NPS Form 10-900 1024-0018 (Rev. 10-90)

United States Department of the Interior National Park Service

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NAT. REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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## NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES REGISTRATION FORM

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

1. Name of Property	
historic name Campbell Baking Company	
other names/site number Continental Baking Company; Wonder Bread building	
2. Location	
street & number 325 Commercial St. not for publication N/A city or town Waterloo vicinity N/A state low code IA county Black Hawk code 013 zip code 50703	
3. State/Federal Agency Certification	
As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this X nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the propertyX meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant nationally statewide _X locally. ( See continuation sheet for additional comments.)  Signature of certifying official Date State Historical Society of lowa  State or Federal agency and bureau	1
In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. ( See continuation sheet for additional comments.)	
Signature of commenting or other official Date	
State or Federal agency and bureau	
4. National Park Service Certification	
I, hereby certify that this property is:  entered in the National Register See continuation sheet determined eligible for the National Register See continuation sheet determined not eligible for the National Register removed from the National Register removed from the National Register	
other (explain):	

	County and State
Category of Property (Check only one box)  X building(s)  district site structure object	Number of Resources within Property Contributing Noncontributing
property listing multiple property listing.)	Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register
-	0
(TRACTION_ y_store/bakery	Current Functions (Enter categories from instructions) VACANT/NOT IN USE
REVIVALS/	Materials (Enter categories from instructions foundation CONCRETE roof OTHER, TERRA COTTA
	wallsBRICK, STONE, TERRA COTTA
	other
	(Check only one box)  X building(s)  district  site  structure  object  property listing multiple property listing.)  (TRACTION  y store/bakery

Black Hawk County, Iowa

Campbell Baking Company

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

Campbell Baki	ng Company
Name of Prope	ertv

# Black Hawk County, Iowa County and State

8. Statement of Significance	
Applicable National Register Criteria (Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)	Areas of Significance (Enter categories from instructions)  COMMERCE
X A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.	
B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.	, <u> </u>
C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.	Period of Significance
D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.	
Criteria Considerations (Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.)  Property is:  A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purp	Significant Dates 1927 coses.
B removed from its original location.	Significant Person
C a birthplace or a grave.	(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)  N/A
D a cemetery.	
E a reconstructed building, object, or structure	Cultural Affiliation
F a commemorative property.	
G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.	Architect/Builder Mills, Rhines, Bellman & Nordhoff John G. Miller Construction Co.
Narrative Statement of Significance (Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.	<u> </u>
9. Major Bibliographical References	
Bibliography (Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on o	one or more continuation sheets.)
preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested previously listed in the National Register previously determined eligible by the National Register	Primary Location of Additional Data  X State Historic Preservation Office Other State agency Federal agency X Local government
designated a National Historic Landmark recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #	University Other
recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #	Name of repository:

Campbell Baking Company Name of Property	Black Hawk County, Iowa County and State
10. Geographical Data	
Acreage of Property less than	1 acre
UTM References (Place additional UTM r	eferences on a continuation sheet)
Zone Easting Northing 1 15 554092 4704921	Zone Easting Northing
2	4 See continuation sheet.
Verbal Boundary Description (Description	ibe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)
Boundary Justification (Explain why th	e boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)
11. Form Prepared By	
name/title Jan Olive Full, Historian	jofofic@gmail.com
organization_ Tallgrass Historians LC	
street & number 2460 S. Riverside D	telephone_319.354.6722
city or town lowa City	state_IAzip code _52246
Additional Documentation	
Submit the following items with the completed	form:
Continuation Sheets	
	eries) indicating the property's location. and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.
Photographs Representative black and white p	photographs of the property.
Additional items (Check with the SHPO	or FPO for any additional items)
Property Owner	
(Complete this item at the request of the SHPC name Bread to Beer LLC	
street & number 128 Main St.	telephone319-404-8550
city or town Cedar Falls	state_IA_zip code _50613
Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This is	oformation is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties

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.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including the time for reviewing

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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### NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

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name of p	Il Baking Company property	
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#### 7. Description

Summary Paragraph

Constructed and commencing wholesale bakery operations in 1927, the Campbell Baking Company building is located a block from the west bank of the Cedar River, in central Waterloo, the seat of Black Hawk County in northeast Iowa. When Campbell Baking Company built its new wholesale bakery in 1927 it was surrounded by a mixed residential and commercial neighborhood. Today the bakery building has cultural facilities nearby on its northeast or river side, namely the Waterloo Center for the Arts and, nearby, the new riverbank amphitheater, which is an outdoor performance venue. On the bakery's northwest and southwest, the neighborhood is dominated now by a few older commercial buildings, a rare surviving house converted to commerce, and large parking lots that replaced earlier houses and apartment flats. The west side public library is found directly across the street to the southeast. The 291' by 140', single-story, yellow brick and red tile bakery building exhibits stylish architectural details that give it a Spanish Revival aesthetic. These details were reserved for the building's long primary façade along Commercial Street (its southwest elevation), and its secondary façade along West 3<sup>rd</sup> Street, across the street from the library, with the remaining sides being strictly utilitarian. An early addition, which appears to date to the early 1930s, significantly extended the original building's footprint to the northwest using materials that seamlessly blended the appearance of the two construction projects. This addition now forms the middle section of the overall complex. The narrow end to the northwest includes two loading-bay or truck well additions constructed in 1957 and 1977. The appearance of these loading bays also is strictly utilitarian and lacks aesthetic embellishment. Cedar Street, which borders the complex on the river side was once an alley that has now been widened and reopened as a public street. All parts of the bakery complex's rear elevation, which overlooks Cedar Street, are utilitarian also. The 1977 construction project that added loading bays with interior truck wells to the northwest end of the complex also was wrapped around two sides of a smaller previously unrelated brick building at the far west end of the block, at the intersection of Commercial and West 2<sup>nd</sup> Streets. This served to physically join the unrelated commercial building to the bakery, where it served a storage function after being significantly altered. Generally, many if not most of the windows in the bakery complex have been changed out or modified by the bakery company before it went out of business several years ago. These window changes reflect efforts over the years to improve air conditioning and ventilation systems within, and the closure of a corner room where retail bakery items were sold. This small retail space in the south corner of the bakery building at the Commercial and West 3<sup>nd</sup> corner was converted to company offices and a conference room at an unknown time. Interior finishes appear to be from the 1970s.

Exterior – Decorated Façades – Commercial and West 3<sup>rd</sup> Streets

With the overall 291 feet elevation lying along Commercial Street (Fig. 1) between West 2<sup>nd</sup> and West 3<sup>rd</sup> Streets, the southwest facade is by far the most prominent and visually appealing. The bakery building itself (excluding its modern loading bays and the little brick corner building) is divided visually by roofline features into two unequal sections. The 1927 southeast corner section (the first constructed block) is 140 feet long and has 15 window openings and two doors along Commercial. It is bounded on either end by yellow brick piers that project above the roofline. In between these piers is a shed "rooflet" clad in red clay-tile pantiles. Just underneath the rooflets and across the top of the brick piers are brick crenellations that suggest dentils. A stone cap terminates the brick walls at the roofline. The midsection addition is 55 feet long and has

<sup>1</sup> While plans for the original 1927 building have been located, plans for the similar early addition have not. The City's building permit records have yielded nothing related to this addition either, nor has extensive newspaper research.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The northwest 1977 addition also added a engineering shop and small office area (see Additional Documentation). Because the additions primarily are related to distribution of finished baked goods, they will be referred to as truck wells or loading bays hereafter.

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seven window and door openings, including a tall modern overhead garage door. Its west end is treated similar to the 1927 section, with two tall yellow brick piers and crenellations, and a pantile rooflet. Combined, these two sections reach 195 feet along Commercial and once held within virtually the entire industrial baking process.

The foundation is concrete and the pale yellow brick walls are sparingly trimmed with decorative red clay tiles. Windows have stone sills, with either flat or round-arched brick lintels. Where round-arched, the interior of the arch is filled with stucco inset with a circular brick and tile decoration. The original windows, where present, have four over four vertical lights with steel-mesh safety glass. Replacement windows are reduced in size and have two horizontal lights. Where there are replacements, which is the majority of the windows, the unused original space is filled in with pale yellow bricks. The southeast corner end of the Commercial Street frontage was originally a small shop for retail sales. Its large window opening has been reduced to two smaller windows. Just around the corner, a second large windows opening into this retail space is filled with glass blocks. These glass blocks are not original either but an alteration that likely dates to the middle of the last century.

Just above the window level on the Commercial Street façade is the second-generation signage from which the building gets its common historical name. Spelled out in large red letter are "Home of Wonder Bread" and "Hostess Cake." Each letter has exposed inset white neon lights to make the red letters glow. The original signage can be seen in Figure 3 of Section 8.



Figure 1 The Commercial Street elevation is seen here on the left; the West 3<sup>rd</sup> Street end wall on the right. The large glass block window on the right illuminates a conference room today but originally was part of the shop open to the public for retail sales. Tallgrass Historians L.C., 2015

The West 3<sup>rd</sup> Street elevation received a similar decorative treatment to the Commercial Street façade. Originally, this elevation held seven wide garage doors but they were soon filled in with windows that nearly match the Commercial Street side's original windows. The extant three-over-one sash windows on this elevation are of the type used early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and suggest that the conversion of garage doors to enclosed, windowed space took place about the same time the midsection of the bakery was constructed, the early 1930s. Today there is one small replacement window near the

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Commercial Street end (south), plus eight double hung, three-over-three windows, a single pass door, and at the northeast end (closest the river), there is a remaining double wide doorway with a modern overhead door. The concrete foundation, yellow brick walls, window sills and flat brick lintels, red tile trim, and stone coping are all similar to or match the Commercial Street side.

Exterior - Utilitarian Elevation - Cedar Street

The Cedar Street elevation (Figs. 2 & 3) is composed of the rear walls to the 1927 and midsection blocks, plus the long side wall of the loading bay added in 1957. Bricks used for the rear walls of the bakery were the same pale yellow as the other sides, while the later loading bay was built with concrete blocks. Virtually all windows, regardless of location or building era, have been blocked up. Only one small opening remains to hold a window air conditioner. The only other remaining fenestration consists of three wide doors, two of which appear to be loading doors, positioned toward the center of the elevation and opening into the midsection portion of the bakery, and a pass door near the west end of the 1957 loading bay. There are also various vents located high on the walls. A large vinyl-clad square structure sits on top of the roof, near the Cedar Street side, and perhaps contains ventilation and air conditioning equipment. Several tall round metal vent stacks are also visible from this location.



