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Adolf Cluss, from Communist Leader to Washington, D.C., Architect, 1848–68

After living in Washington, D.C., for three years, German immigrant Adolf Cluss complained in 1852, "I would not mind leaving Washington, this rotten nest." year later, he hoped, "to soon be able to shake Washington's dust forever from my feet. . . . Perhaps I will go to Cincinnati." Cluss, a twenty-two year old leader of the Communist League in Germany's failed 1848 Revolution, had emigrated to the United States, intrigued by the American experiment in government. Then with the advice of his friend and mentor, Karl Marx, he used his federal government job in Washington as a base to foster labor unions and the Communist League, hoping to create a new society in America.¹

For fourteen years, Cluss tried to find a way to integrate his early embrace of revolution and social and economic justice with the political freedom and social mobility that he found in his adopted country. Then in the early 1860s, the Civil War redirected Cluss's life. In one of the city's most remarkable personal transformations, Cluss emerged as the capital's premier architect. Embracing the Union cause, he refocused his energy and vision on a career in architecture and engineering, hoping to create a model capital city for a reunited republic. In the 1860s, Cluss's buildings redefined the streetscapes of a "new Washington."²

For much of the twentieth century, most architectural historians in the United States ignored Cluss, who died in 1905. Most of his ninety buildings disappeared, victims of ever-expanding governmental and commercial districts and a dramatic change in popular tastes in architectural styles. By the 1970s, only eleven of his structures remained. Communist Party historians in Moscow and East Berlin, however, discovered that Cluss was a much more engaging figure who they thought would be useful in Cold War

propaganda battles. They documented Cluss's first years in Washington when he threw himself into party work for the Communist League, writing and translating newspaper articles, encouraging labor unions, and monitoring rival socialist leaders in the United States. Cluss briefed Marx in weekly letters on the progress of the movement in America. Marx had befriended the young Cluss in Brussels in 1847 and had recognized his leadership of a fledging communist group in the Rhine River city of Mainz during the Revolution of 1848. The 100 known letters between Cluss and Marx reveal a lively correspondence. "Few mortals other than yourself," Marx admitted, "can boast of having received letters from me on four successive days." Cluss's letters, most with the return address, "United States Navy Yard, Washington, D.C.," energized Marx: "I have just had a most thrilling letter from Cluss," he wrote to Friedrich Engels. Within a few years though, Cluss abandoned his efforts to spur the world revolution anticipated by Marx. Instead, he marshaled his skills for shaping "a capital worthy of the republic."³

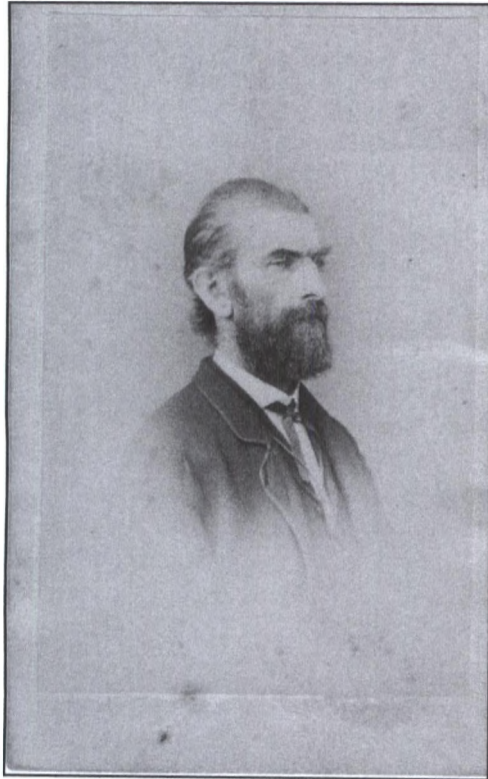


Fig. 1. Adolf Cluss, ca. 1860. Cluss sat for this photograph within a year or two of his marriage, the birth of his first child, and the beginning of the firm of Cluss and Kammerhueber. Photograph by Mathew Brady. *Goethe-Institute, Washington*. Courtesy of Edward McGuire and Nancy Maguire Payne.

Cluss grew up in a revolutionary age that framed his life. In his later years he liked to recall that his birth date, July 14, 1825, also marked the anniversary of Bastille Day. His prosperous, middle class family lived in Heilbronn, a busy manufacturing city on the Neckar River in Württemberg, then an independent German-speaking monarchy. Heilbronn citizens elected his father, Heinrich Cluss, an up-and-coming entrepreneur and builder, to the Heilbronn City Council and head of the city fire department. Adolf Cluss, however, drifted leftward from his family's bourgeois roots. The arrival of steam-powered riverboats in Heilbronn as well as his father's tales of travels to Italy, the Netherlands, and England exposed the young Cluss to a much wider world. Perhaps he was also a more rebellious second son, or a somewhat disconnected one after his mother died when he was two years old. Several of his politicized teachers, inspired by the republican ideals of the French Revolution, may have galvanized Cluss's political passions as they did with some of his classmates.⁴

Cluss did not set out to be a revolutionary. He wanted to be an architect. His grandfather and father were builders; his uncle and brother were architects. His older brother studied architecture in Berlin, passed the state building examination, and took over the family business. Whether his brother or his father considered making the younger son a partner is unknown. When he was 19 though, the six foot, two inch, Cluss applied for a *Wanderbuch*, official permission to travel from town to town as a journeyman carpenter, a traditional career path for builders as well as for future architects who sought to master many of the building trades.⁵

Cluss's hopes for a career in architecture converged with the rising tide of discord in the German states during "the hungry forties." Traveling in the German states, Cluss witnessed the distress of out-of-work artisans, their livelihoods erased by new manufacturing processes that relied on unskilled labor. Cluss's interest in socialism may have first emerged on the roads of Germany, France, or Belgium, on which he traveled together with other would-be artisans, exchanging information and arguing about early socialist and communist ideas.⁶

By 1846, Cluss lived in Mainz, the largest city in the German kingdom of Hesse-Darmstadt. He worked as a draftsman for a new railroad along the Rhine River. He encountered desperate unskilled workers as well as fresh migrants from farms too small to support families in the best of times. Cluss later boasted to Marx that in Mainz, he spent his time "among the working classes." By the mid-1840s, a potato blight destroyed the staple of farm workers' diets across Europe. As food prices rose, artisans, shopkeepers, and clerks faced an economic disaster as well. By the end of the decade, over a million Germans fled Germany mostly to North America.⁷

Active politically in Mainz, Cluss joined a *Turnverein* (a gymnastics club) as many young Germans did. The Turner movement afforded cover for banned political meetings and prepared a generation of young Germans for political activity. Turners often argued about how to replace their monarchies with representative governments. In 1846 Cluss led a group of Mainz Turners



Fig. 2. From the *Turnfest-Album*. In 1904, Cluss recalled for his niece the story of how he convinced twenty-eight Turners from Mainz to travel to the Heilbronn Turnfest. Over 2,000 Turners attended the first national Turnfest in 1846 to participate in gymnastics, debates, and marches. The *Fest-Album* is reprinted in *Adolf Cluss und die Turnbewegung*, Lothar Wieser and Peter Wanner, editors. Stadtarchiv Heilbronn, 2007, 111-52.

to participate in the first national Turner meeting—a *Turnfest*—held in his hometown of Heilbronn. Unemployed by 1847, Cluss abandoned his career plans and joined the Communist League, an international group organized in London in 1846 by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Cluss first met Marx in early 1847, on a pilgrimage to Brussels, a city that harbored many German political exiles. In Mainz Cluss helped to establish a clandestine Communist League chapter, and in Brussels he penned newspaper articles and revolutionary tracts, and participated in lectures and discussions led by Marx and other Communist leaders. Though devoted to the cause, apparently it did not consume him. Marx's wife, Jenny, reminded Cluss a few years later of his Brussels days and hoped he "would always remain the same old humorous, light-hearted Cluss."⁸

In February 1848, revolution swept away the monarchy in France, igniting rebellions in most of the states of the German Confederation and in other European nations. The twenty-two-year old Cluss joined revolutionary activities in Mainz. He held key leadership positions in both the public and the clandestine organizations of the Communist League in Mainz. He taught classes for workers, wrote newspaper articles, and participated in two national meetings that he hoped would plan republican institutions for Germans. Discouraged by the failure of middle class revolutionaries to address workers' demands, Cluss set out to learn more about the republic across the Atlantic that many Germans admired. He embarked on a sailing schooner from Le Havre and arrived in New York harbor six weeks later in September 1848. His father, distressed with his son's revolutionary activities, may have paid for his voyage, hoping to distract his son from the political upheaval in Europe. Although not typical of the millions of Germans who emigrated to the United States, Cluss was one of the earliest of the revolutionary veterans, the "Forty-eighters," whose influence on the United States would be deep and lasting.⁹

Washington

Anticipating a fresh workers' revolution back home, Cluss planned to return, "as soon as the Fatherland calls." When reactionary forces in Germany dimmed those prospects, he decided to remain in the United States. He lived for six months in New York City, but that was enough, he complained, to arouse "my disgust with the democratic rabble of idlers." He next explored Philadelphia and Baltimore, but after traveling to Washington in 1849 to witness the presidential inauguration, he decided to settle in the capital city. Fascinated by national politics, Cluss soon deplored "how ridiculous all of these tirades of the democratic braggadocios seem in this unconcealed bourgeois society. 'Help yourself,' is everyone's foremost thought." Yet Cluss

remained in Washington. Content with technical work for the federal government for the next thirteen years, he worked mostly in the Washington Navy Yard's Ordnance Department, polishing his skills as a draftsman, mapmaker, surveyor, engineer, mathematician, and artist.¹⁰

By the mid-1850s, his interest in the Communist League had waned. Cluss realized that workers in the United States, including immigrants, had more job opportunities, fewer restrictions for advancement, and thus less incentive to join revolutionary movements than German workers had. "The working classes in America will seldom succeed in their efforts [to organize] in the near future," he predicted in 1852. Soon, Marx complained that Cluss did not write often enough. A New York Party colleague also chided him: "You are well on your way to becoming an America-enthusiast." Cluss did not respond to Marx's letters after 1854, and he never again spoke or wrote about Marx or Communism.¹¹

