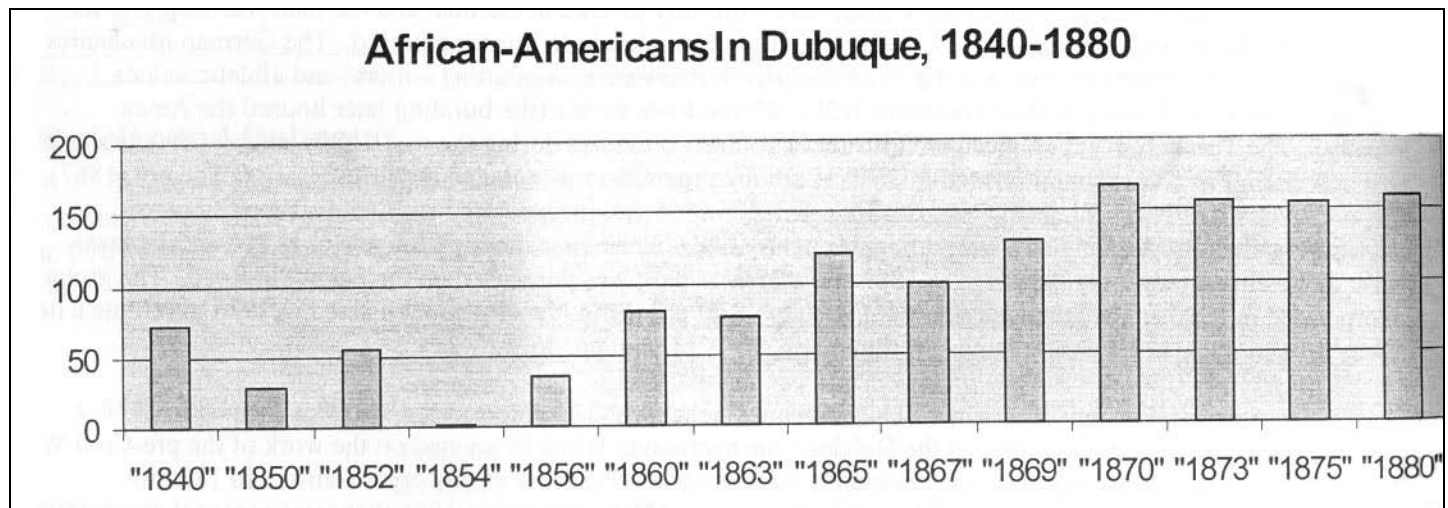


Figure 15:

The city's African American population, as measured in the chart presented above, was always marginal in size. The pre-Civil War population virtually disappeared between 1852 and 1854, but was re-established within two years. Oldt notes that St. Louis drove out several hundred free Blacks in and these reached the city on April 20, 1861. Some at least disembarked and settled in the city. The local population increased substantially during the final two years of the war and maintained a static population level for the next 15 years. Strangely, the 1885 state census found just eight African-Americans in Dubuque. The seventh anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation was celebrated at Globe Hall on January 3, 1870. There was some degree of broader community support and interest given that "quite a large number of our white citizens were present and contributed to the success of the entertainment." Whatever long-term population was in the city, it was devastated by 1885, at which time just six male and two female Blacks were enumerated in the state census (Oldt, pp. 148, 263; *Times*, January 4, 1870; *Census of Iowa, 1885*, p. 26).²⁰

The Catholic Church In Dubuque:

Bishop Loras died February 19, 1858 after 20 years of relentless work in Dubuque and he was succeeded by Rev. Clement Smyth (1810-1865), of Irish birth. The 1860 Dubuque religious headcount was reported as 1,400 Protestants and 6,200 Catholics, figures apparently based upon actual church attendance. Smyth's diocese contained 50 churches, 53 priests, and 50,000 parishioners. The diocese still contained Davenport, Iowa and some points west, and Smyth was able to produce considerable church growth in the face of both the post-1857-58 financial setback and the Civil War. By 1863 he oversaw over 80 churches, 85 priests and nearly 100,000 parishioners. Smyth served as bishop for just seven years and was replaced in 1866 by Rev. John Hennessey, another Irish-born priest (*ibid.*, 880-88, *Herald*, February 7, 1860).

The late 1870s witnessed a period of institutional growth. A boys' training school had been opened in 1865 at Bluff and 3rd streets. St. Raphaels Cathedral had gained a tower and spire in 1876 and a new St. Patricks Church was started in 1877 and finished the next year. St. Josephs Mercy Hospital opened in 1879 as did St. Marys Orphans Home and St. Francis Convent (Oldt, pp. 890-91).

²⁰ Little is found concerning the Italian faction in the city. The *Herald* described a "row over ice cream" on the part of that population in mid-1886 (*Herald*, July 24, 1886).

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Another surge of institutional growth occurred in the 1880s. The Cathedral was remodeled and dedicated in 1886. The city boasted a dozen Catholic educational institutions. Each parish and the Cathedral had their own schools. The list included St. Josephs College (now Loras College), Mount St. Josephs Academy (for lady boarders, now Clarke College), Academy of the Visitation (for day scholars), St. Vincents Presentation Convent, St. Marys Academy, St. Francis Convent School and St. Malachis School (ibid., p. 891-92).

The 1891 diocesan inventory tallied 319 churches, 203 priests, 107 schools, and 615 sisters. This growth was in spite of the division of the diocese in 1881, with the creation of the Davenport Diocese. Bishop Hennessy is credited with being "probably the foremost advocate of parochial schools in the country." Six additional orders of nuns were brought to Dubuque and eight institutions were established under his tenure. He served as bishop for 34 years, advancing to Archbishop when the Diocese was established in December 1892. The Archdiocese encompassed Iowa, Nebraska and Wyoming (ibid., pp. 892-93).

Church growth continued unabated through the 1890s. The Sisters of St. Francis purchased the J. P. Farley house (Bluff and 6th streets) and established the St. Francis' Industrial School and Home For Young Ladies. The Sisters of Charity motherhouse was nearly done. The Couler Avenue church and St. Joseph Church in West Dubuque were begun in 1895. Two insane asylums, St. Joseph and Mercy Hospital were also started, the former being three miles from the city. During 1898 St. Josephs College, five female seminaries and the St. Anthonys Church (dedicated 1900) were all under construction (ibid., pp.893, 896-97).

Archbishop Hennessy died in 1900 and was succeeded by Archbishop John J. Keane. Hennessy's historical legacy, while generally accepted, has been directly challenged by at least one most unlikely Dubuque historian, Sister Mary Jane Coogan. She starts with Hennessy's death, at which time his personal (underscore the word personal), exceeded a million dollars. The Archbishop was in a position to acquire wealth without any church supervision. The church and the public were astounded to learn both of the wealth and of Hennessy's assumption that the estate was not church property. Hennessey (and Archbishop Ryan) burned his personal papers prior to his death. The Archbishop is honored in history as a promoter of parochial education and a friend of the several Irish religious orders which he brought to Dubuque. Sister Coogan challenges both claims, noting that Hennessy battled with the various orders of sisters, dispossessed them of assignments and properties as his will. His educational legacy was founded in his claims of adding schools during his tenure as archbishop, but Coogan challenges his diocesan count of churches, schools and orders at the time of his assignmetn as bishop. There were 79 churches, 51 free schools, 18 sister-run schools. Hennessy claimed that the Blessed Virgin Mary order was "dying" at the time of his arrival, but Coogan offers a roster of 102 sisters and nine novitiates as of the late 1860s. Hennessy claimed 15,000 Catholics in his diocese at the time of his arrival but period sources document 110,000 adherents in the diocese. Archbishop John Hennessy's legacy is a mixed one and it calls for further historical investigation. Just one building, a hall at Loras College, honors his name. For Dubuque, his importance resides in part in his many developments in the downtown area. The Bishops Block, with a name that honors the rank of its owner-builder, is said to have been destined as a new cathedral site in Hennessy's vision. Numerous other commercial and multi-family residential properties were developed by Hennessy. The archbishop was also significant for his support of the Irish element of his church, reflective of Hennessy's Irish birth (ibid., pp. 897-98; Coogan, pp. 1-43).

Catholic benevolent societies played an important role in assisting members through difficult times. These included the Dubuque Catholic Benevolent Society (founded January 1, 1872), the St. Alphonses Society, the Pius Benevolent Association (formed February 5, 1855, merged in the 1890s with the Alphonses Society to form the Pius

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Society) and the Mercy Hospital Aid Society (founded 1879 to support the orphan asylum and to complete Mercy Hospital) (Lyon, p. 36).

Context #3, Dubuque's Golden Age, 1893-1910:

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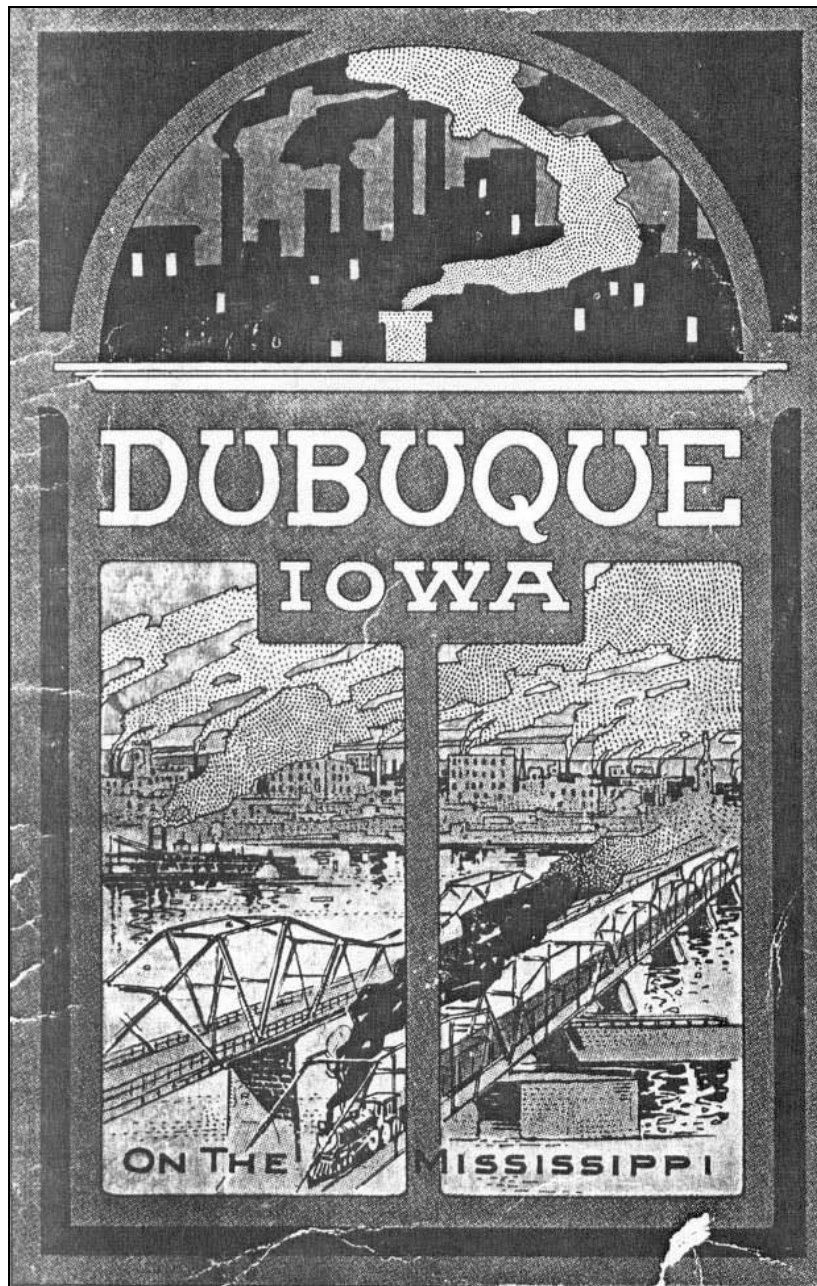


Figure 16: Industrial Dubuque, (Dubuque, Iowa, Dubuque Commercial Club, 1911)

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That Dubuque has maintained the proud position she has held for the last half century as the Key City, is due in the greatest measure to the progressive spirit and energy of those who are in the management of her successful business institutions. While some of the names are almost household words in Iowa, as for instance Tredway, Mehlhop, Hancock, McDonald, Piekenbrock, Peaslee, Rhomberg, and others, and have been identified with different lines of trade for years, those that founded the business have passed away or retired and the management of their enterprises is in the hands of younger men. How well those pioneers in the trade built [sic] is shown in the substantial foundation they laid for their successors and it is on this foundation that the great enterprises of the present are being reared. In many instances those in charge of the business were reared in it and how well they profited by the tutelage they had, and their practical experience is well shown in the prosperity of the city.

Enterprise, January 24, 1903

Fighting For Second Place in State Population:

The population chart shown below traces the gradual, then abrupt erosion of Dubuque's former first in the state population status. Its second place rank was successfully challenged by Sioux City but the financial downturn of 1893-94 eliminated that western rival for some 15 years. Back in her silver medal slot, Dubuque watched with anticipation as the state did its 1905 census enumeration. When the 1895 state census was taken, Dubuque saw to it "that the census was worked as hard [as] it was possible to do it. While the lists were not actually padded, it has been stated that that the names of transients were taken, and others were counted who were not real bona fide residents of Dubuque." The inflated 1895 count gave Dubuque a few more residents than 40,000. As a result of the more accurate 1900 count Dubuque "paid the penalty in the reflection [of] the seeming decrease in population." Des Moines similarly "caught the fever" and produced an 1895 headcount of 75,000. The 1900 federal count cut that figure to just over 61,000! The collapse of Sioux City's "boom" "there wasn't so much interest in the subsequent census" although "now the rivalry, or rather apprehension, is with Davenport, which is making claims to being the second city in the state..." (*Enterprise*, December 13, 1904).

The 1899-1900 city directory had calculated that by multiplying directory entries by 2.5, the city had 45,280, a gain of 4,710 since 1895. Dubuquers were greatly disappointed by the 1900 federal census figures and long-anticipated gains were completely absent from the 36,297 total. The count was accepted as accurate but the low numbers were explained as being due to the fact that 1900 "was exceptionally dull in the building trade lines, and that industries were generally rather quiet..." The 1905 state headcount approached and ever ready to be disappointed, Major Berg informed his Sioux City counterpart that his city had reached 45,000 residents. The *Enterprise* prayed for at least 40,000 and a more honest effort on the part of all contenders to produce a more accurate state headcount. Once the disappointing counts were made available, the *Enterprise* was at least relieved to learn that Sioux City was still "several thousand behind this city." Sioux City and Davenport had the advantage because their city limits extended "several miles beyond the actual residence district." Ever optimistic however, a population of 50,000 Dubuquers was predicted within just ten years away (1899-1900 City Directory, introduction; *Enterprise*, July 15, 1905).

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The summary chart presented below depicts the city's explosive population growth through 1890, and then the painful leveling off that followed. Also clearly shown is the exaggerated interim state census head counts which began in 1865.²¹

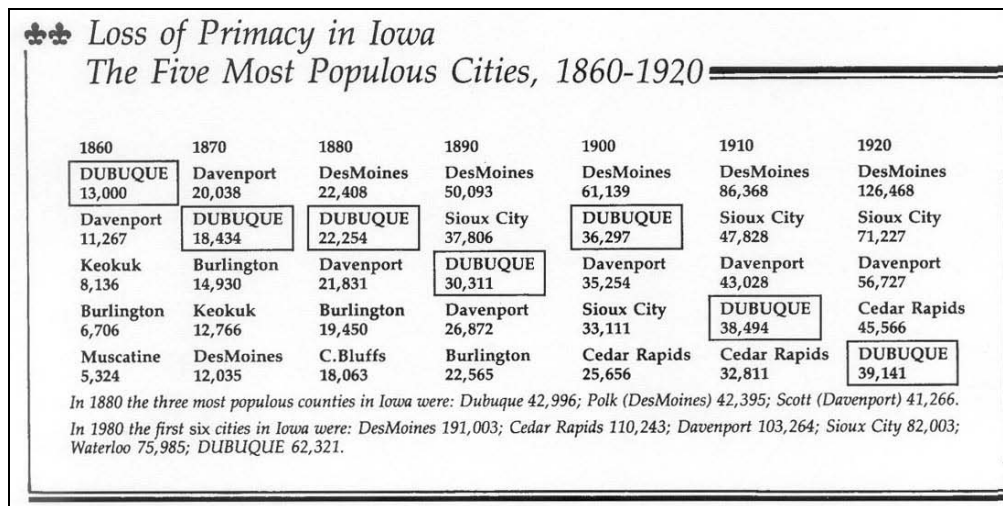


Figure 17: (Reproduced from Wilkie, p. 333)

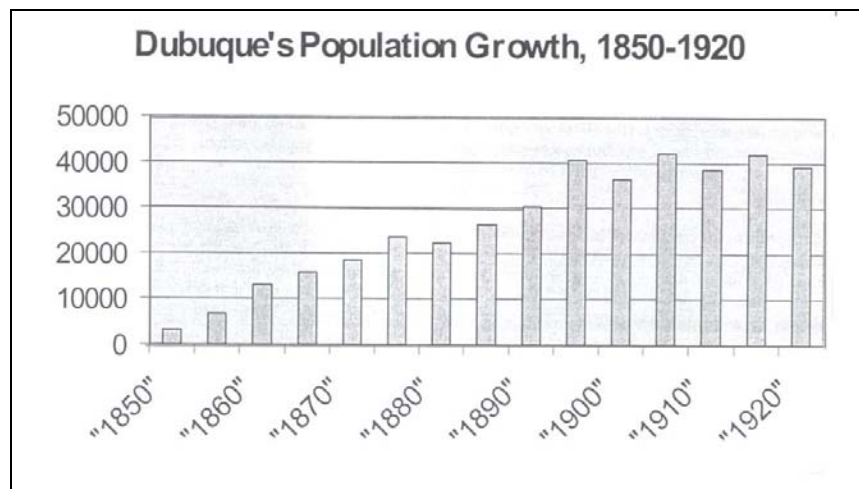


Figure 18: (Chart prepared by Jim Jacobsen)

(Note how the state census figures of 1885, 1895 exceed the federal headcounts)

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²¹ Only the federal census labels appear. The bar for each of these appears immediately above and to the right of the respective date. State census years are unlabeled, but occur between each federal census.

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his Sioux City counterpart that his city had reached 45,000 residents. The *Enterprise* prayed for at least 40,000 and a more honest effort on the part of all contenders to produce a more accurate state headcount. Once the disappointing counts were made available, the *Enterprise* was at least relieved to learn that Sioux City was still "several thousand behind this city." Sioux City and Davenport had the advantage because their city limits extended "several miles beyond the actual residence district." Ever optimistic however, a population of 50,000 Dubuquers was predicted within just ten years away (1899-1900 City Directory, introduction; *Enterprise*, July 15, 1905).

Political Strangers In A Strange Land:

It was the ironic fate of Dubuque that its national political representatives (read Republican) persisted despite the city and county Democratic election majorities. Iowa Senator William Loyd Allison (1829-1908) represented the Third Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1863 through 1871, and then served six Senatorial terms up to his death. His seniority and dominance on fiscal matters made him nationally significant when appropriations were involved and he played a critical role in national party matters. Allison even received opposition from local Republicans. Scottish-born David B. Henderson (1840-1906) was a disabled Civil War veteran who had the distinction of being the first Speaker of the House to be elected from a district located west of the Mississippi River. He served nine consecutive terms in the U.S. House of Representatives (1883-1903). He was first elected Speaker in 1899, and again in 1901. Allison-Henderson Park was established to honor both men in 1940 (Wilkie, p. 221, Lyon, p. 11, 197-98).

Symbolic of Dubuque's sense that it was being ignored by Des Moines and state interests was completion of the Soldiers and Sailors monument on the statehouse grounds in 1894. There was room allocated for just four of Iowa's five Civil War major generals and it was Dubuque's man, Francis Jay Herron, the state's youngest major general, whose portrait was omitted from the design. Dubuque was outraged by the omission and blamed it on a lingering prejudice that the city had not sufficiently supported the northern war effort.

Reflective of the city's sense of powerlessness was the passage of a state law that required fire escapes and sprinkler systems in the downtown buildings. The two demonstrated "the advisability of the business men of communities like Dubuque paying more attention in politics and pending measures, not locally but in the state." The *Enterprise* called for a committee "to guard against legislation of this kind...and to save expenses by exercising a scrutiny over the acts of the city council." The issue also illustrated the conservative nature of the downtown interests. The fire escape law covered buildings of three stories or more. A range of arguments were offered beyond the sheer cost. Beautiful facades would be compromised and newer fireproof buildings didn't need them. Already, there were "buildings the upper stories of which are not used at all, and others in which the upper stories are used only for storage purposes" (*Enterprise*, August 29, 1903).

Unflinching Financial Institutions; Weathering the Panic of 1893-94:

The number of city banks increased to eight by 1909. This new era of banking was best symbolized by the relocating of Iowa Trust and Savings Bank to the new Banking and Insurance Building in 1895. Banks were, in the post-1900 years building their own monumental structures. As of 1903 the seven city banks had a combined capitalization of \$1,025,000 and a total surplus/deposit figure of \$5,892,137. These two values were in direct proportion for the largest banks. Iowa Trust and Savings commanded 29 percent of capitalization and surplus/deposits, with First National in second place with 19 percent of each of these. The German Trust and Savings was in third place with 14.6 percent of capital and 13 percent of surplus deposits. Collectively these three banks accounted for 60 percent of the city's surplus/deposits and banking capital (*Enterprise*, January 24, 1903, p. 7).

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First National Bank	1864-present	D. N. Cooley, C. H. Eighmen	Nearly closes August 16, 1893, for 95 years on northwest corner Main and 5 th (1867 to 1962)
German Bank/German Savings [State] Bank	1864-present	A. Kammann, A. A. Cooper	342 Main Street, builds new Main St. building 1901-02 (see below), renamed German Savings Bank 1904, opens Couler Ave. branch 1905.
Second National Bank	1876-c.1922	Geo. B. Burch, W. P. Large	605 Main Street
Building & Loan Asso.	c.1877-1900		Liquidated November 1900
Iowa Trust & Savings	1884-1932	Geo. L. Torbert, F. D. Stout, J. E. Allison	To 7 th & Main 1895
Dubuque National Bank	1888-1922	B. B. Richards, D. D. Myers	
German Trust & Savings	1887-1932	John Bell, Nicholas Glab	Northwest corner Clay/Central and 13 th , later part of Union Trust & Savings Bank
Citizens State Bank	c.1898-1922	P. J. Lee, E. B. Piekenbrock	N.W. corner Main and 8th
German American Savings Bank	1901-32	N. J. Shrup	A branch of the German Savings Bank, renamed Pioneer Savings Bank & Trust Co. 1918.

We glance over the storm-swept country about us, where for nearly two years the terrific financial tempest has raged, and everywhere are visible wrecked business institutions of all kinds, and we point to our banks that have weathered the gale and under a steady helm are scudding before the wind, and our business institutions, against whose record not one failure is recorded, as evidences of the financial stability of Dubuque and the resources of our citizens. But the greatest evidence that the Key City is so firmly founded, that ill winds may blow from what direction they will and she will prosper, are our building and public improvements. These evidence the confidence of Dubuque's capitalists and businessmen in their city and their belief, which is paramount, in her natural resources and her stability. These have kept the masses in continuous employment, not only keeping down the cry here for employment which has rung out in almost every city in the country, but many from other cities have come here seeking employment and have found it. The laboring classes have been furnished with means whereby the merchants have not only weathered the storm but have had a prosperous year, and in this alone we find the explanation of the singular escape of our banks and business houses from the financial storm.

Herald, January 1, 1895

In other cities the gas, electric, water plants and similar concerns are owned, almost without exception in this state, and it is the rule in other states by outside capital. In the same way in many of the cities that make pretensions of commercial and manufacturing consequence, the institutions that give them title to the claim are financed by outside capital. In the fact that Dubuque institutions are owned exclusively by home capital, that everything there is of manufacturing and commercial importance here is home enterprise and capital, this city is a notable exception, and in a position in which few others of the country rival it....because there has never been a boom or other opportunity given the eastern money manipulators to make the city the shuttle cock in their get rich-quick games, it has been given the reputation of being conservative

Enterprise, June 11, 1904

As Galena had been eclipsed fifty years before, the Panic of 1893 promptly eliminated one of Dubuque's two major urban rivals, Sioux City. The 1890 census had dropped Dubuque one more peg to third place statewide, with Sioux City assuming the number two spot. Like Dubuque, Sioux City was boastfully on its way to becoming the "Chicago of the West" with massive construction projects under way which were funded by Eastern, primarily Boston capital. The Panic crippled that city's hopes and by 1900 it had fallen away to fourth place in population. Sioux City would rebound during the pre-World War I years and in 1920 once again claimed the silver medal for urban population (Wilkie, p. 333).

Local Financial Self Sufficiency:

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The 1895-96 Iowa State Gazetteer And Business Directory credited Dubuque with having the healthiest of local economies:

As a commercial and financial center, Dubuque cannot be equaled west of Chicago. The aggregate amount of capital used by its banks [down from nine as of 1890], which now number eight, is \$1,450,000. Banking houses here report a very large and prosperous volume of business far exceeding that of any previous year in the history of Dubuque

Dubuque of Today (1897) echoed this claim, noting “the city, in point of substantial and self-owned capital, is without a peer in the West.” Ominously the number of banks was reduced by one more within year’s time. The 1897-98 edition of the Gazetteer simply repeated the 1895 report, and upped the total capitalization to \$1,500,000. The 1899-1900 city directory boasted that “not five per cent” of the estimated \$30,000,000 in assessed city value was “owned by people outside Dubuque” (1895-96 Iowa State Gazetteer And Business Directory, p. 483; 1897-98 Iowa State Gazetteer And Business Directory, p. 505; 1899-1900 City Directory, introduction; Dubuque of Today, p. 12).



Figure 19: German Bank (1901-02) 342 Main Street (*Enterprise*, November 3, 1901)

The year 1902 was rated “without question the most prosperous in the history of the city” and “every institution has prospered...[with] a great increase in every line.” The seven city banks were collectively capitalized in the amount of \$1,025,000 with deposits of \$6,000,000. Municipal ownership of the waterworks, secured in 1901, was due to local investors who purchased \$545,000 in municipal mortgage bonds when bond brokers questioned the legality of the sale. The street railway and electric utilities systems similarly represented a local investment of \$1,000,000. The opening of the second Mississippi River vehicular bridge in 1903 was celebrated as yet another example of the financial self-sufficiency of Dubuque. The new Julien Hotel and the modern downtown office buildings were similarly the products of local capital. The *Enterprise* boasted is a “fact that there is not a dollar of outside capital invested in any of these institutions, and none in the city, except in those interests controlled by large corporations and of which the local institutions are branches or agencies...” (*Enterprise*, January 24, 1903).

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The new German Bank, pictured above, was representative of the new bank buildings which were typical of new bank architecture as of the early years of the 20th Century. Formerly located in larger multi-use office or commercial buildings, bank revenues now justified single-use facilities with highly ornamental facades. Williamson and Spencer of Chicago designed the German Bank, which Architect John Spencer described as being Italian Renaissance. Non-Dubuque architects continued to be preferred for these building designs, although Spencer was really a Dubuque architect, and soon returned to his home city. The exterior featured polished pink marble, the upper levels a “dull enamel terra cotta.” The plan featured a three-story vault (*Enterprise*, November 3, 1901).

The Financial Panic of 1905-06:

Dubuque came through 1904 in good shape. The *Enterprise* celebrated the “Auspicious Outlook of the New Year with reports from merchants and manufacturers:

Never in their experience in Dubuque have they seen a year begin with the prospects as auspicious as they are now...one exceptionally gratifying feature of the year just closed is that it is not marked with the gravestone of a single Dubuque [business] institution.

Indeed the city had gained several new firms. Area crops to the northwest, particularly close in, had been exceptionally good in 1904. Five firms were expanding their facilities and M. M. Walker-Toussaint-Trexler, burned out just a few weeks previous, was resuming operations at a new site (*Enterprise*, January 7, 1905).

The city survived the initial national economic downturn. The *Enterprise* noted “the oppression of hard times is not felt here as elsewhere because the business industries of Dubuque are uniformly conducted along conservative lines” (*Enterprise*, February 18, 1905).

Industrial Might And Labor Strife:

Figure 20: A. A. Cooper Wagon Works, non-extant, 1910, note Shot Tower in distance
(*Our Spirited Years*, *Telegraph-Herald*, p. 39)

The 1895-96 *Iowa State Gazetteer And Business Directory* rated Dubuque as “the largest jobbing, wholesale and manufacturing point in the State of Iowa.” There were 300 manufacturing firms with 8,000 employees, and 2,000

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additional jobs with jobbing firms. Incorporated companies numbered 95. It was reported that “a new industry, the building of steel boat hulls, has gained for Dubuque a wide reputation in that line” (1895-96 Iowa State Gazetteer And Business Directory, pp. 483-84).

The Milwaukee railroad shops were also “a big industry” in the city with 678 employees and a monthly payroll of \$50,000. The facility was said to be largest of its kind in the state. The railroads division headquarters, also in Dubuque, employed 30 engineers and 35 firemen. Cars and engines were rebuilt for the Dubuque, Chicago, Council Bluff, Kansas City, Sioux City and Dakota divisions (*Enterprise*, January 24, 1903).

The *Enterprise* declared in early 1901 that “the tide of prosperity has turned again for Dubuque.” Citing “a renewed confidence in business circles and the universal awakening on every hand” the same source claimed “there is not left a single desirable building for the location of a factory project of any considerable proportions.” The recovery was measurable. The Dubuque Iron Works and the Smedley Works had revived. The George Richardson Company, burned out in 1903, had rebuilt with greater capacity. Carr, Ryder & Adams was installing a new mill outfit. The Chicago, Great Western Railroad division had returned to Dubuque with 325 resident employees. A new bag factory occupied the former Dee factory and Harvey Chalmers & Son were setting up a shell button factory that promised 150 new jobs (*Enterprise*, April 2, 1901).

The filling massive wetland areas behind the riverfront was the lasting legacy of the factories and the railroads. The *Enterprise* observed in early 1902 that the Adams Company (not to be confused with Carr, Ryder & Adams) had established itself in 1892 at the foot of Third Street amidst a slough with water depths of up to 15 feet. The plant then had a 30-man payroll and part of the plant was extended over the water. Over the next ten years the firm raised up a three-acre plant site as it increased its payroll to 150 workers. As a result it possessed “one of the most desirable manufacturing locations in the city.” Excavation barrow from the Office and Security and St. Lukes building projects provided much of the fill material. The adjacent railroads, impressed by the Adams Company efforts dumped over 1,000 carloads of fill material to bury a sideline trestle that adjoined the company. In this manner, incrementally the city was advancing toward the Mississippi River (*Enterprise*, March 9, 1902).

The *Dubuque Enterprise* cautioned against taking for granted the regular and large scale business expansions made by the larger manufacturing firms, noting:

Some cities with but half the opportunity would make a big splurge about them, but we, because they come voluntarily and cost the community nothing, take them for granted and while the more progressive appreciate their significance, there are still some who can neither see that Dubuque is going ahead...(*Dubuque Enterprise*, November 18, 1903, p. 9).

A number of industrial sectors were by this time assuming a substantial scale in Dubuque. The overall and clothing factories as of 1903 provided jobs for 1,200 young women had its origin in small plants in the 1860s. “Today, half a dozen of the most substantial plants in the city are devoted to it, and all are daily enlarging the scope of their operations.” The cigar and tobacco sector now claimed three major producers and six jobbing plants. The iron and steel business had trebled its business in the previous ten years. In the “wagon industry, brewing and liquor business, the grocery and supply concerns...there has been the same development, in some of them greater.” The Dubuque Travelling and Business Mens Association represented a critical marketing and promotional arm of the city’s industries. A majority

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of its positions had been created only within the previous 25 years “and many of them [were] the result of the last decade of business energy...” (*Enterprise*, January 24, 1903).

Even the long-established firms were adapting to the changing times. The *Enterprise* noted “practically every business concern, even the older ones, have been reorganized within the last twenty years, and many of them within the last ten.” The same source then went on to tally up new industrial firms. Twenty-two firms “have been established and developed within the last twenty years.” Nine named firms and “others” had done so in the last 10 years and twelve (and others) in the five years just past. Since 1902 one major firm had reorganized, four new firms had been established included a bag factory and the pearl button works (*Enterprise*, January 31, 1903).

The factories operated full time through 1904 “and nearly every plant has been increased, and its corps of employees augmented during the last five years.” There was “a number” of new firms and “we haven’t lost any institutions to speak of” (*Enterprise*, December 4, 1904).

One of Dubuque’s unsolved notorious crimes was a reign of terror that was conducted in 1906. A series of six major dynamite blasts exploded over six months. The first blast damaged the St. Marys Casino, at White and 16th streets in late June. The second target, struck six weeks later was the Dubuque Tobacco Roller Works, 9th and Jackson streets. The entryway to the Dubuque Club was nearly destroyed in a third blast. Two bombs exploded on election night outside the *Telegraph-Herald* building and the Sheriff’s residence at the courthouse. The last attack destroyed an Illinois Central switchman’s shanty on the outskirts of town. Nobody was ever apprehended but the attacks did result in a shakeup in both the police department and city government (*Des Moines Register & Leader*, November 25, 1906).

Mining Renaissance:

The attention long paid to lead began to switch to zinc ore or “dry bone” which was being profitably exhumed at LaSalle, Illinois and Mineral Point, Wisconsin “who have no competition to contend with in the northwest.” It was rumored in mid-1897 that the Glab brothers were planning to establish a zinc works. Large-scale mining operations occupied the highlands to the southwest, unthreatened by suburban expansion (*Daily Herald*, June 27, 1897).

Labor versus Management:

Union strife reached its high-water mark during 1903. The third party political candidates had always generated a three or four percentage point voters turnout in the elections but Socialist Eugene Debs polled a record seven percent in the 1904 presidential election. Twenty years later Progressive Robert LaFollette bested even the Democratic Party candidate as well as the Republican winner, Cal Coolidge, taking 43 percent of the vote. As the Civil War years had shown, Dubuque’s political makeup was complex and combative.

The winter of 1901-02 was termed a “great winter for labor” as factories “almost without exception have been running full time all winter and that the open winter has been very propitious for building operations.” A new bag factory was employing women and “everywhere is heard complaint about the scarcity of labor.” Spring promised 100 new jobs at the Iowa Iron Works and architects promised “a building boom” (*Enterprise*, February 16, 1902).

The winter of 1901-02 witnessed a flurry of union organizational activity. The teamsters successfully put together a local of 150 members as did employees at the Dubuque Brewing & Malting Company, the George Richardson

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Company, the Union Electric Company, and the Iroquois Pearl Button Works. Carpenters too were rumored to be organizing and plasterers, bricklayers, stonemasons and other trades were newly organizing in anticipation of the coming building season. Efforts were underway by mid-March to organize the wood workers at Carr, Ryder & Adams, Farley & Loetscher, A. A. Cooper and the Alter companies. All of the locals would demand wage increases as the opportunity allowed. As a result,

...there is much apprehension, particularly in building circles, and it is almost impossible to obtain a contract for anything in which labor is a material factor. Even the ice dealers are declining to make contracts for the season. This line of business is likely to be materially effected by the unions.

The *Enterprise* noted that fair wages protected the laboring class just as high protective tariffs protected industry and capital. Anti-tariff democrats had claimed the tariff was a tax on the working class. The *Enterprise* offered that while the working class paid the tariff "tax" and received no benefit, they would also pay the higher wage "tax" but they would get a benefit. At any rate the larger issue would be settled quickly, predicted the same source:

Persons who are in a position where they should know say that one season will settle the matter in Dubuque. They claim that the wave for organization has been slow in reaching Dubuque and that cities like Davenport, Rock Island, Des Moines, Joliet, Quincy and others went through the mill two years ago. They maintain that prices will adjust themselves to changed conditions and that after the first few months there will be no trouble. They claim that with the trusts hoisting prices on all commodities they control that labor most protect itself and that the increased cost of living makes necessary the demand that is becoming general for increased wages (*Enterprise*, March 14, 1903).

The first strike of 1903 took place at the Iroquois Button Works. Locals had invested in the plant to bring it to Dubuque but from the start the owners complained of an inability to secure enough workers. Untrained workers started at low wages with a promise that with dexterity, they would outpace a laborer's wage within a few weeks. The plant doubled its capacity during the summer of 1902 and consequently needed twice the workers. The Retailers Association looked at the company books and determined that the average weekly pay was just \$7.00. In addition workers were being shorted by the disallowance of thin button slugs and they were being charged for saws and other penalties. The *Enterprise* expressed initial support for the strikers, while still hoping that a valuable company could be retained. At any rate the strikers lost, apparently due to bad management on the part of the union (*Enterprise*, March 14, June 13, 1903).

The factory owner was absent in California when the strike began and his local operatives simply shut down the plant in the face of the strike. The *Enterprise* reported a week into the strike action that it

has not created the apprehension in business circles that some of the more timorous were apprehensive it would....Now however, that the button workers have set the ball rolling, the more attention is attracted to them [the other unions] for the reason that it will give the trades and labor organizations opportunity to demonstrate their strength and also the measure of support for those who walk out can expect from other unions.

At any rate all union eyes were on the strikers. Their success would encourage further labor tests and their failure would "have a detracting effect on the faint hearted" (*Enterprise*, March 21, 1903).

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The strike that did cripple the city came from an unexpected quarter. Seventy street car operators had unionized in February 1903 part of a total of 4,000 union members, a number second only to that of Des Moines. The Union Electric Company had replaced three car firms in 1900 and now controlled public transportation and electrical service. The company secured a 25-year city franchise in March 1902. One of the features of the franchise was a half fare charge for commuting laborers. The company started to upgrade its lines in the spring of 1901 and raised both wages and the public appreciation for its service and efforts. A 1902 point system that rated employee performance and docked workers for delays and other errors. The union (Local 329 Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America) struck on May 7 when three of its members were fired for presenting demands to the company. The company firemen joined their striking brothers two days later (Scharnow, pp. 60-70).

Historian Ralph Scharnow has documented the failure of what otherwise should have been a major union victory. There was strong community support for the strikers and strike had shut down a critical transportation system. Initially supportive crowds stopped the cars from running and they were silent during a visit by President Theodore Roosevelt on June 2. The company hired Chicago strikebreakers and resumed service on June 11. Mayor Berg dithered, on one hand he deputized F. L. Dane, the company manager as a deputy sheriff, but he also refused to use the fire companies to control the crowds. The climax occurred on June 16 when a crowd of 1-2,000 shut down the service at its main hub. The state militia was called in to quell the strife. They were replaced by National Guard troops and Governor Cummins unsuccessfully attempted to mediate a solution. Public support disappeared with the riot and local clergy and the press supported a "Law and Order Alliance" which oversaw car operations with militia guards. The Dubuque Club finally secured an agreement but the Union lost on all of their main requests. The union itself survived as a paper organization. The mayor, popular C. H. Bern (a seven-term mayor), and the sheriff, initially pilloried by the public for supporting the transit company, survived politically (ibid., pp. 71-75).

The *Enterprise* had lavished praise on the good works of the new transit company in January 1903 and it was hard pressed to offer the strikers even the minimal support it had voiced for the button cutters. It criticized the three fired union leaders for failing to step aside from the negotiations, it blasted faint-hearted businessmen for failing to support the use of the cars during the boycott and it lambasted the secondary boycotts against the financiers of the transit company. "Mr. Stout, with Messrs, Shields, Burch, Cooper and others of the men who have made Dubuque and given it the factories that employ the labor of the city" were to be honored and not vilified. When the strike was finally settled the paper regretted six weeks of wasted time with no substantial resolution of the basic issues "and the ignominy that is heaped on Dubuque's name. Were it not for the labor troubles, 1903 "would have been a record breaker" (*Enterprise*, June 13, 27, August 29, 1903).

The publication of the massive Greater Dubuque in 1911 marked the "high water mark" of the city's industrial growth and development. The chart presented below gives a chronological breakdown of founding dates for the firms then in operation. These figures necessarily combine the tiniest and the mightiest firms and firms which closed down or combined prior to 1911 are unrepresented. Still, this representation includes the long-term successful firms which were established early in the city's history while it also summarizes the more recently founded firms. One glaring gap which is hinted at in these figures is the absence of firms which were established between 1872-1874. The seven firms credited for 1870-74 were all started during the first two years of that half-decade. The next five years were little better. Five businesses started 1875-76, but just three more are credited to 1877-79. Reflective of Civil War period start-ups, ten firms dated from 1861-65. The explosion in industrial growth dates from 1880 and continues unabated through 1893. During the next four years, 1894 (two firms), 1895 (one firm), 1896 (two firms) and 1897 (two firms), things slowed down and during 1898 there were no new start-ups. The year 1899 signaled a rebound with four new firms. The new

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century witnessed renewed entrepreneurial energy and as many new firms were founded in 1910-11 as had been founded in the previous five years (Index, Greater Dubuque).

Retail Trade, the Achilles Heel?

Under the caption “Dubuque’s Future The Stake” the *Enterprise* presented a remarkably candid assessment of the city’s retail strength. It offered “the great draw back to the city has been its lack of retail trade.” While that trade was comparable to cities in the other states, “the opportunities are at hand for its being the best and greatest.

The main dependence of the retail dealers has been on the home trade and it is due to the large laboring community and the fact that the jobbers and manufacturers have been buying almost exclusively at home, that the retail interests can make the showing they do. Des Moines, Cedar Rapids, Sioux City and others in the state that take rank with Dubuque far outstrip this city in the volume of trade from out of the city...If Dubuque, with her great volume of home trade, can add a proportionate amount of rural trade, this city will be the best for retail trade in the state. Business men realize this and the complaint has been bitter over the lack of facilities and inducements to bring this trade here.

Dubuque from its inception possessed a tri-state market focus but the river to the east and the highlands to the west had hindered its ability to capture a broader market in the hinterlands. The complaint voiced above indicates that delays in building bridges and in making Iowa’s interior more accessible, had allowed regional markets and products to be siphoned away by other regional cities. The completion of the Eagle Point vehicular bridge, delayed until 1903, was lauded for its potential to “open a vast territory to the retail interests of the city.” The city wasn’t receiving its due share of area stock and produce shipments. The same source noted “there is not half enough grain hauled in here for the local feed supply, and shipments of stock from this point have become rare occurrences. The farmers have facilities closer home and they will not come here unless there are convenient facilities to doing so or other inducements.” Hopes for a packing plant had been delayed to the lack of area stock supplies. Creameries and produce stations in the city were valued more for the “rural trade they attract” than for their present financial contributions (*Enterprise*, January 24, 31, 1903).

The 1895-96 Iowa State Gazetteer And Business Directory claimed that the completion of the city’s first highway bridge over the Mississippi River with “had secured the trade of a large community of farmers living in the States of Illinois and Wisconsin near the river” but this success was apparently insufficient, given the 1903 complaint noted above. The 1903-04 gazetteer writers were so enamored with this claim that they used it again with reference to the completion of the Eagle Point-Wisconsin bridge which “secured the trade of large community of farmers living in the states of Illinois and Wisconsin and has provided them a market for the products of their farms...” (1895-96 Iowa State Gazetteer And Business Directory, p. 483; *Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 611).

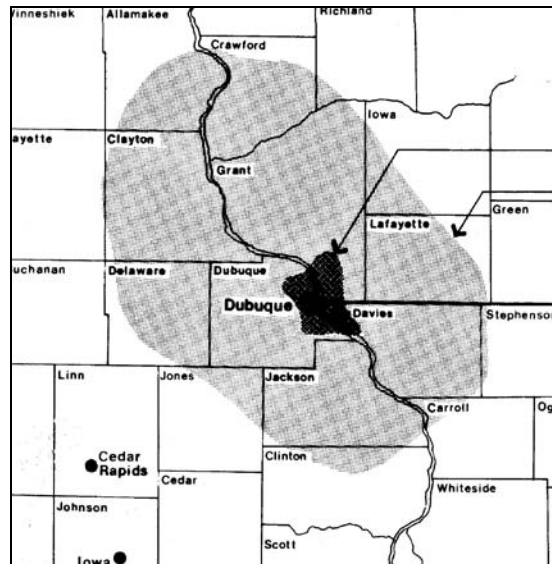
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Figure 21: 1982 Dubuque retail market area

The city was delinquent in its development of interurban traffic, a ten-year old phenomenon by 1903 and one that was now more mechanically feasible due to technological development. Apparently Mr. Flynn and others had, with three years effort, finalized a “project to build from Dubuque into Wisconsin” and route surveys had been completed to the west and southwest. Curiously the city strongly valued creating interurban links to the Chicago Northwestern, which ran west of the county. This “has long been the dream of the business men [and] it will be practical to make at least three connections with that road.” What was the point of making these linkages? Usually interurban lines served as feeders to a city’s existing railroads. The Wisconsin interurban never materialized, primarily because it required the use of the new highway bridge at Eagle Point (*Enterprise*, July 4, 1903).

Retail failures of at least ten major firms during the summer and fall of 1903 underscored the weakness of the retail sector despite the relatively good overall economy. The *Enterprise* observed that the closings were “in marked contrast to the falling off of the retail trade and the poor showing made by it, is the prosperity and development of the jobbings and manufacturing interests.” The same source dared to credit the success of the latter sectors to their excellent organization. The 300 city retailers were not organized and they had allowed their retailers group, formed in 1900, to wither away after just one years operation (*ibid.*, November 14, 1903, pp. 8-9).

The *Enterprise* led the local fight against catalog and out-of-city shopping trips. It urged readers to shop for Christmas in Dubuque even as “the mail men are loaded down with pamphlets and booklets from mail order houses in Chicago, St. Louis, St. Paul and other cities...the city is being flooded...by these mail order houses.” While acknowledging “there isn’t the buying outside of the city there used to be, but there should be none.” The *Telegraph-Herald* was lambasted to running a half page advertisement for mail order buggies in early 1905 (*Enterprise*, December 3, 1904, February 18, 1905).

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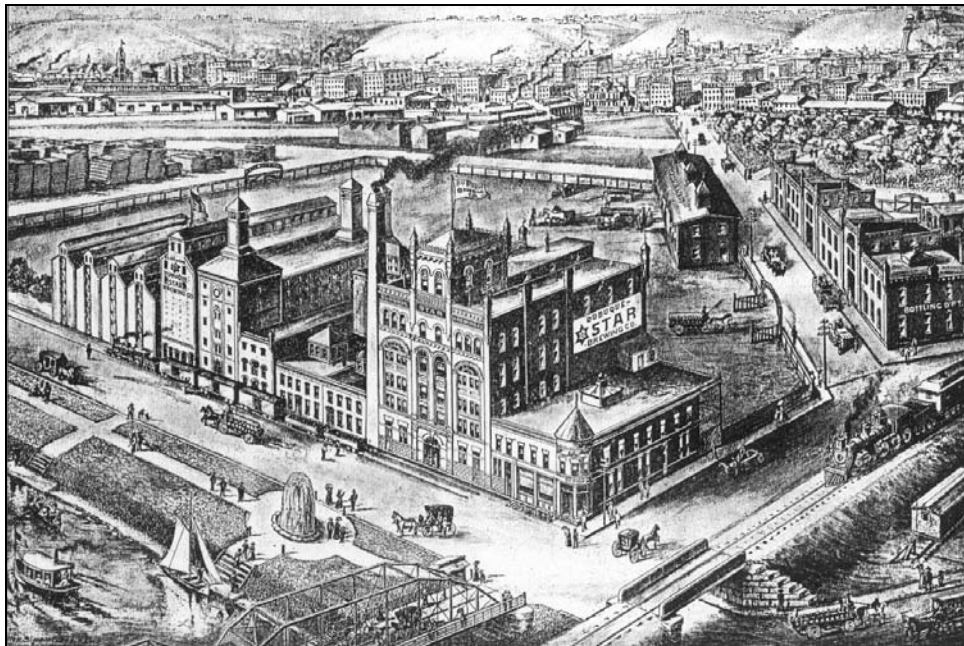


Figure 22: Fourth Street “Gateway” to Dubuque (*Enterprise*, June 20, 1903)
A large key was hung above Fourth Street to symbolize entrance into the “Key City.”
Note the lumberyard drying piles at the left rear.

Municipal Growth, 1893-1910:

Between 1890 and 1895 the city’s population increased an impressive 14 percent to 40,574 residents. New construction during 1894 exceeded \$2,000,000, exceeding “any recent year” in the city and a feat “unequalled by any city in the state.” This impressive building record was accomplished “in the face of the general depression and financial disaster that has swept over the country.” As a result “Dubuque [had] a position unequalled, yes even unapproached by any city in the state or perhaps any city of its size in the United States.” The total valuation was driven upwards by an array of truly remarkable large-scale public, institutional and private projects. These included Central High School, the brewery at 27th and Jackson streets, the Mt. Carmel Motherhouse, the Stout Auditorium and the Bank and Insurance Building (*Herald*, January 1, 1895).

The local impact of the national financial panic of 1893-94 on new building construction is difficult to measure. It is the constant claim of Dubuque historians that the city was able to better weather these difficult times due to the dominance of local capital in the city’s economy. Newspaper accounts describe a forced consolidation on the wholesale trade, particularly in groceries, where three local wholesalers consolidated in January 1893. As late as mid-November of that year it was reported that local merchants were reducing their inventories and curtailing operating expenses “awaiting the outcome of the general depression which has been felt here to some extent.” An examination of new business block construction indicates that building rates declined during 1891, but rebounded in 1892-93. Institutional construction, on a massive scale, dominated construction during the mid and late 1890s. The absence of annual progress reports during these years bespeaks the fact that new construction was coming in bigger doses, included a major emphasis on residential construction, and wasn’t comparable to the heady days of the 1880s (Jacobsen, Phase III report, pp. 79-85; *Weekly Times*, November 14, 1893).

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The construction of the Security and Bank and Insurance buildings in 1895 represented the growing need for professional offices to be located in modern office buildings rather than above storefronts in buildings scattered throughout the downtown (*Enterprise*, June 11, 1904).

The year 1897 witnessed record levels of home construction while business expenditures were largely restricted to remodelings.

The present season in Dubuque has witnessed no particular building boom thus far, although ever since winter all our local carpenters have been busy constructing residences in every portion of the city. It has been years, if ever, since so many houses were built in Dubuque during a single season as have already been constructed this year. This era of building shows no sign of abatement and will continue until snow flies.

Rumors circulated that eastern capitalists sought investments in the city. Several small business blocks were underway as was a new Ryan packinghouse. The earliest indications of an emerging zinc ore mining industry were present and "a late building boom of gigantic proportions" was predicted (*Herald*, June 27, 1897).

Real estate business prospered as building proceeded at record levels. The largest demand in the city's history was reported in the spring of 1891. One measure of retrenchment in the mid-1890s was the large-scale failure of the firm of Rhomberg and Walker in the fall of 1896. Transfers during 1900 (\$1,626,795) outpaced those of 1899 (\$1,476,180) which in turn exceeded those of 1898 (\$1,255,091). An unprecedented real estate boom in early 1901 was reflected in 76 land transfers in just three days (*Daily Ledger*, April 25, 1891; *Daily Globe Journal*, September 2, 1896; January 1, 1901; *Herald*, December 31, 1899; March 6, 1901).

One hope for new jobs was the planned shops and yard expansion of the Illinois Central Railroad. Dubuque hopes were dashed at the end of 1899 when Waterloo was awarded the division point designation. The *Telegraph-Herald* bemoaned "Tis Tough on Dubuque. The city directory reported 125 miles of improved streets in Dubuque, six miles being paved in brick (*Telegraph-Herald*, January 4, 1900; *1899-1900 City Directory*, introduction).

Census year 1900 and presumably the years preceding and following it "was not one of particular prosperity for the city...it was exceptionally dull in the building trade lines...many mechanics who belong in Dubuque were out in other cities working." The *Herald* checked with some of its better architects early in 1900. One expected little new building, while two others were turning away new work. The newspaper concluded that the despondent but famous architect "must be judging the whole community by the small amount of work he has (*Enterprise*, December 3, 1904; *Herald*, April 14, 1900)."

The *Enterprise* reported building material costs in 1902 and 50 percent higher than a year before but noted

"and yet the building goes on in Dubuque at a rate that is most encouraging. A drive about town, along Grandview Avenue, Hill Street and Alpine will convince the dullest observer that Dubuque is in a most flourishing and prosperous condition. Residences are springing up like toadstools, and they are not the small square boxes of former years, but handsome and artistic homes. Even the smallest have architectural merit. Each year we are making our city more attractive to the home-seeker. Each year we

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are gathering within our borders a class of people who are a credit and honor to the town. People come to Dubuque for many reasons. Our schools are of the best, business locations may be found here, and the industrial and social life are prominent features of the town. Dubuque is too conservative to boom, but its growth is steady. And no better indication of our prosperity could be given, than the fact that in spite of the high price of building materials, our carpenters have never been busier (*Enterprise*, July 20, 1902).

Grandview Avenue with its boulevard had the potential of becoming a city's latest "nob hill" but a major impediment was its lack of city water services. One landowner proposed that the city would give an 18-foot wide strip frontage to each landowner. The owner would then plant four rows of trees spaced every 50 feet and keep the land properly sodded. The idea was short lived if only because many hoped that the streetcar would require some of this right-of-way. The *Enterprise* commented

"Dubuque is in need of...a 'beauty drive.' Aside from our picturesque country roads our driveways are sadly lacking in interesting and beautiful features. They are narrow and noisy and dirty, and are not laid through the finer residence parts of the town. Grandview Avenue is destined to become the drive of the city, and as soon as the property owners on that street are able to bring city water to their homes its improvement is secured...Grandview Avenue occupies a unique place in the city. It is urban as to its character, but it is the pathway that leads from the city to the country, and as such we cannot afford to lose it (*Enterprise*, September 7, 1902).

The year 1902 witnessed the building of 75 houses in the Fifth Ward, and from 25-50 in each of the other wards. During 1903,

...the report for this year will make a showing that will be a surprise. In spite of strikes, and the unsettled conditions, which caused the abandonment or postponement of a number of building projects, there wasn't a time during the season when mechanics were out of work. On the contrary, contractors were short of men, and it was one of the most prosperous in these lines the city has had. If ocular evidence is wanted, one has only to take a trip over the city. Take, for instance, in the vicinity of the Malting company's brewery, where there were solid blocks of open lots six years ago there are today rows of residences and within the last five years hundreds of residences have gone up on the hills (*Enterprise*, November 21, 1903).

A 1904 building boom was predicted by the *Enterprise* with the announcement of plans for five major building projects (Farley & Loetscher, Metz Manufacturing, Mercy Hospital, St. Franciscan Sisters Home for the Aged-, Union Electric Company power house), representing an aggregate value of half a million dollars. Foundations for the first three were already in place by the end of 1903. Many smaller buildings were planned and builders were so busy that repair work and smaller jobs had difficulty getting done. There were over 150 new houses built and half of these were in the "upper part" of the city (*Enterprise*, November 18, 1903; December 3, 1904).

Those hopes were confirmed and the number of new houses built in 1904 exceeded that of 1903. The year 1904

"was one of the most prosperous years in the recent history of the city. Not only has trade been good in all lines, but it has been a record-breaking year in building. In addition tot he big industrial plants, there has been a building boom in residences and store buildings, and mechanics have been in demand. At

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times during the summer work was delayed because of the inability of contractors to secure men, and many mechanics were brought in here from the outside.”

...Districts where ten years ago there were only a few scattered residences, have been built up, and now some of the most thickly populated sections are where they weren't even streets laid out fifteen year ago” (*Enterprise*, December 4, 1904).

“Immense Sums” in excess of \$1,500,000 were expended in the city during 1905. Record 1904 expenditures were bolstered by utilities expenditures but the 1905 improvements actually exceeded those of the previous year. Dubuque was “forging-ahead” in all areas, “the corporation has not only expanded but the workingman has built himself a home.” Flats were being built in larger numbers as were three-unit houses. Brick continued to fade as a preferred material for houses with just 17 percent of new houses being brick. This could reflect the rising costs of structural brick construction. Brick would reappear in a veneer application following the First World War. Counting new houses was made difficult because the city had ceased to do the tracking and the newspaper chided the city officials, reminding readers that “it must be remembered that no official records of building permits or the like are kept in Dubuque” (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 31, 1905).

“The hill” north of Dodge Street, was the scene of residential construction beginning in 1905. The *Enterprise* reported the start of construction of houses on Winona Avenue and Alpine Street. It predicted

“more fine houses [will be] built on the hill than in any previous year. The rate at which the hill is building up is surprising. A few years ago there was not a house on such streets as South Alpine, Winona, Third street extension and others on which there is now hardly a vacant lot. All the way out to West Dubuque the hill is being built up, and it wont be long until the tide of home seekers sets in on Grandview avenue. It is understood that this property is to be put on the market this spring and when it does begin to build up, there is the certainty the Union Electric company will put in a belt line from Delhi to South Dodge street terminal (*Enterprise*, April 15, 1905).

Record building was anticipated during 1906. Planned projects included a new brewery, German Theological Seminary expansion, three new public schools, a new Masonic Temple and \$26,000 in new residences already announced (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 31, 1905).

The knockers of 1906 warned that Dubuque was “in a state of innocuous desuetude and is not forging to the front at a modern city.”²² Defenders noted that “new houses have sprung up in all parts of the city like pansies in a garden and stand today a credit to the builders, and a proof of the rapid growth of the city.” The city was “well fixed with overtaxed factories” and these had expended over \$300,000 in improvements. Dubuque’s “fame as a home of institutions” was maintained by over \$400,000 in expenditures. Many of the new homes were being purchased by retired farmers and the city was fast becoming a “mecca” for them. Mechanics were coming to Dubuque to insure that their children received a good education. “Dubuque is everywhere known as a city of cheap living, low rents, good schools and plenty of decent amusements” (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 30, 1906).

At the end of 1907 the *Telegraph-Herald* credited the city’s slow but steady growth to the principle of “Conservative Development;”

²² Desuetude, a condition of disuse.

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The history of Dubuque is a repetition of remarkable achievements secured through conservatism. Year after year new industries are added, old establishments broaden out; vacant tracts of land become dotted with attractive and costly residences and dwellings; competition appears only to stimulate the Dubuque business men to acquit themselves of greater deeds and victories. Conservatism marks every step. No radical, foolhardy step has been taken since the days of the 'boom' period. Dubuque has progressed and advanced to a point where the future appears like gold on the horizon. "Of all that is good, Iowa affords the best," and Dubuque is the Key City.

Major new improvements included the Roshek Bros. Store, Security Building, railroad improvements (\$105,000), German Theological Seminary, and public school improvements (\$150,000). Nearly every factory in the city expanded and improved. "Scores of residences were erected during the year and time would not permit of personal inquiry into each one." Apparently building permit records remained insufficient. The impressive achievements of the year were lessened by the "counteraction of certain conditions which tied up building and expansion nearly the whole summer" (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 29, 1907).

Continued "conservative growth" was lauded at the end of 1908 but the numbers were down and a few larger projects accounted for a quarter of the total. Factory improvements lagged below those of recent years. Residential construction "during the year closing [was] one of the largest in recent years." Throughout the city "house after house has gone up. On the hills and the north end of the city this is particularly true. Strong, substantial residences have been erected" with an average cost of about \$3,500 (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 27, 1908).

A record number of houses were built during 1909. For the first time the *Telegraph-Herald* claimed that "Dubuque contains a larger number of home owners in proportion to population than any other city in the country." The city owned itself as well. "Dubuque is built up on her own capital. Here people in larger degree than in any other city, own what is here. She is stable and has within herself enormous resources." A study of Main Street properties indicated that they were mortgaged at just six percent of their total value. The record growth of the city this year could not be attributed to any larger building projects, that largest being valued at \$150,000 (*Telegraph-Herald*, January 2, 1910).

The house-building boom continued into 1910. At the end of 1909 contractors and real estate men were anticipating a "veritable boom" in house building with a doubling of value over 1909. One contractor had three jobs committed and all had work enough to start as soon as the weather permitted. The actual numbers fell well short of the 1909 record count. By years end a local realtor reported "there is still a dearth of homes, moderate in price and substantial in quality." Most of the houses were for "the prosperous wage-earner" and were valued from \$2-4,000. The annual numbers reflected the return of large-scale building by religious institutions (\$243,000) with six major projects. Private construction accounted for 63 percent of all improvements. *Greater Dubuque* credited 1910 with the "greatest building season ever experienced in the city of Dubuque" (*Telegraph-Herald*, January 2, October 2, 1910; January 1, 1911; *Greater Dubuque*, p. 4).

McFadden's factory on Iowa Street was likely one of the first concrete skeleton industrial plants to be built in Dubuque. The *Times-Journal* warned "to overlook McFadden's big concrete structure on Iowa Street would miss a handsome five-story building of latest construction with the facilities to handle a business that is growing enormously." Farley-Loetscher also completed a massive five-story fireproof reinforced concrete building that same year (*Times-Journal*, February 6, 1910).

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A 1914 growth retrospective by the *Telegraph-Herald* credited the Bank and Insurance Building and Dubuque Brewing and Malting Company (1894) with being the first modern commercial buildings in the city.

“From 1894 until 1909 progress was slow. In 1909 more residences were erected and also a few business houses were built. Each year as business got bigger and more facilities were demanded larger and more substantial buildings were erected (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 27, 1914)

Year	Total Construction		New Residential Construction			Notes:
	Total Value	Total Non-Residential	Number New S/F Houses	Total Value	New Multi-family Houses	
1894	\$1,791,000	32	35		3	Estimate \$150,000 unreported, Central High School, new brewery, Bell Bros. Factory, Sisters of St. Mary Orphanage, YMCA Gym
1895						
1896	\$416,800	17	36		3	Figures through May, \$3,000,000 total including last years completions, Security Bldg., Saengerbund Hall, German Pres. Church, Holy Ghost Church, St. Lukes Church, Stone Hill School
1897						End of May only, \$3million counting finishing '95 projects
1898						Partial list, 18 houses, four others incl. Finley Hospital
1899						
1900						
1901						
1902						
1903			150 new buildings			
1904			Larger than 1903			
1905	\$1,327,210		105	\$443,210 ("residences, etc.")	24	
1906	\$1,054,850		68 (partial)	\$128,150		
1907	\$1,912,900		"scores", no fewer than 31 starts	\$162,500		Voelker built 22 houses averaging \$2,500 in cost, and all other new houses were valued at \$109,000, newspaper listed six major houses finished, three underway.
1908	\$1,134,438		13 (partial list), 88 estimate	\$310,000		Estimate based on average cost division of total.
1909	\$1,240,750		145	Average value \$2-4,000, estimated total value \$430,000		200 total new buildings, 25 of which had values greater than \$10,000
1910	\$1,173,165	\$1,841,747	88	\$286,000		

The Maturation of Streetcar Service:

Municipal transit systems in most instances only became fully matured in the years just after 1900. The consolidation of multiple companies, the resulting increased capitalization and rebuilding, improved technology, and the addition of additional needed lines resulted in a reliable and sufficient level of service. As a result the car lines began to play an important role in city growth and development. Dubuque's transit system achieved this level of service c.1902-03.

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Streetcars directly facilitated the final infilling of the Couler Valley and Rhomberg areas in the pre-World War I years. It is more than likely that the several large satellite industrial plants which located in both areas were made possible by the combined services of streetcars and railroads. There is architectural and historical evidence that in Dubuque, living immediately adjacent to a car line was a definite advantage. Builder Chris Voelker in particular constructed his moderate-cost houses along streetcar lines. Couler Avenue (now Central) experienced sustained mixed commercial, industrial (breweries, greenhouse, brickyards) and residential growth due to the presence of double-track car lines along its entire length. The impact of the car lines on bluff-top residential and institutional development is less clear. This historical question requires research and any architectural/historical survey should be attentive to architectural correlations between buildings and streetcar/bus lines.

A streetcar map showing the transit system c.1890 has not been found. An 1899 map depicts a fairly simple track layout. The Couler Valley was served by two north/south lines along Couler/Central and Jackson, north of 14th Street. The latter rejoined the former at Peru (East 32nd) and the main north/south line continued along Couler to Nutmeg Raceway, Stewart/Union Park and other attractions. The Linwood line departed the Jackson Street track at East Eagle Point Road (East 22nd Street) and ran via Windsor Street past the cemetery. The Rhomberg line turned off of the Couler track at Rhomberg (East 20th Street), crossed the Jackson Street track, and ran northwest along Rhomberg/East 22nd to 9th Avenue. (Roosevelt). The downtown car lines followed Clay (now White) and Main streets, and reunited at 2nd and Main. The Main Street line terminated at Jones Street. Two lines served the bluff-top districts, departing the downtown along 8th and Dodge. The Main Street line bisected on 5th, ran south along Locust to Dodge and followed Dodge to Grandview. The 8th Street line ran east of the downtown and apparently served the several passenger depots near the Ice Harbor. It also ran west, angled southwest along 11th (Hill), turned west on 3rd Street, turned north on Alpine, Julien (University) (west) and finally ran west on Delhi Street, terminating at O'Hagan and Asbury streets (Map of Dubuque Showing Circulation of "*The Telegraph*," The Telegraph's Dubuque City Directory 1899-1900, Keokuk, W. H. McCoy, 1899).

The several streetcar companies (Dubuque Light & Traction Company was the principal service provider and was an 1893 successor to the Dubuque Electric Railway) merged in 1899, becoming Home Electric Company, a newly incorporated entity. In August 1900 the company was renamed Union Electric Company. F. D. Stout headed the new firm. It was uniquely self-financing, having raised \$1,000,000 without the issuance of bonds. Like other cities, the provision of electric power and streetcar service was unified within a single corporate entity (WPA History, pp. 62-63; Lyon, pp. 209, 455; Oldt, p. 195).

The *Enterprise* proclaimed in early April 1901 that "the tide has turned for Dubuque." Among several positive signs of new economic vitality was the "rehabilitation of the street car and electric systems" which had begun in 1900. That fall the same source pronounced "the street car system perfect—Union Electric Company Has Redeemed Its

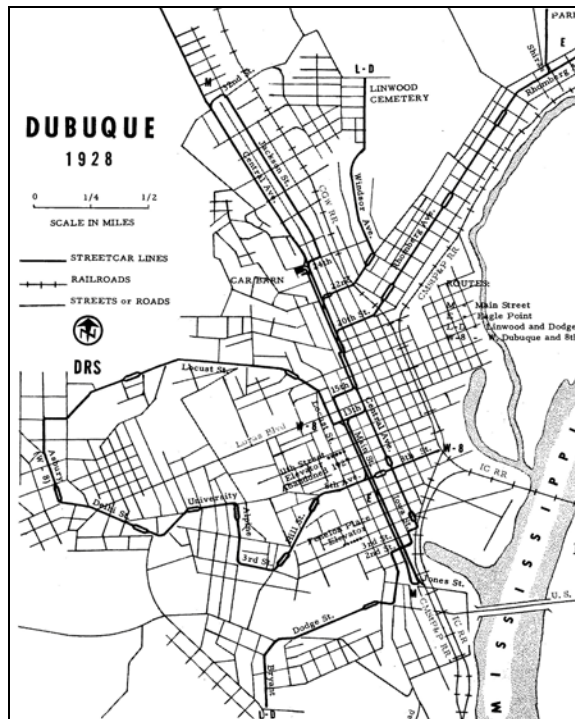
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Figure 24: Dubuque's Streetcar System, 1928
(map drawn by Donald R. Schultz for Iowa Trolleys Bulletin #114, 1975, Wilkie, p. 331)

Assurance It Would Give Dubuque the Best." The "obsolete and inadequate" system of two or three years previous was contrasted with its replacement "modern in its equipment and up-to-date in its management." "The dingy, weather beaten cars, uneven tracks, slow and irregular service made the system the city the laughing stock of visitors and disgusted our own people." Over \$100,000 in expenditures replaced (40 new cars) or rebuilt every car and relaid 20 miles of trackage. Most notably car service was faster and more frequent. The longest run, from central depot to the city limits, was ten minutes faster, just twenty minutes. Cars with two 15-horsepower engines now boasted two 38-horsepower ones. Two hundred men had worked all summer on line improvement and 20 mechanics and artisans on car work, a monthly payroll of \$10,000. A separate Iowa Street powerhouse now exclusively powered the cars (*Enterprise*, November 3, 1901; January 24, 1903).

The system is now not only modern, but it is being run on modern plans. The cars run by schedule and the men are required to make the schedule time. There is no more stopping in the middle of a block or waiting for a passenger who hails from a window and then stops to bid the family good-bye. Cars stop only for passengers on the opposite crossing, and, while employe[e]s are required to be courteous and accom[m]odating, patrons must learn that there is a limit and that the tedious waits and delays of the old days to accommodate one at the expense of many others are usages of the past. The cars now run with such frequency that if a patron is not ready to get on, he is allowed to wait for the next car.

Enterprise, November 3, 1901

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A few instances of run-away cars with resulting corner smash-ups led the company to introduce safety measures. Each car sported protective “fenders” and all cars now halted completely at every crossing. The Hill line cars made two complete stops coming downhill, to allow for a controlled descent. Stop signs, once provided only on the Hill line, now ornamented each of 50 key crossing points. A “Y” switch was added at Couler and Peru. Outgoing cars (northward) now took a separate east track.²³ Similarly, on special “summer rush” occasions, the Iowa Street and Couler Avenue lines now specialized, one for out-going, the other for in-bound cars. Newly awarded right-of-way on the Rhomberg line also guaranteed adequate service for special events. Finally the new McGuire snow sweeper” promised reliable winter service. The Enterprise closed with the promise that the company was “now prepared to give Dubuque a metropolitan service...[one not]...surpassed in any city the size of Dubuque in this country (ibid.).

The line improvements were only interim ones, pending the development of an entire new system, to be guided by counselor (now called consultant) F. L. Dame, an MIT graduate and 12-year transit design veteran, who became company general manager. The company envisioned a new power plant, new car barn, and line extensions along West Locust Street and Grandview Avenue (*Enterprise*, January 24, 1903).²⁴

The rebuilding of the transit system had at least two results. The first was the fostering of house building on the bluff tops. The *Enterprise* noted “What a factor satisfactory, convenience [sic] transportation facilities are in the growth and building up of a city, is shown in the hundreds of new buildings on the hill and in the suburbs.” The unintended negative with the city’s most monumental labor-management struggle, the street car drivers strike of mid-1903, which is recounted in the labor section of this context (ibid., June 11, 1904).

Grandview Avenue, south of University (then Julien) was first laid out in 1865 by John D. Bush, and opened in 1873. Destined to best approximate the city’s finest residential arterial, it wasn’t until 1902 that “the probability of the street car line on that street” was a serious possibility). In 1890 the carline was extended to Herron’s Point, near Grandview Ave. and South Dodge (Oldt, pp. 157, 173; *Enterprise*, September 7, 1902; Wilkie, p. 331).

Comprehensive transit system improvements, valued at \$500,000, said to be the largest such expenditure in the city’s history (or the state), were completed in 1904 when the entire trackage and power plant were replaced. Only the new cars were retained. The power plant claimed the first installation of steam turbine powered generators “in the west.” The plant was also the first Dubuque building to employ concrete piles for its foundation supports in lieu of the traditional timber ones. Hollow steel molds were driven to bedrock and filled with concrete. The 120-ton steel smokestack was also the first of its kind west of Chicago. A new car barn, with a 50-car capacity, more than tripled the total capacity. Replacement rail, rated at 72 pounds to the yard, were heavier than the 60-pound industrial standard. New white oak sleepers supported the rails on unpaved streets, and a concrete bed did the same on brick streets. The resulting system, to be finished by the fall of 1904, was “a model for the state” and the company consequently hosted the annual meeting of the state association of street railway owners in 1905 to show off the system (*Enterprise*, June 11, 1904).

²³ A later account stated “The switches on the upper end of Couler avenue were taken out and by putting in the loop on Eagle Point avenue, Jackson street and Couler avenue a complete double track is secured on the main line, which obviates all waiting on switches and other delays (*Enterprise*, January 24, 1903).

²⁴ Two lines were actually pulled up, Iowa and Jackson as far as Sanford Avenue, and 2nd, Locust and Iowa as far as Jackson during 1903 (*Enterprise*, April 18, 1903).

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A related context that demands the attention of the historian is the matter of interurban service for Dubuque. Electrically powered interurban railroads provided critical passenger/local freight service to expanding urban areas. They particularly fostered the development of area truck farming and suburban growth because outlying residents on acreages could cheaply and quickly ship fresh produce to downtown markets and buyers. The 1902 completion of the Eagle Point Bridge was coupled with hopes for an interurban service into Wisconsin that would have utilized the bridge. Nothing came of these plans however. The organization of the Rochester & Dubuque Traction Company was announced in late 1906, but the fate of this company is unexplored. The role of interurbans and Dubuque require focused attention (Des Moines *Capital*, October 5, 1906).

Mississippi River Traffic Ebbs:

The Army Corps of Engineers finally began to make a substantial impact on river navigation during these years. A combination of wingdams, closing dams (which closed off multiple channels), wingdams and riprapping did the trick in a rudimentary way to achieve a minimal six-foot channel. By 1905 there were 225 miles of wingdams in place (Anfinson, Chapter 2, p. 36, Chapter 4, pp. 4, 26).

It wasn't until 1907 that federal attention was paid to regularizing even a minimal navigable channel in the river above the Missouri River. Congress mandated a six-foot channel that year for the river between St. Paul and the mouth of the Missouri River. No comprehensive action would be taken for some 30 years however. A long-anticipated event the next year, 1908, was the belated opening of the Illinois and Michigan Canal (also called the Hennepin Canal). The canal was too small to handle then-current vessels and the river trade had been diverted by the railroads anyway. The last lumber raft, comprised of sawn plank passed Dubuque in 1915. Innovative Dubuque lumbermen had already switched their wood source to the West Coast and sawn lumber reached the city by rail (Tweet, 1984, p. 256).

Three record flood years were recorded at Dubuque between 1916 and 1920. On May 3, 1916 the river reached a level of 19.8 feet. Then twin flood levels struck in 1920, both 21 feet in elevation, on April 7 and 21 (*Dubuque Business*, October 1929, p. 28).

The Sawmill Industry Dies, A Victim of Fire:

The exhaustion of the upriver lumber white pine resources and the end of the river shipping of cut logs combined to plague the city's massive sawmill industry beginning in the last years of the 19th Century. It was a third force, that of arson-caused fires that finally destroyed this key city industry. The first disaster had struck on June 9, 1894 destroyed the LeSure Mill and the massive Standard Lumber complex was saved only by an intervening slough. Some 60 million board feet of lumber was consumed. Individual lumber yards and a mill were lost in 1895 and 1906 blazes. The string of record destructive lumberyard fires began on April 11, 1910 (7th Street, \$100,000 loss), April 21 (Jackson Street, same loss) and concluded with fires on May 27-28 (\$500,000 losses) and July 30 (\$220,000 loss). The principal casualty was the Standard Lumber Company, which ceased operations. Never again would lumber operations of that scale carried out in the city. While lumber cutting was largely eliminated, millworking firms that were already using West Coast hardwood and Pacific pine lumber sources, were unaffected and evolved into several of the world's largest companies of

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their class. Millworking largely replaced lumber processing as a key industrial sector (*Telegraph-Herald*, September 22, 1958, "Dubuque Sawmill Industry Died in Spectacular Fire)."²⁵

Another Mississippi River Vehicular Bridge, 1902:

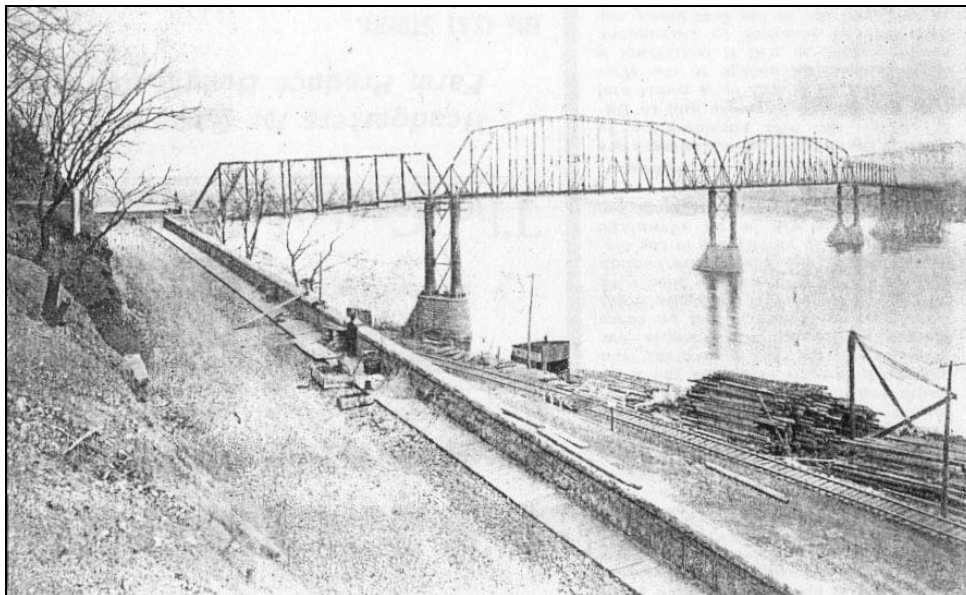


Figure 25: The still incomplete Eagle Point Bridge, view towards Wisconsin (*Enterprise*, April 27, 1902)²⁶

The present-day reader is accustomed to free bridge service over even major rivers but this was not the case for most of Dubuque's history. It wasn't until the early 1950s that the Julien Dubuque bridge construction bonds were paid off and that bridge opened for free passage. The Eagle Point Bridge was a toll crossing even after the state purchased it in the late 1980s with the intention of taking it down.