Figure 2 On the left is the West 3<sup>rd</sup> Street end; on the right is the Cedar Street rear elevation. The photo was taken from the steps of the open-air amphitheater. Tallgrass Historians L.C., 2015

Exterior - Utilitarian Elevation - West 2nd Street

This final, narrow elevation (Figs. 3 & 4), as described from Cedar Street to Commercial Street, contains one narrow overhead door, two very wide overhead doors, and two pass doors. All overhead doors are modern. All walls are concrete block on concrete foundations and floors except for at the far west end at Commercial Street. The small building at this corner location is a separate older brick building, constructed in 1927 and incorporated into the overall complex in 1977 through the construction of loading bays that wrapped around it on the northwest and southwest sides. This brick building

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Figure 3 The overhead garage doors are the most notable feature of the northwest of the bakery complex. Tallgrass Historians L.C., 2015

has a footprint of 65 by 42 feet and a concrete foundation. Its large display windows on the two remaining visible walls are infilled with concrete block and small 4-light fixed windows. The walls are painted a buff color. The roof appears to have had several feet of additional height added to it, perhaps as a part of the 1977 construction project.

Exterior - Undecorated Commercial Street Segments

Beyond the small historic brick building at the corner of West 2<sup>nd</sup> and Commercial Streets (Fig. 4), between it and the midsection of the bakery building, is the other narrow wall of the 1977 construction project that joined the two buildings (Fig. 5). This also has a tall overhead door for loading or unloading materials. There is also an inset notch between the 1977 wall and the west end of the midsection of the bakery that holds a huge water meter and piping.

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Figure 4 The West 2<sup>nd</sup> Street end wall is seen here on the left; the historically unrelated (and functionally unrelated until 1977) brick corner building is on the right. Behind the tree at the far right is the Commercial Street end wall of the 1977 construction project. Tallgrass Historians L.C., 2015

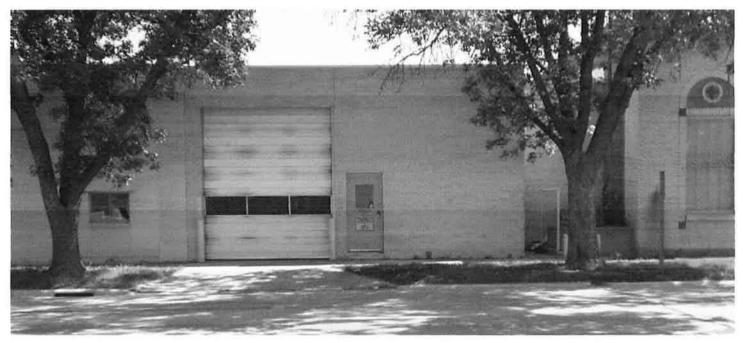


Figure 5 This is the Commercial Street exposure of the 1977 construction project that joined the small older corner brick building (at far left) to the midsection of the bakery building (far right). The inset notch that holds the water meter and piping is seen behind the tree on the right. Tallgrass Historians L.C., 2015

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#### Interior - 1927 Building and Early Midsection Addition

The interior materials within the original, 1927 bakery building vary greatly from space to space, and even within a single space or room. Flooring includes poured concrete, red brick and tiles, narrow wood boards, and wood blocks with exposed end graining. This last form of flooring, found in the oven area, may have been necessary because of the great weight of the oven. Wood blocks with end grain exposed in an upward direction would be strong in compressive strength and better able to withstand heavy loads (see lower left image in Fig. 6). Walls are primarily of glazed yellow or white bricks, used for their ease of cleaning. Brick walls in some of the more gritty utilitarian rooms, such as the boiler and fuel oil rooms, are painted white. Large riveted metal ceiling trusses tie the walls together and support the roof. The actual ceiling material may be concrete planks or panels.

Equipment remaining in the building (Fig. 6) has not been inventoried by the building's current owner, but the bakery operator appears to have essentially walked away from the building leaving major pieces intact. Equipment present as of June, 2015, includes the following (for locations refer to the floor plan contained in the Additional Documentation section):

- Oven (Baker Perkins, manufacturer)
- Proof or Proofing boxes (Union Steel Products, manufacturer)
- Conveyors for transporting baking pans (to/from proof box; to/from oven)
- Yeast cooler room
- · Mixing equipment room with mixers accessed from two levels
- Flour bins, gravity fed
- "Liquid Sugar" tank
- · Various smaller bins of different sizes, materials, and locations

The location of the equipment, when read in conjunction with the floor plan functions specified in an evacuation plan left hanging on the wall, suggest the baking process flowed generally from the West 3<sup>rd</sup> Street end, where raw materials were "received," through the mixing, baking, cooling, and bagging midsections, and finally out the door onto delivery trucks backed up to the bays on the West 2<sup>rd</sup> Street end.

Like many industrial plants, employee spaces were clustered together. In the case of this bakery, these rooms were found at the south corner of the 1927 building (corner of Commercial and West 3<sup>rd</sup> Streets). Here are found the managerial and clerical offices, a conference room, and employee lunch/break room. Much of this space was adapted from the original corner retail bakery shop. Surfaces include painted plaster or sheetrock walls and wood floors.

The early midsection of the bakery building has a poured concrete floor and brick exterior walls. The southeast party wall with the 1927 bakery block has some concrete block. A small wood-frame and wire-cage storage structure is located against the Commercial Street exterior wall, next to the large overhead door. There is no equipment within this space currently. The evacuation map identifies this space as "Bulk drum storage."

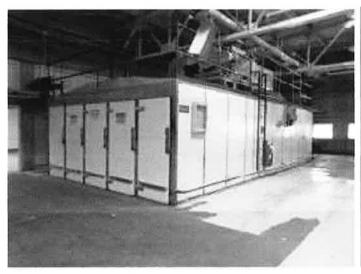
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Because it extends from the 1927 bakery through to the early 1930s addition, the current oven clearly is not original equipment.

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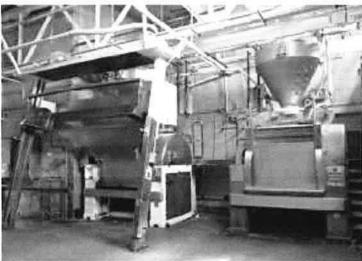


Figure 6 Clockwise from top left: proofing box; oven; bread pan conveyor leaving oven; mixing equipment. Tallgrass Historians L.C., 2015

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#### Interior - The Incorporated Brick Corner Building and Loading Bay (Trailer Well) Additions

The small preexisting brick corner building, which was never associated with the bread and cake manufacturing process, likely served a variety of unrelated commercial functions over the years including a dry cleaning business and a tavern by 1962 (according to Sanborn fire insurance maps). When it and an adjacent double house (side by side duplex) were acquired by the bakery in 1966, the action probably advanced several corporate goals not the least of which was to gain control over the increasingly problematic neighborhood tavern business. In 1972, the double house was torn down, opening the space between the tayern building and the bakery; however the tayern continued to operate under its lease until 1973. The bakery and the tayern building were not physically joined by new construction until 1977, when a large shipping space was created between the two existing buildings. At that point, the former tavern building was incorporated into the overall bakery complex and used for storage of largely nonfood stuffs (boxes, bags, ties, etc.). The small brick building has been heavily altered with perhaps no more than 20% of its original historic fabric remaining. It has a poured concrete floor and painted block walls, except for small high windows. The original large display windows were infilled with concrete block. The upper portion of the walls appears to have been raised to accommodate a new roof. From the inside, the visible ceiling is metal, perhaps galvanized steel panels, and there are light-weight metal trusses (in comparison to the heavy riveted trusses of the main bakery building) spanning the southwest and northeast walls. There is no equipment in this space and a single wide metal-clad sliding fire door leads from this space into the next, the 1977 shipping addition. The loading bay/trailer well additions are simple with concrete walls and floors. No equipment is found within these spaces, except tool storage boards hanging on a wall. The floors of the 1977 loading bays on the West 2<sup>nd</sup> Street end are ramped down from the exterior doors to the loading platforms at the opposite end. The Commercial Street side of the 1977 addition (the shipping area) has a red-brick southeast end wall and a ceiling similar to the small corner brick building's. It also has a small concrete block office shelter at the end opposite the exterior loading door. This office area is painted white and has a door and a fixed window looking out into the shipping and loading area space. Metal clad, sliding fire doors separate this space from the bakery building to the southeast. The 1977 loading bay/truck wells and the incorporation of the small brick corner building by the 1977 project are additions that are either not yet 50 years old, as in the case of the loading bays, or not historically associated with the bakery business, as is the case with the small corner tavern building.

#### Integrity

The building has good historic exterior and interior integrity, but is not without alterations. All alterations were initiated by the bakery business itself as a function of evolving manufacturing operations. The most significant alterations are window replacements and infills. Fortunately, most of the infilled windows are on the rear of the building. Unfortunately, this is becoming a more public elevation because of the cultural venues in this direction. The 1957 loading bay is now a historic addition, was associated with the bakery operation, and contributes to the public's understanding of the wholesale bakery's delivery procedure. It does not negatively affect integrity. The 1977 loading bay/truck wells and the incorporation of the small brick corner building by the 1977 project are additions that are either not yet 50 years old, as in the case of the loading bays, or not historically associated with the bakery business, as in the small corner brick building. These additions are alterations that do not significantly impair the overall historic integrity of the bakery building, considering the bakery's greater size, scale, footprint, and its stylish Spanish Revival details. The latter details are seen especially in the use of Spanish

<sup>4</sup> The history of this small brick building and its modern relationship to the bakery building was recorded on Iowa Site Inventory form 07-03311, completed by the author in July, 2015 as a part of a local landmark application (approved in September, 2015).

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pantiles and rooflets. Arguably, the contrasting pale yellow brick may have been used to suggest the stone building material indigenous to the countries surrounding the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the window alterations, and west-end additions, the building's substantial size, large footprint, and detailing, mean the "overall sense of past time and place is evident" (National Register Bulletin: How to Complete the National Register Form 4).

