

UNIVERSITY
PENNSYLVANIA
LIBRARIES



THE CREATION OF INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
AND INDEPENDENCE MALL

Kathleen Kurtz Cook

A THESIS

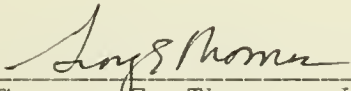
in

The Graduate Program in Historic Preservation

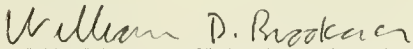
Presented to the faculties of the University of Pennsylvania
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

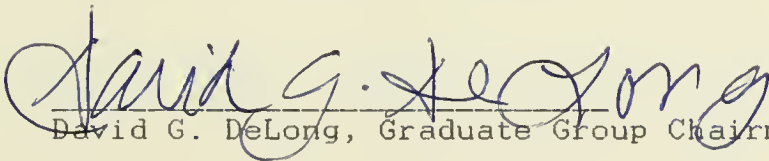
1989



George E. Thomas, Lecturer, Historic Preservation, Advisor



William D. Brookover, Reader



David G. DeLong, Graduate Group Chairman

THE CREATION OF INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
AND INDEPENDENCE MALL

Kathleen Kurtz Cook

A THESIS

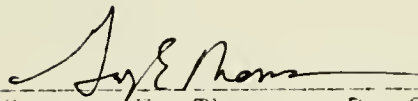
in

The Graduate Program in Historic Preservation

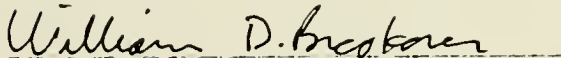
Presented to the faculties of the University of Pennsylvania
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

1989



George E. Thomas, Professor, Historic Preservation, Advisor



William D. Brookover, Reader

David G. DeLong, Graduate Group Chairman

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ii
List of Illustrations	iii
Chapter I Introduction	1
Chapter II Independence National Historical Park Today	5
Chapter III Summary of Area in 1950	13
Chapter IV Goals and Themes of Early Proposals	26
Chapter V Goals and Themes of 1940's Proposals	45
Chapter VI The Recommendations of the Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission	62
Chapter VII State and Federal Acquisition and Devel- opment	79
Chapter VIII Voices of Protest	111
Chapter IX Impact on Adjacent Areas	141
Conclusion	165
Exhibits	178
Select Bibliography	249

Acknowledgements

The writer would like to thank Dr. George E. Thomas for his direction, support, and patience as advisor. His constructive criticism and high level of expectations were challenging and motivating forces in undertaking and completing this project. The writer would also like to thank Penelope Batcheler and William Brookover for their interest and enthusiastic suggestions. A summer 1987 internship project of indexing Constance Greiff's manuscript for the book Independence: The Creation of a National Park provided the writer with an excellent background on the subject. Finally, Robert and Leidy helped by rocking peacefully while revisions were made.

EXHIBITS

CHAPTER II

II-1	Independence Mall, October, 1987.	Page 179
II-2	Independence Mall, Block Two, June, 1988.	179
II-3	Independence Mall, Block Two, June, 1988.	180
II-4	Independence Mall, Block Three, June, 1988.	180
II-5	Independence Mall, Block Three, June, 1988.	181
II-6	Independence Mall, Block Two, June, 1988.	181
II-7	Independence Mall, Block Two, June, 1988.	182
II-8	Independence Mall, Block Two, June, 1988.	182
II-9	Independence Mall, Block Three, June, 1988.	183

CHAPTER III

III-1	North Mall, Block One, 1950.	184
III-2	Block One of Mall, Sanborn map.	184
III-3	Ludlow Street, 1951.	185
III-4	Tower Hall, as illustrated in Baxter's Panoramic Business Directory for 1860.	185
III-5	Wanamaker & Brown Building.	186
III-6	500 Block Chestnut Street, 1929.	186
III-7	Block bounded by Chestnut, Walnut, Fifth and Fourth Streets, Tax Parcel Map, 1951.	187
III-8	Drexel Building, 1950.	187
III-9	Irvin Building and 400 Block Walnut Street, 1950.	188
III-10	Fourth Street, west side between Chestnut and Walnut Streets, 1950.	188
III-11	Lehigh Building, 1950.	189

III-12	Walnut Street, 400 Block, North Side, 1950.	189
III-13	423 Walnut Street, 1950.	190
III-14	429 and 431 Walnut Street, 1950.	190
III-15	Fifth Street, north of Walnut, 1951.	191
III-16	Walnut and Fifth Streets, Northeast Corner, 1950.	191
III-17	127-29 S. Fifth Street, 1950.	192
III-18	133-35 S. Fifth Street, 1950.	192
III-19	406 Sansom Street, 1950.	193
III-20	405 Sansom Street, 1950.	193
III-21	Dock Street Area, aerial view, 1951.	194
III-22	Dock Street Area, tax parcel map, 1950.	194
III-23	242-44 Chestnut Street, 1951.	195
III-24	Third Street, below Chestnut Street, 1951.	195
III-25	109 S. Third Street, 1951.	196
III-26	111-13 S. Third Street, 1951.	196
III-27	Dock Street, 1950.	197
III-28	John Wagner & Sons building, 1951.	197
III-29	Penn Mutual Building, 1951.	198
III-30	201-221 Walnut Street, 1951.	198

Chapter IV

IV-1	Preliminary Study for the Dependencies, A New Setting for Independence Hall, Albert Kelsey and D. Knickerbaker Boyd.	199
IV-2	Memorial Court of Independence Seen From Market Street, Jacques Greber, 1924.	200
IV-3	Plan of National Memorial Court of Inde- pendence, Jacques Greber, 1924.	201

IV-4	Sketch of Memorial Court of Independence, Jacques Greber, 1930.	202
IV-5	Plan of Memorial Court of Independence, Jacques Greber, 1930.	203
IV-6	Design for Extension of Independence Square, Scheme A, Paul Cret, 1933.	204
IV-7	Design for Extension of Independence Square, Scheme B, Paul Cret, 1933.	204
IV-8	Colonnade, Charles Abell Murphy, 1938.	205
IV-9	Plan for Redevelopment of Historic Area, Roy F. Larson, 1937.	206
IV-10	Sketch Plan of Suggested Improvements, visualized by Wm. H. Stewart, undated.	207
IV-11	Proposed Congress Plaza and Improvements South Side of Chestnut St. 2nd to 5th Streets, sponsored by A. Raymond Raff, Collector of the Port, undated.	207
IV-12	"Constitution Gardens".	208
IV-13	The proposed "Constitution Gardens".	208
IV-14	Development of Mall between Curtis Pub- lishing Co. and New Custom House, Thalheimer & Weitz.	209

Chapter V

V-1	Preliminary Studies by Independence Hall Association, Stage 1.	210
V-2	Preliminary Studies by Independence Hall Association, Stage 3.	210
V-3	Air View Showing Proposed Mall, 1944.	211
V-4	New Approaches to Independence Hall.	212
V-5	Independence Mall as it Would Appear from Market Street.	213

Chapter VI

VI-1	Model, Better Philadelphia Exhibition of 1947.	214
VI-2	Boundaries as set forth by Public Law 711.	214
VI-3	Plan for East Mall and Greenway Extensions to Historic Area of Society Hill, 1947.	215
VI-4	Preliminary Plan for Old City Area, 1947.	215
VI-5	Location Plan for Reception Center, 1947.	216
VI-6	Philadelphia Federal Shrines Project - Main Area, 1947.	216
VI-7	A Plan of the Federal Areas, Grant M. Simon, 1947.	217
VI-8	Watercolors by Grant M. Simon for Philadelphia National Shrines Commission Report, 1947.	218

Chapter VII

VII-1	Independence Mall, aerial perspective.	219
VII-2	Independence Mall, Plan detail, Block One.	219
VII-3	Independence Mall, Blocks One and Two, 1954.	220
VII-4	Independence Mall, Blocks One and Two, 1956.	220
VII-5	Independence Mall, Model, Block One.	221
VII-6	Study for the Master Plan, Area A.	221
VII-7	Brown Building, 1950 Photograph.	222
VII-8	Guarantee Bank, 1950 Photograph.	222
VII-9	Development Plan, Area A, NHP-IND 2006.	223
VII-10	Development Plan, Area A, NHP-IND 2006A.	223
VII-11	Development Plan, Areas A & B, NHP-IND 3018A.	224
VII-12	Development Plan, Areas A & B, NHP-IND 3018B.	224

Chapter VIII

VIII-1 Independence Mall, Block One Demolition, 1952.	225
VIII-2 Independence Mall, Block Two, 1953.	225

Chapter IX

IX-1 Locust Street, east from 3rd Street, 1959.	226
IX-2 Locust Street, east from 3rd Street, 1988.	227
IX-3 Northeast Corner of 3rd & Spruce Sts., 1959.	228
IX-4 Northeast Corner of 3rd & Spruce Sts., 1988.	229
IX-5 Northeast Corner of 3rd & Spruce Sts., 1959.	230
IX-6 Northeast Corner of 3rd & Spruce Sts., 1988.	230
IX-7 American St., North from Spruce St., 1959.	231
IX-8 American St., North from Spruce St., 1988.	231
IX-9 Spruce St., northside, west of 2nd St., 1959.	232
IX-10 Spruce St., northside, west of 2nd St., 1988.	232
IX-11 Spruce & Dock Sts., 1959.	233
IX-12 Spruce & Dock Sts., 1988.	233
IX-13 Dock St., north of Spruce St., 1959.	234
IX-14 Dock St., north of Spruce St., 1988.	234
IX-15 Dock St., north of Spruce St., 1959.	235
IX-16 Dock St., north of Spruce St., 1988.	235
IX-17 St. James St., west of 2nd St., 1959.	236
IX-18 St. James St., west of 2nd St., 1988.	236
IX-19 St. James St., looking east to 2nd St.,	

	1959.	237
IX-20	2nd St., eastside, south of St. James St., 1959.	238
IX-21	2nd St., eastside, south of St. James St., 1988.	238
IX-22	2nd St., westside, south of St. James St., 1959.	239
IX-23	2nd St., westside, south of St. James St., 1988.	239
IX-24	2nd St., eastside, north of Spruce St., 1959.	240
IX-25	2nd St., eastside, north of Spruce St., 1988.	240
IX-26	Cypress Court, 1988.	241
IX-27	Blackwell Court, Pine St., 200 Block, 1988.	241
IX-28	Proposed Improvement to the North of the In- dependence Hall Group, Darwin H. Urffer, 1944.	242
IX-29	Preliminary Site Plan, Independence Mall Ur- ban Renewal Area.	243
IX-30	Proposed Street Changes, Independence Mall Urban Renewal Area.	243
IX-31	Market St., 400 Block, northside, 1933.	244
IX-32	Market St., 400 Block, northside, 1988.	244
IX-33	Market St., 400 Block, southside, 1930.	245
IX-34	Market St., 400 Block, southside, 1988.	245
IX-35	4th Street, westside, south of Arch St., 1934.	246
IX-36	4th and Arch Sts., southwest corner, 1988.	246
IX-37	5th and Arch Sts., northeast corner, 1988.	247
IX-38	Market Street, west of 4th St., 1988.	248

Chapter I - Introduction

Independence National Historical Park and Independence Mall in Philadelphia, PA were the culmination of over fifty years of efforts to preserve and beautify the Independence Hall group of buildings. Located in the vicinity of Third to Sixth and Market to Chestnut Streets, the Park was situated in the center of the city's old commercial and financial district. The district's importance had waned with the westward movement of City Hall and other institutions, but remained an occupied and active business center. The final development plans for the Park and Mall in the 1950's typified the contemporary practice of selective preservation and reflected the influence of city planning theory in vogue since the publication of the MacMillan Commission plan for Washington, D.C. and post Bauhaus architectural theory popular in America after World War II. As a result, over six blocks of the area surrounding Independence Hall were demolished, destroying city streetscapes and a portion of the city's commercial and architectural history in order to create an urban park-like setting, and thereby altering the historical context of the remaining buildings.

The first proposal for the Independence Hall area originated in 1915 from a patriotic group who wanted a nicer

setting for Independence Hall. The themes of subsequent proposals throughout the 1920's and 1930's for the area north of Independence Hall were influenced by the ideas expressed at the 1893 Columbian Exposition, the publicized city planning works of Daniel Burnham, and patriotic sentiment accompanying the 1926 Sesqui-Centennial. Proposals for the area to the east of Independence Hall originated in the 1930's from private investors and property holders in the neighborhood primarily seeking to improve limited areas surrounding the New Customs House and the Philadelphia Exchange and leading to Independence Hall. Most of the formal proposals originated from graduates of the Architecture program at the University of Pennsylvania, all trained in the Beaux-Arts tradition.

It was not until after World War II, when new Federal enabling legislation focused activities on urban renewal, that broad scale plans were developed and state and federal government backing were obtained. Although no urban renewal funds were used to develop the Park or the Mall, the plans of both during this period were influenced by and became part of the larger urban planning and redevelopment movement in Philadelphia being fostered by the newly formed Philadelphia City Planning Commission.

The Independence Mall and Park projects received broad-

based support. Although various parties protested aspects of the plans, there was little controversy over the primary goals, i.e., creation of a "proper setting" for Independence Hall through demolition of "non-historic" buildings and preservation of designated historic buildings. Three or four individual landmark buildings, deemed non-historic by park creators, received the attention of preservationists and historians but were demolished. Other protests were raised over the relocation of businesses. Indicative of preservation attitudes of the period, no group or individual strongly opposed the return of an evolving urban area either to an artificially fixed point in time or a non-existent point in the past, nor the delineation between "historic" and "non-historic" buildings and the resultant demolition of buildings and streetscapes. Contemporary attitudes considered historic buildings to be those associated with, or built during, America's founding and non-historic buildings as those erected thereafter. For one period in the 1950's, the preservationists and city planners were in agreement in their goals and objectives for the city. As a result, the park represents an historic urban area on which mid-twentieth century preservation and planning attitudes have been permanently imprinted as an anachronism within the city.

This paper will attempt to determine the underlying

motivations for the preservation effort culminating in Independence National Historical Park and Independence Mall. Following a description of the Park and Mall as they exist today, three of the six blocks which form the Park will be studied in an effort to understand the neighborhoods and the nature, condition and occupancy of the buildings in the 1950's prior to their demolition. The influences upon, and the goals of, the numerous proposals to preserve and beautify the Independence Hall area will be examined, as well as the protests against them. These will include a selection of the early, individual proposals, the plans of the Independence Hall Association, the recommendations of the Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission, and the final plans as determined by the Philadelphia City Planning Commission and the National Park Service. The impact of these plans upon preservation attitudes and redevelopment activities in the city will be illustrated by an examination of the Independence Mall and Washington Square East Urban Renewal Areas. The final chapter will summarize the key factors influencing general attitudes toward preservation and city planning and the specific factors within Philadelphia leading to the Park's creation.

Chapter II Independence National Historical Park Today

Independence National Historical Park is an urban park operated by the National Park Service located in the fifth ward of Philadelphia. The focal point is the Independence Hall group of buildings located on the 500 block of Chestnut Street which is known as Independence Square. The buildings and the Square are owned by the City of Philadelphia but maintained by the Park Service under a cooperative agreement. The Park extends three blocks to the north of Independence Hall between Fifth and Sixth Streets and three blocks to the east between Chestnut and Walnut Streets with small offshoots to the north and south. The easterly section of the Park was formed under a 1948 act of Congress, "for the purpose of preserving for the benefit of the American people...certain historical structures and properties of outstanding national significance and associated with the American Revolution and the founding and growth of the United States".(1)

The three blocks to the north of Independence Hall which form Independence Mall were originally acquired and developed by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania but now form part of the Park. Each block is unique in its design and isolated by the existence of the east-west, highly

trafficked streets of Arch and Race. The only unifying features are the low walls of brick and granite along the perimeters of the blocks. Sites of former buildings with eighteenth century associations, such as the residence occupied by George Washington on Market Street, are designated with small markers.

The first block features a central green space flanked by rows of trees and seating areas.(see Exhibit II-1) In the center of the northern end of the block is located the Liberty Bell Pavilion, a modern glass and steel structure designed by the firm of Mitchell/Giurgola in 1974 as part of the preparations for the nation's Bicentennial.

The second block, bounded by Market and Arch Streets, contains the only historical Mall building, the Free Quaker Meeting House, built in 1783. In order to balance the Meeting House's presence, a walled garden was created in the northwest corner. The block is dominated by the brick colonnaded pavilion, named the Judge Lewis Quadrangle in honor of one of the chief organizers of the Park.(see Exhibit II-2) At the southern end of the block is a circular pool and fountain, also named for Judge Lewis. The block is paved with granite, brick, and stone imbedded in concrete. "Green space" is limited to trees which flank the central paved plazas and ivy beds situated in side

terraces.(see Exhibit 11-3)

The third block is a less formal grid of fountains and trees that terminates at the approach to the Benjamin Franklin Bridge. Three fountains spaced north to south in the center of the block are flanked on each side by three smaller fountains.(see Exhibit II-4) Greenery consists of trees, extensively planted in rows, and a few interspersed small beds of ivy and low shrubs. The block is lighted with a large number of modern lamp posts and globes in contrast to reproduction lamp posts situated at the perimeter walls. Granite slabs for seating and modern park benches are organized in rows throughout the block. The block is entirely paved in brick.

The Mall is flanked to the east and west by mid and high rise buildings erected, with the exception of the Bourse and Lafayette Buildings, subsequent to the Mall's development. (see Exhibits II-5 and 6) From the Quadrangle in Block Two, the view of Independence Hall is partially blocked by the Liberty Bell Pavilion. Dominating Independence Hall when viewed from this location are the two office towers of the Penn Mutual Insurance Company, situated to its rear on Walnut Street.(see Exhibit II-7) From Block Three, the view of Independence Hall is often blocked, either by tour buses which park for extended periods along

Arch Street or by the central fountains when in operation.(see Exhibits II-8 and 9)

Shortly after the Mall's completion, Jane Jacobs in discussing neighborhood parks described the "city's grand Independence Mall" as "a new vacuum uninhabited by any recognizable form of society, even Skid Row".(2) Although the first block of the Mall has received increased daytime usage from tourists and workers from adjacent offices, the second and third blocks at many times during the year continue to resemble the description made over twenty-five years ago.

The area to the east of Independence Square forms a landscaped urban park. North-south streets remain open to vehicular traffic but interior streets such as Dock Street and the 400 block of Sansom Street (Library Street) have been closed to traffic and resurfaced with cobblestone. The Park provides a setting for six eighteenth and nineteenth century, restored, historical buildings. The restored buildings, all but two of which stand in isolation, and numerous interspersed gardens are connected between twelve acres of open lawn area by cobblestoned streets and walkways with such eighteenth century names as Harmony Court and Hudson's Alley. Sites with historical associations are designated by small markers. The Park is bounded to the

north by remnants of Chestnut Street's Bank Row and other nineteenth century commercial buildings. Bounding the Park to the south are mid and high rise buildings primarily housing insurance companies and the residential Society Hill neighborhood.

The restored buildings, which include the First and Second Banks of the United States, the Merchants Exchange, Carpenters' Hall, and the Todd and Bishop White Houses, date from circa 1770 to 1832. Earliest is Carpenters' Hall which was built circa 1770 as headquarters for the Carpenters' Company. The building, sited on an interior location off Chestnut Street, features a cruciform plan with Georgian detailing. In 1774, it housed the Continental Congress. The Dilworth Todd Moylan House on Walnut Street was built circa 1775 and occupied by Dolly Todd prior to her marriage to James Madison. It is interpreted as the home of a middle class family. The Bishop White House, also on Walnut Street, was erected in the eighteenth century as a residence for an Episcopal clergyman. It is interpreted as a restored upper class home. The First Bank of the United States was designed by amateur architect Samuel Blodgett in the Palladian style and opened in 1797 as the first Federal bank. Restored on the exterior, it houses the Park's museum, history, and architectural staff. The Second Bank of the United States was designed by architect William

Strickland to house the financial institution chartered by Congress in 1816. The building, which later served as the United States Custom House, represents one of the country's earliest Greek Revival buildings. It serves as an exhibition hall and houses the Park's portrait gallery. The Merchants' Exchange is a Greek Revival commercial building designed by William Strickland in 1832. Restored on the exterior, it houses the Mid Atlantic Regional Offices of the National Park Service.

The Park also contains new structures. In addition to several infill buildings along the 300 block of Walnut Street, there are four reconstructed eighteenth century buildings: Library Hall which houses the Library of the American Philosophical Society, New Hall and Pemberton House which both house armed services museums, and City Tavern which is leased and operated as a public restaurant. A visitor center, another Bicentennial era contemporary design, is located at the intersection of Chestnut, Third and Dock Streets.

Although the guide brochures and literature indicate which buildings within the Park are restored originals versus reconstructions, the latter are not visibly marked as such on the exteriors. Similarly, the visitor is not made aware that the preserved eighteenth and nineteenth

century buildings previously existed in any state other than their present, landscaped, isolation. The buildings, however, were originally built in a rapidly developing urban area in which open space was limited to the State House and Rittenhouse Squares. The First and Second Banks were designed with ornate street facades and simpler side facades with the expectation or understanding that the latter would be masked by flanking buildings. Carpenters' Hall was specifically sited behind buildings fronting Chestnut Street. At the time of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, frontage along Chestnut and Walnut Streets from the Delaware River to the State House and beyond had been developed and contained residential, commercial, and institutional buildings.(3) The urban streetscapes in the Independence Hall area evolved over the years as buildings were altered or replaced with newer structures. It is difficult to imagine, when viewing the green spaces and now mature trees, the architecturally and commercially diverse streetscapes which existed prior to the Park's creation. Furthermore, it is difficult to understand the context in which the remaining buildings were originally erected. Through the demolition of their surroundings, the removal of post-1800 alterations, and the imposition of a twentieth century park scheme, they have lost much of their character and the context of their original setting.

Chapter II - Endnotes

- (1) Public Law 795 - 80th Congress (H.R. 5053).
- (2) Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (NY: Random House, 1961) p. 100.
- (3) Map of "Philadelphia 100 Years Ago", H.J. Toudy & Co., Philadelphia, PA., 1875.

Chapter III Summary of Area in 1950

Literature prepared in the 1940's to promote the preservation of the Independence Hall group of buildings and the improvement of their surroundings frequently cited, in very negative terms, the condition of the surrounding neighborhood. In reality, many of the claims were overstated. Although the area's importance as a financial and commercial center had declined with the westward move of City Hall, it continued to be an active business district housing financial institutions, retailers, wholesalers, light manufacturers, and distributors. This is evidenced from the study of three specific, and unique, blocks of the park development, those being: 1) the block bounded by 5th, 6th, Chestnut and Market Streets, 2) the block bounded by 4th, 5th, Chestnut and Walnut Streets, and 3) the block bounded by 2nd, 3rd, Chestnut and Dock Streets. Among the buildings which formed part of the numerous streetscapes demolished to create the Park, many were of considerable architectural and historical significance. Others were occupied by businesses forced to relocate to other areas or outside of Philadelphia. One such example is the firm of John Wagner & Sons which moved to Ivyland, PA after occupying a building on Dock Street for over one hundred years. Still other buildings had been recently constructed or renovated, with many years of useful remaining life.

Statements describing the blighted Independence Hall neighborhood abound. In a 1944 brochure of the Fairmount Park Art Association promoting the proposal for the creation of two malls emanating from Independence Hall, the historic buildings were described as being:

"faced all about by ugliness and dilapidation, exposed to the danger of fire, dwarfed by adjoining obsolescent structures..."(1)

This statement primarily referred to the block bounded by 5th, 6th, Chestnut, and Market Streets which was the first to be considered in the numerous proposals for the beautification of the Independence Hall group. It was also the first of three blocks to be acquired by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for the development of Independence Mall.(see Exhibits III-1 and 2) Appraisals of buildings located within this block were prepared by three appraisers in the late 1940's in order to establish acquisition values.(2)

From information compiled by Charles Abell Murphy in the 1940's, the block at that time had a low vacancy rate, the vacancies being primarily concentrated on the upper floors of buildings.(3) One fully vacant building was located toward the western end of Chestnut Street, with all others located on interior Ludlow Street.(see Exhibit III-3)

In many cases, buildings were owner-occupied, housing such businesses as jewelry, luggage, sporting goods, stationery shops, and men's clothing shops on Market Street and luncheonettes and insurance companies on Chestnut Street. Light manufacturers or wholesalers of seeds, neckwear, novelties, and furniture also occupied space on the block. Although the vestiges of eighteenth century Philadelphia had been replaced with nineteenth century commerce, several notable buildings existed on the block. On Market Street were located Tower Hall and Oak Hall, both mid-nineteenth century retail emporiums with ornate facades. Tower Hall, located in the middle of the block, was designed "in the Norman style" by the Philadelphia architectural firm of Sloan and Stewart in 1855 as a five story commercial building and featured a granite facade surmounted by battlements and a crenelated tower.(4)(see Exhibit III-4) Due to its unusual architectural style and its towering presence over its neighboring buildings, Tower Hall was an early and innovative commercial landmark. Oak Hall, located at the southeast corner of Sixth and Market Streets, was a six story building with an iron facade which served as the first John Wanamaker store.(5)(see Exhibit III-5) Breaking the unified streetscape of primarily four and five story buildings was one parking lot located toward the western end of Market Street.

At 513-19 and 521-25 Chestnut directly across the street from Independence Hall were two distinctive, fireproof, buildings erected by financial institutions in 1888 and 1898, respectively.(6) (Exhibit III-6). The former, designed by Philadelphia architect Addison Hutton for the Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities, featured a massive granite facade imitative of the Richardson Romanesque style while the latter, designed by Philadelphia architect James Windrim for the Real Estate Trust Company, featured a refined marble facade with classical details.(7)

Of the neighborhood to the east of Independence Hall, it was described in 1951 by appraiser Roland R. Randall, who had been commissioned to value the buildings within the Park boundaries, as follows:

"To the Southeast along Dock Street, is the section referred to as the produce district of the City. Along Walnut Street, between Third and Sixth Streets, exists the district commonly referred to as the insurance district. Chestnut Street, between Front and Second Streets, is known as the wool merchant district, and Chestnut Street, between Third and Sixth Streets, is known for its banking institutions. Many old prominent commercial houses and banks are still located in this general area. Along the North and South Streets in the immediate neighborhood are business houses of various types that can be classified as retail and wholesale. Some light manufacturing is also located within the neighborhood."(8)

Falling into both the banking and insurance districts

was the block bounded by 4th, 5th, Chestnut and Walnut Streets (Exhibit III-7). In general, the buildings within this block were in good condition with low vacancy. Dominating the block were two tall office buildings, the Drexel Building at the Southeast corner of 5th and Chestnut Streets and the Irvin Building at the northwest corner of 4th and Walnut Streets. Built in 1885 and enlarged in 1887 and 1901, the ten story Drexel Building was described in 1894 as one of the greatest commercial ornaments of the city.(9)(see Exhibit III-8) It was the first true steel frame curtain wall building in the city by one of the most important contributors to the type, the Wilson Brothers. In 1952 the building was described as a first class office building in a third class office district.(10) The original Irvin Building was erected in 1911 from a design by architect Edgar V. Seeler. A sixteen story addition, designed by Philadelphia architect, Ernest J. Matthewson, who had taken over Seeler's office, was erected in 1929.(11) (see Exhibit III-9) To the east of the Drexel Building on Chestnut Street was the Old Custom House, now known as the Second Bank of the United States and the only building to survive on the block. Running along the east facade of the Old Custom House in 1950 and located at the northeast corner of the block were parking lots.

With the exception of the corner parking lot, the

Fourth Street streetscape was intact. Buildings on Fourth Street ranged from Federal style converted residences to architect designed commercial buildings.(see Exhibit III-10) The latter included the Lehigh Building at 106-08 S. Fourth, (parcel #28 in Exhibit III-7) a six story office building with an ornamental limestone and brick facade, designed by Addison Hutton in 1896 and the two-story Art Deco Horn & Hardart building at 126-30 S. Fourth (parcel #17 in Exhibit III-7), designed by Philadelphia architect, Ralph B. Bencker, in 1926.(12)(13)(see Exhibit III-11)

Presenting a diverse but unified streetscape were the buildings along the 400 block of Walnut Street (Exhibit III-12), west of Leithgow Street. Predominate were three and four story nineteenth century buildings converted in various periods to office space for insurance companies. As a result, the facades reflected the architectural styles in vogue from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries.

Of particular architectural note were the buildings located at 429 and 431 Walnut Street.(see Exhibit III-14) The former, known as the Reliance Insurance Company of Philadelphia Building and built in 1881-2 from designs by the Philadelphia firm of Furness, Evans & Co., featured a brownstone front, a gable roof with a cross gable, and gargoyles at the roofline.(14) The latter, known as the

Spring Garden Insurance Company Building, was constructed in 1880-1. It reflected the work of two Philadelphia architects, having been designed by Theophilus Parsons Chandler, Jr. and later altered on the interior by Addison Hutton in 1897.(15)

The west side of the block, along Fifth Street, south of Sansom Street, presented an interesting contrast to the streetscapes of Walnut and Chestnut Streets.(see Exhibit III-15) In deference to Independence Hall, three of the four buildings exhibited classical elements in their twentieth century facades. (see Exhibits III-16 and 18) For example, 127-29 S. Fifth Street, designed by the Baltimore, Md, firm of Parker, Thomas & Rice in 1923, featured fireproof construction with brick walls and limestone and marble trim.(16)(see Exhibit III-17) On the interior of the block, along Sansom Street, were located two late eighteenth or early nineteenth century residential structures, one known as John's Tailor Shop, which, although converted to office and commercial use, retained many of their original features (Exhibits III-19 & 20).

By contrast to the concentration of insurance businesses in the 4th and Walnut Streets area, the block bounded by Chestnut, Dock, 2nd and 3rd Streets represented a commercially diverse neighborhood. Appraiser John J. Reilly

described the activities on the block in 1950 as follows:

"On Chestnut Street there is retail business, warehouse business, and direct store merchandising. On Dock Street, which intersects the Western half of subject block, we have old business conducted by importers, manufacturers, and wholesale fruit and vegetable dealers. On the eastern side of 3rd Street we have general offices, Stock Brokerage House, executive offices of wool merchants, etc."(17)

In 1950, the block comprised thirteen commercial buildings, one large hotel-type building and two small vacant lots.(see Exhibits III-21 and 22) Most buildings were in good condition or structurally sound.(18) According to Reilly, the business carried on in several of the buildings was active and very prosperous, although the neighborhood in general was in a downward trend.(19)

On the 200 block of Chestnut Street were located six commercial row buildings. All buildings were owner-occupied, with vacancies occurring on upper floors. Most prominent on the block was the eight-story Jayne Building with its two six-story flanking wing buildings. Built in 1849-50 from a design of architect William Johnston, it was considered by architectural historians in the 1950's to be the prototype skyscraper design.(20)(see Exhibit II-23)

The east side of Third Street presented an unbroken streetscape to Dock Street housing stores, offices, and an

American Legion post.(Exhibit III-24) The American Legion Post #152 was housed in 105-07 S. Third, a two-story, twentieth century, Colonial Revival building. Constructed of brick, its cornice, water table, sills, trim and portico pillars were granite.(21) Two Italianate buildings, 109 and 111-13 S. Third, indicated by their design, their original use by financial institutions. The former, a two-story brick and stone structure, featured an ornamental cut marble facade and housed the firm of Emory, Freed & Co. which dealt in investments, securities and foreign money.(22)(see Exhibit III-25) Occupied by a wool importer, 111-13 S. Third featured a dignified ornamental granite facade.(see Exhibit III-26) On the interior, the main floor featured a marble floor, mahogany partitions, balcony, and an arched ceiling with a skylight.(23)

Although bordering the Dock Street Market area, only one building in the 200 block of Dock Street was engaged in the food distribution business.(see Exhibit III-27) The earliest building on the block, at 233 Dock, had been occupied by the firm of John Wagner & Sons for over 100 years.(see Exhibit III-28) In describing the property, appraiser Reilly stated the following:

"The subject property is not only a local landmark in Philadelphia but the firm, John Wagner & Sons, which occupies the building enjoys both a national and international reputation as importers and exporters of cigars and spices...The so-called

'humidor' in the basement is reputed to be the only room of its kind in the country due to the peculiar atmospheric condition generated by a subterranean creek and regulated by dehydraters and humidifiers ..." (24)

The Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company Building located at 129 S. Third and 241 Dock Street was the only vacant building on the block in 1950, having been vacated by its owner, the Philadelphia Quartz Company, earlier that year. (see Exhibit III-29) The five story cast iron building was of much interest to architectural historians. Designed by architect G.P. Cummings and built in 1850-51, the building was the first of its kind in Philadelphia and considered possibly the oldest standing in the United States.(25)

The largest building in the Dock Street area was the Seaman's Institute, located at 201-21 Walnut and 217-19 Dock Streets.(see Exhibit III-30) Erected in 1924 as a five-story, fireproof, dormitory building, its rooms rented for \$1.25/day or \$7.00/week in 1950. The Institute also rented space on the first floor to wholesalers and produce stores.(26)

With the previously mentioned exception of the Old Custom House, all buildings in the three studied blocks, regardless of age, condition, and occupancy, were demolished in the development of Independence National Historical Park

and Independence Mall. The Historic American Buildings Survey has no records of the buildings in the block bounded by 5th, 6th, Chestnut and Market Streets. Filed with HABS are photographic records for four buildings in the 4th and Walnut Streets block and two buildings in the Dock St. block, those being the Irvin, Jefferson Fire Insurance Company, Reliance Insurance Company, Spring Garden Insurance Company, Jayne, and Penn Mutual buildings.(27) Regretably, these records of individual buildings, important as they may be, do not convey the condition, vitality, and atmosphere of the now non-existent streetscapes and neighborhoods.

Chapter III - Endnotes

- (1) Fairmount Park Art Association, Independence Hall and Adjacent Historic Buildings, 1944, p. 9.
- (2) The three appraisers were C. Harry Johnson, Boyd T. Barnard and Richard J. Seltzer. The writer was unable to locate Johnson or Barnard. Seltzer's office does not have copies of the appraisals. Neither the Philadelphia City Planning Commission nor the State Archives knew of their whereabouts.
- (3) Charles Abell Murphy, Memorandum to Independence Hall Association, undated, INHP Archives.
- (4) Harold N. Cooleage, Jr., Samuel Sloan, p. 196 for documentation of commission and description of building.
- (5) Joseph Jackson, America's Most Historic Highway - Market Street, Philadelphia (Phila., PA: John Wanamaker, 1926) pp. 187-8.
- (6) Sanborn Map Company, Philadelphia, Ward 5, 1915, renewed 1945.
- (7) Clio Index.
- (8) Roland R. Randall, Appraisal of Project A, Parcels 1 to 9, 11 to 18, 22 to 29, September 12, 1950, p. 4, INHP Archives.
- (9) Frank H. Taylor, ed., The City of Philadelphia as it Appears in the Year 1894 (Phila: Trades League of Phila., 1894) p. 150.
- (10) John J. Reilly, Appraisal of the Drexel Building, 1952, p. 3, INHP Archives.
- (11) Richard Webster, Philadelphia Preserved (Phila: Temple University Press, 1981) p. 80.
- (12) Addison Hutton drawing on file at The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.
- (13) Ralph B. Bencker drawings, copies in 1950 Appraisal Report for INHP by John J. Reilly, INHP Archives.

- (14)Webster, p. 93.
- (15)Ibid, p. 99.
- (16)Parker, Thomas & Rice drawings, copies in 1950
Appraisal Report for INHP by Reilly.
- (17)John J. Reilly, Appraisal Reports for Joseph M.
O'Brien, Manager INHP Project, Plot A 59-76,
1950, p. 2, INHP Archives.
- (18)George Clarke, Appraisal Report Prepared for Jos-
eph M. O'Brien, INHP, Plot A 59-61 & 63-76,
December 20, 1950, pp. 2-3, INHP Archives.
- (19)Op Cit, p. 3.
- (20)Webster, p. 81.
- (21)Roland R. Randall, Appraisals for Project A, INHP,
Parcels 59 to 61 and 63 to 76, December 15,
1950, pp. 105-7, INHP Archives.
- (22)Ibid.,p. 109.
- (23)Ibid., pp. 122-23.
- (24)Reilly, Plot A 59-76, p. 74.
- (25)Charles E. Peterson, "The Independence National
Historical Park Project", 1951 reprint of 1950
article, p. 25.
- (26)Randall, Parcels 59 to 61 & 63 to 76, pp. 57, 65.
- (27)Webster, pp. 80, 81, 87, 93, 99.

Chapter IV Goals and Themes of Early Proposals

At least twelve proposals for the improvement of the areas north and/or east of Independence Hall were presented during the twenty-five year period 1915-1940. These originated from private individuals, businessmen, architects, civic groups and public agencies and ranged in scope from outlined suggestions to detailed plans illustrated by professional drawings. None were successful in achieving sufficient support or funding to reach fruition, but several were influential on subsequent schemes of the 1940's. A selection of the detailed proposals will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

In 1915, Philadelphia architects, Albert Kelsey and D. Knickerbacker Boyd, prepared a drawing entitled "Preliminary Study for the Dependencies and A New Setting for Independence Hall" (see Exhibit IV-1). The former, an 1895 graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, had participated in the planning of the Benjamin Franklin Parkway and collaborated with French architect, Paul Cret, from 1905 to 1909 on numerous competitions.(1) Cret, a graduate of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and a professor in the University of Pennsylvania's Department of Architecture beginning in 1903, would later be directly involved with plans for the Independence Hall area. Boyd, a graduate of the

Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and the Spring Garden Institute, was described by his daughter in 1969 as having deep interests in both American history and city planning.(2) Both Kelsey and Boyd were members of the patriotic group, Sons of the Revolution. Evident in the study for the new setting, comprising the half-block to the north of Independence Hall, bounded by Chestnut, Ludlow, Fifth, and Sixth Streets, were the dual goals of city beautification and the commemoration of patriots. Albert Kelsey, in an undated memorandum, described the factors prompting the study as follows:

"One was the fire hazard, that still exists from some of the old buildings across Chestnut Street and from the temporary reviewing stands that from time to time are built with their backs to Independence Hall instead of facing it; and the other was the congestion of traffic at this point whenever a ceremony takes place... To remove the fire hazard and to obviate congestion, we felt that a dignified open space should be created... Beautification and the refreshment of this parched and ugly quarter was quite secondary."(3)

To be erected on the northern boundary of the park would be a two-story brick structure in the Beaux-Arts tradition, called Colonnade of the Signers. The building's thirteen arches were to be adorned with statues of the signers of the Declaration. Plans for the southern boundary of the park featured a "Reviewing Square" opposite Independence Hall, flanked by gardens, trees, and two fountains. Kelsey and Boyd had considered developing the entire block through to

Market Street but dismissed the idea for two reasons: 1) the cost of acquiring the additional properties and 2) the fact that "Independence Hall was not large enough to be seen at its best from a distance and across such a wide square as would be created".(4) In 1924, Boyd described the drawing as calling for "the removal of all the present buildings on the site, some of which are old fashioned and would not be a great loss, and others which are virtually vacant".(5) His comments would be echoed by many others during the next thirty years. Although the plan was not adopted, many of its components could be seen in the subsequent plans and proposals of others.

During the 1920's, a proposal for a "Colonial Concourse" was offered by Dr. Seneca Egbert, a professor of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania. Egbert proposed a pedestrian concourse or esplanade extending from Chestnut Street to the Benjamin Franklin Bridge plaza between Fifth and Sixth Streets. He listed his goals as reducing the fire hazards to Independence Hall, providing a permanent Sesqui-Centennial memorial of the events of the Revolution, and creating a forum for patriotic assemblages.(6) The plan called for the demolition of existing buildings followed by the erection of 1) a building at the northern boundary to house Commonwealth offices, 2) six buildings on each side of the concourse representing the other original colonies, and

3) three pylons or sculptures to commemorate the Revolution, the Civil War, and the World War. The buildings were to be of harmonious design with concourse-side facades masked with arcades and balconies. With the exception of the Commonwealth building, construction was to be funded by private individuals, firms and syndicates. Egbert would again propose his concourse in the 1930's but no action would be taken. Interestingly, an idea paralleling Egbert's would result in R. Brognard Okie's recreation of eighteenth century High Street (later known as Market Street) and its buildings, built as an attraction for the 1926 Sesqui-Centennial.