Cluss grew disillusioned with Washington as well as with Communism. In 1853, he traveled to many areas of North America including New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, mid-western and New England states, and Canada. Although no place he visited seemed to have a decided advantage over Washington, he also painted an unflattering picture of the United States capital city. "In general, our population consists of a large and pretentious group of office holders and their families . . . and a disproportionately large number of boarding houses." Washington also included "a number of hotels resembling villages, in which slave labor is used . . . where [you will find] the great majority of our transitory population." Other Germans in the capital called it a *Residenzstadt*. Historian Kathleen Niels Conzen explains: "It shared with the capitals of small German principalities its state-oriented Baroque plan, pompous edifices . . . and economic dependence on the seasonality and fickleness of government demand." It reminded them of provincial capitals, "like Darmstadt or some other two-bit prince's residence," one commentator recalled. Cluss added his disappointment that "here in Washington, no hotel has any European newspaper." Many years later, one native Washingtonian summed it up best: Washington in the 1850s "was little more than a country village."¹²

Visitors to Washington also expressed disappointment with the fifty-year-old capital city. Carl Schurz, the German immigrant and future Senator and Secretary of the Interior, recalled his visit in 1854: "Excepting a few public buildings, [there was] very little that was interesting or pleasing . . . The city had throughout a slouchy, unenterprising, unprogressive appearance." Henry Adams captured Washington's regional context: "low wooden houses . . . scattered along the streets, as in other southern villages." Its few government buildings reminded him of "white Greek temples in the abandoned gravel

pits of a deserted Syrian city.”¹³

Although Washington lacked the high culture and majestic streetscapes of the capital of even the smallest German principality, Cluss drew upon cultural resources not available in other American cities: visiting the Smithsonian Institution, reading in the Library of Congress, and attending sessions of Congress. Washington had one other advantage for Cluss. Its German population was very small compared with Baltimore, Philadelphia, or Cincinnati—only two percent of the city’s total in 1860. Like Cluss, a large number of middle class German immigrants often arrived with skills that Americans lacked. In Washington, they worked in the federal government’s technical agencies such as the Coast Survey, Smithsonian Institution, Census Bureau, Naval Observatory, and the Treasury Department’s Bureau of Construction. Kathleen Neils Conzen believes that Washington’s well-educated immigrants “were enough to decisively influence local German life,” an asset Cluss might not have found in other American cities that had more diverse and larger German populations. Just as important, such a small German community compelled Cluss to interact with the non-German population and to master English.¹⁴

Choosing a Career

Although Cluss had identified himself as an architect on the ship’s register when he traveled to America in 1848, for the next fourteen years he chose government service instead of a private career in architecture. He arrived in America with adequate experience. In his youth, he had accompanied his father and brother to building sites, and he had studied and admired his uncle’s architectural drawings. Aspiring to an architectural career in Germany, Cluss had learned the crafts of carpentry, masonry, and surveying “first holding a carpenter’s axe and a mason’s hammer, then armed with a plumb line and a pen, and [also] later in the artist’s studio.” The idea of architecture remained fixed in his mind. Even at the height of his years as an organizer and propagandist for the Communist Party in the United States, Cluss wrote and endeavored to publish an article entitled “Experiments on the Feasibility of Using Stone for Construction Purposes.”¹⁵

Cluss gained additional valuable skills in his Washington positions at the Coast Survey, Navy Yard Ordnance Establishment, and Bureau of Construction in the Treasury Department, mostly working as a draftsman. Yet he seemed uninterested in a private architectural career, even though he had the experience and skills that he needed and despite Washington’s lack of private, resident, professional architects. Although Cluss complained about his jobs with the Coast Survey and Navy’s Ordnance Establishment, perhaps

he preferred the idea of government service, a respected career for an architect in Germany, like his brother-in-law, who held the position of City Architect for Heilbronn. Perhaps, he believed that a private career would put him in a position of controlling working conditions, hours and pay for construction workers, which he might have seen as a betrayal of his revolutionary values.

Cluss said little about his education, probably embarrassed because he lacked formal professional training in the theory and history of architecture. When nominated to serve on the presidentially appointed Board of Public Works for the District of Columbia in 1872, Cluss claimed—for the first and only time—that he began his career after “graduating at Stuttgart.” His name, however, does not appear in the records of the Polytechnic School in Stuttgart or in the surviving archives of the technical schools in other German states. In Congressional testimony in 1874, he simply acknowledged, “I finished my professional education in 1846.” In a biographical sketch prepared a year before his death, he retreated from his earlier claims of professional training: “I received an academic education,” he wrote. Limited architectural education was typical in mid-nineteenth century America. Few then studied architecture as an academic subject. Only a handful of Americans had attended European polytechnic schools and no university in the United States offered architectural studies until 1865, three years after Cluss had begun an architectural firm. Other would-be architects served apprenticeships with experienced practitioners. Some enterprising people simply promoted themselves from a carpenter or builder to an architect.¹⁶

Although Cluss’s father wrote to his son in America offering advice about his future, he did not recommend architecture, perhaps one of the many irritants in their troubled relationship. His father wanted him to follow a technical career, something Cluss was against: “I do not want to do [this], because that makes me glued to the floor.” Later, the elder Cluss suggested that he start a factory for producing tiles. “I answered him that that suggestion was too dirty for me.” Cluss, however, viewed his position and professional future in Washington seriously. He wrote to Marx, “I have a patent on a good reputation here.”¹⁷

By 1855, Cluss seemed more settled and purposeful. He became a citizen of the United States and began a new job as a draftsman in the Supervising Architect’s Office of the Treasury Department’s Bureau of Construction, the office that then designed most new federal government buildings. Cluss’s position expanded his experience in drawing modern large-scale buildings, now recognized as “among the country’s most technologically advanced in their use of structure and systems.” Promoted to manage the draftsman’s office, supervising a team of mostly German immigrants, he also learned more about managing a team and organizing office tasks. Further, Cluss became

acquainted with leading scientific and technical figures in Washington who recognized his skills and his intelligence. In 1855, for example, he assisted Joseph Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Alexander Bache, head of the Coast Survey, and Montgomery Meigs, of the Army Corps of Engineers, in an experiment testing the strength of marble used in the extension of the Capitol building.¹⁸

Despite his interest in architecture and engineering, and his previous reluctance to enter the private sector, in 1857 Cluss decided to buy a brewery. When his father died in 1857, Cluss inherited enough money to commence any new business. He quit his job with the Supervising Architect's Office and visited Milwaukee and Philadelphia, apparently looking for a business opportunity. In Philadelphia, he and a partner launched a brewery, a crowded field in a city that had a large German population and many breweries. Although his father was a vintner, Cluss had no experience as a brewer. The enterprise lasted only six months. When their unpaid debts accumulated, the sheriff seized the property. Cluss claimed that he had recouped his capital from the business. In March 1858, he may have lost much of that money—over \$3,000—through his own carelessness or because of a robbery while travelling from Philadelphia to Washington. He offered a \$100 reward in the *Baltimore Sun* for the return of his *Port-Monnoie* (an oversized leather wallet that men often carried in their coat pockets), but whether he recovered all of his losses is unknown. A month later, though, he traveled to Heilbronn, Paris, and London.¹⁹

Cluss seemed clearer about his future after his return to the United States in May 1858. In Heilbronn, it is likely that he discussed American architectural and construction practices as well as the architectural opportunities in Württemberg with his brother and his brother-in-law, both architects. When he returned to the United States, Cluss again secured a position at the Washington Navy Yard's Ordnance Establishment.

In the following year, Cluss married Rosa Schmidt, whom he had met at a political meeting in 1852 in Baltimore. Her parents, reform-minded German immigrants from Pfalz, had settled in Baltimore in the 1830s. Cluss married into a talented family. A grandson described Rosa's father, a teacher at the school sponsored by Baltimore's freethinking Zion Church, as "a most proficient organist and musician [who] had very marked abilities as a Teacher, Scientist, and Philosopher." Rosa and two sisters became well-known vocalists and their entrepreneurial brother founded a piano manufacturing business. After their marriage and wedding trip to Europe in 1859, Adolf and Rosa Cluss purchased a row house in a mostly undeveloped area just off New Jersey Avenue, a few blocks from the Capitol and Washington's City Hall. The Cluss family remained at 413 Second Street NW, where three daughters and four



Fig. 3. Rosa Schmidt Cluss, 1872. An accomplished vocalist, Rosa Cluss was well-known in Washington. She performed with her sister and later with two of the Cluss daughters, who also played the piano and harp. Mother of seven children, she outlived three of her four sons. The fourth died six months after her death in 1894. Photographic copy of a portrait by Henry Ulke. *Castle Collection, Smithsonian Institution.*

sons were born, until 1894, when Cluss sold the house after Rosa Cluss's death.²⁰

The row stood alone on their block of Second Street until after the Civil War ended. In the early years, a few neighbors and family enlivened the deserted neighborhood. The first next-door neighbor of the Cluss family was Constantino Brumidi (1805–80) and his wife, Lola. Born in Rome, Brumidi emigrated to the United States in 1852, settled in Washington in 1855, and began his 25 years of mural painting in the Capitol building. According to Cluss's great-grandson, Cluss befriended Brumidi and built a studio for him in the rear yard of his house. Brumidi gave Cluss four paintings, Cluss recalled, "as evidence of friendship and esteem." In 1867, Rosa's sister, Sophie, and her husband, Edward Droop, lived with the Cluss family on Second Street until they could afford to buy a house of their own.²¹

Civil War

The Civil War quickly transformed Washington's character from a sleepy southern village into a political and military command center. By 1862, fifty-three forts and twenty-two batteries circled the city. Thousands of troops marched through the capital, stationed as raw recruits in camps in and around

the city. Wounded soldiers, as many as 50,000 at one time, often returned to recuperate in makeshift hospitals. Carts rattled over city streets every night carrying the many dead to cemeteries. Cattle pens and slaughterhouses occupied much of area around the unfinished Washington Monument, while Foggy Bottom, between Georgetown and Washington, housed up to 30,000 horses and mules. A macro view of Washington, however, revealed the strategic command center of the Union war effort, located just across the Potomac River from the Confederacy. "The winds of war swirled around the city," one historian wrote, "in vast clockwise turns as if in the eye of a great storm system."²²

