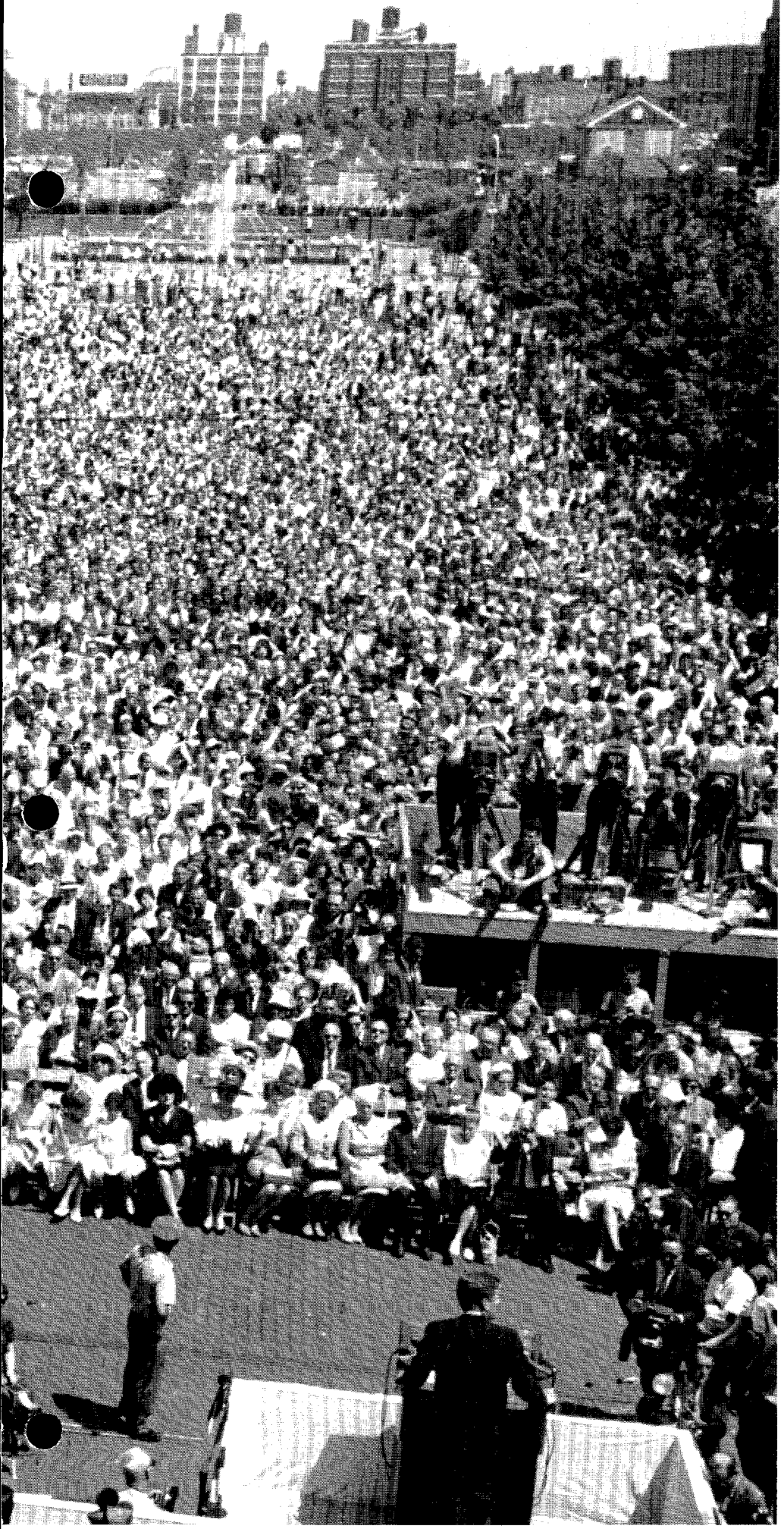
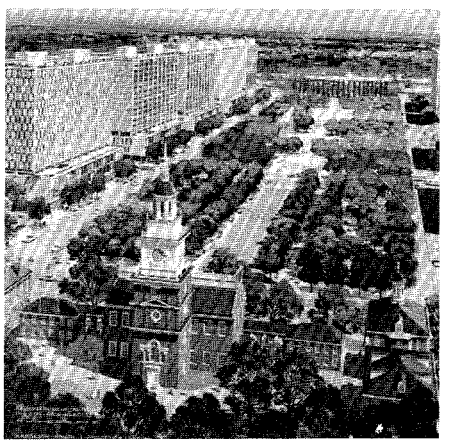


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Cultural Landscape Report Independence Mall

INDEPENDENCE
National Historical Park
Philadelphia / Pennsylvania

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Independence Mall was jammed with people during the July 4, 1962, visit of President John F. Kennedy (foreground), fulfilling the dream of mall proponents that this become a place for great civic events. *(Photo from Temple University Urban Archives.)*

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Cultural Landscape Report
Independence Mall

Independence National Historical Park

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June 1994

United States Department of the Interior • National Park Service • Denver Service Center

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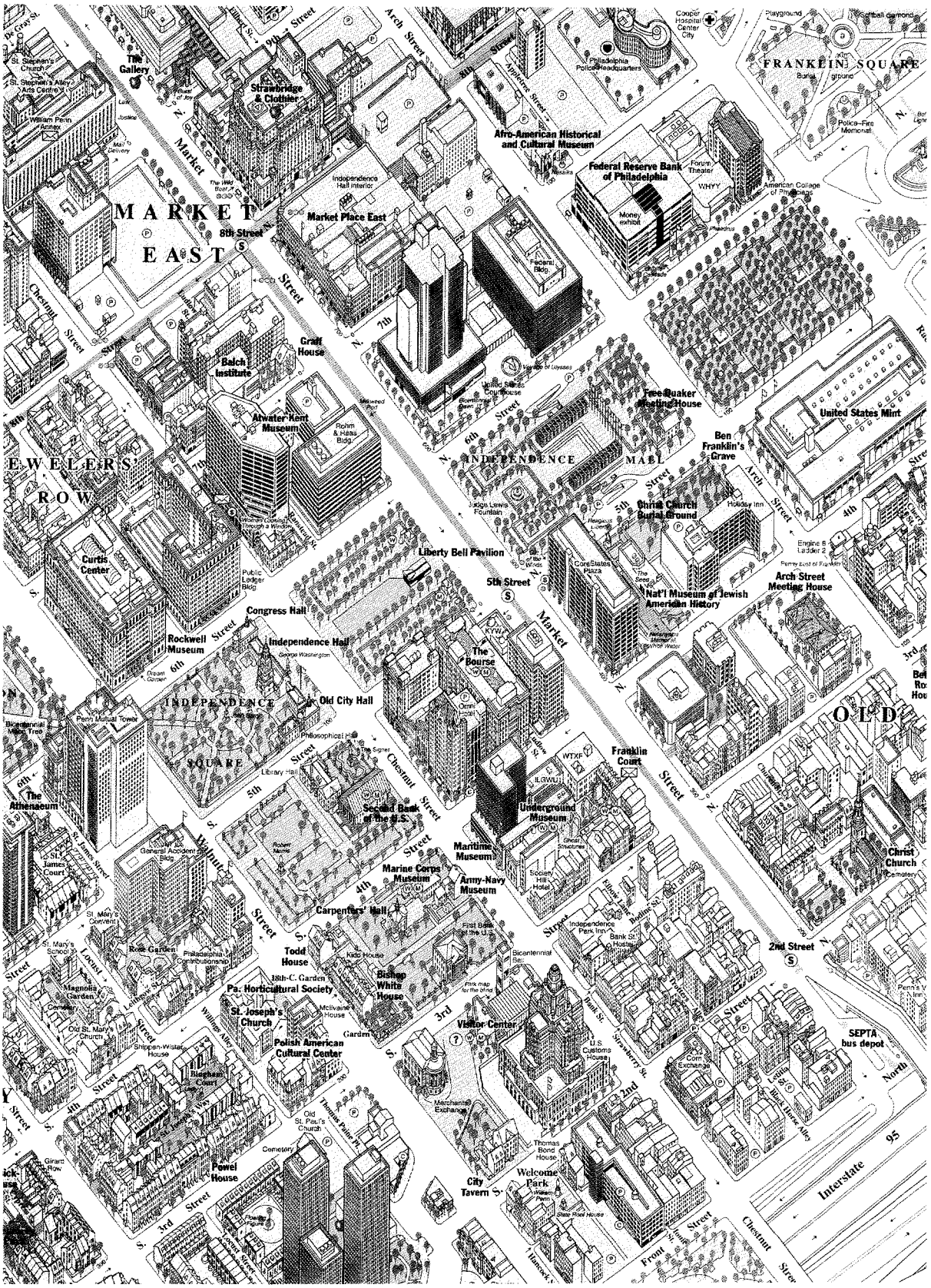
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Management Summary




MARKET EAST
JEWELERS' ROW
INDEPENDENCE SQUARE
OLD
FRANKLIN SQUARE
The Gallery
Strawbridge & Clothier
Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum
Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia
Market Place East
Graff House
Balch Institute
Atwater Kent Museum
Curtis Center
Rockwell Museum
Congress Hall
Independence Hall
Liberty Bell Pavilion
Old City Hall
The Bourse
Free Quaker Meeting House
United States Mint
Ben Franklin's Grave
Christ Church Burial Ground
Nat'l Museum of Jewish American History
Arch Street Meeting House
Franklin Court
Underground Museum
Second Bank of the U.S.
Maritime Museum
Marine Corps Museum
Army-Navy Museum
Carpenters' Hall
The Athenaeum
Todd House
Bishop White House
Pa. Horticultural Society
St. Joseph's Church
Polish American Cultural Center
Visitor Center
SEPTA bus depot
Powel House
City Tavern
Welcome Park
Thomas Bond House
Christ Church
Interstate 95
Chestnut Street
Market Street
Arch Street
5th Street
2nd Street
8th Street

1. MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Although Independence Mall was only recently completed, an understanding of the decisions concerning its development is beginning to slip beyond living memory and the grasp of all who must currently guide the mall's future.

In 1993 and 1994 a new general management plan is being prepared for the park. This cultural landscape report, which examines the history, intent, function, and significance of one part of the park — Independence Mall — has been written to support the general management plan. This report was undertaken to determine the national register eligibility of Independence Mall, and its primary purpose is to provide park personnel and planners with the information needed to make decisions about the future of the mall. To support this, a historic record has been assembled, and important concepts, designs, and features of the built landscape of the mall have been identified and evaluated.

To understand the mall, it is important to make a distinction between the unquestioned significance and symbolism of the park as a whole and the mall as an individual place. Americans understand the meaning of Independence National Historical Park, and as visitors they learn about the role of Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell. The three-block mall, a twentieth century creation, was not part of the history of the Revolution and the formation of the new nation, and it is therefore necessary to evaluate it on its own merit as a designed landscape.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTEXT

Independence Mall State Park — encompassing the three city blocks between Fifth and Sixth streets, and from Chestnut to Race streets in Philadelphia — was authorized by the commonwealth of Pennsylvania in October 1945 and constructed between 1952 and 1969. Development of the mall was a joint effort of the commonwealth and city of Philadelphia, which was based on a legal agreement signed in May 1949. The project required the demolition of a reported 143 buildings on the three blocks north of Independence Hall. The mall has a total of 15.44 acres; block one, 4.15; block two, 5.84; block three, 5.45.

Independence National Historical Park — adjacent to the state park — was authorized by Congress on June 28, 1948 (Public Law 795), as recommended by the 1947 report of the Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission. The park's legislation identifies its purpose as "preserving for the benefit of the American people as a national historical park certain historical structures and properties of outstanding national significance . . . and associated with the American Revolution and the founding and growth of the United States." The legislation required certain acquisitions before the park's ultimate establishment: the First United States Bank, the Merchants' Exchange, the Bishop White house, the Dilworth Todd-Moylan house, and the site of Benjamin Franklin's home. On July 4, 1956, the acquisitions were finalized and the park officially established.

On July 14, 1950, the United States Department of the Interior and the city of Philadelphia entered into a cooperative agreement whereby the city retained ownership of Independence Square and the buildings on it, but permitted the secretary of interior "to occupy them exclusively . . . for the purpose of

preserving, exhibiting, and interpreting them to the American people" as buildings and associated objects of national significance. This agreement is still in effect.

In 1974, in anticipation of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution, the commonwealth of Pennsylvania deeded the mall to the Department of the Interior to become part of Independence National Historical Park, with the understanding that the National Park Service would lease the mall from the commonwealth until the bonds creating the state park are paid off in 1998. The 2.11-acre lawn area on the first block, however, was deeded in fee simple to the National Park Service to enable the construction of the Liberty Bell Pavilion in time for the Bicentennial celebrations.

The Free Quaker Meeting House — the sole survivor of the demolition for the mall — was moved 33 feet west of its original location to allow for the widening of Fifth Street and was restored by the commonwealth. It is now managed by the Junior League of Philadelphia under a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service.

The parking garage below the second block of the mall is owned by the commonwealth and leased to the Philadelphia Parking Authority. The transfer of the surface area of the mall to the National Park Service will not include the parking garage.

In 1982 Independence National Historical Park submitted a revised park nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. The nomination was approved on March 4, 1988. The nomination categorized Independence Mall as a noncontributing feature. The individual elements of the mall, including the restrooms, parking garage and plaza, the Judge Lewis Quadrangle and Fountain, and the Liberty Bell Pavilion were individually listed as nonhistoric, noncontributing features based on their recent construction and lack of historic association with the park themes. The Free Quaker Meeting House on the mall's second block, however, was again an exception, as it has been listed on the national register since 1971.

METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE

This cultural landscape report — undertaken to determine the national register eligibility of Independence Mall — was limited to two components: historical research, and analysis and evaluation. A third component that is often a part of such reports — recommendations — will be part of the general management plan currently underway for the park.

The study team consulted a number of sources during the research phase of this project. Prominent among them were two well-documented studies that have been completed within the past decade on the park's developmental history. In 1985 architectural historian Constance Grieff, of Heritage Studies, Inc., wrote the park's administrative history, *Independence: The Creation of a National Park.* An edited version was published under the same name by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 1987. In 1989 Katherine Kurtz Cook completed a thesis, *The Creation of Independence National Historical Park and Independence Mall,* for the University of Pennsylvania's graduate program in historic preservation. Because these reports are available in the park's archives, this study summarizes that information on the mall's background while it provides new data and perspectives on the mall's development. The library and archival collections at Independence National Historical Park are rich sources of study materials. The archives contain the papers of many of the key individuals in the development of the mall; oral interviews of such people; the files, correspondence, and reports issued by the Independence Hall Association, which was the seminal organization behind establishment of the state and national

parks; newspaper clippings from approximately 1920 to the present that describe efforts to establish the mall; and manuscripts of and authors' notes from previous studies of the development of the park. All of these were important to establishing a chronology for development of the concepts for the mall.

The park library contains thousands of photographs of the original neighborhood surrounding Independence Mall and of the demolition process and construction of the mall. Photographs and, in some cases, prints of original drawings of various proposals for the mall were invaluable to the progress of the study.

The Philadelphia City Planning Commission generously located and lent photographs, plans, and publications describing the development of the mall and redevelopment of the adjoining neighborhood. The limited time available for research did not allow original research in the city archives, where the City Planning Commission and Fairmount Park Art Association records and reports are housed.

The firm of H2L2, formerly Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, and Larson, who were the primary designers for the mall, generously granted access to their correspondence files from the design and construction period. H2L2 has conscientiously and systematically preserved drawings and documents describing its work.

The team was fortunate in being able to interview a number of individuals who were directly involved with the design and development of the mall. Kenneth Arnold, Robert Breading, Edmund N. Bacon, Hobart Cawood, and Charles E. Peterson patiently answered our questions and gave us an understanding of design intent and political influences that could not have been gained from the historical record alone.

The second part of the report — analysis and evaluation — is based on the development history of the mall, on field work, and on national register criteria for significance. This phase began with an examination of the construction and as-built drawings of the mall, provided by the Technical Information Center of the Denver Service Center, which holds the originals. The Eastern Team of the Denver Service Center developed and provided a computer-generated base map of current conditions of the mall.

Two groups were assembled for analytical site visits. The first comprised NPS landscape architects and architects who critiqued the mall as a design and evaluated how well the design has met the original intent and how well it serves current purposes.

The second group included key park staff who have day-to-day knowledge of how the mall functions as a public space. The group provided detailed information and generated a list of issues related to the use of the mall. A similar list of issues generated in July 1993 as part of the statement for management for the park was also used by the study team.

A narrative site analysis and annotated map of current conditions were developed as a result of this information and numerous site visits that were conducted at various times of the day in order to observe a variety of patterns of use. Modifications to the original design, circulation, spatial relationships, conditions of landscape features, vistas, and uses are described for each block of the mall. The neighborhood context as it influences the mall also is described.

This report was a cooperative project undertaken by Independence National Historical Park historian, landscape architects of the Division of Park and Resource Planning, Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, and

the Independence National Historical Park general management plan team of the Eastern Team, Denver Service Center. Preparation of this report followed the standards and guidelines provided by the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation*; NPS-28, Chapter 7 (draft of February, 1993); and National Register Bulletin Number 18, "How To Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes."

STUDY BOUNDARIES

Independence Mall is a 15.44-acre component of Independence National Historical Park. The mall covers three city blocks in Philadelphia's Old City section, from Chestnut Street north to Race Street, and from Fifth Street west to Sixth Street. Although buildings and uses beyond the three blocks were considered in this report in terms of their impact on the mall, only the defined three blocks are the topic of this report (see figure 39).

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Independence Mall, completed in 1969, is the product of more than a half century of proposals and efforts to establish a fitting setting for Independence Hall and to revitalize the surrounding neighborhood for business and residential uses.

Independence Hall itself was the subject of a number of rehabilitation and restoration efforts dating from the early nineteenth century that were rooted in deeply held patriotic sentiments for "the most venerable of our national monuments." The most ambitious effort took place between 1900 and 1922, sponsored by the American Institute of Architects. As the restoration was nearing completion, Philadelphia architects and civic leaders began to voice concern about the character and condition of the neighborhood surrounding Independence Square. It was increasingly perceived as being incompatible with the shrine.

The neighborhood was once the center of Philadelphia's commercial, banking, and insurance industries. As the city expanded westward, however, and especially after city government was moved from Independence Square to Center Square in 1895, the neighborhood began to decline. Although the district continued to be an active business center, the influence and scale of the businesses changed. The ornate nineteenth century buildings that had been occupied by powerful corporations began to be subdivided for small businesses and workshop-scale industries, and a general air of senescence became apparent.

In a remarkable combination of patriotism and pragmatism, the desire to provide a safe and proper setting for Independence Hall was combined with the realization that a grand public gesture could be the foundation for economic redevelopment of the neighborhood. These were the dual foundations for the idea of a mall stretching north from the hall.

The City Beautiful movement of the early twentieth century and the historic preservation movement of the mid century were the influences that most clearly shaped the idea. City Beautiful advocates across America suggested the betterment of aging and congested cities by the addition of grand public works such as formal parks and long boulevards lined with public buildings designed in the newly popular Beaux-Arts or neoclassical style. The Benjamin Franklin Parkway, a wide swath cut on a diagonal through a densely developed corner of Philadelphia, was a classic and influential City

Beautiful project, as was the Delaware River (now the Benjamin Franklin) Bridge, a grand new entrance to the city. The historic preservation movement focused on selective preservation of singular, preeminent buildings, generally representing the colonial and early federal periods. Both movements were driven by lay people and design and preservation professionals alike, and it was this combination that would prove so important to the implementation of Independence Mall.

From 1915 to 1952, a dozen proposals were offered by architects and landscape architects, patriotic societies, commercial interests, and civic-minded citizens to demolish one to three blocks of the existing neighborhood and establish a mall.

Despite their efforts, by 1935, twenty years had passed since the original proposal had been made, and there had been no progress toward realization. Shortly after passage of the Historic Sites Act that gave the National Park Service primary responsibility for the nation's historic resources, the first call was heard for the federal government to step in and establish a national park in Philadelphia's historic area. Again, little progress was made until the onset of World War II, when concern was heightened over the safety of Independence Hall.

A group of concerned architects and outstanding civic leaders then founded a civic organization called the Independence Hall Association specifically to spearhead the establishment of a park. When the federal government continued to hesitate, the Independence Hall Association prevailed upon the governor and legislature of Pennsylvania in 1945 to fund the acquisition, development, and construction of the mall, which was designated Independence Mall State Park. The commonwealth and the city of Philadelphia jointly oversaw implementation, with the new Philadelphia City Planning Commission taking the lead in directing planning and design. Due to the continuing work of the Independence Hall Association, the designation of Independence National Historical Park was secured in 1948. The National Park Service, which then planned and developed the parkland that lies largely south of Chestnut Street, had no role in planning or developing the mall.

From 1915 to 1944 all the proposals for the mall were founded upon the tenets of the City Beautiful movement and detailed in the Beaux-Arts style, despite the fact that the ideas lost their freshness and meaning as the decades passed. By 1952, however, when the final master plan was presented, the influences of the international style, the state and city government clients, and tight and uncertain funding were apparent in changes to the concept for the mall. The plan retained its now archaic Beaux-Arts structure but was detailed in the languages of both the international style and the colonial revival. The subsequent, lengthy seventeen-year period between master plan and final completion of construction also meant that the concept and its execution were revisited many times, resulting in three remarkably different blocks, two of which bear only a slight resemblance to the 1952 master plan. Stylistic weaknesses, the process of design-by-committee, and the absence of a strong program for its use are the primary reasons for a form that has been widely criticized through the years. Criticism has focused on both the design qualities and the perceived lack of utility of the mall as a public park.

As its backers had prophesied, the mall became the key to redevelopment of east Philadelphia. The idea for a mall became part of the larger redevelopment plans prepared by the Philadelphia City Planning Commission. By the 1960s, the redevelopment authority was acquiring and demolishing most of the blocks that adjoin the mall. Replacing the hundreds of nineteenth-century buildings that had contained small businesses and workshops were mid rise office buildings covering partial or entire blocks. Ironically, while the mall was the nucleus for this massive urban redevelopment, the resulting adjacent land uses have not added people who use or populate the mall, and this is the primary reason for the deserted nature of the two northernmost blocks.

The key finding of this study is that the design of the mall does not meet national register criteria for significance. It lacks the characteristic features that would make it an outstanding or even typical example of the design and social movements that shaped it. So many designers were involved through the years that the most notable of them had only minor or passing roles in the evolution of the design. Nor does it represent the best work of the designers who made major contributions to it. One important new element on the mall, the Liberty Bell Pavilion, is fewer than 20 years old, and it is too early for an objective evaluation to be made of it. And there has been a recent loss of conceptual integrity for two of the three blocks.

National register criteria measure only the narrow realm of the tangible. Although the physical design is not significant, the development of the idea for giving new meaning and value to Independence Hall by enhancing its presence visually and symbolically, as well as the process leading to its realization, are a remarkable story of sentiment, drive, and political will. The designers, urban planners, antiquarians, civic leaders, and patriotic societies all worked together for fifty years. The vision and commitment of Judge Edwin O. Lewis, Roy F. Larson, D. Knickerbacker Boyd, Edmund Bacon and dozens of other individuals are the most important part of the story. They provide an enduring lesson in civics to any organization seeking to realize a large and complex project.

The physical design was and is less important and compelling than the idea for a mall. There was nothing inherently wrong with the proposals of the first 30 years that caused them not to be implemented; nor was the final plan the inevitable and only design solution. When the right combination of leaders and public agencies finally came together, the plan in play at the moment was built. Although it was the proposals from the first 30 years of discussion that had generated interest in a mall, none were realized, and almost any of them could have served the purpose.

The final design did not achieve distinction, yet the mall has fully met the original goals set by its proponents. Independence Hall is no longer threatened by fire; it has a dignified setting; the mall serves as the grand approach that was envisioned from the Benjamin Franklin Bridge to the heart of the historic district; and public investment in the mall played a key role in spurring redevelopment of Old City and Society Hill.

The mall and the rest of the national park provide the only major green space in the central city, and the mall's openness is a striking and conspicuous contrast to the dense urban fabric of Old City. Drivers and pedestrians on the streets that surround and cross the mall recognize that this is a special place that demarcates Independence National Historical Park.

Key questions for the future are: first, what the role of the mall should be in the life of the city and in the experience of visitors to the city; and second, whether any program or design can make a meaningful difference in the volume of the mall's visitation as long as the adjacent land uses fail to generate people who use the mall.

A thorough understanding of the sentiments, goals, and influences that converged to produce the current concept and design for the mall leads to a greater appreciation for the mall and could aid future decisions.

The History of Independence Mall



2. THE HISTORY OF INDEPENDENCE MALL

PATRIOTISM CREATES A SHRINE

Let the rain of heaven distill gently on its roof and the storms of winter beat softly on its door. As each successive generation of those who have benefitted by the great Declaration made within it shall make their pilgrimage to that shrine, may they not think it unseemly to call its walls Salvation and its gates Praise. Edward Everett, July 5, 1858

I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing in this place, where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle, from which sprang the institutions under which we live . . . all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. President Abraham Lincoln, February 22, 1861[1]

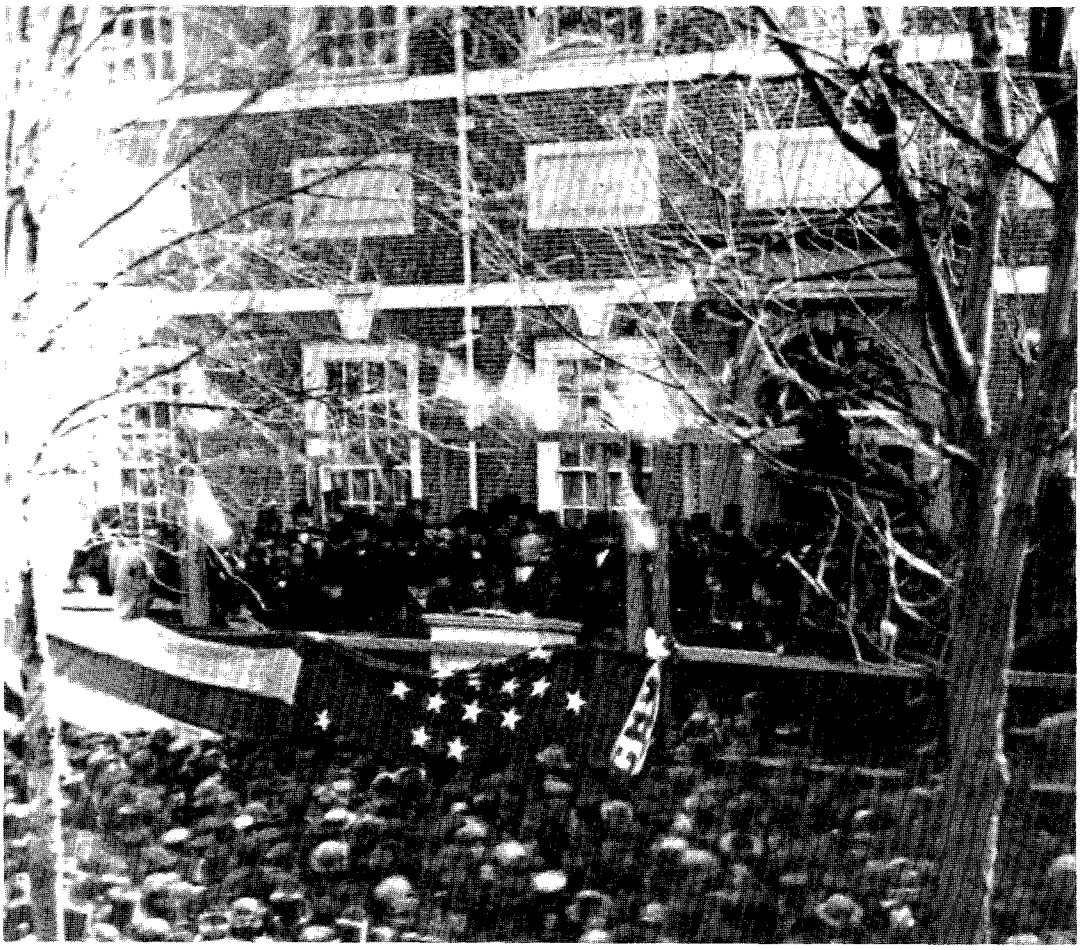


FIGURE 1. PRESIDENT LINCOLN AT INDEPENDENCE HALL, 1861. People filled Chestnut Street in front of Independence Hall to hear President Lincoln on February 22, 1861. The need for space for civic events was later used as one of the rationales for Independence Mall. *(Photo from Independence National Historical Park.)*

Edward Everett and Abraham Lincoln cast Independence Hall as a national shrine when they voiced these powerful sentiments. Such imagery from two of the nation's most influential 19th century orators undoubtedly reinforced the public's gradual awareness and growing appreciation of America's heritage. Here, in Pennsylvania's State House (today's Independence Hall), the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States were conceived.

From 1790 to 1800 the city, state, and federal governments all were lodged in the State House, county courthouse, and old city hall buildings on Independence Square (figure 2). After the departure of the state and federal governments, responsibility for the land and the buildings shifted among the commonwealth, the city, and the county for decades, and decisions were made that greatly altered the appearance of the square. By the time of the Everett and Lincoln visits, Philadelphians had acknowledged Independence Hall as a national treasure, but they arrived at this point only after one crisis or anniversary after another had awakened them to its significance of their historic property.

After 1800 the State House stood vacant and neglected until Charles Willson Peale, portraitist and founder of the American Museum, received the city's permission in 1802 to set up his natural history museum and Revolutionary War portraits there. Peale occupied the second floor after removing walls to restore the original long gallery space. Although he showed an appreciation for the building's history, he supported the city and county commissioners' 1812 decision to demolish its wing buildings, arcades, and attached committee room, which had housed significant meetings to forge the nation's early documents and policies, as well as the first Library of Congress, in order to put up modern fireproof structures designed by architect, Robert Mills, for the safe storage of municipal records. Ironically, this concern about fire would, a century later, fuel the movement to tear down buildings in the Independence Hall neighborhood to create a dignified and safe setting for the national shrine.[2]

The commonwealth's assembly had voted to tear down all the buildings on the square, divide the land into lots, and sell them to raise money for the new capital in Harrisburg. The citizens of Philadelphia were outraged and raised $70,000 for its purchase.[3]

In 1816 Philadelphia purchased Independence Square from the commonwealth of Pennsylvania to save it from obliteration.

The same year, however, the county commissioners authorized a remodeling of the Assembly Room, where the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States were adopted. All the interior paneling and decorations were stripped away before most citizens realized what happened.

Select council member John Read, Jr., immediately voiced his protest in a letter to the city commissioners on September 7, 1816: "We in common with our fellow citizens felt the highest respect for the antient (sic) Capitol of the State; . . . But we were too late to stop the (ruination?), which had begun and progressed before our knowledge of it." Read had tried to retrieve the original paneling and decorative details, only to be told "that they were defaced and sold." [4]

The city commissioners retaliated for the destruction in the Assembly Room by refusing to pay for the county commissioners' renovations and the county in return refused to give up the building. The Pennsylvania legislature finally settled the problem by passing the "Act providing for the sale of the State House and State House Square" to the city of Philadelphia on March 28, 1818. [5]



FIGURE 2. THE BUILDINGS OF THE INDEPENDENCE HALL GROUP. Independence Hall as seen from the northwest. On each side of the hall are the reconstructed arcades and wing buildings. Congress Hall is seen on the right; Old City Hall and Philosophical Hall (behind) are on the far left. In the foreground of this 1984 photograph is the first block of Independence Mall. Independence Square is on the far side of Independence Hall. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

The ceremonial return of General Lafayette in 1824 gave the city a chance to demonstrate its patriotic intentions for the State House. The Assembly Room was labeled the "Hall of Independence," and lavishly prepared for the visit. "The Hall of Independence has been fitted up in the most splendid manner," the *National Gazette* reported. Scarlet and blue draperies studded with stars hung at the windows. William Rush's full-sized statue of General Washington stood centered on the speaker's platform and portraits depicting Pennsylvania and Revolutionary War heroes filled the room. Lafayette was welcomed under a grand arch that was built by architect William Strickland in front of Independence Hall. It was a grand reception lasting a full week and involving large crowds.[6]

In another patriotic display the city authorized the reconstruction of the State House steeple in 1828. William Strickland was hired to design a "restoration of the spire originally erected with the building, and standing there on the 4th July 1776."[7] By today's standards Strickland's steeple only followed the general design and was not very exact, but it did mark the nation's first attempt at historic restoration.

The steeple's reconstruction inspired Philadelphians to consider other restoration work for the State House. Groups of citizens petitioned the city to restore the Assembly Room, and Common Council

member Benjamin Tilghman enlarged the idea to suggest that the steeple's completion provided "the entering wedge for restoring the building to its original state."[8]

In response, the city in 1830 began restore "the Hall of Independence" (today's Assembly Room) to its "ancient form." Architect John Haviland was retained to draw up plans and execute the restoration. Haviland mistakenly selected the wall treatment from the supreme court chamber across the hallway as the model for the Assembly Room. Philadelphians did not recognize the error and seemed pleased that the city had repaired the site where the Declaration of Independence had been signed. Despite the fact that for a while the room was left unfurnished "almost as a lumber yard" because none of the historic furnishings could be located, it served the city as a levee room for distinguished visitors throughout the rest of the century.[9]

As the city and county planned their incorporation in mid century, more office space for the enlarged bureaucracy was needed. In 1848 architect Thomas U. Walter designed a plan which proposed replacing the city and county buildings on either side of Independence Hall with Renaissance *palazzi* and renovating Independence Hall itself with brown stucco. This plan was never realized.[10]

Such radical treatments as Walter's flew in the face of the strong patriotic sentiment surrounding Philadelphia's national shrine. In 1852 the city government perhaps for the first time called the building as a whole "Independence Hall," when it voted to celebrate every July 4 "in the said State House, known as Independence Hall," and they brought the Liberty Bell down from the tower to the central hall for visitors to appreciate. The council also invited the thirteen original states to a conference to consider building one or more monuments on the square to commemorate the Declaration of Independence. Although nothing came of the idea, the mayor in 1855 opened the Assembly Room up to the general public for the first time, making way for a broad-based interest in the historic room. Donations began to pour in, forming the beginning of a collection of relics. From this point forward Independence Hall took on a new significance.[11]

The Civil War brought such neglect to Independence Hall that the select council considered it a "discredit upon the city of Philadelphia." In 1863 they tried to improve the situation by laying a marble floor and refurbishing the furniture.[12]

By 1868 the city's growth and incorporation with surrounding counties had forced the government to consider provisions for more space. As in 1848, the plan proposed spelled disaster for the buildings on Independence Square. In December 1869 the city council appointed commissioners to see to the construction of new city and county offices on Independence Square and, at the completion of their deliberations, to see that "all the buildings on Independence Square shall be taken down and removed."[13]

This drastic measure aroused such intense protest from Philadelphians that the state legislature intervened and forced the city to consider Centre or Washington Square as sites for their new municipal center. The city chose Penn Square and construction soon got underway, although it would take almost another two decades before the city could move its offices into the new building.[14]

The 1869 citizen effort for the first time took into consideration all the buildings on Independence Square as an historic unit.

Plans for the nation's Centennial in 1876 brought on a new flurry of patriotic concern. In 1872 the common council voted to make Independence Square and buildings a memorial forever, and the mayor appointed a restoration committee headed up by antiquarian Col. Frank M. Etting. The committee found the Assembly Room filled with portraits and "dilapidated furniture rejected by former Councils."

They set about to restore the room, as well as the entire first floor of the building. Etting was no specialist in preservation, so his basis for the restoration strikes us today as surprising. On the word of his friend Horace Binney, who claimed to remember the Assembly Room before the 1816 modernization, Etting added four pillars that later research proved not to be part of the historic setting. But the renovation did remove exterior red paint and many layers of interior paint that unveiled the beautiful carved woodwork of the original construction.[15]

The restoration committee also submitted a report to the mayor recommending a museum to hold the relics collected for the Centennial. In 1873 the report was approved and the National Museum founded as a repository for the extensive collection underway for the Centennial observance. Much of that collection today rests with the collections of Independence National Historical Park.[16]

Until the turn of the century patriotic interest focused on Independence Hall's first floor Assembly Room and the Liberty Bell. As the nation recovered from the Civil War these two symbols of democracy and freedom took on new meaning. Requests from other cities to borrow the bell for special events (for the 1885 World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans and for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago) brought added attention to the city's historic resources and a revived sense of civic pride to Philadelphians.[17]

By the time the new city hall on Penn Square was ready for occupancy in 1895, the city and patriotic groups had begun planning for a full-scale restoration of Independence Hall, its associated buildings, and its setting. On December 26, 1895, the mayor approved an ordinance calling for the complete restoration of Independence Square to its appearance during the American Revolution. [18]

The mayor appointed a committee of city employees and a citizens' advisory group to supervise the work. In March 1896 the city granted permission to the Philadelphia chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) to restore the old council chamber on Independence Hall's second floor. The Daughters of the American Revolution hired architect T. Mellon Rogers to prepare plans and supervise the work, and the city's committee handed over the rest of Independence Hall's restoration to him as well. Mellon's restoration was extensive but inaccurate, a fact that soon gained the attention of interested architects in the Philadelphia chapter of the American Institute of Architecture.[19]

While the DAR restoration was underway in Independence Hall, the Colonial Dames of America secured from the city a contract to restore the Senate chamber and one of the committee rooms on the second floor of Congress Hall.[20]

In 1900 the Philadelphia chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA), realizing the historic significance of Congress Hall, began its own restoration study. Its committee on preservation of historic monuments produced a meticulous study of the building's documentary evidence and proposals for its restoration, which they presented to the city council. The report, however, was put on hold for nearly ten years while the architects lobbied for funds to proceed with their recommendations. The city council finally budgeted the project in 1910 and it reached completion for a ceremonial rededication on October 26, 1913.[21]

In 1916 and 1917 the city authorized the same AIA committee to proceed with similar restorations for Old City Hall and Independence Hall. The drawings for these thorough studies formed the nucleus for an exhibit in 1943 to promote a national park for the improvement of Independence Hall's setting, an exhibit that gave impetus to the creation of Independence Mall State Park.[22]

During this extended period of building restoration, the grounds of Independence Square underwent major changes that are still generally intact today. The renovation began with the demolition in 1901

of the most recent addition to the block, an 1867 courthouse on Sixth Street behind Congress Hall. The 1895 legislation had called for a complete restoration of the square to its appearance during the American Revolution, but the city never went beyond this demolition, probably because the State House yard had no landscaping during the Revolution.[23]

The court house demolition suggested the city's attempt to comply with the commonwealth's original legislation of February 20, 1736, which mandated "that no part of the said ground lying to the southward of the State House as it is now built be converted into or made use of for erecting any sort of buildings thereon." This stipulation had been made to preserve the setting as "a public open green and Walks forever."[24]

From the onset in 1732, the assembly had planned to design the area to the south "in order that Walks may be laid out, and Trees planted, to render the same more beautiful and commodious." The expectation, however, was not realized for half a century.[25]

In 1770 the yard was enclosed with a massive seven-foot high brick wall broken on the south end by a tall pedimented gate, but the yard itself remained a blank slate. Samuel Vaughan, a noted Philadelphian and horticulturist, was chosen in 1784 to supervise the improvements of the State House yard (figure 3). Vaughan designed the grounds with serpentine gravel walks on the east and west sides connecting with a wide central path from Walnut Street north the length of the park on Independence Hall's axis. Benches along the walks offered visitors relaxed enjoyment of the grounds, and double rows of elm trees planted along the paths promised future shade. Manassah Cutler described his reaction to Vaughan's landscaping in July 1787:

> We passed through this broad aisle into the *Mall* (sic). It is small, nearly square, and I believe does not contain more than one acre. As you enter the Mall through the State House, which is the only avenue to it, it appears to be nothing, . . . but here is a fine display of rural fancy and elegance. It was so lately laid out in its present form that it has not assured that air of grandeur which time will give it. The Trees are yet small, but most judiciously arranged. The artificial mounds of earth, and depressions, and small groves in the squares have a most delightful effect. The numerous walks are well graveled and rolled hard; they are all in a serpentine direction which heightens the beauty, and affords constant variety. . . The public are indebted to the fertile fancy and taste of Mr. Sam'l Vaughan, Esq., for the elegance of this plan.[26]

Cutler, a man of considerable horticultural knowledge himself, clearly approved of the commonwealth's effort to improve the setting for its public buildings.



FIGURE 3. THE STATE HOUSE YARD, 1784. The State House yard (now Independence Square) following Samuel Vaughn's 1784 design for a public square. The gate stood on Walnut Street. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

The assembly, however, shortly afterwards broke its own resolution to preserve the yard for an open green when it deeded a lot to the American Philosophical Society on Fifth Street for a headquarters building. Its construction (1787-1789), along with that of the new county courthouse (1787-1790) and city hall (1790-91) flanking Independence Hall, completed the Independence Hall group of buildings that stand today. By 1790 the yard to the south had grown into a showplace admired and enjoyed by U.S. Congressmen throughout the decade Philadelphia served as the nation's capital (1790-1800).[27]

During the 19th century Independence Square enjoyed wider public use than during the period when state and federal offices occupied its buildings. In 1812 the square became more visible and accessible when the seven-foot wall enclosing it was taken down to three feet to improve air circulation, and new entrances to the park were opened on Fifth and Sixth streets. The city continued to improve the setting by periodic additions of new trees and gates and in 1852 with a platform for public gatherings (figure 4).[28]



FIGURE 4. THE STATE HOUSE YARD IN THE EARLY 18TH CENTURY. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

In 1875-76 the city authorized major improvements to the square in preparation for the Centennial of the American Revolution (figures 5, 6). Again the walls were lowered and several new entrances were cut through to the street. Wide flagstone walks were laid across the grounds radiating like spokes from two concentric circles. Granite curbing and flagstone sidewalks were added along the periphery of the square. All these improvements encouraged additional public use of the park.[29]

The Centennial renovations were the last major changes made before the city decided in 1895 to restore the buildings and square to their 1776 appearance. After the initial demolition of the courthouse, the city council changed its plan for the grounds, however, and in 1915 authorized the AIA's committee on preservation of historic monuments to carry out improvements "to bring it (the square) and its enclosures into architectural harmony with the buildings."[30]

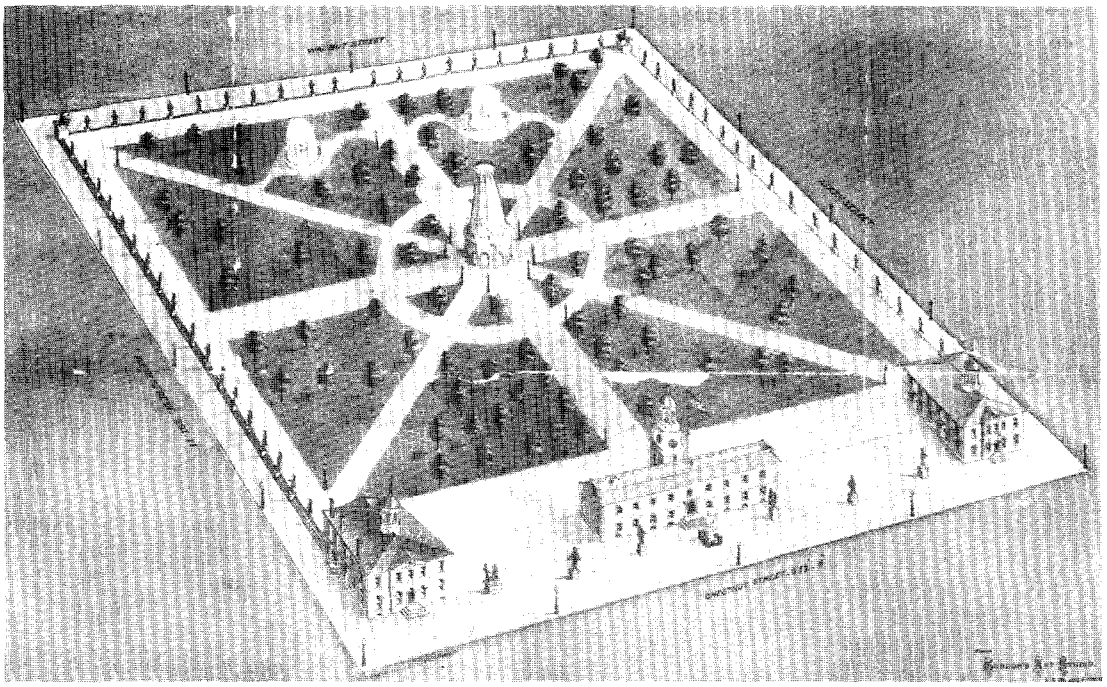


FIGURE 5. THE 1874 PLAN FOR THE STATE HOUSE YARD. The 1874 plan established the basic form that remains today. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

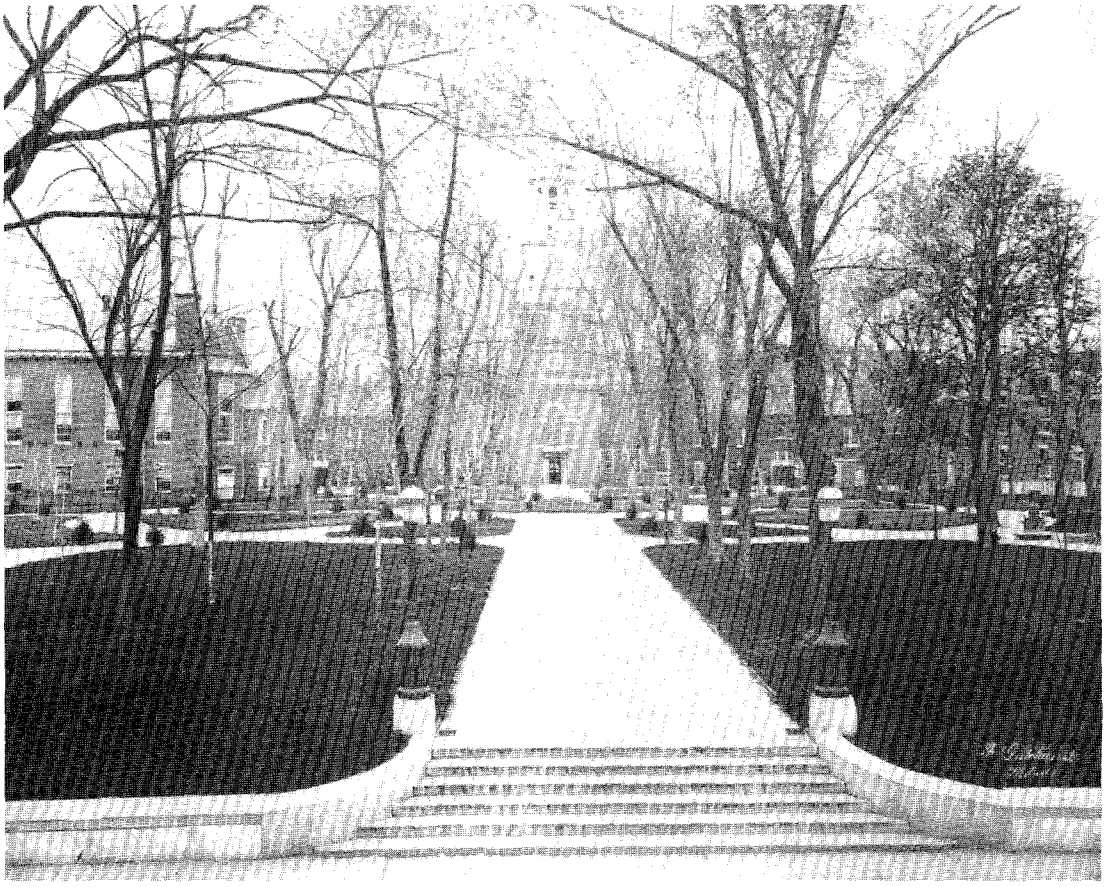


FIGURE 6. THE STATE HOUSE YARD, 1878. The State House yard following the 1878 renovations. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

The architects chose to modify the detailing of the 1875-76 landscape. The wall around the yard was removed and replaced with a brick wall capped with granite coping. Four of the entrances to the park were closed off and cobblestone paving was added to the alleyway south of Congress Hall. Bollards and chains, paved walks, and grading to drain water away from the buildings were introduced where needed on the (figures 7, 8).[31]

The current landscape of the square is a product of the 1915-16 redesign, and it reflects the mind-set of early 20th century planners and civic-minded citizens who aimed to ensure a suitable setting for the Independence Hall group of buildings. After the effort to restore the buildings had been underway for some time, thoughts on expanding Independence Hall's setting to include the area north of Chestnut Street were expressed for the first time.



FIGURE 7. INDEPENDENCE SQUARE IN 1929. A northeasterly view of Independence Square in 1929 shows the minor modifications that were made a decade earlier. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

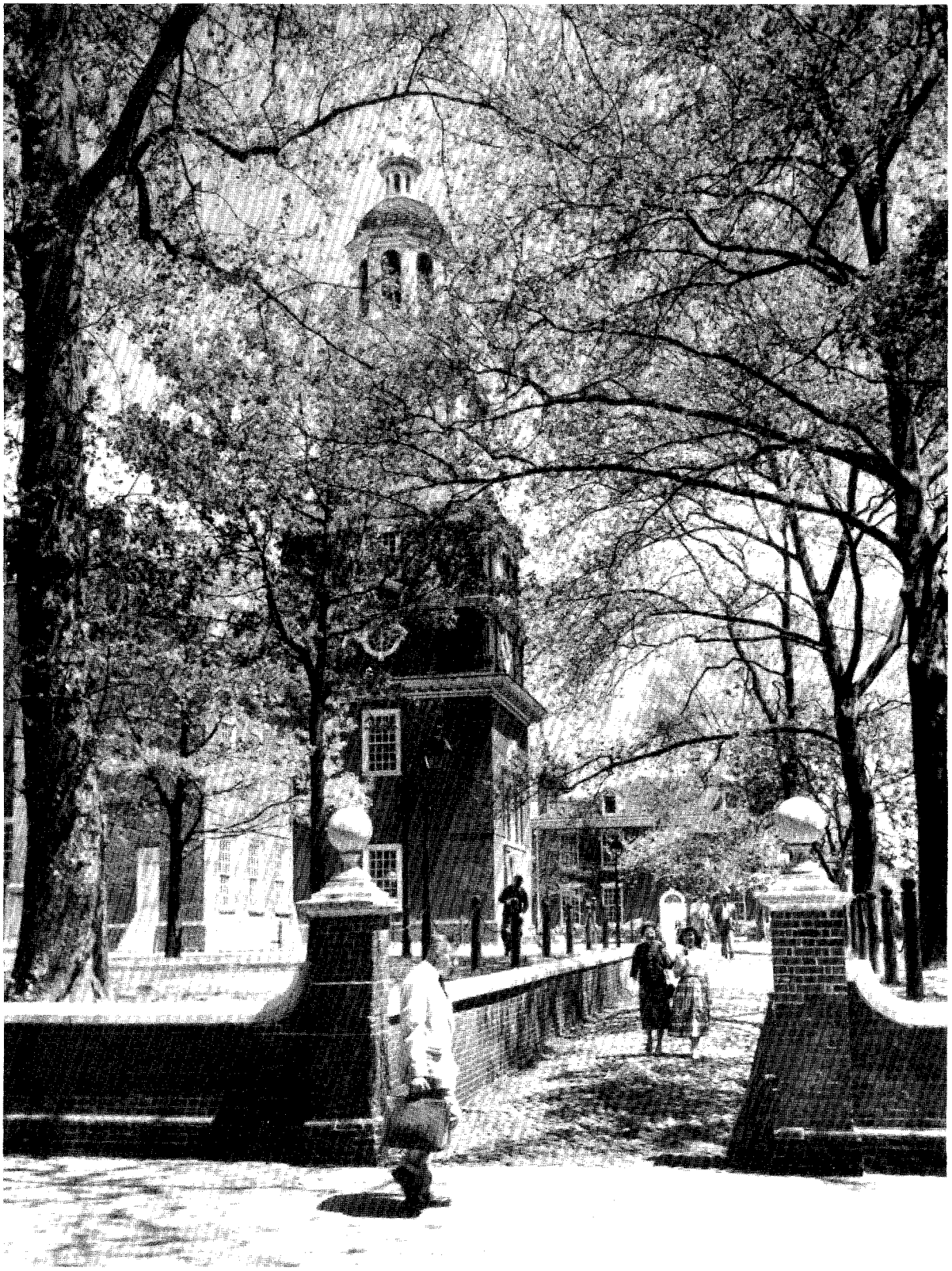


FIGURE 8. DETAIL OF INDEPENDENCE SQUARE IN 1956. The cobblestone alley south of Independence Hall leads from Sixth Street to the interior of Independence Square. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

THE EVOLUTION OF A CONCEPT: PLANS FOR INDEPENDENCE HALL'S NORTH SETTING

Nearly four decades of phenomenal growth followed the Civil War, but then the nation's cities suffered a sharp decline. Early in the 20th century a groundswell of ideas for improving the cities emerged from the 1893 World's Exposition in Chicago. The beautiful designs created by Daniel Burnham for the exposition became a model for planners and architects to use in dispelling increasingly ugly urban conditions.

Philadelphia was experiencing urban malaise. With the development of the railroads the affluent began to abandon the city for the newly developing suburbs, leaving commerce and industry to fill in behind. In the old section of town the beautiful Georgian homes became cigar factories, markets, sweatshops, and slums. Trolley tracks and overhead wires crisscrossed the city along narrow Philadelphia streets. During the Depression this blight was heightened by businesses failing, which left buildings vacant and vulnerable to fire and vandalism.

From its earliest days Philadelphia was a city moving west, and by the early 20th century most of the wealthy residential and business interests had left the Independence Hall neighborhood. As the eastern end of town progressively suffered more neglect and decline, Independence Square and its buildings began in the 1890s and 1900s to receive the attention of patriotic societies and the American Institute of Architects in efforts to restore its historic appearance. The restorations were well underway and the city had begun a long-range plan to revitalize its urban environment when the first plan to improve Independence Hall's northern setting emerged in 1915.

It was another thirty years before the seed idea for an improved setting blossomed into the legislation for Independence Mall State Park in 1945. During that time many people voiced their opinions and offered their designs, and many others did the extensive politicking needed to actualize such a massive project.

By 1905 Philadelphia had launched a plan to spruce up the city for the forthcoming Sesquicentennial of the American Revolution in 1926. Two kingpin construction projects, the Benjamin Franklin Parkway and the Delaware River (now Benjamin Franklin) bridge, were undertaken to provide the city with spectacular new approaches. Independence Square also was a focus of attention, at least with the Philadelphia chapter of the American Institute of Architects and the several patriotic groups involved with the restoration of the Independence Hall group of buildings and the landscape of Independence Square. And in the context of the City Beautiful movement, the declining neighborhood around Independence Square was scrutinized and found wanting. Independence Hall was faced by "a row of buildings whose diversity is only surpassed by their ugliness," wrote one architect in 1908, voicing an opinion that would be voiced by most of the proponents for redevelopment in the next half century (figure 9).[32]

1915 — Albert Kelsey and D. Knickerbacker Boyd. The earliest proposal for formal treatment of the land north of Independence Hall was made in 1915 by two prominent Philadelphia architects, Albert Kelsey and D. Knickerbacker Boyd, who collaborated on a design for the half block from Chestnut to Ludlow streets that they titled, "Preliminary Study for the Dependencies and a New Setting for Independence Hall." Their client, if any, is not known, although the plan may have been an outgrowth of the AIA-sponsored restoration of Independence Hall that was underway at that time.

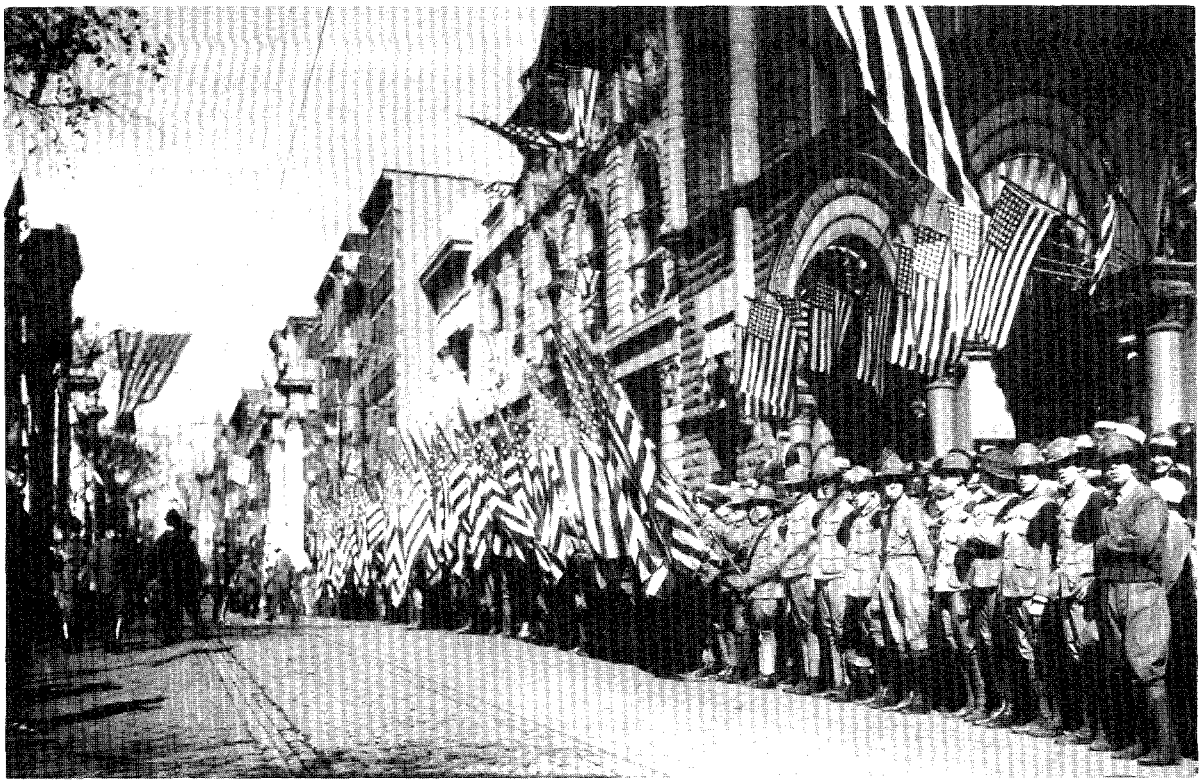


FIGURE 9. CHESTNUT STREET OPPOSITE INDEPENDENCE HALL, 1919. Boy Scouts at a 1919 reception for General Pershing stand opposite Independence Hall, in front of the 19th century buildings that offended 20th century architects and civic leaders. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

Boyd and Kelsey both were members of the Sons of the Revolution, the AIA, and the T-Square Club. Boyd was the president of the Philadelphia chapter of the AIA and chair of its committee on preservation of historic monuments, which was busy pursuing the Independence Square restorations. These two men were in the thick of both the city planning and patriotic efforts of their day. Boyd was a graduate of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and Kelsey was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania's architecture program, chaired at that time by Paul Cret. Kelsey had collaborated with Cret on numerous competitions and participated in the planning of the Benjamin Franklin Parkway. That their plan strongly reflected the tenets of Beaux-Arts design was therefore to be expected (figure 10).[33]

The plan included an open reviewing square stretching north from Chestnut Street. A "Colonnade of the Signers" was to be located at the northern end of the square, parallel to Ludlow Street, (about one-third of the way to Market Street). This two-story, brick, classical revival structure was intended as a reviewing stand and a viewing point from which visitors could contemplate Independence Hall and civic events taking place there. At the end of two curving arcades reminiscent of Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, pavilions would house relics and records of the colonial era. Each of the colonnade's thirteen arches was to shelter a statue of one of the signers of the Constitution, and statues of Jefferson and Hamilton were to stand in front of it, facing the statue of Washington that stands on the opposite side of Chestnut Street. The square itself was lined on the east and west by formal gardens and fountains and sheltered with rows of trees lining the streets.