In 1924, French landscape architect, Jacques Greber, prepared drawings for Independence Square and the block north of Independence Hall, bounded by Market, Chestnut, 5th, and 6th Streets. The drawing for the latter, entitled "Plan of National Memorial Court of Independence" (see Exhibits IV-2, IV-3), was more ambitious in scope than the Kelsey-Boyd plan. Greber proposed a marble plaza extending from Chestnut to Market Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets in which would be centered an "Altar" to house the Liberty Bell. The plan, which was prepared, but not adopted, for the upcoming Sesqui-Centennial, also featured an entrance arch on Market Street, two memorial halls at each corner of Chestnut Street, and numerous pieces of

sculpture. It anticipated, by fifty years and in a more sympathetic design, the Bicentennial-motivated removal of the Liberty Bell from Independence Hall to its Independence Mall location. For Independence Square, Greber proposed colonnades extending from Old City Hall and Congress Hall along Fifth and Sixth Streets to Walnut, embellished with pavilions, rotundas, and sculpture. According to press reports, the plan for Independence Square received fierce opposition while the idea of a plaza or park across from Independence Hall received lukewarm support from patriotic groups.(7) A founder of Colonial Dames cited one of the benefits of the latter plan as being "further insurance against any loss from fire".(8) Her point, made earlier by both Albert Kelsey and Dr. Seneca Egbert, would be a rallying cry for future proponents of park and mall schemes.

Six years later in 1930, Greber presented revised plans for the Memorial Court of Independence.(see Exhibits IV-4, IV-5) Key changes were the absence of the Liberty Bell and the narrowing of the Marble Court to accommodate a U-shaped group of four-story, colonnaded, brick structures encompassing the block. Dubbed the Court of Honor (a direct reference to the 1893 Chicago Exposition), it represented a component of the City Planning Commission's Fifty Year Plan which contemplated the establishment of main diagonal

highways and the development of contemplated municipal betterments on a coordinated progressive scale.(9)

In a 1936 talk regarding city planning, Greber presented his views on preservation of buildings. From his comments, it is unlikely that Greber would have approved of the wide scale demolition called for in subsequent proposals for the areas surrounding Independence Hall:

"Protection of nature leads us to speak of the protection of historical, archaeological beauties and we must point out what it means; not only beautiful buildings as witnesses of a great period of the past should be protected, but also groups of buildings, which very often without particular architectural qualities, if taken separately, form a picture, by their general proportions or character, worthy of our care, maintenance and protection against modern spoiling."(10)

Earlier in 1930, at a meeting of the Chestnut Street Association, David Knickerbacker Boyd had urged the creation of a public square opposite Independence Hall extending to Market Street. Boyd suggested that "copies of buildings, representative of Philadelphia such as were seen on High Street during the Sesqui-Centennial be erected on both sides of the square in harmony with the shrine".(11) It is not known how the association reacted to the proposed demolition of one of its commercial blocks but it does not appear that Boyd's plan proceeded further than the conjectural stage.

During this period Paul Cret sketched his ideas for the area north of Independence Hall in aerial perspectives, entitled "Design for the Extension of Independence Square, Schemes A and B".(12) According to Cret's partner, Roy Larson, in an 1969 interview, the study was requested by the Daughters of the American Revolution or the Colonial Dames.(13) Both schemes featured a square extending to Market Street with a center paved area bordered with thick shrubbery and trees. (see Exhibits IV-6, IV-7) Scheme A illustrated a curved one-story arcade with two end pavilions, each opposite the wing buildings of Independence Hall. Scheme B illustrated a rectangular arcade, shorter in length than Scheme A and sited on the northern boundary of the square. Cret's proposal met the fate of its predecessors and never materialized.

Also in the 1930's, an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, George E. Nitzche, advocated the Federal acquisition of the Independence Hall group of buildings, the Square, and the three blocks north of Independence Hall for the creation of the "United States National Park of Independence Hall".(14) Nitzche envisioned a landscaped park with a central promenade, devoid of buildings, which would provide a dignified approach for the Independence Hall group, a better setting, and more adequate protection.(15) Buildings on the east side of Fifth and

west side of Sixth were to be demolished and replaced with what Nitzche referred to as Colonial style buildings, possibly reproductions of famous buildings of the thirteen original states. In 1936, Nitzche described the promenade area as follows:

"About two-thirds of the properties in these three blocks are in bad repair, many are empty and most of them are for sale or for rent. A few of the buildings directly opposite Independence Hall on Chestnut Street are office or banking houses, but some of these are also vacant and one of the largest has been for at least ten years.... It would change the entire aspect of that section of the city which is now rather dilapidated and disgraceful"(16)

Although visionary, Nitzche, at that time Recorder of the University of Pennsylvania, was not successful in promoting his scheme. The idea of a national park would reappear later but for the area east of Independence Hall.

Another proposal for the block north of Independence Hall was made in the late 1930's by Charles Abell Murphy. Murphy's scheme included the re-creation of the Robert Morris House on Market Street and the placement of statues of Revolutionary War generals, Lafayette, Pulaski, Montgomery and Rochambeau in a colonnade centered in a landscaped section between Ludlow and Chestnuts Streets.(see Exhibit IV-8) Unsuccessful in obtaining monies from the estate of a deceased Brigadier-General of the Pennsylvania

National Guard, Murphy attempted to create an organization similar to the successful Mount Vernon and Valley Forge Ladies Associations.(17) In what might be called a prospectus, the proposed activities of the Independence Park Ladies Association were listed to be the purchase of properties and demolition of certain buildings contiguous to Independence Square, the restoration of buildings (i.e. the Morris House), and the erection of a memorial hall for use by various patriotic organizations. Their objective was the "preservation and restoration of that hallowed area of Independence Hall".(18) Although Murphy aroused some local interest, the Association did not materialize.(19)

A plan entitled "Plan for Redevelopment of Historic Area" and encompassing the areas both north and east of Independence Hall was drawn by Philadelphia architect, Roy F. Larson, in 1937. Larson was a partner of Paul Cret's architectural firm. Chairman of the Committee of Municipal Improvements of the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA), Larson hoped to interest the committee in promoting the improvement of the area around Independence Hall. According to Larson, he was unsuccessful because "the Institute at that time was not too active in this kind of venture".(20) His plan featured a park or mall extending north to the Benjamin Franklin Bridge approach with a curved northern boundary radiating from an obelisk or

monument.(see Exhibit IV-9) Larson's ideas for the area east of Independence Hall to encompass the First and Second Banks, Carpenters' Hall, and the Merchants Exchange were less grandiose. His plan featured a park bounded by Fifth, Third, Chestnut and the southern property lines of buildings fronting on Walnut Street. Although unsuccessful in arousing the AIA's interest, Larson would later be instrumental in the design of the Independence Mall.

The Philadelphia architectural firm of Folsom & Stanton also produced a scheme for the areas north and east of Independence Hall as illustrated in a perspective drawing entitled "Sketch Plan of Suggested Improvements".(21) The plan called for the demolition of buildings in the two blocks north of Independence Hall. The first block was to be developed into a square which repeated many of the features of nearby Washington Square. On the second block were to be erected buildings which flanked a central plaza. Also to be demolished were those buildings in the area bounded by Chestnut and Sansom Streets and the Old and New Customs Houses. In their place a formal, park-like setting was to be developed, with walkways connecting the Old Customs House (now known as the Second Bank), Carpenters' Hall, Girard's Bank (now known as the First Bank), the Old Stock Exchange (now known as the Merchants Exchange), and the New Customs House. The plan was most likely designed

during William Stanton's 1933-35 tenure as Architect in Charge of City Planning.(22) The plan also visualized a boulevard or expressway located to the west of Delaware Avenue with limited access to Market Street and the erection of two port-oriented buildings east of Front Street to the north and south of Market Streets.(see Exhibit IV-10)

Two other proposals addressed areas to the east of Independence Hall. Both originated in the 1930's and were motivated by factors other than the preservation of Independence Hall. Curtis Mall evolved from plans to improve the surroundings of the newly constructed Customs House while Carpenters' Hall Park was part of an overall plan of the Philadelphia Board of Trade to rejuvenate the Independence Hall neighborhood. Neither was successful in reaching fruition.

Carpenters' Hall Park was first proposed in 1935 by the Philadelphia Board of Trade.(23) It represented one phase of a plan to rehabilitate the area bounded by Tenth, Arch and Spruce Streets and the Delaware River, said to contain 117 sites of historic importance and worthy of protection and preservation.(24) By 1936, sufficient interest and support was garnered in the Park proposal to result in the introduction to Congress of a bill for the formation of a national park at Carpenters' Hall.(25) The bill was

introduced by Congressman J. Burrwood Daly. Plans called for the demolition of buildings surrounding the Hall, including those at the southeast corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets, in order to eliminate fire hazards. Officials from Washington, D.C. inspected the site in May, 1936. Among those in attendance were Daly, A. Raymond Raff, Collector of the Port and formerly a contractor, Col. George W.B. Hicks, executive director of the Board of Trade Planning Committee, H.W. Wills, executive secretary of the Board of Trade, Dr. Calvin O. Althouse, chairman of the Carpenters' Hall Park Committee, and Seneca Egbert, proponent of an early Independence Hall scheme. Congressional approval, however, was never secured for the plan.

The study for the area surrounding Carpenters' Hall, sponsored by A. Raymond Raff, then Collector of the Port and President of the Carpenters' Company, was presented in an undated report of the Board of Trade Planning Committee.(26) A perspective drawing of the proposed Congress Plaza illustrated a heavily treed, park-like setting extending from the west side of the Drexel Building at Fifth Street to the New Customs House at American Street along the south side of Chestnut Street.(see Exhibit IV-11) The buildings on the block bounded by Chestnut, Walnut, Third and American Streets were to be demolished for the development of a

rectangular "square", the focal point of which being a center fountain. The plan envisioned improved settings for the First and Second Banks, the New Customs House, and Carpenters' Hall but did not go so far as to connect them with Independence Hall which would have required the demolition of the Drexel Building. Also to remain standing were the buildings with property lines fronting the south side of Sansom Street.

Phase two of the Board of Trade Planning Committee's rejuvenation plan contemplated the acquisition of the northern block opposite Independence Hall and the creation of a sunken garden as a memorial to honor "those citizens who made the supreme sacrifice in defense of their Government".(27) Two proposals for the block, both named "Constitution Gardens" were presented in the Planning Committee's report. (see Exhibits IV-12 and 13) Both drawings partially illustrated the Committee's suggested wide scale demolition of buildings in the area and the construction of block-size buildings, designed to house specific trades or industries. Recognizing the need to maintain and attract new businesses and the tendency of similar trades to operate in common locations, the Committee suggested the housing of warehousemen, wholesalers, and brokers in foodstuffs, wools, and cottons in buildings constructed in the sector bounded by Front, Second, Arch and

Walnut Streets. In the area west of Second Street, the Committee suggested multi-use block-size buildings housing light manufacturing on the upper floors, wholesaling and jobbing on the middle floors and retailing on the lower floors with accommodations being made for wholesalers and brokers in apparel, kitchen and hotel supplies, electrical and mechanical equipment, building materials, sporting goods, in addition to theatres and restaurants. Space along Walnut and Chestnut Streets was to be occupied by banking, brokerage, and insurance enterprises. This would be the only proposal combining preservation and beautification to seriously consider the importance of maintaining existing business neighborhoods.

The issue of a proper setting for the New Customs House was raised by the U.S. Treasury Department prior to the selection of its site at Second and Chestnut Streets. The Department was interested in having the city clear the remainder of the block west to Third Street "so that the proposed new Custom (sic) House could stand out prominently".(28) A group of Philadelphians headed by real estate broker Emerson C. Custis commissioned the Philadelphia architectural firm of Thalheimer & Weitz to design a set of office buildings for the adjoining site.(see Exhibit IV-14) Custis was committed to the area, having successfully lobbied for the New Customs House. His office

was located in the Merchants Exchange Building (then known as the Produce Exchange) which he also managed for its owners.(29) In 1960, Custis described the evolution of the group's plans as follows:

"...it was planned to secure the site and erect thereon a group of three two story buildings of Colonial design facing respectively to Chestnut, American and Dock Streets. However, as this was in 1932-33, ...during the depth of the depression, it was decided to defer the development until conditions improved. During the following months, with the tentative plans for this group of three buildings, to be known as the Custom House Court, completed by the prominent architectural firm of Thalheimer & Weitz, the original Committee to further the Custom House was revived to expand the project to creat (sic) a Mall to extend from this new Custom House and the Custom House Court through to the Independence Hall and Square, encompassing the First Bank of the United States and the Carpenters Hall, and border on the Second Bank of the United States."(30)

The Mall, to be named for newspaper and magazine publisher Cyrus H.K. Curtis, was to consist of a paved roadway bordered by trees and grass in the right of way of Sansom Street.(31) According to Custis, the three block Mall site "would be acquired through donations, grants, and easement rights without the City, State or Federal Government putting up one single dollar".(32) In addition to the buildings to be demolished along Sansom Street, it was anticipated that the owners of buildings fronting Walnut and Chestnut Street and backing up to the Mall would be motivated to renovate or reconstruct their structures. Plans were tabled during the

depression but reactivated in early 1941.(33) By the end of 1945, the efforts of the Curtis Mall Committee had been out-publicized and usurped by an effective organization promoting the creation of a federally-sponsored park.

Chapter IV - Endnotes

- (1) Sandra L. Tatman, Biographical Dictionary, p. 437-8.
- (2) Lysbeth Boyd Borie, interview conducted by Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, March 3, 1969, Eleanor Prescott, interviewer, pp. 6, 9.
- (3) Kelsey, Albert, Undated and Untitled Memorandum, INHP Archives.
- (4) Ibid.
- (5) Boyd, David Knickerbacker, as quoted in "Liberty Bell Shrine Plan Hers, Says Mrs. Stotesbury", Public Ledger, May 27, 1924, clipping in scrapbook of Independence Hall Association, INHP Archives.
- (6) Seneca Egbert, "A Colonial Concourse" undated manuscript in files of Independence Hall Association, INHP Archives.
- (7) Op Cit.
- (8) Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, as quoted in "Liberty Bell Shrine...", May 27, 1924.
- (9) Carroll Shelton, "Experts Offer Fifty Year Plan of Beauty and Utility for City", Public Ledger, November 13, 1930, clipping in scrapbook of Independence Hall Association, INHP Archives.
- (10) Jacques Greber, "Aesthetic and Sociological Aspects of City and Regional Planning", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 74, Number 1, July, 1934, p. 19.
- (11) David Knickerbacker Boyd, as quoted in "New Park Urged in Center of City", Public Ledger, May 8, 1930, in scrapbook of Independence Hall Association, INHP Archives.
- (12) Schemes A and B in collection of The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, dated 1933. According to Roy F. Larson in 1969, plans may have originated in 1928.
- (13) Roy F. Larson, interview conducted by Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, January 25,

- 1969, John A. Roberts, interviewer, p. 3.
- (14) George E. Nitzche, Philadelphia National Park, Beehive, vol. XXVIII, #5, March, 1936, p. 5.
- (15) Ibid, p. 5.
- (16) Ibid, p. 20.
- (17) Correspondence from Charles Abell Murphy to Col. Robert Morris, October 20, 1938 and from Col. Robert Morris to Murphy, March 10, 1939, copies in Edwin O. Lewis Papers, INHP Archives.
- (18) Charles Abell Murphy, "The Independence Park Ladies' Association", undated document, copy in Edwin O. Lewis Papers, INHP Archives.
- (19) _____, "Women Organize to Effect 'Greenbelt Memorial' Hope", reprint from Evening Public Ledger, July 13, 1939, in Lewis Papers, INHP Archives.
- (20) Roy F. Larson, interview, p. 6.
- (21) "Sketch Plan of Suggested Improvements", Folsom & Stanton, Architects, visualized by Wm H. Stewart, copy in collection of INHP Archives.
- (22) Sandra L. Tatman, Biographical Dictionary, p. 747.
- (23) _____, "Carpenters' Hall Park in Proposed by Head of Mint", Philadelphia Inquirer, February 18, 1935, p. 2, clipping in INHP Archives.
- (24) "Report of the Philadelphia Board of Trade Planning Committee", undated brochure, INHP Archives, p. 6.
- (25) _____, "Carpenters' Hall Site Inspected", Evening Bulletin, May 2, 1936, clipping in Independence Hall Association Papers, INHP Archives.
- (26) "Proposed Congress Plaza and Improvements South Side of Chestnut Street 2nd to 5th Sts.", sponsored by A. Raymond Raff, Collector of the Port, copy in collection of INHP Archives.
- (27) "Report of the Philadelphia Board of Trade Planning Committee", p. 8.
- (28) Emerson C. Custis, letter to Hon. Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior, March 21, 1960, in U.S.

Archives, Wissahickon Branch, p. 1.

- (29) Rex Rittenhouse, "When Custis' Curtis Mall is Finished", Philadelphia Record, January 11, 1945, clipping in collection of INHP Archives.
- (30) Op Cit., p. 1.
- (31) Rex Rittenhouse clipping.
- (32) Emerson C. Custis, letter to Seaton, p. 2.
- (33) Emerson C. Custis, letter to Hon. Eugene C. Bonniwell, Philadelphia Municipal Court, November 1, 1945, in U.S. Archives, Wissahickon Branch, p. 2.

Chapter V Goals and Themes of 1940's Proposals

The wartime 1940's saw heightened interest in the preservation of the Independence Hall group of buildings. Early efforts were tabled due to wartime considerations. Later efforts, however, were able to successfully channel wartime patriotism into wide based support for proposals which would evolve into Independence Mall and Independence National Historical Park.

In the fall of 1941, Isidor Ostroff, an attorney practicing in the Fifth Ward, led an effort for the establishment of a national park east of Independence Hall. The proposed park encompassed Independence Square and an area bounded by Chestnut Street to the north, to the south by Sansom and Harmony Streets, to the west by 5th Street, and to the east by 2nd Street. Fifth Ward committeemen circulated petitions for signature which were then submitted to Leon Sacks, congressman for the legislative district incorporating the Independence Hall area. A bill was drafted and introduced in the House of Representatives by Sacks in January, 1942. The bill called for "investigating the matter of the establishment of a national park in the old part of the city of Philadelphia, for the purpose of conserving the historical objects and buildings therein".(1) The area, to be called Philadelphia National Shrines Park,

was described in the bill as follows:

"Much of the area is run down, some properties are demolished, and others are in such dilapidated condition as to constitute a serious fire hazard of such proportions as to endanger Independence Hall, Carpenters' Hall, the Old Custom House, and the First Bank of the United States, as well as other landmarks and shrines of patriotism, and that such unsightly condition is not conducive to a proper respect and reverence for those American ideals which are symbolized by those shrines."(2)

In flowery language, the bill described the park as providing a beautiful setting for the shrines, called jewels of democracy, and maximum protection against fire or other disaster.

Despite the patriotic language, Ostroff's intention was to use preservation as a means to achieve other goals. In 1953, Ostroff described his goal as having been civic improvements.(3) Sixteen years later, he stated, "What we planned was to force the improvement in housing".(4) In fact, his original efforts had been directed toward interesting developers in erecting apartment houses for white-collar workers in the area, including housing projects opposite Independence Hall on Chestnut Street.(5)

Although Ostroff was successful in having the bill, H.R. 6425, introduced by Congressman Sacks to Congress, it was shelved due to other wartime priorities. It would take

the broad-based support and intense lobbying efforts of a subsequent group, the Independence Hall Association, to see a version of the bill eventually enacted. The leader of the Association would state in an 1970 interview that the initial bill sponsored by Sacks was not well drawn and had to be dropped and improved upon by his organization.(6) Interestingly, the bill finally enacted was identical in language to its predecessor, the only change being the inclusion of three blocks north of Independence Hall in the proposed park area.

The Independence Hall Association (IHA) was successor to a committee formed by the Pennsylvania Society, Sons of the Revolution, in December 1941, after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the United States' entry into World War II.(7) The committee, organized at the behest of the Society's then president, Judge Edwin O. Lewis, was called The Committee on Protection of Historic Buildings. Lewis, one of the most influential men in the creation of both the Park and Mall, would recollect in 1969 that he formed the committee to study the protection of the Independence Hall group of buildings from possible bombing, the decay of the neighborhood, and the danger of conflagration, particularly because of the uses of the buildings on the north side of Chestnut, between Fifth and Sixth Streets.(8)

The Committee chairman, D. Knickerbacker Boyd, was one of the earliest proponents for a mall opposite Independence Hall, as discussed in Chapter IV. In an April, 1942 report to Judge Lewis, read at the Sons' annual meeting, Boyd described the Committee as follows:

"Your creation of a Committee on Protection of Historic Buildings proved the immediate incentive for members of our own and other patriotic organizations, municipal officials, architects, engineers, builders and building owners, and the rectors and vestrymen of historic churches, to accept appointment and to join with the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution in the purpose intended, namely to consider special precautions to be taken against possible enemy damage or sabotage to historic shrines."(9)

The committee was successful in lobbying the Philadelphia Council of Defense for the protection of the Independence Hall group and the Liberty Bell from incendiary bombs and fires. The committee suggested the involvement of the Federal government and broadened the methodology of building protection to include:

"...demolition of hazardous buildings adjoining historic structures, the elimination of dangerous occupancies, and the general cleaning up of the surroundings. Such clearing up...would make possible the creation of parks, playgrounds and landscaped environments that would not only protect but provide adequate settings for these shrines, and would rehabilitate the neighborhoods, make for better health and safety of the citizens, and cause the buildings thus protected and set apart to become the mecca for many more millions of people from all over the United States."(10)

In March, 1942, Sacks had forwarded a copy of H.R. 6425 to the Sons, requesting their help in the passage of the bill.(11) The Sons' Board of Managers decided that this and the proposals of Boyd's committee were beyond the scope of a single organization and "disassociated itself from the work of that Committee with a vote of thanks to all concerned".(12)

In order to continue the work begun by his committee, Boyd called an informal meeting in May, 1942 of city officials, patriotic groups, architects, historians, and others to discuss "various possibilities for further protecting the Historic Buildings of Philadelphia and for ...developing open areas in the vicinity of Independence Hall, Carpenters' Hall, the Old Custom House and adjacent Shrines of National importance".(13) Among those in attendance were Rep. Hugh D. Scott, Jr., Judge Lewis, William E. Lingelbach, Librarian, American Philosophical Society; H.W. Wills, Secretary, Board of Trade; Sydney E. Martin, President, Philadelphia Chapter, AIA; Roy Larson, chairman of the Philadelphia Chapter's Committee on Municipal Improvements, AIA; Charles Abell Murphy, author of the earlier plan for the Morris mansion; C.C. Zantzinger, President, City Parks Association; and Miss Frances Wister, President, Society for the Preservation of Landmarks.(14)

On the motion of Judge Lewis, a Committee consisting of Larson, Lingelbach and Boyd was appointed and "instructed to arrange a larger meeting of representatives of all interested groups to formulate a program for the protection and improvement of this historic areas...and to set up a permanent organization to promote its realization".(15)

The three man committee scheduled a meeting in June, 1942 inviting patriotic and historical societies, civic bodies and individuals to join in "forming an organization for the purpose of drawing up and putting into execution a plan for the conservation and development of the historic area in the region of Independence Hall".(16) At the meeting, the President of the Pennsylvania Society, Colonial Dames, urged the immediate demolition of buildings on the north side of Chestnut Street as a protective measure.(17) Her suggestion met with wide support. The group voted to organize and elected the following officers at a subsequent meeting: Judge Lewis, president, Roy F. Larson, vice-president, Joseph F. Stockwell (Chairman, Board of Trade), treasurer, and D. Knickerbacker Boyd, executive secretary. The organization's changes in name reflect the change in goals from preserving individual buildings to beautifying a city neighborhood. The initial name, "An Organization for the Conservation of Historic Sites in Old Philadelphia" was changed at the group's second meeting to "An Association for

the Conservation and Improvement of Historical Philadelphia".(18) A subsequent suggestion to change the name to "Independence Hall and Old Philadelphia Association, Inc." was shortened, resulting in "Independence Hall Association".

Within the Independence Hall Association, a Committee on Research and Planning was formed to study the extent of the area to be included in the proposed park. Among its members were Larson, Chairman, Markley Stevenson (landscape architect), Sydney Martin, Mrs. Joseph Carson, Fiske Kimball (Director, Philadelphia Art Museum), Joseph Jackson (historian), George Nitszche (Recorder, University of Pennsylvania and early proponent of a Mall), and S.K. Stevens (head of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission).(19) At the Committee's first meeting, held in August, 1942, the first idea to be expressed was that of Mrs. Carson, who suggested that the committee, in planning the park, should "be concerned only with buildings erected prior to 1800 except for such other buildings as may be especially worthy or of note".(20) This idea did not appear to raise opposition or discussion and is one that would have great impact on the fate of hundreds of buildings in the Mall and Park areas. Ideas expressed at the meeting regarding the extent of the park area ranged from the single block across from Independence Hall to an area bounded by

the Delaware River and South, Vine and Ninth Streets, with no conclusion being reached.(21) Suggestions for the treatment for the block across from Independence ranged from landscaping it like the approach to the Governors Palace in Williamsburg, to erecting replicas of buildings on Chestnut Street there at the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, to erecting "new buildings in the Old style on Fifth and Sixth Streets to preserve the scale of the Hall group".(22) The only consensus to be reached was a silent one that all existing buildings on the block be demolished.

At the Committee's second meeting in October, 1942, Larson presented four proposals for the park area.(23) Plan I included the development of the half block bounded by Ludlow, Chestnut, Fifth, and Sixth Streets. Plan II included the development of the entire block bounded by Market, Chestnut, Fifth, and Sixth Streets and the possible development of a Mall eastward from Chestnut to Library Streets.(see Exhibit V-1) Plan III included the additional development of the north side of Market Street. Plan IV included the development of the three blocks north of Chestnut Street to the Delaware River Bridge Plaza.(see Exhibit V-2) It closely resembled the plan Larson had drawn for the Philadelphia Chapter, AIA, in 1937. The plans called for the demolition of all buildings to the north with the exception of the Free Quaker Meeting House at Fifth and

Arch Streets. The secretary recorded of the meeting, ""Everyone seemed to be agreed that we should "make no small plans" to quote Daniel H. Burnham..."".(24) Clearly, the thrust was city beautification in the City Beautiful vein. The Committee voted to proceed with Plan IV.

Larson presented the four plans and an aerial perspective of Plan IV to the Executive Committee of the Association in December, 1942.(25) Larson suggested parking, concealed by trees, be included in the mall and that large scale architecture or sculpture be kept to a minimum. In order to balance the meeting house he suggested moving an historic building from another section of the city to the Sixth and Arch St. corner. Suggestions by others included creating a replica of a colonial village along the eastward mall and moving historic buildings from other parts of the city into the mall areas. The Committee voted unanimously to adopt Plan IV - from Chestnut Street to the bridge plaza between Fifth and Sixth Streets and the area eastward - as the official plan of the Association.(26)

Another active and influential committee of the Association was the Committee on Public Relations, chaired by M. Joseph McCosker (Director, Atwater Kent Museum). Through the committee's efforts, articles updating the public on the Association's activities appeared frequently

in local newspapers and periodicals and members acted as speakers on a regular basis at meetings of civic, church, and historical organizations.(27) In addition, an exhibition on Independence Hall, depicting its history as well as previous and current proposals for its preservation and enhancement, was held in Old Congress Hall from April to July 1943. It was well publicized and widely attended.(28)

Two comments recorded in committee minutes hint that the Independence Hall preservation project in the eyes of its members quickly became one of city beautification or redevelopment. At the committee's first meeting in September, 1942, several months before presentation of Larson's plans, McCosker stated that among its purposes would be the "showing to our officials the advantages, historically, commercially and financially in restoring the significance and character of Old Philadelphia, with the Independence Hall Group as the pivotal point".(29) At the same meeting, Dr. Lingelbach suggested that data should be prepared on how other cities have benefitted by improvements, among them the Jefferson Memorial in St. Louis.(30)

Despite its lack of similarity to the Philadelphia project, the example of St. Louis would often be cited by IHA members in the development of their plans for a national park in the Independence Hall area. According to Charles E.

Peterson, it was a major influence on planning.(31) St. Louis set the precedent for the large scale demolition of urban blocks for the creation of a memorial. At an October, 1942 meeting of the Executive Committee, Judge Lewis stated that he had recently visited in St. Louis "a rehabilitated area where 83 city blocks of slums had been eliminated and a river park and other improvements made as a memorial to Thomas Jefferson"(32) He cited the involvement of the "Federal Historic Sites Commission" and the appropriation of nine million of Federal dollars for the project. In an October, 1942 newspaper article on the Association's activities, written in collaboration with Lewis, Boyd, and Larson, the following comments were made:

"Among the more impressively large projects is the Federally owned and administered Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at St. Louis, Mo. Between 35 and 40 decadent city blocks were demolished for this memorial, the plans for which called for expenditures of \$22,000,000 of Federal money after the City of St. Louis had provided the land. The Independence Hall project, like that in St. Louis, has more than historic significance. Its sponsors are fully aware of its bearing on cleaning up some of Philadelphia's downtown blight."(33)

Mention of St. Louis was also made in a 1944 publication of the Fairmount Park Art Association (FPAA) which presented the IHA's plans for the Independence Hall area. The following discussion of precedents prefaced a detailed description of the mall proposal:

"In Williamsburg, Virginia millions have been spent to recreate by restoration and reconstruction the Colonial Capital of the State. In St. Louis many city blocks of buildings have been demolished to create a memorial plaza. Indianapolis, too, after the last war created a mall of great length and breadth to honor her soldiers, sailors and marines. These are monuments which grace their cities and memorialize a cause."(34)

In addition, the pamphlet contained several views of the Palace Green in Williamsburg, Aloe Plaza in St. Louis and the Mall in Indianapolis.

The pamphlet was entitled, "Independence Hall and Adjacent Historic Buildings...A Plan for Their Preservation and the Improvement of Their Surroundings". It described in detail a revised version of Larson's Plan IV, entitled Plan for the Redevelopment of the Historic Area. (see Exhibits V-3 & 4) Changes in the proposed mall area included a narrower central greensward flanked by a parallel row of trees extending to the Bridge Plaza, new restaurant buildings at the two northerly corners of Market Street, a semi-circular plaza directly across from Independence Hall framed by planting and architectural motifs, and sites for monuments to Colonial and Early Republic heroes.(35) To dramatize the effects of opening up a view of Independence Hall, a sketch was included entitled "Independence Hall as it Would Appear From Market Street". Missing from the sketch were the Penn Mutual Building which in reality rose

above the Hall to its rear and the Curtis Building which enframed the west side of Independence Square.(see Exhibit VI-5) The brochure became a useful tool for members of IHA in promoting its proposals with the public and governmental agencies.

An early lobbying and negotiating success of IHA was the execution in 1943 of the cooperative agreement between the City of Philadelphia and the Federal government whereby the Independence Hall group was designated a National Historic Site. Such a designation was necessary for the Association's purposes as, under the 1933 Historic Sites Act, it would allow the appropriation of Federal funds for preservation and beautification. Despite lobbying efforts on a local, state and federal level by Judge Lewis and other members of the Association over the years, a revised version of Sack's bill suffered the original's fate. During this period, however, Lewis had obtained the State of Pennsylvania's commitment to undertake the major part of the project, the mall extending north from Independence Hall. Finally, at the end of World War II in 1945, the bill passed Congress and was enacted as law in August, 1946. Under Public Law 711 the Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission was created. Its purpose, as stated, was:

"investigating the matter of the establishment
...of a Federal area to be called Philadelphia Nat-

ional Shrines Park, or by some other appropriate name, to encompass within its area the buildings of historic significance in the old part of the city, and to be operated and maintained by the National Park Service, for the purpose of conserving the historical objects and buildings in the said area and to provide for the enjoyment and appreciation thereof...".(36)

The appointment of the Shrines Commission would end the active role of the Independence Hall Association. Three factors, the presence of Judge Lewis as chairman, the participation of the State in the North Mall, and the revitalized existence of the City Planning Commission, would result in a Park plan which far exceeded the original goals of the Association, i.e., the protection of Independence Hall from the threat of fire and incendiary bombs.

Chapter V - Endnotes

- (1) H.R. 6425, January 21, 1942, 77th Congress, 2nd Session, p.1.
- (2) Ibid, p.2.
- (3) Isidor Ostroff to Charles E. Peterson, letter dated April 6, 1953, INHP Archives, p.1.
- (4) Isidor Ostroff, transcript of interview, Columbia University Oral History Project, 1969, INHP Archives, p. 35.
- (5) Op Cit, p.1.
- (6) Edwin O. Lewis, transcript of interview, Columbia University Oral History Project, January 2, 1969, INHP Archives, p. 2.
- (7) Hugh D. Scott, Jr., "Protection of Historic Shrines", Congressional Record, February 26, 1942, reprint, p.3.
- (8) Op Cit, p.2.
- (9) D. Knickerbacker Boyd, "Report of the Committee on Protection of Historic Buildings", April 6, 1942, INHP Archives, p.1.
- (10) Ibid, p.1.
- (11) Leon Sacks, to Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution, letter dated March 23, 1942, INHP Archives.
- (12) "Minutes of a Meeting Held May 21st, 1942", D. Knickerbacker Boyd, secretary, p.1., INHP Archives.
- (13) Ibid, p.1.
- (14) Ibid, p.4.
- (15) Roy F. Larson, Chairman, Committee on Organization, to all Organizations and Individuals interested in the conservation and development of Colonial Philadelphia, letter dated June 16, 1942, INHP Archives.

(16)Ibid.

(17)Mrs. Stacey B. Lloyd, quoted in "Minutes of Meeting at American Philosophical Society Held June 30, 1942", D. Knickerbacker Boyd, secretary, p. 2, INHP Archives.

(18)Minutes of June 30, 1942 meeting, p.2, and Minutes of July 14, 1942 Meeting, pp.5 & 7, INHP Archives.

(19)"Summarized Minutes of Meeting of the Committee on Research and Planning Held August 6, 1942", D. Knickerbacker Boyd, secretary, p.1, INHP Archives.

(20)Ibid, p.1.

(21)Ibid, p.2.

(22)Ibid, p.3.

(23)"Outlined Minutes of Meeting of the Committee on Research and Planning Held October 16, 1942", D. Knickerbacker Boyd, secretary, pp.2-3, INHP Archives.

(24)Ibid, p.4.

(25)"Minutes of Meeting of the Officers and Executive Committee of the Independence Hall Association Held December 28, 1942", Lysbeth Borie, secretary, p.3, INHP Archives.

(26)Ibid, p.4.

(27)"Report of Executive Secretary" in Minutes of Meeting of the Executive Committee, Independence Hall Association Held June 1, 1943, Lysbeth Borie, acting secretary, Addenda A, sheet 1, INHP Archives.

(28)"Report of Exhibitions Committee", Ibid, Addenda B.

(29)M. Joseph McCosker, quoted in "Summarized Minutes of Meeting, Committee on Public Relations, IHA, Held September 23, 1942", D. Knickerbacker Boyd, secretary, p. 1, INHP Archives.

(30)William E. Lingelbach, Ibid, p.2.

(31)According to Charles E. Peterson, St. Louis was more influential than Williamsburg on the development of the Park and Mall in Philadelphia, interview with

author, August, 1988.

- (32) Edwin O. Lewis, quoted in "Draft of Meeting of Officers and Executive Committee, IHA", October 8, 1942, p.2, INHP Archives.
- (33)_____, "Men and Things", reprinted from The Evening Bulletin, October 30, 1942, IHA Scrapbook, INHP Archives.
- (34)"Independence Hall and Adjacent Historic Buildings...A Plan for Their Preservation and the Improvement of Their Surroundings"(Fairmount Park Art Association, 1944) p.20.
- (35)Ibid., p.22.
- (36)Public Law 711 - 79th Congress, reprinted in Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission 1947 Report, p.2.

Chapter VI The Recommendations of the Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission

The Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission was formally organized in November, 1946. Its mission would be complicated by the intended involvement of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in the major portion of the proposed park area. This involvement would be a major factor in the decision to enlarge the area recommended for the formation of the federal park. A second factor would be the existence of the City Planning Commission and its evolving plans for the Old City area of Philadelphia.

Unhappy with the lack of progress during the war years in obtaining a federal commitment for the park, the IHA also began to lobby the state government in 1944. In a 1969 interview, Judge Lewis stated it was Lambert Cadwalader, a state legislator, who suggested approaching the state government.(1) In the same interview, Lewis credited himself with the decision to create two parks, one a state mall opposite Independence Hall and the other a federal park to the east. The efforts of the IHA to obtain a commitment for state participation were successful. On August 12, 1946, Governor Martin approved an allocation of \$3 million to acquire and demolish the properties on the first block of the proposed mall.(2)

In the August-September, 1946 issue of The North America Fieldman, an article entitled "A New Vista for Independence Hall" illustrated IHA's plans for the Mall.(3) No mention was made of either state or federal involvement. Plans for the area to the north of Independence Hall, designated the principal mall or main axis, were described in detail. This would be the area to which the state would commit its funds. Plans for the area east of Independence Hall were described as a secondary axis connecting the Square with Carpenters' Hall and the First Bank. This would be the area left to the Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission (Shrines Commission) for consideration as a national park.

Four years earlier, in 1942, the Philadelphia City Council passed an ordinance to create a nine member City Planning Commission(CPC). Mayor Samuel announced his appointments to the Commission, including Robert B. Mitchell as Executive Director, in February, 1943 and made city planning a cardinal plank in his election platform of 1943.(4) A support group, the Citizens' Council on City Planning, was also founded in 1943, its purpose being to "facilitate citizen participation in city planning and to further the science of city planning in Philadelphia".(5) Roy F. Larson was one of the early members of the Council's executive committee. Of the CPC's lengthy agenda of study

projects for 1944, two would have bearing on the Shrines Commission's final recommendations: 1) the extension of the Independence Hall park area several blocks to the north and rehabilitation of sections to the east for residential purposes and 2) slum clearance for blighted, residential areas.(6) Many of the CPC's ideas and proposed projects for postwar Philadelphia, would be presented at the Better Philadelphia Exhibition of 1947. Over 400,000 Philadelphians would see in model form the proposed Mall and Park as well as the replacement of the Dock Street Market area with apartment buildings and light industry.(7)(see Exhibit VI-1)

Appointed in 1946 as members of the Shrines Commission were George McAneny, a preservationist and President of the Philadelphia-based Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation; Rep. Robert N. McGarvey; Hugh Martin Morris, a former judge from Wilmington, DE; Sen. Francis Myers; Dr. Carl Van Doren, biographer of Benjamin Franklin; Albert M. Greenfield, a Philadelphia real estate broker; and Judge Lewis. Lewis and Greenfield were elected as Chairman and Vice-Chairman, respectively. Public Law 711 directed the Commission to:

"make a study of the historic area and the area surrounding and contiguous to the locality involved, the buildings now in existence there, comparative real estate costs, the advisability of condemnation of all or any part of the said locality and area, which of the present buildings

should remain privately owned, if any, and shall prepare a report on all phases of the problem".(8)

Aside from the three blocks north of Independence Hall to which the state was committed, Law 711 described the "historic area" as bounded by Sixth Street on the west, Sansom, Harmony, Dock, and Moravian Streets on the south, Second Street on the east, and Chestnut Street on the north.(see exhibit VI-2)

The first formal meeting was held on November 15, 1946 and attended by representatives of the CPC and the National Park Service(NPS). The size of the federal park area quickly became an issue. Sen. Bradley stated his opinion that "the more extensive the plans were for the improvement of all the historical landmarks the greater the interest of the Congress would be".(9) This belief was generally shared by those attending the meeting, the one dissenter being George McAneny who was in favor of adhering to the boundaries set forth in Public Law 711. McAneny thought it preferable and possible for "localities adjacent to individual, isolated, historical structures to engender their own improvement program".(10) The issues regarding park size were summarized in a letter from Judge Lewis to Dr. Lingelbach, sent as a result of the meeting:

"None of us is fully persuaded as yet that the maximum Federal participation to be recommended is

the creation of an historic shrine mall or small park, running eastward from Independence Square and beginning at a point just south of the American Philosophical Society Building. Governor-elect Duff has promised that the State under his administration will carry out Governor Martin's promise to create the State Park north of Independence Square..."

"What would you suggest as a possible additional area to be embraced in a National Historic Shrines Park or Memorial? There is considerable objection in Washington to the use of the name "Park" because the term "National Park" is reserved usually for large areas."(11)

Roy Larson, who had created the plans for IHA disagreed with increasing the scope of the proposed federal area. Larson felt that rather than creating a wide open park to the east of Independence Hall which would resemble the Mall, the important buildings to be preserved should be framed with other buildings, some worthy of preservation in their own right.(12)

Unwilling to proceed with Larson's planned 100 foot wide mall, described according to Lewis by Larson as a "sword's thrust", to the east along Library/Sansom Street, Lewis enlisted Philadelphia architect, Grant M. Simon, to prepare a more comprehensive plan and illustrative drawings for a national park.(13) Lewis' first choice was reportedly architect Joseph Sims.(14) Simon, a graduate of the the Beaux-Arts oriented architectural school at the University

of Pennsylvania, was known at this time as a champion of the Colonial Revival style.(15) Importantly, he was an excellent renderer and watercolorist. Charles Peterson, landscape architect with the National Park Service, sent to Philadelphia to assist in the planning process, would later state that Simon "made such lovely watercolors that nobody noticed what it (the park) would really look like".(16) Titled "landscape architect" and later "resident architect" of the Park, Peterson was, in fact, a self-trained historical architect who had founded the Historic American Buildings Survey in the 1930's.