Cluss supported the Union cause in many ways. He had joined the anti-slavery Republican Party in the late 1850s, a dangerous choice in antebellum Washington, where people of southern backgrounds or sympathies dominated. Most German immigrants who had actively engaged in the 1848 revolution found the reform agenda of the Republican Party in America much more in tune with their political beliefs. Some, though, needed encouragement. In January 1861, Cluss attended a meeting of rebellious German Republicans, probably at the request of local party leaders. He attacked the motives of the group at such a critical time just two months after the secession of seven states from the Union. In a satirical account of their meeting he wrote for the *Evening Star*, he ridiculed their attitude of self-importance, their segregation from other Republicans, their failure to learn much English, and their susceptibility to offers of lager beer. By 1865, Cluss had cemented his ties to the local Republican Party, serving on the committee on decorations for Lincoln's second Inaugural Ball. Like many Forty-eighters, Cluss remained devoted to reform movements in his new country. Forty-eighters became an important link between the reformers of the Civil War-era and those of the early twentieth century progressive period.²³

In 1863, the 38 year-old Cluss registered for the draft as required by law, but he never served. Cluss's Navy Yard job, though, placed him in one of the major industrial and research centers of the war effort. Cluss worked under Commander (later Rear Admiral) John H. Dahlgren, who had headed the Navy's ordnance research program at the Washington Navy Yard since 1847. Dahlgren, one of the best-known and most influential officers in the Navy, developed the standard smoothbore guns that the Navy then used on its warships. Members of Congress, diplomats, presidents, and European ordnance experts frequented the Navy Yard research facilities seeking his advice. In 1861, Lincoln appointed Dahlgren Commandant of the Washington Navy Yard. The President visited the Yard weekly, seeking respite from the demands of his office and an opportunity to chat and smoke cigars with the Commandant. Dahlgren became, in the words of historian Robert

Schneller, Jr., Lincoln's "favorite naval officer, principal uniformed adviser . . . and friend."²⁴

Dahlgren had valued Cluss's previous service in the Ordnance Establishment in the early 1850s. He regretted Cluss's 1854 resignation in his diary: "Mr. Cluss, draughtsman, left my department, - very sorry; - has been here five and a half years, and is always right." Dahlgren hired Cluss again in 1859 when Dahlgren needed a skilled draftsman to prepare drawings for the installation of guns and ordnance arrangements for nine new steamships and for new rifled cannons. Following the outbreak of the Civil War in April 1861, Dahlgren immediately expanded Cluss's role, assigning him to some of the work routinely performed by naval officers, most of whom had joined the Confederate Navy or filled Union Navy ranks at sea. Fearing attacks on the Navy Yard by way of the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers, Dahlgren delegated Cluss to chart the main channel of the Anacostia River upstream from the Navy Yard towards Confederate-leaning southern Maryland. Knowing of Cluss's mathematical skills, he directed Cluss to take charge of the ballistic pendulum and the experimental battery for testing new cannons and ordnance manufactured at the Navy Yard. Cluss was the "calculator," the mathematician who computed the accuracy and reliability of each gun. "The guns are fired daily at the battery," *The New York Times* reported, "under the supervision of *experienced* and *practical* men." Cluss also published information and drawings for Dahlgren in the *Scientific American*. He reported that a new railcar designed for transporting ordnance and gunpowder "would be absolutely secure against accident."²⁵

By the fall of 1861, the wartime increase in the work of the Washington Navy Yard led Dahlgren to hire another draftsman, Joseph Wilderich von Kammerhueber. Cluss may have already known his new assistant, whose career and life path mirrored Cluss's in many ways. Born around 1825 like Cluss, he emigrated from Bavaria to the United States in 1849. He lived in Washington in 1855, when he applied for a patent for improving "Projectiles of Fire-arms." In 1857, he became a naturalized citizen and found employment with the federal government working as a draftsman on the expansion of the Patent Office and Capitol buildings. Kammerhueber joined the same *Turnverein* that Cluss had organized earlier in the 1850s, suggesting that he too had a revolutionary background in Germany. Kammerhueber attracted some notoriety in the slave-owning city and elsewhere when he purchased an African American boy of two and a half years, whom he then planned to free when the boy reached the minimum age of three required for manumission in the District of Columbia.²⁶

In 1862, Cluss and Kammerhueber decided to embark on their own private part-time firm. In the darkest hours of the Union cause and perhaps

Washington's future as the capital city, they advertised their skills as "architects and civil, mechanical and naval engineers." Both men hedged their bets and continued working full-time at the Navy Yard.²⁷

In the same year, Dahlgren ordered Cluss to design a new foundry building that would increase the Washington Navy Yard's production of cannons for warships. The project launched Cluss's career. It demonstrating his architectural and engineering skills on an oft-visited public stage, where Washingtonians often retreated for outings or greeting incoming ships.



Fig. 4. Ordnance Foundry, U.S. Navy Yard, Washington, 1866 (constructed 1862–1865; demolished 1915). Photograph by Mathew Brady, copied from the only known negative, which is seriously damaged. *Naval Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.*

Cluss's plan for the building incorporated a mass production technique that the *Evening Star* reported, "is original with this yard . . . [and] will save much labor." Molten metal from the furnaces would pour into multiple casts that moved beneath the furnaces on small railcars. Years later, Cluss boasted, "all the brass cannons [on naval ships] are cast of my own original introduction and construction."²⁸

Cluss designed the foundry building in *Rundbogenstil* (literally, a rounded arch style), which German architects first turned to in the 1830s. Reformers and many architects on both sides of the Atlantic regarded it as more modern and democratic than Gothic or classical forms for new building types such as factories, schools, museums, and markets. Cluss's father applied the rounded arch motif in an apartment building he constructed in Heilbronn in 1846. In the United States, it became the dominant design for American industrial buildings such as the Navy Yard foundry and a popular choice for civic, commercial, and residential buildings. *Rundbogenstil* quickly won high marks in Washington, a city previously accustomed to public buildings in

classical styles and private buildings that Cluss later criticized as having “the same strictly utilitarian, hap-hazard character.” Cluss’s mastery of a modern international style, his design and application of new technology, and his planning of Washington’s largest new building of the war years established his reputation as an innovative and competent professional architect and engineer.²⁹

Washington’s wartime expansion provided an unparalleled opportunity both for an entrepreneur, a role that Cluss had rejected for himself for over a decade, as well as for a social reformer. Despite laying out city streets according to a Baroque plan and constructing essential government buildings, after its first fifty years, Washington’s development lagged. Its population had doubled in the 1850s and would double again during the Civil War years. Between 1861 and 1865, the number of government employees jumped from 1,500 to 7,000. The city’s children attended school in rented buildings—houses, stables, and churches. Infrastructure also suffered. The wartime movement of the Army’s horses, cattle, cannons, and supply wagons chewed up the mostly unpaved streets and the Washington City Canal functioned more as the city’s major sewer and trash dump than it did as a transportation route.³⁰

Reformers and businessmen had begun to think about the future of the capital. During the war, the city inaugurated professional police and fire departments, built new public schools, and initiated regular trash collections. The Army Corps of Engineers opened the Washington Aqueduct, bringing a public water supply to the city for the first time. Private companies laid new street railways and installed gas lamps for street lighting. The wartime capital offered opportunities for architectural entrepreneurs that Cluss could not have found in any other American city. Unlike other east coast cities, Washington lacked strong architectural traditions and a core of professional architects. Historian Alan Lessoff also points out that no one at the beginning of the Civil War knew “how a ‘worthy’ Washington should look and feel. The entrepreneurs and engineers who, by their leadership and effort would stamp the new metropolis with their character had not yet emerged.” In a city that had a sizable transient population, however, no gatekeepers held back upstart immigrants or anyone else that possessed talent. The *Evening Star* best expressed that idea in 1859: “In the northern cities what is termed fashionable society is intensely exclusive, the key to admission to it being a golden one. Here the lock is off and the door stands wide open.”³¹

Personal factors also drove Cluss and Kammerhueber to leave government service. Inflation began to pare away their purchasing power. Between 1861 and 1864, the retail prices in Union states increased on average by 76 percent, but they climbed even higher in the District of Columbia. In spite of workers’ one-day strikes in many government facilities including the Navy Yard,

Congress refused to authorize wage increases. Cluss's battle with typhoid fever in 1863 also would have increased his anxiety about the financial security of his wife and four children.³²

Wartime Projects for Washington

Wartime conditions fueled the success of Cluss and Kammerhueber's nascent architectural firm in its first three years. They started cautiously, but by 1864, they had secured major commissions, forcing Cluss to convert the entire first floor of his house into an office. Both men resigned from their government positions to work full-time for their busy firm, Kammerhueber in 1863 and Cluss in 1864. The Washington Common Council resolution of April 15, 1862, that required the city to buy a lot in every ward for a building "in the most improved style of school architecture," gave them their big chance.³³



Fig. 5. Wallach School (constructed 1862-64, demolished 1950). This lithograph by Cluss and Kammerhueber, circa 1863, presented an idealized scene. Adorned with landscaping and a fountain and well-dressed adults, this image was intended to appeal to middle class parents, most of whom sent their children to private schools before the advent of the Wallach School. *Charles Sumner School Museum and Archives, Washington, D.C.*

Cluss and Kammerhueber submitted their first school design in 1862, after analyzing plans of schools in the United States and Germany. In the 1830s and 1840s, northeastern cities in the United States had begun to replace the one-room public schools attended by children of poor families

with larger, age-graded schools, intended to attract children from all classes. Architects often modeled the new buildings on plans of schools in the German states then viewed by many American educators as the best in the world. Cluss would have also tapped his memories of the primary and high schools he attended from about 1831 to 1841 in Heilbronn. Cluss and Kammerhueber won commissions for designing the Wallach School in 1862 and the Franklin School in 1864, the first of nine public and three private schools Cluss designed in Washington.³⁴

