Intent and Outcome: A River Town Retrieves Its Past

In 1979, Davenport began a massive multiple listing effort to nominate properties to the National Register. For Iowa, the effort was unprecedented; it was the first such nomination to be approved by the state and its scope was larger than that of any other Iowa municipality.¹ When completed in the 1980's, more than half of all Iowa National Register properties were located in Davenport.²

In many cities across America, the 1966 passage of the National Historic Preservation Act, the development of state historic preservation offices and enthusiasm for local history surrounding the nation's Bicentennial celebration triggered local preservation efforts like Davenport's. Other factors impacting cities and society in the 1970s and 1980s were also in play--a shrinking downtown and move to the suburbs, new voices in the political arena, aggressive transportation planning and dramatic shifts in the area's economy-- that helped and hindered historic preservation in the old town by the Mississippi. For those whose lives were touched by the effort in Davenport as activists, politicians, business people, journalists, or citizens, what occurred...or is remembered today...varies over the two decades being explored.

Davenport is a Mississippi River town platted in 1836 by French/Native American trader Antoine LeClaire. Its geography confuses those unfamiliar to the area since it is sited at one of the few places where the great river flows west. So what would be "west" for most Mississippi River towns is Davenport's "north." Any discussion of the city must include a mention of its Iowa and Illinois sister cities. While the towns are located in two states, operating separate governments and school systems, they are interdependent in terms of their economies and their boundaries are contiguous.

To Davenport's east is the youngest city, Bettendorf which has seen the greatest percentage of residential growth in recent years. Across the river are the older Illinois towns of Rock Island, Moline, and East Moline. The Rock Island Arsenal sits on a 946-acre island in the Mississippi between the cities.³ Collectively, the towns fall within the metropolitan statistical area known as the Quad Cities. "Tri Cities" and "Quint Cities" have been also used historically and still find a place in the name of many businesses.⁴ The area's tradition as an industrial powerhouse dates to the 19th century. Lumber mills fueled much of its early 19th century prosperity; the area eventually attracted other industry including Deere Manufacturing, Farmall and Caterpillar. The Arsenal, focused on manufacturing, added to the area's economic might. Geography and transportation play a part in this story. Davenport and Bettendorf's home county of Scott is 465 square miles of flat and rolling land offering little obstruction to growth. Conversely, Rock Island, the Illinois home county, 451 square miles, is bisected by the Rock River; a large section was inaccessible to easy development until recent bridge construction.

The first railroad bridge across the Mississippi connected Rock Island to Davenport in 1856.⁵ Getting to work, often across the river, has traditionally been an important aspect of life in the Quad Cities. By the 1970's the towns were connected by the paired I-74 bridges (opened 1935 and 1959)⁶ joining Davenport and Bettendorf to Moline; the Centennial Bridge (opened 1939) just west of Davenport's central downtown area connected Gaines Street in Davenport to 15th Street in Rock Island. The double-decker Government Bridge (finished 1895)⁷ at the eastern edge of Davenport's downtown area linked Davenport, Arsenal Island, and Rock Island. Built to

carry both combination rail and road transportation, its swing span permits passage of river traffic.

Davenport took the early lead as the largest city. The city's center was established on 36-1/2 blocks⁸ along the river and on north side bluffs, with shops and residences intermixed. Soon, the city began to expand its boundaries to the north, west and east beyond its "Original Town" footprint, with prosperous citizens building away from the noisy and dirty waterfront. In the 1840's, about a mile to the east, a milling area developed that became known as East Davenport ("The Village") and included its own set of shops and homes. It was incorporated into the city of Davenport in 1858. The area at the river's edge between The Village and downtown Davenport eventually became dotted with homes and mills.⁹ A central commercial district with shops and factories east and west and neighborhoods and farms further out became the norm as the 19th century city's boundaries expanded to Locust Street, 19 blocks to the north. (Fig. 1) Scattered shops serviced residential neighborhoods. An extensive trolley, interurban, and ferry system linking them with the downtown area and other nearby cities. The settlement, with an 1850 population of 1,848 grew quickly to 11,267 in 1860, two years after the arrival of the railroad. By 1900 it was a bustling town of 35,254.¹⁰ (Fig 1) The introduction of the automobile allowed expansion away from the riverfront but the commercial and business focus remained downtown. Residential areas had begun to develop north of Locust, but farms still dotted the land beyond. While the area did not escape hard times during the Depression, it boomed during World War II, with 19,000 workers employed at the Arsenal.¹¹

Prosperity continued at war's end, and Davenport faced a housing shortage. In 1946, Alcoa announced plans to build a \$3,000,000 plant east of Bettendorf, employing over 2,000 people and opening in 1948.¹² Farmall's \$1.9 million-square-foot plant in Rock Island employed

5,000.¹³ Davenport was growing, with new suburban areas being added each year. Local builders like the Mel Foster Real Estate Company and Mueller Lumber were expanding the city beyond its traditional confines.^{14 15} In the 1950's, Kimberly Road was the city's boundary and downtown was still where the action was.¹⁶ A Davenport employee who grew up in nearby Bettendorf remembers that "There was nothing better than being dropped off with 50 cents in my pocket in front of the RKO Orpheum Theater on Saturday afternoon." The downtown was a friendly, entertaining and fun place for a kid in the 1960's.

Change was on the way. On March 1, 1956, Davenport became the first city in Iowa to introduce consumers to a new retail experience when Valley Mall Shopping Center, Iowa's first strip mall, opened on Kimberly Street, 39 blocks north of the riverfront.¹⁷ Peg Hathaway came to Davenport with her dentist husband in 1955. Hathaway opened his office in one of its prestigious bank buildings, but soon moved his practice north because of parking issues. While Peg says that people were still "going downtown to get things done," she also remembers other doctors, dentists and attorneys leaving the area and blames the traffic for it. She also remembers that only "poor" apartments were available for rent.¹⁸

The city had avoided the massive urban development clearances that had occurred in earlier decades, leaving its downtown generally intact. In 1971, an 1884 building described as Davenport's "first skyscraper" was razed to create a parking lot for a Cedar Rapids company who had purchased a bank next door. "This building is so run down it's strictly a bird roost," the new owner said, despite the fact that it had four commercial tenants and renters in the upper stories.¹⁹ Karen Anderson, a Davenport native and later an early volunteer County Liaison Officer for the Iowa SHPO, feels that summed up the general attitude toward the older downtown buildings. She says the 1970s demolition of the old Turner Hall on 3rd Street that

covered most of a city block and had been the cultural center of life for German immigrants was closed because its mechanical systems did not "meet code." It was replaced with senior high rise housing, a structure she calls, "a crummy building that gave 10 times less the service."²⁰

In a series of long range planning proposals in the mid-1960s, transportation studies of routes through the Quad Cities began. The Bi-State Metropolitan Planning (now Bi-State Regional Planning) Commission was established in 1966. It was charged with developing urban thoroughfare studies, and, according to current executive director Denise Bulat, there were plenty of federal dollars to support the work.²¹ Other projects stressed future needs. A 1969 Master Plan projected a 1985 Davenport population of 127,200;²² the city sat at 88,981 in 1960 and the 1970 census would record 98,469.23 Early transportation studies explored connecting Interstate 80 on the north side south through the city to the Centennial Bridge and to Rock Island, Illinois beyond, a concept that was dubbed the Gaines Street Expressway. Also proposed was as a new cross town expressway to reroute east-west traffic north of downtown. Another alternative was bringing River Drive, the road closest to the Mississippi River, to expressway standards. A study explored the widening of Jersey Ridge Road, a north-south road from I-80 to River Drive, cutting through The Village and historic Lindsey Park. While some of the proposals were warmly applauded by the Davenport newspaper, no real action resulted.²⁴ Many of these concepts made it into long term transportation studies being coordinated by the Bi-State Commission.