A meeting of the Shrines Commission was held March 11, 1947 with all members but Sen. Myers in attendance. Also present were representatives of the National Park Service (NPS), City Planning Commission (CPC), Fairmount Park Art Association (FPAA), and the Independence Hall Association (IHA). The minutes indicate that Grant Simon's and the CPC's drawings of the proposed Mall and Park were examined, with no detail thereof provided. In order to expedite preparation of the requisite report of the Commission, a sub-committee of Morris, Bradley, Greenfield and Lewis, chairman, was appointed.(17) The sub-committee members all supported Lewis' idea for a more extensive park. Peterson, who participated in several of the meetings would later describe the Commission as follows:

"The Shrines Commission did what Judge Lewis wanted them to do. They were eminent men, they were not rubber-stampers, but they mainly were hired for scenery...They were hired to back up what Judge Lewis felt was the right thing to do. I don't know that anybody on the Commission had any wild views that had to be tamed or voted down."(18)

The boundaries for the proposed park were considered at a meeting of the Commission held April 18, 1947. Somewhat confirming Peterson's opinion, Judge Lewis was the sole member of the Commission present. Other attendees included several familiar names in the five year park campaign, i.e, Sydney Martin, President of FPAA, and Dr. Lingelbach, Vice President of IHA, as well as some new ones, Robert B. Mitchell and Edmund N. Bacon of the CPC, and Charles E. Peterson, listed in the minutes as landscape architect with the NPS.(19) Both Grant Simon and Edmund Bacon presented their plans for the park area. Both plans assumed state ownership of the north mall and included areas for the federal park larger than those originally proposed by IHA, specifically an additional area south of Walnut to Lombard Street. This latter area included a neighborhood of historic residential buildings, many derelict or converted to commercial use.

The CPC's plans for the recommended area were vaguely described in the meeting minutes as "giving

attention to the spaces between existing buildings facing on Chestnut and Walnut Streets, so that historic structures to be preserved could be made as presentable as their fronts".(20) The plans also called for improving the setting of Carpenters' Hall and using the Second Bank of the U.S. as a visitors' center. The park would consist of an open space approximately 150 feet wide between structures fronting the north side of Walnut and the south side of Chestnut Streets. It is probable that Bacon presented a drawing entitled "Plan for East Mall and Greenway Extensions into Historic Area of Society Hill" (see Exhibit VI-3) which had been prepared for the Better Philadelphia Exhibition. In it, Bacon had taken the 1944 IHA plan prepared by Roy Larson and added a network of garden footpaths or walkways extending southward and linking to the park several eighteenth century houses and churches.(21)(see Exhibit VI-4)

The concensus of the meeting was that the southern area was inappropriate for development by the federal government and that the Shrines Commission should recommend the park boundaries to be from Fifth Street to the east side of Second Street from Chestnut to Walnut Streets. The Commission felt, however, that Simon's and the CPC's studies of the area were valuable for two reasons, both beyond the scope of the original goals to safeguard, restore, and

preserve historic buildings:

"1) As supporting evidence to the Congress that the creation of the Federal Park east of Fifth Street would materially encourage the improvement of other blighted areas adjacent to Independence Square, and

2) In showing the possibilities for improvements in residential development by either private interests, or by the Redevelopment Authority, because of the provision of the Federal Park and the State Mall".(22)

Simon's plans were later amended in an April 18, 1947 letter to Judge Lewis.(23) In addition to the southern addition, Simon's plans had also included northerly extensions to Market Street to incorporate the sites of Benjamin Franklin's house and the house where Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence (the Graff House).

Simon envisioned, as a "dignified and impressive setting" for the historic buildings, the creation of a commons extending east between Fifth and Third Streets over a closed Fourth Street. This lawned area would measure 200 feet by 850 feet and be flanked on four sides by a double row of trees. Simon justified his idea of a commons as being "particularly identified with early settlements in America" and cited the existence of others in Pennsylvania and New England, noting the one in New Castle, Delaware.

Obviously not an issue in his plans was whether such a commons had existed on this site in Philadelphia.

Simon's suggestions for buildings within the park included reconstruction of numerous houses and other buildings with historical associations, the erection of low-rise buildings along Chestnut Street to accomodate visitors, and the erection of low-rise office buildings along Walnut Street "in an architecture sympathetic to the historic shrines".

In the autumn of 1947, Charles Peterson prepared a Preliminary Shrines Commission Report for the Director of the NPS.(24) Several important recommendations were included therein. Peterson suggested the park boundary to be proposed to Congress should be all inclusive, making the point that not all properties within the boundaries need be acquired. He recommended that the boundaries include: 1) a main area bounded by Chestnut, the west side of Second, Walnut, and the east side of Sixth Street (which would encompass Independence Square), 2) the Christ Church yard, 3) the Benjamin Franklin House and Graff House sites, and 4) the south half of the block north of Independence Hall for the erection of a park reception center.(25)(see Exhibit VI-5)

Peterson further suggested establishing a priority list for acquisition with the following order: 1) all historic buildings, 2) lands needed for construction of improvements, 3) vacant land in danger of being privately developed, and 4) other lands. An illustration of his ideas bears strong resemblance to the "sword's thrust" proposed earlier by Roy Larson. To be acquired for immediate development of the park were those properties bounded by Fifth (excluding the Drexel Building), Chestnut, Third (excluding the Post Office at Third and Chestnut), and the rear of properties fronting on the north side of Walnut Street as well as the Merchants' Exchange, two historic houses on Walnut Street, and the sites of the City Tavern and Pennsylvania Bank on Second Street. (see Exhibit VI-6) To be left undisturbed, at least initially, were the buildings housing insurance companies on Walnut Street, the Drexel and Irvin Buildings, the New Customs House, and the block of commercial buildings which included the Jayne Building bounded by Chestnut, S. American, Dock, and Third Streets.

Peterson recommended that extensive research be conducted to identify all buildings standing between 1770-1800 and others of historic interest. Several comments were reactions to Simon's plans. He urged that in developing the park the reconstruction of buildings and the creation of new streets and walkways be avoided but that the erection of

"utilitarian buildings of proper architectural character" in the acquired area be permitted. For example, he stated, "An inn of 18th century flavor (a la Williamsburg) might add to the enjoyment of the area".(26) Some, but not many, of Peterson's recommendations were included in the Commission's final report.

In December, 1947 the Shrines Commission submitted a seven volume report to Congress. It included recommendations for park areas, letters of support from Mayor Samuel and the CPC, proposed legislation and a lengthy historical section describing eighteenth and early nineteenth century buildings and sites within the proposed areas. The historical section had been prepared by Joseph McCosker, Director of the Atwater Kent Museum. Accompanying the report were watercolors and drawings of the proposed park and restored buildings rendered by Grant Simon.

In an 1969 interview, Judge Lewis would take credit for the report and the recommendations therein:

"I remember dictating the report, in which I provided for the park and four or five other ancillary projects including Christ Church, the Graff House, Franklin Court, and a little mall that I thought should be created about 100 feet wide running from Walnut to Pine Streets."(27)

In reality, the little mall bore close resemblance to the

greenway proposed by Edmund Bacon and the CPC earlier in 1947.

The specific areas recommended for acquisition in the Shrines Commission Report were described as follows:(28)

- Project A: The area bounded by Fifth, Second, Chestnut and Walnut Streets. Estimated acquisition cost: \$3,650,000
- Project B: A narrow area between Fourth and Fifth Streets extending from Walnut to Pine Streets. Cost: \$300,000
- Project C: An area on Market Street between Third and Fourth Streets. (the Franklin House site) Cost: \$175,000
- Project D: A lot at the Southwest corner of Seventh and Market Streets. (the Graff House site) Cost: \$250,000
- Project E: A lot at the Northwest corner of Second and Market Streets. (Christ Church buffer strip) Cost: \$110,000

A Plan of the Federal Areas "A", "B", & "C" prepared by Simon (see Exhibit VI-7) indicated the high level of intended demolition. To be preserved were the Second Bank of the U.S. (as the only building on its block), Carpenters'

Hall, The First Bank of the United States, The Merchants' Exchange, five eighteenth century residential buildings on Walnut Street, and the nineteenth century commercial buildings on Chestnut Street east of Third which included the Jayne Building. To be reconstructed was the City Tavern at Second and Walnut Streets. To be demolished were all other buildings fronting on Chestnut, Walnut, Harmony, and the numbered streets. In their place and flanking a long central green were to be plots of grass lawn each surrounded by double rows of trees.

Simon's watercolors showed Carpenters' Hall, the Second Bank, Merchants Exchange, and Walnut Street west from Third as they might appear in the completed development.(see Exhibit VI-8) Other drawings showed various views of the completed park. Years later, Charles Peterson would comment on the discrepancies between Simon's plans and elevations.

"Mr. Simon...was not particularly committed to historic preservation and in many cases his elevations and perspectives and ground plans did not agree...He would show things that looked good in plan and then something quite different in the elevations and perspectives. The impact of the demolitions was not apparent in the promotional drawings..."(29)

Unfortunately, the original watercolors and drawings were given to members of Congress during the intense lobbying efforts to seek passage of legislation for the park.(30)

Only copies exist in the archives of Independence National Historical Park.

In April 1948, the proposed bill was passed in Congress and signed by the president. Public Law 795 provided for the establishment of Independence National Historic Park "for the purpose of preserving...certain historical structures and properties of outstanding national significance..., associated with the American Revolution and the founding and growth of the United States".(31) The law provided that the park would not be established until title was obtained to the First Bank, the Merchants' Exchange, the Bishop White and Dilworth-Todd-Moylan Houses and the Franklin house site, as well as two-thirds of the remaining land within Projects A, B. C. and E. (Project D, the Graff House was not included in the legislation.)

Passage of the bill in 1948 would transfer the role of planning and development of Independence National Historical Park to the National Park Service. At about this time the state government would reactivate its dormant plans for the creation of Independence Mall through its Departments of Highways and of Forests and Waters. Despite the state and federal sponsorship, Judge Lewis and his supporters and the City Planning Commission would continue to be influential presences in the development of the Park and Mall.

Chapter VI - Endnotes

- (1) Edwin O. Lewis, Columbia University Oral History Project, January 2, 1969, p. 9 of transcript.
- (2) The Independence Mall, a Report of the Joint State Government Commission to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1951, p. 8.
- (3) _____, "A New Vista for Independence Hall", The North America Fieldman, vol. 3, #7, August-September, 1946, p. 3.
- (4) Citizens' Council on City Planning, City Planning in Philadelphia (1944), p. 3.
- (5) Ibid., p. 8.
- (6) Ibid., p. 13.
- (7) Edmund N. Bacon, "A Case Study in Urban Design", Journal of the American Institute of Planners (Vol. 25, August 1960), pp. 225-6.
- (8) Public Law 711 - 79th Congress (Chapter 943 - 2nd Session, August 9, 1946) reprinted in Philadelphia National Shrines Commission Report, 1947, p. 26.
- (9) Minutes of Executive Session, Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission, November 15, 1946, p. 2.
- (10) Ibid, p. 2.
- (11) Edwin O. Lewis, letter to Dr. William E. Lingelbach, November 18, 1946, p. 1.
- (12) Roy Larson, Columbia University Oral History Project, p. 23.
- (13) Edwin O. Lewis, C.U. Oral History Project, pp. 9-11.
- (14) Charles E. Peterson, Transcript of Interview, 1980, p. 1.
- (15) George E. Thomas, "Grant Miles Simon, FAIA", Drawing Toward Building (Phila: Univ. of Penna Press, 1986) pp. 188-9.
- (16) Charles E. Peterson, Columbia University Oral History

Project, Oct. 24, 1969 interview by Eleanor Prescott, p. 42.

- (17)Minutes of Meeting, Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission, March 11, 1947, p. 4.
- (18)Op Cit., p. 33.
- (19)Minutes of Meeting, Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission, April 18, 1947, p. 1.
- (20)Ibid., pp. 1 & 2.
- (21)Edmund N. Bacon, Design of Cities (NJ: Rae Publishing Company, 1987) p. 264.
- (22)Op Cit., p. 3.
- (23)Grant M. Simon, letter to Edwin O. Lewis, April 22 1947, p. 1 & 2.
- (24)Peterson, Oct. 24, 1969 Interview, p. 1.
- (25)Charles E. Peterson, Preliminary Shrines Commission Report, September, 1947, pp. 18, 19, 40-1.
- (26)Ibid., p. 12.
- (27)Edwin O. Lewis, January 2, 1969 interview transcript, p. 15.
- (28)Philadelphia National Shrines Commission Report, 1947, pp.xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix.
- (29)Charles E. Peterson, 1969 interview, pp. 6, 14.
- (30)Edwin O. Lewis, January 2, 1969 interview transcript, p. 17.
- (31)Public Law 795 - 80th Congress (H.R. 5053).

Chapter VII State and Federal Acquisition and Development

Despite the state's announced intention in 1945 to develop Independence Mall, the project did not get underway until 1949. Because of state funding limitations, the Mall was developed slowly and on a block by block basis. This had a marked impact on the Mall's final design which varied greatly from Roy F. Larson's earlier designs.

In May, 1949 the City of Philadelphia and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (represented by the Secretaries of Forests and Waters and of Highways) signed an agreement for the construction of a state park in the area bounded by Fifth, Sixth, Chestnut and Race Streets, which the City Council designated as Independence Mall. Under the agreement, the state was responsible for the acquisition and demolition of existing buildings and the development of the area "to serve as an approach to the Independence Hall group of historical buildings and as a State park for recreational purposes".(1) The State's obligation to complete the project was subject to the availability of funding. The City agreed to prepare the plans and drawings for the project, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Forests and Waters and the Governor, and assigned this responsibility to the City Planning Commission (CPC).

The project proceeded on a phased basis. Acquisition of the area bounded by Market, Chestnut, Fifth and Sixth, designated as Block One, began in 1949 under a 1946 allocation of \$3 million. Three Philadelphia appraisers were selected to evaluate the real estate: C. Harry Johnson, Boyd T. Barnard, and Richard J. Seltzer.(2) In 1950, the CPC, responsible for the preparation of plans for the project, retained the firm of Harbeson, Hough, Livingston and Larson (currently known as H2L2) as architect, the firm of Wheelright, Stevenson and Langran as landscape architect, and Philadelphia architect George Howe as consultant.(3) Howe, at the time, was dean of the Architecture School at Yale University and had been supervising architect for the U.S. Public Buildings Administration. Although trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, his best known work, the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building, reflected his preference for modern architectural styles.(4) In the late 1940's, he worked on the competition for the design of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, the National Park Service project in St. Louis.(5)

By early 1951, all but three properties on Block One had been acquired with estimated total acquisition and demolition costs for the block being \$3.3 million. In March 1951, the State Senate directed the Joint State Government Commission "to initiate at once an intensive

study of the problem of completion of the Independence Hall Mall".(6) A subcommittee was appointed which held an open meeting in May 1951. Among the familiar names present at the meeting were Judge Lewis as President of the Independence Hall Association and Albert M. Greenfield as President of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. The Cold War, as was World War II in the Independence Hall Association's campaign, was used as a argument for the Mall's completion. Judge Lewis stated "we need to reemphasize the importance of the Old State House" in order to combat "subversive influences attacking democratic government".(7) Secretary of the Interior, Oscar L. Chapman, continued this theme, stating the following:

"In this period in which Communist imperialism is leaving no stone unturned in a desperate effort to undermine and destroy every fundamental American ideal, we need the inspiration with our national shrines so richly offer."(8)

In its report to the General Assembly, the commission recommended the simultaneous acquisition of Blocks Two and Three at a total estimated cost of \$5.5 million. The report cited several economic benefits to be derived from the completion of the Mall. These anticipated benefits included a substantial increase in visitation to the Philadelphia area, the relief of traffic congestion in the area, and the increase in real property values from development of adjoining areas. The elimination of fire hazards continued

to be an argument for the Mall's development. According to the report, the demolition of the buildings in the Mall blocks, few of which it claimed were "fire-safe", would help to lower the City's fire rating.(9)

The architects submitted preliminary plans for the three block Mall in early 1952. These early plans retained many features of Larson's earlier proposals. Dominating Block One was to be a central, one-hundred foot wide, greensward. Double rows of trees and paved walkways were to separate the greensward from raised, landscaped terraces running along Fifth and Sixth Streets. Walls, two planned service buildings and other architectural features were to be of brick with marble copings and trim "to be in harmony with the architecture of Independence Square".(10) The general design of a central greensward with flanking trees was to be duplicated on Blocks Two and Three. Under Block Two was to be an 850 car garage. Above-ground on Block Two was to be a bus station located along Sixth Street, a terrace along Fifth Street, a restaurant building at the northwest corner of Fifth and Market Streets, a fountain at Market Street, and a reception/information building at the northeast corner of Sixth and Market Streets. To remain on the block, albeit moved slightly inward, was the Free Quaker Meeting House at Fifth and Arch Streets. Missing from Larson's earlier plan were the Beaux-Arts influenced semi-

circular plaza on the Chestnut Street side of Block One and the obelisk in the center of Block Three.(see Exhibit VII-1) Edmund Bacon, who had commissioned Larson's firm as Executive Director of the CPC, disliked the French influenced design of the earlier plan and looked to George Howe for input. According to Bacon, Howe recommended a simple, symmetrical design recalling the Place de la Carriere which unified the city hall and arch of triumph in Nancy, France.(11)

Designs were approved by the CPC, the State, and the Philadelphia Art Commission on a block by block basis. The final plans for Block One were approved by Art Commission, of which Larson was chairman, in November, 1952. (see Exhibits VII-2 and 3) During demolition of the existing buildings, newspaper columnist, Rex Polier, described the progress and anticipated results as follows:

"In the process, dozens of ugly and decaying commercial buildings are being razed. As they disappear, Independence Hall and its companion buildings appear in the striking perspective of which supporters of the project have dreamed... A magnificent landscaped mall, the result will be an L-shaped carpet of grass, shrubs, and trees with Independence Hall as a focal point, but also bringing into sharp relief other historic structures."(12)

Work was completed in September, 1954. In July, 1954, Polier described "the work of transforming a solid mass of worn and unsightly buildings into the city's newest garden

spot", citing the use of 284 trees, 27,280 vines and ground cover plants, 52,000 square feet of flagstone for walkways, and 82,000 handmade bricks.(13) (see Exhibit VII-4)

Plans for Block Two were approved by the CPC in October, 1953. According to Bacon in a 1970 interview, this was preceded by a bitter fight between him and Larson over the design.(14) Bacon remembered being opposed to Larson's plan of a circular brick colonnade on the basis that it blocked the vista through to Independence Hall and created another focal point. The final design reflected Bacon's preference for simplicity, featuring two rectangular colonnades which ran parallel to Fifth and Sixth Streets north of the former location of Commerce Street. A fountain/pool was to be situated in the center of block fronting Market Street, being flanked by terraced, landscaped seating areas. Access to the underground parking garage was through entrances on Fifth and Sixth Streets. No longer part of the plan were the reception center, restaurant building, and bus station. By 1963, construction had yet to begin on the Block. Plans by this date reflected the replacement of the central greensward with a paved area to serve as a site for pageants and celebrations.(15) In a 1970 interview, Roy Larson recalled that the block was completed in stages over several years. First to be completed was a 150 foot deep section along Market Street

which contained a fountain. (see Exhibit VII-5) The remainder of the block was not completed until after completion of Block Three.(16) In 1957, Judge Lewis reported to the Independence National Historical Park Advisory Commission that "there had been considerable criticism of the inadequate fountain... and that the architects for the Mall were supposedly considering possible alterations...".(17) Ironically, in recognition of his efforts to promote the idea of a mall, the fountain and ceremonial area were subsequently named the Judge Lewis Fountain and Judge Lewis Quadrangle, respectively. The block was dedicated in 1966.

Acquisition of the properties in Block Three did not begin until the end of 1957.(18) Judge Lewis reported to the Advisory Commission that plans, as of late 1957, for the Block included a fountain of "adequate proportions" at the northern end. He further advised that he was urging the placement of statuary related to Franklin or William Penn on this Block.(19) Subsequent plans for Block Three differed significantly from these ideas and the early proposals of H2L2 which had included a central greensward. The revised interim plans called for the installation of over 32 small fountains laid out in a grid pattern in addition to several large ones, with an eight foot high wrought iron fence enclosing the boundaries. According to Bacon, he and the

chairman of the CPC eliminated the iron fence while the decision to reduce the number of fountains was made by the Secretary of Forests and Waters.(20) The completed block was dedicated in 1963.

Responsibility for the operation and maintenance of the Mall was transferred from the State to the National Park Service in the early 1970's. The Park Service's contribution to the Mall was the Liberty Bell Pavilion, erected on Block One as the new home of the Liberty Bell in 1974. Designed by architect Romaldo Giurgola, the low-lying, contemporary building featured modern building materials in sharp contrast to the brick and granite of the Independence Hall group and the remainder of the Mall.

The staging of Mall construction resulted in three blocks, each having separate themes and identities, much different from the earlier themes of an axial approach to Independence Hall. The final result more closely resembled that suggested by Louis Mumford in 1957:

"Independence Hall needs a setting of green to insulate it from the contemporary city. This setting must take account of east west traffic lanes... The answer, then, is to accept the blocks as the units of design and to organize and furnish them in such a fashion as to give each its individual content instead of trying to relate them visually to the historic buildings they lead to."(21)

The Mall's designer, Roy Larson, evaluated the design process and final result in a 1970 interview, as follows:

"...it's unfortunate in a way that it was done in fragments. I think maybe it would have been better if we had been able to build the whole mall at one time, because this meant that each parcel that we designed and finally detailed and designed, we went through innumerable conferences with innumerable groups, and it's difficult to please everybody in designing a project of this magnitude, and sometimes it was quite frustrating because of this. I don't think any great creation can ever be done by a committee or a group of committees. How different it would have been if we had been able to design the north mall under one contract, it's difficult to say. It might have had greater unity. but on the other hand it might prove in the end the fact that it is really three separate elements which have their own distinctive character. ...This in the end will accrue to its benefit and appeal."(22)

The development of Independence National Historical Park under the direction of the National Park Service proceeded as slowly as the Mall project. The appraisal, acquisition, and demolition of properties proceeded smoothly in comparison with the struggle to arrive at a theme of development and a master plan for the Park. From the signing of the enabling legislation in 1948, it would take over twenty-five years to acquire and demolish the final building and to build and reconstruct the final buildings of the evolved plan. During this period, Judge Lewis would continue to exert his influence and ideas on the development of the Park as Chairman of the eleven member Advisory

Commission appointed by the Secretary of the Interior in 1949.

Initial Park development activities revolved around the investigation of all buildings standing within the proposed boundaries. The enabling legislation was narrowly interpreted resulting in a program calling for the acquisition of all buildings within the proposed boundaries, the preservation of all buildings associated with the Revolution and early Federal government, and the demolition of all others. Chains of title for each building were traced back to William Penn in order to determine historical associations and ownership. Extensive research concentrating on the Revolutionary and Federal periods was conducted using archives and repositories in Philadelphia and other cities. Real estate appraisers George Clarke, John J. Reilly, and Roland R. Randall were engaged to provide opinions on the market value of each property, necessary for acquisition negotiations.

Charles Peterson, the NPS architect sent to Philadelphia to assist in the preparation of the 1947 Shrines Commission Report, was initially responsible for the creation of a master plan for Area A (the section east of Independence Hall) of the Park. Through the early 1950's, Peterson avoided putting his ideas in writing. He stated

his reason for doing so as follows:

"...I was for saving a considerable number of existing buildings that I knew Judge Lewis was eager to pull down. I realized that if I were to set down on paper a plan I could professionally recommend, that it would not be approved. The Park Service's ultimate decision would be to satisfy the Judge. Hence I kept stalling, hoping that some change of circumstances might affect the outcome." (23)

Peterson finally put his ideas down on paper in the form of a sketch plan for Associate Director Arthur Demaray. (24) His plan eliminated the central, axial lawn area of the Shrines Commission plan and called for the construction of new buildings along Chestnut Street and at street corners. (see Exhibit VII-6) Peterson envisioned that these low-rise buildings would house modern park functions and also serve to "visually retain the old street lines and so minimize the visual disruption to the city's ancient fabric". (25) To be retained were the Dilworth-Todd-Moylan, Kid, McIlvaine, and White houses on Walnut Street, the Front Store on Chestnut Street at the alley to Carpenters' Hall, John's Tailor Shop on Sansom Street, and the Irvin, Penn Mutual, and Jayne Buildings. To be reconstructed were the City Tavern on Second Street and Library Hall on Fifth Street. Dock Street was to remain open to vehicular traffic and would access garages at the New Customs House and what is now the site of the visitors center. Peterson also

envisioned a fresh water pond, dammed at Third Street which would duplicate the original lines of Dock Creek.

In January 1953, historian Edward M. Riley wrote to NPS assistant chief historian Herbert Kahler regarding the lack of consensus on a theme of development and the non-existence of any planning on a group level.(26) Riley named the four known ideas for the Park as "Raze and Reforest", "Dream of the Shrine Commission", "Living Museum of Philadelphia Urban Architecture", and "Tool for Interpretation", recommending acceptance of the last. He opposed "Raze and Reforest" which called for the demolition of all but the most significant historical buildings and the landscaping of the cleared sites because it "would completely destroy the urban atmosphere of the Park and would leave a completely false impression in the minds of visitors".(27) The "Dream of the Shrine Commission" was described as calling for the demolition of all but the most significant historical buildings and the reconstruction of houses along Walnut and Chestnut Streets. Riley also opposed the "Living Museum" plan which called for the retention of architecturally significant buildings regardless of age, the demolition of all other buildings and their replacement with modern buildings and landscaping. He considered this a "city improvement plan" designed to "rejuvenate downtown Philadelphia" rather than a national park proposal.

Riley proposed the "Tool for Interpretation" idea. It envisioned the preservation of historic buildings significant in the period 1774-1800 for use in interpreting components of the nation's early history. Under the plan, certain historically significant buildings would be reconstructed, such as Norris Row at Fifth and Chestnut Streets for use as an auditorium and reception center and the City Tavern at Second and Walnut Streets for use as a restaurant. Riley was interested in creating an atmospheric setting, as evidenced by the following comments:

"...we would reconstruct some period buildings to serve...as a stage setting to provide the proper atmosphere for the more important existing historic buildings... We would like to stress the atmosphere by using all the historic props we can scrape together, such as brick sidewalks, old type street lights, pumps, watch boxes, and whatever else we can dig up... I am convinced that it is essential for proper visitor use and enjoyment that he realize that he is in a park first of all and secondly, that he is in a historical park. I don't know how he can feel that unless we make this area different from the surrounding city and from the wooded greens that pass for city parks in this vicinity."(28)

A planning conference was held at the Philadelphia NPS offices in February, 1953. An important result of the meeting was the agreement that the theme of development for the Park would be:

"...based on conditions which existed and the events which occurred during the period 1774 to 1800 and that all other factors should be incidental to and not in conflict with, or an intrusion

upon this main theme".(29)

Plans derived from the conference called for the reconstruction of City Tavern as the main reception and orientation center, the use of the area bounded by Second, Third, Walnut, and Chestnut Streets for parking and the reconstruction of Library Hall and Norris Row on the site of the Drexel Building. Plans for Area B, the greenway extending south from Walnut Street, called for the demolition of an eighteenth century stable behind the Contributionship garden. This decision was rationalized as follows:

"...based on recommendations of the Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission, and action taken by the Congress, combined with the physical problems of developing Project "B", it would not be possible to retain the old stable within the Park."(30)

The conference determined the following required further study: reopening and restoring portions of Dock Creek, depressing Fourth and Fifth Streets between Chestnut and Walnut Streets to reduce the effects of vehicular traffic, and retaining the Jayne and Penn Mutual Buildings.

An outside Architectural Committee was appointed to study the feasibility of retaining the two latter buildings. The committee consisted of Dr. Turpin Bannister, who was at the time head of the School of Architecture at the

University of Illinois and a member of the NPS Advisory Board, Grant Simon, consultant architect to the NPS, and Milton Grigg, architect of Charlottesville, VA.(31) Bannister wrote to Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the NPS, in May, 1953 following a meeting in Philadelphia to study the buildings. According to Bannister, the committee agreed unanimously that "both the Penn Mutual and the Jayne buildings represent very significant stages in the development of American architecture in the nineteenth century".(32) The Penn Mutual building was described as being the second oldest cast iron facaded structure in existence nationally and the possible inspiration for Thomas U. Walter's use of cast iron for the Library of Congress and the Capitol dome in Washington, D.C. (Walter having been the architect supervising the construction of the nearby Jayne Building.) The Jayne building, with its granite seven-story facade, was described as "a remarkable document of the transition to the Chicago School skyscrapers which are universally acknowledged to be the most significant American contribution to modern architecture".(33) Pointed out were the similarities between the Jayne Building and the later Wainwright and Guaranty Buildings in St. Louis, MO and Buffalo, NY, respectively. Both were designs of architect Louis Sullivan who had briefly worked in Frank Furness' architectural office across the street from the Jayne Building. The committee suggested that both buildings be

retained, serving as transitions and buffers between the earlier Park buildings and the modern Customs House, and used, perhaps, as government offices. Their preservation was equated with other post-1800 buildings in the Park as follows:

"The committee recognizes the fundamental purpose of the Park Project in preserving and interpreting the beginnings of the nation. Nevertheless no one questions the desirability of preserving later, wholly commercial monuments, such as the Merchants Exchange or the First and Second Banks of the United States. Their place in preservation is assured not only by public acceptance of the Classical Revival styles they exhibit, but also by their symbolizing of the commercial life of the early republic. Therefore it is illogical to object to preserving the Penn Mutual and Jayne buildings on the grounds that they are commercial structures. Their mid-century dates and their non-Classical styles are thus the primary present handicaps to public recognition of their significance. ...it seems a duty for more informed persons to seek the preservation of key monuments of the period." (34)

Wirth responded to Bannister's report by thanking him for the "sympathetic and reasonable conclusions" reached by the committee and advising that the committee's recommendations to preserve the buildings had his approval and would be incorporated into subsequent development plans. (35) This, however, was not the end of discussion on these buildings. In May, 1953, Grant Simon wrote to Dr. Bannister, taking exception to the latter's report. Simon's recollection of the committee's evaluation of the two

buildings differed greatly from Bannister's, as indicated by the following:

"The committee agreed on two matters only, one that both the Penn Mutual and the Jayne buildings, for different reasons, were of some interest to students of architecture, and two, that providing their preservation did not in any way prejudice the plans of preservation of the Independence National Historic (sic) Park Project, they might be preserved, if not in their entirety at least by means of measured drawings, models and actual sections of the buildings. It was noted that the actual cost of restoration of either or both of these buildings would be considerable and that their value for any purpose other than the record was, at most, questionable."(36)

Simon recollected that the committee had noted that within the Park boundaries were other buildings of "comparable interest to scholars", among them being Furness' Guaranty Bank, the Drexel Building, and the Brown Brothers Building at Fourth and Chestnut Streets. (see Exhibits VII-7 and 8) He stated: "In fact, there is hardly a building in this neighborhood, that lacks either an historical, architectural or whimsical aspect of some interest".(37) Simon suggested that preserving these later buildings would further confound the "problem of rationalizing the preservation within the area of both the Second Bank and the Merchant's Exchange".(38) His urging that his letter be used as the record of the committee's meeting was declined by Bannister whose report had the support of committee member Grigg.(39)

In June, 1953, Simon, at Bannister's suggestion, submitted a "minority report" to Director Wirth. He reiterated the comments made to Bannister and added his own thoughts regarding the specific buildings. He disputed the claim that the Penn Mutual was the first Philadelphia building constructed using cast iron, adding that if the claim was true, it was a matter of local interest only. Regarding the then novel use of cast iron, Simon found it to be "of value to students of building techniques, but of questionable interest to anyone else".(40) He estimated that to renovate the Penn Mutual and Jayne Buildings would cost \$100,000 and a minimum of \$500,000, respectively. Simon presented two arguments to support the demolition of the buildings. The first suggested the need to avoid setting a precedent, as follows:

"Some consideration might be given to the precedent that might be assumed to have been set should these buildings be preserved. There is a group professing interest in the work of Mr. Furness, Architect of the bank building at the southwest corner of Chestnut and Orianna Street, constructed about 1873. It would seem probable for this group to request the preservation of the building as evidence of what they believe to be a new and original theory of architectural design. There are doubtless other instances where similar efforts would be made to preserve buildings of interest to a particular group."(41)

Simon's second argument suggested that it would be difficult for visitors to understand the meaning of the Park if the buildings were allowed to remain. In one emotional

sentence, he downplayed the significance of the buildings and over-estimated their proximity to the "hallowed ground" of Independence Hall.

"...in this area, which is not large and which is immediately adjacent to Independence Hall, the preservation of buildings of admittedly minor importance, constructed some seventy five years after the events culminating in the founding of the nation could appear incongruous and confusing to those millions of people who will be pilgrims to what they hold to be hallowed ground."(42)

The issue of these two buildings would remain unresolved for several more years.

Master Plan conferences were again held in February and March, 1954. A preliminary drawing (NHP-IND 2006), prepared for the conference, primarily exhibited the proposed landscaping treatment, comprising square and rectangular lawns demarcated by bordering trees.(43)(see Exhibit VII-9) The buildings to remain, illustrated as the First and Second Banks, Merchants Exchange, Carpenters' Hall, and five houses along Walnut Street were to be surrounded by trees and, in the case of the latter buildings, by formal gardens. The plan called for the reconstruction of Library Hall and City Tavern, the latter for use as a reception center. Despite the proposed construction of a garage in the block bounded by Chestnut, American, Third, and Dock Streets, Dock Street was shown closed to traffic at Walnut Street. The Irvin

Building remained, but the Penn Mutual and Jayne Buildings were not incorporated into the plan. It was INHP Superintendent M.O. Anderson's recommendation that the latter and certain Carpenters' Court buildings be left off the drawings and that Charles Peterson submit a separate report regarding the preservation of the buildings.(44) Revisions arising from the conference were illustrated in drawing NHP-IND 2006A.(see Exhibit VII-10) Changes included the planned restoration of New Hall and reconstruction of the Fawcitt and Pemberton Houses along Carpenters' Court and the recreation of Whalebone Alley parallel to Carpenters' Court.(45) The impact of the square and rectangular lawns or greens was de-emphasized in favor of a more wooded look through the addition of a sizeable number of trees.

Peterson submitted his report to Anderson on the Jayne and Penn Mutual Buildings and the New Hall and Front Store at Carpenters' Court in April, 1954. He urged the preservation of all four buildings. Peterson recommended that the Jayne Building, which he described as the "first tall commercial building to exploit the advantages of vertical design" and the possible inspiration for Louis Sullivan's later buildings, be used by the government, once unoccupied, as it stood or by retaining the facade in front of new construction.(46) He described the cast iron Penn

Mutual Building as "perhaps the best example available anywhere which could be preserved", needing only a coat of paint.(47) Peterson suggested that the building or its facade be incorporated into the garage planned for the block, an idea illustrated in his earlier sketch plan. Echoing Bannister's argument, he suggested that the two buildings would serve as buffers against the nineteen-story New Customs House. Peterson also described the importance of the Carpenters' Court buildings and suggested that outside opinion be obtained on both.

Anderson forwarded Peterson's memorandum to the Regional Director, presenting his own opinions in a cover letter. Regarding the Jayne and Penn Mutual Buildings, Anderson stated the following:

"...it remains the opinion of the Superintendent that their preservation is inconsistent with the basic Theme of Development recommended March 25, and not required or desirable in relation to the proposed future interpretation program and administration of the Park."(48)

He favored, however, restoration of New Hall because of its pre-1800 construction date and its associations with the early government and was not opposed to the possible restoration of the Front Store.

In 1955, the NPS began to receive letters protesting

the planned demolition of the Jayne, Penn Mutual and Guarantee Trust Buildings. This prompted a discussion, led by Judge Lewis, at the November 16, 1955 meeting of the Advisory Commission. Lewis urged that the Commission adopt a position statement, as follows:

"...the Park area should include only such existing or reconstructed structures as were in existence prior to 1800, and which have adequate historical or political significance connected with the Colonial or 18th century Federal period." (49)

Not discussed was what impact this statement would have on the preservation of the nineteenth century Merchants Exchange and Second Bank. The Commission decided, that before adopting the statement, a report and recommendations should be prepared by advisory architect Grant Simon.

Simon's December, 1955 report to the Advisory Commission repeated many of the statements and arguments made in his 1953 minority report to Conrad Wirth. In addition, he reiterated the original plan of the Shrines Commission which called for the historic buildings set in an open lawn with no obstructions and a perimeter of trees. He stated his belief, which belied the facts, that both Carpenters' Hall and the Second Bank had been designed to be seen from all sides. According to Simon, "The considered plans of the Commission will not reach fruition if irrelevant constructions of minor importance are permitted

to impinge on or obstruct the setting of the buildings of unquestioned historic importance".(50) Simon submitted five recommendations which included limiting the height and depth of new construction and preventing the reconstruction of buildings not in existence between 1774 and 1800. His key recommendation was as follows:

"That Area "A" be cleared of all buildings except those mentioned in the Enabling Act, the Government properties, that is the Second Bank and the new Custom House, Carpenters' Hall and possibly the Kidd and McIlvaine houses, the latter contingent on further research."(51)

A copy of Simon's report was sent to each member of the Commission by chairman Lewis on December 2, 1955 accompanied by a postcard pretyped with language approving the report and its recommendations as a policy statement of the Commission. By December 6, the postcards of approval had been received from all members, the only reservation being expressed by architect Sydney Martin whose approval was contingent upon complete records being made of the Jayne and Penn Mutual Buildings.(52)

Demolition of the Drexel Building at the southeast corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets began in April, 1955 and was completed in November, 1956. The demolition order described, in what became standard language, the work as the demolition of an "existing non-historic building" and the

stated the justification as follows:

"This building is not of historic interest and is not an aid in the Park interpretive program. Its existence prevents development of Area "A" of Independence National Historical Park as indicated in the Master Plan."(53)

In July, 1956, NPS Director Wirth, at the recommendation of Regional Director Daniel Tobin, authorized the demolition of the Penn Mutual Building.(54) Demolition work began in November, 1956 on the Penn Mutual and two adjoining buildings.(55) In a 1980 interview, George Palmer recalled that the central portion of the building's facade was saved and stored at the Fifth and Manning Street yard for several years but was apparently disposed of prior to the Bicentennial.(56)

In November, 1956, Superintendent Anderson wrote to the Regional Director regarding the disposition of the Jayne Building. Anderson presented cost estimates prepared by the General Services Administration for its demolition at \$70,400, fireproof reconstruction at \$2,369,500, and for per annum operation and maintenance at \$153,600.(57) He recommended the site for regional NPS headquarters, either by retaining the Jayne Building facade and a portion of the interior space or by demolishing it for construction of a new building. Anderson voiced his opinion as follows:

"Our preference, however, would be for a new combination office and Visitor Garage building which could be made to harmonize more readily with the predominating architecture of the Park than an adapted Jayne Building with a facade, in any event, wholly out of character."(58)

He urged a decision be made as the Jayne and adjacent buildings would all be vacant by January, 1957, arguing that it would be more economical to demolish the Jayne Building in conjunction with the surrounding structures. In April, 1957, Director Wirth reported to the Advisory Commission that the decision had been made to demolish the Jayne Building and that specifications were being prepared to secure bids for the demolition of it and other buildings in the immediate area.(59) Demolition began in August, 1957 and was completed in March 1958.(60)

The development of the Park progressed slowly, in part due to a lack of sufficient funding. At the April, 1957 Advisory Commission meeting, Wirth reported that complete development of the Park would not be accomplished for another five years.(61) This, in fact, would prove to be an optimistic statement as nearly a decade would be required to complete the Park.