Comments on specific integrity aspects are as follows:

- (1) location: the building is in its original location;
- (2) design: the exterior has numerous window replacements noted above and the west-end additions. The interior maintains its original floor plan and its historic finishes. The floor plan reflects the bakery functions;
- (3) setting: the surrounding historically-mixed commercial, civic, and residential neighborhood has largely lost its residential buildings. Newer public venues (art center and open-air amphitheater) complement the public library to the east, and some of the historic commercial buildings remain, including the bakery business's first location directly across Commercial Street;
- (4) materials: the exterior materials are original to the majority of the building on all sides. Newer materials include the yellow brick that filled the larger windows spaces on the front and the blocks that infilled the rear windows. Interior finishes, are largely original;
- (5) workmanship: the workmanship employed in the building is best reflected in the skills needed to lay the brick and the decorative tiles and pantile rooflets;
- (6) feeling: the overall plan, mass, and aesthetics project a time when this wholesale operation maintained a busy daily baking schedule that filled the neighborhood with fresh-baked bread aromas. The aroma is gone, but the memory of it lingers on, with residents often commenting on it;
- (7) association: the bakery's decades-long daily operation and its historic 1957 loading bay addition directly relate to its historic significance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> One Iowa State Nomination Review Committee member has suggested that the "cream colored brick" is a "'signature' for Wonder Bread buildings" (minutes of the 2/12/2016 SNRC meeting). The definition of a *Spanish pantile* may be found at "Removing and Replacing a Clay Tile Roof," U.S. General Services Administration, accessed at www.gsa.gov/portal/content/113126, on 9/17/2015; on Spanish Revival architecture, see Dan Cooper, "Spanish vs. Italian-Mediterranean Revival Architecture," *Period Homes*, accessed at http://www.tompricearchitects.com/publication/ph-estn.html, on 9/17/2015.

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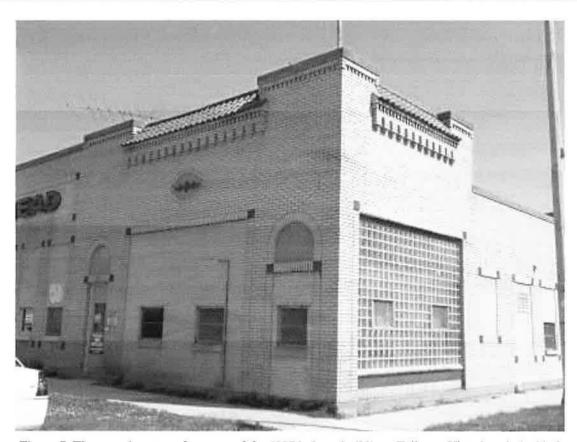


Figure 7 The prominent south corner of the 1927 bakery building. Tallgrass Historians L.C., 2015

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### 8. Narrative Statement of Significance<sup>1</sup>

Summary Paragraph

The Campbell Baking Company building, in Waterloo, Iowa, is locally significant under Criterion A as a good example of the national trend toward consolidation and the "incorporation" of the baking industry during the first decades of the 20th century. The building represents this trend as it played out at the local level in an industrializing eastern Iowa city. It reflects the final stage in a long progression of baking history that saw bread and cake baking move from the home were it was a woman's daily activity, to small neighborhood retail bakers who served their immediate community, to local wholesalers who used wagons and railroads to transport their fresh goods to ever widening distribution markets, and finally to the consolidation of these established local wholesalers into fewer but larger, sometimes even national, industrial wholesale bakery companies. Designed not by local or even Iowa architects, but by Mills, Rhines, Bellman & Nordhoff, a Toledo, Ohio firm with a successful practice specializing in non-residential commissions, this choice of architects for the building reflects the extent to which the Campbell Baking Company building owes its existence to national industrial patterns rather than local economic forces. In 1921 when Campbell first announced its presence in Waterloo, it had already been a player in the local bakery industry for several years as financial backer of the Peerless Baking Company. Formed in 1917, Peerless competed with only one other well-established large wholesale bakery, the Alstadt & Langlas Baking Company.<sup>3</sup> The former's local success led to Campbell Baking Company's announcement in 1921 that it was taking over the Peerless operation, then still housed in an older bakery building. By 1927 the older Peerless-Campbell building was outmoded and too small for the demand. Thus Campbell Baking Company constructed its modern new plant just across the street. In its approximately 80 years of operation in Waterloo, the "Wonder Bread" building, as it is affectionately called locally, produced increasingly tasty if standardized and generic baked goods, including Wonder Bread and Hostess Twinkies. And the building produced daily aromas of freshly baked bread that wafted across town, aromas still fondly remembered by Waterloo residents. The physical memory produced by these smells reinforced the affection community members currently feel for the building. The period of significance, 1927-1966, runs from the completion of the building until the National Register's sliding 50-year cutoff.

The Bakery Industry in the 1920s

Baking did not become a true wholesale commercial activity until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when women left home to work and incomes rose enough to make baked goods on a large scale profitable.<sup>4</sup> Between 1900 and the 1920s commercial

<sup>1</sup> The historic context stated herein is based on more extensive research than a previously filed Iowa Site Inventory form (07-03311) on which a Waterloo local landmark application was based. This context, therefore, adds considerably more detail to the history of the Campbell Baking Company in Waterloo and corrects some conclusions drawn for the Iowa Site Inventory form (primarily about just how early the Campbell baking interests had been operating in the Waterloo baked goods market).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The term used within this context is a reference to Alan Trachtenberg's *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (1982) and Oliver Zunz's *Making America Corporate*, 1870-1920 (1990). Both argue that the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries saw the rise of corporate power in the United States as a part of the increasing sophistication of machinery and technology, and cultural acceptance of large organizations. As a result of corporate power, worker autonomy was reduced but also more families moved into the middle class.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Information about Altstadt & Langlas Baking Company can be found in Barbara Beving Long (Henning), "Waterloo, Factory City of Iowa: A Survey of Architecture and History," (unpubl. report to the City of Waterloo, 1986), 104-105. No local survey on bakeries has been conducted for this nomination; however, the historic and long defunct Alstadt & Langlas Baking Company was probably Waterloo's other most notable large-scale, regional bakery. That company's building was extant in 2015 (54 Lane St.) but in extremely poor shape. More recent local bakeries include the Johnson Bakery near downtown on the west side of the Cedar River, and the Webbeking Bakery, also on the west side on 11<sup>th</sup> Street. Both of these smaller bakeries shut down operations within the last five to 10 years.

William G. Panschar, Baking in America: Economic Development, vol. I (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1956), 71-73.

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bread baking in America was undergoing a rapid transformation. Production of small amounts of perishable goods by local, often family-owned retail bakers who sold their baked goods over the counter to neighborhood residents or through small, neighborhood grocers, was giving way to large scale production and wide wholesale distribution of goods by bakery companies owned by corporate shareholders. By the 1920s corporate ownership as a way of capitalizing business activity in the United States was becoming commonplace and within the bread baking industry a kind of merger mania was underway, fueled by mechanization of the baking process and improvements in the quality of the ingredients.

Flour storage and sifting methods, dough mixing machines, reliable ovens, automatic dough dividers, and pan conveyors improved the process by eliminating the arduous hand labor. These machines standardized the loaves in weight and shape, and the automation meant bakers could rightly claim the dough was never touched by human hands and, therefore, was safer and more nutritious. But mechanization that allowed production on a commercial scale was only part of the story. Improvements in yeast and the quality of flour also were necessary. These improvements began during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when a better commercial yeast became available (though it would be some time before refrigeration improved enough to solve other problems with yeast) and new techniques for milling hard spring-winter wheat produced a "patent" flour that was stronger, whiter, and kept better. "For the nation's bakers, it meant a better all-round loaf of bread, whiter, lighter, and of superior grain and texture. It gave the loaves a rich brown color heretofore not obtained in baking. Of special significance, this flour yielded a great amount of bread per barrel—some 12.5 percent over the best winter wheat flours." Combined, the mechanization of bread production along with improvements in ingredients, and the public's acceptance of commercially produced baked goods over those of the local retail baker, effectively transformed the "staff of life" into a standardized commodity produced on an industrial scale.

Consolidation on a National Level Comes to Waterloo, 1917

When Campbell Baking Company first announced its presence in Waterloo in 1921, the Kansas City, Missouri-based corporation already operated at least nine separate plants in the Midwest, including one in Des Moines and one constructed in Sioux City in 1920. Established by Winfield "Win" M. Campbell, a Michigan native, the Campbell Baking Company began in 1912 with the launching of its Des Moines bakery. He had learned his trade starting at age 20 by working in a bakery in Red Cloud, Nebraska, and later worked also in Kansas City, Denver, Pittsburgh, and New York City. An astute businessman as well as a trained baker, Campbell expanded his chain of bakery plants from Iowa into Kansas with a Wichita bakery and in 1915 Campbell located his company headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri in a modern new plant. Employing "an entirely new distribution system" in the city, Campbell used 30 electric wagons to deliver bread "house-to-house...direct to the consumer...just as are milk and ice." Baker, businessman, innovative entrepreneur, Win Campbell emerged by the late 1910s as a powerful Midwest industrialist, fully capable of participating in the technological, methodological, and cultural changes that were sweeping the baking industry at the time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid., 60-61.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Refer to *Time Line* at the end of Section 8 for important dates in the sequence of events.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> "A Handsome and Modern New Bakery," *The Kansas Citian* 4 (11/23/1915) 39: 584 [supplied through the courtesy of Jeremy Drouinm, Senior Special Collections Librarian, The Kansas City Public Library]; also, Jan R. Nash "Intensive Level Architectural and Historical Survey of the Campbell Baking Company/Continental Baking Company Building, Sioux City, Iowa (unpubl. report to the City of Sioux City, 1996) [copy available at the Iowa Strool

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Galveston [Texas] Tribune, 8/6/1943 [Win M. Campbell obituary].