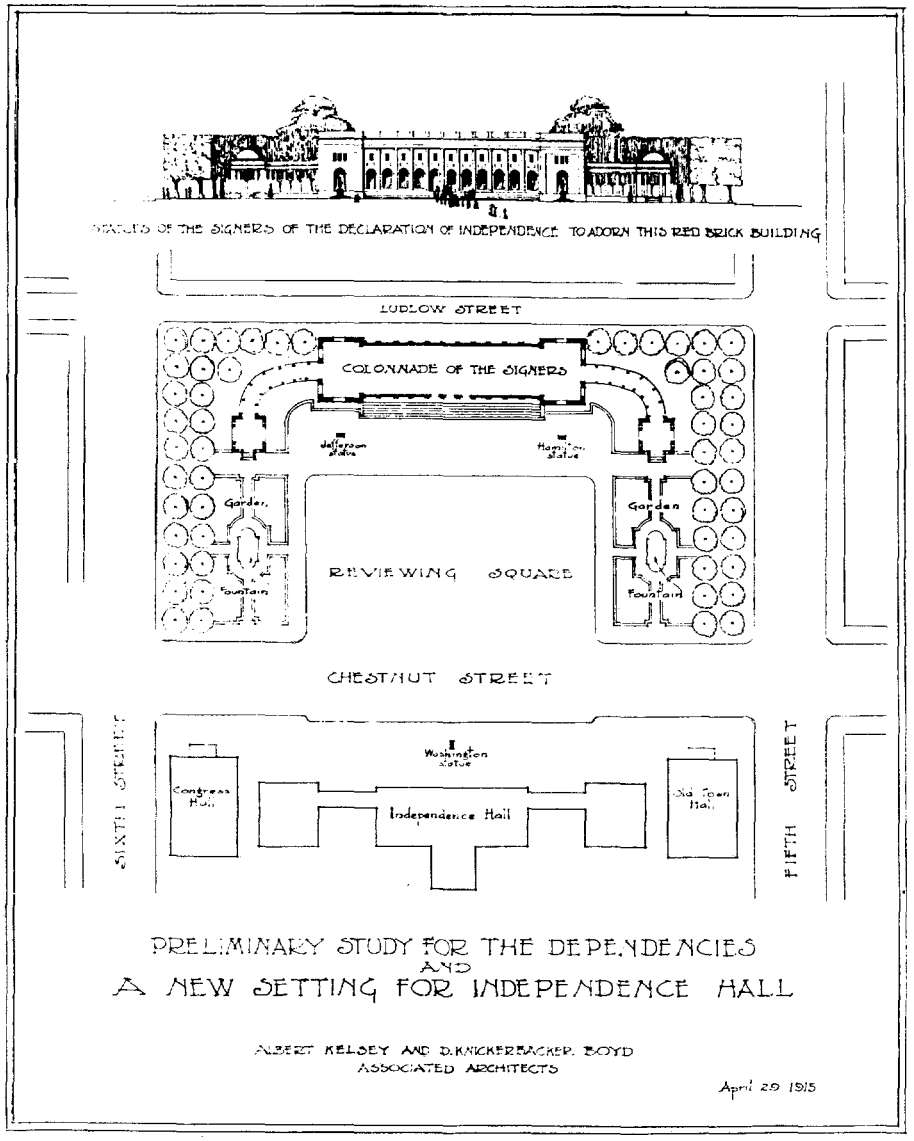


FIGURE 10. "PRELIMINARY STUDY FOR THE DEPENDENCIES AND A NEW SETTING FOR INDEPENDENCE HALL," BY KELSEY AND BOYD, 1915. The earliest plan for an open square opposite Independence Hall was this 1915 drawing by Albert Kelsey and D. Knickerbacker Boyd. It conservatively extended from Chestnut Street north to Ludlow Street, a distance of approximately one half-block. *(Independence National Historical Park archives photo.)*

Existing records do not indicate whether the Kelsey-Boyd plan received any widespread attention either in 1915, when first proposed, or in 1929, when they reintroduced their plan and saw it published in the *Public Ledger*. In a 1929 narrative written for the newspaper about the proposal, Kelsey noted that only part of the block was to be acquired and developed because the acquisition cost for the entire block was too great and because "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." He also explained that the intent of the study was to provide

> a fitting northern approach to and setting for Independence Hall, though two factors of even more urgent need prompted the study. 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; (figure 11) and the other was the congestion of traffic at this point whenever a ceremony takes place, which is worse now than it was then.

To remove the fire hazard and to obviate congestion, we felt that a dignified open space should be created — a surface large enough for the drawing up of troops, without interfering with the circulation of traffic on Chestnut Street.[34]

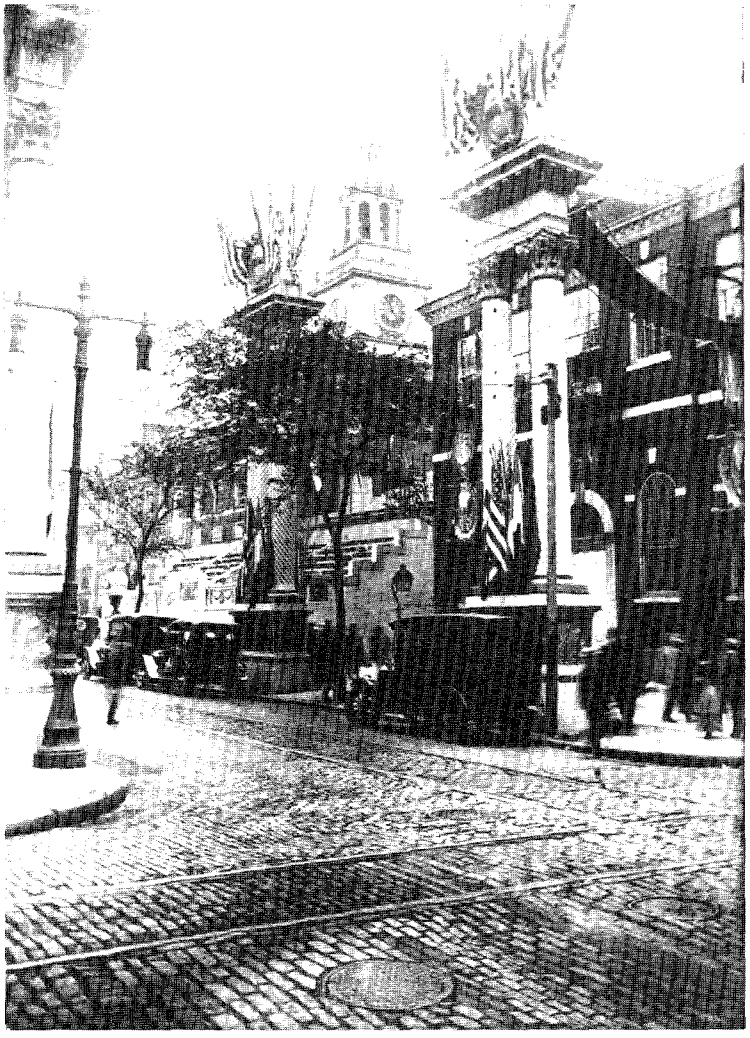


FIGURE 11. BLEACHERS AGAINST INDEPENDENCE HALL, 1919. The decorations and bleachers that were erected for the 1919 reception for the 28th Division illustrate Boyd and Kelsey's interest in providing a spacious area for celebrations and reviews. Then, as now, the space in front of Independence Hall was the most important in the city for civic events. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

Boyd had earlier commented to the newspaper that redevelopment of the block would aid in "beautification and the refreshment of this parched and ugly quarter." Some of the neighboring buildings were "virtually vacant" or "old fashioned," and to his thinking they "would not be a great loss."[35]

Although the plan was not implemented, versions of the colonnade, the importance of the number 13, the statuary, the symmetrical bosques of trees, and the Beaux-Arts detailing would be reflected in many subsequent plans for the mall. The four rationales for clearance and redevelopment also would be voiced again and again.

Kelsey and Boyd were the first of a series of park proponents who had connections with the University of Pennsylvania. These close associations among the faculty and the alumni community evidently helped to generate new ideas and designs throughout the growth of the park movement.

1924 — Jacques Greber. A French landscape architect, Jacques Greber, had close ties with the University of Pennsylvania as well as professional ties with both Kelsey and Paul Cret in the planning for the Benjamin Franklin Parkway, for which Greber was the primary designer. That Sesquicentennial project was much admired, and the city may have desired a similar approach for the oldest section of the city when Greber was commissioned in 1924 to prepare drawings for the Independence Hall neighborhood. Greber maintained an extensive estate design and city planning practice characterized by projects in the Beaux-Arts style.

Greber's "Plan of the Memorial Court of Independence" was a more expansive scheme for the hall's setting than was Boyd and Kelsey's, and he treated both Independence Square and the first full block north of the hall (figures 12, 13). For Independence Square, which had been completely redesigned only a decade earlier, he envisioned grand colonnades stretching along Fifth and Sixth streets to Walnut. This proposal raised strong and immediate opposition from patriotic and civic groups.

His plan for the first block north of Independence Hall included a number of the elements that Boyd and Kelsey had detailed, but he broadened the scope and increased the grandeur. Taking up most of the block was the "Great Marble Court." This was centered on the relocated Liberty Bell, housed in an "altar," or temple reached by climbing 13 steps. An entrance arcade on Market Street, two memorial halls at each corner of Chestnut, many pieces of sculpture, and bosques lining Fifth, Sixth, and Market streets were the other major elements. This part of the plan, at least, won some support, as "further insurance against any loss from fire."[36]

One side effect of Greber's 1924 plan was the united opinion among the preservationists, architects, and patriotic societies that Independence Square should not be part of the design option for a new setting for Independence Hall. Along with their consensus that Greber's proposal for the square was a travesty for the historic setting, they were adamantly opposed to his idea to move the Liberty Bell out of Independence Hall. In the patriotic moment the *Public Ledger* went so far as to solicit opinions from several prominent Philadelphia architects (among them D. Knickerbacker Boyd) on the idea of a foreign architect designing American shrines and monuments. They all agreed that American architects would do the job better.[37]

As the restoration of the square's grounds and buildings reached completion, Greber's plan ironically coalesced and cemented public opinion in favor of preserving Independence Hall and the square as a memorial to the founding of the nation.

This (and a subsequent Greber scheme) would not be built, but many of the elements would recur in other plans, and the marble court and the relocation of the Liberty Bell would actually be implemented a half-century later.

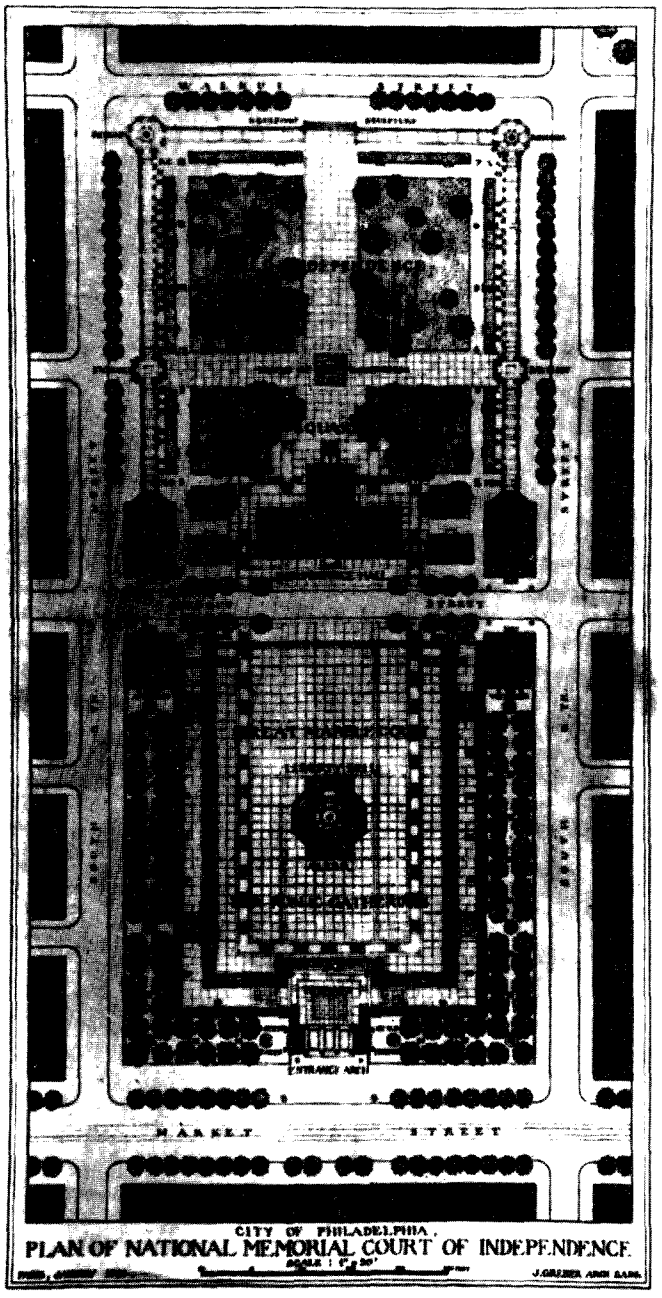


FIGURE 12. "PLAN OF NATIONAL MEMORIAL COURT OF INDEPENDENCE," JACQUES GREBER FOR THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1924. Greber's 1924 plan covered the entire first block from Chestnut to Market streets. N.B., south is at the top of this drawing. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

1928 (circa) — Paul Phillipe Cret. Paul Phillipe Cret sketched two designs for the Independence Hall setting that covered the same half-block area proposed by Kelsey and Boyd's study. As architects, they spoke the same language, but their proposals for a modest northern setting soon were overshadowed by a growing sentiment beginning in the late 1920s for a grander scale to commemorate Independence Hall.

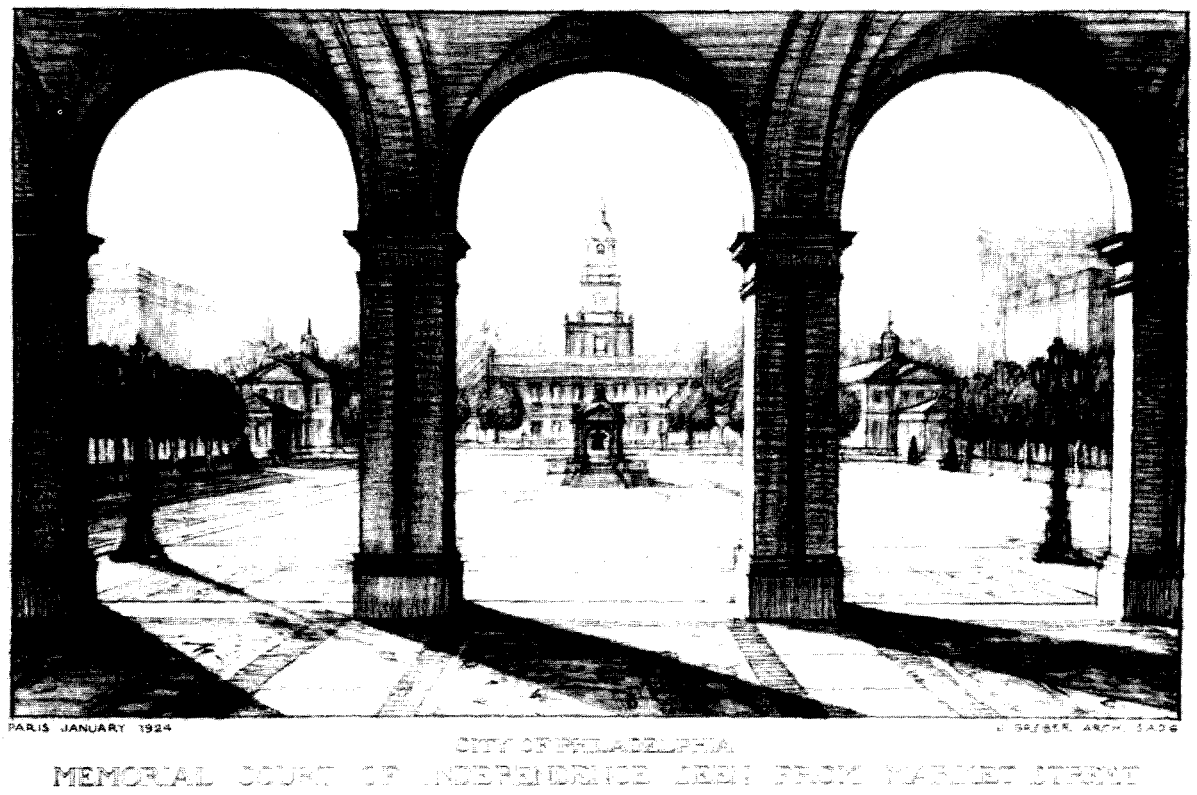


FIGURE 13. "MEMORIAL COURT OF INDEPENDENCE SEEN FROM MARKET STREET," JACQUES GREBER FOR THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1924. *(Photo courtesy of the American Philosophical Society.)*

In addition to his prominence as dean of the Architecture School at Penn, Paul Cret was Philadelphia's best known Beaux-Arts architect. Soon after he took his position at the university in 1903, Cret entered a series of competitions in association with Albert Kelsey, among them the Pan-American Union in Washington, DC, which they won in 1910. From 1920 to 1926 he worked with Ralph Modjeski to execute a design for the Delaware River Bridge as the dramatic new entrance to Philadelphia's historic section.

Little is known about Cret's participation in the planning for Independence Hall's setting other than the recollections given by his future partner, Roy F. Larson, in a 1969 interview. Larson remarked that in 1928 a patriotic group (either the Daughters of the American Revolution or the Colonial Dames) asked Cret to "make a study for the improvement of the area just north of Independence Hall."[38]

Both of Cret's proposals (figures 14 and 15) centered on a large sunken plaza intended to be a place from which people could gather and view the historic buildings. The 1928 drawings seem not to have survived, but 1933 perspective drawings, "Design(s) for the Extension of Independence Square," record the proposals. The plans differed primarily in the form of their arcades. The first called for a long, circular arcade extending from Chestnut Street as far as Ludlow Street, with each Chestnut Street terminus marked by a ceremonial pavilion. The second plan showed a more simple linear arcade along Ludlow Street. Both plans included deep bosques of trees along Fifth, Sixth and Ludlow streets, and both included monumental statuary and a flight of steps leading from Chestnut Street down into the plaza.

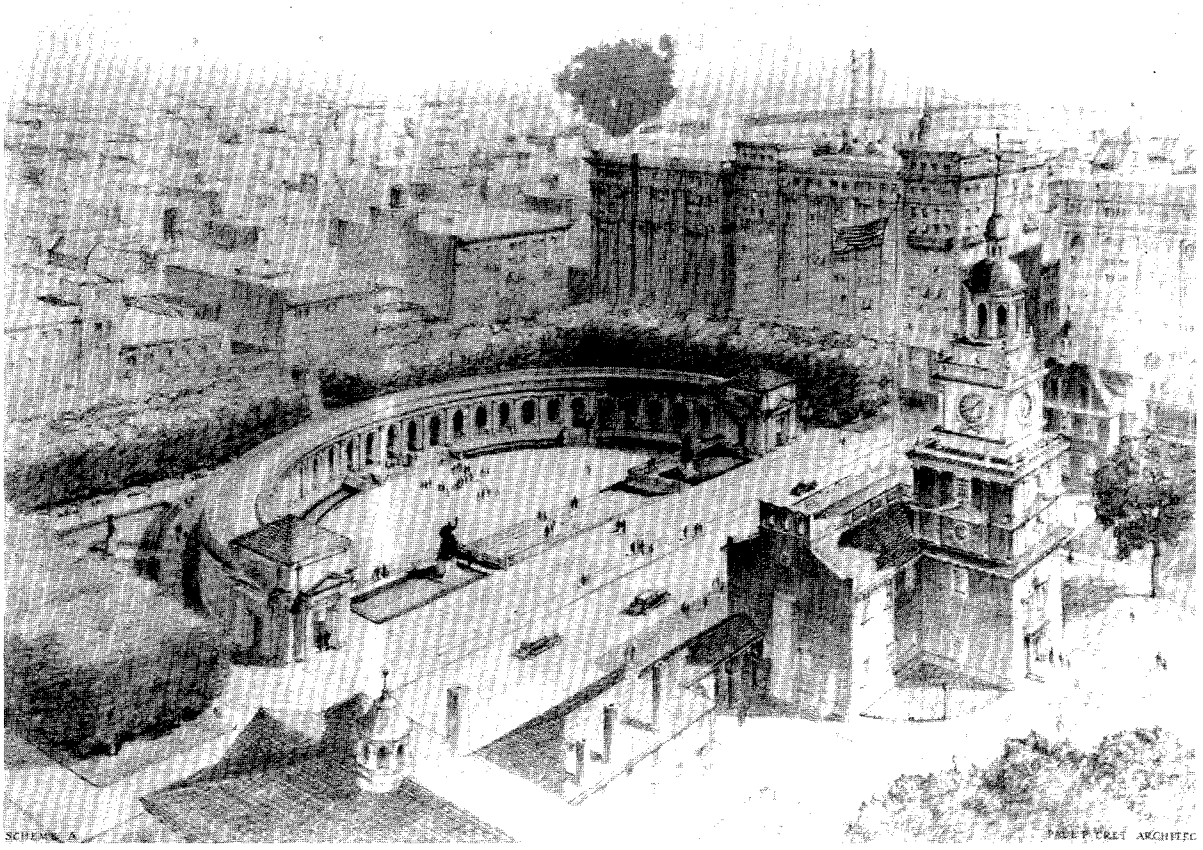


FIGURE 14. "DESIGN FOR EXTENSION OF INDEPENDENCE SQUARE, SCHEME A," PAUL PHILLIPE CRET, 1933. Cret's 1933 renderings of his earlier proposals for part of the first block. *(Photo courtesy of the Athenaeum of Philadelphia.)*

Subtly lowering the vantage point and thereby increasing the apparent height of Independence Hall, as well as keeping the vantage point close to the hall, would have enabled the hall to be dominant over its setting. Cret might have been responding to a sense that these domestic-sized buildings, which had been constructed in a dense neighborhood of similarly sized buildings, never had been meant to be viewed from a distance.[39]

No information has been found as yet about whether these plans won support or interest when first presented, but the fact that he presented the drawings again in the 1930s suggests a renewed appreciation for Cret's concept. That Kelsey and Boyd also revived their drawings at around the same time might indicate the hard times that architectural firms suffered during the Depression and the hope of future revenue from the new federal recovery programs.

1928 — Dr. Seneca Egbert. Around 1928 Dr. Seneca Egbert made the first proposal to extend Independence Hall's setting north for three full city blocks, encompassing what later would be named Independence Mall. The idea came from a most unlikely candidate; Dr. Egbert was a professor of hygiene at the University of Pennsylvania. Described in his obituary as a civic-minded man, Egbert otherwise had no known connections with patriotic groups, city planning, or architecture. This proposal was inspired by the Sesquicentennial and by his interest in American history and the public welfare.[40] That the City Beautiful movement was widely admired and popularly accepted is illustrated by the grand plans of this private citizen. This proposal was far bolder in its scope and intent than the earlier plans had been, and in its basic elements it set the parameters for the majority of subsequent plans.

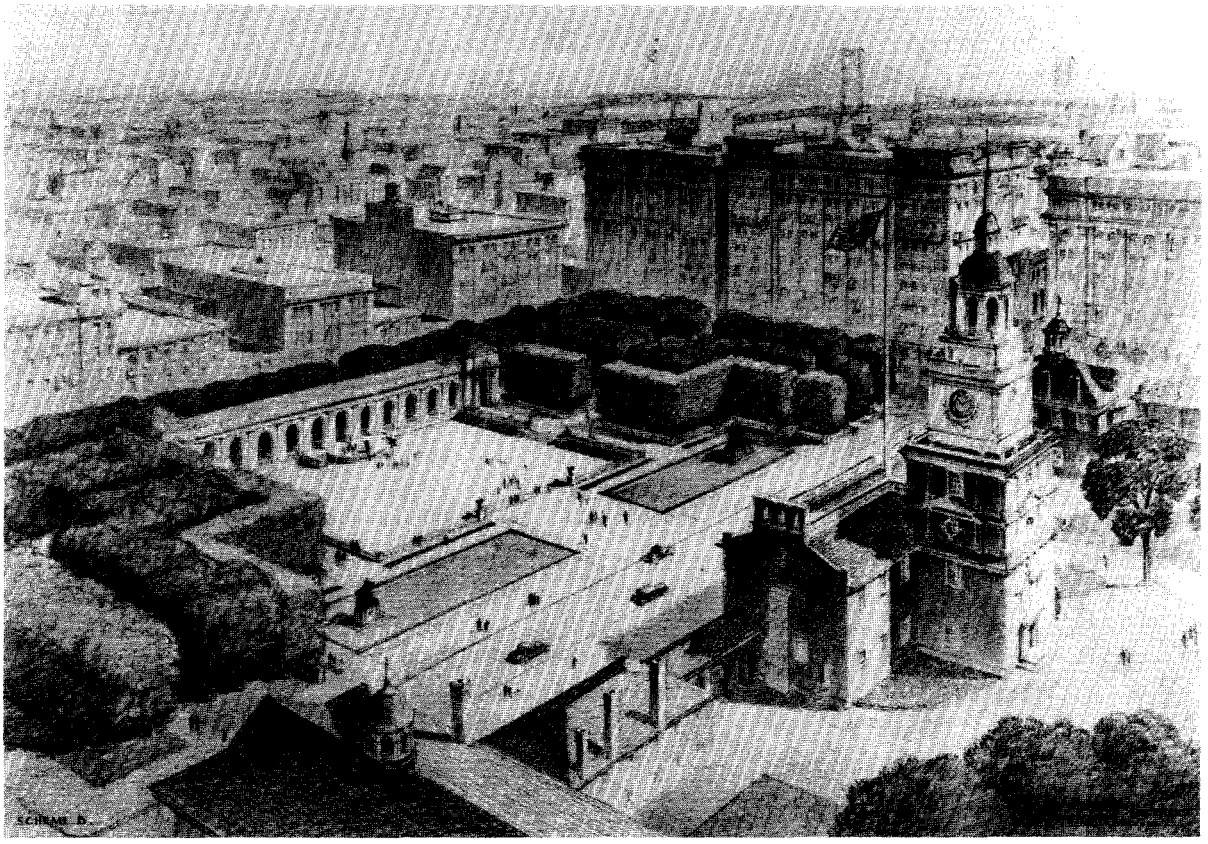


FIGURE 15. "DESIGN FOR EXTENSION OF INDEPENDENCE SQUARE, SCHEME B," PAUL PHILLIPE CRET, 1933. Cret's 1933 renderings of his earlier proposals for part of the first block. *(Photo courtesy of the Athenaeum of Philadelphia.)*

Although no drawing remains (and perhaps no drawing was ever made), Egbert prepared a lengthy written description of his plan. He defined his central idea for "the development of a Concourse or Esplanade between Independence Hall and the plaza at the west end of the Delaware Bridge that should serve as a permanent and impressive Sesquicentennial memorial of the historic events incident to the founding of the Nation." He proposed demolishing three entire city blocks, from Chestnut to Race streets and from Fifth to Sixth streets. Running north/south through the center a new broad pedestrian walk was proposed, "possibly as broad as Broad Street," to be called the "Colonial Concourse."[41]

The first block was to be divided into two parts. The half opposite Independence Hall was to be developed by the federal government as "Constitution Square," taking the form of an arch over the concourse and with adjacent gardens. On the Market Street side, the city would work with two of the original states to erect monuments or memorial buildings. Like Kelsey and Boyd, he envisioned an area set aside across from Independence Hall for parades and spectators.

On the opposite end of the proposed mall, facing the Benjamin Franklin Bridge plaza, there would have been space for commonwealth offices to be built, representing Pennsylvania's role as one of the original states. On each side of the concourse on the second block, six plots were to be allocated to the remaining 12 original states, on which each would erect a replica of one of its colonial buildings to serve as a museum and archive of its role in founding of nation. The concourse-side facades of these buildings would be unified by arcades and balconies, and the balconies would provide seating space for 10,000 viewers of civic events. The plan also called for a pedestrian walkway for "patriotic and

eventful assemblages, processions, and pageants" (a concept later redefined and implemented on the second block by architect Roy F. Larson). Three pylons or sculptures would be sited here to commemorate the Revolution, the Civil War, and World War I.

Egbert's goals for the mall were to reduce traffic congestion and the fire hazard to the Independence Hall group, provide a permanent Sesquicentennial memorial, and establish a place for patriotic gatherings: "America's Forum, where every Fourth of July thousands of persons could assemble to listen to a patriotic address, usually by the President of the United States, and where, on all occasions, special celebrations associated with the history of the city, state and nation could be held."[42]

His interest was clearly civic minded. He envisioned a clean, green, open area that would eliminate the tangle of deteriorating buildings and the congestion of narrow streets. In promoting the venture, he was careful to point out that its cost would be offset by the financial return that the city could expect from the enhanced value of adjoining properties, making him one of the earliest, if not the first backer to make this connection.

His plans evidently came as a reaction to City Council's vote in 1925 to cut a new street through to Market Street between Fifth and Sixth streets from the Delaware River bridge plaza. As the *Philadelphia Bulletin* explained in 1936:

> The Egbert Plan springs primarily from the fact that some years ago, when Councilman Charles B. Hall was pushing various proposals for the improvement of the city, there was put upon the city plan a proposed boulevard or highway, to be known as the Randolph Boulevard, extending from Race to Market streets, and from Spring Garden to Vine Streets. It was intended at the time as an approach to Delaware Bridge.[43]

Egbert thought he had a better way to improve the approach and memorialize Independence Hall. He recognized that the rapid growth of automobile use in the 1920s and the opening of the Delaware River bridge in 1926 posed a real problem of traffic congestion in the narrow streets of the eastern end of town. In his outline, he stressed that, "The importance of relief to traffic congestion at the Philadelphia end of the Bridge which the plan for the Concourse offers should not be overlooked or minimized," and then proposed "the widening of the roadways of Fifth and Sixth Streets for Vehicular traffic." This street widening was achieved nearly twenty-five years later as part of the mall's plan.[44]

As nothing came of his initial proposal, Egbert in 1930 reintroduced his plan, perhaps in response to the 1930 publication of the city planning commission's fifty-year plan. He continued to promote his "Colonial Concourse" until his death in 1939.

Dr. Egbert in some ways was a visionary. While his specific recommendations for on-ground features had little impact on the mall's final design, several of his broad concepts eventually were manifested, by coincidence or by influence. George Nitzche's testimony indicated that Egbert's plan was the inspiration for him when he proposed the same three blocks as a national park in 1935. The Independence Hall Association archives contain a copy of Dr. Egbert's long detailed description of his plan, which suggests that it was referred to during the development of park plans over the next two decades.

Egbert's arguments in support of his plan were repeated by future promoters of the mall. He claimed that the concourse development would increase assessments and therefore tax returns for the three blocks and would "almost certainly tend to maintain and even to increase property values both to the east and south of it and to the westward as far as Seventh or Eighth Street." He was a forerunner of Edmund Bacon, Philadelphia's city planning commission director from 1949 to 1970, in trying to focus

attention on the future redevelopment of the eastern end of town, where the concentration of historic sites stood. "Philadelphia should especially endeavor to resist the present tendency to draw all mid city business to the neighborhood of Broad and Market Streets or west of this to the vicinity of the new railroad stations soon to be erected," he argued, and stressed that the square mile of city space from the river to Ninth Street and Spring Garden to South Street was rich in historical associations and business opportunities. Such rhetoric found its way into many of the future plans of the Independence Hall Association and the city, in conjunction with the proposals for Independence Mall, national park, and the Old City redevelopment area. Elements of his plan, however, recalled earlier design concepts.[45]

A modern observer has written of Egbert's plan that although

> no urban precedents existed in either Philadelphia or America (except perhaps the mall in Washington, DC) . . . examples did exist in France and Germany, representing generally a political or social power that was centralized and absolute — monarchy — just the opposite of what the Independence Hall group represented . . . The relationship between Independence Hall and this vast area was to be maintained on the basis of stylistic continuity — the architectural sameness of buildings from the same era (all but three of which would have been replicas). A little world enclosing a bygone time and culture was to be created in a space which was itself an urban form that belonged to another age and culture.

Egbert's plan was original, bold, and impressive, but it was also anachronistic and foreign. It commanded attention in the years that followed, and suggested similar ideas to other planners.[46]

Key elements of Egbert's proposal were carried forward through subsequent schemes and finally were implemented. These included the three block scope of the mall, the center axis, the subway station, underground parking, the permanent gathering place, and the widening of the streets. Just as importantly, he foresaw the means to final implementation, which meant linking the mall's development to financial return and securing intergovernmental cooperation in the project.

Dr. Egbert's proposal contrasted dramatically with Boyd and Kelsey's 1915 plan. Egbert's radical proposal, in fact, may have prompted Kelsey and Boyd to reissue their plan in 1929, with an accompanying statement explaining their rationale behind limited demolition. Boyd explained in a letter to the editor of the *Public Ledger* that he thought their plan would be "a matter of especial interest . . . at this time in connection with the many possibilities of rejuvenating and developing the downtown section of Philadelphia."[47]

1930 — Jacques Greber. A lengthy article in the *Public Ledger* for November 13, 1930, heralded the news, "Experts Offer 50-Year Plan of Beauty and Utility for City" (figure 16). The cover photograph featured Jacques Greber's revised plan for the block north of Independence Hall. The city planning commission, which was responsible for the report, endorsed Greber's plan as "highly desirable and utilitarian." The issue of his nationality, which had been raised in 1924, had not deterred the commission. The commission's report also noted that the proposed construction of Randolph Street as a new approach to Independence Hall (that had prompted Seneca Egbert's plan) had been abandoned, with the thought that the widening of Fourth and Seventh streets would solve the traffic congestion problems.[48]

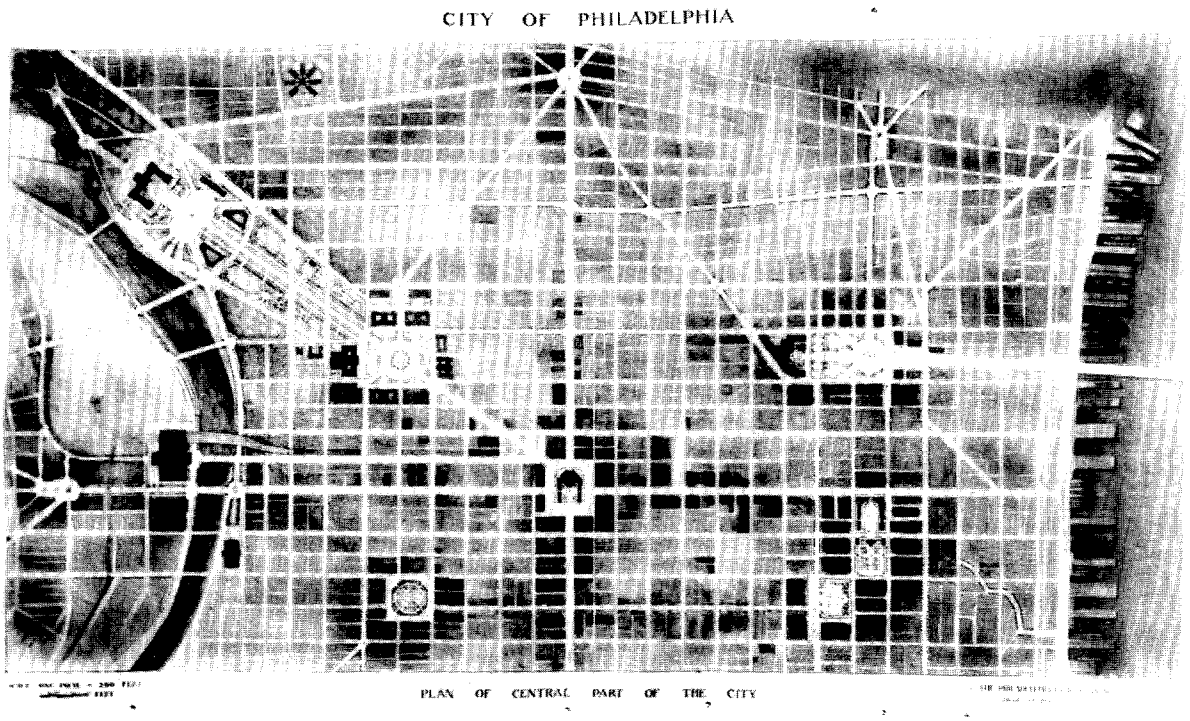


FIGURE 16. "PLAN OF CENTRAL PART OF THE CITY," JACQUES GREBER FOR THE PHILADELPHIA CITY PLANNING COMMISSION, 1930. A one-block proposal for Independence Mall (seen at lower right of this drawing) was part of the Philadelphia Planning Commission's 1930 master plan for the city. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

The revised "Plan of Memorial Court of Independence" featured a narrower marble court, surrounded on three sides by four-story neo-Palladian brick buildings, and lined with a one-story arcade. This ensemble was called the Court of Honor, which was a reference to the 1893 Chicago Exposition. The block of buildings effectively limited the view of Independence Hall, which would only be seen from an entrance archway on Market Street. The idea to move the Liberty Bell to this court was eliminated due to the extreme public reaction against the move that Greber's 1924 plan had elicited (figures 17 and 18).

Such proposals for replacement of the existing 19th century neighborhood with somewhat grander 18th century European facsimiles were frequently to be seen in subsequent plans.

The decade of the Depression in Philadelphia was rich in schemes but poor financially. The federal government's expansion during the Depression in an effort to provide more jobs and support worthy projects proved a source of inspiration for new and grander proposals for Independence Hall's setting and neighborhood; so also did the enormous historic restoration project underway as of 1926 at Williamsburg, Virginia.[49]

Major changes for the Park Service suggested new opportunities as well. The 1935 Historic Sites Act gave the National Park Service the freedom to make cooperative agreements with the owners of important historic sites, which permitted a broader and more flexible menu for historic preservation.

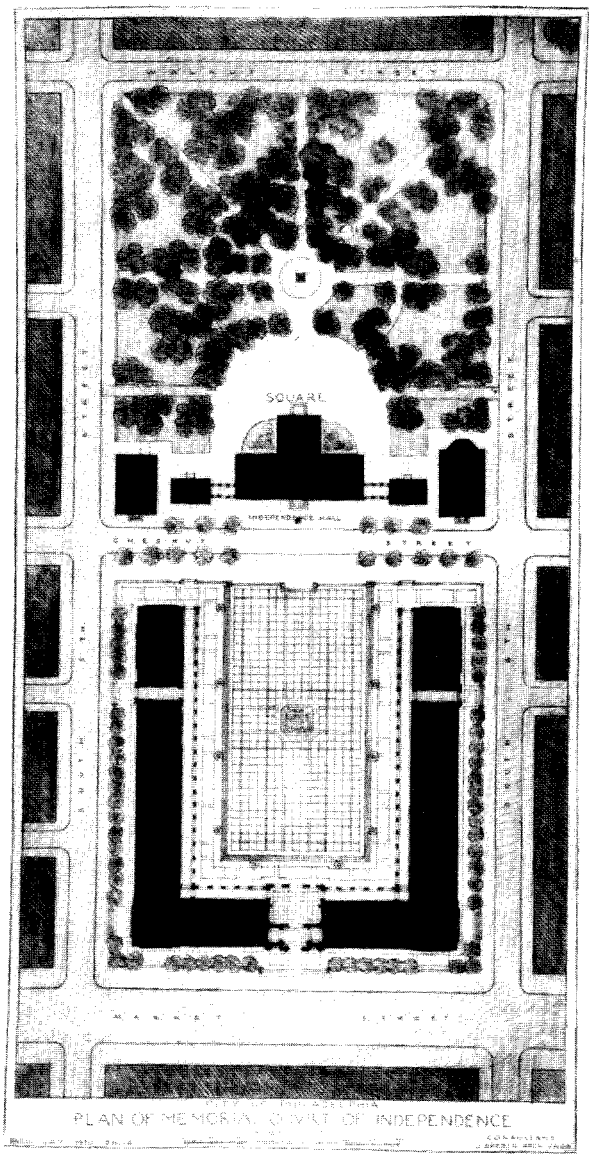


FIGURE 17. "PLAN OF MEMORIAL COURT OF INDEPENDENCE," JACQUES GREBER FOR THE PHILADELPHIA CITY PLANNING COMMISSION, 1930. Greber's revision of his earlier one-block plan for a mall leaves Independence Square intact. *(Photo courtesy of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission.)*

In 1933 the transfer of all the historic sites and monuments formerly under the War Department into the national park system immediately placed the National Park Service as the nation's leader in historic preservation and a potential partner in the establishment of parks.[50]

The Philadelphia chapter of the American Institute of Architects also played a role to make work for unemployed draftsmen during the 1930s by setting up a complete survey of 18th and 19th century architecture in the city, much of which was concentrated in the Independence Hall neighborhood.[51]



FIGURE 18. "SKETCH OF MEMORIAL COURT OF INDEPENDENCE," JACQUES GREBER FOR THE PHILADELPHIA CITY PLANNING COMMISSION, 1930. Greber's rendering for the 1930 proposal shows how limited the vista of Independence Hall would have been from surrounding streets. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

D. Knickerbacker Boyd's association with the Philadelphia chapter of the AIA probably prompted him to offer a second proposal for Independence Hall's setting in May 1930. The *Public Ledger* headlined, "New Public Park Urged in Center City," and reported Boyd's speech at a Chestnut Street Association meeting, where he expressed a new vision. This time Boyd proposed a park for the entire first block opposite the hall, and buildings "in harmony with the shrine" lining either side of it.[52]

While there is no record of why he made this plan, or of the plan itself, it is assumed that in some way it related to the Chestnut Street Association's efforts to improve the business environment in the area. Chestnut Street was showing new life and the association was trying to encourage improvements to maintain and enhance the beauty of the street. A massive new federal custom house was under construction on Second Street, which developers hoped would revive the neighborhood. In 1932 a committee of real estate investors chaired by Emerson C. Curtis hired architects to design a small park on Third Street to improve the Custom House surroundings, but in the depths of the Depression they decided to defer its construction.

1932 — Curtis Mall. Early in 1933 they reconvened to expand the proposed plan to include "Curtis Mall," named for the publisher Cyrus K. Curtis, who pledged $250,000 towards its realization. The mall included a tree-lined roadway from Independence Square east to the new customs house. The plan described the mall as "encompassing the First Bank of the United States and the Carpenters Hall and border on the Second Bank of the United States." In an apparent reaction to large federal projects and other government spending during the Depression years, Curtis vowed that the land "would be acquired

through donations, grants, and easement rights without the City, State or Federal Government putting up one single dollar."[53]

Although this park proposal offered no plan for Independence Hall's northern setting, its concept to carve a park out of the blocks to the east of Independence Hall to include key historic sites of the neighborhood remained the seed for many proposals to follow, including the legislation establishing Independence National Historical Park. It also expanded the concept for the protection and improvement of Independence Hall's setting.

1933 (circa) — Folsom and Stanton. At approximately this time the architectural firm of Folsom and Stanton produced a "Sketch Plan of Suggested Improvements" (undated) that may have been the first proposal to suggest a park both on the blocks to the east and also to the north of Independence Hall. This sketch called for a total leveling of the two blocks to the north and east of Independence Hall. The plan showed planting on the first block north of Independence Hall and sketched buildings along a central plaza for the second block.

One of the partners, William Stanton, served as city planner from 1933 to 1935 and during this period may have become aware of and interested in the several development proposals for the east end of town. While the Folsom-Stanton plan was included in the records of the Independence Hall association, there appears to be no written comment on its merit or on its history, and its design is not readily traced in the final plan for the mall.[54]

1935 — George E. Nitzche. Continuing the trend for citizen involvement in city planning, George E. Nitzche proposed in 1935 that Independence Square and the three blocks from Chestnut Street north to Race Street become a "United States National Park of Independence Hall." This was the first call for a national park in Philadelphia and came only two years behind the establishment of the first national historical park in the nation, at the Revolutionary War encampment at Morristown, New Jersey.[55]

Nitzche held a position at the University of Pennsylvania as its recorder. He had graduated from Penn's law school in 1898, when classes still were held in the new courthouse on Independence Square. He had witnessed the restoration of Independence Hall that he now aimed to enhance with a dignified approach under federal ownership and protection.

At the university today Nitzche's life is described in a full box of archival records that indicate that he was a strong public relations personality, an antiquarian, founder of the university archives, a man interested in colonial history and restoration, and an important figure in the development of the park movement.[56]

Nitzche was well aware of Dr. Egbert's proposal and the other early schemes. With both the enormous amounts of money being spent by the federal government on Depression relief and the opportunities posed by the new Historic Sites Act, he recognized that although "years ago, such a project would have been considered impossible," the time was right to move ahead. His motivation was civic, expressed in terms of both patriotism and city planning. "Independence Hall is undoubtedly the most revered building in the United States and one of the greatest historic shrines in the world. It should have a setting worthy of its pre-eminence. . . . A stranger arriving here for the first time now cannot help forming a most unfavorable impression of the city when the first objects to strike his eye are the hideously ugly and dilapidated buildings in these blocks, with hundreds of 'For Rent' and 'For Sale' signs everywhere."[57]

Nitzche had no new drawings prepared, but the press gave him ample space to explain his concept. He advocated Dr. Egbert's plan, only differing on the branch of government that would implement it. He believed that only the federal government could complete such a large project.

He echoed Egbert's assertions about the impact that the park could have on the surrounding neighborhood. He wrote, "The plan suggested also would have a tendency to transform a section in the heart of Philadelphia in which there are many unsightly and unprofitable buildings and many narrow streets and alleys. Indeed, some of these sections might again become residential, especially for inexpensive apartment houses and hotels."[58] This definition of the mall as a fitting setting for Independence Hall and also as a starting point for the rebirth of the neighborhood continued to be the foundation of proposals for the area.

In another ambitious plan to rejuvenate the neighborhood, the Philadelphia Board of Trade proposed in 1936 to include not only the block north of Independence Hall but also three blocks stretching east from the hall to the new custom house at Second and Chestnut streets.

1936 — Albert Kelsey and D. Knickerbacker Boyd. For the block north of the hall, architects Albert Kelsey and D. Knickerbacker Boyd prepared a plan called "Constitution Gardens," which featured a sunken plaza and gardens intended as a memorial for soldiers "who made the supreme sacrifice in defense of their Government." The sunken plaza seems to repeat Cret's earlier proposal, while the form in general is quite similar to Greber's 1930 scheme. The text and the perspectives that illustrate the board's promotional pamphlet indicate widespread demolition and replacement of the existing buildings on blocks adjacent to the proposed park with large new buildings intended to house specific trades or industries.[59]

By May of 1936 the plan had sufficient support for the introduction of a bill proposing a national park at Carpenters Hall. Both Seneca Egbert and George Nitzche lent their support and advice, but the plan failed to pass in Congress.[60]

The plans were indicative of the Board of Trade's grand ambitions to rebuild Philadelphia's older section. The sponsor of the Carpenters Hall park effort, A. Raymond Raff, was Collector of the Port, president of the Carpenters Company, and a former contractor. This proved to be the proposal for Independence Hall's setting that most blatantly favored the future of the business sector as its primary motivation.[61]

1937 — Roy F. Larson. According to his own recollection in a 1969 interview, Philadelphia architect Roy F. Larson began around 1935 to sketch his ideas for redeveloping this historic neighborhood. He produced various versions, but his 1937 drawing became important as the plan he presented to the municipal improvements committee of the AIA Philadelphia chapter, after he became its chair in 1938.

Larson had long held an interest in civic improvements and in Philadelphia's history. Coming from Chicago, "which was really on the move," he had been exposed in his youth to the City Beautiful movement at its source. On scholarship during World War I, Larson had traveled on the East Coast to see the old cities in this country, including Portsmouth, Philadelphia, Richmond and the Williamsburg area. In Philadelphia he met a great interpreter and collector of the city's colonial history, and this piqued a lifelong interest in the artifacts of Philadelphia's early past.[62]

After serving in the war, Larson studied architecture at the University of Pennsylvania under Paul Phillipe Cret, and in 1926 he became his partner. Two years later Cret began work on his design for Independence Hall's northern setting, but Larson remembered that "we in this office . . . didn't think of this improvement in depth at all" at the time. Soon after, however, Cret was preparing the drawings

dated 1933, and with several other proposals in the public forum, Larson began around 1935 to contemplate his own ideas. He drew inspiration from roaming the streets in the neighborhood. "I . . . was rather shocked by the poor condition, the obsolescence around Independence Hall and the historic buildings, Christ Church, also south of Independence Square, the old Society Hill area that was rapidly deteriorating. . . . It was rather sad to see this old area which had such significance in the independence of the country (in such poor condition)." In particular Larson remembered how apologetic he felt when showing a Danish visitor the historic area:

> The buildings around Independence Hall were fire hazards, some of them (figure 19). Most of them were obsolescent as I said, most of them particularly immediately north, and often times they were unoccupied above the first floor. The first floor right across from Independence Hall was occupied by hot dog shops, hamburger joints and this kind of thing.



FIGURE 19. CHESTNUT STREET OPPOSITE INDEPENDENCE HALL, 1937. As if to emphasize the civic concern over the fire danger to Independence Hall, ceremonial fire drills were often held here. This 1937 photograph records a drill staged for the National Association of Fire Commissioners. Of the neighboring Chestnut Street buildings seen here, only the Lafayette Building (the tallest building) and a few of the small, ornate bank buildings to the right of it survive. None succumbed to fire. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

"So I used to play with it, just as a sort of an extracurricular," he recalled, "just for my own satisfaction, hoping that maybe we could create some interest here in the city in doing something about it." His first presentation to the AIA municipal improvements committee in 1938 got nowhere, "because of course the Institute at that time was not too active in this kind of venture," or perhaps because, in Larson's recollection, Philadelphia "was very conservative about doing anything in the area, historical areas in particular, and the improvement of the central city.[63]

In a decade, however, his proposal would be the basis for the creation of Independence State Park and later the basic form for Independence Mall's final design. The proposal became a deep and abiding interest of Larson's, and he would work on it for years at his own expense, not winning a contract for its design until 1950.[64]

Larson's plan drew from a large number of precedents but exceeded all in size and scope. Like the 1935 Carpenters Hall park plan, Larson projected open space both to the east and north of Independence Hall. His particular contribution to the development of the concept was a composition that would have cleared the blighted city blocks beyond the Delaware River bridge plaza, taking a mall all the way north to Spring Garden Street and linking it with the city's Franklin Square just west of the plaza as a monumental entrance to the city. It offered a radical treatment for an urban problem that Larson felt had gotten out of hand, while it focused on the preservation and enhancement of historic sites within the area (figure 20).[65]

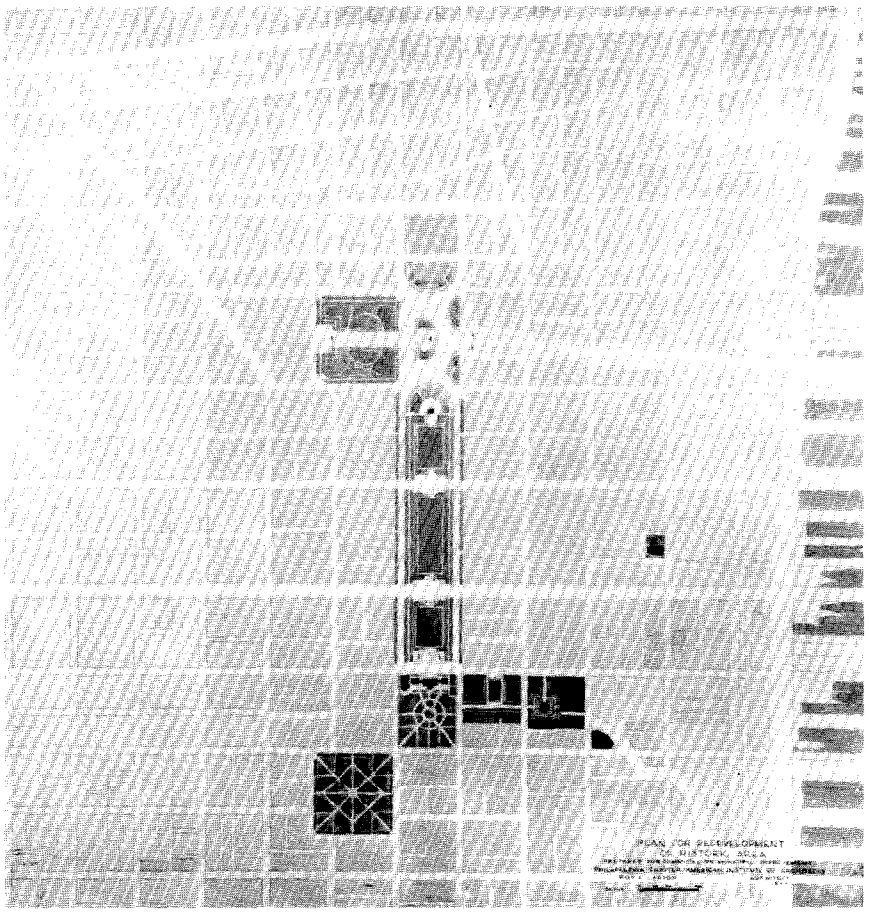


FIGURE 20. "PLAN FOR REDEVELOPMENT OF THE HISTORIC AREA," ROY F. LARSON, 1937. Larson's 1937 proposal pushed a mall north to beyond the Benjamin Franklin Bridge Plaza, and it also incorporated lands and historic buildings east of Independence Hall. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

Larson extended Cret's one-block scheme to Egbert's three-block length. A central lawn, flanked by walkways and bosques of trees, extended from Chestnut Street to the plaza at Race Street where it met Cret's semicircular terminus. Larson then added a one-block mirror image of the semicircle north of the bridge plaza.

Perhaps because it incorporated the biggest ideas of its predecessors, perhaps because no subsequent proposals were offered, or perhaps because Larson would become part of the inner circle of people who saw the idea through to completion, this plan would become the basis for the mall.

1938 — Charles Abell Murphy. Around 1938 historian Charles Abell Murphy began promoting his ideas for an Independence Park. Taking a page from the successful management of Mount Vernon and Valley Forge, Murphy tried organizing an "Independence Park Ladies' Association" to assist in "the preservation and restoration of that hallowed area of Independence Hall." He also wanted to see the Robert Morris house (where presidents Washington and Adams had lived while Philadelphia served as the nation's capital in the 1790s) rebuilt on the south side of Market Street near Sixth and a patriotic display of statues depicting Revolutionary War generals placed in a colonnade on the first half of the block to Ludlow Street. There is no evidence to suggest that his plan won any support.[66]

1939 — Struthers Burt. One last proposal for Independence Hall's setting was made before World War II intervened. It came in 1939 from Struthers Burt, a prominent Philadelphian who had achieved success in expanding Grand Teton National Park by gaining Rockefeller support and backing. On his return to Philadelphia, cognizant of the opportunities presented by the 1935 Historic Sites Act, he proposed to the National Park Service a project that would raze almost everything within a three-block radius of Independence Square, leaving only the historic structures standing.

Although at first encouraged by the interest generated, Burt dropped his plan once he reached the conclusion that the cooperation needed for such a major project was not likely to be found in Philadelphia. Perhaps he was influenced by the opinion of Fiske Kimball, the respected director of the Philadelphia Art Museum and member of the Park Service's advisory board, who maintained that the city and Carpenters Company were not likely to give up their property to a federal project and that real estate speculators might exploit the park scheme.[67]

Kimball at the time had plenty of experience on which to base such an opinion. In 1938 he was instrumental in rescuing the Old Custom House, known today by its historic name, the Second Bank, from sale by arranging for its transfer from the Treasury Department to the National Park Service and then leasing it to the Carl Schurz Association to keep it well maintained. The arrangements had not been easy; he was well aware what was involved in protecting Philadelphia's most historic neighborhood.[68]

The decade of the 1930s closed on an ominous note with the outbreak of World War II in Europe. Plans to improve Independence Hall's neighborhood came to a temporary halt. Throughout the 1930s the vision for the setting had been expanding with the growth of the National Park Service and federal involvement in historic preservation. By 1939 it was generally accepted that something dramatic needed to be done to turn the area around, but there seemed to be no consensus on what should happen, and not all the proponents were aware of one another.

THE INDEPENDENCE HALL ASSOCIATION UNITES THE PARK MOVEMENT

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, broke the stalemate over plans and actions for the Independence Hall environs and galvanized Philadelphians to protect their national historic shrine. The patriotic group Sons of the Revolution (Sons), which had supported the Independence Square restoration efforts earlier in the century, provided the leadership for the proposal that led to the 1942 coalition of park proponents into the Independence Hall Association. The Independence Hall Association spearheaded the park movement that culminated in the establishment of Independence Mall State Park in 1945 and Independence National Historical Park in 1948.

Three Key Catalysts Spark a Renewed Effort

The three key catalysts for this new and effective association were D. Knickerbacker Boyd, Roy F. Larson, and a newcomer, Judge Edwin O. Lewis. Boyd had been actively promoting the protection and improvement of the Independence neighborhood for more than 25 years. Larson had been active in promoting neighborhood revival proposals as chair of the municipal improvements committee of the American Institute of Architects. In 1941 Judge Lewis, who was president of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, responded to the Pearl Harbor bombing by appointing Boyd as chair of the newly formed Committee for Protection of Historic Buildings.[69]

With the United States at war, Judge Lewis felt that the Sons "had some responsibility . . . to protect Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell." Boyd organized two subcommittees, one on the Independence Hall group and another on churches, which met regularly for the next four months. The Independence Hall group subcommittee called together representatives from the Philadelphia Council of Defense to consider the potential threat from wartime bombings (a realistic concern given the awareness that London was burning and that American defenses were inadequate against a possible German invasion). Boyd also successfully solicited the Insurance Company of North America to pledge money for the construction of a steel and concrete vault under Independence Hall to protect the Liberty Bell, an idea that failed to materialize by war's end. The subcommittee did, however, successfully arrange for twelve property owners in the neighborhood to coordinate their water storage and fire fighting equipment to help protect Independence Hall.[70]

In an April 6, 1942, meeting of the Committee on Protection of Historic Buildings, the purpose of the organization was defined as protection of Independence Hall from fire, which included

> 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.[71]

Congressman Leon Sacks, who had introduced a bill in Congress in January 1942 calling for a commission to study a national park in the area east of Independence Hall, heard about the committee's work and asked the Sons to take the lead in organizing "a sentiment for a National Park in connection with the Independence Hall Group and surroundings." As Judge Lewis explained at a meeting in the spring, however, this request led the Sons to disassociate themselves from the committee's work, "with a vote of thanks to all concerned." The Sons' board of managers felt that such a project "was beyond the scope of any one Patriotic Organization," and proposed it be taken up as a group activity.[72]

Unwilling to let the idea drop, Boyd contacted Judge Lewis and his two congressmen for advice and then invited fifty-one civic-minded groups and individuals to an informal meeting in the Architects' Building on May 21, 1942. Boyd worked hard on the list, creating several groupings, one of which he titled, "Philadelphians who might be interested in a Proposal to Inaugurate a Slum Clearance Project in the Blighted Areas of Old Philadelphia." Similar phrasing soon would be heard for urban redevelopment programs launched throughout the nation.[73]

Around this time Boyd and Roy F. Larson discussed the idea and decided to join forces in the effort to bring together the many groups throughout the city that had shown an interest in the history or improvement of the area. Larson and Boyd probably knew each other from the Philadelphia chapter of the AIA, and probably through this association they became aware of their similar interest in the improvement of Independence Hall's setting. Boyd suggested and Larson agreed on Judge Lewis as the leader of the new group.[74]

The May 21, 1942 meeting laid the groundwork for formal organization of the Independence Hall Association the following month. Lewis, Boyd, and Larson all spoke to the nineteen in attendance at the meeting. Many of this group knew one another from promoting Independence Hall area projects over the years. They represented themselves or city institutions, the Board of Trade, the Carpenters Company, patriotic societies, churches, and the Society for the Preservation of Philadelphia Landmarks. Besides Larson and Boyd, several architects and engineers attended, among them the president of the Philadelphia chapter of the AIA, Sydney Martin, who continued to play an active role in the group. Two other prominent architects attended, C.C. Zantzinger, then president of the City Parks Association, and Edwin H. Silverman, president of the Pennsylvania Association of Architects. Philadelphia architects continued to be actively involved in the promotion and planning for the north mall until it was completed in 1969.[75]

The Independence Hall Association (IHA) was founded on June 30, 1942, at the American Philosophical Society headquarters on Independence Square. Of the 250 people who received invitations, fifty-seven attended. It was an auspicious beginning. Dr. William E. Lingelbach, librarian at the American Philosophical Society, opened the meeting as the chair of the Pennsylvania Committee on Conservation of Cultural Resources, the name given to the group who met at Boyd's informal meeting in May. The attendees considered the proposal to form an organization interested in "the conservation and development of `Colonial Philadelphia.'" Roy Larson, chair of the committee that organized the meeting, asked for nominations, including the continuation of Boyd as executive secretary and the introduction of Judge Lewis as president. Landscape architect Markley Stevenson (who later worked on the first block of Independence Mall under contract with Roy Larson's firm) proposed that committees be formed. Mrs. Stacy B. Lloyd, president of the Society of Colonial Dames, called for the immediate demolition of buildings on the north side of Chestnut Street opposite Independence Hall as a protection measure, and architect Thomas P. Cope supported the motion, recommending that a committee be formed to raise money to carry out the proposal. The chief of the Bureau of City Property assured the group he was in full support of their efforts. Boyd closed the meeting with assurances to Judge Lewis of the cooperation from all the organizations and individuals present.[76]

The gathering was a triumph for the hard-working organizers and leaders of the meeting. Boyd, Lewis, and Larson made an excellent team, characterized by energy and perseverance. All belonged to numerous civic and patriotic groups — they were joiners and doers. Admittedly biased, Boyd's daughter spoke admiringly of her father's great vision and tact, his wit and good humor, his graciousness, and his deep interest in history. These combined to make him an eloquent and popular

speaker, an important talent for any group with a cause. Larson on the other hand, while more demure and modest, was a vice president of Paul Cret's prominent firm and an architect who not only had several plans at hand but also a dogged interest in improving Independence Hall's setting.