In October, 1957, a revised master plan drawing (NHP-IND 3018A) was presented for review.(62) A major change from earlier drawings was a proposed broad walkway extending

east through the Park from Fifth Street to the northeast corner of the Merchants Exchange.(see Exhibit VII-11) Eighteenth century streets and alleys, such as Whalebone Alley and Library and Harmony Streets, were shown as narrow paths or walkways. A serpentine walkway was illustrated in the section of the Park south of the Second Bank and Library Hall. Eight historic sites, all with pre-1800 associations, were to receive "interpretive landscape development" and to be designated by "interpretive devices". In place of the previously planned garage on the Penn Mutual and Jayne block was illustrated a landscaped area for car and bus parking. The only non-historic building to remain standing (for the foreseeable future) was the Irvin Building.

A revised drawing (NHP-IND 3018B) was approved by NPS Director Wirth and presented to the Advisory Commission in November, 1957.(63) Eliminated from the plan was the axial walkway and enlarged were the historic streets.(see Exhibit VII-12) Through continuing research, two historic sites were added to the list for designation. Despite its title of "Final Plan", subsequent changes over the next decade would include the construction of infill buildings along the 400 block of Walnut Street, the replacement of the serpentine walkway with rectilinear paths, the erection of a visitor center on the Jayne and Penn Mutual block, and the acquisition of additional land east of Second Street.

In 1959, Mayor Richardson Dilworth attended the April meeting of the Advisory Commission. He commented on the lack of communication regarding plans for the Park and the number of complaints being received on the lack of progress in rehabilitating the buildings, adding that "Williamsburg, Virginia was so inspiring, and that the Independence National Park project suffered very much by comparison".(64)

At this time nearly ninety percent of the non-historic buildings had been demolished, with the remainder expected to come down by early 1960. Much of the landscaping had yet to be completed.(65)

In a 1969 interview, Judge Lewis looked back on the Park's development and the results to that date. Lewis considered the Park to be "100% successful" because it accomplished his goals of eliminating the Dock Street Market and the slums around the river. Most of Lewis' comments centered on the clearance of buildings and change needed in the area and not on the issue of preserving historic buildings. In summarizing his thoughts, Lewis made the following statement:

"...at various times I have wondered whether we were erecting a Frankenstein - feeling that maybe we had attempted too much and destroyed too much old property at one time, but I am convinced now that that was, as I then thought it was, the only possible way to bring about the redemption of the whole square mile area of old Philadelphia."(66)

Chapter VII - Endnotes

- (1) The Independence Mall, A Report of the Joint State Government Commission to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Session of 1951, p. 5.
- (2) _____, "Three to Evaluate Mall Real Estate" undated clipping from unnamed newspaper, IHA Scrapbook, INHP Archives.
- (3) Philadelphia City Planning Commission, 1950 Annual Report, p. 14.
- (4) Foundation for Architecture, Philadelphia Architecture (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1984) p. 138.
- (5) J.M. O'Brien, Manager, INHP Project, "Independence Mall", Memorandum to Director, NPS, June 2, 1950, INHP Archives, p. 1.
- (6) Baker Royer, The Independence Mall, A Report of the Joint State Government Commission, 1951, p. v.
- (7) Edwin O. Lewis, as quoted in "\$4 Million State Aid Asked on Mall Project", The Inquirer, undated clipping in IHA Scrapbook, INHP Archives.
- (8) Oscar L. Chapman, as quoted in "\$4 Million State Aid Asked on Mall Project".
- (9) The Independence Mall, A Report of the Joint State Government Commission, p. 12.
- (10) Harbeson, Hough, Livingston & Larson, Architects, Independence Mall - Description, in collection of Philadelphia Art Commission, p. 2.
- (11) Edmund N. Bacon, transcript of interview, Columbia University Oral History Project, 1970, p. 21.
- (12) Rex Polier, "Mall Promises New Life for Historic Center City", Bulletin, January 20, 1954, clipping in IHA Scrapbook, INHP Archives.
- (13) Rex Polier, "Section of Mall to be Ready by 8-15", Bulletin, July 11, 1954, clipping in collection of Philadelphia Art Commission.
- (14) Edmund N. Bacon, transcript of interview, 1970, pp. 23-

4.

- (15) Wright, Andrade, Amenta & Gane, Independence Mall Urban Renewal Area Technical Report, May 1963, Section 4, p. 5.
- (16) Roy Larson, transcript of interview, Columbia University Oral History Project, 1970, pp. 18-19.
- (17) Edwin O. Lewis, quoted in INHP Advisory Commission Minutes, November 8, 1957 Meeting, INHP Archives, p. 2.
- (18) Ibid., p. 2.
- (19) Ibid., p. 2.
- (20) Edmund N. Bacon, transcript of interview, 1970, p. 22.
- (21) Lewis Mumford, "The Sky Line", The New Yorker, February 9, 1957, copy in collection of INHP, p. 105.
- (22) Roy Larson, transcript of interview, pp. 32-32.
- (23) Charles E. Peterson, Statement Regarding the Original INHP General Plan, February 7, 1984, INHP Archives, p. 1.
- (24) Ibid., p. 1.
- (25) Ibid., p. 1.
- (26) Edward M. Riley, letter to Herbert Kahler, January 29, 1953, INHP Archives, p. 1.
- (27) Ibid., p. 2.
- (28) Ibid., pp. 2 and 3.
- (29) Conrad Wirth, as quoted in minutes of INHP Advisory Commission, March 3, 1953 meeting, INHP Archives, p. 2.
- (30) Ibid., p. 4.
- (31) Ibid., P. 3.
- (32) Turpin C. Bannister, letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director, National Park Service, May 13, 1953, INHP Archives, p. 1.

- (33) Ibid., p. 4.
- (34) Ibid., p. 4.
- (35) Conrad L. Wirth, Director, National Park Service,
letter to Dr. Turpin C. Bannister, May 29, 1955,
INHP Archives, p. 1.
- (36) Grant M. Simon, letter to Dr. Turpin Chambers Bannister, May 16, 1953, INHP Archives, p. 1
- (37) Ibid., p. 2.
- (38) Ibid., p. 2.
- (39) Grant M. Simon, letter to Conrad L. Wirth, Director,
National Park Service, June 12, 1953, INHP Archives, p. 3.
- (40) Ibid., p. 1.
- (41) Ibid., p. 2.
- (42) Ibid., p. 2.
- (43) NHP-Ind #2006, Development Plan - Area A, March 1954,
INHP Archives.
- (44) Charles E. Peterson, Resident Architect, "Recommendations re: Jayne, Penn Mutual and Carpenters' Court Buildings", Memorandum to Superintendent, April 15, 1954, INHP Archives, p. 1.
- (45) NHP-Ind #2006A, Development Plan - Area A, March 1954,
INHP Archives.
- (46) Op Cit., p. 2.
- (47) Ibid., p. 4.
- (48) M.O. Anderson, Superintendent, Memorandum to Regional Director, Region One, "Master Plan - Status of "Jayne", "Penn Mutual", and "The New Hall and "The Front Store", Carpenters' Court", April 16, 1954, INHP Archives, p. 1.
- (49) Edwin O. Lewis, as quoted in minutes of INHP Advisory Commission, November 16, 1955 meeting, INHP Archives, p. 11.
- (50) Grant M. Simon, F.A.I.A., Advisory Architect to the

Commission, "Report to Advisory Commission of the Independence National Historical Park", December, 1955, INHP Archives, p. 3.

(51) Ibid., p. 4.

(52) _____, Minutes of Meeting of INHP Advisory Commission, November 16, 1955 with addenda dated December 1, 2, and 6, 1955, INHP Archives, p. 11.

(53) D.F. Benson, completed Project Construction Program Proposal Form for the Drexel Building, July 28, 1954, INHP Archives, p.1.

(54) M.O. Anderson, Superintendent, INHP, "Master Plan-Independence - Disposition of Jayne Building", Memorandum to Regional Director, Region Five, November 27, 1956, INHP Archives, p. 3.

(55) Charles S. Grossman, Resident Architect, completed "Completion Report of Construction Project" for Buildings 41, 53, and 154, April 15, 1957, INHP Archives, p. 1.

(56) George Palmer, transcript of interview, 1980, INHP Archives, pp. 6-7.

(57) M.O. Anderson, Memorandum to Regional Director, November 27, 1956, p. 3.

(58) Ibid., p. 2.

(59) Conrad Wirth, as quoted in minutes of INHP Advisory Commission, April 40, 1957 meeting, INHP Archives, p. 3.

(60) Charles S. Grossman, Architect, completed "Completion Report of Construction Project" for Buildings 40, 46, and 52, May 14, 1958, INHP Archives, p. 1.

(61) Op Cit., p. 2.

(62) Development Plan - Areas A & B, Part of the Master Plan, Drawing No. NHP-IND 3018A, dated 10/10/1957, INHP Archives.

(63) Development Plan - Areas A & B, Part of the Master Plan, marked Final Plan, Drawing No. NHP-IND 3018B, approved 11/20/1957, INHP Archives.

(64) Richardson Dilworth, quoted in INHP Advisory Commission

Minutes, April 29, 1959 Meeting, INHP Archives, P. 2.

- (65) Conrad Wirth, quoted in INHP Advisory Commission Minutes, May 25, 1959 Meeting, INHP Archives, p. 4.
- (66) Edwin O. Lewis, transcript of interview, Columbia University Oral History Project, January 2, 1969, INHP Archives, pp. 25-6.

Chapter VIII - Voices of Protest

During the design phases for Independence Mall and Independence National Historical Park, various parties protested aspects of the plans. With few exceptions, each protest focused on the preservation of a particular building or business area or on specific design proposals. Whether individual or group protests, none succeeded in altering the theme or final creation of the Mall and Park.

An 1944 editorial in a small center city publication was one of the few to express negative thoughts regarding the IHA's early proposals. The major Philadelphia papers, such as the Inquirer, Bulletin, and Public Ledger generally supported the proposals for improving the setting around Independence Hall. The editorial followed a talk given by Judge Lewis to the FPAA in which he urged the hiring of Robert Moses, New York City Park Commissioner, to plan the park. The editorial protested the need for such a park and the hiring of a non-Philadelphian for its execution. It argued that to set Independence Hall "in a park of such huge size, surrounded by "malls, landscaped avenues ", etc., etc., would make it look like a Tee on a Golf Course".(1) The editorial more strongly questioned the motives of its promoters:

"The National Park proposed by Judge Lewis, and already campaigned for in Congress is ill-timed. It is a huge real estate promotion scheme which would enable certain favored property owners to rid themselves of the burden of undesirable real estate and load it on the Government at enhanced values. Many of these properties are under the control of Albert M. Greenfield, who first suggested this Park several years ago to take in his building 523 Chestnut Street. Since then, the plan has developed to colossal proportions, the one in Congress even suggesting the inclusion of Dock Street."(2)

In a circa 1944 study of assessed values, the owner of 523 Chestnut Street, a building designed by Philadelphia architect James Windrim, was listed as the International Re-Insurance Corporation, and not Albert Greenfield.(3) Interestingly, Greenfield, despite his potential conflict of interest as a center city real estate broker, was appointed to the Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission and elected Vice-Chairman in 1946. He later served as a member of the Independence National Historical Park Advisory Commission. A Democrat, Greenfield played an active role in city politics for several decades.

In 1947, Roy Larson expressed concern over the Shrines Commission's enlarged plans for the area east of Independence Hall. In a February 24, 1947 letter to Judge Lewis, he asserted that:

"the simple, dignified and comprehensive plan for a Mall to the north and a Park and Mall to the

east of Independence Square is being complicated and cut up into many little areas and minor avenues going in all directions, and the large ideas almost dwarfed by minor details".(4)

Larson considered the important area to be that incorporating the sites associated with the establishment of our government, i.e., Carpenters' Hall, the Independence Hall group, and Philosophical Hall. He suggested that all other buildings and sites be developed by the City of Philadelphia as part of its redevelopment plans. Larson further suggested, rather than trying to find areas to increase the size of the Federal government's portion of the project, that both the areas to the north and east of Independence Hall become a cooperative undertaking by the Federal and State governments.

Larson's suggestions fell on deaf ears. Judge Lewis responded courteously in a letter dated February 26, 1947 but reaffirmed his plans for an enlarged park east of Independence Hall, incorporating as many historic buildings as possible and demolishing all others.(5)

The following day, Lewis and FPAA representative Harold Noble met with members of the Market Street Businessmen's Association to hear their grievances regarding the Mall construction. Their representatives were invited to attend the March 11, 1947 meeting of the Shrines Commission to

express their concerns. According to the minutes of the meeting, Mr. Morris Passon stated that the Association was not opposed to the planned development of areas around Independence Hall but was concerned with the condemnation of buildings and the negative aspects of relocating their businesses. The Commission's responses were to criticize the late date of the objections, to cite the so-called hazardous conditions of the buildings, and to explain the ultimate economic advantages to the area. Regarding the latter, it is interesting to note that, according to the minutes, "Mr. Passon quoted the amount of annual business done in the area, but Mr. Greenfield said that had no bearing on the matter".(6)

Louis Magaziner, a Philadelphia architect hired by the Association to study the Mall plans, also presented his concerns at the meeting. Magaziner believed the scope of the proposed mall would make Independence Hall look insignificant as, in his opinion, the Mall in France did to Versailles. According to the minutes, "another objection by Mr. Magaziner was that the Mall, as proposed did not conform to a colonial design, and that such a wide open space would emphasize the poor quality of the exposed adjoining buildings".(7) He proposed, instead, as an appropriate setting for Independence Hall, a Mall extending between Fifth and Sixth Streets from Chestnut St. one-half

block to Ludlow Street. This, in fact, was the area recommended by Kelsey and Boyd in their 1916 proposal.

Roy Larson, attending the meeting as a representative of the IHA, was the only person to directly refute Magaziner's comments regarding the scope of the mall. According to the minutes, "He used Williamsburg, its Mall, the Governor's Mansion, etc. to compare the results expected from the Philadelphia Mall and Park".(8) All agreed with Magaziner's comments regarding the buildings flanking the proposed Mall area with some members expressing the hope that these buildings might be altered to present "more harmonious appearances".

Passon summed up the presentation for the Businessmen's Association by requesting that consideration be given to the economic problems to be faced by its members. Following Passon's and Magaziner's departure from the meeting, the Commission voted to proceed with its large scale Mall and Park proposals.

Charles Peterson, NPS architect, was a vocal opponent to many of the ideas in plans developed first by the Shrines Commission and later by the NPS planners. Peterson won some battles but lost the war in the development of the Park.

Peterson's initial concerns upon reviewing the Shrines Commission's proposals were expressed in his 1947 Preliminary Shrines Commission Report. Peterson objected to the reconstruction of previously existing buildings and the imposition of new streets and architectural axes upon the basic layout of the area. According to Peterson:

"The peculiar urban pattern of early Philadelphia will always be of more interest to visitors than modern fashions in planning... Connecting the little old buildings of the district with formal and symmetrical axes a la Burnham to develop new "lines of sight" would create relationships which have never existed before and which offer, in the writer's opinion, no important advantages."(9)

To support his views, Peterson included in his report comments from Roy Larson, Dr. Hans Huth of the Art Institute of Chicago, Dr. Turpin C. Bannister, dean of the School of Architecture and Fine Arts at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute and chairman of the AIA National Committee for the Preservation of Historic Monuments. Huth was quoted as saying:

"I hope they won't pull down too much in Philadelphia. I (would) hate to see Independence Hall in splendid isolation, landscaped like a rest room."(10)

According to Bannister:

"The proposed creation of a grand mall on the axis of Independence Hall in Philadelphia threatens to disrupt the eighteenth century character of this unique building. This is not to say that the

present adjoining buildings form a suitable setting for the cradle of the republic, but it would (be) equally inept to impose a grandiosa neoclassical or Grand Prix parti on it."(11)

Echoing Huth's comments, Peterson urged that the demolition of buildings be kept to a minimum necessary level. It would appear, however, that Peterson's subjective opinion of many of the buildings did not differ from that of Judge Lewis and his associates.

"It will be generally agreed to in principle that ugly modern buildings in this area should be removed to improve the setting of the historic buildings. There will, however, be differences of opinions as to the extent to which this should be carried. When one building is pulled down, there is another immediately behind it which is often less attractive. If the pulling down is kept up long enough it will leave the historic buildings standing in large open spaces like country churches, a condition which their designers did not plan for. And ugly buildings will still frame the park area."(12)

The City Planning Commission (CPC) also objected to aspects of the Shrines Commission's plans. It called a meeting for July 11, 1947 which was attended by Robert Mitchell, Executive Secretary of the CPC, Edmund Bacon, CPC Senior Planner, Sidney Martin, President of the FPAA, Roy Larson, Vice President of IHA, Grant Simon, architect for the Shrines Commission, and Charles Peterson and Roy Appleman, both of the National Park Service.(13) According to Appleman's summary of the meeting, Mitchell had been

instructed by Edward Hopkinson, CPC Chairman, to communicate the CPC's interest in "maintaining existing street integrity in the proposed Federal area", particularly along Walnut Street. The CPC also strongly believed that, in any development plan for the area, provisions should be made to continue the existence of the businesses along Walnut and Chestnut Streets.

Roy Larson stated his belief that the area should be developed with the retention or rebuilding of structures adjacent to the historic buildings. He believed that many of the non-historic buildings should be retained and kept in use for business purposes. Although Mitchell and Bacon agreed with these views, Sidney Martin did not. Martin shared the Shrines Commission's desire for a park-like setting with large expanses of lawn and trees but suggested a compromise could be reached in which certain buildings might be retained or rebuilt for modern use.

Perhaps recognizing the futility of suggesting the retention of nineteenth and twentieth century buildings to the Shrines Commission, Martin, Larson and Mitchell agreed that the proposed legislation to be recommended by the Shrines Commission "should contain clauses stating that in the future development of the area, street frontages, particularly on Walnut and Chestnut Streets, should be

available for the erection of new structures".(14) It was envisioned that these buildings might serve as inns and taverns or other public uses related to the Park or for private, business uses. Mitchell stated his intention to write to Judge Lewis requesting the insertion of such language in the proposed legislation and the reflection of same in Simon's drawings. He further stated that if such changes were made, the CPC would "present a unified front with Judge Lewis and the Shrines Commission". His leverage, however, was weakened by a statement made earlier in the meeting in the presence of Lewis' associate and confidante, Simon, in which Mitchell advised that the CPC would not publicly oppose Judge Lewis and the final Shrines Commission report, regardless of its private views. Despite the absence of the suggested language in the proposed legislation, the Shrines Commission report contained a letter of support from the CPC.

Larson continued to promote the retention of businesses in the Park area. A 1948 newspaper article entitled, "Keep 'Insurance Row', Shrine Planner Urges" highlighted points of a talk to be given by Larson to a Business Men's Conference on Philadelphia's Future. The title was misleading in that Larson was not proposing the preservation of the buildings along Chestnut and Walnut Streets in the Park area but the erection of new buildings to house insurance companies and

other businesses in the area. Larson was quoted in the article as follows:

"We must, of course, preserve and restore historical sites, but we must also re-establish the entire Independence Hall area commercially as well. There is no reason why insurance companies and other desirable businesses should not be permitted to erect structures which would harmonize with the general layout of the area."(15)

Sporadic protests against the Mall continued throughout the late 1940's and early 1950's, heightening as the State finalized plans to acquire the first block of the Mall. In January, 1949, Louis Herbach, owner of 522 Market Street, was quoted as saying "Independence Hall would look like a peanut in a two block vista".(16) In July, 1949, the Philadelphia Merchants Central Business Association announced a campaign to raise funds to fight the Mall project.(17) In September, 1949, the Pennsylvania organization of Disabled American Vets offered its support to the Association in its efforts to reduce the scope of the Mall.(18) The Association, which was opposed to extending the Mall beyond the Ludlow Street boundary recommended by Louis Magaziner, claimed to represent two hundred firms in the area. By November, 1949, it had distributed 500,000 anti-Mall leaflets and held several protest rallies. Its contention that the Mall would displace merchants doing \$100 million in business annually was largely ignored.(19)

Following the State acquisition of the first block of the Mall, protest activities of the Association were directed toward preventing further acquisitions. The Association claimed that an extension of the Mall beyond Market Street would affect the jobs of 4,000 persons. In a circa 1951 newspaper article, Samuel Ponnock, secretary of the Association, was quoted as follows:

"The south side of Market is the logical place to stop the Mall under existing circumstances. There is no validity in the argument advanced by the proponents of the extension that such an extension is necessary to protect Independence Hall from fire hazard."(20)

Despite the Association's arguments, the Mall project continued. In 1952, Bulletin columnist Paul Jones commented on the demolition and resultant vistas. By this time most of the first block had been demolished. According to Jones, "Two obstinate and muscular bank buildings on Chestnut Street alone resist the wrecker's crowbar".(21)(22) (see Exhibit VIII-1) With the demolition of the first block, an unobstructed view of the full streetscape of the 500 block of the north side of Market Street was possible. (see Exhibit VIII-2) Jones noted that the first floors of storefronts had been modernized but that the upper floors and rooflines had changed very little. He stated:

"The skyline...has changed very little in the past 93 years. Baxter's Panoramic Business Directory of Philadelphia for 1859...showed 18 commer-

cial buildings on the north side...atleast 13 of the 18 components in its skyline survive. These fine examples of Philadelphia commercial brickwork probably went up...after a disastrous fire in 1856 wiped out the whole block."(23)

Jones was simply commenting on conditions and not protesting the demolition of the bank buildings nor the Market Street streetscape. He inadvertantly provided arguable grounds for the preservation of the buildings, but no one took up the cry.

The fate of three buildings within the Park boundaries generated waves of protest during the 1950's. All three, the Jayne Building, the Guarantee Safe Deposit and Trust Co. Building and the Penn Mutual Building, were subsequently demolished by the National Park Service. Buildings along Walnut Street were also demolished despite protests in the 1950's and 1970's.

In 1950, a group of owners of properties on the 400 block of Walnut Street wrote to the Secretary of the Interior regarding the fate of their buildings. The group, consisting of the Fire Association of Philadelphia, the Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company, Charles T. Easterby & Co., Robert M. Coyle Co., and Severio Antonelli, requested that properties along the block not be acquired by the government and offered to consider altering the facades of

the buildings to blend with the Park project.(24) The group further requested that, if the buildings were to be acquired, present occupancies be allowed to remain in place. On April 19, 1950, Arthur E. Demaray, Associate Director of the NPS, advised a representative of the Fire Association that no final plans had been made regarding the block. He further stated "there was a possibility that their proposal could in some way be incorporated in the final plans for development of the Park".(25)

At the April, 1950 Advisory Commission meeting, when this matter was raised, Joseph M. O'Brien advised that he and Melford O. Anderson, both in charge of property acquisition, had met with the owners and occupants of the block. According to O'Brien, Charles Easterby was the only member of the group who did not appear to be sympathetic to the Park project. He further down-played the letter, citing other property owners desirous of selling their buildings, such as the Home Fire Insurance Company at 421 Walnut and the U.S. Fidelity & Guaranty Company at Sansom and Fifth Streets. O'Brien's comments to the owners, as summarized in the Advisory Commission minutes, differed from those of Demaray and illustrated the narrow interpretation of the enabling legislation which would dictate the extent of his acquisition program:

"All had been informed that while their situation was appreciated and we were sensitive to and very willing to consider future possibilities of their continued occupancy under improvement leases or otherwise, the law required that the properties be purchased by the Government." (26)

All properties were acquired without further protest.

Charles Peterson of the NPS staunchly supported the retention of the Penn Mutual and Jayne Buildings and had written of their architectural importance in 1950 and 1951 issues of the Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians. (27) He also deliberately included an illustration of the Jayne Building in the publication of his 1952 speech "Philadelphia's New National Park". (28) Other historians also highlighted the buildings in their publications. In 1953, Robert C. Smith, Associate Professor of the History of Art at the University of Pennsylvania, discussed all three in a paper entitled "Two Centuries of Philadelphia Architecture 1700-1900" which appeared in the publication, Historic Philadelphia. Smith described the Penn Mutual and Jayne Buildings as two extant Philadelphia buildings "of considerable importance in the architectural history of the nation". (29) Regarding Frank Furness and his work, Smith quoted William Campbell from his 1951 article "Frank Furness: an American Pioneer", in which Campbell described Furness as Philadelphia's greatest architect of the late nineteenth century and one of the pioneers of the

modern movement in America.(30) Smith stated:

"...he (Furness) tried to emphasize form and space and the intrinsic beauty of materials, which are the real ingredients of fine architecture. Furness also tried to revitalize architectural ornament by the use of boldly expressive naturalistic elements derived from the teaching of Ruskin. Often he was not entirely successful in what he attempted to do. At other times, however, as in the buildings of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1872, the Guaranty Safe Deposit and Trust Company of 1875, and most of all the Provident Trust Company of 1879, his style assumed a daring massiveness of form and an audacious breadth of space which are a true expression of force in architecture. The presence of no less than a dozen great Furness buildings in our metropolitan area, surrounded as they are by other masterpieces of the nineteenth century, makes Philadelphia and unrivalled center for the study of the civil architecture of the period."(31)

The growing interest in nineteenth century architecture and the attention being given certain buildings in the Park area caused some concern in the Park Service. Adding to this was the upcoming meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians to be held in Philadelphia January 28 - 31, 1954. Charles Peterson was scheduled to participate and lead a tour of the Park area. On January 12, 1954, Superintendent Anderson sent a memorandum to Peterson establishing "our attitude and position in contacts outside the service relative to the plans and disposition of the Jayne and Penn Mutual Buildings in the final development and future operation and administration of the Park."(32) At this time the fate of the two buildings was still

undecided. Anderson strongly stated:

"It is considered imperative that every precaution be taken to avoid arousing or influencing interest or action among individuals or groups outside the Service either for or against the permanent retention of these structures within the Park ... While it is recognized that it will be neither possible or desirable to ignore the architectural interest of the two buildings in question, we should completely avoid any tendency to comment or influence attitudes among this group (SAH), either for or against the ultimate preservation of these structures as a permanent feature of the Park."(33)

Despite Anderson's admonition, someone was successful in maintaining outside interest in these issues which was primarily evidenced by letters sent to the Park Service and Judge Lewis.(34) At the November 16, 1955 meeting of the Advisory Commission, Judge Lewis expressed his concerns regarding the effect of special interest groups on the development plans for the Park. His comments, summarized below, reflected the standard, narrow interpretation of the enabling legislation and a short memory regarding the earlier, smaller-in-scope, proposals:

"...one group, primarily representing certain architects and architectural interests, were recommending the retention of the Jayne, Penn Mutual, Tradesmens Bank(sic), and possibly other structures, or reconstructions, not related to the historic focal period of the Park, the late 1700's, and in effect were encouraging the development and preservation of an Architectural Museum within the Park. He stated that this is directly contrary to purposes expressed in the Shrines Commission report to the Congress, to the Act of Congress providing for the development of the Park, and to the broad original purposes which the original promoters of the Park

had in mind." (35)

A circa 1956 newspaper article entitled, "3 Architectural Landmarks are Doomed; They Don't Fit Independence Hall Motif", reported that the Guarantee and Jayne Buildings had been scheduled for demolition. The article drew on the writings of Smith and Peterson to document the importance of the buildings. Interviewed for the article, Anderson gave the standard responses as justification for the buildings' demolition:

"Their fundamental interest is architectural and has no basic relationship to the park story - America's political development between 1774 and 1800. ...As for the Jayne Building, there are other examples of early skyscraper development in Philadelphia." (36)

At about this time, Judge Lewis and the Park Service began receiving letters from architects and art and architectural historians regarding the buildings.

Architect Philip Johnson wrote to Judge Lewis in 1956 to protest the demolition "of some of the finest buildings in Philadelphia", particularly the Guarantee Building by Frank Furness. In a sarcastic or thinly veiled threat, Johnson suggested he might organize an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, entitled, "Philadelphia Tears Down Its Monuments". Johnson further stated:

"I most regret the Furness Bank in front of Carpenter's Hall, but much more than my personal feeling is the loss to Philadelphia of a building by its greatest architect. Furness was a giant among pigmies. He lived at a time when architecture was not appreciated and he had the strength to go against his entire generation. If we in the United States are to join in the cultural life of the Western World, we cannot allow the whims of commerce to dictate what buildings will be preserved for the common heritage and what will be destroyed."(37)

Judge Lewis responded to what must have been a most irritating letter, the Furness Building being one of his least favorite buildings, as follows:

"These buildings are out of character with the older buildings to be preserved in Independence National Historical Park and also do not belong to the Colonial or Federal period of Philadelphia's history. These buildings are interesting only to architects and it seems to us that photographs will suffice to preserve their appearance and dimensions. There would be a heavy restoration and maintenance cost and no possible use for occupancy that we can see now."(38)

In the same month, Lewis also received a letter from Carroll L.V. Meeks, a professor in the School of Architecture and Design at Yale University, a past president of the Society of Architectural Historians, and a member of the A.I.A. Committee on the Preservation of Historic Buildings. Meeks urged the retention of the Guarantee, Penn Mutual and Jayne Buildings as structures representing the "vigor and creative originality of the America of the 19th century" and took issue with the Park's 1776-1800 development theme in view of

its urban location. Meeks stated:

"The Independence Hall project is one of the outstanding examples of national interest in the preservation of our architectural heritage, but it differs from the Williamsburg and Old Deerfield projects in that it is located in a city which has grown continuously; hence it is highly artificial to restore the area back to a given date as though there had been no subsequent development. From the long range point of view, the preservation of our architectural heritage is not limited to specific periods but should be a record of continuing development... I hope that this broader point of view may come to prevail among preservationists everywhere." (39)

Lewis' response to Meeks was not uncovered in research. Following additional letters from Horace H.F. Jayne, descendent of the first owner of the Jayne building, and various professors in the Art Department at Pennsylvania State University, Lewis wrote to Melvin O. Anderson, superintendent of INHP. His comments indicate that he missed the point of the preservation issues raised in the letters, considering them simply a nuisance, as follows:

"Somebody is stirring up letters from uninformed people. It is amazing how easy it is to get people to write letters advocating something, the eventual consequences of which they do not comprehend. If the idea of these art teachers had prevailed many years ago, the City of New York would still be a glorified small town, and even the Frank Furness buildings would never have been constructed in Philadelphia, the latter of which would have been a great piece of good luck for the City." (40)

In December, 1956, Edmund R. Purves, Executive Director

of the A.I.A., wrote to Conrad L. Wirth, Director of the National Park Service regarding the status of the three buildings. By this time, the Penn Mutual Building had already been demolished. In his response, Wirth stated that the buildings were not architecturally significant, directly contradicting the reports of Bannister and Peterson on the Penn Mutual and Jayne Buildings, as follows:

"...Extensive historical and planning research has been made over the past ten years without coming up with anything concerning them of sufficient importance to justify their retention in an area of buildings of outstanding architectural and historical significance."(41)

According to Wirth, the Guarantee Building competed with the important Carpenters' Hall, was not readily convertible to a non-bank use, and was "not generally considered one of Furness' better designs". Regarding the Jayne Building, he stated, "The street facade is the only remaining interest, and that is of doubtful value".(42)

In responding to Purves, Wirth also addressed the issue of possible re-use of the buildings, as follows:

"Insofar as possible, the use should reflect the occupancy for which the buildings were originally constructed. These buildings are scarcely suitable for museum purposes and are not needed for Park operation. The Government cannot rent to private individuals or firms for office purposes without receiving criticism of unfair competition from firms who may have comparable space available."(43)

The Mall and Park projects also attracted the attention of architectural historian, Lewis Mumford. Mumford had been in Philadelphia since 1951 as a visiting professor in Regional Planning at the University of Pennsylvania.(44) Between November, 1956 and April, 1957, he penned three articles regarding the projects which appeared in issues of The New Yorker magazine. The first article discussed the projects in general terms, describing their large scope and the numerous issues raised. Mumford stated:

"The civic and architectural sprucing up of Philadelphia...differs from the revivals that are likewise taking place in Pittsburgh, St. Louis, New York, and Boston. For this revival is not merely concerned with making the new quarters of the city more inhabitable; it is also devoted to rescuing its historic monuments from a century and a half of unseemly neglect. ...The focus of this activity in Philadelphia is Independence and the issues raised by the planning and restoration that have gone on in the area around it bring up the many important questions about the dynamics of city development, including how historic a city can afford to be. ...The decisions made will form a precedent for other cities."(45)

In the second article Mumford questioned the design and scope of the Mall, citing the inappropriateness of a grandiose setting for the Georgian simplicity of Independence Hall and its adjacent buildings. Mumford preferred the original plan of Larson's with its southerly semi-circular colonnade and northerly monument over the revised plans being executed. In describing the

inappropriateness of the revised plan, Mumford stated:

"...a planner who had equally freed himself from Baroque political and spacial perspectives would, I believe, turn up with an entirely different solution, and a much more fitting one. He should respect tradition in the design of the Mall, but the tradition that should be understood and carried further is that of Philadelphia, with its ample squares, uniform roof lines, and its intimate gardens, not that imposed by the servants of an absolute monarchy seeking to translate into space the mysteries of absolute power and centralized political control."(46)

Mumford suggested an alternative approach in which each block, already separated from its neighbors by the east-west streets of Market and Arch, be treated as a separate, unique unit. He presented his ideas, as follows:

"Instead of concentrating on an axial approach, the architects might have created, quite in the spirit of Philadelphia, a series of connected enclosed areas, strung along a series of short, continually shifting axes, each forming a sort of outdoor room, with shrubbery and trees providing a screen...Symbolically, each of the enclosures might've been dedicated to one of the thirteen founding states, and a series of fountains...might have given the whole design an animation and a vitality it now lacks."(47)

Mumford was equally critical of the Federal handling of preservation and design issues in the Park project. He cited the difficulty in deciding the fate of historical buildings such as the Guarantee, Penn Mutual, and Jayne Buildings and questioned the proposed treatments of such buildings as Carpenters' Hall, the First and Second Banks,

and the Merchants Exchange. In addition, he questioned the reconstruction of New Hall and Library Hall. Mumford suggested that the Guarantee Building shielded the Carpenters' Hall, the latter being in a recessed position from Chestnut Street. He made the point, overlooked by many of the planners, that exposing the building, which he described as "somewhat gawky", "would obliterate the greatest historical point about its position", i.e. that its position had made it the location of clandestine meetings resulting in the Revolution.(48) Mumford also disagreed with plans to expose, through the demolition of adjacent buildings, the sides of the First and Second Banks, which he described as mediocre and uninteresting, respectively. Again, he pointed out that the side facades of the latter had never been intended for such exposure.

Mumford recognized the existence of factions which advocated varying levels of preservation, demolition, restoration, and reconstruction:

"Those concerned with this matter divide into several groups. There are:

- 1) those advocating creating a handsome frame for the old picture
- 2) those advocating creating a greatly enlarged picture, filled with pseudo-Colonial reproductions that would blend with the originals
- 3) those whose bump of historic respect disap-

pears between 1800 and 1840

- 4) those who believe that characteristic mementos of each generation should be cherished until they become a positive nuisance
- 5) 'total preservationists' who would permanently maintain these significant examples even if they impede a sound new development."(49)

It is evident from Mumford's observations that he saw the factions in power in Philadelphia falling into the second and third groups, with Charles Peterson falling into the fifth. His own attitudes were evident in the following statements:

"If Mr. Peterson's wise lead is followed, the general rehabilitation of this area will not bring about a reign of compulsive Colonialism. There will be, rather, a wider variety of buildings, carried over from the past or newly built, each representing a significant moment in our national development. Only after 1840 did a truly indigenous architecture spring up in America."(50)

"What our historic buildings need, if they are to stand out in all their brave uniqueness, is just the opposite of (the INHP plan) - the benefit of contrast provided by a modern urban setting, whose fresh comeliness and order do justice to what Colonial and Federal Philadelphia bequeathed to us."(51)

Conrad Wirth's response to the series of articles was made in a speech delivered at the Poor Richard Club in Philadelphia on April 30, 1957 in which he outlined and described the basic purposes of the Park.(52) Wirth's comments made at the April 30, 1957 meeting of the INHP

Advisory Commission, held earlier that day, indicated how narrowly the Shrines Commission's recommendations and the enabling legislation continued to be interpreted by the Park Service in the planning of the Park. His comments were summarized as follows:

"He stated that he had read with interest the series of articles by Louis (sic) Mumford and believed that in some respects Mr. Mumford had missed the basic point and purposes associated with the design, development and future interpretation of the Park as originally intended by the Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission, and as expressed in Public Law #795 adopted by the Congress in 1948." (53)

Protests regarding the Park's development lessened as the better known structures were demolished. The interest of architects and architectural historians was aroused in the 1970's when the NPS acquired the Irvin Building at the northwest corner of Fourth and Walnut Streets and announced its intended demolition. The building had been erected in 1911 and 1929, the latter addition being designed by Philadelphia architect, Ernest J. Matthewson. On May 11, 1972, Henry J. Magaziner, architect and son of Louis Magaziner, wrote on behalf of the Committee on Conservation and Historic Preservation, Philadelphia Chapter of the A.I.A., to Rogers C.B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, urging the retention of the Irvin Building. (54) Magaziner was appointed Regional Historical Architect for the Park

Service in 1972 but continued in his role as spokesperson for the preservation committee of the local A.I.A. chapter. The government responded that despite the "changing views of historic preservation", the building was "not a historic part of the interpretive and legislative concept".(55) Letters were also written by George E. Thomas in 1973, on behalf of the Preservation Committee of the Philadelphia Chapter, Society of Architectural Historians.(56) Thomas received responses from Park Superintendent Chester A. Brooks and Ernest A. Connally, Chief of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.(57) The latter referred, as had his associates on previous buildings, to the requirements of the enabling legislation as the basis for the building's demolition.(58) Despite the twenty year difference, the attitudes of the Park Service had changed little regarding the Park's theme of development or parameters for building preservation and demolition.

Chapter VIII - Endnotes

- (1) _____, "The Shrine of Liberty", Philadelphia Journal (Phila: A.A. Christie) Vol. I, No. 8, February 2, 1944, p. 2.
- (2) Ibid., p. 1.
- (3) Charles Abell Murphy, Memorandum to Independence Hall Association, undated, INHP Archives.
- (4) Roy F. Larson, letter to Judge Edwin O. Lewis, February 24, 1947, in collection of INHP Archives, p. 1.
- (5) Edwin O. Lewis, Chairman, Phila. National Shrines Park Commission, letter to Roy F. Larson, Vice President, Independence Hall Association, February 26, 1947, in collection of INHP Archives, 4pp.
- (6) Minutes of Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission meeting held March 11, 1947, in collection of INHP Archives, p. 2.
- (7) Ibid., p. 3.
- (8) Ibid., p. 3.
- (9) Charles E. Peterson, Preliminary Shrines Commission Report, 1947, in collection of INHP Archives, p. 13.
- (10) Hans Huth, March 20, 1947, as quoted by Charles Peterson in Preliminary Shrines Commission Report, p. 14.
- (11) Turpin C. Bannister, April 10 1947, as quoted by Charles Peterson in Preliminary Shrines Commission Report, p. 14.
- (12) Charles E. Peterson, Preliminary Shrines Commission Report, 1947, p. 16.
- (13) Roy Appleman, Memorandum dated September 30, 1947, in collection of INHP Archives, p. 8.
- (14) Ibid., p. 14.
- (15) Roy F. Larson, as quoted in "Keep 'Insurance Row', Shrine Planner Urges", Philadelphia Inquirer, October 10, 1948, in IHA Scrapbook, INHP Archives.

- (16) Louis Herbach, as quoted in "Councilmen Vote Mall at Shrine", Philadelphia Inquirer, January 7, 1949, in IHA Scrapbook, INHP Archives.
- (17) _____, "200 Merchants to Raise Fund to Fight Mall Project at Shrine", Evening Bulletin, July 15, 1947, in IHA Scrapbook, INHP Archives.
- (18) _____, "Disabled Vets Back Fight on Mall", Philadelphia Inquirer, September 15, 1949, in IHA Scrapbook, INHP Archives.
- (19) Duke Kaminski, "State Acts to Buy Block for Mall", Evening Bulletin, November 16, 1949, in IHA Scrapbook, INHP Archives.
- (20) Samuel Ponnock, as quoted in "Merchants Fight Mall Extension", undated clipping from unidentified newspaper, in IHA Scrapbook, INHP Archives.
- (21) Paul Jones, "Then and Now - Almost Alike", The Evening Bulletin, March 17, 1952, in IHA Scrapbook, in collection of INHP Archives.
- (22) These buildings, 513-9 and 521-25 Chestnut, designed by Addison Hutton and James Windrim, respectively, were among those often cited by Judge Lewis and the IHA as fire hazards to Independence Hall.
- (23) Op Cit.
- (24) Independence National Historical Park Advisory Commission, Minutes of April 20, 1950 meeting, p. 4.
- (25) Ibid., p. 4.
- (26) Ibid., p. 5.
- (27) Charles E. Peterson, article on Penn Mutual Building in December 1950 issue and articles on the Jayne Building in October 1950 and March 1951 issues of the Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians.
- (28) Charles E. Peterson, interview with author, August, 1988.
- (29) Robert C. Smith, "Two Centuries of Philadelphia Architecture 1700 - 1900", Historic Philadelphia (Phila: American Philosophical Society, 1965) p.