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

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One method Campbell found to expand his chain of bakeries was used in Waterloo in 1917 with the incorporation of the Peerless Bakery Company. <sup>11</sup> Undoubtedly the financial backer for this new baking company, Campbell partnered with an experienced baker from nearby Charles City, Evan M. Black, and William F. Schrag, a younger man with managerial experience running the local telephone office. <sup>12</sup> Though Black was named president and manager, and Schrag as secretary/treasurer, Win Campbell kept a low profile and was mentioned in the press only as being the third member, along with the other two, of the Board of Directors. <sup>13</sup> Schrag appears to have taken over for Black as manager relatively soon after the company was formed and he continued to manage the bakery business through its various transformations and official names, from Peerless to Campbell Baking Company, and beyond. Win Campbell was formally listed as Peerless president as early as 1921, but he likely inserted himself into that slot when Black left. <sup>14</sup>

Once incorporated, Peerless Baking Company purchased the bakery business, including the equipment, of Friedl & Son, but only leased Friedl's bakery plant at the corner of Commercial and West 2<sup>nd</sup> Streets.<sup>15</sup> The three-story bakery building was virtually new, having been constructed just six years earlier by Wenzel Friedl, a Bohemia native and local baker for 35 years.<sup>16</sup> However the bakery plant was organized on a vertical, multi-story system that may have been outmoded even when it was built.<sup>17</sup>

Late in 1921, without disclosing the shared ownership of the two companies, Win Campbell was ready to announce the Campbell Baking Company's assumption of Peerless Baking Company's business in Waterloo. "With the addition of the local plant the [Campbell Baking] concern will furnish bread to families from Albert Lea, Minn., to Corpus Christie, Tex" the local paper reported. Campbell Baking's sales manager arrived from Kansas City to launch a marketing campaign that included delivery of a free loaf of Campbell's "Merit" bread to "every family in the city" through a special coupon available at neighborhood groceries. Continuing the ruse about independent ownership, the salesman told the local press that "Peerless bread had established an enviable reputation in Waterloo, but that the product of the Campbell plant would be an improvement over the Peerless bread." A full page ad in the paper proclaimed that "As successor of the Peerless Baking Company, we formally introduce ourselves to the people of Waterloo..." Not long after, in 1922 while he was serving as president of the American Bakers' Association, Win Campbell sold (or at least divested his controlling interest in)

<sup>11</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier, 10/26/1917; The National Baker, January, 1918. Obtained on Google.com/ on 9/19/2015.

<sup>12</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier, 12/31/1917.

<sup>13</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier, 3/31/1917.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Waterloo Times Tribune, 8/14/1921. The date and reason for Black's departure have not been identified.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Waterloo Daily Courier, 11/10/1941. Despite at least one article that suggests Peerless bought the building too, the Friedl sons still owned it in 1941 when their father died in 1941. Wenzel Friedl, who arrived in Waterloo in 1882, was a contemporary of Charles Altstadt, partner in the long-operating Altstadt and Langlas Baking Company. Altstadt and Friedl both successfully grew small bakeries into large wholesale bakery operations. Altstadt and Langlas was the only serious local competition for wholesale business faced by Win Campbell and his successors in Waterloo. "Wenzel Friedl dies; Longtime Waterloo Baker," Waterloo Dailey Courier, November 10, 1941; "Looking Back to 1901," Waterloo Sunday Courier, 1/1/1950; "City has Model Bakery Plants," Waterloo Evening Courier, 12/30/1911.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Waterloo Sunday Courier, 1/1/1950.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Panschar, 65. Wholesale bakeries, like 19<sup>th</sup> century packing plants, were organized on multiple floors and the "great majority" had their ovens in the basement because of the ovens' great weight. Bakeries used gravity to assist the assembly process with the separate ingredients stored on upper floors and assembled, through chutes and other devices, in a downward trajectory, ending up with panned dough for baking and cooling in the basement. Panschar, 64-66. Packing plants also used this gravity principal by walking the animals up a ramp to the top floor for slaughter followed by "disassembly" on lower floors, to final packaging and loading on rail cars or trucks on the lowest. With better and more reliable power sources after the turn of the century, modern bakeries, again just like packing houses, converted to a horizontal process that used conveyors and assembly lines.

<sup>18</sup> Waterloo Times Tribune, 9/27/1921.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Waterloo Times Tribune, 10/2/1921.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier and Waterloo Times Tribune, 9/26/1921.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The Northwestern Miller, 2/22/1922 (at 827). Accessed at Google.com on 10/12/2015.

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Campbell Baking Company, and along with it the Waterloo plant operating in the Friedl building, to a newly-formed holding company called United Bakeries Corporation, a transaction that reflects the continuing consolidation and churning of bakery companies that was underway nationwide during the heady 1920s.<sup>23</sup>

United was formed by William B. Ward, a successful East Coast industrialist with an even bigger baking conglomerate than Win Campbell.<sup>24</sup> Heir to a family bakery business started before the Civil War, the ambitious Ward easily had the necessary capital, promotional talent, and managerial savvy to build a nationwide baking empire. His organizational activities between 1922 and 1926, when the federal government ended his aggressive acquisition campaign with an anti-trust suit, resulted in three of the largest four baking corporations in the nation. United Bakeries Corporation was folded into another Ward holding company in 1924, the newly formed Continental Baking Company.<sup>25</sup> Continental would control 91 bakery plants in the United States and operate in 73 cities in 28 states, making it the largest corporation in the baking industry.<sup>26</sup> Though Campbell Baking Company in Waterloo was a part of the Continental corporate structure, Campbell retained its more regionally familiar name until 1929 – two years after it moved into its new quarters built across Commercial Street from the Friedl bakery – when the name was formally changed to "Continental Baking Company, Campbell Bakeries."<sup>27</sup>

There are hints in the local Waterloo newspapers that suggest operating in the Friedl building was unsatisfactory almost from the start of Campbell Baking's celebrated "arrival" in town. Part of the 1921 publicity surrounding the assumption of Peerless business included the statement that "after a survey of the local situation the sales department reported that there was enough business in Waterloo to tax their plant to capacity, which was not at the present time served by any baker." Since ownership and management of the Waterloo Campbell Baking Company was the same as the Peerless Baking Company, this capacity issue did not actually require a "survey" but should have been known to company officials all along. Still, it was six more years before the Campbell concern secured land across the street and built its new, horizontal-flow, modern bakery building. No reason for this delay is apparent; however, the block across the street was occupied by a few old residences dating to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, <sup>28</sup> and the original plant of the Waterloo Gasoline Engine Company (precursor of John Deere Tractor Company), which was in a slow process of moving farther west to a developing factory district. <sup>29</sup> Together with the smoky engine factory and the multiple sets of railroad tracks just beyond it on the Cedar River bank, the land eventually acquired by Campbell Baking Company for its new building in 1927 may have been too expensive, already owned or controlled by the gasoline factory, or just deemed too "industrial" for the image of a clean bakery that Campbell Bakery wanted to project.

Construction of the Campbell Bakery Company Building

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Panschar, 154 and Chart 1, 156-157. Winfield "Win" Campbell may have sold off control of his first company in 1922, but he hardly left the business. In 1925 he founded the Win M. Campbell Company, which was joined in 1928 by Indianapolis businessman, A.L. Taggert. The company then was renamed, the Campbell-Taggert Associated Bakeries. This company operated as Colonial Bakery, among other names, in Oklahoma and other Midwest states. In 1975, it launched the "Earth Grains" brand, which eventually became the corporate name. Today, Earthgrains is a publically-traded corporation (EGR) based in St. Louis, Missouri. It has over 26,000 employees and more than \$2 billion in sales. See www.earthgrains.com for more information including the company history.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Panschar, 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Panschar, 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Panschar, 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier, 4/23/1929.

<sup>28 &</sup>quot;New Bakery Site Prominent Point in Early History," Waterloo Evening Courier, 5/5/1927.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Sanborn Map Company, fire insurance map of Waterloo, Iowa, 1918; Jan Olive Full, Tractor Town: Waterloo's Role in the Development of the Farm Tractor, from "Waterloo Boy" to John Deere, 1895-1954, 6.

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Word of the land sale for the site of the new Campbell Bakery along Commercial Street was in the local newspaper in the spring of 1927, but the early reports focused on the 19<sup>th</sup> century history of the land and the Civil War-era houses that were going to be lost rather than the impact the new bakery would have on the town.<sup>30</sup> This would change rather quickly, in keeping with the fast pace of the construction. In June, John Gillett and George V. Rhines, representatives from Mills, Rhines, Bellman & Nordhoff, the Toledo, Ohio architectural firm hired to design the building and draw the plans (Fig. 8), were in town to supervise the opening of contractors' bids. Local firms exclusively were awarded the work with the general contractor award going to John G. Miller Construction. Plans called for a building "120 by 140 feet, one story, in dimensions, of fire-proof brick, [and] steel and concrete construction." Construction work was to begin the very next day.<sup>31</sup>

By the beginning of July, the new bakery's foundation work was well underway. The local paper reported that "progress made the first week assures completion of the building on schedule time next September, when the lease of the [Friedl] building now occupied by the Campbell company expires. This will be something of a record for construction of a large brick and concrete building." The impact on the neighborhood was nearly immediate, with at least one shop owner, a grocer, opening a new store just across the street from the construction site and touting its proximity to the bakery in a large newspaper ad. 33

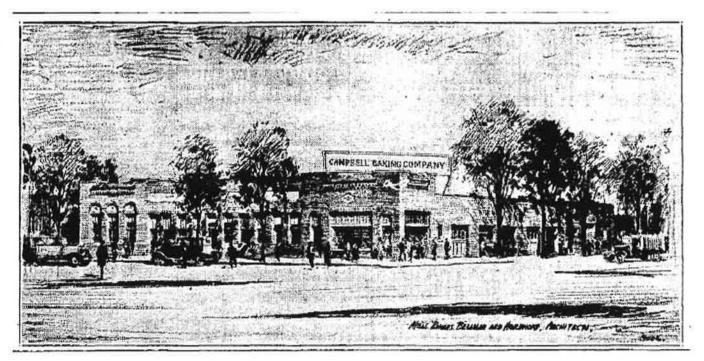


Figure 8 The Waterloo Evening Courier published this architects' drawing of the planned new Campbell Baking Company building on July 30, 1927.

<sup>30</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier, 5/5/1927; "Ridenour House Will Be Wrecked; Two Others Moved," Waterloo Evening Courier," 6/6/1927.

<sup>31</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier, 6/24/1927.

<sup>32</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier, 7/2/1927.

<sup>33</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier, 7/18/1927.