The redbrick, three-story Wallach School, the tallest building in eastern Washington except for the dome of the United States Capitol, commanded attention. Spending \$40,000 on a school building, historian William R. Reese argues, was “a political statement . . . a way to attract everyone’s attention, especially the respectable classes.” Although some Washington residents criticized the *Rundbogenstil* structure for its high cost and extravagant design, a council member praised the school’s architectural influence. “The schoolhouse itself will be an educator and a refiner of the tastes and perceptions of the youth who shall gather here for instruction.”³⁵

Some of the added costs resulted from new educational and architectural priorities. Cluss’s schools featured fireproof construction, central heating and ventilation pipes and equipment, natural lighting from large windows on two sides of every classroom, blackboards on the other two walls, individual desks rather than benches and tables, and an arrangement of cloakrooms and teacher desks to promote better acoustics. The architects designed their school buildings to reinforce a new instructional plan that northern urban schools had already introduced. Only one age group would study in each of the classrooms and one teacher would teach one lesson to every student at the same time. The large concentration of students and teachers inaugurated a revolution in Washington’s public schools that included a sequential curriculum, standardized textbooks, and regular on-site teacher training.³⁶

Positioned on a hill just a few blocks from the White House, the Franklin School’s red brick *Rundbogenstil* design topped with a Mansard roof provided a dramatic exemplar for the development of the upscale K Street residential neighborhood that soon followed. The Franklin School demonstrated Cluss’s belief throughout his career “in the power of buildings as architectural sculptures in the cityscape.” The new fourteen-room school captured national and international attention. An inaugural visitor guidebook for 1873 praised the new school as “one of the finest buildings devoted to education in this country, and . . . one of the chief attractions to visitors.” Congressmen sent copies of its plans to their home districts, leaders in Argentina and Great Britain requested copies of the building plans, and visiting educators from Japan to Nicaragua praised the building. Touring school officials from

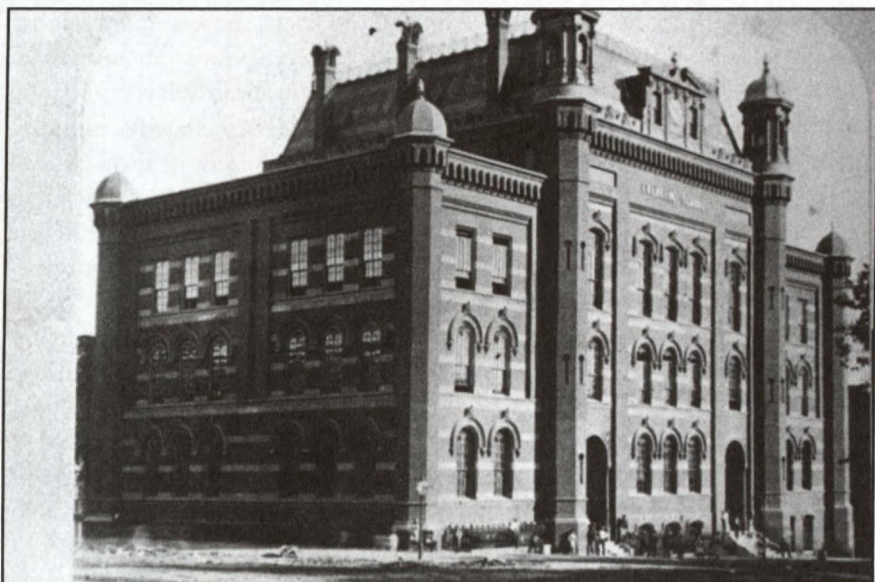


Fig. 6. Franklin School, early 1870s (constructed 1865–69; exterior restored in early 1990s). Cluss designed towers on the front and rear facades, not only as decorative features, but also to promote air-circulation for the central cooling and heating systems, one of many innovations introduced by Cluss and Kammerhueber. Still standing at Thirteenth and K Streets, Northwest, the Franklin building has been unoccupied for over twenty years. Photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnson. *Charles Sumner School Museum and Archives, Washington, DC.*

Boston, a city instilled with a long tradition of public schools, described the Franklin building as “the largest and most elegant public school structure in America. The District of Columbia sent a model of the Franklin School to the Vienna World Exposition in 1873. Cluss constructed the model so that it could be disassembled one room at a time, enabling visitors to make detailed drawings.”³⁷

The Wallach and Franklin Schools fulfilled reformers’ hopes that the capital could democratize public education and attract middle class families. Cluss and Kammerhueber boasted in a European architectural journal that the Wallach School would “accomplish the most in the uplifting of the masses.” They also understood that American public schools, unlike those in Europe, furnished “the basis of [the United States] free political institutions.” German historian Sabine Freitag explains that Cluss’s commitment to designing schools demonstrated his “belief in the socially transformative and moral power of education.” His buildings, she adds, served “not the needs of a privileged few, but rather the welfare of the community.”³⁸

Cluss and Kammerhueber won all of Washington’s other major architectural and engineering contracts between 1862 and 1865—all aimed

at improving the welfare of the community. Their success in obtaining commissions grew out of a political alliance between Cluss, an influential leader among German Republicans, and the Republican Mayor and city council members. Although the architects and city leaders shared a common interest in improving the city, city leaders soon recognized, in the words of Mayor Richard Wallach, the expertise of “those skillful architects.” Cluss designed the Metropolitan Hook and Ladder Company’s fire engine house, dedicated in 1864, his first completed building and the city’s first purpose-built fire station. Two years later the architects designed the city’s first police station. Anxious to improve the city’s image and serve a burgeoning wartime population, city leaders also hired Cluss and Kammerhueber in 1863 to



Fig. 7. Metropolitan Hook and Ladder Fire Engine House, ca. late 1800s (constructed 1863-64), was the first purpose-built fire engine house in Washington. It originally included a belfry and steeple (removed 1877). The second story, intended for meetings and social gatherings, featured a band stand and large chandelier. The District of Columbia Fire Department continued to use the building until the 1970s. Vacant for thirty years, it was restored and opened as a restaurant in 2011. *Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.*

design a new brick building for the Center Market, at a prestigious site on Pennsylvania Avenue, halfway between the Capitol and the White House. Though not built as a result of Congressional opposition, the architects' plan for a two-story building, with provisions for expansive natural lighting and ventilation foreshadowed the red brick, five-building complex that Cluss designed in the 1870s for the same site.³⁹

Mayor Wallach also called on his favorite architects in 1864 to study the city's most serious public health problem, namely the Washington City Canal that connected the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers. Many Washington citizens as well as federal government buildings used the canal as a convenient site for discharging sewage. Like all American cities, Washington had no unified sewerage system. Many residents also dumped garbage and animal carcasses into the canal. Cluss and Kammerhueber's thirty-five-page report in 1865 embodied their civil engineering skills and knowledge. They employed technical drawings, measurements, experiments, and sediment analyses, and they cited solutions to similar problems found in the German city of Hamburg. They recommended dredging and narrowing the canal, and placing a main sewer line underground parallel to the canal, into which a widespread, unified system of sewers would drain. City leaders and Congress implemented only a few of the engineers' recommendations, but in the early 1870s, Cluss, then City Engineer, supervised the construction of a system of sewers similar to the plan he and Kammerhueber had recommended in 1865.⁴⁰

Cluss and Kammerhueber designed three churches during the war years. Although he had no personal interest in religion, Cluss realized that some congregations shared his ambition for designing modern buildings that met new technological and aesthetic standards. For all three of his church clients in the 1860s, for example, the architects planned Sunday school classrooms on the first floors of their buildings, which the churches hoped would promote

Fig. 8. Foundry Methodist Church (constructed 1863-64, demolished 1902). Located three blocks from the White House, Foundry Church was Cluss and Kammerhueber's first building located in the center of Washington and the first of his 1860s structures to be razed. *Calvary Methodist Church, Washington, D.C.*



new educational goals. All three congregations demanded sanctuaries that would promote improved acoustics. Cluss and Kammerhueber, therefore, designed modern auditorium-like features such as sloping floors, curved pews, and unobstructed views. Each church recognized that modern features and appearances could attract additional members. In an era in which churches often felt their influence undercut by the secular influence of science, all three congregations grew rapidly.⁴¹

Cluss and Kammerhueber's Foundry Methodist Church, a large *Rundbogenstil* building completed in 1864, bestowed a "modern" presence in the neighborhood where traditional government buildings such as the Georgian-styled White House or the Greek orders of the Treasury and Patent Office buildings previously dominated. Cluss described Calvary Baptist Church as modern too—"modern Gothic." Its red bricks and open steeple of bolted, ornamental cast iron pieces, and heating and cooling systems required



Fig. 9. Calvary Baptist Church (constructed 1865-66, re-constructed after a fire, 1867-68; steeple and belfry destroyed by storms in early twentieth century were reconstructed in 2005). Nearly all of the architects' public buildings towered above the nearby houses and stores. Photographed by Mathew Brady, probably from a lighter-than-air balloon. *Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D.C.*

modern, mass production techniques not then usually associated with Gothic architecture. Cluss and Kammerhueber also designed a *Rundbogenstil* church and rectory for the new St. Stephen the Martyr Roman Catholic Church,

in 1865, a more substantial break in style for a Catholic church. Like the launching of Cluss and Kammerhueber's firm, all three congregations began construction or planning of their new buildings despite wartime shortages and uncertainties, a reflection of their strong Unionist sentiments.⁴²

Mayor Wallach had a hand in most of Cluss and Kammerhueber's wartime commissions. After fire destroyed the upper main hall and towers of the Smithsonian Institution in January 1865, the Mayor, a member of the Smithsonian's Board of Regents, "warmly recommended" Cluss for planning the renovation. Cluss maintained the original style of the building but introduced state-of-the-art fireproofing for the damaged floors and towers. Later in his career, he won additional contracts for further alterations in the Smithsonian building.⁴³