- (30) Ibid., p. 303.
- (31) Ibid., p. 303.
- (32) M.O. Anderson, Superintendent, Independence National Historical Park Project, office memorandum to Charles E. Peterson, January 12, 1954, INHP Archives.
- (33) Ibid.
- (34) According to Charles E. Peterson, he was not directly responsible for the letters, interview with author, August, 1988.
- (35) Independence National Historical Park Advisory Commission, minutes of November 16, 1955 meeting, p. 10.
- (36) Joseph M. Guess, "3 Architectural Landmarks are Doomed; They Don't Fit Independence Hall Motif", Evening Bulletin, undated clipping in IHA Scrapbook, INHP Archives.
- (37) Philip Johnson, letter to Judge Edwin O. Lewis, President, Independence Hall Association, September 19, 1956, INHP Archives.
- (38) Edwin O. Lewis, President, Independence Hall Association, letter to Philip Johnson, September 25, 1956., INHP Archives.
- (39) Carroll L.V. Meeks, letter to Edwin O. Lewis, September 25, 1956, INHP Archives.
- (40) Edwin O. Lewis, letter to M.O. Anderson, September 28, 1956, INHP Archives.
- (41) Conrad L. Wirth, Director, National Park Service, letter to Edmund R. Purves, Executive Director, The American Institute of Architects, February 8, 1957, INHP Archives, p. 1.
- (42) Ibid., p. 2.
- (43) Ibid., p. 2.
- (44) entries for Lewis Mumford in Faculty and Staff Directory, University of Pennsylvania, 1951-2 to 1956-7.

- (45) Lewis Mumford, "The Sky Line", The New Yorker, November 17, 1956, p. 138.
- (46) Lewis Mumford, "The Sky Line", The New Yorker, February 9, 1957, p. 105.
- (47) Ibid., p. 106.
- (48) Lewis Mumford, "The Sky Line", The New Yorker, April 6, 1957, p. 121.
- (49) Op Cit., p. 98.
- (50) Op Cit., p. 127.
- (51) Ibid., p. 129.
- (52) Independence National Historical Park Advisory Commission, minutes of April 30, 1957 meeting, p. 2.
- (53) Ibid., p. 2.
- (54) Henry J. Magaziner, Committee on Conservation and Historic Preservation, Philadelphia Chapter, A.I.A., letter to Rogers C.B. Morton, May 11, 1972, INHP Papers, Federal Record Center, Suitlands MD.
- (55) Richard Curry, letter to Henry J. Magaziner, June 26, 1972, Federal Record Center, Suitlands, MD.
- (56) George E. Thomas, Preservation Committee, Philadelphia Chapter, Society of Architectural Historians, letter to Walker, April 4, 1973, Federal Records Center, Suitlands, MD.
- (57) Chester A. Brooks, Superintendent, INHP, letter to George E. Thomas, May 2, 1973, Federal Record Center, Suitlands, MD.
- (58) Ernest A. Connally, letter to George E. Thomas, June 5, 1973, Federal Record Center, Suitlands, MD.

Chapter IX. Impact on Adjacent Areas

Federal and State legislation in the 1940's facilitated the creation of agencies and programs responsible for the revitalization of Philadelphia's older neighborhoods.

Two areas adjoining the Mall and Park projects were designated urban renewal areas in the 1950's. Both were components of a larger area, bounded by Seventh, Vine, and Lombard Streets and the Delaware River, which was designated by the City Planning Commission as the Old City Redevelopment Area in 1947. The Independence Mall Urban Renewal Area generally flanked the Mall. The Washington Square East Urban Renewal Area was located to the south of the Park project. The two areas differed greatly in building stock, types of occupancies, and in the goals and objectives of the renewal plans. Both, however, were strongly influenced by the development themes of the Mall and Park projects.

In 1945, the Pennsylvania legislature adopted the Urban Redevelopment Act (Public Law 991) "to promote elimination of blighted areas".(1) The law authorized the creation of city and county redevelopment authorities empowered with eminent domain, to enter any building to make surveys and soundings, to own, hold, clear, or improve and manage real

property, and to issue bonds.(2) Following passage of the State legislation, the Philadelphia City Council passed an ordinance creating the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority (RA). Mayor Samuel appointed board members in April, 1946.(3) Funds became available with the passage of the Federal Housing Act of 1949 which authorized federal loans and matching grants for residential clearance and rebuilding projects. An 1954 amendment to the Act expanded the program to include non-residential projects and the idea of conservation and rehabilitation of buildings as an alternative to clearance in less blighted areas.(4)

New terms in the 1940's and 1950's were redevelopment and urban renewal. Under the 1945 legislation, the Philadelphia City Planning Commission (CPC) participated in the urban renewal process by certifying an area for redevelopment and preparing a redevelopment area plan. It was then the responsibility of the RA to prepared a detailed urban renewal plan for approval before proceeding with land acquisition, clearance, and redevelopment.(5) The CPC defined redevelopment in 1948 as follows:

"Redevelopment is a method for bringing new life to blighted areas or poorly developed sections of old cities, by providing attractively planned neighborhoods which are conducive to better living, and also by reclaiming poorly-used areas for modern industrial developments."(6)

The RA defined urban renewal as a prerequisite to redevelopment in the following 1967 statement:

"Urban Renewal is a process whereby conditions causing blight and slums are eliminated in order that an area may be redeveloped in an orderly fashion with consideration given to social and economic factors."(7)

The section of the city which would comprise the Washington Square East Urban Renewal Area was considered by many to be second only to the Independence Hall area in its historical associations. The area, prominent in the eighteenth century, had declined in the nineteenth century as the city grew further to the west. In 1953, Grant Simon stated:

"It can be said that nowhere in the country is there a comparable collection of early buildings. They constitute an invaluable part of the documentation of American history. They were lived in by, and were familiar sights to, the many great figures of the Revolutionary and Federal eras. Their days are few unless a tardy appreciation makes a permanent place for them in the city plan."(8)

In 1968, William L. Day, then President of the Old Philadelphia Development Corporation (an organization formed to assist in the redevelopment of the area) and Chairman of First Pennsylvania Bank, described the condition of the area in the 1950's as follows:

"By the middle of the 20th century, past glories had faded. The burgeoning City had grown away from the heart of the old City. Emphasis had shift-

ed westward, leaving a neglected and deteriorating community. Many of the old historic houses had collapsed, or been torn down. Others had been converted to stores or ship chandleries or flop houses and the once flourishing Dock Street Market, famous in the early 1900's, had outlived its usefulness and, indeed, had officially been condemned as unhealthy and unsafe. Nevertheless, many people still lived in the area and called it home--largely older people--immigrants from the old country who had originally settled here years before and had stayed on, even though it had lost most of its former prestige and was rapidly becoming an economic liability to the City."(9)

The CPC's early ideas for the area to the south of Independence National Historical Park were made known to the public at the 1947 Better Philadelphia Exhibition. The area plan, prepared by Edmund Bacon, and model, prepared by architect Oskar Stonorov, illustrated the proposed revitalization of the area as a predominately residential neighborhood. Key features of the plan were the demolition of the buildings housing the Dock Street Produce Market, their replacement with low and mid-rise apartment buildings and light industry, and a greenway system extending from INHP and connecting the eighteenth century churches such as St. Paul's, St. Mary's, St. Peter's, St. Joseph's, and residences such as the Wistar and Powel Houses scattered throughout the area south of the Park.(10)

Prior to the Exhibition, Charles Peterson recommended that the Park Service support the CPC's proposals, citing

their importance as follows:

"There is a large area between Walnut Street and St. Peter's Church containing many fine early homes. Part of this was known in the Eighteenth Century as "Society Hill". The City Planning Commission is considering means to rehabilitate this area by restoring the better houses, building new facilities and in general upgrading the type of occupation. If this can be done Philadelphia may take a leading part in preserving a large part of its residential area. This would be of nation-wide interest; other cities have the same problem. There are probably more Eighteenth Century houses left here than in any other place in the country. Present-day projects for improving "slum" areas by a general demolition often result in the destruction of important architectural values. Ugly new tenements often replace essentially fine old neighborhoods which are merely in need of rehabilitation. The National Park Service should do everything possible to further this project. The establishment of a National Park between Chestnut and Walnut Streets will help the chances of preserving and improving Society Hill. This in turn would make the future of the whole Independence Hall neighborhood more secure."(11)

These proposals, and Peterson's visions of their results, however, could not be achieved under Redevelopment Authority guidelines of the 1940's. Such guidelines required massive demolition of an area.

Ideas evolved and were discussed for several years before any action was taken. The CPC's continued interest in the area was evidenced by the following 1950 statement:

"The Society Hill area is perhaps the most neglected historical area in the United States... Unless something is done soon, it will deteriorate to the point where restoration is impractical.

Through redevelopment, a feasible means of preserving and enhancing this historic area has been found."(12)

During this period, plans for the Park and Mall were also being developed and publicized. As with the Park, the influence of the restoration of Williamsburg would be evident in the final plans. In 1951, Edmund Bacon described the Society Hill project to a meeting of the Urban Land Institute on Dock Street and the Old City Area, as follows:

"The Planning Commission proposes a project for restoring this entire residential area to a sort of Williamsburg character of historical restoration, tearing down some commercial buildings and building new apartments, basically restoring old houses,..., and a system of garden walks interconnecting the historical places."(13)

It was not until ten years after the Exhibition that plans began to proceed for the area. In 1957, the CPC contracted architectural consultants Vincent Kling, Roy F. Larson, and Oskar Stonorov to prepare a development area plan and model. The plan extended the 1947 Exhibition plan, incorporating Bacon's greenway system, eliminating much of the proposed light industry, and replacing the proposed mid-rise apartment buildings with high-rise towers and low-rise buildings. According to Bacon, "the wide scattering of the complex forms of the tall towers and slabs raised difficult questions about the relationship with the eighteenth-century buildings in Society Hill".(14)

Following completion of the development plan, The RA commissioned architect Preston Andrade, of the firm Wright, Andrade, and Amenta, to refine the 1957 proposals and prepare a bidding document for prospective developers. Andrade worked closely with the CPC in generating a new site plan and scale model of the area.(15). Changes from the earlier proposals included the further reduction in light industrial and increase in new residential construction, the concentration of high-rise apartment buildings, i.e., six thirty-story towers, three at Washington Square and three at the site of the Dock Street Market, and three six-story apartment buildings along Third Street.

In May, 1959, the architectural firm issued its Washington Square East Urban Renewal Area Technical Report.

The report was prefaced as follows:

"The eighteenth century public buildings in Society Hill such as St. Joseph's Church, St. Peter's Church and the Second Street Market, together with its many old houses, make the area virtually an extension of the State and Federal Malls. However, the more than one hundred acres of the Society Hill area cannot be made a museum. They must remain a part of the living and working fabric of the city."(16)

In the report, the urban renewal area, bounded by Seventh, Front, Walnut and Lombard Streets, was divided into

two units. Unit One, which contained Washington Square and the Dock Street Market, was slated for major clearance. Unit Two, primarily extending from Seventh to Second Street between Spruce and Lombard, contained a higher proportion of residential structures slated for rehabilitation and preservation. In the report, Unit One was described as follows:

"Although there are many fine old houses still standing, there also exist here large areas of industrial and commercial uses. The largest concentration is at Dock Street, the historic wholesale food center. Another large area of similar incompatible use is at the west side of Fifth Street north of Spruce and there are other smaller commercial and industrial areas. The elimination of these creates large sites for new residential construction".(17)

In the report, with the exception of institutions along the south side of Walnut Street and the scattered eighteenth century churches, only houses were considered as candidates for preservation. Guidelines for selection were as follows:

"...retain as many as possible of the old houses which have any architectural or historic importance. Clearance is valid if the design is incompatible with the restored neighborhood and its configuration precludes alteration for a suitable re-use...Old houses selected for rehabilitation should be those which contribute to the historical and aesthetic character of the streets and neighborhood. This does not mean that they must be dated within narrow brackets or be exemplary of a closely defined "substyle".(18)

All residential buildings in the area were surveyed, with information recorded as to use, condition, and appearance. According to the report, "Data on the age and historic significance of buildings was obtained from the Historic Building Commission".(19) (At this time, colonial revivalist Grant Simon was Chairman of the newly-formed Commission.) Despite the stated intention not to turn the area into a museum, it was recommended that rehabilitation standards require restoration of "original architecture". This standard, which resulted in the replacement of mid-nineteenth century and later changes with conjectural eighteenth and early nineteenth century features on many buildings, appeared to have been motivated by a desire to create unified streetscapes and an overall neighborhood theme or atmosphere:

"The fact is that the eighteenth and early nineteenth century architecture was generally quiet, considerate of its neighbors and of the street. It was essentially civilized in an urban way, rather than individualistic or dramatic."(20)

Plans set forth in the report called for the demolition of over 600 structures, or 75% of the buildings, in Unit One. Of the 600 structures, approximately 40% and 25% were to be cleared for the Delaware Expressway and the Dock Street "Super Block", respectively.(21) At the time of the

report, the Historical Commission had designated 134 of the structures in Unit One as historically certified. Despite this designation, twenty-six were slated for acquisition and demolition by the RA and five had already been demolished by the National Park Service.(22) Plans for the over 700 houses in Unit Two called for the acquisition of under 500 by the RA. Of the 500, approximately 32% were slated for demolition.(23) Redevelopment appeared to take priority over historicity, as evidenced in the following statement:

"...only a few structures were saved (in the Dock Street Block.) An effort was made to keep also a few houses on St. James and one on Third. Due to their very isolated positions at remote parts of the block, their existence would unreasonably limit the development of the major Dock Street Apartment Group."(24)

Five developers submitted plans for the area which were reviewed by a Board of Design comprised of architects Robert Geddes, Sydney Martin, and Edmund Bacon. The firm of Webb and Knapp, with its plans by architect I.M. Pei, was selected as developer of Unit One.(25) On the market site, in elevated isolation, Pei designed three high-rise apartment buildings of poured-in-place concrete, which became known as Society Hill Towers. (see Exhibits IX-2, 23, 25) Along the east side of Third Street, he designed twenty-five three story, contemporary, brick townhouses (see Exhibit IX-2) as a transition between the Towers and the

eighteenth and nineteenth century house along the west side of Third Street. Pei's buildings were important in presenting the image of change to the public. Bacon would later attempt to justify Pei's design for the towers in an interesting, if unconvincing, manner:

"In the case of the Pei towers the function of relating the nineteenth- to the twentieth-century city would have failed if Pei had not detailed his towers with supreme sensitivity to this requirement. The actual architecture, in which the wall supports the structure, evokes the muntined windows of the eighteenth-century buildings, and is based on the same structural principle, but also is powerfully effective seen from the expressway and the river."(26)

Pei's modern designs were influential on other projects within the historic renewal area. Other contemporary structures erected on the sites of demolished buildings included the Penn's Landing Square townhouses at Second and Spruce Streets, Pei's inward-facing Bingham Court townhouses at Fourth and Locust Streets, the 1980 Cypress Court townhouses by H2L2 at Third and Spruce Streets (see Exhibit IX-26), the townhouses at the northeast corner of Third and Spruce Streets (see Exhibits IX-2,6), and the New Market commercial complex at Second Street. Not all construction was contemporary in design. Pseudo-colonial townhouses erected included those at Second and Delancey Streets and Blackwell Court at the 200 block of Pine Street. (see Exhibit IX-27)

Photographs taken by Jacob Stelman in 1959 portray the Unit One area prior to demolition.(27) The photographs resemble those taken of the Park area in the 1950's in that they were apparently taken on a Sunday and do not reflect the typical hustle and bustle of the area. The photographs do, however, document a neighborhood with interesting streetscapes of eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century residential and commercial structures. In the Dock Street Market area, all but four buildings were demolished. (see Exhibits IX-11, 13, 15, 19, 20, 22, 24) The remaining four, two adjoining ones being the Neave and Abercrombie Houses and two the Man Full of Trouble Tavern, were located at the northwest and northeast corners of Second and Spruce Streets, respectively. The buildings now stand in unhistorical spatial isolation, as do the historic buildings of Independence Park, stripped of vestiges of nineteenth century commercialism though restored to an eighteenth century appearance. (see Exhibits IX-10, 12, 25)

A comparison of the 1959 photographs with 1988 views illustrates the dramatic changes to the neighborhood. (see Exhibits IX-1 through 25) Three story residences as well as four and five story, architecturally designed, commercial buildings along the east side of Third Street were demolished for the erection of uniform, modern townhouses.

(see Exhibits IX-1 through 6) A four story loft building on Spruce Street was demolished to provide a setting for the Abercrombie House and access to an underground garage. (see Exhibits IX-9, 10) American Street, which ran east of, and parallel to, Third Street, was eliminated north of Spruce Street, along with the buildings erected thereon, to create the superblock of Society Hill Towers and Townhouses. (see Exhibits IX-7, 8) Buildings housing corner stores, taverns, and retail/wholesale establishments were restored as residences with all mid-and late-nineteenth century changes such as storefronts and mansard roofs removed. (see Exhibits IX-7 through 12) Second Street, between Walnut and Spruce Streets, despite its long history as a commercial district, was also eliminated to create the residential superblock. (see Exhibits IX-11 through 16 and IX-20 through 25)

The redevelopment of Society Hill, with its restored and reconstructed houses, brick sidewalks, a few cobblestone streets, colonial-like street lamps, and greenways recreates the aura of an eighteenth or early nineteenth century neighborhood. It is one, however, that never existed at any point in time in the area's history. In fact, a large part of the area's architectural history is missing. Gone, also, are the corner stores and first-story storefronts interspersed throughout the neighborhood. New retail establishments to replace them, concentrated in small

centers in the superblock, on Fifth Street, and Second Street south of Pine Street have met with limited success over the years. Gone are the blocks of buildings documenting the evolution of Philadelphia residential and commercial architecture. In their places are residences, restored or reconstructed to fit a 1774 - 1810 time period, juxtaposed against late twentieth century low- and high-rise modern residential architecture. Littered with cars on streets paved in asphalt and dominated by Pei's towers and St. Peter's Church's spire, Society Hill is only a subjective restoration - one that ignores the urban reality of the twentieth century.

In a 1962 talk to the Philadelphia Society for the Preservation of Landmarks, Charles Peterson gave a scathing assessment of the redevelopment of Society Hill. He took issue with the number of early houses which were demolished, the lack of research undertaken on the area and specific buildings, and the funneling of all public funds into demolition and new construction versus preservation and restoration. Peterson appeared to be foretelling the subsequent change in preservation and redevelopment attitudes with his final question: "What will future generations think of what we are doing?"(28)

Concurrent with the development of plans for the

Washington Square East area was the examination and evaluation of the Independence Mall area. Ideas for the area surrounding the proposed Independence Mall began to evolve prior to the 1947 Better Philadelphia Exhibition. The area was an active commercial district, with businesses primarily housed in mid- to late-nineteenth century commercial buildings, While the desire to preserve historic buildings was a motivating factor in the redevelopment of the Society Hill area, a primary factor in the redevelopment of the Mall area was the goal of improving the surroundings of the Mall itself.

As plans for the Mall evolved, concerns were raised regarding the appearance of the buildings on the three blocks flanking each side of the Mall. The 1944 illustration by Darwin H. Urffer of Roy Larson's plans for the Mall skirted the issue by representing the flanking buildings as undetailed, box-like forms. (see Exhibit IX-28) The subject was raised at a 1947 meeting of the Shrines Commission by architect Louis Magaziner during his protest of the Mall plans. According to the minutes of the meeting, Magaziner's belief that the Mall space would "emphasize the poor quality of the exposed adjoining buildings" was one shared by all attendees.(29) One solution expressed at the meeting was the alteration of such buildings "to present a more harmonious appearance", while real estate developer

Albert Greenfield voiced his belief, based on personal experience, that owners would be unwilling to change their properties.(30) In 1948, the Planning Commission described its interest in the Mall area as follows:

"The Planning Commission is engaged in studies for the redevelopment of the adjacent land to provide an architectural framework for the new open spaces and to stimulate new uses on the potentially valuable sites."(31)

Anticipating the demolition and rebuilding that would take place adjoining the Mall and also the Park, the Art Commission in 1952 began discussing the need to have architectural control over new construction in the flanking areas.(32) In 1954 an ordinance was enacted which gave jurisdiction to the Art Commission and regulated the "design, construction, erection, alteration and repair of buildings...in areas abutting Independence Mall and Independence National Historical Park".(33) The regulations contained a setback provision, limiting the height of new structures at the building line to forty-five feet and establishing a minimum setback of twenty-five feet for stories to rise to higher levels.(34)

In 1955, the Philadelphia Chapter of the AIA asked architect George Howe to prepare a report "on the use of the land facing Independence Mall and Independence National

Historical Park" specifically addressing "the character of architecture that shall be recommended to prospective builders".(35) In his report, Howe urged the preservation of existing buildings, especially the "fine nineteenth century buildings along Chestnut and Walnut Streets"(36) Howe considered these buildings as possibly the most unique in the city but recognized that they were held in disdain by "misguided Colonial enthusiasts".(37) Howe's report was accepted and issued nearly verbatim by the Philadelphia Chapter as "A Statement of Principles as to the Architecture about the Independence Mall Areas". The chapter opposed the use of "pseudo-Colonial architecture" and recommended that new buildings should be "modern in design", "tall within limits", and exhibit "a certain reticence of architectural expression".(38) Controversy surfaced over the design of an office building located on the northeast corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets in 1954 but it would take several years for plans to be finalized and construction to begin in the Independence Mall area.(39)

By 1958, the Planning Commission had prepared a plan for the Independence Mall-Franklin Redevelopment Area. The designated area extended from Chestnut Street north along both sides of the Mall to Spring Garden Street and included Franklin Square. The plan called for the demolition of existing buildings, the erection of new office and

commercial structures along the Mall, and new commercial and industrial buildings on other blocks. A major concern was the elimination of the "Tenderloin district" adjacent to Franklin Square.(40)

In a 1961 plan, the area, renamed the Independence Mall Redevelopment Area, was reduced in size with northern boundaries being Race and Arch Streets. In 1963, the plan was amended to include additional blocks to the northeast which were predominately industrial and commercial. A site plan of existing uses indicated a highly concentrated commercial district containing approximately 350 buildings. The Planning Commission proposed that land uses along the Mall be limited to commercial, governmental and existing institutional. Industrial was to be limited to one small block north of Arch Street and commercial-residential limited to the 200 block of Fourth Street. (see Exhibit IX-29) Several small streets and alleys were to be closed in order to accomodate the envisioned large scale buildings. (see Exhibit IX-30)

Under a contract with the Redevelopment Authority, the architectural firm of Wright, Andrade, Amenta, and Gane issued its Independence Mall Urban Renewal Area Technical Report in May, 1963. One of the three consultants to the firm was Roy F. Larson, on architectural and land use

controls.(41) The Renewal Area was expanded to encompass the area extending from Fourth to Seventh Streets between Chestnut to Vine Streets and to Ninth Street north of Arch to Vine Streets. This larger area comprised 480 structures. A quote from the report illustrated the age of the existing building stock:

"Within the area one sees old residential structures which have been converted to commercial uses, or rooming houses, old loft buildings and antiquated commercial structures. A great majority of the existing structures have become obsolete and have deteriorated through neglect and uses for which they were not designed. There are a few properties which are capable of rehabilitation. There has been little construction in the area since the beginning of this century, only the Mall Building and the First Pennsylvania Bank have been constructed within the past twenty years."(42)

The report called for the acquisition of all but nine buildings and two sites. A major portion of the remaining 471 structures were slated for demolition, with only a small number designated for possible rehabilitation. Among the buildings and sites not to be acquired were the Atwater Kent Museum, the old Franklin Institute designed in 1825 by John Haviland; Christ Church Cemetery; the Bourse, designed by G.W. and W.D. Hewitt in 1893; the 1949 First Pennsylvania Bank branch designed by Sidney Martin in the federal style; and the Lafayette and Mall office buildings.

In order to qualify for rehabilitation, a building had

to be in good condition, to have a use conforming to renewal objectives, or have historical significance. Similar to the fate of buildings in the Park and Society Hill, rehabilitation standards required that all historically significant structures "have the exteriors restored in such a manner so as to duplicate the original design".(43) Among the buildings slated for rehabilitation were the Italianate banks at 321 and 401-31 Chestnut Street, the last remainders of Bank Row; the historically certified properties at 40-48 N. 4th Street and eighteenth century Loxley Court; and the historically significant properties at 400 and 412-8 Arch Street, 327 Cherry, and 322-340 Race Streets. In addition, a number of properties, primarily several blocks away from the Mall were earmarked for rehabilitation for light industrial use.

Despite the AIA's 1955 recommendation that, where feasible, nineteenth century buildings be retained, almost all of the buildings and streetscapes in the renewal area were demolished. In most cases, super-buildings, those taking up entire blocks, were erected on their sites. A mix of three to five story, nineteenth century, commercial structures on the north side of the 400 block of Market Street was demolished, providing the site for the eleven story CoreStates Plaza. (see Exhibits IX-31 and 32) The razing of the numerous buildings on the south side of the

400 block of Market Street provided the site for the KYW and Continental Bank Buildings. (see Exhibits IX-33 and 34) Mid-nineteenth century, four-story buildings on Fourth Street below Arch were demolished in order to erect an eight story hotel. (see Exhibits IX-35 and 36) These and other new buildings flanking both sides of the Mall eradicated the commercial and retail nature of the area and, with their elongated or tall designs, ignored the eighteenth century scale of the Independence Hall group of buildings. (see Exhibits IX-37 and 38) As with the Washington Square East Urban Renewal Area, the impact and influence of decisions made in the Independence Mall and Independence National Historical Park projects were clearly visible.

Chapter IX - Endnotes

- (1) Revelopment Authority of Philadelphia, Our City Today and Tomorrow, undated publication, circa 1948, p. 6.
- (2) Development Committee of the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority, Interim Report, December 17, 1952, p. 2.
- (3) Op Cit., p. 7.
- (4) _____, How Urban Renewal Works in Philadelphia, April 28, 1967, p. 2.
- (5) Ibid., p. 3.
- (6) Philadelphia City Planning Commission, Annual Report for 1948, p. 12.
- (7) Op Cit., p. 1.
- (8) Grant M. Simon, "Houses and Early Life in Philadelphia", Historic Philadelphia (Phila: American Philosophical Society, 1953) p. 288.
- (9) William L. Day, "A Decade in Society Hill", Proceedings of Faïrmount Park Art Association, Ninety-Sixth Annual Report, 1968, p. 20.
- (10) Edmund N. Bacon, "A Case Study in Urban Design", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Volume 25, August 1960, p. 229.
- (11) Charles E. Peterson, Preliminary National Shrines Park Commission Report, 1947, pp. 20-1.
- (12) Philadelphia City Planning Commission, 1950 Annual Report, p. 7.
- (13) Edmund N. Bacon, transcript of talk, Report of Proceedings, Urban Land Institute on Dock Street and the Old City Area, January 12, 1951, p. 29.
- (14) Bacon, Design of Cities (New York: Penguin Books, 1987) p. 265.
- (15) Bacon, "A Case Study in Urban Design", p. 230.

- (16) Wright, Andrade and Amenta, Washington Square East Urban Renewal Area Technical Report, May 1959, p. 3.
- (17) Ibid., p.
- (18) Ibid., pp. 10-1.
- (19) Ibid., p. 5.
- (20) Ibid., p. 11.
- (21) figures compiled by author from data in Washington Square East Urban Renewal Area Technical Report, Appendix.
- (22) Op Cit., Appendix B3.
- (23) Ibid., p. 8.
- (24) Ibid., p. 24.
- (25) Bacon, "A Case Study in Urban Design", p. 230 and Bacon, Design of Cities, p. 265.
- (26) Bacon, Design of Cities, p. 269.
- (27) Jacob Stelman, photographs taken 1959, negatives in collection of Dr. George E. Thomas.
- (28) Charles E. Peterson, Report to the President Regarding Society Hill, Philadelphia Society for the Preservation of Landmarks, January, 1962, p. 4.
- (29) Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission, Minutes of March 11, 1947 Meeting, p. 3.
- (30) Ibid., p. 3.
- (31) Philadelphia City Planning Commission, Annual Report for 1948, p. 16.
- (32) Philadelphia Art Commission, Forty-Second Annual Report, 1952, p. 15.
- (33) Philadelphia Art Commission, Forty-Fourth Annual Report, 1954, p. 13.
- (34) Ibid., p. 13.
- (35) George Howe, "Report on the Use of the Land Facing In-

dependence Mall and Independence National Historical Park", included verbatim in Robert A.M. Stern's George Howe - Toward a Modern American Architect (New London, Conn: Yale University Press, 1975) p. 228.

- (36) Ibid., p. 228.
- (37) Ibid., p. 228.
- (38) Philadelphia, Chapter, American Institute of Architects, "A Statement of Principles as to the Architecture about the Independence Hall Mall Areas", March 31, 1955, p. 1., INHP Archives.
- (39) Roy F. Larson, Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Philadelphia Art Commission, 1954, p. 27.
- (40) Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia, A New Philadelphia Rises - As Old Walls Come Tumbling Down - 1958 Annual Report, p. 18.
- (41) Wright, Andrade, Amenta, and Gane, R.A., Independence Mall Urban Renewal Area Technical Report, prepared for the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia, May, 1963, section 1, p. 2.
- (42) Ibid., section 2, p. 1.
- (43) Ibid., section 6, p. 2.

Conclusion

The numerous proposals generated from 1915 onward for the preservation and improvement of the Independence Hall area all reflected early and mid twentieth century attitudes toward architecture, city planning, and historic preservation. Attitudes toward American architecture and city planning throughout the early twentieth century were strongly influenced by the 1893 Columbian Exposition. The Exposition popularized Beaux-Arts as an architectural style superior to the eclectic styles of the mid and late nineteenth century. It was also a major force in the development of the City Beautiful movement which resulted in many changes to America's urban areas. A concurrent interest in America's colonial history, which heightened after the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, was manifested in the restoration and reconstruction of Colonial Williamsburg and in the passing of the Historic Sites Act of 1935.

In Philadelphia, the architectural and landscape ideas expressed at the Columbian Exposition were embodied in the Beaux-Arts tradition of architectural training received at the University of Pennsylvania after the arrivals of Warren

P. Laird in 1891 and French architect Paul Cret in 1903. Cret and several of his students played a major role in the development of plans for the beautification of the Independence Hall area. The evolving park plans were strongly influenced by the work at Williamsburg and the post Historic Sites Act projects of the National Park Service. The combination of these factors markedly impacted the final forms of Independence National Historical Park and adjoining areas.

The 1893 Exposition, which was held in Chicago, Illinois, commemorated the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus' discovery of America. Under the supervision of architect Daniel Burnham, a neo-classical "white city" was created, so named for the color of the exhibition buildings' facades. The buildings were carefully sited along a Court of Honor and two lagoons which ran perpendicular to the Court. The architects selected to design the buildings in the neo-classical style were predominately graduates of the Paris Ecole des Beaux-Arts. The publicity the Exposition received served to popularize this architectural style across the nation. It would remain in vogue for public buildings and residences well into the twentieth century. At the same time, a wide range of mid and late nineteenth century structures came to be considered old-fashioned and looked upon with disdain.

A key role of the style was the regulation of competitive businesses to an orderly streetscape, thereby masking competition, in the harmony of the ensemble. It therefore played a major role in the development of the City Beautiful and, resultant, city planning movements in America. The whiteness, the harmony achieved by the uniform style of the buildings, and the planned landscaping were in direct contrast to the crowded, congested, and dirty conditions in industrial cities and towns. As by-products of the Exposition, Burnham prepared plans in the City Beautiful vein between 1902 and 1909 for Washington, D.C., Cleveland, San Francisco, and Chicago. Common themes were malls and parks as settings for monuments and public buildings and diagonal streets or boulevards to ease traffic and connect important sites. A by-product of this movement in Philadelphia was the 1910-1926 project to design and construct the Parkway which runs diagonally from City Hall to the Art Museum. Among the participants in the planning process were architects Paul Cret, Albert Kelsey, and Jacques Greber, all of whom also developed proposals for the Independence Hall area.

The City Beautiful movement urged the creation of parks, malls, and broad promenades or boulevards and the erection of grand public buildings in the neo-classical

erection of grand public buildings in the neo-classical style on urban sites deemed congested, old-fashioned as to street plans, and downright ugly. Despite the existence of several alternative theories, the City Beautiful ideas had widespread acceptance as city planning guidelines across the nation. In 1889, Austrian architect Camillo Sitte published City Planning According to Artistic Principles. Sitte argued that, rather than create monumental buildings and awkward squares, one should look to classical and medieval town layouts and building arrangements as precedents to modern city planning. According to Sitte, one should:

"...examine a number of lovely old plazas and whole urban layouts...in the hope that if understood these would constitute a sum total of principles which when followed would lead to similar admirable effects".(1)

An English version of Sitte's book was not available in the United States until the 1940's. Hence, his ideas were ignored by most American city planners until the post-war years.

Historic preservation prior to the Columbian Exposition and for many decades thereafter was characterized by a singular interest in buildings of national importance which evoked memories of events or persons associated with the nation's colonial and early federal history. Such interest

Philadelphia. It manifested itself in the preservation of Independence Hall and other single landmarks associated with the founding of the nation and in the passage of the Historic Sites Act of 1935. The first ensemble to be restored was Williamsburg which offered a total experience.

The precedent setting project to restore the colonial city of Williamsburg, Virginia got underway in the early 1930's. In an effort to recreate the colonial city, the following guidelines were used to decide the fate of numerous buildings:

"1. all buildings or parts in which the Colonial tradition persists should be maintained irrespective of their actual date

2. where Classical tradition persists in buildings or parts great discretion should be exercised before destroying them

3. within the Restoration Area all work which no longer represents Colonial or Classical tradition should be demolished or removed."(2)

These guidelines resulted in the large scale demolition of nineteenth and twentieth century building stock and the restoration of buildings dating from the colonial period to an eighteenth century appearance. The number of buildings which were reconstructed exceeded the number of extant colonial era structures! The fate of buildings was described in a 1935 publication as follows:

"Four hundred and forty-two buildings of modern construction have been torn down and eighteen moved outside the Colonial area. Sixty-six Colonial buildings have been repaired or restored, while eighty-four have been reproduced upon Colonial foundations."(3)

The activities of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., which were very much reflective of the "Founding Fathers" or shrines mentality, established parameters for other preservation programs across the country and in Philadelphia. Preservation historian Charles Hosmer described Williamsburg's impact as follows:

"From the very beginning of the restoration Williamsburg had been a major influence on the preservation movement. People looked to it as a model, as something to be imitated or improved upon."(4)

Also reflective of the shrines mentality and influential on local preservation programs were the 1935 Historic Sites Act and the resultant activities of the National Park Service. The Act established the National Historic Landmark Program, stating "it is a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States".(5) The National Park Service's first historical parks, Wakefield and Colonial, originated in the 1930's and were similar to

Williamsburg in that buildings were reconstructed to commemorate events and people of the colonial era. In the 1940's, the Park Service undertook the creation of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis which, as previously discussed, required the demolition of forty blocks of nineteenth and early twentieth century commercial buildings. In putting this project into context, Hosmer described it as "an urban renewal project with a veneer of history used to coat an expenditure for unemployment relief".(6) It was well underway when the Park Service was given responsibility for the development of Independence National Historical Park.

In Philadelphia, the impetus to preserve the Independence Hall group of buildings came before the previously noted City Beautiful and city planning movements. In 1802, the buildings were adaptively used as a museum by Charles Willson Peale after the State government moved to Lancaster. In order to prevent a proposed subdivision, the City acquired the property from the State in 1818. Under the City's ownership, several attempts were made to "restore" certain areas of Independence Hall. In 1828, William Strickland designed a steeple to replace one removed in 1781. The Assembly Room was restored twice in the nineteenth century, in the 1830's by John Haviland and in the 1870's by a committee chaired by Col. Frank M. Etting.

After considering the erection of new municipal buildings on Independence Square in 1868, the decision was made to preserve the site by moving city government to Centre Square. Following the City's departure in 1895, the first full scale restoration program of Independence Hall was undertaken, with T. Mellon Rogers as supervising architect. Because of dissatisfaction over the authenticity of Rogers' work, a second full scale program, which included Congress Hall and Old City Hall, was begun in 1912 by the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. Attention soon extended beyond the buildings themselves. As early as 1908, critics commented upon the surroundings of Independence Hall:

"The buildings of the Colonial period are among the most interesting in Philadelphia. Before all, of course, comes Independence Hall. The view of this, seen across Independence Square, is perhaps the most distinctive note in the city. Unfortunately the Square is surrounded by a miscellaneous collection of business buildings, forming a setting not at all worthy of the most important historic monument in the United States. And the front of the building, set rather close to Chestnut Street, has facing it a row of buildings whose diversity is only surpassed by their ugliness. Another sign of the artistic regeneration of the city will be the removal of these buildings even though on costly ground, and the establishment in their place of a park which will give a proper approach to this almost sacred structure."(7)

Four years before completing the first scheme for the improvement of the surroundings of Independence Hall,

architect D. Knickerbacker Boyd gave a speech entitled "The Buildings in a City" in which his interest in the City Beautiful Movement was evident. Regarding historic buildings, he stated the following:

"A most important matter in line with the preservation of all historic edifices is that sufficient space be acquired around each to prevent its becoming an easy prey for flames from surrounding structures as well as to afford an appropriate setting to the building if it happens to be an architectural gem."(8)

The 1915 proposal of Kelsey and Boyd, as well as the subsequent schemes of French landscape architect Jacques Greber (1924 and 1930), Paul Cret (1933), Roy Larson (1937), George Nitzche (ca.1936), and the firms of Folsom & Stanton (ca.1936) and Thalheimer & Weitz (ca. 1930-40) all contained elements and themes reflective of the Beaux-Arts and City Beautiful traditions. The plans of Folsom & Stanton and Thalheimer & Weitz were clearly facets of city planning schemes in which Independence Hall and/or other historical buildings were used as focal points for the redevelopment of the area. As attention shifted to the area east of Independence Hall and the buildings contained therein, the City Beautiful emphasis on settings and landscape became evident in the proposals and drawings of Roy Larson and Grant Simon.

The common approach taken by many of the architects was a result of the architectural training they received at the University of Pennsylvania. The neo-classical style popularized at the Columbian Exposition was one in vogue with many architects who had been graduates of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts of Paris. The latter's system of teaching was copied by the architectural schools in America until the 1930's. In 1903, the University of Pennsylvania hired Paul Cret, a French architect and Ecole graduate, to teach architectural design. Cret described his practice as "the planning of important city improvements, planning of government buildings and important memorial buildings".(9) Among his local civic works were the first design for the Parkway in 1907, the improvement of Rittenhouse Square in 1913, and the Delaware River Bridge in 1922.

With the exception of Greber and Boyd, the above-mentioned architects were all students and/or associates of Paul Cret. Cret's "Design for the Extension of Independence Hall, Schemes A and B" was enlarged upon in 1937 by his associate and former student, Roy Larson. Larson had graduated from the University of Pennsylvania and joined Cret's office in 1923. He later played a major role in the Park and Mall development while a partner in the successor to Cret's firm, Harbeson Hough Livingston & Larson. Albert Kelsey, whose 1892 graduation from the University of

Pennsylvania predated Cret's arrival, had been associated with Cret on various competitions for four years until 1909, including their splendid Pan American Union Building, before co-designing with D. Knickerbacker Boyd in 1915 the "Preliminary Study for the Dependencies and a New Setting for Independence Hall".(10) Kelsey had previously manifested an interest in the City Beautiful movement in his 1902 articles "The Boulevard Project in America" and "The City Possible: Utility Beauty and Economy".(11) Folsom and Stanton were both students of Cret at the University of Pennsylvania. Donald Folsom never received a degree but studied architecture for two years beginning in 1907. William Stanton graduated in 1907. Sidney Martin, an active member of the Independence Hall Association in the 1940's, also graduated from Penn's architectural program in 1908.(12) His firm designed the reconstruction of the Library Company for the American Philosophical Society which was sited within the Park. Grant Miles Simon, advisory architect to the Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission and the Independence National Historical Park Advisory Commission, was also a student of Cret's, graduating from the University in 1911. As a student, he worked with Cret and Kelsey on competitions from 1907 to 1909 and attended the Paris Ecole des Beaux-Arts from 1913 to 1914.(13) Finally, Clarence Thalheimer and David Weitz were also products of Penn's architectural program.