"Dubuque Now Clasps Hands With Wisconsin" proclaimed the *Enterprise* as the city's second Mississippi River vehicular bridge was completed in early 1902. The bridge directly linked southwestern Wisconsin with a population equal to that of Dubuque (these 40,000 lived within a 20-mile radius of Dubuque). Support for the bridge was not citywide, being pushed for by the major industrial interests of north Dubuque, specifically the Dubuque Malting Company. The chief proponent of the new bridge, Mr. Fengler, died in 1900 and the project waned for another several years. It was said that the disinterest on the part of the rest of the city was due to the many other competing undertakings and not to a lack of appreciation for the trade advantages promised by the bridge. There were some fears that the northern bridge would substantially divert traffic from the older high bridge. The construction of the Burlington Railroad eliminated a riverfront farm-to-market road which led south to the high bridge and what had been a three-mile trip was

²⁵ One of the great Dubuque urban legends alleged that permanent underground fires from the Standard Lumber fires of 1911 continue to burn. See "Underground Fire Theory Is Disproved," *Telegraph Herald*, December 6, 1937.

²⁶ The Rhomberg Avenue approach to the bridge is visible in this photograph. Large-scale cut stone abutment/retaining walls (visible to the right) ran along the river side of the approach. It is possible that this wall survives and could be used to interpret the now-demolished bridge. It is also possible that the construction of the lock and dam widened or replaced this approach.

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lengthened to one of seven or eight miles, and “[the fact that] the detour around the hills was more than the farmers would make was manifested by our loss of their trade.” Grant County, Wisconsin, it was noted, had no towns larger than 2,000 population and the only competing major urban center was Madison, 120 miles distant by train. One example of the failure of Dubuque to develop as a produce hub was the fact that grain for half of the city’s 6,000 horses had to be imported, at a time when the city should have been a grain-exporting center. The city would also benefit from live stock, dairy and other farm products. City public entertainments would attract a broader audience and city residents could now enjoy using “one of the finest drives in this part of the country...what would be enjoyable than a drive over there [Wisconsin] for supper and the return by midnight” (*Enterprise*, April 27, 1902).

The bridge was strongly supported by north city interests, particularly the German community. The latter raised \$1,000 for the bridge at a special Saengerbund Hall event and the 300 subscribers to the \$94,000 bridge company stock “included...nearly every merchant and business man in the upper part of the city...it was taken up by them as their special project. Fund raising actually first began on the Wisconsin side from area farmers. The city built the Iowa bridge approach (\$25,000) and the bridge cost \$110,000. Chicago architects E. C. and R. M. Shankland designed the structure. Toledo Bridge Company provided the structural steel and Lenihan & Molo built the bridge. Pier work began in July 1901 and the steelwork was erected on the ice during the winter. The steelwork was done by early April and the entire structure finished that same month. The four spans measured 1,110 feet, and the Wisconsin trestle approach was even longer, 1,824 feet. The roadway was 18 feet wide. The clear span above the high water mark was 55 feet. The bridge was stronger than comparable spans at Clinton or Lyons and could support the heaviest streetcar if necessary.

In earlier times Dubuque had but two railroads instead of the present four, and for half the year had no reliable means of communication with her natural trade territory on the eastern side of the Mississippi. Railway construction meanwhile has been of great value in sustaining and developing our most important industries.

The construction of two high bridges across the Mississippi River greatly improved our position in competition for the trade of neighboring Illinois and Wisconsin, but did not perfect it. We had yet to deal with country roads difficult or impassable to travel in some seasons...

Dubuque—Past, Present and Future (1930), p. 9

The City Beautiful Movement In Dubuque:

Dubuque was so well provided with natural beauty and picturesque bluffs that little organized attention was given to the creation of parks, boulevards, or the improvement of the city’s industrial riverfront. The *Enterprise* judged that Dubuque had “not only refused to aid Nature, but we have worked against her to some extent.” The same source tallied “ragged river banks, the filth and squalor along the ‘flats,’ the fact that our forests are being robbed to fill our wood box, the hideous advertisements that deface many of our magnificent bluffs, and our general unkempt, untidy appearance.” It recalled the words of the Walrus and the Carpenter in early 1902 in describing the riverfront:

The Walrus and the Carpenter were walking hand in hand.
They wept like anything to see such quantities of sand.
“If this were only swept away,” said they, “It would be grand.”

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“But sand was not the worst thing to be seen. Muddy, swampy banks, covered with weeds, piles of lumber and evil-smelling masses of clamshells line the shores of Dubuque. Ashes are dumped here, and debris and rubbish of all kinds pollute the air and foster disease germs.”

Clinton’s riverfront improvements were contrasted with Dubuque’s lack of them. That city to the south, with just 23,000 population had secured a government-built seawall and was laying out a two-mile long riverfront park. “There is no reason why the people of Dubuque should not follow Clinton’s example. We have her same possibilities, even greater natural advantages, and a large amount of influence with Uncle Sam” (*Enterprise*, February 23, 1902).

Two years later, Edith Lane writing in the *Enterprise*, echoed some of these same concerns, lamenting the lack of trees along Dubuque’s streets and the continual loss of the few that did exist. She lamented “for thirty years our method of tree-trimming and care has been a byword and laughingstock through the country; east and west we hear it,—‘Do they still cut off the tops of the trees in Dubuque?’” Lane deplored “our deplorable lack of park and play-ground...[and] the vandalism that robs our window-boxes and injures and destroys public and private property.” Lane’s lens was a high-end perspective. While she admired the Central High School and “perhaps half a dozen houses in the city—no more” the city had a long way to go before its residents could “truthfully tell about the beauty of Dubuque” (*Enterprise*, November 26, 1904).

All came to a head with City Planner Charles Mulford Robinson’s study of Dubuque and his subsequent “Report On The Improvement Of The City of Dubuque, Iowa” which he presented in late 1907. First the good news. Robinson found Dubuque to be a city of homes with well distributed wealth, occupying “a wondrously beautiful location, nature not only pressing it around with varied and picturesque scenery, but thrusting beauty of bluff or river or view into its very street system, so that throughout the whole city one can hardly ever be forgetful of the natural beauty of the site.” Now the bad news. The city lacked a park commission and its parks consisted of “a couple of little triangles at street intersections, and two little city [nondescript] squares...” (Robinson, pp. 3-5).

...no beauty of bluff or river has been set aside for the people, and viewpoints have been parted with for what they would bring. The citizen who would enjoy the beauty that should be the right of those who live in Dubuque is compelled to trespass on private property.

Charles M. Robinson, 1907

Robinson found three main components which comprised the city’s natural beauty; the river, the adjacent bluffs, and the western highlands with their inland perspective. He laid out recommendations for ornamental spaces, neighborhood parks, recreational playgrounds and large country parks, and a series of connecting boulevards. These small parks were particularly appropriate because the city’s irregular street pattern. He favored enhancing the engine house corner at 18th Street and Central Avenue, the terminus of the 8th Street carline and Grandview Avenue at Dodge, South Dodge and Delhi streets. Truly “spectacular” results would be achieved at little cost if the city purchased the bluff fronts at a number of locations. These were partially hidden with billboards. Rock-hewn public steps could replace rickety wooden stairways and a safe trail could follow the bluffline. Neighborhood parks would occupy the best vantagepoints along the trail. The playgrounds were intended for placement near the Great Western Shops for use by laborers. Present day Comiskey Park was recommended by Robinson as an excellent location for such a park (ibid., pp. 4-14).

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Locals encouraged Ham's Island as a location for a larger park but Robinson saw no potential, citing its inaccessibility, regular flooding, and the compelling alternative of Eagle Point, with its vistas and wild beauty. Kelly's Bluff, on the south end of the city was the second recommended park site. Robinson judged "there is in Dubuque no other unoccupied height of such area so accessible and with so splendid a view." The two parks would improve local property values and would largely pay for themselves in that manner (ibid. pp. 15-18).

When Robinson presented his riverfront parks recommendations he compared Dubuque's relinquishing of its riverfront to factories and railroads to the Chicago riverfront. The city fathers were not well pleased with this finding. Never mind that it was the railroads and industries which had filled in the riverfront to make it usable in any form. Robinson recommended riverfront parks along the south side of Ice Harbor (owned by the city) and Rafferty's Slough, a spring-fed wetland that ran in front of Mount Carmel Road. The latter was to be a water park, with summer swimming and boating, and winter skating. Finally a larger rural park reserve was best located on the lower Catfish Creek, site of Dubuque's grave. A connecting boulevard could then link the Ice Harbor, Mount Carmel, the Kellys Bluff park, Grandview Avenue (with a standard 100-foot width), Seminary Street, Madison Street hill, Garfield and Rhomberg avenues, and Eagle Point (ibid., pp. 18-25).

Robinson closed with some other recommendations. He favored widening of Main Street or at least removing "unnecessary sidewalk obstructions." Major east-west streets (14th and 8th streets) which connected to uphill arterials were too narrow while other east/west roads which led nowhere, ending at the bluff base, were too wide. Second Street in front of the Cathedral in particular was 100 feet wide and could be parked west from Main Street. The Rhomberg Avenue elms he cited as a model for other key streets, but recommended a thinning of the maturing trees. He chided the flimsy electric lights which hung from wires in the downtown and pleaded for street name signs "very much needed throughout Dubuque." Waste cans would look better without advertising. Dubuque's alleys were "so broad and so conspicuous that they may properly be considered under the head of streets. Their dirtiness is appalling." Robinson was impressed by the size of the school playgrounds. He urged that all at-grade railroad crossings be raised and he favored the building of a union railroad station ("instead of the four village-like stations"). Robinson challenged the city, citing "the present keen rivalry of cities" that only a broad comprehensive implementation of his park recommendations would transform Dubuque into a truly modern city (ibid., pp. 25-31).

Dubuque smarted under the criticism and most of Robinson's recommendations remained dreams. Between 1908-10 Eagle Point Park was made a reality with 133 acres. Streetcar access followed the extension of Ravine Road in 1912 and the park formally opened September 28, 1912. Riverfront steps later further enhanced visitor access (Lyon, pp. 133-34).

A 1911 Chamber of Commerce promotional book cited "the layout of a 'City Beautiful.'" The city "cannot be said to have been planned but grew without a plan." Terming the city "The Heidelberg of America," nature and not man was credited with beautifying the city. A curious self-criticism admitted that "almost all of the public buildings are poorly located, though fine structures in themselves." Neighborhood was not sufficiently considered when they were built. In truth all of those buildings had their origins in pre-Civil War Dubuque. All of these buildings and most of the city's churches were on the lower level part of the original city.

"Far better, however, the managers of the large educational institutions, the colleges, seminaries, hospitals, homes of aged...have chosen sites and thus you find them occupying beautiful view points,

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with abundance of pure air and sunshine and away from the city's smoke, magnificent [and]
buildings...(Dubuque, Iowa, p. 13).

The prettiest part of Dubuque is not seen unless you hunt for it. Outside of a pretty view of the Mississippi not much that is taking to the eye is seen as you enter the city on any of the roads. From the depots and along the way up town you see boiler shops and dingy looking factory buildings and wholesale houses. But these are the pride of Dubuque, for she has a goodly share of those valuable industrial enterprises and they are what have made and are sustaining the city. These buildings look old and dingy because they are old and have stood the storms and the strain of machinery for years. When you get on the inside you see the busy workmen and the revolving machinery you forget all about how the exterior of the buildings look and you begin to let envy creep into your nature and wish you had 'em transferred to your town. You can see for yourself the why of Dubuque's pride in her factories. It does not matter whether it is your first, second, third or fiftieth time when one visits a city he wants to see the best. The beauty of the city of Dubuque is to be found in her residence portion, and the eye-pleasing landscapes spread out before you from the plateau of the bluffs where the residences mostly are. The business portion of Dubuque is flat and low and when you walk from the business streets to catch a glimpse of the residence portion you find yourself suddenly facing a bluff almost perpendicular and in the neighborhood of 200 feet above the business houses. The street cars have to go some distance around in order to find a way to reach this part of the city, but there are a system of elevators located at various points which elevate you on short order and safety...

Daily Telegraph, July 24, 1899, "Des Moines' Man Sees Dubuque
by C. L. Dotson, copied from *Des Moines Register*).

A Cultural Flowering In Dubuque:

Lawrence Sommer in particular felt that Dubuque's role as a theatrical and cultural center was an important one. This context is recommended for development. While the city boasted two opera houses as of the 1890s, there is some indication that a cultural high water mark was achieved after 1900. The *Enterprise* noted in late 1902 that "Dubuque is fast becoming one of the best show towns in the state." Other developments, particularly the construction of the Carnegie-Stout public library, the founding of the Dubuque Club, and the flourishing of ethnic cultural organizations, combined to make the city a cultural center. Literary and other groups and the emergence of the *Enterprise* magazine, largely a local cultural journal, were other indications of a cultural and literary movement. Noteworthy Dubuque writers included Richard Bissell (1913-77), Marian Hurd McNeely (1877-1930) and "Jazebo of Old Dubuque" John Patrick Mulgrew (1886-1949) (*Enterprise*, July 20, October 19, 1902; Lyon, pp. 40-41, 300, 321).

Another very significant Dubuque historical theme is its role as a college city. Collectively the many colleges have contributed culturally to the community in addition to their financially beneficial role. Despite Dubuque's reputation for cultural conservatism, there is considerable evidence to show that new ideas and initiatives have flowed constantly from its colleges, seminaries and related institutions. Certainly students and faculties have contributed to the impressive corpus of Dubuque and Iowa history (*Dubuque Business*, Dubuque-A College City, Prof. H. S. Ficke, June-July 1930, pp. 6, 15).

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Dubuque and Dubuque County were defiantly and increasingly pro-Democratic even as Iowa as a whole had grown more and more staunchly Republican. The city and county figured prominently during the 1931 statewide Congressional redistricting during the Democratic Party resurgence of power. The local transformation reached its highpoint in the 1928 presidential election when the last marginal Republican townships were swept away by a growing Democratic majority. Throughout its history, city and county produced lopsided Democratic victories in the usually in the 60 to 40 percentage range. County party support exceeded that of the city. There were notable exceptions in elections dating from 1904 when Theodore Roosevelt's popularity swept out all Democratic county office holders save for the County Recorder, the first time this had ever happened. In 1912 Woodrow Wilson prevailed in the face of a divided opposition. Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party garnered 27 percent of the vote. Possibly setting a pattern of anti-incumbency, Wilson barely prevailed in 1916, gaining a bare two percent majority over Hughes. More surprising, Republican Warren Harding was awarded a 59 to 36 percent majority over Cox in 1920. Progressive third party candidates, usually Socialists, usually polled three percent of the electorate, although Eugene Debs attained 7 percent of the 1904 county vote (and 11 percent in the city).²⁷ This record level of support closely followed the labor unrest of 1903. Robert LaFollette smashed that record in 1924, winning the county with 43 percent of the vote. His Republican opponent Calvin Coolidge beat out Democrat Davis by ten percentage points. The traditional Democratic plurality returned in 1928 and Roosevelt's first term victory set an all-time record with a 71 percent Democratic turnout. Remarkably Roosevelt slipped in popularity in each of three successive three elections, and he actually lost to Wendell

²⁷ The Socialists did very well in the 1902 elections, garnering votes as high as 732. In the spring of 1904 the party offered a full city ticket but their mayorial candidate garnered just 272 votes (Oldt, pp. 386-87).

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Wilkie 51 to 48 percent in 1940. The voters clearly disfavored Roosevelt or the hilltop precincts did so to such an extent that they prevailed over the flat-landers. Every other Democratic nominee was elected. Dwight Eisenhower carried the county in two elections but Truman, Kennedy and Johnson all received landslide-level victories. Lesser Democratic victories followed from 1968 through 1984 (Wilkie, pp. 221, 231; Calkin, p. 65).

With the passing of these political giants, Democratic Dubuque candidates had at least a chance to occupy the vacant seats. Dubuque Congressman Maurice Connolly (1877-1921) was elected in 1912 and four years later sought a Senate seat in the first popularly elected race for that national chamber. He lost to Republican and former Iowa governor Alfred Baird Cummins (1850-1926). Former *Telegraph-Herald* editor Richard Louis Murphy achieved a Senate seat with Roosevelt's first victory, but he died in an automobile accident in 1936 before his first term was completed. Murphy Park honors him (ibid., p. 409, 419, 427; Lyons, p. 323).

Population Stability:

The population chart presented above dramatically depicts the failure of Dubuque's population to grow during the 40-year period following 1900. Note that the state census totals continued to outpace the federal findings, the last state headcount being taken in 1925. It wasn't until 1930 that the 40,000-population target was finally achieved (unless one accepts the 1925 state figures which, for the first time appeared to be accurate). Relying upon the federal counts, population growth 1910-20 was 1.6 percent, between 1920-1930, 6.4 percent, and 1930-40, 5.3 percent. World War II did finally bring substantial population growth to the city and a 13 percent gain was recorded between 1940-50 (a 1945 count would indicate the degree to which this growth came during or after the war). An identical gain was achieved between 1950 and 1960.

This urban population profile is of some historical interest because it offers the model of a large Iowa city that failed to grow in population at a time when other comparable cities enjoyed considerable growth. Growth was particularly associated with World War I-era prosperity. From Dubuque's standpoint, what is significant about these figures is not so much the lack of growth as the lack of population loss. Despite the trauma of the Great Depression, the city population loyally remained in the city.

Municipal Growth, 1910-1955:

Dubuquer's doubted that any other city in Iowa or the west "could make an equal showing under similar adverse circumstances" as their city did during 1911. Ten months of struggle between labor and contractors greatly impeded building. Building continued to be predominately small-scale and just a dozen projects exceeded \$10,000 in value. One of these, the new Brunswick-Balke-Collender factory (\$500,000) accounted for one third of the city building total however and the five largest private projects (\$945,000 total) accounted for 62 percent of the total. Adding municipal improvements (\$200,000) just 25 percent of the total was attributable to small-scale private building. The *Telegraph-Herald* concluded:

The meaning of this can be but one thing. Dubuque is building residences for its working classes and is building them because they are needed. This must mean Dubuque is increasing in population, and without a doubt, the next census will show Dubuque has the healthiest advance in population of any city in the state.

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The 1911 improvements included two bungalows. The majority of the new houses cost \$3-3,500 (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 31, 1911).



Figure 27: Brunswick Plant, 1911 (Courtesy Dubuque County Historical Society)

The *Telegraph-Herald* downplayed the 1912 improvements under a small caption “Much Building Done Past Year.” Residences dominated local construction and “but few large buildings have been erected.” No counts or list were offered. “Many new residences erected” proclaimed the newspaper and it was reported that “architects and contractors are unanimous in declaring that the year has been a prosperous one in their respective lines of work.” New homes were “especially noticeable in the hill districts and in the north end of the city.” Five larger projects were valued at \$430,000 (Mercy Hospital Home for the Aged, A. Y. McDonald warehouse, Severance Hall at the University of Dubuque, heating plant at the German College, and a gym at St. Joseph College) (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 29, 1912).

The *Telegraph-Herald* warned “More Homes Are Needed In City” in mid-1912, and lauded the developers who had built Coventry Court Flats and the Austin Apartments in the face of local criticism. Both buildings were “filled or almost filled with the most desirable of tenants.” A “glaring shortage of suitable cottages or modern flats” should encourage other similar projects. “It will appear laborers, carpenters and others will have their hands full at all times.” A promotional “Home Builders Directory” printed in early May featured a concrete bungalow plan designed by regional architect Charles Sedgwick, valued at \$2,800 (*Telegraph-Herald*, May 5, June 23, 1912).

Between 1912 and 1914 the *Telegraph-Herald* estimated that a million dollars had been spent building new homes in the city, mostly in response to the arrival of the Brunswick-Balke-Collender Company with several hundred new jobs. A major inducement to residential growth in West Dubuque was the extension of the West Locust Street car line to Asbury and Delhi streets. For a nickel a commuter could traverse a four-mile route west from the Great Western Depot. The newspaper noted “It has opened up a new section of the city which promises to become a most desirable residential section.”

A trip over the city must convince one of the building activity. Various sections which were nothing but prairie, some of them covered with water and overgrown with weeds, are now among the most beautiful and sanitary residential districts in the city.

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One of the marked changes in this respect is represented by the new Municipal Athletic park. For years the site was a dumping ground. It now is one of the best-improved pieces of property in the city and one that will grow in value and usefulness.

Homebuilder Chris Voelker was credited with building a bungalow development around the former athletic park and with building up the South Alta Vista Street district. "This neighborhood development idea is taking a hold in Dubuque in a remarkable manner..." The 1914 construction numbers were impressive, in excess of \$4 million. "It can be said without exaggeration that Dubuque has taken a longer progressive step in 1914 than any other city in Iowa." Wartburg Seminary, new to the city, was being constructed at a cost of \$200,000. Four religious institution-building projects totaled \$823,000. The railroads expended \$233,000 and public services \$493,000. The new Julien Hotel and the Elks Home cost \$670,000 (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 27, 1914).

A record number of residences were built in 1915 and the list included 15 bungalows. The three principal house builders were Bradley & McClay, Kubnals & Son, and Chris Voelker. It was noted "during 1915 there have been more residences built than in any other year in the history of Dubuque:"

With the rapid growth in population, due to the increase of business, suitable houses are in great demand. There was a constant cry for houses this year and many contractors were forced to double up on the shift in order to get the homes ready. Real estate men and those who make a business of handling and building residences claim that there was never such a demand for residences as this year.

Total private construction accounted for just 44 percent of the years growth. Religious institution improvements (principally Wartburg Seminary and Sacred Heart School, totaling \$625,000) made up 31 percent. The new building was "evidence of stability had in style of architecture and serviceability of structures" boasted the newspaper (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 26, 1915).

A small 1916 progress report recorded a 50 percent decrease in total construction compared to 1914, below \$2,000,000. The collapse was due to the lack of large private projects. Just one such project that year was valued at \$75,000. Private investments accounted for 39 percent of the years total (compared to 56 percent in 1914). Public improvements were stressed as were the building efforts of religious institutions and public utilities. The *Telegraph-Herald* admitted "for the past number of years [Dubuque's] growth has been varied but gradual." Prospects for 1917 were brighter and readers were assured "Dubuque's population is still on the increase." The city's gateway, "the leading channel into Illinois and Wisconsin," 4th Street, was paved. Windsor Avenue was "made over" and the West Locust Street paving was extended. Clay Street, between 2nd and 24th streets, was also paved (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 31, 1916).

The year 1917 was "another banner year" in the estimation of the *Times-Journal* but the total valuation of new construction, barely above that of 1916, was the lowest since 1913. Strikes had impeded growth during 1915 and 1916. One growth area was in street and alley improvements. The Farley and Loetscher Warehouse, an addition to the First National Bank and the new Holy Ghost Church represented \$360,000 in value. Two filling stations were included in the list of new buildings (*Times-Journal*, January 1, 1918).

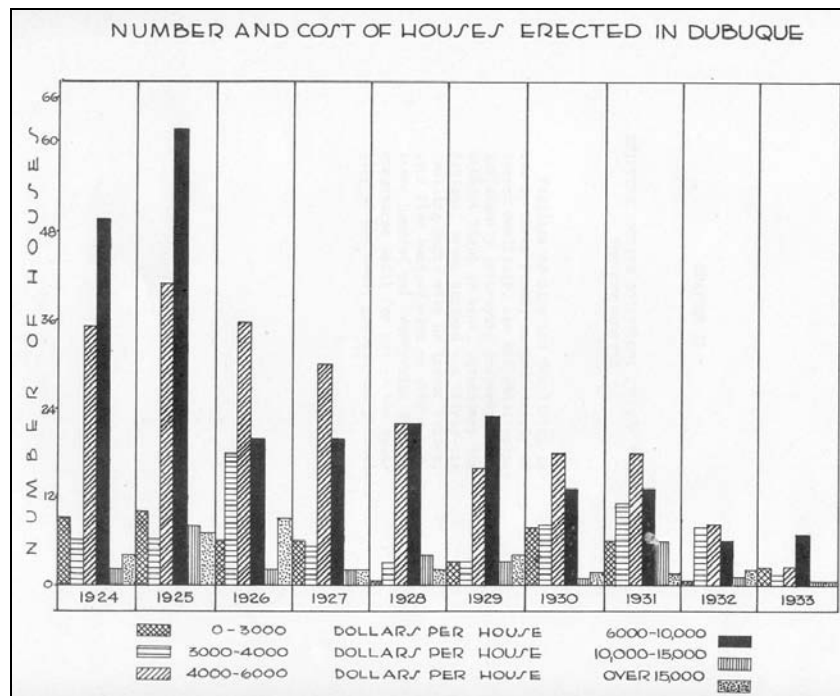
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Figure 28: New Dubuque House Starts, 1924-33 (1935 Housing Report)

World War I brought with it sharp wage and building materials price hikes and during 1918, restrictions on non-priority construction. Inflation was increasingly present in the pre-war years and particularly during the war when war needs and military priorities competed for both labor and materials. Construction during the final seven months of 1917 was \$603,170, and this figure plummeted to \$300,000 during that same period in 1918. Under reporting of additions and remodeling was blamed as part of the cause for the drop but government restrictions were the main cause. Dubuque's construction rebounded immediately when the government ended its prohibition on non-priority building and 1919 building figures doubled those of 1918. The numbers were bolstered by a number of very large projects, notably the Tuberculosis Hospital (\$150,000) and the Brunswick plant. A small number of builders dominated, Anton Zwack on the larger projects, Voelker Realty and James Gregory led in the house-building trade. Contractors counted on filing their building permits after-the-fact and the city engineer threatened fines for the delinquents when they filed for \$45,000 in permits the first Saturday of the new year 1920. Contractors were enjoined by the *Times-Journal* to save the city receiving "a black eye" when undervalued figures were printed each year by "one national engineers magazine." The city experienced a severe housing shortage after the war and just two houses were available to be rented at years end. (*Daily News*, December 31, 1919 *Times-Journal*; January 5, 1919; *Times-Journal*, November 23, 1919).

By 1922 local construction had largely rebounded, and doubling the 1921 totals. Public and institutional building projects drove up the numbers. Downtown the Federal Bank Building and Union Trust and Savings totaled \$600,000. Three religious institution expansions and two new junior high schools were also underway (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 31, 1922).

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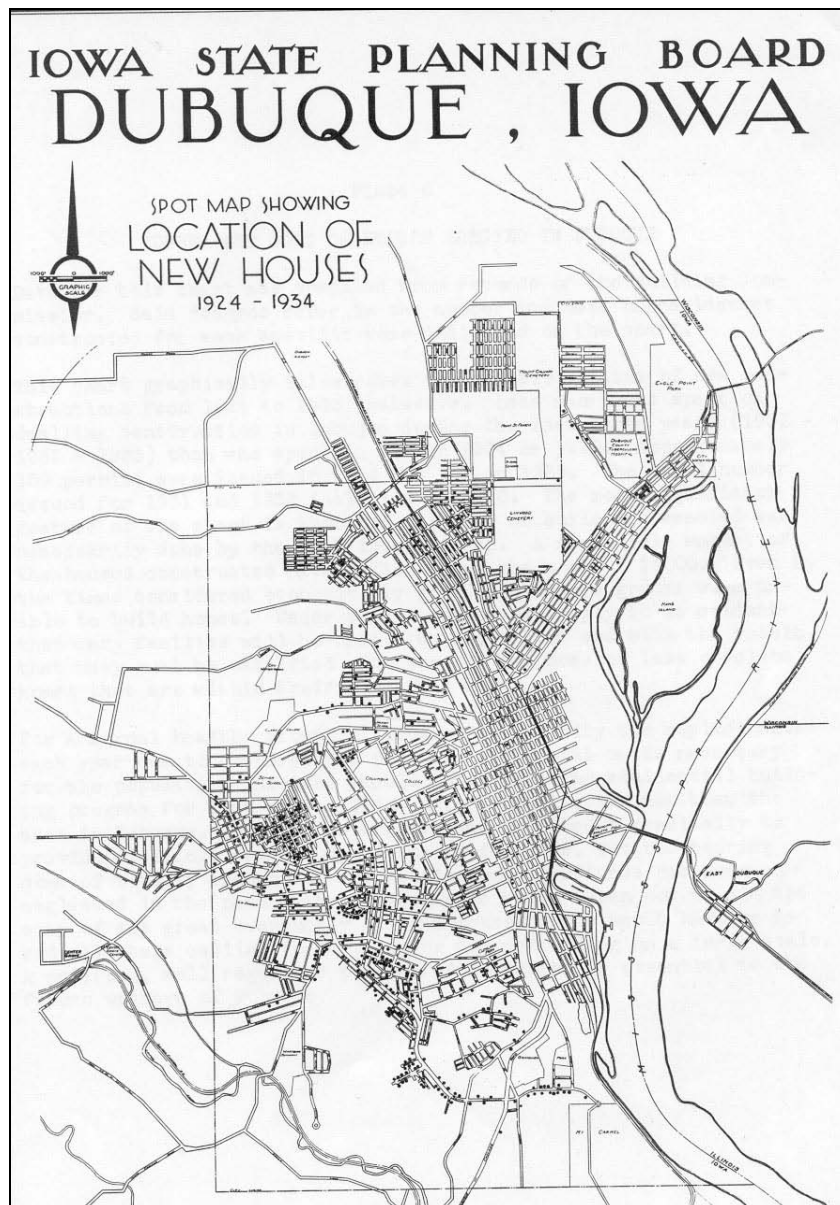


Figure 29: Location of Dubuque Housing Starts, 1924-1933 (1935 Housing Report)
Note the clustering along the “western highlands” and bluff tops.

The boom continued through 1924 when \$3,000,000 was expended although the local newspaper fudged the figures by including county road paving expenses in the total. Streets and sewer projects accounted for over \$2,600,000 of the total. Church institutional building and Finley Hospital expansions were also underway. A statewide comparison of building permits issued through November 1 placed Dubuque behind (actually well behind) Des Moines and Sioux Falls [sic, Sioux City] but the comparative city listing in *The Dubuquer* was still headed by Dubuque. Cedar Rapids was

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close behind but Davenport, Council Bluffs and Waterloo all languished (ibid., December 28, 1924; *The Dubuquer*, December 1924, p. 3).

By 1925 the big projects were finished. The Canfield Hotel expanded and the University of Dubuque built Van Vliet Hall. Public expenditures comprised just 14 percent of the total while new house starts accounted for 53 percent (ibid., December 27, 1925).

The house construction chart presented above visually traces the changing mix of housing cost categories over a ten-year period 1924-33. Houses priced \$4,000-\$10,000 dominate through 1929 while the most expensive houses increase in number between 1925 and 1926, and then decline to a handful. Lower cost housing (less than \$4,000) increases sharply by 1931, but fades after 1932. By 1920 the average new house cost was \$6,000 (*Dubuque Business*, January 1930, p. 4).

By 1926 the city boasted 125 miles of paved roads. The year was termed a "Banner Year for the Better Highway System" given the county's approval of a paving bond issue. It was also "probably the first time in the history of the city the municipal government lived within its incomes." The city's "auto row" developed along Iowa Street by 1929. The city had 96 miles of water mains and during the year added 347 new water meters for a total of 8,005 units. These were not all new buildings but reflected progress in modernizing older properties. The police handled 150 auto theft complaints and returned all but eight vehicles. A total of 644 deaths occurred during the year but it was stressed that 150 of these were strangers and shouldn't be counted in calculating the city's mortality rate! (Ibid., January 2, 1926; January 2, 1927; *Times-Journal*, January 2, 1927; *Telegraph-Herald*, August 29, 1929).

The 1929 building program included a good number of major construction projects. These were an addition to the Mary of the Angels Home (6th and Bluff streets), Clarke College gym and auditorium, Holy Trinity School, the first (north) half of Roshek's Department Store (8th and Locust streets), the Burns Realty Company garage, and the new *Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal* building (\$500,000) (*Dubuque Business*, January 1930, pp. 4, 7).

The strangulating impact of the Great Depression wasn't strongly felt until the latter part of 1931 in the Midwest and Dubuque, like all cities on the go, was busily engaged in erecting major new buildings. Over \$3,000,000 was expended in the city during 1929 and a host of major 1930 projects were announced by January 1930. These included the new Masonic Temple (\$250,000), the south half of the huge Roshek's Department Store and four lesser industrial and commercial projects (*Dubuque Business*, January 1930, pp. 4, 6; *Telegraph-Herald*, January 2, 1931).

A local campaign was initiated to employ 1,000 unemployed in the construction industries during 1931 and some success was achieved with nearly \$1,000,00 being spent in new building and remodeling. There were 17 new business buildings and five new filling stations. The construction season ran later than usual and permits for 23 of 54 new houses were taken out in the final 90 days of the year. Garage construction continued to play catch-up with increasing auto ownership. Of 107 new garages, 81 were of frame construction. Six elevators were added to existing buildings and 39 electrical advertising signs were added. Four houses were moved and six demolished (*Telegraph-Herald*, January 2, 1932).

The 1934 housing survey offers a comprehensive picture of the state of the city's housing as of that year. New house construction was taking place on the fringes of the city (see chart above) despite the presence of 4,000 inner city building lots. Many of the new houses lay outside of the corporate city limits beyond the reach of the tax collector or

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land use controls. High property taxes drove up rents, principally in the flats located in and around the downtown. Many commercial and office buildings had been converted for residential use, apparently in the 1920s, with inadequate provisions for sanitation and modern conveniences. The city was physically divided by class with poorer housing being on the lowlands, and the better houses on the bluffs. The greatest population density was at the point and in Kauffman Valley, and between 9th and Dodge streets west of the downtown. The downtown precincts were smaller in size than the bluff top precincts due to this higher density (1934 Housing Report, pp. 77, 98).

Dubuque was described as a city of single-family dwellings and these were nearly completely dominant outside of the downtown. Multi-family housing, comprised mostly of converted single-family houses, was intermixed in the downtown with flats set above storefronts, apartments and rooming houses. Two-family units were of two types, with side by side and up and down divisions. The housing study found the city notably lacking in multi-unit housing. Low cost housing was not being built and new construction failed to meet the need. Even with its low level of growth, Dubuque was gaining 60 new families annually but new construction would have housed just a third of these. Add in an estimated 150 housing units (this 1.5 percent of the total housing stock was a theoretical obsolescence rate but these units didn't necessarily disappear from the housing market) which became obsolete annually, and the housing shortage increased. Twenty percent of city housing was over 50 years old (1935 Housing Report, pp. 13-14, 20-21, 26,31).

The first comprehensive plan (1936) lauded "the notable progress made in the architectural merit of recent private business structures" (1936 Plan, p. 11).

The 1937 building program as of early May exceeded those of the previous "number of years." The ten new houses then underway included a Cape Cod cottage (2285 Bennett) and a bungalow (263 Valley Street). Seven businesses were making improvements and Molo Oil Company was building a service station (14th and Central). House building was clearly leading the way in reviving the local construction industry (*Telegraph-Herald*, May 9, 1937).

It wasn't until early 1940 that the first real residential construction boom unfolded in the city, the first time that over a hundred houses went up since 1925. Half as many houses were built in the suburbs beyond the city boundaries. New house starts continued at the same pace through mid-May of the next year (*Telegraph-Herald*, May 18, 1941).

The city as of 1942 included 38 schools, as many churches, 10,000 homes, two thirds of which were owner-occupied, 16 parks, 89 factories and 599 retail stores (WPA, p. 68).

A statewide canvas of November 1945 new house starts awarded Dubuque the leading role with 40 new houses started for a value of \$179,900. One of three new houses underway in 16 first-class Iowa cities was located in Dubuque. These were of course the houses meant to house the new Deere plant workers and Dubuque Homes Inc. was responsible for all but two of the house starts. By years end half were already under roof and the first would be ready for occupancy within four to five weeks. The city also led in remodeling permits that month (*Telegraph-Herald*, January 6, 1946).

Year	Total Construction		New Residential Construction			Notes:
	Total Value	Total Non-Residential	Number New S/F Houses	Total Value	New Multi-family Houses	
1911	\$1,515,645		69		4	86 new buildings
1912	\$1,500,000					
1913	Nearly \$3,000,000					
1914	\$4,041,745		78	\$316,800		

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1915	\$2,978,571		96	\$342,940		
1916	\$1,914,300		?	Nearly \$500,000		
1917	\$1,956,445		58	\$256,455		
1918						
1919	\$2,000,000+		Est. 149			Leads state, 107 times increase, 200% over 1918, 267 total permits
1920	\$551,990		90			8,173 total dwgs. 1920 census
1921	\$1,889,320		68			
1922	\$2,564,477		125			New houses average \$5,000, 484 total permits, several hundred garages
1923	\$1,818,000		177			
1924	Over \$3,000,000 \$1,616,158 private	\$1,632,000 streets, \$100,000+ sewers	163			8,790 total dwgs., 594 total permits,
1925	\$1,140,000	\$980,261	143	\$600,000		\$.75 million public improvements, Eagle Pt. Pump Station, 7 miles sewer, 8.5 miles paving, average house cost \$4,000, 1551 total permits
1926	\$677,876		93	\$343,818		1,282 total permits, 176 garages
1927			66			Estimate based on 1935 housing chart
1928			55			Estimate based on 1935 housing chart
1929	\$3,000,000		60-75	Average cost \$6,000		Est. by C. F. Bartels, Bldg. Commissioner
1930	\$1,548,154		48			four 1929 projects finished
1931			54	\$213,477		
1932			29			Estimate based on 1935 housing chart
1933			22			118 total 1930-33
1934						10,435 total families
1935						
1936						
1937	\$ 225,000 (as of May 9)		10 (as of May 9)			As of early May, Molo Service Station 14 th and Central, one bungalow, one Cape Cod
1938	\$1,000,000+					
1939	\$1,124,893+		38			
1940	\$728,817		107	\$ 500,000	"a few duplexes"	Figure excludes est. 50 houses in suburbs
1941	\$815,377		22 as of May 18	\$ 316,725	(2 duplexes)	
1942	\$341,137					10,000 homes
1943	\$142,171					
1944	\$288,960					
1945	\$620,970		47 (50)	\$199,250		\$4,240 average house cost, 580 total permits
1946	\$2,703,239		158	\$785,000		\$4,970 average house cost, 689 total permits
1947	\$2,500,000		269			110 Deere Houses underway, 12 done by mid-Sept., 744 total permits
1948						Data not found
1949						Data not found
1950						Data not found
1951						Data not found
1952						Data not found
1953						Data not found
1954						Data not found
1955						Data not found

The year 1945 was termed a "banner year" for city house building with more new house permits being issued that year than in the ten previous ones save for 1940-41. The *Herald* explained that "this city's rapid population growth has made the demand for housing especially intense here." The new houses were accompanied by 43 house conversions which produced at least that many new housing units (ibid.)

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1946 construction figures set a record in every respect. Mercy and Finley hospitals expanded as did the Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company, and Loras College built a chapel (*ibid.*, January 5, 1947).

Pre-fabricated houses played a minor role in new house starts the next year, 1949, with 21 of 269 units being a prefabricated model. The boom in new housing was underway. Just two years, 1938-39 had been comparable. Three major business expansions drove up the numbers. Farley & Loetscher added a power plant, Dubuque Packing Company expanded its stockyards and the Northwestern Telephone Company started the basement and first floor phase of a new office building (*ibid.*, January 4, 1947).

Wartime Mobilizations and Efforts to Restore the Eroded Municipal Industrial Base:

The average Dubuquer is taking new pride in his city, once the biggest manufacturing center of the state, as he sees it regaining some of its former distinction.

Recalling the huge soap plant and lumberyards that once flourished here, the plow factory which Mark Twain was told was the biggest in the world, John Q. Dubuque was a bit ashamed of his town in the 30's....

Some citizens will recall that Dubuque in 1880, with 23,384 population, held the top place in Iowa.

And they will further recall, abashedly, that the population in 1930, when Dubuque sank to seventh place (behind even Council Bluffs), was smaller than in 1905—the figures were 41,679 and 41,941 respectively... Yet, despite a few blemishes in the general picture, the average Dubuquer has reborn confidence in his city as a new year “takes off.” His hopes are in the altitudes again, like the planes that will be zooming out of the new airport.

Telegraph-Herald, January 5, 1947

This transitional postwar period has been addressed by Sylvester McCauley, who, writing in 1922, studied the operations of the massive Brunswick-Balke Collender Company²⁸, producer of phonograph players. In the prewar years wages were high and labor was somewhat scarce as the firm operated at normal capacity. With the coming of the war wages continued to rise in the face of a growing labor shortage. City industrial firms were producing such items as the lumber components of cartridge boxes. Women and girls temporarily entered the workforce to fill the void. At Brunswick they accounted for one half of the workforce at one point. Following the war normal production continued through April 1920. The only change was in the supply of male laborers, now sufficient. Wages and prices remained high. By this time the company was working overtime according to McCauley. After April 1920 there was a gradual decline in business trade, the female workforce was dismissed through the summer and fall. The “industrial crash” in McCauley’s words, came that fall.

The Brunswick was one of the last firms in Dubuque to close down. While some of its employees were laid off in early October, the factory kept going until the first of December, when the plant’s doors were closed, throwing a thousand men out of work.

For the next few months, business in the city was at its lowest ebb. Then the factories began taking on more men and things brightened a bit. The high wages of the war, however, were gone. Men at the Brunswick, working by the piece, who had previously made as much as fourteen and fifteen dollars a

²⁸ The former Brunswick Plant is now the Flex-Steel complex.

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day, found their scale of piece wages sadly reduced when they returned to work and had to be satisfied, in many cases with little more than half what they had earned before. Employees from other factories were far worse off than this.

McCauley determined that "Dubuque was not hit nearly so hard as other cities in this post-war slump." It was the woodworking component of the city's industrial mix which sheltered the city. A house-building boom in New Jersey and New York for returning soldiers provided a massive market for sash and doors from Farley & Loetscher Manufacturing Company. McCauley offered a contrasting (unnamed) example of a company that failed to respond to changing times:

We have in Dubuque a plant which, during the war, reaped enormous profits manufacturing war materials. The management of this company did not have the foresight to realize what was coming after the war; consequently, all the profits of the company were sunk back into extensive, likewise, expensive, improvements, for the purpose of turning out still more war materials. When the depression set in this particular company practically went on "the rocks," and has been so since. A large building, begun during those times of inflated prosperity, had to be abandoned and still stands there, a mute testimony to the folly of poor management under abnormal conditions.

Market conditions improved and normalcy was finally achieved by the summer of 1921. Wages were "only fair" given a plentiful labor supply. Business during 1922 was normal for seven months in the summer and fall when the national railroad strike caused some job loss and production cutbacks. At the time of his writing, in 1923, McCauley observed full-time plant operations and full employment and predicted "Dubuque has nothing to fear concerning unemployment at present" (McCauley, pp. 215-16).

In sheer numbers of plants the industrial attrition in Dubuque by 1942 was fairly astounding. The 200 factories present as of 1900 were by this time reduced to 90. Dubuque had long been the state leader in manufacturing and this last claim to fame was forfeited. Certainly, the old-line major industries, providing the lions share of jobs remained in place. A major loss was the departure of the Milwaukee Shops, the city's largest employer for years. As late as 1918 it provided 2,000 jobs but was completely closed soon after that (WPA, pp. 66-67).

The post-World War rebound of the 1920s convinced Dubuque leaders that fortune had once again come their way. At the end of 1927 it was promised that Dubuque was on the "Eve of a new era" and the Chamber of Commerce called upon all citizens for broad-based support. There was, in the words of Chamber president Dove, an "urgent need for development in nearly every direction." A lack of financial support had left a number of new industrial developments in abeyance and there were innumerable civic improvements required commitment and resources (*Telegraph-Herald*, January 7, 1928).

The Second World War both stimulated and exhausted Dubuque's industrial base. Wartime conversion to produce military goods was limited and it appears that few existing plants enjoyed retooling, new construction or other forms of reinvestment. At the same time Dubuque was the place of choice for numerous firms which relocated there in during the war. The J. P. Smith Shoe factory was the first to come in 1941, followed by the Arkell Safety Bag Company in 1943, as well as the Electronics Inc. Company, Dubuque Screw Machine Company, Thermo Electric Manufacturing Company, and the Dubuque Garment Company. Late-war recruits included the Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company (which took up quarters alongside the Shot Tower), Baxter Manufacturing Company (another soap company), General Timber Services (a Weyerhaeuser Lumber Company subsidiary), and L. and N. Specialties (glove factory). These along

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with the John Deere plant which was secured in 1945, provided the “backbone” of a new industrial base that was only finalized in recent years. Established local firms, including A. Y. McDonald and Dubuque Packing Company both undertook expansions (*Telegraph-Herald*, January 5, 1947).

The year 1946 was the “banner year” for city industrial development. Chamber secretary John Kerper credited 1945 and 1946 with being Dubuque’s two greatest years of industrial progress in a generation.” City population surpassed the 50,000 mark and the city annexed 59.6 acres in the Asbury area for the Deere workers housing, the first such annexation in almost a century. Kerper claimed that in the past three months 20 new firms had given up plans to move to the city because of the lack of large open areas in proximity to railroad sidings. Predicting a successful near future but long-term industrial park initiative, Kerper reported that the Chamber was studying using City Island for that purpose. It was predicted that the city would surge on to the 60,000-population mark. Darkly, the newspaper worried “Will this expansion pick up even more steam or gradually slow to a stop?” (ibid.).

The lack of elbowroom had always hindered Dubuque’s growth and development and by this time Dubuque’s municipal boundary, encompassing 12.1 square miles was barely exceeded by down-river cities (Clinton had even less, Burlington just a tad more) except Davenport (17.75 square miles). Mason City wasn’t much larger (12.4 square miles) but Cedar Rapids (28.36 square miles) and Des Moines (55.91 square miles) left Dubuque in their dust (ibid.).

The Obliteration of German-American Identity, the Decline of Ethnic Identity:

German-American ethnic identity enjoyed its best years during the 1890s and pre-World War I years. As the war consumed Europe, The *Telegraph-Herald* carried a regular “German Views of the War” column, but once the war was Americanized, any pretense of a neutral stance was abandoned. Germans became the “Huns” and all things German were derided and finally legally banned. The several German banks changed their names as did the various German cultural organizations and the churches dropped German language services. Nationally, the largest ethnic group in the country simply disappeared. Historian John Haygood defines the post-1919 German-American experience as being that of a separate existence on the part of the Germans, to the extent that a cultural identity was preserved at all (see the *Telegraph Herald*, January 2, 1916 for an example of the column; Haygood, pp. 1-21).

Prohibition played its own role in achieving the same effect. The several German breweries closed down operations in 1916 with the advent of national prohibition. A third factor was the anti-German stance taken by the two successive Archbishops, both named Keane. Both opposed Cahenslyism, the pro-German cultural movement (the alternative being the pro-assimilation or “Americanism” movement) and worked to Americanize local church services. Under the first Archbishop this push was combined with temperance campaigns (Lyon, pp. 48-49; Wilging, pp. 23-25).

Taming the Mississippi River:

Corps of Engineers Historian John O. Anfinson is in the process of finalizing a most excellent study of the upper Mississippi to be titled The River We Have Wrought: The Upper Mississippi River, 1823-1940. Originally scheduled for publication in mid-2000, the book will take at least another year to be published. Necessarily this delay complicates using the work as a source for this study if only because it would be unkind to steal the author’s thunder by pre-publishing his conclusions. Consequently Anfinson’s findings will be only generally summarized at this time.

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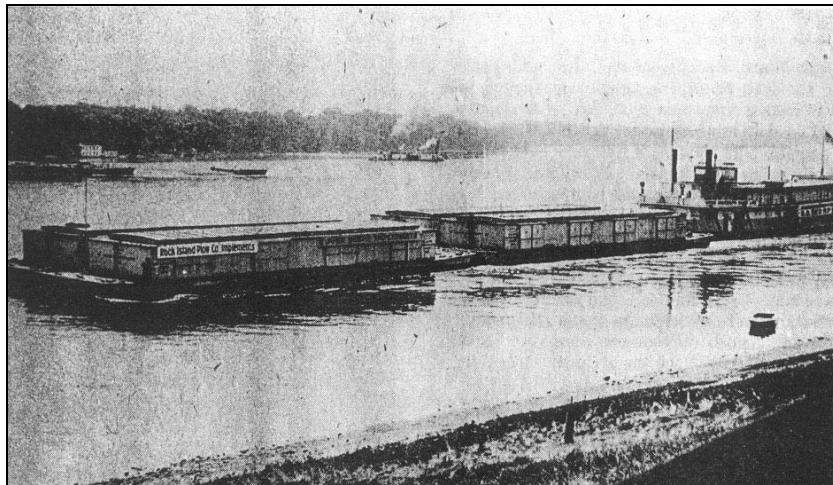


Figure 30: The first Federal Barge Line Shipment, August 20, 1927 (*Telegraph-Herald*, October 20, 1975)

The Mississippi was only improved for commercial navigation just as it was losing its last substantial shipping use, the log rafts. The moribund river trade was revitalized by two federal initiatives. Railroad car shortages were first felt in 1906-07 but the shortages became acute during America's pre-World War I industrial mobilization for Europe's war. The lack of ocean freighters forced east coast shipping interests to collect and use cars as temporary warehouses and cars were soon drained away from the Mississippi River Valley, hampering local industries and agricultural shippers. The east/west shipping system that had replaced river shipping during the Civil War suddenly ceased to work. The 1917 Railroad Control Act provided substantial funds for the construction of barges and boats to supplement rail service in response to the car shortage. The federally organized and run barge fleet, the "Inland & Coastwise Waterways Service," was begun in July 1918 and was under the Railroad Administration. With the passage of the Transportation Act of 1920 it passed to the Secretary of War's control and finally became the Inland Waterways Corporation in 1924, at which time it was extended to the upper Mississippi River (in the form of the Upper Mississippi Barge Line Company, formed at Minneapolis, to be leased by the corporation, Dubuque contributed \$5,000 towards the cost of capitalizing the new company). The Upper Mississippi Division included 21 shipping points in four states. The barge line wasn't ready to operate until 1927 by which time it had two towboats and 11 barges. Nothing could be shipped until cities like Dubuque

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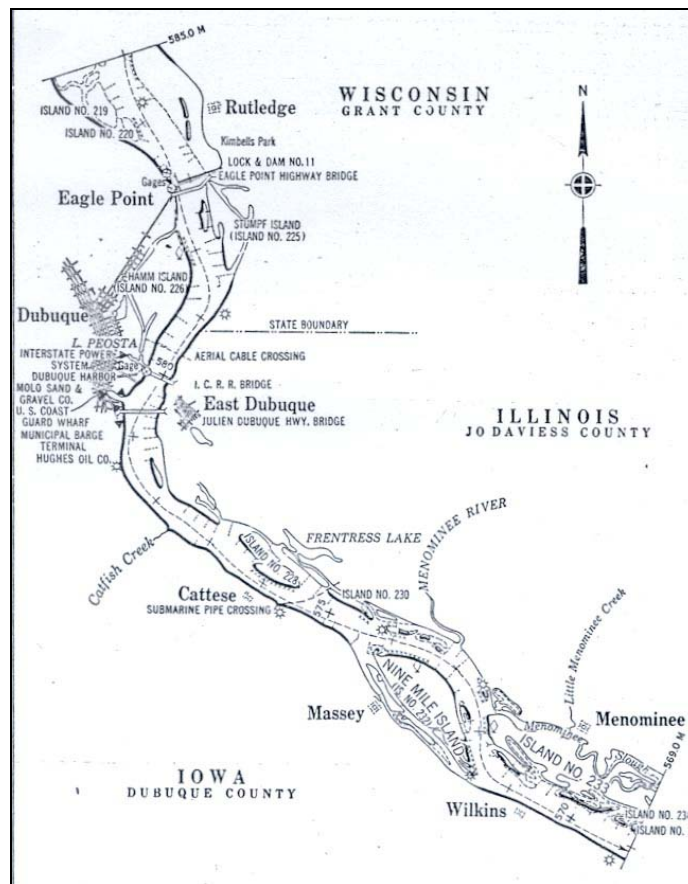


Figure 31: 1948 Mississippi River Map, River Miles 268-83 (*The Middle and Upper Mississippi River*, p. 136)
Note the wing dam and closing dams system that is central to maintaining the main channel. The channel hugs the Iowa shore at the lock/dam and at the Julien Dubuque Bridge, yet is adjacent to Illinois beneath the railroad bridge.

constructed modern barge terminals and these cost \$200-500,000 each. Dubuque, with its muddy levee, lacked any docking capability. The Dubuque Area Chamber of Commerce and local newspapers convinced voters to authorize the formation of the Dubuque Dock Commission in November 1926. Anton Zwack was contracted by the Commission to build the terminal at the bottom of Jones Street and the Dubuque Boat & Boiler Works was contracted to build three sternwheel towboats (*S. S. Thorpe, Charles C. Webber, T. Q. Ashburn*). The terminal, with its excellent rail links, was one of the earliest completed terminals and it opened July 21, 1927. Dubuque oil tanks serviced the three local boats and refueled downstream boats. The first federal barge shipment left Minneapolis on August 25, 1927 (see photo below). The Dubuque Boat and Boiler Works built the towboats which were used by the new firm. By 1926 the Federal Barge Lines offered two weekly departures each way between St. Louis and St. Paul. It was this barge-shipping initiative which put in place the supportive constituency that first secured a federal six-foot and then a nine-foot channel federal

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commitment, the latter coming only in 1930 (Tweet, 1984, pp. 256-57; Anfinson, Chapter 8, pp. 1, 11; Kruse, pp. 30-31).²⁹

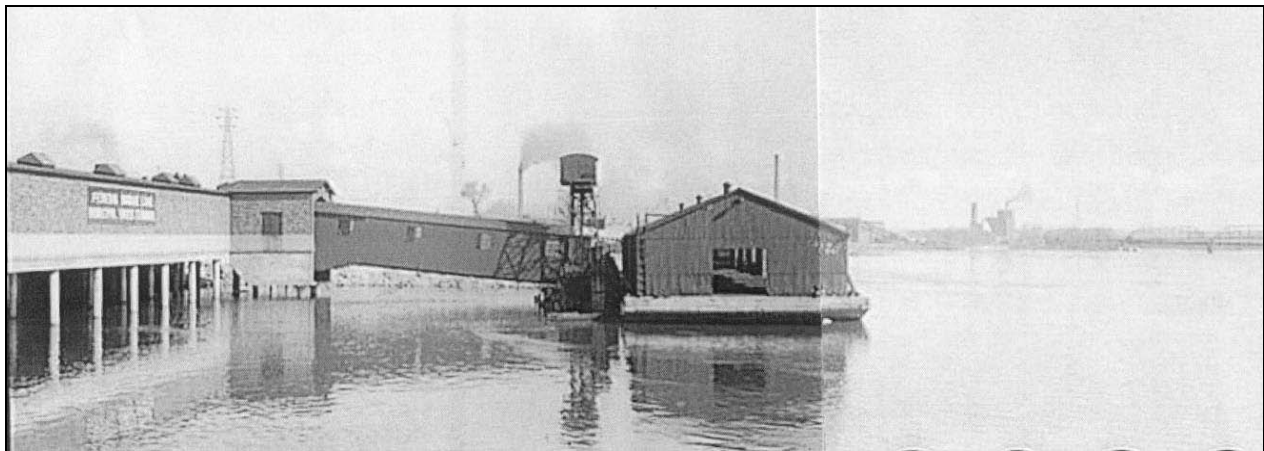


Figure 32: Dubuque Federal Barge Terminal, 1940, view north
(two images joined, Library of Congress photo)

The nine-foot channel enabled the Federal Barge Line to gradually increase its capacity, with much larger barges and more towboats. While total tonnage was well below that which would develop after World War II, year-to-year tonnage increases were impressive. Wartime needs further increased river shipping but the true significance of the barge line was to set the stage for future massive oil and grain shipments. The oil companies were the first to augment the river with their own towboats and barges. In 1953 the barge line was privatized, and became Pott Industries of St. Louis (Kruse).

Another key factor that pushed for improved Upper Mississippi River navigation was the opening in 1914 of the Panama Canal. The canal reordered the balance between expensive rail shipping costs and cheaper water shipping costs and Midwest shippers were handicapped. Shippers with direct canal access (coastal shippers using ocean freighters) had their costs cut while upper Midwest river shippers with indirect access (transshipment from river barge to freighter) were less competitive, being now further away from a foreign market. It cost more to ship from Dubuque to San Francisco by rail than it did to send a shipment from New York to San Francisco by boat. The nine-foot channel concept was first advocated as a means by which shipping costs inequities could be addressed and the farm crisis of the mid-1920s could be tempered. The overriding goal was that of simply increasing river traffic. By the mid-1930s the justification was based on public employment and responding to the Great Depression. The nine-foot channel was strongly opposed from the start by conservationists, railroads and some engineers. The first serious study, conducted by Corps Major Charles Hall in 1927-28 recommended against both a simple channel (which wouldn't work) and a lock and dam system, which would have transformed the river into a string of stagnant lakes. Hall feared broadscale damage to the public health and to wildlife. The belated inclusion of the nine-foot channel in the 1930 Rivers and Harbors Act was accomplished in the form of a last minute 1935 Senate amendment to the original act. With this accomplishment what has been termed the "Golden Age" of the Corps of Engineers had its beginning (O'Brien, p. 14; Anfinson, Ibid., pp. 13-14).

²⁹ By 1928 the federal barge line had four towboats and 60 barges. Supporters for federal assistance noted that communities made no contribution to the barge service below St. Louis, but they paid all of the cost for upper river shipping development (Anfinson, Ibid., p. 30).

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Anfinson cites two other events which led to the construction of the nine-foot deep navigational channel. The Indiana 1921 railroad rate case shattered the historic linkage between rail and river shipping rates, and drove the former upwards. The national farm crisis of the early 1920s ended two decades of record farm commodity prices. These prices went through the floor in mid-1920 and farmers now joined the advocates of channel improvements in the hopes of securing a foreign market (ibid., pp. 17-18).

The original 26 sets of locks and dams were built in order of their importance in alleviating age-old navigational obstacles. The Zebulon Pike Lock and Dam No. 11, a Class "C" project, was built between 1934 and 1937, situated just upstream from the Eagle Point toll bridge. The complex was relocated to Dubuque in a 1933 planning revision and its construction was hastened to alleviate chronic unemployment in Dubuque. Dams Nos. 11 and 18 were the first district dams to utilize submersible elliptical Tainter gates and submersible roller gates. The lock and dam cost \$6,655,000 and employed 901 workers at the height of its construction effort (O'Brien, pp. 14, 27, 30, 136-37, 166-67; The Middle and Upper Mississippi River, pp. 5-7).

The new navigation system was completed just in time to aid the national mobilization effort prior to and during the Second World War. Dubuque's role in ship fabrication was made possible by the river improvements. River shipping took a generation to achieve any significant volume. Petroleum shipments comprised 35-40 percent of all barge traffic through 1941. Total shipping by 1945 amounted to just 5,000,000 tons. By 1960 this total increased to 27,000,000 tons and was dominated by grain shipping (Anfinson, Epilogue, p. 4).

The Emergence of Municipal Planning and Land Use Controls:

A city manager form of government was adopted in the city on April 1, 1920 under the leadership of Mayor James Alderson, the last person to serve five consecutive terms as mayor until Jim Brady did so during the early 1980s. One of the casualties of the new form of local government was the ward system. It would not be re-established until 1980, at which time the mayor's term of office was extended to four years. Alderson issued a progress report on new government. As was the case with any change or major decision, the adoption resulted from "a rocky road" but it was sold on the promise of efficiency and economy in local government. A substantial minority strongly opposed the change. A Police Court Judge replaced a system of justices of the peace. Court fines averaged \$1,370 between 1915 and 1920 but in 1923 totaled \$18,209. The city adopted a modern accounting system, eliminated non-essential positions, replaced horse teams with trucks, disposed of an extra firehouse, constructed a new municipal garage and a new water pumping station, created the city's first health department and built a new 7,500,000 gallon concrete water reservoir. The old city hall replaced 15 old stoves with furnace heat. An important change came in 1921 substantially changed the city map by renaming or consolidating many of the principal streets and renumbering street addresses. East-west numbers were now based on Central Avenue and not Bluff Street. The north/south numbering remained based on Dodge/Lombard streets. Other ordinances put in place the first municipal building code (April 1, 1924), mandated building permits (April 6, 1923), and authorized the issuance of extensive sewer and waterworks bonds (1922-23). The new athletic field was established and developed and a tourist camp was established at Eagle Point Park (*Report, City of Dubuque, 1924*; Lyon, pp. 470-72).

More of a city's prosperity depends on its beauty than is commonly accepted. A city's guests, by their number and by their appreciation, come very near to being the yard-stick by which to measure its success or failure. A municipality which is not inviting to the visitor, and which sends him away cold soon becomes a community of citizens trying fruitlessly to get rich taking in each

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other's, washing. Beauty spots that linger in the memory are more the result of wise planning than of extravagant expenditure. That city will fare ill which leaves in the mind of the visitor within its gates nothing but an impression of factory chimneys, crowded tenements and blighted residential districts. It is equally true that a city whose guests are eager to come again and who leave with regret will not only be rewarded by their repeated patronage, but will be equally attractive to those who make their homes within its pleasing environs. It, therefore, behooves all cities to spend some time in efforts other than the addition of more factories, more railroads and switching yards. Our commercial clubs and booster organizations have concentrated on the latter for so long that they have too often forgotten entirely the necessity for the former.

Ding Darling, 1935 Housing Report Preface

The city housing conditions were exhaustively surveyed in 1934 by the Iowa State Planning Board. The findings of that study and its three separate report versions are treated under the industrial and Great Depression sections of this context.

The first city plan took the form of a zoning ordinance and was prepared by City Planner John Nolen. It was enacted January 29, 1934. Like most contemporary plans, this ordinance assumed that the city would naturally rebuild itself from the inside out, the downtown would replace aging housing around its perimeter and each residents would inherit slightly newer and better housing as each class built, occupied and relinquished a generation of housing. The 1934 State study found that the zoning plan was overly ambitious in its hopes for securing new light and heavy industry. A vast riverfront area, including all of Ham's Island, was reserved for this land use yet only 20 percent of the area was then actually used for heavy industry. The planners urged the city to buy all of the island, in addition to that being bought for a new airport, to make the area available for recreation until the time that industrial needs required it. The zoning allocation had historical roots. The 1934 report observed that "Dubuque has been fortunate in the past by reason of the concentration of land use." Geography had limited its four railroads to the use of a single focused corridor while other cities had been cut up by railroads which came from every direction. The report continued:

This concentration of railroads has influenced business and industry, and has resulted in a concentrated industrial section and business section which are well connected by paved streets with the rest of the city

Growth to the north had stopped by 1924 despite the provision of city services and the developed nature of the area. The plan predicted westward residential growth with "subsistence homesteads" favoring establishment to the northwest (July 1934 Housing Report, pp. 38-39; 1935 Housing Report, pp. 9, 57-59).

The first Dubuque comprehensive plan dates to 1936 and was developed by City Planners John Nolen and Justin Hartzog (John Nolen and Associates) of Cambridge, Massachusetts. The plan development followed the establishment of a planning and zoning commission on March 29, 1929 (a new zoning ordinance was enacted January 29, 1934. Perhaps most notably this plan favored the establishment of an administrative governmental center which was to include a new city hall, new courthouse and a new federal/post office building. A "Thoroughfare System" of arterials was also favored as was a union railroad and bus station, an airport on Ham's Island (or Peru flats) riverfront recreational facilities, regional highway construction, and the implementation of zoning and land use controls. Curiously absent was any recommendation relative to Mississippi River shipping or support for a nine-foot navigational channel (1936 Plan, pp. 1-8; 1934 Housing study, p. 9).

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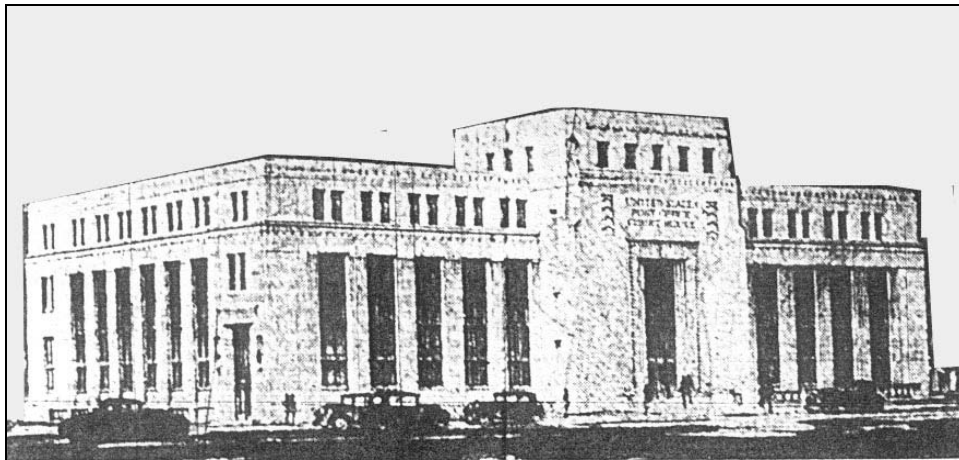


Figure 33: The new federal building, 350 West 6th Street, constructed 1932-34 (*Telegraph-Herald*, August 11, 1933)

The plan enumerated a number of “outstanding and praiseworthy features” in the city. The list included Eagle Point and Grandview Park, Grandview Avenue (“a striking residential boulevard”), the Dubuque Cascade Road, the reclamation of riverfront sloughs, the city’s promotion of river development and the provision of docking facilities, the concentration of most railroads to a single corridor in the older part of the city (now considered an asset?), as well as excellent public water supply, a new high school, a generally clean city, and “unusual facilities in colleges, academies and schools” (*ibid.*, pp. 10-11).

The city lacked an adequate arterial road system. The haphazard process of land subdivision had produced many streets with overly steep grades and poor alignments. Main thoroughfares remained obstructed by at-grade railroad crossings. East and west city gateways required improvement. There was a need for a municipal golf course. Generally the park system needed improvement and natural resources required protection and development (*ibid.*, p. 11).

On the primary downtown streets walls “of brick and stone and steel at the property lines” exceeded the carrying capacity of very narrow streets. The plan favored enlarging the downtown business district, and decentralizing specialized retail land uses into neighborhood centers. Road improvements were recommended at the western downtown links to the outlying residential areas. A traffic bottleneck was cited at the junction of Hill Street and Julien Avenue. Fourteenth Street and Central Avenue (above 22nd Street) were to be widened and Garfield Avenue improved to provide access to northeastern Dubuque. An informal pattern of locating neighborhood stores had by this time transformed into a pattern of favoring corner locations on principal thoroughfares. Neighborhood retail centers with off-street parking were now favored. The city lacked large acreages for new industries and 750-acre Ham’s Island was favored for a heavy industrial area with barge access (*ibid.*, pp. 11-33).

The planners were pleased with the condition and appearance of city streets but favored the elimination of “unsightly poles and direction signs, and heterogeneous advertising” and billboards in residential areas. Overhanging signs in the downtown were discouraged. The famous Rhomberg Avenue Elms were again cited as worthy of emulation. The “great handicap” for city public buildings was the “lack of setting” resulting from the standardized block size. Any new structures should locate outside of the downtown and the new high school was offered as a successful example. The planners praised “the improvement in the appearance of the business district during the past years...both in the character of new structures and in the reconstruction of some of the older buildings.” Apparently some late-Depression

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improvements had been made. Many “shabby structures” needed to be replaced with “up-to-date buildings of good architecture” (ibid., pp. 34-41).

The proposed regional plan extended its land use controls a mile beyond city limits, primarily to control fringe development along Asbury, Middle and Delhi roads where an estimated 2,000 residents now lived. This control effort anticipated “potential additions to the city in the next ten to twenty years.” In anticipation of regional highway construction a 110-foot standard right-of-way was urged for the key routes leading inland; Sageville, Asbury, Middle, Delhi, North Cascade and Cascade roads. Circumferential highways were recommended to follow the one mile, two mile and five mile zones out from the city center (ibid., pp. 41-43).

Commerce and Banking:

Bank	Period of Service	Officers	Legacy
First National Bank	1864-present	C. H. Eighmey, J. C. Collier, B. F. Blockinger	Nearly closes August 16, 1893, for 95 years on northwest corner Main and 5 th (1867 to 1962)
German Bank/German Savings [State] Bank	1864-1932	N. J. Schrup, Henry Michel	Renamed Pioneer Savings Bank and Trust 1918, Pioneer Trust and Savings Bank 1919, merges with Consolidated National Bank 1926
Second National Bank	1876-c.1922	W. H. Deming, J. H. Day	605 Main Street
Iowa Trust & Savings	1884-1932	B. W. Lacy, Maurice Brown	To 7 th & Main
Dubuque National Bank	1888-1922	D. D. Myers, J. G. Bailey	
German Trust & Savings	1887-1932	Paul Traut, A. F. Heeb	Northwest corner Clay/Central and 13 th , renamed of Union Trust & Savings Bank 1918
Dubuque Clearing House Association	1891-c.1927	P. J. Lee, B. F. Blockinger	Eight banks organize April '6, '89' (Oldt, p. 203).
Citizens State Bank	c.1898-1922	P. J. Lee, E. B. Piekenbrock	
German American Savings Bank	1901-32	N. J. Shrup	A branch of the German Savings Bank, renamed Pioneer Savings Bank & Trust Co. 1918.
Dubuque Savings Bank	c.1902-c.1917	Wm. L. Bradley, J. K. Deming, James M. Burch	
Building and Loan Association	1924-?		Incorporated November 27, 1924
Dubuque Bank and Trust	c.1937-present	J. M. Burch Jr.,	
American Trust and Savings	c.1927-present	C. J. Schrup, O. G. Schrup	

Union Trust and Savings Bank, formerly German Trust and Savings Bank, offered the first insured savings system in the city during the 1920s. The Dubuque Clearing House Association, headed by P. J. Lee as of 1921, was a local banking consortium that attempted to protect its member banks. It is credited with staving off bank failures during the 1907 panic and was still in operation as of the early 1920s. The First National Bank, dating to 1864, claims to be the state's oldest surviving bank and was the only Iowa bank to remain open on the national bank holiday March 8, 1933. It was also Dubuque's first national bank (Lyon, pp. 25-26, 155-56, 174-75, 458-59).

By 1929 it was announced that the city was attractive investment capital from the outside. The Dubuque Business proclaimed “Dubuque business and Dubuque institutions are evidencing their confidence in Dubuque's future by investing their money in Dubuque. Outside capital has also selected Dubuque as a city promising great future growth.” The same source noted that Dubuque led the state in disposable personal income in 1928. The Dubuque average was \$990. The city population was an estimated 58,262 with a total income of \$57,631,000. Some 5,670 residents earned more than \$1,000 annually (*Dubuque Business*, January 1930, pp. 4, 6).

Dubuque's Reliance on Industry Is Shaken:

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The 1924 report on the state of the city warned that “development of the city has been held back on account of the scarcity of industrial property or property which could be served by the railroads.” The city accordingly had purchased a large 25-acre slough which it filled at a cost of \$140,000. The plan was successful at least in part because the report added “a part of this ground has already been sold and a desirable industry employing a considerable number of men is occupying it (1924 City of Dubuque Report, p. 11).

Industrial recruitment was the principal focus of the Chamber of Commerce as of 1929. Outgoing Chamber president William Avery Smith challenged the organization to tackle its outstanding objective. This was

...the stimulation of our community industrial growth. We want new industries. We want those already here to grow larger and more prosperous. Most of our so-called objectives relate themselves directly to this major problem and take on added importance because of the relationship. Probably all will agree that the industrial development of our city is of paramount importance.

Smith reminded his colleagues that “there are [no] concerns clamoring for an opportunity to locate in Dubuque.” He noted that “the past few years have been marked by an unusual migration of industries.” These relocated principally due to market labor conditions or transportation needs, not in solely response to financial inducements. Echoing a future truism of urban growth, Smith noted that locally developed firms created the most jobs and were most loyal to their home communities. He urged the Chamber to focus on assisting those local firms which targeting branch factory recruitment. Dubuque was, admitted Smith, “outside the magic circle” vis a vis the major urban areas. Smith closed with the recommendation that the Chamber should

strive for favorable living conditions attractive to a self-respecting laboring class; facilities whereby a worthy but struggling industry may be aided by wise financing; factory sites, available at reasonable prices and suitable to a variety of needs; transportation rates and facilities, enabling a local industry to compete with those of the same kind elsewhere (*Dubuque Business*, February 1930, pp. 3-4).

In early 1930 *Dubuque Business* credited the city’s five companies which collectively made Dubuque “the world’s greatest millwork center.” The firms (Farley & Loetscher Manufacturing Company, Carr, Ryder & Adams Company, Brunswick-Balke-Collender Company, Metz Manufacturing Company and Hurd-Most Sash and Door Company) employed 2,500 persons and enjoyed a national market for their products, with exports to Canada, South America, Mexico and Cuba. The southern export market was a relatively recent development. Dubuque’s advantage was its central location relative to market as well as its central proximity to scattered and distant lumber sources. Surprisingly, wood supplies were coming from Wisconsin, Michigan and the southern Mississippi valley. Products were principally sashes, doors, blinds, moulding, frames and cabinetwork. Carr, Ryder & Adams had eight branch factories all established between 1892 and 1916. All of the branches were in larger Midwestern cities than Dubuque but the local plant was the largest. Former Dubuquers managed all but one of the branches. Farley & Loetscher had three branch factories with four distribution points scattered across the country (*Dubuque Business*, January 1930, p. 5).

Dubuque Packing Company (16th and Sycamore streets) suspended its operations in April 1931. Good news for the city came in July when a new corporation of the same name purchased the plant and pledged to spend \$2,000,000 annually in stock purchases and to employ 50-60 persons. Harry W. Wahlert headed the new firm. Wahlert and director Fred Krey, had previously been associated with the Krey Packing Company of St. Louis. The new firm immediately

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expended \$75,000 in improvements and broadened the company's product line. Wahlert favored the Dubuque location because of its proximity of a "great stock raising country." Dubuque Business predicted that the new plant would be "of untold benefit to the farmers in this vicinity who raise livestock for market." The Wahlert purchase saved the city's meat packing industry (*Dubuque Business*, July 1931, pp. 3-4).

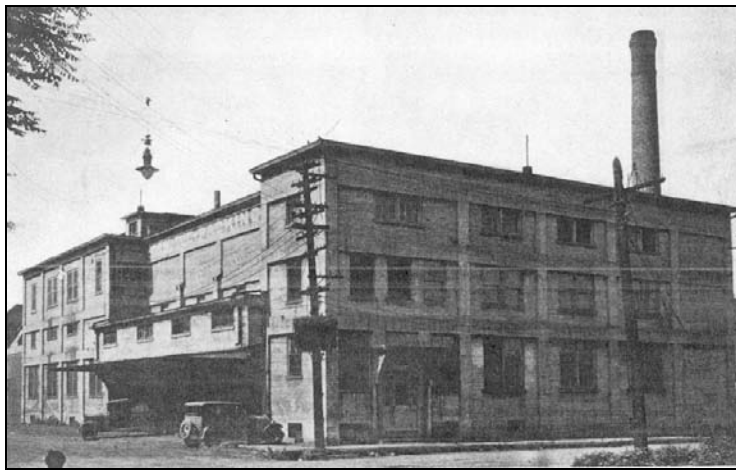


Figure 34: Dubuque Packing Company, 1931 (*Dubuque Business*, July 1931, p. 4)

The Iowa State Planning Board studied housing conditions in the city as of 1934 at the request of the city government. The study naturally investigated the city's employment profile and particularly the industrial employment base, the most measurable victim of the Great Depression's impact. The study determined that the new 1934 city zoning ordinance had allocated too great an area to heavy industry, reflecting lingering hopes that industry would once again bring growth to the city. Industry had always carried the city's economy in the past (July 1934 Report on Housing).

Dubuque had a 16,000 (presumably male) workforce aged 18 years or more and fully one-fourth of these had no employment. This massive job loss was the result of the "loss of some industries and the slowing down of others" and the result was the "economic crippling of the city." Many of the lost jobs were long gone before the famous Depression descended on the country however, and evidenced an industrial decline that had its roots in the post World War One economic transition. The Brunswick-Blake-Collender Company plant, producer of phonographs, employed 1,500-1,600 persons as of the early 1920s, was reduced to just 700 jobs by 1927 and was completely silent by the end of 1929, accounting for a tenth of the total jobs in Dubuque. Its demise preceded the actual market collapse and was due to competition from the radio industry. Consolidation with the Warner Radio Company resulted in a final plant shutdown. The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad relocated its shops in the late 1920s taking with it 600 jobs. The major woodworking mills with 950 and 700 jobs respectively as of the mid-1920s now totaled cut to a little over 200 jobs. Their competition was increasingly with iron and steel substitutes in building as well as a sluggish building industry in the postwar years. Many smaller manufacturing firms simply disappeared. This shaking out was caused by an inability to compete with firms which were either better located near their markets or their raw materials sources. In firms where jobs didn't evaporate, good wages did and this earnings loss was said by the report to have had a greater impact on families than did actual job loss (1934 Housing Report, p. 18).