These recommendations came late to Iowa. According to Raymond Mohl in his 2002 paper "The Freeway Revolt," negative reaction to the construction of highways through cities had already begun with Americans speaking out in the 1960's against the destruction of many inner city neighborhoods when highways expanded, charging that they disproportionately tore

through minority or economically disadvantaged parts of cities. The plans were frequently supported by developers and business interests concerned by blight and flight—decaying homes and buildings in old urban core areas and the relocation of business and residents to outlying suburbs.²⁵

As Davenport welcomed the 1970s, it was expanding away from its historic downtown. Disinvestment in many older neighborhoods surrounding it continued. The city rezoned these areas for heavier density and former single family homes became rentals.²⁶ Most ominous for a downtown beginning to struggle with changing residential patterns was the 1973 opening of NorthPark Mall, when built, the largest enclosed shopping mall in Iowa, just a block west of Valley Mall.²⁷ The Mall opening had an immediate impact on downtown businesses with some shops closing up to move to the new location.

Seeds of Historic Preservation

Karen Anderson and her husband Ferrell were bucking housing trends when they gave up their four room Cape Cod on Kimberly Road in 1971 and moved to their new home in the Village; it cost \$8,500 and had a view of the Mississippi from its front yard. Eastside Development Corporation community organizer Nora DeJohn and her husband moved to the neighborhood about the same time.²⁸ Anderson soon became involved in an effort to collect information on historic homes; she joined what she calls a mostly elderly group of people collecting information they stored in cardboard boxes. She suggested that they begin doing field work and inventorying buildings, beginning with what would seem to be the most vulnerable areas, which she saw as The Gold Coast, a German neighborhood directly above downtown; and Washington Square, an area to the south that was the traditional landing point for German immigrants arriving in the city by steamboats. Teams of volunteers fanned out across Davenport's historic neighborhoods, collecting information from owners.²⁹ Anderson also focused on her own neighborhood, The Village-- now home to many bars and strip clubs. Larry Minard, an Iowa native who came to the city in 1968 to head the Language Arts Department at Davenport's only high school, lived in the historic McClellan Heights neighborhood near The Village; he heard about the history project and encouraged his students to volunteer. Larry would later serve on the Davenport City Council and as Chair of the Scott County Board of Supervisors. In 1974, the Iowa SHPO opened, the 47th in the country to do so. As part of its outreach to Iowa's one hundred counties, it implemented a program of appointing volunteer County Liaison Officers. Karen was one of the early people who filled that position for Scott County.

Ralph Christian was hired by the Iowa SHPO in 1980 after the Davenport project was underway. He estimates that 90% of the Iowa National Register nominations were what he calls "mom and pop" submissions by people who had a building they wanted to nominate. Since the Bicentennial had created more interest in local history and with the establishment of state offices, there were various levels of expertise among these interested parties and still few consultants available. The process for filing National Register nominations was in flux; nominations took as long as two years to complete. Formal nominating systems were not in place and processes being used were not standardized across the country.³⁰ Jim Jacobsen, who would later serve as National Register Coordinator for the Iowa SHPO, recalls at one point, the National Park Service (NPS) issued a form smaller than a letter-sized piece of paper, with a goal of encouraging applicants to reduce the amount of information submitted.³¹ In *A Richer Heritage*, Stipe notes that on a national basis, funding needs consistently lagged behind state needs, with much state effort forced to focus on meeting the requirements of Section 106 reviews.³² Like many other

state offices, the Iowa SHPO took an active role in preparing National Register nominations, working with citizens and volunteer county liaison officers. Christian estimates that, in the earliest days, 90-95% of Iowa's nominations were collaborations between residents sending in their collected information and the SHPO writing and submitted the nominations.³³

With local research continuing, Anderson worked hardest on documenting her own neighborhood, the Village. The list of contributing structures would grow to almost 280. Beginning about 1973, she, along with others, began to organize a series of Village events that included fall festivals, Civil War musters and Christmas walks with "living history" displays inside lighted windows. She remembers the owner of a strip club removing nude photos from the windows of his club for the duration of a Christmas Walk; she was accosted by another bar owner after a tour who shook his finger in her face and said, "You are ruining my business! You are turning this into a family neighborhood!"³⁴

In 1973, the Iowa Highway Commission began hearings on the proposals to join the Centennial Bridge to I-80, i.e., the Gaines Street Expressway, and other ways to move traffic rapidly north of downtown. The proposal divided politicians and generated vocal opposition by neighborhood groups. The loudest voices spoke out against the I-80 connector. The opposition was led by Doctor Hathaway who had recently resigned as Chairman of the Davenport Democratic Party, lived on Gaines Street north of Locust in the path of the proposed freeway, and had many connections throughout the city. He was joined by others equally concerned.³⁵

The group expressed its displeasure from the very first meeting called by the Commission in the spring of 1973. A *Times-Democrat* reporter described an environment in which a presenter "struggled" to explain a questionnaire as "people in the room fired questions tinged with sarcasm;" attendees were described as being "hostile to the idea…and toward the

engineers...making the presentation."³⁶ In an editorial published a few days after the initial public meeting, and citing its support for earlier roadway proposals, the *Times-Democrat* newspaper admonished citizens for their "discourtesy" and asked for more decorous behavior in future meetings.³⁷ Hathaway amped up his opposition, announcing the formation of a group,³⁸ later called UFO, "United Friends Opposing the Expressway." The group circulated petitions requesting that the plan be sent to a referendum. In September, the group sponsored a candidate forum in front of city elections in 1973; candidates were asked to declare their position on the freeway initiative.³⁹

St. Ambrose student Thom Hart turned 20 that year. The expressway route ran through the heart of his ward. He decided to run for alderman. Hart won his seat, making him the youngest person ever elected to that position and beginning a political career that would last for almost 20 years that included a stint on the Scott County Board and six years as Davenport's mayor.⁴⁰

The fight attracted media coverage. The newspaper took Hathaway to task for his tactics⁴¹; in return, it was accused by its readers of attacking him personally.⁴² Public meetings and debates continued into 1974. Ultimately, UFO won the day. In July 1975, recommendations by a Comprehensive Plan Committee of Davenport's Planning and Zoning Commission opted for using existing streets as the connectors to the highway.⁴³ Eventually, the north-south freeway idea was abandoned; in 1975, the Davenport City Council voted in favor of the "one way couplet" system which entailed redesigning two existing surface roadways that would bring traffic to and from I-80 to the downtown.⁴⁴

Don Decker was a partner with McGladrey Pullen, an accounting firm who had not moved from the downtown area. A Cincinnati native who had watched his own hometown

struggle with disinvestment, Don came to the city in 1971. In the 1980s he would lead a group called "Rejuvenate Davenport" whose focus was revitalization of downtown.