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Calling it a "beautiful bread kitchen" (Figs. 9-10) in the making at the corner of Commercial and West 3<sup>rd</sup> Streets, the *Courier* reported on the new bakery equipment under the newspaper headline: "All Processes on One Floor to Economize Time." Plans and purchases made for the new facility included three gas or oil fired ovens<sup>34</sup> – cleaner than ovens heated with coal or coke – high speed mixers that also cooled the dough to avoid the problem of the machine's heat activating the yeast, and a flour storage room that was "thoroly [sic] ventilated and dry" (the basements of the old bakeries were viewed as unsanitary and damp). Features such as a water filtration system, the ability to sift the flour twice before being mixed into dough, and a conveyor system that carried bread pans from the ovens to a "wrapping machine" all assured the grocer and, ultimately, the housewife consumer of healthier and better-quality fresh bread and pastries.<sup>35</sup> According to manager Schrage, the new equipment eliminated hand labor and was a marvel of capacity. "Quite in contrast to the kneading of bread by a pair of human hands in the distant past," Schrag claimed, "is the 12-ton mechanical mixer received today for the use in the new Campbell Baking company's building...This machine is capable of mixing 1,500 pounds of dough at one 'setting' and is completely automatic in its control." Schrag's enthusiasm for the modern baking plant he was about to manage was clear; the publicity the bakery generated while under construction was priceless.

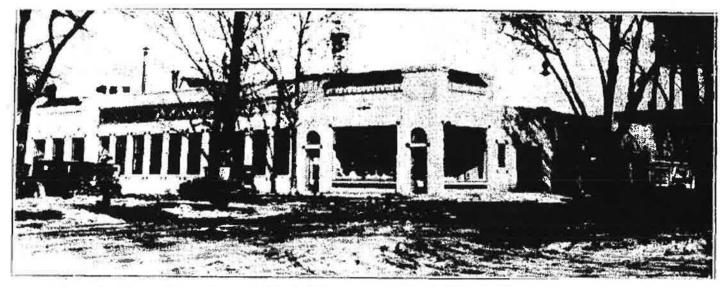


Figure 2 Soon after its completion, this view of the building was printed in the *Waterloo Evening Courier* on December 31, 1927. Incorporation of a small retail store, here the space behind the large corner windows, was a holdover of an earlier tradition for wholesale bakeries. Panschar, 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> It is unknown if the extant oven is one of the three originals, but the brand is the same, Baker Perkins. Waterloo Evening Courier, "10/15/1927.

Waterloo Evening Courier, 7/30/1927.
 Waterloo Evening Courier, 8/29/1927.

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Figure 3 Early view taken from the c. 1928 Waterloo Chamber of Commerce booster publication called *The Story of Waterloo*, Factory City of Iowa, compiled by F. Gwynn Weston. Original in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

By late September, as the Friedl building lease was about to expire, the new building was nearing completion and the equipment was being installed.<sup>37</sup> A month later, the company had moved operations<sup>38</sup> from Friedl's old building and the new bakery was set to open. "Early Monday morning," the *Courier* promised, "golden brown loaves of hot, savory bread will begin to roll from the great ovens of the Campbell Baking company's new plant at Commercial and Third streets." The newspaper called the building "one of the outstanding improvements of the year" and its construction "accomplished in record time." In yet another month, the Campbell Baking Company was ready to throw open its doors to the public with a "grand opening" ceremony. Capacity statistics published for the grand opening included the new bakery's ability to bake 4,700 loaves of bread and fry 1,200 donuts every hour. Two hundred invited guests had dinner in the "mammoth garage" of the new bakery in an event that was described the next day as a "civic love feast" also attended by Kansas City officials of the Campbell/Continental company.

Within the year after it opened the new bakery in Waterloo, the Campbell Baking Company had expanded its capacity in the new plant by 45%, added a new pastry and cake line, and added more delivery trucks and new sales routes that included an exclusive pastry route, a café route, and two new suburban routes. Employee numbers jumped 30%, growing from 47 when it opened the year before to 67 by the end of 1928. Twice-a-day deliveries supplied neighboring groceries and outlying towns

<sup>37</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier, 9/17/1927.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> None of the old equipment from the former bakery building was moved across the street for reuse. Waterloo Evening Courier, 11/16/1927.

<sup>39</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier, 10/15/1927.

<sup>40</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier, 11/16/1927.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier, 11/18/1927.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Friedl Bakery provided employment for 30 workers in the multi-story building, while Peerless later employed 40 in the same building. Considering the extent of automation in the bakery industry, worker numbers in the new larger Campbell building probably expanded to around 70 or slightly more, but

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within a 60 mile radius with fresh, sometimes even still warm, baked goods.<sup>44</sup> It is possible, *though it is far from confirmed*, that this quick expansion of operations to meet demand prompted the large addition to the northwest end of the bakery.<sup>45</sup> Materials in this addition closely match the original construction suggesting it was completed soon after 1927. This kind of expansion (just before the Great Depression set in) is a potential if not predictable reaction from a large, multi-state corporation enjoying high market demand in boom times.

In 1929, the larger holding company of which Campbell Baking Company was a part began advancing its own name — Continental Baking Company — by amending the Campbell's articles of incorporation and promoting its own product lines, especially "Wonder Bread." Continental employed modern marketing approaches that appealed to progressive homemakers, such as the "science" and "laboratory testing" that backed each loaf of bread, and it promoted new innovations such as slicing every loaf before slipping it into the balloon-decorated white wax paper wrappers. Interestingly, the company needed to assure consumers that the sliced bread was "simply an old friend in a new form," and a convenience for "women in a hurry." In the next few years, the bakery increased the size of its bread loaves and decreased the price. And it continued to add more routes and mileage, crediting the development of better roads in Iowa as the reason it could expand its territory so far from Waterloo. During 1933, in the depths of the Great Depression, the bakery company was able to increase the number of workers on its payroll by 23% and use 16 delivery trucks to serve 105 Iowa towns, attesting to the role bread played as an essential component of the American diet. Nearly 5 million pounds of baked goods were delivered that year. <sup>48</sup>

Except for the loading bay added in 1957 to the northwest corner of the bakery, the Continental Baking Company did not add to or further expand its physical plant again until the late 1970s, when it built more loading bays and a shipping area on the northwest and southwest end of the plant. These new additions physically attached the bakery to the small former tavern building on the far, opposite corner of its block. Even though the bakery company had acquired this property and the tavern and double house on it as early as 1966, company officials did not immediately remove the rented dwelling that blocked its expansion. They waited until 1972 to demolish the dwelling, and until 1977 to physically incorporate the small corner tavern into the bakery operation, repurposing it as a storage building after extensively altering it The 1966 purchase of these properties probably was not only for future expansion, but also to acquire the undesirable tavern business operating in the corner building, a business that was inconsistent with the clean and wholesome image of Wonder Bread.<sup>49</sup>

In 1995, the bakery's parent company, Continental Baking Company was acquired by its largest rival, Interstate Bakeries Corp., which eventually was acquired by or became Hostess Brands, Inc., a privately held Texas company. Changing consumer tastes and a poor public image of Wonder Bread and Hostess products – including tasty but sugar-laden products

then stabilized relatively quickly. There is no local office of the bakers' union to consult about this; however, the estimate is consistent with the recollection of a long-time Altstadt & Langlas worker. Otto Mueller interview, *Iowa Labor History Oral Project* (Collection of the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1978), 13; about the nearest local of the bakers' union, see http://www.bctgm.org/about-us/bctgm-local-unions/. For worker figures for the Friedl and Altstadt & Langlas bakeries, see "City has Model Bakery Plants," *Waterloo Evening Courier*, 12/30/1911 and "Peerless Baking Company," Article 7 in the series "Industrial Romance of Waterloo," *Waterloo Times-Tribune*, 8/14/1921.

<sup>44</sup> Waterloo Evening Courier, 12/31/1928; 4/5/1929.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Despite a thorough search by various parties, the plans for this section of the bakery have never been found, nor is there a building permit on file with the City for it. Newspaper research failed to locate any publicity associate with the addition's construction. Finally, the local public library does not have any records, photos, clippings or vertical files associated with either the 1927 building or its early addition. The local museum is currently checking its holdings for relevant material.

<sup>46</sup> Waterloo Daily Courier, 8/81930.

<sup>47</sup> Waterloo Sunday Courier, 1/3/1932.

<sup>48</sup> Waterloo Daily Courier, 1/1/1933; 12/31/1933.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> The history of this small brick building and its modern relationship to the bakery building was recorded on Iowa Site Inventory form 07-03311, completed by the author in July, 2015 as a part of a local landmark application (approved in September, 2015).

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like Twinkies and Ho-Ho's – drove the parent company into bankruptcy in 2012.<sup>50</sup> With the bankruptcy and the related failure to secure union concessions, successful Chapter 11 reorganization was not possible. Waterloo's plant was closed, along with some 33 other plants nationwide, laying off 18,500 workers.<sup>51</sup> Two years later, the City of Waterloo acquired the building and holds it currently awaiting redevelopment plans by private parties.<sup>52</sup>

Architects Mills, Rhines, Bellman & Nordhoff, Toledo, Ohio

The architectural firm hired to design the Campbell Bakery Company building was formed in Toledo, Ohio, in 1912. Internet research on the firm, which led to newspaper articles, professional journals, public and university libraries, as well as less credible sources, suggests the firm worked primarily in non-residential architectural commissions and favored the revival styles popular at the time. Members included George Strafford Mills (1866-1939), George Volney Rhines (1875-1938), Lawrence Stevens Bellman (1876-1951), and Charles M. Nordhoff (1877-1950). It is not known when the firm dissolved but commissions into the very early 1930s were discovered through the research.<sup>53</sup>

George Strafford Mills – Senior member of the firm, Mills was born in London but raised in St. Louis, Missouri. An 1884 graduate of the Washington University's "manual training school, Mills studied architecture under George I. Barnett, also of St. Louis. He moved to Toledo, Ohio in 1885 to teach drawing at the School of Manual Training, rising to supervisor of the school by 1888. From 1892 until 1897, Mills practiced with Harry W. Wachter (1868-1941), and for the next 15 years worked as a sole practitioner until he formed Mills, Rhines, Bellman, and Nordhoff with his employees in 1912.<sup>54</sup>

George V. Rhines – Rhines was a civil engineer who worked for Mills as an employee before 1912. He may have been the member of the firm to design a number of Willys-Overland motor company plants in Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri, and San Francisco, among other cities. Rhines wrote a lengthy article in the 1918 issue of the American Architect (vol. 113, pages 361 to 367) that claimed novel approaches were developed to meet the specific corporate needs of the large motor company. It seems likely that such familiarity with the plans and design would have only come from the pen of the designer himself. On the other hand, George Mills, the senior partner, was known to have rubbed shoulders with the Willys-Overland executives where they all overwintered in southern California. Perhaps the manufacturing plants were truly a partnership effort that combined a little PR with engineering expertise. Little personal information about Rhines was discovered other than he was a life-long resident of Toledo, Ohio. 55

Lawrence Stevens Bellman – Born in Toledo, Bellman was an 1899 graduate of the University of Pennsylvania where he studied architecture. He went to work as a draftsman for George Mills shortly thereafter. Bellman's Nazareth Hall (Figs. 11-12), constructed in Grand Rapids, Ohio in 1927 bears a striking similarity in style and materials to the Campbell Banking

<sup>50 &</sup>quot;Twinkies Maker Preparing for Chapter 11 Filing," The Wall Street Journal, 1/10/2012. Obtained at www.wsj.com/articles on 10/13/2015.