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Many of the industries, which once made Dubuque one of the most prosperous cities of the west, did not adjust themselves to the modern demands for new processes and new products, and are now partially or entirely shut down. Many new ventures also proved failures.

July 1934 Housing Report, p. 75

As of 1934 14 manufacturing firms employed 1,145 persons and total employment was tallied at 2,181 jobs. Two railroad shops provided 775 jobs. Four banks employed 62 workers. The federal revenue office provided 70 jobs. The sole surviving consolidated newspaper (*Telegraph-Herald*) had a payroll of 44 (the other major employers were a mining company, 20 jobs, the power and light company, 25 jobs, an engineering firm, 20 jobs, and the oil company, 20 jobs) (*1935 Housing Report*, p. 4).

Dubuque's next industrial boom started during World War II and continued through the postwar years. The city had not expanded its boundaries for almost a century when, in 1946, it added 59.6 acres in the Asbury area for housing for the newly arrived John Deere plant. The years 1946-47 were termed the cities "two greatest years of industrial progress in a generation" in the words of Chamber of Commerce secretary John A. Kerper. As noted the roots of this industrial rebound traced back to 1941 when the J. P. Smith Shoe Factory came to the city. It was followed in 1943 by the Arkel Safety Bag Company, Electronics, Inc., Dubuque Screw Machine Company, Thermo Electric Manufacturing Company, and the Dubuque Garment Company. Ground was broken in the Peru bottoms for the Deere plant in July 1945 and the Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company was also building a new plant near the Shot Tower as of late 1946. L&N Specialties Company, a glove-making firm, started operations in August 1945. The Baxter Manufacturing Company, a soap making firm moved to Dubuque in October 1946, and General Timber Service (a Weyerhaeuser Lumber Company subsidiary) started producing prefabricated houses that same month. Three local firms, A. Y. McDonald, Dubuque Packing Company and other local firms announced additions. Kerper claimed that 20 other manufacturing firms had dropped plans to relocate to the city during the final quarter of 1946, citing the lack of sufficiently large industrial sites and direct railroad access (*Telegraph-Herald*, January 5, 1947).

These fairly successful redevelopment efforts faded from later memories (at least from Des Moines memories) and by the late 1960s it was recalled that "Dubuque for almost 50 years coasted on the achievements of its first 50 or 60 years. Then for 50 years, nothing much happened until Deeres arrived." In fact the majority of city industries were established or recruited after 1900. An industrial headcount taken in 1964 found that of 105 manufacturing firms, just 19 predated 1900 and 27 postdated 1945. This left the difference, 59 firms (56 percent) having arrived on the local scene between 1900 and 1945 (*Des Moines Register*, October 25, 1964; *Des Moines Sunday Register*, October 27, 1968).

Des Moines newspaper reporter George Mills penned an excellent profile of Dubuque in 1952 as part of his "The Romance of Iowa Industry Series" for the *Des Moines Sunday Register*. The city had 4,000 more industrial jobs then than it had in 1942 at the height of wartime mobilization. The Deere plant employed 2,000 and had expanded 50 percent since its founding. Dubuque Packing Company employed just 500 at the end of the war but now had 2,300-2,400 employees. The firm commanded a specialty East coast market due to its Kosher Kill. Two chemical/fertilizer firms, recruited postwar, Virginia-Carolina and Algonquin were thriving. The city had excellent river barge service and access to four railroad networks. Reflective of this growth, during a six-year period, from 1950-1956, Dubuque experienced a 26 percent population increase, to a total of 62,853. Mills attributed this success to the fact that Dubuque was close to the center of national markets and enjoyed advantageous freight rates, an efficient workforce, proximity to raw materials and the (always controversial) benefits of Iowa's Right to Work law. The principal downside was worsened flooding. The city was attempting to elevate the 830-acre City Island and the river wasn't cooperating. Another initial problem was

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a lack of skilled workmen. At one point one-third of the Deere workforce commuted from outside the city (*Des Moines Sunday Register*, August 17, 1952).

The giant woodworking firms still played a key role in the city's industrial output. These local firms were bolstered by the national postwar house-building boom. Farley & Loetscher (1875) employed 900-1,100 workers and Carr, Adams & Collier (1866) had 800 workers. The former was the world's largest plant of its kind and the latter processed 40,000,000 board feet of lumber during 1951. Their combined annual payroll was \$7,300,000. Their primary trade area was the eastern two-thirds of the country. By this time their lumber source was northwestern Ponderosa Pine which could be cheaply shipped by rail to Dubuque (*ibid.*).

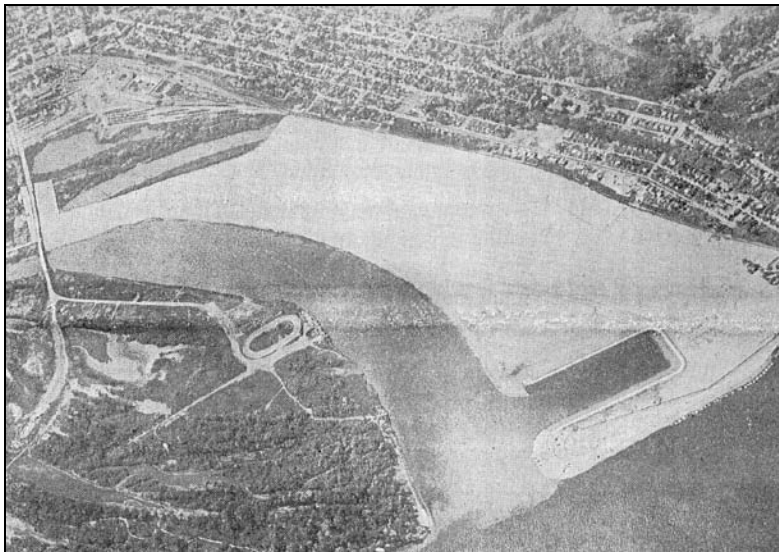


Figure 35: Dubuque's new riverfront industrial park, aerial view to northwest, the new marina is visible at lower right, the Rhomberg neighborhood (Phase II survey area) along top of image (*Telegraph-Herald*, May 24, 1957)

A.Y. McDonald (1856) employed 850 Dubuquers and H. B. Glover (1857) had a 200-person payroll. The latter was said to be the oldest apparel-manufacturing firm west of the Mississippi. It also operated a branch plant in Dyersville. Its sales had been harmed by the weakness in the sale of dress shirts. The Adams Company (1883) provided 375 jobs in its machine shops. Nurre Company (1930s) produced mirrors and employed 60-76 persons. It claimed to be the world's largest plant of its class. Northome, maker of living room furniture, came to Dubuque in 1937 from Minneapolis to take advantage of a better corporate tax situation, better transportation and good mechanics. It was the first plant to utilize a conveyor belt in furniture manufacturing. The firm employed 240 persons (*ibid.*).

The city issued \$2,000,000 in general obligation bonds to construct an industrial park south of Eagle Point Park. After the war larger industries in urban centers were establishing branch operations in smaller cities and Dubuque hoped to capitalize on this trend. Over 4,000,000 cubic feet of fill was expended to fill in the park site (*Des Moines Register*, October 17, 1976; Lyon, p. 121).

Hard Times, The Great Depression And State And Federal Intervention:

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Historian Wilkie found that the Great Depression “hit Dubuque harder and lasted longer than it did in other places, partly because the fabled prosperity of the 1920s had never settled on the city as a whole.” Wealthy Dubuquers were well represented in stock investments on the national level but these tended to be conservative investments not made on margin, so losses were few. It was the average family small-scale bank deposit that was wiped out in the failure of four of seven city banks within a few months time in early 1932. Successive runs toppled the Federal Deposit and Trust, Union Trust and Savings, the Iowa Trust and Savings and finally the Consolidated National Bank. The First National and American Trust and Savings barely survived, as did the Dubuque Savings and Loan Association (Wilkie, p. 419).



Figure 36: Hooverville at the city dump, 1940, photo by John Vachon (Library of Congress)

The *Dubuque Business* magazine, a Chamber of Commerce monthly promotional, was a casualty of worsening hard times. Its last issue came out in July 1931 and it was then heard from no more.



Figure 37: Evening meal, City Mission, financed by the Community Chest, 1940
(photo by John Vachon, Library of Congress)

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Figure 38: A John Vachon study in contrasts, patriotic advertisement (courthouse tower in background) and the Great Depression (Library of Congress photo)

Hard times overwhelmed the many charities and social service agencies which, in the past, had met local needs successfully. The estimated 25 percent unemployment was exacerbated by the plain fact that there was little or no resulting out-migration, Dubuque's were as of 1920 92.8 percent "native-born" to the city and the Catholic majority community was the only home to its members who were out of work. Another factor was the absence in Dubuque of what was termed "a floating [population] element." This was a city of homeowners, once credited with having a higher house-owning percentage than any other city in the nation (July 1934 Housing Report, pp. 23-24; 1934 Housing Report, p. 19, 1935 Housing Report, p. 3).

Dubuque had always had a strong and varied array of social aid agencies, both private and secular. A Community Chest was organized in 1929 specifically to provide aid to the rising rolls of unemployed. The church roster (41 total churches) included four Methodist, three Presbyterian, (and their University of Dubuque), five Lutheran (and their Wartburg Seminary), three Congregational, two Christ Scientist, individual Baptist, Episcopal, Evangelical, Spiritualist, Nazarene, Seventh Day Adventist, Jehovahs Witness (500 members, no church building) for a total Protestant church membership of 23,000. There was a 200-member Jewish community (both Orthodox and Reformed). There were 12 Catholic churches with a combined membership of 23,135 or 55.5 percent of the total. The Catholic churches ran nine parish schools, three academies, Columbia College (now Loras), Clarke College (the only state womens college offering a B.A. degree). Catholic Charities was organized by 1929. Earlier fraternal and other organizations included the Boys Club (1903), YMCA (1866), WYCA (1902), Rotary (1916), Kiwanis (1920), Lions (1922), Elks (1900), Masonic Lodges (largest with 1,150 members and the oldest), and Knights of Columbus (1900). Collectively these and a host of other assistance agencies were overwhelmed by the tide of misery that engulfed the city (1934 Housing Report, pp. 90, 92-93).

By June 1934 the local relief housing program was in a serious crisis. Landlords were systematically threatening to evict tenants for nonpayment of rent. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration encouraged the city to request the Iowa State Planning Board to perform a health and housing survey. The sixth such study (the other surveyed cities were

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Des Moines, Fort Dodge, Sioux City, Davenport, and Mason City) was carried out during July and August 1934. W. L. Bierring chaired the study and Leonard Wolf of Ames was project coordinator. Thirteen Dubuquers participated in the work. (1935 Housing Report, pp. 21-22).

Dubuque by 1934 had its "Hoovervilles" on City (Ham's) Island, on the Seventh Street extension. These new shacks and trailers were predominant and these accounted for 60 percent of the city's renters. There were 729 unfit housing units and another 587 units in need of major improvements. These housed 3,948 residents. Eighty percent of these units were in what were termed slum areas. Houses without city water numbered 736. Overcrowding, defined as more than one resident per room in a unit, was found in 800 dwellings, 153 of these being grossly overcrowded. The agricultural crisis, which had its roots in the early postwar years, contributed to the unemployment and housing crisis as large farm families became refugees into the city. Some new housing areas such as Fremont Area were beyond the reach of the city sewer system, while older parts of the city fronted on open sewers. The famous "Canal B(Sewer)" ran down along Kauffman Avenue and was enclosed as far as 19th and Elm, but from that point onward, it ran open to the river (1934 Housing Report, pp. 15, 33, 38-39; July 1934 Housing Report, p. 77; 1935 Housing Report, p. 52).

In keeping with planning theory of the day the report stressed the claim that the slum areas of the city, comprising ten percent of the total city area, produced 70 percent of juvenile delinquency, 60 percent of major crimes, 30 percent of all fires, 25 percent of communicable diseases, 52 percent of relief cases (2,000 Dubuque families were on relief) and 80 percent of unfit houses (1935 Housing Report, p. 44).



Figure 39: Photographer John Vachon, c.1940 (Library of Congress photo)

It is easy to overstate the level of poverty in Dubuque at this time, particularly given the availability of 500+ photos taken in the city c.1940 by photographer John Vachon (1914-75), an employee of the Federal Securities Administration (he was a file clerk turned photographer, recruited by Roy Straker to joining traveling photo groups who toured distressed parts of the country). Vachon personified his times by seeking out images which represented the failure of capitalism to meet the housing and other needs of the many distraught families. Still many of his photos fall short of depicting levels of absolute distress and the faces of those who posed for him commonly reflect a sense of triumph and even pride in the humble houses and shacks which they called home. While Dubuque's experience was likely shared by other Iowa cities, the situation was exacerbated by the city's previous stagnant growth, the influx of county residence in

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response to rural conditions, and the unwillingness of loyal Dubuquers to leave the city even in the face of unemployment and distress.

The city offered a range of amenities for those who had the resources to utilize them. There were eight theaters, four neighborhood skating rinks and a ski jump (opened in 1931), and the Central Fire Station made its third floor gymnasium available for winter basketball and volleyball. Two golf courses catered to the better off, with Bunker Hill Golf Course on the northwest edge of the city, and the Dubuque Golf Club on the west edge. Lacking was a municipal pool and auditorium (July 1934 Housing Report, pp. 85-90).

Increasingly federal assistance found its way to Dubuque. The city was awarded \$175,000 by the Works Progress Administration at the end of 1937 for river improvements, these including barge terminal and trestle repair, and harbor and Lake Peosta dredging. A municipal pool, first sought in 1934, was finally built on Hawthorne Street and opened in June 1937, paid for with \$44,000 in WPA funds and \$17,000 in local match (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 10, 1937; WPA, p. 89).

World War II and Dubuque:

Today the World War II years are rapidly being transformed into myth. It is important to recall that absent the surprise on Pearl Harbor, there was no American public consensus on joining this second European war. Strong isolationist and anti-military feelings remained popular in the still recent aftermath of the First World War. Dubuque witnessed the same earnest and well-intended debates about America's proper response to the events of the late 1930s. The peace rallies of the late 1960s occurred on Dubuque college campuses and in other venues even as America began its pre-war national defense mobilization. At Sacred Heart Parish, the Marguette Young Mens' Club held a rally to oppose compulsory military service (*Telegraph-Herald*, July 26, 1940).

Dubuque's wartime involvement, in addition to its military contributions, was primarily reflected in its industrial commitment. Dubuque's perceived vulnerability due to its river location led to understandable paranoia. Chain link fence soon encircled the city water reservoirs and other key security points and armed sentries patrolled against the threat of an assault on the municipal water supply.

The most evident monument to the war was the Julien Dubuque Bridge. This pre-war marvel was rapidly completed by 1943 at a cost of \$3,120,000. Its completion was made possible because it was a national security asset (Dubuque, The Birthplace of Iowa, Vol. I, p. 119).

A second monument to the war's home front industrial mobilization was the Zebulon Pike Lock and Dam #11. Completed just prior to the war, the lock and dam system and the nine-foot channel facilitated wartime inland shipping and made it possible to build larger ocean-going vessels at Dubuque.

A notable loss to the city was the demolition of the monumental Illinois Central Passenger Depot (1888-1944). Its miniscule replacement endured into the 1960s. The city as of 1942 was served by the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific, the Chicago Great Western, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy and the Illinois Central railroads. There were also 30 inter-city truck lines and seven inter-city bus lines in operation. City Island was the site of the municipal airfield, relocated to that flood-prone site from Nutwood Flying Field, which dated from 1928. The latter was too far from the city and was located between two ridges (*Telegraph-Herald*, June 25, 1944; WPA History, pp. 53, 89-90).

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The Dubuque Boat and Boiler Works was located along the southern edge of the Ice Harbor when the war began. A river survey of riverboat building facilities, conducted in late September 1941, determined that the Dubuque works was the only one in operation on the Mississippi. Democrat Congressman William Jacobsen, of Clinton was interested in setting up a boat yard at Clinton. The Dubuque company enjoyed a high rating with the federal military departments given its 100-year history. The federal government sought to utilize inland boat builders to reduce pressure on coastal boat building facilities. The plan also promised to absorb unemployed persons who lost their jobs to domestic production cutbacks. The works had launched the Coast Guard cutters *Dogwood* and *Sycamore* in the fall of 1940, one of which was christened by the Congressman's mother. The first wartime contract was to provide seven "distribution box" or mine-laying boats. The Ice Harbor was deepened in 1944 at a cost of \$7,500 (*Des Moines Register*, September 28, 1941; Lyon, pp. 215-17, 221).

Other Dubuque industries produced products for the war effort. One company was the only state producer of high-powered binoculars (*Telegraph-Herald*, February 6, 1944, p. 5. col. 3).

Big Storms Strike Dubuque:

Mother Nature redoubled her efforts to wash the city into the Mississippi during this period of time. Tremendous freshets down the many "hollers" of the city pre-dated the arrival of humankind of any description. Heavy rains (more than three inches in a 24-hour period) routinely damaged streets and flooded basements. The pattern of these heavy rains was uneven. Between 1874 and 1881 there were nine such storms. Between 1882 and 1910 there were just six, yet between 1911 and 1919 there were seven storms of that magnitude (the records were 5.23 inches on August 18-19, 1912 and 5.22 inches on August 16-17, 1918; the 1876 record was 4.55 inches). (*Twentieth Annual Year Book of Agriculture*, 1920, pp. 700-703). The following major storms were documented in the issues of the annual Iowa Yearbook of Agriculture:

January 30-February 2, 1915: Everything was coated with solid ice by the end of January ("the brick buildings...looked like marble"). Five inches of snow and slush buried the downtown car lines and phone and telegraph poles broke under the weight of the ice. Damage was estimated at \$50,000 (*Sixteenth Annual Year Book of Agriculture*, 1915, pp. 599-600).

July 9, 1919: This was the worst rains storm since July 4, 1876 (the year of the Rockdale flood and 40 fatalities, 5.4 inches in 24-hours) in terms of damage and loss of life, although the total precipitation was just 3.87 inches (this storm delivered the most rain in two-hours time, 3.03 inches in storms since 1911). The death toll in 1919 was seven persons, five of these being picnickers at Union Park. Two more were lost in the Bee Branch sewer. "Waterway" streets were damaged to a "surprisingly great" degree. Kaufman Avenue was destroyed as was a large portion of West Locust. Eighth Street lost its brick paver surface for several blocks, and wood pavers on Couler above 18th Street were more readily carried off. Total damages were estimated at \$125,000, the street damages alone accounting for four-fifths of this total (*Twentieth Annual Year Book of Agriculture*, 1920, pp. 700-703).

March-April 1920 Mississippi River Flood: This was the worst flood since 1888 and the earliest flood of this magnitude on record. Nine days of warning enabled farmers to remove stock and farm machinery from the islands. The industries in South Dubuque were hardest hit and the railroads dumped fill for a week to save their tracks, running trains through water which covered them. The Wisconsin approach to the Eagle Point bridge was closed off and almost washed out. Damages totaled \$125,000 (*Twenty-first Annual Year Book of Agriculture*, 1920, pp. 635-637).

April 12-21, 1922 Mississippi River Flood: Heavy rains and rapid snow melt produced flood levels equalled only three other times in the previous 50 years (the records were, in descending order, 21.7 feet (1880), 21.4 feet (1888), 21 feet (1920, 1922), 19.8 feet (1916). The river opened for navigation in March but remained high up until the final rise. High winds on April 19 increased losses and

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removed 14 summer houses from the islands. Losses totaled \$154,000 (Twenty-third Annual Year Book of Agriculture, 1922, pp. 576-577).

June 14-15, 1925, Storm and freshets: Four area storms over the period June 11-24 claimed ten lives and caused \$1,888,000 in damages. During the night of the 14-15, 3.15 inches of rain fell during a six-hour period. Municipal losses to pavements, sewers, and the accumulation of debris were just \$15,000 but the real damage was the loss of Chicago, Great Western Railroad services for two weeks. The Illinois Central Railroad was shut down for four days (Twenty-sixth Annual Year Book of Agriculture, 1925, pp. 407-409).

September 8-9, 1927 Hailstorms: Two ice storms delivered 5.46 inches of half-inch hail within a five hour, four minute time period. Flooding destroyed West 8th Street and Central Avenue between 24th and 32nd streets. The northeast part of town was most damaged and losses totaled one death and \$25,000 (Twenty-eighth Annual Year Book of Agriculture, 1927, pp. 473-473).

March 31-April 1, 1929 Ice storm: Ice damaged trees and isolated the city "so far as wire communication is concerned" for two-four days. Total damages, largely to telephone facilities, were \$100,000 but much business was lost due to communications interruptions and train delays (Thirtieth Annual Year Book of Agriculture, 1929, pp. 525-526).

The Early Tourism Industry and Dubuque's Self Image:

Dubuque's natural beauty was a drawing card for an emerging tourist industry as early as the late 1800s. Colored postcards enabled visitors to take their visual memories back home with them. Two developments made in the 1920s and 1930s, the construction of hard surface roads and the introduction of color photographic film for the home camera user, dramatically increased tourism, particularly visitation linked to the fall colored leaves showings. The billboard image shown above attests to an early recognition of the economic and promotional potential of tourism in the Dubuque area.

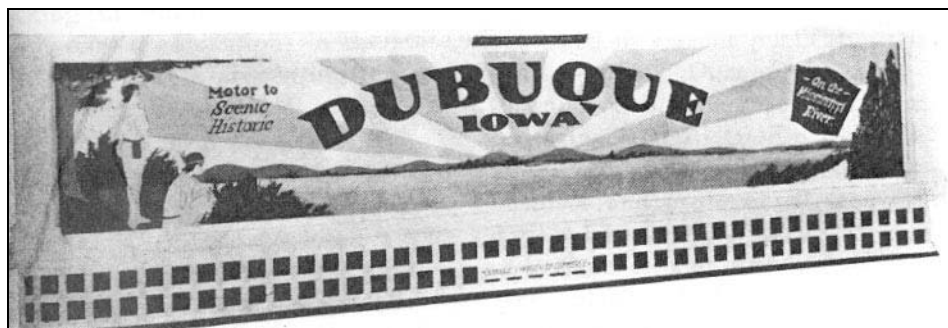


Figure 40: Motor to Scenic Dubuque, Iowa, On The Mississippi River
1929 Chamber of Commerce Billboard in Illinois
(*Dubuque Business*, February 1930, p. 11)

The "good roads" movement opened inland communication with Dubuque's eastern hinterlands only by 1930 by which time it had "a paved road to Chicago" and a hard surface road between Eagle Point and Dickeyville, Wisconsin.

Dubuque is down on the maps of the railway surveyors and the highway engineers as a difficult county, but the paved highway has destroyed our isolation. A physical or topographical disadvantage from which we suffered from the date of Dubuque's settlement almost until the dawn of the present decade has all but vanished. It will have

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disappeared altogether with the completion of pending improvements in Dubuque and adjoining counties.

Dubuque-- Past, Present and Future, 1930, p. 8.

Perhaps the meanest description of Dubuque dates to 1964 when a *Des Moines Register* article "Dubuque: An Old City With A New Outlook" noted that until a few years previously, Dubuque was "a medieval-like city ruled by the church, the aristocracy and the merchants." Social change is said to have impacted the city beginning with the end of World War II. Ethnic rivalries, Irish versus Catholic, had finally faded in the 1920s and were replaced with religious ones, Protestant versus Catholic. After the war, labor versus management joined these religious animosities. The city was divided into two conflicting camps, those who lived atop the bluffs and those who didn't. Class was further determined by membership in the Dubuque Country Club with a 400-family membership, or the Shooting Park which was the flatland equivalent, an invitation only social organization with 100 members (*Des Moines Register*, August 17, 1964).

George Shane, writing in 1954, lauded the city's attributes, noting Dubuque had "an abundance of tradition, glamour, the best of the state's nineteenth century architecture, atmosphere, and among many other items a shot tower and the world's shortest cable car railway." The latter, still charging a nickel for a lift, claimed to have carried seven million passengers since its 1882 inception (*Des Moines Register*, June 13, 1954).

The Catholic Church in Dubuque:

The continuing strong spiritual and community role played by the church manifested itself in several ways. First and foremost was the emergence of a broader community wide parochial school system that replaced the earlier church parish based schools. Second, community betterment and relief efforts were increasingly addressed by a range of church-based fraternal and community betterment organizations. Third, the existing impressive array of Catholic educational institutions were further improved and developed. Finally, archdiocese bishops continued to dominate the faithful, most notably in their efforts to suppress the German culture, and during the late 1930s by supporting the American First movement which favored retaining military resources at home to first arm national forces (Wilke, p. 419).

The formal establishment of the modern parochial school system dated to 1922 but non-public schools were educating the vast majority of children long before that. As of 1916 there were 11,427 children in the city and just 3,152 of these, 27 percent, were in public schools. A diocesan superintendent was appointed and by 1942 there were ten elementary schools in operation (WPA, pp. 73-74).

By 1934 Dubuque was known as the "Rome of the West" and its Catholic population comprised 55.5 percent of the city's population (the church and institutional count is given below in the Depression discussion). Three of 12 churches were located in the suburbs (1934 Housing Report, p. 90).

Postscript, Dubuque's Recent History, 1956-2000:

While this study is not charged with describing Dubuque's history after 1955, a few words are offered for these recent years if only because Dubuquers require it. Unlike most Iowans, they live lives which are infused with the echoes of the past and it wouldn't do to simply stop dead, way back in 1955.

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County and State**Dubuque As A Special Place:**

An advantage of Dubuque, first noticed when the weather station was put up, is the fact that the wind here is seldom if at all so strong as elsewhere here about and in the state.

National Democrat, January 13, 1876

"Dubuque of Today," written in 1887, noted that the city was outside of the wind belt, and was "sheltered by a series of supervening elevations." The city therefore suffered no risk of tornadoes! Even the weather makes an exception for Dubuque! Rhomberg and Couler Valley residents chuckle upon hearing this marvelous claim. The physical isolation of the city did have a critical impact on television reception. From the start, all television was delivered through cable and as of 1968 ten television channels were available, far more than anywhere else in the region ("Dubuque: An Old City With A New Outlook," *Des Moines Register*, October 25, 1964; *Ibid.*, October 27, 1968; Dubuque of Today, p. 9).

As of the early 1960s, the changes which had their roots in post-World War II American culture, continued to have their influences in Dubuque, as they did everywhere else. Historic inter-denominational barriers fell when Catholic priests joined the formerly all-Protestant Dubuque Ministerial Association. A new management class was emerging in the city. Catholic Charities joined the United Fund in 1960. Catholic-Protestant and labor/management antagonisms had replaced the German-Irish mutual intolerance of the 19th century. Catholics and Protestants were commercially segregated, there were two ice companies for example. There was an understanding that the school board would always include three Catholics and four Protestants. There was a two-tiered upper class, defined by membership in either the Dubuque Country Club or the Shooting Park. Republicans were on the rebound. Eisenhower carried city and county in 1952 and 1956, as did Kennedy in 1960, but Republican turnout in the city was higher than the rest of the county in 1950 and 1960. By 1964 the Republicans could offer a full candidate slate for the first time in years and three of five council seats were claimed by the party. There was even a change in baseball. In 1963 the city briefly had two minor league teams, placing the city in the same "league" as Chicago, Los Angeles and New York (*ibid.*).

Some things of course stayed the same. The city led the state in beer consumption and the per capita annual beer consumption level of 34.7 gallons didn't count any drinking across the river in East Dubuque! Dubuque itself boasted no nightclubs despite this figure and it remained, commercially, a "town of corner groceries." Four out of every ten families had lived in their present house for at least 25 years. Parochial schools served 10,259 students while public schools had 7,007. The city boasted of its low property taxes that were due in large part to the self-funding parochial school system (*ibid.*).

The city boasted 107 manufacturers, a quarter of which had been established after 1945. John Deeres, with 3,500 jobs, was six miles north of the city on the Peru bottoms and paid no city taxes. The first salvo in what would be a series of economic set backs, was the 1962 closing of the historic sash and millwork firm, Farley & Loetscher, with 600 jobs lost. The growing popularity of aluminum doors was credited with its demise. Its counterpart, Carr-Adams became CARADCO and developed a range of new products. Dubuque had always sought high-paying skilled jobs in its industrial recruitment. By this time, the city's industrial park was being substantially infilled (*ibid.*).

Urban renewal dominated city planning beginning in early 1967. A single vote council margin accepted the federal contract and \$12,500,000 was expended to relocate 158 businesses and 36 families out of a 15-block area between 4th and 9th, Locust and Center streets. A total of 128 buildings were demolished over a four-year period. As always, the

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need to renew the downtown was driven by the construction of the city's first suburban mall, Kennedy Mall. Kennedy, opened April 15, 1970, was the state's largest enclosed mall with 60 stores. A political battle royal³⁰ in 1965 had ousted two council members when they refused a rezoning request for a west-end shopping center and the new council had okayed the request a year later. One of the principal justifications in the downtown renewal project was the 1965 downtown survey finding that many of the downtown firms "didn't need to be there." The same report found just 6.6 percent of downtown buildings to be "sound." Nine wholesale firms in particular could operate outside of the "prime shopping area" without any difficulty. Seized with the vision of an exclusive downtown retail area, planners ignored the historical reality that the downtown had always intermixed commercial, jobbing, professional and retail functions. Curiously, the option of relocating displaced firms to the industrial park was not an option because it was reserved for new industrial prospects. The 1950s park now boasted 21 firms but still have 50 vacant acres available for development. Already, the downtown accounted for less than half of the city's retail sales ("A 10-Million Dubuque Plan," *Des Moines Register*, March 5, 1967; *Ibid.*, October 27, 1868).

The flood of 1965 redefined the city's relationship to the Mississippi River. The idea had been strongly opposed in the 1950s and other cities like Davenport had refused to obstruct their riverfronts with a massive dike. In 1953 residents defeated a \$2,000,000 bond issue to build a floodwall. Dubuque Packing Company then proceeded to protect its own interests with a private wall. The 1965 flood set an all-time water level record of 26.8 feet. Now convinced, Senator John Culver led the charge in securing \$11,000,000 for a comprehensive floodwall system. Begun in 1968 and finished in 1971, the system was credited with saving \$4,000,000 in damages during the 1973 flood. Additional paybacks certainly came in other flood years like 1993. One other direct benefit was the complete infilling of the industrial park. Fear of flooding had retarded its completion and the floodwall eliminated that threat (Lyon, pp. 160-61).

The city was well positioned as of this time to serve as a "cultural, medical, commercial and recreational center" for its multi-state 50-square mile region. Half of the city's workers commuted from Southwest Wisconsin. Major infrastructural investments were finally underway. In addition to the urban renewal project, \$15 million was going into sewage treatment and water system improvements. The floodwall was to be completed by 1971 and a new Mississippi River bridge and interstate highways were to be finished by 1985. One profound change was an increase in city property taxes. For years low property taxes had been a featured lure for prospective businesses. Explosive growth in the public school system changed all this. Mergers and the substantial shift of parochial students into the public school system resulted in a four-fold budget increase in the public school budget between 1959 and 1968. Hempstead High School was built 1968-69 along with two new elementary schools and a new junior high school was planned for by the 1980s. Growth was so explosive that a state of emergency was declared and school contracts were awarded without the usual bidding procedure. The parochial school system was particularly facing financial pressures and the public school system shared classroom space with it and for two years the Academy of the Visitation was leased for use as an annex to Washington Junior High. On the college level, Clarke and Loras colleges and the University of Dubuque, with a total of 3,000 students, had begun to share services to cut rising operational costs. The three city seminaries, Presbyterian, Catholic and Lutheran, were pooling library resources. The parochial school system experienced its own record growth under the leadership of Archbishop Leo Binz, who served as the sixth Dubuque Archbishop from 1954-62. During those eight years parochial enrollment jumped from 23,000 to 40,000. A \$25,000,000 renovation was expended and eleven high schools, including Wahlert, were built. Politically Republicans were dominant in the state legislature, representing Dubuque beginning in 1966. On the presidential level, Democrats again triumphed in 1964 and 1968 ("Dubuque's

³⁰ Recall that a hallowed Dubuque tradition is fighting over any major infrastructural change. Be it a four-lane street, a new bridge, belated need for an Iowa approach to the new Highway 61 bridge, there will be delays due to these mutually well-intentioned squabbles.

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Future: A Changing Pattern," *Des Moines Register*, October 27, 1968; Ibid., February 21, 1969; Lyon, pp. 35, 112-13, 239).

Three downtown department stores, Younkers, Roshek's and Montgomery Ward, joined in the westward rush as suburban sprawl was fostered by record house building. The urban renewal record was a mix of success and unrealized potential. Three blocks of the 38-acre project area remained undeveloped as of 1979. The \$5,000,000 Five Flags Civic Center was opened in early April 1979 and was located next to the restored Five Flags Theater. Downtown retail sales imploded after the big stores left, dropping from \$50.3 million in 1967 to just \$33.1 million in 1971. The city served a nine-county (three states) retail and services market. Three new motels, all constructed 1974-79, offered 380 rooms for a developing tourist trade. The downtown boasted an eight-square block pedestrian mall and two parking ramps and the city was selected to participate in the National Main Streets Center Urban Demonstration Program. Absent still, was modern highway access to the downtown and even optimistic highway planners anticipated "Highway 561" to be built in 1984-85 ("This is Dubuque" "A Dubuque 'Horse Race' For New Mall," *Des Moines Register*, November 18, 1979).

The city's industrial jobs were perilously concentrated in two firms, Dubuque Packing (3,000 jobs) and John Deere (7,000 jobs). Thirty-one other firms accounted for just 1,500 manufacturing jobs as of 1976. The labor union at Dubuque Pack made wage concessions in 1980 but 530 jobs disappeared in late 1981. That year the county had the state's highest unemployment level, 8 percent. Hundreds of homes were up for sale but found no takers. The 1980 recession had been followed by no recover when bad had turned to worse. The Deere workforce was down to 6,500 with 1,700 on long-term layoffs. Celotex announced an eight-month long-term layoff for its 141 workers just before Christmas 1981. That fall, a major downtown department store, Stampfers, closed its doors. The packing plant, its workforce reduced to 1,200 jobs, closed in mid-October 1982. The news, accordingly to the *Register*, struck the "economically tortured city of 62,000...like a bombshell." The city already had 4,100 unemployed, 14.7 percent of the workforce (*Des Moines Register*, April 13, 1982).

A political revolt took place beginning in 1980. The city returned to the ward system (four wards, two at large council seats) and the mayor was to be elected at large. Jim Brady, a young motorcycle-riding schoolteacher, was elected mayor two years later. A year later in 1982 an entirely new council was elected on a "populist" ticket that responded to record unemployment, a commitment to the "status quo," city budget cuts and what was said to be poor industrial recruitment efforts and expenditures. Outsiders alleged a "symbiotic relationship" between the city council and the Chamber of Commerce, which oversaw the economic development campaign. Brady enjoyed a record term of service as mayor (Dubuque had only single-term mayors between 1927 and 1982, with but three exceptions, all of which were just two-year terms and just one of which postdated 1935) ("Outsiders' Get Inside Dubuque City Hall," *Des Moines Register*, December 27, 1981; Ibid., April 14, 1982; *Know Dubuque*).

The downtown anchor stores didn't guarantee survival by moving to the mall. Ward's closed in early 1983 after 50 years of serving Dubuque. Gone were 130 jobs, half of these being full-time. The state's last operating brewery, Pickett's, also shut down in mid-1983. Founded as Dubuque Star Brewery in 1898, it became Pickett's in 1971. Competition with trademark labels took its toll in the late 1970s. The downtown lost yet another department store in 1990 with the failure of Armstrong's (*Des Moines Register*, February 10, May 21, 1983; Lyon, p. 239).

The new council and mayor led the move to establish a west suburban industrial park with generous tax abatement incentives. Apart from relocating two local firms to the new site, little was immediately gained. A loss to history was the demolition of the A. Y. McDonald factory and office, which was demolished for the new Highway 61. It

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was one of the Radford Road Industrial Park accessions with a \$9.9 million new facility. This second industrial park, containing 236 acres, was purchased in 1980 to relocate displaced Highway 61 industries. Worse, federal funding for bridge access to the new highway/freeway 561 was lost as locals debated where best to put the bridge. The state purchased the old Eagle Point Bridge in 1979 and dismantled it in 1982 in anticipation of the 1982-83 new bridge construction. The bridge was one of the last privately owned Mississippi River bridges (*Des Moines Register*, January 10, September 14, 1982; Dubuque, The Birthplace of Iowa, Vol. II, p. 144; Lyon, p. 121).

City promoters tested various slogans. The "Five Flags" theme was popular during the 1970s and by 1983 the working theme was "Dubuque, A Place to Live." Ken Pins was the *Des Moines Register's* Dubuque reporter from 1980-83. Pins, while not a Dubuquer (he noted one wasn't a true Dubuquer unless your ancestors arrived at the city "in an oxcart"), he could claim the county as his place of origin. He penned his farewell *Register* column at the end of 1983. Pins noted that Dubuque was "one of the largest cities in the Midwest still adrift from the Interstate highway network [and the] economic development mainstream." Continued isolation was attributable to "local squabbling" over the route in the early 1970s. Federal funds had dwindled and help wasn't coming from Des Moines given that the "officialdom in Des Moines treats [Dubuque] like an unwanted stepchild." Historically, in Pins' opinion, Dubuque was and had been "stable to a fault" failing to capitalize on both its early assets, embodied in its early leading status as the state's largest city, as well as on later opportunities. East Dubuque made available the bars and strip-joints which were unwelcome west of the river. The city had a low crime rate, large families who stayed put, and young newlyweds who reduced the ranks of the local singles crowd. Still the city was "esthetically pleasing...[with a] Courier and Ives feeling in new-fallen snow" and its many differences in sum were Dubuque's "greatest assets" "Dubuque—It's A Lot More Than 'A Place To Live,'" *Des Moines Register*, December 18, 1983).

By the mid-1980s the city had nowhere to go but up. A 1984 promotional sheet titled "Welcome to Dubuque" admitted "here in the wake of national economic downturns the City has had to fall back, regroup and begin anew." The city's "many facets," retail, service and industry and a "budding tourism industry" combined to make Dubuque a key center. New or recent improvements included "a unique urban shopping street," a library expansion, a new pari-mutual racetrack, a first class civic center, new highways, and a modern industrial park. Industrial employment was not stressed, and the fact that 70 percent of the city's workforce was not in industry. Durable manufacturing still accounted for two-thirds of industrial jobs though, a continuing Dubuque tradition. The city owned its water, sewer and transit services (*Welcome To Dubuque*, October 1984).

Municipal Growth:

The population chart presented below documents the post-World War II population boom that the city belatedly enjoyed. Dubuque broke through the 50,000-population barrier after 1950, and the 60,000 level prior to 1970. Subsequent job erosion forced even loyal Dubuquers to go elsewhere and population counts fell to 1960 levels by 1990. The population loss after 1980 was not unique to Dubuque, it was a statewide pattern.

New residential construction during 1956 comprised 51 percent of all construction. Religious building (Greek Orthodox Church, Holy Ghost School, St. Columbkilles School, Maria Josita Hall at Clarke College, totaled \$1,945,000) Accounted for 35 percent. They "for the most part are of conventional design and constructed on definite plans. There were many imposing and many fine medium priced houses constructed with many extras to add to better living." The new houses no longer had garages behind them and the newer subdivisions lacked alleys. The house plans were "spread

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across the lot with a breezeway and attached garage.” Panels with intricate designs replaced the “blank look” of the early side-by-side garages. Three bedrooms predominated with one larger master bedroom (*Telegraph-Herald*, May 24, 1957).

The 1980 federal Census of Housing documented a city with high proportions of both old and new housing. The chart shown below dates housing units (not single family houses but all units):

Period	Unit Count	Percentage of Total
Pre-1939	12,577	33%
1940-59	5,877	16%
1960-69	4,796	13%
1970-74	3,119	8%
1975-80	11,199	30%
	37,567	100%

The post-1939 figures are inflated by the inclusion of multi-unit apartments. These were commonly built after 1962. In more recent years very large apartment complexes were built although these postdate the 1980 figures. As of 1980 renter-occupied units accounted for just 22 percent of all households. The high annual new house start counts occurred in the face of population stagnation and decline between 1970 and 1990. The population grew by 63 persons between 1970 and 1980 and then decreased by 4,836 in the next ten years, an eight percent decline (*Metropolitan Housing Characteristics, Dubuque, Iowa, 1980 Census of Housing*).

Year	Total Construction		New Residential Construction			Notes: (excludes misc. permits)
	Total Value	Total Non-Residential	Number New S/F Houses	Total Value	New Multi-family Houses	
1956	\$5,500,000		233	\$2,837,500		792 total bldg. permits
1957	\$7,496,358		207	\$2,566,000	1/\$20,000	695 permits
1958	\$5,709,934		302	\$3,714,500	2/\$36,000	771 permits
1959	\$7,978,026		355	\$4,351,500	2/\$26,000	734 permits
1960	\$7,607,875		288	\$3,599,500	5/\$81,000	919 permits
1961	\$7,123,412		305	\$3,842,500	4/\$77,000	975 permits
1962	\$6,869,771		181	\$2,431,500	27/\$299,000	1249 permits
1963	\$6,070,563		237	\$2,951,000	5/\$185,000	1,009 permits
1964	\$12,114,746		321	\$4,159,500	5/\$152,000	928 permits
1965	\$10,323,036		159	\$2,112,000	11/\$220,000	1,076 permits
1966	\$18,506,645		261	\$3,683,000	9/\$685,000	1,250 permits
1967	\$14,126,416		193	\$2,716,000	11/\$263,000	766 permits
1968	\$13,523,058		170	\$2,478,000	12/\$328,000	762 permits
1969	\$13,623,656		167	\$2,288,000	26/\$784,000	712 permits
1970	\$8,507,004		105	\$1,624,000	28/\$1,724,989	789 permits
1971	\$13,274,901		123	\$1,750,000	28/\$3,067,064	841 permits
1972	\$10,096,963		129	\$2,110,000	10/\$1,231,000	804 permits
1973	\$15,143,139		141	\$2,642,000	2/\$1,710,000	882 permits
1974	\$15,111,037		215	\$4,796,455	7/\$2,240,200	906 permits
1975	\$26,306,371		219	\$5,167,500	23/\$1,492,000	932 permits
1976	\$23,427,645		169	\$4,755,000	25/\$2,021,500	1,116 permits
1977	\$22,167,160		219	\$8,148,126	26/\$2,034,931	1,375 permits
1978	\$26,954,444		176	\$7,133,746	4/\$1,967,834	1,437 permits
1979	\$29,849,624		167	\$9,623,473 (all new residential)	8/?	1,493 permits

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1980	\$16,750,087		73	\$3,952,071 (all new residential)	2/?	1,160 permits, total of 37,567 living units as of 1980 census
1981	\$15,425,630		16	\$1,361,769	0	913 permits
1982	\$14,567,225		8	\$470,739	1/\$153,216	1,108 permits
1983	\$20,727,955		13	\$1,192,399	0	1,141 permits
1984	\$17,969,793		28	\$2,221,673	0	Total includes \$10.8 million dogtrack 1,268 permits
1985	\$25,158,507		26	\$1,716,981	2/\$458,192	1,278 permits
1986	\$21,562,784		72	\$5,937,518	2/\$427,000	1,486 permits
1987	\$23,448,292		80		1	1,498 permits
1988	\$33,137,154		88		6	1,468 permits
1989	\$25,154,777		98		11	1,358 permits
1990	\$56,665,609		110		7	1,401 permits
1991	\$32,827,288		116		15	1,360 permits
1992	\$43,404,890		170		9	1,402 permits
1993	\$56,977,536		126		21	1,526 permits
1994	\$50,134,480		105		32	4,133 permits
1995	\$59,816,324		84		23	6,043 permits
1996	\$73,200,487		65		22	2,334 permits
1997	\$32,985,189		57		9	1,440 permits
1998	\$46,851,024		67		6	1,214 permits
1999	\$70,322,883		54		11	1,266 permits

The Historic Preservation and Heritage Tourism Programs in Dubuque:

Dubuque in its totality has always been its own self conscious historic preservation program. While many preservation purists despair of local preferences for replacement siding, downsized windows, and the like, the fact remains that the many generations of residents have preserved much of their built past. Dubuquers are extremely loyal to their community, and are particularly loyal to their neighborhoods and finally their own family homes. Nowhere else are houses so commonly retained in the same family generation after generation. This strong association with the special qualities of place is the very essence of historic preservation. A real measure of this collective loyalty to the past is found in the reuse of properties by successive religious and public institutions as well as in retention of early downtown church edifices by the main line churches.

Dubuque's sense of history was naturally reflected in a broad range of commemorative preservation efforts which dated to the late 19th century. The Julien Dubuque monument (1897) is the premier example, as is the removal of the 1833 log house to Eagle Point Park. The Dubuque County Historical Society embodied the movement in its preservation of the Ham House.

Richard Herrman (1849-1941) was a central figure in the early development of Dubuque's historic icons. Hermann was a German-born immigrant (to the US in 1859) and was the youngest member and last survivor of the Old Settlers' Association. He led fund raising efforts to build the Julien Dubuque monument and it was he who excavated Dubuque's grave. He founded and operated the "Museum of Natural History" (2419 Central Avenue) and authored a book on Julien Dubuque's life (Lyon, p. 199).

The virtual rebuilding of downtown Dubuque challenged historic preservationists. The Victor Gruen & Associates planning study and recommendations report, formally adopted by the City Council in early 1966, was largely implemented by 1970. The plan guided urban renewal and laid the groundwork for a new Mississippi River bridge and a

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new airport. The same plan, citing a Dubuque tendency to use, discard and abandon older housing, recommended the rehabilitation of older neighborhoods and the creation of new downtown housing (Lyon, p. 186).

Urban Renewal during the late 1960s focused community attention on both the reality of change and the threatened loss of noted downtown landmarks. The same might be said of the record 1965 flood and the devastation wrought by the Dutch Elm disease. Efforts to preserve particular buildings and landmarks commonly reflected the efforts of concerned individuals rather than a formally organized pro-preservation movement. An early example was the retention of the second Town Clock and its incorporation into Town Clock Plaza in 1971 (the state's first open-air tree lined pedestrian mall). Now as efforts are underway to reopen Main Street, the clock might move once again (Lyon, pp. 130, 139, 451).

Wayne Andrew Norman is called the "godfather of historic preservation" in Dubuque. An ISU-trained engineer, Norman saw economic potential in underused or vacant properties. His efforts saved the Orpheum Theater and the Ryan House and he formed a corporation that purchased and then resold 18 buildings in what was to become the Cable Car Square historic district. Norman was also an excellent fundraiser and his efforts financed the Five Flags Center. He played a leading role in establishing the Fred W. Woodward River Boat Museum and successfully restored the clock tower to the City Hall (Lyon, p. 331).

J. Bruce Meriwether is credited by Randolph Lyon with pulling the city out of its economic slump in the 1970s. Meriwether also raised the funds to pay for the Welton-Becket economic study of Dubuque and that report recommended both economic diversification and the development of a strong tourism industry. Ham House Director Jerry Enzler contributed to this emerging tourism movement by successfully securing grant funds to establish the Fred W. Woodward River Front Museum and the National Rivers Hall of Fame (ibid., pp. 140, 305).

A formal municipal planning program dates to late 1962 and a historic preservation sub-section of that program emerged during the early 1970s. Larry Sommer was employed in the planning office and was apparently charged with the historic preservation beat. Historic preservation as a component of local planning became an issue when residents of the Fourth Street Elevator neighborhood petitioned for the allowance of small-scale commercial and office uses in an area that was restricted to residential use. The city zoning program provided for a "professional office zone" overlay that allowed residents to apply for a special permit. In this manner, history and architecture were adopted as planning components within the zoning program. Sommer recommended a broader historical study and the development of a citywide historic preservation policy. The Fourth Street Elevator area was the first part of the city that was recommended as being significant and the Five Flags Theater was similarly singled out as an individually important building (Lawrence J. Sommer, "Possibilities for Development, Dubuque's West Fourth Street Vicinity" (Dubuque: Dubuque Planning and Zoning Commission, December 1972); "The Fourth Street Elevator Area: An Informal Report, 1973," (Dubuque: Dubuque Planning and Zoning Commission, February 1973); and "The Heritage of Dubuque: A Preliminary Study of Historic Preservation Needs and Opportunities," (Dubuque: Dubuque Planning and Zoning Commission, March 1974).

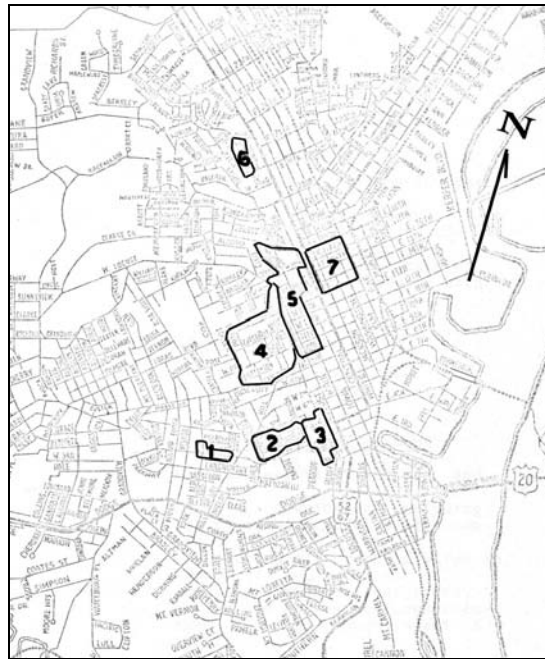
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Figure 41: The first Dubuque historic districts, (Sommer, 1974, p. 42)

Seven “potential preservation areas” or districts were identified when the first survey findings were analyzed. Note that all of these were residential clusters and no commercial or industrial clusters were identified. District #1, the West 3rd Street Area (the intersection of West 3rd and Alpine), was later enlarged as the Langworthy District and is now a locally designated historic district. District #2, “Fenelon Place Area” (the junction of Fenelon Place and Summitt) has yet to be designated in any form, as is the case with District #6, the “Broadway Street Area.” District #3, the “West 4th Street Area” (just seven buildings to the north of the elevator, and the Cathedral buildings) was the initial core of what became the Cathedral Historic District (NRHP). District #4, “West 11th Street Area,” (included the easternmost Loras College buildings and was focused on Loras Blvd., Highland and Grove Terrace) is a locally designated historic district. District #5, the “Jackson Park Area” was listed on the National Register largely using this same initial boundary. District #7, the “Washington Street Area” was included in a broader district that was recommended as a result of the Phase III survey in 2003.

The first citywide historical and architectural survey was completed during the winter of 1973 and the spring of 1974 and it produced a fairly exhaustive list of the best historical buildings and the seven potential districts depicted in Figure 41. Unlike many early surveys, this one was inclusive of all types of properties, covered the full range of architectural importance from the vernacular to the best architect’s designs, and took into account tailor-made local historical contexts or themes. A total of 500 buildings were included in this first survey list and 39 of these were evaluated as being of exceptional (read state or national level) significance. Just 22 were deemed to be critically deteriorated. Sommer’s draft report, later formally published as *The Heritage of Dubuque*, proposed that the local historic preservation program had to go beyond zoning and land use planning to be effective. It was issued even as the city was busily debating the wisdom of retaining the City Hall, County Jail and County Courthouse buildings and it came even as the first apparent shortfalls of the redeveloped downtown center were being appreciated. Historic

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preservation was offered as one way to “fully grasp the potential opportunities for creative rehabilitation” in the downtown (ibid).”

Dubuque’s many landmarks were featured in innumerable tourism brochures and newspaper articles. The establishment of the National Register of Historic Places (Historic Preservation Act of 1966) initiated the formal nomination and listing of many of these properties beginning in the early 1970s. Helen Mercer, president of the Dubuque County Historical Society and Director of the Ham House Museum, single handedly began to nominate Dubuque candidates. In June 1991 she was honored by the State Historical Society of Iowa for successfully placing a record number of properties on the National Register. Public landmarks including the courthouse, jail and city hall, the public library and Washington Park, along with numerous private residences (Ham House, Hollenfelz House, Langworthy House, McMahon House, were all listed during the 1970s (Lyon, pp. 302-03).

Bruce M. Kriviskey, AICP, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was contracted in 1978 to survey the architecture of the older portions of the city. He sanctioned six of seven previously identified potential historic districts and added a new one, the Lower Main Commercial District, three³¹ of which (Cathedral, Jackson Park, and Old Main) were listed on the National Register between 1983 and 1986. Kriviskey’s assignment was to complete a comprehensive architectural survey and then to evaluate his findings. He first conducted a “windshield” survey of over 20,000 properties. This literally meant looking at properties with the trained eye of an architectural historian. The properties were classified into four categories. The highest was individual significance and eligibility for listing on the National Register. A “neighborhood” rating indicated that the property contributed to a grouping of properties which merited National Register listing as a historic district. “Supportive” properties served as a supportive backdrop to districts. They shared the same materials and massing and time period as did the supportive properties. Finally “non-supportive” actually detracted from a historic district strength due to irreversible alterations or a recent date of construction. Kriviskey presented his windshield survey in 1979 in the form of the “Atlas of City-Wide and District Survey Map.” Properties in each of 18 districts were coded according to their respective ratings (Kriviskey, pp. 2-3).

The consultant then evaluated the “clusters” of significant properties and identified nine potential historic districts as noted. He documented each property within these districts with photography and the preparation of a survey sheet. Kriviskey credits Lawrence Sommer’s Heritage of Dubuque as a source but he otherwise made no pretense of conducting general or property-specific historical research. This was appropriate for an architectural survey of that time. He estimated construction dates and documented the condition of each property. Kriviskey noted that the nine proposed districts were not exhaustive but represented the most significant architectural treasures in the best state of integrity and preservation. The quality of his work is attested by the successful listing of most of his proposed districts. His evaluations were utilized as a baseline evaluation for the Phase I survey effort. Kriviskey was challenged in his work by the already prevalent use of replacement metal or synthetic siding and in general he was unable to evaluate these in any positive manner. He consequently favored brick and concrete block properties (ibid., pp. 4, 7-8).

Kriviskey’s work was followed with the establishment of a historic preservation commission in Dubuque. George Biasi, a local realtor, penned the city’s historic preservation ordinance. Additional historic survey work was accomplished as three alternative rights-of-way for the Northwest Arterial route were surveyed in 1977-78 for their

³¹ His Third/Alpine District was listed as Langworthy Historic District and his Bluff/Locust District was combined into Jackson Park Historic District. The other three were Broadway/Traut, Fenelon Place, and Prospect Street.

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historical and architectural significance. The actual survey report and environmental impact assessment was finalized in 1986 (Lyon, p. 38; see Till, Hotopp, and Shank).³²

Surveys in the Dublin area of southern Dubuque focused both on Irish vernacular properties located along South Locust and industrial properties located within the Highway 61 project area. The report identified a "Dublin Historic District" with 75 percent of its 46 properties predating 1880. All ten of the South Locust, the earliest of which dated to the mid-1870s, have been demolished (Draft Section 4(f) Statement For Project No. F-561-4...April 1981).

A gallant few began to acquire and restore individual historical properties. The "Dubuque Truss and Buttress Society" was established in 1980 with 17 members, led by Terry and Darryl Mozena. The restorationist ranks included Jim Bainbridge, Rev. Frances Brockman (St. Lukes Church), James J. Byrne, Ted and Marilyn Blanchard, Paul Pekosh, Rob and Judy McCoy, Frances Menkels and others. The first historic home tour coincided with Dubuque Fest, a celebration of 150 years of Dubuque history, in mid-May 1983 (Des Moines *Register*, May 1, 1983).

National Register activities during the 1980s focused on nominating the districts identified by Kriviskey's survey. Considerable effort was made to nominate and list the Catfish Creek and South Dubuque historic lead mining and prehistoric sites and four archeological districts were listed in 1988. Consultant and Archeologist Dr. Joyce McKay prepared the nominations and conducted the necessary archeological surveys.

Dubuque's more formalized historic preservation movement or program had its roots in the developing tourism market. Robert Kehl's many riverfront developments are said to have prompted the development of the tourism industry in Eastern Iowa beginning in the early 1980s. The 1984 Welton Becket/Peat Marwick Mitchell Study concluded that tourism offered the best economic development strategy for the city. River-related amenities could be combined with recreational (the new Greyhound Race Track, which opened June 1, 1985), cultural, artistic and historical ones. There were two riverboats, the *Miss Belle* and the *Spirit of Dubuque*, and the Army Corps of Engineers steam dredge boat, the *William Black*, was a museum attraction in the Ice Harbor. Increasing river recreation led to the more fundamental redevelopment of the Ice Harbor and the donation of the Burlington and Northern Railroad Freight House to the Dubuque County Historical Society. The riverboat gambling industry was another byproduct of Kehl's efforts. Tourism naturally was also a factor in the continuing loss of downtown buildings as new motels arose in anticipation of ever-increasing numbers of visitors. A welcome center was established in 1991 and the county historical society played a partnering role in its establishment and operation. By 1991, the tourism industry in Dubuque was at its highpoint. The city was the site of numerous motion picture projects. The Five Flags Greyhound Park opened on Schmitt Island and there were two bed and breakfast operations in operation (Lyon, pp. 237, 448-49; Des Moines *Register*, September 30, 1979).

One measure of Dubuque's special historical richness was its early selection as a filming site for the movie "FIST" in 1977. "Take This Job And Shove It" was filmed there in 1983. Image-conscious locals weren't overly pleased with the depiction of the city and picketers greeted the opening of the latter film (Des Moines *Register*, July 13, 1983).

Dubuque's belated receipt of arterial and interstate highways and new bridge approaches spawned a series of historical and archeological corridor surveys. These surveys were necessitated by the use of federal funding. Little Dublin was the focal point of Consultant Clayton Fraser's documentation of 14 Little Dublin houses along Bluff and

³² The Northwest Arterial report, M5037(600)—81-31, issued January 1978 underscores the importance of considering properties which are just outside of the city limits when Dubuque history is being considered. This report looked in particular at Union Park, the homes of Dr. John Goldthorpe, William G. Steward, the S. L. Langworthy farm, and Brewery Cave.

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Locust streets in 1986. The widening of Dodge Street and the construction of the Northwest Arterial similarly fostered studies in north and northwest Dubuque (Lyon, p. 267).

A ten-year hiatus settled upon the local historic preservation movement after 1988, the date for the most recent National Register listings. Major landmark buildings disappeared and many preservationists were disheartened with these losses. A demolished historic building is gone forever, while one saved is commonly only temporarily saved. The current survey and multiple property document project represents a resurgence in the program and a goal to better preserve and utilize the vast array of surviving historical properties in the city.

Lost Historic Properties:

It is always easier to tally the losses, than the preservation victories. This section attempts to list significant demolitions in hopes that it will help to catalogue them. Many key buildings have been saved for reuse and many others have been saved through adaptation. Demolition and "acts of God" have eliminated many buildings in Dubuque since its inception. The house occupied by Bishop Loras was razed in mid-1904 (*Daily Times*, May 18, 1904).

By the early 20th century buildings were thought to have an expected life span and they were then to be replaced by market or government action. The first indication of a push by the city government is found in 1917 when the city council condemned the "Yellow Front" said to be a "Negro haven." Numerous forced demolitions date to 1921-23, at a time when the new form of city government was adopted. The fire department condemned 15 buildings in mid-late 1923 for example (*Telegraph Herald*, August 10, 1917, July 24, October 31, 1923; *Times Journal*, July 6, 8, 26, 1921).

Context #5, The Architecture of Dubuque, 1833-1955³³

Dubuque possesses a truly remarkable array of historical architecture. This architectural treasure chest was duly noted by Lawrence Sommer, the first architectural historian to comprehensively evaluate the city's buildings. Sommer noted "Dubuque, perhaps more than any other city in Iowa, maintains the evidence of its past in the architecture of its neighborhoods, its businesses and industries." The city's long economic hibernation bequeathed to Dubuque a commiseration prize in the form of historic buildings. Sommer noted

...this long *status quo* is undoubtedly why so much of Dubuque's nineteenth century architectural heritage has remained. There was simply no pressure for demolishing many old buildings, but neglect and decay did take their toll. [modest level domestic architecture dominated during the years 1900-30 and]...even the anonymous vernacular houses of the 1870s and 1880s are more noticeable than the typical houses of the 1920s and 1930s that fill the subdivisions of these later years. Some important stylistic developments of the early twentieth century do not appear in Dubuque at all.

Specifically, there are no examples of the late Gothic Revival or Jacobethan Revival styles" (Sommer, pp. vii, 143).

³³ The succession of architectural styles is described in Section F of this report. This context treats the local perspective on style as it was described by newspaper editors, architects and builders. Style and its appreciation is all the more important in Dubuque where vernacular design and building has always been favored almost to the exclusion of style, at least in residential construction. This context will simply summarize the emergence and dominance of the various styles and contain descriptive information about local construction. A second section will identify major designers and builders. Only extant examples of their works appear in this listing.

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The editor of the *Weekly Tribune* offered his hopes for the newly popular Gothic style in the following account, penned August 11, 1852:

The fine residence now being erected for Mr. F. V. Goodrich, on Locust Street, is designed to vary in some degree the sameness of style so prevalent in the dwellings of this city...We should like to see the Gothic cottage architecture introduced here. No style of building admits of so great a range for fancy as this. A building can be made cheap, and yet neat and tasteful, or it can be adorned in the most costly and elaborate manner, and the style be preserved and the structure satisfy the most critical eye. A hundred houses might be built in the Gothic style, and no two be alike, and yet all be admirable for proportion and general effect. The handsomest towns in the Union owe their beauty in the main to the prevailing modes of architecture. Take for example, Euclid street, in Cleveland, Ohio,—an avenue almost or quite unrivalled in the United States. What gives it its great beauty and attractiveness? Two things, alone,—tasteful and ever varying styles of building, and abundance of shade-trees and shrubbery. Take these two elements away, and in their stead supply a plain and uniform style of houses, and denuded grounds, and no traveler would linger there for an instant, or bear away a solitary remembrance that would cause him to speak in praise of the scene he had left....Dubuque already takes high rank amongst the cities of the West for natural beauty; we hope soon to see her taking an equally elevated position in the scale of architectural taste and adornment.

It is interesting that the writer was conversant with prominent streets in other midwestern cities.

Improving.—The buildings that are going up in the various parts of our city are of a superior character, much surpassing those constructed in previous years; and should the balance of the great number already under contract prove to be of the same description, they will greatly enhance the beauty of our city, and will challenge a comparison with the architecture of any city of the West.

Herald, June 22, 1856

The *Weekly Express and Herald* (March 8, 1857) hinted at an incremental approach to building in the city. The source noted that many of the new buildings raised up in 1857 “were erected as back buildings for front or main portions to be added...” Presumably the reference is made to all types of buildings. If this trend was at all commonplace at least in the earlier history of Dubuque, the back portions of buildings might actually be of earlier (and therefore more interesting) periods than those in front. The first county courthouse was built in two stages, the rearmost section being next to the jail, and the addition being added to the south or front of the lot. A second reference to staged building involved double brick houses. Mr. Mullaly started half of a double house in 1862 on Locust Street between 14th and 15th streets, finishing it the next year. The second half was done during 1864. The source curiously noted that the building was two stories high “including the wood sheds” (?) Each half was quite wide, measuring 44 feet in width and 51 feet in depth. This reference indicates that some of these buildings were built a half at a time. Not every double house represented the efforts of a single owner/builder. In 1870 F. Mueller and John Lutz built a two-story double brick on White Street near 9th Street (*Herald*, January 1, 1864; December 18, 1870).

That same source made some stylistic references to new buildings. E. F. Bissle’s mansion on 10th Street was done in the “Elizabethian style” with four gables and a central observatory. Kesler’s Hotel at White between 5th and 6th was done “in the modern style of architecture.” Lorimer’s Hotel was done in a “very neat style of architecture.” The

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looked-for Gothic was making its appearance with six cited examples. These included the parsonage for the First Congregational Church (Main and Locust streets), Mr. Green's house on Bluff Street south of 3rd Street, Mr. L. Kneist's brick house on 16th Street and three houses on Nevada Street (Messrs. Able, Higginson and Gurnsey) were so described. The elaborate houses on the bluffs, "almost wholly [built by those]...who attend to mercantile and other pursuits in the lower portion of the city" were simply described as "justly entitled palaces" and doubted that any other western or eastern cities could match Dubuque's "many expensive and beautiful mansions."

Stylistic references were abundant in the 1867 Herald progress review. The parsonage for St. Marys parish was "a Gothic structure of brick, of an irregular shape." Sol Turck's Third Street new mansion was "a beautiful Italian villa, of brick, which, when finished, will be one of the handsomest residences in the city." Henry Louray's new house at Locust and 14th was also of brick and "will be covered by a French roof, surmounted by an observatory." Vernacular references were also numerous. Three stone houses, mostly story-and-a half plans with basement, were being built. J. F. Steiner was building a frame house on Seminary Hill "bricked in between the siding and the lath." Three small frame houses were being built on 5th Street to house "that most aristocratic class of our fellow citizens, Irish laborers."

The *Herald* in 1868 noted just one example of style, H. Sauer's brick residence, designed "partially [in the] gothic style." A year later L. Zust's two-story brick Seminary Hill house was also termed Gothic in design. The same source in 1870 reported "a goodly number" of new buildings that "combine great strength of column and architectural beauty. Edward Langworthy's house at Main near 6th streets was one of these (*Herald*, December 13, 1868; December 16, 1869; December 18, 1870).

The *Herald* saluted architectural progress made during 1871. The city had assumed

"more of a metropolitan air than on [sic] previous years. More of the elegance of architectural style has been embodied in our building sameness. More of Attic³⁴ has been infused in the notable structures of the year. The dullness of the old styles has given place to somewhat of life and warmth. Who does not admire the beauty of those marble fronts and those cornices on Main Street. They alone have made the street a hundred percent handsomer, and not a stranger that visits the city that points them out first thing

The year 1871 witnessed the building of an "unusual number of fine residences...almost palatial in style." Yesterday's style was undergoing a makeover and many "a house once ugly and unsightly, has been remodeled until it vies with any of its neighbors in good looks" (*Herald*, December 17, 1871).

The same source made the first known "Italian style" reference (although that style had been around for some 15 years!) was made to John Mulligan's brick block at Main and 1st streets. The same source also first referenced the "French style" embodied in William Ryan mansion at Main and 14th streets as well as R. E. Grave's brick residence at the same corner ("French style with Mansard roof"). The *Tribune* cited the new Mullany block as having a "Mansard roof, crowned with a cupola" (*Herald*, December 17, 1871; *Tribune*, December 21, 1871).

Mr. W. L. Bradley finished his Locust Street 1872 residence (between 13th and 14th streets) in the "Grecian style" (*Herald*, November 24, 1872).

³⁴ A reference to the base used in the Ionic order or a lower story in the upper part of a house rising above the main portion of the building, or finally a window-lighted apartment in the roof level.

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By the end of 1873 the *Herald* declared William Ryan's house to be "in the opinion of competent judges" to be unequalled in the city for its "richness of design and finish." Two nearby Second Empire designs were also lauded, these being William Andrew's mansion and that of Alfred Tredway. Three mansions were underway on upper Main Street. Two owner/builders were named, these being D. B. Henderson and George Crane. No specific styles were cited but the paper observed

[the three] make an elegant architectural display, unsurpassed on this main thoroughfare. They are built of brick, with the best stone cappings, French plate glass windows and all the latest conveniences, and all the latest touches of fine workmanship, at very reasonable cost, and are a valuable adornment to the street and highly creditable to the taste of the architect [one?] and proprietors.

St. Josephs Academy on Main Street between 12th and 13th streets also reflected the Second Empire style with its Mansard roof form. Jacob Michel's three-story brick business block with its elaborate parapet and balustrade was deemed the best commercial design and it was said that "no specimen of architecture made in Dubuque this year can vie with it" (*Herald*, November 9, 1873).

By the end of 1874 Locust Street was the place to live with "a large number of the richest and most aristocratic mansions in Dubuque" crowding along it. The *Herald* enumerated the houses of William Andrew, D. S. Wilson, Alfred Tredway, William Ryan, D. N. Cooley, John Thompson, and others valued from \$17-22,000 in value. The Congregational Church had completed its new "French Romanesque" steeple and the structure received "the first morning kiss of Sol" each day (*Herald*, November 22, 1874).

Messrs. Heer & Näscher whose activity as practical architects of a noteworthy and tasteful form of building here in town the past several years have produced some splendid structures both among places of merchandising and private residences, all highly visible, eloquent proofs of excellence, have now this year unfolded an activity bearing witness to their spreading influence as architects and as contractors...

Der National Democrat, November 9, 1876

The architecture of new commercial blocks was stressed in 1875. The Eagle Building at Main and Ninth streets combined "the elegant simplicity of the Renaissance with the more elaborate and imposing Corinthian ornamentation..." The James Levi residence was designed in "the Renaissance order, which cannot be excelled in combining simplicity with graceful beauty." The Booth and Waller double-mansion was designed in "the Venetian style...with mansard roof." St. Louis pressed brick was combined with marble trim. Increasingly the term "cottage" was used to describe smaller residences, built both in brick and frame. "One of the most beautiful little villas of which Dubuque can boast, will be the French cottage now being built by Mr. Woods for Col. G. F. West" in Grandview Park. Dr. Porter was remodeling a Grandview Avenue house, "making it one of the most imposing French villas on the avenue" (*Herald*, October 31, 1875).

The year 1873 was the first wherein new construction was dominated by working class housing, "with a greater proportion of money paid out by the poorer classes of the community to secure homes." The same pattern was observed in 1883 with "the rapid increase of our population demanding the tenements, and in most instances the dwellings have been built by those who occupy them...for the most part the tenements are of an ordinary but substantial character, costing from \$1,000 to \$4,000." In 1886 overall construction was dominated by less expensive middle class dwellings

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“chiefly of a middle class, two stories, comfortable houses, but nothing lavish, costing from \$800 to \$2,000” (*Herald*, November 9, 1873; December 4, 1882; January 1, 1887).

The same trend continued through 1887 and the *Herald* offered a linkage between home ownership and democracy that typified the “Own Your Own Home” campaign of the early 20th century:

It will be noticed by the list that by far the larger portion of the building permits were issued for the construction of dwellings of medium cost. This is one of the surest indicators of wealth. When the man of limited means builds himself a little home, he then is in a position to accumulate wealth to be turned into the highways of commerce. If every citizen owned his own home, the government would run itself. It is this continued improvement in this respect year after year that has given Dubuque such a name for wealth abroad. It is one of the facts that Dubuque should take the most pride in, that her laboring men and men of limited income are building homes for themselves and wherever possible, putting up double houses and so insuring a steady income” (*Herald*, November 24, 1887).

During 1879 “a number of our most elegant residences have been more elaborately adorned and substantially improved, displaying the taste and enterprise of their owners—notably among which is Mr. A. Levi, whose Main street residence is one of the most beautiful in this city.” It was also claimed the city possessed “more beautiful churches than any other city in this state.” Stylistic references in the newspapers declined as annual new building lists were simplified but the Second Empire style continued in popularity with institutional building design. The new St. Josephs Mercy Hospital sported a Mansard roof that year. Even later was E. Healey’s two-story Bluff Street “Mansard dwelling” built in 1888 (*Herald*, January 1, 1880; December 23, 1888).

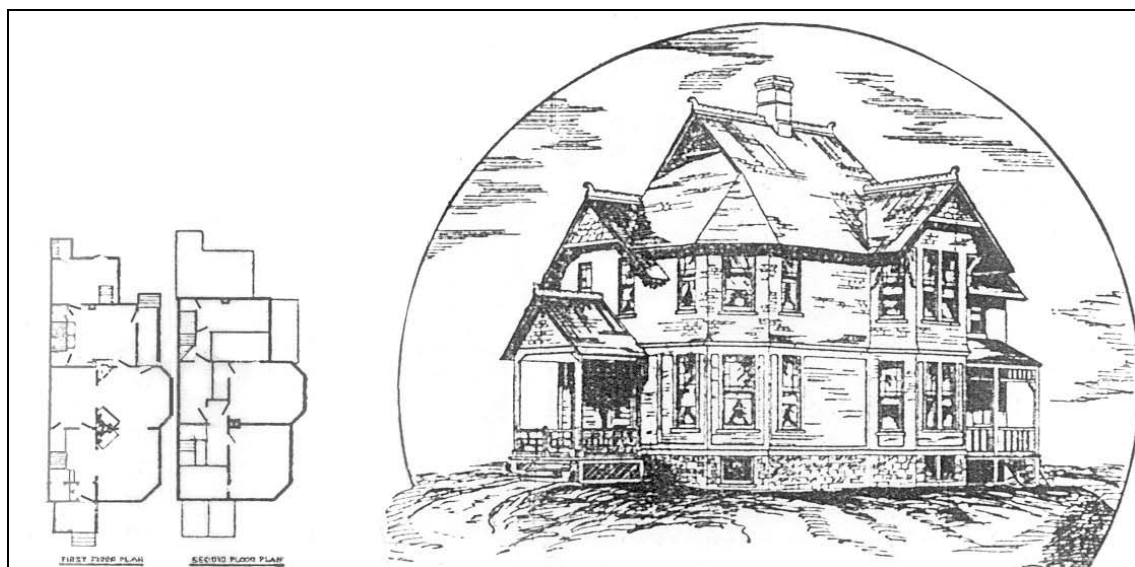


Figure 42: Victorian two-story house advertisement (*Herald*, December 2, 1888)
(floorplans have been re-grouped and illegible room codes and dimensions removed)

The house advertisement pictured above is representative of the larger non-vernacular frame houses that were being promoted as modern homes. This plan was west-facing (no address was given, W. L. Bradley was the sales

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representative) and was described as being an eight-room cottage. It featured a warm air furnace (not hot), a kitchen drain and both city and cistern water. Note the complex floor plan, typical of a Queen Anne style design. Note also how the second floorplan is divided into a great many small rooms and storage areas.

During 1884 the *Herald* claimed "most of [the new houses] constitute first-class architectural houses. Nothing less than \$500 in value has been raised." The new A. A. Cooper mansion, built in 1887, was rated "one of the finest residences in the state...[and] the most attractive in the city." James Howie's block of six row houses, on 17th Street, with its three stories and a mansard roof, was a noted 1884 addition to the city. The design was termed "a modified Gothic combined with features of the other orders the whole rendering the building imposing, pleasing, and admirably adapted to its situation and locality" (*Herald*, December 12, 1884; November 24, 1887; *Dubuque Trade Journal*, October 10, 1884).

One residential design that was lauded by the newspapers was a two-story brick home that Bernard L. Schulte built for his son John Schulte, on White between 9th and 10th streets in 1888. Non-extant, the three-story plan measured 23x53, contained 13 rooms, had 13" thick walls, and running water on every level. It contained all the "modern improvements" including cupboards and closets, and was rated to be "one of the neatest and best arranged dwelling houses." The house cost just \$3,000 to construct (*Herald*, December 8, 1888).

During 1895 nothing was being built on the "cheap John" order and all the new residences were claimed to be "modern, of tasty design and have all the latest improvements, both sanitary and otherwise. Dubuque is known throughout the state as having its beautiful residences and the list has been increased wonderfully from year to year" (*Herald*, May 24, 1896).

St. Lukes Church, under construction in 1896, was rated by the *Herald* as "the finest in the city" despite the higher building cost incurred building St. Johns Episcopal Church (mostly foundation work). Newspapers continued to avoid using stylistic descriptors. Jacob Traut's new house at 19th and Jackson streets was "of neat design." Other examples were of "recent design" or were "strictly modern throughout" or "fitted up in modern style" (*Herald*, May 24, 1896).

Dubuque's buildings and architects are rated as among the best in Iowa and the beautiful structures decorating the hills, bring forth admiration from the visitor who chances to view the city from a point of advantage. The religious institutions which catch the eye of every person passing by or through the city, have gained an enviable reputation for the architects who have laid the plans for the structures and the Dubuque builders are constantly in demand by out-of-town parties desiring big contracts to be filled.

Telegraph-Herald, October 2, 1910

Dubuque's Vernacular Architecture:

Lawrence Sommer (*The Heritage of Dubuque*) lauded the city's vernacular residences when he studied the city's architecture in the mid-1970s:

They are, to a large extent, the anonymous architecture of the working classes and were not noted by the newspapers when built or torn down. They are not fully understood by architects and little appreciated

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by historians. Nevertheless, they are the most representative type of Dubuque architecture (Sommer, pp. 75-76).

David C. Anderson completed a county wide historical survey in 1991. In his report he noted Sommer's "Dubuque Vernacular" type and also categorized county vernacular architecture as "Dubuque County Red Brick Vernacular." Unfortunately he developed no typology or characteristics. He simply stated that examples were unique local imitations. He recommended that county historical contexts would be developed for the Irish, Luxembourg and German ethnic groups, as well as limestone and log construction techniques. Luxembourg vernacular favored stone arched basements and stone in general over brick. They and Germans favored brick and limestone over frame or log construction (Anderson, pp.16, 38, 110-111).