He was shocked at the council vote, and still believes the city:

"...crapped in its mess kit...The city ended up with the damned one way on Harrison...[they] voted down all that money. On the east coast, that would have just been done. They [East Coast] tore down neighborhoods and they [Davenport] were worried about tearing down 40 homes."⁴⁵

Preservationists Enter the Fray

During the 1973-74 opposition to the transportation proposals, UFO had focused on the north-south portion, paying little attention to the cross town options. Hart remembers that fight as an "organic" struggle that pitted neighborhood interests against those of land developers and construction companies that would benefit from the proposed more radical changes. He does not remember anyone from the preservation community being involved.⁴⁶ However, Peg Hathaway, who joined her husband in working on UFO, remembers preservationists being present and as interested "in areas near downtown."⁴⁷ Nora DeJohn, who was focused on the urban core closer to the downtown area, was among a group that included the mayor, Davenport Chamber of Commerce representatives, and UFO members in May 1974 at an Iowa Highway Commission meeting in Ames. ⁴⁸ While the issue with the north-south connector resolved, other discussions centered on future plans for straightening a section of River Drive near The Village and improving "the traffic problem in the Gaines Street corridor." This was a theme repeated by a later city planning committee. ^{49 50}

Meanwhile, preservation opportunities continued to emerge in the late 1970s. As the city began to prepare for its Bicentennial celebration, Karen Anderson was put on the committee by her alderman. She was, "pregnant with my first baby...tired and cranky and had idea of speaking."⁵¹ She found most of the proposals "ridiculous" and proposed that the city purchase

the decrepit Antoine LeClaire House, home of the city's founder, located on the bluffs east of downtown. Her idea won the day. Some of the funding for phase one was already in place; fundraising for the rest began.⁵² About the same time, the city's mayor made application for an NEA grant to fund a revitalization study for The Village. Dollars were awarded in 1976 and the study was published in December 1977.⁵³ "A Community Preservation & Revitalization Study for the Village of East Davenport" surveyed over 1,000 buildings in a 20-block area, the first city historic preservation study that focused on more than a building or building complex. The study proposed building treatments and traffic flow, streetscapes and signage.⁵⁴ As part of this process, a National Register nomination for the Village was prepared.

Downtown, empty storefronts continued to be a topic of concern. In 1976, following presentation of a year-long study by an outside consulting group, many merchants were upbeat about their prospects, some feeling that the area's problems were "bottoming out." Some blamed "city fathers" for not being aggressive about seeking federal funds and for a lack of public and private leadership and felt it would take at least five years for a turnaround.⁵⁵ Few changes were evident to reporter John Willard the following year; he wrote a scathing article after walking around the area one leafless March day. Willard began working as a reporter in Davenport in 1971; his Lee Enterprises-owned newspaper had maintained its downtown headquarters.⁵⁶ He described a scene of trash strewn streets and empty storefronts whose owners have "given up the sinking ship of downtown Davenport." He details some of the sights he sees as:

"The city's once grand hotel, the Blackhawk, empty and fighting the wind with carpeting rolled up against its doors; a smashed wine bottle oozing its contents in front of the Chamber of Commerce's headquarters; a festering, burned out garage in the shadow of one of the city's tallest buildings."⁵⁷

Again in 1975 and then in 1976, the question of an east-west route and additional northsouth route connecting the Centennial Bridge with the north-south couplets was again back on the table when the State Highway Commission held a public hearing on road improvement alternatives proposed in a Brice, Petrides study that included yet another Gaines Street connection to the one way couplets and a Central Business District (CBD) bypass. The CBD bypass offered several options. The most dramatic was Bypass B, a partially elevated divided highway built across 5th Street just north of downtown that would have also entailed moving railroad tracks on 5th Street a block to the north. Both proposals impacted the old neighborhoods paralleling the river and one would have taken portions of historic parks including Lindsey Park near The Village. ⁵⁸ The Environmental Impact Statement showed planned freeways very close to listed and eligible National Register properties and Districts.⁵⁹ (Fig.2)

The Davenport Chamber supported both the north-south proposal which resurrected a version of the Gaines Street Expressway and Bypass B. The Downtown Davenport Association supported one of the east-west alternatives.⁶⁰ The coordinator of the Catholic Worker House expressed concern as to the number of central city residents who would be displaced. The earlier north-south transportation proposals that had generated UFO mostly impacted middle class suburban neighborhoods, the coordinator claimed, saying the new proposal "is really affecting lower income people."⁶¹ Karen Anderson expressed her opposition, concerned over impact on historic sites.⁶² Several state politicians encouraged residents to continue fighting the highway proposals.

Yet another proposal in 1976 would have widened a main road leading into The Village, taking out some historic buildings and creating one way streets through its heart. Faced with these threats, DeJohn and Anderson spearheaded a survey effort to fight the proposed bypass. To fight the CBD bypass, they developed a group of volunteers and spent weeks doing door to door research across the entire area. In the process, they discovered that relocation expenses for the

1,200 people impacted would reach into the "millions" of dollars. DeJohn spent time at the Bi-State offices reviewing traffic studies and other pertinent data. Addressing the proposal affecting The Village, 150 neighbors attended a city council meeting to protest the plan⁶³; "Save the Village" signs were posted in yards.⁶⁴ U. S. Representative Ed Mezvinsky told supporters that road plans, "can be appealed all the way through to the federal level."⁶⁵ (Fig. 3)

Karen Anderson had not been active in UFO; now many of the historic areas she had been researched were even more imperiled by the road changes. "I realized when we had the highway fight, we had to make the area important. They will come and see how beautiful it [The Village] is," she recalls.⁶⁶ Her efforts at recording the city's early history redoubled. Charlie Heston, who was a Davenport Senior Planner believes that the preservationists' strategy to document historic buildings and fight the proposed transportation plans went hand in hand. He says that, although neither Nora or Karen expressed their intent, he believe it was a deliberate part of the strategy and that, at times, preservation was used to "stop...divert...obstruct.⁶⁷ Both women had become aware that transportation projects using federal funds that impacted historic properties or sites could trigger a 4F review.⁶⁸ In facing down the various transportation challenges, they had talked to people in Cedar Rapids and other communities where road construction had impacted historic neighborhoods. In brainstorming strategies for protecting Washington Square from losing properties should the IHC recommendations for the Gaines Street-Centennial Bridge expansion gain traction, DeJohn suggested that a 19th century hotel be nominated to the Register, telling Anderson it was the key to saving the area. The implication was that listed or eligible properties would slow down any plans to alter the area.⁶⁹ Public input had been effective in other Iowa communities. Ralph Christian remembers pressures on transportation plans in the 1970s after U. S. 34 was widened on the north side of Burlington,

Iowa, splitting the city in two and taking out historic neighborhoods. He recalled that when plans were presented for highway expansions in Dubuque, local push back to the plan resulted in a greatly modified plan and a much more "livable" expressway that spared more historic areas.⁷⁰

Another preservation fight emerged in 1977 for what was left of the Old Washington Square Park abutting Gaines Street near the Centennial Bridge. The park, in an area Anderson had targeted as endangered in her historic surveys earlier in the decade, had been given to the city by its founder Antoine LeClaire. It was surrounded by mostly 19th century homes and commercial buildings including the Standard Hotel which had been the first home to many immigrants arriving in the city. In 1961, the eastern half of the old park had been sold to the YMCA for development; by that time, the area had become "only a haven for bums and drunks" according to a *Quad City Times* editorial supporting the sale of the land.⁷¹ DeJohn studied city financial records for the Y's 1960s payment schedule and could not find evidence that the final two payments had been made; The Y couldn't find receipts either.⁷² Owners of buildings around the Park signed a petition opposing the sale. Anderson, in a special article for the Times, pointed out that the city had failed to redevelop the remaining portion of the park as it had promised to do when the eastern portion was sold, charged several park commissioners with a conflict interest due to their status as Y members and one park commissioner with being a member of the Y board.⁷³ The *Times* editorial had little good to say about the neighborhood or the "historical buffs" protesting the sale:

"The only major improvement in the entire neighborhood has been the development of the Y facility. If you're a stranger in town, visit the site. Look to the west. Look to the east. Look to the north. Look to the south. This is a park? We call it an eyesore. If some historical society really had plans to restore the entire area, we could see some logic in the current protest."⁷⁴ During this period, DeJohn, Anderson and their supporters appeared before the city council many times to plead their cases. In one instance, an attorney hired by the Village Neighborhood Association to appear before the council was warned off representation by his firm. Anderson remembers having to step in and present to the council with her young daughter in tow. With her mother distracted, the child took the opportunity to crawl around the pews that provided seating in the old council chambers, the bells on her shoes jingling.⁷⁵

Larry Minard would not be elected to city council until 1979, but he remembers the style of old city council. Davenport operated without a city manager; each of the ten aldermen headed a committee, and whatever they said went. One who was still on the council when he was elected he describes as "250 pounds of push...250 pounds of irritation."

"Karen and Nora went public. This was not when women were talking to the city council. They made it a public issue week after week. [The aldermen] just were not used to this."⁷⁶

Another speaker was one of Larry Minard's high school students, a young gay man named Mike Current. Minard says that Mike was very eloquent but he was a different sort of person from whom the council was accustomed to hearing.⁷⁷ In 1975, whether wary of the controversy, the potential for displacing residents, or the cost, the Davenport City Council voted against the proposed freeways, putting the issue to rest.⁷⁸

In terms of the transportation issues surrounding The Village, Minard believes his neighbors in the wealthy and influential McClelland Heights neighborhood that abuts it would have handled the situation differently, perhaps picking up the telephone to speak to aldermen personally. "When you have McClelland Heights weighing in, that along with the public outcry...it took both to do it. You have two forces...one traditional and one modern."⁷⁹

Charlie Heston, who describes himself as a friend of both women, worked with them on the LeClaire House project and The Village study. Heston describes Nora as "a very effective speaker. He says that she could be "a little abrasive...it depends on whose side you are on."

"Nora had a style that made her confrontational. People heard her name and they either liked her or didn't like her. She was a very persuasive speaker in my mind...She knew her time was limited. She had her remarks ready."⁸⁰

In 1978, Heston was becoming overwhelmed by the volume of historic preservation work going on in the city and concerned that historic preservation was developing a negative image in the community.⁸¹ In 1977, he had received a copy of a project list from Anderson detailing the current scope of work. It included the 18 properties already listed or pending approval including the large Village district nomination; under the heading "Working On" were found 18 more buildings and a potential district. She ended the list with "Future Registrations" that included 16 more buildings and four more potential districts. ⁸² Heston wrote a memo to his boss asking for permission to apply for funding for a full time historic planner after learning of the opportunity from an architectural historian working on the LeClaire House restoration.⁸³

The city received a two-year grant, later extended to three years, to fund an extensive National Register nomination process for properties throughout the city. ^{84 85} Marlys Svendsen was hired as the city's first historic planner in spring 1979, making Davenport the only city in the state with this full time position. She was a Decorah College graduate who had been hired first as a temporary employee and later as a full time employee by what would become the Iowa SHPO,⁸⁶ handling assignments that included survey work in Burlington, Iowa, and news releases.

The work was to be accomplished in three phases. Svendsen's job was to conduct the historic survey, work with outside firms and consultants documenting the individual properties,

and manage the granting process. Ralph Christian saw Svendsen as a good fit because of her experience working in the SHPO; she was aware of the effort to expedite the National Register process. Christian also felt that Davenport had "a lot of skin in the game;" Charlie Heston was very supportive and there was other staff and political commitment to the process. The Davenport process was exceptional because it was both an effort to do an historic survey and nominations in contrast to cities that were doing surveys but not following up with nominations. It also was unusual for the Iowa SHPO at the time because of its strategy of focusing on establishing historic districts. In the first year of Certified Local Government (CLG) funding, SHPO's were given some discretion in terms of where dollars were placed. Davenport received funding even though it was not yet a CLG, due in great part to its aggressive plans for National Register surveys and nominations.⁸⁷

Still working to streamline the nomination process, the NPS implemented a multiple property listing process; the goal was to reduce repetitious information for individual site forms. This process was implemented about the time the Davenport project began and allowed it to move with speed and scope.⁸⁸ Svendsen created her own two-page form for individual property listings; she was discouraged from making them any longer. This form was used by the consulting firm for individually listed properties as well as those termed "Class A" buildings within designated historic districts. An example of what resulted was the Hamburg Historic District nomination which included a district overview and individual listing sheets for "Class A" buildings with other contributing buildings included in sheets with several listings to a page that identified the property address and current owner. (Figs. 4, 5, 6)

In addition to keeping the process running smoothly, Svendsen proved adept at dealing with the city council and public. While Larry Minard doesn't believe that historic preservation was a high priority for most of the aldermen he gives Svendsen high marks for her approach:

"Marlys was always very professional. She could read the council and respond to them. I think that they respected her and her learning."⁸⁹

Newspaper articles from the period reflected a positive attitude about the process. In one story that appeared a few months after she came on board, Svendsen stated clearly one key goal that Heston was hoping to accomplish. "It will help Davenport plan for its historic resources before it gets to the wrecking stage," she was quoted as saying. The process was described as one that would "fulfill a federal requirement that city officials consider their historic resources when planning the use of federal funds." She touted the cost and energy savings of rehabilitation; she mentioned the availability of historic tax credits for commercial structures.⁹⁰

Marlys concentrated first on nominations for the central city area that would most likely benefit from Community Development Block Grant rehabilitation programs. Phase I & II were completed between 1979 and 1982. 200 individual properties and six historic districts were included, a total of more than 900 buildings. An article promoting a public hearing the following month touted the fact that owners of these properties were free to do with them as they wished and that income producing properties could receive "significant" tax credits. ⁹¹ Phase III, completed in 1984 added 150 individually listed properties and six districts, totally 750 buildings. By March of 1985, all of the nominations had been approved for listing in the Register. ⁹²

Svendsen saw public outreach as key; she held "lots of public meetings to set the tone as to why Davenport history is important."⁹³ During the project, the laws surrounding notification of owners changed and she had to add this to her list of goals; she remembers only two or three

owners who objected. Svendsen also did something that she had never done before: When the first round of buildings was ready for nomination, she invited the National Register State Nominations Review Committee to town. They boarded buses and were driven around the city to see the buildings. Welcome signs were scattered along the route.⁹⁴

Several books were outgrowths of the process: *Davenport, Where the Mississippi Runs West* was first in 1982;⁹⁵ a second book, *Davenport Architecture, Tradition and Transition,* rolled off the press in 1984.⁹⁶ Two other books and a series of "Where to Wander" walking tour brochures followed. In addition to her work as city planner, Marlys, on her own time, taught Davenport history and architecture class at a community college, led community walking tours and gave lectures.⁹⁷

Controversy surrounding historic preservation still simmered during Svendsen's early days in the city. Soon after she arrived, one final protest against a transportation proposal near the Village erupted. The Iowa Department of Transportation (former Iowa Highway Commission) proposed straightening a curve on River Drive and the mayor and city council concurred.⁹⁸ The issue was that the curve was located at an 1874 wooden railroad trestle, recently added to the Iowa Register of Historic Places. The trestle spanned the Drive near The Village.⁹⁹ Karen Anderson was again at the forefront of the issue. The Village had hired its own consultant who said the trestle could be modified. The state officials said the structure had to go.¹⁰⁰ Ultimately, the Village prevailed. The trestle was modified along the lines recommended by the Village's consultant; the trestle retained its historic appearance, the roadway was divided, and the dangerous curve was eliminated.¹⁰¹ With that fight over, the IDOT did not pursue any further road changes that impacted historic areas.