Thalheimer attended the program from 1916 to 1924. Weitz graduated in 1917.

This Beaux-Arts tradition of design and approach to planning underlies the final forms of the Park and Mall. Despite the post-Bauhaus changes invoked by Edmund Bacon and George Howe in the 1950's design process, the Mall is very much a product of Roy Larson's 1937 design. Ultimately, it was Cret's successor firm that designed the mall during the decade of the 1950's. Similarly, the Park, although not completed until the 1970's, reflects a strict interpretation of 1940's legislation and development attitudes. Also evident in the final forms is the selective preservation which continued to be practiced in Philadelphia through the 1970's, the result of a landmark orientation and a disdain of post 1850 buildings. The subjective differentiation between historic and non-historic structures and the arbitrary setting of dates to historical importance sealed the fate of hundreds of buildings in the path of, and adjacent to, the proposed Park. The results achieved by such disparate projects as Colonial Williamsburg and the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial were seen as models to emulate and precedents for the widespread demolition of buildings whether in the name of historic preservation or civic improvement. These projects were the last refuge of the Beaux-Arts architects in Philadelphia and thus classical

tradition was incorporated along the lines of Williamsburg.

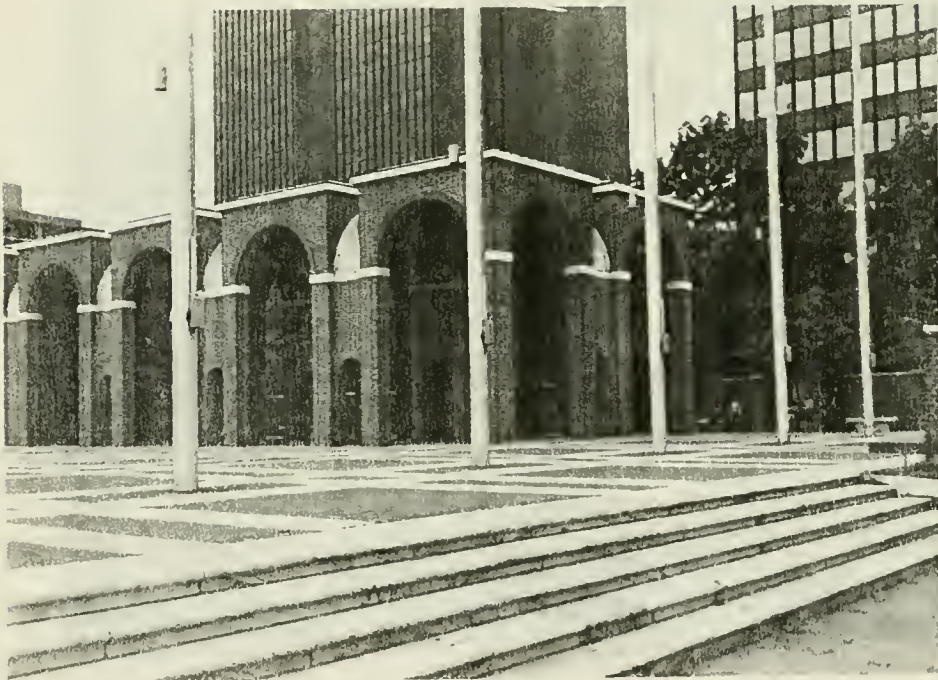
Both Independence Mall and Independence National Historical Park, as well as the redevelopment areas, are monuments to the planning, preservation, and city renewal policies of the 1940's and 1950's. Hosmer's comments regarding St. Louis are also true here, the Mall being one part of a large redevelopment project. The appropriateness of the final forms of the Mall is questionable if evaluated according to 1980's preservation and urban planning theories which contain a greater respect for urban fabric. Similarly, the unhistoric and monument-oriented settings of the buildings within the Park and the high levels of demolition, restoration, and reconstruction undertaken in its creation reflect preservation attitudes now considered elitist and myopic. Unfortunately, mid-twentieth century attitudes toward preservation, planning and design have left a permanent imprint upon an important section of Philadelphia's urban history.

Conclusion - Endnotes

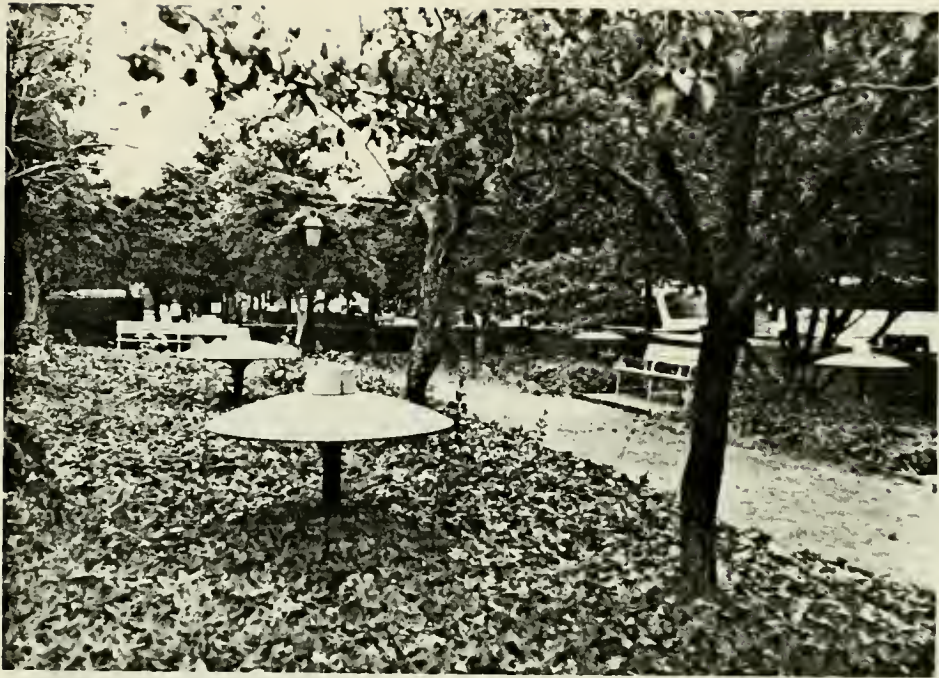
- (1) Camillo Sitte, City Planning According to Artistic Principles (NY: Random House Books, 1965) p. xv
- (2) ———, "The Restoration of Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia", reprint from The Architectural Record, Vol. 78, #6, December, 1935, p. 370.
- (3) Ibid., p. 362.
- (4) Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., Preservation Comes of Age, Vol. #1, (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1981) p. 65.
- (5) language of law quoted by Barry Mackintosh, The National Historic Preservation Act and the National Park Service (Wash., D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986) p. 1.
- (6) Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., Preservation Comes of Age, Vol. #2 (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1981) p. 626.
- (7) Huger Elliott, "Architecture in Philadelphia and a Coming Age", The Architectural Record, Vol. XXIII, #4, April, 1908, pp. 299-300.
- (8) David Knickerbacker Boyd, "The Buildings in a City", transcript of speech given June 13, 1911, Boyd Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania(HSP).
- (9) Paul Philippe Cret, as quoted by Elizabeth Greenwell Grossman in "Rationalism and Imagery in American Architecture", p. 209.
- (10) Sandra L. Tatman, The Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects 1700-1930 (Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall & Co., 1985) p. 437. Also the source of data on Thalheimer & Weitz and Folsom & Stanton.
- (11) Ibid., p. 439.
- (12) Ibid., p. 508.
- (13) Biographical Sheet of Grant M. Simon accompanying letter from Governor John S. Fine to Clement V. Conole, President of Independence Homecoming Committee, July 20, 1951, HSP



II-1 Independence Mall, October, 1987, author.



II-2 Independence Mall, Block Two, June, 1988, author.



II-3 Independence Mall, Block Two, June, 1988, author.



II-4 Independence Mall, Block Three, June, 1988, author.



II-5 Independence Mall, Block Two, June, 1988, author.



II-6 Independence Mall, Block Two, June, 1988, author.



II-7 Independence Mall, Block Two, June, 1988, author.



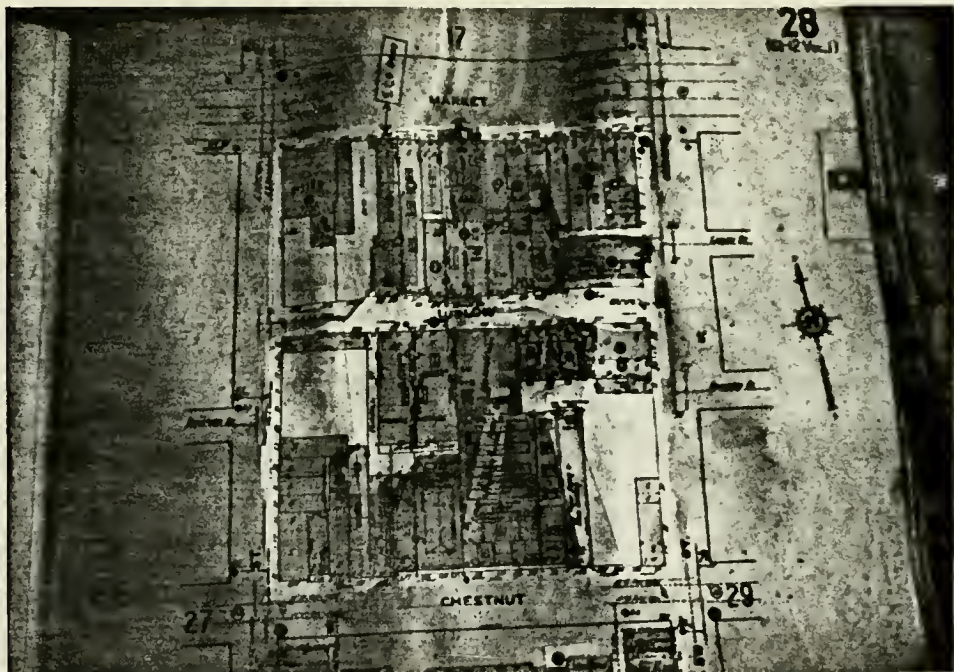
II-8 Independence Mall, Block Two, June, 1988, author.



II-09 Independence Mall, Block Three, June, 1988, author.



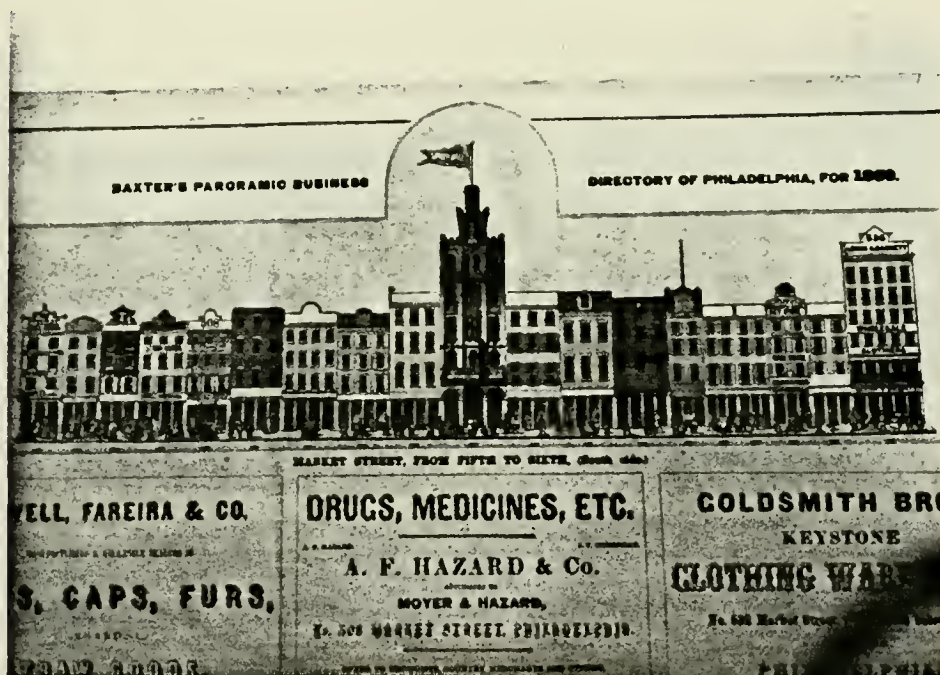
III-1 North Mall, Block One, Fawcett, 1950, INHP Archives.



III-2 Plate 28, Sanborn Map Company, 1916, renewed October 1945, INHP Archives. (Oak Hall in top left corner, Tower Hall in center of Market St. block).



III-3 Ludlow Street, 500 block, northside, 1951, INHP Archives.



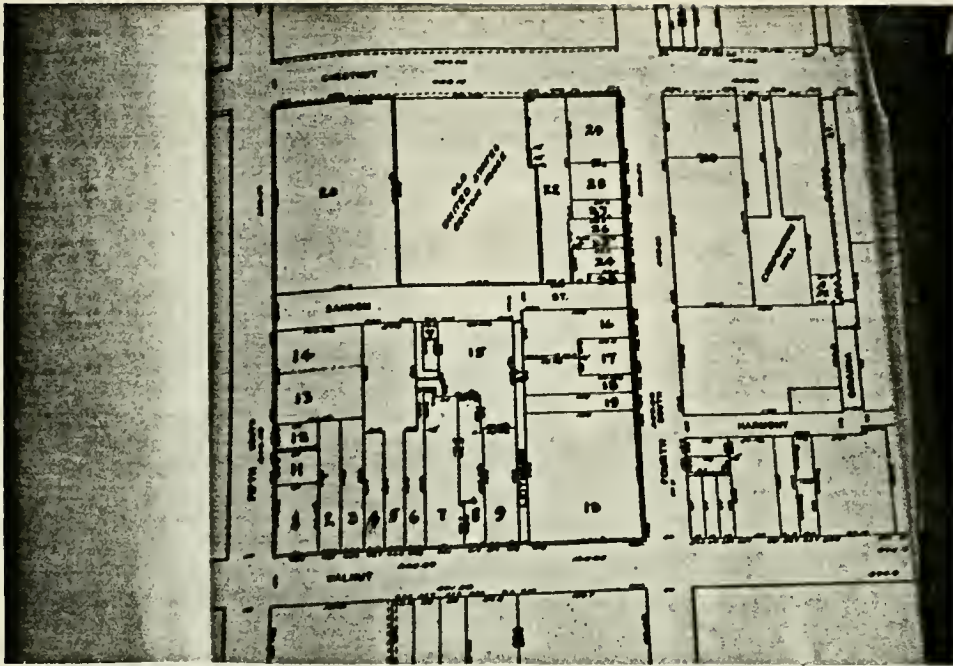
III-4 Tower Hall (with flag) as illustrated in Baxter's Panoramic Business Directory for 1860
 Courtesy of Library Company, Phila., PA.



III-5 Wanamaker & Brown, Market Street, 500 block, southside, 1873, Penrose Collection, HSP, Phila.



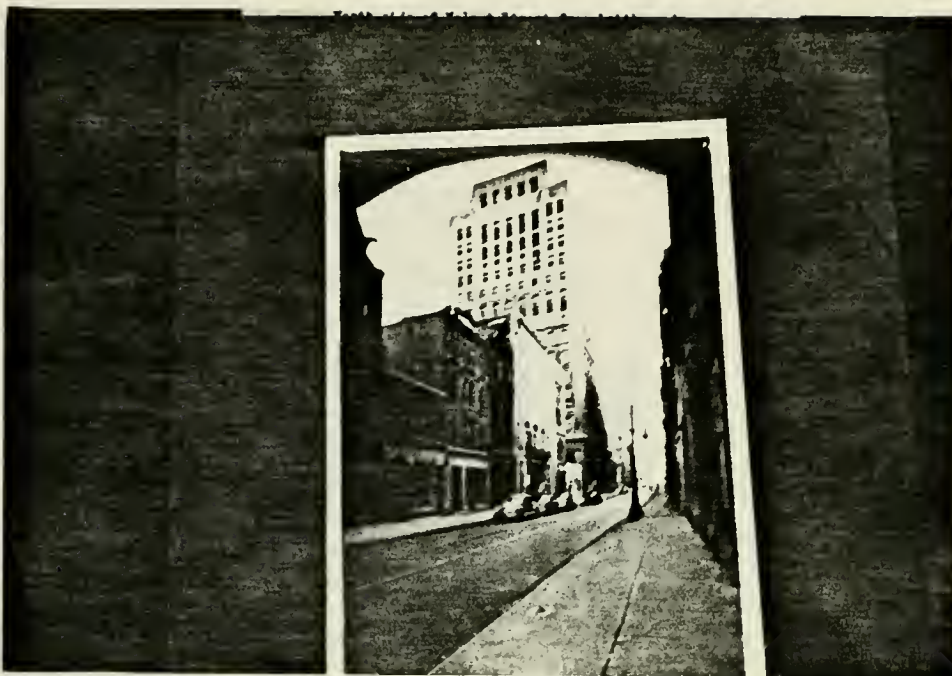
III-6 Chestnut Street, 500 block, northside, April 24, 1929, INHP Archives.



III-7 Block Bounded by Chestnut, Walnut, Fifth and Fourth Streets, Tax Parcel Map, 1950. Project A Appraisal Reports, INHP Archives.



III-8 Drexel Building, northeast corner 5th and Chestnut Streets, 1952, INHP Archives. (parcel #20 in Exhibit III-7).



III-9 Irvin Building, 400 Block Walnut Street, northside, 1950, INHP Archives. (high-rise building in photograph; parcel #10 in Exhibit III-7).



III-10 Fourth Street, westside between Chestnut and Walnut Streets, by Fawcett, 1950, INHP Archives.



ROLAND R RANDALL
REALTOR

III-11 Lehigh Building, 106-8 S. Fourth Street, 1950, in Roland R. Randall Appraisal Report, INHP Archives. (parcel #17 in Exhibit III-7).



(157)

LEHIGH WALNUT STREET

between 4th & 5th

North side of Walnut Street from Leithgow to

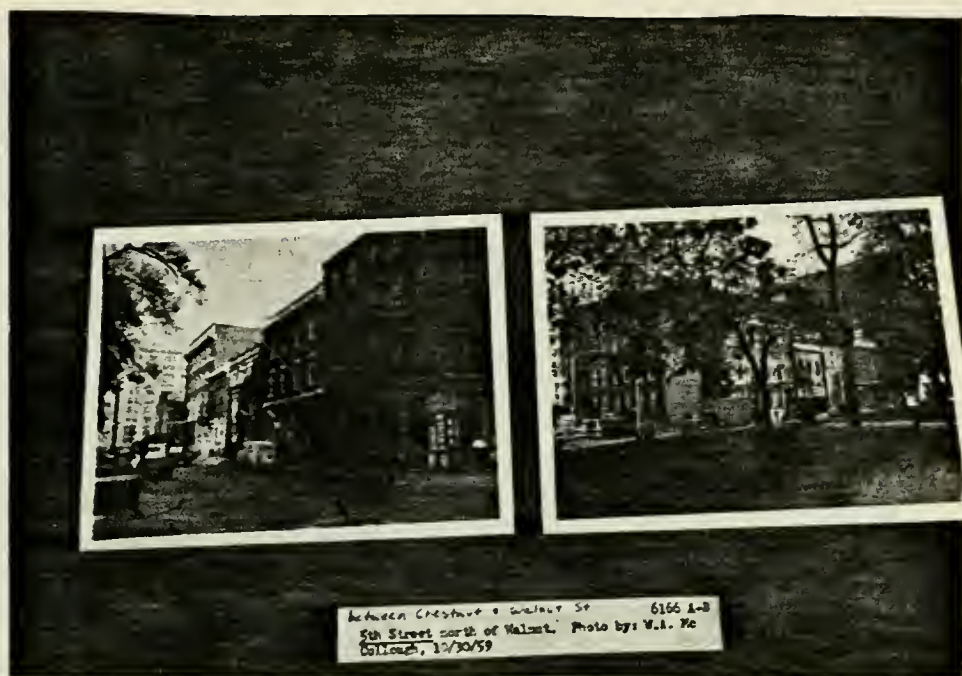
III-12 Walnut Street, 400 Block, northside, between Leithgow and Fifth Streets, by Fawcett, 1950, INHP Archives.



III-13 423 Walnut Street, 1950, from Roland R. Randall Appraisal Report, INHP Archives. (parcel #6 in Exhibit III-7).



III-14 431 and 429 Walnut Street, by Leonard Overturf, 1951, INHP Archives. (parcels #2 & 3 in Exhibit III-7)



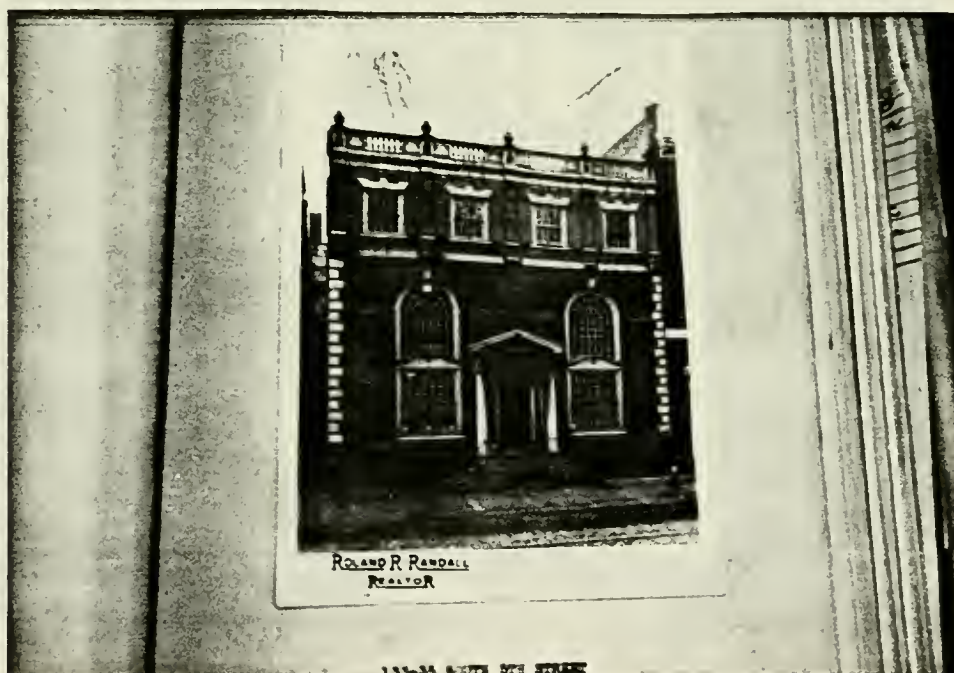
III-15 Fifth Street, north of Walnut Street, by W.A. McCulloch, October 1959, INHP Archives.



III-16 Walnut and Fifth Streets, Northeast corner, 1950, from Roland R. Randall Appraisal Report, INHP Archives. (parcels #1 and 11 in Exhibit III-7).



III-17 127-29 S. Fifth Street, 1950, from Roland R. Randall Appraisal Report, INHP Archives. (parcel #14 in Exhibit III-7).



III-18 133-35 S. Fifth Street, 1950, from Roland R. Randall Appraisal Report, INHP Archives. (parcel #12 in Exhibit III-7).



III-19 406 Sansom Street, 1950, from Roland R. Randall Appraisal Report, INHP Archives. (part of parcel #16 in Exhibit III-7).



1521-C
405 Sansom Street (Library St.)

III-20 405 Sansom Street, "John's Tailor Shop", by Leonard Overturf, 1951, INHP Archives. (part of parcel #24 in Exhibit III-7).



III-21 Dock Street, Aerial View, 1950, from Roland R. Randall Appraisal Report, INHP Archives.



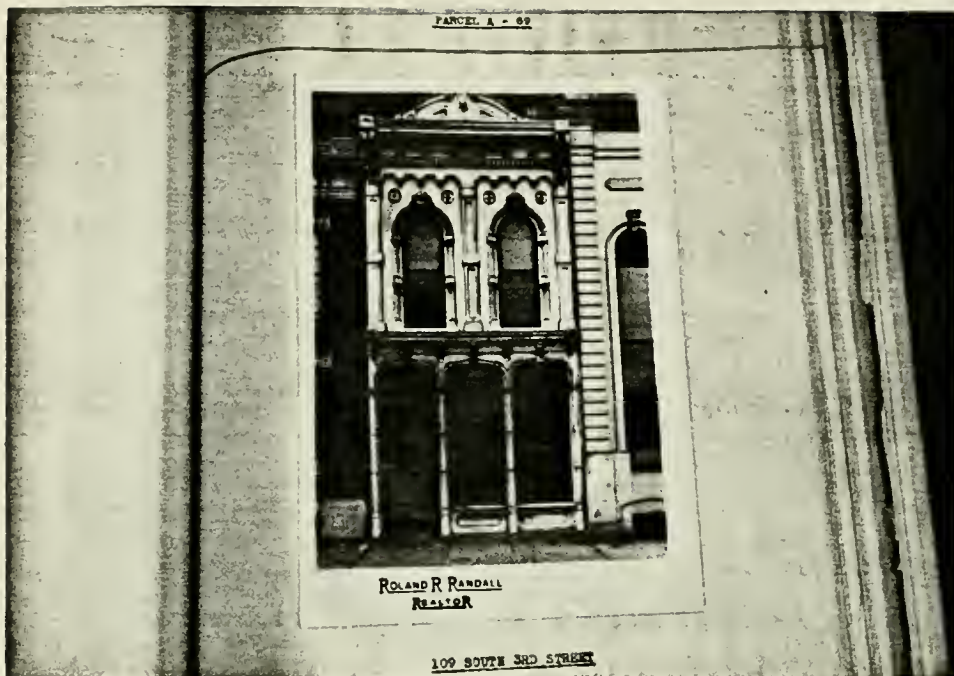
III-22 Dock Street Area, 1950 Tax Parcel Map, from Roland R. Randall Appraisal Report, INHP Archives.



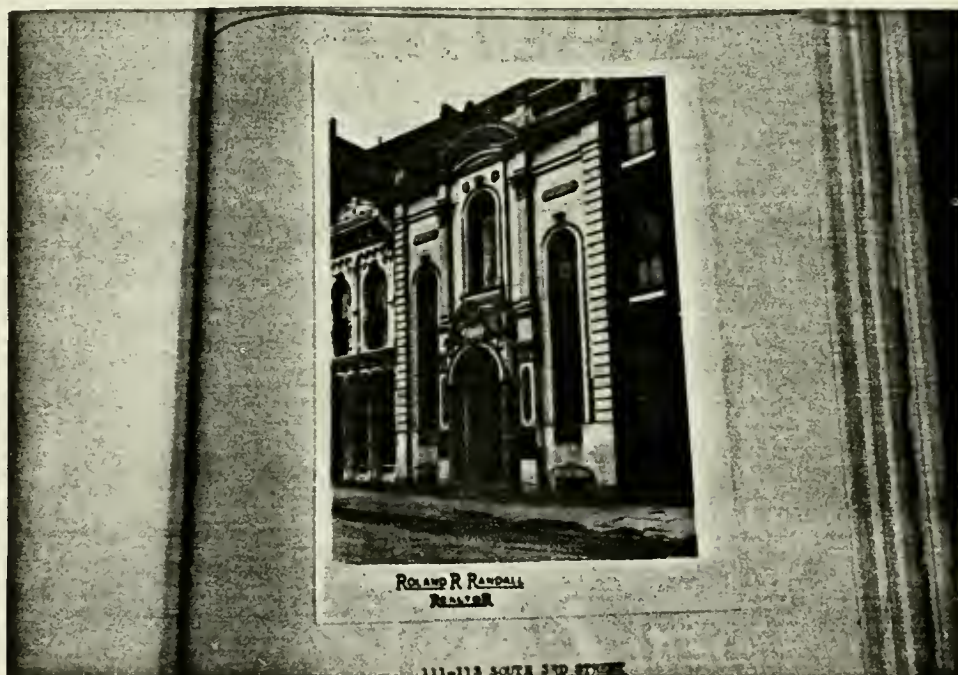
III-23 242-44 Chestnut Street, Jayne Building (at center) and wings, 1951, INHP Archives.



III-24 Third Street, between Chestnut and Walnut Sts., east side, looking south, by Leonard Overturf, Spring 1951, INHP Archives. (American Legion Post is second building from corner).



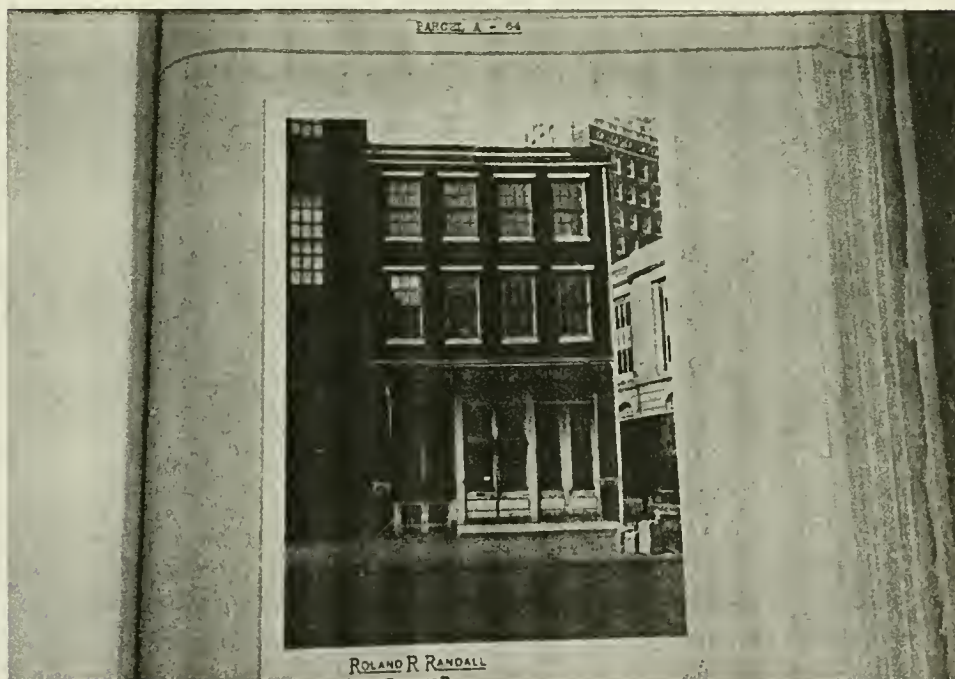
III-25 109 S. Third Street, 1950, from Roland R. Randall Appraisal Report, INHP Archives.



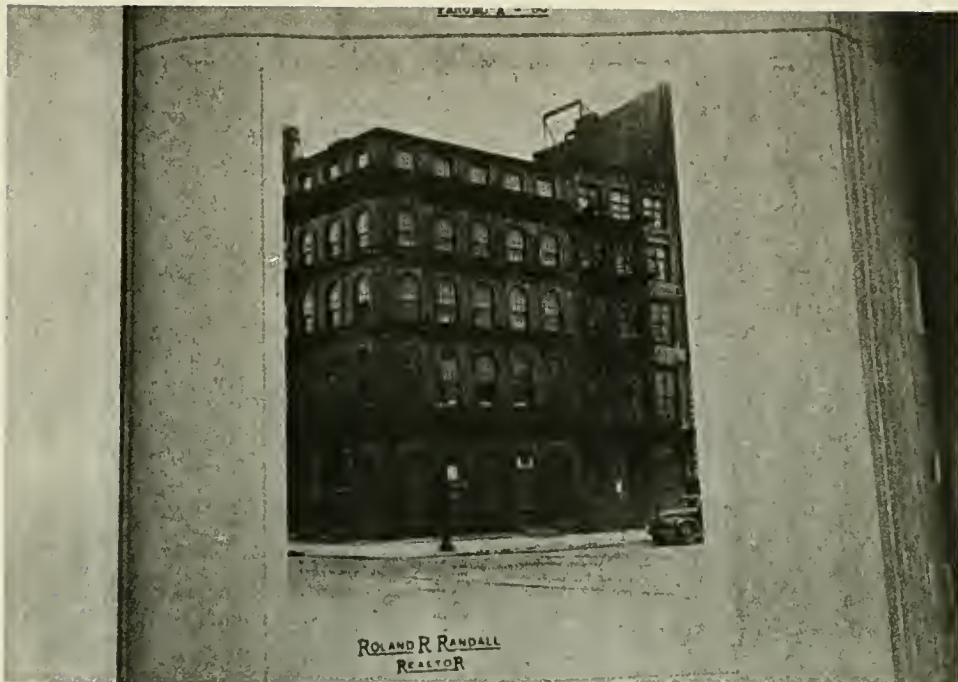
III-26 111-113 S. Third St., 1950, from Roland R. Randall Appraisal Report, INHP Archives.



III-27 Dock Street, between Chestnut and Walnut, Second and Third Streets, by Fawcett, September, 1950, INHP Archives.



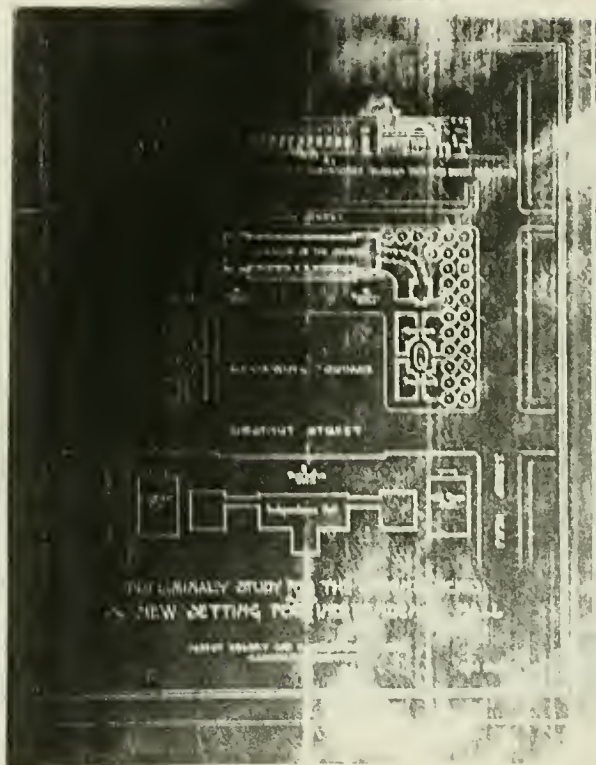
III-28 John Wagner & Sons, 233 Dock Street, 1950, in Roland R. Randall Appraisal Report, INHP Archives.



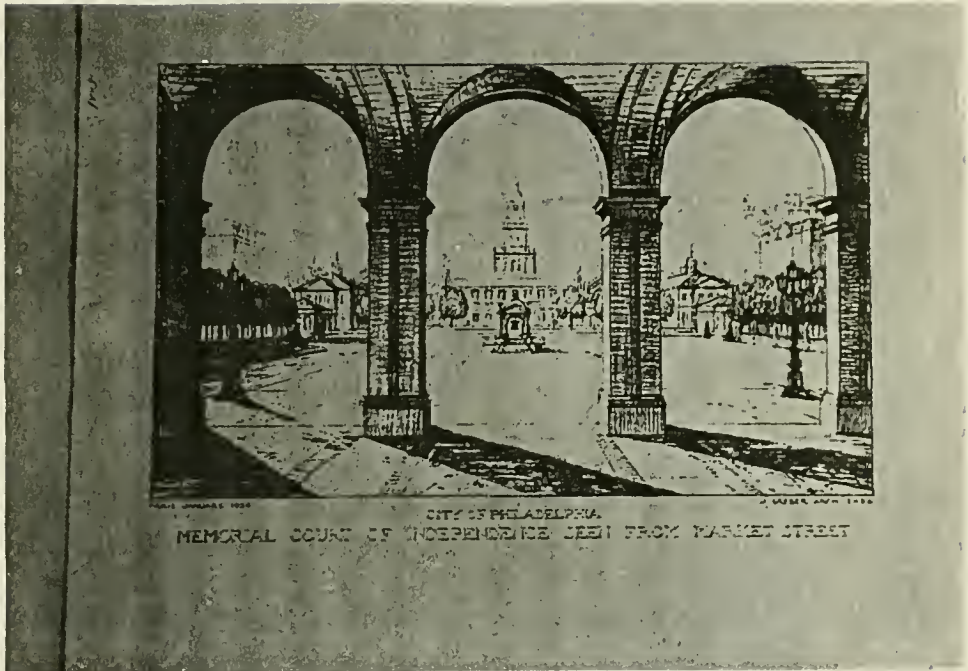
III-29 Penn Mutual Building, 1950, in Roland R. Randall Appraisal Report, INHP Archives.



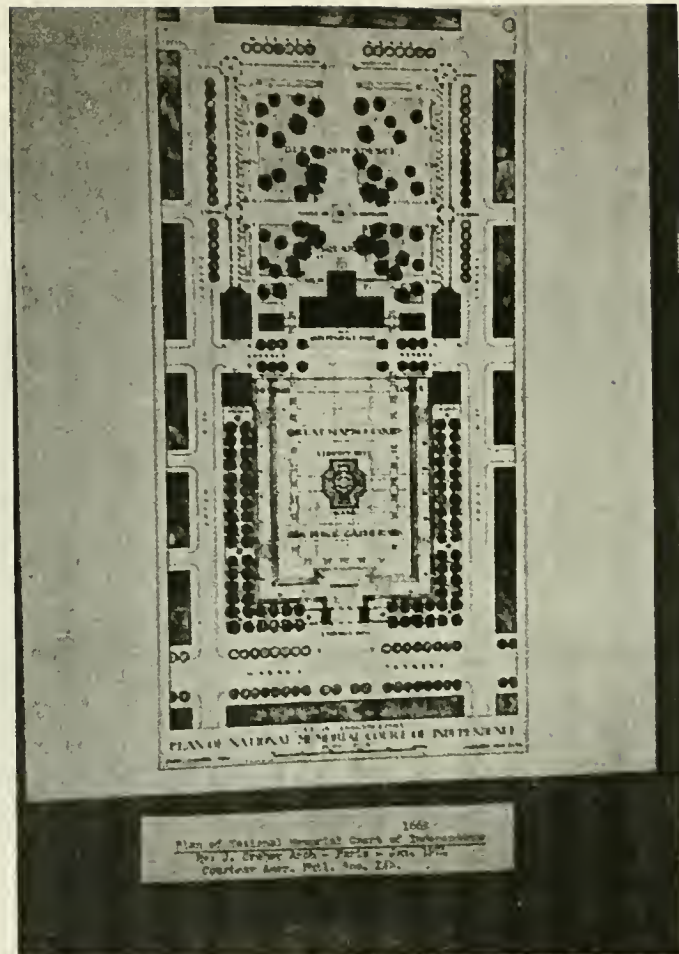
III-30 201 to 221 Walnut Street, 1950, in Roland R. Randall Appraisal Report, INHP Archives.



IV-1 "Preliminary Study for the Dependencies, A New Setting for Independence Hall" by Albert Kelsey and D. Knickerbacker Boyd, 1915, INHP Archives.



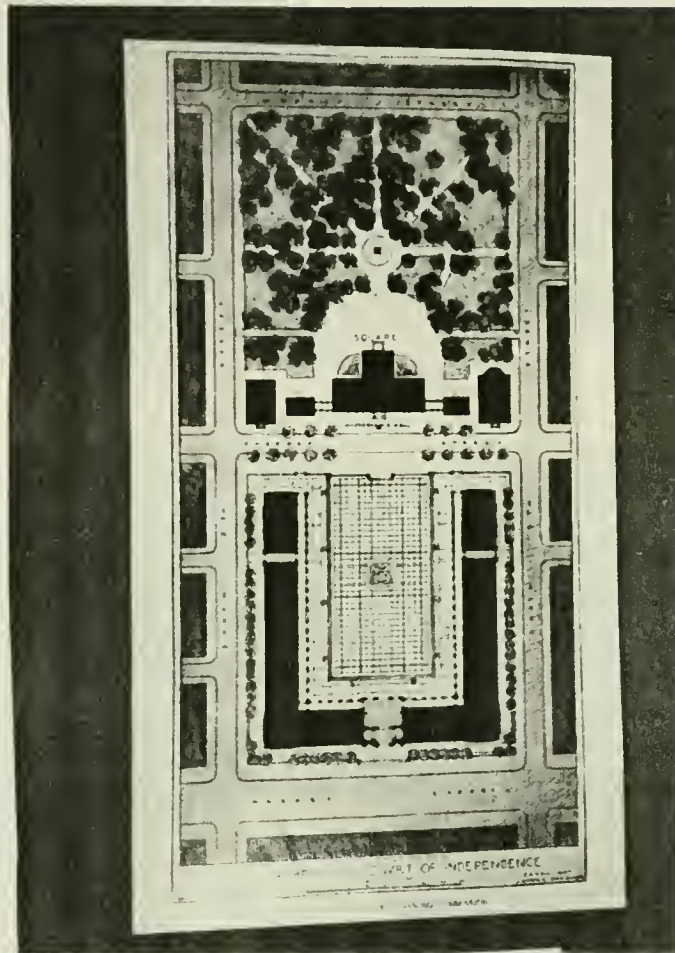
IV-2 "Memorial Court of Independence Seen From Market St.",
by Jacques Greber, January, 1924, American
Philosophical Society, Phila., PA.