A Businessman in Wartime Washington

The Civil War furnished a fertile social environment in Washington for ambitious businesspeople such as Cluss. It brought together an influential mix of players, including Army and Navy officers, reformers, foreign observers, journalists, northern businessmen, and many new Republican members of Congress. Many of the go-getters among them sought, provided, or at least professed to know about new business opportunities. Cluss and his wife participated in many social and civic activities during the war, broadening their acquaintances with a wide spectrum of city residents. The gregarious Cluss, unrestrained by a pronounced accent, formed close ties with the city's most influential people. More than anyone, Mayor Wallach, who dominated the selection of architects or engineers for city projects, influenced Cluss's success. Cluss and Wallach, a descendant of German immigrants, held a high regard for each other as urban reformers who believed in Washington's future. Wallach noted in 1866 that Germans in general contributed more to Washington's development than any other group. Other local Republican leaders also aided Cluss; Washingtonians that had clear ties to the Republican Party comprised many of Cluss's clients for the remainder of his career.⁴⁴

Cluss and his wife also found time to contribute to groups that supported soldiers and their families. During the war, Cluss served as a secretary of the German Relief Association, which organized fairs, concerts, opera evenings, and balls in order to raise funds for soldiers and their families, "without regard to their nationality." The group also aided hospitalized soldiers and visited nearby battlefields to locate and help wounded soldiers. Cluss also chaired arrangement and decoration committees for a "Grand Ball for Wounded Soldiers" and for a "Grand Enlistment Ball" in 1863. Cluss and his wife joined city leaders, members of Congress, and Army officers in 1865

to plan a "Grand Ball" to benefit all the families of soldiers from the District of Columbia.⁴⁵

Cluss also participated in influential city organizations. In 1864, he joined Lafayette Masonic Lodge Number 19. His membership introduced him to prominent business and professional leaders in Washington, and may have assisted him in winning commissions for the design of two Masonic buildings in Washington and another in Alexandria, Virginia. Cluss also joined popular German social organizations including the *Sängerbund* (Singing Association) in 1859 as a non-singing member and the newly formed Washington *Schützenverein* (Target Shooting Association) in 1865, which became the pre-eminent German social organization for the next twenty-five years. Although Cluss did not enter competitions, he served on the Board of Directors and designed a "Temple," a small building enclosed in glass for the display of trophies and ribbons won by Washington teams. For the first *Schützenfest* in 1866, a three-day competition and eating, drinking, and dancing event, Rosa Cluss presented a new flag to the organization "in the name of Washington women," giving what a local newspaper called "a neat speech." The *Sängerbund* serenaded her later that evening.⁴⁶

Cluss's strong social and political ties, however, did not insulate him from the uncertainties facing Washington. At the time of the dedication of the Wallach School on July 4, 1864, he recalled that "an enemy army of 60,000 men lay just outside shooting range of the city," a reference to Confederate General Jubal Early's daring raid on the northern suburbs. The Washington architects had planned and supervised all of their early buildings in the midst of shortages and inflation caused by the unresolved conflict. If Early's attack or Robert E. Lee's two larger invasions of Maryland had succeeded, the future of the capital, to say nothing of the long-term post-war prospects of its architects, would have been very different. Even with victory clearer in late 1864, some members of Congress proposed moving the capital to Saint Louis. As Mayor Wallach's annual reports made clear, city leaders struggled to pay for paving streets, building sewers, and making the capital more attractive, but with limited Congressional funding, they made little headway. Cluss's personal confidence in the future rested on professional success in difficult times and his solid financial foundations. He and Rosa owned a modest but mortgage-free house, he had inherited a substantial amount when his stepmother died during the war years, and his income from his architectural business had increased each year, by as much as 60 percent between 1864 and 1866.⁴⁷

Post-War Years

In the first three years after the war, Cluss and Kammerhueber's firm, the

best known and most successful in the capital, pioneered new building types and the latest design and systems technologies. Their buildings began to shape the character of the National Mall and Washington's new neighborhoods. Despite their prominence and success, personal conflicts threatened the firm's future.

Between 1865 and 1867, Cluss and Kammerhueber designed four performance and public halls: Concordia Opera House in Baltimore, and Lincoln Hall, the Masonic Temple, and a Navy Yard neighborhood Masonic building in Washington. The Concordia became Baltimore's main performing arts venue in the 1860s and 70s. The auditorium seated 1,600 persons and its "well-equipped stage . . . [could] accommodate over 200 performers." The architects' plan for the Washington's Young Men's Christian Association building included an amphitheater-style auditorium known as Lincoln Hall and the one of the nation's first Y.M.C.A. gymnasiums. For many years, Lincoln Hall was the city's largest performance venue. Although Washington's Masonic Temple devoted its third and fourth floors to Masonic activities, its elegant second floor ballroom, 23 feet in height, could accommodate 1,000 people for dances, performances, and official state occasions. Washington inaugurated the new hall in 1870 with a lavish dinner for a royal visitor, Prince Arthur, son of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Cluss, one of the invited guests, also helped to plan the decorations for the event. All three buildings included the latest central ventilating and heating systems, wall



Fig. 10. Masonic Temple, 1881 (constructed 1867 to 1870; restored for office and restaurant use, 1990s). The Grand Lodge of Washington, D.C., rented retail store space on the ground floor and the ballroom on the second floor in order to make interest payments to the bondholders who financed the original construction, one of whom was Cluss. Cluss and Kammerhueber planned a fifth floor with a mansard roof, but the Grand Lodge cut that to reduce expenses. *Historical Society of Washington, D.C.*



Fig. 11. Masonic Temple, detail of F Street façade, third and fourth floors, 2005. Cluss and Kammerhueber called for red brick construction for all of their buildings. The Masonic Temple differed only in that they specified sandstone facing for the two facades fronting on streets. Photograph by William Lebovich. *Goethe-Institut, Washington, D.C.*

murals, extensive decorative metal- and woodwork, and excellent acoustical qualities. In 1867, the architects also designed a smaller Masonic building for the Naval Masonic Lodge that included a public hall for Navy Yard neighborhood meetings and events and space for a public school.⁴⁸

In 1867, the newly created Agriculture Department chose Cluss and Kammerhueber to design a headquarters and museum building planned for the south side of the National Mall. Only the red sandstone Smithsonian Institution and the unfinished Washington Monument then stood amongst the Mall's tall grasses and wild flowers. With red brick walls and brownstone trim, and a style that Cluss said "leans toward French Renaissance with Mansard roof," the new building projected a less monumental image than earlier federal buildings such as the Greek- or Roman-inspired treasury or patent buildings, or the Capitol. Cluss and Kammerhueber also submitted a *Rundbogenstil* plan for a proposed War Department building, which, though not accepted, also understated government authority. Cluss and Kammerhueber reported that

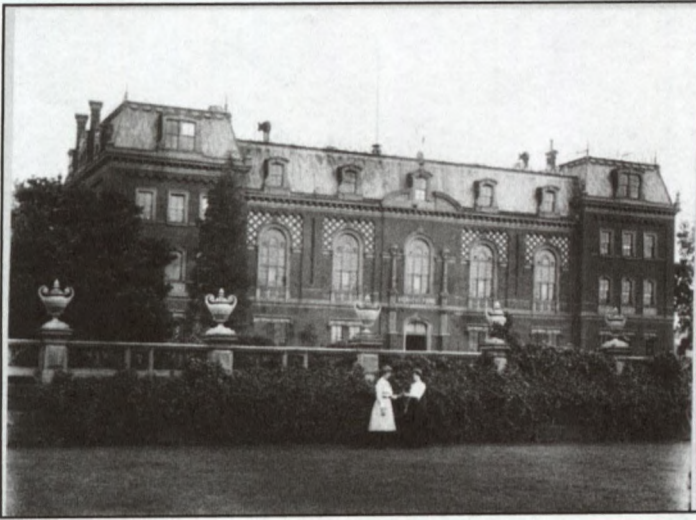


Fig. 12. Department of Agriculture headquarters and museum (constructed 1866-67; demolished 1930). Cluss also designed the terrace wall and railing, and nearby garden pavilions and a large conservatory. A postcard of the Agricultural Department building was the only image of any of his buildings found in Cluss's personal papers at the end of his life. *D.C. Public Library*

they designed foreign government buildings too, having procured “a number of contracts in South America through specific embassies.” Historians have not yet identified any of these buildings.⁴⁹

Reflecting their public building priorities, Cluss and Kammerhueber completed only two residences in the six-year history of their firm, though opportunities for residential commissions abounded in Washington's post-Civil War building boom. They designed a “large and beautiful” brick building in southwest Washington for Samuel Herman, an immigrant from Hesse-Darmstadt, who owned a dry goods store. Completed in 1866, the redbrick building contained a first floor retail store and a second floor residence. Throughout his career, Cluss designed similar two-story commercial/residential buildings for owners of small-scale businesses. Cluss and Kammerhueber also designed a two-story, twelve-room house with a brownstone front façade for John R. Elvans, hardware store owner and city council member. Like many of their public buildings, they crowned the house with a Mansard roof. The Elvans house became model for mansions that Cluss designed for wealthy clients in the 1870s that shaped the character of several upscale northwest Washington neighborhoods.⁵⁰



Fig. 13. John Elvans house, ca. 1930 (constructed 1866; demolished ca.1970). In the 1920's and 1930s the house became the headquarters of the Columbia Turnverein, the successor organization to the Turnverein that both Cluss and Kammerhueber belonged to in the 1850s. *Historical Society of Washington, D.C.*

End of the Cluss and Kammerhueber Firm

Despite similar backgrounds and ideas about architecture, and their success with nearly every public building type of their era, Cluss and Kammerhueber probably experienced a contentious relationship from the firm's beginning. Kammerhueber resigned his position at the Navy Yard earlier than they had planned. Cluss later explained that Kammerhueber "fell into irregular habits" during Cluss's absence from work battling typhoid fever. Dahlgren imposed strict rules, Cluss said, that led to Kammerhueber's forced resignation. Cluss reported that Kammerhueber was "frequently incapacitated for weeks from attending to the business" of their firm, a reference to Kammerhueber's chronic alcoholism. Kammerhueber also worked as a part-time patent agent and, as a result, Cluss testified, failed to complete assignments for their firm. Their conflict culminated on July 14, 1868. Cluss reported that Kammerhueber arrived at their office intoxicated, announced his resignation from the firm, and then "assaulted" him. Cluss left their office, he said, "to avoid further violence." Kammerhueber remained, and according to an office boy, the architect destroyed papers, and shouted that "he was free." A few days later,