<sup>51 &</sup>quot;Is Today the Day the Twinkie Dies?" The Wire. Obtained at www.thewire.com on 10/13/2015.

<sup>52</sup> Waterloo-Cedar Falls Courier. Accessed at wcfcourier.com 5/29/2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> The firm members' birth and death dates were obtained from C. Ford Peatross, ed. *Capital Drawings* (2005). The announcement of the firm's formation was located in *The Western Architect* (January-December, 1912). The firm's latest commission that was discovered through internet research was University Hall on the campus of the University of Toledo, designed in 1931 (obtained at www.civicartsproject.com on 9/18/2015). The lead partner, George S. Mills, would have been 65 in 1931.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> "Architect Dies in Toledo Home," Findlay [OH] Republican Courier, 12/28/1939; "George Strafford Mills," The Brickbuilder (January-December 1915): 145; Mary Sayre Haverstock, Jeannette Mahoney Vance, and Brian L. Meggitt, compilers. Artists in Ohio, 1787-1900: A Biographical Dictionary (2000); William Hyde and Howard Louis Conard, Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis (St. Louis: The Southern History Company, 1899); Woodlawn Cemetery [Toledo] records for George Strafford Mills, obtained at www.historic-woodlawn.com on 9/18/2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Engineering News (May 9, 1912), 907; Toledo City Directory, 1904; Woodlawn Cemetery [Toledo] records for George V. Rhines, obtained at www.historic-woodlawn.com on 9/21/2015;

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Company's Waterloo building, though functions and overall size and form differ. Yellow brick walls, round-arched windows, red decorative tile work, and a terra cotta roof with brick corbelling are features of both. Bellman retired in 1948 from Bellman, Gillett & Richards, the firm he led after the Mills firm dissolved (date unknown).<sup>56</sup>





Figures 11-12 Two views of Nazareth Hall (1927) designed by L.S. Bellman and built as a Catholic boy's boarding school in northwest Ohio, operating from 1928 until 1982. This educational building shares many Spanish Revival stylistic characteristics and similar construction materials with the Campbell Baking Company built the same year. From Nazareth Hall Grand Rapids, Ohio – An 85 Year History. Obtained at www.Nazarethhall.com on 9/21/2015.

Charles M. Nordhoff – Nordhoff worked as a draftsman in 1904 for the firm of Bacon & Huber in Toledo before joining George Mills and his colleagues. It is not clear if he was an employee of Mills first, however he is credited with several important buildings in Toledo prior to 1912, including the 10-story Hotel Secor (1906-1908) and a two-story grade school (1911).<sup>57</sup>

#### Conclusion

The Campbell Baking Company building represents a significant long-term national trend as it played out on the local level—the consolidation of industries in general and, specifically, the incorporation of the baking industry during the first decades of the 20th century. This trend toward consolidation of businesses, enabled by the availability of corporate status and ample capital, continues to the present day. Take for example the consolidation of small start-up cable media companies in the 1980s, which grew through mergers and acquisitions over the next two decades to but a few nationwide cable giants; or the trend toward consolidation still underway in the airline industry. The Campbell Baking Company's "Wonder Bread" building in Waterloo reflects an end stage—or perhaps actually just a long, late stage—in the progression of the baking history from home baked, to Mom-and-Pop bakeries, to regional and then national wholesale distributors. Hostess Brand's inability to hold steady in an industry it once dominated, along with the public's growing preference for artisan breads baked in local

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> "Lawrence Bellman Designed Major Buildings in Toledo," *Toledo Blade*, 10/12/1951; *A Record of the Class of 1899 of the University of Pennsylvania* [yearbook], scholastic entry at 108; *Toledo City Directory*, 1904; *Nazareth Hall, Grand Rapids, Ohio – An 85 Year History* (obtained at www.Nazarethhall.com on 9/21/2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> "Toledo, O." The Industrial World (September 11, 1911): 1120; William D. Speck, Images of Toledo: A History in Architecture, 1890-1914 (2002).

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shops, suggests that Campbell is only a chapter in a story not yet finished. The importance of Waterloo's fine wholesale bakery is its ability to reflect this bigger picture in American history for local residents, though they have long appreciated the building simply for its ability to evoke pleasure through appealing aromas. The Wonder Bread building is, in effect, architectural "comfort food" to the Waterloo community as well as being historically significant.

#### Future Plans

The "Wonder Bread" building was recently owned by the City of Waterloo but is now owned by a local businessman who is working to redevelop the building using state and federal historic preservation tax credits.

Timeline of Events Leading to the Construction of the Campbell Baking Company "Wonder Bread" Building

- 1912 Campbell Baking Company is formed and builds first bakery in Des Moines, Iowa
- 1917 Peerless Baking Company is incorporated; Campbell interests on Board of Directors
- 1920 Campbell builds bakery in Sioux City, Iowa
- 1921 Campbell announces that it is taking over Peerless Baking Company
- 1922 United Bakeries Corporation acquires Campbell
- 1924 United Bakeries transfers Campbell to Continental Baking Company
- 1927 Campbell Baking Company builds the nominated bakery building at 325 Commercial St.
- 1929 The bakery's name is formally changed to Continental Baking Company/Campbell Bakeries
- Early 1930s Addition to the bakery constructed using similar materials and design; probably conversion of W. 3<sup>rd</sup>
   Street elevation from loading bays to interior space
- 1957 Single stall loading bay added to northwest corner of building
- 1966 Bakery officials acquire the existing tavern building and double house on the southwest corner of the block
- 1977 Lots to southwest cleared of buildings except brick corner building; loading bays built to join the corner building to the bakery
- 1995 Continental is acquired by Interstate Bakeries Corp., and ultimately by Hostess Brands, Inc.
- 2012 Hostess goes bankrupt; closes its bakery plants nationwide, including the Waterloo "Wonder Bread" building

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Figures 13-14 Interior signage, 2015





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Waterloo Evening Courier, 5/5, 6/24, 7/2, 7/18, 7/30, 8/29, 9/17, 10/15, 11/16, 11/18/1927.

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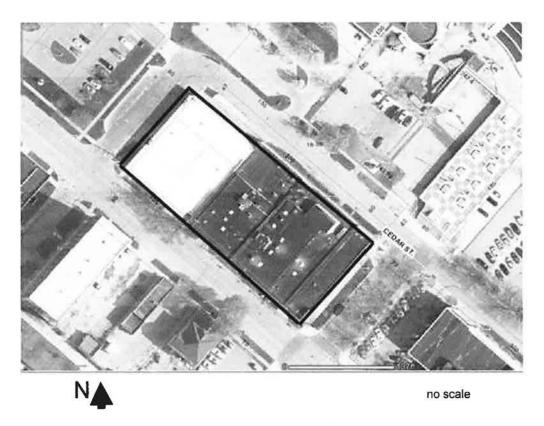
#### 10. Geographical Data

#### **Verbal Boundary Description**

The nomination includes Lots 6 through 10 of Block 2 of the original town plat of Waterloo, Iowa. The boundaries include the building and all additions thereto on those Lots, which building occupies the entire southwest half block of Block 2. Perimeter public sidewalks are not included.

#### **Boundary Justification**

The boundary includes the parcel historically associated with the Campbell Baking Company during the period of significance, and the additions thereto that were not associated with the Campbell Baking Company prior to 1966, though they may have been functionally associated with it after 1977.



Source: http://www2.co.black-hawk.ia.us/website/bhmap/viewer.htm on 10/7/2015

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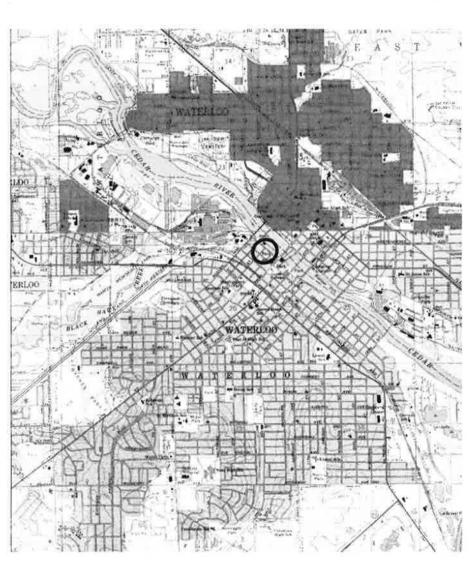
Black Hawk County, Iowa county and state

#### Waterloo, lowa, with approximate location of the nominated property circled.

(detail obtained 9/16//2015 from U.S.G.S. 7.5' topographic map: http://ortho.gis.iastate.edu/client.cgi?zoom=20&x0=554115&y0=4704943&layer=drg24&action=zoom10&pwidth=600&pheight=700&x=279&y=362)







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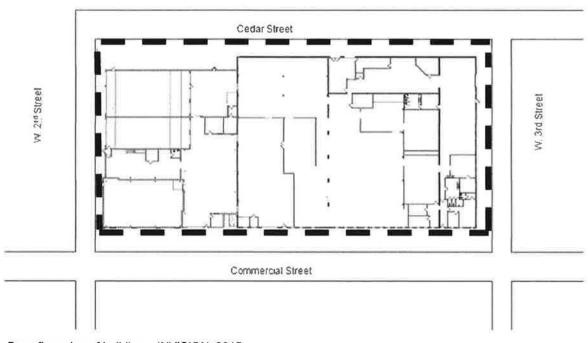
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# Site Plan Dashed line denotes boundary Sketch compiled by Tallgrass Historians LC, 2015





Base floor plan of building - INVISION, 2015

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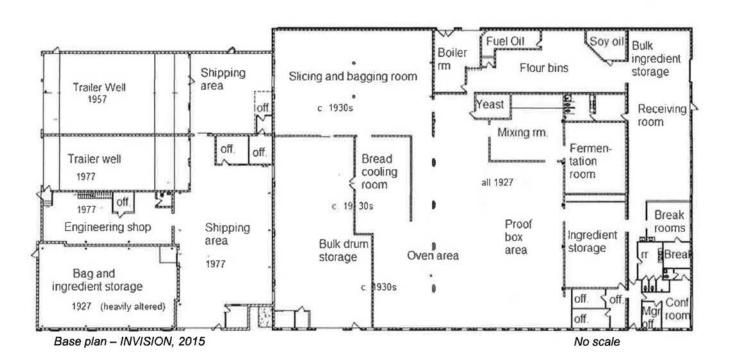
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#### Floor Plan with construction dates





Room functions are taken from an undated "evacuation plan" found in the Engineering Shop office, June, 2015.