By his own admission Judge Lewis had not been aware until the war that so many earlier efforts and designs for the Independence Hall area already had been presented. The fact that such a prominent and well-connected Philadelphian was unaware of the long history of proposals suggests the difficulty advocates for a new setting had been facing when trying to win support from the community at large.[77]

Boyd's choice of Judge Lewis to head the group effort was brilliant. He recognized Lewis' talents, his connections, his high visibility, his aura of authority as judge, his credibility as president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Sons and vice-president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Boyd took a back seat to Lewis but he was the one who took care of the organizing, networking, brainstorming, and drudge work as executive secretary for the Independence Hall Association until he suffered a fatal heart attack at his desk while working on association business on February 21, 1944, at the age of seventy-two.[78]

Edwin Lewis was not a native Philadelphian, but he had built a successful career in the city by preparing careful groundwork, mindful of lacking native roots. He grew up in Richmond, Virginia, moved to Philadelphia in 1896, took a job as a newspaper typesetter, and studied law at the University of Pennsylvania. Until 1900 Lewis' classes were held on Independence Square, and as editor of the University's *Daily Pennsylvanian*, he interviewed several university officers who discussed the history of the Independence Hall neighborhood.

Two decades as a successful trial lawyer, helped along by his creative use of political involvement, set Lewis up for his election in 1923 as judge. Lewis was so well connected by then that both parties voted him to the post and for four subsequent elections returned him unanimously to his seat. Judge Lewis retired in 1957 as president judge, Common Pleas Court #2, Philadelphia County, after thirty-four years on the bench. During the last half of his judgeship he actively promoted the improvement of Independence Hall's neighborhood and in 1970, at the age of 91, he was still using his influence and persuasion to see that Independence Mall's federal courthouse on Sixth Street remained in the congressional budget.[79]

Looking back, Lewis placed a great deal of store in his early years as the foundation of his later success. He saw his work with the newspapers as the source of his liberal education. It put him in contact with important writers and important events of the time. He learned to stay on the job for long hours and to be rewarded by the satisfaction of a job well done, often while under pressure.[80]

While president of the Independence Hall Association, Judge Lewis, through other posts, maintained a strong national, state, and local network of associates and friends. In 1944 he listed his titles in the publication of one of his speeches. He was general president of the Society of Sons of the Revolution; governor general of the Society of Colonial Wars; vice-president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; vice-president of the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania; president (since 1918) of the board of managers of the Moore Institute of Art; a director of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and a member of the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati.[81]

In his interviews Lewis remembered all the great figures who supported the park movement as his old friends. Lewis' social circle ran in the upper echelons among the people of influence. He summered in Northeast Harbor, Maine, and spent winter vacations in Palm Beach, Florida. His correspondence

— consistently addressed to U.S. presidents, congressmen, attorneys general, corporation directors, governors, and mayors — indicated that he operated on the management level. These social and leadership qualities were the very reason why Boyd and Larson asked Lewis to be president of the Independence Hall Association.[82]

Judge Lewis clearly enjoyed his role as president of the association. In a 1970 interview he recalled with loving detail the time he invited President Truman to Philadelphia. The story suggests how he attended to every detail to make prominent guests feel welcome and receptive to the association's goals:

> I got Mr. Truman up here and gave him a luncheon in the Philosophical Hall. I'll never forget, it was a beautiful luncheon. It was all white and pink and at every place I had a big ripe persimmon, all peeled, and I ripened them all myself by the radiator. I bought 90 or 100 of them, and you have to ripen them, you know, by a radiator, and every persimmon was just juicy. And looking around the room and the white tablecloths and that lovely pink persimmon there — I was quite proud of it.

In Lewis' recollection the careful planning for Truman's visit paid off. "I became quite friendly with him and his wife," he asserted, "and we never had . . . a vote against any bill in Congress or legislature."[83]

During the first years of the Independence Hall Association Lewis lavished attention on Congress. "We went to Washington. We used to give dinners at the Congressional Hotel for the Congressmen," he recalled. First fifty showed and by increments it grew to as many as 125 for lunch. And then Lewis organized official visits of Congressmen to Philadelphia, where he always planned a special dinner in their honor. Somehow he also managed to arrange for a generous benefactor to pick up the tab.[84]

When Judge Lewis was asked to be president of the group that became the Independence Hall Association, he accepted "with the determination that the plan should be put through." He remained determined to see the project to its end. At the same time he understood it would be a huge effort that would take some twenty years to accomplish, especially because "Philadelphia was notorious for not working together. There was no cohesion, you know, among the leading men in Philadelphia."[85]

In his interviews Judge Lewis gave credit to several of the association members for the success of the national park and state mall. He remembered ten or more dedicated volunteers who would go anywhere and do anything for the cause. Foremost among them was the librarian of the American Philosophical Society, Dr. William E. Lingelbach. "Dr. Lingelbach and I were the driving men," he told an interviewer in 1970. Other key people included Boyd, Larson, national park architect Grant Simon, and Charles Jenkins, president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Not immodest, however, Lewis remembered that "I was the man that pushed all these little pegs."[86]

It is interesting to see how Judge Lewis perceived the association's situation and the individuals who worked with him. Despite such single-minded and egocentric perceptions — suggested also by Roy Larson's impression that Lewis had "not been a very generous person" in crediting the many people involved with the park projects – the judge did provide the leadership needed to unite the many advocates for improving Independence Hall's setting and to steer the movement through to ultimate achievement.[87]

Virtually everyone interviewed about the development of Independence National Historical Park and Independence Mall State Park agreed that Judge Lewis played an essential part and deserved much of the credit for both projects. Lysbeth Borie, Boyd's daughter, who worked with Lewis in the Independence Hall Association for over twenty years, said the accolades should fall

> without a doubt completely and directly on Judge Lewis, because he gave up 25 years of his life . . . never discourage, (sic) and with great force: he's an eloquent speaker and he also has a delightful humor, very persuasive. He went again and again to Harrisburg and to the federal government. Often he took a committee with him. But on his shoulders alone, for the performance, I would give full credit. He never was discouraged. Whenever there was a change of governor or Congressman, Senator, he was right there to relate all over again the importance and to persuade them into our camp.[88]

State Congressman Isidor Ostroff, who pushed for a national park in the area before the Independence Hall Association was organized, grew to love Lewis as a second father.

> I had to admire the way he played off Republicans against Democrats and Democrats against Republicans, making the other fellow feel that he'd better do something about it before the other party got credit for doing the thing, and he did it skillfully. He handled the political situation in this entire project like a master of a great orchestra.[89]

Edmund Bacon, Philadelphia's leading city planner in Lewis' day, responded when asked in 1970 if the presence of such a strong figure as the judge was a hindrance to the successful development of the Independence Hall area,

> No! How ridiculous. It's obviously an enormous help. It wouldn't have been anything, the whole thing, without him. It wouldn't have been a darned thing. He's one of the relatively few examples of a real honest to God giant. And quite a selfless man really. It wouldn't have been there at all. I think that his contribution is just unbelievably good. I think that he was very strong minded and stubborn on things that he felt were essential, and I think he was quite pliant and reasonable and really flexible on many of the things that he was going to — was willing to accept that weren't automatically in accord with his value system.[90]

The Independence Hall Association Campaign

When the Independence Hall Association formed in the spring and summer 1942, the United States government and the nation were deep in war. The patriotic urge to protect Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell as symbols of American freedom helped to unify the effort to create a safe and dignified setting for the shrine. With volunteers from 52 civic and professional organizations, the association set up committees and subcommittees to research and plan the park effort. A bill in Congress, H.R. 6425, had been on the docket since January, introduced by representative Leon Sacks, at fifth ward committeeman Isidor Ostroff's initiative. This bill proposed a commission to study a national park for the area east of Independence Hall. The association soon drafted and had ready a new bill with wording to include the three-block north mall.[91] Ostroff's purpose for advocating the park was "the improvement in housing."

In just over three years after the IHA formation in the summer of 1942, Philadelphia would see the creation of Independence Mall State Park and, in three years, Independence National Historical Park. The energy and force created by the united effort under Judge Lewis produced what was necessary to make the improvements to Independence Hall's setting, but not before World War II came to a close, releasing the necessary financial support.

Within its first six months the Independence Hall Association had completed studies and selected the general outline of the park boundaries they wanted. This progress was founded on hard work from the research and planning committee, chaired by Roy Larson. The committee first met less than a week

after the creation of the parent body. Larson's committee was weighted with prominent professional men – architect Sydney Martin, landscape architect Markley Stevenson, and historians Edward C. Gardiner from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, S.K. Stevens, the state historian, G. Edwin Brumbaugh, and Joseph Jackson.

Larson showed the committee a set of plans that laid out several options for a northern mall, ranging from a half block north of Chestnut Street to the full three blocks that he had considered in 1937. The group discussed parking options, including a lot in the middle of the first block for visitors; and that trolley tracks, wires, and poles that cluttered Chestnut Street had to be removed quickly. Boyd referred to earlier plans and models for the hall's setting. The idea to put replicas of historic buildings on the block to the north of Independence Square raised considerable differences of opinion that were resolved with a consensus that such additions would confuse the public. Larson emphasized that surveys, property appraisals, assessments, and statistics all needed to be gathered. The nine committee members reached no conclusions, but Larson emphasized that the decision should be made soon.[92]

The very next week, on August 11, 1942, the executive committee met again and selected "Independence Hall Association" as the group's official name. The following day Larson and Stevens took the train to Washington to meet with National Park Service Director Drury and Acting Chief Historian Kahler who advised them on national historic site status for Independence Hall. The Park Service had attempted to arrange a cooperative agreement in 1941 with the city to pass this legislation, but the city was not yet receptive. Late that month Judge Lewis contacted the mayor to begin the negotiations over again. Within four months news had arrived of President Roosevelt's special wartime exemption to allow national historic site designation for Independence Hall, and soon after the city passed an ordinance authorizing it. According to the 1933 Historic Sites Act, Independence Hall thus became eligible for federal funds for its preservation and beautification.[93]

On October 16, 1942, the research and planning committee reconvened with the chairs from the finance and public relations committees. They set up subcommittees for historical research and exhibits, planning, and facts and figures. The latter was chaired by George Nitzche, who had presented a plan for a mall in 1935 and who had remained active in the movement. Nitzche was assigned the task of collecting the critical statistics needed to ground any major proposals to change the blocks surrounding Independence Square.

1942 — Roy F. Larson. At this meeting Roy Larson began to promote his preferred mall plan. He laid out the four plans previously shown and recommended that the committee choose the plan that included a three-block mall to the north and a lesser mall to the east of Independence Hall. Evidently some members had expressed much grander schemes, for Larson observed that while Old City could be considered Vine to South, River to Ninth streets, he thought the committee should limit themselves to his plan, that offered "an imposing approach to the Nation's Shrine from the Delaware Bridge head."

The three-block plan essentially replicated Larson's plan of 1937, differing only in the slightly revised forms of the open areas at Chestnut and at Race streets (see figure 20 — the 1937 plan; the 1942 plan cannot be reproduced or photographed.) Philadelphia's Art Museum Director Fiske Kimball praised Larson's plans and supported his recommendation for the most comprehensive scheme. He also cautioned that no funds would be forthcoming from the federal government for any improvements until the city agreed to the national historic site status. He reminded them that at war's end, with millions of men out of work, the government would be spending large sums if the right plans and drawings were at hand ready to be put into action.

All voted in favor of Larson's preferred plan and agreed to "make no small plans," to quote Daniel Burnham, the great Chicago planner associated with the City Beautiful Movement.[94] Larson also recommended that the association join forces with the new city planning commission once it received funding. This came to be an important connection, for Larson soon would be working for and with the commission a decade later as the principal architect of Independence Mall State Park.

Less than two weeks later the *Evening Bulletin* ran a feature story on the several proposals for improving the setting of Independence Hall, but only illustrated the three-block mall. The image continued to be the one circulated in the press and promoted in talks by association members for the next three years until the park concept finally won approval.[95]

On December 10, 1942, an impressive array of federal, state, city, and private representatives met in Philadelphia to discuss the national historic site status and the agreement needed between the city and federal government to achieve it. More than twenty men attended. Judge Lewis, Nitzche, Stockwell, Wetherill and Martin were there from the Independence Hall Association, and patriotic societies and educational institutions also attended to show support. The city council's committee on city property had to weigh the proposal. This was a critical moment for the movement and a successful one. On the 21st, the city council passed an ordinance authorizing the agreement and the mayor signed it the same day.[96]

The facts and figures subcommittee of the IHA's research and planning committee met for the first time on December 16th and went straight to work to "consolidate all information and thrash out problems." They identified one likely problem, which was that some insurance companies and large corporations might perceive the association's plans as too visionary. They planned to correct this by producing a pamphlet to explain the rationale. Dr. Lingelbach reminded the committee of the examples in St. Louis and in New York under the Moses Plan, and the members "agreed that if one area of the City were converted into a garden spot, other areas would soon follow suit." As Hosmer points out, Robert Moses, park commissioner in New York City, was no avid preservationist.[97]

The executive committee meeting on December 28, 1942, completed the association's effort to select a plan and refine their mission. Judge Lewis presided and gave the good news about the agreement making it possible to designate Independence Hall as a national historic site. Larson once again presented his four plans, each with an extension to the east and with varying degrees of expansion to the north. A general discussion of the plans focused on the east mall, for which members considered the possibility of bringing in threatened historic structures from other parts of the city in order to create a colonial village such as Williamsburg.

Larson also presented an aerial view of the north mall from Arch Street looking south to Independence Hall. It included parking spaces concealed by trees. He recommended that "as little large scale architecture or sculpture be included as possible." Instead, he wanted to see that the "emphasis be laid chiefly on significant trees and planting."

Judge Lewis observed that Larson's plan would be "most helpful in enlisting the approval and cooperation of the city," especially on account of its parking provisions. In what became one of his most repeated themes, the judge noted that he felt Congress would as readily approve the full project as any smaller concept.

Treasurer Joseph F. Stockwell was even more expansive. He envisioned that Larson's larger plan would "rehabilitate the entire old section of the city through encouraging private enterprise" and would undoubtedly "take up the slack in providing much post-war employment." With that said, the committee resolved to adopt "as the official plan of the Association . . . the more extensive development", which to the east included Carpenters Hall, the Old Customs House (the Second Bank of the United States), and the Girard Bank (the First Bank of the United States.)

Charles Abell Murphy then displayed two aerial photos taken from the top of the Penn Mutual building — one showing the area north of Independence Hall as it was and another with the mall leading to the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg superimposed on the three blocks. It was a pleasing demonstration, and one that showed "clearly the possible beauty of an opening-up development of that sort in the area to the North of Independence Hall." The executive committee also approved the proposal to work closely with the new city planning commission, and Lewis offered to make a personal call on the mayor to smooth the way.

Nitzche attended the meeting to report on the facts and figures subcommittee findings. He pointed out that in eight years the assessed value of the buildings in the three blocks north of Independence Hall had decreased 28%, which meant a loss to the city of $55,0000 in taxes.

The meeting closed with Boyd informing the committee that a letter had been sent to the association proposing that it lead the movement to establish a war memorial in the proposed park, and Lewis came out in support of the idea.[98]

One last important ingredient went into the association's effort in 1942 — its decision to incorporate. Robert McCracken, the group's attorney, made the arrangement for a master's meeting for December 29th. Lewis, Stockwell, Larson, Lloyd, Ridgway and Biddle all testified. The testimony ran many pages to confirm that the association had no purpose other than to improve the Independence Hall neighborhood. Stockwell pointed out that the association also hoped to restore some residential uses to the area, because the Delaware River bridge had moved the main traffic artery from New Jersey away from the old ferry stop at Market Street, which drastically reduced the economic life of the neighborhood as well as the tax revenues to the city.[99]

On January 1, 1943 the association distributed a fund-raiser position statement, "The Reawakening of the Spirit of American Liberty in Philadelphia," in which it proudly took credit for being instrumental in bringing about the passage of a city council ordinance that authorized the cooperative agreement with the federal government for the national historic site designation. The association announced its imminent incorporation as a nonprofit organization, making contributions tax deductible. The association, the notice continued, was considering urging the timely demolition of the buildings "for some distance North and East of Independence Hall," and in their place substituting "parks and open spaces . . . to remove the present fire hazard of adjoining buildings and emphasize the dignity of Independence Hall as the Nation's outstanding Shrine of Liberty."

In this statement the association explained that it had been seeking a broad base of support from "patriots, historic and civic organizations, and with building owners, companies, and individuals concerned with the Colonial Philadelphia neighborhood" in the hope of reestablishing "the entire area as an attractive part of our City with enhanced spirit, valuation, and credit to both City and Nation." To achieve this goal the association needed to raise funds, as it was "clear that no Federal or City funds will likely be available . . . until after the termination of the War."[100]

During the first months of 1943 the Independence Hall Association continued to gather information on the physical setting of the three blocks north of Independence Hall. In January Nitzche, as chair of the facts and figures subcommittee, estimated the federal government would need to appropriate five million dollars for a suitable approach to Independence Hall. At David Boyd's request, he went back and examined the three city blocks again in March, and "found conditions there even more deplorable than before." He went on to explain,

> The section is getting to be more and more of an eyesore, and is a disgrace to the city. Many of the buildings have been removed, and there are now quite a number of vacant lots. Several of the buildings are in the process of being torn down. A great majority of the buildings in question are either for sale or for rent, many are entirely vacant, and most of those occupied on the first floor have the upper floors for rent.
>
> After going over the ground again, I think I am justified in saying that more than 50% of the properties are now either vacant lots and properties for sale or for rent. I think it is also fair to state that at least 80% of the properties are in very bad repair or beyond repair.

In Nitzche's estimation more than 65% of the buildings in the three blocks were owned or controlled by banks, trust companies, estates, trustees, and a few building and loan associations. "Most of these institutions would probably consider themselves fortunate to be able to unload at any price, since most of the properties undoubtedly have been white elephants for many years."

Concluding his report, he warned that it was "essential to guard against (in the near future) unscrupulous real estate operators" such as the ones who charged "outrageous prices . . . for worthless and run down properties" purchased for the Delaware River bridge construction over a decade earlier.[101]

After months of planning, the Independence Hall Association opened an exhibit on April 24, 1943, in Congress Hall on Independence Square. The opening was coordinated with the annual meeting of the American Philosophical Society, which drew people to Philadelphia from many parts of the country. M. Joseph McCosker, director of the Atwater Kent Museum, chaired the public relations and exhibitions committee, which put together the exhibit with the help of a subcommittee on exhibitions. The committee selected drawings, plans, elevations, sections, and surveys of the Independence Hall group and other historic buildings in the neighborhood from the many already prepared by the Philadelphia chapter of the AIA over several decades.

The exhibits explored the history of Independence Hall and the movement to enhance its setting, including the association's proposals as developed by Larson in 1942. The association aimed to publicize its plan to put Independence Hall "into a proper setting, by removing unsightly buildings that were long outmoded and have ceased to be useful."[102] Cook pointed out that the committee considered the benefits of the 37-block demolition in St. Louis's older riverfront section for the creation of the Jefferson Memorial when it planned this exhibit. Judge Lewis had visited and reported on the St. Louis project as early as October 1942.

During the exhibit's planning, staging and four-month run, some important developments were underway. On February 8th the association received its charter of incorporation and on April 3rd Judge Lewis as president of the Pennsylvania Society, Sons of the Revolution, invited National Park Service Director Drury and Chief Historian Herb Kahler to the society's annual dinner and meeting to revitalize the interest in Independence Hall as a national historic site. Negotiations between the city and federal government had bogged down over the city's objections to federal terms, and Judge Lewis wanted to

see the issue resolved. In just over a month the problems had been sorted out and the official designation was announced on May 14, 1943.[103]

During the winter two of the association's members, George S. Patterson and Joseph P. Stockwell, had died, and David K. Boyd had been forced to work out of his home with the aid of his daughter, Mrs. Henry Peter Borie, due to a "slight physical handicap." Many of the leaders of the association were elderly. Boyd was the next casualty, dead at 72 early the next year.[104]

The meeting of the association on June 1, 1943, was long and important in framing the future method of operations. Judge Lewis took more of a leading role in this meeting than previously, pointing out that the association's bylaws had been passed and that he had the power to appoint the officers as well as five directors. He then announced his choices, which largely were a continuation of the original members in office. Far more expansive was his list for the associate board of directors, which drew on the expertise of the principal leaders of the University of Pennsylvania, its museum, and most of the large cultural institutions in the city.[105]

The critical part of the meeting centered on the debate and resolution concerning the future goals of the association. Nearly a year of gathering information and focusing on publicity for the association's interests finally prepared them for this basic policy decision; as Judge Lewis phrased it, "whether we should concentrate our activities on securing National cooperation or whether should we localize our efforts." The debate started off with Dr. Lingelbach, who stressed the importance of securing more intensive help from the women's clubs locally and from all civic and patriotic groups. State Historian Stevens agreed and added historical societies, the American Legion, and others. He recognized the need to enlist national organizations to put pressure on government officials. Atwater Kent, Jr., wanted pressure placed in Washington and on national groups. Miss Wister of the landmarks society conceded that she had no objection to soliciting on a city or state level, but she did "not approve of obtaining large sums from the National Government as it might ultimately involve Government control of Independence Hall."

This resistance to national control over Philadelphia's most historic structure probably caused much of the delay in achieving national historic site status and in clarifying the goals of the association in the first year of its organization. Roy Larson, having witnessed the meeting's drift toward developing support from patriotic societies and women's national organizations, "strongly recommended methods of National approach commensurate with a project which is really of more than National importance, as it is in part International in its significance and appeal." Larson anticipated Independence Hall's World Heritage status by more than thirty-five years.

Henry W. Wills said, "we do not seem to know at present just where we are going." The meeting was put back on track by identifying the association's need to dissipate the public fears expressed in local newspapers that the "Shrine had been taken over by the Government." A trip to Washington would provide an opportunity to learn what designs the federal government had "with respect to our buildings" and would allow the association to clear the air. The group conceded that more and frequent activity and publicity was needed to emphasize the truth about governmental cooperation.

Charles Haydock encouraged all local activities but stressed that with peace many groups would be appealing for federal dollars and that the association "would be wise to get ahead of this rush" before the end of the war. He emphasized the need for responsible plans and funding proposals, and the appropriate literature needed to achieve this goal.

By the end of the meeting, the members reached a consensus that the association would continue local activities but also expand the scope and influence to a state and national level to help the organization with it contacts in Washington. Judge Lewis clearly was pleased with the meeting and thanked all present for their contributions to the dialogue and for "clarifying the situation with respect to our present and future activities."[106]

This June 1, 1943, meeting thus served as a turning point. It unified and focused the group just as it was riding a wave of success with its exhibit, which won both city and federal praise, and it minimized internal differences of opinion concerning the group's scope of mission. The meeting also identified public fear about the federal government's plans in Philadelphia as a potential hurdle and rallied to fight rumors that the government planned to take over. From this juncture Judge Lewis was in step with the association as he exerted pressure for federal legislation to improve the setting of Independence Hall.

Throughout the rest of 1943 the judge kept up pressure to pass the bill in Congress to create a commission to study the national park idea. The judge found many obstacles. President Roosevelt had placed a hold on spending for national parks for the duration of the war, and the Bureau of Budget was against hearings for the bill. Even with the assistance of his best contact in the administration, fellow Philadelphian Francis Biddle, attorney general of the United States, Lewis saw no progress from Congress. To try to expedite the bill without using federal funds, the judge at the close of the year arranged for the association to underwrite all expenses of the proposed investigating commission.[107]

The judge may have taken the advice given by George Nitzche in the February 1943 facts and figures subcommittee meeting, when he recalled counsel received many years earlier in Washington (perhaps when promoting his 1935 proposal) that the federal government would probably support the national park bill "if the City of Philadelphia, the State, or some of our philanthropic citizens would stand part of the burden" of expense.[108]

Judge Lewis seemed to apply this principle when promoting a middle-income housing project for the Independence Hall neighborhood in which he became interested. Instead of waiting for federal dollars, he encouraged large insurance companies to invest in the neighborhood. First he looked into Penn Mutual and other state-based companies, but finding the way blocked by legal technicalities, Lewis took an Independence Hall Association delegation to New York City in July to visit two large insurance firms. Thomas I. Parkinson, a friend of Judge Lewis', was president of one of the companies, Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States. Shortly after, Equitable officers came to Philadelphia as the association's guests and were given a tour of the Independence Hall neighborhood. As a result Equitable pledged its intention to construct a housing project just east of Independence Hall.[109]

The judge had evidently done research on the subject and probably had received advice from association member Isidor Ostroff, who in 1938 had tried to interest real estate developer Albert Greenfield in housing projects for his Pennsylvania legislative district. Lewis had on file material on New York's successful housing renewal efforts under its city planner Robert Moses and also a copy of the June 1943 federal legislation S 1163 "To encourage the development of good neighborhood conditions in towns and cities by private enterprise." Such background preparation must have contributed to the association's progress with Equitable late in 1943.[110]

By the close of 1943, Lewis had also laid the groundwork to get financial support from the city of Philadelphia for the national park plan. In a letter of January 10, 1944, Lewis sent Mayor Samuel a

draft of a request to city council to make a $25,000 appropriation to be placed in the mayor's hands "for the furtherance of the plans of the Independence Hall Association to bring about the creation of Independence National Park in Philadelphia." Although the council turned down the proposal, the mayor supported the idea.[111]

Only days before, Lewis had been keynote speaker at an event that appears to have been a critical juncture in the park movement. The Independence Hall Association enlisted the influential Fairmount Park Art Association (FPAA) in support of the cause of redevelopment of the historic area. Independence Hall Association member Sydney Martin, as president of the Fairmount Park Art Association, invited both Lewis and Roy F. Larson to speak at the FPAA 72nd annual meeting on January 5, 1944, to update them on the association's progress. In his speech, which he titled, "The Spoliation of American Cities," Lewis appealed to the audience's patriotic and civic pride and invited them to join the effort to "bring about proper recognition of the importance of this ancient area and . . . arrest the further decline of these blighted sections" by setting apart the "area north of Independence Hall, running to the bridge (as) Independence National Park".[112]

Coming shortly after his success with arranging Equitable's commitment to building a housing project, it is not surprising to find much of Judge Lewis' speech focused on the need for improving Independence Hall's neighborhood. "Our city is becoming a slum," he warned, "made so by abandoned real estate. . . . The environment of Independence Hall is a disgrace to Philadelphia. It is a reflection upon our intelligence and our patriotic spirit . . ." The judge pointed out that all American cities were suffering the same problem because of the widespread flight to the suburbs. "We should not devote our time to the fringe of the garment and neglect the body of it."[113]

Interestingly, the judge blamed federal government policies in large part for the city's ruin. As Lewis saw it, they put the federal government in business while driving Philadelphians out of business, which left buildings vacant and exposed to deterioration. Federal housing projects cost taxpayer money and took properties off the city's tax rolls, and federal taxation without limit had almost bankrupted the cities.[114]

Lewis already had some deep reservations about the effectiveness of federal dollars and was pursuing other avenues, including the idea of bringing New York's Robert Moses to Philadelphia as part of his larger scheme to improve the Independence Hall setting.

Roy Larson followed Judge Lewis' FPAA speech with his slide presentation that showed the blighted neighborhood and the studies he had made for the proposed mall north of Independence Hall. Later Larson recognized the significance of the moment: "I really feel that (meeting) really ignited the spark. That set the thing going. It was presented to a fairly large audience of rather responsible people in the city, and I think the real movement . . . got going after that meeting."[115]

The Fairmount Park Art Association subsequently published the judge's speech in its annual report, but this audience, while influential, was not large. Positive feedback and requests for the speech led Lewis to publish it as an Independence Hall Association pamphlet. He mailed the pamphlet out to friends and associates across the country and filed a variety of responses, all of which suggest that Larson had sensed the reaction correctly. Arthur Adams from Trinity College in Hartford, for instance, wrote Lewis:

> I enjoyed the jokes, of course, for they are good ones. However, they did not blind me to the serious and important themes you discussed. I am heart and soul with the aims of the Independence Hall Association. What it seeks to accomplish seems so important that there can be no question of its being carried out. So I am in entire sympathy with that part of your address.[116]

The force of Judge Lewis' speech, the timing of its publication, and its effective distribution helped to revitalize the movement at a time when morale had suffered from the repeated postponements of the bill in Congress and when one of its key patrons, D. Knickerbacker Boyd, passed from the scene. Boyd died on February 21, 1944, within hours of collapsing at his desk while working on IHA business.[117]

Roy Larson's presentation at the FPAA meeting also stirred up public interest. Writing to the judge in June 1944, Larson enclosed a copy of an article he had been asked to write on the Independence Hall improvements for the city planning edition of *Realtors Magazine*. Larson also sent copies of *The American City* and *The Engineering News*, which were running articles on the same subject. Larson noted he had by request given his illustrated talk to about ten organizations and societies since January, and "in almost all instances there was enthusiasm for the work of the association."[118]

With the mounting interest in the project, the Independence Hall Association and Fairmount Park Art Association decided to collaborate on a brochure about the proposed redevelopment of the historic area. The editorial committee of Roy Larson, Henri Marceau and Joseph P. Sims, Chair, gathered material and wrote the formal report, which defined the context and specific goals of the movement. In the foreword, FPAA president Sydney Martin mentioned the commonwealth's plans to spend millions of highway dollars to improve the approach to the Delaware River bridge, which, he felt, emphasized "most dramatically the possibilities for a great Mall" to connect the bridge with "America's most historic building."[119]

By this time, both associations were thinking on a grand scale. In the pamphlet were photographs and descriptions of three sites that the backers of the project considered important precedents for their proposal. The Palace Green in Williamsburg was noted for being approximately the same length as proposed Independence Mall. Aloe Plaza, in St. Louis, showed a major improvement in the heart of a big city. The Mall in Indianapolis was simply noted for its size. The pamphlet reported that

> millions have been spent to re-create by restoration and reconstruction the Colonial Capital of (Virginia). 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. [120]

The report effectively used photographs to show the "impossibility of an adequate view of these buildings (on Independence Square) from the north." The report explained that the IHA's recommendations considered all former plans and incorporated some aspects of them and proposed a "united effort to put these ideas into concrete form and to bring about their realization," even by expanding to national participation. It alluded to three important steps already achieved: the establishment of Independence Hall as a national historic site in May 1943, the introduction of a bill in Congress (H.R. 2550) to investigate the establishment of a national park in the old part of the city, and the preparation of studies for the redevelopment of the historic area.[121]

1944 — Roy F. Larson. The plan itself was described in a section called, "Development of the Historic Area." While no author was given, there is little doubt that Roy F. Larson, the principal architect for the design and member of the editorial board, wrote it. Despite personal reservations about

extending the mall to three blocks, he further developed and revised his 1937 and 1942 plans for the mall in order to publish an updated version in the pamphlet (figures 21 and 22).

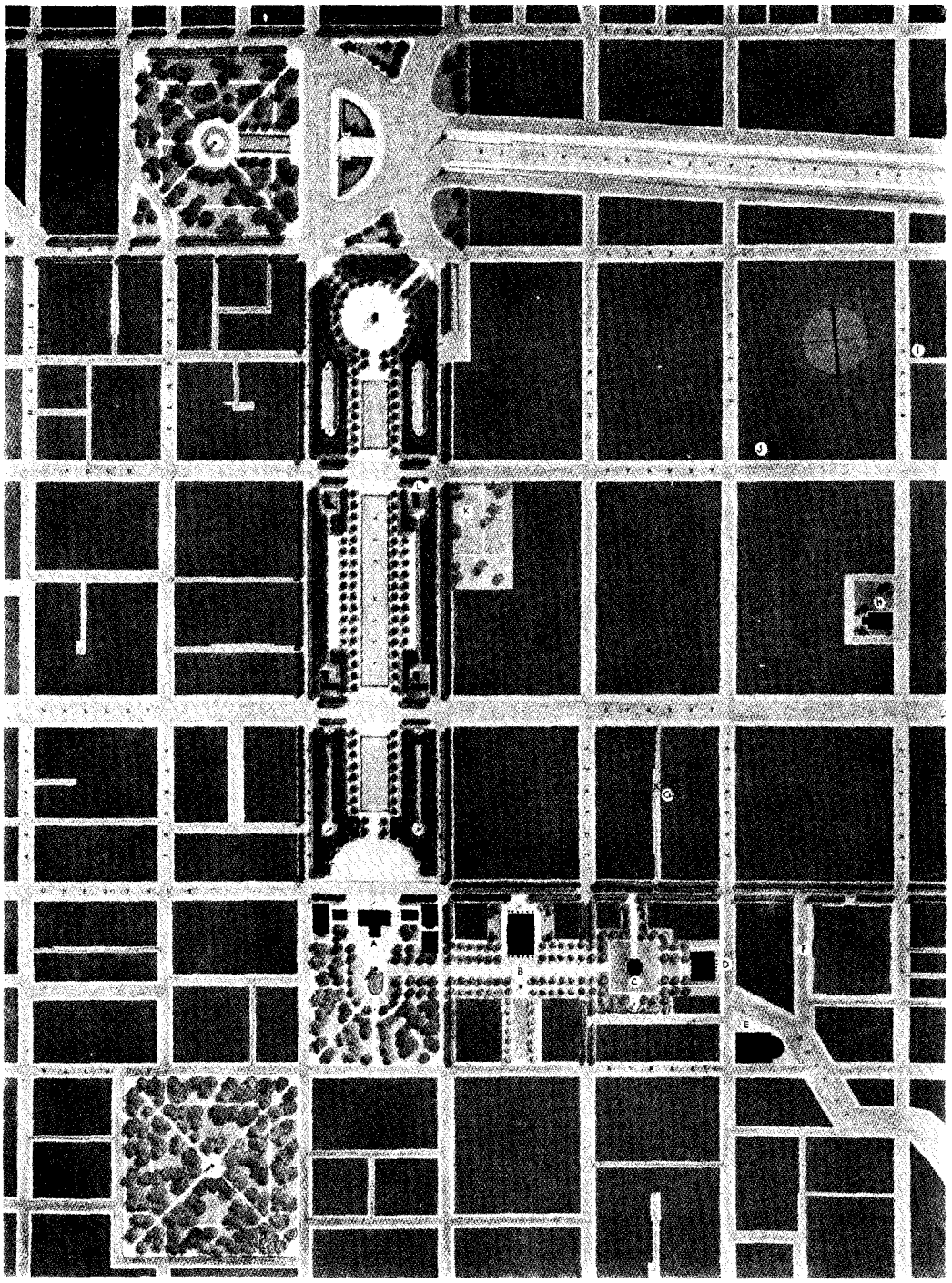
Larson narrowed the central lawn and widened the flanking bosques of trees. A semicircular plaza reminiscent in size and form of Cret's 1928 proposal was to be located across Chestnut Street from Independence Hall, lined with a bosque and architectural motifs, and include monuments to colonial and early republic heroes. Larson wrote that, "this plaza will give a setting for the hall and serve as a background for memorials to some of the more important of the revolutionary figures. The entire development (of three blocks) will in fact provide many sites for monuments to colonial and early republic heroes. On either side of the greensward under the parallel rows of trees will be sitting spaces for adults and small recreational areas for children."[122]

A gap in the semicircular bosque allowed a view to and from the second block. This block was to be useful as well as beautiful, in that many service functions would be located here, not the least of which was a rare (for that time) underground parking garage. At the corners of Fifth and Market and Sixth and Market, "in order not to disrupt entirely the commercial continuity of Market Street," he added two buildings: one to be used as a visitor reception center and one as a restaurant. He proposed that outdoor eating and refreshment terraces under the bosques would be operated in connection with these buildings. At the southeast corner of Sixth and Arch, he proposed that a museum or relocated historic building be added to balance the Free Quaker Meeting House, which would remain on the mall at the corner of Fifth and Arch. In order to "bring life into this part of the city and (make) this a Square of real use to the citizens and visitors," he proposed outdoor flower and vegetable markets on the terraces near the Arch Street end of the block.[123]

The third block would be similar to the others, ending in a circular plaza that provided "an excellent location for a terminal motif which might take the form of a great national monument to the Declaration of Independence." The memorial was intended to "close the long axis between it and Independence Hall."[124]

The plan, incorporating many elements from the plans of the previous forty years, strongly reflected the City Beautiful and Beaux-Arts precepts that the backers believed were appropriate to the project. Clearance of three city blocks was a big, bold gesture, and the serene lines of the plan were clearly meant to contrast to the "ugliness and evil" of the existing neighborhood. The axial symmetry, grand forms, extensive vista, and classical ornamentation were typically Beaux-Arts in style.

As the pamphlet noted, this was the culmination of a "quarter-century (of) growing concern for the safety of the historic buildings and an increasing desire to improve their setting. Philadelphians have watched the decline of old Philadelphia and have come to realize that improvements of major proportions must be undertaken to rehabilitate and preserve this fascinating area."[125]



Plan for the Redevelopment of the Historic Area

A—Independence Hall Group and American Philosophical Society.
B—Second Bank of the United States (Old Custom House).
C—Carpenters' Hall.
D—First Bank of the United States (Girard National Bank).
E—Old Merchant's Exchange.
F—New Custom House.
G—Franklin Court.
H—Christ Church
I—Elfreth's Alley.
J—Betsy Ross House.
K—Christ Church Grave Yard
L—Free Quaker Meeting House.

FIGURE 21. "PLAN FOR REDEVELOPMENT OF THE HISTORIC AREA," ROY F. LARSON FOR THE INDEPENDENCE HALL ASSOCIATION AND THE FAIRMOUNT PARK ASSOCIATION, 1944. Larson's 1944 plan for the Independence Hall Association and the Fairmount Park Association was the basis for the designation of Independence Mall State Park. *(Independence National Historical Park archives photo.)*

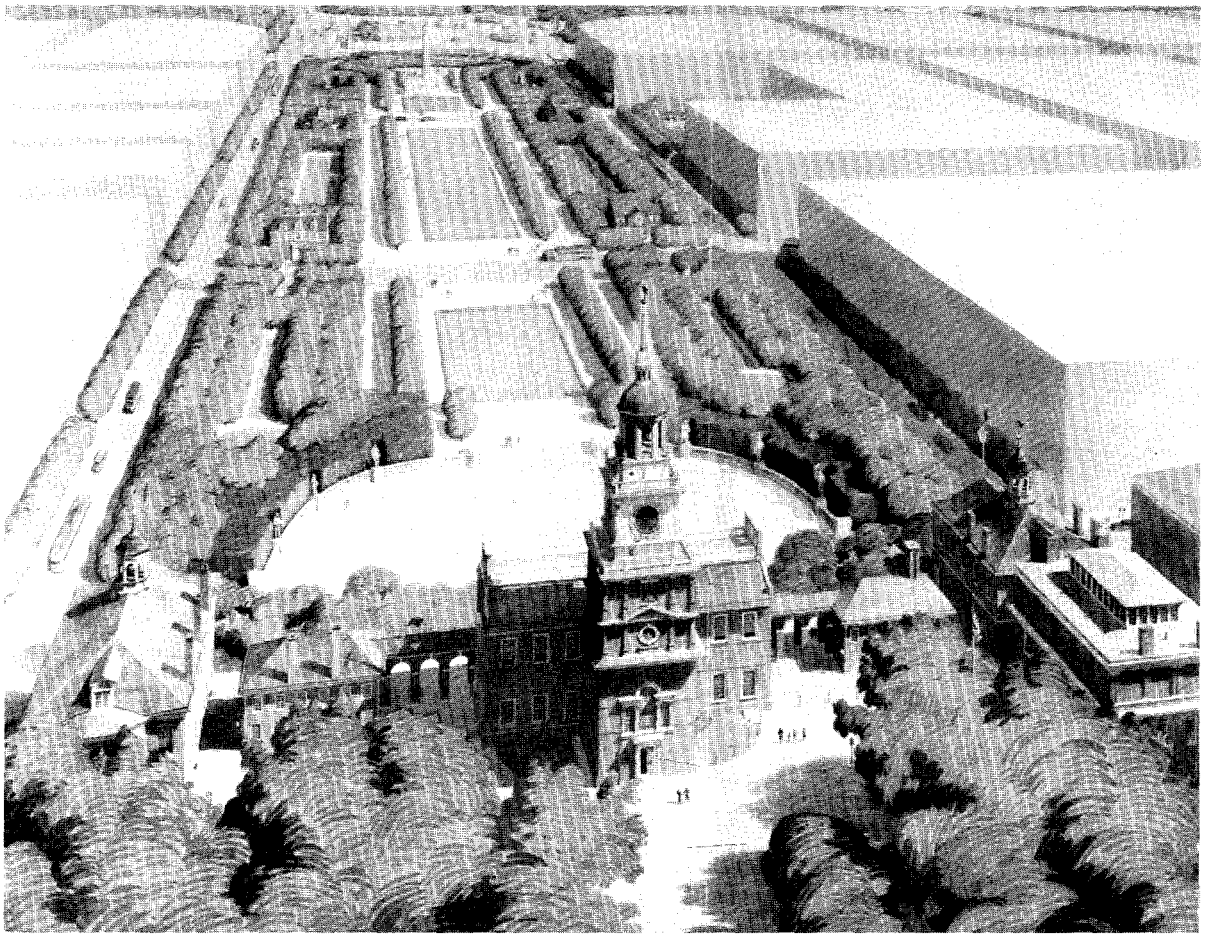


FIGURE 22. "PROPOSED IMPROVEMENT TO THE NORTH OF THE INDEPENDENCE HALL GROUP," RENDERING OF THE 1944 PLAN. Although this rendering of Larson's plan is noncommittal on the blocks surrounding the mall, they were clearly slated for demolition and rebuilding. *(Independence National Historical Park archives photo.)*

The beautifully published and illustrated pamphlet became an important tool for the Independence Hall Association in promoting its proposals to other organizations, the public, and government agencies.[126] Larson's plan thus became so widely known that, at least conceptually, it would become the *de facto* plan for the mall.

Nowhere in Larson's text, or in the report, is there mention of a national park. Lewis' speech (published separately) had such a reference but only earmarked the three-block mall north of Independence Hall as the national park and made no mention of the plan's eastern section discussed in Larson's text. The two presentations reflect the different mind-sets of the two men – one bent on wooing support for a national park for the Independence Hall area, the other focused more on the design elements.

Shortly after his January 5, 1944, speech Lewis learned of a setback in the plan to have Equitable build a housing project in the Independence neighborhood, which forced him to redouble his efforts in Harrisburg. Early in February the judge got word that a technicality in the state's constitution blocked the use of out-of-state insurance companies to invest in Philadelphia redevelopment. For the rest of 1944 Lewis lobbied hard with the governor and Pennsylvania legislature to pass the necessary amendment to the constitution.[127]

While Lewis continued to work with the state and the city, he kept a close eye on the national park legislation awaiting hearing in Congress, which was delayed repeatedly. In January 1944 he wrote in a brief note to Attorney General Francis Biddle, "Can you find time to prod a little the chairman of the House Committee on Public Lands to have him fix a hearing for H.R. 2550?" He told Biddle about the association's pledge to pay for the commission's work and passed on the same information in letters to others. He took several trips to Washington and met with Chairman Peterson of the House Committee on Public Lands, who felt the Bureau of Budget should be asked to withdraw its rather negative report on the bill. In May Lewis wrote Congressman James Gallagher, who had introduced H.R. 2550, repeating his hope that Chairman Peterson would approve the bill and come with his committee to Philadelphia as promised.

The association's legislative head, Isidor Ostroff, also lobbied with letters and visits for the park bill during the year. News came in August that Interior Secretary Ickes supported the national park proposal, but the year passed with no change in the bill's status.[128]

INDEPENDENCE MALL STATE PARK IS CREATED

Two and a half years had passed without tangible results in federal legislation. The judge was frustrated. In a 1969 interview Lewis recalled that his friend, Pennsylvania legislator Lambert Cadwalader, having heard his complaints over the delays, responded, "Why . . . go to the federal government? Everybody's always running to Washington to get anything. Why don't you come to the legislature in Harrisburg?"[129]

Cadwalader voiced an opinion that must have resonated in the judge's mind. He was familiar with the officials in Harrisburg from his frequent lobbying efforts, not only for the housing project but as board member for a local art school, which needed state appropriations to operate. While the records do not specifically support Lewis' recollection, they do show a surprisingly abrupt change in his correspondence. On January 5, 1945, Lewis reported hope of progress for the national park bill. "I have definite assurance from our Pennsylvania Democratic leaders in Washington that the bill to set up the commission to investigate and lay out the proposed Independence Hall National Park will be passed early in this new congress." Five days later, on January 10, 1945, he wrote to Governor Martin, asking for

> about 15 to 30 minutes of your time on a matter which I think will strongly appeal to you. You have already made a wonderful record as a Governor of vision, praised even by the Democrats with whom I have talked and I am sure what we have to say to you will open another avenue for far-sighted action in line with your message to the Legislature.[130]

Lewis thus set the stage for one of his most dramatic performances. The governor promptly agreed to the meeting and Lewis invited a long list of prominent association members and friends, including Roy Larson, Atwater Kent, Jr., John Story Jenks, and Sydney Martin, to join him. On January 19th they boarded the train for Harrisburg armed with brochures and statistics. At their return, a deal had been made, at least verbally. In a 1970 interview Judge Lewis recalled that the governor had taken him aside after the meeting and assured him of his backing for the project.[131]

Probably at Governor Martin's request, on January 23 Lewis drafted a long, descriptive proposal for the creation of "a State Park immediately north of Independence Hall and running to the Delaware River bridge." He told the governor that if adopted "under your leadership, (the project) would send

an inspiring thrill throughout Pennsylvania and would lead all of our people in Philadelphia to unite for civic improvement."[132]

Within weeks association member and attorney Robert McCracken sat down to write Governor Martin in support of the scheme. He had learned from Judge Lewis of the governor's interest in the association's proposal and wished to assure him that the project "would not be dispossessing people of their residences," as the entire three blocks had only nine dwellings, only three of which were occupied. After an eloquent summary of the benefits from the proposed park, McCracken explained,

> This is not written in any sense as a request for anything. It represents only an outburst of enthusiasm which I have the temerity to pass on to you. Some times, when wandering around the beautiful cities of the Old World, with their carefully planned vistas, squares, parks and boulevards, I have had a dream that the day might come when my own City would have something of the same kind to show.[133]

Such keen anticipation of the park's creation as a civic improvement was widespread. As the war's end came in sight, patriotic sentiment again added energy to the movement. The judge suggested to the governor that by asking for park legislation "as a State Memorial to our war heroes," the bill would "meet with unanimous response."[134]

With peace in 1945 the anticipated progress in the legislatures in Harrisburg and Washington was made. In September the bill to establish a commission passed unanimously in the House of Representatives, and the following month Pennsylvania's legislature passed a bill authorizing $4 million for the development of the north mall as a state park.

News of the two simultaneous actions, however, confounded the federal Congress, causing more than a year's delay while members investigated whether it was a duplication of effort. Finally Congress satisfied their concerns and enacted P.L. 711 on August 9, 1946, establishing a seven-man Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission with Judge Edwin O. Lewis as chair.[135]

While waiting for the state and federal governments to commit to the park proposals in 1945, Judge Lewis had kept busy with a number of projects. He fervently supported a proposal made by David Stern, publisher of the *Philadelphia Record*, to establish the United Nations in Philadelphia, with headquarters on the north mall across from Independence Hall. Lewis encouraged association members to join in support, noting that Stern's proposal was "an outgrowth of the efforts of the Independence Hall Association to properly set apart and protect Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell."

In March, with swelling public support, the judge invited sixty organizations to attend a meeting on the United Nations proposal in the mayor's reception room. In April Governor Martin sent out a letter to all governors in the United States proposing and urging that "a theme center of a beautifully landscaped mall, stretching from Independence Hall shall be dedicated as the Peace Center of the World." The committee appointed to work on the idea chose Belmont Plateau instead, but the publicity during the year gave the association's mall project a high profile.[136]

In May Lewis received a short letter from Roy Larson explaining, "I have always felt that a model of the redevelopment of the Independence Hall area would be one of the most effective ways of presenting the proposals of our Association." He enclosed a price quote for its construction and concluded, "the expenditure would be very much worthwhile." By October the large scale model had been built and was on display in the main floor court of the John Wanamaker store. Printed leaflets explaining the association's purposes were also made available to the visiting public. In November

association members learned that the model had created extraordinary interest at Wanamakers and that it was next scheduled for the Franklin Institute for several weeks before becoming a permanent exhibit, courtesy of the city, in Old Congress Hall.[137]

Roy Larson's plan for the mall was also published that summer in a feature article in the *Inquirer* titled, "Providing Proper Setting for Independence Hall," written by Penn Mutual Insurance Company President J.A. Stevenson, who was featured as a devoted civic leader. Stevenson sent his article to Judge Lewis for review before its publication, but the judge had only high praise for its contents. Such support helped keep the project on the mind of the legislators in Harrisburg.[138]

In September the judge sent the New York *Herald Tribune*'s editor, Howard Skidmore, news of the latest developments, as well as a bundle of information on the association's activities, past, present, and future, for a planned article on Philadelphia's national park. The judge included the three-block mall to the north of Independence Hall in his description of the national park.[139]

Governor Edward Martin's formal endorsement of the state park early in November 1945 proclaimed Independence Hall "the greatest historical shrine in the Western Hemisphere," and boasted, "Pennsylvania and Philadelphia will now proceed to do what the Federal Government, for generations, has neglected to do." A full nine months later Congress finally enacted the legislation to study the national park proposal, and on November 15, 1946, Judge Edwin O. Lewis chaired the first meeting of the federally chartered Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission.[140]

For the judge and the Independence Hall Association, the shrines commission represented a transition between the largely volunteer civic and patriotic park movement and the salaried professionals who took over planning for the state and national parks. What had primarily been the domain of the Independence Hall Association now became the state and national governments'.[141]

From Judge Lewis' and Isidor Ostroff's point of view, politics soon entangled the state and national park projects alarmingly. These long-time advocates for the park mounted another campaign to keep the effort moving. The judge's time as chair of the shrines commission took most of his attention, but he was the facilitator for getting the state park project back on track.

On the heels of Governor Martin's November 1945 endorsement of the state park, Isidor Ostroff began to push political buttons to ensure neighborhood improvements. On November 29 he wrote Mayor Samuel that "the work of the Commonwealth and the Federal Government will be impeded and grossly interfered with unless the City also takes an active part in what goes on." Speaking as the editor of *The Independence Crier*, the local newspaper he and his neighborhood committee had just organized, Ostroff asked the mayor to sponsor an ordinance creating a "colonial zone" in the Independence Hall area. Ostroff evidently had been influenced by Harold Nicholls, professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania, whom he quoted from a recent speech given at the Independence Hall Association meeting: "Philadelphia has standing what Williamsburg had to create." In Ostroff's mind the ordinance would keep new construction in harmony with the historic elements by requiring art jury and zoning commission approval. This colonial zone, Ostroff felt, would make "a center of interest so noteworthy that it will attract visitors from all over the world."[142]

As chair of the IHA's legislative committee, Ostroff lobbied hard to get the mall construction underway. Despite several urgent, sometimes strident letters to the governor and Congressman Bradley in Washington, his efforts had little result. Delays continued with both the national and state parks, and Judge Lewis grew increasingly annoyed and frustrated. Congressman Bradley, he felt, had "been

playing politics with the Independence Park project for years," successfully holding up the bill to create the commission to study the national park plan. Although tempted many times to give a speech "denouncing the present attitude of Congressman Bradley, and praising Governor Martin for sponsoring the Park," the judge had decided the time was not ripe. Ostroff became so harsh in his letters that Judge Lewis found himself writing to the governor's secretary to smooth relations during this difficult waiting period.[143]

Lewis, in fact, took another tack, one that had often proved successful. On February 20, 1947 he led a delegation to Harrisburg to meet with the new governor. After the meeting reporters learned from the judge that he had personally spoken with Governor Duff to discuss the state park project. The discussions proved fruitful; Governor Duff pledged that the mall project would be built and promised $4 million for its construction, leaving pending future budget decisions to raise the $4 million more thought to be needed to finish the job.[144]

In an interview with the *Inquirer* two days later, Lewis described his next strategy. "We hope to arrange a luncheon meeting in Philadelphia soon at which the Governor, Pennsylvania's two U.S. Senators, Francis J. Myers and Edward Martin, federal and local officials can be present." Lewis anticipated continuing teamwork at all levels for the benefit of his cause. Judge Lewis' tactics took a comprehensive view of the park effort; he seemed to see the landscape as one — one park project and one focused effort to turn the neighborhood around and improve the setting for Independence Hall.[145]

Such a broad view meant contention for the judge both from within and without his ranks. Roy Larson, for one, disagreed with the judge's preference for large-scale demolition within the boundaries of the proposed national park, and feared that the judge might compromise "the simple, dignified, and comprehensive plan for a Mall to the north and a Park and Mall to the east of Independence Square" with new land acquisition proposals, which would create "many little areas and minor avenues going in all directions, and the large ideas almost dwarfed by minor details." Larson suggested that the shrines commission should recommend that federal and state governments cooperate to create one park incorporating the north and east malls (an idea that came to pass in 1974 when the north mall was transferred to the NPS).[146]

Lewis replied that he still intended to promote an enlarged park east of Independence Hall, retaining the historic structures and demolishing the rest. To avoid future disagreements on the subject the judge hired Grant Simon as the architect for the national park design and relegated Larson to planning solely for the state mall.[147]

Years later Judge Lewis indicated that Larson was not alone in his criticisms of the scope of the plan. "I recall some very acrimonious discussions. Some thought the City would lose so much taxes by the extensive demolition," he told Superintendent Melford Anderson in an interview during the early phase of the mall's construction. "Many of our friends in the movement urged upon me and upon others that we confine our efforts to creating a small park immediately north of Independence Square running from Chestnut Street to Ludlow Street. They thought that that would be sufficient to remove the immediate fire hazard to the north and that was all we should attempt," he explained, but "that didn't seem to me to be worthwhile, and I knew that was not what was intended by the persons in the Independence Hall Association who had attended the first meeting."[148]

Instead, the judge chose to think big. He had concluded early in the movement, when concern for other historic buildings such as Carpenters Hall and the First Bank and the Second Bank of the United States began to be addressed, "anything that might be done had to be rather big in order to accomplish the

purpose that I had in mind, which was to transform that section of the city and bring it back into a state of improvement rather than decadence." In 1970 the Judge remembered telling the opposition, "You've got to cut such a swathe in here that it will lead to rebuilding to the river."[149]

Lewis thus was right in step during these post-war years with the Redevelopment Authority, which his efforts had helped to create, and with the city planning commission's sweeping plan for the future. Ed Bacon was one of many who would reiterate the importance of action:

> Before the whole (park idea) started, the city had moved westward over the previous 200 years and the whole economic trend was west, west, west, and in the wake of the westward movement was a sea of black, and all around Independence Hall were underwear manufacturing places, and things like that, and the whole thing was totally a one-way street. And there was no way anybody thought you could arrest the westward movement of the center of economic activity.[150]

Judge Lewis' position represented the consensus and had sufficient support to fend off persistent objectors to the Independence Mall concept. On February 25, 1947, the day after receiving Larson's letter about the design modifications, Lewis and Harold Noble of the Fairmount Park Art Association met with the Market Street Business Association, a group who persevered in their opposition to the north mall until their buildings came down early in the 1950s. The judge invited them to attend the shrines meeting on March 11, which they did, but to little avail. Morris Passon, their attorney, spoke on behalf of the business association's concerns, but his requests were countered with reasons to retain the mall plan – to bolster the economy of the area, to eliminate hazardous buildings, and to not delay the project so late in the planning process. Philadelphia architect Louis Magaziner was there as a paid representative of the businessmen, but his desire to reduce the scheme to a half-block park north of Chestnut Street evoked opposition even from Roy Larson, who defended his mall design (figure 23).[151]

Charles Peterson, the National Park Service architect assigned to assist the shrines commission, came out in opposition to demolition in April 1947 in a preliminary report to Director Newton Drury. Founder of the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1933, Peterson had made a reputation for himself on a national level within the field of historic architecture and historic preservation. Judge Lewis, however, had at first resisted his appointment as shrines commission architect, preferring his own choice of Grant Simon. Perhaps he sensed that Peterson would be difficult to influence. When Peterson's report came out in April, it commenced a long battle over the issue of large scale demolition within the national park.[152]

Peterson adamantly opposed the concepts for two large landscaped malls advocated both by the state and the shrines commission and proposed the first block of the north mall as the best location for an interpretation center and parking lot for visitors to Independence Hall. He lined up professional opinions to support his position that Independence Hall needed "not so much open and vacant space" but "an architectural setting of a sympathetic character." Dr. Turpin C. Bannister, dean of the School of Architecture and Fine Arts, Alabama Polytechnic Institute and chair of the American Institute of Architects' National Committee for the Preservation of Historic Monuments, said about the north mall:

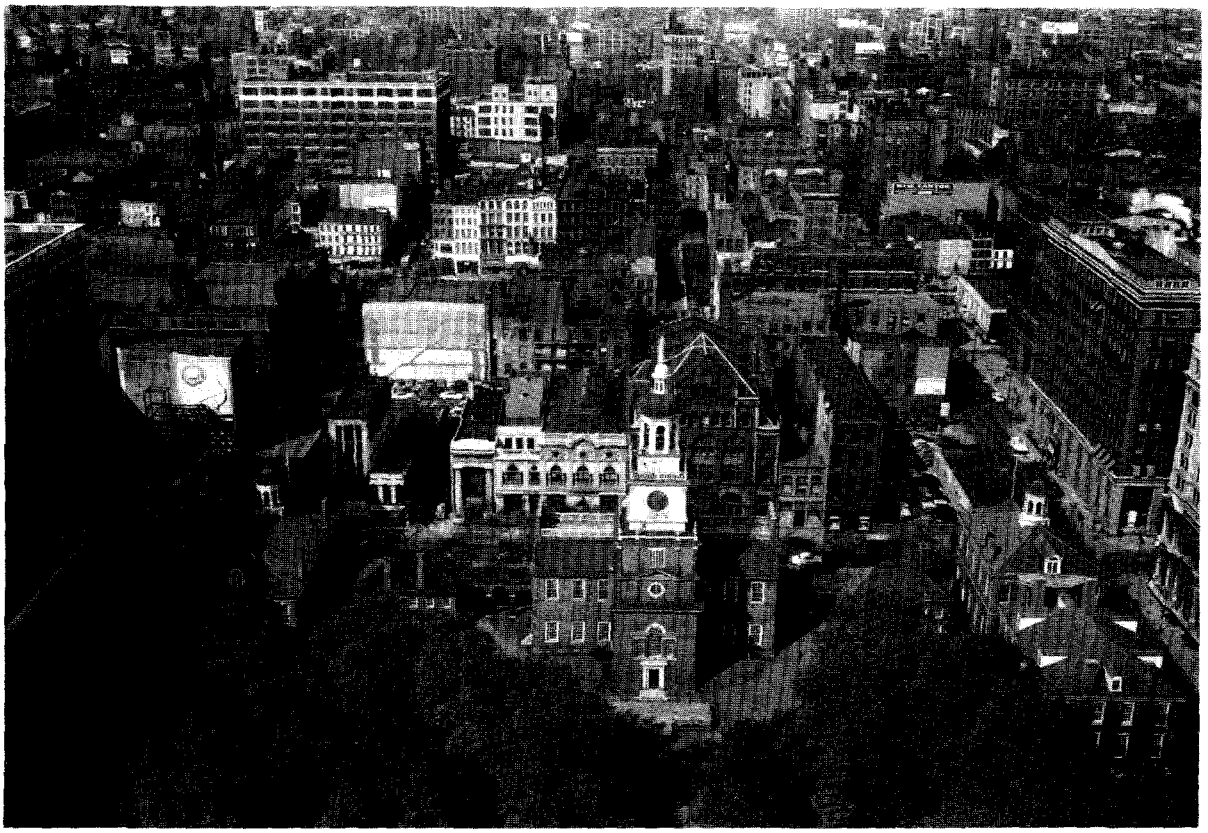


FIGURE 23. THE THREATENED NEIGHBORHOOD NORTH OF INDEPENDENCE HALL, 1950. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

> 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 grandiose neoclassical or Grand Prix parti on it.[153]

National Park Service Historian Roy E. Appleman, who was on assignment to help the shrines commission, supported the idea of the federal government owning the first block north of Independence Hall and building a visitor center and parking lot there. The shrines commission discussed the proposal while reviewing their report in October 1947 and rejected the idea. The judge feared that it might jeopardize the state project, and the commission followed his lead. Once again Roy Larson's mall design remained intact, and the judge's goal to affect a monumental change to revitalize the neighborhood came closer.[154]

By October 1947 the shrines commission position in favor of two large malls to the north and east of Independence Hall had received widespread publicity through two models that illustrated the proposal. In the spring the Independence Hall Association had reopened its display of Roy Larson's model in Congress Hall, and in September the city planning commission unveiled its enormous scale model of the central city as part of the "Better Philadelphia Exhibit" that took up an acre of floor space at Gimbel's department store.