Figure 43: Brick houses step down a hillside, 8th and Hill streets, view east (non-extant)
(Housing and Health Survey, 1934)

German vernacular construction predominates in the surviving buildings and certainly did so from the start. Brick construction was similarly dominant in Dubuque's 19th century construction. This preference combined with scale, was seemingly a German trait. An 1858 reference to local building observed that "among [the new buildings] are several to note with pleasure, built by our German fellow artisans...buildings notable for size and solidity" (*National Democrat* July 26, 1858).



Figure 44: Monitor roof vernacular variation, not located (John Vachon, 1940, Library of Congress)

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Much of the earliest frame vernacular and particularly that built and occupied by the Irish of Dubuque has been lost over time. David Anderson found the same void on a county level and concluded that the Irish had “left the most meager material remains in rural areas.” Also gone is much of the contextual fabric of the vernacular neighborhoods. This included the intensive land use patterns of the yards with gardens, innumerable types and varieties of outbuildings, an intermixing of small shops and businesses along alleyways, functional porches and the like. Also lost in many cases are the external details which made these houses functional, shutters, dormers and decorative elements (Anderson, p. 17).

The literature clearly indicates that houses commonly clustered along alleys, and occasionally intruded into public right-of-ways. Many vernacular arrangements became targets of advocates for safer and more sanitary housing in the years following World War I. The several 1934-35 Dubuque housing surveys gave particular attention to what is now termed vernacular housing and the photographs in those reports hint at what has been lost since then.



Figure 45: Intermixed brick and frame houses, stone foundations, likely Central Avenue
(Housing and Health Survey, 1934)



Figure 46: Closely placed houses along an alleyway, unidentified location in the Couler Valley
(Housing and Health Survey, 1934)

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Figure 47: Unusual stone/frame vernacular house, photo c.1925-32, 300s South Locust
(Housing and Health Survey, 1934)³⁵



Figure 48: Stone double house, East 14th and Maple, view northwest (photo by James Jacobsen, April 21, 2000)
The rear wing might be of log construction.

Key Dubuque Architects, Builders and Property Developers:

This listing is not at this point all-inclusive and focuses on individuals who were practicing in Dubuque prior to 1955. The list of commissions is representative only, focusing upon major designs.

Dubuque Architects:

Allardyce, W. S. (?-?), Architect, Engineer, Builder:

³⁵ The Collis Company incorporated April 16, 1907, and as of 1911 was located at 301 S. Locust.

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He advertised in the *Times* in 1857 offering “plans, designs, plans, estimates and specifications for “Public buildings, Stores, Town and Country Villas, Cottages, &c.” He also promised to provide “detailed drawings and superintendence (*Times*, June 20, 1857).”

Aubry, John D. (?-?), Architect:

Designed the Second Empire style tower on City Hall, 13th and Central.

Baumer, V. or William, (?-?), Architect:

Works:

Beeker-Rheinfeld triple storefront, three-story block, Main between 5th & 6th, 1856
Merchants Hotel, White between 5th & 6th, four stories, 1856.

Beck, Guido (1853-1936), Architect:

As of 1911 it was judged that Beck “has had much to do with the beauty and thoroughness of architecture of Dubuque.” Beck was born in Germany and came to America in 1882. He worked first as a stone cutter at the Rock Island Arsenal, Rock Island, Illinois. In Dubuque he turned to architectural design and by the mid-1880s was specializing in church design. By 1911 he had designed 100 of these ranging from the “small to the cathedral.” He first practiced with (probably) Fridolin J. Heer as Beck & Heer in 1886, practiced alone until he partnered with Martin Heer c.1889-1895. After 1899 he practiced by himself (Oldt, pp. 651-52; Lyon, p. 33; Shank, p. 20).

Works:

St. Josephs College Chapel and Auditorium
West Hill Roman Catholic Church
West Dubuque Roman Catholic Church
Apartment house, Julien, Hill and 8th, 1897 (replaced landmark “Diamond House”)

Bowen, J. H. (?-?), Architect:

Work:

Bissell & Co., four story block, Main and 11th, 1856 (extant, doubled, northernmost early four-story commercial block)

Brandt, F. G. (1832-1905), Architect:

Brandt was born in Frankfort, Germany and came to Dubuque in 1854. He served in the federal engineer corps during the Civil War under General John Fremont. After the war he “followed the profession of an architect for a number of years” in Dubuque. He served six years as city auditor and was in the insurance business thereafter (Obituary, *Herald*, April 1, 1905). An 1858 *Times* notice indicates that Brandt was doing design work at that time. The editors examined some of his work “and were much pleased with the beauty of the design and the skill with which they are executed.” The account added “Mr. B. has furnished plans for some of the best buildings in this city, and has few superiors in his profession (*Times*, February 4, 1858).” That same source again directed local attention to Brandt, who had his office at Main and 7th streets, upstairs, two months later. He was “fully competent, experienced and intelligent in

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all the branches of his profession. He is the author of some of the best designs in this city, and can built as handsome, cheap and substantial a house as any one need want (ibid., April 14, 1858).”

Caldwell, Alfred (?-?), Landscape Architect:

Caldwell was not an architect but he gave the city some of its purest and most notable Prairie style designs.

Work:

Eagle Point Park, Pavilion, other buildings, park landscaping, 1934-36.

Carkeek, Harvey T. (?-?), Architect:

Shank lists only for 1897 and places both Carkeek’s in the same office building. Their relationship is not known and Carkeek was never affiliated with Iowa Chapter AIA (Shank, p. 38).

Carkeek, Thomas T. (1843-1927), Architect:

Carkeek was English-born. He was the son of a stonemason and Carkeek learned that trade and carpentry prior to immigrating to America. He came to Dubuque from Wisconsin in 1882. He first worked as an architect for Carr, Ryder and Wheeler Company until 1891 at which time he started his own architectural practice in the Lincoln Building. He was “an entirely self-made architect.” He was prolific with over 200 local designs credited to his hand during his 20-year practice. A prominent Romanesque design, the Odd Fellows Building (9th and Locust streets) was recently demolished (Sommer, pp. 160-61; Oldt, pp. 708-09; Lyon, p. 57; Shank, p. 38).

Works:

701 Bluff Street
Odd Fellows Temple, 9th and Iowa (1892, razed 1970)
YMCA Auditorium and Gymnasium, Iowa and 8th streets (c.1894) (extant, NRHP)
August A. Cooper House (“Redstone”) (1888/90, 504 Bluff Street) (extant)
Lincoln Building (8th and Locust Streets)
Central Engine House (9th and Iowa streets) (demolished 1970)
Rider, Burden and Rider Building (7th and Locust streets) (non-extant)
Bell Bros. Building (4th and Locust streets) (non-extant)
John Ernsdorff Sons Company (Main and Jones streets) (non-extant)
C. H. Gregorie's House (109 Alpine Street)
Fred Bell House (968 W. 3rd Street)
D. J. Lenehan House (41 Cornell Street)
G. W. Healey House (701 Bluff Street)
Harris House (349 Hill Street)
Clemonson House (575 W. 3rd Street)
W. H. Day Jr. House (66 Highland Place)
C. Mathis House (118 Broadway Street)
J. Lenihan Double House (5th and Hill streets)
Second National Bank (non-extant)

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William Lawther Building, 123 Main, 1907 (candy factory, later known as Weber Paper Company) (extant)
Presbyterian Convent
Finley Hospital, West Dubuque, 1897
Fenelon Place Elevator, building, 1893

Dibol & Plack, Architects:

These men were for the most part successful builders but certainly also designed many of the buildings that they constructed. See builders below.

Work:

Bradley-Brown Block, 7th street, three stories, 1857

Geis, Joseph (?-?), Architect:

Work:

Strobel & Rath, Clay between 4th and 5th, three stories, 1856.

Harris, E., and Kavanaugh, Thomas, Architects:

Work:

First Presbyterian Church, 12th and Locust streets, 1856.

Heer, Fridolin Joseph Sr. (1834-1910), Jr. (1864-1940), Fridolin J. Heer & Son:

Like many European architects, Heer started as a stonecutter in Switzerland. His father was a builder. He came to the United States in 1865 and Dubuque three years later. He started his architectural firm in 1870 and was joined in the practice by his son in 1887. By 1880 he had "built up a large business and [was] the architect of many of the best buildings in the city." He first practiced with Edward Naescher as Heer & Naescher c.1874-76+. By 1875 Heer designed buildings, monuments, furniture and did fresco paintings. He also designed bridges, viaducts and tunnels. Beginning in 1886 he partnered with Guido Beck, but a year later was in partnership with his son. Beginning in 1889 church design let their list of advertised specialties. Heer joined the Architectural Association of Iowa in 1885 and was elected into the American Institute of Architects a year later. He was a charter member of the newly organized (1903) Iowa Chapter of AIA. The son practiced until 1934. Fridolin Heer Sr. is rated as being one of the city's leading architects and it is important that the city was the point where he opened his practice and received the majority of his design efforts (Sommer, pp. 159-60; Oldt, pp. 597-601; Lyon, p. 195; 1880 County History, p. 803; Shank, pp. 79-80).

Works:

Second City Clock and tower (1873, Clock Tower Plaza)
Jesse P. Farley House (1879, 6th and Bluff streets)
W. J. Knight House (1397 Main)
William Bradley House (1268 Locust Street)
Col. /Congressman David Bremner House (1433 Main)
J. Van Duzee House (1471 Main)
Alex. Young House (1879, now Behr Funeral Home, 1491 Main)
William Andrew House (1135 Locust Street)

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A. Tredway House (1182 Locust Street)
Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church and School (1885, 635 West 22nd Street)
Dubuque County Courthouse (1891-93, 7th and Central streets)
Mt. St. Joseph Academy Building (Clarke College)
First Security Building (1901, 8th and Main streets)
M. M. Hoffman Funeral Home (1890, 15th and Clay streets)
H. L. Stout House (1145 Locust Street)
L. Gonner House (1295 Alta Vista Street)
N. J. Schrup House (14th and Main streets)
W. S. Malo House (16th and Main (?) streets)
F. A. Rumpf House (West 11th Street)
Alphonse Matthews House (1335 Locust Street)
A. F. Heeb House (15 Jefferson Street)
Telegraph-Herald building (7th and Main streets)
St. Joseph Academy (1894, 13th and Main streets) (Heer & Son)
J. L. Hancock House (11 Highland Place)
Dubuque Brewing & Malting Company (supervising architect)
Levi Residence
Baptist, Zion and Lutheran churches
Central High School, 15th & Locust, 1893
Frank Breda, 10th and Clay, store/flats, 1888 (Heer & Son)
Firehouse, 4th & Locust, 1884
Jos. Wittmer Block, 527 Clay, 1886
Peter Klauer Block, 1236 Iowa, 1886 (extant)
W. Watson, store, 1885
Henry Hoffman, 1604 Clay, saloon/store, 1885
Koch Store/offices, c.1889
St. Marys Orphanage, addition, Sheridan Road, 1882
H. L. Stout House, 1645 Locust, c.1892 (Heer & Son)
Alex Young House, 1496 Main, 1879

Heer, Fridolin Joseph, Jr. (1864-1940), Architect:

Fridolin, who was trained in architecture in the School of Architecture in Stuttgart, Germany, was the only descendant of Fridolin Heer Sr. who carried on the family architectural tradition (a daughter Pauline did work in her father's office but not as a designer). In 1879 he first worked as a draftsman for Dankmar Adler in Chicago (Adler partnered later with Louis Sullivan). Beginning in 1881 he studied as noted above in Stuttgart, receiving his degree in 1886. He was elected to the national AIA the same year as his father and a year later partnered with his father in Dubuque. He was also a charter member of the Iowa Chapter AIA in 1903 and he served as chapter president in 1906. He succeeded his father upon his death in 1910 and worked on his own until retiring in 1937. He was also registered in Illinois and Wisconsin. Three children were born to Heer and his wife but it is not known whether any of these worked in architecture (Shank, p. 81).

Works:

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Sunnycrest Sanatorium (1919, Roosevelt Avenue)

Heer, Martin (?-1915), Architect:

Heer was German born and came to Dubuque at an undetermined date. His family emigrated to America in 1843. He practiced along c.1884-88, and partnered with Guido Beck c.1892-95. He was working on his own as of 1897 being officed at 824 8th Street. He is documented as still working in Dubuque through 1899 although family history states he did so through c.1912 when he returned to Germany. He died there. His design work was regional in scope (Petersburg, Clinton, Fort Atkinson, Dubuque) (Shank, p. 82).

Works:

Eichhorn Building (1889) (Beck & Heer?)
Holy Ghost Church and School (1896)
Chris Voelker Block, 13th & Clay, 1885
Hollnagle, 2164 Clay, double storefront, 1885
Luck, double store, 1885

Heer [Fridolin S., Sr.] & Beck [Guido], Architects:

Shank dates this partnership to 1886.

Work:

P. Specht, Couler Avenue, two-story store, 1886.

Heer [Fridolin S., Sr.] & Nascher [Edward], Architects:

Works:

Herald Building, three stories, 1873
Eagle Building, 9th & Main, Lamoni stone façade, Renaissance style, 1873
Western House, Iowa, brick barn, 1875
Harmony Hall, Iowa, brick barn, 1875
A. Stolz, 659 Clay, brick barn, 1876
Blumenauer, 1876
Cooley, 1876
Peaslee, 1876
Kistler, Main, 9th to 10th, three-stories with hall, 1876

Henderson & Brandt, Architects:

Work:

Wm. L. Bradley Block, Main & 7th, three stories, six stores, 1868 (non-extant)
High School, Clay & 12th, 1868 (non-extant)
H. Honack & Zehntner, 8th & Clay, 1868
H. Brinkman, 8th between Main and Iowa, packing house addition, 1868

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Levi Block, Main & 4th, three story double storefront, 1869
Oglesby Block, Main between 6th & 7th, this was the first entire iron storefront in the city, 1869

Hill, F. E., (?-?), Architect:

Work:
New convention hall, 13th & ?, 1900.

Howie, James (?-?), Architect:

Work:
Sanford Building remodeling, Main & 8th streets, 1885.

Hyde, Franklin D. (1849-?), Architect:

Hyde was born in Maine but grew to adulthood in Wisconsin and Minnesota. He came to Dubuque in 1878, having been trained as an architect in St. Paul, Chicago and Boston. By 1880 it was reported that Hyde "is taking a leading position in his profession." A 10-page inventory of his designs covers Iowa and includes a few commissions in Wisconsin, Minnesota and Montana. The projects date from 1879-1892. He was a charter (1885) member of the Architectural Association of Iowa, the Western Association of Architects (1884) and the Architectural Association of Des Moines. He was professionally committed to the education of architects and served as secretary of the national AIA. He first (1881) specialized in school designs and later (1880) advertised a specialty in remodeling existing buildings. Hyde briefly (1891-92) partnered with William H. Castner of St. Paul until the latter's untimely death. Hyde departed Dubuque in 1893 apparently response to the panic of 1893-94 although there is no indication that large architectural commissions in the city were impacted by that downturn (Wilkie, p. 319; 1880 County History, p. 814; Shank, pp. 86-87).

Works:

Waller, Eighmey & Bradley/St. Cloud Block, Main near 9th, three stories, triple storefront, 1882 (non-extant)
Boarding house, Jackson & 10th, 1883
B. B. Richards House, 1492 Locust, 1883
Dr. Asa Horr, 872 Main, four story brick block with terra cotta front, 1884
Gissels Store, 1884
Two-story double block, Main & 6th, 1885
W. G. Watters Block, 1250-56 Iowa, three stories, 1886 (extant)
Geo. R. Clark Block, Iowa Street, two stories, 1885
Wm. Andrews Commercial Block, Main, between 10th & 11th, 1885, three stories
O. Oliver Block, Clay & 15th, two stories, 1885
M. Hoffman, 15th & Clay, two stories, 1885
Iowa Block, 713 Iowa, four story warehouse for W. L. Bradley, 1886
Consolidated Tank Line, S. Main, two-story warehouse, 1886
R. Cox, 489 Main, three story double block, 1886
1263-97 Iowa, two-story quadruple storefront block, 1886
Bishops Block, 90 Main Street 1887-89
M. M. Walker House, Grove Terrace, c.1884

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James Mullen, 6th Street, double store/dwelling, 1886
Water Works Company Pumping Station, 1888
Jesse P. Farley House, 605 Bluff, 1879
Water Works Company Pumping Station, Eagle Point, 1888
Paint Works Company Mill and Warehouse, Iowa Street, 1883
Block of Houses, James Howie, 17th & Locust, 1883
Block of three houses, W. H. Peabody, Locust and 7th, 1883
Byrnes Bros. Livery, 1888
Store/apt. building W. S. Bradley, 1888
Store/flats, Rev. P. Burke, 1888
Julien Hotel, \$100,000, 1889 (burned 1910)
Queen Anne cottage, W. H. Day, 1883
A. A. Cooper factory, 1890
Block of residences, W. S. Bradley, 1887
A. A. Cooper House, \$30,000, 1887
Staples & Wibber double-front store, 1887
Block of residences for Bishop Hennessy at 2nd and Bluff streets, 1886
Visitation Academy School, 1886
Geo. L. Torbert business block, Iowa & 12th, 1885-86 (extant)
J. Herod Double House, 1885
A. A. Cooper Warehouse, 1885
Dubuque Omnibus Co. Stable, 1883
B. B. Richards House, 1492 Locust, Street, 1883
James Howie Six tenements, 1883
St. Josephs College addition,, \$15,000, 1884
4th Street Elevator, station and engine house, J. K. Graves, 4th Street, 1886
Geo. L. Torbert House, 1890
Thomas Connolly House, \$18,000, 1890
E. M. Woodworth house, 1880.
Linseed Oil Mill, 9th and Jackson, 1880
Thedinga Business Block, Main Street, 1880

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Figure 49: Architect's advertisement with example, 1886
(*Times*, October 31, 1886)

Jones, David (?-?), Architect:

Works:

First Congregational Church (1857, 10th and Locust streets)

Jones, T./Jones, Lemuel:

Works:

Rebman & Jones, Hotel Block, 8th between Main & Iowa, three stories, 1856 (T. Jones)
Wm. Rebman's Hall, 8th between Main and Locust, three story double block, 1856

Keenan, John (?-?), Architect/builder:

Works:

James Kelly, Main near P.O., 1865
Merchants National Bank, Main & 5th, 1868
Geo. W. Jones, Main & 6th, four stories, 1868

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Marson Block, Main & 2nd, three stories, 1868 (extant)
Andrew & Tredway, 92 Main (Main bet. 4th and 5th), three stories, 1871
J. R. Waller Block, Main and 9th, three stories, 1871.
Waters & Coates, 8th & Locust, three stories quadplex store block, 1872
Thos. Sullivan, 1st above Main, three stories, 1872
Arthur McCann, Main between 4th and 5th, four stories, 1872
Richard Cox, Main between 4th & 5th, three stories, 1872
Herancourt, Main between 4th & 5th, three stories, 1872
Thos. Connolly Carriage Factory, 7th & Iowa, four stories, 1872
Richard Cox, 9th & Main, single story double storefront, 1872
Conningham & Peabody, Main between 4th & 5th, three story double block, 1875
Finlay Block, Main & 7th, three stories, four storefronts, 1875
Jas. Rowan Block, Iowa Street, three-story double front, 1875
Norwegian Plow Works, Lower Main, 1881
Robert Waller, Main between 4th & 5th, 1881

Kennison, Herbert A. (?-?), Architect:

Work:

Federal Building/Post Office, Washington Square, in conjunction with Federal architects and Proudfoot, Rawson, Souers and Thomas of Des Moines, 1934.

Krajewski, Casimer Ignatius, (1893-1949+), Architect:

Polish-born, he received a B. S. in architecture degree from Notre Dame in 1916 and entered into his own design practice in 1922. He was practicing in Dubuque from 1927 but cancelled his registration in 1940. He then worked in Chicago from 1944 at least through 1949. One school design is identified in Ottumwa (Shank, p. 102).

Larkins, John P. (?-?):

Rated as of 1902 as “one of the best designers in the city” English-born and trained Larkins formed his own design practice that year after partnering for two years with architect John Spencer (see below). He previously worked with Chicago architects Jenny & Mundel prior to moving to Dubuque. He partnered with architect Thomas Carkeek (see above) c.1898-1900 before joining with Spencer (*Enterprise*, August 3, 1902).

Loeman and Keenan, Architects/builders: (see John Keenan, above)

Work:

Lorimer Hall, Main and 3rd, four stories, 1855

Logan & Cook, Architects:

Work:

Lawther-Bell Block, Main between 1st & 2nd, four stories, 1856 (non-extant, burned 1906)

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Longhurst, William (?-?), Architect:

Longhurst first worked in Dubuque, but as of early 1863 had relocated to Chicago. *Times* reporters visited his offices there and reported that he was quite busy preparing plans there. He continued to advertise his services in the Dubuque newspapers after his move (*Times*, April 25, 1863).

Moody, J. N. (?-?):

Moody was the actual designer of the 13th Street Market Hall, now City Hall (*Daily Republican*, July 8, 9, 1857).

Work:

Fourth Ward/Central Market (Dubuque City Hall), 13th and Central streets, 1856-57 (extant)

Mullany, John, (1812-1884) Architect:

Mullany was somewhat of a rarity, given that he was an Irish-born architect. He was also, like Rague, from an earlier generation of designers. The 1870 Industrial Census credited Mullany as a house builder with finishing five houses during 1879. He had eight employees and his houses were valued at \$15,000. His son John I. Mullany (1847-?) was a noted Dubuque lawyer. The family emigrated to America in 1849 (Oldt, p. 624).

Works:

Cathedral of Saint Raphael (1857-59, 231 Bluff Street) (extant)
St. Marys German Catholic Church, 1584 White Street (1864-66)
Twon Clock Building, 823 Main, 1873 (extant, NRHP)
Episcopal Church ("chaste, very proportionate" *Herald*, June 4, 1872)

Mullany & Head, Architects:

Work:

Duncan & Waller, 5th behind First National Bank, two stories, cut stone front, 1875

Netcott, Harry E. (1867-1927+) Architect:

Netcott was born in England, the son of a mason. The family came to Iowa in 1872, the father running a brick yard in Independence. Harry was educated at Hopkinton (Lenox College), Mt. Vernon (Cornell College) and the Polytechnic Institute in Chicago. He had offices in Parkersburg and Independence and practiced with his son Roland in Waterloo c.1918. They mostly designed schools. Netcott left the practice when the 1927 registration law for architects went into effect. Shank lists him as a Dubuque architect but makes no definite linkage with any designs there (Shank, p. 121).

Ogleby, Joseph, (?-?) Architect:

Work:

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Joseph Ogleby, Main between 6th & 7th, three stories, 1856.

Rague, John F., (1799-1877) Architect:

Rague was born in New York and came to Dubuque in 1854. He worked ten years in New York where he worked for Minard Lafever. He moved to Springfield, Illinois in 1831. He won the 1837 competition to design the new Springfield State capitol building. In 1839 he designed the Iowa territorial capitol building and contracted to build it with two Springfield masons. The design was altered and he resigned from superintending the construction. He was also dismissed from the Springfield construction and relocated to Milwaukee in 1841. He came to Dubuque with his second wife in 1854, practicing alone until 1857 when he joined with William H. Drake as Rague & Drake. A year later he was again on his own. His career was a casualty of the 1857-58 panic and deteriorating eyesight. Blind in his final years, Rague designed his own tombstone and had it put in place prior to his death. He died in Dubuque eight years later in 1877. Rague is clearly regionally significant for his design/construction supervision with the first Iowa capitol building in Iowa City and the first Illinois capital building to be built in Springfield, as well as for his employment of the Egyptian style. Many of his pre-Civil War designs survive which is remarkable in and of itself. He is arguably one of Dubuque's most significant architects and he is the subject of several thesis. One major finding of this report is the determination that he did not design the City Hall. The apparent accepted attribution is based upon a *Daily Republican* article, dated July 8, 1857 that states "He [Rague] is also the architect of the new jail, and the Thirteenth street Market House." Missed was a correction in the same newspaper, printed a day later, the editors explained "We are now informed that Mr. J. N. Moody, Architect, drew the plan of the building, and that Mr. Rague prepared the specifications. Mr. Rague is however the Superintendent of its construction (Sommer, p. 159; Shank, pp. 133-34; *Daily Republican*, July 8, 9, 1857; *Herald*, July 29, 1869; obituary, *ibid.*, September 26, 1877)."

Works:

William and J. Ryan, White & Levee, two warehouses, 1856 (non-extant)
Washington Block, 5th & Locust, four stories, 1856 (non-extant)
Gonder Block, Locust & 5th, three story double block, 1856 (non-extant)
Wm. Andrew Homestead, Locust near 11th, 1856 (demolished 1891)
Graffort House, 3rd and Bluff streets, 1857, later known as the Wales Hotel, burned in 1917 (*Daily Republican*, July 8, 1857) (non-extant)
Dubuque County Jail, 8th and Central streets (see *Daily Republican*, August 4, 1856) (extant)
F. E. Bissell House (11th bet. Bluff and Locust streets) later owned by William Andrew, this was Rague's first Dubuque design (extant)
Goodrich-Wilson-Ryan House (1243 Locust Street) (extant)
Edward T. Langworthy Octagon House, 1095 W. 3rd Street, 1856-57 (extant)
Third Ward/Prescott School, 13th Street, 1857 (two other identical school plans, 1st and 5th wards, built at the same time, not extant) (extant)
Mathias Ham House, Eagle Point (extant)

Roberts, C. C., (?-?) Architect:

Work:

Lawrence Hotel Block, Main between 9th & 10th, 1856 (non-extant)

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Rogers, Robert, (?-?) Architect:

Works:

Frederick Weigel House, 1854, 1192 Locust Street, attribution only

Ryan, William and J., Architects/Builders:

The Ryan brothers were from Galena and their earliest warehouse buildings were constructed before they relocated to the city. Not professional architects, the brothers were credited with doing their own design and construction work.

Work:

Wm. & J. Ryan, Iowa between 3rd and 4th, three-story warehouse, 1856 (non-extant)

Spencer, John (1856-?), Architect:

Spencer was English-born and was an 1877 graduate of the South Kensington Art Institute. He emigrated to America after 10 years of practice in England. He partnered briefly with W. W. Boynton and Company (designers of the Bank and Insurance Building, Dubuque). He worked two years in Chicago but returned to Dubuque. His clients were not limited to Dubuque (Oldt, pp. 688-89). See Boyington & Spencer.

Works:

Iowa Trust and Savings Bank
Dubuque Trust and Savings Bank, Central and 14th, 1923 (extant)
Young Womens Christian Association Building
Iowa Telephone Building
Eagle Point Park Pavilion
Pavilion at Tri-State Fair
Glover and Company Warehouses and Offices (non-extant)
German Presbyterian Church
Carr-Ryder and Adams Factory, Warehouses and Offices
St. Lukes Parsonage, 1907 (extant, NRHP)
F. D. Stout Residence
Becker-Hazleton Warehouse, Iowa & 2nd, sevens stories, 1914 (non-extant)

Stillman, Charles (?-?)

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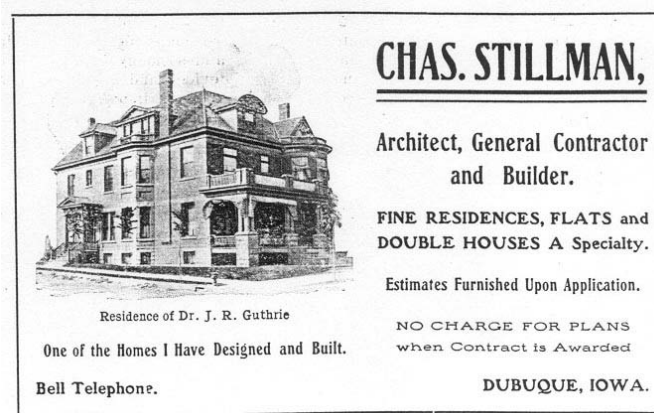


Figure 50: (*Enterprise*, April 15, 1905)



Figure 51: Architect's advertisement, C. A. Wilber, 1868
(*Times*, August 4, 1868)

Non-Dubuque Architects Who Designed Dubuque Buildings:

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Throughout its history, Dubuque developers have availed themselves of regionally and nationally known architects to produce designs for key local buildings.

Backus, William, Chicago Architect:

Work:

First Congregational Church, 10th & Locust, 1856

Boyington, W. W., Chicago Architect:

Work:

Bank & Insurance Building, 9th & Main, 1894

[W. W.] Boyington & [John] Spencer, Chicago Architects:

Works:

Dubuque Club, 7th & Locust, 1902 (non-extant)
German Bank Building, Main and 3rd streets, 1900 (extant)
Carnegie-Stout Library, 11th & Bluff, 1901 (extant)

Edbrooke, Willoughby J. (1843-1896), Chicago Architect

Edbrooke was a nationally significant Midwestern architect, the designer of such key buildings as those that comprise the Notre Dame University Campus, the first substantial opera house in Denver, Colorado, the Georgia State Capitol, the Kane County Illinois Courthouse (1892), and numerous other public buildings. Edbrooke served successively as Superintendent of Construction for the City of Chicago (1887-89) and Superintending Architect of the United States Treasury. In the latter capacity he oversaw the building of the first facility at Ellis Island and the Government Building and others at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and the first "skyscraper" in Washington D.C., the post office building.

Works:

Grand Opera House, 8th & Iowa, 1889 (nationally significant, NRHP, due to its association with Edbrooke)
J. V. Rider, three-story store and office block, 1890

Fulton, H. L., (?-?) Chicago Architect:

Work:

Rhomberg Mill, 1873

Koch, H. C. (?-?) Milwaukee Architect:

Work:

Dubuque County Courthouse, courtroom and elevator remodeling, 1899

Kramer, George W. (?-?), Architect:

Kramer is presumably a regional designer. He was nationally known for his church designs.

Work:

St. Lukes Methodist Church, 1199 Main Street, 1896-97.

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Langdon, Henry M. (?-?) New York Architect:

Work:
Episcopal Church, English Gothic style, 1874.

Moore, Raymond Francis (1890-1932+) Cedar Rapids Architect:

Work:
Masonic Temple, Locust & 12th, 1931-32 (extant).

Nocquet, James (?-?) Illinois Central Railroad Architect:

Nocquet was a Civil Engineer and was a principal military engineer with the Confederate Army of Tennessee during the Civil War.

Work:
ICRR offices, 6th & Main, 1888

Rautert, Fred (?-?), Chicago Architect:

Work:
Dubuque Star Brewery, 1898 (extant)

Van Orsdel & Bowman, Chicago Architects:

Work:
Odd Fellows Hall, 8th & bluff, 1856 (burned 1858).

Dubuque Carpenters and Builders:

Bell, John, (1827-?)/Bell & Green:

Scottish-born Bell came to Canada in 1844 and to Dubuque in 1853. He worked in the city for 30 years. By 1873 he was in the partnership of Bell & Green, termed “responsible builders and carpenters...well known, year after year, for their good work...both of whom for a long time have been known in the building line, and for good carpenter work.” Their office was behind the post office. “Messrs. Bell & Green are among the best of the ten or fifteen carpenter and building firms, and deserve the character and reputation they have acquired. Anything from the building of a small barn to a large church structure, or from a fence to a business block...” (Sommer, p. 161; Dubuque City Directory for 1873-74, pp. 74-75).

Broadhurst, John G. (1827-?):

English-born, Broadhurst came to the U.S. in 1848 and Dubuque ten years later. By 1880 he was described as one of the oldest contractors operating in the city, then partnered as “Biles & Broadhurst”. Works included the Julien Hotel addition, the Lorimer House and the Argyle House (1880 History, p. 478).

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Brunkow, Ferdinand W. (1861-?) /F. W. Brunkow Sons & Company:

Brunkow was born in Wisconsin of German-born parents and came to Dubuque in 1892. He had worked as a teacher and town clerk but immediately entered into contracting work. Beginning in 1907 he was general agent for the German-American Equitation Premium Life Association and was at one time president of the local contractors' association (Oldt, p. 837).

Works:

Lincoln School
"many of the best residences of which the city boasts"

Burd, Frederick C. (1872-?) /C. Burd & Son Contracting Company:

He was born in Dubuque and was the son of noted contractor Christian Burd (?-?). His German-born father came to America in 1859 and to Dubuque the same year. He built the public school and bank buildings in East Dubuque, the Carr, Ryder & Adams factory, Couler Avenue car barns, Dubuque Club, (first) Sacred Heart Church, Holy Ghost Convent, the Thill double store building and "numerous public and parochial school edifices and score of imposing buildings." He built buildings throughout the region. Frederick worked with his father, saw brief Spanish-American war service, and was a city contractor as late as 1911 (Oldt, p. 846).

Conlin Construction Company:

Richard Conlin (1922-?) founded this firm in 1922 and by 1948 the company with 50 employees had contracts in seven states. Taking on larger jobs the firm had a 17-state market by 1989. Notable early works included the Carnegie-Stout Library addition, McCormick Gymnasium (University of Dubuque) and the more recent Five Flags Center (Lyon, p. 81).

Dibol, W. O. (?-?), builder:

Dibol was already well established in Dubuque as of early 1858, when the *Times* printed the following notice concerning his work:

...He bears the name of being one of the most experienced, skillful and scientific builders in Dubuque, and the proofs of his being so are to be seen in many edifices erected under his supervision. We believe he was the first to introduce the use of the iron fronts in this city, and he is now prepared to make contracts for the erection of the largest description of buildings, either of iron or other material (*Times*, March 27, 1858).

Dibol's advertisement in the same source offered "Entire Iron Fronts" as one of his specialties.

Dubuque Homes Inc.

Charles Mettel Jr. was company president and this firm built the Asbury Park houses for the John Deere workers in 1946-47 (*Telegraph-Herald*, January 6, 1946).

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Foye, James N. (1833-?):

Foye reached Dubuque in 1857 and first specialized in moving buildings. He was a Civil War veteran and worked as a general contractor postwar, residing at 143 Alpine Street (1880 County History, p. 791).

Fricke, Alois (1818-?):

Fricke was a Swiss-born brick and stone mason. He reached the U.S. in 1845, worked a year in Galena and then came to Dubuque in 1846. By 1880 he was responsible for “many of the best buildings in Dubuque” including the Lorimer House and St. Joseph Academy. He resided on 13th Street between Elm and Washington streets (1880 County History, p. 792).

Geiger, Henry (1840-?):

Geiger was German-born and worked as a carpenter and builder after the Civil War. He came to the U.S. in 1861 and saw Civil War service in the 5th Iowa Cavalry and two years military engineer service at Nashville. He resided on White between 16th and 17th streets (1880 County History, p. 793).

Gregory, E. James (1872-?), Carpenter Contractor:

Gregory was born at Webster City, Iowa and came to Dubuque in 1890. He apprenticed under ___ Ketsch and worked as a journeyman under ___ Jordan. He worked briefly in St. Joseph, Missouri, but returned to Dubuque and had his own firm beginning in 1902 (Oldt, pp. 775-76).

Works:

Fowler Flats

“various additions to local public buildings and also many fine residences”

Grether, John M. (1816-?):

Grether was German-born and came to the U.S. and Dubuque in 1854. He resided at 1539 Washington Street and was “a natural mechanic [who] can make any kind of machinery” (1880 County History, p. 796).

Hartmann, Anthony A. (1884-?):

Hartmann was born in Dubuque and was a member of a younger generation. His father (Austrian-born Leonard Hartmann, (?-1908) was a general contractor in Dubuque who built St. Josephs Academy. Anthony learned contracting working with his father and worked with his brothers Leo L. (1888-?) and Bernard A. Hartmann. By 1911 Hartmann Contracting Company was responsible for “many of the finest residences and public edifices” in the city (Oldt, pp. 833-34).

Heitzman, William, (1863-?):

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Heitzman was German-born and first worked as a millwright. He immigrated to America in 1885 and arrived in Dubuque c.1887. He first partnered (1890) with Rheinfrank who died and he continued alone specializing in building fine residences. His son William Heitzman Jr. joined him in 1908 (until 1911) (Oldt, pp. 669-70).

Henderson & Brandt:

The 1870 Industrial Census credited these 3rd Ward builders with finishing 12 houses during 1879. They had 10 employees and his houses were valued at \$10,000. Theirs was the largest reported house building operation although the average price of their houses was just \$1,000.

Herdmann, Thomas A. (1870-?):

He was born in Canada, the son of a builder-contractor. He was an 1886 graduate of the manual training department of the State University of Nebraska and learned contracting working with his father. Herdmann came to Dubuque in 1888 where he soon specialized in building fine residences (Oldt, p. 830).

Holland, Ora (1825-?):

Holland was a contractor/builder and came to Dubuque in 1846. He developed a large business and by 1880 had "built many of the best buildings in the city." By that time he had worked as a contractor in the city for 33 years "longer than anyone else" (1880 County History, p. 806).

Howie, James (1841-?):

Scots-born Howie reached Dubuque in 1869 and started his firm employing 10-15 hands. He did all of the carpentry work for the Norwegian Plow Company and the Waller building (1880 County History, p. 813).

Jones, B. W., (1837-?):

English-born Jones came to America in 1845 and to Dubuque in 1856. He worked in the city through the late 1800s and served as city alderman beginning in 1879 (Sommer, p. 16; 1880 County History, p. 817).

Jones, Rudolph (1855-?):

Jones was born near Chicago to German-born parents (family name of Joens). The family came to America in 1853 and reached Dubuque c.1856. Father John Jones was a contractor but farmed in the county for 30 years. Rudolph did carpentry work for his father and moved from the family farm to Dubuque in 1878 at age 23 years. He rose from journeyman to self-employed contractor and by 1911 had "erected many of Dubuque's fine commercial houses and private residences, churches and public buildings." He was a Republican and served as Alderman-at-large from 1898-1906 (Oldt, pp. 689-90).

Works:

Masonic Temple

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Keenan, John, (1824-1909):

Irish-born Keenan came to America in 1850 and to Dubuque six years later. He learned his trade in New York and worked in this city through the 1880s. By 1880 he was the veteran of 25 years as a builder and was one of the oldest working contractors. He served 50 years as president of the Dubuque Council of St. Vincent de Paul (Lyon, p. 236; 1880 County History, p. 819).

Kutsch, Joseph P. (1859-1939)/Kutsch Brothers (Charles and Joseph):

Joseph was born in Dubuque and was of German parentage (his father was also a contractor). He was the senior partner in a two-brother contracting firm. They were noted for their perfectionism and artistry. He was Catholic and was a member of the Sacred Heart Church. He was also a member of the Shooters Club and was a noted marksman (Oldt, p. 505; Lyon, p. 252).

Works:

St. Francis Convent (2105 Washington Street)
St. Marys Casino (1600 White Street)
Immaculate Conception Academy

Larned, Francis, (?-1886):

Larned died in Chicago and his obituary noted that he was a former city contractor, builder of dwellings for B. M. Harger and N. B. Lewis. Larned had lived in Chicago for "some time" prior to his demise. He once partnered locally with N. C. Amsden (*Herald*, July 16, 1886).

Luchterhand, Fred L. M., (1869-?):

Born in Germany, his family emigrated to America c.1876 and came directly to Dubuque. He learned contracting under the tutelage of Christ Burdt over a seven-year period. He then partnered with ____ Keller as Keller & Luchterhand. By 1911 they were "regarded as one of the best firms in their line of business in the city, and have erected many fine buildings, public and private..." His residence was at 579 Windsor Avenue (as of 1911) (Oldt, p. 709).

Works:

Home for the Aged
The Casino
N. J. Schrup House

McCoy, John (?-?):

Irish-born McCoy came to the U.S. in 1850 and to Dubuque six years later. He was first employed as a carpenter/joiner. The 1870 Industrial Census credited McCoy with finishing eight houses during 1869. He was involved in real estate and house building by 1873:

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Mr. John McCoy has for some years looked around for some vacant lots in different localities, and having found them, at what he thought a proper price, he bought them, no matter if they were even in an out of the way place. The next thing done would be to set men to work in excavating and filling up and build good cisterns and cellar walls. By the time that work was done, he would have all the brick or timber and lumber, and after within three or four weeks, with a sufficient force of men, one or two or half a dozen houses would be nearly ready for occupancy. By that time some strangers or those, who were tired of boarding would be seeking the places to rent or purchase.

Mr. McCoy generally sells his houses and lots with about equal profit to himself and accomodation to the purchasers. The good residences on Hill street, south of the Diamond House, are samples os his management referred to. Such men are needed in every city, not older than Dubuque...Mr. McCoy will take contracts for building houses, barns, churches or any small jobbing in his line, and does good work and always at proper prices (Dubuque City Directory for 1873-74, p. 79)

He had five employees and his houses were valued at \$4,000. By 1880 he was one of the oldest contractors working in the city and had "erected some of the best buildings in Dubuque" (1880 County History, p. 842).

Mihm, John J. (1860-?), Stone Mason Contractor:

Mihm was born in Dubuque of German parents. His father, Peter Mihm (1824-1902) was also a Dubuque stonemason contractor and the two partnered after 1884. The firm contracted foundation work for the most part (Oldt, pp. 717-18).

Works (foundations only):

Sacred Heart Church
St. Matthews Church (18th and Jackson)
Third Presbyterian Church
Home for the Aged

Nicks, N. P., (1846-?):

Nicks was born in Dubuque and had his own firm beginning in 1882 (Sommer, p. 161).

O'Farrell, James (1850-?):

O'Farrell was Irish-born and came with his family the same year as his birth. They reached Dubuque in 1856. James apprenticed as a stonecutter with Schulte & Wagner. He partnered with John P. Dorgan in 1871 and ceased the partnership when he was appointed city street commissioner. He served in that position for two years and was in partnership with Charles Stenck from 1889-1897 specializing in streets, sewers and concrete work. His partner went off to the Alaskan gold fields and O'Farrell remained behind. His "O'Farrell Contracting Company" operated a large stone quarry and employed 75 hands (Oldt, pp. 832-33).

Pfiffner, Andrew (1830-?):

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He was Swiss-born and reached the city in 1845 where he worked as a stonemason and contractor, partnering with his brother Martin Pfiffner. By 1880 he boasted of 33 years work as a contractor (1880 County History, pp. 857-58).

Rebman, William, (1821-?):

Rebman was born in Pennsylvania and came to Dubuque in 1837. He worked as a blacksmith until 1850 when he started contracting and real estate ventures. He built many downtown buildings and did streetwork. He graded Washington Park when it was finally improved. By 1880 it was said "he has erected more buildings than any contractor in Dubuque." He built the Rebman Block (later called Sanford Block) the city's first brick business block located north of 8th Street. He served two terms as city health officer (Sommer, p. 161; 1880 County History, p. 864).

Rouse & Dean, Iowa Iron Works:

Hammond Rouse established the company in 1853 and survived the Panic of 1857 with his 40 workmen, whom he paid off early the next year. Chas. B. Dean became a partner in later years. For the purposes of this study, the firm was a leading fabricator of cast iron storefronts, cornices, support columns and other metalwork. It also built the first iron steamboat constructed on the upper Mississippi River (Dubuque City Directory for 1873-74, p. 101-102).

Scharle, Frank D. (?-?):

Rated as of 1902 as a "well known Dubuque contractor and builder. He was the son of a Dubuque builder who was credited with building "many of our largest buildings." The younger Scharle had traveled extensively and had "made a special study of modern styles and methods. He was noted for church designs at Mineral Point (Wisconsin) and Haverhill, Iowa. He built "a number" of Dubuque and area residences (*Enterprise*, May 25, 1902).

Schilling, M. H. (1835-?):

Schilling was German-born and came to the city in 1857. He was a brickmason and contractor. By 1880 it was said he "has done some of the best work in the city" and was also one of the city's oldest contractors (1880 County History, pp. 876, 880).

Schulte, Bernard (1832-1900), cut stone contracting:

Schulte was German-born and came to America in 1854, locating to Dunleith, Illinois, but relocated to Dubuque in 1867. He was in the stone contracting trade there for 22 years, an early contract was for the Cathedral Parochial Residence. The firm was called "B. Schulte & Son." Sons John J. Schulte (1861-?) and George G. Schulte (1871-?) continued the business. By 1911 the firm was "one of the able and substantial houses of the city, and many fine homes and substantial public buildings have been erected by them." This firm in particular serviced a broader Iowa and Illinois building market. By 1866 he was partnered with ___ Wagner as Schulte & Wagner. Their stone was secured from Illinois (Athens marble, Juliet stone). The firm was "considered the leading stone cutters in Dubuque" with yards on the west side of White Street, between 9th and 10th streets (Oldt, pp. 756-758; Dubuque City Directory for 1873-74, p. 44).

Works (Dubuque only)

First National Bank of Dubuque

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Conservatory of Music, St. Josephs
Dubuque Infirmary
F. D. Stout House
N. J. Schrup House
William L. Bradley residence (1873)
Weigle Block (1873)
Herancourt Block (1873)
C.D.&M. and C.C.&M. roundhouse/shops
Manson Block
St. Raphaels Cathedral tower/steeple

Skemp, Charles W. (1848-?):

Skemp was English-born and came to America in 1859. He was in Dubuque by 1876. He was a journeyman until 1897 but then turned to contracting (Oldt, pp. 608-09).

Works:

Mercy Hospital
Presbyterian Seminary
Lawther's Candy Factory (present building)
St. Josephs College (part, 14th Street)
Coulter Avenue School
Burlington Freight House
McDonand Manufacturing Company (addition, 13th Street)
St. Anthonys Catholic Church, West Dubuque
Orphans Home (addition, north of Linwood)
Power House at Finley Hospital
Carr, Ryder and Adams Company (addition)
"numerous residences"

Steuck, Carl A. (1848-?):

Steuck was German-born and emigrated to America in 1873, locating that same spring in Dubuque. He worked several years in local stone quarries and then became a contractor. He "macadamized most all the streets of Dubuque and has also bricked most of the sewers of the city." He was noted for his honesty and thoroughness. He was a veteran of the Franco-Prussian War and resided (1911) at 58 Francis Street (Oldt, p. 854).

Taylor, Thomas J. (1865-?), General Contracting and Building:

His parents came to Dubuque in 1832, 1837. His mother came first and was among those who were driven back to Illinois by federal soldiers. His father was a millwright. Taylor was born at Asbury in Dubuque County. He was an 1883 graduate from Epworth Seminary. He was a grocer for four years before entering into contracting (Oldt, pp. 830-31).

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Trexler, John, (1825-?):

Trexler was born in Bavaria where he was a woodcarver and carpenter. He immigrated to America in 1852 and arrived in Dubuque three years later. He was first a carpenter/joiner and then worked (as of 1880) 25 years as a contractor (Sommer, p. 161; 1880 County History, p. 889)

Tuttle, L. B., (?-?):

Tuttle was born in Connecticut and arrived in Dubuque in 1858. He learned his carpentry/joinery trade locally. The 1870 Industrial Census credited Tuttle with finishing six houses during 1879. He had three employees and his houses were valued at \$13,800. By 1880 he had worked 15 years as a contractor and had "built up a good business." He was a Civil War veteran (Sommer, p. 161; 1880 County History, p. 890).

Weaver, Gassoway S. (1846-?):

He was rated a contractor "possessing rare skill and ability, who devotes himself principally to the erection of fine residences." His father Benjamin Weaver was a contractor in an Eastern state. Weaver came to Dubuque in 1868, partnered for eight years with B. W. Jones and two years with S. Alexander. He had his own firm by 1892 and by 1911 had worked as a contractor in the city for an impressive 43 years (Oldt, p. 503-04).

Works:

W. Dubuque Schoolhouse
Senator N. J. Schrup House

Wilber, C. A. (?-?) contractor/architect:

Wilber came to the city in 1859. He was trained in New York and worked five years in Canada. He was an officer in the Civil War and then developed a large business as a contractor and architect (1880 County History, p. 896).

Willy, Ulrich (1857-1941):

Willy was born in Switzerland where his father Otto worked as a contractor. He came to Dubuque in 1881 and had his own firm by 1894 (Oldt, pp. 506-07; Lyon, pp. 483-84).

Works:

German Presbyterian Church
17th Street Presbyterian Church
Dubuque Club
School of the Presbyterian Sisters
Glover Factory
Lutheran Church

Woods, W. J. (?-?):

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Woods came to Dubuque in 1856 and by 1880 was one of the city's oldest working brickmasons and builders (1880 County History, p. 902).

Zwack, Anton:

Major builder of institutions as of 1919, builds Tuberculosis Sanitarium, Brunswick Additions (*Daily News*, December 31, 1919).

Realtors/Developers:

Two distinct classes of individuals are included. There are land dealers who didn't necessarily subdivide or build and there are realtor/developers who did. The latter group is more pertinent to this report, but both groups played key historical roles in developing the city.

Barney, William J. (?-1886):

Lawyer and land speculator during the years 1850-62 (at which time he departed for Chicago). He partnered with Caleb Booth in "W. J. Barney & Company." It is said that he bought and sold 800,000 acres of land in his dealings (Lyon, p. 28).

Burden, George (1814-1889)

English born, Burden came to Dubuque in 1857. He worked in real estate with B. B. Richards as "Taylor, Richards & Burden." He was also a banker (Lyon, p. 51).

Hammond, William A., (1859-?):

Hammon was of Dutch ancestry and was born in Illinois. He came to Dubuque in 1890 and worked as a real estate dealer, loan and mortgage broker. He belonged to St. Lukes Methodist Episcopal Church (Oldt, pp. 528-29).

Herod, Joseph (1825-1911)

Herod arrived in Dubuque in 1852 and first mined lead. He built a 17-unit suite of apartments in the early 1900s. He was secretary of the Dubuque & Sioux City Railroad, was one of the organizers of the Dubuque & Dunlieth Bridge Company, was instrumental in forming the streetcar system, and was alderman and saw 25 years of service as city school treasurer (to 1902) (Lyon, pp. 198-99; 1880 County History, p. 804).

Highland Realty Company:

Formed by two World War II veterans, Homer Vincent Butt Jr. and Frank Whittington in 1945. The firm obtained its first buildings permits in December 1945 to build houses on Simpson Street near the Wartburg Seminary (*Telegraph-Herald*, January 6, 1946).

Lightcap, Leonard L. (1853-?):

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Lightcap was born in Wisconsin and came to the city by 1906 when he entered into real estate trading (Oldt, pp. 702-03).

Malony, Lawrence (1819-1864):

Malony was born in Ireland and was an early real estate developer. He operated out of his general store at 3rd and Main streets. He accumulated vast holdings during the mid-1850s boom times but lost most of his wealth when he chose to build on his properties just as the national economy collapsed in 1857 (Lyon, p. 316).

Nagle, Joseph J. (1860-1932):

Lyon describes Nagle as “one of the best known real estate agents” in the city’s history. Nagle also served as the fiscal agent for the archdiocese (Lyon, p. 325).

Norton, Patrick (1821-1868), Teaming and Real Estate:

Norton was born in Ireland and his family emigrated to America in 1832. Norton came to Dubuque in 1837. He first operated a drayage and “later dealt extensively in real estate, building and renting homes and selling same on time payments” (Oldt, pp. 854-55).

Pfohl, Louis (?-1986):

A noted and more recent major realtor-developer (Lyon, p. 350).

Richards, Benjamin Billings (1823-1912):

Lyon terms Richards “one of the city’s most influential bankers.” He worked in real estate after 1854, partnered with ___ Taylor, and later George Burden. He unsuccessfully challenged Allison for his U.S. Senate seat in 1864. Richards served 10 years in the state house and as many years in the senate. He again lost a U.S. Congress challenge to David Henderson in the 1880s (Lyon, p. 377).

Sanford, Horatio (1815-1884):

Described by Wilkie as “Iowa’s biggest buyer and seller of land” prior to the Civil War. He came to Dubuque in 1834. Never married, he accumulated holdings of in excess of one million acres of land. Most of his real estate activities dated 1848-64. At one time he owned almost the entire block of Main Street between 8th and 9th streets. In his later years he made seven European and Mid-eastern tours (Wilkie, pp. 160-62; Lyon, pp. 399-400).

Taylor, John W., (?-?)

Taylor “an old citizen well known for his connections with banking interests” founds a real estate, collection and emigrant agency (*Herald*, June 27, 1860).

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Chris Voelker was born in Baden and came to Dubuque at the age of four months. Educated at Trinity Parochial School (late St. Marys) he apprenticed for ten years as a cabinet maker prior to working for twenty years (1873-93) as a dry goods merchant (1330 Clay Street). He built the two-story business block at that location and later expanded it to the north. He left retailing in 1890 and entered the real estate trade, becoming President of the Key City Fire Insurance Company and the Iowa Mutual Building and Loan Association. He was elected mayor of Dubuque in 1897 and was as of 1896 a member of the House of Representatives. He began his long-term involvement in real estate 1890. He developed four residential additions (Woodlawn Park with \$25 lots and a total of 337 lots along 14th Street), Voelker Highlands, South Alta Vista Street and Melrose Terrace)³⁶ and in 1908 incorporated as the Realty Investors Corporation, and in 1915 as the Voelker Realty Company. He partnered with family members and Louis Kolfenbach. He organized the Home Building Company and served as its president up until his death (*Herald*, January 12, 1896).

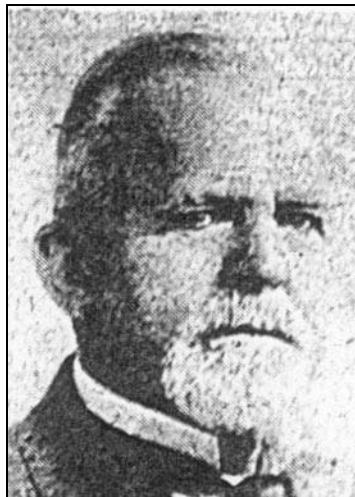


Figure 52: Chris Voelker, 1925 (*Daily American Tribune*, August 14, 1925)

He was an original director of the Julien Dubuque Hotel when that building was rebuilt. He was a board member of the Dubuque Industrial Corporation and “was instrumental in securing the Brunswick Balke factory” for the city. He was an organizer of the Dubuque Altar Manufacturing Company and supervised the construction of its new plant. As a realtor he belonged to the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the Iowa Association of Realtors. At the time of his death in mid-August 1925 Voelker was recalled as an “outstanding figure in Dubuque Business and Church life.” A Democrat politically, he attended the 1884 National Democratic Convention (Cleveland nomination) and served as city mayor for two terms (1886-87) and as a member of the state House of Representatives twice, in 1896 and in 1907. A devout Catholic, Voelker was a trustee for St. Marys and a trustee of the Mt. Calvary Cemetery Association. He was a Grand Knight of the Knights of Columbus, was an organizer of the Roman Catholic Mutual Protection Society of Iowa, served as president of the

³⁶ As of 1896, Voelker also owned the East Dubuque, Mechanic’s, Porter’s, Finley, Waples & Burton’s, and the Littleton & Sawyers additions (*Herald*, ____ 1896).

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Cental Verein and a chief ranger of the Independent Order of Foresters. Voelker was also increasingly involved in insurance, particularly fire insurance (*Daily American Tribune*, August 14, 1925; Lyons, p. 464; Oldt, pp. 638-39).

As early as 1896, Voelker urged the public to purchase his lots, offering building sites “where one can live comfortably without extravagance” claiming that his Woodlawn Park lots were “the best improved, best selling real estate in Dubuque, Iowa.” He urged potential buyers

[You] no longer have to dwell in tenement houses, situated in closely built sections of the city, subjected to the results of improper and imperfect ventilation, stifled almost by the effluvia of decomposed vegetable matter, or remain in flats where the air is more or less filled with the miasmatic influences, which is the forerunner of malaria. Woodlawn Park has been purchased with the view of furnishing a remedy for this class of evils, the tendency of which has always served as a barrier against rapid growth and prosperity of any city... (*Herald*, ____ 1896).

At this stage Voelker was attempting to develop additions which were filled with “handsome villas.” His advertisements make no reference to his providing construction services for his lot purchasers.

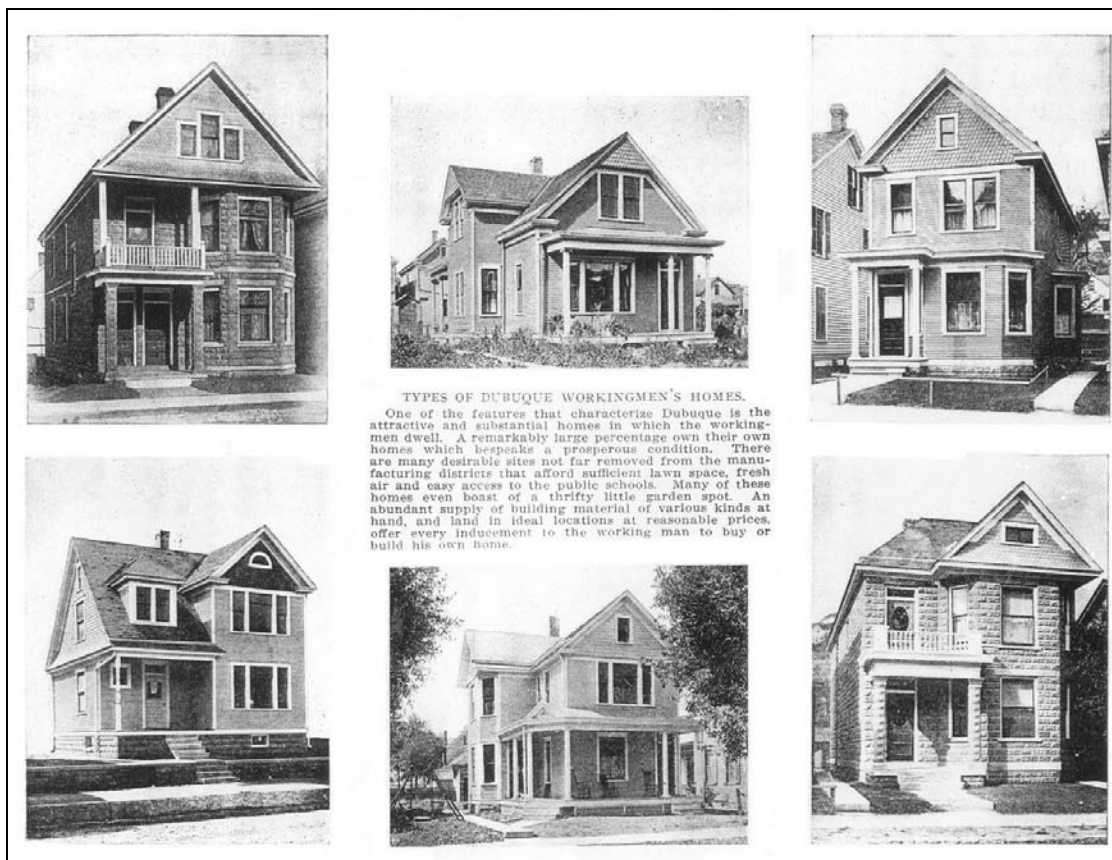


Figure 53: Voelker Homes, Greater Dubuque (1911)

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A decade later, Chris Voelker was the city's leading large-scale home builder c.1906-1919. He is the city's best example of the "community builder," a real estate man who expanded his services to encompass house design, construction, and financing. Voelker perfected a low-cost installment home buying plan that put many working class families into their own homes. He epitomized the "Own Your Own Home" movement and his house designs combined stylistic and the front gable locally dominant in vernacular housing. Voelker's large-scale building legacy has dotted the city with his very recognizable house plans. He also promoted concrete block house construction in conjunction with the Peer-Amid Cement Company (*Daily News*, December 31, 1919).

Voelker Realty Company was a well-established firm by the time it began to build houses. The business was located at the northeast corner of 13th and Clay (1300 Clay). Voelker was president and Louis C. Kolfenbach was vice-president. Christian A. Voelker, Jr. was company secretary. Chris Voelker Sr. resided at 491 Seminary Street as early as 1904. He served as mayor in 1888 (1904-05 City Directory, p. 406).

Voelker was "prominent among the builders of the city" as early as 1906. That year he built 27 houses at an average cost of \$2,300. From the start he built in the north end of the city, grouping his houses along Washington Street, between 24th and 25th streets. During 1907 he built 22 houses valued at \$53,030. These clustered near 24th and Jackson streets, but were also along Lincoln and Audubon avenues. The first reference to a concrete block house was made that same year to a Couler Avenue location. His Peer-Amid Concrete Company first appears in the 1909 city directory, located at 3005 Pine Street. The firm produced concrete building blocks (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 30, 1906; December 27, 1907; 1909 City Directory, pp. 394, 438, 561).

By 1908 Voelker was termed the "Wholesale Home Builder" and his building now included flats, double houses and cottages. His building market covered the city. His 1908 building efforts included three Peer-amid "cement" houses and his listed 1909 jobs numbered 15 houses and cottages (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 27, 1908, January 1, 1910).

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Figure 54: Headquarters For Homes, 1911, Voelker advertisement
(*Telegraph-Herald*, April 16, 1911)

By 1910 he was running large advertisements which featured his “Pay-As You Can” home buying plan. Echoing the “Own Your Own Home Campaign” Voelker challenged potential homebuyers to worry more about saving money rather than earning more. The homebuyer could save by eliminating rent, by buying coal off-season and storing it in the basement (along with garden produce). The wear and tear on furniture resultant from frequent moves was saved once a family owned rather than rented a home. Voelker was an early advocate of the home as a good investment. Perhaps unique to Dubuque, he promised that the rapid exhaustion of building lots and rising house values guaranteed that house values would appreciate. He warned his clients to buy “average” houses (“That’s the kind of homes that we build and we build them at the right place”). Voelker’s new homes were all located within the “mile circle” with its center point located in the downtown. Nearly every Voelker home also resided directly on a streetcar line. The company’s interest rates were high, ranging from 8-15 percent but the down payment was only \$100 and interest diminished as the mortgage was retired. Buyers could pay extra up front and their interest rates were recalculated every six months when they did so. Most buyers owned their houses within eight years and Voelker claimed in 1912 that he had not had a single contract

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“lapse” in five years. Buyers who suffered illness, layoff due to a strike or job loss received a six-month grace period without penalty, to resume their payments. A 1912 ad titled “Voelker’s Plan Showed Up At Last” featured an inquisitive reporter who probed the realtor about his too good to be true scheme. The investigator concluded “Voelker is succeeding because his plans are right and his methods beyond criticism” (*Telegraph-Herald*, October 2, 1910, September 29, 1912).



Figure 55: Concrete block Voelker house, 24th and Jackson Streets (photo by Jim Jacobsen, 2000).

Voelker’s house designs were synonymous with modern moderate cost new Dubuque housing by 1910 at which time they were being featured in annual progress reports and in the 1911 Greater Dubuque. He was called “the home builder of Dubuque” and it was said “all of these homes are built for the benefit of the working man...” *The Telegraph-Herald* continued “When one stops to consider the enormous amount of money annually invested by Mr. Voelker in the building of new homes, the idea of what a real booster is, becomes more exemplified by the work of the Dubuquer” (*Telegraph-Herald*, October 2, 1910).

Voelker pledged to never place the same house design side by side but he certainly built continuous rows of strikingly similar plans. By 1910 he was building “a new operation” on Caledonia Place near the 8th Street carline. By 1914 he had caught bungalow fever and was building a “bungalow neighborhood” around the former ballpark. The completion of the Bee Branch sewer that same year opened up the area above 28th Street to development. Voelker had also built up the district south of the Visitation Academy on South Alta Vista Street between 1912-14. The area was “transformed from a sore spot of rough hill and valley with old fences, mine dumps and sundry debris, within two years to a magnificent neighborhood with beautiful lawns and room residences artistically placed.” The accomplishment “is a fair indication of the activity of Voelker in the upbuilding of Dubuque” and the realtor was having a broader impact as a result, the same source noting “This neighborhood redevelopment idea is taking a hold in Dubuque” (*Telegraph-Herald*, December 27, 1914).

Voelker’s house designs commonly featured a pedimented front gable. Commonly his houses employed double and triple window sets, an early provision of extra natural light into house plans. Gable fronts were shingled and flared wall bases and roof eaves were commonplace. His bungalow designs were taller variations of hip roof cottages set on raised foundations. Commonly a hip roof dormer projected atop the recessed front porch. Voelker’s story and a half cottage plans were promoted as single story plans with attic space that could be developed for supplemental bedrooms.

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These houses could be more efficiently cleaned, a precursor of the more efficient bungalow concept. A buyer who selected a design could make "slight changes" and could select paint colors (*Telegraph-Herald*, January 2, 1910).

A Home of Your Own Will Give You greater comfort, you will provide yourself with the things which many landlords deny you, you will be able to secure comfortable furnishings that you now deny yourself for they may not suit the next home you rent.

Voelker-Headquarters for Homes, *Telegraph-Herald*, October 2, 1910

Voelker also promoted the duplex or double house as an optimal investment opportunity for the homebuyer:

Duplex apartments pay biggest returns. Very popular in the larger cities. Live in part and rent the rest and just as quickly as you will be paying off a single home for yourself, you many just as well be having a renter pay off one for you, giving you a magnificent property in a few years...(*Telegraph-Herald*, January 1, 1911).

The company's annual production never exceeded 30 units, an apparent indication that this volume matched building technology of the day and the scale of the company's resources. Twenty houses were built in 1917 and 29 in 1919. The company was also building commercial buildings and some larger combination storefront/flats as well however. Voelker's house-building operation disappears after 1919 and it is probable that it didn't survive the postwar building slump. The Voelker real estate firm survived as late as 1975 (*Times-Journal*, January 1, 1918; *Daily News*, December 31, 1919; 1913 City Directory p. 500; 1918 City Directory, p. 518; 1925; City Directory, p. 567).

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Associated Property Types:

Five property types are defined for use under this multiple property documentation form; the detached single family house, the multiple-family house (duplex or larger), commercial properties, industrial properties, and districts. Architectural type and style as it relates to the first four property types, is discussed below. The significance and registration requirements for each property type is then treated.

Vernacular and Stylistically Influenced House/Cottage Sub-Types/Styles:

This typology of residential styles and types is based primarily upon Virginia and Lee McAlesters' A Field Guide To American Houses (New York: Alfred. A. Knopf, Inc., 1984). There is a generally accepted comprehensive stylistic typology. They also simplify the number and range of accepted styles and some styles will not appear separately but have been consolidated into a larger stylistic category.

This typology attempts to distinguish type and style. The same property can frequently be analyzed from the perspective of type and/or style and this can cause confusion. Some house types are treated as styles by some typologies. The Cape Cod cottage for example is frequently subsumed under Colonial Revival style and is not separately defined as a recognizable type. This approach is used here. This typological approach assumes that style will be emphasized when there is a predominance of stylistic attributes present in a property and vernacular or type related attributes will be stressed absent a strong stylistic presence.

Some properties will fall through the cracks, failing to fit any category in the typology. Alterations since construction explain some of these. Idiosyncratic design and building tastes likely explain most of these. These exceptions are not unimportant and they might represent the work of a particular builder/designer or my hint at interesting local building patterns and traditions. Care must be taken before these "outliers" are simply combined into other categories and are consequently lost.

A great many of the Dubuque residential example properties were first architecturally categorized by Lawrence Sommer in his 1975 Dubuque study titled The Heritage of Dubuque. Sommer's work still stands the test of time and plans are underway for a reprinting of this book. Sommer was particularly sensitive to the importance of Dubuque's vernacular architecture at a time when such an interest was fairly in its infancy. Sommer in fact noted "Perhaps more important than different styles in establishing the city's character, were the unifying elements of similar scale, mass, color and materials found on hundreds of local buildings." Sommer's examples will be shamelessly copied in this typology and any substantial supplement to his good labors will be made in the vernacular categories (Sommer, p. 113).

For the most part only surviving "best" examples are illustrated under each classification. There is no comprehensive stylistic listing for Dubuque's properties and it is the purpose of this typology to simply define the range of each type and style and to establish a standard by which a property can be architecturally classified.

Romantic Style Houses, 1820-1880:

The romantic styles represented a conscious avoidance of things English following a hard-won independence. The Greek Revival style was the first of several romantic styles and it enjoyed the most enduring popularity. Beginning

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c.1840 other styles with Medieval and Italian origins were introduced and successively rose and fell in popular esteem. Both the Gothic and Italianate styles persisted beyond the Civil War years and would be reinterpreted as Victorian era styles during the 1880s (McAlester, p. 178).

Adam/Federal Style, 1780-c.1840:

This national style had largely receded in popularity by the time of Dubuque's founding but McAlester states that it continued to be built as late as 1840. Most commonly this style utilized a two or three-story rectangular core with a centered entrance on its long dimension, and a side gable/hip roof form. A simple formal entryway, usually with elliptical arch and fanlight highlighting and classical surround or portico was the only variation of an otherwise plain and symmetrical façade. Four variations of this style occur in Dubuque:

1. Side-gabled/roof: This subtype is the most commonplace with four of six examples representing it.

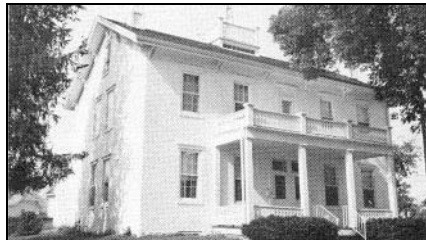


Figure 56: 888 Yale Court (photo Sommer, p. 135).

Herancourt House (see above) (888 Yale Court, self-built) combines Georgian symmetry with Italianate influences. Window lintels are either of stone or cast iron (photo Sommer, p. 135).

2. Hipped roof, two-story: Primarily a New England subtype.

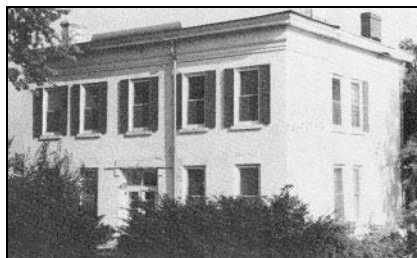


Figure 57: 690 Fenelon Place (c.1865) (photo, Sommer, p. 135)

Cunningham House (see above) (690 Fenelon Place, c.1865) features a notable cut stone lintel above its entryway and rectangular transom lights (photo, Sommer, p. 135).

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Figure 58: 710 Fenelon Place (photo, Sommer, p. 135)

Cox House (see above) (710 Fenelon Place) is a pure example of the style. The classical porch if original warrants further investigation (photo, Sommer, p. 135)

3 Town House:



Figure 59: 40 Clarke Drive (photo, Sommer, p. 79)

40 Clarke Drive combines Adams and Italianate (windows) as well as a late-date classical porch in a more vernacular townhouse plan (Sommer, p. 79).



Figure 60: 2306 Central Avenue (1881) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

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The later example shown above shows the persistence of this commercial building form in Dubuque. This form is commonly associated with mid-century building, but Dubuque tended to hold onto styles and types.



Figure 61: 1129-31 White Street (photo, Sommer, p.79)

1129-31 White Street (see above) is a vernacular double house version of the Adams townhouse subtype (Sommer, p.79).

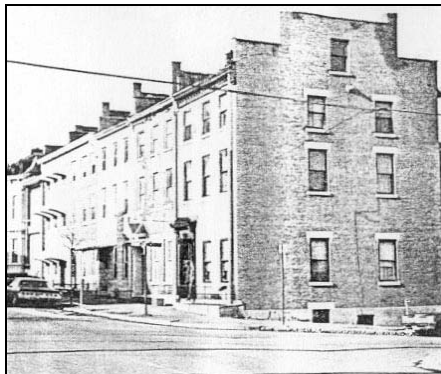


Figure 62: 1100-34 Locust Street (photo, Downtown Walking Tour)

1100-34 Locust Street (see above) said to comprise three separately constructed houses following the same design. 1132 Locust was the residence of notable U.S. Senator William B. Allison, veteran of 46 years of service in the Senate (Downtown Walking Tour).

1215 Washington Street (no image) contains three houses in a single rowhouse massing. Only the center unit retains its twin dormers.

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Figure 63: 2327 Central Avenue (1855) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

This example (see above) is offered as the hip-roof version of this type. This very early brewery beer-tasting hall exhibits an early cast iron storefront and a row of closely spaced second floor windows with flat plain stone lintels.

Greek Revival Style, 1825-60:³⁷

The Greek Revival style was nationally dominant from 1830-50 and it was also called the “National Style” accordingly. It persists as late as 1860 in areas which enjoyed rapid development in the pre-Civil War years. It died out with the economic downturn of the late 1850s and the coming of the war (ibid., p. 182).

This style employed a low-pitched gable or hip roof in either a side gable or front gable orientation. Greek temple design is reflected in a two-part broad band, which runs beneath the eavesline and substantial round or square columns, which support a centered entry or full-width front porch. The trim band consists of a frieze (top) and an architrave (lower). Columns are usually Doric in style. The front door is commonly highlighted by flanking sidelights and a transom light. Transoms are rectangular (not in the Georgian fanlight form).

Three of six style subtypes are found in Dubuque (ibid., pp. 178-79):

1. Side gable/hip with less than full-width entry porch. Full height examples are treated separately in subtype #2 below.

³⁷ Sommer offers other style examples including 2452 Broadway, 713 Lincoln, 1323-25 Bluff and 1163 Highland. The first two appear to be Italianate examples. A review of the other examples will categorize them.

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Figure 64: 1204 Mount Loretta (photo, Sommer, p. 50)

1204 Mount Loretta Avenue(see above) is a porchless example of this subtype although McAlester does not allow for the absence of a porch. This plan combines Italianate rounded window arches with Greek Revival returned eaves and a rectangular entrance transom light (Sommer, p. 50-51).

2. Side gable/hip with full-height entry porch. Like subtype #1 above, the entry porch is less than full width.



Figure 65: Solon Langworthy House (1856) (drawing by Carl H. Johnson, Sommer, p. 48)

Solon Langworthy House (see above) (264 Alpine Street, 1856) is an excellent example of this subtype. The plan is oriented not to the street address but rather towards the river. A wing has been added but the core house retains its design integrity.

3. Side gable/hip with full width and full height front porch. There is no pediment above the porch. The porch roof is either a flat separate extension from the façade or it is integral to the main roof. The porch can wrap around the plan. This subtype is more common in the South.

Joseph A. Rhomberg House (508 West 7th Street, 1856) (no image) originally featured wrap-around porches and a roof top belvedere. The house was colonialized probably prior to World War I and four full-height tapered

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round columns and a bracketed eavesline were substituted for its Greek Revival elements. Consequently this prominent bluff top residence no longer represents its original style (Sommer, p. 46).

Welbas House, 2615 Hillcrest Road and 3035 Pennsylvania Avenue offer similar porch replacements (no images) (Sommer, p. 51).

Gothic Revival Style, 1840-1880:

This picturesque style had its origins in England in 1749 and was a reinterpretation of Medieval architectural themes. The first American example dates to 1832 and was the work of architect Alexander Jackson Davis, the initial promoter of the style. He published the first known plan book in 1837 which he used to present three-dimensional examples of his work. Architect Andrew Jackson Downing carried the promotional effort on a broader scale beginning in 1850. The Gothic Revival was particularly appropriate for a picturesque rural cottage setting and it was ill-adapted to construction on a narrow town lot. The style persisted in popularity through 1865 and it was commonly employed during the Civil War years in military chapels, officers quarters and military installations. It was also popular for public settings such as parks, cemeteries and fairground. Two of six style subtypes were built in Dubuques (ibid., pp 196-97, 200).

1. L-shaped asymmetrical plan and cross gable roof. Secondary cross gables can be employed and square towers are commonly placed in the corner of house core and wing after 1860.



Figure 66: 863 West 5th Street (photo, Sommer, p. 57)

863 West 5th Street (see above) is a late-date example of this Gothic Revival subtype.

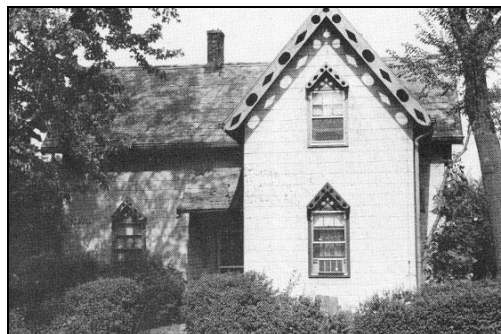


Figure 67: 1207 Prairie Street (date) (photo, Sommer, p. 57)

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1206 Prairie Street (see above). This house has been resided with either a masonite or asbestos shingle siding but its windows and perforated bargeboards remain intact (Sommer, p. 57).

2. Flat roof with castellated or parapeted wall treatment. More truly Medieval in derivation, churches more commonly utilized this subtype.

Dubuque Female College (Heeb Street, 1854) (see below) is a considerably altered example of this subtype. The building is an amazing survivor and it has successively housed the college (founded as a result of funding by the noted Beecher family of New England), a public high school (1862+), the Episcopalian Lee Female Seminary (1864+), the Presbyterian Theological School (1872+), Catholic Immaculate Conception School (1907+) and Lady of Lourdes Nursing Home. The towers lost their onion domes and the pointed windows were infilled and Romanized. The castleated parapet walls have also been lost. Originally the side wings were single story in height so the overall massing stepped up from the ends to the center of the plan (Sommer, pp. 54-55).