By 1988, Davenport had more than half the National Register properties listed in Iowa.¹⁰² While other cities had also pursued ambitious survey projects, some had floundered with no follow up nominations.¹⁰³ In later years, the NPS reassessed its policy for expediting district nominations. It determined that its use of Multiple Property Documentation forms provided an inadequate amount of information about individual properties. Eventually, the Park Service required full blown inventories of all sites being nominated, with the MPD serving only to provide background information if needed.¹⁰⁴ In hindsight, the process used to expedite the listings resulted in what Dr. Paula Mohr, Architectural Historian with the Iowa SHPO, terms "thin" nominations. Descriptions of individual buildings were often missing or were lacking the "detail necessary for today's tax credit programs and historic resource management."¹⁰⁵ While Svendsen understands the challenges the format created, she still believes it was an effect tool:

"I'm still glad we pursued it because it was a method that promoted use of the survey findings before they got stale, asked for public support up front, and gave a platform to build successful historic preservation efforts on while using the NRHP nomination criteria to endorse the process."¹⁰⁶

In 1985, city staff prepared a report recommending that historic preservation become part of the city's comprehensive plan and establishment of a local Historic Preservation Ordinance and Commission.¹⁰⁷ The time was right. Thom Hart, a man who considers himself then and now a friend of preservation, had been elected mayor in November.

Life Intervenes

In an ideal world, the massive Davenport National Register effort would have resulted in a city with a new awareness of its heritage, a sense of pride in its old neighborhoods, and a positive attitude toward historic preservation. Unfortunately, as Svendsen worked her way through the city's history, Iowa was plunging into the most difficult economic period since the Depression, a dark era that would become known as the "Farm Crisis." Issues had emerged in the 1970s as farmers overextended their credit to "plant fencerow to fencerow," to "Get big or get out."¹⁰⁸ By the early 1980s, statistics were staggering for the agricultural state and would worsen throughout the decade.

"Iowa was the epicenter of disastrous events that brought generations of farmers to their knees. In 1983 public farm auctions numbered around 500 a month. White crosses covered courthouse lawns, symbols of farms lost to the economic catastrophe...and more banks failed in 1985 than in any year since the 1930s...By the end of the decade, an estimated 300,000 farmers defaulted on their loans." ¹⁰⁹

Scott County was less dependent on agriculture than many counties in the state. And, despite the crisis, area heavy equipment manufacturers continued to produce, keeping factories busy and most workers employed. Managing to buck the statewide downward spiral could not last. In December 1984, Farmall, who had employed 4,000 people in 1979, announced it would close its doors. In January, 1987, Caterpillar shuttered its facility, putting 1,350 people out of work.¹¹⁰ Deere & Company, headquartered in the Quad Cities, survived by diversifying its financial interests and by laying off 40% of its staff worldwide.¹¹¹ Closings by these major employers had a ripple effect on retailers and their business subcontractors. Job losses in the Quad City area were estimated at 18,000. By decade's end, 8,000 people had left Davenport. Its population dropped below 100,000, a decline from which the city didn't recover for more than 30 years.¹¹²

The nadir might have come on December 9, 1985, when, 60 miles away, Johnson County farmer Dale Burr shot and killed his wife, a neighbor, his banker John Hughes and then himself. Burr was deep in debt but in better shape than many of his neighbors.¹¹³ Don Decker's accounting firm had seen the farm crisis through the impact it had on clients. Several lost their farms; one committed suicide. The murdered banker Hughes was a McGladrey client.

Decker recalls walking a few blocks to lunch at a downtown cafeteria with out of town attorneys past three blocks of empty buildings. The visitors said, "Oh, my god, this looks like a bombed out zone; it looks like Berlin after the war. The only difference is that your buildings are still standing." Downtown Davenport had not benefitted from the farm crisis.¹¹⁴ Historic preservation seemed far from the issues with which it was struggling.

In February, 1987, saying "What I see below me is ugly. It makes me want to vomit,"¹¹⁵ Decker invited a group of 17 younger businessmen to a meeting where he launched what would become "Rejuvenate Davenport;" "Demolition Davenport" would be the branch that dealt with problem properties.¹¹⁶ He asked each to commit to \$9,000 to \$11,000 for each of five years,¹¹⁷ estimating it would take \$1.5 million to "buy and clear some ghastly blocks and ug[1]y eyesores."¹¹⁸ Decker felt that the big money in the city wasn't willing to step up and write the checks, so he turned to a younger crowd. To those who complained that there was no plan once the buildings were down, his answer was that cleared land was needed to attract developers.¹¹⁹ By May, the group and its partners had targeted 13 buildings for demolition, one for rehabilitation and one another for either rehab or demolition.¹²⁰

For several years, Rejuvenate ploughed ahead; Lend-A-Hand, an organization that providing housing for handicapped seniors, built on one of the empty lots, razing its flood-prone building next to the River; Davenport's first firehouse was rehabilitated. Rejuvenate sometimes used outside buyers to keep the price down. In one instance Decker says the group hired a "midnight marauder" for a controversial demolition.¹²¹ Pat Egly, who had moved to Davenport

in 1979, remembers buildings disappearing with lightning speed; within a matter of five days, a building would disappear and a paved asphalt parking lot would appear.¹²² Rejuvenate eventually became involved in purchase and demolition of a large industrial site on the east edge of downtown that would become the site of the new *Quad City Times* building and generate \$3.4 million dollars in environmental cleanup. During its time of greatest activity, from 1987 until the early 1990s, Decker estimates that Rejuvenate and its partners purchased and/or demolished about 55 buildings in and around the downtown area. As had happened in his hometown of Cincinnati, Decker expected the families with old money to step up and invest in new construction downtown. A few families were willing to invest. But for mostly, "it was all talk."¹²³