The exhibit was part of the planning commission's new plan for the city, and it was viewed by more than 750,000 people. The commission's design for the Independence Hall area coincided with the shrines commission's and Independence Hall Association's recommendations for the north mall. The

commission also designated the area between the Delaware River and Seventh Street and between Lombard and Vine streets as the Old City Redevelopment Area. By this designation Old City was eligible for redevelopment in accordance with Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority guidelines, which proposed massive demolition as a means to bring "new life to blighted areas."[155]

On December 29, 1947 the National Shrines Park Commission submitted its seven-volume illustrated report on the proposed national park to Congress, marking the end of an important planning phase for the area. The mayor and planning commission endorsed the shrines commission's recommendations that identified five areas for purchase in the Independence Square neighborhood, excluding the north mall. The report drafted a bill for Congress naming specific historic elements to be acquired and specifying that the commission report would be the planning document for developing the national park.[156]

It was Judge Lewis who wrote the first draft of recommendations for the commission report and in later years he remembered himself as its principal author, with the exception of the historical narrative. The effort seemed to be coming together at last, with the state mall on course, the city and shrines commission allied for redevelopment of the entire area of Old City, and a sense of post-war optimism and patriotism in the air.[157]

The bill for the national park was introduced on January 20, 1948 and signed by President Truman on June 28, 1948, a remarkably speedy trip through Congress considering the long legislative history of the bill to establish the commission. In March subcommittee meetings went well in Congress. A large Philadelphia delegation attended, Judge Lewis testified, and the Congressmen responded with enthusiasm. This was one of Lewis' finest moments; he spoke eloquently on the patriotic meaning of Independence to the American people. He cited a fire that had broken out weeks earlier on Chestnut Street, across from Independence Hall, and reminded the Congressmen that such dangers needed to be cleared away from the nation's great historic sites. Demolition continued to be the commission's recommendation for ridding the neighborhood of the run-down buildings that posed the threat.[158]

Within a week the members of the subcommittee, with their wives and several Park Service officials, came to Philadelphia to see the historic area for themselves. Judge Lewis served as host, with nearly every architect and principal in the park movement escorting the group through Old City. The fanfare included lunch at the Union League and dinner at the Barclay Hotel. Everyone joined in the enthusiasm, reinforcing the Philadelphians' expectations for the future of the area.[159]

Funding for the national park, however, had to wait for the next appropriations bill, and it was during the lull in activity that the city and state began to move on the north mall project, after a delay of several years.

Not until May 1949 did the commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia sign a cooperative agreement that set plans going "for the construction and development of a State park" on the three blocks north of Independence Hall. The official explanation for the delay, even after Governor Martin approved an allocation of $3 million for the park on August 12, 1946, was that the Department of Forests and Waters responsible for the project had been waylaid by "its very heavy work load in connection with the desilting of the Schuylkill River."[160]

In January 1949 the city council's public works committee had held hearings on the proposed city-state agreement to develop the mall. Representatives of the Market Street merchants again showed up to testify against the demolition of their business community. Morris Passon found the mall design grandiose, while Louis Herbach thought it would make Independence Hall "look like a peanut in a two-block vista." Judge Lewis spoke in the mall's favor, pointing out that the Pennsylvania legislators were

unanimously behind it and that funds were already available. Albert Greenfield, a shrines commission member and Philadelphia real estate developer, defended the mall as a means to raise city revenues, presumably from new business and new construction that would follow the improvements, and Congressman Hardie Scott, who had introduced the national park bill, warned the committee that any delays on the mall plans might be interpreted in Washington as bad faith in Philadelphia.[161]

In 1982 Edmund Bacon recalled that one of the unspoken issues that drove the mall project at this time was the potential flight of three major businesses that employed up to 15,000 people because of the continuing deterioration of the neighborhood. As funding already had an uncertain future (tied to the legislature's willingness to impose a gas tax) such economic considerations must have strongly weighed in the decision. The committee voted in favor of the city-state agreement and, days later, on January 18, 1949, the city council passed an ordinance authorizing it. When Governor Duff and Mayor Samuel signed the agreement on May 24, 1949, the project officially was underway.[162]

Subsequently two of the three major companies, Rohm and Haas and General Accident, did commit to the future revitalization of the Independence Hall neighborhood. Their continued presence in the neighborhood helped to make the mall feasible, credible, and promising.[163]

The three block mall concept finally had received official recognition and approval. It took thirty years to gain this ground and would take nearly another twenty for the mall construction to reach completion.

INDEPENDENCE MALL STATE PARK UNDER CONSTRUCTION, 1950–1969

From the outset the Independence Mall project was beset by delay and controversy. Even before the development agreement was signed by the state and the city, merchants had organized in protest, foreshadowing their long battle to modify the scope of the plan. The state's obligation to proceed was subject to annual legislative appropriations that regularly opened the project to examination and criticism and hampered the flow of progress. The use of layers of consultants and contractors under the principal architectural firm Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, and Larson also set up a logistical challenge that required great patience and cooperation.

The cooperative agreement spread the responsibility for the project between two state agencies (the Department of Forests and Water and the Department of Public Highways) and two city offices (the city planning commission and the Philadelphia Parking Authority). This long-distance, shared authority caused repeated delays while awaiting approvals, and numerous problems associated with staff and the coordination of complex plans.

The agreement called for state responsibility for acquisition and demolition of the existing buildings, funding and supervising new construction, street widening to provide a better connection between the Delaware River bridge and Independence Hall, and future maintenance. The city, through the planning commission, would contract for and oversee preparation of plans, subject to final approval by the commonwealth. As it happened, state representatives were little interested in design decisions for the mall, except in terms of holding down the cost. Perhaps this was because an urban park was an anomaly in the system of rural state parks and new to the agency's mission.

These delays, as well as the number of individuals and organizations involved in decisions, allowed the original concept for the mall to be revisited many times, and to change dramatically by the time construction was completed in 1969.

As a product of years of civic and patriotic society lobbying, the mall project had high visibility and, through Judge Lewis, a direct relationship with the federal project establishing Independence National Historical Park. The judge, as head of both the Independence Hall Association and the advisory commission for Independence National Historical Park, maintained a strong proprietary interest in what was now the state's project, lending a hand whenever he could, directing comments or complaints sent to him, and always placing pressure where needed to keep the project moving. Lewis attended meetings for both parks and acted as an informal liaison between the two projects, especially during the early years of the mall's construction when the role of the National Park Service needed definition. The necessary phasing of the mall kept these issues alive longer than they otherwise would have been, so that the judge had frequent reason to facilitate.

The mall was a massive project that now happened to fit into an even larger new city plan to redevelop Old City, and the planning commission, under Executive Director Edmund Bacon, had a vested interest in overseeing the design. Bacon had strong opinions and his power of approval over design elements at least once put a hold on the progress of the project.

The project could only be completed as appropriations were made. The second block, between Market and Arch streets, took the longest to design and build largely because it had the most new construction and because it took many years to decide whether or not to have an underground garage and what the surface design above it would be. From the beginning Judge Lewis stood in the way of the underground parking. "I never favored a garage," he recalled in a 1970 interview. "I'd had it all investigated . . . and I knew all about underground garages," and he had concluded that it wouldn't pay to build it, and it would block the streets. The garage issue wouldn't go away like other problems the judge had tackled over the years, and "it delayed completion of the Mall at least three years. Made me mad as hops" he recalled. Finally he accepted the inevitable: "Madova (the parking authority chair) . . . and . . . Bacon of the planning commission said (they) . . . wanted a garage, and they asked me to withdraw my opposition as I finally did." [164] Blocks one and three breezed to completion in comparison.

Roy Larson, senior partner for Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, and Larson, maintained control of the project throughout, although the firm's correspondence shows that other firm architects — Penrose Hough, F. Spencer Rouch, and Gerald Cope — played important support parts in the work, especially in the 1960s after the major design elements had been approved. Beginning in 1950 Larson and his firm were also planners for the Independence Mall redevelopment plan, which focused on the area between Fourth and Seventh streets, Chestnut to Race streets as well as the Old City redevelopment plan, which included the area between Vine and Chestnut, Delaware River to Seventh Street.

In 1950 the redevelopment authority calculated that the area of Old City bounded by Vine and Chestnut streets, the Delaware River, and Seventh Street had only slightly over 1,000 residents, and these were concentrated in a four-block area east of Independence Mall. The neighborhood had nearly been taken over completely by industrial and commercial interests, which made the job of uprooting the businesses in the remaining 143 buildings on the three-block mall project less wrenching. On the bright side, as the mayor told city council, the Philadelphia planning commission chairman foresaw that the mall would "serve as a major stimulus to the revitalizing of the eastern part of the Central City."[165]

The plans for each of the three blocks described below are those that were actually constructed. Each was one of perhaps dozens that were developed by Larson and his firm for each block. For the benefit of decision makers such as Judge Lewis, Bacon, Mayor Richardson Dilworth, members of the various associations, and government officials, an enormous model of the mall stood in the drafting room of Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, and Larson during the duration of the project. The men could bend over

and peer through the miniature model front door of Independence Hall, or stand on Race Street and gaze up the mall at the tiny tower. As the plans changed, new pieces would be built to replace those that represented discarded ideas. The plans that were constructed represent a snapshot of the development of each design at a particular time when a decision was made to stop and build it.[166]

Master Planning and the First Block

Because there was agreement on the three-block length, construction for Independence Mall got underway in 1950 with the demolition of the first-block buildings in advance of a master plan for the park. The state had already assessed the value of the real estate, figured the purchase price, added up the legal, appraisal, negotiation, and engineering fees, and estimated the demolition expenses to come up with the block's total approximate cost of $3,258,000.[167]

Edmund Bacon had begun organizing his part of the project — to hire the designer for the mall. Considering Roy Larson's long history with the park movement and the approbation of his design by the Independence Hall Association, the choice of his firm, Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larson, was obvious. On October 18, at a well-attended meeting about parking for the mall, a decision was made that Larson could proceed with the master plan. The parking issue could be fitted into the plan later.[168]

Controversy and resulting delays began almost immediately. By spring 1950 the protests and demonstrations that had made news in 1949 began to reach a new political dimension. In March Louis Coplan, who owned a furniture store at 513 Market, went to Washington, DC, to register his concerns with Senator Francis J. Myers. In a follow-up letter he reflected "it was extremely encouraging to find you so receptive" and mentioned that he was also encouraged that the senator seemed to feel a "satisfactory compromise" could be worked out for everyone concerned. Evidently having also talked to NPS officials, and with sufficient confidence in the senator's support, he informed him that he had told the Market Street Business Association's attorney, Mr. LaBrun,

> that you would be very happy to arrange a meeting at Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia, at which time several representatives from the Department of the Interior would be glad to sit down with a committee of ours to thoroughly discuss the important matter of saving the destruction of Market Street between Fifth and Sixth."[169]

No more is known about Coplan or Senator Myer's effort but it is clear that the state fought back. In March 1951 a joint state committee was appointed to study the problem of the completion of the first block, where all but three properties had been razed, and in June 1952 Pennsylvania's attorney general hired an attorney from Philadelphia, Richard H. Woolsey, to tend to the "acquisition of 143 properties which will be razed" to complete the project.[170]

Judge Lewis had much to say about the Market Street Business Association, especially during the project's first five years. "We had to encounter the most strenuous opposition from this group," he recalled in 1956, just after the first block was completed, "and it delayed the accomplishment of the Mall for several years. It was only recently that the opposition has been pretty much dissipated." As late as 1954, however, the association had won the ear of Governor Fine, who asked Judge Lewis to delay the condemnation of the buildings along the north side of Market for at least a year to spare him any embarrassment with the business association. Lewis continued:

> First we had the merchants on the south side, then we had the merchants on the north side, then we had the owners of the Rhodes building, north of Commerce Street, and then we had the owners of the Rumph building up beyond Arch Street, all of them opposing our efforts and quietly working

> through their counsel and politicians to oppose us, and it required quite a good deal of determination.[171]

Judge Lewis had demonstrated a good deal of determination before and would again. He clearly felt his mission was the best for everyone: "we stuck to our purpose and represented to these gentlemen that some day they would be glad that they had moved, that they would be amply compensated."[172]

Compensation is a relative term. Paul Jones, writing for the *Evening Bulletin* in March 1952, pointed out that the majority of buildings lining the north side of Market Street (the south side had been razed), all appeared to date to the mid-19th century, constructed following an 1856 fire that wiped out the earlier streetscape, and were "fine examples of Philadelphia commercial brickwork." Judging from the *Baxter's Panoramic Business Directory* illustration of 1856, these substantial structures indeed would have lent, by today's standards, a fine architectural horizon. The merchants, however, expressed no interest in the architecture. They had staked their hopes on retaining these buildings to continue in their livelihoods.[173]

The business association argued that the neighborhood economy still was prospering. Although the IHA and city planners had identified the area as a blighted, neglected slum, the businessmen pointed to the high volume of commerce they enjoyed despite the neighborhood decline. They had a point, according to Katherine Cook, who observed, "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." And an examination of block-by-block photographs that were taken in the months before demolition shows a neighborhood very similar in appearance and composition to today's Second and Third streets between Market and Race streets (figures 24, 25, 26).[174]

With their livelihoods on the line, many of the first block business owners not only rejected Lewis' contention that their enforced move would ultimately be rewarding, but they also held out against the commonwealth's efforts to acquire their properties. In June 1950 the executive assistant to the secretary of forests and waters, Captain Daniel Miller, writing in Secretary Draemel's absence, explained that the demolition of three buildings on Ludlow Street was "of a token nature only to bring the few recalcitrants into line." This roughshod tactic did not work, however, so in November the secretary ordered the condemnation of the remaining thirty-seven buildings on the block. By December 17 the *Sunday Bulletin* was able to report progress — all the properties on the block with the exception of three had been acquired.[175]

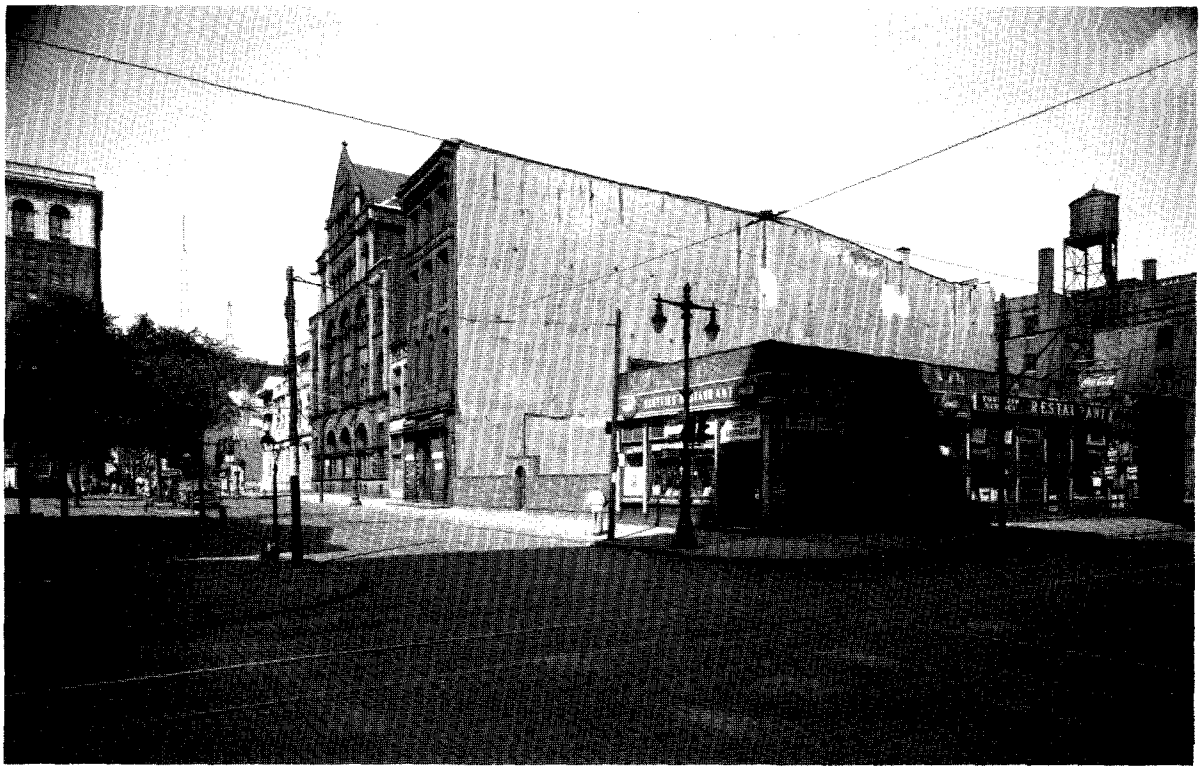


FIGURE 24. CHESTNUT STREET OPPOSITE INDEPENDENCE HALL BEFORE DEMOLITION FOR THE FIRST BLOCK OF THE MALL, 1950. The Independence Hall neighborhood was deteriorating, as seen here, but commerce and street life were still vital, despite imminent demolition for the mall. The north side of Chestnut Street opposite the hall had suffered a number of losses by 1950. Compare figures 9 and 19. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

In an effort to inspire more cooperation, Judge Lewis publicized an arrangement he and his friend Parkinson from Equitable Insurance had made that promised a new housing project for the neighborhood (probably the same project considered during the 1945 efforts) at the completion "of most of the Mall." This meant the possibility of a multi-million dollar apartment development, which most merchants would notice.[176]

Delays also resulted from the project's funding. From the beginning, a continuing problem for the commonwealth was its limited budget. While this was true, it also may have served as an excuse to delay any part of the plan they found objectionable. Certainly the dry tone of the letters sent, the insistent reminders that the future was uncertain, and the apparent element of indifference to the project was clear. They did not secure office space in Philadelphia to supervise the work until late in the spring of 1952, which suggests that certain well-placed people were not very cooperative. In Judge Lewis' recollection, Secretary of Forests and Waters Samuel S. Lewis presented some of the problem. "Lewis from New York . . . wasn't reliable, and he did all he could to block it. He did nothing for two years. He just completely laid down on the Mall." Secretary Lewis, in the judge's opinion, simply "wouldn't spend" the money appropriated for the project.[177]

The judge also grew impatient with the demolition company clearing the first block and as much as threatened that he would see to it they would have no future contracts with the state or federal governments if they did not get the job completed. This was in the spring of 1952, more than two years after the mall's official launching.[178]



FIGURE 25. THE 500 BLOCK OF MARKET STREET BEFORE DEMOLITION FOR THE SECOND BLOCK OF THE MALL, 1953. The merchants on the north side of Market Street (shown here) had been the most vocal in opposition to demolition but were preparing to relocate in this 1953 photograph. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

While the battle with demolition unfolded, Roy Larson (or one of his staff) began preparing his thoughts for the mall, putting in outline form on November 6, 1950, five categories to consider. He listed:

1. Purpose
   a. Remove hazardous and obsolescent structures around historic buildings
   b. Provide proper setting for historic buildings
   c. Provide proper approach from new highway system to Independence Hall
   d. Give the area new life
2. Design of Mall
3. Future Structures Facing Mall
4. Coordination of design of Mall with Federal project east of Independence Hall
5. Unifying redevelopment east and west of mall with the Mall

Remarkably, this list could have come straight from the Independence Hall Association's founding goals as well as from the proposals of most of the earlier proponents.[179]

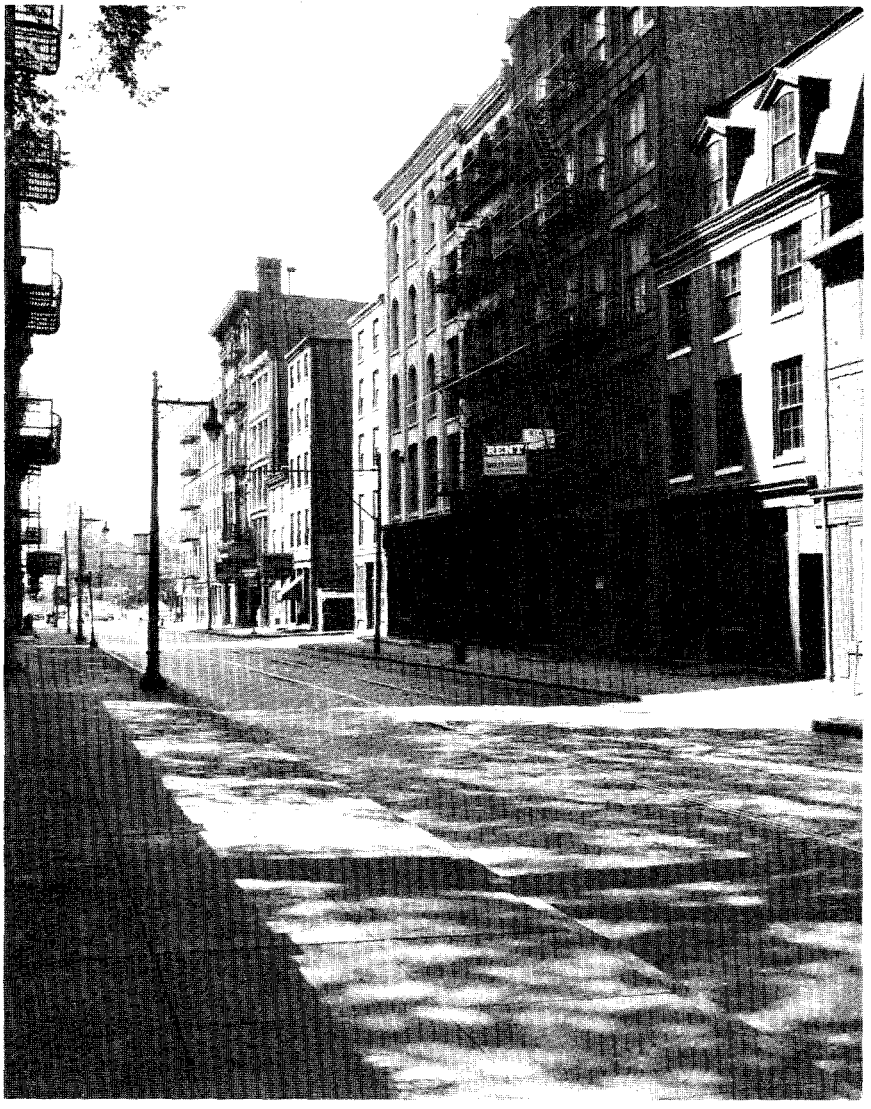


FIGURE 26. FIFTH STREET BEFORE DEMOLITION FOR THE SECOND BLOCK OF THE MALL, 1953. Part of the second block, between Commerce and Cuthbert streets, is seen from Fifth Street in 1953. Demolition for the first block had opened a view to the south to Old City Hall. Trees on the first block subsequently obscured this view. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

Larson had other professionals working directly with him. He hired the firm Wheelwright, Stevenson, and Langran, Landscape Architects, to select the plants for the first stage of the project. He also had counsel from Ed Bacon's chosen advisor, architect George Howe of Yale University. While Howe evidently had only slight participation in the mall design, he was included in a joint general information statement written around 1952 and issued by Larson's firm. The statement was prepared at the time when the first block demolition was reaching completion, and it described a master plan very similar to that originally proposed by the Independence Hall Association and endorsed by the city planning commission. Clearly Larson contributed this attribution, paying tribute to his own sense of history.[180]

The master plan concept (figures 27 and 28) retained the essential gestures of Larson's 1944 plan, including the central lawn, the flanking walkways and bosques of trees, and the buildings housing the reception center and restaurant. The proposed museum of the earlier plan was now to be a bus station for visitors. The plan also added two service buildings on block one and a fountain on block two. The outdoor eating facilities and the farmers' market were eliminated as well as any monumental terminus near Race Street. All the buildings and walls were to be brick with marble details, linking them visually to the Independence Hall group.

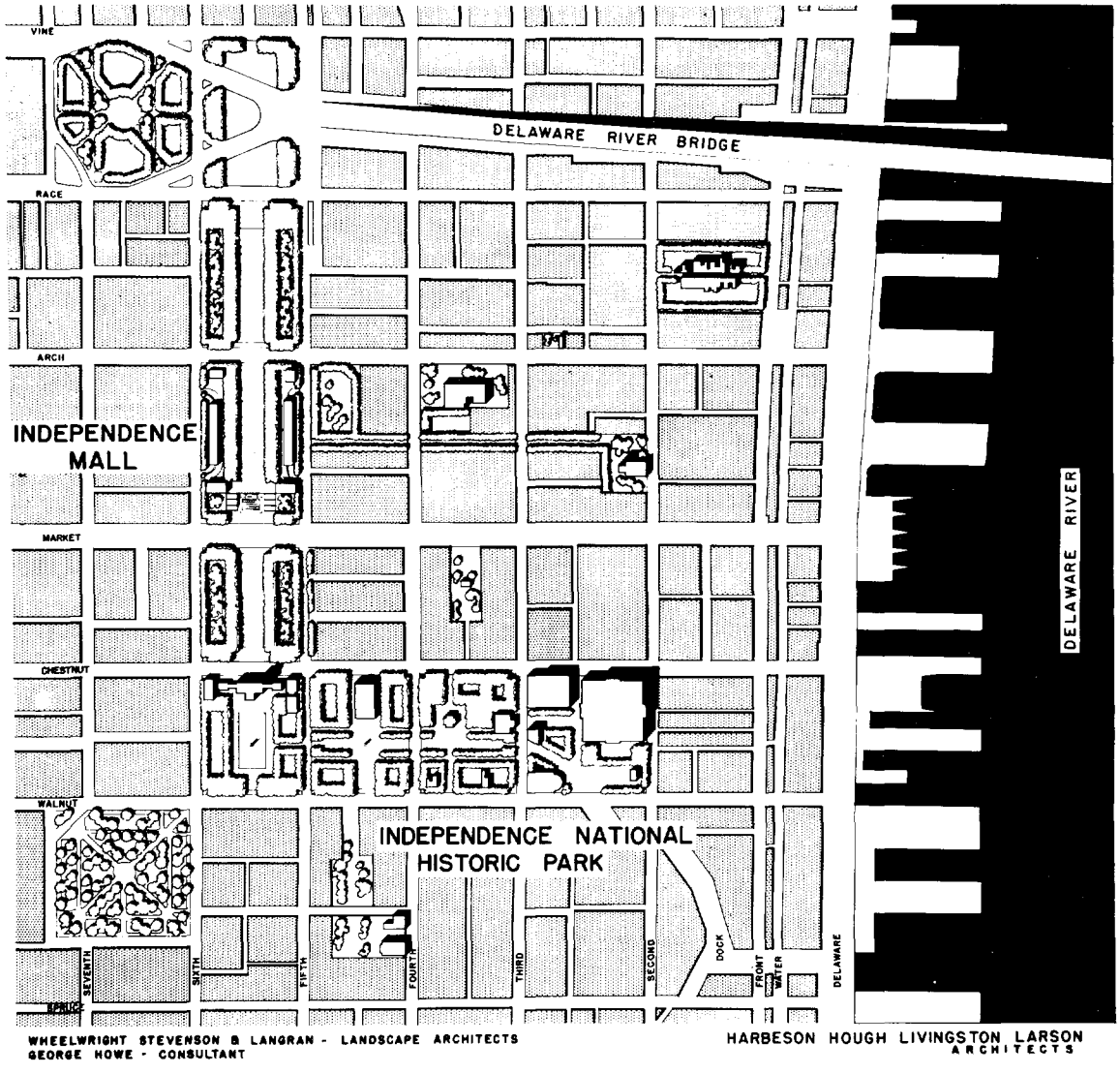


FIGURE 27. MASTER PLAN FOR INDEPENDENCE MALL, HARBESON, HOUGH, LIVINGSTON, LARSON, 1952. This diagram of the 1952 master plan for Independence Mall, with consultants Wheelwright, Stevenson & Langran and George Howe, included surrounding areas as context. The redevelopment of the Benjamin Franklin Bridge Plaza and Independence Square were never undertaken, and the National Park Service pursued slightly different plans for the land it acquired between American and Fifth streets. *(Photo courtesy of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission.)*

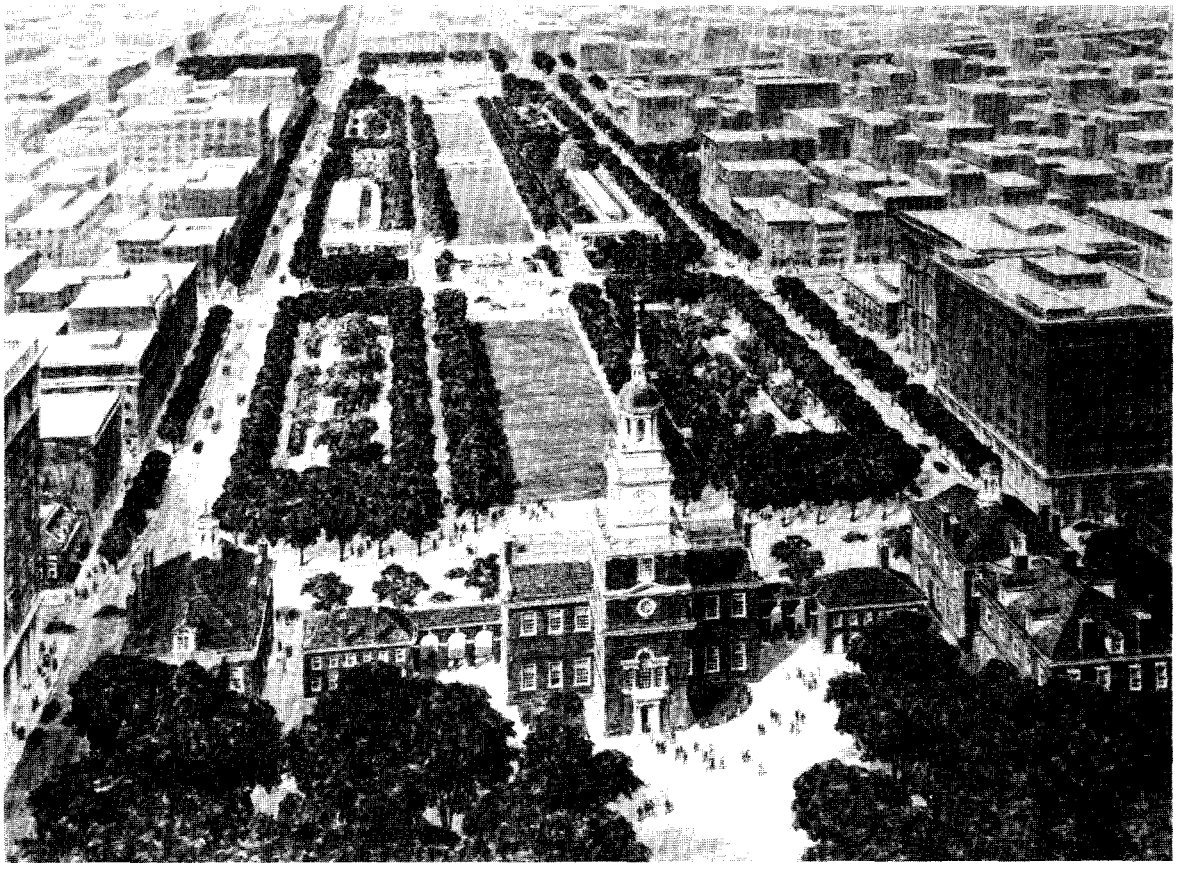


FIGURE 28. RENDERING OF 1952 MASTER PLAN. The rendering shows the buildings adjoining the mall as remaining, although redevelopment plans for the neighborhood were already underway. *(Photo courtesy of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission.)*

The vocabulary and detail of the design were greatly changed, however, from that of the 1944 plan. There were three primary reasons for the changes.

Before 1945, Judge Lewis and, to a lesser extent, the members of the Independence Hall Association and the Fairmount Park Art Association had been the driving force behind the proposal for a mall and the client for its design. The 1944 Larson plan reflected a unanimity of vision among those key participants. Now that the state and the city had the responsibility for seeing it through to completion, however, a number of different people and agencies gained tremendous power and influence over the completion and execution of the plans.

In addition, ideas about design had changed a great deal since 1915 and the first Beaux-Arts plan for the mall. Beaux-Arts classicism had been fading from popularity since the 1920s, gradually replaced by influences from the international style, which was characterized by asymmetrical organization of planar spaces and an absence of ornamentation.

Finally, the core concept, a fitting setting for Independence Hall, expressed primarily with a three-block-long axis, was too weak to determine any one particular scheme for its realization. Combined with the lack of a strong and detailed program for use of the mall, the result was that the 1952 concept would be modified several times through the ensuing years of design and construction.

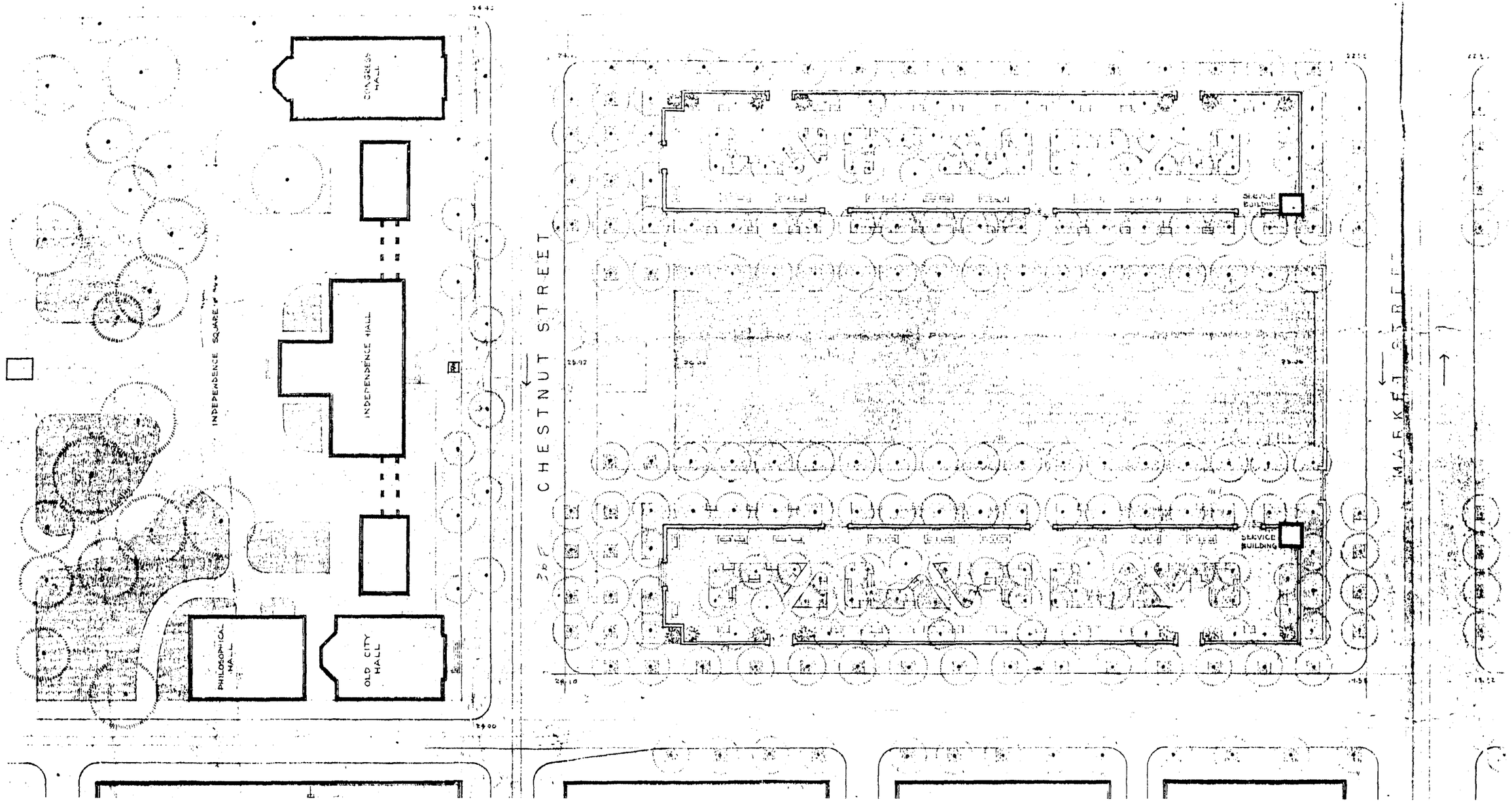


FIGURE 29. PLANTING PLAN FOR FIRST BLOCK, 1952. The plan shows the basic division of space into a central lawn flanked by two more finely detailed terraces. North is to the right. *(NPS photo.)*

The new participants in the implementation of the mall brought new ways of thinking. Primary among them was Edmund N. Bacon, who, at the time that the planning commission was given responsibility for overseeing the project, had just begun to serve as executive director. He effectively gained control over the mall's design, and he saw the responsibility as a serious one. Bacon recalled that "I had a very central role in (the design of the mall) from the very beginning . . . I didn't really like the French Louis XVI aspect of the original design of Larson's, and I am a modern architect, and I was anxious to make it some kind of a statement about contemporary attitudes." Although he had some doubts about the concept, he knew that it was far too late to open new discussions. Bacon later spoke of how he "regarded the thing (plan) as an historically determined thing before I started work," and how that feeling had kept him from attempting to oppose or change the mall's basic form as designed by Larson. He was intensely involved in details, however, choosing to "spend money or stretch it as far as I could to try to make it as good as I could having at first accepted it." With the exception of his own acknowledged campaign to change Larson's round amphitheater to a square on the second block, this observation on his philosophical outlook appears to be substantiated. For this research numerous letters of Bacon's attest to his cooperation and support for the mall.[181]

Cautious about going up against a concept that had the agreement of all concerned, Bacon consulted George Howe (architect, with William Lescaze, of the seminal PSFS building, a masterpiece of the international style). Bacon has noted that "at that period, everybody was committed to Bauhaus. We felt that symmetry was fascist and imperialistic." Howe reassured him, however, by calling his attention to the plan for the Place Royale and the Place de la Carriere, in Nancy, France. As Bacon later wrote, this urban space "proves that even when the architectural expression is limited to a predetermined formula, a great and beautiful work may be accomplished through the manipulation of the elements of mass and space and the skillful deployment of detail." The Nancy squares are characterized by a symmetrical arrangement, long vistas, a central axis, and bordering allees of trees. Bacon kept the image of Nancy in mind throughout the multiyear design process, and once having made the decision, kept to a simple, straightforward, and symmetrical concept.[182]

Howe was given credit as a consultant on the cover sheet of the construction drawings for the first block, yet it is unclear whether his influence extended beyond the single consultation that Bacon remembers.

Bacon recalls a smooth working relationship with Larson during the design period for the first block. Perhaps that is because Larson had changed his thinking about design and style. After the death of his mentor, Paul Cret, and the establishment of the successor firm, Larson recognized that clients, projects, and programs had changed and that the direction of the firm also must change. He consciously hired young architects who had been trained in the international style, and he sought out new clients who were interested in a contemporary approach.[183]

The modifications of vocabulary and detail that were the result of the changing times and participants can be seen clearly in the plan for the first block. Of the three blocks, the first remained the truest reflection of the original concept of axial focus on Independence Hall, although most of the Beaux-Arts components of earlier concepts had been eliminated. The plan became simple and almost austere (figure 29).

All the primary plan elements and the major circulation were oriented along the north/south axis, and the block was divided into three primary parts. A central, broad plane of lawn extended from Chestnut Street to Market Street, and on each side of the lawn was to be a long, raised, walled terrace. A 25-foot-wide flagstone walkway separated each terrace from the central lawn and provided the primary

north/south circulation. A double row of sweet gums lined each walkway, and provided further definition between the ceremonial lawn and the more informal terraces.

The terraces had the only small-scale detailing, and these more human-scaled elements — intended to delight and refresh — were well hidden from the grand lawn and the surrounding streets by enclosing brick walls. The detailing of the walls mirrored that of the walls surrounding Independence Square. The terrace plans included benches, modern low-level lighting, and plant beds in modern shapes. Urns with bas-relief scenes of events from the nation's early history topped the walls (figure 30).



FIGURE 30. TERRACE ON FIRST BLOCK OVERLOOKING INDEPENDENCE HALL, 1970. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

Circulation to and within the terraces was intended to be subordinate to that of the central space — access to the terraces was limited, and internal circulation was deliberately complicated by the benches and plantings.

In contrast to the monoculture planting adjoining the lawn, the beds contained mixtures of nine different species of trees and two shrub species. The firm of Wheelwright, Stevenson, and Langran is listed on the construction drawings cover sheet as landscape consultant, and it is likely that their role was limited to plant choices only, since Larson is remembered to have controlled every detail of this block, even some of the drafting.[184]

At Chestnut Street a 60-foot-deep rectangular, brick-paved plaza replaced the semicircular plaza of the 1944 plan and was intended to provide space for public gatherings. A water reservoir for fire protection

was installed below the plaza. Near Market Street a small, federal-style utility building was located at the corner of each terrace.

All the plan elements, including the lawn four and a half times longer than wide, the flagstone walkways, the adjacent sand/clay paths, the sweet gum allees, the walls of the terrace, and even the curb around the lawn, were intended to reinforce the axillarity of the block and strengthen the focus to Independence Hall. Views across Fifth and Sixth streets and even views from the lawn to the less formal components on the terraces were intended to be veiled by the walls, the allees and bosques, and the street trees.

Although the insistent axis and the absolute symmetry remained, the more decorative Beaux-Arts elements that characterized all the earlier concepts, including Larson's of 1944, were eliminated. Gone were the arcades, semicircles, statuary, and multiple focuses. Although the final form for the first block (completed in 1954) was a hybrid of styles and influences, its strong and simple design had great appeal. There was widespread agreement that the block had achieved the goal of being a fitting setting for Independence Hall.

The First Third of the Second Block

The second block was planned and completed in two segments over sixteen years. The first plans were approved by the city planning commission in 1953, but construction was not finished until 1969. The delay was due to controversy over the inclusion of the underground parking garage and the difficulty of obtaining adequate appropriations for construction from the state legislature. Because of the architectural elements to be included on it, it was clear to backers that this would be the most expensive block to build, and so a decision was made to delay the full block until after the first and third blocks were constructed and in use, demonstrating to the legislators that their money was being well spent.[185]

Despite the setbacks, Larson's firm continued design. By October 1954 all the buildings had been demolished on the noncontroversial southern end of the second block between Market and Commerce streets. Construction drawings evidently were slow in coming, as Larson told his partner "Secretary Lewis gave me hell for not getting the plans up to Harrisburg for signature." The secretary wanted to get it under contract before the end of the year, probably with fiscal year budgeting in mind.[186]

The first segment, stretching from Market Street north 200 feet to the former Commerce Street, was completed in 1957. This segment was essentially a noncontroversial continuation of Larson's design for the first block, although there was a shift in materials and detailing (figure 31).

Here, the central axis continued at the same width as the first block, yet was paved in a serpentine pattern of granite pavers, rather than planted in lawn. A large square pool was to be in the center. Larson had intended to place statuary in the pool, and the fountain's jets were sized and placed in order to play over the statuary. Against his instincts, Larson agreed that the fountain should be installed, even though the statuary had not been contracted. When the state later vetoed any expenditures for statuary, the fountain began to receive wide criticism for the weakness of its display. In 1969 the fountain was completely redesigned by Larson, and the massive jets of what is now known as the Judge Lewis fountain were added as the final construction project on the mall.[187]

In this segment, raised terraces again flanked the central space, but the seating arrangements and planting beds were rectilinear, since Larson's firm had become more "Miesian" by this point.[188] Far fewer plants were used both in species and in number, giving these terraces an abandoned feeling.

The luxuriant allees of trees seen on the first block and originally projected for this block is absent, apparently because of the amount of space occupied by the pool. Only three trees were placed on each side of the central fountain, and as individual specimens planted in a harsh environment, they were doomed to be unhealthy and to have little visual impact.

This portion of the mall was completed in 1957. The day of its dedication, Carl Krakover, chairman of the Philadelphia Parking Authority, announced his support for an underground garage on the remainder of the second block and made a public pitch to neighborhood businesses to get involved in its development. Krakover was an important ally for Larson and, as Lewis admitted in 1970, his strong opinion finally helped the judge to give up his opposition to the idea.[189]

As disappointing as Krakover's position must have been, the judge's spirits no doubt soared during the dedication, when he witnessed the official naming of the large fountain after him. When this honor was first announced the year before, Paul Jones of the *Evening Bulletin* had complimented the judge: "It was a well chosen tribute, since Judge Lewis is a connoisseur of fountains. He has looked at elegant examples here and abroad, in cities as far apart as Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, London, Paris, and Copenhagen." Four years earlier Jones had reported that Judge Lewis was "anxious to have a suitable fountain," and it is evident that his wish finally had come true.[190]

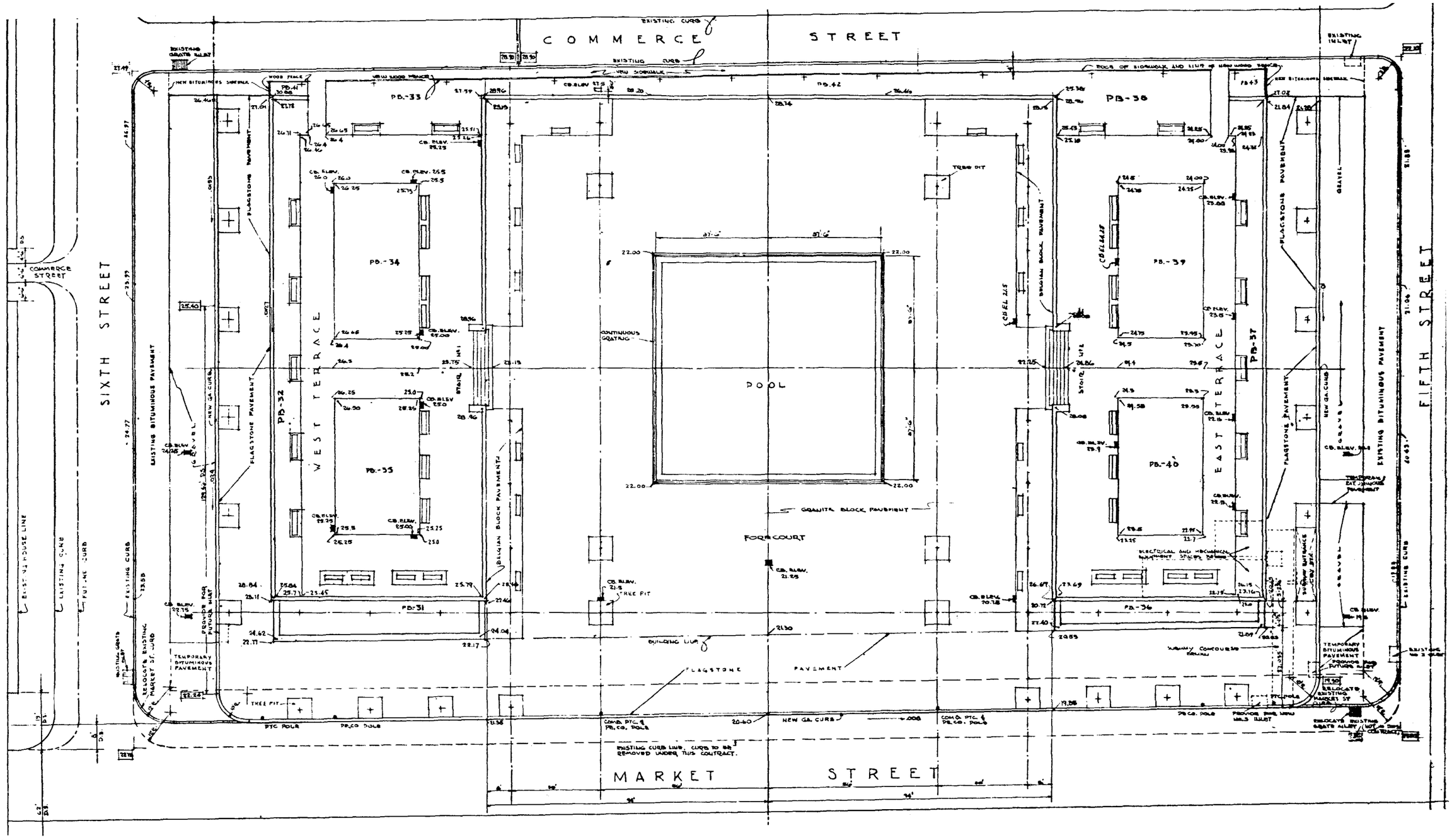


FIGURE 31. LAYOUT PLAN FOR THE FIRST HALF OF SECOND BLOCK, 1954. This plan shows how the basic elements of the first block were replicated. North is to the top. *(NPS photo.)*

The Third Block

Early in 1957 Lewis Mumford, visiting professor in regional planning at the University of Pennsylvania, entered his opinions about the state and national park projects into the public forum. In four articles published by the *New Yorker*, Mumford took on the two park projects in Old City. He frowned on the grandiose statement of Independence Mall, which to him seemed incompatible with Philadelphia's tradition of "ample squares, uniform roof lines, and its intimate gardens," and he seemed to be alluding to Judge Lewis' strong influence over the planning of both parks when he admonished the parks' planners to observe Philadelphia's architectural tradition, and "not that imposed by the servants of an absolute monarchy seeking to translate into space the mysteries of absolute power and centralized political power."[191]

Mumford's mind was on Philadelphia's character as he saw it, and the mall invaded the sense of intimacy he liked best about the city. He recommended instead connected enclosures with shrubbery and trees providing a screen to create a sense of outdoor rooms, perhaps enlivened with a series of fountains to add "an animation and a vitality it now lacks."[192]

By this point, after having experienced the first block, Larson had come full circle in his thinking about the mall and essentially had abandoned the concept of a central axis focused on Independence Hall. Perhaps having reflected on Mumford's counsel, he came to the conclusion that each block should have its own distinctive character. The goal for the third block was that it be a place of retreat and rest for visitors.[193]

In keeping with his decision to make a break, Larson associated himself with one of the most prominent and original landscape architects of the period, Dan Kiley. Robert Breading, now a senior partner at H2L2, and then a designer and draftsman on the project, recalls that Larson and Kiley worked together to develop the concept, while Edmund Bacon has recalled that the actual design was essentially Kiley's. Judge Lewis also had a strong hand in discussions. He had recently returned from a trip to Spain, and impressed by the use of water features there, he directed that fountains be emphasized for this block. The design, completed in 1960, also has a striking number of the features that Mumford had wished to see (figure 32).[194]

Because of the lack a of program for use and the distance of this block from Independence Hall (and the unlikelihood of a visual focus on the hall), Kiley has noted that he chose to reference William Penn's remarkable plan for the city of Philadelphia — the "greene countrie towne" — with its system of gridded streets and its five public squares that divided the city into quadrants. This concept was heralded at the time it was first announced. On October 18, 1960, the *Bulletin* reported, "Fountains at Mall Approved, Will Symbolize Penn's Plan." As with Mumford's recommendations nearly four years before, this block would relate to Philadelphia's historic urban plan. "The plan is symbolic of William Penn's gridiron and park system plan for old Philadelphia, drawn up nearly 200 years ago." The block's many fountains were to "represent downtown area squares or park areas." The large center fountains represented Centre Square, on which city hall had been completed in 1895 and the smaller fountains the satellite squares of the original city plan.[195]

The third block was unified by a complete ground plane of brick and a canopy of densely planted honey locusts. It was between the ground and the canopy that a complex, interlocking pattern of spaces and materials defined a repeating series of openings that were meant to be experienced as one moved through the block. The entire block was divided and redivided into increasingly fine spaces by a hierarchy of fountains, benches, and planting beds.

In its form and detailing the design for the third block is typical of Kiley's work, and yet it did respond to Larson's original axial concept, providing the most liberal interpretation of that concept. The north/south central axis was still apparent, although it was reduced to 50 feet in width and punctuated by three large fountains that served as local foci. Each fountain had a large central plume of water that sheeted across four massive slabs of granite and into a still pool over tiny black glass tiles. The wide plumes of water effectively obscured any vista to Independence Hall. The downplaying of the central axis by its narrow width and local focal points provided by the fountains and their careful detailing were the effective reverse of the Larson concept (figure 33).

The extensive bosque of trees (which, because it was a grid, did not have the north/south orientation of the plantings on the first two blocks) began on either side of the axis and continued to the edges of the block. There were openings in this "architectural forest" only to demarcate the eight entries to the block from the surrounding streets. Six of these openings were marked by planting beds containing groves of magnolias. (These beds were originally intended to be fountains, but the large number of fountains was vetoed by the state, which was, as it turned out, correctly concerned about the long-term maintenance of so many fountains.)

On each side of the central axis, four smaller fountains also punctuated the flow of space. A series of marble benches was aligned on alternating sides of both the three large and the eight small fountains, relating the fountains to each other.

Between the small fountains and Fifth and Sixth streets, four additional planting beds served to step down the scale between the more architectural and intensively detailed central area and the streets, again providing the opposite of the Larson concept that was realized in the first block.

As on the first two blocks, a brick wall with marble coping entirely surrounds this block, although here the wall is low enough that it is possible to see into the center from the surrounding streets as well as to see surrounding buildings from the center of the block. This may be in recognition of the fact that the block was too far from Independence Hall for a strong vista.

While this block — completed in 1963 — seems to be related more to Kiley's previous work than to any sense he may have had of Philadelphia, it mediates between the monumental quality and regularity of the first two blocks and the smaller, more intimate spaces that were the hallmark of the colonial city.

The Second Section of the Second Block

This second and final section of the second block is located between vacated Commerce Street (which had been the northern boundary for the first segment, completed in 1957) and Arch Street. The underground parking garage runs from Commerce Street to a point 200 feet south of Arch Street. On the surface, the banks of stairs to the south and north of the arcades mark the limits of the garage.

Just weeks after the wreckers finished the demolition of the area between Commerce and Cuthbert in the fall of 1957, the papers announced that the state had approved the second block garage — but above ground. A study had been completed on July 10, 1957, for the Philadelphia Parking Authority by Wilbur Smith and Associates of New Haven, Connecticut, showing that the proposed underground garage would run a deficit for several years and require city funds for the project. City officials, however, insisted that "the site beneath the mall has not been given up finally," but its future rested in receiving financial cooperation from the federal Civil Defense Administration. The uncertainty led to more delay in the plans.[196]

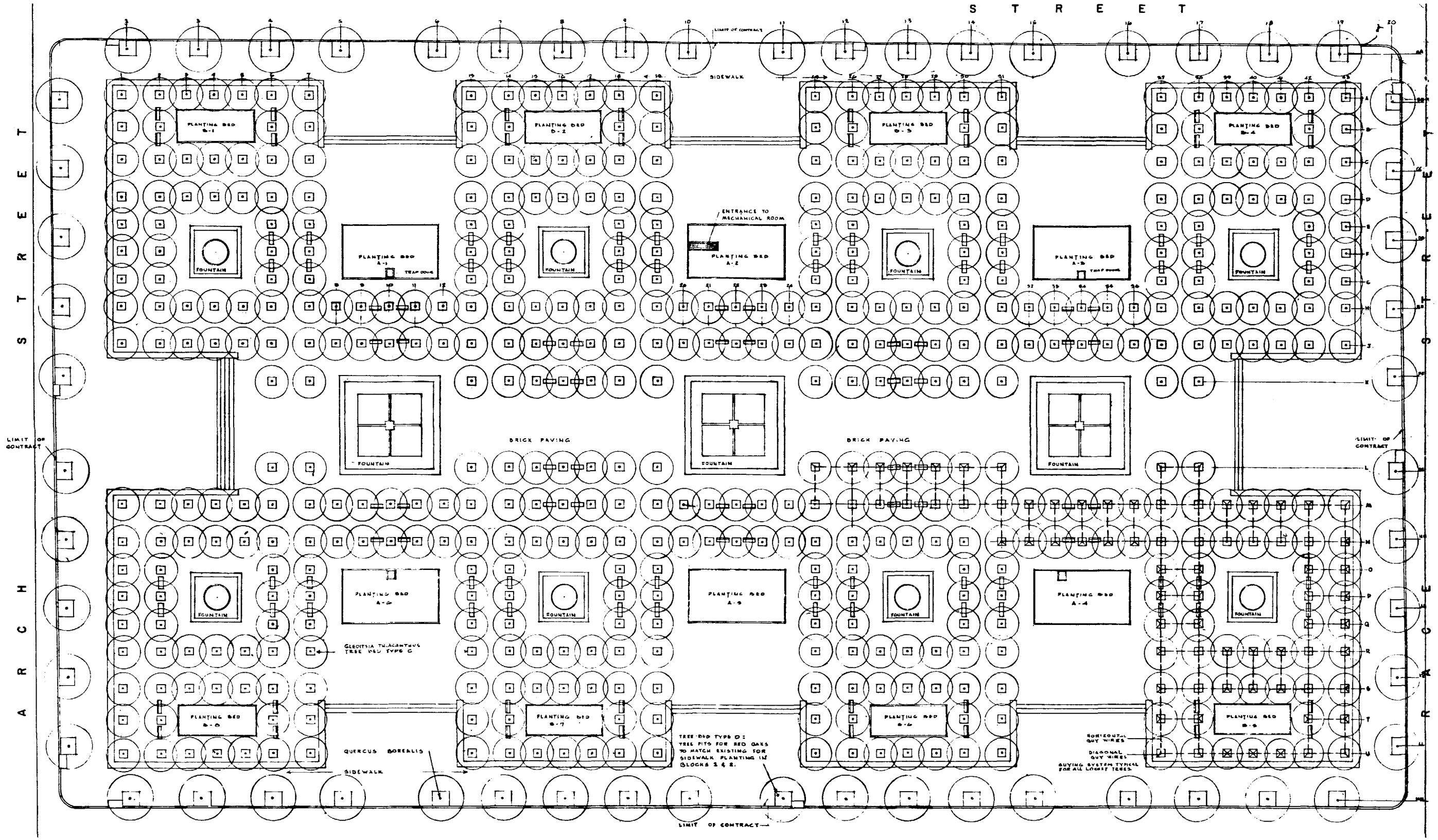


FIGURE 32. PLANTING PLAN FOR THIRD BLOCK, 1960. Dan Kiley's plan for third block was drafted in Larson's office. North is to the right. *(NPS photo.)*



FIGURE 33. FOUNTAINS ON THIRD BLOCK, 1969. The three granite fountains punctuate the central axis in this 1969 view of the third block. *(Photo courtesy of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission.)*

Parking was a sticking point and held up completion of the second block for more than a decade. Automobile congestion had been a major issue in earlier park proposals. Both state and national park planners hoped to alleviate some of the problem by designing parking spaces off the streets. The issue that arose for the mall project, however, was whether the underground alternative was feasible and desirable.