Figure 68: Dubuque Female College Building (1854) (photo, Sommer, p. 54)

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Figure 69: Cathedral of Saint Raphael (1857-59, 1878) (photo, *Tourist Guide of Dubuque*, p. 31)

Cathedral of San Raphael (231 Bluff Street, 1857-59, 1878, architect John Mullany) is in Sommer's opinion, one of the state's best Gothic Revival examples and the most important Dubuque building constructed during the 1850s. The tower was originally intended to stand 300 feet above ground but these plans were scaled down when construction began, the finished tower being completed in 1876. Stained glass windows followed in 1886, four bells in 1897, and the replacement organ, said to be the largest in Iowa, were installed in 1919. Gebhard noted the lancet window at the tower base as being a most unusual component. This is the third cathedral of this name. The stain glass windows were installed in 1866 and were imported from England. The cathedral occupies a special location at the west end of the broad 2nd Street (Sommer, pp. 51-52; Gebhard, p. 84).

Loras Academy (Loras Avenue, 1854, 1878-82) (no image) was built for use as a marine hospital, the first in the city. Gebhard sees range of styles from Victorian Gothic to Second Empire with the latter being visually dominant (Sommer, p. 89; Gebhard, p. 91).

Italianate Style, 1840-85:

The popularity of this style coincided with the explosive new growth of Midwestern urban centers and the style is consequently well represented in that region. Like the Gothic Revival, this picturesque style was developed first in England and was an attempt to emulate the rambling Italian farmhouse/villa. The earliest American examples date to the late 1830s. Architect Andrew Downing also promoted this style nationally and the Italianate was dominant over the Gothic Revival by 1860. It reigned nationally until the financial panic of 1873. Two sub-phases have been distinguished. A simpler plain phase lasted until the late 1850s and what is termed "High Victorian Italianate," a much more elaborated range of designs, closed out the style (*ibid.*, p. 212).

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This style was rarely a single story in height, but commonly had two or three stories. The usually hipped roof has a low profile and broad overhanging eaves and the eaves are supported by exaggerated and ornate brackets. Windows are narrow and are commonly arched with stylized hoods. Cupolas or square towers are also frequently incorporated. The fact that all six subtypes of this style are found in Dubuque attests to the style's popularity and longevity (ibid., p. 211).

1. Square or rectangular box shape with uninterrupted hip roof with optional cupola (half of examples) and a centered front entrance (usually three or five bays). This is the most common subtype form.

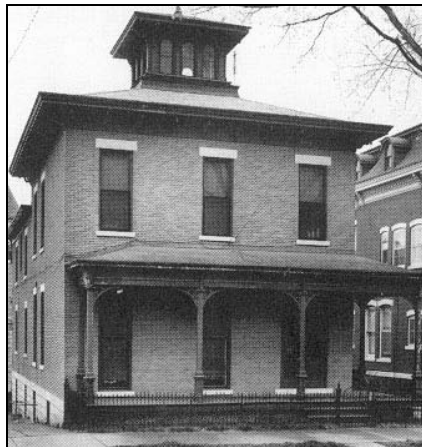


Figure 70: 1192 Locust (1854-55, 1860) (photo, Sommer, p. 66)

Frederick Weigel House (1192 Locust Street, 1854-55, 1860, architect possibly Robert Rogers, contractor Rufus Rittenhouse) (see above). Five generations of the same family have occupied this property. A simple brick addition with low profile hip roof and a belvedere was added to an earlier residence (Sommer, pp. 65-66).



Figure 71: 1455 Main Street, double house (photo, Sommer, p. 90)

1455 Main (see above) represents a number of Dubuque Italianate style double houses. These have hip or gable roofs. Other excellent examples are found at 324-26 Locust Street and 1257 Locust Street. Like their Second

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Empire counterparts, the latter designs employ flanking broad full-height bays which project around a shared bracketed portico (Sommer, pp. 90-91).

597 Loras Boulevard (1855-60) (no image) is a more elaborate and larger frame example of this subtype. Fenestration is symmetrical and side windows are paired and set above five-sided single-story bay windows. The porch is full-width with an enclosed solarium (ibid., p. 66; Gebhard, p. 91).

389 Hill Street (no image) is classified by Sommer as Georgian Revival but it combines Georgian symmetry with Italianate features including a belvedere atop a hip roof. Windows are rectangular without decorative hoods, which is a Georgian feature (Sommer, p. 137).

2441 Broadway Street (no image) is also termed Georgian Revival by Sommer but it likely had a belvedere and its window hoods are Italianate derived. The classical portico is likely a Neoclassical alteration (Sommer, p. 137).

Scott-Wilson House (732 Fenelon, 1857) (no image) combines a broader Georgian façade with Italianate brackets and a belvedere (Downtown Walking Tour).

Col. D. E. Lyon House (10th and Bluff streets) (no image) is three stories high and has distinctive cast or carved window hoods. The porch is not original and there is an indication that the windows have been shortened or that one second floor window was once a door (Downtown Walking Tour).

2. The centered gable subtype is based upon a hip or side gable core. Commonly the cross gable is incorporated into a shallow central wing.



Figure 72: 325 Alpine Street (1854/1900+) (photo, Sommer, p. 65)

General Warner Lewis-John T. Adams House (325 Alpine Street, 1854, 1904s) (see above) represents a very late post-1900 Italianate Revival make over of a Federal design. The alterations make this an Italianate rather than a Federal design and they likely coincided with John Adam's purchase in 1904. Adams was president of Carr, Ryder and Adams Company, a nationally significant millwork firm but he was nationally important as a Republican Party leader during the early 20th century. This example is exception given its very late date and its evoking of the Italianate theme. There are some minimal hints of the Colonial Revival in the porch lines and the

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bulls-eye window and Gebhard interprets remodeling as a Colonial reinterpretation (Sommer, pp. 63, 65; Gebhard, p. 91).



Figure 73: Mathias Ham House (1839, 1857) (Carl Johnson drawing, Sommer, p. 64)

Mathias Ham House (2241 Lincoln Avenue, 1856-57, John F. Rague, architect) (see above) is a very well preserved example of the Italianate Villa, built of Dubuque limestone. The Ham house design presents four centered gables. There are two porches, a front centered entry porch and a south side verandah (Sommer, p. 63; Gebhard, pp. 88-89).



Figure 74: 890 West Third (c.late 1860s) (photo, A Walking Tour...South Dubuque)

Jacob K. Rich-Spahn House (890 West Third, c.late 1860s)(see above) has lost its full-width front verandah (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque)

3. Asymmetrical L or U plan with hip or cross gable roof form. Towers are not employed.

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Figure 75: Third Ward/Prescott School (12th and Central streets, 1857, John Rague, architect)
(photo by James Jacobsen, April 21, 2000)

Largely ignored and altered in its fenestration, the First Ward School (see above) is a rare and very early example of a ward school. Its significance is bolstered by its noted designer. The decorative cornice with parapets has been removed and its windows shortened. Note the round attic light, the massive central chimney and the irregular plan.

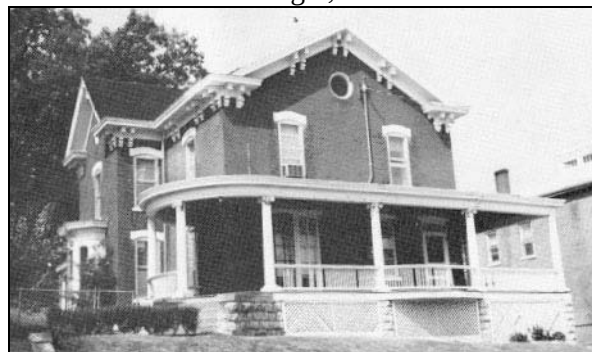


Figure 76: 1163 Highland Place (photo, Sommer, p. 83)

1295, 1245, 1163 Highland Place (see above) are three very similar L-plan examples of this subtype. All front towards the city and river from the bluff front. Each has a bracketed eavesline, the most elaborate of which is found on 1163 Highland Place. The three plans all have wrap-around porches but the 1163 Highland Place porch is of classical derivation with Ionic columns. Sommer sees a multitude of vernacular, Second Empire, Queen Anne and Italianate design influences in these plans but Italianate predominates. Construction dates will clarify the Queen Anne role. Porches might represent replacements and stylistic updates (Sommer, pp. 79, 83).

St. Raphael Cathedral Parish House (231 Bluff, 1858) (no image) presents a symmetrical main façade but two successive south-facing wings make the overall plan asymmetrical (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque).

4. Subset #3 with a tower placed on the front or side of the plan. Most commonly it marks the juncture point of core and wing.

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Figure 77: Ryan Houses, 1375 (left, 1866) and 1389 (1870/73) Locust Street
(drawing by Carl Johnson, Sommer, p. 73)

What are now termed the “Ryan Houses” are probably the most recognized historic homes in the city. They certainly represent the best of the later Italianate style in Dubuque. They have received constant promotion particularly in the most recent decades, and today they serve as the entre point for the Dubuque County Historical Society historic house tour and progressive dinner. These properties are respectively the William Ryan and John Thompson houses and each is described below.

William Ryan House (1389 Locust Street, 1871, John M. Van Osdel architect) (see above) represents the successful meat packing industry which Ryan established in Dubuque during the Civil War. This house is less elaborate than its next-door neighbor. The roof is low-pitched and combines hip and gable forms (Sommer, pp. 71-72; Gebhard, pp. 85-86).

William Andrew House (1375 Locust Street, 1873, Fridolin Herr, architect) (see above) was sold in 1874 to city Mayor John Thompson. It embodies the most ornate and purest design elements of the Italianate style. It also borrows from the then popular Second Empire in its use of a Mansard roof attic treatment with dormers. This house is larger in plan, is taller due to the Mansard cap, and employs window groupings, overstated window hoods, elaborate bays and highly decorated and glassed porches. The Ryan family purchased it in 1888 and owned it until the 1960s. It has recently served as a noted restaurant (Sommer, pp. 71-72; Gebhard, p. 85).



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Figure 78: 581 Clarke Drive (1872-75) (photo Sommer, p. 102)

Dr. Ernest M. Porter House (581 Clarke Drive, 1872-75) (see above) is of some historical interest because its construction was greatly delayed by the financial panic of 1873. It represents the later examples of a purer Italianate style in Dubuque. Note the paired windows with rounded hoods and the elaborate attic dormers. Like many plans this one incorporates a Second Empire mansard attic treatment. The tower too is surely one of the most elaborate to be found in the city, it too utilizes the "S" profile of the mansard roof (Sommer, pp. 102-03).

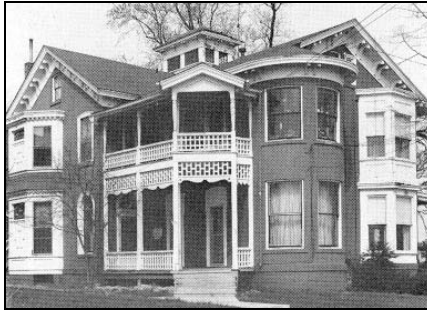


Figure 79: 1133 Highland Place (photo, Sommer, p. 106)

1133 Highland Place (see above) combines an Italianate core with Queen Anne bays. It most likely represents a substantial remodeling (Sommer, p. 106).

Joseph J. Steil House (541 West Third Street, 1870s) (no image) was constructed to house the Ladies' Episcopal Seminary. The plan has a gabled roof, L-shaped plan and a corner tower. The bluff front location offers an overview of river and city. It was built for use as the Ladies Episcopal Seminary (Sommer, pp. 71-72).

Other examples: 1330 Locust Street, 1871 North Main, 333 Villa Street (no images) (Sommer, p. 72).

5. Front gable with detailing.



Figure 80: 1815 Jackson Street (1884-91) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

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1815 Jackson Street (1884-91) (see above) presents a vernacular Italianate design. Only the paired black stone brackets classify it as Italianate. The double door has rounded transom lights set above it.



Figure 81: City Hall (1857-58) original appearance (photo, Sommer, p. 59)

Dubuque City Hall (southwest corner Iowa and 13th streets, 1857-58, architect J. N. Moody (John F. Rague prepared the specifications and superintended construction), building, John D. Aubry, Second Empire bell tower) (see above) is a rare commercial example of the Italianate style. This three story edifice features elongated windows, bracketed eaves, and an ornate cupola (top removed in 1954, restored in 1980s). Typical of many mid-century commercial buildings, this one employs a projecting structural column and broad round arch wall plane with recessed brick/window recessed panel inserts. This effect lightens the massing of the building and places emphasis on its vertical detailing. This effect was originally heightened by the presence of six chimneys, which were spaced along each side wall (Sommer, p. 59; Gebhard, pp. 87-88).



Figure 82: Bishops Block, 90 Main Street (photo, Sommer, p. 90)

Bishops Block (First and Main streets) (see above) represents a massive late date Italianate commercial design. Like City Hall, brick pilasters and paired window arches frame recessed wall panels within each vertical bay.

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The corner turret is particularly impressive as are the surviving finials, which cap each pilaster (photo, Sommer, p. 90-91).

6. Town house with straight bracketed pediment, flat or low pitched roof form. Window treatments identify this subset.



Figure 83: 975 Locust Street (photo, Sommer, p. 91)

975 Locust Street is (see above) actually a grouping of three double houses with end pediments and crestings which highlight the bays (Sommer, p. 91).

340 Wartburg Place (no image) is classed by Sommer as Georgian Revival but its twin bays, and semi-elliptical stone arches and bracketed eaves argue for the Italianate Style. It is side-gabled and has the same townhouse plan as the examples above although it is a single family plan. Its entryway has been altered and a Neoclassical rounded dormer has been added (Sommer, p. 137).

Commercial Italianate Examples:

401 Locust Street (pre-1884, no image) housed the city's first permanent fire station. Thin round arched 2/2 windows reflect this style. The cornice line is formed with an arcade of brick piers and rounded arches (A Walking Tour..South Dubuque).

169-85 Main Street (no image) comprises several separate buildings which retain ornate cornice lines and window hoods (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque).

Commercial Building (second north from southeast corner 9th and Central streets) (no image) with Italianate "flavor" (Gebhard, p. 82).

Exotic Revivals, Egyptian, Oriental and Swiss Chalet, 1835-c.1890:

These three uncommon styles are all contemporaneous picturesque styles but otherwise were distinct styles (ibid., pp. 230-232).

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The Egyptian style derived its popularity from Napoleon's late 18th century invasion of Egypt. It was very rarely applied to domestic designs but is more common in public building design. The style is most commonly reflected in the use of massive flared "bundled" columns and in the use of flared corners and elaborate window surrounds.

The Oriental is commonly a decorative theme applied to an Italianate villa core. Ogee arches on porches or Turkish onion domes identify the stylistic influence.

The very rare Swiss Chalet style utilized a broad front gable core and a second floor balustrade or balcony. Greek or Gothic Revival decorative influences intermixed with Swiss stick work.

Egyptian Style, 1830-50:



Figure 84: Former Dubuque County Jail, 36 East 8th Street (1857-58) façade to left, view southeast (photo, Horton, "Early Architecture in Dubuque," p. 141)

Former Dubuque County Jail, 1857-58, John F. Rague architect) (see above) is said to be the last example of this style built in the nation. The construction of this public building coincides with the national financial panic of 1857-58 so this design and the building represent the highest aspirations for the city's growth during what suddenly became a period of financial retrenchment. Its rarity of style makes this the city's most significant building design overall. This is Iowa's only example of this style in a jail form (Sommer, p. 58; Gephard, pp. 81-2).

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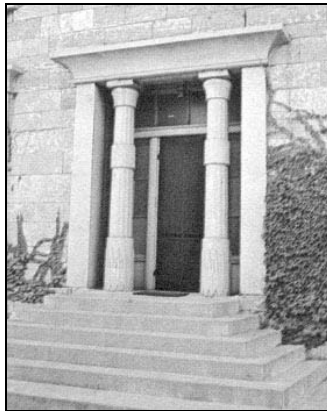


Figure 85: County Jail Door Detail (photo, Horton, Ibid.)

Octagon Type/Style, 1850-1870:

This style employed an eight-sided form and most commonly a two-story core with centered cupola. The form utilized all of the contemporary stylistic influences in its ornamentation. New Yorker Oren S. Fowler single-handedly promoted the type in a series of plan books beginning in 1849. He advocated the form for its additional living space, improved light and ventilation. He also promoted pounded earth or concrete construction in conjunction with his house form (ibid., pp. 235-37).



Figure 86: Langworthy Octagon House (1857) (photo, *Tourist Guide of Dubuque*, p. 14)

The Edward Langworthy Octagon House (1095 Third Street, 1857, architect John Rague) (see above) is one of a handful of surviving Iowa examples of this rare house type. It is unusual in that it is built of locally produced soft red brick. This was Dubuque's second octagon, its predecessor fell to the wrecking ball in 1932. The Langworthy house has been documented by the Historic American Building Survey (1934) and is National Register listed. Octagon forms were deficient in their interior room layouts. The Langworthy example utilized a full-length central hall and parlor, which filled half of the main floor (Sommer, p. 60; Gebhard, pp. 91-92).

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The Mathias Ham house at Eagle Point (1857) employed an octagonal belvedere. Another unusual, though much later, octagonal structure is the octagonal tower base found on the First United Presbyterian Church (17th and Iowa streets, 1880s) which is otherwise of a later Gothic design (Sommer, pp. 63, 87, 89).

Victorian-Era House, 1860-1900; The Second Empire, Victorian Gothic, Queen Anne, and Richardsonian Romanesque styles.

This architectural era was largely based upon Medieval designs but classical influences were also strongly represented. Designs celebrated textural and color variations and asymmetry of form. Stylistic influences were freely intermixed and consequently stylistic categories are less meaningful than they were for the Romantic era. After 1876 there was a resurgence of interest in the Federal/Adams and Georgian styles and these would set the stage for the successor styles which appeared c.1900 (McAlester, p 239).

Second Empire Style, 1855-1885:

This style enjoys the visual dominance of the Mansard roof form, a French-derived attic treatment which allowed for livable upper level space. No other Victorian style has so singular an identifier. The roof form is accompanied by molded cornice lines and decorative brackets set beneath the eaves. In Dubuque the form was reduced to a nearly vertical attic front treatment. Usually limited to the façade only, the mansard was combined with a flat roof and side wall parapet walls, often with a stepping down of the latter towards the back of the plan. Invariably the mansard dormers feature pedimented gables and classical side column elaborations. What is most remarkable is the late persistence of the use of the Mansard attic form in Dubuque. It is still in use as late as 1896 (1913-17 Jackson Street).

This largely urban style was particularly popular during the 1870s and leant itself to row house and multi unit residential buildings. Hotels and other commercial buildings greatly favored the style during these years. Simply defined, this style placed a mansard roof on an Italianate base, effectively adding a full floor. The style appears along the Mississippi River by the early 1850s but reached its greatest popularity during the middle 1870s in the Midwest.

The first Victorian era style, the Second Empire found its inspiration in the rebuilding of Paris which followed the restoration of the French monarchy. McAlester note that in America it coincided with the first post-Civil War administration and was known as the "General Grant" style. The style is purported to have developed in Paris as a tax avoidance practice, the Mansard attic space not being counted as livable and therefore taxable space. Accordingly this mansard level is usually well lighted with richly ornamented windows. The style was a victim of the economic panic of 1873 although it appears to have persisted as a domestic style into the next decade (McAlester, p. 241).

This style is particularly prone to loss due to remodeling if only because its combination flat and steep side roof is hard to maintain and because its examples are frequently multi unit or late date conversions.

Four of five subtypes for this style are found in Dubuque. Dubuque appears to favor one that McAlester fails to identify. This is a twin-full-height bay plan without a tower. It is particularly favored for the Townhouse variant (see 1100-1150 Main and 1631-33 Main) but it also is found in a free-standing house plan, the best example being 1491 Main Street, the Behr Funeral Home (Sommer, p. 97).

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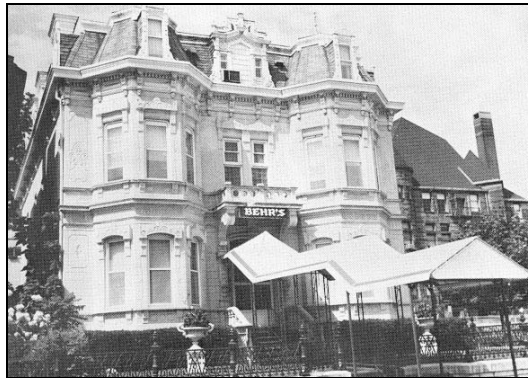


Figure 87: 1491 Main Street (c.1875) (photo, Sommer, p. 97)

Young House (1491 Main Street, c.1875, Fridolin Heer Sr. architect) (see above) has a Indiana limestone façade and a splendidly carved 15th Street frontage (photo, Sommer, p. 97; Gebhard, p. 86).

1. Simple uninterrupted mansard roof form on a rectangular or square core form. Fenestration is symmetrical and utilizes a three or five-bay cadence with centered openings. Centered cupolas also appear in some examples.



Figure 88: 652 Needham Place (photo Sommer, p. 99)

652 Needham Place(see above) is a cottage example of the style and of this subtype. Its narrow rectangular plan is fronted to the street. There is a separate full-width front porch and a bay/dormer wing on the south side wall (Sommer, p. 99).

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Figure 89: 1025 Walnut Street (drawing by Carl Johnson, Sommer, p. 109)

1025 Walnut Street (see above) actually incorporates a tower base onto a rectangular plan. The design is notable for its delicate porch detailing (Sommer, p. 107).

Dennis Cooley House (1394 Locust Street, c.1866) (no image) has strong historical associations with city womens' organizations. Cooley was its second owner. The house has lost its centered belvedere or tower, rooftop iron cresting, and its full-width front porch (Downtown Walking Tour...).

Alfred Tredway House (1182 Locust Street, late 1870s, Fridolin Heer architect) (no image) is associated with the Iowa Iron Works and Dubuque Boat and Building Works. It likely has gained front porches, bays and a side solarium (Downtown Walking Tour...).



Figure 90: 755-57 West Third Street (1850) (photo, A Walking Tour...South Dubuque).

John King-Barmeier House (755-57 West Third Street, 1850) (see above) has historical associations with the state's first newspaper editor. The house contains 16 rooms and three fireplaces (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque).

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Figure 91: Robinson-Lacy House (1878) (drawing by Carl Johnson, Sommer, p. 88)

Robinson-Lacy House (1640 Main Street, 1878, Fridolin Heer Sr. architect) (see above) is the premier Dubuque Second Empire design. This massively built house exemplifies all of the attributes of this style (Sommer, p. 92; Gebhard, p. 86).

Jesse P. Farley House (605 Bluff Street, 1879, architect Franklin D. Hyde) survives today as the southernmost portion of the Mary of the Angels Home. The house has lost its original Moorish porch but it is otherwise clearly recognizable. Farley was three-time city mayor, was the capitalist partner in the Farley & Loetscher Millwork Company and was a railroad promoter. He finally was bankrupted by his loss of a Supreme Court ruling that went against him in 1892. Three additions (1899, 1911, 1929) designed by two other architects, (Guido Beck, Fridolin Heer) all continued to honor the original style (ibid., pp. 94, 96; Gebhard, p. 83).



Figure 92: 1611 Main Street (photo, Sommer, p. 99)

1611 Main Street (see above) is another elaborate and well-preserved example of this subtype.

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Figure 93: 2133 Central Avenue (1884-1890) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

The example shown above is a later and less elaborate example of the style. In this single family house plan application the mansard still encircles the entire plan.



Figure 94: 1913-17 Jackson Street (1886) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

The example shown above illustrates a commercial/apartment application of the style. The mansard form is reduced to a façade-only nearly vertical upper level treatment. An absolutely vertical version can be found at 1902 White Street. An apartment building application is located 2095 Central Avenue.

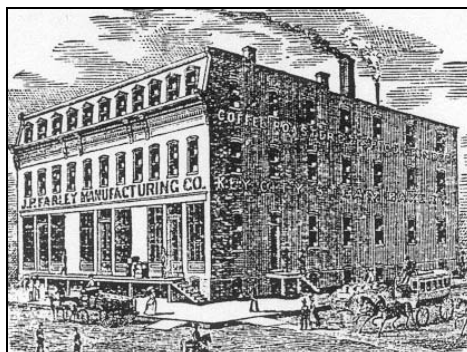


Figure 95: Farley Manufacturing Company, Main Street
Industrial/commercial style example

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563 West Eleventh Street (no image) (Sommer, p. 98).

Bethany House (see Phase II report, no image) (original portion is the Christian Loetscher House) (1005 Lincoln Street) has a single off-center bay/wing and a full-width front porch (Sommer, p. 98).

Hattie Scott House (788 Fenelon, 1880) (no image) is an unusual Second Empire design. Its narrow end of an L-plan is fronted to the street and there is an elongated side porch. The front features a two-story bay and dormer tower base (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque).

3. Any of the above with a centered or offset square tower. Three of ten examples are of this subtype.

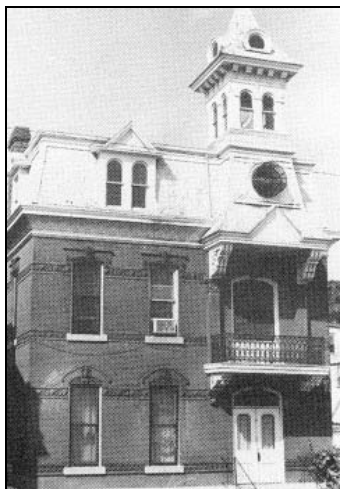


Figure 96: 1651 White Street, photo Sommer, p. 97)

1651 White Street (see above) is a smaller example of the style. It is noteworthy for its corner tower and belvedere (Sommer, p. 97).

One bellcast tower survives apart from its building. The second city clock (1873, architect Fridolin Heer Sr.) was set atop a three-story "Ruskinian Gothic" building near the corner of Eighth and Main streets. The clock and tower offers the only example of a standing seam metal mansard tower roof with round windows in the city. In 1970 it was moved to Clock Tower Plaza and has occupied its present tower site since 1971. Gebhard identifies Barton and Aschman Associates as the replacement tower designers. He also notes that the clock's weather vane cast iron key, now lost, read "key to the city." The Clock Tower Building itself survives at 823-25 Main Street and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places on the basis of its architecture (Sommer, p. 99, 107; Gebhard, p. 84).

4. The townhouse subtype with mansard roof in lieu of a pediment front.

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Figure 97: 1100-1150 Main (photo, Sommer, p.98)

1100-1150 Main Street (see above) comprises a three-part assemblage of six rowhouses. Two of the projecting bays feature mansard towers while four do not (Sommer, p. 98).

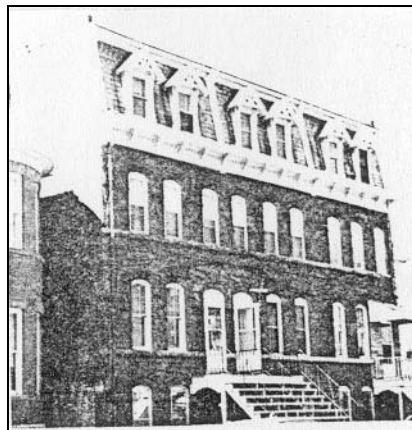


Figure 98: 1025-37 Locust Street (Downtown Walking Tour).

1025-37 Locust Street (see above) combines three rowhouses in a single unified frontage with vertical differentiations present only at the mansard attic level. Each house frontage exhibits twin elaborate attic dormers (Downtown Walking Tour).

Other examples: 1631-33 Main Street (no image); St. Columbkilles School, Rush Street (older portion) (no image), St. Francis Convent, Davis Street (no image), 1450 Iowa (no image), 1552 Locust Street (no image), and 489 Loras Avenue

Loras Academy (Loras Avenue, 1854, 1878-82) (see under Gothic Revival style)
Immaculate Conception School, (no image) Davis Street, in conjunction with the St. Francis Convent constitute one of the largest examples of the style in Dubuque (Sommer, p. 97)

Double house examples are found on Clarke Drive, Rhomberg, Central, Jackson, Washington and White streets (Sommer, p. 97).

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701 Bluff Street (Thomas T. Carkeek architect) (no image) was built by George W. Healey (see drawing p. 95) (Sommer, p. 96).

Victorian Gothic (1860-1890):

This style is distinguished by the presence of polychromatic horizontal bandings which are formed by the use of contrasting materials and colors in the building exterior finish. For residences plain stucco is used in addition to the more common brick. The same Gothic trimwork of the Gothic Revival persists but straight headed windows are used along with the pointed arch form.

This style lent itself to the design of many picturesque churches especially those of frame construction. Institutional (armories, public buildings) and commercial structures also favored the style. The style's elements are also commonly found in vernacular house types.



Figure 99: 1207 Grove Terrace (1890) (drawing by Carl Johnson, Sommer, p. 56)

Benton M. Harger House (1207 Grove Terrace, 1890) (see above). Built too late to exemplify the Gothic Revival, there is no question that this late example utilizes that style's form as well as its ornamentation. It would otherwise be termed "Steamboat Gothic" or perhaps an early Tudor Revival example (Sommer, pp. 55-56; Gebhard, p. 85).

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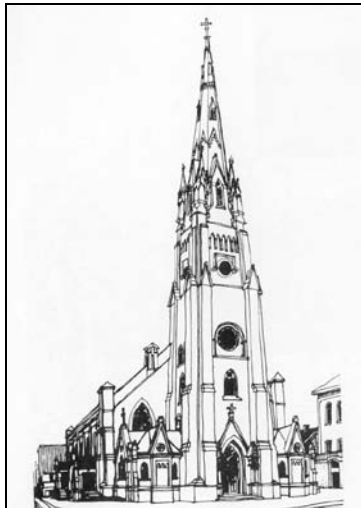


Figure 100: St. Mary Catholic Church, 1584 White Street (1864-67) (Photo, Sommer, p. 84)

St. Marys German Catholic Church (see above) (northeast corner 15th and White streets, 1864-67, architect John Mullany) exemplifies the “High Victorian Gothic. Its design is more vertical and employs a variety of colors and materials. Its organ dates from 1870 (Sommer, p. 84; Gebhard, p. 88).

Dubuque’s churches adopted the High Victorian Gothic in the construction of an array of spectacular substantial replacement edifices, all of which survive intact.

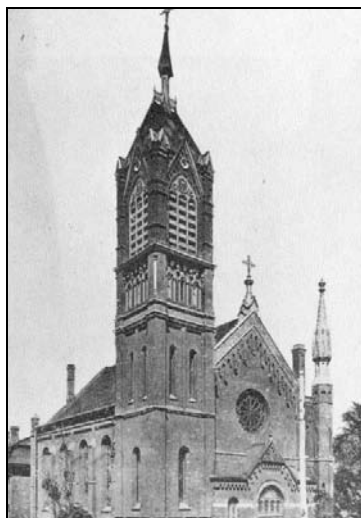


Figure 101: First Congregational Church (1857-60, 1880s), note octagonal tower at right-hand corner (photo, Horton, Early Architecture..., p. 146)

First Congregational Church (see above) (10th and Locust streets, 1857-60, completed 1880s, David Jones architect) might properly represent the earlier Gothic style but this requires further investigation. The decoration

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was enhanced by a later generation in the forms of a 13' diameter rose window (1895) and Tiffany windows (Sommer, p. 89).

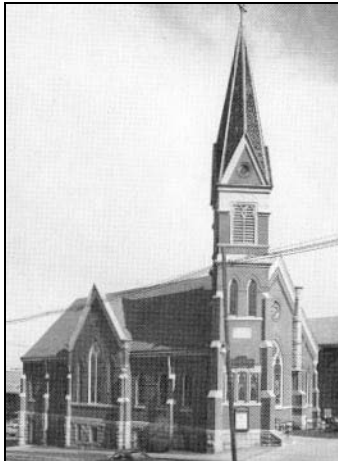


Figure 102: First United Presbyterian Church (photo, Sommer, p. 86)

First United Presbyterian Church (see above) (17th and Iowa streets) also has a cruciform plan but the special feature is a rear octagonal tower (Sommer, p. 86).

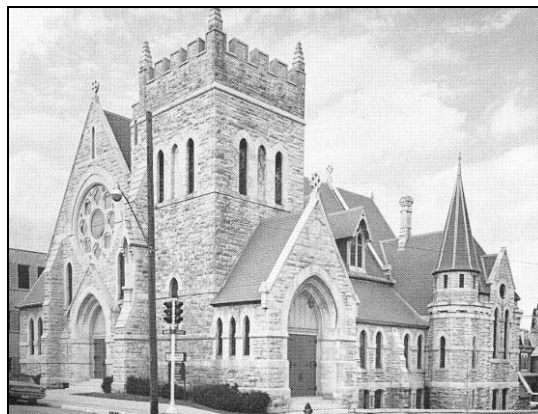


Figure 103: St. Johns Episcopal Church (1875-78)(photo, Sommer, p. 86)

St. Johns Episcopal Church (see above) (1410 Main Street, 1875-78, Henry Martyn Conger architect) was designed in a cruciform plan. Walls are of rough finished local limestone with smooth finished window surrounds and belt courses. The architect was a national specialist in Episcopal church design (Sommer, p. 86; Gebhard, p. 86).

Queen Anne (1880-1910):

The Queen Anne style built upon the visual busyness of the Stick Style and this longest enduring style (unless one counts the Colonial Revival which really consisted of a series of distinct reinterpretations of the Colonial) sought out and utilized any structural or decorative trick to achieve exterior variety. Over time the style utilized any asymmetrical

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form and this asymmetry was greatly facilitated by balloon frame construction. Over half of all Queen Anne houses used the hip roof form nationally, although Rock Island's Queen Anne houses used the front gable set above and behind subordinated off-center gabled wings of varying depth. Porches were thin and delicate in their ornamentation and the wrap-around porch is a certain indicator of the style. Few original porches survive however, and Classical Revival era replacements are usually in place.

While the Stick Style aggressively infilled any wall surface, the Queen Anne tended to be ornamental in gable ends and porch pediments, usually mixing wooden shingle shapes. Queen Anne plain wall areas are minimized by the complexity of the exterior shell and varied wall coverings (shingles, brick, wood) are frequently used to break up these wall panels.

Like the Italianate, the Queen Anne was visually a very vertically inclined expression. Much of this feeling has been lost due to the removal of tall and ornate chimneys, roof crestings and finials.

The Queen Anne style, like its Italianate and Second Empire antecedents, is comprised of four subtypes, which employ three basic core shapes. The first two subtypes share a common core shape. The longevity of this style and its coincidence with large-scale urban growth make it a very common one amongst the Victorian-era styles. It accounts for the vast majority of designed houses in most communities.

Four decorative treatments further distinguish Queen Anne houses. Spindlework encompasses Eastlake or detailing classes of turned decorative posts and friezes. Free Classic ornament substitutes classical columns, Palladian windows, dentils, and bay windows. Half-timbered examples use early Tudor derived half timbering and window groupings. Patterned masonry elaborates stone and brickwork and can use terra cotta inserts and decorative panels. "Eastlake Style" and "Shingle Style" decorative motifs are not treated as styles in this typology but are regarded as part of the Queen Anne style.

There are four Queen Anne subtypes:

1. **Hipped Roof With Lower Cross Gables:** Half of all Queen Anne houses present a dominant front gable with one or more subordinated cross gables. Most common is an L-shaped plan with front facing and side facing gable ends. Hipped examples differ from the norm by running the ridge front to back on the plan rather than from side to side (see Italianate). Towers occur at a front corner.



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Figure 104: 1145 Locust Street (1892) (drawing by Carl Johnson, Sommer, p. 105)

H. L. Stout House (see above) (1145 Locust Street, 1892, Fridolin Heer Sr. and Fridolin Heer Jr. architects) is to the Queen Anne what the Ryan House is to the Italianate. This is the most ornate example of this style in the city and it represents the conscious intermixing of stylistic influences, the Romanesque, Oriental, Byzantine being the most obvious. Stout built this house for his daughter Fannie. It is presently used as a funeral home (Sommer, pp. 101-02; Gebhard, p. 85).



Figure 105: 900 West Third Street (1891) (photo, A Walking Tour...South Dubuque)

Lester C. Bissell House (see above) (900 West Third Street, 1891, F. D. Hyde architect) contains 10 rooms and a three-story open interior stairway and an attic ballroom. The foundation is of brownstone (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque)

Charles H. Eighmey House (no image) (1337 Main Street, c.1892) was one of Dubuque's most elaborate Queen Anne residential designs but it has been compromised by a Neo-Classical updating. Originally the plan consisted of a broad gable front on the hip roof core, with flanking corner turrets, the lesser one pointed and the dominant one onion domed. A classical temple front with pediment and two story columned porch and balcony and a matching south-facing side porch were superimposed on the plan during the early 1900s. The resulting hybrid while illustrative of both styles, really represents neither style well (Sommer, pp. 101-02; Gebhard, p. 87).

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Figure 106: 300 Central Avenue (photo, Sommer, p. 102)

3000 Central Avenue (see above) combines Romanesque and Queen Anne features. The design combines an angled square tower, cross gables and a subordinate side wing to create a visually busy Queen Anne house. Heavy stone lintels and sills give the design a vernacular touch (Sommer, p. 102).



Figure 107: 1921 Madison Street (photo, Sommer, p. 106)

1921 Madison Street (see above) represents a moderate size frame interpretation of the style. The design is based on a hip roof square core. A corner turret and a square cut gabled bay are cantilevered from the second floor to balance the façade. A wrap-around porch unifies the façade and south-facing wing and solarium (Sommer, p. 106).

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Figure 108: 2568 Jackson Street (1900) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

This simplified two story Queen Anne (see above) represents the addition of a full-height offset bay and inset porch onto a square jerkinhead roof plan. Reflective of local vernacular tradition, the entryway has a transom, and the house a raised stone foundation.

1105 Grove Terrace (no image) presents a substantial frame interpretation of the Queen Anne style and this subtype. Two broadly projecting gabled wings disguise the fact that the plan core is a two-story hip. A full-height round tower with cone roof is centered between the two wings and a wrap-around porch unifies the whole plan. Shingle Style influences might be indicated by the generous use of wood shingles to surface the entire upper level and gable fronts. This property enjoys one of the most impressive vistas in the city (Sommer, p. 106).

1045 West Third Street (no image) is a fairly compact yet strikingly tall brick interpretation of the style. A massive round corner turret and cone roof dominates the two shallowly projecting wings or bays and a rounded wrap-around porch interconnects the whole plan. Pediments with classical features hint at the emerging Neoclassical style while rusticated stone trim reflects the Romanesque Style (Sommer, p. 107).



Figure 109: 2955 Jackson Street (photo, Sommer, p. 78)

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2955 Jackson Street (see above) is a vernacular interpretation of the style and it is an anomaly with regard to the four subtypes. Clearly the core structure is side-gabled and a hip wing with offset six-sided tower projects from that core (photo, Sommer, p. 78).

2. Cross Gabled Roof: This is the gabled variation of the style. Towers occur on a front corner.



Figure 110: August A. Cooper House/"Redstone" (1888) (drawing by Carl Johnson, Sommer, p. 104)

August A. Cooper House/"Redstone" (see above) (504 Bluff Street, 1888, Thomas T. Carkeek architect) is another very well known Dubuque Queen Anne style residence. A corner Romanesque style tower dominates the complex intermixing of gables, dormers and pediments. Gebhard sees Colonial Revival components as well. This is the last of three residences associated with the Cooper family however it has the lesser historical association, having been the residence of daughter Elizabeth and it was built as a duplex rather than as a single family house. Cooper owned the Cooper Wagon Works (Sommer, p. 103; Gebhard, p. 83).



Figure 111: 2735 Windsor Avenue (photo, Sommer, p. 103)

Linwood Cemetery Office, (see above) (2735 Windsor Avenue) combines a Second Empire corner tower cap with Queen Anne whimsy. Likely of an early date, this residence is of particular interest given its public service origin and its survival (Sommer, p. 106).

Harry Tredway House (no image) (565 Fenelon Street, 1880s) consists of a hip roof two story core and prominent Romanesque tower. A wrap-around porch encircles the tower base and unites the whole plan (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque).

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Figure 112: 1492 Locust Street (1883) (drawing by Carl Johnson, Sommer, p. 93)

Benjamin B. Richards-T. Ellsworth House (see above) (1492 Locust Street, 1883) is Dubuque's best example of what many term the "Stick Style." Its extensive use of wood shingles on the upper floor also evokes a "Shingle Style" feel as well. The stick style (treated as a Queen Anne subset here) emphasized steeply pitched gable roofs, decorative trusses which cap gable fronts, overhanging eaves and exposed rafter ends. The interior decoration is equally profuse with seven fireplaces and a broad range of wood trim types. This house has been occupied by the same family since its construction (Sommer, p. 91).

3. Front Gabled Roof: A single full-width front gable caps the fairly symmetrical rectangular plan.



Figure 113: Loras Blvd. and Main Street (photo, Sommer, p. 107)

The house at Loras Avenue and Main Street (see above) is a massive polychromatic example of the Queen Anne with Neoclassical Revival style influences. The core form is that of a front gable rectangle. The dominant steep pitched front gable is balanced between the corner tower and the projecting bay. The corner location allows for a wrap-around porch and a side entrance (Sommer, p. 107).

3087 Central Avenue (no image) almost matches the above example except in scale and elevation. Frame and brick are intermixed and the wrap-around porch is of light frame and turned post construction (Sommer, p. 103).

4. Town House: Detached houses are gabled, while row houses employ flat or gabled roofs.

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Figure 114: Corner 2nd and Bluff Streets (1880s) (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque).

Hennessy House (see above) (Corner 2nd and Bluff streets, 1880s) is an elaborate corner interpretation of a Queen Anne style rowhouse. A corner turret is cantilevered from the base of the second floor and an elaborate pattern of broad and narrow dormers, a central cross gable, and varied porch lengths combine to visually enhance the longer dimension of the plan (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque).

Fifth and Bluff Streets (no image) (c.1890s) offers a more substantial example of the same corner design lines exhibited in the above case with a complete corner tower, substantial stone foundation and two complete frontages (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque).

Richards House (no image) (1392 Locust Street, 1882-1883, Franklin D. Hyde architect) is an example of the Eastlake style. The multiple gable ends feature exposed medieval timber work (Gebhard, p. 86).

Richardsonian Romanesque (1880-1900):

The subtypes of this style are based not upon basic form, but rather on roof type. Three components identify the style. These are the use of round-topped arches, rough faced stonework and the presence of round conical capped towers (75% of properties according to McAlester). Dark red brick with thin colored mortar lines and rubbed brick arches, as well as the application of decorative terra cotta panel inserts, are also associated with this style. While the brickwork seeks to minimize surface texturing, stone walls seek a varied and rusticated visual surface effect but avoided applied ornament.

This style being ill suited to smaller residences and restricted to brick ones, there is but one fairly pure example to be found in Dubuque although numerous Queen Anne residential designs betray a Romanesque influence. Two-thirds of all residential examples employ a hipped roof with cross gable form. It was this style which coincided with another intense church building phase and numerous religious properties represent its influence.

Unlike other Victorian era styles, this one, while still evocative of the Romanesque era, was uniquely American in its inception, being largely credited to Boston Architect Henry H. Richardson. His work directly influenced the forthcoming Sullivanesque and Prairie styles, also American generated styles and a conscious result of an architectural search for an American derived style that did not come from European sources (Blumenson, p. 47).

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Figure 115: 1105 Locust Street (1890-91) (drawing by Carl Johnson, Sommer, p. 125)

F. D. Stout House (see above) (1105 Locust Street, 1890-91) is Dubuque's only Romanesque residential design and its original cost (\$300,000) perhaps explains why others weren't built. Lumberman Stout built the house and it serves as a monument for an industry that was already fading when construction was begun. The rectangular plan incorporates a hexagonal corner tower and the broad low stone upper level arch is particularly impressive. It is constructed of red sandstone and the interior features rosewood and mahogany trim work. The Archdiocese of Dubuque has owned the house since 1911 and has served as its agent of preservation. There is a matching carriage house on the property (Sommer, p. 124; Gebhard, p. 84).



Figure 116: Sacred Heart Catholic Church (1885-87) (drawing by Carl Johnson, Sommer, p. 114)

Sacred Heart Catholic Church (see above) (635 East 22nd Street, 1885-87, Fridolin Heer architect) represents the city's earliest Romanesque edifice. Its uneven and contrasting towers continue the Dubuque tradition of a single dominant corner tower (Sommer, pp. 113, 115).

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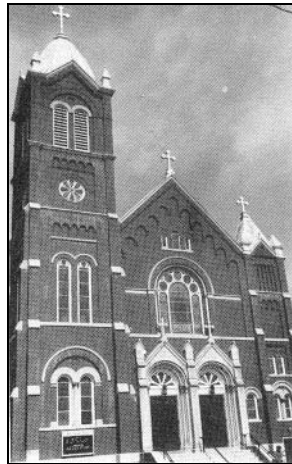


Figure 117: Holy Trinity Catholic Church (1910) (photo, Sommer, p. 115)

Holy Trinity Catholic Church (see above) (Rhomberg Avenue, 1910) follows the same design lines as Sacred Heart but it hugs the ground more closely. The rose window is shifted to the upper reaches of the main tower and a multi-light rounded main window is substituted for the traditional rose window setting. Paired entrances are substituted for separated triple entrances as at Sacred Heart (photo, Sommer, p. 116).



Figure 118: Villa Raphael Motherhouse (1909) (photo, Sommer, p. 115)

Villa Raphael Motherhouse (see above) (1235 Mt. Loretta, 1909) features an elongated rectangular hip core with flanking hexagonal towers, and a central classical portico with a cupola set above it. Heavy pilasters terminate in three-story high rounded arches and a dormer caps each bay above the facade (Sommer, p. 116; Gebhard, p. 90).

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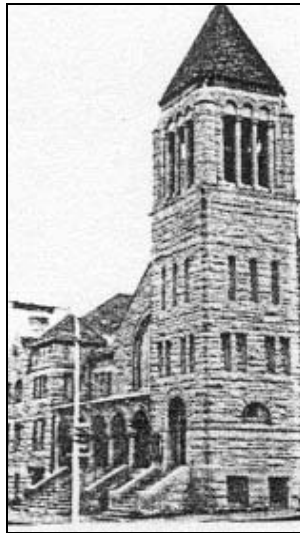


Figure 119: Saint Lukes United Methodist Church, 1199 Main Street (1896-97) (photo, Downtown Walking Tour)

Saint Lukes United Methodist Church (see above) (1199 Main Street, 1896-97, George W. Kramer architect) originally served as a design counterpart to Central High School, which has been lost. Rusticated Bedford Indiana limestone was used as an exterior cladding. A single square tower dominates the plan and an enlarged rounded arch window substitutes for a rose window. A full-width Italian loggia of rounded openings surmounts the broad front steps. This church is justifiably notable for its ornamentation. It contains the state's best array of actual Tiffany dedicatory windows and chandeliers and Tiffany Company designed the church interior. Architect Kramer was nationally known for his church designs. This is Dubuque's fourth Methodist church and replaced an 1853 Gothic Revival design (Downtown Walking Tour, Sommer, pp. 118, 120; Gebhard, p. 87).



Figure 120: Mount Carmel Motherhouse (1893-94) (photo, Sommer, p. 123)

Mount Carmel Motherhouse (see above) (south end Grandview Avenue, 1893-94, John J. Egan, Chicago architect) was the nation's largest convent when it was built on the most commanding site in the city. It is more a complex than a single building. Brick and Bedford limestone trim comprise the exterior materials. Total construction cost equaled that of the Stout House at 1105 Locust Street! (Sommer, p. 123).

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Figure 121: 2070-72 Jackson Street (1891-1909) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

The above example is a diminutive example of the style, with a single arched entryway. This duplex is unusual for its form and massing.

Commercial/Industrial Examples:



Figure 122: Dubuque Brewing and Malting Company (1894-95) (Architect's sketch, Sommer, p. 122)

Dubuque Brewing and Malting Company (see above) (3000 Jackson Street, 1894-95, Louis Lehle, Chicago architect, Fridolin Heer construction supervision) is a complex of from three to seven stories which fills an entire three acre industrial site. The facility was one of the nation's largest brewery plants and was regionally famous for its product. Note the massive Romanesque towers. The ground level is faced with stone, and brick above that point (Sommer, pp. 120- 122; Gebhard, p. 88).

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Figure 123: Dubuque Star Brewery Company, 1898 (photo, Sommer, p. 120)

Dubuque Star Brewery Company (see above) is a smaller brewery facility designed in the Romanesque style. Note that the multi-light windows and the round lights are also found in the several church designs discussed previously. Note also the decorative finials, the central tower, and the integration of the smokestack into the overall design (Sommer, p. 120).



Figure 124: Bank and Insurance Building (1890s) original photo (photo, Sommer, p. 127)

Bank and Insurance Building (see above) (9th and Main streets, 1890s) is one of two Sullivanesque (flat parapet or roofline and exaggerated cornice line) commercial designs and one of the “skyscrapers” of Dubuque. The building has gained an aluminum covered additional floor that replaced its original cornice line detailing. This change along with the obliteration of the lower story/mezzanine has destroyed the architectural integrity of this once grand building (Sommer, p. 126).

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Figure 125: Security Building, 1896 (courtesy Loras College)

Security Building-J. F. Stampfer Building (see above) (northwest corner 8th and Main streets, 1896) is the second Sullivan-esque influenced commercial design in Dubuque and it is well preserved (Sommer, pp. 126-27).



Figure 126: Grand Opera House (1889-90) (photo, Sommer, p. 132)

Grand Opera House (see above) (813 8th Street, 1889-90) has only recently had its Romanesque brick façade uncovered after many years and the building is undergoing a restoration. The ground floor of the façade consists of truly massive “Richardsonian” brick arches. Successively smaller rounded arches infill the mezzanine level and a Palladian-like band of square cut short windows traces the attic level.

1000 Main Street (1894) is a three-story commercial block with a corner location. It was built as commercial rental property and long housed the Dubuque Electric Company (1924-?). Its first tenant was Richard Herrman Furniture (Downtown Walking Tour).

Commercial Building (southeast corner Central and 9th streets) said to be Richardsonian Romanesque by Gephard, well-preserved example (Gephard, p. 82).

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Eclectic House Styles, 1880-1940: Anglo-American, English and French Period Houses:

McAlester groups these styles under three general sub-categories, the Anglo-American, English and French Period Houses (includes the Colonial Revival, Neoclassical, Tudor, Chateausque, Beaux Arts and French Eclectic styles), Mediterranean Period Houses (includes the Italian Renaissance, Mission, and Spanish Eclectic styles) and Modern Houses (includes the Prairie, Craftsman, Modernistic, and International styles). Until the end of World War I, eclectic influences were largely limited to the larger house. After the war, economical brick and stone veneers extended these styles to the small tract house as well.

This subgroup of the numerous eclectic styles can be distinguished by the common effort of its several styles to more accurately replicate various European and New World building traditions.

Colonial Revival/Dutch Colonial Revival (1880-1955):

The first twenty years of the Colonial Revival saw the emergence of an amalgam of Queen Anne basic forms with so called Colonial and even Classical ornamentation. It wasn't until c.1910 that the style first clearly focused on faithfully replicating original American Colonial house plans. The Colonial, even in its earliest expressions, represented the emergence of the first American-generated architectural style (Labine, McAlester, pp. 321-341).

These houses differed fundamentally from their Neo-Colonial predecessors because they actually attempted to replicate actual upper class late 18th Century Colonial plans. The house footprint was rectangular and the facade was symmetrically arranged. The decorative components differed from those of the Neo-Colonial; and included scrolled pediments, dentil bands, modillions, fan lights over doorways, and formal porch columns (Clem Labine, "The Neo-Colonial House, *The Old House Journal*, May 1984, pp. 73-77).

Even the more accurate designs departed from the Georgian and Adam originals by adding window groupings, side wings, dormers, broken pediments and various window hood treatments. The gambrel roof form was completely reinvented to serve the needs of taller residences. The Colonial Style is unified through its common linkage to a true Colonial architecture. The higher end examples of each subtype shared the same range of window and decorative treatments. The earliest style examples can be distinguished from Free Classic Queen Anne precursors only with great difficulty. Colonial inspired elements are simply overlaid on the same asymmetrical house core. Hipped roof subtypes accounted for one third of Colonial Revival houses in the years leading up to World War I.

Later examples of this style employ a centered entrance on the long side of the house plan, and the entryway is a point of particular design attention. Porches or hoods are minimized for all but the second described subtype. Brick and stone exteriors are associated with early high-end style examples. Brick veneers on tract house examples appear in the post-World War I years. There are nine subtypes of the Colonial Revival Style, four which are found in Dubuque.

Schweitzer and Davis identify a transitional Colonial Revival that endured through 1925, peaking in its popularity between 1905 and 1917. This sub-style slightly predated 1900, but unlike the Queen Anne and Georgian carryover styles, it did not enter the century at a flourishing state, achieving broad acceptance only by c.1905. This style represented the move to reduced and simpler ornamentation. It typically employed grouped porch columns, dentil moldings, returned cornices in their ornamentation. The houses stood one and a half to two stories tall, occupied a narrow core plan and had a front-facing gable with high-pitched roof. A full-width front porch was considered by the

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authors to represent a Queen Anne holdover. If cross-gable wings are present, their roof ridges are subordinated to the main roofline. The main entrance is centered (although early examples use a side entrance on the facade with side hall) as are side wings and bays. The later examples also employ the living room that runs the full width of the house (Schweitzer and Davis, p. 131).

Schweitzer and Davis note that the Dutch Colonial Revival was the only holdover that was influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement. The gambrel roof on this two-story house came in three varieties, with front, side and cross gable versions. The front-gables came first, side-gables appearing by the 1920s. The gambrel roof form offered more second floor interior space and used shorter pieces of lumber for its rafters. The front gambrel subtype disappeared by 1919, but was succeeded by a new form side-gable subtype at about the same time, c.1918-19. This subtype peaked in its popularity c.1932-40 (Schweitzer, pp. 134-37).

They similarly observe that the “Neo-Colonial” house design represents a “Colonialized Victorian” house and as such it epitomizes what they describe as a “carry-over” style from the late 19th century. The house shape is still Victorian while the decoration is Colonial. These houses were not reproductions of the actual Colonial house plans, this difference distinguishing these from the 20th Century Colonial Revivals that came later. The marriage of Victorian and Colonial was an effort to produce a unique American style, a “National” style. Shingles were commonly used for this style, combined with clapboard. Decorative elements included classical columns, Paladin windows, oval windows, pedimented dormers and porches. Distinguishing any demarcation between Neo-Colonial and the Colonial Revival, the latter developing between 1895 and 1910, is no easy task. By 1910 Colonial Revival house plans were accurately replicating actual Colonial houses (Schweitzer, pp. 119, 121; Clem Labine, “The Neo-Colonial House, *The Old House Journal*, May 1984, pp. 73-77).

Schweitzer and Davis distinguish a Williamsburg subtype, which they say was introduced in 1928 and peaked in popularity between 1935 and 1940. Their “Modern Georgian Revival” similarly is said to have appeared in 1920, flourishing between 1925 and 1940.

Colonial Revival elements were incorporated into the Dubuque vernacular, fusing classical elements with narrow two-story single family and duplex house plans. The form was particularly favored for concrete block residential construction and it coincided with a boom in moderate priced housing in the pre-World War I years in north Dubuque. A vernacular variant of this style is appended below.

Colonial Revival Style Subtypes:

1. Centered Gable: Either of the two examples described above with an added subordinated front cross gable usually superimposed on an entrance pavilion.

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Figure 127: 514 Fenelon Street (c.1910) (photo, A Walking Tour...South Dubuque)

Jay Farwell House (see above) (514 Fenelon Street, c.1910) is associated with a noted inventor (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque).

2. Gambrel Roof: Pre-W.W.I examples combined front and side gable gambrel wings. The postwar Dutch Colonial runs a steeply pitched gambrel roof parallel to the front. The key characteristic of this Colonial Revival subtype is the use of the gambrel roof form. When wall dormers are employed the subtype very nearly becomes the full two-story house. Like the Cape Cod, twin dormers can peer out from the gambrel roof surface. Confusion comes when all things gambrel are simply lumped together as Dutch Colonial Revival.

Front gable gambrels were the earliest, and side gable versions began to appear only by 1919. It is thought that the gambrel roof form maximized second floor interior space while still conserving on the length of lumber required to frame the roof. Gambrel roof cottages are not a full two stories high. The reappearance of the style in the 1920s is a distinctly different Colonial manifestation, however. These houses do not commonly employ the cross gable and the gambrel ends run parallel to the street. Increasingly a unified shed roofed dormer fills most of the front and rear roof plane. The gambrel roof form is increasingly marginalized in an effort to make the upper level more fully a second story.



Figure 128: 512 Fenelon Street (1897) (photo, A Walking Tour...South Dubuque)

Trewin-Huntoon House (see above) 512 Fenelon Street, 1897, Thomas T. Carkeek, architect) (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque)

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3. Second Story Overhang (post 1930): “Garrison Colonial” with side gabled, central entrance, second-floor cantilevers beyond lower one.

4. Cape Cod (1920s-1950s):

Numerically the Cape Cod cottage was the most popular small house type in America for over 30 years, an honor previously and much more briefly bestowed upon the bungalow, and subsequently by the ranch house and split level. Unlike the bungalow with its multitude of forms and styles, the Cape Cod had a precise and unchanging basic appearance and form. This form was that of a story and a half side gabled cottage with steep roof pitch, with twin dormers set atop its front roof plane. Colonial Revival style by definition, it employed a symmetrical facade with centered entryway, double hung light sash windows with various Colonial multi-light patterns, Colonial detailing around the entrance, window shutters, a broad clapboard covered exterior, and the occasional use of stone or brick as supplemental building materials.

Even the Cape Cod form could evolve and more expensive house plans tended to elongate, spacing the dormers across a broader roof plane (or rarely adding a third middle dormer, more commonly broadening the two dormers) or adding subordinated side wings, particularly breezeway/ garage combinations. Schweitzer and Davis date the introduction of the type to 1929 and its zenith in popularity to 1935-40.

The frequency of the Cape Cod style is underestimated because the form is defined by the presence of dormer windows. Architect Charles Keefe, writing in late 1930, called for the recognition of the styles “inherent characteristics.” These elements included a clapboard/shingle exterior, a recessed front entryway with flush-set pilasters and transoms, low design lines (with eaveslines close to the tops of windows and doors), no front porch (usually a lattice surround on the entryway), a massive central chimney, and a 39x30 overall footprint. Keefe makes no reference to the use of dormers. Of course it can be argued that the popular or idealized Cape Cod form is the twin-dormer plan, but caution is urged that earlier examples might have more closely approximated Keefe’s standards and these are likely classified as colonial bungalows in contemporary surveys (Keefe, pp. 9-11, 66-67).

Vernacular Colonial Revival:



Figure 129: 2590, 2586-88, 2582, 2578 Central Avenue (1915-25) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

These four Chris Voelker built houses illustrate an array of classical elements (pedimented gable fronts, Palladian window sets, and full-height bays) which fused with the local narrow two-story gable front vernacular form in the years

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after 1900. These houses were principally of frame construction, and secondarily of concrete block. Wood shingles, usually in contrasting patterns, infilled the gable fronts.



Figure 130: 2545 Jackson (1910) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

Dubuque house builder Willy Ulrich built the elegant concrete block house shown above. It too combines the gable front vernacular two-story with classical design elements. The plan is still narrow (core 24x50).



Figure 131: 2044 Jackson Street (1900) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

The frame example shown above combines a narrower core rectangular plan (22x46) with a classical porch, broken pediment, and a side bay.

Classical Revival/Neo-Classical (1895-1950):

This style reinterpreted the Early Classical Revival and Greek Revival homes of America. The style was first applied to monumental governmental buildings. The new style's appearance coincided with the United States emergence as a world naval and colonial power, the product of the Spanish American War. The hallmark of the Neo-Classical style is an ornately formal two story front porch. Otherwise the Classical Revival employs a one and two story porch that is

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centered on or covers the front of a hipped or side gabled rectangular core form. The style focused attention on a central entryway and a symmetrical facade composition was mandatory, there are no asymmetrical subtypes under this heading.

Examples of this style up until the mid-1920s exhibit the hipped roof form most commonly along with ornate Corinthian or Ionic fluted columns. From then on into the 1950s the side gable and square plane columns were the norm, with the full width porch dominating. Like the Colonial Revival many components including the rounded flat-topped portico, side extensions, combination one and two story porches, and grouped windows were not found on the original houses which were being emulated. The style lends itself to high-end designed houses. Many earlier small houses were given Classical Revival porch replacements as original porches wore out or were considered outdated.

Classical Revival Style Subtypes:

1. Full Height Entry Porch: Like its earlier (Greek Revival and Early Classical Revival) counterparts, the classical porch does not cover the broad (from three to five or more bays wide) facade.



Figure 132: 1090 Langworthy Avenue (photo, Sommer, p. 136)

Joseph Garland House (see above) (1090 Langworthy Avenue) has a rusticated concrete block exterior and a classical Greek two-story portico. Open terraces flank the porch (photo, Sommer, p. 136).



Figure 133: 1005 Locust Street (photo, Downtown Walking Tour...)

Dr. James Guthrie House (see above) (1005 Locust Street) presents contrasting dormers including one with a rounded vault roof, paired columned two-level porch and twin contrasting full-height bays (Downtown Walking Tour...).

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2. Full Height Entry Porch With Lower Full width Porch: This subtype takes the above example and adds flanking subordinated front side porches to the central porch.



Figure 134: 1595 Montrose Terrace (photo, Sommer, p. 136)

1595 Montrose Terrace (see above) interweaves two separate porches. The plan has a stone porch and house foundation and a stucco exterior (Sommer, p. 136).



Figure 135: 541 Fenelon Street (c.1909) (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque)

Peter J. Seippel House (see above) (541 Fenelon Street, c.1909) reflects the city wealth derived from lumbering as well as the rich array of wood types expected in the house of a lumber dealer (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque).

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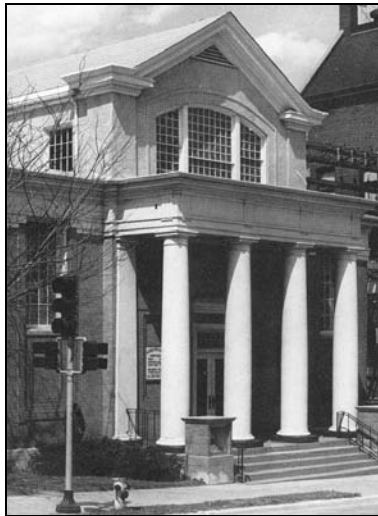


Figure 136: First Church of Christ Scientist, 359 West 9th Street (1911) (photo, Sommer, p. 134)

First Church of Christ Scientist (see above) (Ninth and Bluff streets, 1911) combines a Roman temple front “porch” which projects beneath an open pediment building front. The recessed broken pediment, rising up behind the porch element, is unusual (Sommer, p. 134).

4. Front Gabled Roof: This full height and full width front porch covers the entirety of this gabled front house type.



Figure 137: Carnegie-Stout Public Library (1901) (drawing by Carl Johnson, Sommer, p. 133)

Carnegie-Stout Public Library (see above) (southeast corner Eleventh and Bluff streets, 1901, Williamson and Spencer, Chicago architects) offers a perfect example of the style and subtype. Six Corinthian columns support a formal temple front. The new addition on the east side dates to 1979-81 (Sommer, p. 134; Downtown Walking Tour; Gebhard, p. 84).

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5. Full Facade Porch: Like the above, this type substitutes a side gable roof form for the front gable form. The porch usually has a flat roof. There is a full-width colonnade but the main roof or an extension of that roof covers the porch area.



Figure 138: German Bank (1901-02, 342 Main Street) (*Enterprise*, November 7, 1901)

German Bank (342 Main Street, 1901-2) features four engaged Corinthian columns on a commercial front. The columns are uniquely patterned with layers of smooth and rusticated stone (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque).

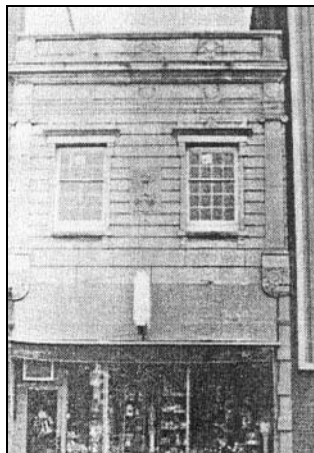


Figure 139: 372 Main Street (c.1910) (photo, A Walking Tour...South Dubuque)

Henry H. Mehlhop Company (no image) (372 Main Street, c.1910) is a diminutive Neoclassical design with an elaborate stone façade and cornice (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque)

Tudor Revival (1890-1940):

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This style loosely evoked late medieval English houses rather than anything specifically Tudor. Unlike the Colonial Revival, earlier formal Tudor designs tended to be more accurate while later ones were more generalized. The style found popular acceptance for both more modest and tract house applications beginning in the middle 1920s and this popularity, rivaling the Colonial Revival, persisted until World War II. The abrupt demise of the Tudor style, in the years right before the outbreak of the war, is a research topic that is yet to be explored. The Tudor would rebound in suburbia during the early 1970s and remains a part of that stylistic range today.

The Tudor Revival had its inception with the showing of the "Victoria House" at the British Exhibit at the Chicago Columbian Exposition in 1893. For the most part the houses were too large to be included in early plan books and they are more represented in the field than in those sources.

Like the earliest bungalow form, the Tudor Revival house was dominated by a steeply pitched roof. A massive and elaborate chimney was also central to the type. The style could also be incorporated onto a simplified Queen Anne foundation. These transitional house plans tended to have central halls and entrances, and elaborate applications of dormers, oriels and bays. The houses ranged from the small house to the great country house (Bruce Lynch, "The Popular English Revival Style," *The Old-House Journal*, July 1983, pp. 117-20).

An asymmetric facade was the hallmark of this style with no preferred core form save for a decided preference for the side gabled roof form. Roofs are steeply pitched and are set behind one or more prominent cross gables or gable/dormer combinations that cluster or are distributed across the facade. Half of the style's examples employ a non-structural half timbering usually in the gable areas. Bands of tall narrow windows and tall chimneys with chimney pot caps give these buildings a vertical visual sense.

Schweitzer and Davis define a two phase Tudor Revival, the whole lasting from 1875 through 1940. The Arts and Crafts-influenced phase peaked from 1909 through 1917. These authors credit this style with bringing the Arts and Crafts influence into this present century. The style or type is represented by half timbering, plaster infill between the exposed structural members, steep multiple gable roofs, and bands of small windows. Twin front gables frequently linked by a long shed-roofed dormer, fronted side gables and rounded entry hoods over the main entrance. They see the so called Shingle Style as essentially Tudor and lump a number of late 19th Century styles, including English, Elizabethan, Jacobean, Norman, "Old Country Farm", and the Picturesque as being representative of the Tudor, which they collectively term "Tuderbeathean" (Schweitzer, pp. 126-29).

In its tract house application this style favored the use of a rectangular core with a very shallow side wing. The steep roof form produced a story and a half cottage. Frequently a dormer balances an in-wall cross gable. There are four types to this style, all of which are defined by the choice of exterior cladding materials:

Bruce Lynch distinguishes what he terms "the English Revival," a subtype that differed from its predecessor English/Tudor Revival by virtue of its post-war symbolic association with the victorious and now unified "English heritage and its public acceptance was directly linked with the architectural development of the small house, as a competing house form with the bungalow. Lynch termed this type the "Modern Tudor Revival," dates its introduction to 1920, flourishing between 1925-40 (Bruce Lynch, p.120).

Subtypes:

1. Brick Wall Cladding:

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The vast majority of area examples have brick veneered exteriors, commonly accented with decorative stone inlays around the entrance, at corners, and in the chimney construction. A random intermixing of stone or other inserted materials is frequently found. Late-1930s examples commonly use a polychrome brick.

1130 South Grandview Avenue (no image) (c.1928) combines an entrance gable chimney with the core roof, brick construction with diagonal patterning (Gebhard, p. 90).

Chapel, University of Dubuque (no image) (University Avenue past Algona Street, 1907) is said to represent a "Gothic Revival" design using brick with stone trim (Gebhard, p. 91).

2. Stone Wall Cladding:



Figure 140: John G. Kuehnle House, (1924) (photo, Sommer, p. 138)

John G. Kuehnle House (see above) (northwest corner Kirkwood and Alta Vista streets, 1924) is a rare stone Tudor Revival design. It was featured as a model house in 1924 and was Dubuque's first "all electric" house. At the time of its construction it was termed "English Style" and Sommer categorizes it as "Bungaloid." The cottage has an unusual "thatched" roof of an undetermined material (Sommer, p. 138; Gebhard, p. 91)

Wartburg Theological Seminary (no image) (333 Wartburg Street, 1914-16, Perkins, Fellows and Hamilton, architects) is interpreted by Gebhard as an example of "English medieval" or "modernized Gothic." The building has a U-plan and a six-story crenellated tower. The exterior is of stone. Brown, Healy and Block Architects of Cedar Rapids designed the 1981-82 addition (Gebhard, pp. 90-91).

Beaux Arts (1885-1930):

This style was employed in public buildings and great house designs. Symmetrical stone-faced plans featured rusticated first floor exteriors and smoothed stone on the upper levels. The exteriors were richly adorned with Ionic or Corinthian columns, quoins, decorative garlands, floral patterns, and pilasters. There were two very different subtypes:

1. **Flat or Low-Pitched Hip Roof Subtype:** This subtype derives from Italian or Northern European Renaissance examples and is readily confused with the Neoclassical Style. Paired columns identify the Beaux Arts. The latter has lower roof profiles and the more distinctive vertical division of detailing.

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Figure 141: Dubuque County Courthouse (1891-93) (photo, Sommer, p. 148)

(Third) Dubuque County Courthouse (see above) (720 Central Street, 1891-93, Fridolin Heer, Fridolin Heer Jr., architects) is said by Sommer to represent the Beaux Arts Style but also reflects Romanesque and Neoclassical (Gephard says French Classicism) influences. This was one of the first National Register of Historic Places listed properties in the city. The first courthouse (1836) was of two-story log construction. A two-story brick replacement (1839, 1857) was Greek Revival in style. The building has had its original segmented tower dome replaced and four massive corner statues were lost to a World War I scrap drive. The building was proposed for demolition in 1932 but the Depression saved it (photo, Sommer, p. 116; Gephard, p. 81).



Figure 142: 2130-34 Central Avenue (1891-1902) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

The tri-plex apartment house shown above combines an Romanesque entry arch with Beaux Arts exterior ornamentation.

Federal Trust and Savings Bank (southeast corner Central Street and 14th Street) is now the Dubuque Bank and Trust Company and represents this style in its fluted pilasters and its cream colored terracotta façade. Italian marble covers the interior walls (Gebhard, p. 87).

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2. Mansard Roof Subtype: This subtype brought a revival of the Second Empire stylistic elements but the scale is greater, the exteriors are of stone and the range of Beau Arts ornamentation is distinctively different. The Mansard roof form survives in Dubuque into the mid-1890s but most examples fall well short of the Beaux Arts mark in their ornamentation.

Majestic Orpheum Theater (no image) (northwest corner Fourth and Main streets, 1910, Cornelius W. and George L. Rapp, architects) was the first known commission completed by its designers and is described by some as "Flemish Renaissance" in style. Gebhard says Second Empire with Beaux Arts façade. Restored 1974 and became part of the Five Flags Center (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque; Gebhard, pp. 82-83).

French Eclectic (1915-1945):

The visual hallmark of this style is the steeply pitched hipped roof or roof combination on a rectangular or asymmetrical core. Exterior cladding is in stone, brick, stucco (or half timbering). As loosely defined as the Tudor Revival, this style offers endless variety of form and detailing, given that it mimics no particular era in French domestic architecture. This style consists of three subtypes, just one of which has a known Dubuque example:

Subtypes:

1. Symmetrical: Uses the large hipped roof which parallels the house front. The fenestration is symmetrical.

McCoy House (no image) (1160 S. Grandview Avenue, 1928-30, Karl F. Saur architect) represents a French Provincial revival design according to Gebhard. The design combines dark brick and a light tan brick work (Gebhard, p. 90).

2. Asymmetrical: This most common variant offers varied roofline elevations and an asymmetrical fenestration and range of varied facades.
3. Towered: Adds a dominant tower, usually including the entryway, to either the straight or ell shaped plan.

Eclectic House Styles, 1880-1940: Mediterranean Period Houses:

Italian Renaissance Revival (1890-1935):

This late Victorian-era style sought to represent the original inspirations for the Italianate style in a more accurate manner. It retained the basic square or rectangular core form, the low-pitched hipped roof, and the horizontal differentiation between base (the foundation), column (the walls) and the capital (the attic/roof). The first floor dominates the facade with its column flanked or arcaded central entryway and the longer, frequently arched windows. The second floor is often distinguished by a string course that runs along the sill level of the upper floor. The style favors the use of tile roofs. There are four residential subtypes of this style. The Dubuque County Courthouse (1891) is credited to this style (see Beaux Arts style, above) as is a residence at 1125 Highland Place (1915):

Subtypes:

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1. Simple Hipped Roof Subtype: This subtype accounts for half of all style examples. A straight front, sometimes with a full width front porch (an arcade or series of heavy piers) (pre-1920 examples) has central entrance and hall, rectangular plan and low hipped roof which runs the length of the plan.
2. Hipped Roof With Projecting Wings Subtype: The same basic subtype described above is augmented with a recessed or projecting wing/porch with flanking side wings, either integral to the core structure or subordinated as lower and separate wings.
3. Asymmetrical Subtype: The same basic subtypes described above feature asymmetrical fenestration, ell shaped wings, short towers, front chimneys, side porches or angled wings.
4. Flat Roof Subtype: These architect designed urban examples have flat roofs, additional floors and a three part horizontal division of the facade.

St. Raphael School, 223 Bluff (1904) (no image)
Franklin School, 39 Bluff (1906) (no image)

Mission (1890-1920)/Spanish Colonial Revival (1915-1940):

The presence of a Mission shaped dormer or roof parapet places a Mediterranean influenced house design within this stylistic camp. Other secondary signature elements are a red tile roof, white stucco exterior, heavy porch support piers or an arcade. Like the bungalow and later the ranch house, the Mission style was perfected in California and accepted nationally. Like the bungalow, its popularity had waned by the end of World War I. Schweitzer and Davis distinguish between the onset of the Spanish Colonial Revival, c.1915-16 and its most popular period, 1929-34, by explaining that its comparatively early introduction was made through the bungalow as a medium.

Subtypes:

1. Symmetrical: The house massing is square or rectangular with a hipped roof and a symmetrical facade with regard to both elements and fenestration.

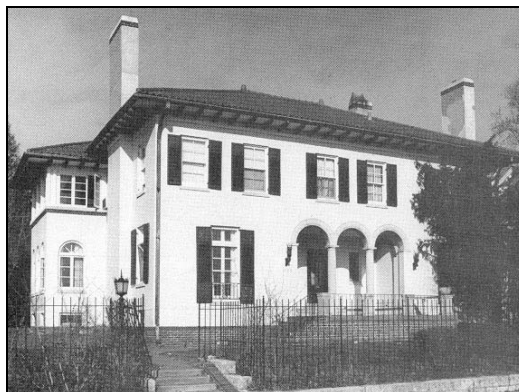


Figure 143: 1105 Highland Place (photo, Sommer, p. 140)

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1105 Highland Place (see above) represents what McAlester would term a Mission Style inspired design (photo, Sommer, p. 140).

2. Asymmetrical: The same basic form is elaborated with asymmetrical components such as towers, porches, entrances, porch arcades and chimneys.

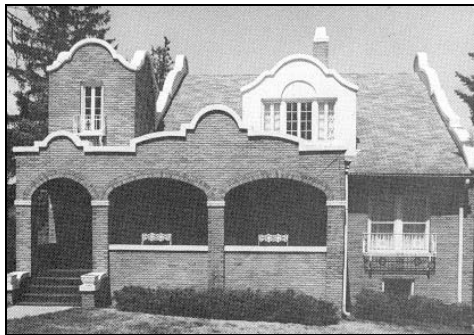


Figure 144: 999 Kirkwood Street (photo, Sommer, p. 140)

999 Kirkwood Street (see above) represents what McAlester would term a Spanish Eclectic design (Sommer, p. 140).

Eclectic House Styles, 1880-1940: Modern Houses:

Prairie Style (1900-1920):

The Prairie School of design is both an American as well as a Midwestern architectural style. It enjoyed a comparatively brief popularity, losing out to period designs, and never achieved broad public acceptance in its purest forms. Its influences left their long-range mark on a broad range of houses, most commonly in the form of window treatments and Prairie style ornamentation.

In its ultimate form, interior walls were virtually eliminated as wings of the house merged at a central point (the two story portion of the plan and the site of the massive fireplace) inside the house, the whole lighted by banks of glass walls which were formed by bands of windows. The house exterior, capped with a low-pitched hip roof blended into the horizontal prairie landscape and the particular setting of the house.

In popular design applications Prairie style motifs and forms were frequently adapted to the basic isolated cube form that Frank Lloyd Wright had tried to transcend. These house designs utilized a basic two story broad basic form with low-pitched hipped roof. There is frequently as much if not more vertical flow in the design than there is horizontal emphasis. Narrow casement window bands, tall chimneys, pilasters and bays all conspire to draw the eye upward (Foley, p. 227).