Eventually he and his organization hit resistance. The economy had begun to rebound. The "coup de grace" was when a company wanted to purchase one historic property but tear down an adjacent one for parking; Decker called it the best downtown project in 20 years. The buildings were located in one of the last blocks in the city to have its extant 19th century block face. The city council, backed by Mayor Thom Hart, voted for a 90-day moratorium on demolition of historic buildings in order to consider an historic preservation ordinance in a July vote. "Everybody starts fighting it,"¹²⁴ Decker recalls. "A healthy company wants to do something and we just screw around." Mayor Hart's response was, "We need to be looking at that block and others like it in a broader context, not simply on what would be the easy thing to do now."¹²⁵ The council debated the moratorium, with some concerned about property rights, others feeling the moratorium was necessary. "You can tear down and tear down and soon you'll tear down your entire past," said Larry Minard, now the alderman for the 6th Ward.¹²⁶ With the controversy surrounding the two buildings, the vote on the preservation ordinance was delayed.¹²⁷ Two weeks later, the council voted to lift the moratorium. The issue was described as inspiring "an intense tug-of-war between preservationists and those who oppose interference with property owners' rights."¹²⁸ The business dropped its bid on the historic properties. Debate on the ordinance continued through the fall; in the November election, Mayor Thom Hart lost his re-election bid, the first loss of his career, to a Davenport police officer. A public hearing on the proposed ordinance was held in early November.¹²⁹ Amendments were added; preservationists charged they weakened the ordinance's usefulness. Not everyone supported the proposal; the owner of a National Register listed 1871 school house who opposed the ordinance demolished the property a week before the final vote.¹³⁰ On December 18, 1991, the city council unanimously approved the ordinance allowing for the creation of a commission.¹³¹

Twenty Three Years Later

Davenport recovered slowly from the 1980s crisis. In 1991, riverboat gambling came to the city at the water's edge; some of its revenue sharing dollars have funded restoration of many historic buildings.¹³² The old Ruhl Block was knocked down¹³³ to make way for a new hotel, an expanded civic center and a skyscraper housing MidAmerican Energy and a parking deck.¹³⁴ In 2014, much of the land cleared by Rejuvenate Davenport to the west remains empty lots, awaiting developers. Rejuvenate is still in existence; it just celebrated 27 years with Don Decker receiving the "Golden Balls" award from the group.¹³⁵

Local business did not return to downtown but soon after 2000, fueled by federal and state historic tax credits, outside developers began buying up what was left of Davenport's 19th century downtown building stock and renovating it into mostly market rate apartments. The Forrest Block, once slated for demolition was refurbished into 24 units.¹³⁶ Most of the empty warehouses left from an old wholesale grocery center were reborn as a newly established National Register Warehouse District. Other vacant buildings were purchased. When work is completed, 1,600 units housing more than 2,000 people will be filled with mostly Millennials. Occupancy rates remain high.

The Village of East Davenport has struggled. Many shops that had brightened its economic outlook closed. In 2009, a fight erupted over a proposed demolition. Despite Historic Preservation Commission (HPC) and some resident opposition, the city council voted to grant the request. A new Village master plan was adopted in 2013.¹³⁷ So far, few recommendations have been implemented.

Davenport is now home to 17 National Register Districts and two Local Historic Districts. A local HPC oversees exterior changes on properties in the local districts, signage and buildings in historic parks and any locally landmarked properties; it rules on demolition requests for all National Register and locally landmarked properties. Powers that it does not have are often attributed to it, and it is sometimes overlooked by those who should come before it.

Davenport's historic preservation effort, its seeds planted in the 1970s and 1980s, bedazzles some and befuddles others. Historic preservation can be sinner or saint, a scary concept blocking progress or one providing financial opportunity and a sometimes bewildering stroll through NPS Standards. A few historic property owners are taking advantage of the state tax credit program that redirecting some funding to include small projects like homes and small commercial properties.¹³⁸ Some historic neighborhoods were strengthened by the preservation process and others were not.

Retired city planner Charlie Heston hopes that some of the early promise of the historic preservation work is manifest through grass roots efforts that have sprung up within the city since the work began. As often happens, what you see depends very much on where you sit.