Cluss published a terse newspaper statement announcing the dissolution of the firm.⁵¹

Financial arrangements and professional pride incited their conflict. Cluss acted as the business manager. Both architects signed statements on July 1, 1866, and again on July 1, 1867, that reconciled expenses and payments for the preceding years. Perhaps their failure to agree on the statement for July 1, 1868, precipitated the final break. Both the statements and an account book substantiates that Cluss paid Kammerhueber his half share, but in weekly amounts, which would have seemed more like a wage. Kammerhueber's widow later claimed that the architects had disagreed about the firm's income from the beginning. She contended that in the firm's six years, the partners earned gross receipts of "upwards of \$70,000," but Cluss testified that their gross receipts totaled \$28,965. Cluss complicated the relationship further by viewing himself as the firm's senior partner. He excluded Kammerhueber's participation and his name from some projects such as the Navy Yard Foundry, the Metropolitan Fire Engine House, and the renovation of the Smithsonian Institution. An additional dispute arose when Kammerhueber and his wife borrowed \$1,000 in 1865 from Cluss and his wife for a down payment on a house. They did not pay back any of the principal.⁵²

Cluss also engaged in marketing and professional activities that Kammerhueber might have considered unnecessary, but other architects might have considered "modern." Cluss met clients, encouraged styles that he considered progressive, walked them through the design process, and promised to visit the construction site regularly, sometimes even acting as the general contractor. The engaging Cluss enjoyed the contact with clients, while Kammerhueber felt satisfied with preparing drawings, renderings, and other office responsibilities. While Kammerhueber sometimes attended groundbreaking and dedication ceremonies, Cluss always did. Cluss also appreciated that their office space and location helped to mold a client's impression of their firm. In 1867 Kammerhueber may have resented the rental cost for a new office located on Seventh Street, Washington's most important commercial artery, a more prestigious and convenient location than the first floor of Cluss's house on Second Street. Cluss also used the relatively new art of photography to market the firm. By 1868, he had created a bound portfolio of photographs to illustrate for clients the kinds of buildings and styles that they had designed. He hired Matthew Brady, the famed Civil War photographer, to prepare the photographs. Cluss also understood the value of a professional affiliation both for the reputation of his firm and his own development as an architect. In 1867, he applied to become a Fellow of the mostly New York-based American Institute of Architects, the first Washington architect to gain that recognition. Until the 1880s, he was

only one of three A.I.A. Fellows practicing in Washington. An active member, Cluss presented the first of many lectures at the annual conference in 1868, and wrote a pamphlet published by the organization in 1869.⁵³

Normally a practical, even cautious, businessperson, Cluss would have tried to avoid dissolving a firm that had enjoyed uninterrupted success and respect. Government officials, builders, journalists, and developers knew and praised their work. In the Washington of the 1860s, Kammerhueber contributed drawing skills, an aesthetic sensibility, and German training that Cluss did not believe he could replace. Both men, though, recognized that they had reached an impasse that they could not resolve. Kammerhueber worked for the next two years as a draftsman for the Treasury Department's Bureau of Construction. On May 27, 1870, after first aiming a loaded pistol at his wife, Kammerhueber turned the gun and shot himself in the head. He died before help arrived.⁵⁴

After July 1868, Cluss continued his architectural practice on his own, relying on talented apprentices to take on more of the workload. Ten years passed, though, before he agreed to another partnership. He designed signature public buildings for the capital but also many admired private residences. As City Engineer Cluss supervised paving and grading of streets, planting of curbside trees, and constructing a sewage system. He retired in 1888, leaving a city vastly different than the "country village" he found in 1849. Historian Richard Longstreth argues that for at least twenty years, "no other locally based architect came close to matching Cluss's imprint on the fabric of the burgeoning capital."⁵⁵

In the midst of the war swirling around Washington in the early 1860s, Cluss had reinvented himself and reimagined the capital city. A career in architecture finally made sense to him. The Civil War had created both an unparalleled economic opportunity as well as a political cause. In wartime Washington, Cluss channeled the revolutionary ideas and the building and architectural skills of his youth to help him shape his adopted city that he once described as a "rotten nest." Acting as a conduit for ideas from both sides of the Atlantic, he planned for a capital worthy of the republic both as a center of government and as a healthy and attractive residential city. His public buildings, including performance halls, churches, and government structures, demonstrated how a capital of republic could have pleasing, aesthetically inspiring buildings, while foregoing the monumental trappings of a monarchy. Above all, his schools and museum reflected his belief that the capital city should provide a national model of public education, which he recognized, was one of the foundations of the American republic. Though Cluss had severed all connection to Marx and Communism, he retained a progressive view of history. In an 1875 article, he called on his readers to

acknowledge “the progressive spirit of the age . . . which cannot be retarded for any length of time; it involves the interests of all, both high and low.”⁵⁶

Denver, Colorado

Notes

AIA	American Institute of Architects
HABS	Historic American Buildings Survey
IISG	International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam
MECW	Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: Collected Works
MEGA	Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels Gesamtausgabe
RCHS	Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.
RG	Record Group (National Archives)

¹ Cluss to Weydemeyer, May 30, 1852, *MEGA* (Berlin, 1987), 3/5: 527, and Aug. 16, 1852, *MEGA* (Berlin, 1987), 3/5: 558.

² For an assessment of Cluss’s impact on Washington architecture, see Richard Longstreth, “Adolf Cluss, the World, and Washington,” in *Adolf Cluss, Architect: From Germany to America*, Alan Lessoff and Christof Mauch, eds. (New York, 2005), 103–15. See www.adolf-cluss.org for a description, history, and images of buildings, and other work by Cluss. National media helped promote the idea of “the New Washington.” Examples include George Alfred Townsend, “The New Washington,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, Apr. 1875, 657–74; and E.V. Smalley, “The New Washington,” *The Century Magazine*, Mar. 1884, 117–23.

³ The first survey of Cluss’s architectural work in Washington was Tanya Edwards Beauchamp, “Adolph Cluss: An Architect in Washington during the Civil War and Reconstruction,” *RCHS* 48 (1971–72): 338–58. An historian in the Soviet Union has produced the only thorough survey of Cluss’s membership and activity in the Communist League. See Welta Pospelowa, “Adolf Cluss – ein Mitglied des Bundes der Kommunisten und Kampfgefährte von Marx und Engels,” *Marx-Engels Jahrbuch* 3 (1980): 85–119. For a sampling of how Cluss’s affiliation with the Communist League was used in East Berlin and Moscow, see Karl Obermann, “The Communist League: A Forerunner of the American Labor Movement,” *Science & Society* 30 (Fall 1966): 433–46; and Fred Boettcher, “Mitstreiter von Marx und Architektin Washington,” *Neues Deutschland*, Dec. 17, 1983, B-1. See also Sabine Freitag, “Years of Apprenticeship and Travel: Adolf Cluss and the Revolution of 1848 in Mainz,” in *Adolf Cluss, Architect*, 31–41; and Sabina Dugan, “Adolf Cluss: From German Revolutionary to Architect for America’s Capital,” in *Adolf Cluss, Architect*, 43–9. Karl Marx to Cluss, May 7, 1852, *MECW* (New York, 1975), 38: 108; Karl Marx to Engels, *MECW*, 39: 315. For more on the popular nineteenth century phrase that expressed hope for Washington’s future as the capital of the nation, see Frederick Gutheim and Antoinette J. Lee, *Worthy of the Nation: Washington, DC from L’Enfant to the National Capital Planning Commission*, 2nd Ed. (Baltimore, 2006), 17.

⁴ On Adolf Cluss’s youth and the city of Heilbronn, see Peter Wanner, “Kommunist der ersten Stunde und Baumeister Washington,” *Heilbronner Köpfe*, Christhard Schrenk, ed., (Heilbronn, 1999), 2: 21–4; and Christhard Schrenk and Peter Wanner, “Adolf Cluss in Heilbronn—His Formative Years,” *Adolf Cluss, Architect*, 19–29. For the Cluss family genealogy, see “Adolf Cluss,” www.RootsWeb.com.

⁵ Schrenk and Wanner, 19, 24–26.

⁶ Horst Roessler, "Traveling Workers and the German Labor Movement," *People in Transit: German Migration in Comparative Perspective, 1820-1930*, Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler, eds. (Washington, 1995), 128-30; Theodore S. Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815-1871* (Princeton, 1958), 83-4. For an analysis of economic changes in pre-1848 Germany, see David Blackburn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2nd Ed. (Oxford, 2003), 84-7.

⁷ Cluss to Karl Marx, Sept. 30, 1852, quoted in Pospelowa, 9. On the economic crisis of the 1840s, see Hamerow, 76-7; Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana, 1992), 25-6; and Walker Mack, *Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1845* (Cambridge, MA, 1964), 47.

⁸ On the Turner movement in Germany, see George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York, 1975), 81, 128-31; and Freitag, 31. On the Heilbronner Turnfest, see Schrenk and Wanner, 27; and for documents and participants, see Lothar Wieser and Peter Wanner, eds., *Adolf Cluss und die Turnbewegung, Vom Heilbronner Turnfest 1846 ins amerikanische Exil* (Heilbronn, 2007), 110-94. On Cluss and Marx in Brussels, see Pospelowa, 86-8. Jenny Marx to Adolf Cluss, Oct. 30, 1852, *MECW*, 39: 578.

⁹ For an account of Cluss's role in the revolution of 1848, see Freitag, 34-9, and Pospelowa, 90-9. Passenger List of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1820-1897, Sept. 15, 1848, RG 85, M237, List 75, Number 211, National Archives. For the impact of German Forty-eighters in America, see Bruce Levine, "In the Heat of Two Revolutions: The Forging of German-American Radicalism, *Struggle the Hard Battle*, Dirk Hoerder, ed. (Dekalb, Ill., 1986), 19-39; and Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Westport, Conn.), 1952.

¹⁰ Cluss to Wilhelm Wolff, Mar. 31, 1850, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bonn, *Bestand Adolf Cluss*; and Cluss to Wolff, Nov. 4-6, 1851, Berlin-Brandenburg Akademie der Wissenschaften. Cluss was more open about his personal life in his letters to Wolff, who was more of a personal friend than Marx was.