There is no middle ground when the significance and success of the Prairie Style are debated. To its advocates, the style spawned or greatly influenced the bungalow form as well as the ranch house and was therefore integral to much

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that followed it. On the other hand, Schweitzer and Davis echo the majority of historical architectural scholars when they state that the Prairie School or style never really caught on with the general public. To the extent that it left a broader imprint on the built landscape, other types and styles attempted to interpret its basic principles, for the most part without success. The authors don't think that the style had much of any influence on house plan books or ready-cut house plans, being relegated for the most part to the higher-end catalogues such as William Radford. "Prairiesque" features are to be found on bungalows and foursquares, in the form of contrasting trim and main body colors, window bands, decorative linear motifs, low-pitched roofs, broad overhanging eaves, and the use of stucco and brick veneers. H. Allen Brooks believes that the Prairie Style was actually popularized by the more popular bungalow, which "extended its aura of respectability to the prairie house." Mass public acceptance was prevented by the high cost, the fact that a Prairie house couldn't even begin to fit on a narrow urban lot, and the fact that non-standard construction materials and designs were employed. Scholars attribute both the bungalow and the Prairie School as being the precursors of the modern ranch house (ibid., pp. 138-29; Brooks, p. 25; Ames, pp. 22, 71).

The Prairie Style or school receives surprisingly little press coverage in the several house journals, and this term is rarely employed when example house plans are offered. The exception was the Chicago based House Beautiful that carried some 20 Prairie School articles between 1905 and 1909. A unique instance in another journal is Peter B. Wright's "Country House Architecture in the Middle West" from the *Architectural Record* of 1915-16. That article is interest for two reasons; the first being the Prairie Style coverage and examples, and the second is the author's atypically more generous definition of what constituted the "Middle West." Wright went beyond Ohio and included the entire area between Western New York and the Rocky Mountains! Wright actually used true Midwest house examples, including the E. C. Crossett House in Davenport, a Prairie design by Architects Temple and Burrows, and a Delavan Lake, Wisconsin side-gable bungalow. The author suggested that the Prairie style was "so well fitted to the natural conditions of the strenuous liberty of the [Middle] West." The majority of house plans which feature a Prairie Style influence feature square houses with no Prairie reference (Brooks, p. 24; "Country House Architecture in the Middle West," *Architectural Record*, 1915-16, Vol. 38, pp. 385-421, and Vol. 40, pp. 290-321).

Gustav Stickley, editor of the Craftsman Magazine, thoroughly ignored the Prairie School despite the fact that both the Craftsman Prairie movements derived inspiration from the Arts and Crafts movement. Richard Wilson and Sidney Robinson suggest that the greatest cross-fertilization took place between the bungalow and the Prairie School, and note that some scholars see the Prairie School as representing "the regionalization of the bungalow." H. Allen Brooks offers the "high-end" example of the Harold C. Bradley bungalow, which was constructed as a summer residence at Wood's Hole, Massachusetts 1911-12. It was designed by architects Purcell, Feick and Elmslie and represents, in Brook's opinion, an example of the convergence of this style and the bungalow house type (Brooks, 206; Robinson, The Prairie School In Iowa, I.S.U. Press, Ames, 1977, p. 8).

Sub-types:

Hipped Roof Symmetrical With Front Entry: Square or rectangular plans with low-pitched hipped roof and a prominent centered front entryway. Single-story wings or appendages can be present but core structure is symmetrical.

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Figure 145: Eagle Point Park Pavilion (1934-36) (photo, Tourist Guide of Dubuque, p. 25).

Eagle Point Park Pavilion (see above) (1934-36, Alfred Caldwell landscape architect and designer) is one of Dubuque's most significant architectural designs. It represents an extraordinary blending of site, natural materials and style. Gebhard rates this as one of two of the best Iowa Prairie designs (the other being the Rock Glen neighborhood in Mason City, designed by Walter Burley Griffin. He also credits Wendell Reffenberger with design input but offers no explanation. Caldwell's work was an interpretation of Wright's Taliesin design, set in what he termed "The City in a Garden" and the landscape architecture of Jens Jensen. (Sommer, p. 142; Gebhard, pp. 89-90).

Eagle Point Park Bandstand (no image) (1957, Rossiter and Ham architects) is a later interpretation of the Prairie Style (Gebhard, p. 90).



Figure 146: 1761 Plymouth Court (photo, Sommer, p. 142)

1761 Plymouth Court represents a faithful application of the Prairie Style. Note that the core of the house is a full two stories high however (photo, Sommer, p. 142).

Ward Donovan House (1721 Plymouth Court, 1941, Alfred Caldwell landscape architect) is a two-story Prairie style plan (Gebhard, p. 89).

Gabled Roof: Front and side gables can intersect or can step down along the ridgeline.

Arts and Crafts/Craftsman (1905-1930):

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The Craftsman Style is a fairly recently generated term. Today the term embodies the more stylized range of bungalow and foursquare exterior treatments. In its own time, this style was best represented by the house and interior furnishing designs of Gustav Stickley, founder of the Craftsman movement. Stickley's house designs were substantial in size and were uniformly executed in concrete, stucco, and wood, and used Arts and Crafts detailing. Schweitzer and Davis distinguish between a Craftsman house type and the bungalow type. They define the former as a two-story house being either more substantial in their massing or more complex in their design than the bungalow. They identify three regional subtypes of the Craftsman style, the Colonial/Adirondack (East Coast), the Prairie (Midwest), and the Oriental (West Coast). Stickley considered the bungalow house form to be appropriate only for seasonal occupation, as a summerhouse, and his year round designs were rarely bungalows. He was strongly influenced by the Mission, Spanish Colonial and his own "Craftsman" values. A good house exterior included sloping roofs, verandahs, pergolas, the use of rough timbers, overhanging eaves, and exposed construction (*Craftsman*, June 1908).

The Craftsman design aesthetic sought to integrate the house and site. The interior and exterior were integrated by the use of windows and multiple entries. No room was to be buried within the house without windows and nearby egress. Building materials were to retain their natural untreated qualities to the greatest extent possible, and major structural members were to remain exposed and visible. Stucco and shingle exteriors were favored. Structural members, such as rafter tails, knee braces, tie beams, and tapered or battered porch posts are purposely exposed. Craftsman windows, with multi-light upper sash (usually with vertical divisions) were commonly used in many other styles of the time.

This style had its roots in the Arts and Crafts movement, which in turn derived largely from the writings of Englishmen John Ruskin (1819-1900) and designer William Morris (1834-96). It was both a reaction against industrialized society and an effort to unify art and architecture with morality, politics and science. The movement celebrated individual craftsmanship over mass produced repetition and sought to achieve societal improvement through its design concepts and its teaching of the basic crafts. Stickley was one of the leading American adherents of the Arts and Crafts movement. By the early 20th century the architectural and design aspects of the movement focused upon integrating the house with nature and the particular house setting, as well as celebrating the exposed usage of minimally processed natural building materials. Thus structural columns and beams are prominently displayed and cladding materials favored the use stucco, cobblestone, shingles and wood. Asymmetry of design was celebrated, favoring complex roofing schemes and visual variety in fenestration, patterns of materials, porch lines, and the overall house plan. Favored structural expressions include the exposed knee brace and rafter tails, extra stickwork, and the common use of battered or sloped porch columns, of varying lengths, in combination with heavy pier bases.

Schweitzer and Davis credit seven different house types or styles as being directly influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement, these being the Tudor Revival, the Transitional Colonial Revival, the Dutch Colonial Revival, the Prairie School, the Gustav Stickley Craftsman, the Bungalow and the Foursquare/Box. Schweitzer and Davis reserve the style to Stickley but many other designers produced what were termed Craftsman or Arts and Crafts houses (Schweitzer, p. 125).

Alan Weissman in his introduction to Craftsman Bungalows (1988), a compilation (1903-16) of bungalow articles from Gustav Stickley's The Craftsman Magazine, states that "the American Arts and Crafts movement unofficially adopted [the bungalow] as the ideal Craftsman house." The vast majority of American bungalows are best

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described as being most strongly influenced by this style. The “high-end” bungalows therefore are equally bungalow house types and represent the Arts and Crafts style in Weissman’s opinion.

Stylistic terminology is particularly problematic in this case. Today the title “Arts and Crafts” is the generally preferred one for anything not purely Stickley derived, and is accepted one for use in describing the majority of residential housing of the period c.1905-25, although these words were not historically applied to houses. Today many prefer that the term “Craftsman” be reserved for that range of house designs which was the work of Stickley or his architects. The problem is that “Craftsman” is the historical term and then-contemporary society would have used it to refer to these houses.

Schweitzer and Davis define and distinguish a separate range of Arts and Crafts houses (they call them Craftsman), these being two story houses, being either more substantial in their massing or more complex than their bungalow counterparts. The two house types share common characteristics including the avoidance of adornment, a functional nature, the use of natural materials, a strong and direct link with the immediate setting and environment, a low roof pitch, tapered porch columns, pergolas and porches, earth-tone colors, the use of built-in interior furniture, and the common use of a “living room.” Three regional variations are identified; Colonial/Adirondack in the East, the Prairie in the Midwest, and the Oriental in the West (ibid., pp. 142-48).

Schweitzer and Davis suggest that the Craftsman style followed the earlier trends, including the bungalow. The style incorporated the attributes of those antecedents. They themselves are not always certain what is Craftsman. Several of their pattern book examples are Georgian Colonial or front-gable square plans (ibid., pp. 144, 148).

One would be hard pressed to develop a consensus list of Arts and Crafts or Craftsman influenced house examples. For the most part craftsman stylistic features are overlaid on the other period house types. The same house could be rightfully termed an Arts and Crafts house, with reference to style, or a bungalow, with reference to its type. Stubblebine that only Stickley house designs can properly termed “Craftsman” houses and anything close had to be labeled Arts and Crafts examples. Using the Stickley design authorship relieved Stubblebine from even attempting to set any stylistic guidelines apart from setting, materials uses and treatments and relatively open interior plan. The author warns that many builders eschewed Stickley’s fairly expensive interior appointments and chose to cut construction costs, thereby compromising even the Stickley designs (*Old House Journal*, July August, 1996, pp. 26-31).

H. Allen Brooks notes that Gustav Stickley, like most of his peers, chose to publish few Midwestern house plans. Brooks was not enamored with what was published, judging that “Craftsman houses [were] boxy in plan and utterly devoid of any artistic sensitivity” (Brooks, p. 22).

One effect of the Arts and Crafts movement was to reinvigorate craftsmanship in house building. *Carpentry & Building* observed in January 1907 that

There are indications pointing to a renaissance of genuine hand work in America, voiced chiefly through the arts and crafts movement, which, from an artistic fad, is rapidly approaching the stage of practical utility. It now appears probable that handicraft will speedily come again into its own, bringing with it a new development of the best as well as the simplest type of domestic art. In this development will be opened up a new avocation for the mechanic who has a natural tendency toward the artistic side.

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Key here, and in keeping with the growing rejection of the overly and purposefully ornate and impractical Victorian artistic ethos, was the point that in this new age, the artistic had to be functional, natural and subtle (*Carpentry & Building*, January 1907, p. 6).

The Craftsman style in Dubuque is largely restricted to the greater houses of the western highlands outskirts of the city. Isolated examples are scattered across the city as well. The bungalow is far from commonplace and is rarely found in any substantial groupings, the exception being the east end of the Rhomberg area. The onset of both the Craftsman and the bungalow type coincided with the slowing down of house building in the city. A hallmark of the style was the hip roof and this roof form was but rarely utilized in Dubuque and was not part of the local vernacular building tradition.



Figure 147: 2006 Jackson Street (1909) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

Dr. Frank Meyers built the large residence and attached medical office shown above in 1909. The house is broader than any other residence found in the Couler Valley. It combines classical and Craftsman elements with the traditional raised stone foundation and smooth concrete (not stone) lintels set flush with the exterior wall planes.



Figure 148: 2555-65 Central Avenue (1923) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

Stone Ridge Apartments, shown above, utilizes a broad hip roof-like parapet front, window bands and a Colonial Revival entry porch. Despite its concrete block construction, the foundation is of limestone.

Art Moderne/Modernistic (1925-1940):

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The style encompasses two subtypes, the Art Moderne and the Art Deco. Both subtypes employ the same basic flat roofed (less commonly gable or hip) square or rectangular core. The Art Moderne rounded corners and streamlined the whole through the use of horizontal lines and patterns. Art Deco imparted a largely vertical emphasis by adding towers and other vertical elements, and ornate detailing. Both styles disappeared with the coming of World War II.

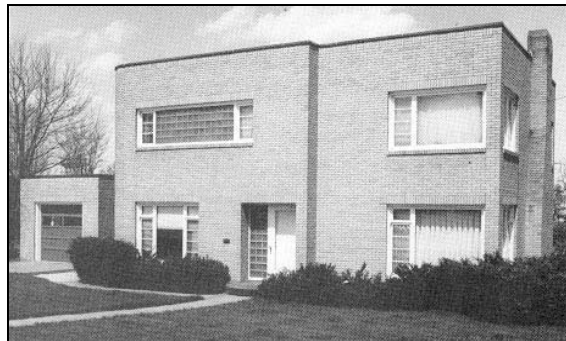


Figure 149: 120 South Grandview Avenue (c.1939) (photo, Sommer, p. 141)

120 South Grandview Avenue (c.1939) (see above) is an Art Moderne design with a matching attached garage! This example is likely from the late 1930s given the use of block glass and corner windows. This design is safely Moderne and is the only Dubuque example with a rounded corner, but it does clearly reflect International Style design influences in its window treatments. Gebhard sees as almost identical to 535 South Grandview Avenue (see below) (photo, Sommer, p. 141; Gebhard, p. 90).

155 South Grandview Avenue (no image) is an L-plan with tuck-under double garage, and liner window bands (Sommer, p. 141).

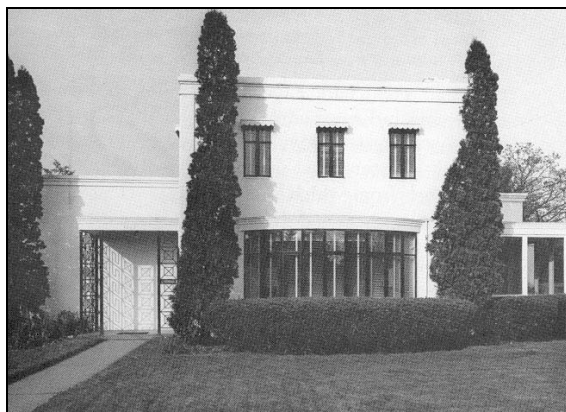


Figure 150: 1144 South Grandview Avenue (c.1935) (photo, Sommer, p. 141)

1144 South Grandview Avenue (see above) (c.1935) combines classical proportions, a very unusual rounded bay and landscaping to produce a marvelous overall effect. Gebhard interprets the design as combining “Regency Revival” and Moderne elements (photo, Sommer, p. 141; Gebhard, p. 90).

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Figure 151: United States Post Office and Federal Building (1932-34) (photo, Sommer, p. 144)

United States Post Office and Federal Building (see above) (350 West 6th Street, 1932-34, James A. Wetmore, Supervising Architect, with Proudfoot, Rawson, Souers, and Thomas; and independent architect Herbert A. Kennison of Dubuque) is said to be the only Dubuque Art Deco design. It was built by the Public Works Administration. The design is centered on a four story central pavilion. There are two Grant Wood murals inside. This was the only one of three public buildings proposed for a Moderne style government center by designer John Noland in 1932 (photo, Sommer, p. 144; Gebhard, p. 83, <http://www.gsa.gov/web/p>).

Masonic Temple (no image) (southwest corner Locust and 12th streets, 1931-32, Raymond E. Moore architect) is considered by Gebhard to exemplify an “abstracted medievalism” with an Art Deco overlay (Gebhard, p. 85).

Red Cross Building (no image) (1200 Main Street, c.1941) is an example of the later-date and less exuberant Streamline Moderne with yellow tile, stainless steel facing on the marquee (Gebhard, p. 87).

House, 535 South Grandview Avenue (no image) (c.1939) is another streamline Moderne example according to Gebhard. The exterior combines glass block and light cream-colored brick (Gebhard, p. 90).

Vernacular Cottage/House/Commercial Types:

Vernacular architecture is defined in this typology as “nonacademic architecture.” This range of recognized house types was most strongly influenced in its design by the realities of regional climates, the availability of (or the processing of) building materials, and by ethnic or other cultural/traditional values. Certain house types emerged to dominate regional and even national architecture and examples of these commonly accepted types are found in most communities. These local applications of type are commonly reinterpreted by those who built them. As a class or type, these house/cottage forms largely address the working class spectrum of residences although this is not exclusively the case.

Most of the nationally accepted vernacular types defined below have little application to Dubuque’s urban vernacular architecture. Dubuque vernacular types are therefore appended to this section. The architectural context speaks broadly to the long-term dominance of this vernacular architecture and its significance in light of that dominance. Dubuque’s vernacular architecture represents an intermixing of Southern Upland (David Anderson terms it Midland American Backwoods Culture”) and Continental European, principally German, Swiss and Luxembourgian building traditions. The Southern Upland is first dominant in fairly pure forms (log houses in particular) but then found

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expression in the more permanent early brick houses and business blocks, representing a localized interpretation of urban commercial design and the various national architectural styles (Anderson, p. 13).

Little is known about Irish influences on vernacular architecture in Dubuque and very little has survived. Further study is strongly recommended, minimally with regard to linking non-religious Irish cultural organizations with surviving properties. German influence on the local vernacular also lacks any formal investigation and the Phase I survey is perhaps the first formal study of the German vernacular.

Dubuque's vernacular properties can be divided into two classes, residential and commercial/industrial. The latter is expressed in the forms of corner commercial storefronts and combination residential/workshop/storefront properties. The residential properties can be divided into two groups, the earlier examples which pre-date 1870 and those which post-date that year. The cutoff is arbitrary but the survey results hint at distinctively different vernacular characteristics. One difference is in scale with earlier buildings being a single story high. There is evidence that these were intended to be increased by adding a floor and by elongation.

The following general characteristics describe almost all of the surviving vernacular buildings in the Phase I survey area:

- raised limestone foundations, probably the best material to ward off subsurface moisture, elevated due to flash flooding, present even on the earliest concrete block houses, dominant through World War I. Very rare is complete stone construction, found only in earlier years.
- front gable absolutely predominant, due in large measure to the narrow building lots in Dubuque
- use of a rear corner recessed and elongated side porch, normally south-fronting, paired on double houses, as high as the building. Double-decker full-width rear porches also very common.
- use of broad clapboard on earlier examples, narrower clapboard in pre-World War I examples.
- transom above entryway, especially common between 1890s and World War I.
- predominance of side-hall ground plan, with right-hand entryway strongly favored over the left-hand side.
- double-wall brick construction, dates to 1870s-80s, apparently a hollow-wall building technique for insulation purposes, indicated by lack of rowlock courses in exterior brickwork.
- the use of rounded upper window sash-either upper sash have been uniformly replaced or a rounded blank infilled the space between the sash and lintel.
- elongated narrow plans
- the avoidance of the hip roof form in residential plans
- a decided preference for two story plans in lieu of single story or story and a half high plans
- the absence of front porches of any size or shape on gable front plans
- steeply pitched gable roofs, usually without front or side dormers
- preference for decorative finials above porch entryways
- preference for double houses with centered pair of entryways, entryways never on exterior walls
- preference for centered cross gables and single or paired attic lights in all gable end walls.

These characteristics incorporate those developed by Lawrence Sommer. He listed a nearly universal preference for brick, rectangular plans, symmetrical/classical proportions (of Greek Revival derivation, focusing principally on gable treatments and dentils along eaves lines), dominance of single and story and a half plans, entrances on gable ends or

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sides, rear additions or L-shaped cores, a preference for gable roofs, plain chimneys, two story corner recessed porches. He proposed the same window lintel/arch evolution as is defined below. Sommer remained stylistically focused even when he looked for vernacular attributes, but he did determine that “perhaps more important than different styles in establishing the city’s character, were the unifying elements of similar scale, mass, color and materials found on hundreds of local buildings. Sommer also saw material, technological and physical influences, which favored the persistence of the local vernacular

...the nature of available materials, construction technology, economies and the size of most city lots produced constraints that resulted in similarity of building scale. This was particularly true in so far as height was concerned. A four or five story structure was about as high as could be effectively served using only stairways (Sommer, pp. 75, 80).

Window Arch and Lintel Treatments:



Figure 152: Detail, 2329 Washington, early lintel form

Window lintel forms can be used to date vernacular buildings. The earliest window cap is the semi-elliptical brick arch (either rubbed soldier course or doubled rowlock courses). Virtually all side wall window arches use the double rowlock arch form regardless of building date. The carved stone lintel likely dates to the 1870s-80s and first takes the form of a plain stone lintel set flush to the exterior wall plane. Dubuque’s stone lintels nearly always emphasize and directly incorporate the spring stone portion of the arches and most examples consequently wrap-around the window top as a result. The earliest lintel form, a rounded lintel with flattened ends is shown below. During the 1880s and 1890s there was a rich array of elaborate of lintel designs (termed Baroque by Sommer). These emphasized keystones or the spring stones.

Most appear to be a single piece of stone despite elaborate surface divisions. Cast stone is probably more common, rather than carved stone, but making the distinction is difficult. Generally the more elaborately ornamented “stonework” is a cast product, while plain or textured surfaces are real stone. Flat stone lintels, found in the very earliest vernacular buildings, reappear in the 1890s and are prevalent up to World War I. Basement window arches are mostly of brick construction and are raised above the water table level. Segmental stone arch construction is rare although there are some late-date examples of intermixed stone and brick.

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Figure 153: Wooden lintel, stone foundation window

Window lintels can date a house as being of very early origin. Wooden lintels are rare survivors from the earliest surviving buildings. Solid plain curved stone lintels predate 1891. Curved lintels with straight “springstone” ends date from 1870 through 1900. Flat stone lintels date from the 1880s through the turn of the century. Flat lintels with a centered pediment and side brackets date to the mid-1880s. A triangular pediment arch with end brackets dates from the early 1890s.

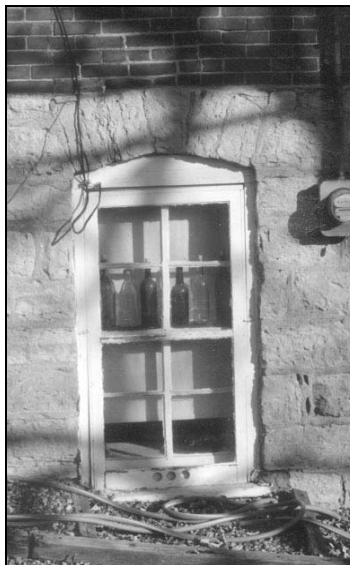


Figure 154: Stone voussoir basement arch

Brick arches also changed over time. Sidewall semi-elliptical consist of two or more rows of arched rowlock bricks and these are plainly executed. The same arches were built over the entire range of brick load-bearing construction. Semi-circular arches with keystone and springstone block inserts date from the mid-1870s. A brick arch which mimics the rounded stone arch, with a flat base and a projecting brick cap, dates from 1870. A flat brick jack arch with rubbed bricks dates from the late 1890s. A highly decorated flat brick arch with projecting brick tracery work dates from 1900.

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Figure 155: 2311 Windsor, stone lintel line, storefront

Two examples of the use of a solid stone lintel line set atop a cast iron storefront were found in the Phase I survey area.



Figure 156: Original double doors, transom and carved stone lintel and porch detailing



Figure 157: Paired corner brackets and finial with sunburst ornament

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Figure 158: 2531 Windsor

The art glass transom at 2531 Windsor not only survives but it retains its original street address number (603). It nicely represents the historical confusion wrought by the re-numbering and renaming of streets.

Hall and Parlor/Double Pen (c.1817-c.1870):

This double pen cottage form is basically a two-room side gabled single story plan. There is no hall but one larger room (the “hall”) is the more public room on the ground level and this larger room has the only front entryway. John Jakle terms this form the “Pre Classic” I House or the “Early I House”) (Jakle, Common Houses, p. 216).



Figure 159: William Newman Log House (1833), Eagle Point Park (Horton, *Palimpsest*, Sept./Oct. 1974, p. 133)

Incredibly Dubuque has a very early surviving example of this vernacular type, certainly one of the few if not the only double-pen log house example in the state. Twice relocated, the house first stood in the downtown area at Second and Locust streets until 1915 when it was moved to the park proper. In 1967 it was moved to the Ham House property by the

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Dubuque County Historical Society. Gebhard terms this the Louis Arriandeau "log cabin." It directly represents the vernacular influence of the Southern Upland culture (Anderson, p. 12; Sommer, p. 33; Gebhard, p. 89).

Log construction, while not restricted to this specific type, is well represented across the county, particularly in Moselem Township. A broad evaluation of all of these rare properties is warranted (Anderson, p. 17).

Gable Front (pre-1850-1930+):

Also termed the "Open Gable," or "Gambrel Front." The two defining characteristics are a front gable roof (as opposed to a side gable) and a gable end house entrance. The type ranges from one room and a side hall in width to two rooms and a central hall (three to five bays). Generally the overall plan is a rectangle with its shorter dimension fronted to the street.

The housing literature is silent with regard to this commonplace type and even Schweitzer and Davis fail to identify to acknowledge it. The diminutive size and early date of these cottages (c.1890-1920) hints that this very small cottage form was already well established in the public's tastes when the bungalow form appeared.

Dubuque gable fronts can be divided on the basis of their height and their breadth of plan. Single story and story and a half plans are few and far between in Dubuque. The Phase I survey identified just four of the former and six of the latter. Most of these examples postdate 1900.



Figure 160: 2304 Jackson Street (pre-1884) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

The example shown above typifies the single story gable front cottage type in Dubuque. Wooden lintels are combined with brick walls. Originally the cottage had a side entrance, the present entry wing is of later date. The plan is extremely narrow. At least some single story brick cottages were built with the intention of adding a second floor. One example of this incremental plan is found at 2310 Jackson Street, where the brick color difference on the side wall clearly marks the addition.

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Figure 161: One-story front gable cottage, 2552 Jackson Street (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

This is the frame version of the single story gable front cottage form. The core plan is rectangular with a centered south gabled wing. Note the transom above the entry.



Figure 162: 2461 Central Avenue (1890) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

An example of the story and a half gable front cottage is shown above. A broader plan (24x46) note the rare use of stone lintels on a side wall and the rear side porches. This is a rectangular core plan with a centered south wall dormer. An earlier although altered example is found at 2272 Prince Street.



Figure 163: 2082 White Street (1863) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

The example shown above is the earliest known Phase I survey area example of a two-story gable front house plan (23x33). Built entirely of stone, the designer employed flat stone lintels. Note the transom over the entry and the symmetrical arrangement of three openings on each level of the façade, along with a centered round-arched attic light.

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Virtually every gable front vernacular property employs a side hall plan (refer to side hall type below), usually with the entrance on the right-hand side of the façade.



Figure 164: 2401 Queen Street (1880) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

This second example of the same type illustrates another early stone lintel form and hints that the original upper sash had rounded tops. Note the absence of any front porch, the elaborate surviving chimneys and the rear recessed porches.



Figure 165: 2510 Washington Street (1900) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

This frame version of the two story gable front house type has a very narrow elongated plan (16x30). The transom remains. Fewer window openings are distributed over the narrow façade and there is no vertical alignment. The gable front is ornamented with wood shingles and is often pedimented. Clapboard is narrow with corner boards. A three-sided bay substitutes for the centered south-facing wing and the rear corner porches remain in use.

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Figure 166: 2525 Jackson (c.1910) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

This example of the type illustrates the commonplace elimination of one upper level façade window above the stairway. The fenestration is otherwise symmetrical and true to the vernacular tradition. The porch and rear side wing postdate the original construction.



Figure 167: 329 East 20th Street (1880) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

This property exemplifies the broadest version of the two story gable front house type (24x35). The porch is a concrete block replacement c.1915. The upper level center door is likely an alteration.



Figure 168: 2226 Jackson Street (pre-1884) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

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The above example illustrates the largest scale achieved by the two story gable front in Dubuque. The dimensions of this duplex are of the scale that is commonly associated with German vernacular building, broad and deep. This façade has likely been updated with window replacement but it is of early origins and the porch is authentic in its scale and detail.

Side Hall Plan (c.1830-1880):

This subtype provides a category for side gable and hip roof houses/cottages that are not front gables. The plan is usually two rooms deep and a single room wide and has a side hall. These cottages are mostly a single story or story and a half in height. In Dubuque the two story side gable house plan also almost always uses a side hall plan and the vast majority of these occur in a double house arrangement. The double house could be built incrementally and one excellent example of a half-double house that failed to gain its mate is found at 308 East 22nd Street. Two story house examples are not normally included under this vernacular category but Dubuque's vernacular types require a section for side gable house plans.



Figure 169: 2307 White Street (pre-1884) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

The above example of a single story side gable cottage form (hall and parlor room arrangement) was originally constructed as a cooper's shop. The use of brick window arches indicates a very early building date.



Figure 170: 2052 Jackson Street (pre-1884) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

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This is another early side gable plan example of a story and a half cottage plan. Also a hall-parlor floor plan arrangement, the porch is a later addition.



Figure 171: 2509 Broadway Street (photo Sommer, p. 80)

1212 Elm Street shown above has 2/2 lights and semi-elliptical rounded window arches (Sommer, p. 78).



Figure 172: 504 22nd Street (photo, Sommer, p. 80)

504 22nd Street represents a more traditional plan orientation to the street front. This example is strongly influenced by the Italianate Style in its window treatment and the classical porch is of much later date (Sommer, p. 80).



Figure 173: 2255-57 Central Avenue (1884) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

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This double house frame example of the side gable house type offers a rare instance where the original clapboard remains visible. Frame double houses are far less common than are their brick counterparts. The porch is a larger version of what was originally designed for the house. The plan measures the standard 32x30. Of 17 measured double houses, 11 measured 32 feet in width, with a 28-30 foot depth.



Figure 174: 2339-43 Washington Street (1880) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

The above example shows the more commonplace brick double house (32x30) with the best example of the original porch profile and scale. Note the “wrap around” stone lintels which incorporate the arch and the rectangular spring stones. Note also the in-wall end chimneys, the raised stone foundation and the paired entryways with transoms.



Figure 175: 2523 Central Avenue (1892-1909) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

German vernacular surveys in Ohio have linked that culture with large squarish building plans. The example shown above depicts a very immense double house plan with a centered cross gable.

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Figure 176: 2058-62 White Street (1875) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

The White Street property shown above is the best approximation of the frame tenement that was commonly being built in the city after the Civil War. This tri-plex plan (51x32) has been resided and the porch canopies replaced but it is a rare surviving frame example of a common Dubuque type.

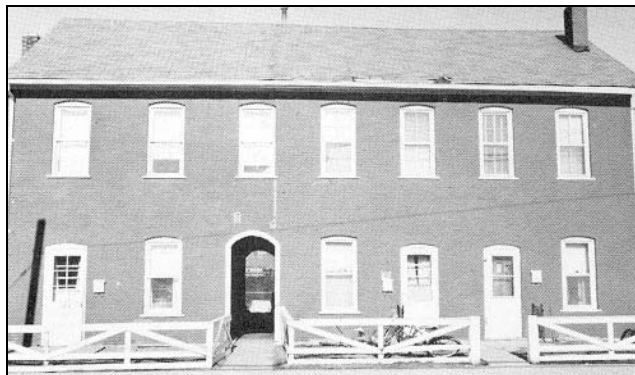


Figure 177: 1212 Elm Street (photo Sommer, p. 78)

The “courtyard house” is a special vernacular side gabled house type in Dubuque. Two examples survive today and it is probable that other examples, particularly of frame construction, have been lost. This unusual vernacular feature appears to have distinct European roots. The other example is found at 1989-1915 Central Street.

Kelly House (274 Southern Avenue, c.1855) is described by Gebhard as reflecting Greek Revival (general form) and Gothic (barge board usage) influences. It has a rectangular plan and a two-story porch. The ground floor is of stone, the second board and batten (Gebhard, p. 90).

Asymmetrical Side Gable Plan:

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Figure 178: 304 West Fifth Street (see above) (c.1855) (photo, A Walking Tour...South Dubuque)

J. H. Thedinga House (304 West Fifth Street, c.1855) superimposes an asymmetrical fenestration upon an Adams style façade. The door has sidelights. Lintels are flat and of stone (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque)

“Dubuque German” House Type:



Figure 179: 572 West Fourth Street (1860) (photo, A Walking Tour...South Dubuque)

Charles Markle House (see above) (572 West Fourth Street, 1860, self built) is one of the best-preserved examples of this once extensive vernacular type (A Walking Tour...South Dubuque).

Story and a half Side-Gable:

2509 Broadway Street (no image) appears to represent a side-gable cottage set sideways on a narrow Dubuque lot. While the house has an elaborate Victorian-era porch, it is still vernacular in its origins (Sommer, p. 80).

Gabled Ell (c.1850-1920):

This subtype requires that its two wing components possess roof ridges of equal height. Commonly a “T” form is the result when a shallow bay or wing carries the dominant wing beyond the junction point, but the core structure is an L-form. The respective wings can vary in their comparative widths but their roof ridge elevations must be even. Porches commonly infill the reentrant angle and two entrances, one from each wing, open to the porch. The subtype is generally dated to c.1865-1915. Like many vernacular types it fades with the approach of World War I. Central to truly

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understanding how these houses worked is determining how the subtype effected the room arrangement and flow within the house. Which interior spaces are shared across the two wings for example?

I-House (c.1850-1890):

This two-story type is defined as a side gabled house although it does occur as a story and a half. Associated particularly with the states of Illinois, Indiana and Iowa, the plan is two rooms and a central hall across and a single room in depth, so it is basically two rooms over two rooms. The type can range from three to five bays, substituting a side front entry for the central one in the shorter versions.

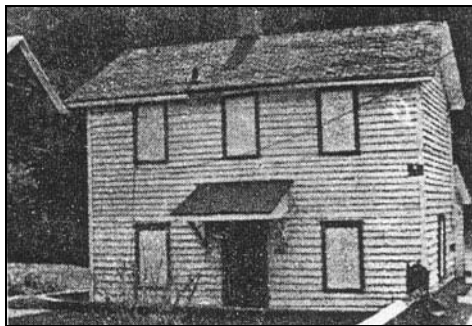


Figure 180: Off Bluff Street (1850s) (photo, A Walking Tour of South Dubuque) non-extant

Dennis Mahoney House (see above) (off Bluff Street, 1850s, not found) is a three-bay surviving example of this subtype. The plan has a central chimney. The property was directly associated with 1862 local military suppression of the "Copperhead" newspaper the *Dubuque Herald* (A Walking Tour of South Dubuque).



Figure 181: 2108 Jackson Street (c.1900?) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

The example shown above is unusual in that it has a single centered entryway and a full array of five openings on each level of the façade. These denote the pure I-House façade. The building is of early date given the flat stone lintels. It was apparently deepened in plan following its initial construction.

L-Plan (1850-1900):

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This subtype covers L plans that have varied roof heights on their core form and a front ell or wing, or one of the wings having a roof form that is not a gable. This L-plan type must have this roof form or height difference and the interior rooms must divide at the junction point of the core and wing. Frequently the cross gable is then balanced with a dormer on the subordinate main wing. This type lends itself to stylistic applications, particularly Tudor and Colonial. This type is very rare in Dubuque given the local preference for narrow elongated lots.

T-Plan (c.1860-1920):

This type is defined by the “T” footprint rather than its roof elevations. The roof ridges of its parts can be uneven. The “T” is sometimes symmetrical with a wrap around porch on the three exposed sides of the stem of the “T” infill the plan, or it is asymmetrical with a L-shaped porch along the front and one side of the projecting wing. The plan can orient with its projecting wing being set either towards or parallel to the street.



Figure 182: 2531 Washington Street (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

The example shown above offers a rare instance of this type in the Phase I survey area. The side entrance on the “upright” or front portion identifies this as being other than a side gable plan.

Cross Plan (c.1900-1920):

This type adds a fourth wing component to the “T” plan, resulting in a cross plan. The intersecting wings must be of comparable size. Commonly the rear wing, set away from (and out of sight) the street, is a subordinated service wing. The purer cross plan form has wings of the same scale and exposure. This type is identified by the footprint and not its roof form (four intersecting roof ridges set above wall dormers for example).

Popular Cottage/House Types:**The Bungalow (1910-1930):**

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Figure 183: Pre-bungalow, described as a “low rambling building, all with wide porches and low windows,” the Dubuque Golf Club clubhouse (*Enterprise*, June 18, 1904)

The bungalow emerged as a popular house type c.1908 and by 1916 was the house of choice across the country for the middle and working class. The type however defies ready definition because it includes subtypes with diametrically conflicting characteristics. There are three generally accepted bungalow subtypes: (1) the single story front gable; (2) the aeroplane and (3) the side gable. A fourth subtype, (4) the Chicago Bungalow, is defined in this study. The aeroplane subtype might be considered a variant of the first one, given that it simply adds an extra room or rooms onto a single story plan. The side gable subtype can be more than two stories high, but that fact is hidden beneath the broad roof planes that descend to the street front. Few hard and fast design rules can encompass these three varied subtypes but it can be generally said that the bungalow form is either a single story small form or if it is higher, the roof form is used to disguise the presence of additional floors. Ideally it is a single story seasonal retreat, being largely open to the outside. In the Midwest the bungalow most commonly has a basement, a steeper roof, reduced overhanging eaves, and a reduced amount of porch and exterior exposure, in contrast with its West Coast precursors. In its tract house form it occupies a narrow urban lot with front and rear porch, and a rear lot garage. The majority of bungalows have no Craftsman affectations to speak of and only rarely employ very exotic building materials such as cobblestones. Even stucco is rarely employed in the Quad-Cities area. It is the general finding that bungalows as a subtype are for whatever reason fairly under represented in this area. At the same time, the term bungalow endured well into the 1950s and early 1960s here and many a cottage and ranch house was marketed as a bungalow well after World War II. The aeroplane was simply not found at all. Especially rare is the straightforward front gable subtype. A front gabled cottage is more likely a bungalow if the porch is not separate from the house core, and forms an extension of the core roof plane. The bungalow finds expression in the following subtypes:

Subtypes:

1. Gable Front/Narrow Front Bungalow:

This group of bungalows, primarily consisting of gable front variations, includes bungalow plans that present their narrow dimension to the street. Hip roofed bungalows are included in this type. Variations include a facade wide gable front, with separate porch or a recessed porch, and plans that project off-center porches or side porches from a gable front core. Dubuque's preference for taller gable front homes worked against this bungalow type. There are two examples of story and a half concrete block gable fronts in the Couler Valley (2429 and 2485 White Street) which might best be termed bungalows despite their height and the telltale presence of second story gable front windows.

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2. Aeroplane/Airplane Bungalow:

This bungalow type is a variant of the gable front/narrow front type. The aeroplane plan simply adds another room as a second floor. This level is then separately roofed with matching projecting eaves and detailing.



Figure 184: 95 South Grandview Avenue (photo, Sommer, p. 139)

95 South Grandview Avenue (see above) is an aeroplane bungalow and an unusual one in that it is placed atop a side gable bungalow plan. The design is heavily Craftsman influenced and the large solarium gabled bay centered on the second floor is particularly interesting (photo, Sommer, p. 139).

3. Side Gable Bungalow:

This general type includes side gable plans, most of which present their broader dimension to the street front. The roof form can have a single roof plane which continues forward to cover a recessed porch, or it can have two roof pitches, and the lower reduced pitch roof plane projects above the porch. Dormers commonly are set into the front roof plane and these can be very large relative to the volume of the roof plane. This type can be further categorized in terms of the use of a full width or partial width porch.



Figure 185: 2319 Washington Street (1910) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

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Figure 186: 1781 Plymouth Street (photo, Sommer, p. 139)

1781 Plymouth Street (see above) is a complex example of the side gable subtype. The house has matching end chimneys which is very unusual. The façade is a careful balance of a shed roof bay and dormer on the left side with a jerkinhead roof cross gable and an offset entry porch on the right side. The tile roof features decorative finials on its peaks and the front porch roof is wrapped around projecting pilaster tops (photo, Sommer, p. 138).

125 South Grandview Avenue (no image) is a more diminutive brick bungalow design. It has a tile roof and multiple chimneys however. The façade has a centered cross gable and an offset bracketed entry porch. It is probable that the same designer/builder was responsible for this house and 1781 Plymouth Street (Sommer, p. 138-39).

Foursquare (1904-1940):

The foursquare term is a recently crafted one, coined to identify an accepted two-story house with square plan and hipped roof. The type has an interior floor plan of four rooms on each of the two floors. There is no central hall.

The square house was long touted as the most economical house, it being the nearest thing to an a theoretical frame sphere that could be readily built. It delivered the maximal interior space for the lowest cost per square foot. At the same time it was derided in the period architectural journals for its resulting boxy look. Despite this element of disfavor the house type persisted and designers strove to remedy the limitations of its core form. Its origin remains undetermined. In some manner the near square late Victorian house with its irregular interior plan and assemblage of bays was, like the bungalow, replaced by an economical eight roomed cube plan, with four rooms per floor. The type is defined by the near square footprint, an elevated foundation line, the absence of a central entry and hall and the use of a four room over four room interior plan, and the use of a plain hip roof, with from one to four dormers. This has been termed the “foursquare” or the “Prairie Cube” and a host of similar other names. It has Midwest regional roots and was for a generation the farmhouse model of choice along with the bungalow.

This house type appears to have almost instantly appeared on the national building scene in the years 1904-06. While squarish forms of similar scale preceded the foursquare, it was the simplification of both exterior form and the interior layout that resulted in the foursquare. The shell divested itself of bays, side wings, equal height rear extensions, resulting in the square or very near square footprint. Inside, the floor plan eliminated the central hall and stairway, and embraced the living room concept. The first floor was divided roughly into four square rooms, as was the second floor. A side stair, centered on one side wall became the standard feature.

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The type adopted the full width single story front porch, employed a raised foundation, and added from one to four roof dormers to finalize the basic form. The type could still take on stylistic features and found expression in most of the eclectic house styles.

The foursquare was a very popular house type, particularly during the years 1904-1925. Its rise to popularity paralleled that of the bungalow. The foursquare persisted in popularity after that of the bungalow waned, but after the mid-1920s it appears to have been used mostly to add a vertical variety to housing developments. Whole developments consisting on only foursquare houses are not common but they do occur.



Figure 187: John Wimmer foursquare, 1616 Lincoln (1925)

Beginning in the mid-1920s the type was further refined, losing its signature front porch and finally gaining side extensions in the forms of solariums, garages and connecting wings, or side wings. The eave line was sharply cut back in these later houses and the dormers largely disappeared. Inside, the living room expanded to fully occupy half of the main floor plan. The raised foundation disappeared along with the front porch. To many, these houses are not foursquares given these changes. Instead they are categorized as two-story Colonial Revival house. This author suggests that there is at least a symbolic link between the square houses of the 1930s and 1940s. The interior floor plan changes, away from the standard four over four-room arrangement, was forced by the reduction of the house size. Further research of the design origins of these later square houses and their interior plans will help to determine to what extent they can be called foursquares.

The near total absence of this ubiquitous house form in Dubuque is worthy of a study in and of itself. River cities (Quad Cities) appear to have been less enamored with the cube house type and Dubuque's narrow building lots were particularly ill suited for them. The general lack of hip roofs on dwellings in Dubuque also appears to have argued against the popularity of the foursquare.

Minimal Traditional Cottage (c.1931-55):

This title, coined by Virginia and Lee McAlester, is thought to represent a dilution of the Tudor Revival cottage. They date the onset of the subtype to c.1935. The type was produced by minimizing the size, complexity and style of the then popular eclectic house or cottage. The type is described by McAlester as follows:

With the economic Depression of the 1930s came this compromise style which reflects the form of traditional Eclectic houses, but lacks their decorative detailing. Roof pitches are low or intermediate, rather than steep as in the preceding Tudor style. Eaves and rake are close, rather than overhanging as in

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the succeeding Ranch style. Usually, but not always, there is a large chimney and at least one front facing gable, both echoing Tudor features (McAlester, p. 478).

Architectural historian Mary Mix Foley terms the type the “builder’s economic house.” Foley dates its emergence with the Great Depression. Foley greatly simplifies the type by presenting a simple and very basic rectangular plan. The McAlester definition, noted above, allows for a broader and more useful inclusiveness. The McAlester examples all depict elongated side gabled plans but also allow for a front off-center gabled wing. The entryway is usually into or adjacent to this short projecting front wing. All of the examples are single story although some steeper roof pitches hint that some livable attic space is present. The McAlester examples also portray plans with side wings, breezeways and attached garages to one side (Foley, p. 220).

Following the broader McAlester definition, the minimal traditional type encompasses any single story tract house that was built between the Great Depression and the mid-1950s that cannot be categorized by either style or another accepted type. The later date counterpart of this type is the ranch house. The difficulty then is distinguishing the two forms (refer to ranch house type, defined below).

A very broad range of single story cottage forms fall under the minimal traditional heading in field surveys and this is no surprise given that the minimal traditional was the dominant cottage form for a 25 year period. This construction era coincided with historical events and economic cycles that combined to favor the mass construction of these very small homes. The square minimal traditional, found in association with 1940-44 and 1945-47 housing developments, was not addressed either by McAlester or Foley. The 24x28 foot standard plan is credited to Robert L. Davison, research director for the John B. Pierce Foundation. It is the square or near square form which dominates the large plat developments of the early 1940s (Mason, p. 27).

Three subtypes are defined for the purpose of this survey project. These are the (1) square, (2) linear, and (3) L-plan. The (1) square subtype is a squarish single story variant. The gable end can be oriented to the front or side of the plan and a hip roof can also be used. The linear and L-plan subtypes are of a later date. The linear subtype most commonly is side gabled and it presents the longer dimension of its rectangular plan to the street front. The L-plan takes this same form and orientation and adds an off-center front wing or a shallower cross gable to the facade. The cross gable can project slightly in a shallow pavilion form (most commonly) or it can be room sized and form an L-plan. As the ranch house period approaches in the late 1940s, the L-plan becomes the most common of the three subtypes. Further research into floor plans will help distinguish between these subtypes.

One characteristic of the minimal traditional type, unlike the ranch, is that the windows on the facade are of the double hung sash type, and these tend to retain their full length. This reflects the increased proportion of window glass that is put into the ever-shrinking small house. More light disguised the small size of the rooms inside. Windows, particularly picture windows, ran closer to the floor level to maximize interior light. The porch by this time has atrophied to a covered entryway, and there are no dormers, the roof pitch being too shallow to allow for any upper level livable space.

The Lustron pre-fabricated all steel house is the preeminent example of the minimal traditional type and there are at least two of these in Dubuque. The Lustron franchise holders were beset by the refusal of FHA to underwrite the full cost of the structures and by the initial inability of local crews to achieve the 350 man-hours target promised by the company to complete a house assemblage. The company ceased production in mid-1950 as growing debt and steel

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shortages impeded output. Four Dubuque examples are found, one of which is located at 887 West Locust Street ("Problems of Independent Small Business Lustron Dealers," 1950, pp. 20-21, 65; Biays Bowerman).

The minimal traditional type coincides with the revival of house building in Dubuque in the late 1930s. While there are no tracts of war workers' housing in the city, the John Deere workers housing, consisting of Colonial Revival style red brick duplex cottages, exemplifies this general type. These houses are worthy of a survey and study.

The Ranch (1938-present):

The ranch type is another California derived house. All call it the "ranch house" but it technically is a cottage, being just one story high. It first manifests itself in the very late 1930s but it took another decade before the type is built in any numbers and its name has public recognition. Its origins are linked by some to the Spanish Colonial. The ranch shares many attributes with its bungalow antecedent. Both types originated in California and both were in their own time associated with a modern popular lifestyle. The ranch offered an untraditional form and plan, one disassociated from war and the Depression. Both were low profile types and the ranch, originally lacking a raised basement/foundation was particularly low in profile. Both utilized a broad projecting eaves line although the ranch exhibited no structural supports. Both types were strongly oriented to the nature and the out-of-doors. Later ranches utilized rear patios and sliding door access points just as the bungalow used porches, side gardens and terraces accessed by multiple exit points.

To some the ranch is the direct successor to the bungalow and it embodies the same basic principles. John Jakle states "the ranch movement was rooted in the bungalow craze" and early in its history there was the "ranch bungalow" that evidenced a direct California derivation. The fundamental difference was that the ranch glorified self-indulgence, replacing style with convenience, and comfort in lieu of beauty. Previously the family fit itself to the house. Now the house was planned around the needs and tastes of the family. The ranch, unlike its predecessor types, was a home for the affluent suburbanite. Consequently it has to be sufficiently large (Jakle says six rooms minimum) (Jakle, Common Houses, p. 183, 186, Clifford, p. 216).

The term "ranch" was not accepted as the dominant name for this house form until c.1950 according to Jakle. It was otherwise termed "western," "California bungalow," "contractor modern" or "contemporary" in the interim years (Jakle, pp. 183-84).

Defining the ranch today is as problematic as tying down the bungalow. Like the bungalow in and after its day, everything gabled and rectangular is labeled a ranch. Realtors love the term. Consequently the minimal traditional cottage is lumped into the ranch category. John Jakle has developed what appears to be a very useful basic ranch typology. The "standard ranch" consists of a strict rectangular footprint with an attached or integrated garage. It meets Jakle's six-room minimal test. On a narrow lot, the plan is commonly turned sideways and joined on the streetface with an attached garage or carport. Commonly the form is employed on a wider lot in an effort to differentiate the repeated use of the same plan. Jakle terms this sub-type the "ranch bungalow." The "minimal ranch" is Jakle's term for the minimal traditional. While rectangular in plan, the garage is not attached and the plan offers five or fewer rooms. The "composite ranch" utilizes an irregular plan (L or T variants of the rectangular) and a more complicated roof form. A garage or carport is integrated into the plan. Jakle treats the split-level as a ranch house subset. Finally he defines the raised ranch or "split entry" or "bi-level" subtype. Jakle states that it is a variation on the split-level sub-type although he acknowledges that there are only two living levels in the plan (the split-level has three such levels). This sub-type centers

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an entryway between a raised upper level and a raised and exposed basement. Stairs descend and ascend to the two levels. Jakle terms the sub-type a story and a half (ibid., pp. 183-94).

The ranch is certainly a single story house with low roof pitch and broad overhanging eaves. Gable roofs tend to be of earlier date and are more associated with the minimal traditional type. Hip roofs are a signature roof form for the ranch. One very common feature in early ranch houses is the use of a half-high window in the private portions of the house. Later designs tend to employ these half-length windows all across the facade. The earlier houses use a composite picture window, formed by a band (usually three sets) of multi paned lights. Jakle adds a long, wide porch to the ranch criteria, but many ranch porches use a long but very narrow porch form.

A common early descriptor that was associated with this type was the term “rambler.” The word means lacking plan or system. The earliest ranches had single pile room plans and these rambled off in any direction, frequently covering several sides of a rear patio area. The earliest ranch examples exhibit this rambling nature. Spanish architectural influences and the concept of a full or partially enclosed central patio played a central role in the emergence of the ranch type.

Some early ranch plans present a series of individually roofed segments, almost a row house-like profile. This ranch form has a taller roof pitch and more closely approximates traditional Colonial Revival form and style. These plans can have the profile of a story and a half cottage.

The ranch interior plan consisted of three zones, these being for housework, living activities and private areas. The housework core combined kitchen, bathrooms and laundry. Multi-functional rooms were the rage. The hygienic kitchen was transformed into combination play areas, laundry rooms, and project rooms. The living room family room and dining room merged. The study or office doubled as a guest bedroom. The emergence of a “teen culture” and improved television and record playing technologies meant that there were quieter parental activities in the living room and the need to segregate teens to a separate recreation playroom in the basement. Additional half bathrooms guaranteed that the private zone of the house could stay private (Clifford, pp. 211-216).

The ranch house was largely employed by wealthier homeowners between its initial emergence in the late 1930s and its post-1945 gradual rise to dominance by the middle-1950s. Its mass adoption is said to have been in response to a popular demand for a larger house. The type coincided with the trend towards wider and shallower lots and a growing public interest in greater privacy from adjoining neighbors. Clifford Clark believes that the ranch house popularity was rooted more in a public perception of a Southwestern relaxed and comfortable lifestyle as much as it was in the house type itself. This fashion was directly reflected in the massive westward migration that followed the war but which had its roots in wartime industrial worker displacement to that region. New heating technologies would allow for transplanting the type to colder climates (ibid., pp. 210-213).

The ranch houses were first introduced c.1938-40 but failed to achieve any immediate public acceptance. The first house plans were noted for their “rambling” designs and many consisted of strings of single rooms. The double pile ranch plan was less capable of rambling. During the final years of World War II the housing literature focused on future house building (given that relatively little building was then going on) and the public, with its accumulated savings and its pent-up demand, anxiously awaited what was promised in postwar house building. Most homebuyers had dreams that exceeded their means. Public opinion polls taken between 1945 and 1955 still recorded a majority opinion in favor of the traditional house. Public interest in contemporary design increased as one went west in the country. Potential

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homebuyers expressed little interest in style per se but there was a strong interest in “a ranch house or a rambler...which probably means little else than a one story building.” In the North Central and East Central regions about 41 percent of the potential house buyers favored either the traditional or the contemporary house. The national average was 37 percent for a Cape Cod (27 percent) or Colonial, and 42 percent for a ranch (24 percent) or contemporary (18 percent). Fully 21 percent favored an unspecified other house type. Potential buyers wanted broader lots although the vast majority of lots were 40-60 feet wide. A quarter of all lots measured 60 to 80 feet wide. An apparent casualty to fashion was the demise of the Tudor Revival style. The ranch would take on surviving Colonial Revival manifestations. As early as 1946, it was reported that the modern contemporary house had “gained in popularity in recent years” (“What People Want When They Buy A House,” 1955).

Dubuque’s wartime and postwar industrial revival produced a house-building revival that coincided with the emergence of the true ranch house type. By definition, this type could only be constructed on larger building lots located on the bluff tops or the outskirts of the city. Examples are intermixed with earlier houses. A survey and study can investigate the early emergence (with particular emphasis on pre-World War II late ‘30s examples) of the type and the forms in which it was locally expressed.

The Split Level (1938-present):

Most house types had an initial appearance that predated the emergence of a popular mass-appeal variant of the type. The earliest split-level plans appeared in 1939 and 1940. The first known large scale builder of the type was Leonard W. Besinger & Associates, of Oak Park, Illinois. In 1939 that firm built 58 “economy three-level” houses in the Clarendon Hills Addition, a Chicago suburb. Besinger had previously built only the more expensive class of residences. While he is not necessarily credited with developing the type, he adapted it to the rolling topography. The ground level housed a garage and utility room, the main floor dining room, kitchen, and the two bedrooms and bath on the upper level. The basic house footprint was a near square with a side-gable roof (*American Builder*, February 1940, pp. 76-77).³⁸

The mass produced split-level was derived from the “builder’s economic house” of the 1950s. It provided more living space than did the ranch and it was mass marketed once the market demand for economical smaller houses was satiated. The combination one and two-story form performed the still necessary role of varying the vertical profile of the streetscape. The form itself was built in Iowa as early as 1940 (see the Davenport example above) but its mass popularity developed as house buyers sought larger houses during the middle 1950s. John Jakle dates its mass-appearance to c.1950. The split-level was particularly appropriate for hillside developments and made some uneven land parcels suddenly attractive for house building. The split-level, like the ranch added more interior space, sectioned off the second living room (the “family room”) from the rest of the house (Jakle, p. 191, Foley, pp. 220-21).

John Jakle considers the split-level to be a ranch subset. The plan reflects the theory that a family required three distinct areas, quiet living areas, noisy living/service areas and sleeping areas. Thus the split-level combines three levels, a junction of a two-story component with a raised single story wing. He also suggests that the house is better represented in the period building literature than it is in actual subdivisions (Jakle, p. 191).

The Parapet Front Brick Row House/Duplex:

³⁸ Fort Dodge gained a five-level split-level in 1940 (*Register*, December 29, 1940).

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A number of row house and duplex examples located in the lower Couler Valley appear to assume a commercial façade, basically a combination of elaborate façade and parapet brickwork. The properties combine vernacular elements (stone foundation, paired entryways with transoms, rear recessed corner porches, the lack of front porches in most cases, the narrow and tall footprint, the preference for brick, and elaborate brick and stone lintel designs and detailing) with stylistic ones (paired windows, a central triangular pediment, horizontal patternings).



Figure 188: Single family row house (1900) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

This example, possibly a duplex from the start, presents a single frontage version of this type. Note the unique brick and stone combination lintels, the lack of a front porch, the combination metal and brick cornice and triangular pediment, and the paired upper windows.



Figure 189: 2255-57 Jackson Street (1891-92) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

This is a duplex example of the type. The traditional lines of the vernacular duplex are retained but the façade is very formally treated. Large windows and transoms below are balanced with paired windows above. The pediment and parapet wall merge and are fully executed in brick. Horizontal design lines dominate on the façade.

Commercial Typology:

Commercial buildings embody both style and type. Style is the more problematic of these two classifications. For the most part, commercial buildings will be primarily categorized as types, and secondarily by style. Commonly, the same building design includes multiple design elements, but cannot be categorized by any single style. Many styles were simply not very applicable to commercial design. For the purposes of this typology, commercial and public building will be combined, these being the dominant building types in the downtown area.

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This typology will first consider commercial buildings according to type, using Richard Longstreth's typology. It next considers these buildings from a stylistic viewpoint. This latter approach will perhaps be more familiar and useful. Within the stylistic analysis several general commercial building subsets are identified. These represent clusters of Dubuque building examples so they are critical to understand the most salient local building preferences. These subsets are the following:

Side-gable combination storefront/dwelling: Surviving examples are mostly two-story, single-storefronts. This is a very early subtype, dating from the earliest commercial activity in the city, into the 1880s and photographs and lithographs indicate that this was a very common building type. It is certainly as much a vernacular form as it represents any stylistic influence.

Commercial Blocks: This subset evaluates the multiple storefront commercial block with a unified architecture. There are 55 extant examples of this group. Most of the examples are double storefronts, two or three stories high. Most of the buildings are what are termed parapet front plans, meaning that there is a flat front parapet set before a flat or shed roof. One large and very important subset of this group adds a rounded or triangular pediment into or on top of the cornice or parapet. These pediments commonly are inscribed with a building name and year of construction. This group is treated as an Italianate style subset. A second large group represents the Queen Anne style and it is this group that departs from the otherwise flat front wall plane to add pavilions, pilasters, orioles and corner turrets. A complete chronological list of these surviving buildings is appended at the end of this section. These buildings cover a very broad range of time and represent some of the earliest surviving commercial buildings in Dubuque.

Single storefront Blocks: This is the single-storefront variation of the multiple-storefront subset. While a smaller group, these designs are important because they represent special attention paid to style on the part of the builders/designers of smaller storefronts. The larger number of this subset represent Queen Anne style influences with facades being balanced by contrasting a full-height oriole with a vertically integrated two-story window pattern. These examples also feature elaborate cornice treatments that usually involve the oriole cap. Corner examples substitute turrets in most cases. There are two other examples that are smaller examples of the centered pediment subset. These single storefronts boast fairly spectacular centered pediments which rise up above their parapet fronts. This used to be a much more common design treatment in Dubuque as is indicated by historical photographs. Pediments are often lost over time.

Finally, the typology looks at commercial buildings from the standpoint of sheer size, analyzing Dubuque's "skyscraper" history of buildings five stories high or higher. This approach organizes and evaluates building design from a vertical perspective.

Commercial Property Types:

Commercial buildings in this study comprise two closely related sub-types, the one and two part commercial subtypes as defined by architectural historian Richard Longstreth. His typology is generally accepted nationally and has proved to be very useful in organizing and describing commercial buildings. His typology is most applicable to retail buildings and office buildings, hotels, and theaters. It largely omits free-standing multi-fronted buildings (particularly isolated automobile related buildings such as filling stations, diners) that do not tend to fully occupy their lots. Longstreth has defined 11 basic commercial building types and his is the most comprehensive schema for use in

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Dubuque. His types are all defined by the fundamental massing and facade arrangement and each type more or less persists over the years 1850-1950, and each tends to be influenced by the same styles, popular changes and evolving technologies and the availability of new building materials. Longstreth does not proceed to further subdivide each of his types. There are three super groups in the typology. Six types deal with buildings that have their facades divided into clear zones. Seven types cover buildings with facades that have distinguishing major design elements but are not broken into zones. One part commercial blocks tend to have neither zones or dominant distinguishing elements. The types that follow represent groups of buildings that share the same basic structural or ornamental features. Usually these same buildings also share comparable construction dates. Each type is largely defined by the elements or treatments found in the upper story (if present) or the pediment. Storefronts are rarely original and change constantly both in design and materials (Longstreth, pp. 7-23).

Commercial Facades That Are Divided Into Zones:The Two-part Vertical Block (1850's-1950's): (At least four stories high, two distinct zones, base and shaft)

This most common type had its origin in the combination shop and house of ancient times, but it emerged as a common form in the mid-19th Century. It can be as tall as three or four stories. The storefront level is the public area while upper areas were less so, housing light manufacturing, storage, halls or residences. The house/shop form persisted into the early 20th Century and is best exemplified in Dubuque by the corner store/residence. The earliest examples (pre-1850) had simple plain facades with stone or brick pier defined narrow storefronts. This same pattern was found in Dubuque.

Longstreth defines a second Victorian period for this type (1850s-1880s) during which facades became more ornate. Windows were embellished, cornices more obvious and decorative, and floors distinguished by the use of intervening belt courses and the like. Mechanized wood and stone processing, along with cast iron enabled designers and builders to inexpensively ornament the buildings of this period. Buildings were larger, having additional stories and the floor levels were higher. The availability of plate glass and cast iron allowed for larger more open storefront windows and a more transparent structural system. Banks favored this type and offered the most uniform and elaborate of facades. Hotels (with more broadly spaced window patterns), theaters and halls, and office buildings were also best suited to this type at this time. Halls could be identified by their relatively taller two-story plans.

The High Victorian phase of the type (1870's-80's, but as late as the early 1900s) brought with it a more conspicuous ornamentation, covering a higher proportion of the facade, and a greater variety of building materials and colors. Windows were commonly varied in their size and shape by floor. Towers, bays, turrets, and pavilions were used to elaborate the facades.

The Late 19th Century supplanted the exuberance of Victorian variety with a more academic (read unified, balanced, orderly) design approach. Designs used classical traditions as their organizing principal. Facades were consciously unobtrusive and controlled. Steel reduced the separation of storefront and the upper stories. There was still more variety in materials and color with terra cotta and stucco being used. Upper level windows were often larger. Many buildings combined High Victorian and the Beaux Arts influences.

Beginning in the late 1920s the Art Deco imparted a vertical emphasis to facades, while the Modern style of the 1930s-40s focused on a horizontal, machine-derived effect. Bold colors and structural glass were used in Modern designs (Longstreth, pp. 82-91).

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Figure 190: Byrne Bros. Garage, 9th & Iowa, 1888, non-extant
(Center For Dubuque History, Loras College, Photo Hoffman-#010359)



Figure 191: A. A. Cooper Factory, 3rd and Main (photo by Jacobsen, 2002)

The Stacked Vertical Block (c.1850-1880s): (Has two-identical stories separately grouped or varied floor designs)

The stacked vertical block differs from the two-part commercial block in that (a) it is five or more stories high, (b) and its composition includes at least three horizontal divisions. Floors tend to be separated by belt courses and are commonly distinctly treated. The type is one of three taller ones that were developed in response to rising urban land values and its original prototype was likely a taller stack of differentiated floor levels. After the Civil War two sub-types emerged, one that varied the floor treatments, and another that combined two or more floors into sub-groupings. The façade treatment was simplified during the late 19th Century academic movement. After 1900 the type persisted primarily in the larger hotel plans. The distinctive feature of this type then is either a differential design treatment on the floor levels or a series of distinct horizontal divisions (Longstreth, pp. 76-81)

The Two-Part Commercial Block (late 19th Century-1940s): (2-4 stories, with two distinct horizontal zones)

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This is the second of three taller types that were responses to rising land values. It developed late compared to many of the other types and represented an effort to simplify taller building designs. The type in its purest form consists of a raised base, a higher lower section that might include a ground floor and mezzanine, and a column shaft. It is differentiated from the Three-Part Vertical Block (see below) by the addition, in the latter type, of a distinctive cap or third section. The type was popular for office buildings, public and institutional buildings, hotels and department stores. The Romanesque and Art Deco styles were particularly applicable, the latter because the shaft component could be stepped back at its parapet, or it could be given a strong vertical emphasis in its surface composition. Unity or coherence of design, that is to say an effect that doesn't look like a simple stacking of layers, was achieved only during the early 20th Century (Longstreth, pp. 24-53).

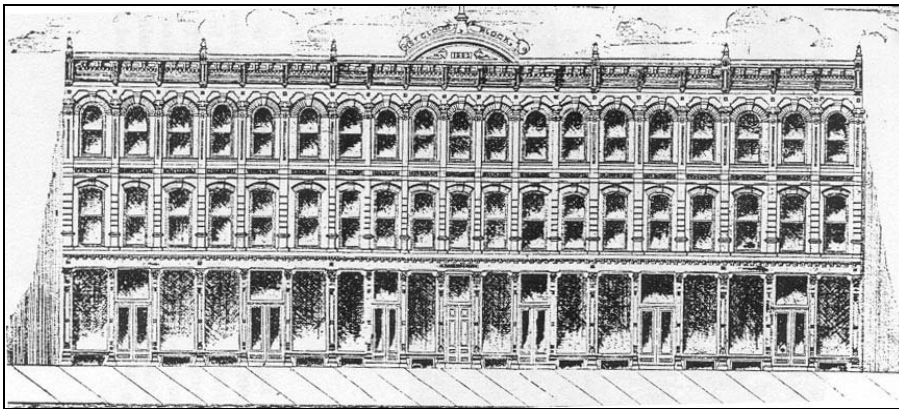


Figure 192: St. Cloud Block, Main and 9th Streets, 1882, non-extant
Two-part commercial block type, Italianate style



Figure 193: Bell Brothers, 4th and Locust streets, 1895, view south (non-extant)
(Three-part commercial block type, Romanesque style)

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Figure 194: Y.M.C.A., 9th and Iowa, 1894
(Center For Dubuque History, Loras College, Photo Hoffman-#01020)

The Three-part Vertical Block (late 1880's-1930's): (adds a distinct attic level to the 2-part vertical block)

This subtype is counterpart of the taller counterpart of the two-part, with the distinction that the uppermost grouping of floors (most commonly from one to three stories) is given a distinctive architectural treatment which is analogous to the capital in the classical column. The Federal Bank, Banking and Insurance, and the Security buildings all fall under this subtype (Longstreth, pp. 92-99)



Figure 195: Federal Bank Building, 9th & Main, 1924
(Center For Dubuque History, Loras College, Photo Hoffman #01094)

Enframed Window Wall (Late 19th century-1940's): (the commercial zone has a one or two-story frame around it)

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The enframed block employs a wide and continuous border around its façade that highlights the central storefront zone. There is no height limit. Examples that are fewer than four stories tend to be broader plans, while higher ones have narrower fronts. This type emerged at the turn-of-the century as an effort to bring more order to the small and moderate range of commercial buildings. There is less distinction made between the storefront proper and upper floors and those floors are commonly separated by spandrels. This type leant itself to what is commonly termed “automobile-related” commercial architecture. The borders could be incorporated into signage. The type was particularly suitable for theaters during the 1930s-40s. The Art Deco style also worked well with this type, and it was commonly expressed in a series of storefront (Longstreth, pp. 68-75)

Central Block With Flanking Wings (1890's-1920's): (2-4 stories with dominant raised core, subordinate matching wings)

This subtype is most commonly associated with public and institutional buildings and derived from the Italian Villa form. It emerged c.1800 along with the neo-classical revival and was used in the design of large estate houses. It was used for public and institutional buildings and after 1900, a central classical pediment and short side wings was commonly used in bank designs. A central dominant core is flanked by recessed subordinate matching side wings. This subtype is commonly associated with commercial expressions of the Second Empire and Romanesque styles. This type can range from two to four stories in height (Longstreth, pp. 116-17).

Commercial Facades That Have Distinguishing Major Elements:Enframed Block: (1900-20) (2-3 stories, a temple front set flush with the wall plane is framed or enclosed at each end)

This type is two to three stories high. The façade has a dominant classical central area, usually a row of columns, pilasters or a window arcade, commonly recessed somewhat behind the main wall plane. The end bays are shorter, of the same height, and are part of the main wall plane. This type was mostly used for public/institutional buildings and banks. It differs from the Central Block in that there are no subordinate sidewings. It differs from the Enframed Block in that there is no continuous border element (Longstreth, pp. 114-15).

The Temple Front: (1820-50; 1900-1940) (formal temple front with columns, pediment, full temple or one that is framed by sidewall, temple is the focal point)

This type presents a single unified façade, this being a complete temple front. The type enjoyed two periods of popularity. It emerged in the 1820s, based on Greek temple models, and was used for public/institutional, and religious buildings. A commercial use came with the appearance of bank examples mid-century. Also popular were merchant exchanges and shopping arcades. During this period the temple front was more structurally expressed. Two temple forms were employed, the prostyle, with a front array of columns across the entire façade, and the distyle in antis, where endwalls enframe a smaller number of columns in a porch-like recess. The second period dates 1900-1940s and coincided with the academic architectural movement. Banks, again, were the dominant application and many examples were on key corner locations with turned corner facades. The inspiration for this second phase was Roman, and later English-French classical models, and examples tend to be more ornamental than structural. Later examples in particular tuned to column-like pilasters, engaged columns and the like and the Art Deco finally removed all detailing while retaining the core form (Longstreth, pp. 100-107).

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Figure 196: Carnegie-Stout Public Library, 11th & Bluff streets, W. G. Williamson, Architect
Temple Front type, Neoclassical style, 1901

The Vault (1830s, 1900-40): (2-3 stories, the vault or entrance is focal point)

This type is essentially a hole in a massive wall, the apparent allusion being that of a fortified gateway. The façade has two components, the central opening (large, tall, deeply recessed) and the surrounding frame. It differs from the enframed block type by virtue of the presence of this central dominant opening. In its first iteration, it employed a neo-classical style in bank, church and public assembly halls. It returned c.1900 with the academic movement and was commonly applied to banks and theaters and a few retail buildings. By the 1920s Prairie and other influences eliminated or abstracted the classical surround and focused on such ornamentation as massive combination entryways and transoms. By the 1940s, examples presented plain facades that were interrupted only by vertical door and window slits (see Telegraph-Herald building) (Longstreth, pp. 108-13).



Figure 197: Telegraph-Herald Building, Bluff and 8th streets (photo by Jacobsen, 2002)

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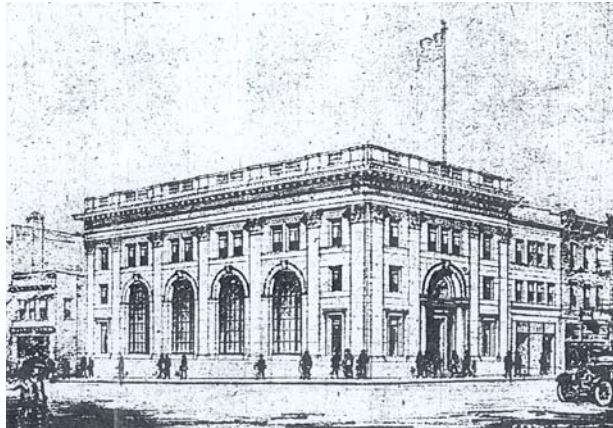


Figure 198: Union Trust and Savings Bank, 1398 Central Avenue, 1923
Vault type, Beaux Arts style

Arcaded Block (1900-1930): (façade is dominated by a row of rounded openings, arcade is focal point)

This elongated subtype features an arcade or loggia which covers its façade. Examples range from two to three stories in height. It is derived from the Italian Renaissance and was applied mostly to banks and larger retail stores (Longstreth, pp. 118-19).

Commercial Facades That Neither Multiple Zones Or Distinguishing Major Elements:

The One-Part Commercial Block (c.1850-present):

This type resides outside of all of the others. It is essentially a fragmentary category, being the lower half or storefront component of the Two-Part Block. It emerged in the mid-19th Century primarily as “a claim staked on urban ground” in Longstreth’s words. It represented a limited interim development on urban land that was going to appreciate in value, so it was speculative in its origins. Longstreth describes the type as “a simple box” with a decorated façade, and an urban form. Its earliest examples were narrow fronted and consisted merely of display area, an entrance and a cornice/parapet cap. The wall space between the storefront and cap was commonly extended upwards to provide space for advertising (a false front effect). Bank examples tended to be taller and more embellished. The type became commonplace in the early 20th Century and was prone to following arterial developments (streetcar lines) given the rising value of the nearby lots. Between 1900 and 1920, facades were restrained in their pretentiousness. After 1920, and in response to automotive influences, ostentation returned full blown and the type was embraced for auto related businesses, theaters, and particularly retail outlets. The type was perfect for picturesque styles, Spanish, Art Deco or Modern applications. The Art Deco emphasized the vertical design elements while the Modern and later examples used the horizontal unity of elongated or linked matching storefronts. Chain stores were particularly drawn to the type and many storefronts in older buildings were redesigned as One-Part Blocks, virtually ignoring the upper stories. Post-World War II examples returned to a restrained design, and used the wall plane merely as a background (Longstreth, pp. 54-7).

This is the single story version of the two-part type, being essentially only the storefront component, with or without a false front/parapet and cornice line being set above it. The origin of this type was the frontier and suburb and it was commonly expressed in frame construction. This type also includes many later bank buildings although it was overwhelmingly a retailing building type. The same general transitional phases mark the evolution of this type. By the

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20th Century detailing was simpler with a greater uninterrupted array of display glass being possible. The Moderne influence resulted in a deeply recessed entrance with a simple wall surface above.

Commercial Styles:

The problem with Longstreth's typology is that it focuses primarily on horizontal divisions within the designs of much larger buildings. It best serves the needs of categorizing very large buildings in the largest urban centers. In Dubuque, buildings taller than three or four stories are the exception and Longstreth's typology does little to differentiate shorter buildings given that the majority represent the same parapet-front type. In Dubuque, commercial designs tend to be differentiated by vertical architectural elements as much as they are by horizontal beltcourses or cornices.

Organizing commercial buildings according to their "style" is also problematic because many buildings can't be classed in this manner, and many others combine various styles and vernacular influences as well. The final result is that a small number of building designs are loosely assigned stereotypical design attributions but little is gained in terms of understanding how buildings relate to one another stylistically or chronologically.

Chronology is the key information if a design timeline is to be constructed that explains how Dubuque's commercial buildings evolved over time. To that end, a major effort has been made to specifically date each building (thus the construction database).

This section will attempt to use a stylistic approach in combination with a chronological one, and at the same time, apparent local design patterns and elements will be treated.

Early Republic/Early Classical Revival/Federal Style:



Figure 199: 2306 Central Avenue (1881) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, 2000)
(Two-part commercial block type)

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Figure 200: 1672 Central, Lenz Monument, c.1880
(Two-part commercial block type)

Other Extant Side Gable Commercial Examples: (note that all surviving examples are found on Central Avenue)

- 1627 Central, pre-1884 (residence within commercial area)
- 1791 Central, pre-1884 (as above but had commercial use)
- 1500 Central, pre-1866, double-storefront
- 1476-86 Central, pre-1866
- 1060 Central, pre-1872-, cast iron storefront with stone lintel
- 1605 White Street, 1880, August Sprengelmeyer Bakery, two-story plan.

It is a stretch to class this type as Federal. Most likely it is a fairly vernacular combination storefront/residence building form that is typical of fairly intensive urban downtown development. While too late to be a true Federal example, the high pitched side gable form with protective raised parapet walls on either side, is a form that is associated with this style. The form persists well into the late-19th Century in Dubuque. The defining characteristics of this type are scale, these are short and narrow plans (although they can be doubled), the sidewalls are commonly stepped up with raised parapet end walls, chimneys are located in the party walls, and the commercial/residential zones are strictly separated, with a separate upstairs entrance on the façade.

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Figure 201: First Julien Hotel, Main and 3rd streets (c.1856) (non-extant)
(Three-part commercial block type)
(Center For Dubuque History, Loras College, Photo LS-#602)

The Hotel Julien was a true Federal example although the cupola and attic level are more Italianate in origin. It is also a huge block. Fenestration is driven by the size of the hotel rooms inside, and commonly there are fewer windows more broadly spaced.

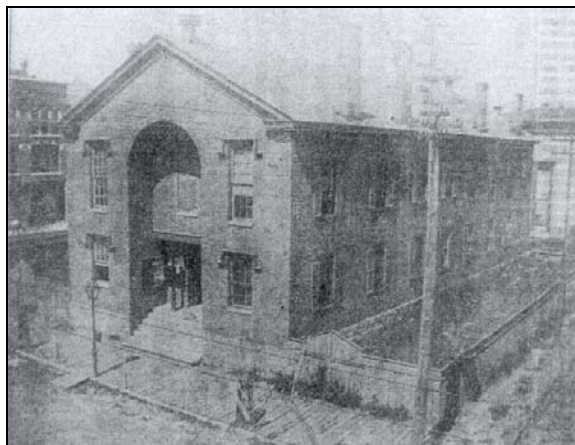


Figure 202: First Dubuque County Courthouse, 1839, non-extant
view northwest, present courthouse location

The first county courthouse was a hybrid Adam-Italianate design. Under Longstreth's typology it was a vault type. Its plan was closely related to church or railroad station designs. Note the raised ground floor, perhaps a tribute to the threat of flooding. Note the square wrap-around window hoods, the elongated second floor window openings and the returned eaves.