Early in 1958 Pennsylvania's legislature appropriated $7,000,000 to complete the mall. Soon after, the *Inquirer* reported that already the state and Philadelphia had spent more than $11,000,000 on the project — nearly a third more than the original estimate, and yet less than half the mall was completed. There was not enough funding to proceed, it appears, for in July the city announced that it would push for more funds; and in November, with finances apparently resolved, another set of final plans for the mall were approved by the planning commission. The city had to lend more money to the project in 1959.[197]

By the end of fall 1959 the buildings on the south side of Race Street had been pulled down, opening up a new view to Independence Hall. In his *Penn's Great Town*, historian George B. Tatum noted that the demolition, which had cleared away "large numbers of unattractive and nondescript buildings" had "considerably improved" the neighborhood, reduced the fire hazard to the State House, and eased the access "to the shrine of American independence." He anticipated that when completed, Independence Mall would "form an impressive vista stretching to the approaches of the Benjamin Franklin Bridge,"

but that "its vast scale" was "in danger of dwarfing the State House, which is its sole reason for being."[198]

Regardless of vista issues, the space was quickly taken over for use as a parking lot (figure 34). With support from the commonwealth, the city, and Judge Lewis finally secured for an underground garage, it was time to resolve the details of surface treatment.

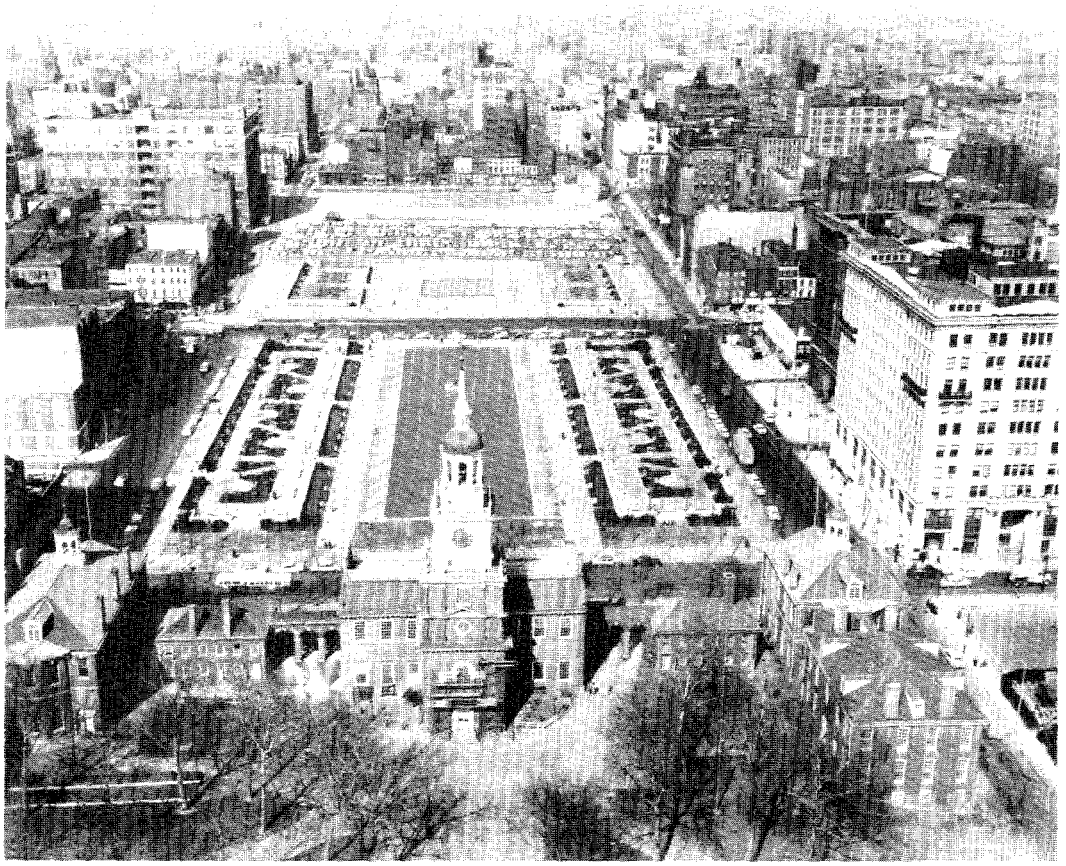


FIGURE 34. PROGRESS OF THE MALL, 1959. Construction of the mall proceeded slowly. By 1959 the first block was completed, as well as the southern third of the second block. The remainder of the second block was demolished (the Free Quaker Meeting House — sole survivor of the demolition — can be seen on the northeast corner of the second block). The third block was still intact. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

Presumably to allow noncontroversial work on the block to begin, the planning commission in February 1961 gave approval to the schematic plan, and in April contractors began to prepare the Free Quaker Meeting House for its journey 33 feet west and 8 feet south of its site to allow the widening of Fifth Street and the sidewalks on Arch Street.[199]

While underground garages were not so rare as they had been when Seneca Egbert first proposed one thirty years earlier, the technology for covering them was not yet well developed. Drainage and the depth of planters were issues, and the lack of funds prevented using the best technology. The need to severely restrict planting over the garage forced yet another change in the original concept — abandonment of the central lawn and the flanking allees of trees. Perhaps because the plan was to be predominantly architectural, Dan Kiley dropped out, and Larson later hired the firm of George Patton

and Associates as the landscape architects. Patton's participation was limited to choosing plants, however, since the locations were dictated by the architects.[200]

The need for an architectural, rather than a landscape, treatment for the block was also consistent with a change in thinking about the block's function that had gradually developed since the completion of the first block. There was a growing need for a space for large public gatherings that could take the pressure off the first block, and the long delay in building the second block meant that it could be designed to serve that need.

This segment of the second block was the subject of some particularly acute design disagreements between Larson and Bacon. There were some areas of agreement, however. As Larson noted, the second block originally

> was to be a continuation of the central greensward with parallel lines of trees, but for some time it has been apparent to the architects that what was greatly needed in the area was a place for great outdoor gatherings, celebrations, spectacles, folk drama, and musical presentations. On this the Planning Commission staff agreed with the architects, the need having been demonstrated by the period's use of the first block for patriotic gatherings, a use for which it was not designed.
>
> The introduction of an underground garage in this block, making impracticable the planting of grass or trees on top, reinforces the concept of a plaza.[201]

In a surprising abandonment of the original concept for the mall, Larson continued by recording that

> later thinking favored interruption of the great length of the Mall, and this led to the concept of treating the roof of the garage as a plaza, a platform for public events, with an architectural screen superimposed, at the same time, to form an enclosure and an interruption. To our thinking, this screen should be as transparent and elegant in its proportions as possible, so that it would not be (or appear to be) a partition dividing the Mall in three parts. Continuity of them all with a unity of landscape and architectural features was sought after, even though a variety was introduced to give interest.[202]

Larson's proposal for a screen was a semicircular colonnade, which was thought to work better for staging performances and for providing a change from the rectilinear nature of the rest of the mall. Bacon preferred a rectangular colonnade, feeling that it would be less likely to constitute a second focal point that would compete with Independence Hall. (The rectilinear form would also have been similar to that used at Nancy).[203]

Larson had committed many years to this design and he felt confident of his preference for the round shape, even in the face of adamant insistence from Ed Bacon that the design was not acceptable. Bacon did not object to the amphitheater, only to its shape, and insisted that it be square. Each presented their arguments before the Philadelphia Art Commission, of which Larson was chair, and its executive secretary reported on February 9 that the commission "disapproved the square form of treatment and . . . the circular form was preferred." Larson had separate models of the mall for the round and square schemes to show the art and planning commissions, but, according to Larson's recollection, Bacon forced the issue by not giving the planning commission a choice. In order to resume progress on the project, Larson finally conceded.[204]

For reasons that have gone unrecorded, neither scheme was realized, and instead, two unconnected colonnades were built not to provide a backdrop for performances but to house exhibits or tables of food and crafts during festivals — in effect, a modern-day shambles and a way to recapture Larson's

1944 idea that this block be a place for fun and entertainment. Each colonnade contains thirteen arches, a reference the original thirteen colonies (figure 35).[205]

Between the two colonnades lies a long, narrow marble amphitheater (its material perhaps a resurrection of Greber's great marble court). Behind the colonnades, parallel to Fifth and Sixth streets, are a series of alcoves that were meant to be used to commemorate the nation's founders. The alcoves also screen the parking garage ramps from the view of people on the inside of the block.[206]

As was the case with the first segment of this block, there was minimal planting. The restraint was dictated by the expense of preparing planting pockets over the garage. None of the hawthorns here have thrived.

North of the amphitheater, down a series of steps, and separated by what seems to have been (yet is not) a right-of-way, are two walled gardens. The garden on the northeast corner is that of the Free Quaker Meeting House. The garden and its wall were added when the building was relocated to accommodate the widening of Fifth Street. On the northwest corner, a garden that was subsequently dedicated to Andrew Hamilton by the American Bar Association was densely planted with birches and American hollies. In a reference apparent in the plan but not on the ground, the size of each garden matches the size of the modules of the third block. The two gardens are separated by a flagstone court the same width as that of the central axis of the third block. Because the underground garage stops short of this area, the designers had the freedom to plant trees densely.

This block, more than any other, was the result of design by committee. Roy Larson later carefully reflected that "everybody seemed to want to have a hand in it; and sometimes I feel that perhaps there were too many cooks, which may have resulted in a broth which is not quite as palatable as it might be."[207]

In June 1963 the state legislature voted to designate the uncompleted second block as the "Edwin O. Lewis Quadrangle." The judge that year was eighty-four and still going strong.[208]

In October 1966 the mall was nearly finished and the *Inquirer* summarized the project. "In a blazon of brickwork, the state is entering the homestretch this fall on a project conceived 30 years ago." The paper reported that the 650-car, three-level underground garage would be as long as a football field and 200 feet wide and would include in its second level below ground an area of some twenty feet beyond the parking for storage or a fallout shelter. When completed it would cost $5.1 million. The city would lease it from the state and in turn would employ a parking company to operate it.[209]

The final surface treatment over the garage was described as a plaza with "handsome brick arcades" to the east and west "designed by . . . Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, and Larson simply to frame the plaza. Each arcade is a profusion of 104 20-foot arches accented by marble," he noted, and quoted Larson as crediting "a young British architect," Gerald Cope, for the design. The article noted that the "emphasis throughout has been on landscaping and colonial brick" and that a half million hand-molded bricks had been specially ordered for the project from the Alwine Brick Co. in New Oxford, Pennsylvania, "to capture the unique appearance of colonial brick."[210]

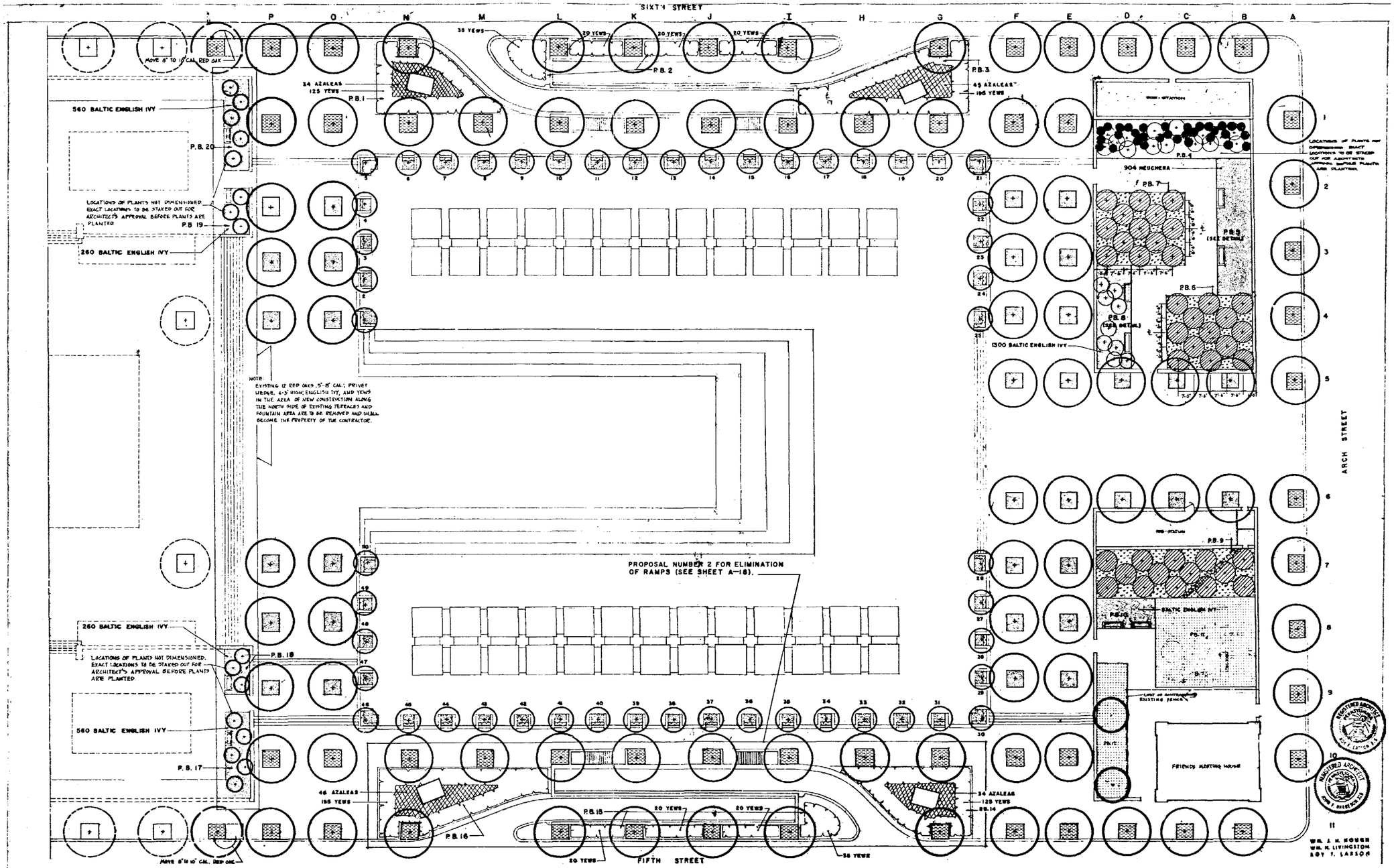


FIGURE 35. PLANTING PLAN FOR THE SECOND SECTION OF THE SECOND BLOCK, 1964. The plan shows how fully the planners had departed from the master plan concept. There also is a strong contrast between the architectonic use of plants around the amphitheater and the looser patterns in the two northern gardens, where landscape architect George Patton had free rein. *(NPS photo.)*

Only two features remained to be completed — the Free Quaker Meeting House restoration and the Judge Lewis fountain. Extensive modifications to the fountain to increase the volume and grandeur of the display were completed in 1969 — the final project that brought the mall to completion figure 36).



FIGURE 36. RENOVATED JUDGE LEWIS FOUNTAIN, 1969. To the right of the renovated second block fountain, seen at its completion in 1969, is the new headquarters of Rohm and Haas, one of the corporations induced to remain in the city and to locate on the new mall.*(Photo courtesy of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission.)*

Research did not uncover information on any special dedication events that gave the three block mall meaning for the citizens of Philadelphia. In 1955, however, the mall's planners had left a permanent dedication for future visitors. On a plaque set in the Chestnut Street sidewalk of the first block, in language reminiscent of the 1736 legislation that had set aside Independence Square as a public park, the commonwealth left this inscription:

> The People of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania have set aside this ground on the 179th anniversary of our Independence as a public green and walk forever dedicating its use to the inspiration provided by Independence Hall within which American patriots founded our nation and conceived our government upon the indestructible spirit and principles of liberty.

INDEPENDENCE MALL TRANSFERRED TO THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Within the first two years after Independence Mall's completion, the commonwealth of Pennsylvania initiated negotiations for its transfer to the United States government. The 1971 *Master Plan for Independence National Historical Park* notes that "The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has indicated a desire to transfer Independence Mall to the National Historical Park." An earlier draft of the plan had noted, "Such a transfer would enable the Service to schedule activities and programs which now take place on Independence Square and thereby inconvenience visitors and the interpretive program to this larger and more appropriate area."[211]

The proposal was welcomed by NPS officials. By 1971, with the Bicentennial on the way, Independence Park, its advisory commission, and the city were trying to decide on a new location for the Liberty Bell that would reflect its importance while relieving Independence Hall of the heavy traffic it drew as the home of the foremost American icon. The 1971 master plan identified the transfer as a park option, adding to the 1969 draft text, "If the transfer is effected, at least the middle block of the Mall should become a continuing center of lively varied activity not compatible with Independence Square."[212]

In February 1972 the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* announced, "State Seeks US Takeover of Mall Park." No negotiations or bills to propose the idea had yet been introduced, but the NPS Advisory Board had endorsed it, and, the reporter added, "the National Park Service has it in its master plan." Funds for a transfer, however, were not available because, as Regional Director Chester L. Brooks explained, appropriations for Independence National Historical Park had already been obligated.[213]

Maurice Goddard, who had supervised much of the mall's development as Pennsylvania secretary of forests and waters, told the *Bulletin* that the transfer "would be a logical and appropriate thing to do," and that it should be done for the Bicentennial as the "state's contribution to the total Independence Hall complex." Goddard noted that maintenance would be "easier and cheaper" under one management. He also wished to save the state "a costly burden" of $150,000 a year in maintenance. Goddard underscored his proposal with the fact that half of the $14 million allocated for the project had gone toward buying the land and that $7 million for the three blocks of urban real estate exceeded the price paid for Pennsylvania's entire ten-million-acre forest holdings.[214]

The Pennsylvania legislature passed a bill late in 1973 favoring the Liberty Bell's relocation, and by Act No. 187 on July 20, 1974, they officially transferred the Independence Mall to the National Park Service. In signing the deed Governor Milton Shapp hailed the transaction, citing the annual savings to the state.[215]

The commonwealth had planned to donate the mall and transfer it in fee simple until it was realized that the mall had been placed as collateral for general state authority bonds taken out for the park's construction. It was determined that enough of the loans had been paid off to allow the state to transfer in fee simple the lawn area of the first block, containing 2.11 acres, to the National Park Service for the construction of the Liberty Bell Pavilion. The remainder of the mall is held by the state and leased to the National Park Service for $1 annually. When the development bonds that financed its construction are retired in 1998, the National Park Service will purchase the mall for $1.[216]

1976 — Romaldo Giurgola and the Liberty Bell Pavilion

After protracted controversy over moving the Liberty Bell, agreement was reached among the city, the commonwealth, and the National Park Service that the expected flood of visitors for the 1976 Bicentennial would render the bell's existing location in the stairwell at Independence Hall inadequate in size and circulation.

New sites, including the first or third blocks of the mall, the new visitor center at Third and Chestnut streets, and Independence Square, had been proposed at various times as far back as 1924. Each site was unsuitable to various interest groups, for various reasons, but in 1974 the decision was reached that a place on the first block would be satisfactory.

The contract for design of a pavilion to house the bell was awarded to the firm of Mitchell/Giurgola, with Romaldo Giurgola as partner in charge. The criteria for the building directed that it be located close to Independence Hall, yet not compete with it but become part of the vista; that it shelter visitors waiting to see the bell; and that the bell be visually accessible and accessible to touch. In addition, it was not to replicate a Georgian building, but to be fully contemporary.[217]

Many studies were made to test the location of the pavilion at different points on the first block. Some of them recalled the schemes for colonnades that had been proposed during the previous half century; some would have introduced asymmetrical elements and circulation into the block. The location that produced the clearest relationship to Independence Hall and the least damage to the existing landscape was chosen.[218] The site was on the central axis of the mall and adjacent to Market Street.

A simple "nonbuilding"[219] with a purposely anonymous form was developed to shelter and feature the Liberty Bell and accommodate a dignified and effective program, the expression of which was understandable from the outside. At the north end, visible from Market Street, was a large room in which people could gather. Two hallways along the exterior walls of the pavilion were developed since waiting lines were inevitable. The designers felt that the most dignified way for visitors to wait was in a spacious place with views to the outside "without forcing the line to wrap back on itself, causing one to spend twenty minutes looking at the nose of another person coming in the other direction." The bell was located in a second room, spacious enough for people to gather around it. Glass walls on three sides meant that the bell would always be visible, and the size of the southern glass wall would allow the bell to be seen against the entirety of Independence Hall (figure 37).[220]

While the floors and walls of the interior are paneled in oak, Giurgola sought a simple and noncommittal exterior material that would not divert attention from the glimpses of the warmly lit interior and the bell itself. Granite and lead-coated copper have served that purpose, but the cold colors have made it seem alien to its environment. The pavilion has been less well received than it might have been.

In a gesture reminiscent of Cret's 1928 proposals and Boyd and Kelsey's 1936 constitution gardens proposal, Giurgola slightly lowered the floor of the building to increase the apparent height and presence of Independence Hall for viewers standing next to the bell.



FIGURE 37. THE LIBERTY BELL PAVILION, 1976. From the Liberty Bell, one can see the entire Independence Hall Group. *(Independence National Historical Park photo.)*

Former superintendent Hobart Cawood has recently noted that the pavilion was to be "long, slim, transparent, and lowered below grade" in order that it interfere as little as possible with the north/south vista.[221] Yet siting a structure — even one as light-filled and open as the pavilion — directly on the axis has fully altered the three-block-long vista of Independence Hall that was the mall's basic concept and has increased the visual and physical isolation of the second and third blocks. Ironically, the pavilion's siting at the very place where Kelsey, Boyd, Greber, Cret, and Larson had once proposed architectural elements served the purpose that they had sought — the closing of the vista to and from Independence Hall at a distance that seemed appropriate to the hall's scale and with the only icon that could ever be considered appropriate. As Edmund Bacon once remarked, "you couldn't conceivably have stopped [the mall] at the second block because what in the dickens would you put as a terminus? You can't put another building facing Independence Hall. It's impossible!"[222]

Judge Lewis lived to see the transfer of the Independence Mall State Park to the National Park Service in 1974. It completed a campaign he had advocated for nearly thirty years. The judge died two months after the bill was passed, at the age of 95. He never knew about the plans to move the Liberty Bell out of Independence Hall to a glass house, but this had been one of his dreams. In 1970, four years before the design was under consideration, he recalled, "Now I wanted to take the Liberty Bell out of Independence Hall and put it in a glass building so tourists can go around it . . ." The man of dreams saw all but the last before his death.[223]

Such dreams inspired the movement that led to the creation of Independence Mall State Park and Independence National Historical Park. The people who led the movement to preserve Independence Hall and give it a fitting setting provided the vision, ingenuity, and perseverance to see the dreams come true.



FIGURE 38. INDEPENDENCE MALL DURING THE BICENTENNIAL

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER 2

1. As quoted in Edward M. Riley, "The Independence Hall Group," in *Historic Philadelphia*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 43, part 1 (Philadelphia, 1980), p. 35.

2. Ibid, p. 31.

3. Ibid.

4. As quoted in *Historic Structures Report, Part II, Independence Hall,* Independence National Historical Park, April 1962, p. 85.

5. Edward M. Riley, "The Independence Hall Group," *Historic Philadelphia,* Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 43, part 1 (Philadelphia, 1980), p. 88.

6. As quoted in ibid, p. 93.

7. Ibid., p. 93.

8. Ibid., p. 101.

9. Ibid., p. 35.

10. Grieff, Constance. *Independence: The Creation of a National Park.* Heritage Studies, Inc, 1985, p. 60.

11. As quoted in Edward M. Riley, "The Independence Hall Group," in *Historic Philadelphia*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 43, part 1 (Philadelphia 1980).

12. Ibid., p. 38.

13. Ibid., p. 39.

14. Ibid., p. 39.

15. Ibid., p. 38.

16. Ibid., p.39.

17. John Paige and David Kimball, editors, "The Liberty Bell: A Special History Study," Denver Service and Independence National Historical Park, 1984, pp. 35-38.

18. Riley, p. 39.

19. Ibid.; "HSR, Part II," p. 114.

20. Riley, Ibid.

21. Riley, p. 40.

22. "Notes on Exhibition Matters for the Independence Hall Association and Simultaneous or Related Exhibits," compiled by D. Knickerbacker Boyd, June 30, 1942, Independence National Historical Park Archives, Independence Hall Association Papers, Box 3.

23. James Sullivan, "Historic Grounds Report, Part I., State House Yard, Historical Data," June 1959, p. 17.

24. As quoted in Edward M. Riley, *Independence National Historical Park,* National Park Service Historical Handbook Series, no. 17. 1954, rev. 1956, p. 38.

25. Ibid. pp. 37-38.

26. As quoted in Sullivan, pp. 10-11.

27. Ibid., p. 11.

28. Ibid., pp. 15-17.

29. Ibid. pp. 17-19.

30. As quoted in "Notes on Exhibition," p. 5.

31. Sullivan, p. 19.

32. Huger Elliot, "Architecture in Philadelphia and a Coming Age," *Architectural Record 23* (April 1908), pp. 299-300, as quoted in Kathleen Cook, "The Creation of Independence National Historical Park and Independence Mall," M.A. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1989, p. 172.

33. Kelsey obits, *New York Times*, May 9, 1950, *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 8, 1950, and *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 9, 1950, in Kelsey file, University of Pennsylvania Archives; "A Brief Sketch of D. Knickerbacker Boyd," *American Stone Trade*, February 5, 1912, in INDE Archives, IHA, Boyd Collection., Box 1; Boyd's recollections given in "Liberty Bell Shrine Plan Hers Says Mrs. Stotesbury," *Public Ledger*, May 27, 1924, INDE Archives, IHA, Scrapbook 1.

34. Kelsey's 1929 description of the 1915 plan is in INDE Archives, IHA, Boyd Coll., Box 1, 1915 Colonnade Plan.

35. As quoted in Cook, p. 28.

36. Cook, p. 30; the reference to the plan's usefulness as fire protection for Independence Hall was made by the founder of the Colonial Dames, Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, as quoted in *Public Ledger,* May 27, 1924.

37. *Public Ledger,* ibid.

38. Diane Maddex, ed. *Master Builders — A Guide to Famous American Architects,* National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1985, p. 183; Grieff, p. 64; George B. Tatum, *Penn's Great Towne,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961, p. 129; Cook, pp. 24, 26.

39. David Leatherbarrow, "A Study for James Snyder of Geddes Brecher Qualls and Cunningham," n.d., p. 18.

40. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Dec. 7, 1939, clipping in Egbert file, University of Pennsylvania Archives.

41. Egbert's six-page description titled "Colonial Concourse," is undated and unsigned, but Egbert's name has been hand-written under the title. INDE Archives, IHA, Boyd Coll, Box 1.

42. *Philadelphia Bulletin,* Apr. 14, 1936 in IHA, Scrapbook 1.

43. Ibid.

44. Egbert, "Colonial Concourse," p. 3.

45. Ibid.

46. Leatherbarrow, pp. 21, 22.

47. Boyd to Owen Connor, July 25, 1925. Boyd Collection, Box 1.

48. *Public Ledger,* IHA, Scrapbook 1.

49. Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949,* vol. 1 (University of Virginia Press, 1981), p. 3; Grieff, p. 68.

50. Grieff, pp. 68-69. Grieff also pointed out that flexibility hinged on whether Congress passed appropriations to fund the preservation effort.

51. "Notes on Exhibition," p. 6.

52. *Public Ledger* May 8, 1930, IHA, Scrapbook 1.

53. As quoted in Cook, p. 40; Grieff, p. 67.

54. Cook, p. 35.

55. Grieff, pp. 65,68; Cook, p. 32.

56. Phone interview, Anna Coxe Toogood with Mark Frazier Lloyd, University of Pennsylvania Archivist, October 5, 1993.

57. C. William Duncan, "Conversion of Historic Midcity into National Park Advocated," *Evening Bulletin* Jan. 17, 1935, IHA Scrapbook 1.

58. Ibid.

59. Board of Trade report as quoted in Cook, p. 38; interview, Roy F. Larson, Columbia University Oral History Program (CUOHP), 1973, p. 3. Larson to date is the sole source identifying Boyd and Larson as the architects for the "Constitution Gardens" plan. The plan can be viewed in Cook.

60. See Cook, pp. 36-38 and Grieff, pp. 69 ff., for more on this park effort.

61. Cook, pp. 38-39.

62. Interview, Roy F. Larson, CUOHP, 1969, p. 6.

63. Ibid., pp. 1-6. Robert Breading, one of Larson's architects and a future partner of the firm, remembered, "back in the 30s when there wasn't much to do, architects invented projects." Interview, Breading with Gibson and Toogood, October 1, 1993.

64. Larson interview, 1969, p. 6.

65. Grieff, Illus. 10, opp. p. 67.

66. As quoted in Cook, p. 33.

67. Grieff, pp. 69-70.

68. Ibid., pp. 70-71.

69. Minutes of the Committee, Dec. 22, 1941, IHA, Box 3; Grieff, pp. 76-7. Grieff made a common error when she identified the patriotic group that spawned the Independence Hall Association as the Sons of the American Revolution, instead of Sons of the Revolution. Lewis explained to Congressman Gallagher that the SAR was a breakaway group from the parent Sons of the Revolution. Lewis to Gallagher, May 19, 1944, Box 8, Corres. 1944.

70. Lewis interview with Melford Anderson, August 7, 1956, p. 7; minutes, Independence Hall Group Subcommittee, Jan. 21 and Mar. 16, 1942; "Report of the Committee on Protection of Historic Buildings," read at April 6, 1942 meeting, Pennsylvania Society, Sons of the Revolution, IHA, Box 3.

71. "Report of the Committee on Protection of Historic Buildings," April 6, 1942.

72. Minutes of A Meeting Held May 21, 1942 in the Architects' Building," IHA, Box 3.

73. Lewis interview, 1956, p. 8. "List of Invitees and Other Lists," IHA, Box 3.

74. Larson interview, 1969, p. 7; Larson explained in this interview that he already had met Lewis socially and was his fraternity brother.

75. Minutes, May 21, 1942, Ibid; Grieff, p. 80; Larson recalled that Zantzinger and Markley Stevenson, the landscape architect for the first block of Independence Mall, had collaborated on a design for the block, but no record of the plan has been found. Larson, 1969, p. 9.

76. "Summarized Minutes of a Meeting Held June 30th, 1942," IHA, Box 3. The name "Independence Hall Association" may have been borrowed from a group of that name organized in 1915 by Reverend Alexander Leo, (a Methodist minister), to assure Independence Hall "our greatest shrine, the recognition and support it deserves." Leo to Chief Ball, April 18, 1915, INDE Museum Files, City Collection, IHA, 1914-1948.

77. Lewis interview, 1956, p. 7.

78. Lewis interview with Eleanor Prescott, CUOHP, January 16, 1970, pp. 1-17; Grieff, p. 87. For a fascinating record of Boyd's organization and careful tracking of IHA business, see his confidential list of members. IHA, Boyd Coll., Box 1.

79. Lewis interview, 1956, pp. 2-3; 1970, p. 11.

80. Ibid., 1970, p. 9.

81. "The Spoliation of American Cities," 1944, p. 1, IHA, Box 8.

82. IHA, boxes 8 and 9.

83. Lewis interview, 1970, p. 25.

84. Ibid., p. 21; phone interview, Toogood with Clifford Lewis, September 18, 1993.

85. Lewis interview, 1970, p. 17; 1956, p. 10.

86. Lewis interview, 1970, pp.21, 23.

87. Larson interview, 1969, p. 37.

88. Borie interview, CUOHP, c. 1970, p. 24.

89. As quoted in Grieff, p. 74. Later in Grieff's text, p. 410, she notes that Martin Yoelson recalled that Ostroff had been "crowded out," she presumed by Judge Lewis.

90. Interview, Edmund Bacon, CUOHP, 1971, p. 33.

91. Grieff, pp. 77-79 and Cook, pp. 45-52 cover the creation of the IHA in detail. Cook points out that Ostroff's purpose for advocating the park was "improvement in housing." For a list of committee members in September 1942, see INDE Archives, D.K. Boyd Papers, Box 1, IHA-Boards and Committees.)

92. Summarized minutes, Aug. 6, 1942, IHA, Box 3.

93. Grieff, pp. 79-81; Cook, p. 57; Transcript for Masters Meeting for Incorporation, Dec. 23, 1942, IHA, Box 3; the August 11 minutes are missing from the IHA archives.

94. "Outline Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee on Research and Planning of the Independence Hall Association," Oct. 16, 1942, IHA, Box 3.

95. *Bulletin* [Oct. 30, 1942]; Grieff, p. 85.

96. Minutes, Dec. 10, 1942, IHA, Box 3; Grieff, p. 80.

97. Minutes, Ibid.; Hosmer points out that Robert Moses, park commissioner in New York City, was no avid preservationist. *Preservation,* vol. 2, pp. 779ff.

98. Meeting of the officers and executive committee of the Independence Hall Association," Dec. 28, 1942, IHA, Box 3.

99. Masters Meeting, Ibid.

100. "Reawakening," IHA, Boyd Coll., Box 1; this was undoubtedly Boyd's writing.

101. George E. Nitzche, chairman, sub-committee on facts and figures of the committee on research and planning, to D. Knickerbacker Boyd, executive secretary, IHA, March 24, 1943, IHA, Boyd Coll, Box 1.

102. As quoted in Grieff, pp. 81-82; Cook pp. 53-54. Cook points out that the committee considered the benefits gained in St. Louis with the demolition of 37 blocks on the waterfront for the creation of the Jefferson Memorial. Lewis had visited and reported on the St. Louis project as early as October 1942.

103. "Executive Committee Meeting," June 1, 1943, IHA, Box 3. Grieff, p. 81, covers the problems of the agreement.

104. Grieff, p. 81.

105. Minutes, June 1, 1943, IHA, Box 3. The minutes listed Lewis as president, Wister, Larson and Lingelbach vice-presidents, Edward M. Biddle, treasurer, and Boyd, executive-secretary.

106. Ibid.

107. Lewis to Dr. Newton B. Drury, Director, National Park Service, May 17, 1944; to Attorney General Francis Biddle, Jan. 6, 1944, IHA, Box 8; Grieff, pp. 82-85.

108. Minutes, Facts and Figures Sub-Committee, Feb. 15, 1943, IHA, Box 8.

109. Ibid.; John A. Stevenson, president, Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company to J. Alden Tifft, June 1943; Thomas I. Parkinson, The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States to Lewis, February 11, 1944, IHA, Box 8.

110. Ibid.

111. Lewis to Bernard Samuel, Jan. 7, 1944, IHA, Box 8.

112. "Spoliation," pp. 3, 11. Larson credited Martin for calling this forum, saying, "he made a great contribution . . . to moving this (IHA effort) along." Larson interview, 1969, p. 17.

113. "Spoliation," pp. 6, 9.

114. Ibid., pp. 7-8.

115. Larson interview, 1969, pp. 15, 18.

116. Adams to Lewis, June 21, 1944, IHA, Box 8.

117. Grieff, p. 87; Cook, pp. 111-112; Cook cites the small city paper, *Philadelphia Journal* as labeling the national park plan a "huge real estate promotional scheme."

118. Larson to Lewis, June 7, 1944, IHA, Box 8.

119. *Independence Hall and Adjacent Historic Buildings, A Plan for Their Preservation and the Improvement of their Surroundings* (Philadelphia: Fairmount Park Art Association in collaboration with the Independence Hall Association, 1944).

120. Ibid., p. 20.

121. Ibid., pp. 112-14.

122. Ibid. p. 22.

123. Ibid., pp. 23-25.

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid. p. 9.

126. Cook, p. 57.

127. Robert T. McCracken to Lewis, March 18, 1944; Lewis to Governor Martin, March 24, 1944; Edward Martin to Lewis, March 27, 1944; Edmonds to Lewis, March 27, 1944; Lewis to McCracken, March 28, 1944; Edmonds to Parkinson, April 5, 1944; "Judge Lewis Joins Move to Ease Insurance Law Curb on Housing, " *Philadelphia Inquirer,* March 31, 1944, IHA, Box 8.

128. Lewis to Biddle, January 6, 1944; to Drury, May 19, 1944; to James Gallagher, May 19, 1944, IHA, Box 8; Grieff, pp. 84-86.

129. As quoted in Grieff, p. 88, from a January 1, 1969, interview.

130. Lewis to Dr. Francis S. Ronalds, Coordinating Superintendent, Morristown National Historic Park, January 5, 1945; to Martin, January 10, 1945, IHA, Box 8; Grieff, p. 88.

131. Lewis to Martin, January 12, 1945, IHA, Box 8.

132. Ibid., January 23, 1945.

133. McCracken to Martin, February 16, 1945, Ibid.

134. Lewis to Martin, January 23, 1945, Ibid.

135. Grieff, pp. 88-89.

136. Correspondence, United Nations in Philadelphia, IHA, Box 9.

137. Larson to Lewis, May 1, 1945; Borie to IHA, November 5, 1945, IHA, Box 8. This is probably the model Larson later displayed in his firm while in charge of the design for Independence Mall.

138. *Inquirer,* July 1, 1945, INDE Archives, Architects' Files, Box 6, Misc. Pub.

139. Lewis to Skidmore, September 25, 1945, IHA, Box 8.

140. *Independence Crier*, election day, November 1945, IHA, Box 8; Grieff, p. 89.

141. Ibid. Isidor Ostroff and his committee of park advocates established this neighborhood newspaper in early summer 1945, and looked to Judge Lewis among others for support. Ostroff to Lewis, June 18, 1945, IHA, Box 8.

142. Ostroff to Samuel, November 19, 1945, IHA, Box 9.

143. Ostroff to Martin, November 12, 1945; April 16 and May 18, 1946, and to Congressman Michael J. Bradley, May 18, 1946; Lewis to George Bloom, secretary to the governor, May 27, 1946, IHA, Box 9.

144. *Daily News,* February 20, 1947; *Inquirer,* February 11, 1947; *Bulletin,* February 22, 1947, Clippings, IHA, Box 9.

145. *Inquirer,* ibid.

146. As quoted in Cook, pp. 112-113.

147. Lewis interview, 1970, p. 19.

148. Lewis interview, 1956, p. 13.

149. Ibid pp. 13-14; interview, 1970, pp. 18 and 34 for two similar river quotes.

150. Bacon interview, 1970, p. 18.

151. Cook, p. 114; Grieff, pp. 92-93.

152. Grieff, pp. 151 ff.

153. As quoted in Grieff, pp. 96-98 and Cook, pp. 116-117.

154. Grieff, pp. 93, 104-105; Grieff also notes Appleman's assessment that the judge *was* the shrines commission.

155. Grieff, pp. 99-100; Cook, p. 141; quote from the city planning commission report as cited in Cook, p. 142.

156. Grieff, pp. 105-107.

157. Grieff, pp. 104, 116.

158. Ibid., pp. 116-117.

159. Ibid., pp. 118-119.

160. *The Independence Mall — A Report of the Joint State Government Commission to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,* session of 1951, pp. 5 and 8, inde archives, architects' files, box 6.

161. Grieff, pp. 120-121.

162. Grieff, pp. 120-123; *Inquirer* and *Bulletin,* February 22, 1947, IHA, Box 9; clippings discuss Governor Duff's $4 million appropriation and the gas tax needed for an additional $4 million to complete the project.

163. Grieff, pp. 121-122.

164. *The Independence Mall,* p. 11; Lewis interview, 1970, p. 28.

165. Francis J. Lammer, executive director, redevelopment authority, to Larson, December 1, 1955; mayor to the city planning commission December 21, 1948; Harbeson Hough Livingston and Larson (H2L2) Archives, Box 318, CPC and redevelopment project 610 R file.

166. Breading interview, 1993.

167. *Independence Mall — A Report,* pp. 5, 8, 10.

168. Memo, W.E. Murphy to J.M. O'Brien, Independence NHP, October 13, 1950; Memo to the files by Assistant Project Manager M.O. Anderson, October 18, 1950, INDE archives, architects files, Box 6.

169. Louis Coplan to Senator Myers, March 21, 1950, Ibid.

170. Cook, p. 81; "Woodside Ignores Staff Hires Lawyer for the Mall Project at $40,000," *Inquirer* June 27, 1952, ibid.

171. Lewis interview, 1956, p. 19.

172. Ibid.

173. "Then and Now – Almost Alike," *Evening Bulletin,* March 27, 1952, as quoted in Cook, pp. 121-122.

174. Cook, p. 13.

175. Miller to J.M. O'Brien, June 15, 1950, INDE archives, architects files, Box 6; *Inquirer,* November 26, 1950, INDE archives, press clips.

176. *Bulletin,* May 6, 1951, ibid.

177. Secretary M. F. Draemel to Bacon, June 30, August 28; Secretary Lewis took over for Secretary Draemel in January 1952. O'Brien to Samuel S. Lewis, January 22, 1952, INDE archives, clip files; Lewis interview, 1970, p. 28.

178. Lewis to president of Central Wrecking Co., March 10, 1952, INDE archives, architects files, Box 6.

179. "Independence Mall," November 6, 1950, was not signed except by the firm's name. H2L2 archives, Box 318, Independence Hall file.

180. Ibid. The interview with Bacon for this report indicates only one consultation with Howe, when he supported the axial plan proposed, citing Nancy, France, as a good example of its effective use.

181. Bacon interview with Grieff, September 17, 1982, pp. 9, 14; Bacon discusses the round versus square design in the 1970 interview, pp. 23, 24; the quote from Bacon interview with Prescott, 1971, p. 20.

182. Bacon, *Design of Cities* (New York: Rae Publishing Co., 1987), p. 175; Bacon interview with Gibson, 1993.

183. Breading interview, 1993.

184. Ibid.

185. Ibid.

186. Survey, October 11, 1954, H2L2 archives, Box 318, Independence Mall.

187. Larson to H.A. Batten, September 20, 1961, ibid.

188. Breading interview, 1993.

189. *Bulletin* June 30, 1957, INDE archives, press clips; Lewis interview, 1970, p. 28.

190. Jones, "A Fountain for the Mall," *Evening Bulletin,* October 23, 1953; Jones, "The Mall Stretches Out," *Evening Bulletin,* July 3, 1956; *Evening Bulletin,* July 11, 1957, IHA, Scrapbook 1.

191. Lewis Mumford, "The Skyline: Philadelphia-II," *New Yorker* February 9, 1957.

192. Ibid.

193. Breading interview, 1993.

194. Ibid., and Bacon interview, 1971, p. 23.

195. "Underground Mall Garage Unlikely," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* August 7, 1957; Jones, "A Fountain for the Mall," *Evening Bulletin,* October 22, 1957, IHA, Scrapbook I; *Evening Bulletin,* October 22, 1957, INDE archives press clips; aerial photo, October 4, 1957, INDE photo files.

196. "Landscape Design: Works of Dan Kiley," *Process Architecture,* no. 33, pp. 106, 107; *Bulletin,* October 19, 1960, INDE archives, press clips.

197. *Inquirer,* February 5, March 12, July 15, November 5, 1958; *Bulletin,* April 30, 1959, INDE archives, press clips.

198. Tatum, p. 137.

199. Roach to Kiley, February 23, 1961, H2L2 Archives, Box 318; Charles E. Peterson, "Notes on the Free Quaker Meeting House, Fifth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, Built 1783. Compiled for Harbeson, Hough, Livingston and Larson, Architects to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania . . ." September 1966.

200. Breading interview, 1993; interview, Gibson and Toogood with Kenneth Arnold, 1993.

201. Larson memorandum, 1961, p. 1; see appendix C for full text.

202. Ibid.

203. Ibid., p. 3.

204. Ibid.; Bacon interview, 1971, p. 25.

205. Breading interview, 1993.

206. Larson interview, 1969, p. 38.

207. Ibid., p. 32.

208. *Bulletin,* June 26, 1963, INDE archives, press clips.

209. Welsh, "Independence Project Nearly Finished," *Inquirer,* October 2, 1966, INDE archives, clips.

210. *Inquirer,* October 2, 1966, ibid.

211. "Master Plan. Independence National Historical Park, 1971, Pennsylvania; *A Master Plan for Independence National Historical Park*, December 1969.

212. Master plan, 1971, p. 46.

213. *Bulletin,* February 16, 1972, INDE archives, clips.

214. Ibid.

215. Bernard Goodman, second draft, "Basic Operations Declaration, Independence National Historical Park"; Grieff, pp. 434-6; *Inquirer,* July 18, 1974, *Bulletin,* July 13, 1974, INDE archives clip file.

216. Goodman, np; Maurice K. Goddard to the Honorable Robert H. Jones, executive director, The General State Authority, September 12, 1974, Toogood's national register files, INDE.

217. Grieff, p. 230; Cawood interview, 1993.

218. Romaldo Giurgola, "Architects in the Park," February 24, 1979.

219. Cawood interview, 1993.

220. Romaldo Giurgola.

221. Cawood interview, 1993.

222. Bacon interview, 1971, pp. 27, 28.

223. Lewis interview, 1970, p. 33; Cawood interview, 1993.

Analysis of Current Site Conditions



3. ANALYSIS OF CURRENT SITE CONDITIONS

INTRODUCTION

Current conditions on and around Independence Mall are a tangible basis for understanding and evaluating the site and its significance. The previous chapter described the events and influences leading up to the development of the mall and its design intent and appearance when completed between 1957 and 1969 and including changes made in 1976 when the Liberty Bell pavilion was constructed on the first block. Findings of a recent field survey and an examination of the current conditions of the mall are detailed in this chapter. The character of the mall today is described in terms of the physical changes that have taken place since completion; the general condition of original features; the character and influences of the adjacent buildings and surrounding neighborhood; and current issues relating to design, use, and management.

Over the past 24 years Independence Mall has been tested both as a commemorative setting for a World Heritage Site and also as an urban park in the center of a major city. The first block functions in both capacities, while the two blocks to the north of Market Street (referred to as the northern blocks) do not. Many factors contribute to the striking difference between the two parts, including the scale and design of the space; the appearance and vitality of surrounding buildings and uses; accessibility; and the condition of landscape features.

THE CHARACTER OF THE MALL TODAY

The mall continues to include three distinct unintegrated spaces that are well defined and well used to the south of Market Street but ambiguous and often deserted to the north. They are separated by three heavily trafficked city streets and have discrete orientations and separate focuses (figure 40).

The original design of the mall has undergone two major modifications since the National Park Service began to manage it in 1975. The construction of the Liberty Bell Pavilion on the first block in 1975 and the modification to the third block in 1991 have had strong impacts on the spatial organization, use, and appearance of the space. The addition of the Liberty Bell Pavilion to the north end of the first block has strengthened the connection with Independence Hall and its overall axial organization, but the pavilion dilutes the already weak axial connection between the second and third blocks and Independence Hall. The second block has had no major structural changes since its construction, but the dysfunctional fountain contributes to its uninviting and unused atmosphere. The third block never had a strong association with Independence Hall because of its remoteness and lack of external orientation. The improvements to this block in 1991 have made it safer and more inviting, but it is still unintegrated with the rest of the mall or Independence Hall.

The only unifying design features of the three blocks remain the central axis and the low brick and granite walls. They also reflect the material and details of the walls surrounding Independence Square and the flagstone paving and trees around the outer perimeter of the three blocks.

The impetus for the mall's transfer from the commonwealth to the federal government in 1974 was not based on an the usual NPS criteria for acquiring or accepting new lands (such as compelling resource protection issues) but was focused largely on the need to relocate the Liberty Bell to the first block to accommodate more visitors and the NPS' ability to maintain the mall more effectively than the state

because of the distance from any other state facilities.[1] Customary studies that usually accompany or lead to the establishment of new units in the system were not part of this transfer, and no subsequent goals or vision for the mall have been officially established or adopted.

The park agrees with the general intent of the original 1950s and 1960s goals for the mall: for the first block, a "fitting setting" for Independence Hall; for the second block, a place for diverse gatherings and events; and for the third block, a place for visitors to rest. These statements are too general to guide policies for use or modification for the mall, however. They do not reflect the level of priority the park places on each block or give criteria for measuring the success of the park's management of the mall.

Revised management objectives were developed for the entire park in 1993. The following objectives apply directly to Independence Mall and guide its treatment.

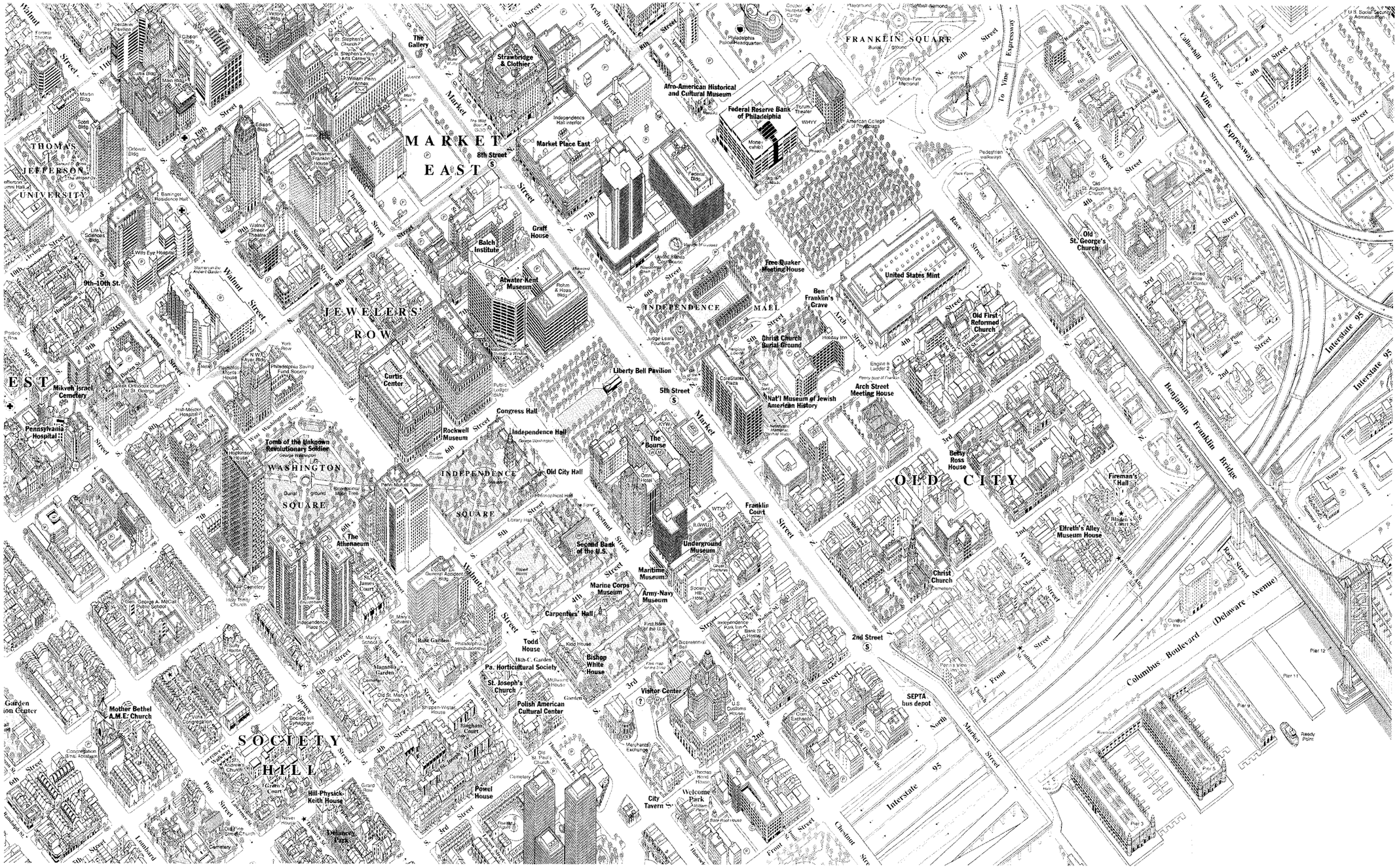
> *Park Setting* — To maintain a visual connection between the Liberty Bell, Independence Hall, and the vistas of the mall in a manner that respects the park's historical significance and dignified setting.
>
> *Visitor Experience* — To foster a strong feeling of safety throughout the park so that visitors can fully enjoy their park experience and the surrounding urban environment.
>
> *Special Uses* — To encourage and permit those activities that are directly related to the park's purpose, significance, and management philosophy and to allow for other activities, in designated locations, that do not detract from the visitor experience and do not denigrate park resources.

The following block-by-block evaluation is based on the above objectives, general principals of urban design, field observation, and issues that have been identified by park staff. Independence Mall also is evaluated as it relates to Independence Hall and as it functions as a setting for visitors and an urban park in the center of a major city.

The First Block

Changes Since Completion. This block, completed in 1954, has retained its simple design and axial focus on Independence Hall. All plan elements and primary circulation continue to be oriented along the north-south axis. With the addition of the Liberty Bell Pavilion on the north end of the lawn, the block is now divided into four primary parts: a central, broad plane of lawn extending from Chestnut Street to the pavilion, raised walled terraces on either side of the lawn, and the pavilion and its associated forecourt (figure 41).

The Liberty Bell Pavilion was conceived and built to house the Liberty Bell in anticipation of the crush of 40 million visitors expected during the 1976 Bicentennial. The pavilion was designed by Romaldo Giurgola of Mitchell Giurgola Associates and was completed in 1975. The 4280-square-foot building is long and low-lying, with its axis perpendicular to that of Independence Hall. The principal construction materials are glass, concrete block faced with granite and stainless steel, and a lead-coated copper roof. A glass wall looks out toward Independence Hall and the bell tower, the Liberty Bell's original home.

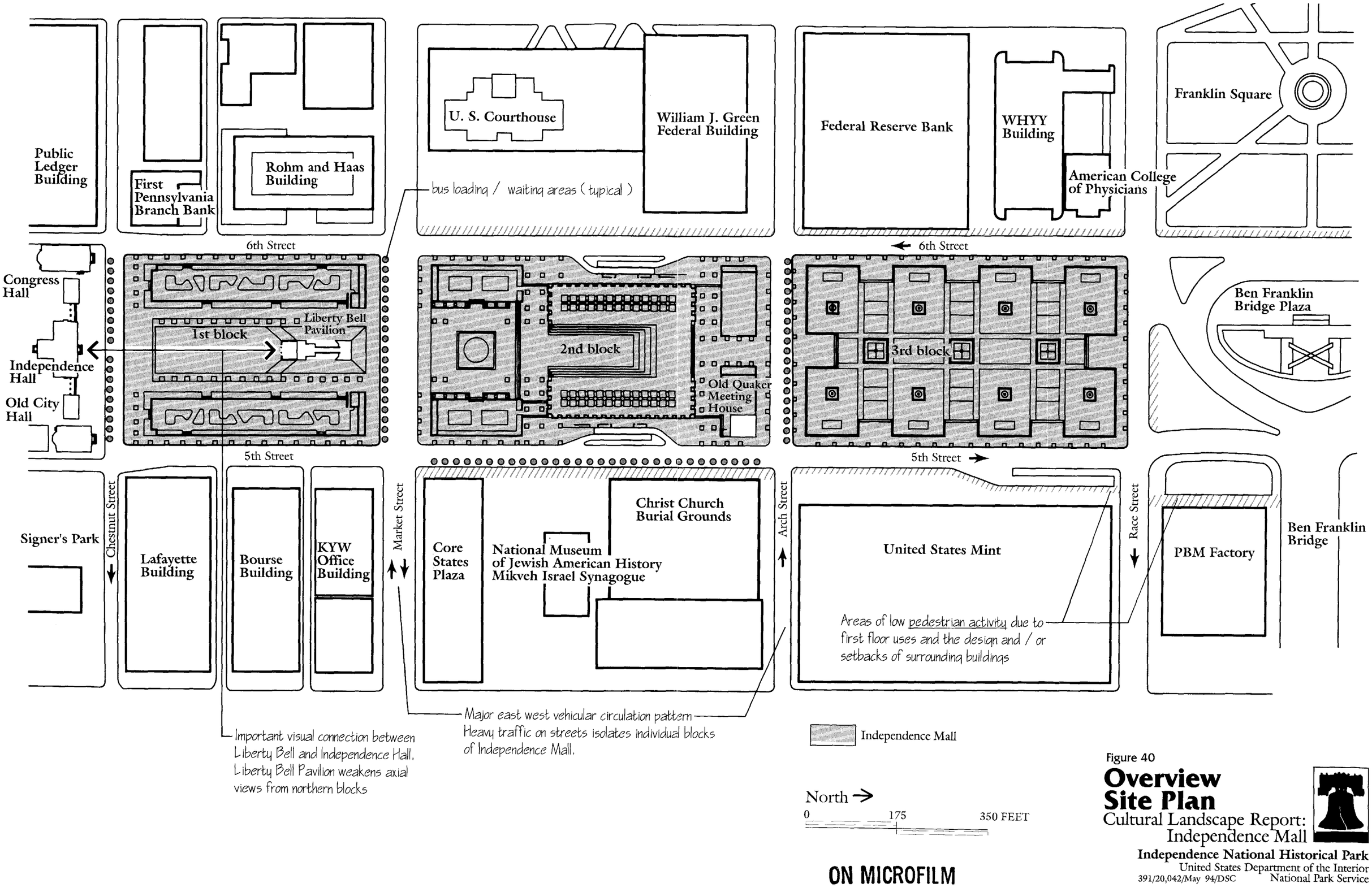


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FIGURE 39. AXONOMETRIC MAP OF THE INDEPENDENCE MALL NEIGHBORHOOD. Detail of "Pictorial Map of Old Philadelphia" showing the neighborhood surrounding Independence Mall.

ON MICROFILM

Figure 39
Axonometric
Cultural Landscape Report
Independence Mall
Independence National Historical Park
U. S. Department of the Interior/National Park Service
391/20,046/May 94/DSC



ON MICROFILM

Figure 40

Overview Site Plan

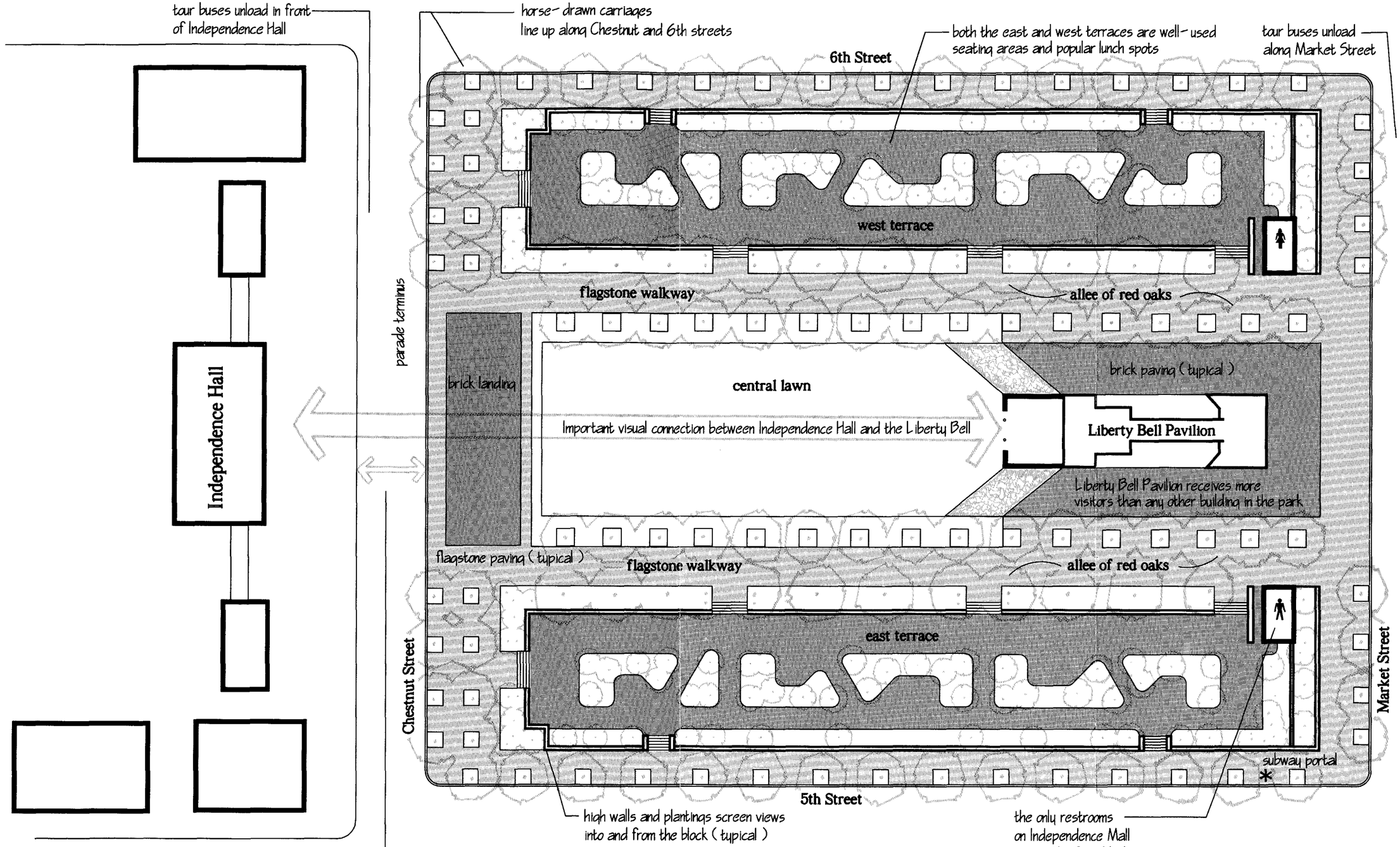
Cultural Landscape Report: Independence Mall

Independence National Historical Park

United States Department of the Interior

National Park Service

391/20,042/May 94/DSC



ON MICROFILM

Figure 41

Site Analysis 1st Block

Cultural Landscape Report
Independence Mall

Independence National Historical Park
U. S. Department of the Interior/National Park Service
391/20,043/May 94/DSC

The park and Giurgola jointly developed the program for the building:

- It was to be located on the first block but not intrude on the historic setting.
- Independence Hall was to be in the line of sight of visitors standing at the bell, so that both could be seen together.
- The public was to be able to see the Liberty Bell 24 hours a day, even when the building was closed.
- The public was to be able to receive a message about the bell even when the building was closed.
- The design was to provide security, including the ability to quickly bomb-sweep the building.
- The building was to be able to handle large numbers of visitors with little delay as well as special events and visits by dignitaries.
- The building was not to attempt to mimic 18th century architecture.
- The building was to be low profile and have minimum adverse impact on the view of Independence Hall from the northern blocks.