¹¹ For Cluss's gradual change regarding Marx and the Communist League, see Dugan, 48-9. Cluss to Weydemeyer, Mar. 26, 1853, *MEGA* 3/6: 580-4; Weydemeyer to Cluss, Dec. 26, 1853, *MEGA*, 3/7: 581-2.

¹² See Cluss's accounts of his 1853 trip to New York, New England, and Canada in "America," *Die Reform*, Aug. 16, 21, and 23, 1853, 1. Adolf Cluss, *New-Yorker Zeitung*, January 18, 1853, 2; Conzen, "Die Residenzler," *Adolf Cluss, Architect*, 55; Cluss to Wilhelm Wolff, March 31, 1851, 153; Brainard H. Warner, "Political and Social Conditions during the War," *Washington during Wartime*, Marcus Benjamin, ed. (Washington, 1902), 199.

¹³ Carl Schurz, *Autobiography of Carl Schurz* (New York, 1961), 110-1; Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1995), 47.

¹⁴ Alan Lessoff, "The Americanization of Adolf Cluss," Lecture, Bielefeld University, June 30, 2006, 5; Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Reshaping the Nation: Federal Employment, Civil Service Reform, and the Turners of Washington, D.C.," *Adolf Cluss und die Turnbewegung*, Lothar Wieser and Peter Wanner, eds., 80-2; Conzen, "Residenzler," 56-8.

¹⁵ Passenger Lists of Ships Arriving in New York; Wanner, "Kommunist der ersten Stunde," 23; Letter from Adolf Cluss, July 5, 1901, quoted in Werner A. Cluss, "Die Geschichte der Familie Cluss," unpublished typescript, 1932, Stadtarchiv Heilbronn (Heilbronn, Germany), 1; Adolf Cluss, "Amerika," *Die Reform*, Nov. 16, 1853; Cluss to Weydemeyer, Apr. 22, 1852, No. 25, *Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels Briefwechsel, Januar Bis August 1852*, *MEGA*. III/5:524.

¹⁶ *Affairs in the District of Columbia*, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, May 20, 1874, Sen. Rept. 453, Part 3, 2049; "Change in the Board of Public Works," *The Evening Star*, Oct. 19, 1872, 1; "Adolf Cluss," *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1892-1984), 4: 507; Peter Wanner, Heilbronn City Historian, to Author, August 26, 2003, confirming that no

records could be found to substantiate that Cluss attended the Polytechnische Schule in Stuttgart; "Adolf Cluss Personal Life—Education: Sources," Accessions 06-225, Smithsonian Institution, Office of Architectural History and Historic Preservation, Building Files, circa 1850-2006, Box 6, Smithsonian Institution Archives. For insight on the education and training of architects in the middle of the nineteenth century see Daniel D. Reiff, "At the Core of His Career: Enoch A. Curtis and Architectural Books," *American Architects and Their Books: 1840-1915*, Kenneth Hafertepe and James F. O'Gorman, eds. (Amherst, Mass., 2007), 129, 134–5.

¹⁷ Cluss to Weydemeyer, May 30, 1852, *MEGA*, III, 5: 527.

¹⁸ Index to Naturalization Records of the US Supreme Court for the District of Columbia, 1802-1909, RG 21, M1827, Roll 1, 56, June 5, 1855, National Archives; Antoinette J. Lee, *Architects to the Nation: The Rise and Decline of the Supervising Architects Office* (New York, 2000), 47–8; Longstreth, 103; Adolf Cluss, "The Effect of Lead Plates in Masonry," *American Architect and Building News* (Sept. 8, 1888), 24: 115.

¹⁹ Schrenk and Wanner, 28; Weydemeyer to Karl Marx, Mar. 27, 1859, *MEGA*, 3/9: 367–8; "Lost," *Baltimore Sun*, March 11, 1858, 3 (signed by Adolf Cluss)

²⁰ Church Register, 1859, February 8, 1859, Number 11, Zion Church, Baltimore; Cluss to Weydemeyer, Jan. 2, 1852 and May 25, 1852, *MEGA*, 3/5: 487–91 and 525–6 describe Cluss's early, contentious relationship with the Schmidt family. For more on the Schmidt family, see Gustav Koener, *Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1808-1848* (New York, 1884), 402; and from the author's collection, Katherine Schmidt May, "I Will Tell You All I Know of my Father's Family" April 20, 1908, Trenton, N.J.; Edward H. Droop to Anna Droop Maguire, Aug. 13, 1926; Roland Paul, Institut für pfälzische Geschichte und Volkskunde, to author, August 9, 2003, Kaiserslautern, Germany. For more on Adolf and Rosa Cluss's family, see, Joseph L. Browne and Alan Lessoff, "Introduction," and "Adolf Cluss: A Family Album," in *Adolf Cluss, Architect*, 13-14 and 95-100. For a description of the Cluss neighborhood, see "New Jersey Avenue, District of Columbia," *Historic American Buildings Survey*, HABS No. DC-715, 3.

²¹ For more on Brumidi, see Barbara Wolanin, *Constantino Brumidi: Artist of the Capitol* (Washington, D.C. 1998). "Four Brumidi Paintings," *Washington Post*, Jun. 22, 1902, 22; William S. and Donna Shacklette, Interview with author, Apr. 17, 2002, Lake Worth, Fla.); For more on Edward Droop and Sophia Schmidt Droop, see "In Ancient City Square," *Sunday Star*, Jan. 4, 1925, Part 5, 3.

²² Franklin B. Cooling, *Symbol, Sword, and Shield: Defending Washington during the Civil War* (Hamden, Conn., 1975), 140–2; Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington, Village and Capital, 1800-1878* (Princeton, 1962), 1:261; Carl Abbott, *Political Terrain: Washington, D.C. from Tidewater Town to Global Metropolis* (Chapel Hill, 1995), 68.

²³ Lewis Clephane, *Birth of the Republican Party* (Washington, 1889), 5; "Breakers Ahead: Fatherland and other Lands on the 'Qui Vive,'" *Evening Star*, Jan. 10, 1861, 3; "Great Times at the Wigwam," *Evening Star*, Jan. 11, 1861, 3, 9; *National Intelligencer Newspaper Abstracts: The Civil War Years*. Vol. 2, Joan M. Dixon, ed. (Bowie, MD, 2001), March 1, 1865, 354–6; Ideas about how Germans fit into the reform patterns in the United States suggested by Kathleen Neils Conzen, in discussion with Adolf Cluss Exhibition Team, Transcript, November 15, 2003, Washington, D.C.

²⁴ Consolidated Lists of Civil War Draft Registrations, 1863-1865, Records of the Provost Marshall General's Bureau, July 1, 1863, entry 172, RG110, National Archives. Edward Marolda, *Washington Navy Yard* (Washington, 1999), 15–9; and A. Dupree Hunter, *Science in the Federal Government: A History of Policies and Activities to 1940* (Cambridge, Mass. 1957), 123–5; Schneller quoted in Marolda, 17.

²⁵ Robert A. Schneller, Jr., "Adolf Cluss and the Washington Navy Yard," Transcript of Lecture, Nov. 17, 2005, Charles Sumner School Museum and Archives, Washington, D.C., 3–4, 8–9; Adolf Cluss, "Reconnaissance of Anacostia above Washington Navy Yard," Geogra-

phy and Maps Division, Group RMR, Library of Congress; "A Visit to the Washington Navy Yard—Testing Heavy Artillery, etc.," *New York Times*, Apr. 19, 1862, 2; Adolf Cluss, "A New Tumbrel Car," *Scientific American*, Oct. 24, 1863, 256.

²⁶ Records of Bureau of Yards and Docks, "Payrolls," Navy Yard Payrolls, entry 32, RG71, National Archives; "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957," 1849, M237, Line 29, List No. 1069, RG 85, National Archives; W.J. von Kammerhueber, "Improvement in Projectiles," United States Patent Office, No. 12, 801, May 1, 1855, <http://www.civilwarartillery.com/patents.htm>; Index to Naturalization Records of the Supreme Court for the District of Columbia, 1802-1909, Dec. 19, 1857, M1827, Roll 1, RG 21, National Archives; "Declaration," *Washingtoner Intelligenzblatt*, Apr. 19, 1859.

²⁷ *Wilheimna Kammerhueber v. Adolf Cluss*, Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, "Plaintiff Complains," Equity Case 2072, Box 120, RG 21, National Archives.

²⁸ "The Ordnance Foundry," *Evening Star*, Apr. 4, 1863, 4; "Navy Yard Affairs," *Evening Star*, Aug. 16, 1863, 2; *Affairs of the District of Columbia*, May 20, 1874, 2049.

²⁹ William H. Pierson, "Richard Upjohn and the American Rundbogenstil," *Winterthur Portfolio* (Winter, 1968), 21: 229–30, 238–41; Schrenk and Wanner, 23; Adolf Cluss, "Architecture and Architects at the Capital of the United States from Its Foundation until 1875," *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects* (New York, 1877), 44. For a comprehensive history of *Rundbogenstil*, see Kathleen Curran, *The Romanesque Revival: Religion, Politics, and Transnational Exchange* (University Park, Pa, 2003).

³⁰ Henry Barnard, *The American Yearbook and Register* (Hartford Conn., 1869), 514; Green, 256–7; Elden E. Billings, "Social and Economic Conditions in Washington during the Civil War," *RCHS*, (1963–65), 63/65: 198; Alan Lessoff, *The Nation and Its City: "Politics, Corruption, and Progress in Washington, D.C., 1861-1902"* (Baltimore, 1994), 21–2.

³¹ Gutheim and Lee, *Worthy of the Nation*, 72–3. For the building of the Washington Aqueduct, see Pamela Scott, *Capital Engineers: The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in the Development of Washington, D.C.* (Alexandria, Va., 2005), 39–47; Longstreth, 103–4, 114; Lessoff, *The Nation and Its City*, 20; *Evening Star*, October 3, 1859, quoted in Green, 227. See "Buildings," www.adolf-cluss.org.