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### **Photo Key**



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#### **Photograph Label Information**

#### ## 1, 2, 3, & 5 share the same information as follows:

- 1. Campbell Baking Company
- 2. Waterloo, Black Hawk County, IA
- 3. Tallgrass Historians L.C.
- 4. June 2015
- 5. N/A (digital photographs)
- 6.-7 Description of view and photo number
- 1. Exterior, Commercial St. (I), W. 3rd St. (r), looking N
- 2. Exterior, W. 3rd St. (I), Cedar St. (r), looking W
- 3. Exterior, Cedar St. (I), W. 2<sup>nd</sup> St. (r), looking S
- 4. Exterior, W. 2<sup>nd</sup> (I), Commercial St. (r), looking E
- 5. Exterior, Corner detail, W end along Commercial St., looking NE
- 6. Exterior, Commercial St. façade with "Home of Wonder Bread" signage, looking N
- 7. Exterior, Commercial Street façade, looking N
- 8. Exterior, Corner "store" detail, Commercial Street (I), W. 3<sup>rd</sup> St. (r), looking N
- 9. Exterior, SE elevation at "store" corner, looking NW
- 10. Exterior, SE elevation windows, looking NE
- 11. Exterior, Commercial St. detail, windows and roofline detail, looking E
- 12. Interior, bin with proof boxes beyond, in proof/oven room, S
- 13. Interior, yeast room in foreground, looking through to mixing room, looking SE
- 14. Interior, SW wall of proof/oven room with tray conveyor equipment, looking NW
- 15. Interior, hallway and break room door, looking toward receiving room, looking E
- 16. Interior, bulk ingredient storage area, looking SW

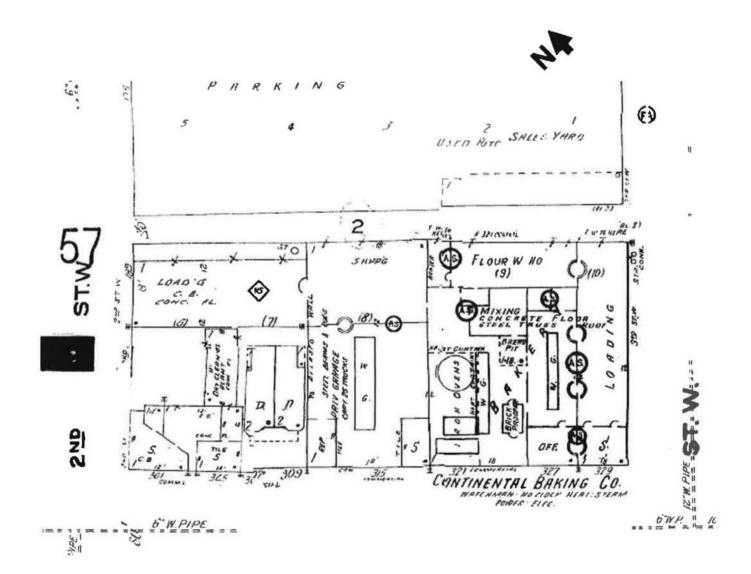
### NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

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#### Detail from 1962 (updated from 1918) Sanborn Map Co. fire insurance map of Waterloo, Iowa



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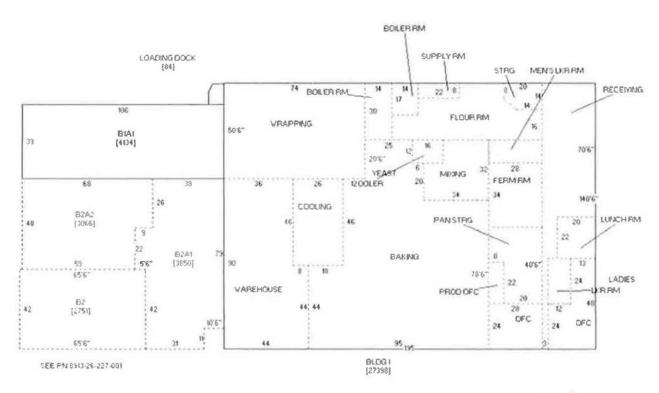
Campbell Baking Company	
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#### Black Hawk County Assessor's plan of the Campbell Baking Company

Source: http://www2.co.black-hawk.ia.us/website/bhmap/viewer.htm on 10/7/2015





no scale

United States Department of the Interior **National Park Service** 

#### **NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET**

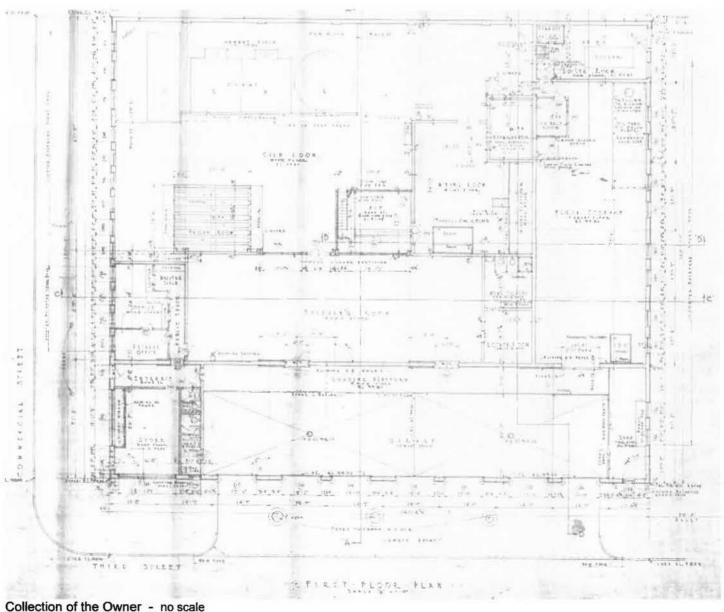
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1927 Plan of First Floor by Mills, Rhines, Bellman and Nordhoff, Architects, Toledo, Ohio





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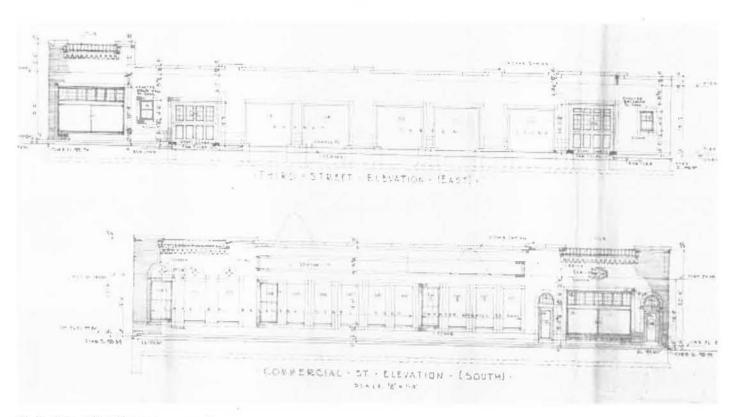
# NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

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### 1927 Elevation Drawings by Mills, Rhines, Bellman and Nordhoff, Architects, Toledo, Ohio



Collection of the Owner - no scale

**United States Department of the Interior National Park Service** 

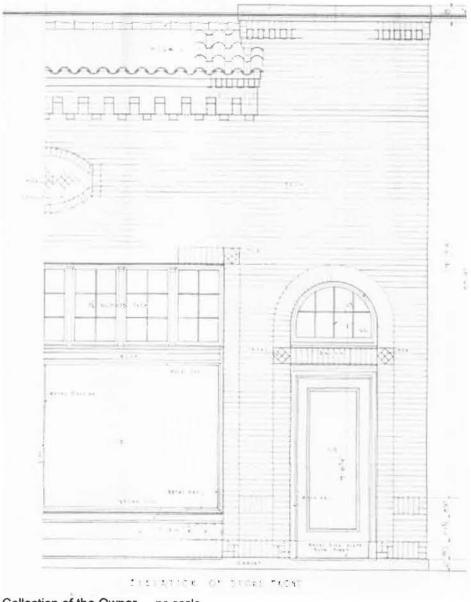
#### NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES **CONTINUATION SHEET**