With the exception of the final criterion, the building largely has accomplished these objectives, although its appearance has been controversial. The 1986 *Architecture in Parks, National Historic Landmark Theme Study* identifies the pavilion as one to consider for landmark status in architectural significance as it nears 50 years of age. In addition, 1.5 million people currently visit the bell each year, more than any other park building (figure 42).[2]



FIGURE 42. THE LIBERTY BELL PAVILION, 1993. The Liberty Bell Pavilion, sited on the northern end of the first block, now acts as the terminus of the axial vista from Independence Hall and obscures views to the hall from the northern blocks. *(NPS photo.)*

The area around the pavilion is paved in brick, slopes gently into the building from the flagstone walkways, and can accommodate large crowds. The forecourt garden is enclosed by a 4.5-foot granite wall capped with lead-coated copper that matches the detailing of the pavilion. The wall was an addition found necessary after the pavilion was in operation for some time. The wall's low height allows visitors outside to see the bell but keeps them from pressing up against the glass wall. It also maintains the direct line of sight from the Liberty Bell to Independence Hall. Two large wings of yew and boxwood sweep from the primary walkways on a diagonal toward the pavilion. These planting beds guide pedestrians toward the pavilion and encourage them to stay off the lawn.

The two original service buildings on either side of the pavilion were restored and doubled in size in 1986 to accommodate restrooms. Ramps on the south side of these buildings provide barrier-free access to the side terraces as well as the restrooms. These modification were minor and have no impact on the design of the first block.

The double row of sweet gums lining these walks declined from soil compaction and has largely been replaced with red oaks. Compaction of the clay and sand paving in which the trees were planted was the primary problem for the sweet gums, and the paving has been replaced with a permeable aggregate material. The sand and clay paving in the terraces was replaced with brick paving in a basket weave pattern.

Spatial Organization. The first block remains the best articulated space of the three in terms of its design and use. Its strong axial organization has been further reinforced with the addition of the Liberty Bell Pavilion. The scale and proportions of all landscape features, including the lawn, central flagstone walkways, the adjacent aggregate pathways, the red oak allee, and the walls of the terraces, all strengthen the focus on Independence Hall and the central spine.

The success of this space as a setting is particularly apparent at night. When the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall are illuminated and the surrounding buildings (especially the Penn Mutual Buildings) are veiled by darkness, Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell come into crisp focus and elicit the strong feelings associated with these powerful symbols.

Condition of Landscape Features. Generally, the vegetation that has not been replaced on the first block is in fair to poor health. The planting beds in the side terraces contain mature small trees and shrubs that may be nearing senescence. The *Euonymous fortunei* groundcover in the planting beds appears to have severe leaf damage in addition to paths worn through several areas. All planting beds adjacent to the walls of the terraces, both inside and outside, maintain only sparse vegetation. These areas are trampled by children playing on the walls. The lawn is well maintained and in good condition.

The three types of original lighting standards and fixtures used on the first block remain. These include simple modern fixtures along the main walkways, colonial-style fixtures and posts on the terraces, and modern 1950s "mushroom" low level fixtures on the terraces. The modern fixtures along the main walks have two internal lamps; only one lamp in each light is working. The colonial-style fixtures are very large and out of proportion with the height of the standards. None of the low lights on the terraces are working. Lighting on the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall is emphasized by the dark lawn area and may be enhanced by the subtle lighting of the walkways and terraces.

Vistas and Views into and out of the Block. Vistas between the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall are paramount to the success of the space, and the lawn area provides a suitable photographic

foreground and a strong cognitive image for visitors. This visual connection remains strong today, reinforced by the well-maintained lawn, the allees of red oaks, and the walls and dense shade of the terraces. Outward views and distractions from traffic on Fifth and Sixth streets are well screened from this space. In addition, night lighting creates dramatic views to and from the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall.

The high walls around the exterior of the terraces block views into the space from Fifth and Sixth streets. The walls on the inside of the raised terraces are low enough for visitors to look over while seated in the terrace area, which provides a great vantage point for viewing activities on the lawn (figure 43).



FIGURE 43. TERRACE ON THE FIRST BLOCK, 1993. The raised, shaded terraces overlooking the central lawn continue to be a popular place for lunching and people-watching. *(NPS photo.)*

Use. The first block is a lively place. The Liberty Bell Pavilion is the most heavily used building in Independence Park. In addition to intense visitor use, the shady side terraces attract local workers and passersby who use the space extensively for relaxing, meeting, and eating. The food court and cafe at the Bourse and several street vendors add to the activity level.

Organized games and activities are not permitted on the lawn due to the distraction it would create for visitors in the Liberty Bell Pavilion and the need to maintain the lawn in excellent condition.

The park, and particularly the first block of the mall, is a magnet for special events, demonstrations, and political and religious assemblies due to its strong symbolic association with freedom and democratic ideals. The park approves dozens of requests for special use permits every year and strives for balance between individual visitor use and special events activity. The size and noise of special event crowds can be disruptive to ongoing interpretive activities. The average annual park special event visitation is 155,000 people, 8% of which are attendees at ceremonies and events at the Liberty Bell Pavilion and viewing stands for parades along Chestnut Street. Ceremonial events include activities as

varied as visits from dignitaries, commemorative events, naturalization ceremonies, military reenlistments, press conferences, and photography for movies and weddings.

Organizers of demonstrations associated with first amendment rights typically prefer or insist on using the first block, in order to be as close to the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall as possible. These activities are generally enjoyed by visitors as reminders of the rights guaranteed to Americans.

Independence Hall is a favorite parade terminus for groups of all types. The parades remain on Chestnut Street, but viewing stands, announcer platforms and broadcasting equipment are set up along the adjacent sidewalks, and spectators often spill over onto the lawn (figures 44-49).

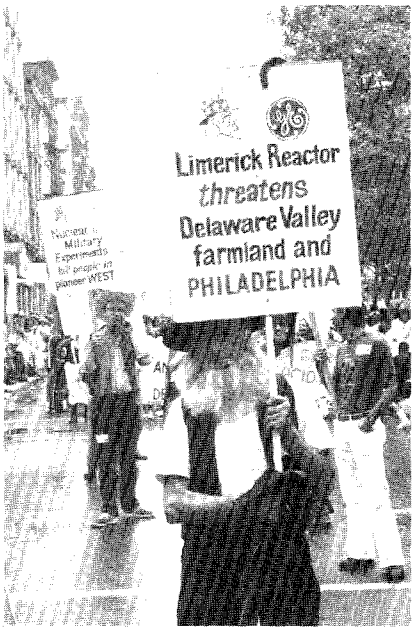
Chestnut Street, which lies between Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell, is often congested with illegally parked tour buses, carriages that wait at the curb all day for fares, and normal city traffic. Visitors frequently jaywalk across the street in the middle of the block, rather than detouring to the corners, and the parked buses and carriages create poor visibility and dangerous conditions (figure 50).

The first block is a successful urban square. Because of its location between the two most heavily visited sites in the park, and because it is a pleasant and accommodating space, it is usually filled with people: groups of small children, workers eating lunch; and hundreds of thousands of visitors from all over the world.

The Second Block

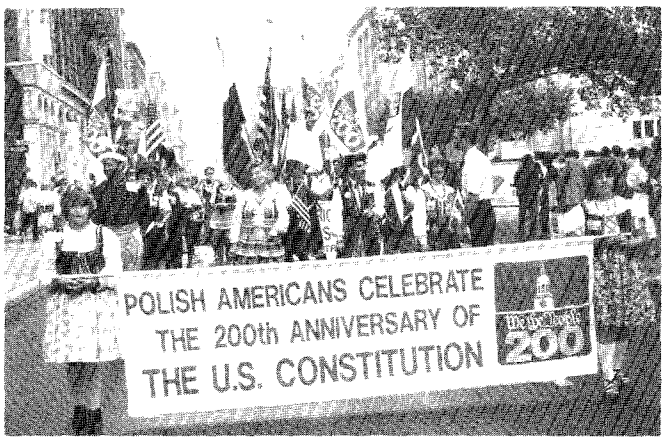
Changes Since Initial Construction. Although extensive design changes to the northern two-thirds of the second block of Independence Mall were made prior to its construction, no major modifications have been implemented since its completion in 1967 (figure 53). The only change to the block occurred when the Judge Lewis fountain replaced a smaller fountain in the pool on the southern forecourt in 1969, ten years after that section had been completed. The pumps for the Judge Lewis fountain failed in 1986. In 1987, $100,000 was spent on repairs in preparation for the Bicentennial of the Constitution, but the pumps failed again later that year (figure 51). Later, plans for a constitution memorial in this space, including a new fountain, were developed as an outgrowth of the Bicentennial, funded by donations to the Friends of Independence. These plans were never implemented.

In 1975 two series of commemorative bronze plaques were added to the floor of the east arcade for the 200th anniversary of the convening of the Continental Congress. The first is a series of 50 plaques along "Signers' Walk" that commemorate the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Each pavilion in the arcade is dedicated to one of the original states, in order of its admission to the union. Each is marked by its seal in the form of a metal banner and a bronze plaque, and the entire arcade is called the "Promenade of the States." This was sponsored by the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Bicentennial Council of the Thirteen Original States, and the Independence Hall Association.













FIGURES 44-49.
An enormous parade celebrating the 1987 Bicentennial of the Constitution included hundreds of marchers exercising their First Amendment rights of speech, assembly, and petition. The space between Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell continues to be among the most important symbolic places in the nation for free expression. *(Independence National Historical Park photos)*



FIGURE 50. HAZARDS FOR PEDESTRIANS IN FRONT OF INDEPENDENCE HALL, 1993. Midblock crossings on Chestnut Street between Independence Hall and the mall are made even more hazardous by the presence of buses, carriages, and normal automobile traffic. *(NPS photo.)*

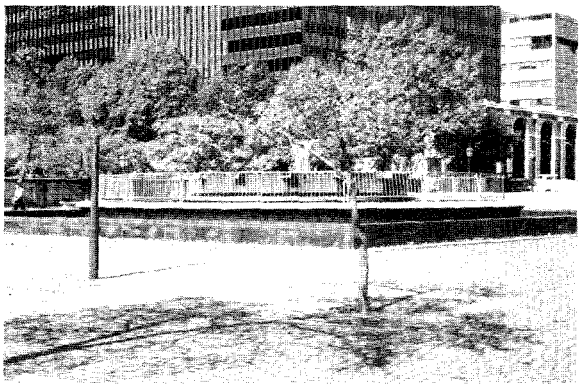


FIGURE 51. THE INOPERABLE FOUNTAIN ON THE SECOND BLOCK, 1993. Now encircled by safety barricades, the fountain no longer serves as the centerpiece and focus of the architectonic second block. *(NPS photo.)*

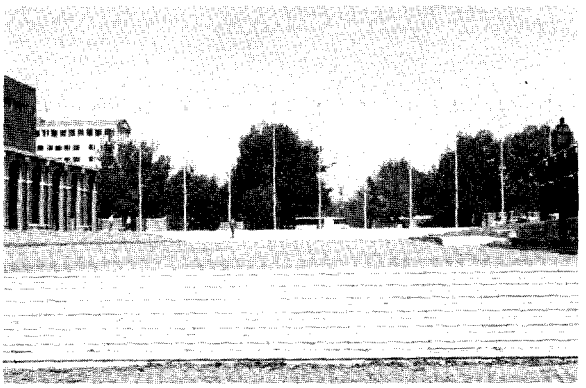


FIGURE 52. MARBLE STEPS ON THE SECOND BLOCK, 1993. A northward view on the second block shows the marble steps that separate the southern third from the rest, the amphitheater and flanking arcades, and Noguchi's Bolt of Lightning statue on the Benjamin Franklin Bridge Plaza beyond the third block. *(NPS photo.)*

Two ramps have been constructed for barrier-free access. A permanent concrete ramp was integrated in one of the breaks in the exterior wall along Sixth Street and leads to the arcade level of the central plaza. A temporary wooden structure, also on Sixth Street, gives access to the lower level of the central plaza. For barrier-free access from one level to another, it is necessary to return to the sidewalk. The two ramps provide the only unimpeded access from the street, and they are both on the west side.

In 1976 the American Bar Association dedicated a plaque in memory of Andrew Hamilton in the west garden near Arch Street. The high walls around this garden made it ideal for criminal activities, and the garden is now sealed off behind a locked gate. No longer maintained as a garden, it is used for badly needed storage for maintenance equipment.

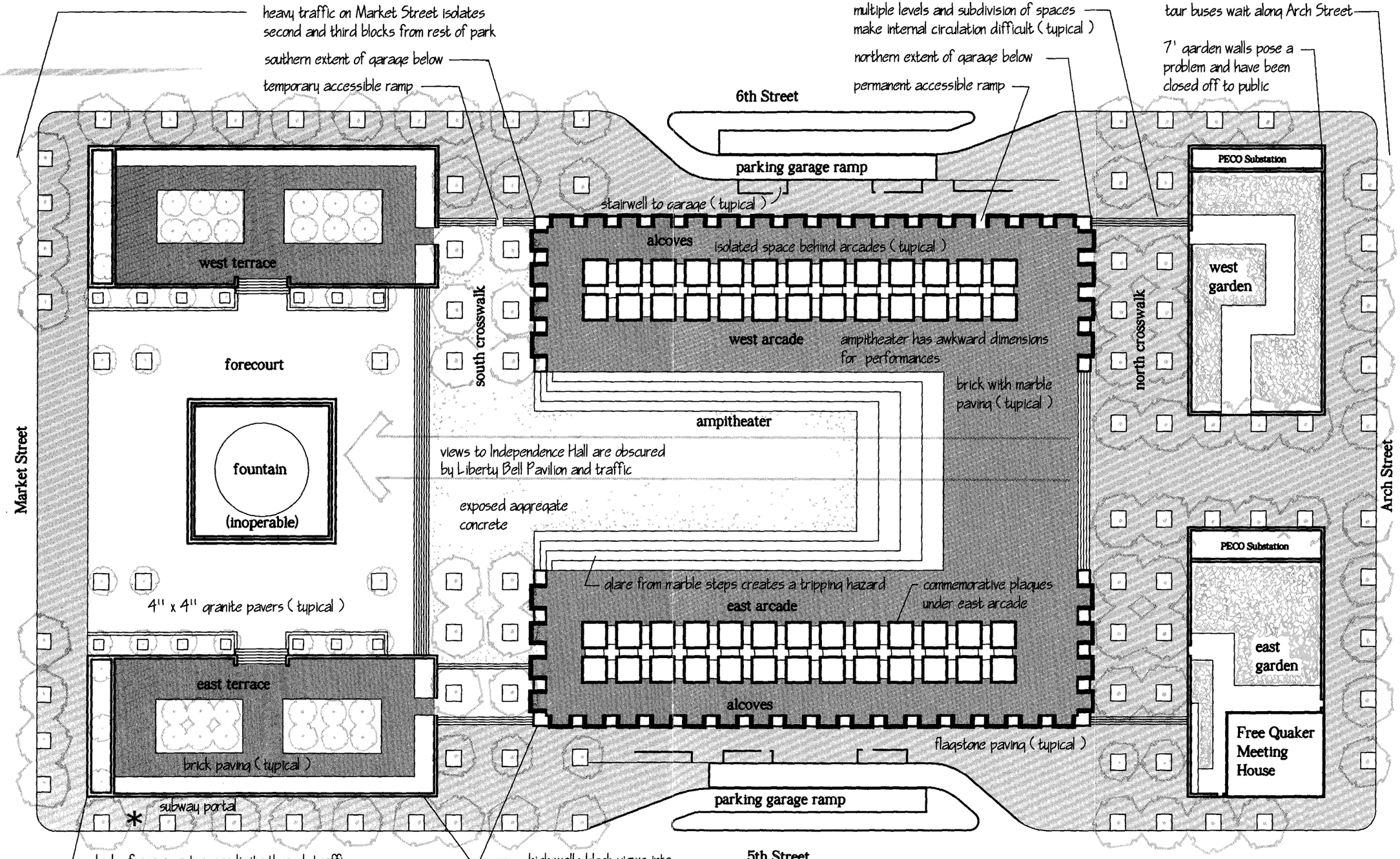


Figure 53

Site Analysis 2nd Block

Cultural Landscape Report
Independence Mall

Independence National Historical Park
U. S. Department of the Interior/National Park Service
391/20,044/May 94/DSC

ON MICROFILM

Spatial Organization. This block can be described as a complex of hard architectural spaces defined by paving materials, elevation changes, and walls. It is divided into three primary areas — the southern forecourt with the Judge Lewis fountain, the central plaza, and the northern garden level. Two east-west crosswalks separate these areas and provide the most direct, though not easily found, access into the block from Fifth and Sixth streets. The three prime spaces are further divided into multiple levels and smaller enclosed spaces by flights of steps and arcades.

The southern forecourt, built shortly after the first block and some ten years before the remainder of the second block, mirrors the first block's layout but not its detailing. On the first block the central spine is clearly defined by the strong allee of shade trees on its edges. In the forecourt the small number of trees do not effectively frame the central space, and the axial concept does not translate through from the first block.

Although the organization of the forecourt has not changed since the addition of the Judge Lewis fountain to the original pool, the fountain's subsequent breakdown did affect the organizational balance and how people use and move through the space. Without the massive water jets, this former focal point no longer directs attention, draws people in, provides a view from the terraces, masks traffic noise, or provides relief from this otherwise hard, hot, noisy space.

The central plaza was built on the roof of the underground parking garage, which required the abandonment of the planting design that characterized the first block. It is an ambiguous space. It was intended to be a place for festivals and other large events, yet it is subdivided into a number of spaces so small that they impede use.

At the center is a long, narrow court, surrounded on three sides by flights of wide marble steps that lead up to the arcade level. Each arcade is an unsettling combination of two rows of tall pavilions joined by one miniature arcade. Behind each arcade, a narrow space bounded by the perimeter wall is hidden from both the streets and the interior. The perimeter wall comprises a series of alcoves that were once intended for memorial statuary or plaques but are used for benches. The space is too isolated and austere for safe and comfortable use. On the Fifth Street side the sense of isolation is increased by the five-foot grade change from the arcade level to the street.

The row of 13 flagpoles across the north end of the central plaza was meant to visually connect the two arcades, and it forms a subtle back edge to the amphitheater. The center pole, however, is located directly on the north-south axis and is visually disturbing when viewed from points north.

Down a second flight of steps is the third segment of the block — the northern garden level. The seven-foot-high walls around the two gardens clearly terminate the north end of the block. The walls and the dense red oaks flanking them form a narrow, well defined northern approach to the third block.

The Free Quaker Meeting House, on the northeast corner, is the only historic building remaining on the mall. It has little relationship to the mall, however, as it is not accessible or even visible from the interior of the block. Hidden behind the garden wall, it is perceived only as the northeast corner of the block. On the northwest corner the walls of the inaccessible Andrew Hamilton garden mirror those of the meeting house garden.

The variety of paving materials and patterns reinforces the division of the block into three unrelated spaces. The flagstone of the perimeter walks is carried into the block at the entrances. The serpentine pattern of 4" x 4" granite pavers in the forecourt around the fountain resembles waves and adds some playfulness to an otherwise static space. The marble grid inlaid with brick on the upper level of the

central plaza helps to break down this large surface. The dull, exposed aggregate concrete paving of the lower amphitheater plaza contrasts with the bright marble steps that surround it.

Condition of Landscape Features. This block is showing some problems of age. The major structural problem is that the alcove walls at the northern end of the central plaza are rotating due to the failure of a corbeled bracket on the wall of the garage below. At the southern end of the amphitheater the marble steps are beginning to separate from the plaza. Unevenness in some paving surfaces and the poor condition of vegetation are the two most general problems throughout the block.

The red oaks along the crosswalks at the northern entrance are generally healthy and provide the only shade in the summer on an otherwise hot and arid block. The red oak street trees around the perimeter are in poor condition. The amur cork trees flanking the fountain in the forecourt are in poor health, as are all trees and ground cover in the terraces. No irrigation system was provided at the time of construction, and these trees, isolated one from the other, are stressed from lack of water and undersized planting pits. The few hawthorns that remain in the planters between the alcoves in the arcade areas are nearly dead. The Andrew Hamilton garden is somewhat overgrown, but the hollies are in good health. The 24 cutleaf weeping birches died and were replaced with 15 "Heritage" river birch and 5 "Shademaster" honey locust. The Free Quaker Meeting House garden is well maintained.

As is the case with the first and third blocks, the exterior brick and marble walls and the flagstone paving are showing wear. The flagstone is particularly chipped near the entrances, where vehicles are likely to park when loading and unloading for festivals or special events. The exterior, terrace, and garden walls are in need of cleaning and repointing.

The granite pavers in the forecourt and the brick pavers in the terraces are uneven surfaces. There are no exposed edges or abrupt changes that would cause a tripping hazard, however.

The lights on the second block are primarily the same mix of modern low level lights in the terraces and colonial mid level fixtures elsewhere. Huge fixtures that resemble the colonial ones hang under the arcades. Lighting on this block at night is poor due to many broken or missing lamps. Security problems created by bad lighting are exacerbated by the many hidden spaces.

Wooden and metal benches in the terraces are similar to those in the first block, with the addition of a center armrest, probably a design change to discourage sleeping on the benches. The only other benches on the block are the marble slabs in the niches, and these are in good condition. They have not received much wear and tear as they are seldom used.

Vistas and Views into and out of the Block. There are no interesting views or important vistas to or from this block. The views to and from Fifth and Sixth streets are blocked by the exterior walls and arcades, particularly in the central and northern sections. The view into this space from the third block is framed by the garden walls and red oaks. The axial view of Independence Hall exists but is weak because of the distance from the building and the intrusion of the Liberty Bell Pavilion (figure 54).

Use. As was originally intended by the planners, uses on the second block are local and active in nature and are not necessarily related to the park's mission. Many groups are specifically interested in using this space, as opposed to other open spaces in the city, because of its proximity to Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell. An average of 124,000 people attend special events such as festivals, rallies, and performances here each year. The rest of the time, the block goes virtually unused (figure 56). This is a small number in relation to the amount of space that must be maintained, yet it is important to have a space for crowds away from the primary park resources in order to avoid crowding.



FIGURE 54. VIEW TO INDEPENDENCE HALL FROM THE SECOND BLOCK, 1993. The view is obscured by the Liberty Bell Pavilion, the Penn Mutual Towers behind the hall, which obscure its silhouette, and often by illegally parked tour buses. *(NPS photo)*

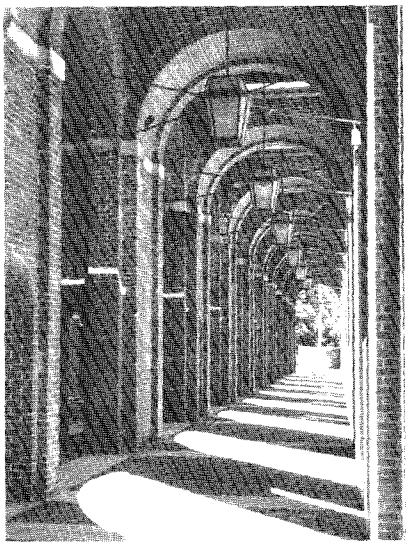


FIGURE 55. ARCADE ON THE SECOND BLOCK, 1993. The arcades were intended as modern-day shambles, but they are generally unusable. The spaces are too small, have no power or lighting, and numerous pigeons roost in them. *(NPS photo.)*



FIGURE 56. FESTIVAL ON THE SECOND BLOCK, 1993. Food and music are attractors for the second block. A mostly local crowd enjoys ice cream at a dairy festival. *(NPS photo.)*

Although the space will hold approximately 20,000 people, insufficient power supply and inadequate lighting pose special problems for big events. The power service was not designed for modern lighting and amplification, and generators must be brought in. Poor lighting means that events must end half an hour before sunset so that crowds can disperse safely, yet this does not allow enough time for cleanup. There are no bathrooms or water service on this block, which makes cleanup more difficult. The marble is particularly hard to clean when food is spilled, and it chips easily. On bright days the glare from the marble steps can be blinding and this is particularly dangerous when the area is filled with people. The arcades, intended to accommodate exhibits or vendors of food or crafts, have open rafters that are attractive to pigeons, and there is scant useable space among the dense columns (figure 55).

The block seems to repel users. The side entrances at either end of the east/west crosswalks are difficult to find and convenient only to the garage stairwells on the perimeters. The multiple levels and confusing subdivision of spaces obscure north-south circulation through the space. This block remains an uninviting and disconnected space with little life, a dysfunctional organization, and an intimidating scale. Without the attraction of music or large scale events, passersby do not venture in, and visitors to the Liberty Bell Pavilion or Independence Hall are not likely to stroll north across busy Market Street unless their bus is parked on Arch Street.

The Third Block

Changes Since Initial Construction. Both the commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the National Park Service have had difficulty maintaining the original extensive brick paving of the third block. Perhaps because of the severe compaction of the demolition-debris subgrade, and the likelihood that old basements of former buildings retaining water, the root systems of the 508 closely planted honey locusts grew primarily in the very shallow sand bed below the brick surface and continually raised the walkways. This created a tripping hazard and led to a number of tort claims against the National Park Service. Beginning in 1985 the park's annual operating budget decreased, and the park was forced to cut back on maintenance. Park funds were directed to areas of highest public use, and the third block deteriorated further. By 1988 all entrances were posted with signs warning of dangerous conditions. In August of 1990, in response to media attention on neglect of Independence Hall and the third block, Congress appropriated $0.3 million for third block repairs. In 1991 park staff developed and implemented a "10-year interim solution" pending determination of what the third block should become (figure 57).

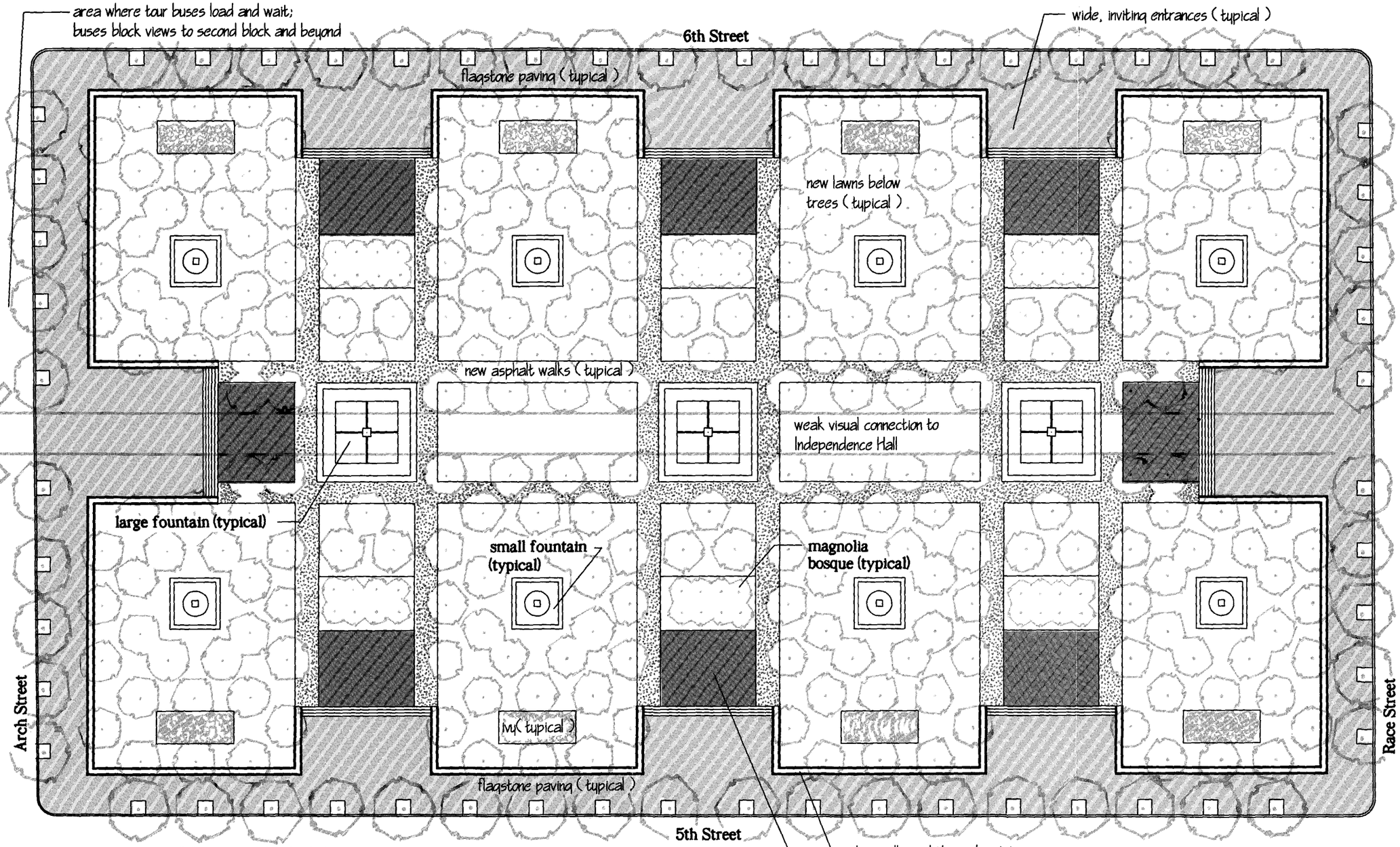


Figure 57

Site Analysis 3rd Block

Cultural Landscape Report
Independence Mall

Independence National Historical Park
U. S. Department of the Interior/National Park Service
391/20,045/May 94/DSC

ON MICROFILM

The modifications to the third block included replacing over 90% of the brick surface with lawn and asphalt walkways, removal of every other honey locust, installation of an irrigation system, replacement of benches and lighting fixtures, and planting the inoperable fountains with ornamental plants (figures 58 and 59).



FIGURE 58. FORMER FOUNTAIN, 1993. A northward view of the third block from Arch Street shows the new planting within one of the three central fountains. *(NPS photo.)*



FIGURE 59. CHANGES TO PAVING, PLANTING, FOUNTAINS, AND STREET FURNITURE ON THE THIRD BLOCK, 1993. In 1991, 50% of the honey locusts were removed, as well as most of the brick paving. Marble benches were replaced with teak, the eleven fountains became planters, and asphalt paths and lawn areas were defined. *(NPS photo.)*

Spatial Organization. The organization of landscape elements in this space remains the same, but the hierarchy and flow of spaces have been completely altered. The new walkways and lawn areas define strong circulation paths where previously fountains, planters, and entries were the only spatial organizers.

The original central axial space was previously the primary space and was defined by patterns in the brick, a break in the massing of trees, and the three major fountains. Now, asphalt walks and lawns define new local spaces.

The eleven fountains, now planters, have not been operable since 1988. The ornamental shrubs and grasses that replaced the water jets do not provide as strong a focal point but do suggest the movement that water once provided.

The wide marble steps leading into the space from the side streets are still demarcated by the original magnolia groves and are further accentuated with a landing of the original brick (relaid on a more stable subbase). A clear circulation hierarchy has not been established by the width or material of the new walkways, perhaps because more users of this space are traversing east to west rather than down the central spine.

Contoured wooden benches with a natural finish have replaced the marble benches and are now arranged around the three main fountains along the promenade and in pairs along the lateral walkways. Seating now turns its back on the eight smaller fountain structures.

Condition of Landscape Features. The perimeter walls, exterior walkways, fountain bases, and remaining trees are the only original features; all other landscape elements have been replaced. The

brick walls with marble coping appear to be in good structural condition, although generally in need of cleaning and repointing. The flagstone perimeter walkway is showing some signs of stress and chipping, particularly at the entrance on Arch Street. The surviving honey locusts are in varying degrees of health, and they have shown little response to the renovation, probably because subsurface problems could not be corrected without removal of all the trees. The soil was not substantially amended at the time of the rebuilding. The red oak street trees and magnolia groves are in fair condition.

Lighting on the third block is currently provided at a safe night level. The original modern globe fixtures were replaced with a similar model during the renovations. These fixtures and posts are different than those used on the first and second block and are an improvement in terms of scale over the predominant colonial fixtures.

Vistas and Views into and out of the Block. Axial views toward Independence Hall are weak. Even in the best conditions the silhouette of Independence Hall is obscured by distance and the backdrop of the Penn Mutual Towers (figure 60).

The low walls surrounding the block have always allowed some views in and out, and with the clearing of 50% of the trees, the interior views of this block have opened up, resulting in a more secure space. Views into the block are also more open and inviting.

Use. The original program planned for this block was that it simply be a place of rest. Changes to the third block have made it much more inviting and safe, but it continues to be substantially unused. Its only real use is as a picnic area for the groups that are directed here by park staff. Few office workers from the surrounding buildings use this as a lunch spot, as there is no convenient location to buy food; the nearest takeout restaurant is a vendor at the corner of Sixth and Market streets.



FIGURE 60. VIEW TO INDEPENDENCE HALL FROM THE THIRD BLOCK, 1993. Even from the southern end of the third block, the silhouette of Independence Hall is obscured by the combination of distance and the backdrop of the Penn Mutual Towers. *(NPS photo)*

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES ON THE MALL

The Surrounding Neighborhood

The character and uses of buildings and neighborhoods surrounding the mall have a tremendous impact on its success as an urban park. Independence Mall is situated on the western edge of the Old City section of downtown Philadelphia, a historic district listed on the National Register of Historic Places. In fact, demolition for the mall and subsequent demolition for renewal of the adjacent blocks actually established the western edge of Old City. What remains of Old City continues to be one of Philadelphia's richest neighborhoods in terms of history and architectural diversity. Its history dates to the city's beginnings, and its architecture includes examples from nearly every building type erected since the mid 18th century. This can enhance the visitor experience at the park.

The neighborhood's mixed uses include commercial, office, and residential, many adapted from former commercial, factory, and warehouse buildings. Small museums, art galleries, theaters, historic sites, and churches are abundant, and they add to the liveliness of the neighborhood as well as its physical character. The historic fabric of three- to six-story buildings is largely intact from Front to Fourth streets and Vine to Walnut streets, with the exception of those demolished for the Benjamin Franklin Bridge ramps and plaza, which sever the northernmost east/west blocks from the neighborhood. Later, as part of the city's 1963 Independence Mall urban renewal initiative, 480 structures were demolished. In most cases, mid to high rise buildings taking up entire blocks were erected on the sites (figure 61).[3]



FIGURE 61. "INDEPENDENCE MALL DEVELOPMENT," HARBESON, HOUGH, LIVINGSTON, LARSON FOR THE PHILADELPHIA REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY, 1959. This rendering demonstrates the key components of the redevelopment plan for the mall area: high floor area ratio, modern (rather than colonial revival) architecture, and height limitations at the building line meant to reflect the scale of Independence Hall. *(Philadelphia City Planning Commission photo)*

Urban renewal also resulted in the demolition and redevelopment of the neighborhood west of the mall, and it now contains a mixture of office, retail, and institutional uses.

Redevelopment of the blocks immediately adjacent to the mall is the best reflection of urban renewal. Large modern buildings dominate the surrounding neighborhood, and they effectively cut off Independence Mall from the remaining core of the distinctive Old City district. The diverse and lively mix of uses that is characteristic of Old City has not had an influence on the mall as an urban park because of the wide barrier created by the ring of massive buildings around the mall.

To the north of the mall is a no-man's land of bridge, highway approach ramps, and associated heavy traffic. The redesign of the Benjamin Franklin Bridge plaza to connect the bridge to Interstate 676 has ended the plaza's function as the foot of the grand approach to Independence Hall.

The current effects of the surrounding uses on Independence Mall reflect the concerns and the recommendations of the American Institute of Architects, as stated in a 1955 report written by George Howe on the use of lands facing Independence Mall. The report emphasized the need to encourage a rich mix of uses "so the memorial areas will become a source of daily instead of occasional inspiration in the leisure hours of the surrounding inhabitants." In an argument against the colonial-style detailing for new buildings that proponents were attempting to write into redevelopment authority policy, Howe also insisted that

> these 19th century buildings (in the surrounding area), unlike the Colonial pastiches (of the 20th century), do harmonize with the old buildings being preserved in the Historical Park. They harmonize with them by right of historic contrast and creative evolution. To wander among structures of successive styles and periods is to feel the exhilaration of moving in architectural history. The 19th century buildings were designed by some of the most dedicated and original architects our country ever produced . . . So we should follow the genius of our time in recommending to prospective builders the character of the architecture they should create. Their buildings should be 'modern' in design, as that term is comprehensively understood, and tall within limits. Tall buildings are necessarily the expression of economic health.[4]

Stylistic requirements did not become part of the ordinance governing the redevelopment area, and the architecture of the surrounding buildings reflects Howe's recommendations. A limitation of 45 feet in height within 25 feet of the building line did become law, however. The low height of adjacent buildings affects the mall visually because it is too low to properly frame the width of the space. It affects the use of the mall because smaller buildings do not generate enough users to populate the park. The surrounding buildings do not incorporate the rich mix of uses for which Howe had hoped, and this lack of vibrant surroundings also contributes to the light use of the two northern blocks of the mall.

Inventory of Buildings Surrounding the Mall

The mall is flanked to the east and west by modern mid rise buildings erected subsequent to the mall's development. With the exception of the First Pennsylvania Bank Branch, the Bourse, the PBM clothing factory, and the Lafayette Buildings, the uses are primarily private and federal office space. The buildings or properties and their relationships to the mall are described in appendix D.

Circulation

One of the contributing factors to the lack of integration and the light use of the northern blocks is that the shape and north/south orientation of the mall conflict with the dominant east/west flow of vehicle and pedestrian traffic in the area.

The mall was developed along a north/south axis to clear the 19th century buildings that were opposite Independence Hall's front facade on Chestnut Street, and so that newly widened Fifth and Sixth streets could serve as a vehicular connector from the city's grand new entrance (the Benjamin Franklin Bridge) to the historic district and Independence Hall itself.

The concept of a vehicular approach was dramatic and valid when originally suggested in the 1920s. By the time that the mall was constructed, however, the bridge was only one of many entrances to the city, and there now are a half-dozen ways to approach the historic district. This has caused problems in orienting and directing arriving visitors. Even if Sixth Street were the primary approach to the park, the design of the mall would exacerbate the orientation problem, because the continuous wall and the trees on the perimeter of the park tend to block views of Independence Hall from Fifth and Sixth streets, so that no approach sequence is possible.

Because the park is integrated into the fabric of the city, and there are no distinct park entrances, it has been difficult to place signs or other identifiers to direct arriving visitors.

From Independence Hall to the bridge plaza, the mall crosses four heavily trafficked east/west streets. The streets break the mall into poorly related segments, and noise impedes conversation and interpretation along the perimeters of the blocks. The traffic on Chestnut Street is a constant danger to pedestrians crossing from Independence Hall to the Liberty Bell for two reasons: the siting of the hall and the bell in the middle of their respective blocks encourage midblock crossings, and the turning lanes from Sixth Street onto Chestnut and from Chestnut onto Fifth are poorly designed and poorly signaled, causing confusion and confrontations between drivers and pedestrians. The 100-foot width of Market Street and its heavy traffic discourage pedestrians from crossing to the second block. During events on the second block, the design of the mall encourages dangerous midblock crossings.

For pedestrians the north/south axis never worked as a formal approach to Independence Hall, simply because there is nothing on or adjacent to the northern blocks that generates pedestrians who approach the hall from the north. Visitors have little occasion to use all three blocks as an approach to the hall or to the park in general.

Most individual visitors arrive by car and park wherever possible, not in a single location from which they can be oriented and directed. Visitors who park in the garage below the second block walk up the stairs to Fifth or Sixth Street, proceed along the outer sidewalks, and funnel into the first block at the Liberty Bell Pavilion. Groups of visitors who arrive by bus are often dropped off directly in front of Independence Hall. Visitors who start their tours at the visitor center, which is three blocks away at Third and Chestnut streets, approach Independence Hall from the east along Chestnut Street. Those who travel by subway arrive at the corner of Fifth and Market streets and walk directly to the Liberty Bell or proceed south on the outer sidewalks of the first block. Pedestrian use of the northern blocks is generally limited to visitors walking to and from tour buses that park on Arch Street.

In general, visitors traveling to Independence Hall and the park have little cause to approach through the second or third blocks of the mall. City residents and neighborhood workers may traverse the mall incidentally but far more frequently use the sidewalks surrounding the mall. This is primarily because there are so few generators of pedestrians adjacent to the northern blocks, and because the primary

everyday pedestrian circulation pattern is east/west along the major streets. The mall is effectively inaccessible to pedestrians from the north due to the bridge ramps and associated traffic congestion on Race Street. Residents of Old City, to the east, rarely use or even walk through the mall, probably because the large buildings surrounding the mall create a psychological barrier. Midblock access to and from Fifth and Sixth streets and the interior areas of all three blocks of the mall is limited and hard to find. There are no diagonal crossings from the block corners (as exist on Washington and Independence squares, for example) that would encourage people to shortcut through the blocks.

The approach from the east along Chestnut Street is the most pedestrian-friendly of the east-west streets, because the east-west axis of Independence National Historical Park on the southern edge helps to define this as a special place for a distance of several blocks, even without a terminal view. The southern end of the mall is the most open and inviting entrance and the walkways on either side of the lawn provide straightforward internal circulation.

The approach from the west is via Chestnut, Market and Race streets. These heavily traveled arteries are bordered by retail stores and office and government buildings of a larger, less pedestrian-friendly scale than the neighborhood to the east. There is no sense of approach; the mall could easily be passed by on Market or Race streets and go unnoticed by travelers in vehicles coming from the west along these routes.

In general, the external circulation and major approaches to the Independence Mall do not contribute to its activity, liveliness, form, or function.

Recent Area Improvement Initiatives

Several city-sponsored and private initiatives may have physical and economic impacts on the neighborhood surrounding Independence Mall.

- The Center City District is a special services district directly to the west of the mall, created as a privately directed municipal authority to provide a cleaner, safer area for public use.

- The Market Street East Improvement Association, a business association working with others in a public/private partnership, has renovated the Market Street streetscape from Fifth Street to City Hall and created a privately funded "Marshall Corps" to clean and monitor the street and provide assistance to shoppers and tourists.

- The Historic East Market Street Committee, a private organization supported with a grant from the commonwealth, is working to revitalize East Market Street from Fifth to Front streets.

- The 1993 completion of the nearby Pennsylvania Convention Center (Twelfth and Arch streets) will probably increase visitation to the park. It was also the impetus for the city planning commission's *Destination Philadelphia* report, which lists the park as the most-visited attraction in the city and proposes physical and programmatic improvements in the area. The report places special emphasis on Market Street as an east/west pedestrian spine.

- Historic Philadelphia, Inc. is a consortium of public and private interests formed in 1994 to support tourism through physical and programmatic actions.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES

The management, use, and design issues outlined below are a summary of how well or poorly the mall currently functions. The list is a combination of issues that were identified at a management objectives workshop for Independence National Historical Park conducted in July 1993 and two site visits with park staff and Mid-Atlantic regional office landscape architects in September 1993.

The issues identified during the site visits are the key issues that relate to each block and are organized by block. The issues identified at the workshop are more general and are listed by topic heading.

The First Block

• Because of the presence of the Liberty Bell, this block receives the heaviest use of any location in the park and has particularly high maintenance needs. In addition to visitors walking to and from the bell and Independence Hall, it receives heavy use from school children for lunching, blowing off steam, and regrouping. The block is labor intensive in terms of trash collection, restroom upkeep, and replacing trampled plant material.

The vista between the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall is of utmost importance. The lawn is an important component of the setting and receives much maintenance attention. While the park does not attempt to keep people off the lawn, organized games are not allowed.

On the terraces the combination of dense ground cover and constant food supply provides a prime habitat for rats.

• The design of the pavilion creates liabilities for the Liberty Bell. The large south facing window and the clerestory in the roof admit so much sunlight that the temperature of the bronze bell increases at times. The bell's metal is weak; over time, stress on the bell has caused hairline fractures (visible by X-ray) throughout. Movement (both jarring caused by human contact and molecular, caused by exposure to fluctuating temperatures) increases this stress. Increased stress on the bell's metal could cause portions of it to collapse.

The bell is exposed to pollutants in its current location. In 1980 (four years after the removal of the bell to its current exhibit housing), park staff first noticed the appearance of a white residue on its interior surface. Analysis of this residue by professional metal conservators revealed it to be a crystalline form of ammonia sulfate. This chemical is present in auto exhaust, cleaning solvent fumes, airborne particulates from fertilizers, and human respiration/perspiration. The process of crystallization is accelerated by the heat from sunlight. A sun shield applied to the south wall of the pavilion reduces, but does not eliminate, the bell's exposure. The effectiveness of the wax coating applied to the bell's interior as a barrier to pollutants is drastically diminished by human contact (which quickly wears away the wax).

• The block is at capacity in the number of visitors and uses it can accommodate. Therefore, the park staff tries to strike a balance between the day-to-day use of visitors and the special uses such as demonstrations and parades. Special events may be disruptive for visitors, and the park assumes that the general public should have unimpeded access to the mall at all times.

The National Park Service supports in principle and in action the ability of groups to exercise first amendment rights through demonstrations, rallies, vigils, and similar events. Organizers of such

activities understandably wish to locate events as close as possible to the Liberty Bell or Independence Hall, but the design of the block makes it difficult to accommodate both the events and the routine visitation and interpretation. Therefore, event organizers are encouraged not to locate between the bell and Independence Hall during normal operating hours and to locate instead on the second block. Many organizers do choose the first block, however. This increases crowding, yet such special events make the scene exciting and help to illustrate the meaning of the park.

• In addition to daily visitors and special demonstrations, all parades in the city except the Mummers' Parade go by or end at Independence Hall. The parades themselves are on the city-managed street, but the park must accommodate bleachers, the reviewing stand, broadcasting equipment, and delivery trucks on the sidewalk and the mall. Six to eight parades take place each year, and while they add excitement and activity, they have special needs that currently cannot be accommodated.

Most parades are televised and require electrical needs that are not satisfied in this block (or any of the three). Special above-ground lines must be run, and, lacking a separate meter, the park must contribute the expense of the power.

Most parade floats come with their own amplifiers, and noise is a problem for regular interpretive activities within Independence Hall and on the first block.

The perimeters of all three blocks are flagstone, and although delivery trucks for the parades and special events are required to plank the stones, many do not, causing the stones to break. There are no physical limits, such as bollards, to control the trucks, and this requires the assignment of scarce park staff for supervision.

• All users, including vagrants, are tolerated as long as they do not threaten people or property. At night the terraces are officially, but not physically, closed. Regular ranger patrols move out "campers" (usually the homeless), but this is difficult to control. Incidents of violence and vandalism increase whenever the bar at the Bourse is operating.

• Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell are not physically protected against terrorist attacks such as trucks carrying bombs.

The Second Block

• The uses on the second block are frequently local in nature and have little to do with the park's historical mission. Festivals, pageants, races, etc., are assigned to this, rather than to the first block, and it is important to have a space that accommodates large crowds and noisy events away from the primary park resources. An average of 124,000 people attend such special events each year. The rest of the time the block is infrequently used.

As with the first block, the space does not easily accommodate special uses, although it was originally designed for such events, and the built-in problems increase the maintenance burden. The power system is not adequate for modern lighting and amplification, and generators must be brought in for special events. Events must end one-half hour before sunset so that crowds can disperse in adequate light, but this leaves too little time for cleanup. The absence of bathrooms is a problem, and the absence of running water makes cleanup even more difficult, both for event organizers and for park staff.

No charge is made to organizations for the use of the block, yet the park subsidizes use through supervision, patrolling, and cleanup.

The marble amphitheater at the center of the block is too long and narrow to accommodate the theatrical presentations for which it was intended. The marble itself is hard to clean, chips easily, and is blinding in the sunlight, which causes people to trip on sunny days. The steps are especially dangerous when filled with crowds. The hard surfaces of the block amplify street and event noises. The lack of plants and shade make this an extremely hot place in the summer.

The odd sizes of the arcades and the presence of pigeons make the arcades difficult and unhealthy to use for tables of food or crafts, as they were originally intended.

• The great width of and heavy traffic on Market Street act as barriers for people on the first block, and only music seems to draw people to the second block.

• The Judge Lewis fountain has not been operable since 1987. Even if reparable, it cannot meet current life/safety standards. When it operated, it created many management and maintenance challenges. Submerged pump motors posed an electrocution hazard. Swimmers, bathers, and people washing laundry were a constant enforcement problem, and the debris they left behind clogged and burned out the pumps. Children and others found the upper level of the fountain an attractive diving platform despite the shallow depth of the water.

Both the park and surrounding neighbors would like a water feature on the block, but would prefer one without design problems.

• The block was built before there was an awareness of accessibility needs. Stairs and several level changes make passage impossible for some people with disabilities. Two temporary ramps have been installed but give access only to separate parts of the interior.

The underground parking garage is also inaccessible to people with disabilities. Because there is no elevator, people with disabilities must enter and exit on the same narrow ramps that cars use or manage the steep stairways on Fifth and Sixth streets.

• The block cannot be physically closed at night, and the many walled, isolated spaces have encouraged vagrants and illicit activity. The alcoves behind the arcades are invisible from Fifth and Sixth streets and from the amphitheater, and become dangerous at night. The Andrew Hamilton garden, with its seven-foot-high walls, recently had to be gated and locked to eliminate the serious illegal activities that took place there. Poor lighting exacerbates security problems.

• The Free Quaker Meeting House (the only building that remained on the three blocks following demolition) is sealed off from the mall by a seven-foot wall and is physically and visually unrelated to the rest of the park. The building is rarely open to visitors.

• The two PECO Energy Company substations must continue to be accommodated on this block.

The Third Block

• This block is isolated from Independence Hall and the activity there and the block's adjacent uses generate few users for the block's resources.

• The only function originally planned for this block was to provide a resting place for visitors. The block's isolation has always prevented the successful fulfillment of that function.

• Maintenance and safety problems inhibit use, and the recent redesign of the block by the National Park Service is only a temporary solution to make the block useable or to serve until it is reprogrammed.

• The block requires a disproportionate level of maintenance in relation to the small number of visitors it serves.

• All eleven fountains are inoperable.

• This block is not accessible to people with disabilities.

GENERAL ISSUES

Visitor Use and Services

Tour buses park illegally and for long periods of time on the east/west streets, blocking views, creating noise and pollution, and causing safety problems.

Visitor walking patterns lead to dangerous midblock crossings.

Parking for cars and buses near the park has reached capacity.

Visitors concentrate in and overcrowd the space between the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall. There is a peak flow before 2 P.M. each day that affects resources, and the space has reached its carrying capacity.

The park boundary is undefined; there is no one "entrance," and this makes visitor orientation difficult.

People are concerned about their safety.

There is a need for park information and visitor orientation at other Philadelphia attractions and sites.

There are inadequate restroom facilities throughout the park.

Park Management and Administration

There is the potential for terrorism directed against significant park resources.

There is a need to develop a vision and a plan for the mall, as there is internal and external confusion about its use. The vision needs to balance 20th century urban uses with more traditional historical park uses. In addition, there is a need to study zoning around the mall to understand its relationship to park goals and objectives. The park is in an urban environment with its associated opportunities and problems.

There is now uncontrolled parking on park property by contractors, caterers, and park vehicles, which creates problems for the visitor experience, resource protection, and maintenance.

There is no screened or secure space for storage of landscape maintenance supplies and equipment.

Design

The design of walks and gates in the park encourages street crossing in midblock.

Heavy traffic and vehicular circulation patterns create noise and air pollution.

The park needs accessible building and facility designs to meet visitor and interpretive needs.

There is a need to find design ideas that inhibit vandalism and that are compatible with historic character.

There is a need to define and develop sustainable design guidelines and policies for the park.

CONCLUSION

Generally, the changes in the design of Independence Mall have not solved the major underlying problems of the overall form and function of the space. The northern blocks elicit a sense of unfulfilled expectations. Their design is confusing and without strong identity. They are neither urban squares nor recreational parks.

There are striking differences between use of the first block and the two northern blocks. While all blocks are maintained better than the surrounding urban areas, the first block is constantly enlivened by visitors and passersby, while the northern two blocks are generally deserted. The only regular users of the second block are homeless people and occasional commuters or people passing through while exercising. The third block receives some lunchtime use from surrounding office workers and tour groups directed there by the park.

The surrounding buildings and uses do not generate enough activity for the northern blocks to feel or be safe and, due to their monumental scale, create a barrier to the livelier parts of Old City.

The strong east/west access and circulation flow through this area of the city is contrary to the mall's north-south alignment. No clear point of arrival or obvious sequence is present.

The design and form of each of the three blocks is distinct. The first block is a well defined space that relates to Independence Hall, while the northern parts are focused internally and have little relationship to Independence Hall or the surrounding urban fabric. The overall form is an unclear and ambiguous composition.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER 3

1. Constance M. Grieff, *Independence: The Creation of a National Park* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), p. 229.

2. Bernard Goodman, *Draft Statement for Management: Independence National Historical Park* (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, August 1992), p. 144.

3. Kathleen Cook, "The Creation of Independence National Historical Park and Independence Mall" (MA thesis, University of Pennsylvania).

4. George Howe, as quoted in Robert A. M. Stern, *George Howe — Toward a Modern American Architecture* (New London, CT: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 229.

Significance and Integrity



4. SIGNIFICANCE AND INTEGRITY

The conclusion of this study is that Independence Mall does not meet National Register of Historic Places criteria for significance as an example of an urban or commemorative park, according to National Register Bulletin 18, "How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes," and *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation.*

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and subsequent guidelines define national register eligibility criteria for designed historic landscapes. These criteria are the primary measures against which the National Park Service evaluates properties for significance in order to make informed decisions regarding the management of the properties. A designed historic landscape "must possess the quality of significance in American history, architecture (interpreted in the broadest sense to include landscape architecture and planning), archeology, engineering, and culture and integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association," and also meet one or more of the four criteria that are examined on the following pages.[1]

Independence Mall is not yet 50 years of age, which would allow it to qualify for nomination to the national register. The first block, which was the earliest to be completed, was finished in 1954. The most recent segment to be completed, the southern portion of the second block, was finished in 1969. In order to merit the special justification that would qualify it despite its relative youth, the mall would have to meet criterion F, describing "a property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance;" or criterion G, describing "a property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance."[2] The finding of this report is that the mall does not meet either criterion. The purpose of this report and of the evaluation below is not to qualify the mall for listing on the national register, however. Instead, it is to use national register criteria, which are recognized as the best and most widely accepted objective measures, to assess the mall's place in American social history and the realm of design, and to determine whether the mall has potential significance.

National register criteria measure four aspects of cultural heritage.

CRITERION A

This criterion applies to properties that are associated with events that have made significant contributions to the broad patterns of American history, and it is not applicable to Independence Mall. While the significance of neighboring Independence Hall is undisputed because of the events related to the American Revolution and the founding of the nation, those associations do not apply to the mall. Some buildings on the mall's three blocks, such as the president's house, undoubtedly were the sites of meetings, discussions, and similar occurrences. These buildings were long ago demolished, and even the buildings that replaced them were demolished, leaving a blank slate on which the mall later was constructed.

CRITERION B

This criterion applies to sites associated with the lives of persons significant in America's past. The mall does not meet this criterion, which usually is applied to homes or other sites with direct associations with people such as political leaders, writers, or artists.

CRITERION C

This criterion applies to properties that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; or represent the work of a master; or possess high artistic values; or represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

City Beautiful Movement. Independence Mall can be considered to be the product of the City Beautiful movement of the early 20th century, the historic preservation movement, and the city planning and urban renewal policies of the post World War II period. In addition, parts of the mall were influenced and/or designed by outstanding architects and landscape architects. Yet it lacks the characteristic features that would make it an outstanding, typical, or even contemporaneous product of each of the applicable design and social movements. So many designers were involved through the years that the most notable of them had only minor or passing roles in the evolution of the design for the mall. It does not represent the best work of the designers who contributed to it. There has been a recent loss of integrity for two of the three blocks.

As approximately a dozen plans drawn for the mall over a half century show, the proposal for a mall was rooted firmly in public and professional enthusiasm over the possibilities suggested by the City Beautiful movement. Early plans, particularly those of Kelsey and Boyd, Greber, Egbert, and Cret, were generated at a time when architects and laymen were examining the city for signs of blight and prescribing grandly scaled remedies intended both to root it out and also to raise the civic environment to a new plane. Proposals for a mall were contemporaneous with projects such as the Benjamin Franklin Parkway, the Benjamin Franklin Bridge, and the 50-year plan for the city. These projects, as well as the various proposals for the mall, included typically grand City Beautiful gestures, such as massive clearance of a neighborhood popularly considered to be disorderly, ugly and outdated; overscaled spaces; large forms; ceremonial structures; and extensive vistas.

As was common in most civic proposals of the first third of the 20th century, the style in which all the mall proposals except the final was designed was Beaux-Arts. A remarkable number of the designers taught at, were trained at, or were associated with the Beaux-Arts architecture program at the University of Pennsylvania. The many proposals for the mall included, in various combinations, ceremonial as opposed to functional uses of space, statuary, architectural planting design, classical ornamentation, axial symmetry, and extensive use of water features.

Because most of the creators of these plans persevered in the promotion of these concepts for the rest of their long lives, many of these gestures persisted in plan after plan. Some were included in the final plans and constructed 50 to 60 years after they were originally proposed and long after the City Beautiful and the Beaux-Arts eras had faded away and long after the freshness and authenticity of the original ideas and impetus had diminished.

Remaining in the final 1952 master plan were the axial symmetry, a single insistent vista of Independence Hall, overscaled and ceremonial spaces, and water features. Eliminated were typical

Beaux-Arts elements such as representative and monumental statuary and curvilinear spaces and arcades. This was because at a very late date (considering the extended period of design development), the ideas and elements of the International Style were overlaid on the original concepts. Rectilinear forms, grids, the lack of directed circulation, and the absence of ornamentation are characteristic of the mall as constructed. Colonial revival detailing that referred to Independence Hall also was added into the mix in the form of brick paving, brick walls with marble coping, and reproduction street lights.

The mall as constructed is a hybrid public space that fully reflects none of the styles in question. It cannot be considered to be a significant representative work of the City Beautiful movement, of Beaux-Arts design, or of International Style design.