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Figure 203: First Clock Tower Building, a former Congregational church (built 1845, collapsed 1872), west side Main north of 8th, c.1872. This was a temple front converted for store use and any Italianate style linkage is derived from the addition of the clock tower.

Late Victorian/Italianate Style:

It is the general practice to classify most commercial fronts that have decorative parapets/cornices, ornate window hoods and sills, bays defined by brick pilasters, pavilions, and narrow elongated windows as being influenced to some degree by the Italianate style. Most examples are vaguely so influenced and their only stylistic qualities fall back on their window hoods and their cornice lines. Be that as it may, this report will start the commercial design history with the Italianate style.

The very first storefronts were of frame construction. These are poorly documented in photographs but a few are shown in the lithographs made by Mr. Ballou in 1858 (refer to the historical overview in this report). Frame storefronts could be both large and stylish, and they could be readily enlarged or relocated to fit changing needs. Brick buildings were being built in Dubuque by the mid-1840s and by the mid-1850s brick commercial blocks were preferred, if only because they were more fire-resistant and conveyed an image of a thriving new city.

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Figure 204: Early frame storefronts, side gable brick store in center, southeast corner, 14th and Central
(Center For Dubuque History, Loras College, Photograph Hoffman #01021)

Structural cast iron was first used, beginning in the 1830s, as a cheaper alternative to stone carvings. It could be cast to duplicate hand carved stone trim work and this substitution was opposed to having iron masquerade as another material. Iron was also valued in America as a fire-resistant material, a claim that was not dismissed until the great fires in Boston and Chicago after the Civil War. Iron enabled designers to build significantly larger and finally taller buildings than was previously possible. The famous Crystal Palace (London, 1850-51) composed of an iron frame and a sheet glass exterior, was the world's largest building and it influenced architecture and building world wide. As the account below indicates, cast iron was a readily accepted commercial building material throughout America as of the late 1850s, and Dubuque even had its own producer of the material. As the Ballou lithographs and other early images indicate, the hey day of ornamental cast iron did not arrive in Dubuque until c.1872, at which time it became the standard, both for storefronts and ornamental cornices. There is no evidence that any early iron skeleton buildings were built in Dubuque, apart from the expected gas storage tanks and the like. Conservative Dubuque would continue to rely on load-bearing slow-burn construction methods, augmented with a generous proportion of massive stone foundations and trimwork (Gelernter, pp. 154-7).

THE NEW STYLE OF BUILDING—IRON FRONTS—IRON HOUSES—RAILINGS, CAPS, SILLS, COLUMNS, ETC—There is perhaps no department of practical art which has made so much progress within the last few years as that of Architecture. We can all remember the days when the principal feature of our houses, stores and warehouses, was their unmitigated ugliness. They were simply great piles of brick and mortar...apparently designed [in] violation of all the rules of symmetry, proportion, elegance and comfort...now we see long rows of edifices, beautiful and harmonious in their proportions, and combining the greatest elegance with the utmost durability and safety. Many of these edifices, erected for the most ordinary and hum-drum purposes of commerce and trade, are as beautiful as a Grecian Temple, and as substantial as the eternal hills...

The great progress which Architecture has made in America during the last few years is attributable, in a very great degree, to the introduction of iron as a material for building. This most useful of all metals has effected a complete revolution in all the previous modes of Architecture. We spent some time yesterday in examining the office of Diboll & Plack, architects and builders, No. 111 Main street, up stairs, a number of plans for iron buildings, which excited our approbation and astonishment. Designs of the most

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beautiful descriptions, combining every elegance of finish with the greatest strength and security, were among them. A massive five story building, with a front entirely of cast iron, and ornamental with the most elaborate and beautiful designs, sustained an appearance of the most perfect lightness and harmony. The columns which support it were perfect gems of beauty, and its entire appearance was at once sublime and practical.

Messrs. Diboll & Plack are prepared to execute with promptness and economy all descriptions of Iron Work for buildings, from a simple wire railing up to an entire five story building. They have the most extensive arrangement with the manufactures in the East, and can erect iron buildings as cheap and as well as any firm in the Union. They are also agents for all kinds of iron railings, window caps and sills, etc., etc. Besides this, they have a number of agencies for stained and enameled glass for churches, etc. and their specimens of these manufactures are exceedingly handsome. Their plans for buildings are very attractive, and will be found to amply repay an examination.

Besides, their business in the line we have indicated, this firm has a very extensive business as general builders, and have erected this season a number of very handsome houses. They have contracts for several more, to be commenced early in the spring, and if the other builders of the city are favored with equal amounts of orders, we shall have a very large amount of building performed in the next spring.

Dubuque *Tribune*, December 18, 1857

Many storefronts might have simply employed cast iron support columns set beneath a stone lintel with frame and glass infilling. An 1864 account described a new storefront for the Jackson House on Main near 3rd Street. It was "a new front of the latest style, with iron columns, new flagging and other improvements." A Dubuque alternative or at least a variation to the cast iron front was the stone storefront, substituting stone columns and lintels for the ironwork. More commonly, a continuous stone lintel was combined with iron columns. These lintel treatments are commonly found on smaller isolated storefronts but also appear on some of the largest commercial fronts. They mostly date to the early post-Civil War years although there are later exceptions. Examples are all found throughout the downtown, particularly on both ends of Central Avenue. Yet another unusual stone/iron combination is found on just two blocks along Central Avenue, between 16th and 18th streets. A number of storefronts, all of which are on the west side of Central, have iron columns that are set atop stone footings and thresholds (*Herald*, August 26, 1864).



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Figure 205: New Odd Fellows Hall, 8th and Bluff, built 1856, burned 1859 (Ballou)

The Odd Fellows Hall is of interest given its more authentic Italianate style link. The windows are vertically united with spandrels set between the floor levels, ornate window hoods cap the openings and there is a broad cornice that is supported by massive paired brackets. The Lorimer House/Wales Hotel was built on the site of the burned hall.

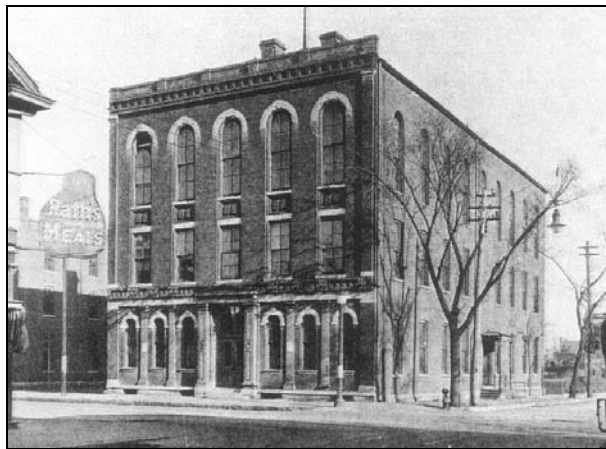


Figure 206: High School Building, northeast corner 12th and Central, undated but likely pre-Civil War, non-extant. (Center For Dubuque History, Loras College, Photo Hoffman-#00398)
(Two-part commercial block type)

The high school building is an excellent example of how building styles could be locally retained. In this case the same window treatment employed on the Odd Fellows Hall was reused and applied to a public school building, albeit in a storefront-like design.

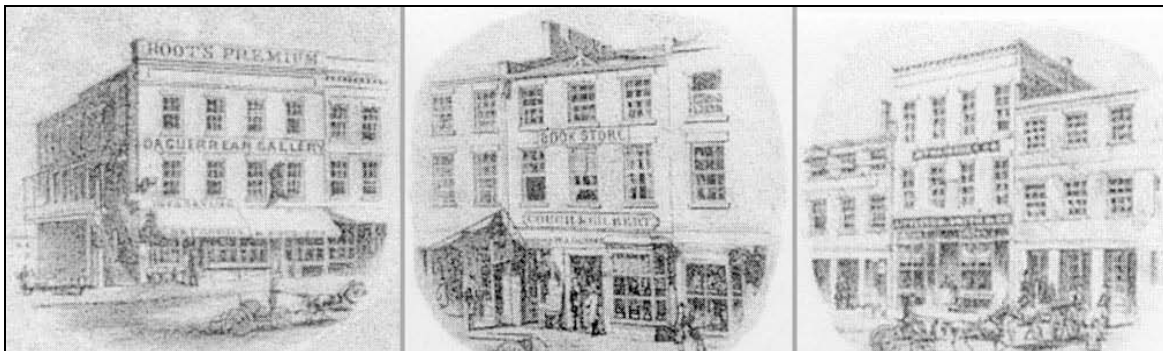


Figure 207: 1858 commercial storefronts (details from Gilbert)
Left to right, Root's Daguerrean Gallery, Couch & Gilbert, booksellers, Littleton & Smith

The narrow storefronts in all of these 1858 storefront examples appear to indicate the absence of cast iron in their storefront level construction. These are likely stone or frame storefronts. Most of these examples offer plain brick facades with flat window sills and lintels and unelaborated parapet fronts. Only two examples offer elaborate cornices

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and parapet designs. Note that three stories is the norm for height, but there is a great variation in total height. Many parapets are cut down almost to the lintel levels of the upper windows.



Figure 208: 1866 storefronts (City of Dubuque Lithograph)

Left to right: Jones Block; L D. Randall, leathers; Woodworth's Block; Sanford Block; Baylie's [sic] Commercial College



Figure 209: Sanford Block, northeast corner 8th and Main, view northeast, c.1857
(Wilkie, p. 161)

These were all pre-war blocks, so they are comparable to the 1858 images shown above. The fronts are plainly executed with uninterrupted wall planes. Only with window openings serve to interrupt the brickwork. No pilasters or pediments are present. An important element is the use of raised and paneled parapet fronts. Some of these are executed as open balustrades. The Sanford Block has a broad plain cornice, and there are a few bracketed or denticulated cornice lines. One example sports twin front metal balconies and another has shutters on its front windows.

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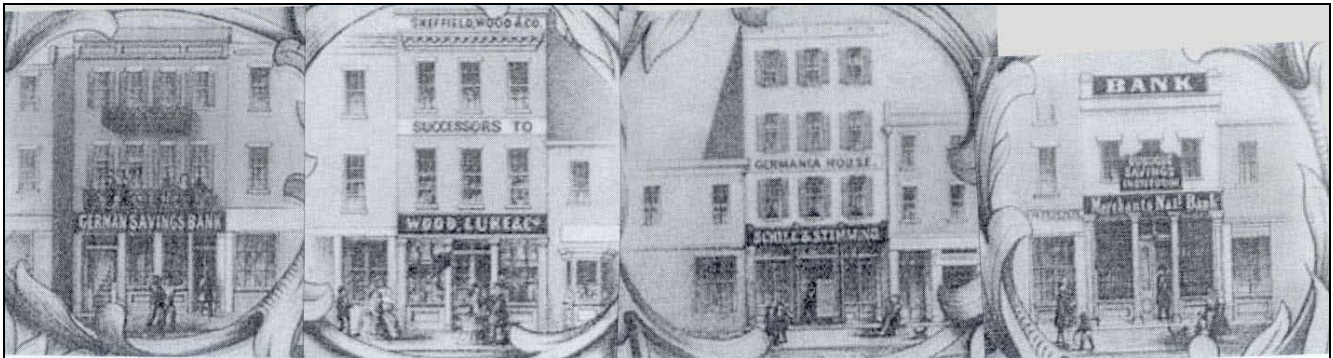


Figure 210: More 1866 storefronts (City of Dubuque Lithograph)

Left to right: German Savings Bank, Wood & Luke, Germania House, Merchant's National Bank.

These examples all employ simple straight stone lintels and the window openings are accordingly square-cut. Only two corner buildings (see immediately below) employ semi-circular window arches at this time. Public buildings such as the Odd Fellows building also used the fancier lintels.

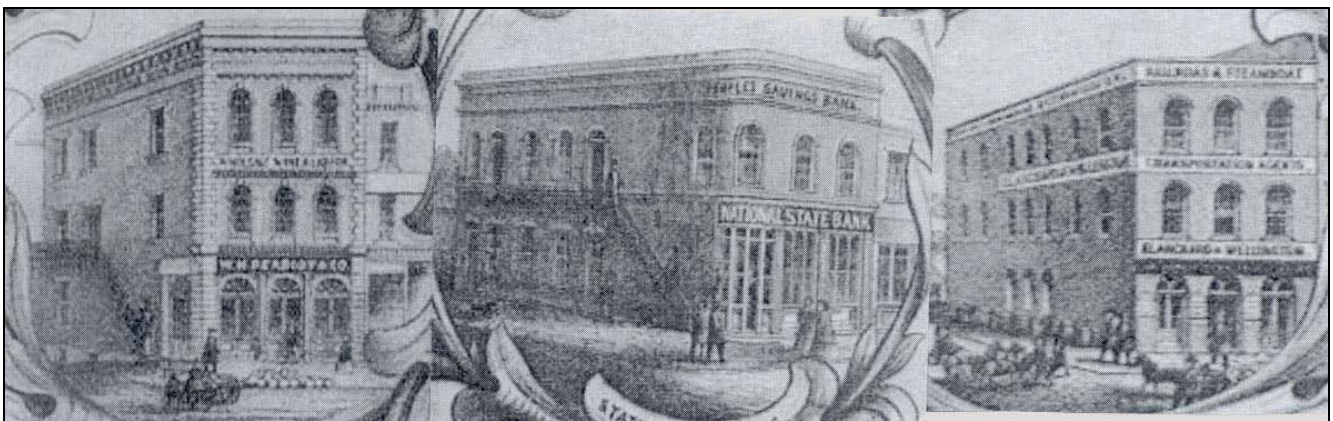


Figure 211: Still more 1866 storefronts (City of Dubuque Lithograph)

Left to right; W. H. Peabody Wine & Liquor, National Savings Bank, Blanchard & Wellington.

W. H. Peabody's storefront stands out for a number of reasons. The corners feature stone quoins, there is an elaborate high parapet wall treatment and the storefront opening is continued on its sidewall. The arcaded storefront implies the use of cast iron frames. Note that many of the storefronts use multi-pane smaller glass lights in composite display windows. The famous French Plate glass, rolled in solid thick panes, were not yet available.

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Figure 212: 1056 Central Avenue (center, view southeast) (Photo by J. Jacobsen, May 2003)

This building, pictured above, is an excellent example of a surviving early building form. It was standing as of 1872 and likely went up just after the Civil War. Note the paneled parapet front, straight stone lintels and the plain brick wall plane. The flanking buildings are also of early origin, all pre-dating 1872.



Figure 213: Lorimer/Wales Hotel, 8th and Bluff (1856, burned 1917)

The several major hotel buildings occupied the earliest massive building blocks. The Lorimer Hotel was five stories tall, with ground level storefronts. Note that the exterior wall planes are plainly executed apart from twin pilasters on the south side. These underscore the principal entrance on that front. Windows are capped with cast iron or stone decorative lintels. The parapet front is paneled and short pilasters are stepped out from the parapet front and terminate above the parapet, creating a balustrade-like effect.

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Figure 214: City Hall, 13th & Central (1857-58), original appearance, J. N. Moody, architect
(photo, Sommer, p. 59) (Two-part commercial block type, Italianate style)

The City Hall building is a rare architectural treasure and is an excellent example of its style. The Italianate style is embodied in the elongated windows, the oriole windows, cupola and brackets. This building was of course a combination public and commercial building in its origin, serving as a market on its lower floor and basement.

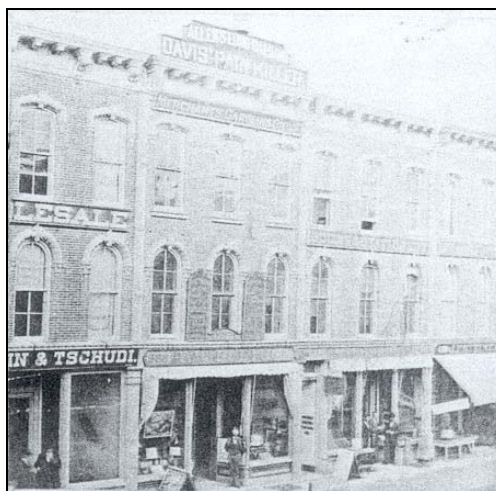


Figure 215: 656 Main Street, detail from stereoscopic view, c.early 1870s
(Two-part commercial block type)
(Center For Dubuque History, Loras College, Photo NGL-#1553)

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656 Main was part of a five-storefront three-story block on the east side of Main Street. The photo illustrates Italianate-style windows (2/2 lights), thin semi-circular stone lintels with keystones, and varied lintels on the two floors, those on the third floor being less curved. Note the simple denticulated cornice line with brackets. Signage forms the occasional "pediment" and advertising was to a great extent functioning as architectural detail, forming belt courses and separating storefronts from the upper stories. Note the absence of transom levels on the storefronts. Plate glass has reached Dubuque and the display windows are composed of solid plate glass.

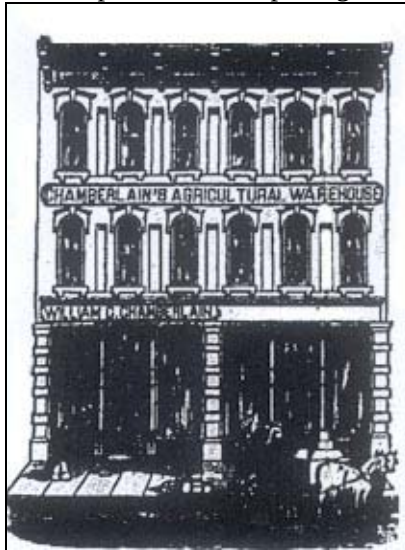


Figure 216: Bonson's New Block, 1874 (*Times*, February 17, 1874)

Bonson's Block, shown above, typifies the juncture of traditional local building design with the cast iron storefront and ornamental cornice components. The façade is conservative in its elevation, the cornice and parapet lines running closely above the upper window lintel line. The stone ornament is more flamboyant, both in the lintels and sills. The brickwork features recessed vertical indentations between the windows, a reversed pilaster element. The storefront combines stone endwall and center stone columns with quoins, a solid stone lintel, and a cast iron and plate glass infill. The storefronts are still quite narrow. Note the vertical emphasis in the façade that is imparted by the window alignment.

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Figure 217: Storefront image on business stationery, 544 Main, c. 1870
(Center For Dubuque History, Loras College, Business Letterheads)

Very few early storefront images for smaller firms are to be found. W. H. Robison had a boots and shoes store at 544 Main Street. His woodcut still carried the old street number, "106." Note the use of signage for a pediment, the presence of a denticulated cornice, the curved stone lintels and the arcaded wood framed display windows.



Figure 218: 448 Main Street, 1883 (non-extant), (Two-part commercial block type)
(*Herald*, May 2, 1888)

The Westphal-Hinds Hardware store, pictured above illustrates the lingering local affection for the simple unelaborated Italianate style business block. Despite its considerable size and height, this 1883 design has no special features. The parapet front is plain and there is little if any cornice.

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Figure 219: 1626 Central Avenue, 1880 (photo by Jacobsen, 2002)
Later example of the solid stone lintel element.

This Italianate example is typical of many Dubuque storefront designs. The wall plane is plain and the only elaborations are a pressed metal cornice with dentils and brackets, and the window lintels or hoods.



Figure 220: Railroad office, 500s White, east side, pre-1872, view northeast
(Wilkie, p. 253).

This early large block example reflects typical Italianate style storefront design. The windows appear to be thinner than they are, there is an unusually broad center mullion on the window frames. Save for painted signage, the façade is plainly executed. The windows have pedimented iron hoods. The storefront consists of closely spaced stone columns, with a continuous stone lintel.

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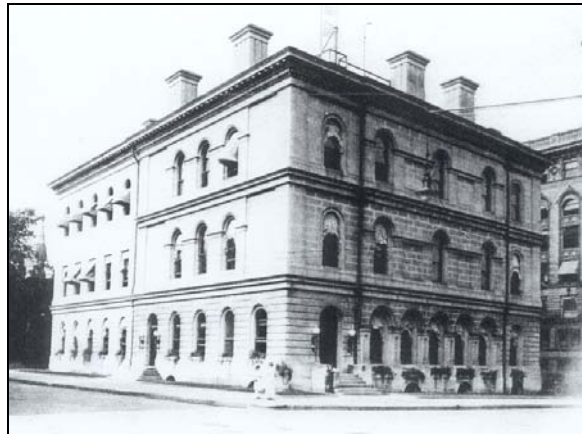


Figure 221: U.S. Customs House/Federal Building (1860) (non-extant, demolished 1947)
(Center For Dubuque History, Loras College, Photo Hoffman-#01018)
(With additional stories this would be a Stacked block type)

The Customs House conveys a strong Italian villa feeling in its design, with the strongly demarcated floor levels, the arcades of windows on the ground level of the façade, and the rusticated ground level stonework. There is a prominent cornice. An element of particular interest was the wall projection that was centered on each front, projecting from the spring stone level above each window grouping.

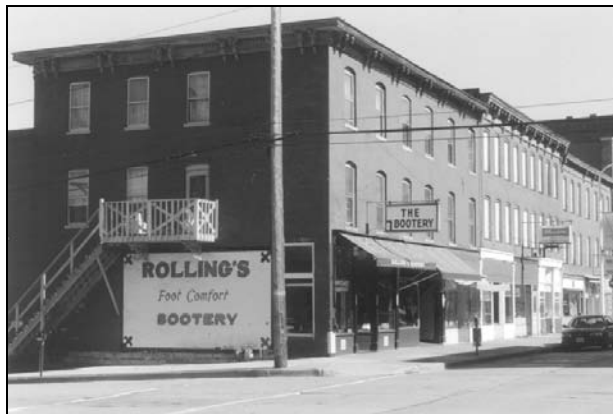


Figure 222: Three buildings, southeast corner, Main and 11th (photo by Jacobsen, 2002)
(Two-part commercial block types)

Three early 1866-70 multiple storefront blocks on Main Street are representative of the very plain commercial designs that persisted after the Civil War. Two of these examples evolved either from earlier single storefronts or brick double houses. The window treatments are simple, with semi-circular brick arches or plain stone sills and lintels, and the facades are all unelaborated in their brickwork. Each building sports a pressed metal cornice.

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Figure 213: 576-98 Main Street, c.early 1880s
(Center For Dubuque History, Loras College, Photo Ham House-#843)
(Two-part commercial block type)

A notable Italianate style subset in Dubuque is comprised by buildings that feature a semi-circular pediment that is centered on the parapet front. The pediment is formed by an upwards continuation of the cornice line itself and commonly, the pediment front is emblazoned with the name of the block and the year of construction. This subtype likely emerges in the 1870s and at first, the pediment form is a simple circular overlay on a flat parapet front (see 1603 Central Avenue, 1882). A variant form is the addition of a distinctly separate triangular or rounded pediment atop the parapet front. The 578-98 Main Street example is illustrative of a truer Italianate style design, with a considerably richer ornamentation. The storefront is elevated (still no separate transom level) and is of cast iron construction. The design is elaborate with corner quoins, separated and bracketed lintels with semi-circular forms, a semi-circular pediment and a massive and most unusual parapet and cornice.

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Figure 214: J. Simones Block, 1570-98 Central Avenue, 1884, view southeast
(photo by J. Jacobsen, November 2002)

The Simones Block design is a wonderfully creative one with a playful very broad bracketed cornice and twin ornamental pediments. The first small oriole (bay) is centered on an otherwise plain front. Note the presence of a transom window line, apparently a c.1890s addition. Note also the well preserved side entry to the upper level, accessed by an exterior stairway.

Gothic Revival, 1840-80:

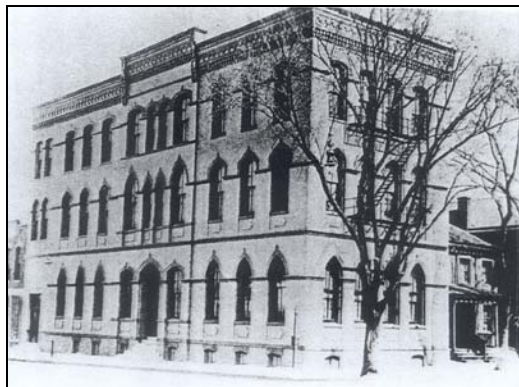


Figure 215: Herald Building, southeast corner 6th and Locust streets (Greater Dubuque, 1911) non-extant

This example, which dated to the post-Civil War years, featured pointed Gothic style arches on its lowermost floor. The window arches were semi-circular on the second floor and flat on the third level. This building housed the Herald beginning in the early 1880s and the Eagles Home as of the early 20th Century. There are references to other examples, one being the Peabody Block at Main and 3rd, which was built in 1865 “with Gothic window linings (*Herald*, August 31, 1865).

Late Victorian/Second Empire:

True Second Empire style is found in two forms, in true form with a complete Mansard attic roof form, and in a commercial/row house form wherein only the façade uses the Mansard form. The latter design persisted well into the

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1890s and early 20th Century in Dubuque. All of these are three-part commercial block type examples because the Mansard serves as a distinct cap on the overall design.

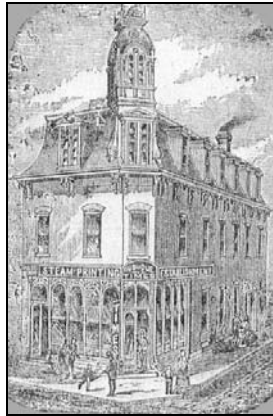


Figure 216: Dubuque Times Building, northeast corner Main and 5th streets, non-extant
(1877 Pryor & Company Dubuque City Directory)



Figure 217: 1200-02 White Street, c.1879-80 (photo by Jim Jacobsen, November 2002)

The corner store example shown above illustrates a commercial/apartment application of the style. In many instances, but not this one, the mansard roof form is reduced to a façade-only nearly vertical upper level treatment. An absolutely vertical version can be found at 1902 White Street. In the above example the storefront has been infilled.

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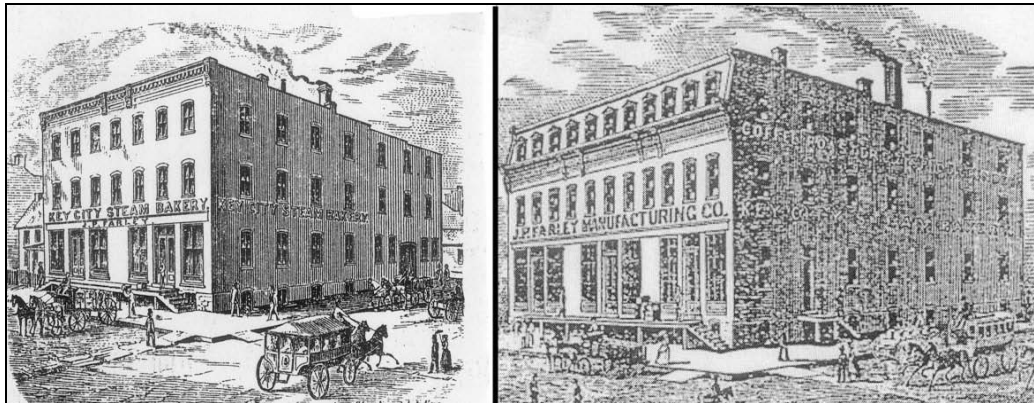


Figure 218: J. P. Farley Manufacturing Company, Main Street (*Times*, October 31, 1886) non-extant
The image at left dates to 1882 (*Dubuque Trade Journal*, March 20, 1882)

Figure 54 documents a mansard transformation of a Dubuque bakery between 1882 and 1886. The building was elongated to the south and the upper third floor level was modified into a mansard attic front.

Late Victorian/Queen Anne:



Figure 219: American Hotel, northeast corner Clay and 4th, non-extant, view northeast
(John Vachon photo. 1940)

The American Hotel is a good example of a Queen Anne style makeover of a much earlier building. The original building dated pre-Civil War most likely (note the brick semi-circular window arches, hip roof form). The building gained a corner entrance, oriole with turret and new storefront, between 1891 and 1909.

The Queen Anne style emerges in the mid-1880s and is translated into commercial block design in the form of asymmetry (particularly the addition of pavilions, bays and orioles), a busier external wall surface in terms of mixed materials and finishes (terra cotta, stone, pilasters, belt courses) and a richer parapet level ornamentation.

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Figure 220: Rider & Lacy Block, 1702-22 Central Avenue, 1891, view northeast
(photo by J. Jacobsen, November 2002)

This large block design features a square-cut tower, an ornate stone entry surround, and a shift between the upper floors from stone lintels to brick arches. Note too that transoms are set above the display windows (covered in this example).



Figure 221: Fred A. Nesler Block, 1732-36 Central Avenue, 1892,
view southeast (photo by J. Jacobsen, November 2002)

This singular example has a broadened oriole that fills almost the entire façade. The stone trim on the façade is rusticated and projects boldly from the wall plane. The surfaces on the oriole are highly textured with ornamentation. The oriole parapet carries the main parapet line forward.

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Figure 222: H. Richter Block, 1543 Central Avenue, c.1894, view southwest
view southwest (photo by J. Jacobsen, November 2002)

This example represents an important subtype of this example, a single storefront commercial façade that is vertically divided between an oriole and a special window treatment. In taller buildings, the windows on two floors are interlinked with a unifying stone surround and the oriole is elongated. The oriole can continue up to the parapet level or it can terminate as it does in this example. When these buildings have corner locations the oriole most commonly becomes a corner turret (see 504 Central, 1101 White).

Queen Anne Single-Storefront Commercial Facades with Orioles and Vertically Integrated Window Sets: (in rough chronological order)

- 1130 Iowa, 1885-90, three stories
- 1713-15 Central, 1888, three stories
- 504 Central, N. Jungles Block, 1891, three stories with corner turret.
- 1497 Central, 1892-1908, three stories (see Figure 59)
- 1763 Central, c.1892-1908, four stories
- 1543 Central, H. Richter Block, c.1894, two stories (see Figure 58)
- 1101 White, c.1900, two stories

Queen Anne/Italianate Single-Storefront Commercial Facades With Centered Raised Pediments: (in rough chronological order)

This is a single-storefront subset of the larger set of double storefronts that have centered rounded or triangular pediments set atop or integrated into the cornice line.

- 957 Main, 1886, three stories (triangular pediment)
- 1365 Jackson, C. Hafner Block, 1891, three stories (semi-circular pediment that appears like it was simply raised up out of the cornice line).

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Figure 223: 1497 Central, c.late 1890s, (photo by Jacobsen, 2002)
(Two-part commercial block type)

This is a two-story example of the same subtype. A stone surround connects two window sets on the upper floors. The orioles are pedimented and rise above or are incorporated into the parapet lines.



Figure 224: Fifth and Main, northeast corner, c.1890s, non-extant
(Greater Dubuque, 1911).

In this example the Italianate block with the centered pediment is augmented with triple orioles, finials on the parapet corners and a highly decorative parapet/pediment front. The storefront itself is built out to expand the store display area and to capture natural light.

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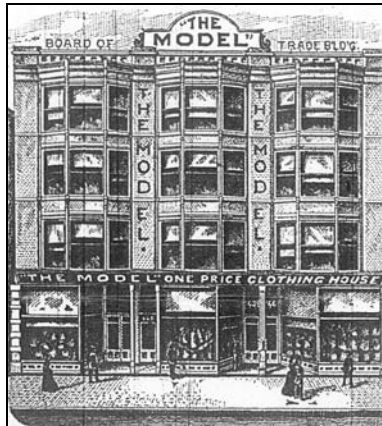


Figure 225: 438-46 Main Street, (*Herald*, January 23, 1896), non-extant
(Two-part commercial block type)

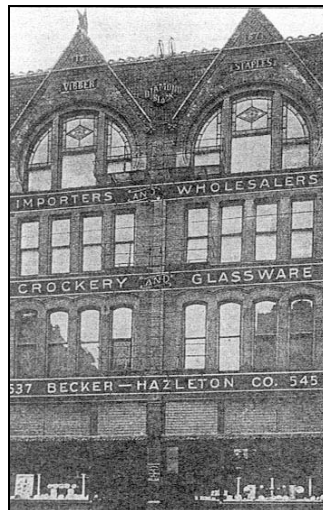


Figure 226: 545-47 Main, Becker-Hazelton Company, c.late 1880s, non-extant (Greater Dubuque, 1911)

The twin-gable storefront example shown above is of particular interest because (a) the basic form is probably of vernacular origin, (b) the gables are superimposed on a mansard-like attic front, and (c) the overall effect is that of a richly ornamented large storefront block with varied window treatments on each floor. Of particular note are the dormer lights, with Romanesque-like arches and rich art glass upper sash. In Dubuque these treatments date to the late 1880s. Another extant example is 1798 Central. The same twin-gable façade is rarely found on residential duplex plans, 1112-14 Central being the best extant example. It dates to the 1860s.

Late Victorian/Romanesque:

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Figure 227: Turner/Germania Hall, 9th & Iowa, southeast corner 1892 (non-extant)
(Center For Dubuque History, Loras College, Photo GRS #3469)
(Two-part commercial block type)

In Dubuque the Romanesque style is simply incorporated into the design mix. In the above example stone voussoir arches, basement window arches, and stone arches in the top of the pavilion front reflect this style.



Figure 228: Bishop's Block, 90 Main, 1899 (photo, Sommer, p. 90)
(Two-part commercial block type)

The Bishop's block is as much Queen Anne as it is Romanesque. The latter style is represented in the massive brick cornice and the sidewall ground level windows.

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Figure 229: Schreiber, Conchar & Westphal Wholesale Hardware Store, 717-65 Iowa Street, 1892 (non-extant)
Iowa, 1892 (non-extant) (Two-part commercial block type)

Developments in metal framing and glass made possible a nearly all-glass front as is exemplified in the above example.



Figure 230: Illinois Central Railroad Passenger Depot
(John Vachon photo, c.1940, American Memory, Library of Congress)
(Two-part commercial block type)

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Figure 231: Grand Opera House, 8th and Iowa, 1889-90 (photo, Sommer, p. 132)
(Three-part commercial block type)

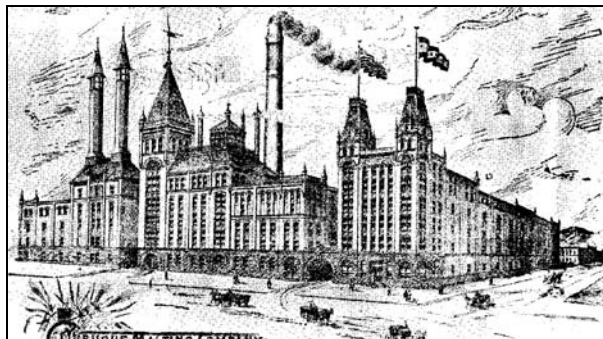


Figure 232: Dubuque Brewing and Malting Company (1894-95) (Architect's sketch, Sommer, p. 122)
(Three-part commercial block type)



Figure 233: Security Building, 1896 (courtesy Loras College)
(Stacked Vertical Block type)

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Figure 234: Dubuque Star Brewery Company, 1898 (photo, Sommer, p. 120)
(Three-part commercial block type)



Figure 235: First Masonic Temple, 11th & Locust (Greater Dubuque, 1911)

Late Victorian/Renaissance:



Figure 236: Bank and Insurance Building, 9th and Main, 1894, original photo (photo, Sommer, p. 127)
(Stacked Vertical Block type)

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Late 19th and 20th Century Revivals/Classical Revival:



Figure 237: Chamber of Commerce/Dubuque Club, southwest corner 9th and Locust (non-extant)
(*Enterprise*, August 10, 1902)



Figure 238: Elks Club, 7th and Locust, 1915
(Center For Dubuque History, Loras College, Photo Hoffman-#01019)



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Figure 239: German Bank (1901-02, 342 Main Street) (*Enterprise*, November 7, 1901)
(Two-part Commercial Block type)



Figure 240: Second National Bank, southeast corner, 6th and Main, c.1900 (non-extant)
(*Enterprise*, September 26, 1903)

Late 19th and 20th Century Revivals/Beaux Arts:

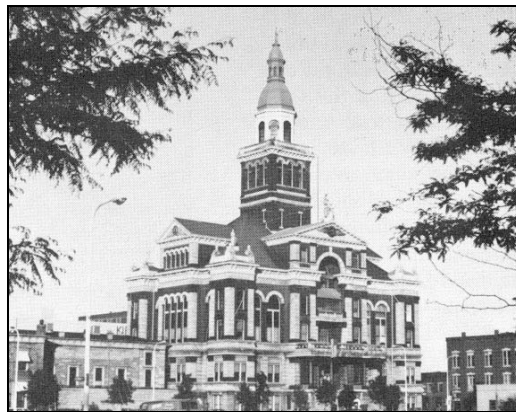


Figure 241: Dubuque County Courthouse, 720 Central Street (1891-93) (photo, Sommer, p. 148)
Is said by Sommer to represent the Beaux Arts Style but also reflects Romanesque and Neoclassical, while Gephart says French Classicism influences.

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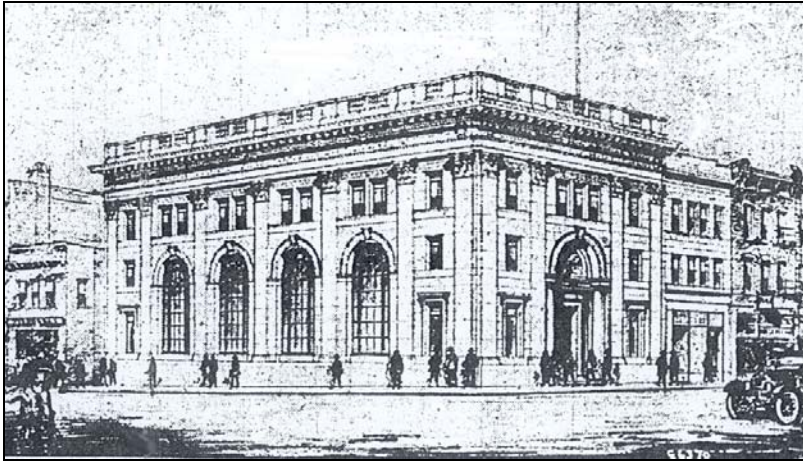


Figure 242: Union Trust & Savings Bank, Central & 14th, 1922,
(architect's drawing, *Herald*, April 16, 1922)
(Vault block type)

Late 19th Century And Early 20th Century American Movements/Bungalow/Craftsman:



Figure 243: 1103-13 Central Avenue, view northwest, c.1915
(photo by J. Jacobsen, May 2003)

Modern Movement/Moderne:

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Figure 244: 104 Main, Harbor Place, 1926 (photo by Jacobsen, 2002)
(Two-part Commercial Block type)



Figure 245: Roshek's Department Store, Locust and 8th streets, 1929-1931
(Three-Part Vertical Block)



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Figure 246: US West Building, Locust and 9th streets (photo by Jacobsen, 2002)
(Vault Block Type)

Corner Commercial Storefront, c.1880-1920:

Dubuque neighborhoods on the flats offer numerous examples of this impressive property type. In the Couler Valley the cutting through of cross streets between 20th and 24th streets, from Couler (Central) Avenue to Washington Street, created a number of newly available corner locations. Elaborately ornamented two story storefronts were constructed between 1890 and 1909. Frame storefronts, usually single story saloons and groceries, preceded their more formal replacements on other corners.

Almost all of the examples feature prominent corner rectangular bays or turrets. In is probable that the former all had additional decorative caps or finials (see 2600 Central Avenue pictured below). Angled corner entryways are placed below these. Storefronts are of cast iron construction. The façade and frequently the exposed side wall feature multiple horizontal bandings (water table, lintel or sill belt courses, parapet lines). Very elaborate carved stone lintels are also favored. The earliest examples are plain stone arches or flat lintels. Later examples feature floral incised decorative patterns. The final examples, dating to the 1890s up to World War I, are more elaborate with keystones, spring stones, and colored designs. Some of these could be cast stone in composition.



Figure 247: 2601 Jackson Street (pre-1891) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

The storefront presented above is the last-surviving corner frame commercial building in the lower Couler Valley (Phase I survey area). The north half of the building is of brick construction. The complex certainly predates 1891 at which time it housed a saloon.

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Figure 248: 400 East 22nd Street (pre-1891) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

This example is the earliest documented form of the more substantial brick corner storefront. Its early date is attested by the use of semi-elliptical brick window arches and a solid stone lintel across the storefront. An identical example is found at 2162 Washington Street.



Figure 249: 2600 Central Avenue (1898) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)



Figure 250: 2600 Jackson Street (1903) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

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This later example likely had a decorative cap or finial treatment on the bay, but it adds a commemorative pediment and a polychrome storefront patterning of brick and stone layers.



Figure 251: 607 East 22nd Street, A. C. Pancratz Grocery (1900) (photo by Jim Jacobsen, March 7, 2000)

This final example, while also a corner storefront, is without the corner turret or bay. A double storefront on a major east-west arterial, this storefront nicely exhibits the exaggerated pediment, metal cornice, brick parapet wall, and elaborately carved stone lintels, all of which typify Dubuque neighborhood storefronts.

Registration Requirements:

Registration Requirements: Single Family Residential Property Type:

Description:

This property type includes single-family houses which are either detached buildings or attached row houses. Single-family residences set above commercial storefronts are excluded here but are subsets of either the commercial or the multiple family property types. Church parsonages, the Linwood Cemetery house/office, and any individual residential quarters located in an institutional setting are included under this property type. The many types and styles of this property type are defined in the style/type typology (see above).

Significance:

Context #1, Frontier City on the Mississippi River, 1833-1858:

Dubuque appears to retain a record number of this property type and a special effort is recommended to inventory these properties. Groupings of residences from this period are found in the Jackson Park Historic District but otherwise they appear to be scattered throughout the city. "True" vernacular properties most likely date to this earliest period and should be sought out. A property can be nominated under Criterion A, B or D for its historical significance under this context. Under Criterion A the property has to have a documented effect on the overall development of the early city. Under Criterion B, the property must have a direct association with a significant individual. Under Criterion D, the property is significant for its information potential better understanding the development of the city.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

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1095 3rd Street, Edward Langworthy House, Octagon Style, 1856-57, NRHP
719 West 3rd Street, Late Victorian, 1855, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
755-57 West 3rd Street, Second Empire, 1855, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1095 West 3rd, Octagon, no date (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
340 West 5th, J. H. Thedinga House, Colonial Revival, 1840/1855, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
508 West 7th, Joseph A. Rhomberg House, Greek Revival, 1856, DOE
563 East 14th, stone duplex, c.1850-60, (Phase III eligibility recommendation)
264 Alpine Street, Solon Langworthy House, Greek Revival, 1856, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
38 Bluff Street, Greek Revival, 1850, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
103 Bluff Street, Federal, 1855, DOE
474 Bluff Street, Greek Revival, 1855, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
2810 Cascade Road, John Palmer, Second House, Greek Revival, no date, DOE
690 Fenelon Place, Federal Style, c.1855 (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
710 Fenelon Place, Federal Style, c.1855 (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1572 Iowa Street, Gable Front, 1855, NRHP
1578 Iowa Street, I-House, 1855, NRHP
2241 Lincoln Avenue, Mathias Ham House, Italianate, 1839/57, NRHP (local landmark)
19 Locust Street, Edward/Ahern House, Italianate, 1856, DOE
1204 Mount Loretta Street, Johann Christian Frederick Rath House, Neo-Classical/Greek Revival, NRHP
1296 Mount Pleasant Street, Ora Holland House, Neo-Classical, 1855, NRHP
274 Southern Avenue, Kelley House, mid-19th Century, 1855, NRHP
365 Southern Avenue, Nicholas Thornton House, I-House, 1856, DOE
503 Southern Avenue, Irish stone barn, DOE-considerably altered (stone shell only)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

757 West 3rd Street, John King-Barmeier House, Second Empire, 1850
Eagle Point Park, William Newman Log House, 1833
732 Fenelon Place, Scott-Wilson House, Italianate, 1857
1192 Locust Street, Fred Weigel House, Italianate, 1854-55, 1866
597 Loras Blvd., Italianate, 1855-60
3035 Pennsylvania Avenue, Greek Revival, no date

Context #2, The Key City, 1859-1893:

A great many surviving properties represent this period of exponential growth. A property can be nominated under Criterion A, B or D for its historical significance under this context. Under Criterion A the property has to have a documented effect on the overall development of the city during these years. A house construction might have led the way to the development of a particular district and many larger properties housed important local religious and educational institutions. Properties can interpret the story of the several significant ethnic populations in the city. Under Criterion B, the property must have a direct association with a significant individual. Many houses can interpret and represent the working careers of significant commercial and industrial leaders for whom work-related properties are no

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longer extant. Under Criterion D, the property is significant for its information potential better understanding the development of the city.

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541 West 3rd Street, Joseph J. Steil House, Italianate, 1865, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
655 West 3rd Street, Neo-Classical, 1865, DOE
660 West 3rd Street, Neo-Classical, 1865, DOE
705 West 3rd Street, Neo-Classical, 1860, DOE
729 West 3rd Street, late-Victorian, 1860, DOE
793 West 3rd Street, late-Victorian, 1875, DOE
804 West 3rd, Neo-Classical, 1880, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
890 West 3rd Street, Jacob K. Rich-Spahn House, Italianate, late 1860s/1875, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
990 West 3rd Street, Queen Anne, 1890, DOE
1036 West 3rd Street, Late Victorian, no date, DOE
1045 West 3rd Street, Queen Anne, 1890, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1057 West 3rd Street, Second Empire, 1870, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1084 West 3rd Street, Italianate, 1870, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
535 West 5th Street, Neo-Classical, 1860, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
794 West 5th Street, late Victorian, 1889, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
639 West 3rd Street, Italianate, 1870, DOE
804 West 3rd Street, Classical Revival, c.1880 (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1491 West 3rd Street, Italianate, 1870, DOE
508 West 7th Street, Federal Revival, c.1860 (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1005 West 10th Street, Romanesque, 1880, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
563 West 11th Street, Second Empire, 1874, DOE
636 West 11th Street, late Victorian, 1860, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
75 West 17th Street, Victorian Eclectic, c.1875, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
175 West 17th Street, Italianate/modified, c.1870, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
260 West 17th Street, Queen Anne, 1893, DOE
265 West 17th Street, Queen Anne, 1885, DOE
325 North Alpine Street, Neo-Classical, no date, (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
431 North Alpine Street, Neo-Classical, 1875, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
586 Arlington Street, Greek Revival, 1860, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
637 Arlington Street, Italianate, 1865, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
51-53 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1860, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
125 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1890
186 Bluff Street, Queen Ann, 1890, DOE
221 Bluff Street, Gothic Revival, no date, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
231 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1870, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
392 Bluff Street, mid-19th Century, 1860, NRHP
409 Bluff Street, Second Empire, 1875, NRHP
417 Bluff Street, Neo-Classical, 1875, NRHP

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432 Bluff Street, mid-19th Century, 1860, NRHP
436 Bluff Street, mid-19th Century, 1865, NRHP
445 Bluff Street, mid-19th Century, NRHP
448 Bluff Street, mid-19th Century, 1860, NRHP
504 Bluff Street, Augustus A. Cooper House, Queen Anne/Romanesque, 1888/1894, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
567 Bluff Street, Second Empire, 1870, NRHP
[679 Bluff Street, mixed, 1890, listed NRHP, delisted NRHP]
721 Bluff Street, Gable front, 1865, NRHP
759 Bluff Street, late Victorian, 1890, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
940 Bluff Street, Neo-Classical, 1880, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
945 Bluff Street, Queen Anne, 1880, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
961 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1860, NRHP
970 Bluff Street, Queen Anne, 1890, NRHP
1005 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1865, NRHP
1015 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1865, NRHP
1025 Bluff Street, Second Empire, 1875, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1038 Bluff Street, Queen Anne, 1890, NRHP
1047 Bluff Street, mid-19th Century, 1860, NRHP
1157 Bluff Street, Gable front, 1870, NRHP
1175 Bluff Street, Queen Anne, 1890, NRHP
1240 Bluff Street, Greek Revival, 1860, NRHP
1449 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1865, NRHP
1461 Bluff Street, Queen Anne, 1885, NRHP
1499 Bluff Street, Queen Anne, 1880, NRHP
1599 Bluff Street, Neo-Classical, 1885, NRHP
2404 Broadway Street, Greek Revival, 1860, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
2440 Broadway Street, Second Empire, 1875, DOE
2447 Broadway Street, Italianate, 1875, DOE
2452 Broadway Street, Italianate, 1870, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
2500 Broadway Street, Queen Anne, (1845?), DOE
2518 Broadway Street, Italianate, 1880, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
2527 Broadway Street, Italianate, 1860, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
385 Burch Street, Italianate, 1875, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
2810 North Cascade Road, John Palmer, First House, Side gable, no date, DOE
2133 Central Avenue, Second Empire, 1884-90, DOE (Phase II survey recommendation)
2243 Central Avenue, Italianate, 1880, DOE (Phase II survey recommendation)
2461 Central Avenue, Italianate, 1890, DOE (Phase I survey recommendation)
2499 Central Avenue, Italianate, 1880, DOE (Phase I survey recommendation)
3135 Central Avenue, Italianate, no date, DOE
632 Chestnut Street, Italianate, 1860, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
79 Diagonal Street, Queen Anne, c.1890 (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
432, 434, 436 Emmett Street, Italianate, 1870, DOE
480 Emmett Street, Neo-Classical/Dubuque vernacular, 1880, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local

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- 800 English Lane, McMahon House, Neo-Classical, 1861, NRHP
- 695 Fenelon Place, Italianate, no date (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 732 Fenelon Place, Italianate, c.1865 (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 2081 Garfield, 1870-1880, vernacular (Phase II survey recommendation)
- 1106 Grove Terrace, I-House, 1880, NRHP
- 1206 Grove Terrace, Benton M. Harger House, Victorian Gothic, 1890 (Gothic Revival, 1865?) DOE
- 1207 Grove Terrace, Gothic Revival, c.1865, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
- 1292 High Bluff, pre-1891, vernacular (Phase II survey recommendation)
- 1133 Highland, Italianate, c.1865+, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 1363 Iowa Street, Neo-Classical, 1880, NRHP
- 1450 Iowa Street, Second Empire, 1870, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 1504 Iowa Street, late Victorian, 1890, NRHP
- 1534 Iowa Street, Gable front, 1860, NRHP
- 1592 Iowa Street, mid-19th Century, 1860, NRHP
- 1637 Iowa Street, Queen Anne, 1893, NRHP
- 1638 Iowa Street, Second Empire, 1875, NRHP
- 1670 Iowa Street, Italianate, 1865, NRHP
- 1678 Iowa Street, late Victorian, 1890, NRHP
- 1699 Iowa Street, Gothic Revival/Carpenter, c.1885, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 2082 Jackson Street, stone side gable, 1863, DOE (Phase I survey recommendation)
- 2282 Jackson Street, 1863, vernacular (Phase I survey recommendation)
- 571 Jefferson Street, Italianate, 1865, DOE
- 314 Jones Street, Greek Revival/Dubuque vernacular, 1870, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 320-22 Jones Street, Gothic Revival/Dubuque vernacular, 1880, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- Locust & 10th, Romanesque, c.1890, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- Locust & 14th, English Gothic, c.1875, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
- Locust & 15th streets, Richardsonian Romanesque, c.1890, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
- 315 North Locust Street, Queen Anne, 1890, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 346 North Locust Street, Colonial Revival, 1890, DOE (Sommer recommends as vernacular double house, recommends for further investigation)
- 363 North Locust Street, Neo-Classical, 1895, DOE
- 396 North Locust Street, Dubuque Vernacular, c.1880, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 911 North Locust Street, Romanesque Revival, c.1893, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 1005 North Locust Street, Queen Anne, c.1890, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 1182 North Locust Street, Second Empire modified, c.1875, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 1192 North Locust Street, Italianate, c.1865, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 1243 North Locust Street, Italianate, c.1860, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 1268 North Locust Street, Neo-Classical, 1865, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
- 1320 North Locust Street, Eastlake, c.1880, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

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1344 North Locust Street, mid-19th Century, 18695, DOE
1375 Locust Street, William Andrew House, Italianate, 1866, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
1389 Locust Street, William Ryan House, Italianate, 1870/73, DOE (local landmark), NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
464 Loras, Dubuque Vernacular, c.1860, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
509 Loras, Queen Anne, c. 1890, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
597 Loras, Italianate, c.1865, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
464 Loras Blvd., Neo-Classical, 1860, DOE
509 Loras Blvd., Queen Anne, 1890, DOE
597 Loras Blvd., Italianate, 1865, DOE
1295 Loras Blvd., Italianate, 1880, DOE
1921 Madison Street, Queen Anne, no date, DOE
1337 Main Street, Chas. H. Eighmey House, Queen Anne/Neo-Classical modification, 1880/92, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1433 Main Street Street, Italianate, 1865, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1455 Main Street, Italianate, c.1865, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1491 Main Street, no style, c.1870, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1611 Main Street, Second Empire, c.1875, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1640 Main Street, Robinson-Lacy House, Second Empire, 1870
1650 Main Street, Second Empire, c.1870, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1209 Prairie, Italianate, c.1865, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1295 Prairie, Italianate, c.1865, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
704 Providence, 1880s, vernacular (Phase II survey recommendation)
2412 Queen, 1891, vernacular (Phase I survey recommendation)
205 Southern Avenue, Gable front, 1881, DOE
354 Southern Avenue, Gable front, 1875, DOE
387 Southern Avenue, I-House, 1865, DOE
455 Southern Avenue, Gable front, 1870, DOE
448 Summit Street, Italianate, 1865, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
875 University Avenue, Queen Anne, no date, DOE
1020 University Avenue, Queen Anne, no date, DOE
1025 Walnut Street, Second Empire, c.1880, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1651 White Street, Second Empire, 1891, NRHP
2414 Windsor, 1870, vernacular (Phase II survey recommendation)
2531 Windsor, 1880, vernacular (Phase II survey recommendation)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

504 22nd Street, vernacular, story and a half, not dated, (Sommer recommends individual investigation)
711 22nd Street, vernacular, not dated (Sommer recommends as cross roof plan for investigation)
701 Bluff Street, George W. Healy House, Second Empire, no date
10th and Bluff streets, Col. D. E. Lyon House, Italianate, no date
2441 Broadway Street, Italianate, no date

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2509 Broadway Street, story and a half vernacular, not dated (Sommer recommends as vernacular for investigation)
300 Central Avenue, Queen Anne, no date
3087 Central Avenue, Queen Anne, 1880s
40 Clarke Drive, Adam/Federal townhouse, no date (Sommer recommends as vernacular, for investigation)
581 Clarke Drive, Dr. Ernest M. Porter House, Italianate, 1872-75
1212 Elm Street, vernacular, not dated, (Sommer recommends individual investigation, "early example")
565 Fenelon Place, Harry Tredway House, Queen Anne, 1880s
788 Fenelon Place, Hattie Scott House, Second Empire, 1880
690 Fenelon Place, Cunningham House, Adam/Federal, 1865
710 Fenelon Place, Cox House, Adam/Federal, no date
1063 Highland Place, Greek Revival/Italianate derivative, not dated (Sommer recommends as vernacular for investigation)
1133 Highland Place, Italianate/Queen Anne, no date
1163 Highland Place, Italianate, no date
1209 Highland Place, Greek Revival/Italianate derivative, not dated (Sommer recommends as vernacular for investigation)
1245 Highland Place, Italianate, no date (Sommer recommends as vernacular, for individual investigation)
1295 Highland Place, Italianate, no date (Sommer recommends as vernacular, for individual investigation)
389 Hill Street, Italianate, no date
2615 Hillcrest Street, Welbas House, Greek Revival, no date
1263, 1267 Jackson Street, no date (Sommer recommends as vernacular cross roof plan for investigation)
1815 Jackson Street, Italianate, 1884-91
2955 Jackson Street, Queen Anne, no date (Sommer recommends as vernacular for investigation)
1105 Locust Street, F. D. Stout House, Richardsonian Romanesque, 1890-91
1182 Locust Street, Alfred Tredway House, Second Empire, late 1870s
1330 Locust Street, Italianate, no date
1394 Locust Street, Dennis Cooley House, Second Empire, 1866
1552 Locust Street, Second Empire, no date
489 Loras Avenue, Second Empire, no date
1491 Main Street, Young House, Second Empire, 1875
1611 Main Street, Second Empire, no date
1640 Main Street, Robinson-Lacy House, Second Empire, 1878
1871 North Main, Italianate, no date
652 Needham Place, Second Empire, no date
1012 Rhomberg Street vernacular, single story and a half, not dated, (Sommer recommends individual investigation)
1016 Rhomberg Street, vernacular, story and a half, not dated, (Sommer recommends individual investigation)
333 Villa Street, Italianate, no date
1025 Walnut Street, Second Empire, no date
340 Wartburg Place, Italianate, no date
1215 Washington Street, vernacular, not dated, (Sommer recommends individual investigation, "early example")
1543 Washington Street, vernacular, not dated, (Sommer recommends individual investigation, "early example")
1651 White Street, Second Empire, no date

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888 Yale Court, Herancourt House, Adam/Federal, no date

Context #3, Fitful Growth and Maturation, 1893-1910:

Some of Dubuque's largest and most magnificent residential properties date to this final period of substantial city growth. A property can be nominated under Criterion A, B or D for its historical significance under this context. Under Criterion A the property has to have a documented effect on the overall development of the city. Under Criterion B, the property must have a direct association with a significant individual. Under Criterion D, the property is significant for its information potential better understanding the development of the city.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

900 West 3rd Street, Lester C. Bissell House, Queen Anne, 1891, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
971 West 3rd Street, Queen Anne, 1900, DOE
990 West 3rd Street, Neo-Classical, no date, DOE
1027 West 3rd Street, Neo-Classical, 1900, DOE
1072 West 3rd Street, Queen Anne, 1895, DOE
863 West 5th Street, Gothic Revival, 1900, DOE
904 West 5th Street, Late Victorian, 1900, DOE
955 West 5th Street, Neo-Classical, 1900, DOE
495 West 7th Street, Late Victorian, 1895, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
612 8th Street, Neo-Classical, no date, DOE
674 8th Street, Late Victorian, no date, DOE
809 8th Street, Neo-Classical, no date, DOE
360 West 11th Street, Classical Revival, 1901, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
510 West 11th Street, Queen Anne, 1895, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
524 West 11th Street, Neo-Classical, 1900, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
560 West 11th Street, Neo-Classical, 1900, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
563 West 11th Street, Second Empire, c.1895, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1220 West 12th Street, Late Victorian, 1900, DOE
135 West 17th Street, Queen Anne, c.1895, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
195 West 17th Street, Italianate eclectic, c.1900, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
325 Alpine Street, General Warner Lewis/John T. Adams House, Federal, rebuilt as Italianate, 1854/1900
1380 Auburn Street, Colonial Revival, no date, DOE
114 Bluff Street, Dubuque Vernacular, c.1900, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
205 Bluff Street, Classical Revival. 1904, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
2444 Broadway Street, Neo-Classical, 1905, DOE (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
2500 Broadway Street, Queen Anne, c.1895 (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
512 Fenelon Place, Classical Revival, c.1895 (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
975 Grove Terrace, Neo-Classical, 1900, DOE
990 Grove Terrace, Queen Anne 1895, DOE
1095 Grove Terrace, Neo-Classical, 1900, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1105 Grove Terrace, Charles T. Hancock House, Queen Anne 1895, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local

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significance)

1295 Grove Terrace, Queen Anne, 1895, DOE

1105 Highland Place, Queen Anne, no date, DOE (also evaluated as Mission style, late date?)

1684 Iowa Street, no style, 1898, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

2006 Jackson Street, Dr. Frank Myers House and Office, Neo-Classical, 1909, DOE (Phase I survey recommendation)

2546 Jackson Street, 1910, Classical Revival (includes contractor's shed 2545 White) (Phase I survey recommendation)

2568 Jackson Street, Queen Anne 1900, DOE (Phase I survey recommendation)

561 Jefferson Street, Neo-Classical, 1895, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

1090 Langworthy, J. Garland House, Colonial Revival, 1907, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)

1302 Lincoln, 1898, vernacular (Phase II survey recommendation)

9 Locust Street, Nicholas M. Sutton House, Gable front, 1909, DOE (more recently evaluated as ineligible)

1145 Locust Street, H. L. Stout House, Queen Anne, 1895, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

1492 Locust Street, Benj. B. Richards/T. Ellsworth House, Queen Anne, 1883/1898, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

199 West Loras Blvd., Queen Anne, 1900, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)

4900 Peru Road, Burden House, Spanish Revival/Mission, 1908, DOE

712 Providence, pre-1909, Queen Anne (Phase I survey recommendation)

2545 White Street, 1910, contractors shed linked to 2546 Jackson (Phase I survey recommendation)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

512 Fenelon Place, Trewin-Huntoon House, Colonial Revival, 1897

514 Fenelon Place, Jay Farwell House, Colonial Revival, 1910

541 Fenelon Place, Peter J. Seippel House, Classical Revival, no date

2044 Jackson Street, Colonial Revival, 1900

2548 Jackson Street, Colonial Revival, 1910

1005 Locust Street, Dr. James Guthrie House, Classical Revival, no date

1595 Montrose Street, Classical Revival, no date

1207 Prairie Street, Gothic Revival, no date

Context #4, An Era of Stability, 1910-1955:

Dubuque is perhaps unique in that residential construction was severely limited during this time period, in contrast to other Iowa cities. Consequently there are fewer examples of this property type for each style and there is a decreased likelihood that these will cluster in any single neighborhood. A property can be nominated under Criterion A, B or D for its historical significance under this context. Under Criterion A the property has to have a documented effect on the overall development of the early city. Under Criterion B, the property must have a direct association with a significant individual. Under Criterion D, the property is significant for its information potential better understanding the development of the city.

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660 West 3rd Street, Craftsman/Bungalow, 1920, DOE
1028 West 3rd Street, Craftsman/Bungalow, 1920, DOE
1036 West 3rd Street, Mission, no date (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1083 West 3rd Street, Colonial Revival, 1921, DOE
1087 West 3rd Street, Colonial Revival, 1920, DOE
370 West 6th Street, Art Deco, c.1930, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
500 West 7th Street, Tudor Revival, no date, DOE
9 Algona Street, Spanish Colonial Revival, no date, DOE
2001 Alta Vista Street, Dalsing House, Tudor Revival, 1923, DOE
160 South Grandview Avenue, T. Ben Loescher House, 1920, NRHP
1105 Highland Place, Mediterranean, c.1915, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1125 Highland Place, Italian Renaissance, 1915, DOE
1454 Iowa Street, Strueber Funeral Home, Art Deco/International, 1939, NRHP
1472 Iowa Street, International, c.1940, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
2545 Jackson Street, Ulrich Willy House and Contractor's Yard, 1910, Neo-Classical, DOE
1307 Lincoln, 1920, vernacular (Phase II survey recommendation)
1309 Lincoln, 1918, Craftsman bungalow (Phase II survey recommendation)
1616 Lincoln, 1925, foursquare (Phase II survey recommendation)
2183 Lincoln, 1925, vernacular (Phase II survey recommendation)
1155 Locust Street, Classical Revival, 1931, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1965 Prescott, 1945, Tudor Revival (Phase II survey recommendation)
500 Prospect Street, Tudor, 1925 (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
628 Rhomberg, 1923, Craftsman bungalow (Phase II survey recommendation)
2001 Rhomberg, 1934, Craftsman bungalow (Phase II survey recommendation)
2001 Rhomberg, 1948, Moderne (Phase II survey recommendation)
723 Ries, 1930, Tudor Revival (Phase II survey recommendation)
2542 Stafford, 1920, Colonial Revival (Phase II survey recommendation)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

95 South Grandview Avenue, Craftsman/Aeroplane bungalow, no date
120 South Grandview Avenue, Art Moderne, 1939
535 South Grandview Avenue, Art Moderne, 1939
1130 South Grandview Avenue, Tudor Revival, 1928
1144 South Grandview Avenue, Art Moderne, 1935
1160 South Grandview Avenue, McCoy House, French Eclectic, 1928-30
Kirkwood and Alta Vista streets, John G. Kuehnle House, Tudor Revival, 1924
999 Kirkwood Street, Spanish Eclectic, no date
1761 Plymouth Street, Ward Donovan House, Prairie, no date
1781 Plymouth Street, Ward Donovan House, Craftsman/bungalow, no date

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A property can be nominated under Criterion C if it meets the criteria set forth in the style/type typology (see above) and if it represents a significant example of a particular style or type.

(the same property lists appended above apply to this context)

Registration Requirements:

- Individual residential properties must be directly associated with the City of Dubuque, 1833 to present.
- Individual residential properties must have a direct and significant association with one or more of the established historical contexts, which are defined in this document.
- Individual residential properties eligible under Criterion A must retain the integrity aspects of location, design and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association. The property has to be in its original location, and its original design must be visually apparent, unobstructed by additions or alterations. The integrity aspects of setting, materials and workmanship are expected to have changed the most, and their substantial loss does not disqualify eligibility.
- Individual residential properties eligible under Criterion B are eligible if they retain the same integrity aspects required for Criterion A (see above). The aspects of workmanship and materials must at least be minimally reflected in the visible façade.
- Individual residential properties eligible under Criterion C must represent a significant style, type, period or method of construction. Rarity of example is a justified reason for significance if the property represents a once common type now rarely found. Many Dubuque properties will warrant state or national levels of significance because they combine architectural significance with rarity. Significance is possessed if the property represents and interprets the working career of a notable artist, architect, engineer or landscape architect and explains how that individual contributed to their respective fields. A property is significant if it possesses high artistic qualities, which characterize the architectural heritage of Dubuque. Finally significance is possessed if the property represents local vernacular architecture or stylistic vernacular adaptations.
- Individual residential properties are eligible under Criterion D if they possess the potential to yield information through archeological treatment. For subsurface remains of buildings, structures or objects, it is expected that the integrity aspects of materials, workmanship, and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association are sufficiently retained so that the property is recognizable and qualifies to yield information. For the subsurface remains of dumps, sinks, or other cultural debris, it is necessary that the deposits be relatively intact and undisturbed. The individual nomination form must identify key research questions to be answered and must explain how the information yielded from the property will shed light on these questions.

Registration Requirements: Multiple-family Residential Property Type:

Description:

The styles/types of this property type are treated in the styles/types section (see above). Targeted research is required to sort out the many multiple property forms, which are commonplace in the city. Newspaper accounts refer to frame and brick double houses, tenements, flats, flats above stores (treated under Commercial properties), apartment buildings, duplexes and so on. Tenements are the hardest of these to define. Individually owned row houses are excluded despite the fact that many "rows" were constructed by multiple owners using a unified plan/architect. Double

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houses were valued as a means by which a homeowner could use half of his property to support the purchase of a more substantial housing investment. Some double houses were built one half at a time. Double houses are the most commonplace in Dubuque and are found in all parts of the city but are principally concentrated in the Phase I and Phase II survey areas and in the several flat-land listed residential districts. They are commonly vernacular adaptations of stylistic and urban forms. Brick appears to dominate in preference until c.1906. The several basic forms are described in the vernacular portion of the architectural context. Research is recommended to determine the degree to which multiple family house types were more or less likely to be non-owner occupied. Converted single-family housing is excluded from this property type.

Significance:

Context #1, Frontier City on the Mississippi River, 1833-1858:

A few double houses are known to exist from this period and these are of particular interest as early examples of this common Dubuque type. The stone house on East 14th Street, pictured elsewhere in this report is the best example and a rare all-stone example.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

755-57 West 3rd Street, Vernacular/Second Empire, c.1855 (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

1100-34 Locust Street, rowhouse, Adam/Federal, no date

1215 Washington Street, triple unit rowhouse, Adams/Federal, no date

1129-31 White Street, duplex, Adams/Federal, no date

Context #2, The Key City, 1859-1893:

Multiple-family house types were more commonly built during the later years of this period and are significant because they provided close-in housing for city residents. Other types, flats in particular, begin to become more common place in the later years of this contextual period.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

464-66 West 3rd Street, Dubuque Vernacular, c.1865, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

675-77 West 3rd Street, Classical Revival, 1860, DOE

331-39 West 4th Street, Queen Anne, 1890, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

442-44 West 5th Street, Italianate, 1860, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

586-90 Arlington Street, Dubuque Vernacular, c.1860, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

637-41 Arlington Street, Dubuque Vernacular, c.1865, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

186-190-196 Bluff Street, Queen Anne, c.1890, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

479-481 Bluff Street, I-House, no date, NRHP

493-95 Bluff Street, Queen Anne, 1895, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

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425-41 Bluff Street, Queen Anne, 1900, NRHP
549-27 Bluff Street, Second Empire, 1879 (aka 605 Bluff Street), NRHP
605-21 Bluff Street, Second Empire, 1860/1879, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
653-55 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1860, NRHP
701-03 Bluff Street, George Healy House, Queen Anne, 1890, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
729-31 Bluff Street, I-House, 1865, NRHP
743-45 Bluff Street, I-House, 1881, NRHP
949-25 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1865, NRHP
1004-22 Bluff Street, Queen Anne, 1890, NRHP
1219-29 Bluff Street, Mid-19th Century, 1860, NRHP
1235-43 Bluff Street, Late Victorian, 1855, NRHP
1273-75 Bluff Street, I-House, 1860, NRHP
1293-97 Bluff Street, Second Empire, 1870, NRHP
1323-25 Bluff Street, Greek Revival, 1865, NRHP
1335-37 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1865, NRHP
1353-55 Bluff Street, Adams/Federal, 1860, NRHP
1390 Bluff Street, no style, 1891, NRHP
1439-41 Bluff Street, I-House, 1865, NRHP
1491 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1860, NRHP
1501-03 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1875, NRHP
1509-11 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1875, NRHP
1535-37 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1875, NRHP
1551-53 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1885, NRHP
1571-73 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1875, NRHP
1589-91 Bluff Street, Italianate, 1875, NRHP
2130-34 Central Avenue, Beaux Arts, 1991, DOE
432-34-35 Emmet Street, Dubuque Vernacular, c.1870, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
929-31 Garfield, 1881, vernacular (Phase II survey recommendation)
943-45 High Bluff, 1867, vernacular "Mississippi Valley" (Phase II survey recommendation)
1428-30 Iowa Street, Late Victorian, 1891, NRHP
1594-96 Iowa Street, Second Empire, 1875, NRHP
1610-14 Iowa Street, no style, 1865, NRHP
1658-60 Iowa Street, Late Victorian, 1885, NRHP
1659-77 Iowa Street, Italianate, 1860, NRHP
320-22 West Jones, Dubuque Vernacular, c.1865, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
53-55 North Locust Street, Late Italianate, 1882, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
324-26 North Locust Street, Italianate, 1875, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
346-48 North Locust Street, Queen Anne, c.1895, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
363-65 North Locust Street, Classical Revival, c.1895, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
975-97 North Locust Street, Queen Anne, 1890, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
1255-57 North Locust Street, Italianate Townhouse, c.1865
1552-54 North Locust Street, Queen Anne, c.1885 1560-68 Iowa Street, no style, c.1898, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

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1590-92 North Locust Street Dubuque Vernacular, c.1860 1560-68 Iowa Street, no style, c.1898, NRHP
(Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

1631-33 North Main Street, Eclectic/Second Empire, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

483-89-95 Loras Blvd., Second Empire, 1875, DOE

2301-03 White, 1884-91, vernacular (Phase I survey recommendation)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

471-73-89-91 West 4th Street, vernacular, not dated, (Sommer recommends as "early example," for individual investigation)

2nd and Bluff streets, Queen Anne townhouse, no date

5th and Bluff streets, Queen Anne rowhouse, 1890s

2130-34 Central Avenue, Beaux Arts, 1891-1902

2555-65 Cental Avenue, Craftsman, no date

Davis Street, St. Francis Convent, Second Empire, no date

1913-17 Jackson Street, Second Empire, 1886

2070-72 Jackson Street, Richardsonian Romanesque, no date

975 Locust Street, triple unit rowhouse, Italianate, no date

1025-37 Locust Street, triple unit rowhouse, Second Empire, no date

1100-1150 Main Street, six unit rowhouse, Second Empire, no date

1455 Main Street, duplex, Italianate, no date

427-49 Summit Street, vernacular, not dated (Sommer recommends as vernacular for investigation)

1129-31 White Street, vernacular, not dated, (Sommer recommends individual investigation)

Context #3, Fitful Growth and Maturation, 1893-1910:

The full range of multiple family house types were built during this final period of large-scale growth. Builders like Chris Voelker promoted duplex purchases as a preferred route to home ownership and builders first offered concrete block built duplexes and flats. The formal apartment building is relatively rare in the city but experienced its first application in the final years of this context.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

264-66 West 17th Street, Queen Anne Townhouse, c.1895 1560-68 Iowa Street, no style, c.1898, NRHP
(Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

265-67 West 17th Street, Queen Anne, c.1885 1560-68 Iowa Street, no style, c.1898, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

2130-34 Central Avenue, 1891-1902, Beaux Arts flats (Phase I survey recommendation)

1560-68 Iowa Street, no style, c.1898, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

530-544-550-560 Loras Blvd., Renaissance Revival, 1895, DOE, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

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No properties identified.

Context #4, An Era of Stability, 1910-1955:

Multi-family housing types grew more common as it became more difficult in the post-World War I years to provide owner-owned housing for working class families. Housing supply became scarce and renting was increasingly the only option or at least a short-term one. Apartment blocks were more commonplace.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

1265-67 Bluff Street, Foursquare, 1910, NRHP
2001 Shiras, apartment house, Art Deco, 1937-38 (Phase II survey recommendation)
2222 Washington, 1891-1909, vernacular (part of a district) (Phase I survey recommendation)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

No properties identified

Context #5, The Architecture of Dubuque, 1833-1955

Multi-family housing expressed both stylistic and vernacular applications and the two are hard to distinguish. Later apartment blocks utilized Craftsman style and experimented with rusticated concrete block construction.

(the same property lists appended above apply to this context)

Registration Requirements:

- Individual multi-family residential properties must be directly associated with the City of Dubuque, 1833 to present.
- Individual multi-family residential properties must have a direct and significant association with one or more of the established historical contexts which are defined in this document.
- Individual multi-family residential properties eligible under Criterion A must retain the integrity aspects of location, design and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association. The property has to be in its original location, and its original design must be visually apparent, unobstructed by additions or alterations. The integrity aspects of setting, materials and workmanship are expected to have changed the most, and their substantial loss does not disqualify eligibility.
- Individual multi-family residential properties eligible under Criterion B are eligible if they retain the same integrity aspects required for Criterion A (see above). The aspects of workmanship and materials must at least be minimally reflected in the visible façade.
- Individual multi-family residential properties eligible under Criterion C must represent a significant style, type, period or method of construction. Rarity of example is a justified reason for significance if the property represents a once common type now rarely found. Many Dubuque properties will warrant state or national levels of significance because they combine architectural significance with rarity. Significance is possessed if the property represents and interprets the working career of a notable artist, architect, engineer or landscape architect

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and explains how that individual contributed to their respective fields. A property is significant if it possesses high artistic qualities which characterize the architectural heritage of Dubuque. Finally significance is possessed if the property represents local vernacular architecture or stylistic vernacular adaptations.

- Individual multi-family residential properties are eligible under Criterion D if they possess the potential to yield information through archeological treatment. For subsurface remains of buildings, structures or objects, it is expected that the integrity aspects of materials, workmanship, and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association are sufficiently retained so that the property is recognizable and qualifies to yield information. For the subsurface remains of dumps, sinks, or other cultural debris, it is necessary that the deposits be relatively intact and undisturbed. The individual nomination form must identify key research questions to be answered and must explain how the information yielded from the property will shed light on these questions.

Registration Requirements: Individual Commercial Property Type:

Description:

The styles/types of this property type are treated in the style/type section (see above). Survey and research is required to fully document and distinguish the broad range of commercial property types in the city. The majority of the commercial downtown area has not been surveyed and findings from the Phase I survey represent mostly corner storefronts and whatever commercial properties have located along Central Avenue and the lower reaches (above 18th Street) of Jackson, White and Washington streets.

Commercial buildings in this study comprise two closely related sub-types, the one and two part commercial subtypes as defined by architectural historian Richard Longstreth. Longstreth has defined 11 basic commercial building types and his is the most comprehensive schema for use in Dubuque. His types are all defined by the fundamental massing and facade arrangement and each type more or less persists over the years 1800-1950, and each tends to be influenced by the same styles, popular changes and evolving technologies and the availability of new building materials. Longstreth does not proceed to further subdivide each of his types. The types that follow represent groups of buildings that share the same basic structural or ornamental features. Usually these same buildings also share comparable construction dates. Each type is largely defined by the elements or treatments found in the upper story (if present) or the pediment. Storefronts are rarely original and change constantly both in design and materials (Longstreth).