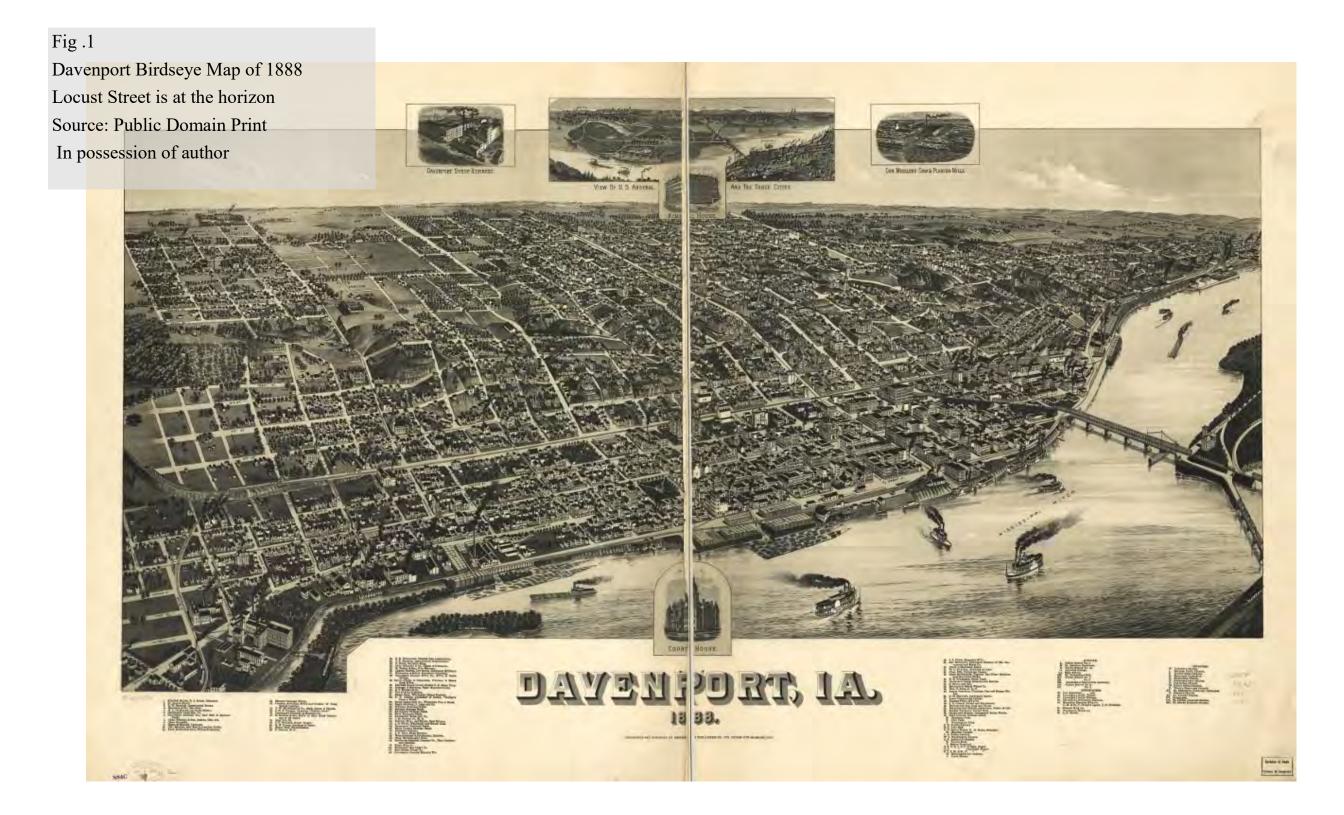


Fig .2

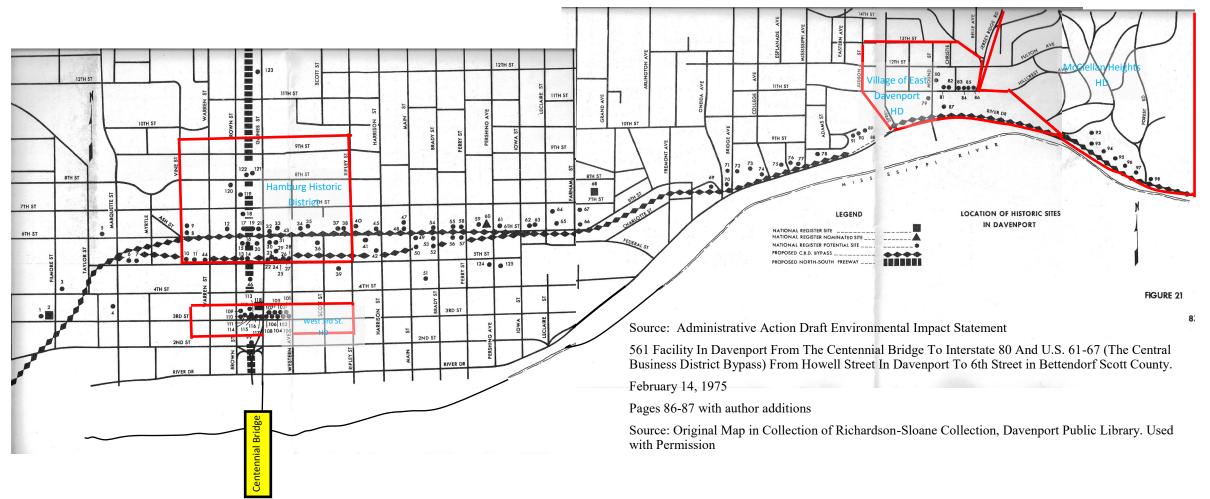
1975 Plan for Gaines Expressway and C.B.D. Bypass

Numbers are original to plan and indicate NR listed or eligible properties as designated at the time of the draft

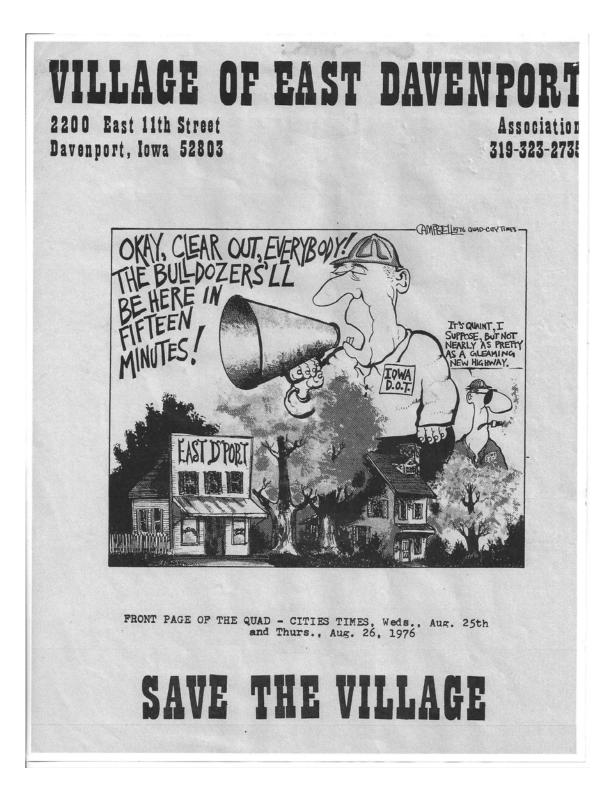
The Gaines Street Expressway as proposed would have had on the Hamburg Historic District would have been to take out an entire block for roadway and right-of-way.

The CBD Bypass options would have impacted properties on the block between 5th and 6th Streets. Other areas would likely have been impacted for ramps and other elements of roadway design. Most the north-south streets in the District would have been deadended at the Bypass location.

Author has reconstructed the two page map to fit on legal sized paper, added the location of the Centennial Bridge, and outlined in red current National Register Historic Districts which were part of the 1970's-1980's NR listing effort



1976 Flyer from Village of East Davenport protest against proposed road changesSource: Karen Anderson Personal FilesBlack and white copy in possession of author



Page 1 of 2 of National Register Property Inventory for a Class A structure in the proposed Hamburg Historic District.

Amount of information on the page s is typical of Davenport nominations of the period.

This same two page form was used for properties outside Districts that were being proposed for individual listing.

Source: In possession of author

ARCHITECTURAL/HIJTORICAL JURVEY	DAVENPORT, IOWA
The Architects Office Wehner, Nowysz, Pattschull and Pfiffner 201 dey building, build ray, lowe step, lowe steps	
SITE #82-10- 6-W630 MAP #- HIST. DIST. Hamburg NAME F.G. Clausen House ADDRESS 630 W. 6th Street LEGAL DES. Original Town 36 W55' BLOCK PARCE DTM 15 710,117,0,0 4,519,9 7,50 ACREAGE NORTHING DWNER Melvin E. Haase 630 W. 6th St., Davenport, Mary Jane Bennett, Trustee	H C '_ of lot 1 sub-parcel -1 ZONE R-6M IA 52802
DESCRIPTION ORM <u>2 story, 3 bay front gable hou</u> MATERIALS <u>Brick with stone foundation</u> ENESTRATION <u>Segmental arches</u> IST FEATURES <u>Circular attic window, E</u> LITERATIONS <u>Eastlake porch and bay win</u> ITE & RELATED STR. <u>None</u>	ARCH Vernacular Greek Revival
TATEMENT	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
This simple brick house is representative housing built by the German immigrant sets with 6-W624 which was built by Lischer in Likely additions by the architect, F.G. Cl about 1900.	18/1. The porch and hav window and
NIRCER	
OURCES	

Page 2 of 2 of National Register Property Inventory for a Class A structure in the proposed Hamburg Historic District.

Amount of information on the page s is typical of Davenport nominations of the period.

This same two page form was used for properties outside Districts that were being proposed for individual listing.

Source: In possession of author

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SIGNIFICANCE

This house was the residence of Frederick G. Clausen, locally prominent German-American architect from 1870 through c. 1915. Clausen was one of the most prolific designers of commercial, institutional and residential structures in the city during his period of practice. Although this structure was not designed by Clausen, the adjacent house of his father-in-law, Henry Lischer, was one of his earliest, best works. Clausen resided here from 1874 until 1901.

DESCRIPTION

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Frederick G. Clausen, a native of Schleswig, Germany, came to Davenport in 1869. Clausen received his architectural training in Germany, subscribing to German practice and design after arriving here. He worked for a time as a draftsman for J.N. McClelland and set up his own practice in the early 1870's. Clausen was especially noted for his work in the German neighborhoods and the commercial district. Major works still extant include the Lischer House (1871), the New Burtis House (1871), the Forrest Block (1875), the U.N. Roberts Building, the Max Petersen House (1888), J.H.C. Petersen & Sons Dept. Store (1892) and Saengerfest Halle (1898). Clausen took on a partner in 1896, Parke T. Burrows, and in c. 1905 his son Rudolph Clausen joined him.