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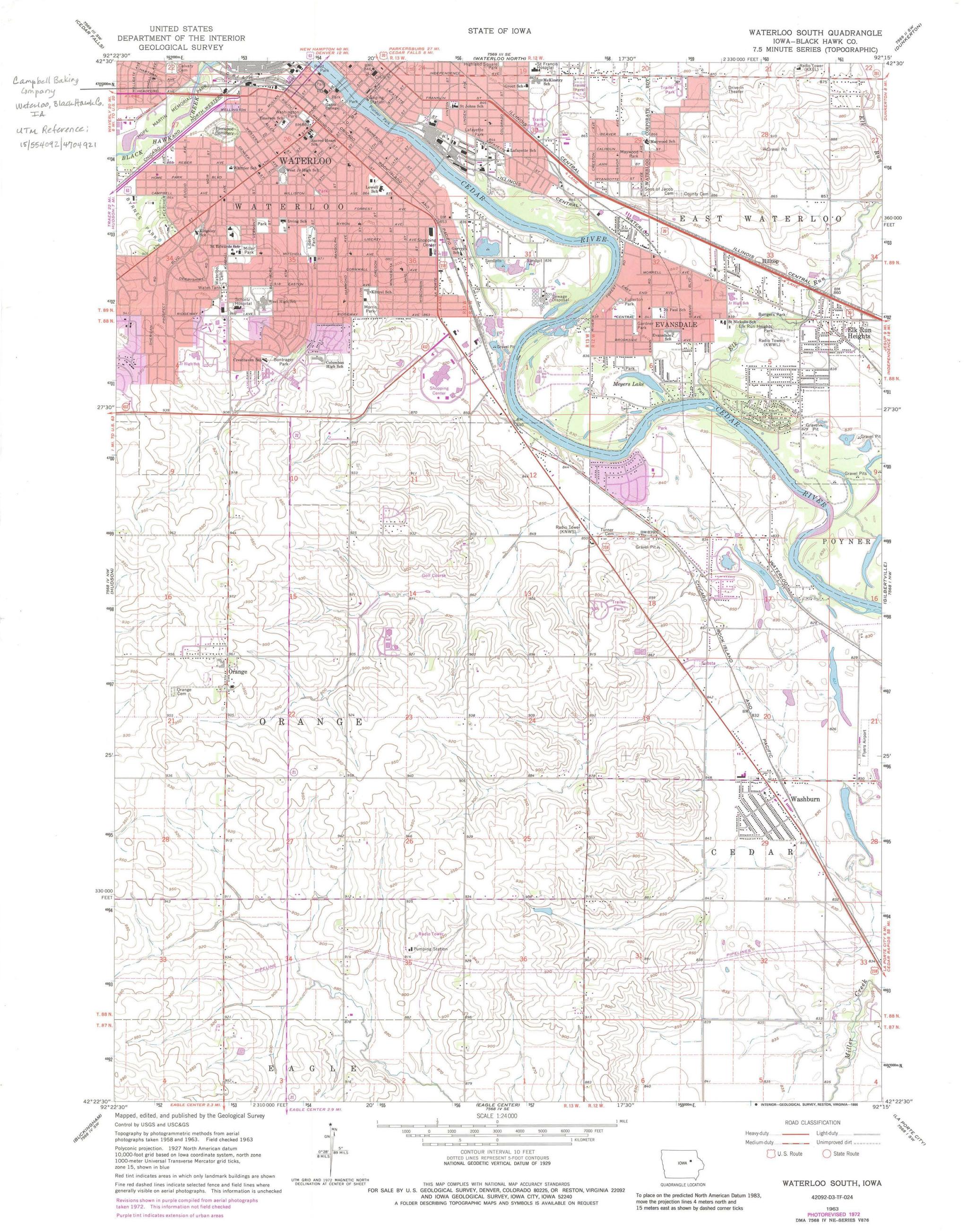
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## 1927 Detail Drawing by Mills, Rhines, Bellman and Nordhoff, Architects, Toledo, Ohio



Collection of the Owner - no scale

Note the original store front window configuration















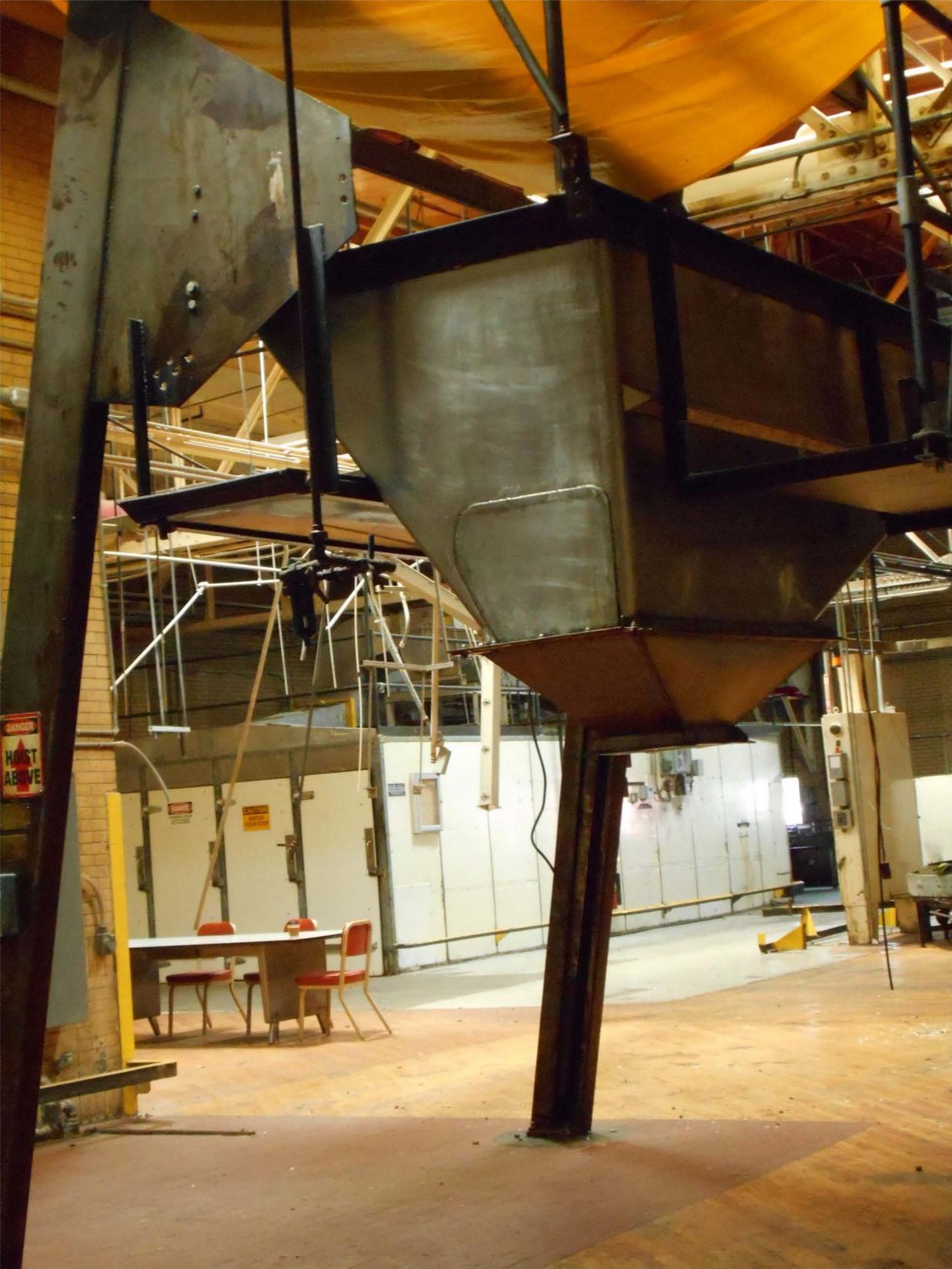




















# UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

#### NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

REQUESTED ACTION: NOMINATION PROPERTY Campbell Baking Company NAME: MULTIPLE NAME: STATE & COUNTY: IOWA, Black Hawk DATE RECEIVED: 3/18/2016 DATE OF PENDING LIST: 04/15/2016 DATE OF 16TH DAY: 04/30/2016 DATE OF 45TH DAY: 05/03/2016 DATE OF WEEKLY LIST: REFERENCE NUMBER: 16000213 Appeal: N Data Problem: N Landscape: N Less than 50 Years: N Other: N PDIL: N Period: N Program Unapproved: N Request: N Sample: N SLR Draft: N National: Comment Waiver: N

ABSTRACT/SUMMARY COMMENTS:

RECOM./CRITERIA Accept A

REVIEWER Yattick Andres Discipline Historian

DATE 5/2/2016

DOCUMENTATION see attached comments Y/N see attached SLR Y/N

If a nomination is returned to the nominating authority, the nomination is no longer under consideration by the NPS

## CERTIFIED LOCAL GOVERNMENT NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION EVALUATION REPORT FORM

RECEIVED FEB 0 5 2016

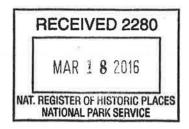
by SHDO

As a participant in the Certified Local Government Program (CLG), the Historic Preservation Commission is required to review and comment on proposed National Register nominations of properties within its jurisdiction. The State is required to provide the CLG with a 60-day period for the review prior to a State Nominations Review Committee (SNRC) meeting. This form must be received by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) five days in advance of the State Nomination Review Committee (SNRC) meeting.

(Please pr Historic I	print clearly) c Property Name: Campbell Baking Company Building s: 325 Commercial Street.	*				
Address: Certified	ed Local Government Name: Water look this tock fresent public meeting for nomination review: December 15, 20	vatur comun	ussur-			
Date of p	public meeting for nomination review: December 15,20	>15				
Applica	cable Criteria: (Please Check the Appropriate Box)					
M	Criterion A (Historical Events)	C (Architecture)				
	☐ Criterion B (Important Person) ☐ Criterion	D (Archaeological)				
Please c	check the following box that is appropriate to the nominatio	n (Please print clearly).				
<b>S</b>	The Commission recommends that the property should be listed on the Na The Commission recommends that the property should <u>not</u> be listed in the reasons:	National Register for the				
0	The Commission chooses not to make a recommendation on this nomination for the following reasons:					
0	The Commission would like to make the following recommendations regardsheets if necessary):	40 C.	e additional			
	Official Signatures Required	Below				
	ic Review Board Chair or Representative me: EDMARD A. OTTESEN Approve e: March M. States	d Not Approved				
Chief El Print Name Signature:	0 + 40	d Not Approved				
Profession Print Name	MAD	d Not Approved				

# IOWA DEPARTMENT OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS

MARY COWNIE, DIRECTOR CHRIS KRAMER, DEPUTY DIRECTOR



March 10, 2016

J. Paul Loether, Deputy Keeper and Chief National Register and National Historic Landmarks 1201 Eye St. NW, 8th Fl. Washington D.C. 20005

Dear Mr. Loether:

The following National Register nomination(s) from Iowa are enclosed for your review and listing if acceptable.

- Sinclair Building-Smulekoffs Furniture Store, 97 3rd Ave. SE, Cedar Rapids, Linn County
- Flynn Building, 319 7th Street, Des Moines, Polk County
- Campbell Baking Company, 325 Commercial St, Waterloo, Black Hawk County

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Foster

Chapter Lineter

National Register Coordinator State Historical Society of Iowa

STATE HIGH

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