IV-3 "Plan of National Memorial Court of Independence" by Jacques Greber, Jan., 1924, American Philosophical Society, Phila., PA.



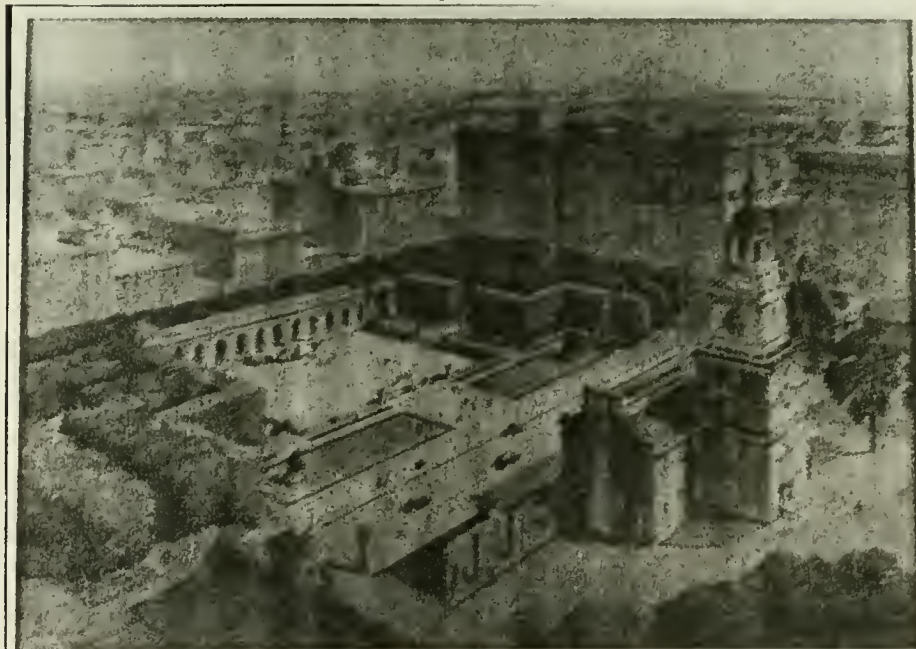
IV-4 "Sketch of Memorial Court of Independence", Jacques Greber, August 1930, INHP Archives.



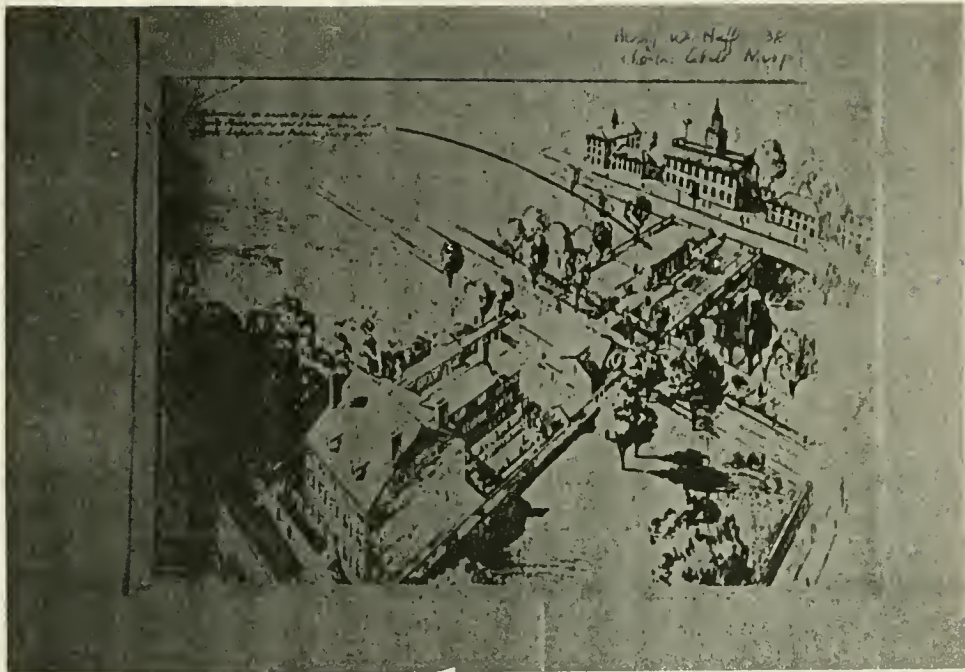
IV-5 "Plan of Memorial Court of Independence", Jacques Greber, July, 1930, INHP Archives.



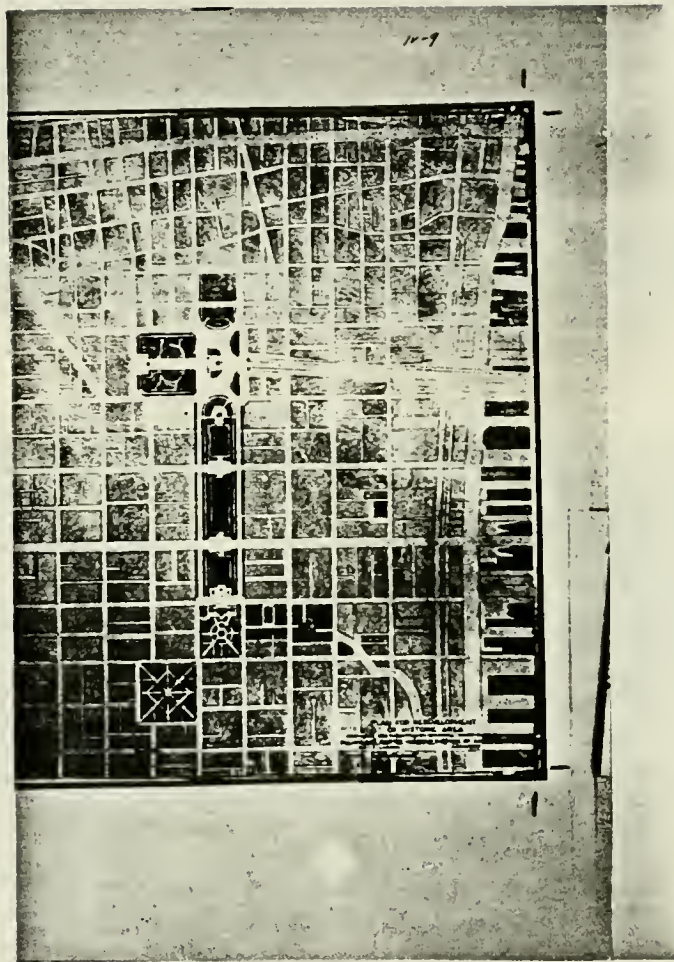
IV-6 "Design for Extension of Independence Square, Scheme A", Paul Cret, 1933, courtesy of The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.



IV-7 "Design for Extension of Independence Square, Scheme B", Paul Cret, 1933, courtesy of the Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

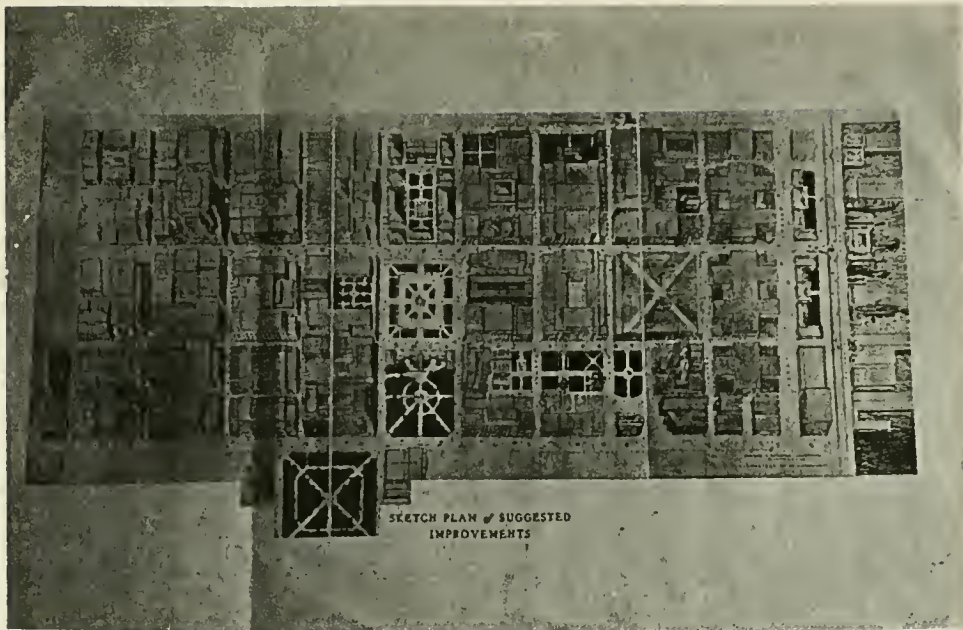


IV-8 "Colonnade in Which to Place Statues of (illeg.) Montgomery and Steuben facing East and Genls Lafayette and Pulaski facing West", in Pencil: Harry W. Neff and Charles Abell Murphy '38. INHP Archives.



1V-9 "Plan for Redevelopment of Historic Area" prepared for
Committee on Municipal Improvements
Philadelphia Chapter-American Institute of
Architects, Roy F. Larson, 1937, INHP Archives.





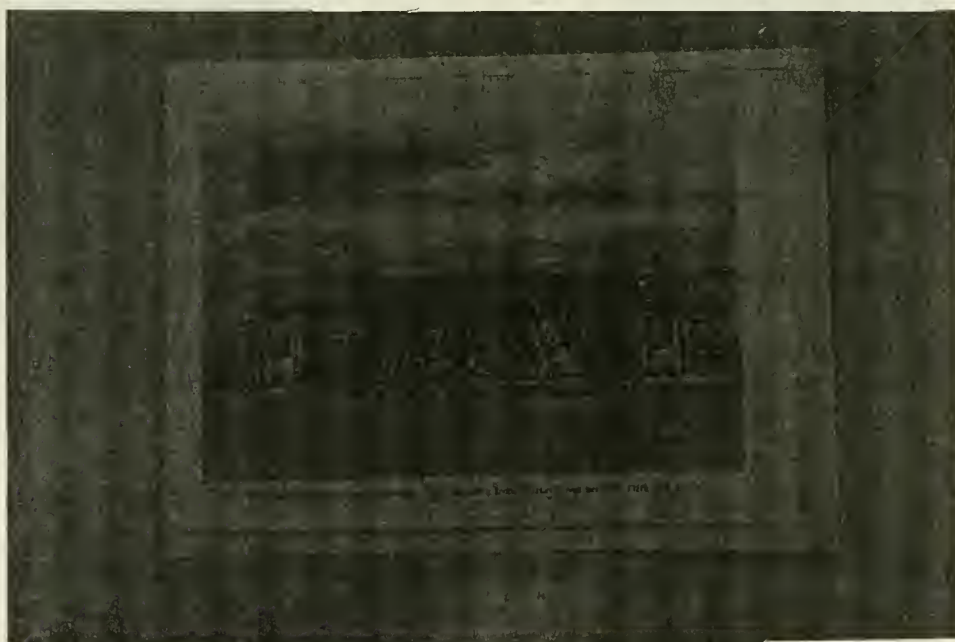
IV-10 "Sketch Plan of Suggested Improvements", Folsom & Stanton, Architects, visualized by Wm. Stewart, INHP Archives.



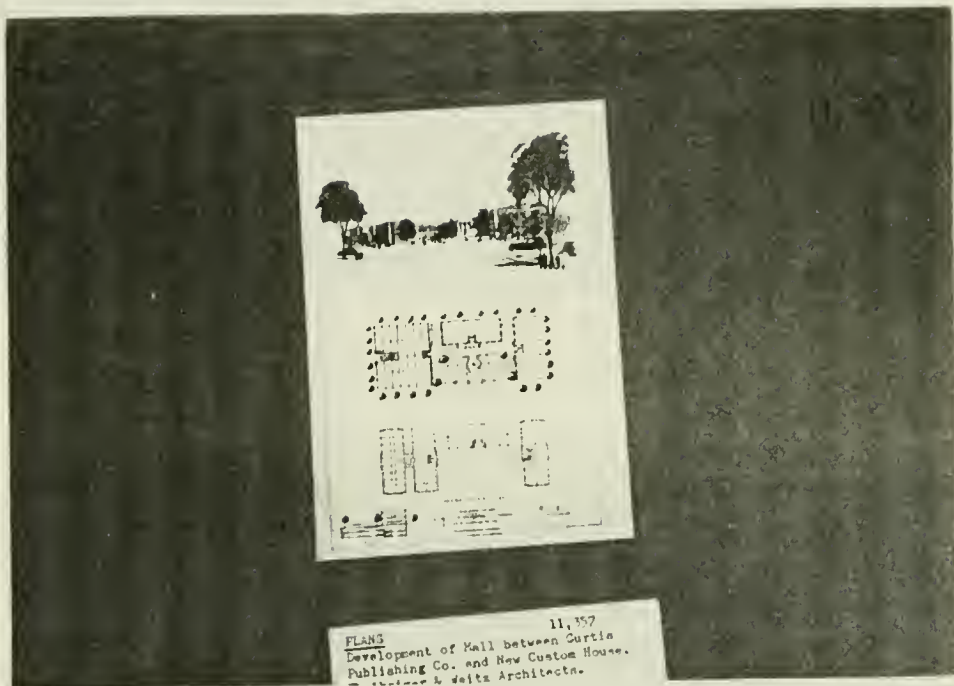
IV-11 "Proposed Congress Plaza and Improvements Southside of Chestnut St. 2nd to 5th Sts.", sponsored by A. Raymond Raff, Collector of the Port, INHP Archives.



IV-12 "Constitution Gardens" as proposed by the Planning Committee of the Board of Trade as "a proper complement to Independence Hall and suitable Memorial to the Nation's Heroic Dead, 1936, INHP Archives.

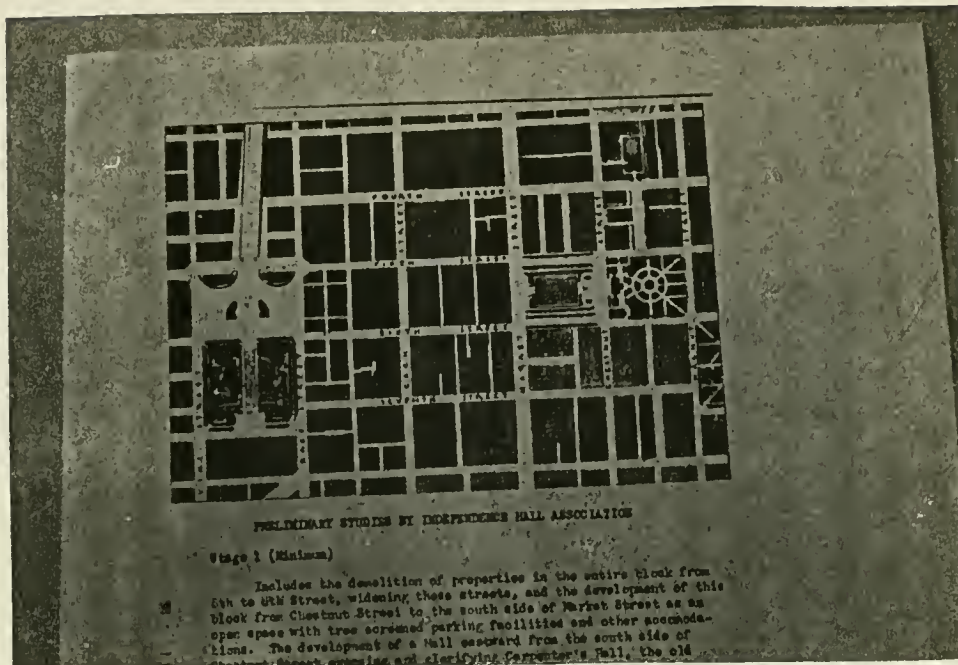


IV-13 "Constitution Gardens" proposed by Planning Committee of Board of Trade, 1936, looking south from Market Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets, INHP Archives.

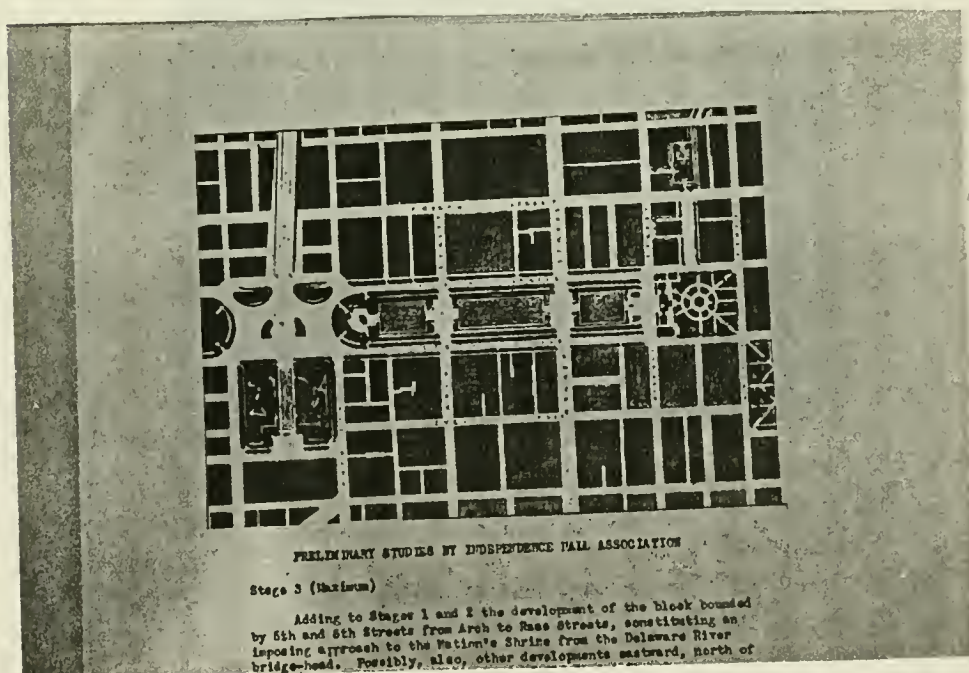


11,357
FLANS
Development of Mall between Curtis
Publishing Co. and New Custom House.
— Thalheimer & Weitz Architects.

IV-14 "Development of Mall between Curtis Publishing Co.
and New Custom House, Thalheimer & Weitz.
INHP Archives.



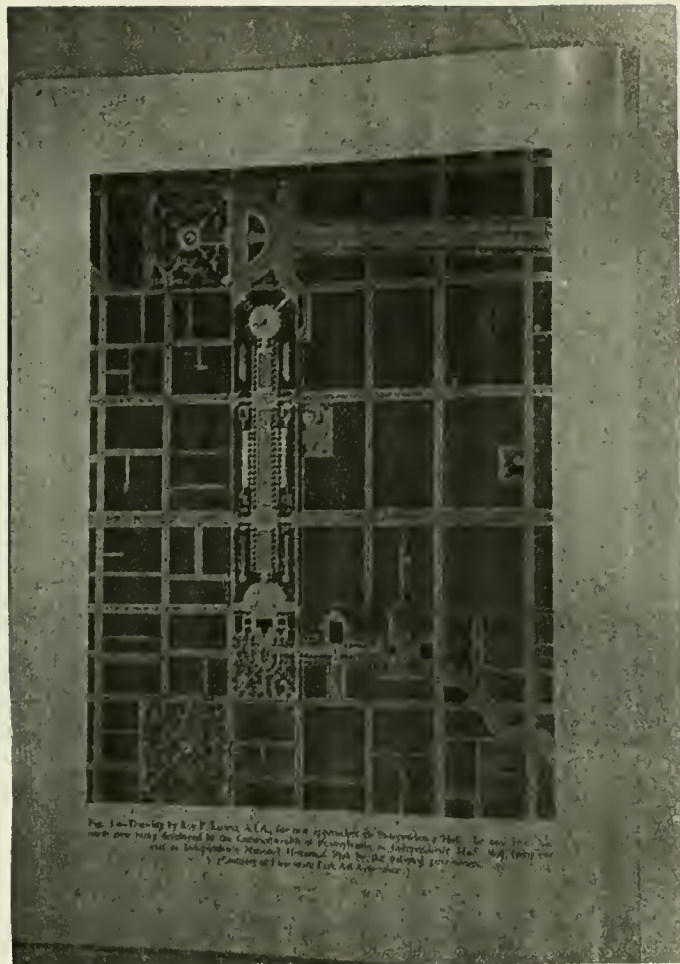
V-1 "Preliminary Studies by Independence Hall Association", Stage 1, Courtesy of the American Philosophical Society, Phila., PA.



V-2 "Preliminary Studies by Independence Hall Association", Stage 3, Courtesy of the American Philosophical Society, Phila., PA.



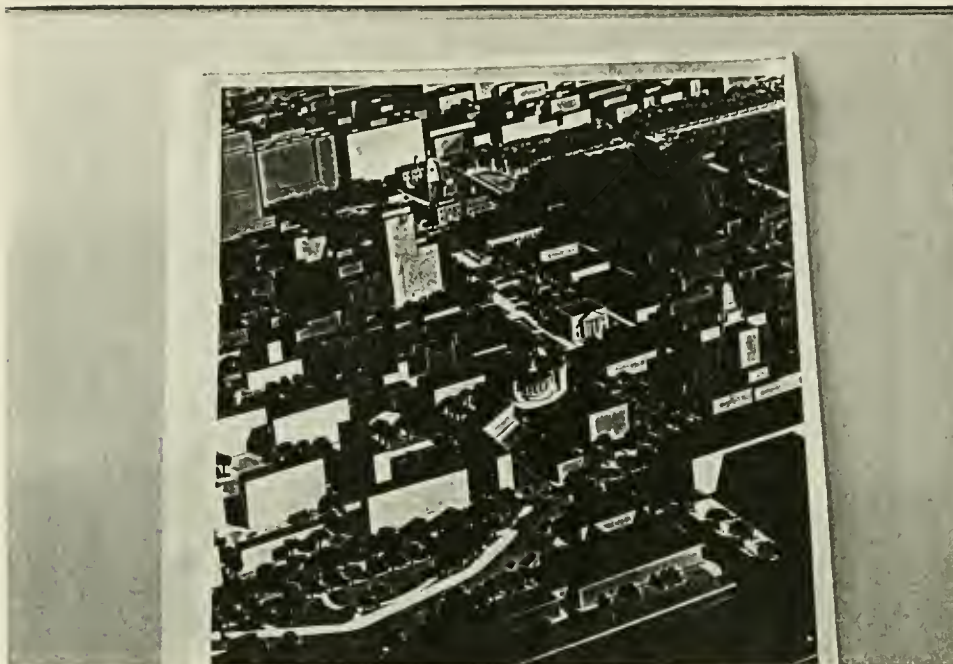
V-3 "Air View from the North Showing Proposed Mall and the Development to the East", 1944 publication of the Fairmount Park Art Association.



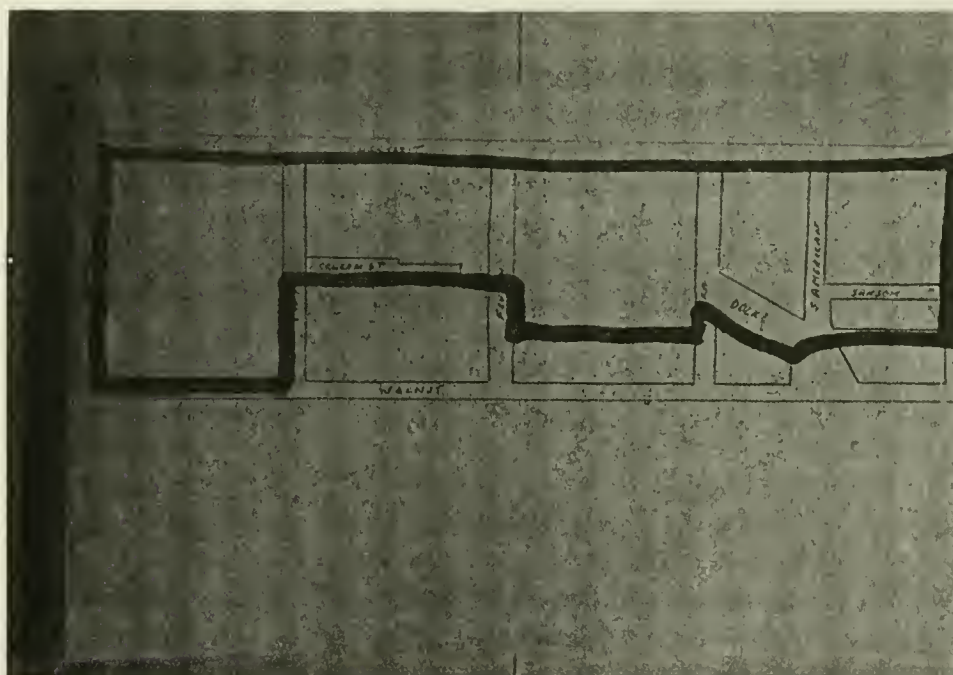
V-4 "New Approaches to Independence Hall", 1944 publication of Fairmount Park Art Association.



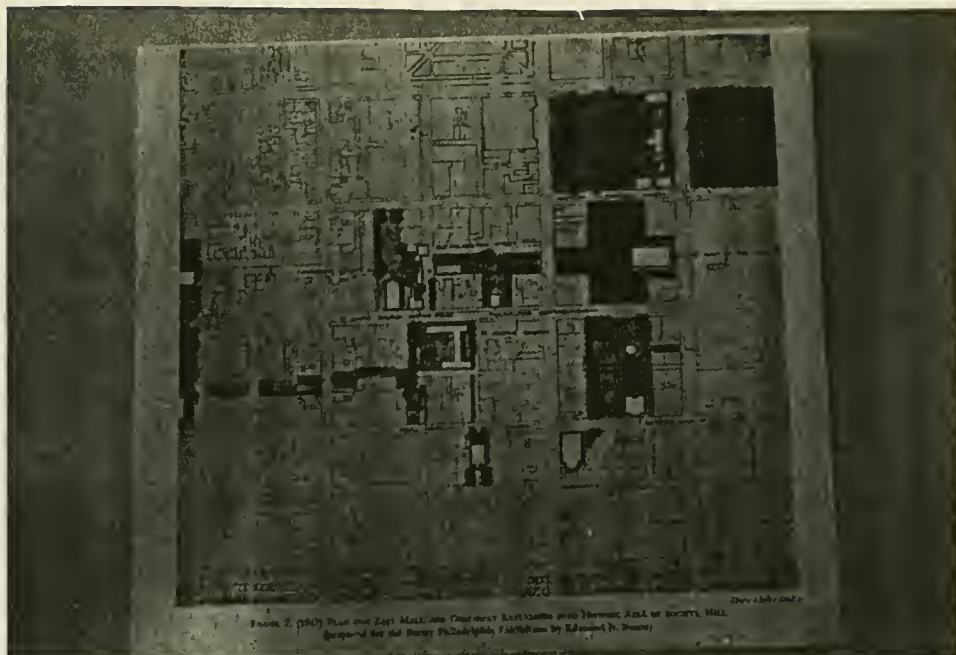
V-5 "Independence Hall as it Would Appear from Market Street", 1944 Fairmount Park Art Association Publication. INHP Archives.



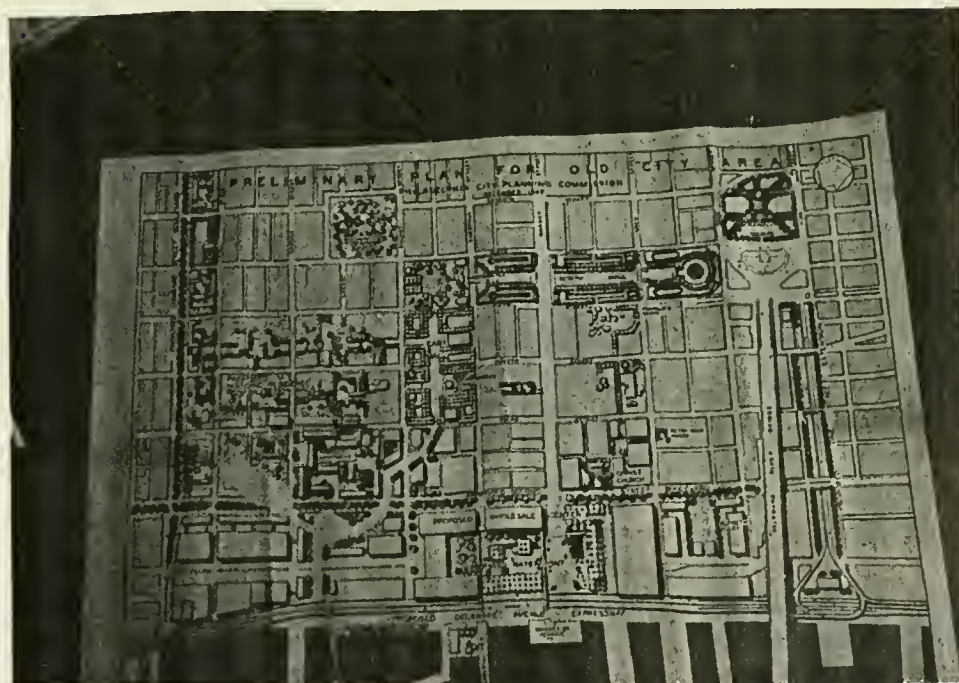
VI-1 Model, Better Philadelphia Exhibition, 1947, courtesy of Philadelphia City Archives.



VI-2 Park Boundaries proposed by Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission, 1947.



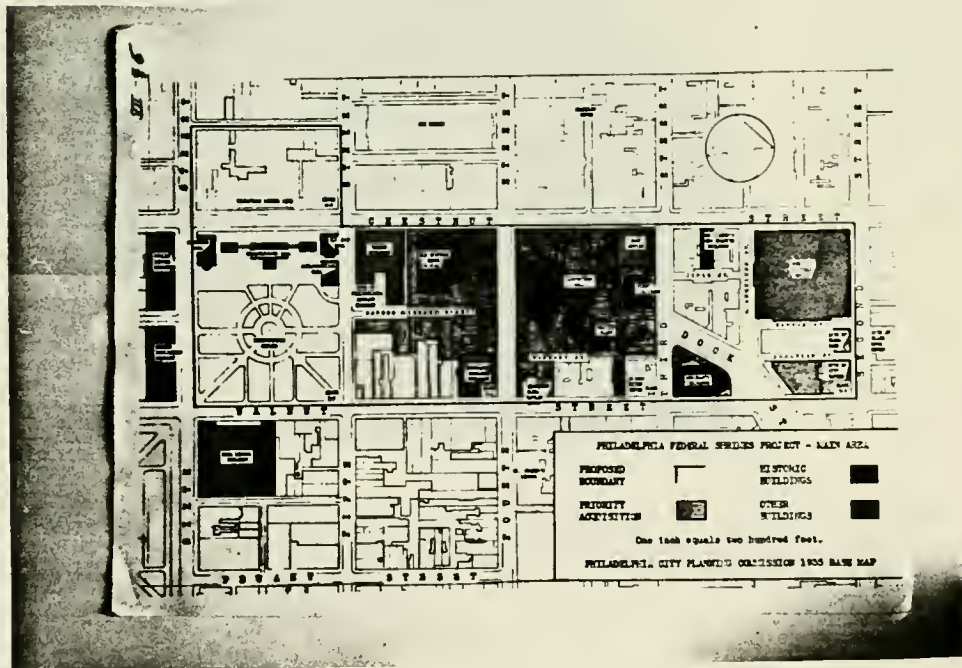
VI-3 "Plan for the East Mall and Greenway Extension into Historic Area of Society Hill", prepared for Better Philadelphia Exhibition, 1947.



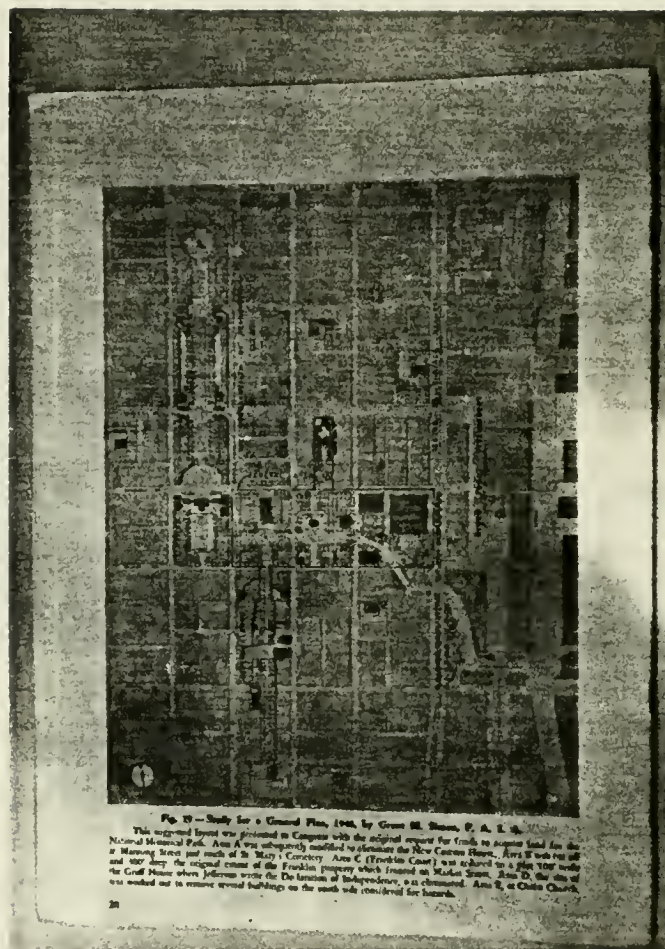
VI-4 "Preliminary Plan for Old City Area", Philadelphia City Planning Commission, September, 1947, INHP Archives.



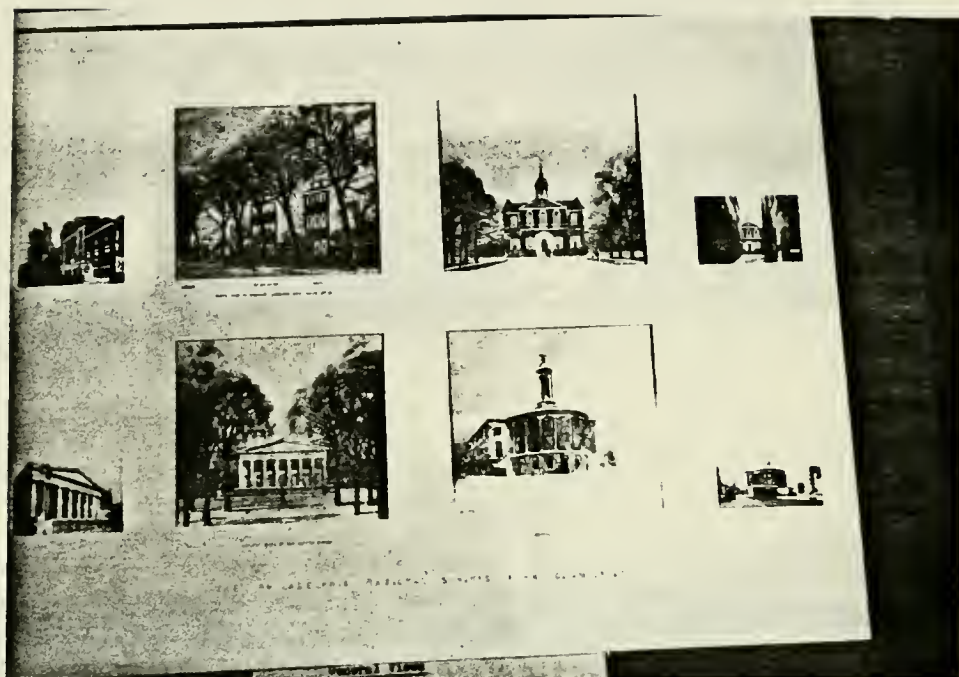
VI-5 "Location Plan for Reception Center". by Charles E. Peterson, 1947. INHP Archives.



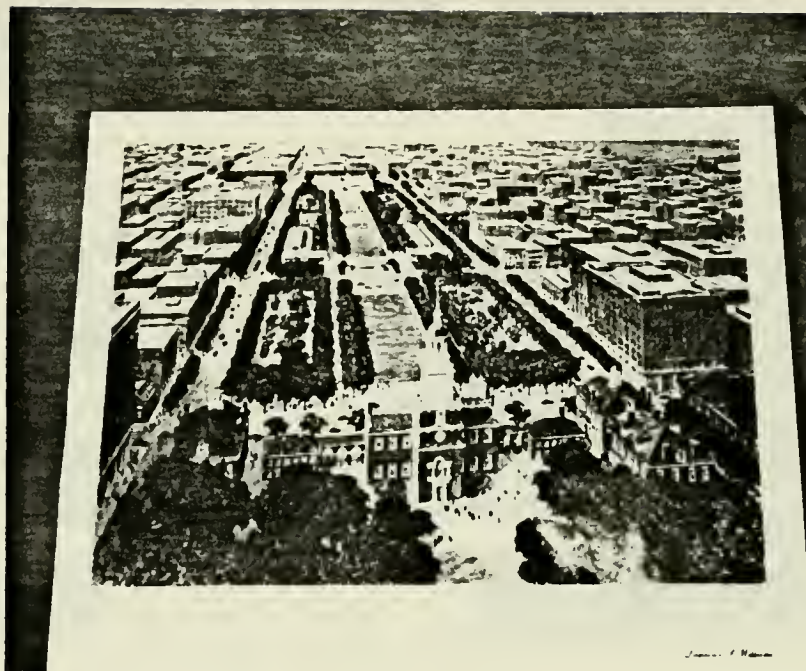
VI-6 "Philadelphia Federal Shrines Project - Main Area" by Charles E. Peterson, 1947, INHP Archives.



VI-7 "Study for a General Plan, 1948, by Grant M. Simon, F.A.I.A.", from 1951 Independence Hall Association publication.

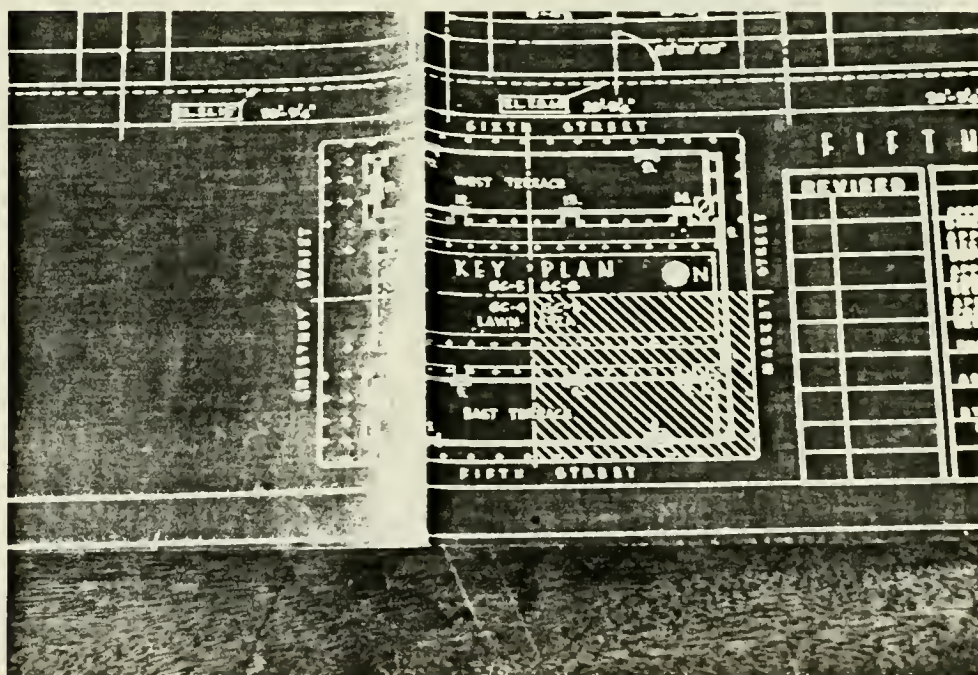


VI-8 Watercolors by Grant M. Simon. included in 1947 Philadelphia National Shrines Commission Report, INHP Archives.