Urban Renewal. The mall was an important element in the urban renewal of the eastern end of Philadelphia. Its importance is as a place and as a public investment rather than as a designed landscape. It is clear from both written records and oral histories that its function as a basis for neighborhood renewal was always equal to its importance as a project honoring a set of 18th century buildings. Backers frequently prophesied the mall's future utility "in maintaining and increasing real estate values in its vicinity."[3] Judge Edwin Lewis exhorted civic organizations to insist "that the Park is created and that around that park in future years there be built beautiful housing developments and other structures that will take the place of the decaying mercantile establishments that no longer can be made to pay in downtown Philadelphia.[4] Charles Peterson, in answer to a question about the purpose of the mall, replied that, "Judge Lewis wanted to hit this end of town so hard that it would turn around, and it did." (Peterson 1993)

The idea for the mall ultimately became part of the urban renewal plan for Old City and Society Hill, a plan that was itself a well-known and influential work. In an evaluation of the mall's role in the renewal, former city planner Edmund Bacon reflected that, "It was a gutsy opening wedge; it was the first thing that happened and it opened up the whole process" for redevelopment of the historic area of Philadelphia.[5] The certainty that it would be built and decisions about its size, form, and location were in place by the time that Bacon and the city planning commission began to develop the Philadelphia plan in the late 1940s. Bacon became a nationally recognized leader in city planning but was not the originator of the concept for the mall. Rather, he was an intensely involved client.

The idea and design for the mall was also conceived by others, and it was an anomaly in terms of Bacon's plan for Philadelphia. Bacon's plan was characterized by selective demolition, intimately scaled walkways connecting historic buildings in renovated neighborhoods, and small parks. The clear and clean method of urban renewal typically used in other cities, and used in Philadelphia only for Independence Mall, were not a part of Bacon's site-sensitive approach. Although Bacon had an important role in review and modification of the final design of the mall, the first proposal for the mall as an anchor for what would be later called renewal had been made some 35 years earlier. Although it was constructed coincidentally and concurrently with the products of Bacon's plan, the mall cannot be considered to be significant for any association with that plan.

Historic Preservation. The mall is a product of the notions of historic preservation that prevailed in the 50 years during which it was planned but that were losing currency and credibility by the time it was under construction. Characteristics of the movement included interest in single buildings as opposed to districts; interest in sites related to colonial and early federal history, as opposed to more recent history (with the singular exception of the Civil War); subjective consideration of buildings for aesthetic, rather than historical values; and the idea that history was best represented as a point in time,

rather than through the confusion of continuum (a notion manifested at Colonial Williamsburg and in Independence National Historical Park's east/west mall, stretching from Third to Fifth streets).

The first proposals for a mall were founded in the desire to preserve Independence Hall not only from a fire which might jump from adjacent buildings but also from an incompatible setting.

> Improvement of the Independence Hall area . . . will restore that part of the city which is rapidly declining. It will rehabilitate and revive the historic precincts which are now in such condition as to shame any American. The [demolition and replacement] will protect the historic monuments from ever again, in generations to come, being endangered by such hazardous and unattractive surroundings.[6]

Preservation and restoration of Independence Hall itself had been the focus of the activity of a number of patriotic societies from the Centennial onward, and the provision of a fitting setting was understood to be an outgrowth of such sentiments and activities. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, the Independence Hall neighborhood was considered to be "parched and ugly,"[7] with what was regarded as a disorderly collection of old-fashioned buildings. As the city's center of commerce and banking continued to move west, away from the neighborhood, and as existing buildings were subdivided for smaller and less lucrative businesses and workshops, few observers saw a sparkling future for the area. Until the 1950s and the Bacon plan for the residential rebirth of Society Hill, there was no precedent for renovation of old buildings and districts, as opposed to their removal and reconstruction.

Backers of the mall proposal often cited as precedents the two most notable, (although dissimilar) historic preservation projects in the nation — Colonial Williamsburg (1920s and on) and the Jefferson National Expansion Monument in St. Louis (1930s and on). Both involved extensive demolition of 19th century buildings. In Williamsburg all buildings that did not represent colonial or classical tradition were removed.[8] In St. Louis 37 city blocks that had contained the buildings most closely associated with westward expansion were completely demolished with the aid of a designation under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 that freed federal funds for urban renewal and a modern memorial.[9] At that time, these were the only well-known models for treatment of a historic district.

Contemporaneous criticism of the proposed demolition for the mall came from the businessmen and property owners who were to be displaced and from a handful of architects interested in specific 19th century buildings rather than the fabric of the neighborhood.[10] Even the National Park Service, involved in planning the national park south of Chestnut Street, reflected the prevailing notion that preservation was only for early buildings. (This already had been demonstrated at Colonial and Morristown National Historical Parks.) Director Conrad Wirth wrote a damning letter regarding three 19th century buildings standing within Independence boundaries that interested architects had particularly wished to see spared from the general demolition, stating that ". . . 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 . . ."[11] The three buildings included Frank Furness' massive Guarantee Bank, the Jayne building (considered to be a prototype of the modern skyscraper)[12] and the cast iron Penn Mutual Building. Superintendent Melford Anderson wrote of the buildings that

> 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.[13]

All three buildings were eventually demolished, along with all other post-federal buildings within park boundaries.

Charles Peterson, then of the National Park Service and the strongest voice for preservation of at least some of the 19th century buildings, is an example of the subjective approach to preservation that was common at that time. In his first report to the director on the plan for the national park (1947), he wrote:

> 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.[14]

By the early 1950s, as demolition of the first block of the mall began, attitudes toward historic preservation were beginning to change. Cities such as Charleston and New Orleans had instituted historic districts in the 1930s to enable preservation of entire neighborhoods, and their success was becoming visible. There was a growing recognition that such areas had economic value as well, and the Philadelphia City Planning Commission's plan for east Philadelphia, and particularly Society Hill, called for retention and restoration of hundreds of 18th and 19th century buildings.

The architectural community began to raise concerns that were belated but that indicated the development of professional thinking about neighborhoods and context. Philip Johnson wrote that, "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."[15] Yale Professor Carroll L.V. Meeks wrote that

> 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 that 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 . . . 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.[16]

In its guise as three cleared city blocks, the mall is indeed a physical manifestation of mid century attitudes toward preservation; attitudes that, in Philadelphia at least, were strongly affected by economic goals. Those attitudes already were beginning to change dramatically, and the broader point of view for which Meeks hoped did come to prevail. This leaves the mall as an isolated manifestation of the convergence of civic and patriotic sentiments and economic goals. The mall cannot be considered significant for this association.

A number of distinguished landscape architects and architects were associated with the conceptual development and final design of Independence Mall from 1915 to 1974. Their contributions to the evolving design of the mall varied in influence, and the built design of the mall is not considered to represent the best work of the final designers.

Jacques Greber and Paul Cret. Several important designers made contributions during the 50-year dialogue on the design of the mall. Jacques Greber and Paul Cret are particularly notable, and isolated elements of their single-block proposals were adapted into the final plan. The first block of the final plan reflects the open central space flanked by bosques of trees that were suggested by Greber's and Cret's plans. More important primary components of their concepts, such as the changes of grade, use

of structures, and detailing, were not retained in the final plan, so these designers' influences cannot be considered strong in the final form of the mall.

Roy Larson. Remembered locally as an able and sincere architect, Roy Larson devoted many years of his professional career to the realization of the mall. As the designer for the 1942 and 1944 concepts that finally brought commonwealth designation for the Independence Mall State Park, the principal designer of the 1952 master plan, the plan for block one, the series of plans for block two, and as the partner in charge overseeing Dan Kiley's design for block three, Larson had the strongest influence of any of the designers on the final form of the mall. Larson was perhaps the most able and creative of Cret's former partners and he was prominent in Philadelphia both as an architect and as a member of the circle of achievers who made things happen. A search of contemporary and subsequent critical literature has not uncovered evidence indicating that Larson was recognized nationally, either in terms of leadership in design through practice, teaching, or writing, or in the importance of his commissions. Therefore, the mall cannot be considered significant for its association with Larson.

Dan Kiley. Dan Kiley has long been recognized for the leadership and influence of his built works of landscape architecture. These commissions, primarily in urban settings, translated the language of the International Style for landscape architects, and led the way to a modern integration of buildings and landscape.

Compared to the characteristics of his other designs, Kiley's plan for the third block is atypical, and this is not his strongest work.

The most important and typical characteristic of Kiley's design is harmony between buildings and landscape features, often so interlocked spatially and visually that they are inseparable extensions of each other. The third block lacks a building, and the required visual reference to Independence Hall, a quarter-mile away, could not serve as the tangible element that was a necessary part of Kiley's palette for this design. The buildings across Fifth and Sixth streets are too remote and low in height to provide a reference or frame, nor could the park spaces north and south of the third block serve this function. Lacking a strong physical reference point, the third block became directionless, and the site floats freely in the larger urban setting.

Kiley's work is also characterized by his ability to frame internal spaces with plant materials, establishing successive rooms in the landscape. On the third block, however, the continuous brick ground plane and the continuous tree canopy failed to define a series of spaces and instead established only the single space between the ground and the canopy. The numerous fountains acted as central foci rather than as edges or definers of rooms. The grid of trees tended to allow views and movement in all directions, rather than in the ordered, referential, meaningful manner found in Kiley's other work.

Romaldo Giurgola. The Liberty Bell Pavilion provides a good example of the importance of the national register requirement that 50 years must pass before significance is assessed. The pavilion is the work of Romaldo Giurgola, a recognized leader in architecture who has been influential through his practice and through teaching and writing. The pavilion has been controversial since it was constructed and has received a level of public comment that is unusual for any building, although perhaps not so unusual for a building that is so much in the public eye. Most of the comment has been disparaging, and it has been likened to a subway station or a fast food stand. It is probable that this shockingly contemporary building is prejudiced by comparison to its comfortable surroundings, just as the PSFS building and the Guggenheim Museum startled the public when they were first erected in older neighborhoods.

In 1993 the pavilion is 18 years old, and it is far too early to determine whether it will someday be significant for its association with Mr. Giurgola, or whether it will someday have achieved significance on its own due to symbolic value that may accrue to it. The 1986 *Architecture in the National Parks: National Historic Landmarks Themes Study* does identify the pavilion for consideration for landmark status in architectural significance as it nears 50 years of age.

The third possibility for significance under criterion C is that a design possess high artistic values. In what must have been a disappointment for the designers and backers of the mall, the concept and the design received little approbation from contemporary observers.

Charles Peterson, at that time the NPS architect in charge of planning for the national park, solicited comment and included it in his report to Congress. Hans Huth, of the Art Institute of Chicago, wrote, "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." Dr. Turpin Bannister, Chair of the AIA National Committee for the Preservation of Monuments, wrote that

> The proposed creation of a grand mall on the axis of Independence Hall in Philadelphia threatens to disrupt the 18th 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 grandiose neoclassical or Grand Prix parti on it.[17]

In a series of articles written for *The New Yorker* in 1956 and 1957, Lewis Mumford examined the question of what activities and architecture would be appropriate for a historic neighborhood and determined that the concept for a grand, formal mall was not.

Referring to the domestic scale of Independence Hall, he noted its "Georgian decency and quiet dignity, without a touch of the grandiose." But he lamented that "even those who plainly love and honor these buildings have, in their conception of an appropriate setting, done violence to the architectural genius of these buildings (by adding) the sort of princely generosity of space that baroque architects quite naturally accorded to a king's palace."[18]

Assailing the three-block axial concept for the mall, he noted that "the very length of the approach will impose upon this unassuming Georgian building an aesthetic burden that only a vast palace or temple of far greater architectural merit could hope to carry off. One will be looking at the Hall through the wrong end of the telescope." The origins and historical references of the concept were also suspect to him.

> Too much space has a peculiar effect upon a reasonably well-educated architect; it induces sensations of grandeur, and it reminds him, automatically, of the long, axial approaches, like those at Versailles and Karlsruhe, that were used with such formal distinction by the great Bavarian architects. . . . (This tradition was) imposed by the servants of an absolute monarchy seeking to translate into space the mysteries of absolute power and centralized political control. Was it not in revolt against that absolutist tradition in politics that Independence Hall itself acquired its special meaning for Americans?[19]

When Mumford visited Roy Larson's office in 1956, he saw a master plan that still called for a consistent treatment for all three blocks. While granting that the executed design for the first block was pleasant, he questioned the validity of the unifying concept, noting that the "three separate blocks are neither functionally nor visually one; not even from the spire of Independence Hall could they be seen as they appear on the architectural rendering of the project, with the traffic arteries that cut across the

vista artfully presented without any hint of traffic." He regretted that the functions that would have made the mall more pleasant to use, such as the restaurant and visitor center, had been eliminated from the plans and noted that redesign to allow east-west "cross-walking by people who do not intend to go to Independence Hall would increase the utility of these three blocks of park as recreation space."[20]

In light of the east-west streets that so completely separate one block from the next, he suggested that the designers "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] As design proceeded through the next decade, this is what actually took place. However, the designers' reluctance to abandon the original organizing concept of axial symmetry limited the options for developing individual designs for each block. Jane Jacobs later referred to "the city's grand Independence Mall" as a "new vacuum uninhabited by any recognizable form of society, even Skid Row."[22]

Jacobs' censure was far stronger than subsequent use of the mall by visitors and residents warrants. Yet at least two of the people most closely involved with the mall were left with mixed feelings in terms of its success as a design. Designer Roy Larson and Judge Lewis were almost entirely pleased with the outcome of their many years of effort; the mall fulfilled their goals of providing a setting and approach for Independence Hall and anchoring and revitalizing the neighborhood. However, Roy Larson noted that

> It's unfortunate in a way that it was done in fragments. I think maybe that 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, 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.[23]

Judge Lewis, who more than any other individual had caused the mall to be extended from one to three blocks (over Larson's early objections), looked back and said, "I sometimes wonder if I've created a Frankenstein's monster, whether it's used enough to justify (the extra blocks) . . . I go by there and I see it all empty and think, 'Now what did you create that for? Maybe you overdid it.'"[24]

CRITERION D

This criterion applies to properties that have yielded or are likely to yield information important in prehistory or history. Independence Mall represents the third developed use of this land. It replaced three fully developed blocks of 19th century urban uses, which had themselves replaced the residences, gardens, and commercial and small-scale industrial buildings of the colonial and early federal periods.

A great deal of archeological information has been lost in the demolitions and rebuildings. When demolition for the mall took place in the 1950s, no archeological investigation was performed, and no care was taken to protect subsurface resources. On part of the second block in particular, excavation for the three-level underground parking garage destroyed all subsurface resources. Similarly, the water reservoir constructed under part of the first block for fire fighting purposes destroyed subsurface resources. Construction drawings for the mall note that all 19th century foundation walls were excavated to a depth of six feet below the surface, and basements were filled in with rubble.

Recent experience with the north side of the 600 block of Market Street (the federal courthouse) and the 400 block of Chestnut Street (the Omni Hotel), both of which contained 19th century buildings that had replaced 18th century buildings suggests that the third and part of the first blocks may retain archeological information. Eighteenth century privy pits and wells, serving as sources of descriptive refuse of those generations, were found to have been sheared off and effectively sealed at the basement level of the 19th century buildings. When excavated just prior to construction in the 1970s and 1990s, these pits contained valuable evidence of the history of the neighborhood and the lives of the former residents.

The mall's potential to yield information has been compromised. If there were ever to be a disturbance of these blocks below the level of the 19th century basements, prior archeological investigation would be conducted to determine whether there could be adverse effects. Because the current landscape on the surface of this site cannot be considered to be significant, criterion D is not applicable.

INTEGRITY

Although questions of integrity are moot, since the mall does not meet national register criteria for significance, a summary of changes is an important part of the record for this designed landscape.

The integrity of the design concept of the first block was radically affected by the 1975 placement of the Liberty Bell Pavilion in the middle of the axis. The insertion of this major architectural feature, containing the most important symbol of the American Revolution, established a second focal point and an effective visual and functional terminus to the mall at Market Street rather than at the Benjamin Franklin Bridge plaza, as was the original intent.

With the exception of this prominent addition, which alters the spatial integrity of the block, all the individual original elements of the block are intact and in good condition.

The second block is little changed since its completion in 1969. All its original elements are intact, although many are showing wear, and the fountain is inoperable.

The third block is the most dramatically changed since its completion in 1963. Following years of problems the landscape was redesigned and rebuilt in 1992, and this change effectively reduced the integrity of the original design.

The primary change is to the circulation system and thus to the spatial relationships that were suggested by Kiley's original plan. In Kiley's plan, the ground was completely paved, and circulation through a succession of spaces was suggested by architectural elements such as planters and fountains that were placed at regular intervals. In the adaptation, most of the formerly paved ground has been changed to lawn, and distinct paved pathways through the lawn suggest the means of circulation and redefine the spaces.

Approximately 50% (about every other one) of the honey locusts were removed. The remaining pattern of trees is a diagonal grid rather than the rectilinear grid of the original that related to the surrounding street pattern.

The original marble benches that were located to visually link the large and small fountains were removed and replaced with Lutyens style wooden benches that line the new pathways. This use of furniture is out of keeping with Kiley's typical designs.

The eleven fountains were planted with species that suggest falling water, including willows and ornamental grasses. The fountain structures and their plantings continue to be the most prominent architectural elements on the block and continue to serve as visual foci.

Should there be a decision to do so, the original design could be reconstructed, since a complete set of working drawings exists. The only elements that would be salvageable would be the perimeter walls, the perimeter flagstone, and the stone components of the fountains. Although some of the honey locusts and magnolias are in good condition, the majority are in decline. The necessary subsurface preparation that would correct the drainage problems that caused the failure of the original design would require the removal and replacement of all the remaining trees.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER 4

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Appendixes, Bibiliography, Preparers



APPENDIX A — HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

The plans for Independence Mall that were finally implemented in the 1950s and 1960s were the products of decades of planning and design ideas. To fully understand the origins and development of these ideas, it is necessary to understand the context in which they were generated. Synopses of a series of design and planning movements, events, and the work of individuals having relevance to the concept, design, and implementation of Independence Mall are presented below.

Individual synopses are given for each of the design and planning movements that influenced the thinking about the mall. Individual synopses also are given for those persons who had the strongest impacts. People who had less impact are described in the synopses of the larger movements.

Historic Preservation
The City Beautiful Movement and the New American City
Beaux-Arts Design Comes to the U.S.
Urban Renewal and the American City
Edmund N. Bacon
Harbeson, Hough, Livingston and Larson, Architects
Dan Kiley
Romaldo Giurgola

Historic Preservation

Prior to the late 19th century, historic preservation was the hobby of an economically advantaged elite who were concerned with providing educational opportunities for the newly enabled tourists roaming the country. Concerns with the preservation of America's past trace back to the mid 19th century, but have only grown within the last century to define an entire profession.

Early preservation efforts focused on the importance of single sites or buildings that "evoked memories of events or persons associated with the nation's colonial and early federal history."[1] Though narrowly defined in its original mission, the scope of historic preservation has now grown to include entire towns, valleys, and regions. Historic preservationists now think about settlement patterns, landscapes, and their components, all of which become pieces of a larger whole.

The interest in telling American history through the remaining historic fabric fueled early interests in historic preservation around 1900. Industrialization had altered American living standards, providing unprecedented amounts of free time for education and entertainment. In addition, the industrialization of a once-rural economy contributed to an increased appreciation of the past. Americans at the turn of the century could still reminisce about living without the machinery, pollution, and urban crowding. There was an accelerated pace to life in the new, fully mechanized society. Sentimental reflections of past lifestyles, combined with the recently invented notion of free time, contributed to a growing interest in America's older structures, especially those dating from the Colonial period.

Changes in transportation revolutionized the methods and patterns of movement across the country. The advent of the automobile and the development of a network of highways enabled millions of Americans to travel great distances in relatively short periods of time. The car and its attendant transportation network also dramatically altered the American landscape. Added to the economic and cultural changes wrought by the industrialization of a once rural land, the network of highways along with gas stations inserted into what were once urban pedestrian settings altogether transformed the country.[2]

Historic preservation was rooted in a genteel affection for specific properties and notions of education or civic improvement, but it became institutionalized through the involvement of the federal government in the 1930s and 40s. Under Horace Albright's direction, the Historic Sites Act was passed in 1935, which provided the first formal mechanism for the preservation of historic resources. New Deal programs, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps, fanned a growing interest in preservation:

> Throughout the United States the writers who were preparing the *American Guide Series*, the researchers who were compiling the *Federal Records Survey*, and the architects who measured structures for the Historic American Buildings Survey all acted as missionaries who gave American history a new dimension.[3]

The involvement of the federal government in preservation certainly gave credibility to the movement. However, the examples of preservation provided by the restoration of colonial Williamsburg and Henry Ford's Greenfield Village were the models against which preservation efforts would be measured for many years. Both restoration projects established a standard for preservation that involved period reconstruction at lavish expense that required the expertise of large professional staffs. Williamsburg and Greenfield Village also provided the training ground for a entire generation of architects interested in preservation and restoration.[4]

In Philadelphia early historic preservation concerns focused on Independence Hall. Attempts were made to restore portions of Independence as early the 1810s. When the city's municipal functions moved from Independence to Centre Square in 1895, the first full scale restoration of the building was attempted. Several additional restorations followed. Throughout the following decades, civic organizations expressed repeated concerns for the safety of the building from fire and the importance of preserving one of the nation's most sacred shrines.[5] And, like other cities throughout the country, it was Philadelphia's most prominent citizens who formed a series of organizations concerned with the protection and preservation of Independence Hall.

The City Beautiful Movement and the New American City

Between 1898 and 1930 an age of unprecedented public awareness and interest in civic design and planning began in America. Professional and lay interest focused on civic projects of great beauty, where beauty was narrowly defined and frequently contrasted to ugliness. Architectural styles during the period adhered to a classical ideal that was characterized by the frequent use of classical ornamentation, large massive forms, and pristine white buildings. Unlike Beaux-Arts methodology, form was not always a product of function. Those aligned with the City Beautiful movement were more concerned that the product address the strict aesthetic concerns of the day. Urban gestures were typically big and bold and created dramatic statements with parkways and malls that cut through existing city fabric.

The City Beautiful movement began with the Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1898. The design team assembled in Chicago to design the fairground was the first national example of professional collaboration on a project of such scale. Architects like Burnham and McKim joined with landscape architects like Olmsted and artists like Gaudet to create a "Great White City" along the Chicago lakefront. The size and scale of the structures in general and specifically the Court of Honor, were highlighted by electric lighting creating an enduring impression of "unimaginable opulence"[6] on those who attended the fair. Lavish press coverage brought images of the fair to those who did not experience it firsthand. The Exposition paved the way in both popular and professional circles for a profession devoted to city planning.[7]

As important as the fair itself were the writings of journalist Charles Mulford Robinson, in which he set down the philosophical foundation for the City Beautiful movement. Robinson's descriptions of the fair and later discussions about improving cities were published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The overwhelming reader response to these articles prompted him to produce his first book, *The Improvement of Towns and Cities, or the Practical Basis of Civic Aesthetics*, in 1901 and his second book *Modern Civic Art, or the City Made Beautiful* in 1909, thus coining the movement's "watchword."[8] Robinson had clearly discovered and contributed to the prevailing American passion for urban beautification and was able to articulate its characteristics and requirements.

The widespread interest in the City Beautiful movement was accompanied by a desire of communities across the country to stake out their own monumental civic plans. Plans for improving the older urban areas of the northeast were developed along with plans to completely alter newer cities such as San Francisco (1906 plan) and Manila (1905). Perhaps the most significant of these planning efforts was the work of the McMillan Commission in 1901 to revive and eventually implement, with as much integrity as possible, L'Enfant's plan for Washington. In reinstating the plan for Washington, the commission preserved the major sight lines from the White House, the central mall first articulated in the L'Enfant plan, and many of the open spaces recommended by L'Enfant but lost over the years to infill development.

In Philadelphia, as elsewhere in the nation, lay people and professional designers were concerned with the need to improve the urban landscape. Collaborative teams worked on plans to replace the often deteriorating urban fabric with monumental civic projects. Beauty was as much a moral standard for urban centers as an aesthetic. Massive classical structures and lengthy promenades were the tools with which to achieve the effect.

Although William Penn had bequeathed a clear plan for city growth that distinguished Philadelphia from most American cities of the time, the notion of civic improvement was a powerful attraction for the city's residents. It was during this period of city planning that the Benjamin Franklin Parkway in Philadelphia was designed and built. Like many of the planning efforts associated with City Beautiful, the parkway was a bold statement. It literally slashed through the uniform grid established by Penn to create a powerful connection between Fairmount Park and City Hall, and the plan called for the parkway to be lined with new, uniformly designed civic buildings.

In addition to the parkway, a number of early ideas for improving the area surrounding Independence Hall took shape during this period. The ugly and deteriorating neighborhood opposite Independence Hall concerned prominent residents. Civic-minded citizens, concerned with creating an appropriate setting for Independence Hall that would reflect its national significance, worked with designers to give form to their ideas. The renowned Beaux-Arts architect Paul Cret and landscape architect Jacques Greber independently collaborated with prominent Philadelphia citizens to design a forecourt that might establish the proper setting for Independence Hall. Both the Cret and Greber plans bear a strong resemblance to the Columbian Exposition's Court of Honor. In time ideas for a mall creating an axial link between Independence Hall and the newly opened Benjamin Franklin Bridge displaced the early concepts for a one-block plaza.

Beaux-Arts Design Comes to the States

For centuries, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris was steeped in the traditions of French academic training. By the late 19th century, American designers were receiving a good portion of their training at the ecole, and they exported its design style to their homeland. The ecole had "trained hundreds of young Americans and inspired curricular reforms in most American architectural schools" by the turn of the century.[9]

The Beaux-Arts architectural style is expressed most frequently in its reliance on classical notions of symmetry and harmony of architectural elements. Beaux-Arts academic training relied on Renaissance forms that were expressed in built projects.[10] Most Beaux-Arts designs are characterized by their classical references, providing ornamental relief to large civic structures but also determining the form that such structures assume. The Beaux-Arts training did not advocate "complete originality" but believed in "the individual manipulation of forms within a common formal vocabulary, which had been the Renaissance way."[11] Colonnades were frequently used to shape outdoor plazas. Hard paved surfaces provided an appropriate surface for civic functions. Statuary was prominently displayed to reinforce the historic significance of the site. Supporting structures reinforced the classical design of the Beaux-Arts plaza. On a larger scale throughout the city, grand avenues were punctuated with *rond-points*, fountains, squares, or other moments of relief to reduce the their long axial movement to an appropriate scale for pedestrians and cars.

Graduates of the ecole produced designs with heavy Renaissance overtones. Beaux-Arts architects tended to focus on projects with a strong civic or municipal function, like museums and libraries, or on spaces designed for

ceremonial functions, like the Washington Mall[12] with its great axis. Parkways, malls, and plazas were frequently used to create visual connections between important city structures. The sight lines created by the Champs Elysèe or its local counterpart, the Benjamin Franklin Parkway, were designed to highlight civic structures. Architects like Maybeck, Hunt, Richardson, and Sullivan brought a strong Beaux-Arts classicism to their designs.

The impact of the ecole's influence on American architecture was felt locally as well as nationally. Philadelphia was home to several graduates of the ecole whose prolific design careers had a profound impact on the city. Among these architects, Paul Philippe Cret, who was said to be "the most important Beaux-Arts writer and practitioner in America,"[13] was involved in numerous local projects. Cret received Beaux-Arts training in Lyons and then in Paris before becoming a professor of design at the University of Pennsylvania in 1903 and the patron of the local T-Square Club atelier. Cret was a renowned speaker and writer on the subject of Beaux-Arts training and the merits of its designs. His involvement at the University of Pennsylvania and as a member of the team appointed by the Fairmount Park Art Association in 1907 to oversee the design and implementation of the Benjamin Franklin Parkway and its supporting buildings illustrates his influence on all of the major projects of his day. Cret's contribution to Philadelphia was not limited to the parkway but also included the old Federal Reserve Bank, the old Post Office, and Folger Shakespeare Library, and the Benjamin Franklin Bridge — all prominent commissions of the day.

The design of the parkway also brought the French landscape architect and city planner Jacques Greber to Philadelphia. Like Cret, Greber was a graduate of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and was a key participant in the design of the Benjamin Franklin Parkway. Although he later went on to gain international acclaim and to develop city plans for Marseilles, Rouen, and more, his first notable project was the parkway.[14]

The work on the parkway brought Beaux-Arts planning and design into the heart of Philadelphia, connecting the center of the city with the landscape of Fairmount Park. It was during this period that the local influences of both Cret and Greber manifested in a parkway reminiscent of the Champs Elysèe with classical structures flanking its path.

It was during this period that the first concept was proposed for an approach connecting the new Benjamin Franklin Bridge – the grand new city gateway – with the nation's most historic shrine, Independence Hall. The mall concept developed as a substantial civic space thrust into the midst of a fairly continuous urban fabric. Many of the designers involved in these early concepts came to the project after completing the parkway. Kelsey, Greber, and Cret had all worked on the parkway project, and each of the concepts generated for the mall reflected the Beaux-Arts training of these designers. Although neither Kelsey's nor Greber's association with the project endured, Paul Cret continued to exert his influence over the design through his former student and professional partner, Roy F. Larson. Following Cret's death in 1945, Larson continued the Beaux-Arts design traditions established by Cret's firm, although in a vocabulary that reflected more modern attitudes toward architecture and urban design.

Urban Renewal and the American City

The common perception that American cities were riddled with poverty, violence, and decay was held throughout the early 20th century. Lewis Mumford documented the prevailing concern over urban conditions in *The Culture of Cities* in 1938:

> Industry had laid its diseased fingers on the new cities and stultified the further development of the old ones. In America as in England the cities of the industrial age were man-heaps, machine-warrens, not organs of human association.

These cities, Mumford insisted, were the products of mechanical growth or blind individualism, not of anything that might be called intelligent forethought.[15]

The phenomenal pace of urban expansion in the late 19th and early 20th centuries contributed to the pervasive sense that American cities were badly in need of repair and, perhaps, drastic surgery. The medical analogy (the human body as a biological organism with individual parts that contributed to the function of a larger whole) was one that became a metaphor for city planners and lay people alike. By the mid 20th century, buildings in American cities had aged for more than a century with little or no rehabilitation. Businesses were expanding as rapidly as cities, and private investment was concentrated on those projects that ensured future economic growth. Much of the urban expansion and construction of the infrastructure during the 19th century was tailored to meet the needs of the private interests funding the projects.

The transformation of America's economy from its rural beginning to an international industrial complex was complete by the early 20th century. Industrialization rapidly changed the face of the country and dramatically shifted the currents of social change. The population explosion of the early 20th century exceeded growth in and the rehabilitation of housing stock, exacerbating the growing national uneasiness and the sense that the urban "monster" was out of its cage. By the 1930s 38% percent of American housing was considered substandard. The majority of the inadequate housing was concentrated in urban areas. New Deal programs of the 1940s remediated some of the poor housing conditions, but programs to improve the living standards of lower and middle income white residents did little to improve the economic inequity between ethnic and racial groups. An additional outcome of New Deal programs was the increasing decentralization of urban areas with the construction of new communities outside the congested city centers.[16]

In Philadelphia the 40s and 50s were a time of collaboration between design professionals. The University of Pennsylvania provided a fertile laboratory for professional thinking about the relationship between design disciplines (especially architecture), urban design, and city planning. Ed Bacon, Louis Kahn, and Oscar Storonov, then working out of the university, were visionaries interested in a new kind of urban renewal that outlined a holistic approach to city planning, recognizing that good housing, economic revitalization, and urban improvement all went hand-in-hand. Their participation in Philadelphia's planning brought national and international attention to the city in the 1950s and 1960s.

By the 1960s racial tension, crime, unemployment, and housing conditions were seen as symptoms of the general urban blight inherent in 19th century growth patterns. Industry was allowed to vie for prime locations while city dwellers were left to the tenement houses. Planners and architects of the 1960s, like those from the 1920s, viewed cities as biological organisms besieged with cancerous growths and congested arteries. Inflammatory press, combined with fears of widespread violence, encouraged diverse interest groups to advocate improvement of the city's physical infrastructure. Local redevelopment authorities, empowered by newly enacted state legislation, provided powerful tools in the fight — the power of eminent domain, federally underwritten tax incentives, and low-interest, tax-free bonds. Initially created to remove slum housing from the urban landscape, they also empowered city governments to address the larger issue of urban decay.[17]

Major cities across the country were embarking on massive urban renewal and redevelopment plans. Boston, Washington, New York, Chicago, and St. Louis were all financing multimillion dollar redevelopment projects designed to eliminate deteriorating, inhumane living conditions while simultaneously boosting economic prosperity for their downtowns. The Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, Missouri, set a precedent for federal expenditures for urban renewal. Like the blocks cleared for Independence Mall, the land acquired for the western gateway (all 37 city riverfront blocks) was leveled for the construction of the St. Louis Arch.[18]

The renewal plan for Philadelphia received national and international acclaim. Covered in international journals and popular press, Philadelphia's approach to urban renewal was considered a singular solution to urban blight. Unlike other renewal projects through which entire city sections were razed to accommodate pristine inner city office parks, Philadelphia used the city's existing neighborhoods to structure the redevelopment plan. *The Philadelphia Comprehensive Plan* (published in 1960) divided the city into manageable projects to facilitate financial backing. The goals were to minimize dislocation of residents and preserve the city's many neighborhoods, including Mill Creek, Center City, Market East, and Society Hill. Some of Philadelphia's (and the nation's) most notable professionals lent their efforts to the plans — Louis Kahn, Ed Bacon, and Oscar

Storonov. As director of the Philadelphia Housing Authority (and, later, the city planning commission), Ed Bacon's work on the project received international attention.

The Philadelphia plan, often credited to Ed Bacon's perseverance, was hailed as a successful solution to the difficulty of revitalizing older urban areas. Unlike the renewal efforts of St. Louis or San Francisco, it maintained and reinforced the distinct neighborhoods of the city as the building blocks for a larger whole, including for example, the character created by the architectural and spatial relationships between structures of the Society Hill greenway plan.[19] The neighborhood approach to city planing addressed the broad patterns of decay while retaining the identity of individual sections like Society Hill. Places like Penn Center, Market East, and Independence Mall became anchors for neighborhood renewal, critical to the economic revitalization of key sections of the downtown.[20] Finally, the Philadelphia plan was an early testimony to Bacon's collaborative spirit, which seems to be an integral part of its success. Bacon carefully manipulated the planning process to control the quality of infill development, using the talents of architects such as Kahn and Pei to incrementally increase the character of renewal in Philadelphia.

Edmund N. Bacon

A native Philadelphian, Ed Bacon's concern for Philadelphia's growth surfaced early in his professional training. As a student of architecture at Cornell in 1932, he focused his senior thesis on "Plans for a Philadelphia Center City." Bacon's interest in city planning continued under the tutelage of Eliel Saarinen at the Cranbrook Academy of Art in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan. After a brief stint as city planner in Flint, Michigan, Bacon returned to Philadelphia to be the director of the Philadelphia Housing Authority in 1936. Bacon soon acted upon his long held belief in Philadelphia's potential for renewal. He joined with architect Oscar Stonorov to mount a major public exhibit demonstrating ideas for Philadelphia's redevelopment; they used graphics and a model replete with moving parts.[21] Later appointed director of the city planning commission (1949), Bacon capitalized on the public support generated by the exhibit to create and implement a redevelopment plan for the central city. Bacon's approach to urban redevelopment, renewal, and revitalization distinguished him from his contemporaries while establishing his position as a leader in city planning. His involvement in the redevelopment plan for Philadelphia in the 1960s placed the city at the international forefront of city planning efforts.

Ed Bacon's thoughts about city planning clearly reflect the teaching of Saarinen, which were reinforced through his involvement with Louis Kahn and Oscar Stonorov in the 1950s and 1960s. Together this trio of architects and planners collaborated on housing projects, dreamed of projects yet to be commissioned, and formed the Citizens Council on City Planning to encourage public demand for urban renewal.

Like both Kahn and Saarinen, Bacon considers planning and design as inseparable tools with which to solve urban problems. Bacon does not distinguish between city planning, architectural design, and historic preservation — for the Philadelphia group (Bacon, Kahn, and Storonov) the city was a unit, a biological entity that could not grow without the contribution of all the design professions. And, as with any living organism, cities have a past, present, and future. Bacon's planning philosophy views each stage of development as an integral part of the whole. Moreover, Bacon sees urban history as a continuum in which conservation of historic resources is an integral part of planning. This is demonstrated by his concern for the historic properties in Society Hill — the conservation of such properties were a primary goal of the comprehensive plan.[22]

Bacon was, and still is, best known for his widely praised work as director of the city planning commission where he was instrumental in the creation of the *Philadelphia Comprehensive Plan* (1960). In addition to overseeing its creation, he provided the momentum and willpower to ensure its realization. Bacon worked closely with architects, commission staff, state and federal agencies, and city residents to attend to every detail and to ensure the support necessary to remake the face of the city.

His work with the Philadelphia plan was regarded as a model of city planning success both nationally and internationally. The November 6, 1964, edition of *Time* magazine has Ed Bacon on the cover and includes an

extensive article on the plan. *Life* Magazine devoted two issues to American city plans in 1965 and detailed Bacon's plans for Philadelphia in its issue on "Cities of the Future." Internationally, professional journals were evaluating the singular success of the Philadelphia plan when compared to their burgeoning planning projects.[23] Both Bacon's contribution to the plan and the plan itself were hailed as significant contributions to city planning.

Given Bacon's ambition to realize the Philadelphia plan, his energy in soliciting support for the plan, and his attentiveness to design details related to the redevelopment areas, he must be recognized a powerful, if not the most powerful, force behind the creation of an uncommon renewal plan referenced around the world as a model for the successful integration of economic, architectural, and conservation goals.

Harbeson, Hough, Livingston and Larson Architects

The firm now known as H2L2 was founded in 1907 as Paul Cret, Architects. The firm continued to be associated with Cret until his death in 1945 when his surviving partners regrouped under the name of Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, and Larson. In 1976 the firm adopted the current name of H2L2.

The firm has always been recognized as a leading regional architectural firm based in Philadelphia, with projects scattered all over the mid-Atlantic area. Under Cret's direction, the firm was responsible for a number of prominent local commissions, including the Benjamin Franklin Bridge, management of the parkway project, the old Federal Reserve Bank, the old Post Office, and, in Washington, DC, the Folger Shakespeare Library and the Pan American Union.

In recent decades the firm has maintained its place as an important contributor to regional architecture. Current commissions include campus master plans for Penn State University, additions to Swarthmore College, corporate headquarters for Philadelphia businesses, interior renovations for private offices, and the rehabilitation of the Philadelphia Bourse on Independence Mall. The firm has received a number of recent regional awards for designs, including those from the Philadelphia Society of Architects and the Philadelphia chapter of AIA for the design of the Philadelphia bourse, the Milton S. Hershey Medical Center, and the Philadelphia Electric Company, among others.

The local and regional prominence that Cret established for the firm (Cret was himself a leading Beaux-Arts architect and an individual recognized nationally in academic circles for his writings on Beaux-Arts style) was continued through the work of his partner Roy Larson. Roy Larson, a student of Paul Cret at the University of Pennsylvania and, later, Cret's partner, gained local recognition during his graduate studies, receiving several awards for design excellence. In addition to honors received at the University of Pennsylvania, he was awarded the Medal of the Societe des Architectes Diplomes at the Beaux-Arts Institute. His local reputation was further enhanced when he placed first in the Cope Prize Competition for the Franklin Square plaza of the Delaware River bridge. Throughout his career in Philadelphia, Larson was active in professional associations and community projects. He was chair of the Committee on Municipal Improvements of the Philadelphia chapter of the AIA in the 1930s and active on numerous boards and in several citizens action groups from the 1930s well into the 1960s.

H2L2's association with Independence Mall dates back to the first ideas for a plaza celebrating Independence Hall in the 1920s. Paul Cret was one of the first designers to produce ideas of a forecourt or plaza framing Independence. Cret produced several designs for the mall in the early 1930s that extended the original forecourt into a larger two-block mall. Larson became involved in the project during the 1930s and in 1937 produced a plan to extend the mall a full three blocks along an axis between Independence Mall and the Benjamin Franklin Bridge, which Cret designed. Larson's involvement with the project lasted for three decades through its final implementation in the mid 1960s. Indeed, his firm, then known as Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, and Larson, was responsible for the design of all three blocks of the mall.

Dan Kiley

Few American landscape architects have received the level of international acclaim that has graced the professional life of Dan Kiley. Educated at the graduate School of Design at Harvard in the 1930s, Kiley was at the forefront of a truly modern American landscape design movement, with Garrett Eckbo and Dan Rose as contemporaries. After graduation, Kiley first worked for Warren Manning in Cambridge but soon established his own offices in Vermont in 1940. His professional contributions included service on many of the nation's top advisory organizations, including Kennedy's Advisory Council for Pennsylvania Avenue (1962-1965), the National Council for the Arts and Government (1965), and the Washington Redevelopment Land Agency, Board of Design (1967-1969), along with a host of regional and local councils.

Kiley's designs are characterized by an understanding of formal garden design techniques and a reference to past forms that is distinctly modern. Kiley's projects reflect clear knowledge and manipulation of historic design tools. Indeed, many of his designs, though quite modern, are characterized by strongly organized spatial relationships, major axial patterns, plant materials massed to form orchards, groves, or bosques; walks, terraces, and water elements of all scales. Kiley acknowledges an appreciation of the formal design vocabulary of French and Italian Renaissance gardens. The design vocabulary may be familiar, but the resulting language created through the juxtaposition of elements and the ordering of space are quite distinct in each Kiley project. For example, an allee of trees may stretch its linear form across a green, framing a view but not a pathway. A linear fountain element reminiscent of the canal garden at the Generalife may be placed at the edge of a bosque of trees arranged in a grid pattern. Everywhere, geometric forms placed in juxtaposition with each other order the spaces.

A quick review of Kiley's projects reveals their reference to antiquity, whether it is the carefully crafted outdoor rooms of the Miller and Hamilton houses, or the massive water promenades of the U.S. Air Force Academy, which at once recall both the grand water features of Italian Renaissance gardens along with the form and pattern of ancient Moorish gardens in a remarkably modern context. The quiet interludes created by tranquil water features in the Stokes house design are almost eastern in character.

Kiley's designs may transcend time with their allusions to the past, but his landscapes are not about the past. His designs make use of modern materials — linear slabs of concrete for benches, cast concrete fountain shapes — to create outdoor furnishings. The lack of ornamentation and the simplicity of detailing elements clearly separates Kiley from his predecessors. Kiley's designs make formal statements using plants (trees, shrubs, ground cover) rather than relying on structural elements to frame spaces. He is careful, as is exhibited in his collaborations with Saarinen at the Miller house and the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (St. Louis Arch), to create a harmony between architectural structures and landscape features. His designed spaces are not meant to "showcase" the built environment but to become inseparable from it. In the Hamilton house, the exterior becomes an extension of the interior spaces, so that one flows into another with little visual separation. Windows open the exterior walls to carefully framed views and outdoor rooms. His design for the Oakland Museum's rooftop park literally unites the building and the landscape, evoking images of the Villa Medici with the descending terraces of plantings. In almost every project, except the design for the third block of Independence Mall, Kiley's designs provide a complete setting for a house, corporate building, public institution, or public art. His design for the third block of Independence floats freely in the urban landscape, anchored only tangentially to adjacent buildings and removed from its association with Independence Hall by the two blocks between Chestnut and Arch Streets. The third block of Independence Mall, unlike any other commission, concentrates less on creating outdoor rooms and lacks an architectural focus.

Dan Kiley has distinguished himself from his predecessors, his contemporaries, and successive generations of landscape architects. Unlike both Rose and Eckbo, Kiley's commissions included some residential design projects, but his greatest contributions were the grand public and private projects that punctuate the urban landscape of American cities. He brought the International Style to his residential designs and to the 20th century urban park. His contribution to public spaces (National Gallery East Wing, Oakland Museum, John F. Kennedy Library, Dulles Airport, and Chicago Filtration Plant) and corporate parks (Ford Foundation) brought modern landscape architecture into the mainstream design vocabulary.[24]

Romaldo Giurgola of Mitchell/Giurgola

Romaldo Giurgola, a native of Italy, came to the United States to teach architecture at the University of Pennsylvania in the 1950s. There he joined the ranks of the Philadelphia School, the circle of architects and planners (Oscar Storonov, Ehrman Mitchell, and Edmund Bacon) whose affiliation with each other and with Louis Kahn resulted not only in cutting-edge designs but also in an unprecedented spirit of cooperation and experimentation in America. Giurgola's professional experience in the United States included a partnership with Ehrman Mitchell in New York. In 1967 he moved on to head the department of architecture at Columbia University.

Giurgola's involvement in academia has been enhanced by his prolific design career. Mitchell/Giurgola's work has brought them to the attention of the regional, national, and international design community. Their contribution to the built landscape includes not only residences but also public and private buildings. They have been most involved in the design of buildings in the public domain and work places. Well over half of their commissions in the last 30 years have been for the design of public spaces such as libraries, museums, and municipal buildings.

Any analysis of their work reveals an ambiguous evolution in design philosophy and method that relates to changing influences. Although Mitchell/Giurgola's style is not immediately recognizable, certain design techniques do permeate it. Like his mentor Kahn, Giurgola's work is modern in its use of material and form. Giurgola's designs lack Kahn's monumentality (except for the Canberra Parliament House) but incorporate Kahn's use of geometry. Many of Giurgola's designs, such as for the museum for the Wright Brothers' National Memorial, rely upon the superimposition of disjunctive geometric shapes to generate interior spaces and exterior forms. Giurgola's interiors, like those at the Wright Brothers' museum or the Tredyferin Township Library (Pennsylvania), are not free-flowing organic spaces but carefully ordered spaces that derive their dynamism from the juxtaposition of geometric form. The rotation of a triangle within a cylindrical or square form, for example, creates a central exhibit space in the Wright Brothers' Museum.

Giurgola's architecture reflects an interesting mix of the classical designs of Palladio indigenous to his home in northern Italy with the modern influences of Kahn, Saarinen, and Aalto. Like Kahn's buildings, Giurgola's structures express mass and volume. Although his designs clearly reveal an affinity for Kahn's monumentality, he has referred to Alvar Aalto as one of the greatest influences on his design development. Giurgola stated that Aalto's designs reflect an eclecticism born of "a strong recognition of local aspirations as well as the influence of the landscape and the arts." According to Giurgola, Aalto's style is well grounded in theory and philosophy, responding to indigenous landscapes and culture rather than fashion.[25]

Like Aalto, Giurgola believes in a certain organicism, a relationship between the built environment and the natural, between new and old structures, cities, and landscapes. Giurgola describes each building as an episode or a small contribution to a vast surrounding built and unbuilt environment. A brief look at Mitchell/Giurgola's work clearly reveals the influence of Aalto. Mitchell/Giurgola's work is as much about connections and relationships between inside and outside as it is about mass and form. Interior spaces such as those at Tredyferin Library and the Liberty Bell Pavilion are often married to their surrounding spaces. Exterior walls become transparent boundaries that organize space but do not restrict experience. Glass screens, such as those at the Liberty Bell Pavilion, create highly symbolic relationships between interior and exterior experiences and visual connections between interior and exterior elements.

Mitchell/Giurgola's structures relate well to their surroundings. Fenestration, materials, form, and scale are used to place structures within the larger context of landscape or city. Urban infill projects such as the Penn Mutual building or free-standing structures such as the maintenance facility at Independence National Historical Park both illustrate Giurgola's ability to reduce modernism's monumentality to a human scale. In both instances Giurgola's careful manipulation of elevation and material create a comfortable pedestrian experience. The scale of the building and the use of brick as a building material for the maintenance facility immediately integrate it into the

urban fabric of Philadelphia's Society Hill just as the scale of street level elements at the Penn Mutual building in Old City create a pleasant pedestrian experience.

The firm of Mitchell/Giurgola and Romaldo Giurgola himself have distinguished themselves in the international community. Their commissions stretch from New York to Australia, with a concentration of designs in the Philadelphia region. Their involvement with the "Penn School" of the 1950s exposed them to the influences of Kahn and the collaborative approach to design prevalent at the University of Pennsylvania. Their contribution to the field of architecture is well recognized. Unlike many prominent partnerships in an era of corporate sponsorship, they dedicated themselves to designs for the public arena. Their designs, in some instances, have determined the "shape of government." Only time will determine their long-term contribution to neighborhoods, cities, and countries.

ENDNOTES FOR APPENDIX A

1. Kathleen Cook, "The Creation of Independence National Historical Park and Independence Mall" (MA thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1989), p. 168.

2. Charles B. Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1948,* vol. 1 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press 1981), pp. 1-3.

3. Ibid., pp 5,6.

4. Ibid., p. 4.

5. Cook, pp. 171, 172.

6. Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1971), p. 367.

7. Ibid., p. 414.

8. Ibid., p. 415.

9. David Bruce Brownlee, *Building the City Beautiful: the Benjamin Franklin Parkway and the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1989), p. 2.

10. William H. Jordy, *American Buildings and Their Architects: Progressive and Academic Ideals at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Anchor Press, 1976), p. 347.

11. Vincent Scully, *American Architecture and Urbanism* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 136.

12. Ibid., p. 140.

13. Brownlee, p. 5.

14. Ibid., p. 30.

15. Lewis Mumford quoted in Daniel Schaffer, ed., *Two Centuries of American Planning* (London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1988), p. 139.

16. Schaffer, p. 214.

17. Ibid., pp. 231-234; Douglas Auchincloss, "The City: Under the Knife, or All for Their Own Good," *Time*, vol. 84, no. 19 (November 6, 1964), p. 60.

18. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, by Barry Mackintosh (Division of Publications and the Employee Development Division, 1991), p. 50; Auchincloss, p. 61.

19. "The Philadelphia Cure: Clearing Slums with Penicillin, Not Surgery," *Architectural Forum,* vol. 96, no. 4 (1952), p. 13.

20. Edmund N. Bacon, interview with Deirdre Gibson and Mary Whelchel Konieczny, October 7, 1993.

21. Auchincloss, p. 69.

22. Bacon, 1993.

23. "The Philadelphia Cure"

24. "Landscape Design: Works of Dan Kiley," *Process Architecture*, no. 33, October 1982.

25. Conrad Jamann, ed., "Interview: Aldo Giurgola," *Transition* 26 (Spring) pp. 51, 52.

APPENDIX B — DESCRIPTION OF THE 1952 INDEPENDENCE MALL MASTER PLAN

This description of the 1952 master plan for Independence Mall was issued by Roy Larson of Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, and Larson, and subconsultant Wheelwright, Stevenson, and Langran. Architect George Howe was also listed as a consultant.

Source: Harbeson, Hough, Livingston and Larson Architects, Archives, Box 318 Independence Mall, GSA 106-4.

INDEPENDENCE MALL DESCRIPTION

FIRST STAGE-BLOCK BOUNDED BY 5TH, 6TH, CHESTNUT, AND MARKET

Demolition of structures on the site is nearly complete so that construction can proceed in early summer.

Fifth and Sixth Streets are to be widened from 26 to 45 feet, curb to curb, to accommodate three traffic lanes and one parking lane. Sidewalks on the west side of 5th Street and the east side of 6th Street are to be increased from 12 to 20 feet in width. Chestnut Street will be widened 18 feet on its north side and Market Street 8 feet on its south side.

This first block will have as its principal feature a central greensward 100 feet in width reaching from Market to Chestnut Street, with raised terraces along 5th and 6th Streets. The grassed area will be flanked by double rows of trees under which will be paved walkways and benches.

The terraces are designed for relaxation. Framed by low, curb type walls on the greensward side and with balustrade height walls on the street sides they will offer quiet retreat and screen from the traffic and noise of 5th and 6th Streets.

The planting on the terraces will be informal in character, consisting of a variety of shade and flowering trees in contrast with the more formal and regular planting of sweet gum trees paralleling the central area and along the streets.

Under the trees on the terraces there will be low shrubbery and ground cover and numerous groups of benches. From the terraces a view of the central green and of the Mall and of Independence Hall and its adjoining buildings may be had through the trees.

From Market Street an unobstructed view of Independence Hall will be possible for the first time.

The walls, the two small service buildings, and other architectural features will be of brick with marble coping and trim and will recall and be in harmony with the architecture of Independence Square.

THE SECOND STAGE — COMPLETION OF THE BLOCKS BOUNDED BY 5TH, 6TH, MARKET AND VINE STREETS

The construction of the entire Mall is to be undertaken by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, but its completion is to be accomplished in stages. The second stage will carry the Mall to Vine Street as originally proposed by the Independence Hall Association and endorsed by the City Planning Commission.

In general the scheme of open grass planted central axis, flanked by formal lines of trees will be carried north for the entire length of the Mall in continuation of the character of the first block.

There are certain conveniences and practical features required in this area which have influenced the design of the remaining blocks. One is the need for off-street parking to serve the numerous visitors to the historic buildings and those who work or do business in this part of the City. There is also need for a bus station to accommodate sightseeing, and school buses as well as regular transportation vehicles.

There is in the opinion of those who have been associated with the planning of the project, a need for a reception and information center for visitors to the historic area and some facilities for feeding and refreshing the great numbers of people from out of town and from Philadelphia who will enjoy the use of the Mall.

The second block contains an underground garage entered from 5th and 6th Streets providing space for 850 cars. This is approximately the present day need as forecast in studies made by City Planning Commission and the Philadelphia Parking Authority.

The bus station has been located on the Sixth street side of the second block of the Mall, sufficiently large to accommodate several buses at once. From this station and the garage entrances the visitor reaches the central area of the Mall and the proposed reception and information center.

A tour of historic Philadelphia could originate at this point on the Mall, proceed southward to the Independence Hall group of buildings, thence to the Old Custom House and Carpenters' Hall, from where it could proceed to the old residential section containing so many lovely Colonial and Federal period houses and churches. It could then move northward to Franklin's Court, Christ Church, Elfreth's Alley with its charming houses and return to the Mall by way of the Betsy Ross House and Christ Church Graveyard where Benjamin Franklin is buried.

Above the 5th Street garage entrance there is a terrace for relaxation, outdoor dining and refreshment. At the Market Street end of this terrace a restaurant is proposed. The Free Quaker Meeting House at 5th and Arch Streets is to be preserved. It will be moved slightly to permit the widening of 5th Street, but will remain in its present relation to 5th and Arch Streets.

At Market street a fountain has been proposed. This feature will do much to enliven and enhance the appearance of Market Street.

The block between Arch and Vine will recall the first block. If the need for additional off street parking is demonstrated, this block will also afford facilities for several hundred cars.

This block has been designed so as to open the bridge plaza to the Mall. The Plaza serves as a portal to the City for those coming from north and east via the Delaware River Bridge and from south and west via the Schuylkill-Vine Street Expressway and the proposed Delaware River Expressway. It is important therefore, that this third block of the Mall be designed so that the motorist or bus traveler is aware of his approach to the historic precincts of Philadelphia, particularly Independence Hall and its adjoining buildings.

APPENDIX C — ROY F. LARSON MEMORANDUM, APRIL 7, 1961

Roy F. Larson, primary planner for the mall from 1942 until its completion, wrote the following after the resolution of an ongoing design dispute over the second block of the mall. It reflects the strong interests and opinions of key persons in the development of this important civic project. Source: Harbeson, Hough, Livingston and Larson Archives, Box 317, File: Independence Mall (GSA 106-4) 610-c, Correspondence 1955 - December, 1966.

The concept of Independence Mall has changed over the years, since inception of the idea of contracting this major improvement. The project is being done in stages, due to lack of appropriation of sufficient funds to complete acquisition of all the properties at one time and to complete construction under one contract. Spreading the final design and construction over a long period may seem unfortunate, but it has had the advantage of giving the architects an opportunity to reevaluate the purpose and function of the Mall and to restudy its integration with the redevelopment of the area east to the Delaware River.

The first block of the Mall, Chestnut to Market Streets has been completed. We hope to revise some planting, add some trees and improve the lighting.

The portion of the second block between Market and Commerce streets has been finished except for the fountain. This was designed to receive sculpture, and foundations adequate for the purpose have been installed. There is ample water in the fountain if combined with sculpture, but there is not enough for a proper water display. It is planned to omit the sculpture and the volume of water must be increased.

The third block, Arch to Race Streets, is now under contract for construction.

This leaves the area between Commerce and Arch Streets for which the preliminary; studies have been completed and are under consideration by the Planning and Art Commissions. This second block is in many respects the most important element in the entire Mall. Originally it was to be a continuation of the central greensward with parallel lines of trees, but for some time it has been apparent to the architects that what was greatly needed in the area was a place for great outdoor gatherings, celebrations, spectacles, folk drama, and musical presentations. On this the Planning Commission staff agreed with the architects, the need having been demonstrated by the periods use of the first block for patriotic gatherings, a use for which it was not designed.

The introduction of an underground garage in this block, making impractical the planting of grass or trees on top, reinforces the concept of a plaza. The problem here is to design an underground garage without in any way interfering with aesthetic treatment of the surface.

Later thinking favored interruption of the great length of the Mall, and this led to the concept of treating the roof of the garage as a plaza, a platform for public events, with an architectural screen superimposed, at the same time, to form an enclosure and an interruption. To our thinking, this screen should be as transparent and elegant in its proportions as possible, so that it would not be (or appear to be) a partition dividing the Mall in three parts. Continuity of them all with a unity of landscape and architectural features was sought after, even though a variety was introduced to give interest.

We gave a great deal of study to this enclosure, which finally narrowed down to two possible forms, one square and the other round. In the course of our studies the round form gained precedence in our thinking because of its more gracious form and because it served better functionally and aesthetically as an enclosure within which spectacles, pageants and folk dance might be presented. Our own convictions were reinforced in this matter of round versus square by the opinions of others whom we consulted who are engaged in teaching dramatic arts, presenting spectacles and studying the presentation of outdoor theatrics abroad. They pointed out that the square enclosure results in some awkward corners in setting up presentations.

Aside from its greater suitability as an enclosure for presentations of various types (we sense that Mr. Bacon admits this) the round form in our opinion is preferable with relation to the entire Mall. It gives a change of pace and form from the rectangularity of the first and third blocks and from the hard straight lines of the buildings along Fifth and Sixth Streets. As one approaches it from Market Street on the south, or Arch Street on the north, one will have a feeling that space flows around it. The square form on the other hand seems to us to present a hard line, a sort of barrier even though an open one. The slight curvature of the roof line as it recedes in perspective will add charm rather than be an objectionable feature. Architects to whom we have shown the model also have expressed their preference for the round form.

At the joint meeting of the Planning and Art Commissions, March 7, only one member of the Planning Commission raised what might be a valid objection to the round form. He indicated his belief (as Mr. Bacon said in a previous meeting) that the round form, presumably because it is more interesting, would compete in importance with Independence Hall. This of course we would not want to do. Whatever is done should not dominate Independence Hall. However, we do not see that one form will do that more than the other, and neither will be imposing enough to compete, since it will be too far removed. By this interruption of the great length of the Mall, Independence Hall holds its own even as seen from Race Street. It is a boldly scaled building and with its stoutly proportioned tower it maintains its importance and dignity on this new axis. We believe any fear that it will suffer by a structure, square or round, on the plaza seems hardly justified.

Finally, there are times when one senses what is right. The square forms somehow seems to need reinforcing at the corners. It seems to lack strength, which the round in our opinion is pleasing, satisfying, complete and certainly serves its purpose more fully.

Following is a calendar of the meetings held on this project:

January 4, 1961 — meeting in the office of Harbeson Hough Livingston and Larson
Present: Messrs. Perkins, Bacon, Von Moltke, Wasserman of Planning Commission, Roach, Cope and Larson of HHLL

Two schemes were presented by sketches and model and the Architects expressed preference for the round scheme. After long discussions Mr. Bacon stated that one scheme only, rather than two alternatives, should be presented to the Planning Commission for consideration, and we were directed to present the square scheme. It was our impression that Planning Commission action would concern the broad concept of a structure on the plaza rather than its detailed form.

January 10, 1961 — preliminary studies of the square scheme were delivered to the Planning Commission for its regular meeting. The Architects were not invited to be present. A majority of the Planning Commission came to the Architects' office after their meeting to see the model set up with she square scheme as we had been directed. After several had left, those remaining saw the model for the round scheme which had been set aside. Two members indicated their preference for the round scheme, and a third member also indicated that he thought it might be preferable. By letter of 12 January, the Planning Commission formally approved the preliminary studies.

January 25, 1961 — the Art Commission reviewed the preliminary studies and later came to see the model. Messrs Marceau, Donato and Spruance were not at meeting but came to the office of the Architects within a few days to see the model. The Art Commission's action is a matter of record.

February 7, 1961 — Meeting with City Planning Commission, Messrs. Roach, Cope and Larson representing the Architects. Mr. Larson in presentation explained reasons for his recommendation favoring the round scheme.

February 8, 1961 — Meeting of Art Commission with Mr. Bacon present and Mr. Cope representing H2L2. Mr. Bacon gave his argument for the square scheme and stated to the Commission that only the square scheme was

before them for consideration. The Commission's action is on record by letter of February 9, 1961, disapproving the square scheme.