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ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIAN: Martha Bower	S HISTORIAN: MARLYS SVENDSEN ROESLER SURVEY COMP 1981
EVALUATION ARCHITECTURAL IARCH EVALUATION GOOD ILENVIR. STATURE Supportive III. INT. OF CONTEXT Outstanding IV. INT. OF FABRIC Excellent LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE: INAT STATE LOCAL IN ELIG. HISTORICAL I. THEME(S) OF SIGNIFICANCE: A.PRIMARY Architecture B. SECONDARY II. LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE: INAT. STATE LOCAL III. NR.H.P ELIGIBLE NOT ELIGIBLE I HISTORIC DISTRICT CLASSIFICATION A. DB	FOR DIVISION OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION USE ONLY I DATE RECEIVED 2. DATE OF STAFF EVALUATION A. ARCHITECTURAL B. HISTORICAL ELIGIBLE FOR N.R.H.P. NOT ELIGIBLE FOR N.R.H.P. I DATE REVIEW COMM. APP. DISAPP I DATE REVIEW COMM. APP. DISAPP. I DE1. OF ELIGIBILITY I COUNTY RESOURCES I W'SHIELD SURVEY I GRANT S. SUBJECT TRACES 6 PHOTO 1616-7

Example of a National Register Multiple Property Documentation Sheet for contributing structures in in the proposed Hamburg Historic District.

Note contact information is for current owner and no historical information is included. Also note poor quality of the images which is all that is available today in the city or local library collection.

Source: In possession of author

HISTORIC 7-W432 432 STREET. H.D.C. B _SITE#82-10-___ Isabelle J. Schnittgrund OWNER_ DISTRICT 432 W. Eighth St., Davenport, IA 52803 None TITLE H. PROPER State. 1624-5 7 LIST STREET" 436 H.D.C. B SITE#82-10-7-W436 Restore Davenport, Inc. C/O City OWNER_ 226 W. Fourth St., Davenport, IA 52801 None TITLE H. 1624-6 417 _H.D.C___B___SITE #82-10-__ 7-W417 STREET. Terrence L. Ruebush OWNER 417 W. Seventh St., Davenport, IA 52803 TITLE H. E. Douglas Campbell and wife (IF DIFF.) 1 Gar. 1641-10 STREET# 427 H.D.C. B SITE #82-10- 7-W427 Gary R. Daniel and wife OWNER_ 427 W. Seventh St., Davenport, IA 52803 TITLE H. None 1641-11

Notes

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⁴ "Which Cities Make Up the Quad Cities?" quadcities.com. http://www.quadcities.com/about/

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⁶ Denise Bulat, in discussion with Author. Bulat is Executive Director for Bi-State Regional Planning Commission. ⁷ "History of Davenport," City of Davenport Iowa website.

http://www.cityofdavenportiowa.com/eGov/apps/document/center.egov?view=item;id=902 8 Ibid.

⁹ John Milner Associates, "A Community Preservation & Revitalization Study for the Village of East Davenport," December. 1977. 4-6.

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http://www.iowadatacenter.org.

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¹² "Alcoa to Build \$30.000.000 Plant Here," The Daily Times, May 23. 1946.

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²⁶ "Abstract of Title to Lot 8 in Block 29 in the Original Town (now City) of Davenport. Scott County. Iowa. 58. In possession of author. An example of the city's rezoning to higher density, this one dating to April 21, 1948 for a property at 629 W. 6th St. and declaring the property to be an "E" Multiple Dwelling District. The property is located in today's Hamburg Historic District. The notation is typical of what is found in abstracts at various 20th century time periods.

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- ⁴³ "Panel: Avoid Freeway," *Times-Democrat*, July 21, 1975.
- ⁴⁴ "Downtown Bypass Reborn," Quad City Times, December 19, 1978.

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⁶⁴ "Clay Thompson, "... As 'Village' Worries About Its Heritage," Quad City Times, August 17, 1976.

⁶⁵ Davies, "Mezvinsky," August 18, 1976.

⁶⁶ Anderson Interview.

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⁶⁸ Anderson Interview. Anderson was not familiar with NHPA Section 106 review. but remembered the 4(f) process. Heston confirmed that, at the time of the actions, 4 (f) procedures would have had "more teeth" and would have been more impactful.

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⁷⁰ Christian Interview.

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¹¹² Iowa Data Center, Census.

¹¹³ Curtis Hartman., "On the Road: Johnson County Iowa, Inc., May 1, 1986.

http://www.inc.com/magazine/19860501/839.html

¹¹⁴ Decker Interview.

¹¹⁵ Bill Wundram, "Getting Tough To Save a City," *Quad City Times*, February 16, 1987.

¹¹⁶ Decker Interview.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Wundram, 'Getting Tough," February 16, 1987.

¹¹⁹ Scott Grau, "Somebody Has To Do It," *Quad City Times*, June 7, 1987.

¹²⁰ Quad City Times. "Rejuvenate Davenport Targets 7 Projects." May 28. 1987.

¹²¹ Decker Interview.

¹²² Pat Egly, (resident of old urban core), in discussion with author, December 1, 2014.

¹²³ Decker Interview.

¹²⁴ Decker interview

¹²⁵ John Willard, "Downtown Buildings Create Stir Between Developer, Davenport," *Quad City Times*, May 26, 1991.

¹²⁶ Barb Arland-Fye, "Davenport Debates Moratorium," *Quad City Times*, June 2, 1991.

⁸⁴ Heston Interview.

⁸⁵ Heston Memo

¹²⁷ Michelle Landrum, "Aldermen Refuse to Rush Preservation Ordina[n]ce Passage," The Leader, June 19, 1991.

¹²⁹ Barb Arland-Fye, "Davenport Seeks Input On Ordinance," *Quad City Times*, November 5, 1991.

¹³⁰ Catherine Guy, "Some Davenport Residents Rap Amendments To Pending Historic Preservation Ordinance," *The Leader*, December 18, 1991.

¹³¹ Quad City Times, "Davenport OKs Preservation Law," December 20, 1991.

¹³² Maryellen Chamberlin, (President, Riverboat Development Authority), in discussion with the author, September 13, 2014. Some examples include the old Petersen-Von Maur Richardsonian Romanesque department store

building, now "River Music Experience," and early stone carriage factory, the old hotel on Gaines now the German American Heritage Center and the Christian Jipp House and Grocery.

¹³³ Quad City Times, "Ruhl Block Tumbles Down," January 17, 1991.

¹³⁴ Barb Arland-Fye, "This Is Our One Big Shot," Quad City Times, July 21, 1991.

¹³⁵ Jennifer DeWitt, "Rejuvenate Davenport Celebrates Successes," *Quad City Times*, December 3, 2014.

¹³⁶ Tory Brecht, "Luxury Apartments Open In Former Eyesore," *Quad City Times*, January 26, 2011.

http://qctimes.com/news/local/luxury-apartments-open-in-former-eyesore/article_b53825a6-2913-11e0-9ec0-001cc4c03286.html.

¹³⁷ Barb Ickes, "Village of East Davenport Plan Ready for Final Look," *Quad City Times*, May 10, 2013. http://qctimes.com/news/local/village-of-east-davenport-plan-ready-for-final-look/article_b5eb5447-184d-5ffe-bc9b-f42c89871a6e.html.

¹³⁸ Iowa historic tax credits return 25% of qualified expenses to owners as a tax rebate or as cash, since no tax liability is required. The author has prepared many of these applications. A quick estimate by her of the use of Iowa tax credits (Historic Preservation and Cultural and Entertainment District program) in the Hamburg Historic District alone over the past six years for homes and two rental properties comes to over \$300,000 in tax credits for property owners.

¹²⁸ Barb Arland-Fye, "Davenport Lifts ban On Building," *Quad City Times*, June 20, 1991.

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