³² Billings, 194–6; Cluss reported being "ill with typhoid fever" in testimony given in *Kammerhueber v. Cluss*, "Answer of Adolph Cluss," September 16, 1870, 3.

³³ *Kammerhueber v. Cluss*, "Answer of Adolph Cluss," 3; "Common Council," *Evening Star*, Apr. 15, 1862, 3.

³⁴ J. Ormond Wilson, "Eighty Years of the Public Schools of Washington—1895-1885," *RCHS* (1894-1897), 1: 23; William J. Reese, University of Wisconsin-Madison, to Author, January 21, 2003, 2. Karl-Ernst Jeismann, "American Observations of Prussian Educational System," *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917*, ed. by Hartmut Lehmann (Washington, 1995), 23–7 describes reports about German schools written by American educators Alexander Bache, Henry Barnard, and Horace Mann. Schrenk and Wanner, 25; Henry Barnard, *National Education in Europe* (Hartford Conn., 1854), 20.

³⁵ Reese, 2–3; *Twentieth Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Public Schools of the City of Washington* (Washington, 1865), 58

³⁶ For descriptions of features found in all Cluss's school designs, see "The New School-House in the Sixth Ward," *Evening Star*, August 27, 1863, 3; Adolf Cluss and Joseph von Kammerhueber, "Schulgebäude zu Washington," in *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, Heinrich & Emil Ritter von Förster, eds. (1868-1869), 33–4: 186; Tanya Edwards Beauchamp, "Schools for All: Adolf Cluss and Education," in *Adolf Cluss, Architect*, 147–9, 152–3; and Reese, 2–3.

³⁷ Benjamin Forgery, "Red Architect' Adolf Cluss: A Study in Sturdy," *Washington Post*, Sept. 17, 2005, C5; New York Association, *Guidebook of the Inauguration of 1873* (Washington, 1873), 22; "Complimentary to our School-Houses," *Evening Star*, May 22, 1871; "The Visitors from Boston," *Evening Star*, Apr. 24, 1866, 3; Wilson, 41. On the preservation history

of the Franklin Building and other surviving Cluss buildings, see Tanya Edwards Beauchamp, *Historic Preservation Solutions for Adolf Cluss Buildings, 1962-2005* (Washington, 2006).

³⁸ Tanya Edwards Beauchamp, "Education for All," 149; Cluss and Kammerhueber, "Schulgebäude zu Washington," 186; Freitag, 16.

³⁹ *Twentieth Annual Report*, 54; Wallach's comment was made at the dedication of the Wallach School by which time the architects had begun all but one of their city projects. "The Metropolitan Truck House," *Evening Star*, Feb. 10, 1864, 2; "The Capitol Hill Police Station House," *Daily National Republican*, Jun. 2, 1864, 3. For the story of the architects' abortive Center Market building, see the following: "The Center Market Improvement," *Evening Star*, Apr. 7, 1863, 3; "The Corner Stone of the New Market House," *The Evening Star*, May 3, 1864, 3; "Work Suspended on the Center Market House," *The Evening Star*, June 27, 1864, 2; "Report of the Commissioner of Public Grounds and Buildings," *Evening Star*, Dec. 16, 1865, 1.

⁴⁰ Lessoff, *Nation and Its City*, 21–2, 26; Adolf Cluss and Joseph von Kammerhueber, *Report on the Present State and Improvement of the Washington City Canal* (Washington, 1865); "The Washington City Canal Improvement," *Evening Star*, Aug. 8, 1866, 3. For the final chapter of the Washington City Canal story, see Lessoff, *Nation and Its City*, 91–4.

⁴¹ For the development of the Sunday School movement and its influence on church architecture, see Anne C. Loveland and Otis B. Wheeler, *From Meeting House to Megachurch: A Material and Cultural History* (Columbia, Mo., 2003), 66–7 and P. E. Burroughs, *A Complete Guide to Church Building* (New York, 1923), 13–4. For the history and features of auditorium churches in the nineteenth century, see Loveland and Wheeler, 33–65.

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⁴³ Cynthia R. Field, Richard E. Stamm, and Heather P. Ewing, *The Castle: An Illustrated History of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, 1993), xii and 78–9.

⁴⁴ Wallach quoted in Conzen, "Die Residenzler," 59.

⁴⁵ Lucie –Patrizia Arndt, Bochum, Germany, E-mail message to author, May 14, 2011, confirming many references to Cluss's leadership in organizations providing support for soldiers and their families that she found in Washington's German-language newspapers for use with her dissertation, "The German Community of the District of Columbia, 1850-1880." For a sample of Cluss's war-time involvement in activities to support soldiers and their families found in English language newspapers, see: "German Relief Association," *Evening Star*, Sept. 5, 1862, 3; "Grand Fair at Odd Fellows Hall," *Daily National Republican*, Feb. 27, 1863, 3; "Fest of the German Relief Association in Aid of Sick and Wounded Soldiers," *Daily National Republican*, Mar. 4, 1863, 3; "Grand Enlistment Ball," *Daily National Republican*, Mar. 30, 1864, 2; Dixon, Mar. 23, 1864, 152–3, and Jan. 6, 1865, 309.

⁴⁶ La Fayette Lodge Number 19, Membership Certificate; Conzen, "Die Residenzler," 58, 60; "Board of Directors," *National Republican*, Dec. 24, 1867, 3; "The Schützen Park Prize Temple," *National Republican*, Aug. 18, 1868, 3; "The Schützenfest Yesterday," *Evening Star*, May 29, 1866, 2.

⁴⁷ Cluss and Kammerhueber, "Schulgebäude zu Washington," 188. On proposals to move the capital, see Green, 1: 328–30. Difficulties facing the city government are documented in the annual reports of Mayor Wallach, for example, "The Relation of the General Government to the City of Washington," *Evening Star*, Dec. 13, 1865, 1; and Dec. 14, 1865, 2. Werner Cluss, *Familie Cluss* explains that the will of Jacobine Roth Cluss, second wife of Heinrich Cluss, provided equally for her children as well as the children of Heinrich's first wife, Anna Christine Neutz Cluss. The increase in Cluss's income is based on federal Civil War income tax

returns. See Internal Revenue Assessment Lists for the District of Columbia, 1862–6, RG 58, M760, National Archives; and “Incomes Between Two Thousand and Five Thousand Dollars,” *Evening Star*, Feb. 6, 1868, 4.

⁴⁸ Carlton Jones, *Lost Baltimore: A Portrait of Vanished Buildings* (Baltimore, 1993), 181; “Open for Concerts,” *Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 19, 1865, 4; “The Building Enterprises of the Young Men’s Christian Association of the City,” *Evening Star*, Sept. 17, 1867, 4; “New Building of the Washington City Young Men’s Christian Association,” *Association Monthly*, February 1870, 1, 35; “The New Masonic Temple,” *Daily National Republican*, May 20, 1868, 2; “His Royal Highness,” *Daily National Republican*, Jan. 28, 1870, 1; “The New Hall of the Naval Lodge,” *Evening Star*, Sept. 3, 1867, 3; Beauchamp, *Preservation Solutions*, 8.

⁴⁹ On the Agriculture building, see “The U.S. Experimental Farm,” *Evening Star*, Jul. 27, 1867, 3; Cluss, “Architects and Architecture,” 41; Longstreth, “Cluss, the World, and Washington,” 108; James Goode, *Capital Losses: A Cultural History of Washington’s Destroyed Buildings*, 2nd ed. (Washington, 2003), 358–9. Cluss and Kammerhueber do not identify the locations of their South American buildings. See “Schulgebäude zu Washington,” 186.

⁵⁰ “Further Improvements in South Washington,” *Evening Star*, July 21, 1866, 3; “City Improvements,” *Evening Star*, Aug. 21, 1866, 2.

⁵¹ *Kammerhueber v. Cluss*, “Answer of Adolf Cluss,” 3, 5; “Dissolution of Copartnership,” *Evening Star*, Aug. 1, 1868, 4.

⁵² *Kammerhueber v. Cluss*, Exhibit Number 2 and 3, July 1, 1866, and July 1, 1867; Receipt Book, 1866–1867, MS 470, Historical Society of Washington, D.C.; *Kammerhueber v. Cluss*, “Plaintiff Complains,” 7; Bill in Equity Between Charles G. Bornmann and Adolf Cluss and Charles H. Utermehle, Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, December 12, 1873, RG 21, Equity Document 13, Number 3516, National Archives. The author has found no documents related to the design of the Navy Yard Foundry, Metropolitan Fire House, and Smithsonian Institution that acknowledge Kammerhueber’s name or role.

⁵³ Kammerhueber’s widow claimed in 1873 that her husband and Cluss divided their work; Kammerhueber took charge of the inside work and Cluss was responsible for the outside work. Cluss denied that there was ever an agreement of that kind, but the evidence suggests that informally perhaps, Cluss did assume responsibility for contacts with the clients, contractors, and public officials. *Kammerhueber v. Cluss*, “Answer of Adolph Cluss,” 4; Though written ten years later, the diary of Martha Custis Carter records information about Cluss’s relationship with Samuel and Martha Carter when they hired Cluss as their architect in 1878. See “Diary of Martha Custis Carter (unpublished typescript),” Tudor Place Foundation, Inc. (Washington, D.C.) 32–41. Washington, DC membership in the AIA is detailed in *The American Institute of Architects College and Fellows: History and Directory* (Washington, 2000), 9 and 64–67. The titles of Cluss’s lecture and pamphlet are Adolf Cluss, “History, Theory, Functions, and Uses of Chimneys,” *Proceedings of the American Institute of Architects* (New York, 1869), 35–42; “Office of the Supervising Architect: What is Was, What it is, and What It ought to Be,” (New York, 1869), RG 801, Series 1.2, Box 1, Folder 9, AIA Library and Archives. The author was identified as “Civis” but on the AIA copy, Cluss signed his name above the pseudonym.

⁵⁴ “Suicide of Well-Known Citizen,” *Washington Star*, May 28, 1870, 3.

⁵⁵ Longstreth, “Adolf Cluss, the World, and Washington,” 104.

⁵⁶ Adolf Cluss, “Modern Street Pavements,” *Popular Science Monthly*, May 1875–Oct. 1875, 89.