March 7, 1961 — Joint meeting of the Art Commission and Planning Commission. Mr. Marceau acted as Chairman of the Art Commission. Mr. Larson presented his recommendation again supporting the round scheme. Mr. Marceau acted as Chairman of the Art Commission [this is a repeat of this and next sentence] Mr. Marceau and other members of the Art Commission spoke in favor of the round scheme. In deference to Mr. Bacon in his absence, formal action was postponed.

March 21, 1961 — Members of the Planning Commission met in the office of H2L2 to see models of both the square and round scheme, and then visited site before going into executive session where we understand they reaffirmed their approval of the square scheme.

Conclusion: (R.F.L.'s opinion) - I believe this is more serious in its implication than the approval or disapproval of one or the other of the schemes. Finally this is purely a matter of aesthetics and solely within the jurisdiction of the Art Commission. If the Art Commission's action is set aside or in some way overridden, it means that any agency or department of the City can do the same if it is opposed to the Commission's action.

If the Art Commission has any reason for being, it is that it protects the City's interest in aesthetic matters.

R.F.L. 7 April 1961

APPENDIX D — INVENTORY OF BUILDINGS ADJACENT TO INDEPENDENCE MALL, 1993

The buildings and land uses adjacent to Independence Mall have varying impacts on the success of the mall as a public space. These buildings are inventoried below, starting at Independence Hall and moving clockwise around the mall. The Penn Mutual towers south of Independence Hall on the south side of Walnut Street are included because of their impact on Independence Hall's function as a focal point. Please refer to figure 40 for a map of the locations of these buildings.

INDEPENDENCE HALL

Location: 500 block, Chestnut Street

Style/description: two-story early Georgian-style building of brick with marble and soapstone trim, brick-veneered stone tower with wooden steeple and octagonal cupola, open triple-arch arcades connect main building to flanking two-story hipped-roof wings.

Dates and Architects: built 1732-48; Edmund Wooley (master carpenter) and Andrew Hamilton (lawyer), architects. Tower and steeple built 1750-1753, steeple removed 1781. Wings and arcades removed, replaced with office wings 1813-1815; Robert Mills, architect. Steeple reconstructed 1828; William Strickland, architect. Assembly Room and second story renovated 1802; remodeled c. 1818. Assembly Room restored 1831; John Haviland, architect. Second story renovated 1828 for federal courts 1828-54; John Haviland, architect. Second story renovated for city of Philadelphia councils' chambers 1854-95. Interior restored, wings and arcades reconstructed by Philadelphia chapter, Daughters of American Revolution, 1896-98; T. Mellon Rogers, architect. Second story restored by the city of Philadelphia 1922, plans and supervision by committee of Philadelphia chapter, AIA; Horace Wells Sellers, chairman. Restored by National Park Service 1951-73.

Significance/national register status: World Heritage Site designation October 24, 1979, by the World Heritage Convention of the United Nations; designated national historic site 1948; listed on the National Register of Historic Places (first listed 1966 and then documented in a revision, 1988; certified PHC, 1956; Pennsylvania register 1970

Historic uses: State House for Pennsylvania 1735-99, housing assembly, council, and supreme court of the province and later commonwealth. Second Continental Congress and Congress of Confederation held most of their sessions here. Site of the adoption of Declaration of Independence 1776, enactment of Articles of Confederation 1781, drafting of U.S. Constitution 1787. Charles Willson Peale's museum of natural history and historic portraits (Philadelphia Museum) occupied second story 1802-28.

Current use: integral resource of Independence National Historical Park that is preserved and used to interpret the people, events, and ideas associated with the American Revolution and the establishment of the United States.

Relationship to mall: Independence Hall was the reason for the establishment of the mall and is the terminus of its north/south axis.

OLD CITY HALL (flanking Independence Hall to the east)

Location: 500 block Chestnut Street

Style/description: 2½-story federal-style building of brick with marble trim, hipped roof with open octagonal cupola.

Date and architect: built 1790-1791; David Evans, master carpenter. Restored by city of Philadelphia 1921-22; plans and supervision by committee of Philadelphia chapter AIA; Horace Wells Seller, chairman. Restored by National Park Service 1951-74.

Significance/national register status: national register; certified PHC 1956; Pennsylvania register 1970; NPS List of Classified Structures.

Historic use: U.S. Supreme Court, U.S Circuit Court, U.S District Court met here 1791-1800. Used as Philadelphia City Hall 1791-1895.

Current use: resource within Independence National Historical Park

Relationship to mall: contributes to the enclosure of the southeast end of the mall and compliments the Georgian architecture and mass of Independence Hall.

CONGRESS HALL (flanking Independence Hall to the west)
Location: 500 block Chestnut Street

Style/description: 2½-story federal-style building of brick with marble trim, hipped roof with open octagonal cupola, exterior appearance same as Old Philadelphia City Hall.

Dates and architects: built 1787-89; enlarged to accommodate U.S. Congress 1793-1795. Senate Chambers restored by Society of Colonial Dames in Pennsylvania 1895-96; George C. Mason, architect. House of Representative chambers restored by city of Philadelphia 1912-13, plans and supervision by committee of Philadelphia chapter of AIA; Frank Miles Day, chairman. Restored by National Park Service 1959-62.

Significance/national register status: national register; certified PHC 1956; Pennsylvania register 1970.

Historic use: U.S. Congress met here 1790-1800, making it the oldest existent building in which U.S. Congress has met. Site of the ratification of the Bill of Rights in 1791, of Washington's second inauguration in 1793, and his farewell address in 1797, and of John Adams's inauguration in 1797. Philadelphia County Court House 1800-1890; later public uses included serving as site for the University of Pennsylvania law school

Current use: resource within Independence National Historical Park

Relationship to mall: contributes to the enclosure of the southwest end of the mall and complements the Georgian architecture and mass of Independence Hall.

PENN MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY AND ADDITION
Location: 500 block Walnut Street

Style/description west tower: 20-story 20th century classical building; limestone.

Date west tower and architect: built 1912; Edgar Seeler, architect. Extended to twice the height in 1929 by Seeler's successor firm — Ernest Mathewson, architect.

Style/description east tower: 21-story modern building of concrete with glass curtain wall incorporates a free-standing four-story Egyptian Revival facade (a remnant of Pennsylvania Fire Insurance Company building built 1839, probably by John Haviland, architect).

Date east tower and architect: built 1971-74, Mitchell/Giurgola Associates, architects.

Significance/national register status: west tower, contributing structure in the Society Hill historic district, National Register of Historic Places.

Current use both towers: Core States Bank offices

Relationship to Independence Mall: backdrop to Independence Hall that obscures the silhouette of the Independence Hall and diminishes its strength as a focal point, particularly from the second and third blocks. A reminder that the Independence Hall neighborhood was once the center of Philadelphia's insurance industry, before the urban renewal demolition.

PUBLIC LEDGER BUILDING
Location: 200 block South Sixth Street

Style/description: eleven-story Georgian Revival building of limestone.

Date and architect: built in 1924; Horace Trumbauer, architect

Significance/national register status: contributing structure to the east center city district on the National Register of Historic Places.

Current use: mixed offices with health club, retail, and restaurant on first floor

Relationship to mall: architectural character is complementary to Independence Hall; provides sense of enclosure for Independence Square

FIRST PENNSYLVANIA BANK BRANCH
Location: 100 block South Sixth Street

Style/description: 1½-story Federal Revival style building of brick

Date and architect: built 1949, Sidney Martin, architect

Significance/national register status: none

Use: Core States Bank branch

Relationship to Independence Mall: designed and built in anticipation of the mall project, the residential-scale building is now out of character with the newer buildings surrounding the mall, although the brick facade and walls complement the brick and wall details developed for the mall.

ROHM AND HAAS BUILDING
Location: 100 block South Sixth Street

Style/description: nine-story modern building of concrete faced with dark bronze plexiglass sunscreens and spandrel panels.

Date and architect: built 1964, Pietro Belluschi and Alexander Ewing (George Ewing and Company), architects.

Use: office, Rohm and Haas corporate headquarters. Lobby area and branch bank on first floor.

Relationship to Independence Mall: this corporate headquarters is an example of just the type of building and use that backers of the mall and the adjoining redevelopment hoped to attract to the mall. The 50-foot building setback, dead plaza space, recessed first story and first floor uses do not, however, relate to or enliven the mall.

U.S. COURTHOUSE
Location: 100 block North Sixth Street

Style/description: 22-story modern brick structure.

Date and architect: built in 1975, Carroll, Grisdale and VanAlen; Stewart, Noble, Class, and Partners; and Bellante and Clauss, architects.

Significance/national register status: none

Use: U.S. District Court, U.S. Bankruptcy Court, U.S. Court of Appeals, and other federal judicial offices.

Relationship to Independence Mall: the 160-foot building setback, enormous dead plaza area, height (highest building surrounding the mall by 11 stories), and first floor uses all have negative visual and use impacts on the mall.

WILLIAM J. GREEN FEDERAL BUILDING
Location: 100 block North Sixth Street

Style/description: 10-story modern brick structure connected to the U.S. Court House by a one-story corridor.

Date and architect: built in 1973, Carroll, Grisdale and VanAlen; Stewart, Noble, Class, and Partners; and Bellante and Clauss, architects.

Significance/national register status: none

Use: federal office building with day care center and offices on first floor.

Relationship to Independence Mall: fenced off playground, first-floor uses, 45-foot setback, and stark character of building do little to enclose the mall or enliven it.

FEDERAL RESERVE BANK
Location: 200 block North Sixth Street

Style/description: eight-story modern brick building.

Date and architect: built 1973-1976, Ewing, Cole, Cherry and Parsky, architects.

Significance/national register status: none

Use: offices of the federal reserve

Relationship to Independence Mall: windowless recessed first floor level and fenced and gated plaza have a negative visual and use impact on the mall.

WHYY BUILDING
Location: 200 block North Sixth Street

Style/description: three-story modern brick and concrete building with two stories of glass on front facade.

Date and architect: built in 1976; Mitchell/Giurgola Associates, architects.

Significance/national register status: none

Use: currently, WHYY TV and radio broadcasting station and offices; formerly the living history museum.

Relationship to Independence Mall: adds architectural variety and relief in scale from the four modern superstructures to the south. Although first floor uses do not generate people on a regular basis, the two-story window in the front of the building is more pedestrian-friendly than the four structures to the south.

AMERICAN COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS
Location: 200 block North Sixth Street

Style/description: nine-story classically inspired post-modern building of precast concrete

Date and architect: built in 1989; Shepley, Bulfinch, Richardson, and Abbott, architects

Significance/national register status: none

Use: administrative offices, continuing education programs and publishing activities for American College of Physicians.

Relationship to Independence Mall: adds architectural variety and relief in scale from the four modern superstructures to the south, although first floor uses do not generate street activity.

FRANKLIN SQUARE
Location: between Sixth and Seventh; Race and Vine streets

Style/description: one of the five squares that were part of the original 1682 plan of the city commissioned by William Penn, this square has undergone many physical changes as surrounding land uses have changed. Always intended as a public square, it has also served as a burial ground and the site of a Revolutionary War powder magazine. Today's design dates from the 19th century, and its plan of diagonal walkways leading to a central open space is similar to that of Washington and Rittenhouse squares.

Date and architect: 1682 survey and plan by Thomas Holme, Penn's surveyor-general.

Significance/national register status: listed on the National Register of Historic Places September 14, 1981

Use: isolated open space that is primarily used by the homeless.

Relationship to Independence Mall: although these two open spaces are close in proximity, heavy traffic on Race Street creates a barrier that contributes to the isolation of Franklin Square and inhibits access to and from the mall.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BRIDGE PLAZA AND "BOLT OF LIGHTENING" SCULPTURE
Location: between Fifth and Sixth; Race and Vine streets

Style/description: originally designed as a rotary connecting the Benjamin Franklin Bridge to the city streets. Subsequent addition of 10-story modern representational stainless steel sculpture, "Bolt of Lightening." 1991 reconstruction to join bridge to I-676 has eliminated rotary function.

Date and architect: original bridge design completed in 1926; Paul Cret, designer. Sculpture conceived in 1933 and built in 1984; Isamu Noguchi, sculptor.

Use: the plaza is quite inaccessible to pedestrians from all directions due to heavy traffic on Race and Sixth streets, I-676, and the bridge approach; consequently it is seldom used by pedestrians. The sculpture is a terminal feature on axis with the bridge to the east. It is slightly off axis with Independence Hall to the south.

Relationship to Independence Mall: the plaza itself does not relate well to the mall due to its inaccessibility and inability to visually define the north end of the mall. The sculpture can be seen from several vantage points on the mall although it does not create a strong terminal feature due to its position off axis and the trees planted on traffic islands on the north side of Race Street.

PBM FACTORY
Location: 300 block North Fifth Street

Style/description: 3½-story brick warehouse with glass block windows and white stone and concrete vertical details.

Significance/national register status: none

Use: originally Whitman Chocolates; currently apparel manufacturing and wholesale.

Relationship to Independence Mall: use does not contribute to street activity around the mall.

U.S. MINT
Location: 200 block North Fifth Street

Style/description: three-story pink granite windowless building covering an entire block; designed as "an imposing monument symbolizing prestige and security."

Date and architect: built 1965 - 1969; Vincent G. Kling and Associates, architects.

Use: one of four active mints in the U.S.; produces coins for circulation. Viewing facilities are open to the public; annual visitation of 300,000 per year.

Relationship to Independence Mall: the massive building is set back 45 feet from the Fifth Street curb line, with a raised plaza along the entire front of the building, isolating it from the street and from the third block of the mall. The main entrance to the plaza and building does not align with adjacent entrance to the third block. Visitation should contribute to the activity level of the third block of the mall, but tour buses typically unload and reload visitors directly in front of the mint.

CHRIST CHURCH BURIAL GROUND
Location: 100 block North Fifth Street

Style/description: burial grounds surrounded by a seven-foot brick wall with granite coping. This large enclosed space is heavily planted and mature ginko and holly trees rise above and overhang the wall from the inside.

Date: purchased in 1719 by Christ Church (at Second and Church streets) because there was no more room at the church for interments and land surrounding the church was too marshy.

Significance/national register status: individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1971.

Use: historic burial grounds. Final resting place of Benjamin Franklin, five signers of the Declaration of Independence, and other notable Philadelphians. National Park Service has conducted some interpretation here.

Relationship to Independence Mall: cemetery attracts visitors, but they tend to stay on the Fifth Street sidewalk when walking to and from the site, rather than crossing to and walking through the second block of the mall.

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF JEWISH AMERICAN HISTORY AND MIKVEH ISRAEL SYNAGOGUE
Location: 100 block North Fifth Street

Style/description: one-story modern brick building with garden, courtyard, and sculpture, extending from Fifth to Fourth streets.

Date and architect: built in 1976; H2L2, architects.

Use: museum, synagogue, and offices.

Relationship to independence mall: building is set back 125 feet from the curb line, out of view from the mall. The spiritual use is complementary to that of Independence Hall and the park in general. Visitors to the museum tend to stay on the Fifth Street sidewalk when walking to and from the site, rather than crossing and walking through the second block of the mall.

CORE STATES PLAZA
Location: 100 block North Fifth Street

Style/description: eleven-story brick and glass modern building with recessed first floor and garden/plaza area on west and north sides.

Use: branch bank and offices.

Relationship to Independence Mall: plate glass windows and gardens at ground level create a pedestrian-friendly environment. Banking uses on first floor contribute to a moderate level of street life on Fifth Street.

KYW BUILDING
Location: 100 block South Fifth Street

Style/description: four-story modern brick building

Date and architect: built 1970; Ballinger Company, architects.

Significance/national register status: none

Use: KYW TV and radio broadcasting station and offices.

Relationship to Independence Mall: the building is deeply set back from the street line and is too short to provide enclosure for the mall. Despite the presence of the parking garage on the next block, KYW vehicles are parked on the sidewalk and plaza, contributing to a chaotic appearance. The building and its first floor use do not generate people or contribute visually to the mall. The subway portal in front of the building, however, is heavily used.

THE BOURSE BUILDING
Location: 100 block South Fifth Street

Style/description: eight-story Classical Revival style building of red sandstone and brick terra cotta.

Date and architect: built between 1893-1895; G.W. and W.D. Hewitt, architects. Altered 1973-74, Thalheimer and Weitz, architects. Renovation 1982, H2L2, architects.

Significance/national register status: contributing structure to the Old City national register district.

Historic use: modeled after the European bourses, it was the only American institution of its kind when it was built.

Current use: retail, food court, and offices

Relationship to Independence Mall: one of the three adjacent structures that predates the mall. The uses generate a large volume of street activity and the scale of the building is complementary to the mall.

THE LAFAYETTE BUILDING
Location: 100 block South Fifth Street

Style/description: 11-story neoclassical Renaissance Revival building of limestone.

Date and architect: built in 1907; James H. Windrim, architect.

Historic use: offices.

Current use: offices, branch bank, and restaurant.

Relationship to Independence Mall: one of the three adjacent structures that predates the mall. Eleven-story height and 20-foot setback from curb line provide appropriately scaled enclosure for the mall.

SIGNERS PARK
Location: Fifth and Chestnut streets

Style/description: pocket park centering on 9½-foot high bronze statue on a 6-foot granite base.

Date: established with Independence National Historical Park. Statue donated 1982 by Independence Hall Association.

Sculptor: Evangelos Frudakis

Significance/national register status: part of Independence National Historic Park

Use: Part of Independence National Historic Park

Relationship to Independence Mall: substantially out of view from vantage point of the mall.

APPENDIX E — INDEPENDENCE HALL ASSOCIATION BROCHURE, 1942

Members of the Independence Hall Association and Committees, ca. 1942

This brochure, issued by the Independence Hall Association soon after its founding in 1942, indicates the breadth of interest in Independence Hall and the mall concept from corporations, churches, civic and cultural groups, and many others. The names of individuals are those of the most prominent persons in the city at that time.

INDEPENDENCE HALL ASSOCIATION



To all Patriotic Citizens and Organizations:

THERE are within the section of Old Philadelphia known as the Independence Hall area certain buildings in which took place the formulation and adoption of the principles of liberty under law. In Independence Hall the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were adopted, and the Liberty Bell is housed. There are also certain other historic structures in this area. In close proximity to many of these are unsuitable buildings which emphasize the menace of fire, in peace as well as in war, and also impair the dignity of the setting of these historic shrines.

It has been resolved, therefore, by a group of representatives of the custodians of these historic structures, by patriotic societies and public-spirited citizens of this country that a corporation be formed to be known as the

INDEPENDENCE HALL ASSOCIATION
INCORPORATED

Founded to safeguard historic structures in Old Philadelphia and to improve their surroundings

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS ASSOCIATION ARE DEDUCTIBLE FOR INCOME TAX PURPOSES.

STEPS are being taken, accordingly, to procure a non-profit charter for such an organization. Among the original sponsors are representatives of the following:

American Philosophical Society
American Catholic Historical Society
Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts
The Athenaeum of Philadelphia
Philadelphia Chapter, American Institute of Architects
American Society of Civil Engineers
Pennsylvania Chapter, American Society of Landscape Architects
The Board of Public Education
City of Philadelphia (as custodian of Independence Hall Group)
The Carpenters' Company (Carpenters' Hall)
The Pennsylvania Society Colonial Dames of America
The Colonial Dames of America, Chapter II, Philadelphia
City Parks Association
Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science
The Colonial Society of Pennsylvania
Daughters of the American Revolution, Local Chapters
Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence
Historical Society of Pennsylvania
Pennsylvania Committee on Conservation of Cultural Resources
The Philadelphia Society for the Preservation of Landmarks
The State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania
Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the U.S., Penna. Commandery
Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade of Philadelphia
Junior Board of Commerce of Philadelphia
Old Christ Church and other Historic Churches
Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution
Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies
The Penn Club
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia Museum of Art
Sons of the American Revolution, Philadelphia Chapter
Atwater Kent Museum
Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc.
The Swedish Colonial Society
Gloria Dei (Old Swedes') Church, National Shrine
Patriotic Order Sons of America, State Camp of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia Real Estate Board
Society of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania
The Society of the War of 1812 in the Commonwealth of Penna.
Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U. S., Phila. County Council
Military Order of Foreign Wars of the U. S., Penna. Commandery
Military Order of the World War, Philadelphia Chapter
And other interested public-spirited groups

As of the date of this document, December, 1942, the Committees are:

COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH AND PLANNING

Roy F. Larson, Chairman, Architects Bldg., 17th and Sansom Streets
Markley Stevenson, City Planner, 225 South 15th Street
Sydney E. Martin, Architects Bldg., 17th and Sansom Streets
Professor Roy F. Nichols, Swarthmore, Pa., University of Pennsylvania
Charles Haydock, Consulting Engineer, Commercial Trust Building
Edward Carey Gardiner, Historical Society of Pennsylvania
Mrs. Joseph Carson, 636 Winsford Road, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
G. Edwin Brumbaugh, Architect, Girard Trust Co. Building
Leicester B. Holland, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
S. K. Stevens, State Historian, Harrisburg, Pa.
Fiske Kimball, Director, Philadelphia Museum of Art
Joseph Jackson, Historian, 113 South 43rd Street
George E. Nitzsche, Recorder, University of Pennsylvania
Frank W. Melvin, President, The Swedish Colonial Society
Browning Holcombe, Chairman, City Planning Committee, Junior C. C.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCES

Samuel Price Wetherill, Chairman, Morris Bldg.
A. J. Drexel Paul, Drexel Estate, Drexel Bldg.
Charles T. Bach, Drexel Estate, Drexel Bldg.
Joseph F. Stockwell, Keystone Telephone Co., 135 South 2nd Street
John P. Hallahan, Builder, President, Carpenters' Company
Mrs. Stacy B. Lloyd, 1630 Latimer Street
Edward M. Biddle, Insurance Company of North America
Mrs. Joseph B. Hutchinson, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
George Stuart Patterson, 1823 Delancey Place
Wm. H. Gravell, Consulting Engineer, 17th and Sansom Streets
Clarence S. Thalheimer, Architect, Architects' Bldg.
Albert N. Hogg, V. Pres., Corn Exchange N. B. and Trust Co.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC RELATIONS AND EXHIBITIONS

M. Joseph McCosker, Chairman, Director, Atwater Kent Museum
Franklin H. Price, Librarian, Free Library of Philadelphia
Mrs. Lewis Audenried, Pres., The Colonial Dames of America, Chapt. II, Phila.
Raymond Pitcairn, 1616 Walnut Street
Mrs. Ella Wister Haines, Public Relations, Philadelphia Electric Co.
Dr. Albert A. Owens, Board of Public Education
Public Relations, Penna. R. R. Co.
Frank J. Smith, President, Corporate Real Estate Association
Charles L. Todd, Sales Manager, Benjamin Franklin Hotel
Capt. Wm. J. O'Connor, 4041 Baltimore Avenue
George A. Welsh, Pres., Junior Chamber of Commerce
J. J. Davies, Director, Public Relations, P. T. C.
Charles Abell Murphy, Historian, Clinton Hotel
Henry W. Wills, Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade
Representative, Philadelphia Council of Defense

COMMITTEE ON CHARTER AND BY LAWS

Edward M. Biddle, Chairman, 1600 Arch Street
Robert T. McCracken, Counsel for the Association, Morris Bldg.
Thomas Ridgway, Secy. Pa. Society, Sons of the Revolution

COMMITTEE ON FACTS AND FIGURES

Chas. L. Todd, Chairman, Benjamin Franklin Hotel, with a sub-committee of three from each committee.

COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

Frank J. Smith, Chairman, Provident Trust Co.

NOTE: *The President and the Executive Secretary are ex-officio members of all Committees.*

THE sponsors hold the conviction, with which they feel you will agree, that it is the obligation of the City of Philadelphia and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to cooperate with the custodians of these historic shrines and with our members to cause to be prepared and presented an acceptable plan under which certain areas in the vicinity of these historic structures shall be acquired, and improved with proper regard for the world-wide significance of such structures.

The governments of the City of Philadelphia and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, accordingly, will be urged to assume leadership in the making of the necessary surveys and studies of the areas and in considering all available previous plans; the new Association to be charged with expediting this preliminary work, to the end that all details may be agreed upon and working plans may be ready for allocation of funds, condemnation of land and actual construction when an appropriation shall have been made and it is practicable to proceed with the project.

Through this Association the opportunity is offered for our generation to provide adequate and proper protection of these irreplaceable historic structures, and to bring about the improvement of their environments, so that for all time they may memorialize the cause of liberty under law and may serve as a world-wide inspiration.

For the next two years, it has been estimated, the new corporation will require a minimum of $15,000 to be expended in expediting plans, for printing, postage, administration, etc.

It is hoped you will wish to take part in this long-neglected task. The return of the Application for Enrollment, on the enclosed form, is earnestly desired. A duplicate for your file will be sent upon request. Payments will be acknowledged by the Treasurer.

Cordially yours

FRANCES A. WISTER, *Vice-President*
ROY F. LARSON, *Vice-President*
WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, *Vice-President*
JOSEPH F. STOCKWELL, *Treasurer*
D. KNICKERBACKER BOYD, *Executive Secretary*
No. 4 So. 15th St., Philadelphia
Race 1975 — Locust 1976

Wm O. Lewis

EDWIN O. LEWIS
President

Source: Independence National Historical Park archives: IHA papers, Box 3.

APPENDIX F — INFORMAL HISTORY OF THE INDEPENDENCE HALL ASSOCIATION, 1951

This history describes the efforts of the association to bring about Independence Mall and Independence National Historical Park. It also describes the roles of the key individuals in the association. The piece was written about 1951, probably by Elizabeth Borie, who was the daughter of D. Knickerbacker Boyd. She played a major role in the association for 20 years, first as an assistant to her father and after his death as the primary worker in the association. Source: Independence National Historical Park archives, Independence Hall Association Papers, David Knickerbacker Boyd collection, Box 2.

In 1941 Judge Edwin 0. Lewis was President of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution. Immediately after the Pearl Harbor attack and this country was in World War II, Judge Lewis decided that some steps should be taken to protect Independence Hall, the Liberty Bell, Carpenter's Hall and other historic old buildings in downtown Philadelphia. He appointed a Committee on the protection of historic buildings and named as Chairman the late D. Knickerbacker Boyd, well known as an architect and city planner, together with a group of other distinguished citizens, members of the Sons of the Revolution.

The Insurance Company of North America, which was organized in Independence Hall, agreed to contribute the cost and arrange for the work of providing an underground steel and concrete pit and elevator so that the Liberty Bell could be quickly protected in the event of an air raid. It was then determined that the priceless historic buildings were subject to a great fire hazard due to the proximity to a large number of inflammable old buildings, the district being counted a conflagration risk by the fire protection interests. Judge Lewis then determined to encourage the Committee to undertake a more ambitious program of eliminating the greater part of the fire risk by creating a historic park east of Independence Square. Later this was amplified to provide for the State Mall north of Independence Square to connect up with the Delaware River Bridge approach both for fire protection purposes and to facilitate the movement of out of town visitors to the historic shrines of old Philadelphia; as well as to beautify their enshrinement. This project was more ambitious than could be successfully undertaken by the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution alone and Judge Lewis and Mr. Boyd planned a larger organization of civic historic and patriotic organizations. Mr. Boyd, thereupon on May 21, 1941, sent out notices calling a meeting of representatives of 52 such organizations to plan for the "conservation and improvement of historic Philadelphia." Judge Lewis, as President of the Sons of the Revolution, presided at this meeting which was held in the Hall of the American Philosophical Society; a Committee of three members was appointed to make recommendations for the formation of a permanent organization and to present a slate of officers to be elected. Roy F. Larson was appointed Chairman of this Organization Committee, the other two members being Dr. William E. Lingelbach and D. Knickerbacker Boyd.

On June 30, 1942, in the hall of the American Philosophical Society, this proposed organization, "The Independence Hall Association," came into being with the officers elected in accordance with the slate presented by the Organization Committee. The Honorable Edwin O. Lewis was elected President; the other officers included Miss Frances A. Wister, Roy F. Larson, and William E. Lingelbach, Vice Presidents; Joseph F. Stockwell, Treasurer; and D. Knickerbacker Boyd, Secretary.

The newly formed Independence Hall Association at once set out with zeal to seek cooperation with City, State and Federal authorities and to arouse public interest. By-laws were drawn, stated meetings held in the buildings of its member organizations, memberships increased from the 52 Founders to 275-individuals and organizations.

Close collaboration was established with the City Planning Commission created by City councils in December 1942, and with the Philadelphia Chapter, American Institute of Architects, with full recourse to its valuable compilation of data on historic buildings in the city.

Distinguished plans of the proposed development of the Independence Hall area, plans which have served as a basis for all subsequent state and federal planning, were drawn by the eminent Architect and Vice President of the Association, Roy F. Larson.

Through the untiring efforts of Judge Lewis, the Board of Directors and the small but inspired nucleus of members, many of the dreams of city patriots and planners of the past 50 years have already been, or are in the process of being, enacted into state and federal laws.

The Independence Hall Association thus organized was completely non-political, non-profit and volunteer.

Judge Lewis immediately opened negotiations with the Mayor and City Council to have the Independence Hall group of buildings declared a national shrine under the Act of Congress; and the Department of the Interior agreed upon a form of contract, and this was signed in 1943. The contract continued in effect until January, 1951, when a new contract became effective by which the custody of the Independence Square and the Independence Hall group of buildings was legally transferred to the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior; this has resulted in immediate substantial improvements made for the preservation and beautification of Independence Hall, Congress Hall and the Federal Court House at Fifth and Chestnut streets. Arrangements are now being consummated for the Federal Government to spend $50,000.00 in erecting suitable public conveniences underground adjacent to Congress Hall; thus filling a long time need to accommodate visitors.

The Founders, long disturbed by the dangerous congestion of buildings that threatened the safety of Independence Hall, envisaged a beautiful Mall; one a full block wide that should sweep from these sacred portals clear to the entrance of the Delaware River Bridge, one that should eliminate fire hazards and provide a suitably dignified approach to this most treasured Landmark.

In the words of Dr. William Lingelbach, distinguished historian and vice president of the Independence Hall Association, ". . . in 1945, Governor Martin and the Legislature at Harrisburg, already concerned about the lack of dignified approaches to Independence Hall, and the fire hazards from antiquated buildings on the north, were induced to set aside a sum of from four to eight million dollars for a great Concourse, or Mall, between Fifth and Sixth Streets from Race Street at the Delaware River bridgehead to Independence Square. By the acquisition of the properties in these nine city blocks, and their demolition to make room for landscaping, parking, and the reconstruction of historic buildings, an appropriate and dignified approach to the National Shrine from the north will be created. "The federal park to the east of Independence Hall, to be known as the Independence National Historical Park Project, was conceived in Philadelphia, according to federal Architect-Historian, Charles E. Peterson, "as a means of reclaiming some of the neighborhood around the old State House now a decaying commercial area ridden with parking lots. Under the leadership of Judge Edwin O. Lewis as president of the Independence Hall Association and Chairman of two special Federal Commissions, widespread public interest and support were aroused. Bills passed by Congress in 1948 and 1949 established the project, appropriated a half-million dollars in cash, and authorized contracts to the extent of $3,935,000 more for the purchase of land. The area will officially become a national historical park and ready for the reception of visitors by the National Park Service when certain important historic buildings and two-thirds of the total of the lands have been acquired."

Members of the original Federal Commission, to which Mr. Peterson refers, include: Mr. George McAneny, Hon. Robert N. McGarvey, Hon. Hugh Martin Morris, Hon. Francis Myers, Dr. Carl Van Doren, Mr. Albert M. Greenfield, Vice Chairman, Hon. Edwin O. Lewis, Chairman.

The second commission, or Advisory Board of eleven members working with the National Park Service was appointed by Secretary of the Interior Krug in 1949, upon the recommendation of three by the Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, three by the Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, and one each by the Carpenters' Company and the Independence Hall Association. The members are: Chairman, Judge Edwin O. Lewis; Vice-Chairman, Edward Hopkinson, Jr.; Secretary, Michael J. Bradley; Members: Thomas Buckley, Albert M. Greenfield, John P. Hallahan, Arthur C. Kaufmann, Sydney E. Martin, Honorable Francis J. Myers, Isaac W. Roberts, Frederic R. Mann.

In the nine years since the formation of the Independence Hall Association, Judge Lewis and the supporters of this great civic project have been called constantly to Washington to appear at hearings directed by Dr. Drury, Dean of the National Park Service, department of Public Lands and other Legislative Committee Hearings.

With groups of the officers and directors of the Independence Hall Association and leaders of affiliated civic, City Planning and Patriotic organizations, the Judge has made many trips to Harrisburg to present testimony before Legislative Committees and Sub-Committees; before the Joint State Government Commission; Chief Engineer of the Department of Highways, E. L. Schmidt; and the Secretary, Department of Forests and Waters, Admiral Milo Draemel; and before the Governors of the State of Pennsylvania, the Honorable Edward G. Martin, the Honorable James H. Duff, and the Honorable John S. Fine.

Judge Lewis has testified repeatedly before Philadelphia City Councils and has organized open meetings of interested Citizenry in the Chambers of his Honor, Mayor Samuel, who, as Honorary President of the Independence Hall Association, has been a staunch and active supporter from its formation.

The Judge has welcomed and entertained many Commissions of Legislators both from the Commonwealth and the Federal Government. He has gathered together representatives of the outstanding organizations of the City to give testimony before these dignitaries, often in historic Congress Hall itself, has escorted the visitors over the proposed Park areas, and explained the significance of each historic spot.

When Federal, State, or Municipal funds were not available, and the slim resources of the Independence Hall Association, supported as it is by the personal subscriptions of $1.00 and upwards from its 275 members, were exhausted, the Judge has personally wired, written and phoned to raise the funds necessary to continue the vital activities of the Association.

From 1942 to the present date, increasingly, as the project has become recognized as one of the utmost importance to city, state and nation, President Lewis and Vice-President Roy Larson have given generously of their time to address interested civic, cultural, and patriotic groups on the plans and progress of both the State and Federal Malls.

To further popularize its cause, the Association has arranged numerous Exhibits, particularly outstanding that in 1943, of early Philadelphia prints and documents, of unusual historic value, in old Congress Hall under the supervision of Historians Mrs. Joseph Carson and Mr. Joseph McCosker.

In 1944 the Association, under Judge Lewis, had a large landscaped model made of the proposed Park Areas which aroused wide-spread public interest when displayed on the main aisle of the John Wanamaker Store, again when in the great city Planning Exhibit in the Gimbel Store, later when in the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society's Flower and Landscaping show, and finally when placed on permanent exhibition in the Old Congress Hall.

Several times during its nine years, the Association has arranged to have printed and widely distributed to interested groups and to legislative Committees, certain pamphlets depicting its activities. Particularly influential was the distinguished brochure prepared and financed in 1945 by the Fairmount Park Art Association under the direction of its President, Sydney E. Martin, a leader, from its formation, in the Independence Hall Movement.

In spite of slow and often disappointing progress, and in the face of many seemingly unsurmountable obstacles, Judge Lewis has maintained the same enthusiastic zeal and indomitable spirit that has characterized his leadership from the start.

Many of the buildings in the block to the north of the Hall have already been demolished. Within the next twelve months, due to the unfailing efforts of the Independence Hall Association, and in a mere ten years from its formation, many significant changes will actually become visible in the historic area of the Nation's foremost Shrine.

APPENDIX G — HONORABLE HUGH D. SCOTT, JR., "PROTECTION OF HISTORIC SHRINES," *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*, FEBRUARY, 1942

Pennsylvania Congressman Hugh D. Scott, a nephew of Judge Edwin O. Lewis, entered this account into the Congressional Record two months after the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution formed its Committee on the Protection of Historic Buildings. Scott outlines the history of the effort up to 1942 to record, restore, and protect the Independence Hall group.

The report shows the direct progression from the work of volunteers from the Philadelphia chapter of the American Institute of Architects (who, over three decades they had completed measured drawings for the buildings and supervised their restoration) to the Sons committee.

Scott's submission possibly was made in connection with the introduction of a bill in Congress the previous month calling for study of a national park in the area east of Independence Hall. Scott makes no clear call for federal involvement, however, merely noting that "it has been suggested that the Federal Government itself should take a part in this important work . . ."

(Not printed at Government expense)

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Protection of Historic Shrines

REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 26, 1942

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, Philadelphia, in which is located the Nation's most historic shrines, the Independence Hall group of buildings, also Carpenters Hall, and many churches and other structures associated with the country's struggle for independence, has awakened to the necessity of protecting these symbols of democracy against damage by enemy air raids.

The patriotic organizations, headed by the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, and including the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, and the Colonial Dames of America, also the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, and other technical and civic associations, and many city officials are participating in the activities of the Committee on Protection of Historic Buildings set up by the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution, of which Judge Edwin O. Lewis, of Philadelphia, is president. D. Knickerbacker Boyd, architect, is chairman of the committee.

Meetings, sometimes held in the buildings themselves, are called to consider all possible precautions to be taken in order to preserve these priceless heritages, not only for Philadelphia but for the Nation, and many results have already been accomplished. It has been suggested that the Federal Government itself should take a part in this important work in Philadelphia as well as in other places where monuments to our early history exist.

The protection applies to the interior and the exterior of the buildings themselves and includes recommendations, where necessary, as to the demolition of obtrusive and 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, rehabilitate the neighborhoods, make for better health and safety of the citizens, and cause the buildings thus enhanced to become the mecca for many more millions of people from all over the United States.

Pilgrimages to such groups in a well-planned and developed area of hallowed memories would increase the morale of the American people and become an inspiration to patriotism, not only now in wartime, but in all the years to come. Such would not be the case, however, if lack of forethought now and of reasonable precautions and protection should permit these shrines to become the successful target of enemy ruthlessness from the air.

Even in such an emergency Philadelphia and the country would be particularly fortunate that, in the event of the damage or destruction of most of these nationally and locally revered historic symbols, they could be authentically repaired or replaced. With all salvageable materials available and by using the surveys and measured drawings that have been made, the building could rise again on its identical spot in all its architectural correctness. Such repairs or reconstruction would be possible because of the foresight and patriotism of some of the architects of the Nation, particularly those of Philadelphia. These men, early in this century, realizing the architectural heritages to which they had fallen heir, began to look around them to see what, within their professional province, they could do to insure the preservation, correct restoration or perpetuation of the notable shrines within their own area.

They were wise enough to realize that such work should not be sought by or entrusted to an individual, as had previously been done with restorations to the Independence Hall group in the 1890's. So the Philadelphia chapter of the American Institute of Architects early in 1900 created a Committee on the Preservation of Historic Monuments and offered its services to Mayor John E. Reyburn.

This committee began keeping a watchful eye on the interiors as well as the exteriors of the Independence Hall group especially. It soon took cognizance of the dilapidated condition of one of the three main buildings, Old Congress Hall, at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets. About the same time a small committee of other public-spirited citizens determined that steps should be taken to restore that building.

Mayor John E. Reyburn accepted their advice regarding the restoration of Old Congress Hall and the proffered services of the Chapter of Architects, committee on preservation of historic monuments, which in 1908 consisted of Frank Miles Day, chairman, Emlen L. Stewardson, George C. Mason, Edgar V. Seeler, Wilson Eyre, Jr., and D. Knickerbacker Boyd.

These two groups, augmented by others, and with the cooperation of the mayor and city councils, made progress over a period of years, when by ordinances the select and common council officially accepted the advisory services of the committee of the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects and made appropriations for drafting expenses and for expenditure of considerable sums of money for the restoration of Congress Hall itself.

Exhaustive research and physical inspections of Old Congress Hall were made by the members of this committee of the Philadelphia Chapter of Architects, notably by its then chairman, Horace W. Sellers, a meticulously careful architect and historian, who had the collaboration of Wilfred Jordan, then curator, and later of Horace T. Carpenter, the present curator and superintendent of the group of buildings. The accuracy of the restoration is thereby assured. The dedication in 1913 became a national ceremony. On this occasion Woodrow Wilson, then President of the United States, officiated, assisted by the Honorable Champ Clark and other notables.

With the impetus given to authentic restoration of buildings in that group, the same Architects Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments was authorized by ordinance in 1915 to proceed with improvements to Independence Square "to bring it and its enclosures into architectural harmony with the buildings."

Likewise in 1916 the committee was authorized to proceed with a survey for the restoration of the old city hall, the other of the three main buildings, at the corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets.

It was on December 17, 1917, that the city councils, recognizing the meritorious work of the architects, passed an ordinance extending the advisory services of the Philadelphia chapter's committee to include the supervision of a complete survey of the State House (Independence Hall) made by selected draftsmen. These capable men made careful surveys and drawings of the exterior and of all interiors of this main building. Many of these were drawn or completed in the building itself and in the offices furnished by the well-known firm of Cope & Stew-

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ardson and by the city architect of Philadelphia, John P. B. Sinkler.

The originals of these surveys, plans, elevations, sections, details, specifications, notes, findings, and descriptions of all three main buildings are now in the custody of the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. The 30 drawings of the statehouse itself required 2 years to complete. Negotiations are presently under way between the city and the chapter for the reproduction of one or more sets of all of the drawings of these three buildings. Such sets properly and separately stored would be available for use in case of damage to or destruction of the original buildings, or of the drawings themselves.

These are the most important, nationally, of the valuable records of historic buildings for which the architects of Philadelphia have been responsible. But to the city of Philadelphia and its architects belongs the credit also of having set the example for and having begun the program which in 1933 was set up in the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior, as the Historic American Building Survey.

For this reason future generations will have the foresight of the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects to thank not only for the making of surveys and the preservation of architectural data, photographic and historical records pertaining to Old Philadelphia, but for the same thorough recording of historic buildings wherever the Historic American Building Survey operated throughout this country. In recent years this activity has been curtailed to a skeleton organization for lack of Federal funds. Due, however, to the war possibility of destruction, movements are now on foot to urge the Government to quickly revive this activity until the remaining worthy structures are surveyed and recorded.

Under the plan originally adopted by the Philadelphia chapter in 1931, if completed it will no longer be possible even in peacetime for outstanding types of buildings to sink into oblivion when they stand in the way of the march of progress and must be torn down. While this was part of the motive in starting the chapter's program, it is today in 1942 of far greater importance and security to be able to feel that in the event of damage or destruction through air raids, by incendiary bombs or explosive bombs, some of these buildings could be authentically repaired or replaced through use of the drawings prepared by the Philadelphia chapter, or later by the Historical American Building Survey. It was in order to preserve records of early colonial mansions and buildings in Philadelphia, including hundreds of little known as well as recognized historic landmarks, and to provide "made work" for then unemployed draftsmen in a period of depression, that a complete survey of eighteenth and early nineteenth century architecture was, beginning in 1931, conducted by the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects.

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Buildings that have been surveyed include, in addition to the well-known Statehouse, Congress Hall, and Old City Hall group, and the Fairmount Park chain, the Wistar, Wharton, Morris, Hopkinson, John Barclay, Shipley Hamilton, Powell, and Camac houses; Christ Church, Fairmount Water Works, Pennsylvania Hospital (original building), St. Peter's Church, Second Street Market House, the Free Quakers, Fifth and Arch Streets; First Presbyterian Church and 33 houses on Elfreths Alley, now Cherry Street, between Front and Second.

Two committees supervised the work, one having charge of the Old Philadelphia survey and the other of the raising of funds and arranging for the made work. Architect Sydney E. Martin, now the president of the Philadelphia Chapter, 10 years later, was then chairman of both committees.

According to Mr. Martin the first committee was appointed to conduct a survey of the area comprising the built-up portion of the city in 1776, which represents the scene of the birth of the Republic.

It was of these fast disappearing landmarks that the committee proceeded to make a record. Incomplete measured drawings of many had been made and published from time to time, but there still remained a vast wealth of material of which no record existed.

With a fund of $5,000, generously provided by Mrs. Cyrus H. K. Curtis, the committee began its survey of Old Philadelphia. A map was made of the entire section on which was noted all eighteenth century and some early nineteenth century structures. Coordinated with the map is a written description of these structures calling attention in brief to their salient architectural features. Later, architectural comments of noteworthy historical facts were added to the map. This map today is in demand by those locally and nationally interested in Old Philadelphia and the protection and preservation of its historic structures. Copies are hanging on the walls of Old Congress Hall and in the offices of Hubley R. Owen, chairman of the city defense council.

Almost simultaneously with the completion of this accurate as well as colorfully decorative map in 1933, Mr. Sydney E. Martin stated that more than 50 members of the Philadelphia Chapter of Architects had given their services free in one capacity or another and that, starting with February 1931, when the first unemployed draftsmen had been put on the pay roll, the number increased until about 60 had received transient employment and financial help, and 41 had received a weekly wage. Modest though the pay was, it was sorely needed in those times. Members of the chapter volunteered drafting-room space and in many instances supplied materials.

Mr. Martin further said that complete measured drawings of 56 projects had then been made and that many others were on the boards. A complete survey of each project included plans, elevations, and detail drawings. No similar effort was ever attempted before. The details include drawings to scale of mouldings, panels, columns, cornices, and other architectural features.

With the large number of photographs in addition to the complete drawings, information and data filed away where it can easily be obtained, future inquirers will be able to secure the original, whether it be a doorway, bannister, mantel, molding, in case a building is damaged or demolished, or they can have the privilege of making exact reproductions.

In addition to the original $5,000, the securing of which was in part due to the unflagging interest of Miss Frances A. Wister, the committee raised from the chapter members and their employees $8,300, and from friends of the profession $4,700, making $18,000 in all. Members of the former survey committee were E. Perot Bissell, H. Louis Duhring, Franklin D. Edmunds, Charles S. Hillman, Leicester B. Holland, John S. Schwacke, Horace Wells Sellers, and Mr. Martin. Members of the made work and fund committee were C. Louis Borie 3d, Mr. Duhring, George W. Pepper, Jr., Joseph P. Sims, Clarence C. Zantzinger, and Mr. Martin. Others actively participating were Ralph B. Bencker, then president of the chapter; D. Knickerbacker Boyd, a former chairman; Kenneth M. Day; Harold Webber; Edwin H. Silverman; and M. Edmunds Dunlap.

When the cost of photography, photostating, map making, and other incidental expenses in connection with the work of surveying, measuring, and drawing of the structures, appurtenances, grounds, and so forth, had about exhausted all available funds, in spite of the fact that the overhead had been kept down to a minimum in the administering of the funds raised purely for the unemployed, the character of the project came to the attention of the then new Federal administration. It seemed to offer one of the possible means of keeping up white-collar morale while accomplishing the laudable purpose of securing and preserving the records of early American landmarks.

The thoroughness with which the work was done in Philadelphia, the excellence of the results accomplished within the money expended all led to using Philadelphia as a model in setting up the Historic American Building Survey, previously referred to, as a national program.

Mr. Ellison Perot Bissell was placed in charge for this area and with the assistance of the previous survey committee and the backing of the Philadelphia chapter of architects, took up the work where it had been left off, with the draftsmen then under pay of the Federal Government. Later Mr. Bissell resigned and Mr. Joseph P. Sims took over the supervision of this work until it was suspended with many examples yet remaining unsurveyed in this territory. For some time past reproductions of the hundreds of drawings in existence have been under way for transmission to the Library of Congress.

Mr. Sydney E. Martin recently said:

Looking back over the work as an unemployment measure, we do not believe that we could have hit upon a more successful procedure. The outstanding present value of the work itself is now being realized. We are ready to do our part in assisting in the protection of these buildings which are the priceless heritage of our city and our country.

Mr. Specker, this opportunity now presents itself, for in last December 1941, the Honorable Edwin O. Lewis, judge, in Philadelphia and president of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, organized a committee on the protection of historic buildings. The chairman, D. Knickerbacker Boyd, is a former secretary and vice president of the American Institute of Architects, who has been identified with civic enterprise, unemployment problems, and governmental work. President Lewis and he have secured a truly representative general committee consisting of city officials, architects, engineers, and other technicians as well as representatives of various patriotic and historic societies. Important subcommittees have already held meetings, notably those on the Independence Hall group and on historic churches. Valuable recommendations have resulted from these meetings and are being given consideration and attention by the local authorities.

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The purpose of the society in establishing this committee is to have an appropriate group of people who will concentrate their attention on the protection of these shrines and cooperate with the Philadelphia Council of Defense with activities and recommendations specifically relating to such structures.

The mayor of Philadelphia, through Dr. Hubley R. Owen, chairman of the Philadelphia Council of Defense, has just appointed the executive committee of this patriotic group as a part of the defense council. The following is the personnel of the committee and subcommittees to date:

COMMITTEE ON PROTECTION OF HISTORIC BUILDINGS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE REVOLUTION

(Cooperating with the Philadelphia Council of Defense)

Hon. Edwin O. Lewis, president of the society; Thomas Ridgway, Esq., secretary; and Chairman Boyd are ex officio members of the committee and of all subcommittees.

Executive committee: D. Knickerbacker Boyd, chairman; Howard W. Murphey (city property), Thomas McFarland (safety department), Robert A. Mitchell (traffic engineer), Joseph P. Sims, Charles Haydock, Mrs. Starr B. Lloyd, Mrs. Clifford Lewis, Miss Frances A. Wister, Thomas F. Egan, Jr., Joseph F. Stockwell, Hon. Hugh D. Scott, Jr., Col. Clarence Payne Franklin, Col. Wm. Innes Forbes, Walter Antrim (city architect), Horace W. Castor, Rev. Dr. Croswell McBee.

Advisory committee: Walter Antrim, A. Raymond Raff, John P. Hallahan, H. L. Duhring, Charles A. Flanagan, Hon. Vincent Carroll, George W. Pepper, Jr., Sydney E. Martin, Carl H. Freehafer, Wm. H. Gravell, Edward Robins, Markley Stevenson, Joseph Jackson, George A. Robbins, Phillip B. Wallace, Leicester B. Holland, Fiske Kimball, G. S. Jones (Valley Forge).

Subcommittee, Independence Hall group: D. Knickerbacker Boyd, chairman; Howard W. Murphey; Horace T. Carpenter; Thomas Pym Cope; Miss Frances A. Wister; Harold C. Kellogg; Joseph F. Stockwell; Joseph P. Sims; George A. Robbins; Walter Antrim.

Subcommittee on churches: Rev. Dr. Croswell McBee, chairman; Rev. E. Felix Kloman, Christ Church; Rev. Frederick W. Blatz, St. Peters; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Barnard A. McKenna, Rev. Leo O'Hare, St. Josephs; Rev. Clarence S. Long, Old Pine Street; H. L. Duhring, Phillip B. Wallace; R. Brognard Okie, Miss Frances A. Wister.

Subcommittee, architectural drawings: Walter Antrim, chairman; George I. Lovatt, Joseph P. Sims, Sydney E. Martin.

Representing the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania: Henry W. Davis; William Suddards Robinson; D. Knickerbacker Boyd.

Representing the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States: George A. Landell; Clarence C. Brinton; W. Woodburn Potter.

Source: Independence National Historical Park Archives, Independence Hall Association Papers, David Knickerbacker Boyd Collection, Box 1, Government Business

APPENDIX H — TIMELINE OF THE MALL'S DEVELOPMENT

1732 to 1791, the State House (later Independence Hall), wing buildings and arcades, adjacent county courthouse (now called Congress Hall) and Old City Hall were constructed.

1789 Philosophical Hall, home of the American Philosophical Society, was constructed on Fifth Street adjoining the lot for Old City Hall on the square.

1799 State government left (Independence Square) for Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

1800 Federal government left (Independence Square) for Washington, DC.

1812 Philadelphia County demolished the wing buildings and connecting arcades to erect fireproof record storage buildings.

1816 The city of Philadelphia bought Independence Square and all of the Independence Hall group of buildings from the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

1872 The Philadelphia City Council set aside the Assembly Room as a shrine in expectation of its restoration for the Centennial of the Revolution.

1874 to 1878, Independence Square was redesigned and took on the basic wheel-and-spokes form that it retains today.

1895 City government vacated Independence Hall and relocated to a new city hall at Centre Square.

1896 As part of a Daughters of the American Revolution restoration of Independence Hall, the 1812 fireproof buildings were razed, and wing buildings and arcades resembling the originals were constructed

1912 to 1922, the American Institute of Architects supervised the restoration of all buildings in the Independence Hall group. The Philadelphia chapter of the AIA retained responsibility for changes and restorations until the NPS tenure began in 1950.

1915 to 1916, Independence Square received renovations to its detailing and took on the appearance that it retains today.

1915 (circa) Two Philadelphia architects, Albert Kelsey and D. Knickerbacker Boyd, presented the first plan for the mall area, *Preliminary Study for the Dependencies and a New Setting for Independence Hall.* The plan included approximately half of the first block north of Independence Hall.

1924 French landscape architect Jacques Greber prepared drawings for Independence Square and the entire first block in anticipation of the Sesquicentennial, entitled "Plan of National Memorial Court of Independence."

1926 Three coincidental events occurred:

- the Sesquicentennial of the Declaration of Independence
- the opening of the Benjamin Franklin Bridge — the major new entrance to the city
- the publication of the first regional plan for the Philadelphia area

1928 (circa) The Daughters of the American Revolution or the Colonial Dames asked architect Paul Phillipe Cret to prepare a study for a plaza facing Independence Hall. Cret submitted two schemes, both for the entire first block, entitled "Design for Extension of Independence Square," schemes A and B.

1928 (circa) Dr. Seneca Egbert proposed clearing the three blocks north of Independence Hall to make room for a "colonial concourse" from the Benjamin Franklin Bridge plaza to Independence Hall.

1930 Jacques Greber, at request of the city planning commission, produced a revised plan for the first block that was introduced as part of the city's new 50-year plan.

1933 By executive order, President Roosevelt transferred 63 national monuments and military sites from the Department of War and the U.S. Forest Service to the National Park Service, making the National Park Service the primary steward of historic resources in the nation.

1935 The Historic Sites Act was passed by Congress, giving the National Park Service extended responsibilities and powers in historic preservation.

1935 President Roosevelt designated the Jefferson National Expansion Monument, which was later referenced as a precedent for Independence Mall.

1935 George Nitzche, recorder at Penn, building on Egbert's proposal, suggested that the three blocks north of Independence Hall be transformed into a national park.

1936 The Philadelphia Board of Trade called for a "Carpenters Hall Park" between Chestnut and Walnut streets and a "Constitution Gardens" on the first block north of Independence Hall as the basis for commercial redevelopment of the district. The plan was developed by Albert Kelsey and D. Knickerbacker Boyd. The bill supporting the proposal was introduced in Congress but was unsuccessful.

1937 Architect Roy F. Larson expanded on the work of partner Paul Cret and presented a plan to the Philadelphia chapter of the American Institute of Architects showing a mall on all three blocks north of Independence Hall, with the Benjamin Franklin Bridge plaza as the terminus. This *Plan for Redevelopment of the Historic Area* eventually became the plan on which the ultimate form of the mall was based.

1942 Leaders of the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution organized the key civic, historical, professional, and patriotic groups in the city to establish the Independence Hall Association (IHA) "to provide adequate protection to these irreplaceable historic structures, and to bring about the improvement of their environments." Philadelphia Judge Edwin O. Lewis was named chair.

1942 Roy Larson presented four proposals for a mall to the Independence Hall Association. Plan I shows development of half of first block. Plan II shows development of the entire first block. Plan III adds the north side of Market Street. Plan IV includes all three blocks, closely resembling Larson's 1937 plan for the American Institute of Architects. Notes from the meeting show agreement that they "should make no small plans," and Plan IV was adopted as the official plan of the association.

1942 The renewed Philadelphia City Planning Commission (CPC) was created by city ordinance.

1943 The Independence Hall Association opened an exhibit in Congress Hall that includes a model illustrating their mall proposal.

1943 Independence Hall was designated as a national historic site.

1944 A joint IHA/Fairmount Park Art Association pamphlet was published to promote the mall proposal. The pamphlet pointed to Williamsburg, Virginia, the Jefferson National Expansion Monument in St. Louis, and Aloe Plaza in Indianapolis, as precedents. All had involved extensive demolition of 19th century buildings. The pamphlet promoted a revised version of Larson's three-block proposal, with narrower central greensward, new restaurant buildings at the two northerly corners of Market Street, a semicircular plaza opposite Independence Hall, and sites for monuments to colonial and early republic heroes. The brochure

was used by the Independence Hall Association to promote the proposal to public and government agencies.

1944 The Philadelphia City Planning Commission priority study projects included extension of the mall to three blocks and slum clearance in blighted residential areas.

1945 The Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority was established by federal statute and included federal funding for acquisition and development.

1945 The Pennsylvania legislature established the proposed three-block mall as Independence Mall State Park and authorized (but did not appropriate) $4 million for its development.

1946 PL 711 created a seven-member Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission for ". . . investigating the matter of the establishment of a Federal area to be called Philadelphia National 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 . . ." Judge Lewis was appointed chairman of the commission.

1946 The commonwealth appropriated $3 million to acquire and demolish properties on the first block.

1947 The shrines commission submitted concepts and plans for a national park to Congress. Because progress had been made on the state mall project, the report did not propose that the mall be included in the national park.

1947 The city planning commission opened an enormous exhibit called the "Better Philadelphia Exhibition," which showed redevelopment around Independence as an integral part of revitalization plan. The exhibit was viewed by over 750,000 people.

1948 President Truman signed the bill establishing Independence National Historical Park. The national park did not include the state mall.

1949 The state project was underway, after a delay of several years. The city and commonwealth signed an agreement establishing that the city would widen Fifth and Sixth streets and that the state would develop the land between them, "To serve as an approach to the Independence Hall group of historical buildings and as a State park for recreational purposes." The city agrees to use the city planning commission to prepare plans and drawings, subject to approval by the commonwealth. Because of funding limitations, the mall would be developed slowly and on a block-by-block basis, having a marked effect on final designs.

1950 The city of Philadelphia and the National Park Service signed an agreement giving the National Park Service the responsibility for the administration and preservation of the historic properties within the projected national park, including the Independence Hall group, which remains in city ownership.

1950 The city planning commission retained Harbeson, Hough, Livingston and Larson (now H2L2) as prime consultant for master plan, with Roy Larson as partner in charge. Wheelwright, Stevenson, and Langran were landscape architectural consultants for first block.

1952 The master plan for the mall submitted by H2L2 retained most features of Larson's earlier proposals. On the first block was a central, 100-foot-wide greensward, with double rows of trees and paved walkways separating greensward from raised, landscaped terraces running along Fifth and Sixth streets. Walls, two service buildings, and other architectural features were to be of brick with marble coping. General design of the greensward with flanking trees was to be duplicated in blocks two and three. Under the second block was to be an 850-car garage. On the surface would be a bus station along Sixth Street, a terrace along Fifth

Street, a restaurant on the northwest corner of Fifth and Market, a fountain at Market, and a visitor center at the northeast corner of Sixth and Market. Eliminated was the Beaux-Arts-influenced semicircular plaza on first block and the obelisk on the third, probably due to Howe's influence. He recommended a simple symmetrical design recalling the Place de la Carriere that unified the city hall and arch of triumph in Nancy, France.

1953 Plans for southern third of second block were approved by the city planning commission.

1954 The first block was completed.

1957 The southern third of block two was completed; it strongly resembled the first block. The fountain was dedicated as the Judge Edwin O. Lewis fountain.

1957 Acquisition of third block began.

1960 The plan for third block was completed and differed significantly from the 1952 H2L2 master plan. Dan Kiley, landscape architect, was the primary designer.

1963 Block three was completed.

1967 The northern two-thirds of block two were completed.

1969 Major modifications to the Judge Lewis fountain were undertaken. The mall was finally considered completed. The state proposed that the National Park Service take over the mall.

1971 The National Park Service completed a general master plan for Independence National Historical Park; the state's proposal was under consideration.

1972 The commonwealth renewed its campaign for NPS takeover of the mall and the National Park Service looks favorably on the idea as part of Bicentennial planning.

1974 The city passed a resolution in support of the transfer of Independence Mall State Park to the National Park Service and the relocation of the Liberty Bell from Independence Hall to the mall.

1974 An act of the state legislature transferred the mall to the park by donation. Since 1975 Independence National Historical Park has managed the mall on a lease basis, which will continue until 1998 and the completion of the bonds, at which time fee simple ownership will be transferred to the National Park Service.

1974 Judge Lewis died.

1975 The Liberty Bell pavilion (Romaldo Giurgola, architect) was completed directly on the axis at the northern end of block one.

1976 The Liberty Bell was transferred to the new pavilion.

1991 The third block of Independence Mall was redesigned and reconfigured by park staff in order to eliminate safety hazards and maintenance problems.

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