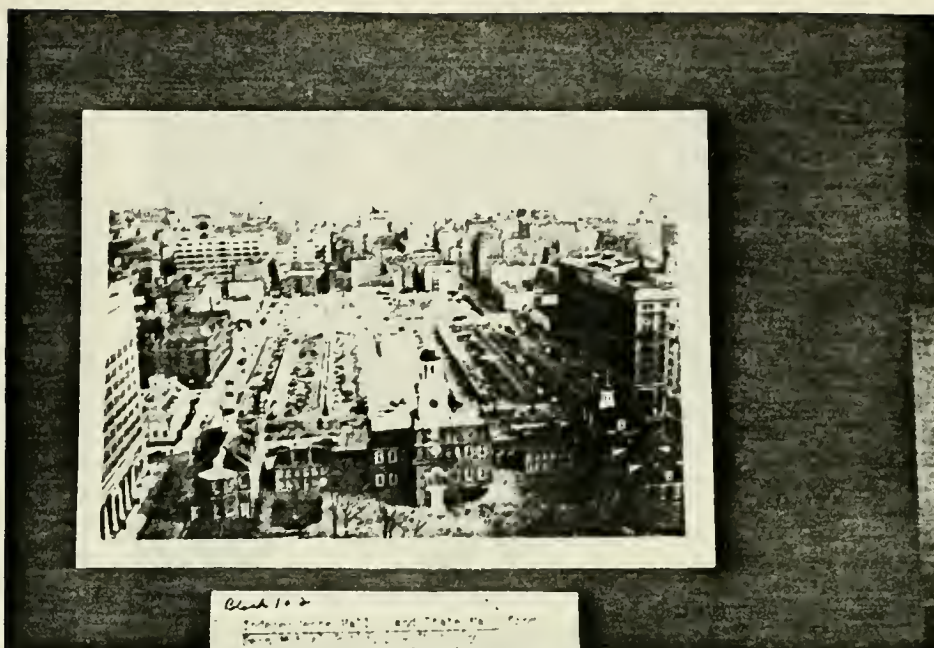


James F. Williams

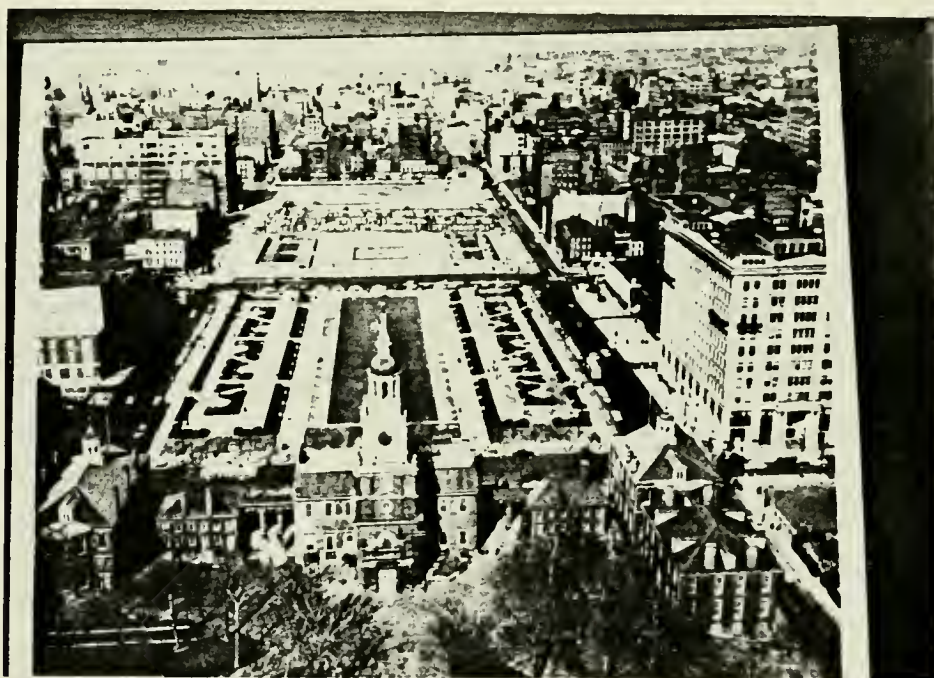
VII-1 Independence Mall, aerial perspective, looking north, photo by Lawrence F. Williams, courtesy of Philadelphia Art Commission.



VII-2 Independence Mall, Block One, Detail of Plan, courtesy of Philadelphia Art Commission.



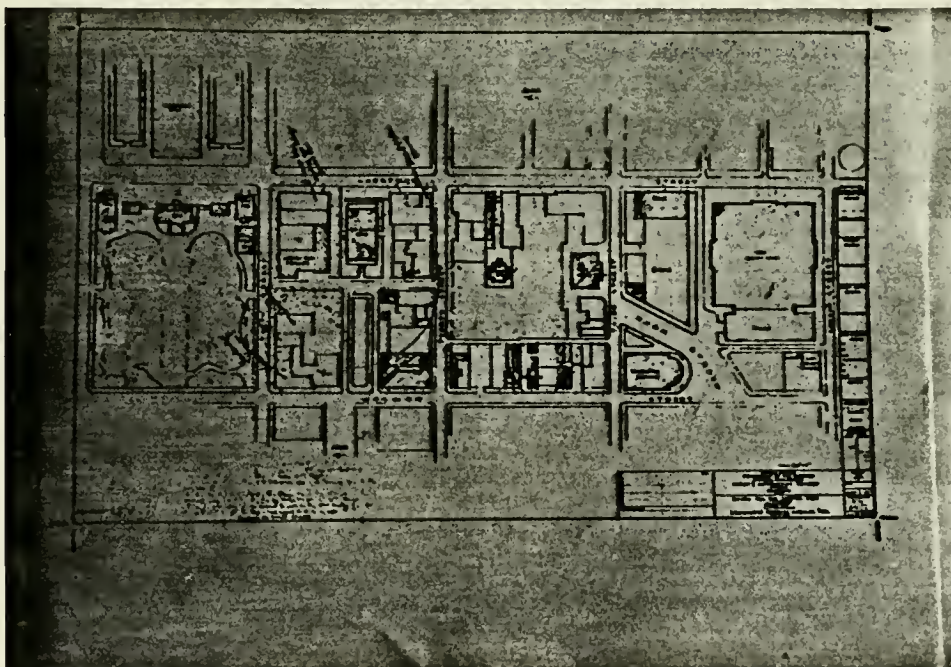
VII-3 Independence Mall, Blocks One and Two, 1954, INHP Archives.



VII-4 Independence Mall, Blocks One and Two, 1956, INHP Archives.



VII-5 Model, Independence Mall, Block One, photo by Lawrence F. Williams, courtesy of Philadelphia Art Commission.



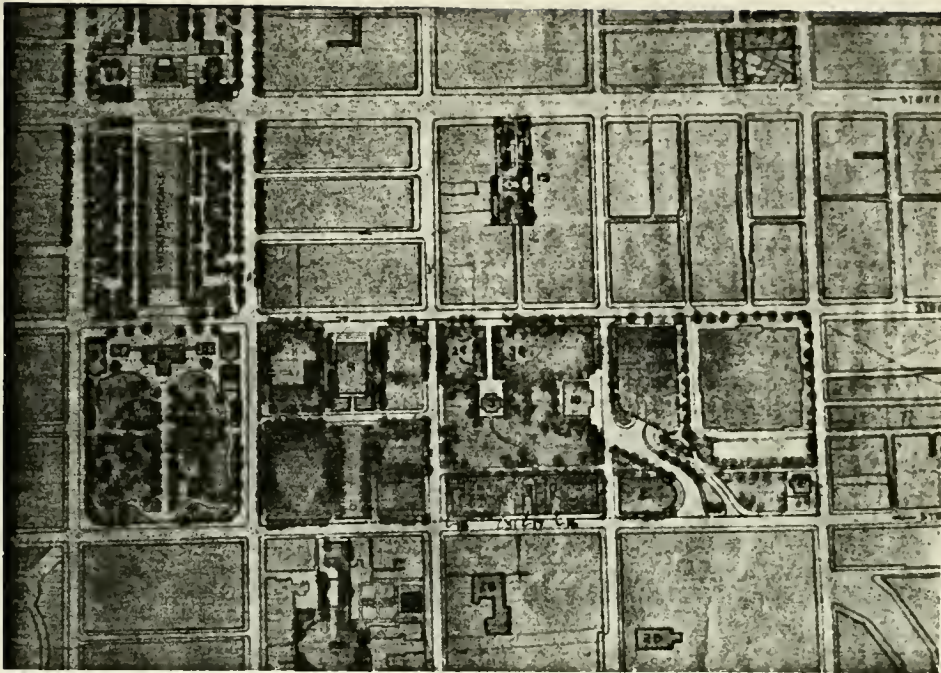
VII-6 "Study for the Master Plan, Area A", by Charles Peterson, INHP Archives.



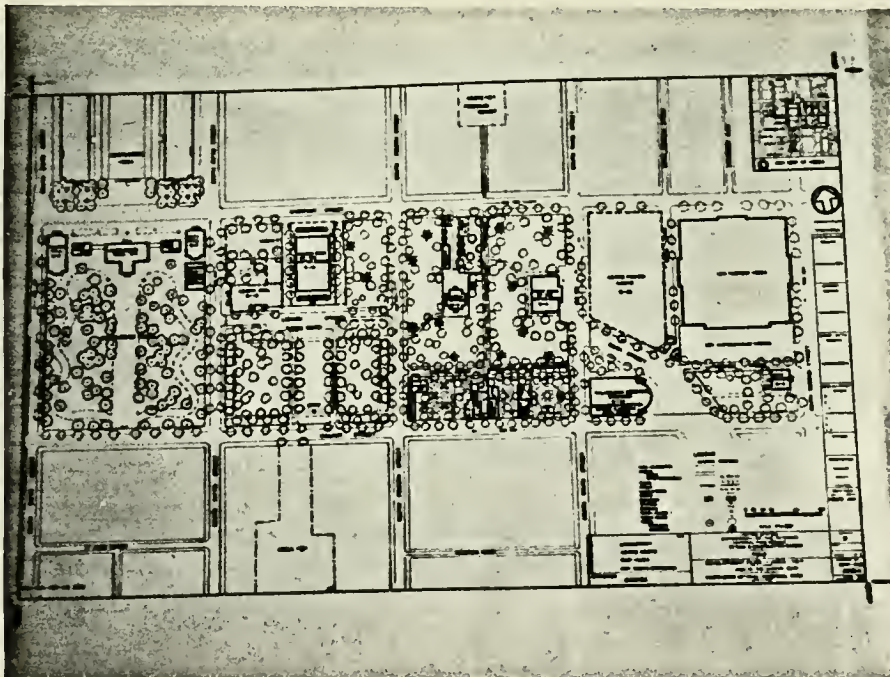
VII-7 Brown Building, 324-30 Chestnut St. (southeast corner of 4th & Chestnut Sts.) from Roland R. Randall appraisal report, 1950, INHP Archives.



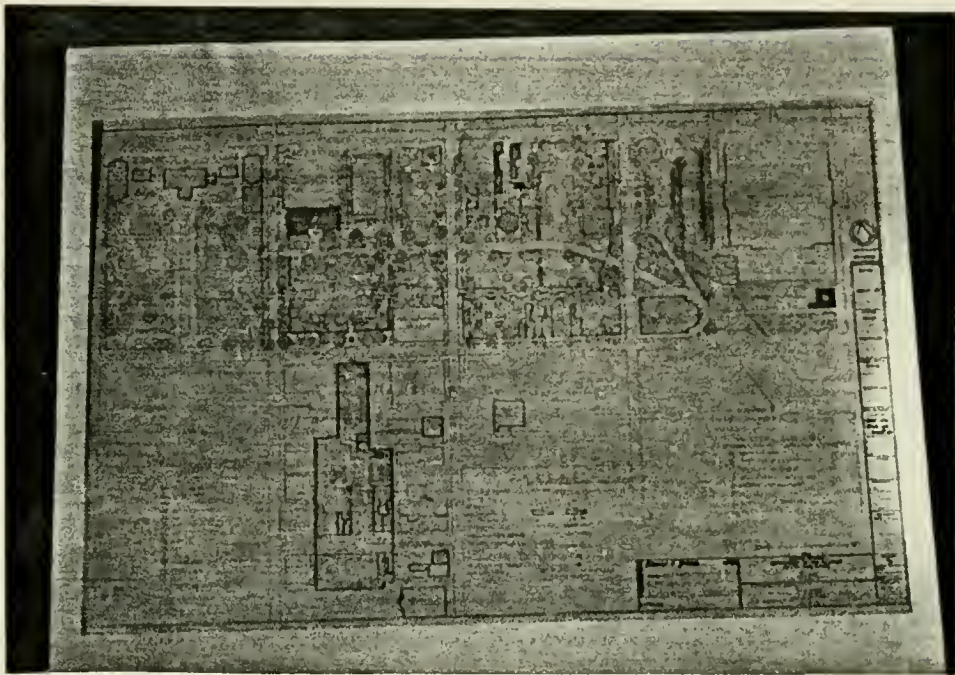
VII-8 Guarantee Bank Building, 316-20 Chestnut St., ca. 1950, INHP Archives.



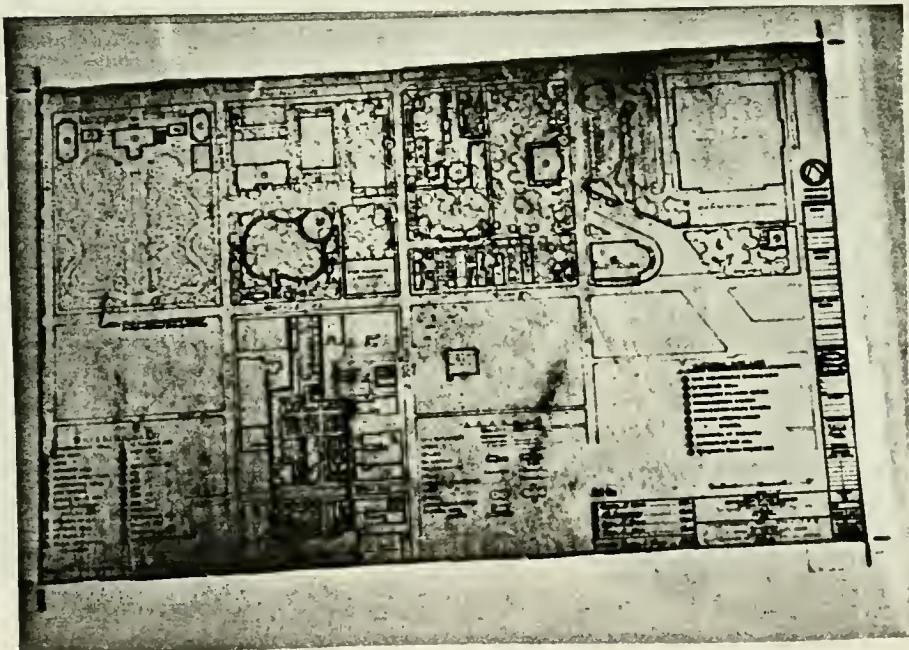
VII-9 Development Plan, Area A, NHP-IND 2006, INHP Archives.



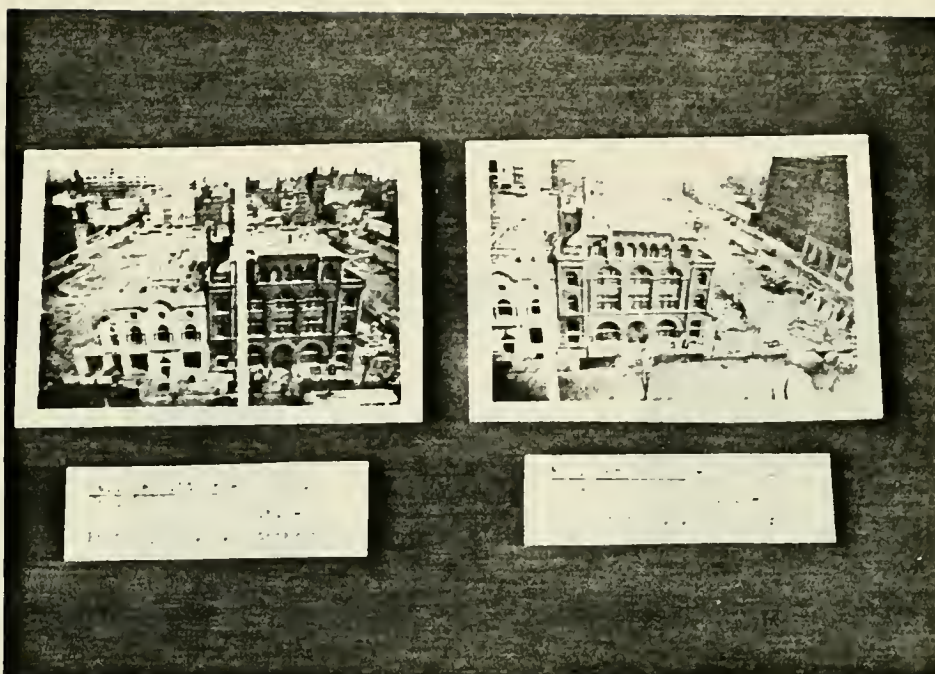
VII-10 Development Plan, Area A, NHP-IND 2006A, INHP Archives.



VII-11 Development Plan, Areas A & B, NHP-IND 3018A, INHP Archives.



VII-12 Development Plan, Areas A & B, NHP-IND 3106B, INHP Archives.



VIII-1 Demolition of Hutton and Windrim buildings on Chestnut St., 500 block, by R.W. Shoemaker, 1952, INHP Archives.



VIII-2 Mall Demolition - Block 2, north side of Market St., 500 Block, 1953, by R.W. Shoemaker, INHP Archives.



IX-1 Locust Street, east of 3rd St., J. Stelman, 1959.



IX-2 Locust Street, east of 3rd St., author, 1988.



IX-3 Northeast corner of 3rd & Spruce Sts., J. Stelman,
1959.



IX-4 Northeast corner of 3rd & Spruce Sts., author, 1988.



IX-5 Northeast corner, 3rd & Spruce St., J. Stelman, 1959.



IX-6 Northeast corner, 3rd & Spruce Sts., author, 1988.



IX-7 American St., north of Spruce St., Stelman, 1959.



IX-8 American St., north of Spruce St., author, 1988.



IX-9 Spruce St., northside. west of 2nd St., Stelman, 1959.



IX-10 Spruce St., northside, west of 2nd St., author, 1988.



IX-11 Spruce & Dock Sts., looking NW, Stelman, 1959.



IX-12 Spruce & Dock Sts., looking NW, author, 1988.



IX-13 Dock St., west side, north of Spruce St., looking south. Stelman, 1959.



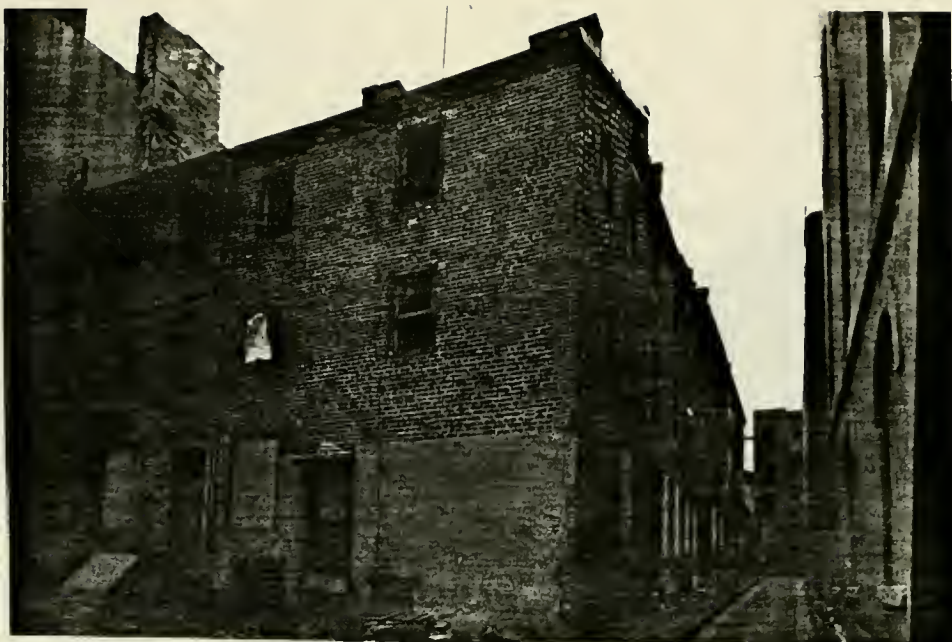
IX-14 Dock St., north of Spruce St., author, 1988.



IX-15 Dock St., west side, north of Spruce St., looking NW, Stelman, 1959.



IX-16 Dock St., north of Spruce St., author, 1988.



IX-17 St. James St., looking west from 2nd St., Stelman, 1959.



IX-18 St. James Walk, looking west to 3rd St., author, 1988.



IX-19 St. James St., looking east to 2nd Street. Stelman, 1959.



IX-20 2nd St., east side, looking south at St. James St.,
Stelman, 1959.



IX-21 formerly 2nd St., looking south toward Spruce St.,
author, 1988.



IX-22 2nd St., westside, looking south at St. James Street, Stelman, 1959.



IX-23 formerly 2nd St., looking southwest from St. James, author, 1988.



IX-24 2nd St., eastside, north of Spruce St., Stelman,
1959.



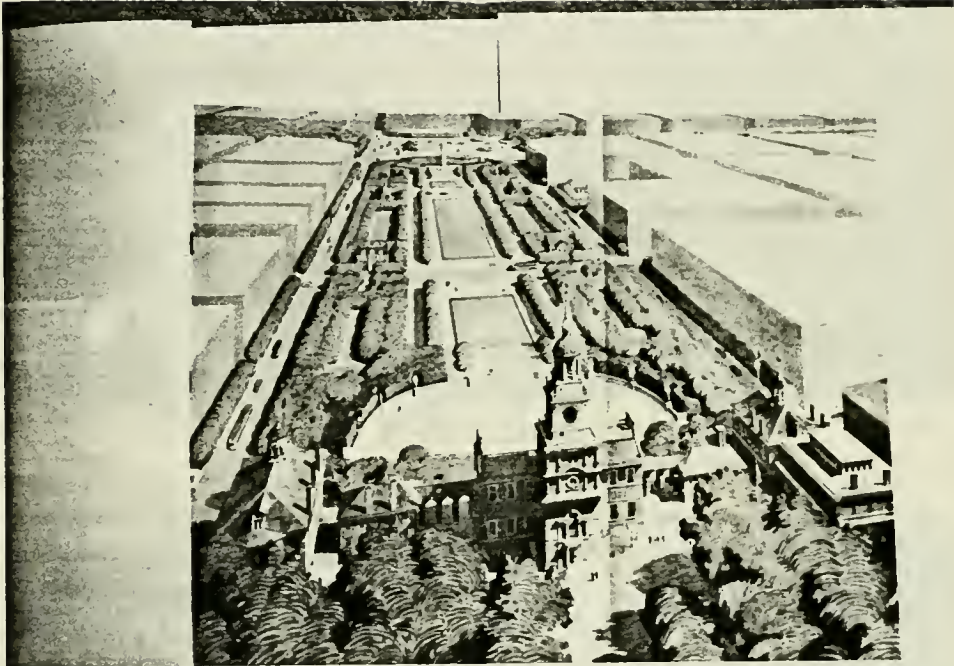
IX-25 2nd St., eastside, north of Spruce, author, 1988.



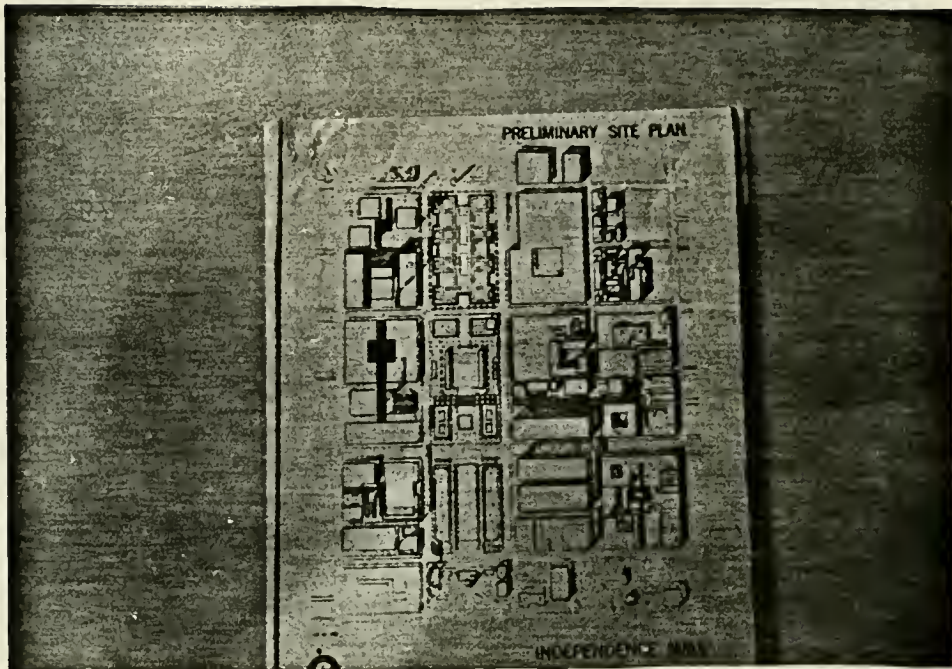
IX-26 Cypress Court, southwest corner of 3rd & Spruce St., author, 1988.



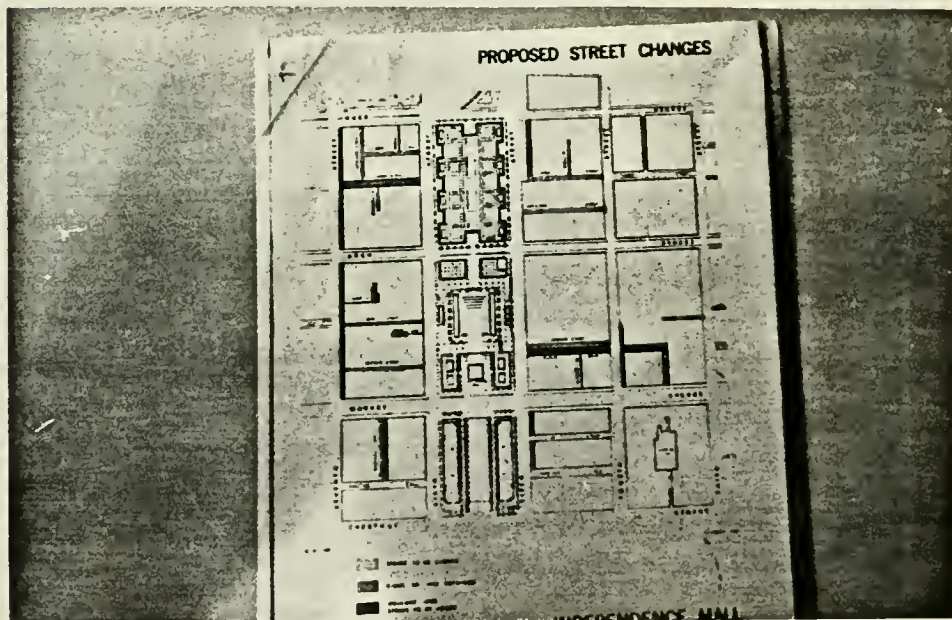
IX-27 Blackwell Court, 200 block, Pine St., author, 1988.



IX-28 "Proposed Improvement to the North of the Independence Hall Group", Darwin H. Urffer, from 1944 Fairmount Park Art Association publication.



IX-29 Preliminary Site Plan, Independence Mall Urban Renewal Area, City Planning Commission publication.



IX-30 Proposed Street Changes, Independence Mall Urban Renewal Area, City Planning Commission publication.



IX-31 Market St., 400 Block, northside, 1933, Penrose Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).



IX-32 Market St., 400 Block, northside, author, 1988.



IX-33 Market St., 400 block, southside, 1930, Penrose Collection, HSP.



IX-34 Market St., 400 block, southside, author, 1988.



IX-35 4th Street, westside, south of Arch St., 1934, Penrose Collection, HSP.



IX-36 4th & Arch Sts., southwest corner. author, 1988.



IX-37 5th & Arch Sts., northeast corner, author, 1988.



IX-38 Market Street, west of 4th St., looking west,
author, 1988.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- Appelbaum, Stanley, The Chicago World's Fair of 1893 A Photographic Record. NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1980.
- Bacon, Edmund N., Design of Cities. NY: Viking Press, 1967.
- Burg, David F., Chicago's White City of 1893. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1976.
- Edgell, George Harold and Fiske Kimball, A History of Architecture. NY: Harper & Bros., 1918.
- Gallery, John A., ed., Philadelphia Architecture. Cambridge, MASS: MIT Press, 1984.
- Glaab, Charles N. and A. Theo. Brown, A History of Urban America. NY: MacMillan Co., 1967.
- Hines, Thomas S., Burnham of Chicago Architect and Planner. NY: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Hosmer, Charles B., Jr., Preservation Comes of Age. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1981.
- Ise, John, Our National Park Policy A Critical History. Balt., MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961.
- Mackintosh, Barry, The National Historic Preservation Act and the National Park Service A History. Washington, D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986.
- O'Gorman, James F., ed., Drawing Toward Building. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.
- Robinson, Charles Mulford, The Improvement of Towns and Cities or The Practical Basis of Civic Aesthetics. NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1913.
- Stern, Robert A.M., George Howe. New London, CONN: Yale University Press, 1975.

Tatman, Sandra L. and Roger W. Moss, Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects 1700 - 1930. Boston, Mass: G.K. Hall & Co., 1985.

Taylor, Frank H., ed., The City of Philadelphia as it Appears in the Year 1894. Phila., PA: George S. Harris & Sons, 1894.

Webster, Richard, Philadelphia Preserved. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1974.

West, Helen Howe, George Howe Architect 1886-1955. Phila., PA: William Nunn Co., Inc., 1973.

White, Theo D., Paul Philippe Cret. Phila., PA: Art Alliance Press, 1973.

ARTICLES and PAMPHLETS

Day, William L., "A Decade in Society Hill", 96th Annual Report of Proceedings of the Fairmount Park Art Association, 1968. pp. 18-31.

Greber, Jacques, "Beginnings of the Parkway", 90th Annual Report of Proceedings of the Fairmount Park Art Association, 1962. pp.15-22.

_____, "Aesthetic and Sociological Aspects of City and Regional Planning", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 74, #1, July, 1934, pp. 15-19.

Hanna, W. Clark, "Philadelphia City Planning Commission", reprinted from The Legal Intelligencer, March 28, 1946.

Hanslin, Lars A., "Federal Framework for Historic Landmark Protection", in Historic Preservation Law. Practicing Law Institute, 1979. pp. 31-42.

Huger, Elliott, "Architecture in Philadelphia and a Coming Age", The Architectural Record, April, 1908, Vol. XXIII, #4, pp. 299-300.

Larson, Roy F., "Independence Shrine: Philadelphia", The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle, undated clipping in INHP Archives.

Lingelbach, William E., "Old Philadelphia: Redevelopment and Conservation", reprinted by Lancaster

Press, Inc. from Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 93, #2, 1949, pp. 179-207.

Mumford, Lewis, "The Skyline", The New Yorker, November 17, 1956, pp. 138-40, 143-8, clipping in INHP Archives.

_____, "The Skyline", The New Yorker, February 9, 1957, pp. 98-100, 103-6, clipping in INHP Archives.

_____, "The Skyline", The New Yorker, April 6, 1957, pp. 120-29, clipping in INHP Archives.

_____, "Philadelphia, Present, Probable and Possible", 81st Annual Report of Proceedings of the Fairmount Park Art Association, 1953, pp. 15-29.

_____, "The Restoration of Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia", reprint from The Architectural Record, December, 1935, Vol. 78, #6, pp. 359-458.

Parsons, William E., "Burnham as a Pioneer in City Planning", The Architectural Record, July, 1915, Vol. XXXVIII, #1, pp. 13-31.

Peterson, Charles E., "The Independence National Historical Park Project", The Independence National Historical Park and Independence Mall in Historic Philadelphia. Phila, PA: Independence Hall Association, 1951, pp. 21-28.

_____, "Philadelphia's Newest Park", Proceedings of the 80th Annual Meeting of the Fairmount Park Art Association, 1952, pp. 17-36.

Regional Planning Federation of the Philadelphia Tri-State District, The Regional Plan of the Philadelphia Tri-State District. Phila., PA: William F. Fell & Co., 1932.

Schuyler, Montgomery, "Last Words About the World's Fair", The Architectural Record, March, 1894, Vol. III, #3, pp. 291-301.

Scott, Hugh D., Jr., "Protection of Historic Shrines", reprinted from Congressional Record, February 26, 1942.

Sims, Joseph P., ed., Independence Hall and Adjacent Buildings...a Plan for Their Preservation and the Improvement of Their Surroundings. Phila., PA: Fairmount Park Art Association, 1944.

Urban Land Institute on Dock Street and Old City Area, Report of Proceedings. Phila., PA: January 12, 1951.

_____, City Planning in Philadelphia. Phila., PA: Citizen's Council on City Planning, April 1, 1944.

UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

Appleman, Roy. Interview with Eleanor Prescott, Oral History Research Office (OHRO), Columbia University (CU), December 11, 1969, INHP Archives.

Bacon, Edmund N. Interview with Eleanor Prescott, OHRO, CU, January 30, 1970, INHP Archives.

Bacon, Edmund N. Interview with Constance Greiff, September 17, 1982, INHP Archives.

Borie, Lysbeth Boyd. Interview with Eleanor Prescott, OHRO, CU, March 22, 1969, INHP Archives.

Boyd, D. Knickerbacker. Papers. HSP, Philadelphia.

Boyd, D. Knickerbacker. Papers. INHP Archives.

Bradley, Michael J. Interview with Eleanor Prescott, OHRO, CU, October 24, 1969, INHP Archives.

Grossman, Elizabeth Greenwell, "Paul Philippe Cret - Rationalism and Imagery in American Architecture", Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1980.

Independence Hall Association. Papers. Committee and Committee Meeting Files, Correspondence Files, Scrapbooks. INHP Archives.

Independence National Historical Park Advisory Commission. Papers. Minutes of Meetings. INHP Archives.

Independence National Historical Park. Papers. Ac-

quisition Files, Administration Files, Maps, Plans, and Drawings, Photographs. INHP Library and Archives.

Larson, Roy F. Interview with John A. Roberts, OHRO, CU, January 25, 1969.

Lewis, Edwin O. Interview with Eleanor Prescott, OHRO, CU, January 16, 1970.

Lewis, Judge Edwin O. Papers. INHP Archives.

Lingelbach, William E. Papers. Independence Hall Files. American Philosophical Society, Phila., PA.

Ostroff, Isidor. Papers. INHP Archives.

Ostroff, Isidor. Interview with Eleanor Prescott, OHRO, CU, September 26, 1969, INHP Archives.

Palmer, George A. Interviews with Bernard Goodman, June 6, July 10, July 18, September 19, 1980, INHP Archives.

Peterson, Charles E. Interview with author, August 8, 1988.

Peterson, Charles E. Interview with Eleanor Prescott, OHRO, CU, October 24, 1969, INHP Archives.

Peterson, Charles E. Interviews with Constance Greiff, May 30, 1980 and January 8, 1981, INHP Archives.

Peterson, Charles E., "Preliminary Shrines Commission Report", 1947, INHP Archives.

Peterson, Charles E., "Report to the President Regarding Society Hill". Paper read at meeting of the Philadelphia Society for the Preservation of Landmarks, Philadelphia, PA, January 1962, HSP Manuscript Collection.

Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission. Papers. Minutes of Meetings. INHP Archives.

Riley, Edward. Interview with Eleanor Prescott, OHRO, CU, November 23, 1970, INHP Archives.

Stotesbury, Edwin T., "Court of Honor", in collection of The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY PUBLICATIONS

Pennsylvania. Art Jury (later Art Commission) of the City of Philadelphia: Annual Report, 1945 to 1961.

Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania General Assembly: The Independence Mall a Pennsylvania Shrine: A Report of the Joint State Government Commission, Session of 1951.

Pennsylvania. Philadelphia Board of Trade: Report of the Philadelphia Board of Trade Planning Commission, September 15, 1936.

Pennsylvania. Philadelphia City Planning Commission: Report Presented to Mayor Mackey and City Council, November 12, 1930.

Pennsylvania. Philadelphia City Planning Commission: Annual Report, 1947 to 1950, Phila. City Hall Archives.

Pennsylvania. Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia: Annual Report, 1950 to 1958, Phila. City Hall Archives.

Pennsylvania. Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia: How Urban Renewal Works in Philadelphia, April 26, 1967.

Pennsylvania. Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia: Independence Mall Urban Renewal Area Technical Report. By Wright, Andrade, Amenta & Gane, R.A., May, 1963.

Pennsylvania. Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia: Interim Report of the Development Committee, December 17, 1952.

Pennsylvania. Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia: Our City Today and Tomorrow, undated.

Pennsylvania. Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia: Washington Square East Urban Renewal Area Technical Report. By Wright, Andrade & Amenta, Architects, May, 1959.

U.S. Congress: Report of the Philadelphia National

Shrines Park Commission, 1947.

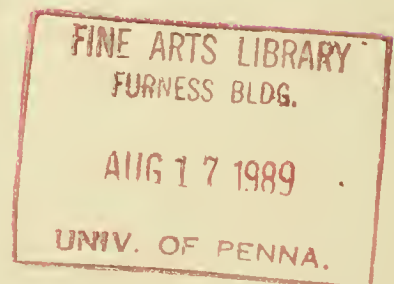
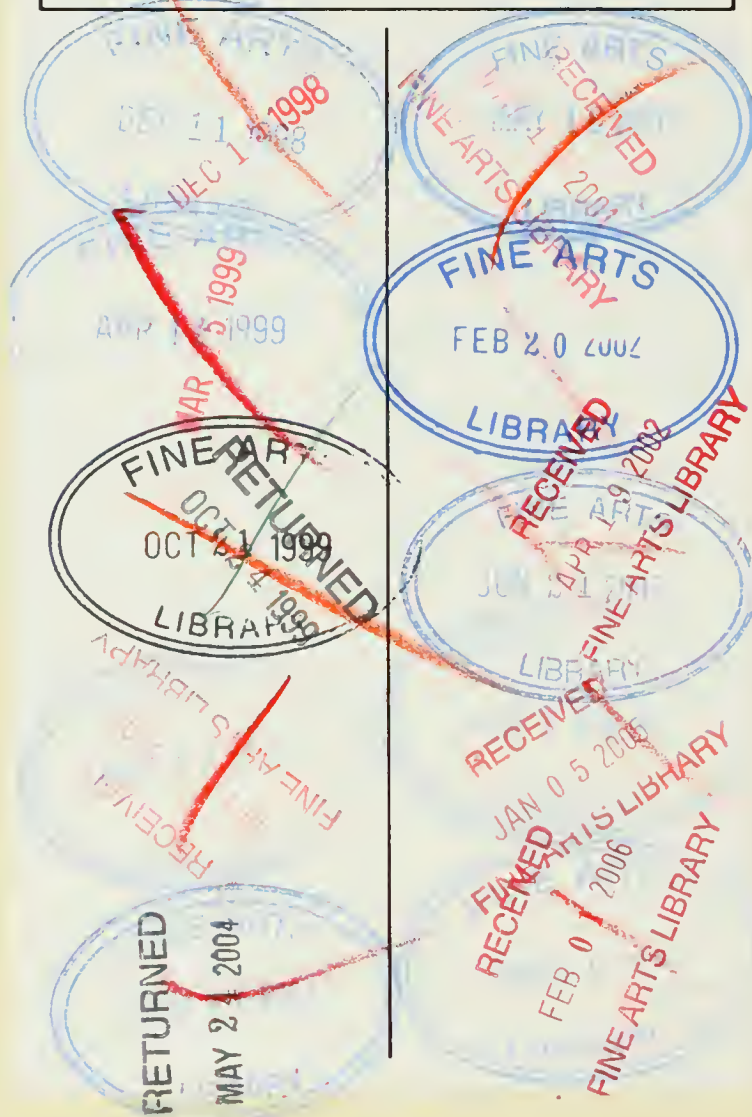
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development: Pres-
erving Historic America. Wash., D.C.: Government
Printing Office, June, 1966.

Anne & Jerome Fisher

FINE ARTS LIBRARY

University of Pennsylvania

Please return this book as soon as you have finished with it. It must be returned by the latest date stamped below.



3 1198 04975 4133



N/1198/04975/4133X

3 1198 04975 4133



N/1198/04975/4133X