The One-Part Commercial Block (c.1850-present):

This is the single story version of the two-part type, being essentially only the storefront component, with or without a false front/parapet and cornice line being set above it. The origin of this type was the frontier and suburb and it was commonly expressed in frame construction. This type also includes many later bank buildings although it was overwhelmingly a retailing building type. The same general transitional phases mark the evolution of this type. By the 20th Century detailing was simpler with a greater uninterrupted array of display glass being possible. The Moderne influence resulted in a deeply recessed entrance with a simple wall surface above.

The Two-part Vertical Block (1830s-1930s):

This type consists of two-story buildings. The facade is divided into two horizontal zones, the public storefront level (base) and the more private upper floor (shaft). In the earlier examples the upper level ornamentation is additive and is generally not associated with the facade. This type was well adapted to house a diversified range of commercial

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uses including banks, hotels, office buildings and department stores. The vast majority of this subtype is two stories high but can range upwards to include as many levels as are generally associated with a pre-elevator era.

The type passed through a Victorian period of ornate exaggeration. The High Victorian years, continuing into the early 1900s was particularly fanciful, employing varied window openings, a broad range of materials, and fancy attics and turrets. Longstreth credits the Academic Movement (c. 1800s into the 1930s) with bringing about a more proportioned reordering of the decorative elements on the upper floors. That level was more unified, with the decorative elements being subordinated to the overall facade. The commercial building was to be unobtrusive and less ostentatious. Multi-colored brick and thin veneer stone was now available. European modernism first influenced the type between the mid-1920s and mid-1930s. A vertical emphasis was added, tying the floors together. An enriched wall surface resulted. A second period of influence (1930s-1940s) resulted in a strong emphasis on horizontally with decorative banding, smooth wall surfaces and the integration of signs into the whole building design. Forty-one surveyed properties fall under this sub-type.

The Three-part Vertical Block (late 1880s-1930s):

This subtype is counterpart of the taller counterpart of the two-part, with the distinction that the uppermost grouping of floors (most commonly from one to three stories) is given a distinctive architectural treatment which is analogous to the capital in the classical column. The American Trust, Banking and Insurance, and the Security buildings all fall under this subtype. The moderne style tended to reduce the dimensions of the uppermost zone with a recessed cap and sometimes add a tower.

The Vault (c.1900-1930s):

This subtype is most commonly associated with monumental bank designs. The entire main façade is enframed by a wrap-around (sides and top) decorative surround. A large entryway is usually combined with classical elements such as a temple front with columns. Façade windows are small. These buildings can be as high as four stories. This subtype was commonly used by the Prairie School in the early 20th century.

Central Block With Flanking Wings (1890s-1920s):

This subtype is most commonly associated with public and institutional buildings and derived from the Italian Villa form. A central dominant core is flanked by recessed subordinate matching side wings. Banks and theaters also used this subtype. This subtype is commonly associated with commercial expressions of the Second Empire and Romanesque styles.

Enframed Block (Late 19th century-1930s):

Like the central block with flanking wings subtype this elongated subtype has a larger central massing and side wings but all three parts in this instance share the same height and the side wings are narrower. The central core usually employs a row of classical columns. It is also commonly used for public and institutional buildings but banks use it as well.

Three-part Block (1900-1940):

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This subtype is elongated and consists of three equal narrow sections, the centermost being more elaborate than the flanking ones. Usually one to two stories high, examples employ English classical forms and ornamentation.

Arcaded Block (1900-1920):

This elongated subtype features an arcade or loggia which covers its façade. Examples range from one to three stories in height.

Registration Requirements: Individual Commercial Property Type:

Description:

The styles/types of this property type are treated in the style/type section (see above). Survey and research is required to fully document and distinguish the broad range of commercial property types in the city. The majority of the commercial downtown area has not been surveyed and findings from the Phase I survey represent mostly corner storefronts and whatever commercial properties have located along Central Avenue and the lower reaches (above 18th Street) of Jackson, White and Washington streets. The range of types is based on Richard Longstreth's commercial typology (see above).

Significance:

Context #1, Frontier City on the Mississippi River, 1833-1858:

Retail trade during this period was overextended and the Financial Panic of 1857 exposed this vulnerability in Dubuque. The banking sector however the local amassment of capital from mining in particular set the stage for future city growth. Very few commercial buildings survive from this period and those that do are of considerable historical interest. A recent regrettable (2000) loss was the Merchant's Hotel, the last surviving pre-Civil War hotel and a part of the Old Main historic district. It is more likely that private residences survive which can be used to interpret the commercial theme for this time period.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

240 West 1st Street, Italianate, 1857, DOE

2317 Central Avenue, Schmid Brothers Brewery/Beer Hall/Spahn's, 1855, DOE

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

2327 Central Avenue, Italianate, 1855 (Phase I survey recommendation)

691-97 White Street, first two story remnant of 1856 Jefferson Hotel (Phase III survey recommendation)

231 West 2nd Street, Italianate, 1857 (recommend adding to Old Main District, Phase III)

Context #2, The Key City, 1859-1893:

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Small local retail firms in a few instances grew tremendously during this time period and many buildings still survive. While subordinate to manufacturing and jobbing, commerce and particularly banking and wholesale trade was of critical importance to the city's growth and success during these years. Capital was amassed and local banks grew and multiplied. Ethnic defined businesses were plentiful and each major ethnic group established its own shopping and services district. Many new or re-fronted buildings survive to interpret this time period.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

813 8th Street, Grand Theatre, Richardsonian Romanesque, 1889, DOE (NRHP)
8th and Main streets, Security Building, 1896, DOE
397 East 20th Street, J. J. Grode Jr. Building, Queen Anne, 1909, DOE (Phase I survey recommendation)
607 East 22nd Street, A. C. Pancratz Grocery, Commercial, 1900, DOE
470 Central Avenue, John Bell Block, 1892 (Phase III survey recommendation)
504 Central Avenue, N. D. Jungles Block, 1891 (Phase III survey recommendation)
654 Central Avenue, Theodore Altman Saloon, 1883 (Phase III survey recommendation)
576 Central Avenue, G. Schaffhauser/St. George Hotel, 1886 (Phase III survey recommendation)
880 Central Avenue, Hendrick's Feed (Phase III survey recommendation)
898 Central Avenue (Phase III survey recommendation)
1056 Central Avenue, Herman Sass Bookstore, pre-1872 (Phase III survey recommendation)
1112-14 Central Avenue, twin-front gable duplex (Phase III survey recommendation)
1290-96 Central Avenue, Eichorn Hall/Block, 1889 (Phase III survey recommendation)
1301-13 Central Avenue, John Bell Block (NRHP 2002)
1347 Central Avenue, Ziepprecht Block (NRHP 2002)
1735 Central Avenue, Late Victorian, no date, DOE
1889 Central Avenue, 1880, DOE
1913-15 Central Avenue, J. Ostdorf Building, 1890, DOE
1961-65 Central Avenue, no date, DOE
2180 Central Avenue, Knicker's Tavern, 1891, DOE (Phase I survey recommendation)
2222 Central Avenue, Peter Klein Building, Italianate, 1888, DOE (Phase I survey recommendation)
2306 Central Avenue, Wright's Grocery, 1881, DOE (Phase I survey recommendation)
2400 Central Avenue, 1886, commercial (Phase I survey recommendation)
1236-52 Iowa Avenue, Italianate, 1885 (Phase III survey recommendation)
1373-95 Iowa Avenue, Late Victorian, 1870, NRHP
1560-68 Iowa Avenue, Queen Anne, 1895, NRHP
Jones and Water streets, Diamond Jo Boat and Office, Italianate, 1885, NRHP
210 Jones Street, Midland Laboratories, 1908, DOE
910 North Locust Street, American Towers Building, Richardson Romanesque, 1891, NRHP
60 Main Street, A. J. Farber Company, Late Victorian, 1878, DOE
90 Main Street, Bishop's Block, Richardsonian Romanesque, 1889, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
103-23 Main Street, O'Neill Block, Italianate, 1870, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
106-20 Main Street, Kennedy's Aquarium, Neo-Classical, no date, NRHP
129 Main Street, Knippel's Religious Goods, Italianate, 1870, NRHP

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137-53 Main Street, Weber Paper Company, Neo-Classical, no date, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
164 Main Street, Plumbers and Fitters Union, Italianate, no date, NRHP
169 Main Street, Design Associates, Italianate, no date, NRHP
177-85 Main Street, Gordon's Toggery/Kirby Company, Italianate, no date, NRHP
180 Main Street, Dubuque Mattress Company, Italianate, no date, NRHP
182 Main Street, Canvas Products Company, Italianate, 1870, NRHP
195-97 Main Street, Dubuque Glass Company, Neo-Classical, no date, NRHP
190 Main Street, Cinema X Theater, no style, no date, NRHP
198 Main Street, United Realty, no style, 1865, NRHP
253 Main Street, Buddy's Tavern, Italianate, no date, NRHP
261-63-69 Main Street, McCoy Goldsmith, Italianate, no date, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
299 North Main Street, Classical Revival, no date, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
[304-310 Main Street, Merchant's Hotel, Italianate, no date, NRHP, demolished 2000]
[3020 Main Street, Merchant's Hotel Annex, Italianate, 1875, NRHP, demolished 2000]
330-336 Main Street, Dolan's Barber Shop/Union Cigar Store, no style, 1875, NRHP
342 North Main Street, Renaissance Revival, 1901, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
345 Main Street, Homestead Gift Store, Italianate, no date, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)
353-75 Main Street, State Liquor Store, no style, no date, NRHP
356 Main Street, Business Supply Company, no style, 1875, NRHP
378 Main Street, Monte Carlo Restaurant, Italianate, no date, NRHP
395 Main Street, Capri Cosmetology College, Italianate, no date, NRHP
401-05-15 North Main Street, no style, no date, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)
823-25 Main Street, Town Clock Building, Italianate, 1873, DOE (NRHP in process)
951 Main Street (Phase III survey recommendation)
953-57 Main Street-Charles J. Peterson Building/Hall, Romanesque 1886, (consultant eligibility recommendation, 2001)
1100-50 Main Street, Bissell Block, Second Empire, NRHP
2311 Windsor, commercial, 1880 (Phase II survey recommendation)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

214 West 1st Street, 1865-69, Italianate (recommend adding to Old Main District, Phase III)
245-49 West 1st, pre-1872, Montana House, Italianate (recommend adding to Old Main District, Phase III)
2306 Central Avenue, Adam/Federal, 1881
401 Locust Street, Italianate, pre-1884

Context #3, Fitful Growth and Maturation, 1893-1910:

A few firms grew to dominate their respective trading niches during this final era of strong municipal growth. The weakness of Dubuque's retail sector became increasingly apparent but banking and wholesaling remained strong. This was the final phase of small-scale downtown rebuilding. A few monumental downtown buildings date to this period

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of development (American Trust Building). Broad-scale bank failures in 1932 devastated many families. Increasingly local capital was invested more generally and in a less conservative and traditional manner.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

521 E. 22nd Street, commercial, 1900 (Phase I survey recommendation)
607 E. 22nd Street, A. C. Pancratz, 1900 (Phase I survey recommendation)
821-25-41 Central Avenue, Buettell Brothers Company Building, Richardsonian Romanesque, no date, DOE
1812 Central Avenue, Nicholas Palen Building, 1895, (part of a district) DOE (Phase I survey recommendation)
1842 Central Avenue, German Savings Bank, 1905, (part of a district) DOE (Phase I survey recommendation)
1000 Main Street, Richardsonian Romanesque, 1894 (Phase III survey recommendation, Iowa District)
2600 Jackson Street, Joseph Ziereis Meats and Grocery, 1903, DOE (Phase I survey recommendation)
1100 Lincoln, 1898, Rettenmaier Store (Phase II survey recommendation)
57 South Locust Street, James Beach and Sons Building, 1910, DOE
40-48 Main, 1894 (Phase III survey recommendation)
284 Main Street, Fischer Company Building/Patrices Bridal, no style, no date, NRHP
299 Main Street (aka 206-10 West 3rd Street), A. A. Cooper Building, Neo-Classical, no date, NRHP
342 Main Street, Olde German Bank, Renaissance Revival, 1901, NRHP
372 Main Street, John H. Pollock, Florist, Neo-Classical, 1910, NRHP
401-05-15 Main Street, Orpheum Theatre and Site, French Renaissance, 1910, NRHP
965 Main Street, Chas. A. Noyes Art Store, Classical Revival, 1900 (Phase III survey recommendation)
799 Locust, Roshek's Department Store, 1907 (Phase III survey recommendation)
908 Rhomberg, 1894, commercial (Phase II survey recommendation)
1027 Rhomberg, 1896, Neumeister Meat Market (Phase II survey recommendation)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

Context #4, An Era of Stability, 1910-1955:

Monumental commercial buildings, mostly exclusive office building were built in the downtown. Comparatively short in stature, these were the city "skyscrapers" to the extent that Dubuque ever had any. A surviving examples is Roshek's. Local capital bankrolled the recruitment of new industries.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

801 Bluff, Telegraph-Herald, 1929, Moderne (Phase III survey recommendation)
1111 Bluff Street, Moderne, no date, NRHP
401 Central Avenue, Karigan's Restaurant, Moderne, 1947, DOE
1398 Central Avenue, German Trust And Savings Bank/Dubuque Bank & Trust, 1923 (Phase III survey recommendation)
700 Locust, Roshek's Department Store, 1929-31 (Phase III survey recommendation)

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900 Locust Street, Northwestern Bell Telephone Company Building, 1947 (Phase III survey recommendation)

100 Main Street, Johnnie's Sports Center, Chicago, no date, NRHP

200 Main Street, Julien Motor Inn, Commercial, 1915, NRHP

233-51 Main Street, Rosey's, Posey's/Ryder Realty, Neo-Classical, no date, NRHP

301 Main Street, Tri-State Surplus, Moderne, no date, NRHP

895 Main Street, Federal Bank Building, 1923 (Phase III survey recommendation)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

Context #5, The Architecture of Dubuque, 1833-1955

A number of commercial buildings are identified in the style/types section (see above) as having architectural significance. Surviving Vernacular commercial designs interpret once more common local types and these survive along Central Avenue in the Phase I survey area. Some of the earliest buildings likely survive on outlying arterials. The appearance of the first all-cast iron and plate glass fronts, the refronting of earlier buildings with more stylistic architect-designed fronts, or the use of special building stone are examples of developments which reflect the growth of the downtown commercial sector as expressed by architecture.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

(the same property lists appended above apply to this context)

Registration Requirements:

- Individual commercial properties must be directly associated with the City of Dubuque, 1833 to present.
- Individual commercial properties must have a direct and significant association with one or more of the established historical contexts which are defined in this document.
- Individual commercial properties eligible under Criterion A must retain the integrity aspects of location, design and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association. The property has to be in its original location, and its original design must be visually apparent, unobstructed by additions or alterations. The integrity aspects of setting, materials and workmanship are expected to have changed the most, and their substantial loss does not disqualify eligibility.
- Individual commercial properties eligible under Criterion B are eligible if they retains the same integrity aspects required for Criterion A (see above). The aspects of workmanship and materials must at least be minimally reflected in the visible façade.
- Individual commercial properties eligible under Criterion C must represent a significant style, type, period or method of construction. Rarity of example is a justified reason for significance if the property represents a once common type now rarely found. Many Dubuque properties will warrant state or national levels of significance because they combine architectural significance with rarity. Significance is possessed if the property represents and interprets the working career of a notable artist, architect, engineer or landscape architect and explains how that individual contributed to their respective fields. A property is significant if it possesses high artistic qualities

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which characterize the architectural heritage of Dubuque. Finally significance is possessed if the property represents local vernacular architecture or stylistic vernacular adaptations.

•Individual commercial properties are eligible under Criterion D if they possess the potential to yield information through archeological treatment. For subsurface remains of buildings, structures or objects, it is expected that the integrity aspects of materials, workmanship, and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association are sufficiently retained so that the property is recognizable and qualifies to yield information. For the subsurface remains of dumps, sinks, or other cultural debris, it is necessary that the deposits be relatively intact and undisturbed. The individual nomination form must identify key research questions to be answered and must explain how the information yielded from the property will shed light on these questions.

Registration Requirements: Individual Industrial Property Type:

Description:

The surviving industrial properties in Dubuque have been surveyed. There is a major industrial concentration is located in the southeast quadrant of the downtown area between Central Avenue and Highway 61. Another cluster of smaller and older plants is south of 18th Avenue and east of Jackson Street. Finally a number of notable plants are located in the upper end of the Couler Valley, above the Phase I survey area. These include the 1894 brewery and possibly the Brunswick plant if extant. A scattering of plants are located closer to the river, notably the shot tower and brewery and the Alliant Plant. Factories at Eagle Point are not thought to survive in any form.

The earliest plants employed load bearing exterior walls and internal heavy beam and column support systems. Almost uniformly building fronts are divided vertically into bays with intervening pilaster supports. Lower level fenestration and ceiling height tends to be higher than are the upper levels. Later designs, c.1890's and after, employ a more formalized tri-partite system with base, column and cap. Fenestration is reduced in scale with each successive level and a decorative corbelled brick parapet lines form the cap. Centered pediments with dates and firm names ornament major buildings. Central bays are highlighted with larger window sets and rounded transom lights. The first structural concrete beam and column support system dates to 1910 (McFadden factory, Iowa Street).

Context #1, Frontier City on the Mississippi River, 1833-1858:

No industrial properties survive from this time period apart from the largely symbolic Shot Tower. Numerous underground remnants of the lead mining industry survive and these have not been researched or surveyed. A number of lead mining related properties have been listed on the National Register as archeological resources. It is likely that other industrial sites survive as archeological properties. Apart from lead mining, Dubuque's industries at this time were only at a developmental stage. Still, all of those industries which later dominated and drove city growth had their origins at this time.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

4th and Commercial streets, Dubuque Shot Tower, 1856, NRHP (local landmark, being nominated as a National Historic Landmark)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

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No properties identified.

Context #2, The Key City, 1859-1893:

Developing industries, principally woodworking and wagon building, coalesced during this long period of growth. The Civil War fostered industrial growth in several industries, principally in meatpacking, and helped strengthen the capital base that made future locally controlled growth possible. By the 1880's and '90's manufacturing and jobbing drove the municipal economy and were poised to expand into large-scale operations.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

East 4th Street, Dubuque Star Brewery/Pickett Brewery, Richardsonian Romanesque, 1888-89, DOE
7th and Washington streets, Dubuque Oatmeal Mill Powerhouse, Italianate, no date, DOE
834 East 24th Street, Morrison Company, 1918 (Phase I survey recommendation)
898 Jackson Street, Key City Iron Works Foundry, Late Victorian, no date, DOE
1000 Jackson Street, Carr, Ryder and Adams Company Factory, Late 19th-20th Century Revivals, 1868, DOE
163 Main Street, Dubuque Screw Products, Italianate, no date, DOE

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

East 15th and Elm streets, Iowa Coffin Company, pre-1884, large portion recently demolished (Phase III survey recommendation, investigate further)

Context #3, Fitful Growth and Maturation, 1893-1910:

During this final growth period several industries assumed unrivaled proportion. Lumber processing enjoyed its final years of prosperity but was crippled by fires and the exhaustion of upriver timber resources. Replacement industries were secured and some new plants were built. More aggressive industrial recruitment attempted to drive municipal growth and capital was invested in a broad range of community improvements.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

995 Jackson Street, Carr, Ryder and Adams Company Powerhouse, Late 19th-20th Centuries Revival, 1910, DOE
3000-02 Jackson Street, Dubuque Brewing and Malting Company, Richardsonian Romanesque, 1895, DOE (delisted from NRHP 1978)
East 17th and Elm streets, Roehl, Hagge & Metz Company, 1903 (Phase III survey recommendation, investigate further)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

No properties identified.

Context #4, An Era of Stability, 1910-1955:

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This period was marked by a near total turnover of manufacturing and jobbing firms as old firms disappeared and new ones were brought to the city. The industrial base responded to manufacturing opportunities during the two world wars. Most notable was the role played in the building of boats for the navy. Major firms such as the Brunswick Company (1910-11) resulted in the construction of major plants but the Depression crippled the industrial base and left a quarter of the working population unemployed. A major period of successful industrial recruitment began during World War II and continued through the late 1940s. Most notable was the securing of the John Deere plant in 1946-47. The first major industrial park was created along the riverfront in 1955 but its real impact postdated the creation of the floodwall system in 1978.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

5th and White streets, Kassler Motor Company Showroom, Modern, no date, DOE
834 East 24th Street, Morrison Brothers Manufacturing Company, Commercial, 1918, DOE

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

No properties identified.

Context #5, The Architecture of Dubuque, 1833-1955

Surviving industrial buildings present their own industrial vernacular with some stylistic pretensions. Many of these massive and imposing buildings are architecturally significant by virtue of their style, use of materials, workmanship, and ornamentation. Sheer rarity further enhances their eligibility because the survivors represent and interpret the former industrial might that made the city great.

(the same property lists appended above apply to this context)

Registration Requirements:

- Individual industrial properties must be directly associated with the City of Dubuque, 1833 to present.
- Individual residential properties must have a direct and significant association with one or more of the established historical contexts which are defined in this document.
- Individual industrial properties eligible under Criterion A must retain the integrity aspects of location, design and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association. The property has to be in its original location, and its original design must be visually apparent, unobstructed by additions or alterations. The integrity aspects of setting, materials and workmanship are expected to have changed the most, and their substantial loss does not disqualify eligibility.
- Individual industrial properties eligible under Criterion B are eligible if they retain the same integrity aspects required for Criterion A (see above). The aspects of workmanship and materials must at least be minimally reflected in the visible façade.
- Individual industrial properties eligible under Criterion C must represent a significant style, type, period or method of construction. Rarity of example is a justified reason for significance if the property represents a once common type now rarely found. Many Dubuque properties will warrant state or national levels of significance

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because they combine architectural significance with rarity. Significance is possessed if the property represents and interprets the working career of a notable artist, architect, engineer or landscape architect and explains how that individual contributed to their respective fields. A property is significant if it possesses high artistic qualities which characterize the architectural heritage of Dubuque. Finally significance is possessed if the property represents local vernacular architecture or stylistic vernacular adaptations.

- Individual industrial properties are eligible under Criterion D if they possess the potential to yield information through archeological treatment. For subsurface remains of buildings, structures or objects, it is expected that the integrity aspects of materials, workmanship, and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association are sufficiently retained so that the property is recognizable and qualifies to yield information. For the subsurface remains of dumps, sinks, or other cultural debris, it is necessary that the deposits be relatively intact and undisturbed. The individual nomination form must identify key research questions to be answered and must explain how the information yielded from the property will shed light on these questions.

Registration Requirements: Residential, Commercial, Industrial District Property Type:

Description:

A residential district is comprised of a combination of the several residential types and subtypes, associated outbuildings that were linked with a plat or residential development. While the plat property type emphasizes the overall physical arrangement of the plat, the district focuses principally on the above ground buildings, structures and objects that arose from that plat. Districts are commonly associated with a single plat or a sequence of related plattings but this is not always the case. Original plattings can be re-platted or subdivided and a recognizable district emerges as the end product. The district must be physically distinctive and visually cohesive. For the purposes of this nomination a district is comprised of single-family houses or cottages to the near exclusion of other land use classes such as commercial, religious or multiple unit dwellings. Visually cohesive districts are most commonly comprised almost exclusively of house/cottage designs of a single and unified architectural expression.

One key component of a significant residential district is its plat design. The plat is defined as a parcel having a formalized division into individual building lots that was offered for public sale at a specific time. Within the Dubuque historical context a successful plat is one which achieved the stated goals of its developers, that is the development of a near homogeneous range and class of houses and a particular overall design for the plat as a whole.

The plat includes the overall plat design and spatial organization, including the street layout, the size, arrangement and location of its lots, any associated natural qualities or features that influence the plat design, original landscaping and contouring, the siting of properties, the influence of original building restrictions (setback, massing, outbuildings or other imposed design standards as examples), and the provision of common spaces (walks, playgrounds, parks).

There are two basic subtypes, these being the standard grid and the relatively uncommon curvilinear forms. The grid subtype has predominately straight streets and 90-degree intersection angles. Block layouts in Dubuque are usually elongated narrow rectangles that orient north/south. Alleyways are generally uncommon in earlier plats. Curvilinear plats employ mostly curved streets and these usually follow natural contour lines. There are many Dubuque examples of curvilinear plats being located on flat ground. The former type also tends to retain original ground contours and landforms as well as groundcoverings.

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The curvilinear plat is represented in most National Register nominations that treat the plat as a property type. The first such plats reflected the naturalistic or picturesque national design movement of the mid-1800s that most commonly was reflected in public park or cemetery designs. Plats and suburbs were also commonly designed although most of these were located in or adjacent to the largest urban areas and predominantly in the Eastern states. In cities such as Dubuque it was more common to find these designs in public spaces, particularly in Linwood Cemetery's layout. Design elements did appear in residential plat design. These included cul-de-sacs, occasional curved streets and radial lot arrangements. The more complete early curvilinear plats were upper class in composition and occupied physically isolated and self-defined rugged settings. Frequently these were as much accidental, being forced by the topography as by design. The City Beautiful Movement of the pre-World War I years and the emergence of urban planning brought renewed attention to the picturesque residential plat. After the war the California design influence transported the western curvilinear plat design throughout the country. This final pre-World War II phase of curvilinear platting coincided with large-scale house building as an integral part of subdivision development. After World War II the curvilinear plat was more common but probably didn't become dominant until the mid-1950s. Grid plat planning didn't disappear and was more typically utilized to infill within the core city boundaries.

Curvilinear plats in Dubuque are all located on the bluff tops and many of these reflected an effort on the part of developers to exhaust the ridge tops which separated the many radiating ravines in the western part of the city. Curvilinear plats are certainly the exception in the city, most of these date to very recent residential developments.

Industrial and commercial districts can be more simply defined as contiguous groupings of each respective property type. Residential uses frequently occur on the upper levels in commercial areas but the properties are still deemed to be primarily commercial. Dubuque's downtown was always a multi-use area and witnessed an intermingling of all types of land uses. The apparent dominance of commercial properties today is more the result of demolition and the loss of buildings. The vast majority of older industrial properties have been demolished or altered beyond recognition. Large areas were historically open either due to marshy conditions or to the former dominance of the lumber industry with its huge drying yards.

Significance:

Context #1, Frontier City on the Mississippi River, 1833-1858:

No commercial or industrial districts survive in Dubuque from this time period.

Residential Districts:

It is doubtful that any clusters of residential properties survive from this time period. Some are included in the Jackson Park and Cathedral historic districts. The proposed Broadway District is said to represent this period and might offer some examples of the earliest vernacular houses.

Context #2, The Key City, 1859-1893:

Commercial Districts:

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The commercial downtown expanded northward into the Couler Valley during these years. The Old Main historic district contains some surviving building from this time period but much of the downtown, east of the several other listed downtown residential districts has not been surveyed. The sub-theme of banking is perhaps the most important historically. Dubuque claimed a self-sufficiency of capital throughout its history and it was during these years that the basis for greater growth was formed. The rise of the major commercial houses had its roots in this same period.

Industrial Districts:

It was during this contextual period that the city reigned as Iowa's largest manufacturing center. This dominance was based on many hundreds of small-scale firms. By the 1880's a few firms and certain industrial sectors achieved a larger scale and importance to the city, setting the stage for the next and final period of industrial growth. The city's riverfront was formed and defined by this industrial presence.

Residential Districts:

This period of city growth produced many potential residential districts and most of the listed districts represent this time period. Most of the "vernacular" properties date to this context and clusters are to found in the Couler Valley and Rhomberg. Vernacular houses of this same period are scattered throughout the city in every neighborhood but they are too intermixed with other property types and styles to produce a visually cohesive district.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

100's-300's Main Street, Old Main (Commercial) Historic District, NRHP (see separate Phase III district report, recommending additions to original boundary.

Bluff and Locust streets, south of Jones Street to south of 8th Street, Cathedral Historic District, NRHP

Bluff, Iowa, Montrose, 10th and 17th streets, Jackson Park Historic District, NRHP

Top of bluffs, Picket/Montrose, Walnut, Wilbur streets, West 11th Street Historic District (local district, to be nominated to NRHP 2003-04)

Top of bluffs, Alpine, Hill, 5th and Solon streets, Langworthy Historic District, (local district, to be nominated to NRHP 2003-04)

Millworking District (Carr-Ryder-Adams/Farley-Loetscher and other companies), White to Pine, 6th to 11th streets (see separate Phase III site sheet) (this district could be combined with the Upper Main district).

1100s block of Iowa, commercial district (see separate Phase III site sheet).

Old Town Residential District, residential district, 11th to 18th, Washington to Central (see separate Phase III site sheet).

Upper Main Commercial District, Main, 10th to 12th (see separate Phase III site sheet).

Upper Central Avenue Commercial District, Central from north end of 1400s through 18th Street, connects with previously identified commercial district to north), see separate Phase III site sheet).

1800's-1900's Central Avenue, commercial district, 1870-1900, DOE (Phase I survey recommendation) (1812, 1824, 1826-28, 1838, 1842, 1850, 1856, 1876, 1879, 1889-95, 1913-15, 1919, 1959, 1965 Central)

1800's-1900's Jackson Street, residential/commercial district, 1880-1890s, DOE (Phase I survey recommendation) (1885, 1889, 1903, 1905, 1913-17, 1920, 1930-32, 1946, 1949 Jackson)

Rhomberg Cluster (625, 627, 629), commercial/residential, Second Empire, 1880s-1909 (Phase II survey recommendation)

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Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

Top of bluffs, Fenelon Place, Prospect Park Historic District
Broadway and Division streets, Broadway Historic District
White Street Commercial/residential district, 1870-1900 (1902, 1908, 1922, 1938 White Street) (Phase I survey recommendation)
East 22nd & Washington residential district, 1890s (Phase I survey recommendation) (215-17, 301, 305, 306, 308, 310, 311, 312-14, 317-19, 321-23, 400 E. 22nd, 2162, 2172, 2201-2203, 2209, 2222, 2226, 2227, 2234-36, 2238, 2241 Washington Street) (this area could be combined with the Old Town District).

Context #3, Fitful Growth and Maturation, 1893-1910:

Commercial Districts:

A number of “modern” office buildings arose during this growth period symbolizing the growth of insurance and other service related businesses and the maturation of the commercial downtown. These precursors of the skyscraper represented the aspirations of the downtown interests. Large-scale wholesale businesses also were built at this time. The Old Main District includes some of the latter. The banking sector enjoyed particular growth and expansion and the city weathered the 1893 financial down turn which crippled virtually every other competitor. This was a remarkable achievement and consequently the city boasts major buildings from the period 1893-96 which are not to be found elsewhere.

Industrial Districts:

The surviving industrial concentration likely has its origins in this time period. Dubuque’s woodworking, wagon-building, and several jobbing firms grew exponentially during these years and a few were claimed to be the largest in the world. While the city had lost its statewide leadership in industry, these firms led the state in their respective sectors. The city’s wealth and expansion hinged on these successes and made possible the remarkable era of growth and the survival virtually unscathed of the 1893 financial panic.

Residential Districts:

These years witnessed the building of some of the city’s largest and most ornate homes as well as an explosion in the construction of quality moderate priced working class housing. The latter was offered beginning c.1906 by larger scale “community builders” such as Chris Voelker who left their mark in the form of numerous distinctive single family houses. Voelker introduced the use of rusticated concrete block in house construction. The building of satellite factory sites in the upper Couler Valley also produced districts of company housing around the factories. These should be investigated for their district potential.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

The same list (see above, Context #2) of listed districts applies to properties related to this context.

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Context #4, An Era of Stability, 1910-1955:

Commercial Districts:

This later period of commercial growth has yet to be fully studied and its buildings surveyed. For the most part commercial buildings represented infill construction downtown or arterial development. Districts as such are unlikely although the survival of these buildings might favor identifying a small district. The significance question is a difficult one if the assumption proves true that the commercial component of the city's economy was underdeveloped. Banking interests once again rise to the top given the severe retrenchment that followed a burst of bank formation and growth prior to World War I. German banks in particular flourished and several "skyscrapers" arose to attest to banking's strength. The bank crash in 1932 reduced seven to three banks and the attending losses appear to have substantially crippled the city's economy for many years.

Industrial Districts:

While not yet surveyed, a cursory examination appears to indicate that new industries from this period established themselves at scattered sites along the river or up the Couler Valley and that most do not survive today in recognizable form. Significant themes include the massive (25 percent) unemployment brought by the Depression and wartime construction contracts. A few new firms set the stage for future industrial growth and some facilities like John Deere's might constitute a district in their own right.

Residential Districts:

Much of the reduced level of house building during this period consisted of infilling of available lots and it is less likely that visually cohesive residential districts resulted. This building took place on rolling land atop the bluffs. Flatland house clusters have a better chance of being identified as districts because they are more compact. There is a probability that a Craftsman/bungalow district is to be found in the northeastern part of Rhomberg and the Deere's housing of 1946-47 in Asbury, with its distinctive red brick and Colonial styling, is also worthy of studying. Grandview Avenue features much of the best residential architecture of this period but no district has yet been identified.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

The same list (see above, Context #2) of listed districts applies to properties related to this context.

Millworking District (Carr-Ryder-Adams/Farley-Loetscher and other companies), White to Pine, 6th to 11th streets (see separate Phase III site sheet) (this district could be combined with the Upper Main district). The largest industrial buildings in this district date to this time period.

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

Asbury Road, John Deere Workers Housing, late 1940s

Registration Requirements: Public and Religious Institutional Property Type:

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Description:

The term “institutional” is broadly defined here to encompass public governmental, religious, fraternal, medical, civic and educational properties. Consequently this type includes public buildings, fraternal halls and temples, ethnic halls, schools, hospitals, charitable organizations, and religious and other colleges, universities and seminaries. Dubuque has a rich and unparalleled array of most of these property categories. The city is most noted for its late 19th century churches and its many religious educational institutions. The stylistic aspects of this type are treated in the styles/types section (see above). A survey is required to exhaustively analyze and compare the many surviving examples of this property type range.

Significance:

Context #1, Frontier City on the Mississippi River, 1833-1858:

From the beginning Dubuque’s church spires and the towers of its educational institutions dominated its skyline, the latter tending to occupy prominent bluff top locations. Dubuque is particularly fortunate to retain a number of buildings from this formative period and they represent the early emergence of an urban center on the frontier as well as the importance of the church in promoting emigration and in settling the region. Institutional architecture led the way in symbolizing the city’s aspirations. Remarkably three public buildings, City Hall, the Jail and First Ward School, all designed by noted architect John Rague, survive and represent the emergence of the urban center within the context of a frontier community. Several educational institutions, religious and secular left their early marks in surviving buildings and these have significant associations with contemporary movements of the day.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

36 East 8th Street, Dubuque County Jail, Exotic Revival/Egyptian, 1857, NRHP (local landmark)
75 West 17th Street, Lady of Lourdes, Gothic, 1854, DOE
1199 Central Avenue, Third Ward/Prescott School, 1856 (Phase III eligibility recommendation)
231 Bluff Street, St. Raphaels Cathedral, Parish House (Italianate, 1858), Gothic Revival, 1857-59, 1878 (steeple), DOE
55 Loras Blvd., Loras Academy Buildings, Second Empire, 1854, DOE

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

255 West 10th Locust streets, First Congregational Church, Gothic Revival, 1857, 1860, 1880s
13th and Central streets, First Ward/Prescott School, Italianate, 1857
Heeb Street, Dubuque Female College, Gothic Revival, 1854

Context #2, The Key City, 1859-1893:

Religious architecture during this time period produced what many claim to be Iowa’s best collection of monumental and formally designed church architecture. Dubuque’s built large and ornate edifices and they remained loyal to them. The major churches located downtown and remained there. Church growth, particularly the Catholic parishes, added church after church as the city expanded northward. The vast and complex array of educational

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institutions grew and flourished during this period. The remarkable thing is that most of these still survive in some form, usually at the same location, and have commonly added on to original buildings with a sensitivity to stylistic continuity. Other Iowa communities lost the majority of these facilities and can claim but a handful as present-day survivors but Dubuque has always enjoyed the reputation of being a college town. A broad array of public and religious social services, religious order residencies and the like are also represented by surviving buildings. Many buildings houses a remarkable range of successive tenant institutions.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

110 15th Street, St. Patricks Catholic Church (Gothic Revival, 1870) and Rectory (Second Empire, 1880), NRHP
635 East 22nd Street, Sacred Heart Catholic Church Complex, Italianate/Richardsonian Romanesque, 1885-87,
(includes rectory at 2215 Windsor, 1888) DOE (Phase II survey recommendation)
720 Central Avenue, Dubuque County Courthouse, Italian Renaissance/Beaux Arts, 1891-93, NRHP (local
landmark)
469 Emmett Street, St. Raphaels Convent, Second Empire, 1870, NRHP
1425 Iowa Street, St. Patricks Church, Gothic Revival, 1870, NRHP
1699 Iowa Street, German Methodist Church/Grace Baptist Church, Gothic Revival, 1885, NRHP
1458 Locust Street, St. Johns Episcopal Parish House, 1875, NRHP
55 Loras Avenue, Loras Adademy Buildings, Second Empire, 1878-82, DOE
50 West 13th Street, Dubuque City Hall, Italianate/Neo-Classical, 1857-58, NRHP (local landmark)
1410 Main Street, St. Johns Episcopal Church, Gothic Revival, 1875-78, NRHP
655 Loras Blvd., St. Jospeh Hall, Second Empire, no date, DOE

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

13th and Locust streets, Second Presbyterian Church, pre-1895 (now Boys Club)
17th and Iowa streets, First United Presbyterian Church, Victorian Gothic, no date
1631-33 Main Street, Immaculate Conception School/St. Francis Convent, Second Empire, no date
1240 Rush Street, St. Columbkilles School, Second Empire, no date
1584 White Street, St. Marys Catholic Church, Victorian Gothic, 1864-67
White between 13th and 14th streets, German Congregational Church, 1888 (now St. Johns Lutheran)
Windsor Avenue, Linwood Cemetery, Cemetery Office, Queen Anne, no date

Context #3, Fitful Growth and Maturation, 1893-1910:

Dubuque failed to acknowledge the financial panic of 1893 and plunged ahead with the construction of enormous primarily religious institutional buildings. Collectively, these with industrial and commercial buildings of the period, represent the city's final large-scale period of growth.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

125 West 9th Street, Dubuque Young Mens Christian Association, Richardsonian Romanesque, 1894, DOE
11th and Bluff streets, First Baptist Church, 1923 (St. Marys Community Center)
West 11th Street at Bluff Street, Carnegie Stout Public Library, Beaux Arts, 1901, NRHP

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1225 Alta Vista Street, Church of the Nativity, 1923
Althausen Street, Jefferson Middle School, Tudor Revival, 1923 (Phase II survey recommendation)
39 Bluff Street, Franklin School, Italian Renaissance, 1906, NRHP
223 Bluff Street, St. Raphael School, Italian Renaissance, 1904, DOE
2905 Central Avenue, Holy Ghost School, Late Gothic Revival, no date, DOE
2917 Central Avenue, Holy Ghost Rectory, Late Gothic Revival, no date, DOE
2921 Central Avenue, Holy Ghost Catholic Church, Late Gothic Revival, no date, DOE
2540 Central Avenue, Fulton Elementary School, Moderne, 1939 (Phase I survey recommendation)
1684 Iowa Street, First German Presbyterian Church, late Gothic Revival, 1896, NRHP
655 Loras Blvd., St. Josephs Chapel, late Gothic Revival, no date, DOE
398 Main Street, Dubuque Mission, Neo-Classical, no date, NRHP
1490 Rhomberg, Marshall Elementary School, Art Deco/Moderne, 1939 (Phase II survey recommendation)
1713 Rhomberg, Holy Trinity Catholic Church Complex, Tudor Revival, Romanesque Revival, 1910-29 (Phase II survey recommendation)
2050 University Avenue, University of Dubuque
Severence Hall, late Gothic Revival, 1907, DOE
Old Chapel Hall, late Gothic Revival, 1907, DOE
Van Vliet Hall, late Gothic Revival, 1907, DOE
Steffins Hall, late Gothic Revival, 1907, DOE

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

18th and Jackson streets, Immanuel United Church of Christ, 1897
Grandview Avenue, Mt. Carmel Mother House, Richardsonian Romanesque, 1893-94
Grandview Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, 1896
1199 Main Street, St. Lukes United Episcopal Church, Richardsonian Romanesque, 1896-97
1235 Mt. Loretta Street, Villa Raphael Mother House, Richardsonian Romanesque, 1909

Context #4, An Era of Stability, 1910-1955:

Institutional growth outpaced private sector growth through the mid-1920s and was represented by projects like the Tuberculosis Sanatorium (non-extant). The modern parochial school system developed during this same period, replacing the traditional parish-based school system and rose to compete effectively with the public school system. The public school system was transformed during these years by the construction of modern junior and high schools, and during the late 1930s many of the grade schools were replaced by a set of Moderne yellow-buff brick school complexes. The larger religious educational institutions, University of Dubuque, Clarke College, Loras College, and the Wartburg Seminary, all underwent major rebuildings, name changes in most cases, and emerged as successful entities.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

350 West 6th Street, U.S. Post Office, Art Deco, 1932-34, DOE (later recommendation as not eligible)
Eagle Point Park, Park Pavilion, Prairie, 1934-36, DOE

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

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359 West 9th Street, Christian Science Church, 1923 (now a restaurant)
12th and Locust streets, Masonic Temple, "abstracted Medievalism"/Art Deco, 1931-32
1700 Lincoln Avenue, Holy Trinity Catholic Church, Richardsonian Romanesque, 1910
333 Wartburg Street, Wartburg Theological Seminary, "modernized Medieval," 1914-16

Context #5, The Architecture of Dubuque, 1833-1955:

The styles associated with these properties is treated in the styles/types section (see above). A great many institutional properties are recognized for their architectural merit and state of integrity and the city is generally credited with possessing the best 19th century church architecture in Iowa. A targeted survey and inventory is required to make formal sense of the vast number of properties which fall under this property type and many could be potentially treated as historic districts.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

(the same property lists appended above apply to this context)

Registration Requirements:

- Individual institutional properties must be directly associated with the City of Dubuque, 1833 to present.
- Individual institutional properties must have a direct and significant association with one or more of the established historical contexts which are defined in this document.
- Individual institutional properties eligible under Criterion A must retain the integrity aspects of location, design and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association. The property has to be in its original location, and its original design must be visually apparent, unobstructed by additions or alterations. The integrity aspects of setting, materials and workmanship are expected to have changed the most, and their substantial loss does not disqualify eligibility.
- Individual institutional properties eligible under Criterion B are eligible if they retain the same integrity aspects required for Criterion A (see above). The aspects of workmanship and materials must at least be minimally reflected in the visible façade.
- Individual institutional properties eligible under Criterion C must represent a significant style, type, period or method of construction. Rarity of example is a justified reason for significance if the property represents a once common type now rarely found. Many Dubuque properties will warrant state or national levels of significance because they combine architectural significance with rarity. Significance is possessed if the property represents and interprets the working career of a notable artist, architect, engineer or landscape architect and explains how that individual contributed to their respective fields. A property is significant if it possesses high artistic qualities which characterize the architectural heritage of Dubuque.
- Individual institutional properties are eligible under Criterion D if they possess the potential to yield information through archeological treatment. For subsurface remains of buildings, structures or objects, it is expected that the integrity aspects of materials, workmanship, and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association are sufficiently retained so that the property is recognizable and qualifies to yield information. For the subsurface remains of dumps, sinks, or other cultural debris, it is necessary that the deposits be relatively intact and undisturbed. The

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individual nomination form must identify key research questions to be answered and must explain how the information yielded from the property will shed light on these questions.

Registration Requirements: Transportation Related Property Type:

Description:

This general property type includes those resources which relate to railroads, streetcars, the Mississippi River, and engineering related to surmounting the famous bluffs of Dubuque. A fairly finite property list covers the gamut of these subtypes. The Illinois Central Railroad bridge (and one surviving span of the original bridge!) and the freight house on the Ice Harbor exhaust surviving railroad buildings. The much-altered streetcar barn on Central Avenue nicely interprets the history of streetcar transportation in the city. A number of right-of-way features survive, often linked with landmark corners and buildings which interpret the several carlines. Strings of houses, particularly those built by Chris Voelker, also cluster directly on those lines. Three properties, the Zebulon Pike Lock and Dam #11 and the Federal Barge Terminal and the Ice Harbor all speak to the role of the Mississippi River and particularly to federal river improvements which impacted the city. Finally, the famous 4th Street Elevator and the several surviving sets of public stairs attest to solutions to help bluff top homeowners to get home. There is a probability that some archeological properties survive given the vast infilling of the riverfront area. The foundations of wharfs, warehouses, sunken barges and steamboats, remnants of the Eagle Point boat building works are likely buried. The preeminent boat building site on the south side of Ice the Harbor is gone save for a landmark tree. No portions of the several early airports survive and Union Park, the long-time streetcar amusement park, is also non-extant. Eagle Point Park, a later-date streetcar destination point, is well preserved but it is best treated under the sites property type or under institutional architecture.

Significance:

Context #1, Frontier City on the Mississippi River, 1833-1858:

Individual residential properties might survive that have links to transportation and these would be significant under Criteria A or B. More likely, archeological resources which possess the potential to yield information about this early period of primarily river transportation would be significant under Criterion D.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

No properties identified.

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

No properties identified.

Context #2, The Key City, 1859-1893:

The original railroad bridge span, the streetcar barn, the 4th Street Elevator, and the Ice Harbor are all significant under Criterion A for their association with major transportation contexts. Many residences having significant associations with leading transportation promoters and owners are potentially eligible under Criteria A or B. The

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Criterion B qualification requires that the property have a substantial association with the working career of the individual under consideration.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

Dubuque Ice Harbor, 1886, DOE

First and Iowa Streets, Illinois Central Railroad Freight Depot, 1873, DOE

8th and Washington streets, Key City Electric Street Railway Company, Italianate, no date, DOE

1500 Bluff Street, Steps, 1930, NRHP

15th Street Steps, no date, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, local significance)

Central Avenue between 3rd and 4th streets, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, Art Deco, 1882, DOE

512 Fenelon Place, Fourth Street Elevator, 1882, NRHP

400 Raymond Place, elevator, NRHP (Kriviskey recommendation, national/state significance)

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

No properties identified.

Context #3, Fitful Growth and Maturation, 1893-1910:

The replacement Illinois Central Railroad bridge, the bluff pedestrian steps and the streetscapes which are associated with the matured streetcar system all represent this time period and context and are potentially eligible under Criterion A. Many residences having significant associations with leading transportation promoters and owners are eligible under Criteria A or B. The Criterion B qualification requires that the property have a substantial association with the working career of the individual under consideration.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

300 East 3rd Street, Dubuque Freight House, Late Victorian, 1901

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

Illinois Central Railroad Bridge

Context #4, An Era of Stability, 1910-1955:

The Zebulon Pike Lock and Dam #11 (1937) and possibly the Julien Dubuque Bridge (1940-42) interpret the growing federal role in river transportation improvement and are potentially eligible under Criterion A.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

Dodge Street, U.S. Highway 20, Mississippi River, Julien Dubuque Bridge, 1943, NRHP

14th Street, steps, DOE

Ice Harbor, William M. Black dredge, DOE (local landmark)

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Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

Mississippi River, Federal Barge Terminal

Context #5, The Architecture of Dubuque, 1833-1955

The lock and dam appears to have employed Modern design lines as did the Julien Dubuque Bridge and might be significant under criterion.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

(the same property lists appended above apply to this context)

Registration Requirements:

- Individual transportation properties must be directly associated with the City of Dubuque, 1833 to present.
- Individual transportation properties must have a direct and significant association with one or more of the established historical contexts which are defined in this document.
- Individual transportation properties eligible under Criterion A must retain the integrity aspects of location, design and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association. The property has to be in its original location, and its original design must be visually apparent, unobstructed by additions or alterations. The integrity aspects of setting, materials and workmanship are expected to have changed the most, and their substantial loss does not disqualify eligibility.
- Individual transportation properties eligible under Criterion B is eligible if it retains the same integrity aspects required for Criterion A (see above). The aspects of workmanship and materials must at least be minimally reflected in the visible façade.
- Individual transportation properties eligible under Criterion C must represent a significant style, type, period or method of construction. Rarity of example is a justified reason for significance if the property represents a once common type now rarely found. Many Dubuque properties will warrant state or national levels of significance because they combine architectural significance with rarity. Significance is possessed if the property represents and interprets the working career of a notable artist, architect, engineer or landscape architect and explains how that individual contributed to their respective fields. A property is significant if it possesses high artistic qualities which characterize the architectural heritage of Dubuque.
- Individual transportation properties are eligible under Criterion D if they possess the potential to yield information through archeological treatment. For subsurface remains of buildings, structures or objects, it is expected that the integrity aspects of materials, workmanship, and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association are sufficiently retained so that the property is recognizable and qualifies to yield information. For the subsurface remains of dumps, sinks, or other cultural debris, it is necessary that the deposits be relatively intact and undisturbed. The individual nomination form must identify key research questions to be answered and must explain how the information yielded from the property will shed light on these questions.

Registration Requirements: Historic Sites Property Type:

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Description:

This range of properties includes the several former city/religious cemeteries, the Civil War Camp Union/Franklin, Union Park, the Shooting Club Park, Nutwood Race Track, and the many German beer garden sites. Numerous baseball fields served the city and most had some substantial bleachers and related infrastructure. Athletic Park, located at 4th Street north of the Shot Tower, was established on filled land which later became an industrial area. The intention is to address all social and institutional gathering sites which were not linked with permanent buildings and which are not otherwise addressed in the other property types in this document. The landscaping and architecture of public parks such as Eagle Point or commemorative sites such as the Julien Dubuque monument is covered under the institutional property type because these retain a permanent architecture or landscaping. Recent archeological work related to the Northwest arterial yielded artifacts which appear to document the pre-1833 U.S. military presence in the Dubuque area. These troops prevented lead miners from pre-empting legal occupation of the region. These campsites and other early mining, smelting and milling sites, and their related occupation sites and Native American sites merit the creation of an early settlement context that would encompass pre-1837 property types.

Significance:

Context #1, Frontier City on the Mississippi River, 1833-1858:

The earliest cemeteries possess the potential to yield information about mortality rates, causes of death, and the social history of early Dubuque under Criterion D (archeology). Neither the Jackson Park or the earliest Catholic cemeteries were properly vacated and many burials remain. No registry exists for the catholic cemetery.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

1500 Bluff Street, Grant Park is a part of the Jackson Park Historic District
Washington Park is a part of Cathedral Historic District

Context #2, The Key City, 1859-1893:

Camp Union/Franklin served as the rendezvous camp for a substantial number of Iowa infantry regiments during 1861-62. It is probable that the site, located south of Eagle Point, has been completely lost with the lowering of that area for use as barrow to infill the marshes to the south. Investigation and testing is recommended however in hopes that the site does survive. If it does survive the site has a probable capacity to yield important information about Iowa's wartime homefront military mobilization under Criterion D. Union Park and the Shooting park emerged during these years as a key amusement park and German social club respectively. Both sites retain some structures and the latter is still functioning in its original use. The present established cemeteries were opened during this period. Nutwood Park

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

Recommended for further study and evaluation, likely National Register eligible

Rhomberg Street (Blocks 207-8, Ham's Addition) Camp Union/Franklin

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Context #3, Fitful Growth and Maturation, 1893-1910:

Union Park's popularity continued to grow as did the beer gardens and other social use sites. Union Park in particular was directly linked to the emerging streetcar service and helped fund its growth and development. The majority of social site usage was stretched along northern Central (then Couler) Avenue.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

No properties found.

Context #4, An Era of Stability, 1910-1955:

Floods crippled Union Park and it faded from use during the 1930s. The Athletic Park was built during this time and long served the city.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

No properties found.

Context #5, The Architecture of Dubuque, 1833-1955

Not applicable for this property type given the expected loss of all above ground features and buildings/structures.

National Register Listed/Eligible Properties:

Registration Requirements:

- Historic sites properties must be directly associated with the City of Dubuque, 1833 to present.
- Historic sites properties must have a direct and significant association with one or more of the established historical contexts which are defined in this document.
- Historic sites properties eligible under Criterion A must retain the integrity aspects of location, design and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association. The property has to be in its original location, and its original design must be visually apparent, unobstructed by additions or alterations. The integrity aspects of setting, materials and workmanship are expected to have changed the most, and their substantial loss does not disqualify eligibility.
- Historic sites properties eligible under Criterion B are eligible if they retain the same integrity aspects required for Criterion A (see above). The aspects of workmanship and materials must at least be minimally reflected in the visible façade.
- Historic sites properties eligible under Criterion C must represent a significant style, type, period or method of construction. Rarity of example is a justified reason for significance if the property represents a once common type now rarely found. Many Dubuque properties will warrant state or national levels of significance because they combine architectural significance with rarity. Significance is possessed if the property represents and interprets the working career of a notable artist, architect, engineer or landscape architect and explains how that

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individual contributed to their respective fields. A property is significant if it possesses high artistic qualities which characterize the architectural heritage of Dubuque.

•Historic sites properties are eligible under Criterion D if they possess the potential to yield information through archeological treatment. For subsurface remains of buildings, structures or objects, it is expected that the integrity aspects of materials, workmanship, and the cumulative aspects of feeling and association are sufficiently retained so that the property is recognizable and qualifies to yield information. For the subsurface remains of dumps, sinks, or other cultural debris, it is necessary that the deposits be relatively intact and undisturbed. The individual nomination form must identify key research questions to be answered and must explain how the information yielded from the property will shed light on these questions.

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Geographical Area:

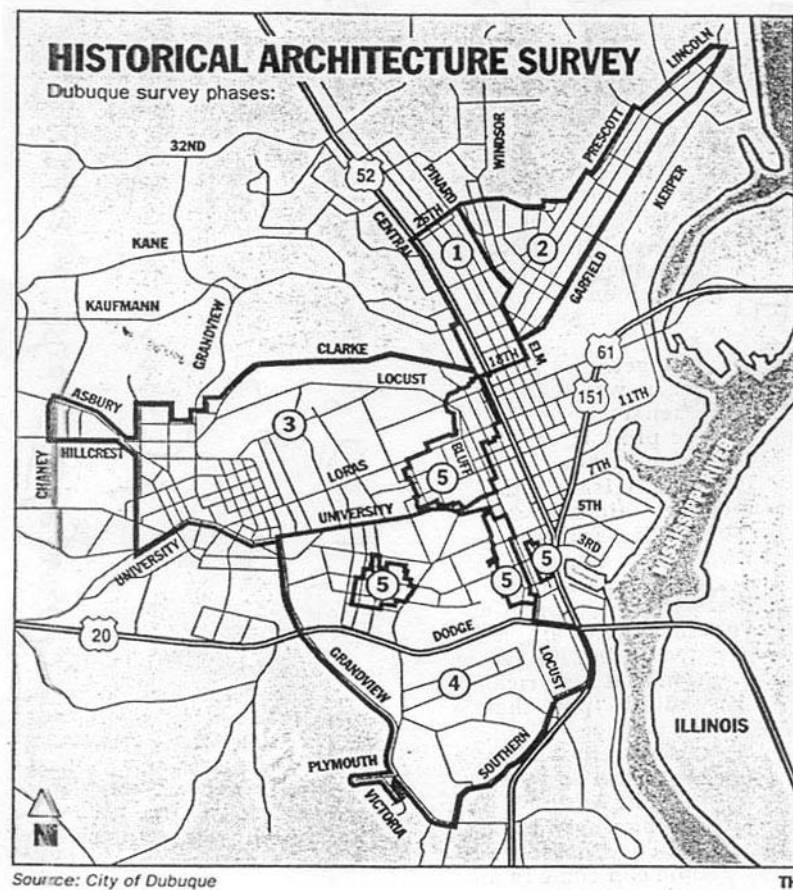


Figure 252: Five Proposed Survey Phases (*Telegraph Herald*, March 30, 2000)

This multiple property document encompasses the entirety of the city of Dubuque. The survey report component covers only the Phase I survey area which is defined by Central Avenue (west boundary), East 26th Street (north boundary), Elm Street (east boundary) and East 18th Street (south boundary). Five successive survey efforts are planned to update Dubuque's historical/architectural inventory. This report includes the findings of the Phase I survey. The Phase II survey is also under contract and planned to begin in the late summer of 2000.

At least one identified resource, the railroad bridge, crosses the Mississippi River and connects to the Illinois shore. In many ways the proper historical and architectural context is not Iowa but rather southwestern Wisconsin and northwestern Illinois. All of these share the same river valley culture and history.

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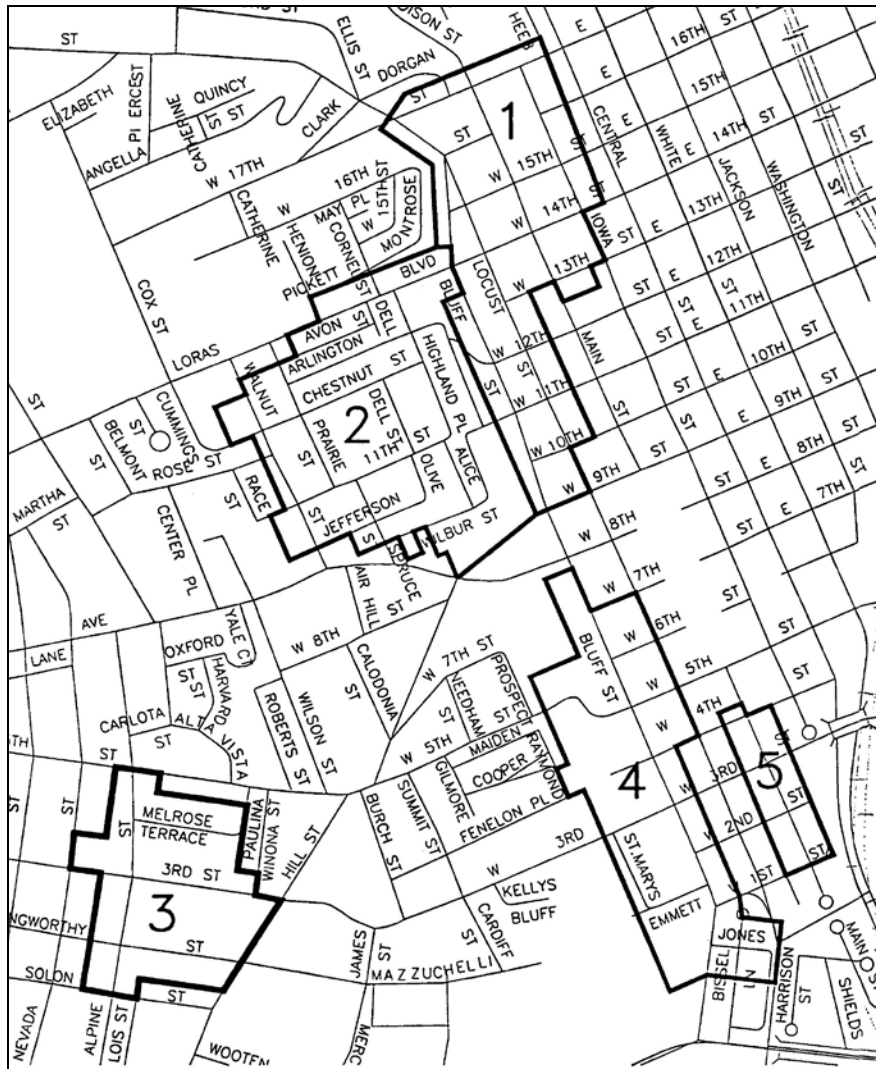


Figure 253: National Register Listed Historic Districts, Dubuque
(1-Jackson Park, 2-West 11th Street, 3-Langworthy, 4-Cathedral, 5-Old Main)

In addition to these listed districts, three others were recommended for listing by Bruce Kriviskey in 1979:

Broadway/Traut District: Broadway, 24th and Central, 51 mid-19th century residential properties.

Fenelon Place District: Located atop the bluff opposite the 4th Street Elevator, 61 contributing residential properties.

Prospect Street District: Located between the bluffs and Prospect Street with 15 contributing properties.

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Methodology:

This multiple property development and its related historic survey projects represents a renewed effort on the part of the City of Dubuque to put its historic preservation program in order. The surveys are the first comprehensive effort to update the city's historic building inventory and to organize that inventory on the basis of an established set of historic contexts. The multiple property document establishes those contexts and defines the property types and styles which are expressed in Dubuque's architecture and history.

The staff of the Dubuque Community Development Department developed a five-phase historical survey plan to complete the city's historical/architectural inventory and the first two phases of this plan were accepted for completion by the City Council in 1999. Phase I, the survey of the lower portion of the Couler Valley, funded with a Certified Local Government grant, was awarded to historic preservation consultant Jim Jacobsen (d/b/a History Pays!). Phase II, the survey of the Rhomberg or North Dubuque residential district, was funded using Housing and Urban Development Funds, and the contract was awarded to consultants Jim Jacobsen and Molly Myers Naumann.

The Phase I survey effort had the stated goal of documenting only those properties or districts which appeared to merit National Register of Historic Places eligibility recommendations. Completed individual historical inventory forms and photographs documented individually eligible properties or district groupings. In both survey efforts, the consultants initially documented all properties having exterior integrity (exposed wood, stucco, brick, etc.). Re-sided buildings defied documentation using standard field survey techniques. If one was documented, then all had to be because they all looked the same. Re-sided buildings were not documented unless they had exceptional features (distinctive exposed trimwork, significant building type, well preserved features such as windows or porches). This initial pool was then reviewed and eligible properties were given special research attention.

Surveyor Kriviskey encountered the re-siding problem back in 1978 and he too had to focus his attention primarily on non-frame buildings. The passage of 20 years had considerably worsened the situation and many buildings which Kriviskey favored are now unrecognizable. Third, most of the buildings were collectively of historical interest but very few warranted individual National Register consideration. District clusters consisted of sizable fragments, mostly being focused on commercial nodes which occurred at street corners or in the southern third of the survey area. There were a number of impressive commercial blocks however.

A key concern on the part of the City was the need to resolve the lead paint issue. The City's housing program was covering historic buildings and removing interior trimwork in an effort to remove the lead paint threat. The consultants were asked to review this issue as it related to historic preservation concerns. The consultants quickly determined that the issue was virtually a mute one given that at least 98 percent of all frame houses have already been sided. The lingering concern is the wholesale loss of historic interior trimwork.

Bruce Kriviskey's (see below) 1978 survey findings guided the present survey efforts. Kriviskey prepared no site forms and did no historical research but he did prepare key-coded survey maps which identified a range of significance levels, all of which were architecturally based. Planning staff prepared a baseline survey map that was derived from the Geographic Information System. This map depicted individual building outlines as well as street names and building addresses. Kriviskey's findings were copied onto this base map and the resulting map guided the present survey. While many Kriviskey eligibility recommendations had been lost to demolition or re-siding, there was still a good "fit" between his findings and those of the consultants.

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The many hundreds of vernacular residences which were not documented are still collectively of historical merit. They present an excellent example of a situation where excepted survey techniques and National Register standards are not helpful in acknowledging their collective importance. Given the city's topography, only the Phase I and Phase II residential areas offer large groupings of Dubuque's vernacular houses in a flat land setting. Similar houses are found throughout the city above the bluffs, but these are scattered and intermixed with houses from later periods. The best chance for vernacular districts is found on these flat valley floors. Replacement siding has transformed these into look-alike boxes devoid of any detailing or uniqueness. To document one was to document all. What remains impressive is the density, juxtaposition, and occasionally the orientation of these houses. Surviving examples of once typical detailing, house orientation, and original appearance were documented, but much has been lost or obscured. Virtually every frame house still retaining its original clapboard exterior was documented. Exceptions were due to the loss of integrity due to porch removal, window reduction, or other alterations.

Historical research first focused upon identifying a means of accurately dating the surveyed properties. If anything can knowingly be said about the evolution and derivation of vernacular house designs then accurate building dates are the starting point. The earlier vernacular survivors can be sorted out through this dating process. Many of the surveyed properties were found to be of a later building date than might be generally assumed, given Dubuque's conservative building tradition. This is particularly true of building dating after the 1880s through the First World War.

Dating pre-1921 properties using city directories is a complex process because Dubuque renamed many streets and renumbered east/west running blocks that year. Prior to 1902 directories have no listings by address and a property can be traced back only if the owner/occupant is known by name. Historical photographs can date buildings if they are accurately dated, but they are best when used to document major buildings. Few neighborhoods have historic photographic coverage and the Phase II survey area was particularly difficult to photograph historically from any vantage point. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps are restricted in their coverage in residential areas prior to 1909, but there are maps for 1891 and 1884. Lithographic views proved to be one of the best means to date buildings but they are most accurate when landmark buildings are the subject of investigation.

The Multiple Property Document:

Intimidation is the word that best describes the challenge of summarizing Dubuque's amazing story in a standard multiple property document. The sheer mass of most excellent written and visual history alone makes the task a daunting one. The real challenge is to dare to rank or distinguish one context over another. Fortunately the answer is found in the same historical cornucopia—many others possessing more talent, have largely done the analytical work and their guidance made the task a doable one. Dubuquers know and live their history and any historical summary is guaranteed to undergo close and exacting scrutiny as it should.

The same historical literature search identified the key secondary historical references and these formed the outline for the document. A multiple property document, in order to be truly useful, has to be tailored to the historical personality of a community. It has to fit. Dubuque very much still embodies the historical personality that made it such a special place so local input will test the developing document.

A first draft was hurriedly prepared in mid-January 2000 given the fact that the project had been so delayed in getting started. Eighty percent of the first draft comprised an architectural typology of Dubuque's best historical

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properties. This section was quickly prepared only because Lawrence Sommer and David Gebhard and others had already largely and capably done the work. The remainder of the draft offered four time-defined basic contexts and a range of sub-contexts. An initial review of the city's historiography indicated that the years 1857-58, 1893, and 1910 best marked transitions in the city's development.

A more substantial draft was developed in March-April following the completion of the second field visit and the completion of most of the preliminary historical research. Two sources, William Wilkie's Dubuque On The Mississippi and Randolph Lyon's singularly outstanding Dubuque: The Encyclopedia, provided the backbone of both guidance and documentation for the developing document. Lyon's work is of particular importance because it treats the recent social and economic development themes along with historical ones.

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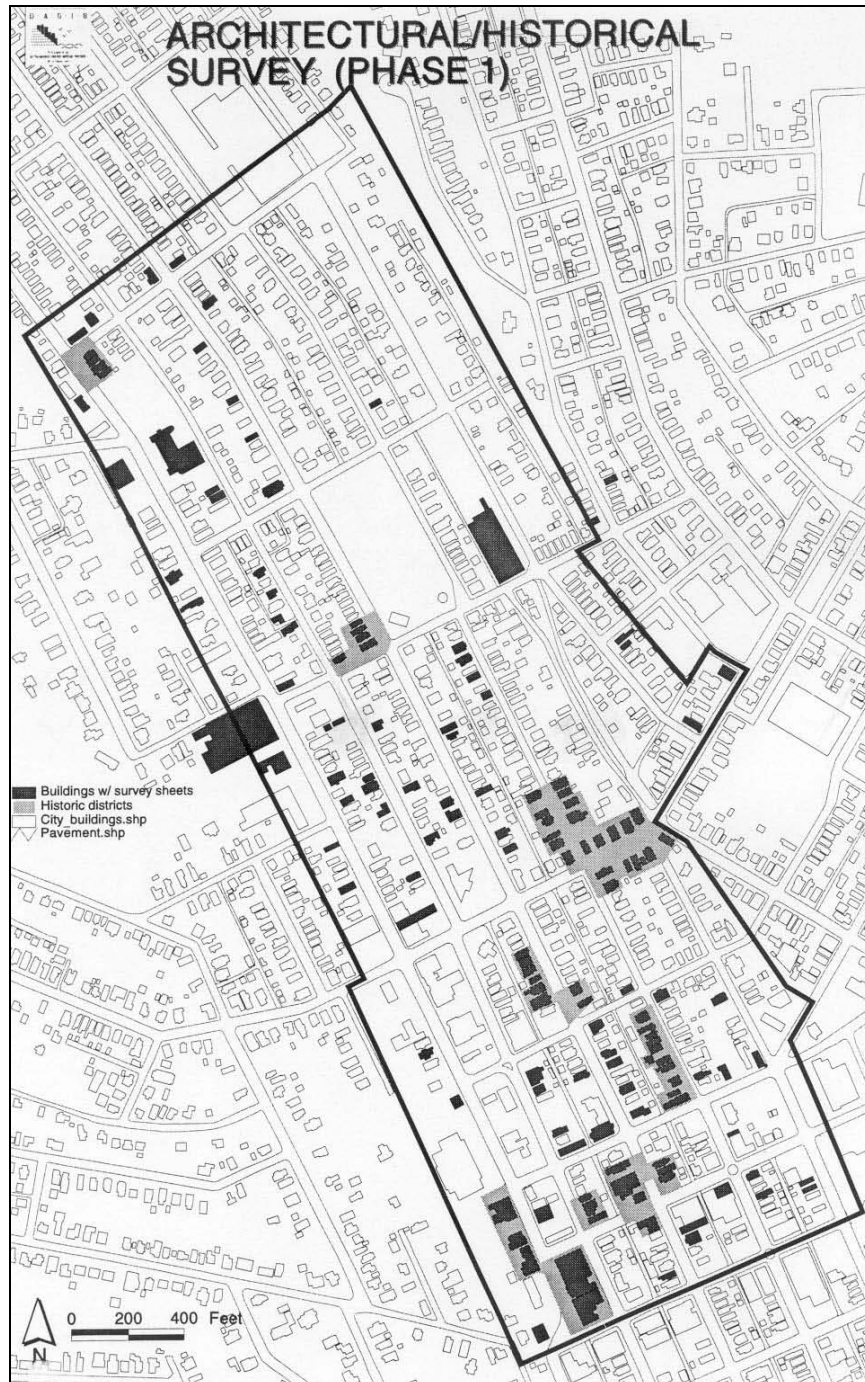
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Phase I Survey Area Map

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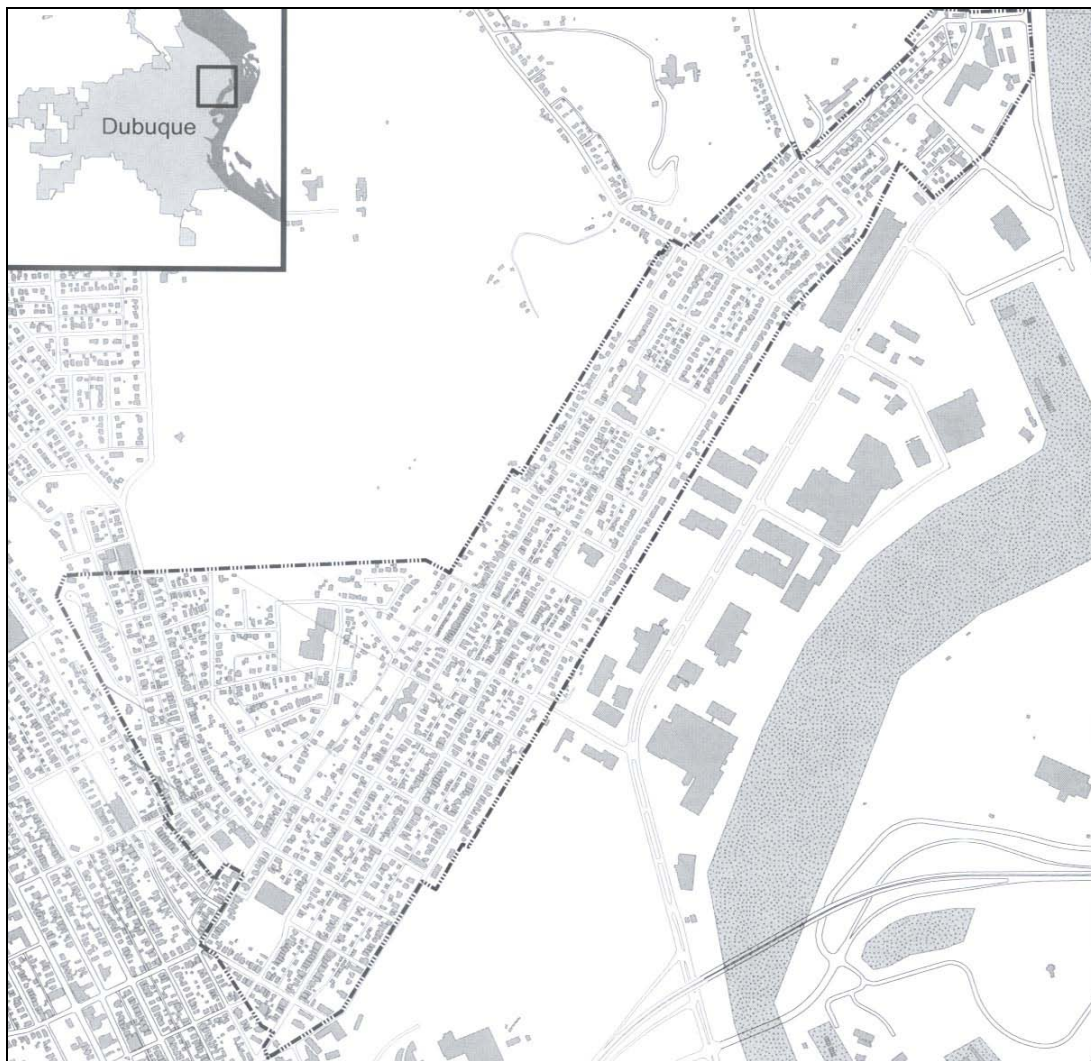
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Phase II Survey Area Map

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Phase III Survey Area Map

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Survey and Registration Recommendations:

A number of observations or recommendations have been during the course of this Phase I multiple property document development and survey effort. These are appended below.

1. Historical/architectural survey of the upper Couler Valley (above 26th Street).

This area is not included in the five-phase survey plan but should be. It contains a number of very significant industrial plants, the housing which is associated with those plants, and an array of potentially significant churches and corner commercial properties. This area developed post-1890/1900 for the most part, save for scattered properties along Central Avenue.

2. Survey of the northern portion of the downtown area.

Krviskey identified potentially significant properties in this area (generally the area located north and east of the designated Main Street district) but save for the registration of the Jackson Park area, little attention has been paid to it. This part of the downtown contains innumerable commercial, industrial, vernacular and architecturally significant properties and deserves focused survey attention. Many of the surviving early downtown buildings are found here. Such a survey would address the issue of possibly extending the Main Street program area northward, an idea that seems to have much merit.

3. Survey and possible registration of Dubuque's surviving industrial architecture.

It appears that a substantial industrial historic district survives between the courthouse and Highway 61. This cluster of large industrial properties best represents the industrial heritage of the city. Preservation financial incentives might be very beneficial to the continued use of these properties but if property owners are opposed to formal listing, it is recommended that the area offers an excellent venue for historical tours and educational promotions. Numerous scattered industrial properties (including jobbing, wholesaling, transportation related properties) are scattered throughout the city and need to be studied as a group.

4. The extension of Survey Areas 4 and 5 to include Grandview Avenue and other pre-1955 residential neighborhoods.

Many early 20th century residential properties and significant institutional/religious properties are scattered throughout the city and many of these are located outside of the planned survey areas. These should either be enlarged, on the scale of Survey Area 3, or additional survey areas should focus on either particular neighborhoods such as Grandview Avenue or upon particular ranges of residential architecture. It might be advantageous to simply survey the entire highlands portion of the city, selecting out potentially significant properties. A first phase reconnaissance survey could locate and classify these and follow-up intensive survey efforts could document them individually. Bruce Krviskey's proposed Prospect Park historic district is deserving of particular attention (as does his Broadway district).

5. Survey and evaluate the John Deere workers housing south of Asbury Road and other major post World War plat developments.

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The John Deere workers' housing was quite unusual in its design and stylistic treatments. These brick duplexes and single family residences employed a fairly formal Colonial Revival style. They are massed in one part of the city and comprise Dubuque's premier post-World War suburban subdivision.

6. The Illinois Central Railroad bridge over the Mississippi River warrants National Registration listing.
7. Eagle Point Park merits comprehensive survey and evaluation efforts.
8. The Zebulon Pike Lock and Dam facility and Mississippi River Barge Terminal are likely National Register eligible and deserve study and consideration.
9. Linwood Cemetery is a splendid historical resource and is probably significant for its landscape design and its historic buildings and structures.
10. Shiras Avenue merits a historical/architectural survey to the north of the Phase II survey area.

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Bibliography:

Dubuque's history is better documented than any other city in the state. The very best historians, on a state or local level, have labored in the historical vineyards of Dubuque and the result has been both plentiful and impressive. Dubuque from its inception has been collectively historically minded and virtually every step forward was taken with an appreciative nod to the historical Muse. Even today the past continues to enliven, guide and help explain the present in Dubuque.

What is perhaps most remarkable of the secondary history of the city is the attention given to state and regional context and to historical analysis. Virtually every important historical context has been researched and developed to some extent.

This wealth of sources is matched by a richness in libraries and research centers. Three principal archives, the Carnegie-Stout Public Library, the Dubuque County Historical Library, and the Loras College Center for Dubuque History, were accessed for this project.

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